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LIVY

(59 BC–AD 17)



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LIVY'S HISTORY by Duffield Osborne

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The Complete Works of
TITUS LIVIUS PATAVINUS



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The Translations



Padua, Northern Italy — Livy's birthplace. At the time of his birth, 'Patavium' was the second wealthiest city on the Italian peninsula. In his works, Livy often expressed a deep affection and pride for his home city, which was celebrated for its conservative values in morality and politics.



Roman ruins in Padua — the wall of the ancient amphitheatre

HISTORY OF ROME



*Translated by B. O. Foster (Books 1 to 22) and William A. McDevitte
(Books 23 to Fragments)*

Ab urbe condita libri, Livy's only surviving work, was commenced midway through the historian's career, c. 27 BC, and completed when he left Rome for Padua in old age, following the death of Augustus, during the reign of Tiberius. It is a monumental history of ancient Rome, spanning the time from the stories of Aeneas, the earliest legendary period, before the city's founding in c. 753 BC, to Livy's own times in the reign of the emperor Augustus, up to 9 BC, finishing with the death of Drusus. The Latin title can be literally translated as "Books since the city's founding". Less literally in English, it is now known as 'History of Rome'. Sadly only 25% of the work survives, though summaries of the missing books have survived from antiquity. Books 11 to 20 and books 46 to 140 are lost, leaving only 35 books extant, with 105 lost in total.

The first book of *Ab urbe condita libri* starts with Aeneas landing in Italy and the founding of Rome by Romulus and Remus, culminating with Lucius Junius Brutus and Lucius Tarquinius Collatinus being elected as consuls in 502 BC according to Livy's own chronology (509 BCE according to more traditional chronology). There are a number of chronologies; these two dates represent an approximate range. Books 2 to 10 deal with the history of the Roman Republic to the Samnite Wars, while books 21 to 45 concern the Second Punic War and finish with the war against Perseus of Macedon. Books 46 to 70 deal with the time up to the Social War in 91 BC. Book 89 includes the dictatorship of Sulla in 81 BC and book 103 contains a description of Julius Caesar's first consulship. Book 142 concludes with the death of Nero Claudius Drusus in 9 BC. Though the first ten books concern a period of over

600 years, once Livy started writing about the 1st century BC, he devoted almost a whole book to each year.

Livy's style can be viewed as a mixture of annual chronology and narrative, where he often interrupts a story to announce the elections of new consuls. His history therefore is an expansion of the *fasti*, the official public chronicle kept by the magistrates, which was a primary source for Roman historians. Those who seem to have been more influenced by the method have been termed annalists. Nevertheless, Livy was criticised for contradicting himself in his History and for becoming repetitious and verbose in the later books. One particular infamous digression in Book 9 suggested that the Romans would have beaten Alexander the Great if he had lived longer and had turned west to attack the Romans, causing much wry amusement for modern critics.

The first five books of the *Ab urbe condita libri* were published between 27 and 25 BC. Livy continued to work on the project for much of the rest of his life, publishing new material by popular demand. This necessity explains why the work falls naturally into 12 packets, mainly groups of 10 books, or decades, sometimes of five books (pentads) and the rest without any packet order. The scheme of dividing it entirely into decades is a later innovation of copyists. The second pentade was not released until c. 9 BC, some 16 years following the first pentade.

The subject material of Livy's history can vary from mythical or legendary stories at the beginning to detailed and authentic accounts of apparently real events toward the end of the great work. He himself noted the difficulty of finding information about events some 700 years or more removed from the author. Of his material on early Rome he said, "The traditions of what happened prior to the foundation of the City or whilst it was being built, are more fitted to adorn the creations of the poet than the authentic records of the historian." Nonetheless, according to the tradition of history writing at the time, Livy felt compelled to relate what he read without passing judgement as to its truth or untruth. One of the problems of modern scholarship is to ascertain where in the work the line is to be drawn between legends and true historic events. The traditional modern view is that buildings, inscriptions, monuments and libraries

prior to the sack of Rome in 387 BC by the Gauls under Brennus were destroyed by that sack and made unavailable to Livy and his sources. His credible history therefore is likely to begin with that date.

Ab urbe condita libri was enormously successful. Livy became so famous that a man from Cadiz reportedly travelled to Rome just to see the historian and once he had met with him, returned home. The popularity of the work continued through the entire classical period. A number of Roman authors used Livy as a basis for their own works, including Aurelius Victor, Cassiodorus, Eutropius, Festus, Florus, Granius Licinianus and Orosius.



Bust of the Emperor Augustus, Livy's great patron, from the Musei Capitolini, Rome

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FRAGMENTS OF THE HISTORY OF LIVY



'Faustulus discovers Romulus and Remus' by Peter Paul Rubens, c. 1616. This event is narrated in the first book of Livy's great history



Brennus carries off the movable wealth of Rome, as depicted in “The Spoils of the Battle” by Paul Jamin, 1893

PREFACE

THE Latin text of this volume has been set up from that of the ninth edition (1908) of Book I., and the eighth edition (1894) of Book II., by Weissenborn and Müller, except that the *Periochae* have been reprinted from the text of Rossbach (1910). But the spelling is that adopted by Professors Conway and Walters in their critical edition of Books I.-V. (Oxford, 1914), which is the source also of a number of readings which differ from those given in the Weissenborn-Müller text, and has furnished, besides, the materials from which the textual notes have been drawn up. I have aimed to indicate every instance where the reading printed does not rest on the authority of one or more of the good MSS., and to give the author of the emendation. The MSS. are often cited by the symbols given in the Oxford edition, but for brevity's sake I have usually employed two of my own, viz. ω and ς . The former means "such of the good MSS. as are not cited for other readings," the latter "one or more of the inferior MSS. and early printed editions." Anyone who wishes more specific information regarding the source of a variant will consult the elaborate apparatus of the Oxford text, whose editors have placed all students of the first decade under lasting obligations by their thorough and minute report of the MSS. With the publication of their second volume there will be available for the first time an adequate diplomatic basis for the criticism of Books I.-X.

I have utilized throughout the translations by Philemon Holland, George Baker, and Canon Roberts, and have occasionally borrowed a happy expression from the commentaries of Edwards, Conway, and others, mentioned in the introduction. The unpretentious notes in the college edition of my former teacher, the late Professor Greenough, have been particularly useful in pointing out the significance of the word-order.

Acknowledgments are also due to my colleagues, Professors Fairclough, Hempl, Cooper, and Briggs, and to Professor Noyes of the University of California, each of whom has given me some good suggestions.

B. O. F. Stanford University, California. 1919.

INTRODUCTION

I

From entries in Jerome's re-working of the *Chronicle* of Eusebius we learn that Titus Livius the Patavian was born in 59 B.C., the year of Caesar's first consulship, and died in his native town (the modern Padua) in 17 A.D. Of his parents nothing is known. They were presumably well-to-do, for their son received the training in Greek and Latin literature and in rhetoric which constituted the standard curriculum of that time, and was afterwards able to devote a long life to the unremunerative work of writing. That he was by birth an aristocrat is no more than an inference from his outstanding sympathy with the senatorial party. Livy's childhood witnessed the conquest of Gaul and Caesar's rapid rise to lordship over the Roman world. These early years he doubtless passed in his northern home. Patavium laid claim to great antiquity. Livy tells us himself in his opening chapter the legend of its founding by the Trojan Antenor, and elsewhere describes with unmistakable satisfaction the vain attempt of the Spartan Cleonymus (in 302 B.C.) to subdue the Patavians. They defended themselves with equal vigour and success against the aggressions of the Etruscans and the inroads of the Gauls, and in the war with Hannibal cast in their lot with Rome. In 49 B.C., when Livy was ten years old, the town became a Roman municipality and its citizens were enrolled in the Fabian tribe. The place was a great centre of trade, especially in wool, and under Augustus was perhaps the wealthiest city in Italy, next to Rome, to which in some respects it presented a striking contrast, since the Patavians maintained the simple manners and strict morality which had long gone out of fashion in the cosmopolitan capital. We cannot say how old Livy was when he left Patavium, but it is probable that his tastes and character had been permanently influenced by the old-world traditions of his native town. Did he go to Rome with the intention of pursuing there the career of a rhetorician and subsequently become interested in historical studies? It may have been so. Perhaps he had already resolved to write history and wished

to make use of the libraries and other sources of information which were lacking in a provincial town. Certain passages in his earlier books indicate that he was already familiar with the City when he began his great work, about 27 B.C., and a reference to a conversation with Augustus in Book IV. seems to argue that it was not long till he was on a friendly footing with the Emperor. He doubtless continued to reside in Rome, with occasional visits to Patavium and other places in Italy, till near the end of his long life.

Livy seems never to have held any public office, but to have given himself up entirely to literature. Seneca says that he wrote dialogues which one might classify under history as well as under philosophy, besides books which were professedly philosophical. And Quintilian quotes a letter from Livy to his son which was very likely an essay on the training of the orator, for in the passage cited he advises the young man to read Demosthenes and Cicero, and then such as most nearly resembled them. So, in another place, Quintilian tells us that he finds in Livy that there was a certain teacher who bade his pupils *obscure* what they said. It may have been in this same essay that he made the criticism on Sallust which seemed to the elder Seneca to be unjust, — that he had not only appropriated a sentence from Thucydides but had spoilt it in the process. And there is another passage in Seneca where Livy is credited with having quoted approvingly a *mot* of the rhetorician Miltiades against orators who affected archaic and sordid words, which may also be an echo of the letter. If Livy was about thirty-two years old when he began to write history it is probable that this essay was composed some years later, for it is unlikely to have been written before the son was about sixteen. We may therefore think of the historian as putting aside his magnum opus for a season, to be of use in the education of the boy, who, whether or no he profited by his father's instructions in rhetoric, at all events became a writer, and is twice named by the elder Pliny as one of his authorities, in Books V. and VI. of the *Natural History*, which deal with geography. In a sepulchral inscription found in Padua, which may be that of our Livy, two sons are named — Titus Livius Priscus and Titus Livius Longus, — and their mother's name is given as Cassia. The only other item of information we possess about the family is supplied by the elder

Seneca, who mentions a son-in-law, named Lucius Magius, as a declaimer who had some following for a time, though men rather endured him for the sake of his father-in-law than praised him for his own.

Of Livy's social life in Rome we know nothing more than that he enjoyed the friendship of Augustus, and probably, as we have seen, from an early date in his stay in Rome. The intimacy was apparently maintained till the end of the Emperor's life, for it cannot have been much before A.D. 14 that Livy, as related by Suetonius, advised his patron's grand-nephew Claudius (born 9 B.C.) to take up the writing of history. The good relations subsisting between the Emperor and the historian do honour to the sense and candour of both. Livy gloried in the history of the republic, yet he could but acquiesce in the new order of things. And the moral and religious reforms of Augustus, his wish to revive the traditions of an elder day, his respect for the forms inherited from a time when Rome was really governed by a senate, must have commanded Livy's hearty approval. On the other side, when Livy's great history was appealing to men's patriotism and displaying the ideal Rome as no other literary work (with the possible exception of the contemporaneous *Aeneid*) had ever done, it was easy for the Emperor to smile at the scholar's exaggerated admiration of Pompey, and even to overlook the frankness of his query whether more of good or of harm had come to the state from the birth of Julius Caesar. Livy died three years after Augustus, in 17 A.D., at the ripe age of 76. If he continued working at his history up to the last he had devoted more than 40 years to the gigantic enterprise. Jerome says that he died in Patavium. We can only conjecture whether he was overtaken by death while making a visit to his old home, or had retired thither, with the coming in of the new regime, to spend his declining years. The latter is perhaps the more likely assumption. The character of Tiberius can have possessed little claim to the sympathy of Livy, and life in Rome may well have lost its charm for him, now that his old patron was no more.

Livy seems to have called his history simply *Ab Urbe Condita*, "From the Founding of the City," just as Tacitus was later to call his Annals *Ab Excessu Divi Augusti*, "From the death of the Divine Augustus." He began with the legend of Aeneas, and brought his narrative down to the death of Drusus (and the defeat of Quintilius Varus?) in 9 B.C. There is no reason to think that Livy intended, as some have supposed, to go on to the death of Augustus. In the preface to one of the lost books he remarked that he had already earned enough of reputation and might have ceased to write, were it not that his restless spirit was sustained by work. He probably toiled on till his strength failed him, with no fixed goal in view, giving his history to the public in parts, as these were severally completed. The following table, taken from Schanz, is an attempt to reconstruct these instalments:

- Books I.-V. From the founding of the City to its conquest by the Gauls (387-386 B.C.).
- VI.-XV. To the subjugation of Italy (265 B.C.).
- XVI.-XX. The Punic wars to the beginning of the war with Hannibal (219 B.C.).
- XXI.-XXX. The war with Hannibal (to 201 B.C.).
- XXXI.-XL. To the death of King Philip of Macedon (179 B.C.).
- XLI.-LXX. To the outbreak of the Social War (91 B.C.).
- LXXI.-LXXX. The Social War to the death of Marius (86 B.C.).
- LXXXI.-XC. To the death of Sulla (78 B.C.).
- XCI.-CVIII. From the war with Sertorius to the Gallic War (58 B.C.).
- CIX.-CXVI. From the beginning of the Civil Wars to the death of Caesar (44 B.C.).
- CXVII.-CXXXIII. To the death of Antony and Cleopatra (30 B.C.).
- CXXXIV.-CXLII. The principate of Augustus to the death of Drusus (9 B.C.).

It will be noticed that certain portions fall natureally into decades

(notably XXI.-XXX.), or pentads (*e.g.* I.-V.). Elsewhere, and particularly in that part of the work which deals with the writer's own times, no such symmetry is discernible. Later however it became the uniform practice of the copyists to divide the history into decades. This is clearly seen in the wholly distinct and independent MS. tradition of the several surviving sections.

Only about a quarter of the whole work has been preserved. We have the Preface and Books I.-X., covering the period from Aeneas to the year 293 B.C.; Books XXI.-XXX. describing the Second Punic War; and Books XXXI.-XLV., which continue the story of Rome's conquests down to the year 167 B.C. and the victories of Lucius Aemilius Paulus.

For the loss of the other books the existence from the first century of our era of a handy abridgment is no doubt largely responsible. It is to this Martial alludes in the following distich (XIV. cxc.):

Pellibus exiguis artatur Livius ingens,
Quem mea non totum bibliotheca capit.

If we had this *Epitome* it would be some slight compensation for the disappearance of the original books, but we have only a compend of it, the so-called *Periochae*, and certain excerpts thought to have been made from another summary of it, no longer extant, which scholars refer to as the *Chronicon*, to wit, the fragments of the *Oxyrhynchus Papyrus*, the *Prodigiorum Liber* of Obsequens, and the consular lists of Cassiodorius.

The *Periochae*, or summaries of the several Books (only CXXXVI. and CXXXVII. are wanting), are the most valuable of these sources for supplying the gaps in our text of Livy. Their author narrates briefly what seem to him the leading events in each book, adding a reference to other matters treated in the original. The *Periochae* are thus a kind of compromise between a book of excerpts for the use of readers who for any reason could not or would not go to the unabridged Livy, and a table of contents for the convenience of those who did. They are usually printed with editions of Livy, and are included in this one. It may be noted here that *Per. I* exists in a double recension, of which B appears from its style to be of a piece

with those of all the other books, while A is thought to have come from the *Chronicon*.

In 1903 a papyrus was discovered at Oxyrhynchus which contained fragments of a compend of Roman history which was based on Livy, though it seems not to have been taken from Livy directly but from the *Chronicon*, which was also, as we have said, the source of Obsequens and Cassiodorius. The MS. is assigned to the third century, and the book must therefore have been composed in that or a still earlier period. It contains eight columns of uncial writing. Of these 1-3 preserve a selection of the events recorded in Livy, Books XXXVII.-XL., (which we have), while 4-8 deal with the subjectmatter of Books XLVIII.-LV. But there is a column gone between column 6 and column 7, which treated of the years 143 and 142 B.C.

Magnus Aurelius Cassiodorius Senator lived about 480 to 575, and was Consul in 514, under Theodoric. Among his writings was a chronicle, from Adam to A.D. 519. For the earlier periods he used Eusebius and Jerome, but from the expulsion of Tarquinius to A.D. 31 he names as his authorities Titus Livius and Aufidius Bassus. His list of consuls for this period shows kinship with the *Oxyrhynchus Papyrus* and Obsequens.

In his *Prodigiorum Liber* Julius Obsequens enumerates in chronological order the portents which occurred from the year 190 to the year 12 B.C. In its original form the catalogue probably began, as the title in the MS. indicates, with the year 249. The little book is of unknown date: Schanz thinks it is a product of the fourth century of our era, when paganism made its last struggle against Christianity. Rossbach inclines to a somewhat earlier date. In any case Rossbach has shown that the author was a believer in prodigies, and therefore a pagan.

III

In his preface to the whole work Livy gives a satisfactory account of his conception of history and the ends he himself had in view. He begins with an apology for adding to the already large number of

Roman histories. Those who attempt this theme hope, he says, to surpass their predecessors either in accuracy or style, and it is doing Livy no injustice to infer that in his own case it was the belief that he could make the story of Rome more vivid and readable than anyone had yet done which gave him the courage to undertake the task. But whether he succeeds or not, he will be glad, he tells us, to have done what he could for the memory of the foremost people of the world. He recognizes the immense labour which confronts him, in consequence of the more than seven hundred years which he must deal with, and admits that it will be labour thrown away on most of his readers, who will have little patience with the earlier history in their eagerness to be reading of the civil wars and the events of their own generation. "I myself, on the contrary," he continues — and the sentiment reveals at once the man's romantic spirit— "shall seek in this an additional reward for my toil, that I may turn my back upon the evils which our age has witnessed for so many years, so long at least as I am absorbed in the recollection of the brave days of old." He refers to the marvellous tales which were associated with the founding of the City as to matters of no great consequence. He declines to vouch for their authenticity, though he means to set them down as he finds them; and he apparently regards them as possessing a certain symbolic truth, at least. But the really important thing in Rome's history is the way her power was founded on morality and discipline, waxed mighty with the maintenance of these, and was now fallen upon evil days through their decay. For the use of historical study lies in its application to life. The story of a great people is fraught with examples and warnings, both for the individual and for the state. And no nation is better worth studying than Rome, for in none did righteousness and primitive simplicity so long resist the encroachments of wealth and luxury.

It was the ethical aspect of history then that chiefly appealed to Livy, and he chose Rome for his subject because the rise of the Roman empire seemed to him the best example of the fruition of those qualities which he wished to inculcate. To do this he must first of all win the interest of his readers, and if morality is his goal style is certainly the road by which he hopes to lead men towards it. We must therefore fix our attention on these two things if we would

approach Livy's work in the spirit of his ancient readers, and understand their almost unqualified approval of it.

For Livy's success was both immediate and lasting. I have already referred to the frank way in which he himself recognized his fame, in the preface to one of the books of his History, and the younger Pliny tells a delightful story of an enthusiastic Spanish admirer who travelled from Cadiz to Rome solely to behold the great writer, and having gratified his curiosity returned forthwith to his home. Livy's magnanimity was warmly praised by the elder Seneca, who said that he was by nature a most candid judge of all great talents, and it is a striking testimony to the justice of this observation that the modern reader's admiration for Hannibal is largely a reflection of Livy's, which all his prejudice against Rome's most formidable enemy could not altogether stifle. Tacitus too admired Livy, whom he considered the most eloquent of the older historians, as Fabius Rusticus was of the more recent. Quintilian compared him with Herodotus, and spoke of the wonderful fascination of his narrative, his great fairness, and the inexpressible eloquence of the speeches, in which everything was suited not only to the circumstances but to the speaker. Quintilian also praised his representation of the emotions, particularly the gentler ones, in which field he said he had no superior. Livy shared with Virgil the honour of being the most widely read of Latin writers, and in consequence incurred the resentment of the mad Caligula, who lacked but little of casting out their works and their portraits from all the libraries, alleging of Livy that he was verbose and careless. Even Quintilian could tax him with prolixity, though he seems to have owned that it was but the defect of a quality, for he elsewhere speaks of his "milky richness." The only other jarring note in the general chorus of admiration is sounded by the critic Asinius Pollio, who reproached Livy's style with "Patavinity," by which he perhaps meant that it was tainted with an occasional word or idiom peculiar to the historian's native dialect. Owing chiefly to its intrinsic excellence, but partly no doubt to the accidental circumstance that it covered the whole field of Roman History, Livy's work became the standard source-book from which later writers were to draw their materials. We have already seen how it was epitomized and excerpted. Other writers who took their historical data from Livy

were Lucan and Silius Italicus, Asconius, Valerius Maximus, Frontinus, Florus, and the Greeks Cassius Dio and Plutarch. Avienus, in the fourth century, turned Livy into iambic senarii, a *tour deforce* which has not come down to us. In the fifth he is cited by Pope Gelasius, and the grammarian Priscian used him in the sixth. Comparatively little read in the Middle Ages, Livy found a warm admirer in Dante, who used him in the second book of his *De Monarchia*, and in the *Divina Commedia* refers to him naively as “Livio, . . . che non erra.” The Italians of the Renaissance seized upon Livy’s History with avidity. The poet Beccadelli sold a country-place to enable him to purchase a copy by the hand of Poggio. Petrarch was among those who hoped for the recovery of the lost decades, and Pope Nicholas V. exerted himself without avail to discover them. With the emendations in Books XXI.-XXVI. by Laurentius Valla the critical study of the text was inaugurated. The year 1469 saw the first printed edition of the History, which was produced in Rome. Early in the sixteenth century Machiavelli wrote his famous *Discorsi sul Primo Libro delle Deche di Tito Livio*. It is not too much to say that from the Revival of Learning to the present time Livy has been generally recognized as one of the world’s great writers. The English scholar Munro pronounced him owner of what is “perhaps the greatest prose style that has ever been written in any age or language,” and his history seemed to Niebuhr a “a colossal masterpiece.”

The qualities which gave Livy his lofty place in literature are easily discovered. He was a high-minded patriot, inspired with a genuine desire to promote the welfare of his country. An idealist of the most pronounced type, he was endowed — as not all idealists are — with a breadth of sympathy which enabled him to judge men with charity, and to discern in the most diverse characters whatever admirable traits they might possess. In him a passionate love of noble deeds and a rare insight into the workings of the mind and heart were united with a strength of imagination which enabled him to clothe the shadowy names of Rome’s old worthies with the flesh and blood of living men. Finally, his mastery of all the resources of language is only equalled by his never-failing tact and sense of fitness in the use of them. It is difficult to describe in a few words so complex an

instrument as Livy's style. Perhaps it might fairly be said that it is distinguished by the attributes of warmth and amplitude. The Livian period, less formal and regular than that of Cicero, whom Livy so greatly admired, is fully as intricate, and reveals an amazing sensitiveness to the rhetorical possibilities inherent in word-order. To the first decade, and especially Book I., Livy has, consciously no doubt, given a slightly archaic and poetical colour, in keeping with the subject-matter ; and his extraordinary faculty for visualizing and dramatizing the men and events of Roman story reminds us even more insistently of Quintilian's dictum that history is a kind of prose poetry.

Yet despite his many remarkable gifts it is only too clear that Livy was deficient in some of the most essential qualifications for producing such a history of Rome as would satisfy the standards of our own day. Neither well informed nor specially interested in politics or the art of war, and lacking even such practical knowledge of constitutional matters as scores of his contemporaries must have gained from participating in the actual business of the state, he undertook to trace the development of the greatest military power (save one) that the world has ever seen, and the growth of an empire which has taught the principles of organization and government to all succeeding ages. Nor was this lack of technical knowledge the only or indeed the heaviest handicap that Livy was compelled to carry. His mind was fundamentally uncritical, and he was unable to subject his authorities to such a judicial examination as might have made it possible for him to choose the safer guides and reject the less trustworthy. Towards original documents he manifests an almost incredible indifference. As regards the earlier period, he himself remarks that the Gauls in burning Rome had swept away the "pontifical commentaries" and pretty much all the other public and private records, but there is nothing to indicate that he made much use of even such shreds of evidence as survived the fire, or that he referred, in writing of a later period, to so important a source as the *Annales Maximi*, though they had been published in 123 B.C., in eighty books, by P. Mucius Scaevola. He excuses himself from transcribing the expiatory hymn composed by Livius Andronicus, and publicly sung, in the year 207 B.C., by a chorus of girls, as a

thing too uncouth for modern taste. He seems never to have bothered to examine the terrain of so important a battle as Cannae, and his account of the operations there shows that he had no very clear notion of the topography of the field. It would be easy to multiply instances. There is an example at ii. xli. 10, where he refers to an inscription, but without having himself consulted it, as his contemporary, Dionysius of Halicarnassus, did.

Livy's history supplanted the works of the annalists, which have consequently perished, so that it is impossible to ascertain with exactness his relation to his sources. His own references to them are rather casual. He makes no attempt to indicate his authorities systematically, but cites them in certain cases where they conflict with one another, or where he is sceptical of their statements and does not choose to assume the responsibility for them. Often he does not give names, but contents himself with a phrase like, "men say," or "I find in certain writers." For the first decade he derived his materials from a number of annalists. The oldest were Q. Fabius Pictor and L. Cincius Alimentus. Both men wrote in Greek and lived in the time of the war with Hannibal, in which both men fought. Another was L. Calpurnius Piso Frugi, who opposed the Gracchi and was consul in 133. Cato's valuable history, the *Origines*, he seems not to have used until he came to treat of the events in which Cato himself played a part. It was to writers who lived nearer his own day, whose style caused Livy to rank them above their less sophisticated but no doubt far more trustworthy predecessors that he mainly resorted. Such were Valerius Antias, whose seventy-five books were certainly the most abundant source available, and are thought to have covered the history of Rome to the death of Sulla; C. Licinius Macer, tribune of the plebs in 73, who wrote from the democratic standpoint; and Q. Aelius Tubero, who took part in the Civil War on the side of Pompey, and brought down his annals to his own times.

For the third decade Livy used Polybius, though whether directly or through a Roman intermediary, and whether for the whole or only a part of the ten books, are questions still *sub iudice*. For this decade he also drew upon L. Coelius Antipater, a writer whose treatise on the Second Punic War in seven books had introduced into Roman literature the genre of the historical monograph.

In the fourth and fifth decades Livy's main reliance seems to have been Polybius, in describing eastern affairs, and the annalists Q. Claudius Quadrigarius and Valerius Antias, in treating of Italy and Spain. A recent critic has found reason for thinking that Livy used Valerius as his chief authority for western matters (controlling his statements however by those of Claudius) until, coming to the prosecution of Scipio (see Book XXXVIII), he found so much in Valerius that was incredible that his mistrust, which had hitherto been confined to that annalist's reports of numbers (see *e.g.* XXXIII. x. 8.) caused him to take Claudius thenceforth for his principal guide.

This unscientific attitude towards the sources was the product partly of Livy's own characteristics, partly of the conception of history as a means of edification and entertainment prevalent in ancient times. Another shortcoming, which would have to be insisted on if we were criticising him as though he were a contemporary, is his inability to clear his mind of ideas belonging to his own day in considering the men and institutions of the past, — though this again is a limitation which he shares with his age.

It is evident that the student of history must use Livy with caution, especially in those portions of his work where his statements cannot be tested by comparison with those of Polybius. Yet, quite apart from his claims upon our attention as a supreme literary artist, it would be hard to overrate his importance as an historian, which is chiefly of two sorts. In the first place, uncritical though he is, we have no one to put in his place, and his pages are our best authority for long stretches of Roman history. In the second place he possesses a very positive excellence to add to this accidental one, in the fidelity and spirit with which he depicts for us the Roman's own idea of Rome. Any one of half a dozen annalists would have served as well as Livy to tell us what the Romans *did*, but it required genius to make us realize as Livy does what the Romans *were*. No mere critical use of documents could ever make the Roman character live again as it lives for us in his "pictured page." The People and the State are idealized no doubt by the patriotic imagination of this extraordinary writer, — but a people's ideals are surely not the least significant part of their history.

IV

We have seen that each of the extant decades was handed down in a separate tradition. The manuscripts of the later portions will be briefly described in introductory notes to the volumes in which they are contained. Books I.-X. are preserved in a twofold MS. tradition. One family is represented by a single MS., the Verona palimpsest (V). The portion of this codex which contains the Livy consists of sixty leaves, on which are preserved fragments of Books III.-VI., written in uncial characters of the fourth century. These fragments were deciphered and published by Mommsen in 1868. The other family is the so-called Nichorachean. This edition, as it may be called, of the first decade was produced under the auspices of Q. Aurelius Symmachus, who was consul in 391 A.D. He appears to have commissioned Tascius Victorianus to prepare an amended copy of Books I.-X., and the latter's subscription (*Victorianus emendabam dominis Symmachis*) is found after every book as far as the ninth. In Books VI.-VIII. the subscription of Victorianus is preceded by one of Nichomachus Flavianus, son-inlaw of Symmachus (*Nichomachus Flavianus v. c. III. Praefect, urbis emendavi apud Hennam*), and in Books III.-V. by one of Nichomachus Dexter, a son of Flavianus (*Titi Livi Nichomachus Dexter v.c. emendavi ab urbe condita*), who adds the information, in subscribing Book V., that he had used the copy of his kinsman Clementianus. To this origin all the MSS. now extant are referred, with the exception of the *Veronensis*. The most famous member of the family is the *Mediceus*, a minuscule codex of the tenth or eleventh century containing the ten books and written with great fidelity — even in absurdities — to its exemplar. It has been shown to be the work of at least three scribes. The MS. abounds with dittographies and other errors, but is possibly the most valuable of its class, because of its honesty. For a full description of this and the other Nichomachean MSS. the reader should consult the Oxford edition of Livy, Books I.-V., by Conway and Walters. A list of all the MSS. used in that edition is given at the end of this introduction.

The *editio princeps*, edited by Andreas, afterwards Bishop of Aleria, was issued in Rome in 1469. In 1518 came the Aldine edition. The first complete edition of all the books now extant was

also brought out at Rome, in 1616, by Lusignanus. Of modern editions may be mentioned those of Gronovius, Leyden, 1645 and 1679; Drakenborch (with notes of Duker and others, and the supplements of Freinsheimius), Leyden, 1738-1746; Alschevski, Berlin, 1841-1846 (critical edition of Books I.-X. and XXI.-XXIII.), and Berlin, 1843-44 (text of Books I.-X. and XXI.-XXX.); Madvig and Ussing, Copenhagen⁴, 1886 ff. (Madvig's *Emendationes Livianae* — a classic of criticism — had appeared at Copenhagen in 1860); Hertz, Leipsic, 1857-1863; Weissenborn (Teubner text, revised by M. Müller and W. Heraeus) Leipsic, 1881 ff.; Luchs, Books XXI.-XXV. and XXVI.-XXX., Berlin, 1888-1889 (best critical apparatus for third decade); Zingerle, Leipsic, 1888 — 1908; Weissenborn and H. J. Müller, Berlin, 1880 — 1909 (best explanatory edition of the whole of Livy, with German notes; the several volumes are more or less frequently republished in revised editions); M. Müller, F. Luterbacher, E. Wolfflin, H. J. Müller, and F. Friedersdorff (Books I.-X. and XXI.-XXX., separate volumes, with German notes) Leipsic, various dates; Books I. and II. are in their second edition (II. by W. Heraeus).

Of the numerous editions of parts of the first decade which are provided with English notes may be cited: Book I. by Sir J. Seeley, Oxford, 1874; by H. J. Edwards, Cambridge, 1912; Books I. and II. by J. B. Greenough, Boston, 1891; Book II. by R. S. Conway, Cambridge, 1901; Books II. and III. by H. M. Stephenson, London, 1882; Book III. by P. Thoresby Jones, Oxford, 1914; Book IV. by H. M. Stephenson, Cambridge, 1890; Books V.-VII. by A. R. Cluer and P. E. Matheson, Oxford, 1904.2; Book IX. by W. B. Anderson, Cambridge, 1909.

For the first decade the critical edition by Conway and Walters, of which the first half was published by the Oxford University Press in 1914, is the standard.

There are translations of the whole of Livy by Philemon Holland, London, 1600; by George Baker, London, 1797; and by Rev. Canon Roberts, now in course of publication in Everyman's Library, London, 1912 ff. Books XXI.-XXV. have been done by A. J. Church and W. J. Brodribb, London, 1890.

Of books concerned wholly or in part with Livy the following

may be mentioned: H. Taine, *Essai sur Tite Live*, Paris, 1856; J. Wight Duff, *A Literary History of Rome*, London and New York, 1909; O. Riemann, *Etudes sur la Langue et la Grammaire de Tite-Live*, Paris, 1885; C. Wachsmuth, *Einleitung in das Studium der alien Geschichte*, Leipsic, 1895; H. Darnley Naylor, *Latin and English Idiom, an Object Lesson from Livy's Preface, and More Latin and English Idiom*, Cambridge, 1909 and 1915.

For further information about the bibliography of Livy, including the great mass of pamphlets and periodical articles, the student may consult Schanz, *Geschichte der rimischen Litteratur* ii. 1.3, Munich, 1911 (in Iwan von Muller's *Handbuch der Klassischen Altertumswissenschaft*) and the various *Jahresberichte*, by H. J. Müller and others, which Schanz lists on .

See also: Commentary on Books I.-V. by R. M. Ogilvie, Oxford, 1965; Complete Text of Livy by Conway, Walters, Johnson, MacDonald, Oxford, still in progress.

The Manuscripts

V=Veronensis, 4th century.

F=Floriacensis, 9th century.

P=Parisiensis, 10th century.

E=Einsiedlensis, 10th century.

H=Harleianus prior, 10th century.

B=Bambergensis, 10th or 11th century.

M=Mediceus, 10th or 11th century.

Vorm.=Vormatiensis (as reported by Rhenanus).

R=Romanus, 11th century.

U=Upsaliensis, 11th century.

D=Dominicanus, 11th or 12th century.

L=Leidensis, 12th century.

A=Aginnensis, 13th century.

M1 M2 etc. denote corrections made by the original scribe or a later corrector. When it is impossible to identify the corrector Mx is employed.

ω=all or some of the above MSS.

a = later part of A, 14th century.

ς=one or more of the inferior MSS and early editions.

Abbreviations

Ald. (or ed. Ald.) = the Aldine edition, Venice, 1518.

Cassiod. = Cassiodorius.

Class. Quart. = *The Classical Quarterly*, London, 1907 ff.

C.I.L. = *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*, vol. i.2 Berlin, 1893-5.

Diod. = Diodorus Siculus.

Dion. Hal. = Dionysius of Halicarnassus.

THE HISTORY OF ROME

BOOK I

Translated by B. O. Foster

1. Whether I am likely to accomplish anything worthy of the labour, if I record the achievements of the Roman people from the foundation of the city, I do not really know, nor if I knew would I dare to avouch it; [2] perceiving as I do that the theme is not only old but hackneyed, through the constant succession of new historians, who believe either that in their facts they can produce more authentic information, or that in their style they will prove better than the rude attempts of the ancients. [3] Yet, however this shall be, it will be a satisfaction to have done myself as much as lies in me to commemorate the deeds of the foremost people of the world; and if in so vast a company of writers my own reputation should be obscure, my consolation would be the fame and greatness of those whose renown will throw mine into the shade. [4] Moreover, my subject involves infinite labour, seeing that it must be traced back above seven hundred years, and that proceeding from slender beginnings it has so increased as now to be burdened by its own magnitude; and at the same time I doubt not that to most readers the earliest origins and the period immediately succeeding them will give little pleasure, for they will be in haste to reach these modern times, in which the might of a people which has long been very powerful is working its own undoing. [5] I myself, on the contrary, shall seek in this an additional reward for my toil, that I may avert my gaze from the troubles which our age has been witnessing for so many years, so long at least as I am absorbed in the recollection of the brave [6] days of old, free from every care which, even if it could not divert the historian's mind from the truth, might nevertheless cause it anxiety.

[7] Such traditions as belong to the time before the city was founded, or rather was presently to be founded, and are rather adorned with poetic legends than based upon trustworthy historical

proofs, I purpose neither to affirm nor to refute. It is the privilege of antiquity to mingle divine things with human, and so to add dignity to the beginnings of cities; [8] and if any people ought to be allowed to consecrate their origins and refer them to a divine source, so great is the military glory of the Roman People that when they profess that their Father and the Father of their Founder was none other than Mars, the nations of the earth may well submit to this also with as good a grace as they submit to Rome's dominion. [9] But to such legends as these, however they shall be regarded and judged, I shall, for my own part, attach no great importance. Here are the questions to which I would have every reader give his close attention — what life and morals were like; through what men and by what policies, in peace and in war, empire was established and enlarged; then let him note how, with the gradual relaxation of discipline, morals first gave way, as it were, then sank lower and lower, and finally began the downward plunge which has brought us to the present time, when we can endure neither our vices nor their cure.

[10] What chiefly makes the study of history wholesome and profitable is this, that you behold the lessons of every kind of experience set forth as on a conspicuous monument; from these you may choose for yourself and for your own state what to imitate, from these mark for avoidance what is shameful in the conception and shameful in the result. [11] For the rest, either love of the task I have set myself deceives me, or no state was ever greater, none more righteous or richer in good examples, none ever was where avarice and luxury came into the social order so late, or where humble means and thrift were so highly esteemed and so long held in honour. [12] For true it is that the less men's wealth was, the less was their greed. Of late, riches have brought in avarice, and excessive pleasures the longing to carry wantonness and licence to the point of ruin for oneself and of universal destruction.

But complaints are sure to be disagreeable, even when they shall perhaps be necessary; let the beginning, at all events, of so great an enterprise have none. [13] With good omens rather would we begin, and, if historians had the same custom which poets have, with prayers and entreaties to the gods and goddesses, that they might grant us to bring to a successful issue the great task we have

undertaken.

1. First of all, then, it is generally agreed that when Troy was taken vengeance was wreaked upon the other Trojans, but that two, Aeneas and Antenor, were spared all the penalties of war by the Achivi, owing to long-standing claims of hospitality, and because they had always advocated peace and the giving back of Helen. [2] They then experienced various vicissitudes. Antenor, with a company of Eneti who had been expelled from Paphlagonia in a revolution and were looking for a home and a leader — for they had lost their king, Pylaemenes, at Troy — came to the inmost bay of the Adriatic. [3] There, driving out the Euganei, who dwelt between the sea and the Alps, the Eneti and Trojans took possession of those lands. And in fact the place where they first landed is called Troy, and the district is therefore known as Trojan, while the people as a whole are called the Veneti. [4] Aeneas, driven from home by a similar misfortune, but guided by fate to undertakings of greater consequence, came first to Macedonia; thence was carried, in his quest of a place of settlement, to Sicily; and from Sicily laid his course towards the land of Laurentum. This place too is called Troy. [5] Landing there, the Trojans, as men who, after their all but immeasurable wanderings, had nothing left but their swords and ships, were driving booty from the fields, when King Latinus and the Aborigines, who then occupied that country, rushed down from their city and their fields to repel with arms the violence of the invaders. From this point the tradition follows two lines. Some say that Latinus, having been defeated in the battle, made a peace with Aeneas, and later an alliance of marriage. [6] Others maintain that when the opposing lines had been drawn up, Latinus did not wait for the charge to sound, but advanced amidst his chieftains and summoned the captain of the strangers to a parley. [7] He then inquired what men they were, whence they had come, what mishap had caused them to leave their home, and what they sought in landing on the coast of Laurentum. [8] He was told that the people were Trojans and their leader Aeneas, son of Anchises and Venus; that their city had been burnt, and that, driven from home, they were looking for a dwelling-place and a site where they might build a city. Filled with wonder at the renown of the race and the hero, and at his spirit, prepared alike for war or peace, he gave him his right hand in

solemn pledge of lasting friendship. [9] The commanders then made a treaty, and the armies saluted each other. Aeneas became a guest in the house of Latinus; there the latter, in the presence of his household gods, added a domestic treaty to the public one, by giving his daughter in marriage to Aeneas. [10] This event removed any doubt in the minds of the Trojans that they had brought their wanderings to an end at last in a permanent and settled habitation. [11] They founded a town, which Aeneas named Lavinium, after his wife. In a short time, moreover, there was a male scion of the new marriage, to whom his parents gave the name of Ascanius.

2. War was then made upon Trojans and Aborigines alike. Turnus was king of the Rutulians, and to him Lavinia had been betrothed before the coming of Aeneas. Indignant that a stranger should be preferred before him, he attacked, at the same time, both Aeneas and Latinus. [2] Neither army came off rejoicing from that battle. The Rutulians were beaten: the victorious Aborigines and Trojans lost their leader Latinus. [3] Then Turnus and the Rutulians, discouraged at their situation, fled for succour to the opulent and powerful Etruscans and their king Mezentius, who held sway in Caere, at that time an important town. Mezentius had been, from the very beginning, far from pleased at the birth of the new city; he now felt that the Trojan state was growing much more rapidly than was altogether safe for its neighbours, and readily united his forces with those of the Rutulians. [4] Aeneas, that he might win the goodwill of the Aborigines to confront so formidable an array, and that all might possess not only the same rights but also the same name, called both nations Latins; and from that time on the Aborigines were no less ready and faithful than the Trojans in the service of King Aeneas. [5] Accordingly, trusting to this friendly spirit of the two peoples, which were growing each day more united, and, despite the power of Etruria, which had filled with the glory of her name not only the lands but the sea as well, along the whole extent of Italy from the Alps to the Sicilian Strait, Aeneas declined to defend himself behind his walls, as he might have done, but led out his troops to battle. [6] The fight which ensued was a victory for the Latins: for Aeneas it was, besides, the last of his mortal labours. He lies buried, whether it is fitting and right to term him god or man, on the banks of the river

Numicus; men, however, call him Jupiter Indiges.

3. Ascanius, Aeneas' son, was not yet ripe for authority; yet the authority was kept for him, unimpaired, until he arrived at manhood. Meanwhile, under a woman's regency, the Latin State and the kingdom of his father and his grandfather stood unshaken — so strong was Lavinia's character — until the boy could claim it. [2] I shall not discuss the question — for who could affirm for certain so ancient a matter? — whether this boy was Ascanius, or an elder brother, born by Creusa while Ilium yet stood, who accompanied his father when he fled from the city, being the same whom the Julian family call Iulus and claim as the author of their name. [3] This Ascanius, no matter where born, or of what mother — it is agreed in any case that he was Aeneas' son — left Lavinium, when its population came to be too large, for it was already a flourishing and wealthy city for those days, to his mother, or stepmother, and founded a new city himself below the Alban Mount. [4] This was known from its position, as it lay stretched out along the ridge, by the name of Alba Longa. From the settlement of Lavinium to the planting of the colony at Alba Longa was an interval of some thirty years. [5] Yet the nation had grown so powerful, in consequence especially of the defeat of the Etruscans, that even when Aeneas died, and even when a woman became its regent and a boy began his apprenticeship as king, neither Mezentius and his Etruscans nor any other neighbours dared to attack them. [6] Peace had been agreed to on these terms, that the River Albula, which men now call the Tiber, should be the boundary between the Etruscans and the Latins. [7] Next Silvius reigned, son of Ascanius, born, as it chanced, in the forest. He begat Aeneas Silvius, and he Latinus Silvius. By him several colonies were planted, and called the Ancient Latins. [8] Thereafter the cognomen Silvius was retained by all who ruled at Alba. From Latinus came Alba, from Alba Atys, from Atys Capys, from Capys Capetus, from Capetus Tiberinus. [9] This last king was drowned in crossing the River Albula, and gave the stream the name which has been current with later generations. Then Agrippa, son of Tiberinus, reigned, and after Agrippa Romulus Silvius was king, having received the power from his father. Upon the death of Romulus by lightning, the kingship passed from him to Aventinus.

This king was buried on that hill, which is now a part of the City of Rome, and gave his name to the hill. [10] Proca ruled next. He begat Numitor and Amulius; to Numitor, the elder, he bequeathed the ancient realm of the Silvian family. Yet violence proved more potent than a father's wishes or respect for seniority. Amulius drove out his brother and ruled in his stead. [11] Adding crime to crime, he destroyed Numitor's male issue; and Rhea Silvia, his brother's daughter, he appointed a Vestal under pretence of honouring, her, and by consigning her to perpetual virginity, deprived her of the hope of children.

4. But the Fates were resolved, as I suppose, upon the founding of this great City, and the beginning of the mightiest of empires, next after that of Heaven. [2] The Vestal was ravished, and having given birth to twin sons, named Mars as the father of her doubtful offspring, whether actually so believing, or because it seemed less wrong if a god were the author of her fault. [3] But neither gods nor men protected the mother herself or her babes from the king's cruelty; the priestess he ordered to be manacled and cast into prison, the children to be committed to the river. [4] It happened by singular good fortune that the Tiber having spread beyond its banks into stagnant pools afforded nowhere any access to the regular channel of the river, and the men who brought the twins were led to hope that being infants they might be drowned, no matter how sluggish the stream. [5] So they made shift to discharge the king's command, by exposing the babes at the nearest point of the overflow, where the fig-tree Ruminalis — formerly, they say, called Romularis — now stands. [6] In those days this was a wild and uninhabited region. The story persists that when the floating basket in which the children had been exposed was left high and dry by the receding water, a she-wolf, coming down out of the surrounding hills to slake her thirst, turned her steps towards the cry of the infants, and with her teats gave them suck so gently, that the keeper of the royal flock found her licking them with her tongue. [7] Tradition assigns to this man the name of Faustulus, and adds that he carried the twins to his hut and gave them to his wife Larentia to rear. Some think that Larentia, having been free with her favours, had got the name of "she-wolf" among the shepherds, and that this gave rise to this marvellous story.

[8] The boys, thus born and reared, had no sooner attained to youth than they began — yet without neglecting the farmstead or the flocks — to range the glades of the mountains for game. [9] Having in this way gained both strength and resolution, they would now not only face wild beasts, but would attack robbers laden with their spoils, and divide up what they took from them among the shepherds, with whom they shared their toils and pranks, while their band of young men grew larger every day.

5. They say that the Palatine was even then the scene of the merry festival of the Lupercalia which we have to-day, and that the hill was named Pallantium, from Pallanteum, an Arcadian city, and then Palatium. [2] There Evander, an Arcadian of that stock, who had held the place many ages before the time of which I am writing, is said to have established the yearly rite, derived from Arcadia, that youths should run naked about in playful sport, doing honour to Lycaean Pan, whom the Romans afterwards called Inuus. [3] When the young men were occupied in this celebration, the rite being generally known, some robbers who had been angered by the loss of their plunder laid an ambush for them, and although Romulus successfully defended himself, captured Remus and delivered up their prisoner to King Amulius, even lodging a complaint against him. [4] The main charge was that the brothers made raids on the lands of Numitor, and pillaged them, with a band of young fellows which they had got together, like an invading enemy. [5] So Remus was given up to Numitor to be punished. From the very beginning Faustulus had entertained the suspicion that they were children of the royal blood that he was bringing up in his house; for he was aware both that infants had been exposed by order of the king, and that the time when he had himself taken up the children exactly coincided with that event. But he had been unwilling that the matter should be disclosed prematurely, until opportunity offered or necessity compelled. [6] Necessity came first; accordingly, driven by fear, he revealed the facts to Romulus. It chanced that Numitor too, having Remus in custody, and hearing that the brothers were twins, had been reminded, upon considering their age and their far from servile nature, of his grandsons. The inquiries he made led him to the same conclusion, so that he was almost ready to acknowledge Remus.

Thus on every hand the toils were woven about the king. [7] Romulus did not assemble his company of youths — for he was not equal to open violence — but commanded his shepherds to come to the palace at an appointed time, some by one way, some by another, and so made his attack upon the king; while from the house of Numitor came Remus, with another party which he had got together, to help his brother. So Romulus slew the king. 6. At the beginning of the fray Numitor exclaimed that an enemy had invaded the city and attacked the palace, and drew off the active men of the place to serve as an armed garrison for the defence of the citadel; and when he saw the young men approaching, after they had dispatched the king, to congratulate him, he at once summoned a council, and laid before it his brother's crimes against himself, the parentage of his grandsons, and how they had been born, reared, and recognised. [2] He then announced the tyrant's death, and declared himself to be responsible for it. The brothers advanced with their band through the midst of the crowd, and hailed their grandfather king, whereupon such a shout of assent arose from the entire throng as confirmed the new monarch's title and authority.

[3] The Alban state being thus made over to Numitor, Romulus and Remus were seized with the desire to found a city in the region where they had been exposed and brought up. And in fact the population of Albans and Latins was too large; besides, there were the shepherds. All together, their numbers might easily lead men to hope that Alba would be small, and Lavinium small, compared with the city which they should build. [4] These considerations were interrupted by the curse of their grandsires, the greed of kingly power, and by a shameful quarrel which grew out of it, upon an occasion innocent enough. Since the brothers were twins, and respect for their age could not determine between them, it was agreed that the gods who had those places in their protection should choose by augury who should give the new city its name, who should govern it when built. Romulus took the Palatine for his augural quarter, Remus the Aventine. 7. Remus is said to have been the first to receive an augury, from the flight of six vultures. The omen had been already reported when twice that number appeared to Romulus. Thereupon each was saluted king by his own followers, the one party laying

claim to the honour from priority, the other from the number of the birds. [2] They then engaged in a battle of words and, angry taunts leading to bloodshed, Remus was struck down in the affray. The commoner story is that Remus leaped over the new walls in mockery of his brother, whereupon Romulus in great anger slew him, and in menacing wise added these words withal, "*So perish whoever else shall leap over my walls!*" [3] Thus Romulus acquired sole power, and the city, thus founded, was called by its founder's name.

His first act was to fortify the Palatine, on which he had himself been reared. To other gods he sacrificed after the Alban custom, but employed the Greek for Hercules, according to the institution of Evander. [4] The story is as follows: Hercules, after slaying Geryones, was driving off his wondrously beautiful cattle, when, close to the river Tiber, where he had swum across it with the herd before him, he found a green spot, where he could let the cattle rest and refresh themselves with the abundant grass; and being tired from his journey he lay down himself. [5] When he had there fallen into a deep sleep, for he was heavy with food and wine, a shepherd by the name of Cacus, who dwelt hard by and was insolent by reason of his strength, was struck with the beauty of the animals, and wished to drive them off as plunder. But if he had driven the herd into his cave, their tracks would have been enough to guide their owner to the place in his search; he therefore chose out those of the cattle that were most remarkable for their beauty, and turning them the other way, dragged them into the cave by their tails. [6] At daybreak Hercules awoke. Glancing over the herd, and perceiving that a part of their number was lacking, he proceeded to the nearest cave, in case there might be foot-prints leading into it. When he saw that they were all turned outward and yet did not lead to any other place, he was confused and bewildered, and made ready to drive his herd away from that uncanny spot. [7] As the cattle were being driven off, some of them lowed, as usually happens, missing those which had been left behind. They were answered with a low by the cattle shut up in the cave, and this made Hercules turn back. When he came towards the cave, Cacus would have prevented his approach with force, but received a blow from the hero's club, and calling in vain upon the shepherds to protect him, gave up the ghost. [8] Evander, an exile from the

Peloponnese, controlled that region in those days, more through personal influence than sovereign power. He was a man revered for his wonderful invention of letters, a new thing to men unacquainted with the arts, and even more revered because of the divinity which men attributed to his mother Carmenta, whom those tribes had admired as a prophetess before the Sibyl's coming into Italy. [9] Now this Evander was then attracted by the concourse of shepherds, who, crowding excitedly about the stranger, were accusing him as a murderer caught red-handed. When he had been told about the deed and the reason for it, and had marked the bearing of the man and his figure, which was somewhat ampler and more august than a mortal's, he inquired who he was. [10] Upon learning his name, his father, and his birth-place, he exclaimed, "Hail, Hercules, son of Jupiter! You are he, of whom my mother, truthful interpreter of Heaven, foretold to me that you should be added to the number of the gods, and that an altar should be dedicated to you here which the nation one day to [11] be the most powerful on earth should call the Greatest Altar, and should serve according to your rite." [12] Hercules gave him his hand, and declared that he accepted the omen, and would fulfil the prophecy by establishing and dedicating an altar. Then and there men took a choice victim from the herd, and for the first time made sacrifice to Hercules. [13] For the ministry and the banquet they employed the Potitii and the Pinarii, being the families of most distinction then living in that region. It so fell out that the Potitii were there at the appointed time, and to them were served the inwards; the Pinarii came after the inwards had been eaten, in season for the remainder of the feast. [14] Thence came the custom, which persisted as long as the Pinarian family endured, that they should not partake of the inwards at that sacrifice. The Potitii, instructed by Evander, were priests of this cult for many generations, until, having delegated to public slaves the solemn function of their family, the entire stock of the Potitii died out. [15] This was the only sacred observance, of all those of foreign origin, which Romulus then adopted, honouring even then the immortality won by worth to which his own destiny was leading him.

8. When Romulus had duly attended to the worship of the gods, he called the people together and gave them the rules of law, since

nothing else but law could unite them into a single body politic. [2] But these, he was persuaded, would only appear binding in the eyes of a rustic people in case he should invest his own person with majesty, by adopting emblems of authority. He therefore put on a more august state in every way, and especially by the assumption of twelve lictors. [3] Some think the twelve birds which had given him an augury of kingship led him to choose this number. For my part, I am content to share the opinion of those who derive from the neighbouring Etruscans (whence were borrowed the curule chair and purple-bordered toga) not only the type of attendants but their number as well — a number which the Etruscans themselves are thought to have chosen because each of the twelve cities which united to elect the king contributed one lictor.

[4] Meanwhile the City was expanding and reaching out its walls to include one place after another, for they built their defences with an eye rather to the population which they hoped one day to have than to the numbers they had then. [5] Next, lest his big City should be empty, Romulus resorted to a plan for increasing the inhabitants which had long been employed by the founders of cities, who gather about them an obscure and lowly multitude and pretend that the earth has raised up sons to them. In the place which is now enclosed, between the two groves as you go up the hill, he opened a sanctuary. [6] Thither fled, from the surrounding peoples, a miscellaneous rabble, without distinction of bond or free, eager for new conditions; and these constituted the first advance in power towards that greatness at which Romulus aimed. [7] He had now no reason to be dissatisfied with his strength, and proceeded to add policy to strength. He appointed a hundred senators, whether because this number seemed to him sufficient, or because there were no more than a hundred who could be designated Fathers. At all events, they received the designation of Fathers from their rank, and their descendants were called patricians.

9. Rome was now strong enough to hold her own in war with any of the adjacent states; but owing to the want of women a single generation was likely to see the end of her greatness, since she had neither prospect of posterity at home nor the right of intermarriage with her neighbours. [2] So, on the advice of the senate, Romulus sent

envoys round among all the neighbouring nations to solicit for the new people an alliance and the privilege of intermarrying. [3] Cities, they argued, as well as all other things, take their rise from the lowliest beginnings. As time goes on, those which are aided by their own worth and by the favour of Heaven achieve great power and renown. [4] They said they were well assured that Rome's origin had been blessed with the favour of Heaven, and that worth would not be lacking; their neighbours should not be reluctant to mingle their stock and their blood with the Romans, who were as truly men as they were. [5] Nowhere did the embassy obtain a friendly hearing. In fact men spurned, at the same time that they feared, both for themselves and their descendants, that great power which was then growing up in their midst; and the envoys were frequently asked, on being dismissed, if they had opened a sanctuary for women as well as for men, for in that way only would they obtain suitable wives. [6] This was a bitter insult to the young Romans, and the matter seemed certain to end in violence. Expressly to afford a fitting time and place for this, Romulus, concealing his resentment, made ready solemn games in honour of the equestrian Neptune, which he called Consualia. [7] He then bade proclaim the spectacle to the surrounding peoples, and his subjects prepared to celebrate it with all the resources within their knowledge and power, that they might cause the occasion to be noised abroad and eagerly expected. [8] Many people — for they were also eager to see the new city — gathered for the festival, especially those who lived nearest, the inhabitants of Caenina, Crustumium, and Antemnae. [9] The Sabines, too, came with all their people, including their children and wives. They were hospitably entertained in every house, and when they had looked at the site of the City, its walls, and its numerous buildings, they marvelled that Rome had so rapidly grown great. [10] When the time came for the show, and people's thoughts and eyes were busy with it, the preconcerted attack began. At a given signal the young Romans darted this way and that, to seize and carry off the maidens. [11] In most cases these were taken by the men in whose path they chanced to be. Some, of exceptional beauty, had been marked out for the chief senators, and were carried off to their houses by plebeians to whom the office had been entrusted. [12] One, who far excelled the rest in

mien and loveliness, was seized, the story relates, by the gang of a certain Thalassius. Being repeatedly asked for whom they were bearing her off, they kept shouting that no one should touch her, for they were taking her to Thalassius, and this was the origin of the wedding-cry. [13] The sports broke up in a panic, and the parents of the maidens fled sorrowing. They charged the Romans with the crime of violating hospitality, and invoked the gods to whose solemn games they had come, deceived in violation of religion and honour. [14] The stolen maidens were no more hopeful of their plight, nor less indignant. But Romulus himself went amongst them and explained that the pride of their parents had caused this deed, when they had refused their neighbours the right to intermarry; nevertheless the daughters should be wedded and become co-partners in all the possessions of the Romans, in their citizenship and, dearest privilege of all to the human race, in their children; only let them moderate their anger, and give their hearts to those to whom fortune had given their persons. [15] A sense of injury had often given place to affection, and they would find their husbands the kinder for this reason, that every man would earnestly endeavour not only to be a good husband, but also to console his wife for the home and parents she had lost. [16] His arguments were seconded by the wooing of the men, who excused their act on the score of passion and love, the most moving of all pleas to a woman's heart.

10. The resentment of the brides was already much diminished at the very moment when their parents, in mourning garb and with tears and lamentations, were attempting to arouse their states to action. Nor did they confine their complaints to their home towns, but thronged from every side to the house of Titus Tatius, king of the Sabines; and thither, too, came official embassies, for the name of Tatius was the greatest in all that country. [2] The men of Caenina, Crustumium, and Antemnae, were those who had had a share in the wrong. It seemed to them that Tatius and the Sabines were procrastinating, and without waiting for them these three tribes arranged for a joint campaign. [3] But even the Crustuminians and Antemnates moved too slowly to satisfy the burning anger of the Caeninenses, and accordingly that nation invaded alone the Roman territory. But while they were dispersed and engaged in pillage,

Romulus appeared with his troops and taught them, by an easy victory, how ineffectual is anger without strength. [4] Their army he broke and routed, and pursued it as it fled; their king he killed in battle and despoiled; their city, once their leader was slain, he captured at the first assault. [5] He then led his victorious army back, and being not more splendid in his deeds than willing to display them, he arranged the spoils of the enemy's dead commander upon a fame, suitably fashioned for the purpose, and, carrying it himself, mounted the Capitol. Having there deposited his burden, by an oak which the shepherds held sacred, at the same time as he made his offering he marked out the limits of a temple to Jupiter, and bestowed a title upon him. [6] "Jupiter Feretrius," he said, "to thee I, victorious Romulus, myself a king, bring the panoply of a king, and dedicate a sacred precinct within the bounds which I have even now marked off in my mind, to be a seat for the spoils of honour which men shall bear hither in time to come, following my example, when they have slain kings and commanders of the enemy." [7] This was the origin of the first temple that was consecrated in Rome. It pleased Heaven, in the sequel, that while the founder's words should not be in vain, when he declared that men should bring spoils thither in the after time, yet the glory of that gift should not be staled by a multitude of partakers. Twice only since then, in all these years with their many wars, have the spoils of honour been won; so rarely have men had the good fortune to attain to that distinction.

11. While the Romans were thus occupied in the City, the army of the Antemnates seized the opportunity afforded by their absence, and made an inroad upon their territory; but so swiftly was the Roman levy led against them that they, too, were taken off their guard while scattered about in the fields. [2] They were therefore routed at the first charge and shout, and their town was taken. As Romulus was exulting in his double victory, his wife Hersilia, beset with entreaties by the captive women, begged him to forgive their parents and receive them into the state; which would, in that case, gain in strength by harmony. [3] He readily granted her request. He then set out to meet the Crustuminians, who were marching to attack him. They offered even less resistance than their allies had done, for their ardour had been quenched by the defeats of the others. [4] Colonies

were sent out to both places, though most of the colonists preferred to enrol for Crustumium on account of the fertility of its soil. [5] On the other hand, many persons left Crustumium and came to live in Rome, chiefly parents and kinsmen of the captured women.

The last to attack Rome were the Sabines, and this war was by far the gravest of all, for passion and greed were not their motives, nor did they parade war before they made it. [6] To their prudence they even added deception. Spurius Tarpeius commanded the Roman citadel. This man's maiden daughter was bribed with gold by Tatius to admit armed men into the fortress: she happened at that time to have gone outside the walls to fetch water for a sacrifice. [7] Once within, they threw their shields upon her and killed her so, whether to make it appear that the citadel had been taken by assault, or to set an example, that no one might anywhere keep faith with a traitor. [8] There is also a legend that because most of the Sabines wore heavy golden bracelets on their left arms and magnificent jewelled rings, she had stipulated for what they had on their left arms, and that they had therefore heaped their shields upon her, instead of gifts of gold. [9] Some say that, in virtue of the compact that they should give her what they wore on their arms, she flatly demanded their shields and, her treachery being perceived, forfeited her life to the bargain she herself had struck.

12. Be that as it may, the Sabines held the citadel. Next day the Roman army was drawn up, and covered the ground between the Palatine Hill and the Capitoline, but the Sabines would not come down till rage and eagerness to regain the citadel had goaded their enemy into marching up the slope against them. [2] Two champions led the fighting, the Sabine Mettius Curtius on the one side, and the Roman Hostius Hostilius on the other. Hostius held the Romans firm, despite their disadvantage of position, by the reckless courage he displayed in the thick of the fray. [3] But when he fell, the Roman line gave way at once and fled towards the old gate of the Palatine. Romulus himself was swept along in the crowd of the fugitives, till lifting his sword and shield to [4] heaven, he cried, "O Jupiter, it was thy omen that directed me when I laid here on the Palatine the first foundations of my City. The fortress is already bought by a crime and in the possession of the Sabines, whence they are come, sword in

hand, across the valley to seek us here. [5] But do thou, father of gods and men, keep them back from this spot at least; deliver the Romans from their terror, and stay their shameful flight! [6] I here vow to thee, Jupiter the Stayer, a temple, to be a memorial to our descendants how the City was saved by thy present help.” [7] Having uttered this prayer he exclaimed, as if he had perceived that it was heard, “Here, Romans, Jupiter Optimus Maximus commands us to stand and renew the fight!” The Romans did stand, as though directed by a voice from Heaven, Romulus himself rushing into the forefront of the battle. [8] Mettius Curtius, on the Sabine side, had led the charge down from the citadel, and driven the Romans in disorder over all that ground which the Forum occupies. He was not now far from the gate of the Palatine, shouting, “We have beaten our faithless hosts, our cowardly enemies! They know now how great is the difference between carrying off maidens and fighting with men!” While he pronounced this boast a band of gallant youths, led on by Romulus, assailed him. [9] It chanced that Mettius was fighting on horseback at the time, and was therefore the more easily put to flight. As he fled, the Romans followed; and the rest of their army, too, fired by the reckless daring of their king, drove the Sabines before them. [10] Mettius plunged into a swamp, his horse becoming unmanageable in the din of the pursuit, and even the Sabines were drawn off from the general engagement by the danger to so great a man. As for Mettius, heartened by the gestures and shouts of his followers and the encouragement of the throng, he made his escape; and the Romans and the Sabines renewed their battle in the valley that lies between the two hills. But the advantage rested with the Romans.

13. Then the Sabine women, whose wrong had given rise to the war, with loosened hair and torn garments, their woman’s timidity lost in a sense of their misfortune, dared to go amongst the flying missiles, and rushing in from the side, to part the hostile forces and disarm them of [2] their anger, beseeching their fathers on this side, on that their husbands, that fathers-in-law and sons-in-law should not stain themselves with impious bloodshed, nor pollute with parricide the suppliants’ children, grandsons to one party and sons to the other. [3] “If you regret,” they continued, “the relationship that unites you, if you regret the marriage-tie, turn your anger against us; we are the

cause of war, the cause of wounds, and even death to both our husbands and our parents. It will be better for us to perish than to live, lacking either of you, as widows or as orphans.” [4] It was a touching plea, not only to the rank and file, but to their leaders as well. A stillness fell on them, and a sudden hush. Then the leaders came forward to make a truce, and not only did they agree on peace, but they made one people out of the two. [5] They shared the sovereignty, but all authority was transferred to Rome. In this way the population was doubled, and that some concession might after all be granted the Sabines, the citizens were named Quirites, from the town of Cures. [6] As a reminder of this battle they gave the name of Curtian Lake to the pool where the horse of Curtius first emerged from the deep swamp and brought his rider to safety.

The sudden exchange of so unhappy a war for a joyful peace endeared the Sabine women even more to their husbands and parents, and above all to Romulus himself. [7] And so, when he divided the people into thirty *curiae*, he named these wards after the women. Undoubtedly the number of the women was somewhat greater than this, but tradition does not tell whether it was their age, their own or their husbands’ rank, or the casting of lots, that determined which of them should give their names to the wards. [8] At the same time there were formed three centuries of knights: the Ramnenses were named after Romulus; the Titienses after Titus Tatius; the name and origin of the Luceres are alike obscure. From this time forth the two kings ruled not only jointly but in harmony.

14. Some years later the kinsmen of King Tatius maltreated the envoys of the Laurentians, and when their fellow-citizens sought redress under the law of nations, Titus yielded to his partiality for his relations and to their entreaties. [2] In consequence of this he drew down their punishment upon himself, for at Lavinium, whither he had gone to the annual sacrifice, a mob came together and killed him. [3] This act is said to have awakened less resentment than was proper in Romulus, whether owing to the disloyalty that attends a divided rule, or because he thought Tatius had been not unjustly slain. He therefore declined to go to war; but yet, in order that he might atone for the insults to the envoys and the murder of the king, he caused the covenant between Rome and Lavinium to be renewed.

[4] Thus with the Laurentians peace was preserved against all expectation; but another war broke out, much nearer, and indeed almost at the city gates. The men of Fidenae, perceiving the growth of a power which they thought too near themselves for safety, did not wait till its promised strength should be realized, but began war themselves. Arming the young men, they sent them to ravage the land between the City and Fidenae. [5] Thence they turned to the left — for the Tiber stopped them on the right — and by their devastations struck terror into the farmers, whose sudden stampede from the fields into the City brought the first tidings of war. [6] Romulus led forth his army on the instant, for delay was impossible with the enemy so near, and pitched his camp a mile from Fidenae. Leaving there a small guard, he marched out with all his forces. [7] A part of his men he ordered to lie in ambush, on this side and on that, where thick underbrush afforded cover; advancing with the greater part of the infantry and all the cavalry, and delivering a disorderly and provoking attack, in which the horsemen galloped almost up to the gates, he accomplished his purpose of drawing out the enemy. For the flight, too, which had next to be feigned, the cavalry engagement afforded a favourable pretext. [8] And when not only the cavalry began to waver, as if undecided whether to fight or run, but the infantry also fell back, the city gates were quickly thronged by the enemy, who poured out and hurled themselves against the Roman line, and in the ardour of attack and pursuit were drawn on to the place of ambuscade. [9] There the Romans suddenly sprang out and assailed the enemy's flanks, while, to add to their terror, the standards of the detachment which had been left on guard were seen advancing from the camp; thus threatened by so many dangers the men of Fidenae scarcely afforded time for Romulus and those whom they had seen riding off with him to wheel about, before they broke and ran, and in far greater disorder than that of the pretended fugitives whom they had just been chasing — for [10] the flight was a real one this time — sought to regain the town. [11] But the Fidenates did not escape their foes; the Romans followed close upon their heels, and before the gates could be shut burst into the city, as though they both formed but a single army.

15. From Fidenae the war-spirit, by a kind of contagion, spread to

the Veientes, whose hostility was aroused by their kinship with the Fidenates, Etruscans like themselves, and was intensified by the danger which lay in their very proximity to Rome, if her arms should be directed against all her neighbours. [2] They made an incursion into Roman territory which more resembled a marauding expedition than a regular campaign; and so, without having entrenched a camp or waited for the enemy's army, they carried off their booty from the fields and brought it back to Veii. The Romans, on the contrary, not finding their enemy in the fields, crossed the Tiber, ready and eager for a decisive struggle. [3] When the Veientes heard that they were making a camp, and would be advancing against their city, they went out to meet them, preferring to settle the quarrel in the field of battle rather than to be shut up and compelled to fight for their homes and their town. [4] Without employing strategy to aid his forces, the Roman king won the battle by the sheer strength of his seasoned army, and routing his enemies, pursued them to their walls. But the city was strongly fortified, besides the protection afforded by its site, and he refrained from attacking it. [5] Their fields, indeed, he laid waste as he returned, more in revenge than from a desire for booty, and this disaster, following upon their defeat, induced the Veientes to send envoys to Rome and sue for peace. They were deprived of a part of their land, and a truce was granted them for a hundred years.

[6] Such were the principal achievements of the reign of Romulus, at home and in the field, nor is any of them incompatible with the belief in his divine origin and the divinity which was ascribed to the king after his death, whether one considers his spirit in recovering the kingdom of his ancestors, or his wisdom in founding the City and in strengthening it by warlike and peaceful measures. [7] For it was to him, assuredly, that Rome owed the vigour which enabled her to enjoy an untroubled peace for the next forty years. [8] Nevertheless, he was more liked by the commons than by the senate, and was preeminently dear to the hearts of his soldiers. Of these he had three hundred for a bodyguard, to whom he gave the name of Celeres, and kept them by him, not only in war, but also in time of peace.

16. When these deathless deeds had been done, as the king was holding a muster in the Campus Martius, near the swamp of Capra, for the purpose of reviewing the army, suddenly a storm came up,

with loud claps of thunder, and enveloped him in a cloud so thick as to hide him from the sight of the assembly; and from that moment Romulus was no more on earth. [2] The Roman soldiers at length recovered from their panic, when this hour of wild confusion had been succeeded by a sunny calm; but when they saw that the royal seat was empty, although they readily believed the assertion of the senators, who had been standing next to Romulus, that he had been caught up on high in the blast, they nevertheless remained for some time sorrowful and silent, as if filled with the fear of orphanhood. [3] Then, when a few men had taken the initiative, they all with one accord hailed Romulus as a god and a god's son, the King and Father of the Roman City, and with prayers besought his favour that he would graciously be pleased forever to protect his children. [4] There were some, I believe, even then who secretly asserted that the king had been rent in pieces by the hands of the senators, for this rumour, too, got abroad, but in very obscure terms; the other version obtained currency, owing to men's admiration for the hero and the intensity of their panic. [5] And the shrewd device of one man is also said to have gained new credit for the story. [6] This was Proculus Julius, who, when the people were distracted with the loss of their king and in no friendly mood towards the senate, being, as tradition tells, weighty in council, were the matter never so important, addressed the assembly as follows: "Quirites, the Father of this City, Romulus, descended suddenly from the sky at dawn this morning and appeared to me. Covered with confusion, I stood reverently before him, praying that it might be vouchsafed me to look upon his face without sin. [7] 'Go,' said he, 'and declare to the Romans the will of Heaven that my Rome shall be the capital of the world; so let them cherish the art of war, and let them know and teach their children that no human strength can resist Roman arms.' [8] So saying," he concluded, "Romulus departed on high." It is wonderful what credence the people placed in that man's tale, and how the grief for the loss of Romulus, which the plebeians and the army felt, was quieted by the assurance of his immortality.

17. The senators meanwhile were engaged in a struggle for the coveted kingship. So far it had not come to a question of any one person, for nobody stood out with special prominence in the new

nation; instead, a strife of factions was waging between the two stocks. [2] Those of Sabine origin, having had no king on their side since the death of Tatius, feared that despite their equal rights they might lose their hold upon the sovereign power, and hence desired that the king should be chosen from their own body. [3] The original Romans spurned the idea of an alien king. Various, however, as were men's inclinations, to be ruled by a king was their universal wish, for they had not yet tasted the sweetness of liberty. [4] Then the senators became alarmed, lest the state wanting a ruler and the army a leader, and many neighbouring states being disaffected, some violence might be offered from without. [5] All therefore were agreed that there should be some head, but nobody could make up his mind to yield to his fellow. And so the hundred senators shared the power among themselves, establishing ten decuries and appointing one man for each decury to preside over the administration. [6] Ten men exercised authority; only one had its insignia and lictors. Five days was the period of his power, which passed in rotation to all; and for a year the monarchy lapsed. This interval was called, as it was, an interregnum, a name which even yet obtains. [7] Murmurs then arose among the plebs that their servitude had been multiplied; that a hundred masters had been given them instead of one. No longer, it seemed, would they endure anything short of a king, and a king, too, of their own choosing. [8] Perceiving that such ideas were in the wind, the senators thought it would be well to proffer spontaneously a thing which they were on the verge of losing, and obtained the favour of the people by granting them supreme power on such terms as to part with no greater prerogative than they retained. [9] For they decreed that when the people should have named a king, their act should only be valid in case the senators ratified it. Even now, in voting for laws and magistrates, the same right is exercised, but is robbed of its significance; before the people can begin to vote, and when the result of the election is undetermined, the Fathers ratify it. [10] On the present occasion the interrex summoned the assembly and spoke as follows: "May prosperity, favour, and fortune attend our action! Quirites, choose your king. Such is the pleasure of the Fathers, who, in their turn, if your choice fall upon one worthy to be called Romulus' successor, will confirm your election." [11] This so pleased

the plebs, that, unwilling to appear outdone in generosity, they merely resolved and ordered that the senate should decree who should be king in Rome.

18. A great reputation for justice and piety was enjoyed in those days by Numa Pompilius. Cures, a town of the Sabines, was his home, and he was deeply versed, so far as anyone could be in that age, in all law, divine and human. [2] The teacher to whom he owed his learning was not, as men say, in default of another name, the Samian Pythagoras; for it is well established that Servius Tullius was king at Rome, more than a hundred years after this time, when Pythagoras gathered about him, on the farthest coasts of Italy, in the neighbourhood of Metapontum, Heraclea, and Croton, young men eager to share his studies. [3] And from that country, even if he had been contemporary, how could his fame have reached the Sabines? Again, in what common language could he have induced anyone to seek instruction of him? Or under whose protection could a solitary man have made his way through so many nations differing in speech and customs? [4] It was Numa's native disposition, then, as I incline to believe, that tempered his soul with noble qualities, and his training was not in foreign studies, but in the stern and austere discipline of the ancient Sabines, a race incorruptible as any race of the olden time. [5] When Numa's name had been proposed, the Roman senators perceived that the Sabines would gain the ascendancy if a king were to be chosen from that nation; yet nobody ventured to urge his own claims in preference to those of such a man, nor the claim of any other of his faction, nor those, in short, of any of the senators or citizens. [6] And so they unanimously voted to offer the sovereignty to Numa Pompilius. Being summoned to Rome he commanded that, just as Romulus had obeyed the augural omens in building his city and assuming regal power, so too in his own case the gods should be consulted. Accordingly an augur (who thereafter, as a mark of honour, was made a priest of the state in permanent charge of that function) conducted him to the citadel and caused him to sit down on a stone, facing the south. [7] The augur seated himself on Numa's left, having his head covered, and holding his in right hand the crooked staff without a knot which they call a *lituus*. [8] Then, looking out over the City and the country beyond, he prayed to

the gods, and marked off the heavens by a line from east to west, designating as ‘right’ the regions to the south, as ‘left’ those to the north, and fixing in his mind a landmark opposite to him and as far away as the eye could reach; [9] next shifting the crook to his left hand and, laying his right hand on Numa’s head, he uttered the following prayer: “Father Jupiter, if it is Heaven’s will that this man Numa Pompilius, whose head I am touching, be king in Rome, do thou exhibit to us unmistakable signs within those limits which I have set.” [10] He then specified the auspices which he desired should be sent, and upon their appearance Numa was declared king, and so descended from the augural station.

19. When he had thus obtained the kingship, he prepared to give the new City, founded by force of arms, a new foundation in law, statutes, and observances. [2] And perceiving that men could not grow used to these things in the midst of wars, since their natures grew wild and savage through warfare, he thought it needful that his warlike people should be softened by the disuse of arms, and built the temple of Janus at the bottom of the Argiletum, as an index of peace and war, that when open it might signify that the nation was in arms, when closed that all the peoples round about were pacified. [3] Twice since Numa’s reign has it been closed: once in the consulship of Titus Manlius, after the conclusion of the First Punic War; the second time, which the gods permitted our own generation to witness, was after the battle of Actium, when the emperor Caesar Augustus had brought about peace on land and sea. [4] Numa closed the temple after first securing the good will of all the neighbouring tribes by alliances and treaties. And fearing lest relief from anxiety on the score of foreign perils might lead men who had hitherto been held back by fear of their enemies and by military discipline into extravagance and idleness, he thought the very first thing to do, as being the most efficacious with a populace which was ignorant and, in those early days, uncivilized, was to imbue them with the fear of Heaven. [5] As he could not instil this into their hearts without inventing some marvellous story, he pretended to have nocturnal meetings with the goddess Egeria, and that hers was the advice which guided him in the establishment of rites most approved by the gods, and in the appointment of special priests for the service of

each.

[6] And first of all he divided the year into twelve months, according to the revolutions of the moon. But since the moon does not give months of quite thirty days each, and eleven days are wanting to the full complement of a year as marked by the sun's revolution, he inserted intercalary months in such a way that in the twentieth year the days should fall in with the same position of the sun from which they had started, and the period of twenty years be rounded out. [7] He also appointed days when public business might not be carried on, and others when it might, since it would sometimes be desirable that nothing should be brought before the people.

20. He then turned his attention to the appointment of priests, although he performed very many priestly duties himself, especially those which now belong to the Flamen Dialis. [2] But inasmuch as he thought that in a warlike nation there would be more kings like Romulus than like Numa, and that they would take the field in person, he did not wish the sacrificial duties of the kingly office to be neglected, and so appointed a flamen for Jupiter, as his perpetual priest, and provided him with a conspicuous dress and the royal curule chair. To him he added two other flamens, one for Mars, the other for Quirinus. [3] In like manner he designated virgins for Vesta's service — a priesthood, this, that derived from Alba and so was not unsuited to the founder's stock. That they might be perpetual priestesses of the temple, he assigned them a stipend from the public treasury, and by the rule of virginity and other observances invested them with awe and sanctity. [4] He likewise chose twelve Salii for Mars Gradivus, and granted them the distinction of wearing the embroidered tunic and over it a bronze breastplate, and of bearing the divine shields which men call *ancilia*, while they proceeded through the City, chanting their hymns to the triple beat of their solemn dance. [5] He next chose as pontifex Numa Marcius, son of Marcus, one of the senators, and to him he intrusted written directions, full and accurate, for performing the rites of worship; with what victims, on what days, in what temple, sacrifices should be offered, and from what sources money was to be disbursed to pay their costs. [6] All other public and private sacrifices he likewise made subject to the decrees of the pontifex, that there might be someone to whom the

commons could come for advice, lest any confusion should arise in the religious law through the neglect of ancestral rites and the adoption of strange ones. [7] And not merely ceremonies relating to the gods above, but also proper funeral observances and the propitiation of the spirits of the dead were to be taught by the pontifex as well, and also what prodigies manifested by lightning or other visible sign were to be taken in hand and averted. With the purpose of eliciting this knowledge from the minds of the gods, Numa dedicated an altar on the Aventine to Jupiter Elicius, and consulted the god by augury, that he might learn what portents were to be regarded.

21. The consideration and disposal of these matters diverted the thoughts of the whole people from violence and arms. Not only had they something to occupy their minds, but their constant preoccupation with the gods, now that it seemed to them that concern for human affairs was felt by the heavenly powers, had so tinged the hearts of all with piety, that the nation was governed by its regard for promises and oaths, rather than by the dread of laws and penalties. [2] And while Numa's subjects were spontaneously imitating the character of their king, as their unique exemplar, the neighboring peoples also, who had hitherto considered that it was no city but a camp that had been set up in their midst, as a menace to the general peace, came to feel such reverence for them, that they thought it sacrilege to injure a nation so wholly bent upon the worship of the gods. [3] There was a grove watered by a perennial spring which flowed through the midst of it, out of a dark cave. Thither Numa would often withdraw, without witnesses, as if to meet the goddess; so he dedicated the grove to the Camenae, alleging that they held counsel there with his wife Egeria. [4] He also established an annual worship of Faith, to whose chapel he ordered that the flamens should proceed in a two-horse hooded carriage, and should wrap up their arms as far as the fingers before sacrificing, as a sign that faith must be kept, and that even in men's clasped hands her seat is sacred. [5] He established many other rites, as well as places of sacrifice, which the pontiffs called *Argei*. But of all his services the greatest was this, that throughout his reign he guarded peace no less jealously than his kingdom. [6] Thus two successive kings in different ways, one by war,

the other by peace, promoted the nation's welfare. Romulus ruled thirty-seven years, Numa forty-three. The state was not only strong, but was also well organized in the arts both of war and of peace.

22. At Numa's death the state reverted to an interregnum. Then Tullus Hostilius, grandson of that Hostilius who had distinguished himself in the battle with the Sabines at the foot of the citadel, was declared king by the people, and the senate confirmed their choice. [2] This monarch was not only unlike the last, but was actually more warlike than Romulus had been. Besides his youth and strength, the glory of his grandfather was also an incentive to him. So, thinking that the nation was growing decrepit from inaction, he everywhere sought excuses for stirring up war. [3] It happened that the Roman rustics were driving off cattle from Alban territory, while the Albans were treating the Romans in the same way. The man who was then in power in Alba was Gaius Cluilius. [4] Each side, at about the same time, sent envoys to demand restitution. Tullus had commanded his envoys to do nothing else till they had carried out his orders; he felt convinced that the Albans would refuse his demands, in which case he could declare war with a good conscience. The Alban representatives proceeded rather laxly. [5] Received by Tullus with gracious and kindly hospitality, they attended in a friendly spirit the banquet which he gave in their honour. Meanwhile the Romans had been beforehand with them in seeking redress, and, being denied it by the Alban leader, had made a declaration of war, to take effect in thirty days. [6] Returning, they reported these things to Tullus, who thereupon invited the Alban envoys to inform him of the object of their mission. They, knowing nothing of what had happened, at first spent some time in apologies. They said they should be sorry to utter anything which might give offence to Tullus, but that they were compelled to do so by their orders; they had come to seek restitution; if it should be denied them they were commanded to declare war. [7] To this Tullus replied: "Tell your king the Roman king calls the gods to witness which people first spurned the other's demand for redress and dismissed its envoys, that they may call down upon the guilty nation all the disasters of this war."

23. With this answer the Albans returned to their city, and both sides prepared for war with the greatest energy — a civil war, to all

intents and purposes, almost as if fathers were arrayed against sons; for both were of Trojan ancestry, since Lavinium had been planted from Troy, Alba from Lavinium, and from the line of the Alban kings had come the Romans. [2] Still, the issue of the war made the struggle less deplorable, for no battle was fought, and when only the buildings of one of the cities had been destroyed, the two peoples were fused into one. [3] The Albans were first in the field, and with a great army invaded the Roman territory. Their camp they pitched not more than five miles from the City, and surrounded it with a trench. (This was known for some centuries as the Cluilian Trench, from the name of the general, until in the course of time both trench and name disappeared.) [4] In this camp Cluilius the Alban king died, and the Albans chose as dictator Mettius Fufetius. Meantime Tullus, emboldened principally by the death of the king, and asserting that Heaven's great powers would take vengeance upon all of the Alban name, beginning with their king himself, for their unscrupulous war, made a night march past the enemy's camp and led his army into the country of the Albans. This move drew Mettius out from his fortifications. [5] Leading his troops the shortest way towards the enemy, he sent an envoy on ahead to say to Tullus that before they fought it was well that they should confer together; if Tullus would meet him he was confident he had that to say which would be of no less moment to the Roman state than to the Alban. Without rejecting this suggestion, Tullus nevertheless drew up his men in line of battle, in case the proposals should prove impracticable. [6] On the other side the Albans also formed up. When both armies had been marshalled, the leaders, attended by a few of their nobles, advanced to the middle of the field. [7] Then the Alban began as follows:

“Pillage and failure to make the amends demanded in accordance with our treaty I think I have myself heard named by our king, Cluilius, as the occasion of this war, and I doubt not, Tullus, but you make the same contention. But if truth is to be spoken, rather than sophistries, it is greed for dominion that is goading two kindred and neighbouring peoples into war. [8] Whether rightly or wrongly I do not attempt to determine; that is a question that may well have been considered by him who undertook the war; I am only the general appointed by the Albans to prosecute that war. But this is the point,

Tullus, which I wish to suggest to you: Of the magnitude of the Etruscan power which encompasses us, and you especially, you are better aware than we, in proportion as you are nearer to that people. Great is their strength on land, exceedingly great on the sea. [9] You must consider that the instant you give the signal for battle, the Tuscans will be watching our two armies, so that, when we have become tired and exhausted, they may attack at once the victor and the vanquished. In Heaven's name, therefore, since we are not content with unquestioned liberty, but are proceeding to the doubtful hazard of dominion or enslavement, let us adopt some plan by which we may decide the question which nation shall rule the other, without a great disaster and much carnage on both sides."

[10] Tullus made no objection, though inclined to war by nature no less than by his anticipation of victory. While both parties were considering what to do, a plan was hit upon for the execution of which Fortune herself supplied the means.

24. It chanced that there were in each of these armies triplet brothers, not ill-matched either in age or in physical prowess. That they were Horatii and Curiatii is generally allowed, and scarcely any other ancient tradition is better known; yet, in spite of the celebrity of the affair, an uncertainty persists in regard to the names — to which people, that is, the Horatii belonged, and to which the Curiatii. The writers of history are divided. Still, the majority, I find, call the Roman brothers Horatii, and theirs is the opinion I incline to adopt. [2] To these young men the kings proposed a combat in which each should fight for his own city, the dominion to belong with that side where the victory should rest. [3] No objection was raised, and time and place were agreed on. Before proceeding with the battle, a treaty was made between the Romans and the Albans, providing that the nation whose citizens should triumph in this contest should hold undisputed sway over the other nation. One treaty differs from another in its terms, but the same procedure is always employed. [4] On the present occasion we are told that they did as follows, nor has tradition preserved the memory of any more ancient compact. The fetial asked King Tullus, "Dost thou command me, King, to make a treaty with the *pater patratus* of the Alban People?" Being so commanded by the king, he said, "I demand of thee, King, the sacred

herb.” [5] The king replied, “Thou shalt take it untainted.” The fetial brought from the citadel an untainted plant. After this he asked the king, “Dost thou grant me, King, with my emblems and my companions, the royal sanction, to speak for the Roman People of the Quirites?” [6] The king made answer, “So far as may be without prejudice to myself and the Roman People of the Quirites, I grant it.” The fetial was Marcus Valerius; he made Spurius Fusius *pater patratus*, touching his head and hair with the sacred sprig. The *pater patratus* is appointed to pronounce the oath, that is, to solemnize the pact; and this he accomplishes with many words, expressed in a long metrical formula which it is not worth while to quote. [7] The conditions being then recited, he cries, “Hear, Jupiter; hear, *pater patratus* of the Alban People: hear ye, People of Alba: From these terms, as they have been publicly rehearsed from beginning to end, without fraud, from these tablets, or this wax, and as they have been this day clearly understood, the Roman People will not be the first to depart. [8] If it shall first depart from them, by general consent, with malice aforethought, then on that day do thou, great Diespiter, so smite the Roman People as I shall here to-day smite this pig: and so much the harder smite them as thy power and thy strength are greater.” [9] When Spurius had said these words, he struck the pig with a flint. In like manner the Albans pronounced their own forms and their own oath, by the mouth of their own dictator and priests.

25. When the treaty had been established, the brothers armed themselves, in accordance with the agreement. On either side the soldiers urged on their champions. They reminded them that their fathers’ gods, their native land, their parents, and all their countrymen, whether at home or with the army, had their eye only on their swords and their right hands. [2] Eager for the combat, as well owing to their native spirit as to the shouts of encouragement which filled their ears, the brothers advanced into the space between the two lines of battle. The two armies were drawn up, each in front of its own camp, no longer in any immediate danger, but their concern as great as ever; and no wonder, since empire was staked on those few men’s valour and good fortune! [3] Alert, therefore, and in suspense, they concentrated their attention upon this unpleasing spectacle. The signal was given, and with drawn steel, like advancing battle-lines,

the six young men rushed to the charge, breathing the courage of great armies. Neither side thought of its own danger, but of the nation's sovereignty or servitude, and how from that day forward their country must experience the fortune they should themselves create. [4] The instant they encountered, there was a clash of shields and a flash of glittering blades, while a deep shudder ran through the onlookers, who, as long as neither side had the advantage, remained powerless to speak or breathe. [5] Then, in the hand-to-hand fight which followed, wherein were soon exhibited to men's eyes not only struggling bodies and the play of the sword and shield, but also bloody wounds, two of the Romans fell, fatally wounded, one upon the other, while all three of the Albans were wounded. [6] At the fall of the Romans a shout of joy burst from the Alban army, while the Roman levies now bade farewell to all their hopes; but not to their anxiety, for they were horror-stricken at the plight of the single warrior whom the three Curiatii had surrounded. [7] He happened to have got no hurt, and though no match for his enemies together, was ready to fight them one at a time. So, to divide their attack, he fled, thinking that each of them would pursue him with what speed his wounds permitted. [8] He had already run some little distance from the spot where they had fought, when, looking back, he saw that they were following at wide intervals and that one of them had nearly overtaken him. [9] Facing about, he ran swiftly up to his man, and while the Alban host were calling out to the Curiatii to help their brother, Horatius had already slain him, and was hastening, flushed with victory, to meet his second antagonist. Then with a cheer, such as is often drawn from partisans by a sudden turn in a contest, the Romans encouraged their champion, and he pressed on to end the battle. [10] And so, before the third Curiatius could come up — and he was not far off — Horatius dispatched the second. [11] They were now on even terms, one soldier surviving on each side, but in hope and vigour they were far from equal. The one, unscathed and elated by his double victory, was eager for a third encounter. The other dragged himself along, faint from his wound and exhausted with running; he thought how his brothers had been slaughtered before him, and was a beaten man when he faced his triumphant foe. What followed was no combat. [12] The Roman cried exultantly, "Two

victims I have given to the shades of my brothers: the third I will offer up to the cause of this war, that Roman may rule Alban.” His adversary could barely hold up his shield. [13] With a downward thrust Horatius buried his sword in the Alban’s throat, and despoiled him where he lay. The Romans welcomed their hero with jubilations and thanksgivings, and their joy was all the greater that they had come near despairing. The burial of their dead then claimed the attention of the two armies, — with widely different feelings, since one nation was exalted with imperial power, the other made subject to a foreign sway. [14] The graves may still be seen where each soldier fell: two Roman graves in one spot, nearer Alba; those of the three Albans towards Rome, but separated, just as they had fought.

26. Before they left the field Mettius asked, in pursuance of the compact, what Tullus commanded him to do, and the Roman ordered him to hold his young men under arms, saying that he should employ their services, if war broke out with the Veientes. [2] The armies then marched home. In the van of the Romans came Horatius, displaying his triple spoils. As he drew near the Porta Capena he was met by his unwedded sister, who had been promised in marriage to one of the Curiatii. When she recognized on her brother’s shoulders the military cloak of her betrothed, which she herself had woven, she loosed her hair and, weeping, called on her dead lover’s name. [3] It enraged the fiery youth to hear his sister’s lamentations in the hour of his own victory and the nation’s great rejoicing. And so, drawing his sword and at the same time angrily upbraiding her, he ran her through the body. [4] “Begone” he cried, “to your betrothed, with your ill-timed love, since you have forgot your brothers, both the dead and the living, and forgot your country! [5] So perish every Roman woman who mourns a foe!”

Horrid as this deed seemed to the Fathers and the people, his recent service was an off-set to it; nevertheless he was seized and brought before the king for trial. The king, that he might not take upon himself the responsibility for so stern and unpopular a judgement, and for the punishment which must follow sentence, called together the council of the people and said: “In accordance with the law I appoint duumvirs to pass judgement upon Horatius for treason.” [6] The dread formula of the law ran thus: “Let the duumvirs

pronounce him guilty of treason; if he shall appeal from the duumvirs, let the appeal be tried; if the duumvirs win, let the lictor veil his head; let him bind him with a rope to a barren tree; let him scourge him either within or without the pomerium.” [7] By the terms of this law duumvirs were appointed. They considered that they might not acquit, under that act, even one who was innocent, and having given a verdict of guilty, one of them pronounced the words, “Publius Horatius, I adjudge you a traitor; go, lictor, bind his hands.”

[8] The lictor had approached and was about to fit the noose. Then Horatius, at the prompting of Tullus, who put a merciful construction upon the law, cried, “I appeal!” [9] And so the appeal was tried before the people. What influenced men most of all in that trial was the assertion of Publius Horatius, the father, that his daughter had been justly slain; otherwise he should have used a father’s authority and have punished his son, himself. He then implored them not to make him childless whom they had beheld a little while before surrounded by a goodly offspring. [10] So saying, the old man embraced the youth, and pointing to the spoils of the Curiatii set up in the place which is now called “the Horatian Spears,” he exclaimed, “This man you saw but lately advancing decked with spoils and triumphing in his victory; can you bear, Quirites, to see him bound beneath a fork and scourged and tortured? Hardly could Alban eyes endure so hideous a sight. [11] Go, lictor, bind the hands which but now, with sword and shield, brought imperial power to the Roman People! Go, veil the head of the liberator of this city! Bind him to a barren tree! Scourge him within the pomerium, if you will — so it be amidst yonder spears and trophies of our enemies — or outside the pomerium — so it be amongst the graves of the Curiatii! For whither can you lead this youth where his own honours will not vindicate him from so foul a punishment?” [12] The people could not withstand the father’s tears, or the courage of Horatius himself, steadfast in every peril; and they acquitted him, more in admiration of his valour than from the justice of his cause. And so, that the flagrant murder might yet be cleansed away, by some kind of expiatory rite, the father was commanded to make atonement for his son at the public cost. [13] He therefore offered certain piacular sacrifices, which were thenceforward handed down in the Horatian family, and, erecting a

beam across the street, to typify a yoke, he made his son pass under it, with covered head. It remains to this day, being restored from time to time at the state's expense, and is known as "the Sister's Beam." [14] Horatia's tomb, of hewn stone, was built on the place where she had been struck down.

27. But the peace with Alba did not last long. The discontent of the people, who criticized the dictator for having confided the nation's welfare to three soldiers, broke down his weak character, and since honest measures had proved unsuccessful, he resorted to evil ones to regain the favour of his countrymen. [2] Accordingly, just as in war he had sought peace, so now in time of peace he desired war. But seeing that his own state was richer in courage than in strength, he stirred up other tribes to make war openly after due declaration; while for his own people he reserved the part of the traitor under the disguise of friendship. [3] The men of Fidenae, a Roman colony, and the Veientes, whom they admitted to a share in their designs, were induced to commence hostilities by a promise that the Albans would go over to their side. [4] Fidenae having openly revolted, Tullus summoned Mettius and his army from Alba, and led his forces against the enemy. Crossing the Anio, he pitched his camp at the confluence of the rivers. The Veientine army had crossed the Tiber between that place and Fidenae. [5] These troops, drawn up next the river, formed the right wing; on the left the Fidenates were posted, nearer the mountains. Tullus marshalled his own men against the Veientine enemy; the Albans he posted opposite the army of Fidenae. The Alban commander was as wanting in courage as in loyalty. Not daring, therefore, either to hold his ground or openly to desert, he drew off by imperceptible degrees in the direction of the mountains. [6] Then, when he thought he had got near enough to them, he brought up his whole battle-line to an elevated position, and still irresolute, deployed his ranks with the object of consuming time. His purpose was to swing his forces to the side which fortune favoured. [7] At first the Romans posted next to the Albans were amazed when they perceived that their flank was being uncovered by the withdrawal of their allies; then a horseman galloped up to the king, and told him that the Albans were marching off. In this crisis Tullus vowed to establish twelve Salian priests, and to build shrines

to Pallor and Panic. [8] The horseman he reprimanded in a loud voice, that the enemy might overhear him, and ordered him to go back and fight; there was no occasion for alarm; it was by his own command that the Alban army was marching round, that they might attack the unprotected rear of the Fidenates. [9] He also ordered the cavalry to raise their spears. This manœuvre hid the retreat of the Alban army from a large part of the Roman foot-soldiers; those who had seen it, believing what the king had been heard to say, fought all the more impetuously. The enemy in their turn now became alarmed; they had heard Tullus's loud assertion, and many of the Fidenates, having had Romans among them as colonists, knew Latin. [10] And so, lest the Albans should suddenly charge down from the hills and cut them off from their town, they beat a retreat. Tullus pressed them hard, and having routed the wing composed of the Fidenates, returned, bolder than ever, to the Veientes, who were demoralized by the panic of their neighbours. [11] They, too, failed to withstand his attack, but their rout was stopped by the river in their rear. When they had fled thus far, some basely threw away their arms and rushed blindly into the water, others hesitated on the bank and were overtaken before they had made up their minds whether to flee or resist. Never before had the Romans fought a bloodier battle.

28. Then the Alban army, which had been a spectator of the battle, was led down into the plain. Mettius congratulated Tullus on the conquest of his enemies; Tullus replied kindly to Mettius, and commanded the Albans in a good hour to join their camp to that of the Romans. [2] He then made preparations to perform, on the morrow, a sacrifice of purification. At dawn, when all things were in readiness, he issued to both armies the customary order, convoking them to an assembly. [3] The heralds, beginning at the outskirts of the camp, called out the Albans first, who being moved by the very novelty of the occasion, took their stand close to the Roman king, that they might hear him harangue his army. [4] The Roman troops, by previous arrangement, were armed and disposed around them, and the centurions were bidden to execute orders promptly. Then Tullus began as follows:

“Romans, if ever anywhere in any war you have had reason to give thanks, first to the immortal gods and then to your own valour, it

was in the battle of yesterday. For you fought not only against your enemies, but a harder and more dangerous fight — against the treachery and the perfidy of your allies. [5] For, to undeceive you, I gave no orders that the Albans should draw off towards the mountains. What you heard was not my command, but a trick and a pretended command, devised in order that you might not know you were being deserted, and so be distracted from the fight; and that the enemy, thinking that they were being hemmed in on the rear, might be panic-stricken and flee. [6] And yet this guilt which I am charging does not attach to all the Albans; they but followed their general, as you, too, would have done, had I desired to lead you off anywhere. It is Mettius yonder who led this march; Mettius, too, who contrived this war; Mettius who broke the treaty between Roman and Alban. [7] Let another dare such a deed hereafter if I do not speedily visit such a punishment on him as shall be a conspicuous warning to all mankind.”

Thereupon the centurions, sword in hand, surrounded Mettius, while the king proceeded: “May prosperity, favour, and fortune be with the Roman people and myself, and with you, men of Alba! I purpose to bring all the Alban people over to Rome, to grant citizenship to their commons, to enroll the nobles in the senate, to make one city and one state. As formerly from one people the Alban nation was divided into two, so now let it be reunited into one.” [8] Hearing these words the Alban soldiers, themselves unarmed and fenced in by armed men, were constrained, however their wishes might differ, by a common fear, and held their peace. [9] Then Tullus said: “Mettius Fufetius, if you were capable of learning, yourself, to keep faith and abide by treaties, you should have lived that I might teach you this; as it is, since your disposition is incurable, you shall yet by your punishment teach the human race to hold sacred the obligations you have violated. [10] Accordingly, just as a little while ago your heart was divided between the states of Fidenae and Rome, so now you shall give up your body to be torn two ways,” He then brought up two four-horse chariots, and caused Mettius to be stretched out and made fast to them, after which the horses were whipped up in opposite directions, and bore off in each of the cars fragments of the mangled body, where the limbs held to their

fastenings. [11] All eyes were turned away from so dreadful a sight. Such was the first and last punishment among the Romans of a kind that disregards the laws of humanity. In other cases we may boast that with no nation have milder punishments found favour.

29. While this was going on, horsemen had already been sent on to Alba to fetch the inhabitants to Rome, and afterwards the legions were marched over to demolish the city. [2] When they entered the gates there was not, indeed, the tumult and panic which usually follow the capture of a city, when its gates have been forced or its walls breached with a ram or its stronghold stormed, when the shouts of the enemy and the rush of armed men through the streets throw the whole town into a wild confusion of blood and fire. [3] But at Alba oppressive silence and grief that found no words quite overwhelmed the spirits of all the people; too dismayed to think what they should take with them and what leave behind, they would ask each other's advice again and again, now standing on their thresholds, and now roaming aimlessly through the houses they were to look upon for that last time. [4] But when at length the horsemen began to be urgent, and clamorously commanded them to come out; when they could now hear the crash of the buildings which were being pulled down in the outskirts of the city; when the dust rising in different quarters had overcast the sky like a gathering cloud; then everybody made haste to carry out what he could, and forth they went, abandoning their lares and penates, and the houses where they had been born and brought up. [5] And now the streets were filled with an unbroken procession of emigrants, whose mutual pity, as they gazed at one another, caused their tears to start afresh; plaintive cries too began to be heard, proceeding chiefly from the women, when they passed the venerable temples beset by armed men, and left in captivity, as it seemed to them, their gods. [6] When the Albans had quitted the city, the Romans everywhere levelled with the ground all buildings, both public and private, and a single hour gave over to destruction and desolation the work of the four hundred years during which Alba had stood. But the temples of the gods were spared, for so the king had decreed.

30. Rome, meanwhile, was increased by Alba's downfall. The number of citizens was doubled, the Caelian Hill was added to the

City, and, that it might be more thickly settled, Tullus chose it for the site of the king's house and from that time onwards resided there. [2] The chief men of the Albans he made senators, that this branch of the nation might grow too. Such were the Julii, the Servilii, the Quinctii, the Geganii, the Curiatii, and the Cloelii. He also built, as a consecrated place for the order he had enlarged, a senate-house, which continued to be called the Curia Hostilia as late as the time of our own fathers. [3] And that all the orders might gain some strength from the new people, he enrolled ten squadrons of knights from among the Albans, and from the same source filled up the old legions and enlisted new ones.

[4] Confiding in these forces, Tullus declared war on the Sabines, a nation second only at that time to the Etruscans in its wealth of men and arms. On either side there had been aggressions and refusals to grant satisfaction. [5] Tullus complained that at the shrine of Feronia, in a crowded fair, Roman traders had been seized; the Sabines alleged that, before this, refugees from their country had fled to the grove of sanctuary, and had been detained in Rome. [6] These were put forward as the causes of war. The Sabines, not forgetting that a portion of their own forces had been settled in Rome by Tatius and that the Roman state had recently been further strengthened by the addition of the Alban people, began themselves to look about for outside help. [7] Etruria was close by, and the nearest of the Etruscans were the Veientes. There the resentment left over from the wars was the strongest incentive to revolt, and procured them some volunteers; while with certain vagrant and poverty-stricken plebeians even the prospect of pay was effectual. Official aid there was none, and the Veientes (for there is less to surprise us in the others) held firmly to the truce they had agreed upon with Romulus. [8] While preparations for war were making on both sides with the greatest energy, and success appeared to hinge upon which should first take the field, Tullus anticipated his enemies and invaded the Sabine country. [9] A desperate battle was fought near the Silva Malitiosa, where, owing partly, it is true, to the strength of their infantry, but most of all to their newly augmented cavalry, the Roman army gained the mastery. [10] The cavalry made a sudden charge; the ranks of the Sabines were thrown into disorder, and from that moment were unable, without

heavy loss, either to hold their own in the fight or to extricate themselves by a retreat.

31. After the defeat of the Sabines, when King Tullus and the entire Roman state were at a high pitch of glory and prosperity, it was reported to the king and senators that there had been a rain of stones on the Alban Mount. [2] As this could scarce be credited, envoys were dispatched to examine the prodigy, and in their sight there fell from the sky, like hail-stones which the wind piles in drifts upon the ground, a shower of pebbles. [3] They thought too that they heard a mighty voice issuing from the grove on the mountain-top, which commanded the Albans to celebrate, according to the fashion of their fathers, the sacrifices, which as though they had forsaken their gods along with their city, they had given over to oblivion, either adopting Roman rites, or in anger at their fortune, such as men sometimes feel, abandoning the worship of the gods. [4] The Romans also, in consequence of the same portent, undertook an official nine days' celebration, whether so commanded by the divine utterance from the Alban Mount — for this too is handed down — or on the advice of soothsayers. [5] At all events it remained a regular custom that whenever the same prodigy was reported there should be a nine days' observance.

Not very long after this Rome was afflicted with a pestilence. This caused a reluctance to bear arms, yet no respite from service was allowed by the warlike king (who believed, besides, that the young men were healthier in the field than at home) until he himself contracted a lingering illness. [6] Then that haughty spirit was so broken, with the breaking of his health, that he who had hitherto thought nothing less worthy of a king than to devote his mind to sacred rites, suddenly became a prey to all sorts of superstitions great and small, and filled even the minds of the people with religious scruples. [7] Men were now agreed in wishing to recall the conditions which had obtained under King Numa, believing that the only remedy left for their ailing bodies was to procure peace and forgiveness from the gods. [8] The king himself, so tradition tells, in turning over the commentaries of Numa discovered there certain occult sacrifices performed in honour of Jupiter Elicius, and devoted himself in secret to those rites; but the ceremony was improperly

undertaken or performed, and not only was no divine manifestation vouchsafed him, but in consequence of the wrath of Jupiter, who was provoked by his faulty observance, he was struck by a thunderbolt and consumed in the flames of his house. Tullus was greatly renowned in war and reigned thirty-two years.

32. On the death of Tullus, the government reverted, in accordance with the custom established in the beginning, to the senators, who named an interrex. This official called together the comitia, and the people elected Ancus Marcius king, a choice which the Fathers ratified. Ancus Marcius was a grandson, on the mother's side, of King Numa Pompilius. [2] When he began to rule he was mindful of his grandfather's glory, and considered that the last reign, excellent in all else, had failed to prosper in one respect, owing to neglect or misconduct of religious observances. Deeming it therefore a matter of the utmost consequence to perform the state sacrifices as Numa had established them, he bade the pontifex copy out all these from the commentaries of the king and display them in public on a whitened table. This act led the citizens, who were eager for peace, and also the neighbouring nations, to hope that he would adopt the character and institutions of his grandfather. [3] Hence the Latins, with whom a treaty had been made in the time of Tullus, plucked up courage, and raided Roman territory, and when called on by the Romans to make restitution, returned an arrogant answer, persuaded that the Roman king would spend his reign in inactivity amid shrines and altars. But the character of Ancus was well balanced, and he honoured the memory of Romulus, as well as Numa. [4] And besides having a conviction that peace had been more necessary to his grandfather's reign, when the nation had been both young and mettlesome, he also believed that the tranquillity, so free of attack, which had fallen to the lot of Numa would be no easy thing for himself to compass; his patience was being tried, and when proved would be regarded with contempt, and in short the times were better suited to the rule of a Tullus than a Numa. [5] In order however that, as Numa had instituted religious practices in time of peace, he might himself give out a ceremonial of war, and that wars might not only be waged but also declared with some sort of formality, he copied from the ancient tribe of the Aequicoli the law, which the fetials now

have, by which redress is demanded.

[6] When the envoy has arrived at the frontiers of the people from whom satisfaction is sought, he covers his head with a bonnet — the covering is of wool — and says: “Hear, Jupiter; hear, ye boundaries of” — naming whatever nation they belong to;— “let righteousness hear! [7] I am the public herald of the Roman People; I come duly and religiously commissioned; let my words be credited,” Then he recites his demands, after which he takes Jupiter to witness: “If I demand unduly and against religion that these men and these things be surrendered to me, then let me never enjoy my native land.” [8] These words he rehearses when he crosses the boundary line, the same to what man soever first meets him, the same when he enters the city gates, the same when he has come into the market-place, with only a few changes in the form and wording of the oath. [9] If those whom he demands are not surrendered, at the end of three and thirty days — for such is the conventional number — he declares war thus: “Hear, Jupiter, and thou, Janus Quirinus, and hear all heavenly gods, and ye, gods of earth, and ye of the lower world; I call you to witness that this people” — naming whatever people it is— “is unjust, and does not make just reparation. [10] But of these matters we will take counsel of the elders in our country, how we may obtain our right.” Then the messenger returns to Rome for the consultation. [11] Immediately the king would consult the Fathers, in some such words as these: “Touching the things, the suits, the causes, concerning which the *pater patratus* of the Roman People of the Quirites has made demands on the *pater patratus* of the Ancient Latins, and upon the men of the Ancient Latins, which things they have not delivered, nor fulfilled, nor satisfied, being things which ought to have been delivered, fulfilled, and satisfied, speak,” — turning to the man whose opinion he was wont to ask first,— “what think you?” Then the other would reply: “I hold that those things ought to be sought in warfare just and righteous; and so I consent and vote.” [12] The others were then asked the question, in their order, and when the majority of those present went over to the same opinion, war had been agreed upon. [13] It was customary for the fetial to carry to the bounds of the other nation a cornet-wood spear, iron-pointed or hardened in the fire, and in the presence of not less than three grown men to say:

“Whereas the tribes of the Ancient Latins and men of the Ancient Latins have been guilty of acts and offences against the Roman People of the Quirites; and whereas the Roman People of the Quirites has commanded that war be made on the Ancient Latins, and the Senate of the Roman People has approved, agreed, and voted a war with the Ancient Latins; I therefore and the Roman People declare and make war on the tribes of the Ancient Latins and the men of the Ancient Latins.” [14] Having said this, he would hurl his spear into their territory. This is the manner in which at that time redress was sought from the Latins and war was declared, and the custom has been received by later generations.

33. Ancus delegated the care of the sacrifices to the flamens and other priests, and having enlisted a new army proceeded to Politorium, one of the Latin cities. He took this place by storm, and adopting the plan of former kings, who had enlarged the state by making her enemies citizens, transferred the whole population to Rome. [2] The Palatine was the quarter of the original Romans; on the one hand were the Sabines, who had the Capitol and the Citadel; on the other lay the Caelian, occupied by the Albans. The Aventine was therefore assigned to the newcomers, and thither too were sent shortly afterwards the citizens recruited from the captured towns of Tellenae and Ficana. [3] Politorium was then attacked a second time, for having been left empty it had been seized by the Ancient Latins, and this gave the Romans an excuse for razing the town, lest it should serve continually as a refuge for their enemies. [4] In the end the Latin levies were all forced back upon Medullia, where for some time the fighting was indecisive and victory shifted from one side to the other; for the city was protected by fortifications and was defended by a strong garrison, and from their camp in the open plain the Latin army several times came to close quarters with the Romans. [5] At last, throwing all his troops into the struggle, Ancus succeeded first in defeating the enemy’s army, and then in capturing the town, whence he returned to Rome enriched with immense spoils. On this occasion also many thousands of Latins were granted citizenship. These people, in order that the Aventine might be connected with the Palatine, were made to settle in the region of the Altar of Murcia. [6] Janiculum was also annexed to the city, not from any lack of room,

but lest it might some day become a stronghold of Rome's enemies. It was decided not only to fortify it, but also to connect it with the City, for greater ease in passing to and fro, by a bridge of piles, the first bridge ever built over the Tiber. [7] The Quirites' Ditch also, no small protection on the more level and accessible side of town, was the work of King Ancus.

[8] When these enormous additions to the community had been effected, it was found that in so great a multitude the distinction between right and wrong had become obscured, and crimes were being secretly committed. Accordingly, to overawe men's growing lawlessness, a prison was built in the midst of the city, above the Forum. [9] And this reign was a period of growth, not only for the City, but also for her lands and boundaries. The Maesian Forest was taken from the Veientes, extending Rome's dominion clear to the sea; at the Tiber's mouth the city of Ostia was founded, and salt-works were established near-by; while in recognition of signal success in war the temple of Jupiter Feretrius was enlarged.

34. In the reign of Ancus one Lucumo, a man of energy and wealth, took up his residence in Rome, chiefly from ambition and the hope that he might there achieve a station such as he had found no opportunity of attaining in Tarquinii; for though he had been born there himself, his race was alien to that place also. [2] He was the son of Demaratus of Corinth, who had been driven from home by a political upheaval. Happening to settle in Tarquinii, he had married there and had two sons, named Lucumo and Arruns. Lucumo survived his father and inherited all his property; Arruns died before his father, leaving his wife with child. [3] Demaratus did not long survive Arruns, and, unaware that his son's wife was to become a mother, he died without making provision for his grandson in his will. When the babe was born his grandfather was dead, and having no share in the inheritance, he was given the name of Egerius, in consequence of his penniless condition. [4] Lucumo, on the other hand, was heir to the whole estate. The self-confidence implanted in his bosom by his wealth was heightened by his marriage with Tanaquil, who was a woman of the most exalted birth, and not of a character lightly to endure a humbler rank in her new environment than she had enjoyed in the condition to which she had been born. [5]

The Etruscans looked with disdain on Lucumo, the son of a banished man and a stranger. She could not endure this indignity, and forgetting the love she owed her native land, if she could only see her husband honoured, she formed the project of emigrating from Tarquinii. [6] Rome appeared to be the most suitable place for her purpose; amongst a new people, where all rank was of sudden growth and founded on worth, there would be room for a brave and strenuous man; the City had been ruled by Tattius the Sabine, it had summoned Numa to the sovereignty from Cures, even Ancus was the son of a Sabine mother, and could point to no noble ancestor but Numa. [7] She had no trouble in persuading a man who was eager for distinction, to whom Tarquinii was only his mother's birthplace. [8] They therefore gathered their possessions together and removed to Rome. They had come, as it happened, as far as Janiculum, when, as they were sitting in their covered waggon, an eagle poised on its wings gently descended upon them and plucked off Lucumo's cap, after which, rising noisily above the car and again stooping, as if sent from heaven for that service, it deftly replaced the cap upon his head, and departed on high. [9] This augury was joyfully accepted, it is said, by Tanaquil, who was a woman skilled in celestial prodigies, as was the case with most Etruscans. Embracing her husband, she bade him expect transcendent greatness: such was the meaning of that bird, appearing from that quarter of the sky, and bringing tidings from that god; the highest part of the man had been concerned in the omen; the eagle had removed the adornment placed upon a mortal's head that it might restore it with the divine approbation. [10] Such were their hopes and their reflections as they entered the City. Having obtained a house, they gave out the name of Lucius Tarquinius Priscus. [11] The Romans regarded him with special interest, as a stranger and a man of wealth, and he steadily pushed his fortune by his own exertions, making friends wherever possible, by kind words, courteous hospitality, and benefactions, until his reputation extended even to the palace. [12] He had not long been known in this way to the king before the liberality and adroitness of his services procured him the footing of an intimate friend. He was now consulted in matters both of public and private importance, in time of war and in time of peace, and having been tested in every way was eventually even

named in the king's will as guardian of his children.

35. Ancus reigned four and twenty years, a king inferior to none of his predecessors in the arts of peace and war and in the reputation they conferred. By this time his sons were nearly grown. Tarquinius was therefore all the more insistent in urging that the comitia should be held without delay to choose a king. [2] When the meeting had been proclaimed, and the day drew near, he sent the boys away on a hunting expedition. Tarquinius was the first, they say, to canvass votes for the kingship and to deliver a speech designed to win the favour of the commons. [3] He pointed out that it; was no new thing he sought; he was not the first outsider to aim at the sovereignty in Rome — a thing which might have occasioned indignation and astonishment, — but the third. Tatius indeed, had been not merely an alien but an enemy when he was made king; while Numa was a stranger to the City, and, far from seeking the kingship, had actually been invited to come and take it. [4] As for himself, he had no sooner become his own master than he had removed to Rome with his wife and all his property. For the greater part of that period of life during which men serve the state he had lived in Rome, and not in the city of his birth. [5] Both in civil life and in war he had had no mean instructor — King Ancus himself had taught him Roman laws and Roman rites. In subordination and deference to the king he had vied, he said, with all his hearers; in generosity to his fellow-subjects he had emulated the king himself. [6] Hearing him advance these not unwarranted claims, the people, with striking unanimity, named him king. The result was that the man, so admirable in all other respects, continued even after he had obtained the sovereignty to manifest the same spirit of intrigue which had governed him in seeking it; and being no less concerned to strengthen his own power than to enlarge the state, he added a hundred members to the senate, who were known thenceforward as Fathers of the “lesser families,” and formed a party of unwavering loyalty to the king, to whom they owed their admission to the Curia.

[7] His first war was with the Latins, whose town of Apiolae he took by storm. Returning thence with more booty than the rumours about the war had led people to expect, he exhibited games on a more splendid and elaborate scale than former kings had done. [8] It

was then that the ground was first marked out for the circus now called Maximus. Places were divided amongst the Fathers and the knights where they might each make seats for themselves; these were called 'rows.' [9] They got their view from seats raised on props to a height of twelve feet from the ground. The entertainment was furnished by horses and boxers, imported for the most part from Etruria. From that time the Games continued to be a regular annual show, and were called indifferently the Roman and the Great Games. [10] It was the same king, too, who apportioned building sites about the Forum among private citizens, and erected covered walks and booths.

36. He was also preparing to build a stone wall around the City, when a Sabine war interrupted his plans. And so sudden was the invasion, that they had crossed the Anio before the Roman army was able to march out and stop them, so that the City was thrown into a panic. [2] The first battle was indecisive, with heavy losses on both sides. The enemy then withdrew into their camp, affording the Romans an opportunity to renew their preparations for the war. Tarquinius believed that cavalry was what he chiefly lacked. To the Ramnes, Titienses, and Luceres, the centuries which Romulus had enrolled, he therefore determined to add others, and to give them his own name as a permanent distinction. [3] But since this was a matter in which Romulus had obtained the sanction of augury before acting, it was asserted by Attus Navius, a famous augur of those days, that no change or innovation could be introduced unless the birds had signified their approval. [4] The king's ire was aroused by this, and he is reported to have said, in derision of the science, "Come now, divine seer! Inquire of your augury if that of which I am now thinking can come to pass." When Attus, having taken the auspices, replied that it would surely come to pass, the king said, "Nay, but this is what I was thinking of, that you should cleave a whetstone with a razor. Take them, and accomplish what your birds declare is possible!" Whereupon, they say, the augur, without a sign of hesitation, cut the whetstone in two. [5] There was a statue of Attus standing, with his head covered, on the spot where the thing was done, in the comitium, even at the steps on the left of the senate-house; tradition adds that the whetstone also was deposited in the

same place, to be a memorial of that miracle to posterity. [6] However this may be, auguries and the augural priesthood so increased in honour that nothing was afterwards done, in the field or at home, unless the auspices had first been taken: popular assemblies, musterings of the army, acts of supreme importance — all were put off when the birds refused their consent. [7] Neither did Tarquinius at that time make any change in the organization of the centuries of knights. Their numerical strength he doubled, so that there were now eighteen hundred knights, in three centuries. [8] But though enrolled under the old names, the new men were called the “secondary knights,” and the centuries are now, because doubled, known as the “six centuries.”

37. When this arm of the service had been enlarged, a second battle was fought with the Sabines. And in this, besides being increased in strength, the Roman army was further helped by a stratagem, for men were secretly dispatched to light a great quantity of firewood lying on the bank of the Anio, and throw it into the river. A favouring wind set the wood in a blaze, and the greater part of it lodged against the boats and piles, where it stuck fast and set the bridge on fire. [2] This was another source of alarm to the Sabines during the battle, and upon their being routed the same thing hindered their flight, so that many of them escaped the Romans only to perish in the stream; while their shields floated down the Tiber toward the City, and, being recognized, gave assurance that a victory had been won almost sooner than the news of it could be brought. [3] In this battle the cavalry particularly distinguished themselves. They were posted on either flank of the Romans, and when the centre, composed of infantry, was already in retreat, they are said to have charged from both sides, with such effect that they not only checked the Sabine forces, which were pressing hotly forward as their enemy gave way, but suddenly put them to flight. [4] The Sabines made for the mountains in a scattered rout, and indeed a few gained that refuge. Most of them, as has been said before, were driven by the cavalry into the river. [5] Tarquinius thought it proper to follow up his victory while the other side was panic-stricken; he therefore sent the booty and the prisoners to Rome, and after making a huge pile of the captured arms and setting fire to it, in fulfilment of a vow to Vulcan,

pushed forward at the head of his army into the enemy's country. [6] Although defeat had been the portion of the Sabines, and another battle could not be expected to result in better success, still, as the situation allowed no room for deliberation, they took the field with what soldiers they could hastily muster, and being then routed a second time and fairly reduced to extremities, they sued for peace.

38. Collatia, and what land the Sabines had on the hither side of Collatia, was taken from them, and Egerius, the son of the king's brother, was left in the town with a garrison. [2] The surrender of the Collatini took place, I understand, in accordance with this formula: the king asked, "Are you the legates and spokesmen sent by the People of Collatia to surrender yourselves and the People of Collatia?" "We are." "Is the People of Collatia its own master?" "It is." "Do you surrender yourselves and the People of Collatia, city, lands, water, boundary marks, shrines, utensils, all appurtenances, divine and human, into my power and that of the Roman People?" [3] "We do." "I receive the surrender." Upon the conclusion of the Sabine war Tarquinius returned to Rome and triumphed. [4] He then made war against the Ancient Latins. In this campaign there was no general engagement at any point, but the king led his army from one town to another until he had subdued the entire Latin race. Corniculum, Ficulea Vetus, Cameria, Crustumium, Ameriola, Medullia, and Nomentum — these were the towns which were captured from the Ancient Latins, or from those who had gone over to the Latins. [5] Peace was then made.

From that moment the king devoted himself to peaceful undertakings with an enthusiasm which was even greater than the efforts he had expended in waging war, so that there was no more rest for the people at home than there had been in the field. [6] For he set to work to encircle the hitherto unfortified parts of the City with a stone wall, a task which had been interrupted by the Sabine war; and he drained the lowest parts of the City, about the Forum, and the other valleys between the hills, which were too flat to carry off the flood-waters easily, by means of sewers so made as to slope down toward the Tiber. [7] Finally, with prophetic anticipation of the splendour which the place was one day to possess, he laid foundations for the temple of Jupiter on the Capitol, which he had

vowed in the Sabine war.

39. At this time there happened in the house of the king a portent which was remarkable alike in its manifestation and in its outcome. The story is that while a child named Servius Tullius lay sleeping, his head burst into flames in the sight of many. [2] The general outcry which so great a miracle called forth brought the king and queen to the place. One of the servants fetched water to quench the fire, but was checked by the queen, who stilled the uproar and commanded that the boy should not be disturbed until he awoke of himself. Soon afterwards sleep left him, and with it disappeared the flames. [3] Then, taking her husband aside, Tanaquil said: "Do you see this child whom we are bringing up in so humble a fashion? Be assured he will one day be a lamp to our dubious fortunes, and a protector to the royal house in the day of its distress. Let us therefore rear with all solicitude one who will lend high renown to the state and to our family." [4] It is said that from that moment the boy began to be looked upon as a son, and to be trained in the studies by which men are inspired to bear themselves greatly. It was a thing easily accomplished, being the will of Heaven. The youth turned out to be of a truly royal nature, and when Tarquinius sought a son-in-law there was no other young Roman who could be at all compared to Servius; and the king accordingly betrothed his daughter to him. [5] This great honour, for whatever cause conferred on him, forbids us to suppose that his mother was a slave and that he himself had been in a state of servitude as a child. I am rather of the opinion of those who say, that on the capture of Corniculum, when Servius Tullius, the chief man of that city, had been slain, his wife, who was great with child, had been recognized amongst the other captive women, and on the score of her unique nobility had been rescued from slavery by the Roman queen, and had brought forth her child at Rome in the house of Priscus Tarquinius; [6] in the sequel this act of generosity led to a growing intimacy between the women, and the boy, as one reared from childhood in the palace, was held in affection and esteem; it was his mother's misfortune, who by the capture of her native town came into the power of its enemies, which gave rise to the belief that Servius was born of a slave woman.

40. It was now about thirty-eight years since Tarquinius had begun

to reign, and not only the king, but the Fathers and the commons too, held Servius Tullius in the very highest honour. [2] Now the two sons of Ancus had always considered it a great outrage that they had been ousted from their father's kingship by the crime of their guardian, and that Rome should be ruled by a stranger whose descent was derived from a race not only remote but actually not even Italian. [3] But their indignation was vastly increased by the prospect that even after Tarquinius' death the sovereignty would not revert to them, but, plunging down to yet baser depths, would fall into the hands of slaves; so that where, a hundred years before, Romulus, a god's son and himself a god, had borne sway, so long as he remained on earth, in that self-same state a slave and the son of a slave woman would be king. It would be not only a general disgrace to the Roman name, but particularly to their own house, if during the lifetime of Ancus' sons it should be open not only to strangers, but even to slaves to rule over the Romans. [4] They therefore determined to repel that insult with the sword. But resentment at their wrong urged them rather against Tarquinius himself than against Servius, not only because the king, if he survived, would be more formidable to avenge the murder than a subject would be, but because if Servius should be dispatched it seemed probable that the kingdom would be inherited by whomsoever else Tarquinius might choose to be his son-in-law. For these reasons they laid their plot against the king himself. [5] Two very desperate shepherds were selected to do the deed. Armed with the rustic implements to which they were both accustomed, they feigned a brawl in the entrance-court of the palace and, making as much noise as possible, attracted the attention of all the royal attendants; then they appealed to the king, until their shouts were heard inside the palace and they were sent for and came before him. [6] At first each raised his voice and tried to shout the other down. Being repressed by the lictor and bidden to speak in turn, they finally ceased to interrupt each other, and one of them began to state his case, as they had planned beforehand. [7] While the king, intent upon the speaker, turned quite away from the other shepherd, the latter lifted his axe and brought it down upon his head. Then, leaving the weapon in the wound, they both ran out of doors.

41. The dying Tarquinius had hardly been caught up in the arms of

the bystanders when the fugitives were seized by the lictors. Then there was an uproar, as crowds hurried to the scene, asking one another in amazement what the matter was. In the midst of the tumult Tanaquil gave orders to close the palace, and ejected all witnesses. She busily got together the remedies needful for healing a wound, as if there were still hope, taking at the same time other measures to protect herself in case her hope should fail her. [2] Having hastily summoned Servius, she showed him her husband's nearly lifeless body, and grasping his right hand, besought him not to suffer the death of his father-in-law to go unpunished, nor his mother-in-law to become a jest to her enemies. [3] "To you, Servius," she cried, "if you are a man, belongs this kingdom, not to those who by the hands of others have committed a dastardly crime. Arouse yourself and follow the guidance of the gods, who once declared by the token of divine fire poured out upon this head that you should be a famous man. Now is the time for that heaven-sent flame to quicken you! Now wake in earnest! We, too, were foreigners, yet we reigned. Consider what you are, not whence you were born. If your own counsels are benumbed in this sudden crisis, at least use mine." [4] When the shouting and pushing of the crowd could hardly be withstood, Tanaquil went up into the upper storey of the house, and through a window looking out upon the Nova Via — for the king lived near the temple of Jupiter the Stayer — addressed the populace. [5] She bade them be of good cheer: the king had been stunned by a sudden blow; the steel had not sunk deep into his body; he had already recovered consciousness; the blood had been wiped away and the wound examined; all the symptoms were favourable; she trusted that they would soon see Tarquinius himself; meanwhile she commanded that the people should obey Servius Tullius, who would dispense justice and perform the other duties of the king. [6] Servius went forth in the royal robe, accompanied by lictors, and sitting in the king's seat rendered judgment in some cases, while in regard to others he gave out that he would consult the king. In this way for several days after Tarquinius had breathed his last he concealed his death, pretending that he was merely doing another's work, while he was really strengthening his own position; then at last the truth was allowed to be known, from the lamentations which arose within the palace.

Servius surrounded himself with a strong guard, and ruled at first without the authorization of the people, but with the consent of the Fathers. [7] The sons of Ancus, upon the arrest of the agents of their crime and the report that the king was alive and that Servius was so strong, had already gone into voluntary exile at Suessa Pometia.

42. Servius now took steps to assure his position by private as well as public measures. In order that the sons of Tarquinius might not show the same animosity towards himself which the sons of Ancus had felt towards Tarquinius, he married his two daughters to the young princes, Lucius and Arruns Tarquinius. [2] But he could not break the force of destiny by human wisdom; and jealousy of his power, even among the members of his household, created an atmosphere of treachery and hostility. Most opportune for the tranquil preservation of the existing state of things was a war which was undertaken against the people of Veii — for the truce had now run out — and the other Etruscans. [3] In this war the bravery and good fortune of Tullius were conspicuous; and when he had utterly defeated the vast army of his enemies, he found on returning to Rome that his title to the kingship was no longer questioned, whether he tested the feeling of the Fathers or that of the commons. [4] He then addressed himself to what is by far the most important work of peace: as Numa had established religious law, so Servius intended that posterity should celebrate himself as the originator of all distinctions among the citizens, and of the orders which clearly differentiate the various grades of rank and fortune. [5] For he instituted the census, a most useful thing for a government destined to such wide dominion, since it would enable the burdens of war and peace to be borne not indiscriminately, as heretofore, but in proportion to men's wealth. He then distributed the people into classes and centuries according to the following scale, which was based upon the census and was suitable either for peace or war: 43. Out of those who had a rating of a hundred thousand assess or more he made eighty centuries, forty each of seniors and of juniors; these were all known as the first class; the seniors were to be ready to guard the city, the juniors to wage war abroad. [2] The armour which these men were required to provide consisted of helmet, round shield, greaves, and breast-plate, all of bronze, for the protection of

their bodies; their offensive weapons were a spear and a sword. [3] There were added to this class two centuries of mechanics, who were to serve without arms; to them was entrusted the duty of fashioning siege-engines in war. [4] The second class was drawn up out of those whose rating was between a hundred thousand and seventy-five thousand; of these, seniors and juniors, twenty centuries were enrolled. The arms prescribed for them were an oblong shield in place of the round one, and everything else, save for the breast-plate, as in the class above. [5] He fixed the rating of the third class at fifty thousand; a like number of centuries was formed in this class as in the second, and with the same distinction of ages; neither was any change made in their arms, except that the greaves were omitted. [6] In the fourth class the rating was twenty-five thousand; the same number of centuries was formed, but their equipment was changed, nothing being given them but a spear and a javelin. [7] The fifth class was made larger, and thirty centuries were formed. These men carried slings, with stones for missiles. Rated with them were the horn-blowers and trumpeters, divided into two centuries. Eleven thousand was the rating of this class. [8] Those who were assessed at less than this amount, being all the rest of the population, were made into a single century, exempt from military service. When the equipment and distribution of the infantry had been thus provided for, Servius enrolled twelve centuries of knights out of the leading men of the state. [9] He likewise formed six other centuries — three had been instituted by Romulus — employing the same names which had been hallowed to their use by augury. For the purchase of horses they were allowed ten thousand asses each from the state treasury, and for the maintenance of these horses unmarried women were designated, who had to pay two thousand asses each, every year. All these burdens were shifted from the shoulders of the poor to those of the rich. [10] The latter were then granted special privileges: for manhood suffrage, implying equality of power and of rights, was no longer given promiscuously to all, as had been the practice handed down by Romulus and observed by all the other kings; but gradations were introduced, so that ostensibly no one should be excluded from the suffrage, and yet the power should rest with the leading citizens. [11] For the knights were called upon to vote first; then the eighty

centuries of the first class: if there were any disagreement there, which rarely happened, it was provided that the centuries of the second class should be called; and they almost never descended so far as to reach the lowest citizens. [12] Nor ought it to cause any surprise that the present organization, which exists since the increase of the tribes to thirty-five, and the doubling of their number in the matter of the junior and senior centuries, does not correspond with the total established by Servius Tullius. [13] For, having divided the City according to its inhabited regions and hills into four parts, he named them “tribes,” a word derived, I suppose, from “tribute”; for this likewise the same king planned to have apportioned equitably, on the basis of the census; nor had these tribes anything whatever to do with the distribution or the number of the centuries.

44. Upon the completion of the census, which had been expedited by fear of a law that threatened with death and imprisonment those who failed to register, Servius issued a proclamation calling on all Roman citizens, both horse and foot, to assemble at daybreak, each in his own century, in the Campus Martius. [2] There the whole army was drawn up, and a sacrifice of a pig, a sheep, and a bull was offered by the king for its purification. This was termed the “closing of the lustrum,” because it was the last act in the enrolment. Eighty thousand citizens are said to have been registered in that census; the most ancient of the historians, Fabius Pictor, adds that this was the number of those capable of bearing arms. [3] To meet the wants of this population it was apparent that the City must expand, and so the king added two hills, the Quirinal and the Viminal, after which he proceeded to enlarge the Esquiline, going there to live himself, that the place might obtain a good reputation. He surrounded the City with a rampart, trenches, and a wall, and so extended the “pomerium.” [4] This word is interpreted by those who look only at its etymology as meaning “the tract behind the wall,” but it signifies rather “the tract on both sides of the wall,” the space which the Etruscans used formerly to consecrate with augural ceremonies, where they proposed to erect their wall, establishing definite limits on either side of it, so that they might at the same time keep the walls free on their inward face from contact with buildings, which now, as a rule, are actually joined to them, and on the outside keep a certain

area free from human uses. [5] This space, which the gods forbade men to inhabit or to till, was called “pomerium” by the Romans, quite as much because the wall stood behind it as because it stood behind the wall; and as the city grew, these consecrated limits were always pushed out for as great a distance as the walls themselves were to be advanced.

45. When the king had promoted the grandeur of the state by enlarging the City, and had shaped all his domestic policy to suit the demands of peace as well as those of war, he was unwilling that arms should always be the means employed for strengthening Rome’s power, and sought to increase her sway by diplomacy, and at the same time to add something to the splendour of the City. [2] Even at that early date the temple of Diana at Ephesus enjoyed great renown. It was reputed to have been built through the cooperation of the cities of Asia, and this harmony and community of worship Servius praised in superlative terms to the Latin nobles, with whom, both officially and in private, he had taken pains to establish a footing of hospitality and friendship. [3] By dint of reiterating the same arguments he finally carried his point, and a shrine of Diana was built in Rome by the nations of Latium conjointly with the Roman People. This was an admission that Rome was the capital — a point which had so often been disputed with force of arms. But though it seemed that the Latins had lost all interest in this contention after the repeated failure of their appeals to war, there was one man amongst the Sabines who thought that he saw an opportunity to recover the empire by a shrewd plan of his own. [4] In the Sabine country, on the farm of a certain head of a family, there was born a heifer of extraordinary size and beauty; [5] a marvel to which the horns afterwards bore testimony, for they were fastened up for many generations in the vestibule of Diana’s temple. [6] This heifer was regarded as a prodigy, as indeed it was; soothsayers prophesied that the state whose citizens should sacrifice the animal to Diana would be the seat of empire, and this prediction had reached the ears of the priest of Diana’s shrine. On the earliest day which seemed suitable for the sacrifice, the Sabine drove the heifer to Rome, and bringing her to the shrine of Diana, led her up to the altar. There the Roman priest, moved by the great size of the victim, which had been much talked of, and recalling the

prophecy, asked the Sabine, "What is this that you are doing, stranger? Would you sacrifice, unpurified, to Diana? Not so! First bathe in a running stream; the Tiber flows by in the bottom of the valley." [7] The stranger, touched by a scruple and wishing to do everything according to ritual, that the prodigy might be answered by the event, at once descended to the Tiber. Meanwhile the Roman offered the heifer to Diana, an act which was exceedingly acceptable to the king and the citizens.

46. Servius had by this time a definite prescriptive right to the supreme power. Still, hearing that the young Tarquinius now and then threw out a hint that he was reigning without the consent of the people, he proceeded to gain the goodwill of the commons by dividing among all the citizens the land obtained by conquest from the enemy; after which he made bold to call upon the people to vote whether he should be their ruler, and was declared king with such unanimity as none of his predecessors had experienced. [2] Yet the circumstance did not lessen Tarquinius's hopes of obtaining the kingship. On the contrary, perceiving that the bestowal of land on the plebeians was in opposition to the wishes of the senate, he felt that he had got the better opportunity of vilifying Servius to the Fathers and of increasing his own influence in the senate-house. He was a hot-headed youth himself, and he had at hand, in the person of Tullia his wife, one who goaded on his restless spirit. [3] For the royal house of Rome produced an example of tragic guilt, as others had done, in order that loathing of kings might hasten the coming of liberty, and that the end of reigning might come in that reign which was the fruit of crime. [4] This Lucius Tarquinius — whether he was the son or the grandson of King Tarquinius Priscus is uncertain; but, following the majority of historians, I would designate him son — had a brother, Arruns Tarquinius, a youth of a gentle disposition. [5] These two, as has been said before, had married the two Tullias, daughters of the king, themselves of widely different characters. Chance had so ordered matters that the two violent natures should not be united in wedlock, thanks doubtless to the good fortune of the Roman People, that the reign of Servius might be prolonged and the traditions of the state become established. [6] It was distressing to the headstrong Tullia that her husband should be destitute of ambition and

enterprise. With her whole soul she turned from him to his brother; him she admired, him she called a man and a prince: she despised her sister because, having got a man for a mate, she lacked a woman's daring. [7] Their similarity soon brought these two together, as is generally the case, for evil is strongly drawn to evil; but it was the woman who took the lead in all the mischief. Having become addicted to clandestine meetings with another's husband, she spared no terms of insult when speaking of her own husband to his brother, or of her sister to that sister's husband. She urged that it would have been juster for her to be unmarried and for him to lack a wife than for them to be united to their inferiors and be compelled to languish through the cowardice of others. [8] If the gods had given her the man she deserved she would soon have seen in her own house the royal power which she now saw in [9] her father's. It was not long before she had inspired the young man with her own temerity, and, having made room in their respective houses for a new marriage, by deaths which followed closely upon one another, they were joined together in nuptials which Servius rather tolerated than approved.

47. From that moment the insecurity of the aged Tullius and the menace to his authority increased with each succeeding day. For the woman was already looking forward from one crime to another, nor would she allow her husband any rest by night or day, lest the murders they had done before should be without effect. [2] She had not wanted a man just to be called a wife, just to endure servitude with him in silence; she had wanted one who should deem himself worthy of the sovereignty, who bethought him that he was the son of Tarquinius Priscus, who preferred the possession of the kingship to the hope of it. [3] "If you are he," she cried, "*whom* I thought I was marrying, I call you both man and king; if not, then I have so far changed for the worse, in that crime is added, in your case, to cowardice. Come, rouse yourself! [4] You are not come, like your father, from Corinth or Tarquinii, that you must make yourself king in a strange land; the gods of your family and your ancestors, your father's image, the royal palace, with its throne, and the name of Tarquinius create and proclaim you king. Else, if you have no courage for this, why do you cheat the citizens? why do you suffer yourself to be looked on as a prince? Away with you to Tarquinii or

Corinth! [5] Sink back into the rank of your family, more like your brother than your father!” With these and other taunts she excited the young man’s ambition. [6] Nor could she herself submit with patience to the thought that Tanaquil, a foreign woman, had exerted her spirit to such purpose as twice in succession to confer the royal power — upon her husband first, and again upon her son-in-law — if Tullia, the daughter of a king, were to count for nothing in bestowing and withdrawing a throne. Inspired by this woman’s frenzy Tarquinius began to go about and solicit support, especially among the heads of the lesser families, whom he reminded of his father’s kindness to them, and desired their favour in return; the young men he attracted by gifts; both by the great things he promised to do himself, and by slandering the king as well, he everywhere strengthened his interest. [7] At length, when it seemed that the time for action was now come, he surrounded himself with a body of armed men and burst into the Forum. [8] Then, amidst the general consternation which ensued, he seated himself on the throne in front of the Curia, and commanded, by the mouth of a herald, that the senators should come to King Tarquinius at the senate-house. They at once assembled: some of them already prepared beforehand, others afraid that they might be made to suffer for it if they did not come; for they were astounded at this strange and wonderful sight, and supposed that Servius was utterly undone. [9] Tarquinius then went back to the very beginning of Servius’s family and abused the king for a slave and a slave-woman’s son who, after the shameful death of his own father, Tarquinius Priscus, had seized the power; [10] there had been no observance of the interregnum, as on former occasions; there had been no election held; not by the votes of the people had sovereignty come to him, not with the confirmation of the Fathers, but by a woman’s gift. [11] Such having been his birth, and such his appointment to the kingship, he had been an abettor of the lowest class of society, to which he himself belonged, and his hatred of the nobility possessed by others had led him to plunder the leading citizens of their land and divide it amongst the dregs of the populace. [12] All the burdens which had before been borne in common he had laid upon the nation’s foremost men. He had instituted the census that he might hold up to envy the fortunes of the wealthy, and make

them available, when he chose to draw upon them, for largesses to the destitute.

48. In the midst of this harangue Servius, who had been aroused by the alarming news, came up and immediately called out in a loud voice from the vestibule of the Curia: “What means this, Tarquinius? [2] With what assurance have you dared, while I live, to convene the Fathers or to sit in my chair?” Tarquinius answered truculently that it was his own father’s seat he occupied; that the king’s son was a fitter successor to his kingdom than a slave was; that Tullius had long enough been suffered to mock his masters and insult them. Shouts arose from the partisans of each, and the people began to rush into the senate-house; it was clear that he would be king who won the day. [3] Tarquinius was now compelled by sheer necessity to go on boldly to the end. Being much superior to Servius in youth and strength, he seized him by the middle, and bearing him out of the senate-house, flung him down the steps. He then went back into the Curia to hold the senate together. [4] The king’s servitors and companions fled. The king himself, half fainting, was making his way home without the royal attendants, when the men whom Tarquinius had sent in pursuit of the fugitive came up with him and killed him. [5] It is believed, inasmuch as it is not inconsistent with the rest of her wickedness, that this deed was suggested by Tullia. It is agreed, at all events, that she was driven in her carriage into the Forum, and nothing abashed at the crowd of men, summoned her husband from the Curia and was the first to hail him king. [6] Tarquinius bade her withdraw from so turbulent a scene. On her way home she had got to the top of the Vicus Cyprius, where the shrine of Diana recently stood, and was bidding her driver turn to the right into the Clivus Urbis, to take her to the Esquiline Hill, when the man gave a start of terror, and pulling up the reins pointed out to his mistress the prostrate form of the murdered Servius. [7] Horrible and inhuman was the crime that is said to have ensued, which the place commemorates — men call it the Street of Crime — for there, crazed by the avenging spirits of her sister and her former husband, they say that Tullia drove her carriage over her father’s corpse, and, herself contaminated and defiled, carried away on her vehicle some of her murdered father’s blood to her own and her husband’s penates,

whose anger was the cause that the evil beginning of this reign was, at no long date, followed by a similar end.

[8] Servius Tullius had ruled forty-four years, so well that even a good and moderate successor would have found it hard to emulate him. [9] But there was this to enhance his renown, that just and lawful kingship perished with him. Yet, mild and moderate though his sway was, some writers state that he had intended to resign it, as being a government by one man, had not the crime of one of his family interrupted his plans for the liberation of his country.

49. Now began the reign of Lucius Tarquinius, whose conduct procured him the surname of Superbus, or the Proud. [2] For he denied the rites of sepulture to his own father-in-law, asserting that Romulus had also perished without burial. He put to death the leading senators, whom he believed to have favoured the cause of Servius and, conscious that a precedent for gaining the kingship by crime might be found in his own career and turned against himself, he assumed a body-guard. [3] He had indeed no right to the throne but might, since he was ruling neither by popular decree nor senatorial sanction. [4] Moreover, as he put no trust in the affection of his people, he was compelled to safeguard his authority by fear. To inspire terror therefore in many persons, he adopted the practice of trying capital causes by himself, without advisers; [5] and, under the pretext thus afforded, was able to inflict death, exile, and forfeiture of property, not only upon persons whom he suspected and disliked, but also in cases where he could have nothing to gain but plunder. [6] It was chiefly the senators whose numbers were reduced by this procedure, and Tarquinius determined to make no new appointments to the order, that it might be the more despised for its very paucity, and might chafe less at being ignored in all business of state. [7] For this king was the first to break with the custom handed down by his predecessors, of consulting the senate on all occasions, and governed the nation without other advice than that of his own household. War, peace, treaties, and alliances were entered upon or broken off by the monarch himself, with whatever states he wished, and without the decree of people or senate. [8] The Latin race he strove particularly to make his friends, that his strength abroad might contribute to his security at home. He contracted with their nobles not only relations

of hospitality but also matrimonial connections. [9] To Octavius Mamilius of Tusculum, a man by long odds the most important of the Latin name, and descended, if we may believe report, from Ulysses and the goddess Circe, he gave his daughter in marriage, and in this way attached to himself the numerous kinsmen and friends of the man.

50. Tarquinius had already won great influence with the Latin nobles, when he gave notice that they should assemble on a certain day at the grove of Ferentina, saying that there were matters of common interest which he wished to discuss. [2] The Latins gathered at daybreak in large numbers; Tarquinius himself, though he did indeed keep the day, arrived but a little while before sundown. There had been much talk in the council all day about various subjects. Turnus Herdonius of Aricia had inveighed violently against the absent Tarquinius. [3] He said it was no wonder he had been given the name of Superbus at Rome — for that was the name by which they already called him, secretly and in whispers, but still quite generally; — could anything be more overbearing than to flout the whole Latin race as he was doing then? [4] Their leaders had been summoned from distant homes, and the very man who had called the council was not there. He was evidently trying their patience, intending, if they submitted to the yoke, to use them as his vassals. For who could fail to see that he was aiming at sovereignty over the Latins? [5] If his own people had done well to intrust this to him, if indeed it had been intrusted to him at all, and had not been ravished by foul murder, then it was right that the Latins also should intrust it to him — nay, [6] not even then, for he was of foreign birth; but if his own subjects were weary of him, as men who, one after another, were being made to suffer death, exile, confiscation, what better prospect was held out to the Latins? If they were guided by the speaker they would depart every man to his own home, nor observe the day of meeting more than he who had proclaimed it was observing it. [7] As these words and others of the same import were being uttered by the factious and turbulent Latin, who owed to these qualities his influence amongst his own people, Tarquinius came up. [8] This was the end of the speech; all turned to salute Tarquinius. Silence was commanded, and the king, being advised by those nearest him to excuse himself for

having come so late, declared that he had been chosen arbiter between a father and his son, and had been delayed by his anxiety to reconcile them. He added that since this business had used up that day, he would take up on the morrow the matters which he had meant to bring before them. [9] They say that Turnus would not suffer even this to go unchallenged, asserting that there was no question more quickly settled than one betwixt father and son, for these few words were enough to end it: "Unless you obey your father it will be the worse for you."

51. Girding thus against the Roman king, the Arician quitted the council. Tarquinius was considerably more vexed than he appeared to be, and at once looked about him for the means of destroying Turnus, that he might inspire in the Latins the same terror with which he had broken the spirit of the Romans. [2] And since he could not openly put his man to death by virtue of sovereign right, he charged him with a crime of which he was innocent, and so destroyed him. Through the agency of certain men of the opposite party in Aricia, he bribed a slave of Turnus with gold to allow a large quantity of swords to be brought secretly into his master's lodging. [3] Having accomplished this in a single night, Tarquinius, shortly before dawn, summoned the chief men of the Latins to his quarters, pretending to have received alarming news, and informed them that his tardiness on the preceding day, as though somehow providentially occasioned, had been the means of saving himself and them. [4] For he was told that Turnus was plotting his murder and that of the chief men of the different cities, that he might be sole ruler over the Latins. He would have attacked them the day before in the council, but had postponed the attempt because the summoner of the council, whom he chiefly aimed at, was not there. [5] That was the reason Turnus had railed at him in his absence, for his delay had balked the Arician's expectation. Tarquinius said that he had no doubt, if his information was true, that Turnus would come at dawn, when they had assembled in the council, and would be armed and attended by a band of conspirators. [6] It was said that a great quantity of swords had been carried to his lodging; the falsity or truth of this could be ascertained immediately, and he asked them to go with him to Turnus's quarters. [7] The charge was made plausible both by the aggressive spirit of

Turnus and his speech of the day before, and by Tarquinius's delay, since it seemed that the massacre might have been postponed on that account. The nobles went therefore with a disposition to believe the story, but still, if the swords should not be found, they were prepared to conclude the other charges false. [8] As soon as they reached the place they wakened Turnus from his sleep and surrounded him with guards; and having overpowered the slaves, who out of affection for their master would have resorted to force, they proceeded to pull out the hidden swords from every corner of the inn. There was now no doubt that Turnus was caught in the act, and he was cast into chains, while the summons was instantly sent out, amidst intense excitement, for a council of the Latins. [9] There such bitter resentment was aroused by the public display of the swords, that the accused was not permitted to plead his cause, but suffered a new kind of death, being plunged into the source of the Ferentine Water and sunk beneath a wicker crate heaped up with stones.

52. Tarquinius then called the Latins again to the place of council, and praised them for the punishment which they had justly meted out to the rebellious attempt of Turnus, in view of the treason in which he had just been taken. [2] The king then went on to say that it was in his power to proceed according to an ancient right, since all the Latins, having sprung from Alba, were included in that treaty by which, from the time of Tullus, the whole Alban state, with its colonies, had come under Rome's dominion. [3] But the advantage of all would be better served, he thought, if that treaty were renewed and the good fortune of the Roman people were thrown open to the participation of the Latins, than if they were always to be dreading or enduring the razing of their cities and the devastation of their lands which they had suffered first in Ancus's reign and afterward in that of the speaker's father. [4] It was not difficult to persuade the Latins, although the Roman interest preponderated in this treaty. For the rest, they saw that the chiefs of the Latin name stood with the king and took his view of the matter, and they had just been given a demonstration of the danger they would each incur if they opposed the project. [5] So the treaty was renewed, and the Latin juniors were commanded to present themselves at the grove of Ferentina on a certain day, armed and in full force, as the treaty prescribed. [6] When

they had assembled, agreeably to the king's edict, from the different districts, Tarquinius was unwilling that they should have their own leaders, or a separate command, or their own standards; he therefore mingled Latins and Romans in the maniples, making one maniple of two and two of one, and over the maniples thus doubled he put centurions.

53. But if the king was unjust in peace, yet he was not a bad general in war. Indeed, he would have equalled in this art the kings who had gone before him, if his degeneracy in other things had not also dimmed his glory here. [2] It was he who began the war with the Volsci which was to last more than two hundred years after his time, and took Suessa Pometia from them by storm. [3] There, having sold off the booty and raised forty talents of silver, he conceived the project of a temple of Jupiter so magnificent that it should be worthy of the king of gods and men, the Roman empire, and the majesty of the site itself. The money from the captured city he put aside to build this temple.

[4] He then engaged in an unexpectedly tedious war with Gabii, a neighbouring town. After first assaulting the place in vain, he laid siege to it, but this attempt was as unsuccessful as the other, for he was driven off from the walls; and he finally resorted to the policy, so unlike a Roman, of deceit and trickery. [5] For he pretended to have given up the war and to be engrossed in laying the foundations of his temple and in other city works, arranging meanwhile to let Sextus, who was the youngest of his three sons, desert to Gabii, and there complain that his father was intolerably cruel to him. [6] His father's pride, he said, was now diverted from strangers upon his own family. Even his children were too many to please him, and the solitude which he had caused in the senate-house he wished to bring to pass in his own home also, that he might leave no descendant, no heir to his kingdom. [7] The young man said that he had himself escaped from amidst the swords and javelins of his father, and had made up his mind that there was no safety for him anywhere save with the enemies of Lucius Tarquinius. Let them not delude themselves, he said; the war which the king pretended to have abandoned was still awaiting them, and when the chance offered he would attack them unawares. [8] But if they had no room for suppliants, he was prepared

to wander all over Latium, and thence seek out the Volsci and the Aequi and the Hernici, till at last he should come to people who knew how to protect a son from the cruel and wicked tortures inflicted on him by a father. [9] Possibly he might even discover some enthusiasm for war and arms against the haughtiest of kings and the most insolent of nations. [10] When it appeared that if they were indifferent he would leave them in anger and continue his flight, the Gabini bade him welcome. They told him not to be surprised if the king had been the same to his children that he had been to his subjects, to his allies; he would end by venting his cruelty upon himself if other objects failed him. [11] But for their own part, they said, they were glad of his coming, and they believed that in a short time, with his help, the seat of war would be shifted from the gates of Gabii to the walls of Rome.

54. Sextus next obtained admission to the Gabian councils of state, where, on all subjects but one, he professed a deference for the opinion of those who had long been citizens of Gabii and were better acquainted with the facts. War, however, he did take it upon himself to urge, again and again; and in so doing he assumed a special competence, as one who was acquainted with the strength of both nations, and knew that the king's pride must necessarily be hateful to all the citizens, since even his children had not been able to put up with it. [2] In this way, little by little, he stirred up the leaders of the Gabini to reopen the war. He would himself take the boldest of the young men and go upon raids and forays. All his words and acts were calculated to deceive, and their ill-grounded confidence so increased that in the end he was chosen commander-in-chief. [3] The war began, and the people had no suspicion of what was going forward. Skirmishes took place between Rome and Gabii, in which, as a rule, the Gabini had the best of it. Thereupon their citizens, both high and low, contended who should be loudest in expressing the belief that in Sextus Tarquinius they had a heaven-sent leader. [4] And the soldiers, seeing him ever ready to share in their dangers and hardships, and ever lavish in distributing the plunder, came to love him so devotedly that the elder Tarquinius was not more truly master in Rome than was his son in Gabii. [5] And so, when Sextus saw that he had acquired strength enough for any enterprise, he despatched

one of his own followers to his father in Rome, to ask what the king might please to have him do, since the gods had granted that at Gabii all power in the state should rest with him alone. [6] To this messenger, I suppose because he seemed not quite to be trusted, no verbal reply was given. The king, as if absorbed in meditation, passed into the garden of his house, followed by his son's envoy. There, walking up and down without a word, he is said to have struck off the heads of the tallest poppies with his stick. [7] Tired of asking questions and waiting for an answer, the messenger returned to Gabii, his mission, as he thought, unaccomplished. He reported what he had said himself and what he had seen. Whether from anger, or hatred, or native pride, the king, he said, had not pronounced a single word. [8] As soon as it was clear to Sextus what his father meant and what was the purport of his silent hints, he rid himself of the chief men of the state. Some he accused before the people; against others he took advantage of the odium they had themselves incurred. Many were openly executed; some, whom it would not have looked well to accuse, were put to death in secret. [9] Some were permitted, if they chose, to leave the country; or they were driven into banishment, and once out of the way, their property was forfeited, just as in the case of those who had been put to death. [10] Thence came largesses and spoils, and in the sweetness of private gain men lost their feeling for the wrongs of the nation, until, deprived of counsel and aid, the state of Gabii was handed over unresisting to the Roman king.

55. Having got possession of Gabii, Tarquinius made peace with the Aequian nation and renewed the treaty with the Etruscans. He next turned his attention to affairs in the city. Here his first concern was to build a temple of Jupiter on the Tarpeian Mount to stand as a memorial of his reign and of his name, testifying that of the two Tarquini, both kings, the father had made the vow and the son had fulfilled it. [2] And that the site might be free from all other religious claims and belong wholly to Jupiter and his temple, which was building there, he determined to annul the consecration of several fanes and shrines which had been first vowed by King Tatius at the crisis of the battle against Romulus, and had afterwards been consecrated and inaugurated. [3] At the very time when he began this

task the gods are said to have exerted their power to show the magnitude of this mighty empire. For whereas the birds permitted that the consecrations of all the other shrines should be rescinded, they refused their consent for the shrine of Terminus. [4] This omen and augury was thus construed: the fact that the seat of Terminus was not moved, and that of all the gods he alone was not called away from the place consecrated to him, meant that the whole kingdom would be firm and steadfast. [5] When this auspice of permanence had been received, there followed another prodigy foretelling the grandeur of their empire. A human head, its features intact, was found, so it is said, by the men who were digging for the foundations of the temple. [6] This appearance plainly foreshowed that here was to be the citadel of the empire and the head of the world, and such was the interpretation of the soothsayers, both those who were in the City and those who were called in from Etruria to consider the matter. [7] This made the king all the more ready to spend money on the work. Hence the Pometian spoils, which had been destined to carry the building up to the roof, barely sufficed for the foundations. [8] This disposes me to believe the statement of Fabius (who is, besides, the earlier writer) that the spoils were only forty talents, rather than Piso's, who writes that forty thousand pounds of silver were put aside for this work. [9] So great a sum of money could not be expected from the booty of a single city of that time, and there is no building, even among those of our own day, for the foundations of which it would not be more than enough.

56. Being intent upon completing the temple, the king called in workmen from every quarter of Etruria, and used for this purpose not only the state funds but labourers drawn from the commons. This work was far from light in itself, and was added to their military service. Yet the plebeians felt less abused at having to build with their own hands the temples of the gods, than they did when they came to be transferred to other tasks also, which, while less in show, were yet rather more laborious. [2] I mean the erection of seats in the circus, and the construction underground of the Great Sewer, as a receptacle for all the offscourings of the City, — two works for which the new splendour of these days has scarcely been able to produce a match. [3] After making the plebeians toil at these hard

tasks, the king felt that a populace which had now no work to do was only a burden to the City; he wished, moreover, by sending out settlers, to extend the frontiers of his dominions. [4] He therefore sent colonists to Signia and Circei, to safeguard the City by land and sea.

While he was thus occupied, a terrible portent appeared. A snake glided out of a wooden pillar, causing fright and commotion in the palace. As for the king himself, his heart was not so much struck with sudden terror as filled with anxious forebodings. [5] Now for public prodigies none but Etruscan soothsayers were wont to be employed, but this domestic apparition, as he regarded it, so thoroughly alarmed him that he determined to send to Delphi, the most famous oracle in the world; [6] and, not daring to trust the oracle's reply to anybody else, he sent two of his sons, through strange lands, as they were then, and over stranger seas, to Greece. [7] Titus and Arruns were the ones who went; and, to bear them company, Lucius Junius Brutus was sent too, the son of Tarquinia, sister of the king, a young man of a very different mind from that which he pretended to bear. Having heard that the leading men of the state, and among them his own brother, had been put to death by his uncle, he determined to leave nothing in his disposition which the king might justly fear, nor anything in his fortune to covet, resolving to find safety in contempt, where justice afforded no protection. [8] He therefore deliberately assumed the appearance of stupidity, and permitted himself and his property to become the spoil of the king; he even accepted the surname Brutus, that behind the screen afforded by this title the great soul which was to free the Roman People might bide its time unseen. [9] He it was who was then taken by the Tarquini to Delphi, more as a butt than as a comrade; and he is said to have carried a golden staff inclosed within one of cornel wood, hollowed out to receive it, as a gift to Apollo, and a roundabout indication of his own character. [10] When they came there, and had carried out their father's instructions, a desire sprang up in the hearts of the youths to find out which one of them should be king at Rome. From the depths of the cavern this answer, they say, was returned: "The highest power at Rome shall be his, young men, who shall be first among you to kiss his mother." [11] The Tarquini, anxious that Sextus, who had been left in Rome, might know nothing of the

answer and have no share in the rule, gave orders that the incident should be kept strictly secret; as between themselves, they decided by lot which should be first, upon their return to Rome, to give their mother a kiss. [12] Brutus thought the Pythian utterance had another meaning; pretending to stumble, he fell and touched his lips to Earth, evidently regarding her as the common mother of all mortals. [13] They then returned to Rome, where preparations for war with the Rutuli were being pushed with the greatest vigour.

57. Ardea belonged to the Rutuli, who were a nation of commanding wealth, for that place and period. This very fact was the cause of the war, since the Roman king was eager not only to enrich himself, impoverished as he was by the splendour of his public works, but also to appease with booty the feeling of the common people; [2] who, besides the enmity they bore the monarch for other acts of pride, were especially resentful that the king should have kept them employed so long as artisans and doing the work of slaves. [3] An attempt was made to capture Ardea by assault. Having failed in this, the Romans invested the place with intrenchments, and began to beleaguer the enemy. [4] Here in their permanent camp, as is usual with a war not sharp but long drawn out, furlough was rather freely granted, more freely however to the leaders than to the soldiers; the young princes for their part passed their idle hours together at dinners and drinking bouts. [5] It chanced, as they were drinking in the quarters of Sextus Tarquinius, where Tarquinius Collatinus, son of Egerius, was also a guest, that the subject of wives came up. [6] Every man fell to praising his own wife with enthusiasm, and, as their rivalry grew hot, Collatinus said that there was no need to talk about it, for it was in their power to know, in a few hours' time, how far the rest were excelled by his own Lucretia. [7] "Come! If the vigour of youth is in us let us mount our horses and see for ourselves the disposition of our wives. Let every man regard as the surest test what meets his eyes when the woman's husband enters unexpected." They were heated with wine. "Agreed!" [8] they all cried, and clapping spurs to their horses were off for Rome. Arriving there at early dusk, they thence proceeded to Collatia, where Lucretia was discovered very differently employed from the daughters-in-law of the king. [9] These they had seen at a luxurious banquet, whiling away the time

with their young friends; but Lucretia, though it was late at night, was busily engaged upon her wool, while her maidens toiled about her in the lamplight as she sat in the hall of her house. [10] The prize of this contest in womanly virtues fell to Lucretia. As Collatinus and the Tarquinii approached, they were graciously received, and the victorious husband courteously invited the young princes to his table. It was there that Sextus Tarquinius was seized with a wicked desire to debauch Lucretia by force; not only her beauty, but her proved chastity as well, provoked him. [11] However, for the present they ended the boyish prank of the night and returned to the camp.

58. When a few days had gone by, Sextus Tarquinius, without letting Collatinus know, took a single attendant and went to Collatia. [2] Being kindly welcomed, for no one suspected his purpose, he was brought after dinner to a guest-chamber. Burning with passion, he waited till it seemed to him that all about him was secure and everybody fast asleep; then, drawing his sword, he came to the sleeping Lucretia. Holding the woman down with his left hand on her breast, he said, "Be still, Lucretia! I am Sextus Tarquinius. My sword is in my hand. Utter a sound, and you die!" In affright the woman started out of her sleep. [3] No help was in sight, but only imminent death. Then Tarquinius began to declare his love, to plead, to mingle threats with prayers, to bring every resource to bear upon her woman's heart. [4] When he found her obdurate and not to be moved even by fear of death, he went farther and threatened her with disgrace, saying that when she was dead he would kill his slave and lay him naked by her side, that she might be said to have been put to death in adultery with a man of base condition. [5] At this dreadful prospect her resolute modesty was overcome, as if with force, by his victorious lust; and Tarquinius departed, exulting in his conquest of a woman's honour. Lucretia, grieving at her great disaster, dispatched the same message to her father in Rome and to her husband at Ardea: that they should each take a trusty friend and come; that they must do this and do it quickly, for a frightful thing had happened. Spurius Lucretius came with Publius Valerius, Volesus' son. [6] Collatinus brought Lucius Junius Brutus, with whom he chanced to be returning to Rome when he was met by the messenger from his wife. Lucretia they found sitting sadly in her chamber. The entrance of her friends

brought the tears to her eyes, and to her husband's question, "Is all well?" [7] she replied, "Far from it; for what can be well with a woman when she has lost her honour? The print of a strange man, Collatinus, is in your bed. Yet my body only has been violated; my heart is guiltless, as death shall be my witness. But pledge your right hands and your words that the adulterer shall not go unpunished. Sextus Tarquinius is he that last night returned hostility for hospitality, and armed with force brought ruin on me, and on himself no less — if you are men — when he worked his pleasure with me." [8] They give their pledges, every man in turn. They seek to comfort her, sick at heart as she is, by diverting the blame from her who was forced to the doer of the wrong. [9] They tell her it is the mind that sins, not the body; and that where purpose has been wanting there is no guilt. [10] "It is for you to determine," she answers, "what is due to him; for my own part, though I acquit myself of the sin, I do not absolve myself from punishment; not in time to come shall ever unchaste woman live through the example of Lucretia." [11] Taking a knife which she had concealed beneath her dress, she plunged it into her heart, and sinking forward upon the wound, died as she fell. [12] The wail for the dead was raised by her husband and her father.

59. Brutus, while the others were absorbed in grief, drew out the knife from Lucretia's wound, and holding it up, dripping with gore, exclaimed, "By this blood, most chaste until a prince wronged it, I swear, and I take you, gods, to witness, that I will pursue Lucius Tarquinius Superbus and his wicked wife and all his children, with sword, with fire, aye with whatsoever violence I may; and that I will suffer neither them nor any other to be king in Rome!" The knife he then passed to Collatinus, and from him to Lucretius and Valerius. [2] They were dumbfounded at this miracle. Whence came this new spirit in the breast of Brutus? As he bade them, so they swore. Grief was swallowed up in anger; and when Brutus summoned them to make war from that very moment on the power of the kings, they followed his lead. [3] They carried out Lucretia's corpse from the house and bore it to the market-place, where men crowded about them, attracted, as they were bound to be, by the amazing character of the strange event and its heinousness. [4] Every man had his own complaint to make of the prince's crime and his violence. They were

moved, not only by the father's sorrow, but by the fact that it was Brutus who chid their tears and idle lamentations and urged them .to take up the sword, as befitted men and Romans, against those who had dared to treat them as enemies. [5] The boldest of the young men seized their weapons and offered themselves for service, and the others followed their example. Then, leaving Lucretia's father to guard Collatia, and posting sentinels so that no one might announce the rising to the royal family, the rest, equipped for battle and with Brutus in command, set out for Rome. [6] Once there, wherever their armed band advanced it brought terror and confusion; but, again, when people saw that in the van were the chief men of the state, they concluded that whatever it was it could be no meaningless disturbance. [7] And in fact there was no less resentment at Rome when this dreadful story was known than there had been at Collatia. So from every quarter of the City men came running to the Forum. No sooner were they there than a crier summoned the people before the Tribune of the Celeres, which office Brutus then happened to be holding. [8] There he made a speech by no means like what might have been expected of the mind and the spirit which he had feigned up to that day. He spoke of the violence and lust of Sextus Tarquinius, of the shameful defilement of Lucretia and her deplorable death, of the bereavement of Tricipitinus, in whose eyes the death of his daughter was not so outrageous and deplorable as was the cause of her death. [9] He reminded them, besides, of the pride of the king himself and the wretched state of the commons, who were plunged into ditches and sewers and made to clear them out. The men of Rome, he said, the conquerors of all the nations round about, had been transformed from warriors into artisans and stone-cutters. [10] He spoke of the shameful murder of King Tullius, and how his daughter had driven her accursed chariot over her father's body, and he invoked the gods who punish crimes against parents. [11] With these and, I fancy, even fiercer reproaches, such as occur to a man in the very presence of an outrage, but are far from easy for an historian to reproduce, he inflamed the people, and brought them to abrogate the king's authority and to exile Lucius Tarquinius, together with his wife and children. [12] Brutus himself then enrolled the juniors, who voluntarily gave in their names, and

arming them set out for the camp at Ardea to arouse the troops against the king. The command at Rome he left with Lucretius, who had been appointed Prefect of the City by the king, some time before. [13] During this confusion Tullia fled from her house, cursed wherever she went by men and women, who called down upon her the furies that avenge the wrongs of kindred.

60. When the news of these events reached the camp, the king, in alarm at the unexpected danger, set out for Rome to put down the revolt. Brutus, who had perceived the king's approach, made a circuit to avoid meeting him, and at almost the same moment, though by different roads, Brutus reached Ardea and Tarquinius Rome. [2] Against Tarquinius the gates were closed and exile was pronounced. The liberator of the City was received with rejoicings in the camp, and the sons of the king were driven out of it. Two of them followed their father, and went into exile at Caere, in Etruria. Sextus Tarquinius departed for Gabii, as though it had been his own kingdom, and there the revengers of old quarrels, which he had brought upon himself by murder and rapine, slew him.

[3] Lucius Tarquinius Superbus ruled for five and twenty years. The rule of the kings at Rome, from its foundation to its liberation, lasted two hundred and forty-four years. Two consuls were then chosen in the centuriate comitia, under the presidency of the Prefect of the City, in accordance with the commentaries of Servius Tullius. These were Lucius Junius Brutus and Lucius Tarquinius Collatinus.

SUMMARY OF BOOK I

A. Arrival of Aeneas in Italy and his deeds. Reign of Ascanius, and after him of the Silvii, at Alba. Romulus and Remus born to Mars by the daughter of Numitor. Amulius killed. The City founded by Romulus. The senate chosen. War with the Sabines. *Spolia opima* dedicated to Jupiter Feretrius. The people divided into wards. The Fidenates and Veientes conquered. Romulus deified.

Numa Pompilius handed on religious rites. The door of Janus's temple closed.

Tullus Hostilius ravaged the country of the Albans. Battle of the

triplets. Punishment of Mettius Fufetius. Tullus slain by a thunderbolt.

Ancus Martius conquered the Latins; founded Ostia.

Tarquinius Priscus defeated the Latins; made a circus; conquered the neighbouring peoples; built walls and sewers.

The head of Servius Tullius gave forth flames. Servius Tullius conquered the Veientes and divided the people into classes; dedicated a temple to Diana.

Tarquinius Superbus slew Tullius and seized the kingship. Tullia's crime against her father. Turnus Herdonius killed by the machinations of Tarquinius. War with the Volsci. Gabii sacked, in consequence of the fraud of Sextus Tarquinius. The Capitol commenced. The altars of Termo and Juventa could not be moved. Lucretia slew herself. Expulsion of Superbus. The kings reigned 255 years.

B. Having beaten the Latins, he assigned them the Aventine Hill; planted a colony at Ostia; extended the boundaries and revived the ceremonies established by Numa.

It was he who is said to have asked the augur, Attus Navius, to test his skill, whether the thing he was thinking of could be accomplished and, when Attus replied that it could, to have bid him cut a whetstone in two with a razor, Attus is said forthwith to have done.

He reigned 24 years. In his reign Lucumo, son of the Corinthian Demaratus, came from Tarquinii, an Etruscan city, to Rome, and being received into the friendship of Ancus began to bear the name of Tarquinius Priscus, and after the death of Ancus succeeded to the kingship. He added a hundred members to the senate; subjugated the Latins; gave games in the circus; increased the centuries of knights; surrounded the city with a wall; made sewers. He was killed by the sons of Ancus after ruling 38 years.

His successor was Servius Tullius, son of a noblewoman, a captive from Corniculum. It is related that when he was still a babe, lying in the cradle, his head burst into flames. He conducted the first census and closed the lustrum, and it is said that 80,000 were assessed. He enlarged the pomerium; added to the city the Quirinal, Viminal, and Esquiline Hills; and with the Latins erected a temple to

Diana on the Aventine. He was killed by Lucius Tarquinius, son of Priscus, on the advice of his own daughter Tullia, after reigning 44 years.

After him Lucius Tarquinius Superbus seized the kingdom, without the authorization of either Fathers or People. He kept armed men about him to protect him. He waged war with the Volsci, and out of their spoils built a temple to Jupiter on the Capitol. He brought Gabii under his sway by guile. When his sons had gone to Delphi and were consulting the oracle as to which of them should be king in Rome, answer was made that he should reign who should first kiss his mother. This response the princes themselves explained otherwise, but Junius Brutus, who had accompanied them, pretended to fall upon his face, and kissed the earth. And the outcome sanctioned his act. For when Tarquinius Superbus had brought all men to hate him by the violence of his behaviour, and finally Lucretia, whose chastity had been violated at night by the king's son Sextus, summoned her father Tricipitinus and her husband Collatinus and, adjuring them not to leave her death unavenged, killed herself with a knife, Tarquinius was expelled, chiefly through the efforts of Brutus, after a reign of 25 years. Then the first consuls were chosen, Lucius Junius Brutus and Lucius Tarquinius Collatinus.

BOOK II

Translated by B. O. Foster

1. THE new liberty enjoyed by the Roman people, their achievements in peace and war, annual magistracies, and laws superior in authority to men will henceforth be my theme. [2] This liberty was the more grateful as the last king had been so great a tyrant. For his predecessors so ruled that there is good reason to regard them all as successive founders of parts, at least, of the City, which they added to serve as new homes for the numbers they had themselves recruited. [3] Nor is there any doubt that the same Brutus who earned such honour by expelling the haughty Tarquinius, would have acted in an evil hour for the commonwealth had a premature eagerness for liberty led him to wrest the power from any of the earlier kings. [4] For what would have happened if that rabble of shepherds and vagrants, having deserted their own peoples, and under the protection of inviolable sanctuary having possessed themselves of liberty, or at least impunity, had thrown off their fear of kings only to be stirred by the ruffling storms of tribunician demagogues, breeding quarrels with the senators of a city not their own, [5] before ever the pledges of wife and children and love of the very place and soil (an affection of slow growth) had firmly united their aspirations? The nation would have crumbled away with dissension before it had matured. [6] But it was favoured by the mild restraint of the government, which nursed it up to the point where its ripened powers enabled it to bear good fruit of liberty. Moreover you may reckon the beginning of liberty as proceeding rather from the limitation of the consuls' authority to a year than from any diminution of their power compared with that which the kings had exercised. [7] All the rights of the kings and all their insignia were possessed by the earliest consuls; only one thing was guarded against — that the terror they inspired should not be doubled by permitting both to have the rods. [8] Brutus was the first to have them, with his colleague's consent, and he proved as determined in guarding liberty as he had been in asserting it. [9] To begin with, when the people were still jealous of their new freedom,

he obliged them to swear an oath that they would suffer no man to be king in Rome, lest they might later be turned from their purpose by the entreaties or the gifts of princes. [10] In the next place, that the strength of the senate might receive an added augmentation from the numbers of that order, he filled up the list of the Fathers, which had been abridged by the late king's butcheries, drawing upon the foremost men of equestrian rank until he had brought the total up to three hundred. [11] From that time, it is said, was handed down the custom of summoning to the senate the Fathers and the Enrolled, the latter being the designation of the new senators, who were appointed. This measure was wonderfully effective in promoting harmony in the state and attaching the plebs to the Fathers.

2. Matters of worship then received attention. Certain public sacrifices had habitually been performed by the kings in person, and that their absence might nowhere be regretted, a "king of sacrifices" was appointed. [2] This priesthood they made subordinate to the pontifex, lest the office, in conjunction with the title, might somehow prove an obstacle to liberty, which was at that time their chief concern. Perhaps the pains they took to safeguard it, even in trivial details, may have been excessive. [3] For the name of one of the consuls, though he gave no other offence, was hateful to the citizens. "The Tarquinii had become too used to sovereignty. It had begun with Priscus; Servius Tullius had then been king; but not even this interruption had caused Tarquinius Superbus to forget the throne or regard it as another's; as though it had been the heritage of his family, he had used crime and violence to get it back; Superbus was now expelled, but the supreme power was in the hands of Collatinus. The Tarquinii knew not how to live as private citizens. Their name was irksome and a menace to liberty." [4] Beginning in this way, with a cautious sounding of sentiment, the talk spread through the entire nation, and the plebs had become anxious and suspicious, when Brutus summoned them to an assembly. [5] There he first of all recited the oath which the people had taken, that they would suffer no king in Rome, nor any man who might be dangerous to liberty. This oath they must uphold, he said, with all their might, nor make light of anything which bore upon it. He spoke with reluctance, on the man's account, nor would he have broken silence unless he had been forced

to do so by his love of country. [6] The Roman people did not believe that they had recovered absolute freedom. The royal family, the royal name were not only present in the state, but were actually in authority, an obstacle and a stumbling-block in the way of liberty. [7] "This fear," he cried, "do you yourself remove, Lucius Tarquinius, of your own free will! We are mindful — we confess it — that you drove out the kings; complete the good work you have begun, and rid us of the royal name. Your possessions shall not only be granted you by the citizens, at my instance, but if they are in any way inadequate they shall be generously increased. Depart our friend, and relieve the state of what is, perhaps, an idle fear. The people are persuaded that with the family of Tarquinius the kingship will vanish from amongst us." [8] The consul was at first prevented from uttering a word by his astonishment at this strange and unexpected turn; then, when he tried to speak, the chief men of the state surrounded him, and with many entreaties made the same request. [9] The others had little influence over him, but when Spurius Lucretius, his superior in years and dignity, and his father-in-law besides, began to urge him, with mingled entreaty and advice, to permit himself to yield to the unanimous wish of his fellow-citizens, Collatinus became [10] alarmed lest when his year of office should have ended, his misfortunes might be increased by the confiscation of his property and the addition of yet other ignominies. He therefore resigned the consulship, and transferring all his possessions to Lavinium, withdrew from the Roman state. [11] In pursuance of a resolution of the senate, Brutus proposed to the people a measure which decreed the exile of all the Tarquinian race. To be his colleague the centuriate comitia, under his presidency, elected Publius Valerius, who had helped him to expel the kings.

3. Although no one doubted that the Tarquinius would presently go to war, their attack was delayed beyond all expectation; while a thing men did not fear at all, to wit a treasonable plot, almost cost Rome her liberty. [2] There were among the young men a number of youths, the sons of families not unimportant, whose pleasures had been less confined under the monarchy, who, being of the same age as the young Tarquinius, and their cronies, had grown used to the untrammelled life of princes. [3] This licence they missed, now that

all enjoyed equal rights, and they had got into the way of complaining to each other that the liberty of the rest had resulted in their own enslavement. A king was a man, from whom one could obtain a boon, whether it were just or unjust; there was room for countenance and favour; a king could be angry, could forgive, could distinguish between friend and enemy. [4] The law was a thing without ears, inexorable, more salutary and serviceable to the pauper than to the great man; it knew no relaxation or indulgence, if one exceeded bounds; and, inasmuch as man is so prone to blunder, it was dangerous to rely on innocence alone. [5] Thanks to such reflections, they were already infected with disloyalty when envoys from the royal family appeared, who without saying anything about the return of the Tarquini, sought merely to recover their property. The senate, having given them a hearing, debated the question for several days; for they feared that if they refused to make restitution it would be a pretext for war, if they consented it would be to furnish means and assistance for its prosecution. [6] Meantime the envoys were exerting themselves to a different purpose. Ostensibly seeking to recover the property, they secretly laid their plans for winning back the kingdom; and, as if in furtherance of their apparent object, they went about sounding the disposition of the youthful nobles. [7] To those who gave them a friendly hearing they delivered letters from the Tarquini, and plotted with them to admit the royal family secretly by night into the City. 4. The brothers Vitellii and Aquilii were the first to be entrusted with the project. A sister of the Vitellii had married the consul Brutus, and there were sons of this marriage who were now young men, Titus and Tiberius; these were also admitted by their uncles to a share in the design. [2] There were besides several other young nobles taken into the secret, but their names are lost in antiquity. [3] The senate meantime had acquiesced in the opinion of those who were in favour of giving back the property. This very fact gave the agents of the exiles an excuse for lingering in the City, for the consuls had granted them time for obtaining vehicles with which to carry away the belongings of the royal family. [4] All this time they spent in consultation with the conspirators, whom they urged and at length persuaded to give them letters for the Tarquini: for otherwise how could the princes be

convinced that the statements of their agents regarding matters of such importance were to be relied on? [5] These letters, being given as a pledge of sincerity, furnished clear proof of the crime, For on the eve of the envoys' setting out to rejoin their masters it happened that they were dining at the house of the Vitellii, where the conspirators, having dismissed all witnesses, had much talk together, naturally enough, about their new design. This conversation one of the slaves overheard. [6] He had for some time perceived what was in the wind, but was waiting for the opportunity which the delivery of the letters to the envoys would provide, that their seizure might make good his accusation. When he saw that the letters had been given, he laid the matter before the consuls. [7] The consuls left their houses, arrested the agents and the conspirators, and, without making any disturbance, completely crushed the plot, being especially careful not to lose the letters. The traitors were thrown into prison forthwith. As for the envoys, it was uncertain for a little while what would be done with them, but, notwithstanding they appeared to have deserved no less than to be treated as enemies, the law of nations nevertheless prevailed. 5. The question of the royal property, which they had before voted to return, was laid before the Fathers for fresh consideration. This time anger won the day. [2] They refused to return it, and refused to confiscate it to the state, but gave it up to the plebeians to plunder, that having had their fingers in the spoils of the princes they might for ever relinquish hope of making their peace with them. The land of the Tarquinii, lying between the City and the Tiber, was consecrated to Mars and became the Campus Martius. [3] It happened, they say, that there was then standing upon it a crop of spelt, ripe for the harvest. Since this produce of the land might not, for religious reasons, be consumed, the grain was cut, straw and all, by a large body of men, who were set to work upon it simultaneously, and was carried in baskets and thrown into the Tiber, then flowing with a feeble current, as is usually the case in midsummer. [4] So the heaps of grain, caught in the shallow water, settled down in the mud, and out of these and the accumulation of other chance materials such as a river brings down, there was gradually formed an island. Later, I suppose, embankments were added, and work was done, to raise the surface so high above the

water and make it strong enough to sustain even temples and porticoes. [5] When the chattels of the princes had been pillaged, sentence was pronounced and punishment inflicted upon the traitors — a punishment the more conspicuous because the office of consul imposed upon a father the duty of exacting the penalty from his sons, and he who ought to have been spared even the sight of their suffering was the very man whom Fortune appointed to enforce it. [6] Bound to the stake stood youths of the highest birth. But the rest were ignored as if they had been of the rabble: the consul's sons drew all eyes upon themselves. [7] Men pitied them for their punishment not more than for the crime by which they had deserved that punishment. To think that those young men, in that year of all others, when their country was liberated and her liberator their own father, and when the consulship had begun with the Junian family, could have brought themselves to betray all — the senate, the plebs, and all the gods and men of Rome — to one who had formerly been a tyrannical king and was then an enemy exile! [8] The consuls advanced to their tribunal and dispatched the lictors to execute the sentence. The culprits were stripped, scourged with rods, and beheaded, while through it all men gazed at the expression on the father's face, where they might clearly read a father's anguish, as he administered the nation's retribution. [9] When the guilty had suffered, that the example might be in both respects a notable deterrent from crime, the informer was rewarded with money from the treasury, emancipation, and citizenship. [10] He is said to have been the first to be freed by the *vindicta*. Some think that even the word *vindicta* was derived from his name, which they suppose to have been Vindicus. From his time onwards it was customary to regard those who had been freed by this form as admitted to citizenship.

6. When these occurrences had been faithfully reported to Tarquinius, he was stirred not only by disappointment at the collapse of so great hopes, but also by hatred and anger. He saw that the way was now closed against trickery, and believed it was time to contrive an open war. [2] He therefore went about as a suppliant amongst the cities of Etruria, directing his prayers chiefly to the Veientes and the Tarquinienses. Reminding them that he had come from them and was

of the same blood as themselves, and that exile and poverty had followed hard upon his loss of what had been but now great power, he besought them not to let him perish, with his youthful sons, before their very eyes. [3] Others had been called in from abroad to be kings in Rome: he himself, while actually king, and enlarging Rome's sway by war, had been driven out by his next-of-kin in a wicked conspiracy. His enemies, perceiving that no single claimant was fit to be king, had seized and usurped the power amongst themselves, and had given up his goods to be plundered by the people, that none might be without a share in the guilt. He wished to regain his country and his sovereignty, and to punish the ungrateful Romans. [4] Let them succour and support him, and avenge, as well, their own long-standing grievances, the oft-repeated destruction of their armies, and seizure of their lands. This last plea moved the men of Veii, and they cried out with threatenings that they ought, at all events with a Roman for their commander, to wipe out their disgraces and recover what they had lost in war. [5] The Tarquinienses were influenced by his name and kinship: it seemed a fine thing to them that one of their blood should be king in Rome. [6] So it came about that two armies, representing two nations, followed Tarquinius, to regain his kingdom for him and to chastise the Romans. When they had come into Roman territory the consuls went out to meet the enemy: Valerius led the foot in defensive formation; Brutus, with the cavalry, went ahead to scout. [7] In the same fashion the enemy's horse headed their march, commanded by Arruns Tarquinius, the king's son, while the king himself followed with the legions. Arruns, perceiving a long way off by the consul's lictors that it was he, and then, as they drew nearer together, recognizing Brutus more unmistakably by his countenance, blazed with resentment. "Yonder," he cried, "is the man who drove us into exile from our native land. Look! [8] He is himself decked out with our trappings, as he comes proudly on! O gods, avengers of kings, be with us!" Spurring his horse, he charged straight at the consul. Brutus saw that he was the object of the man's attack. [9] In those days it was to a general's credit to take part in the actual fighting, so he eagerly accepted the challenge, and they rushed at one another with such desperation, neither of them taking thought for his own defence if only he might wound his adversary, that each

was pierced right through his shield by the other's thrust, and, impaled upon the two spears, they fell dying from their horses. [10] At the same time the rest of the cavalry as well began to fight, and not long after the infantry also appeared. In this battle the advantage was divided, and the fortune of war seemed equally balanced: the right wing on each side was victorious, while the left was defeated. [11] The Veientes, used to being beaten by the Roman troops, were routed and dispersed; the men of Tarquinius, a new enemy, not only stood their ground, but drove back the Roman forces which opposed them. 7. Yet despite the indecisive character of the battle, so great a panic came over Tarquinius and the Etruscans that they gave up the enterprise for lost, and that same night both armies, the Veientine and the Tarquiniensian, marched off every man to his own home. [2] To the story of this fight common report adds a prodigy: that in the silence of the following night a loud voice was heard coming out of the Arsian forest, which was believed to be the voice of Silvanus, and that this was what he said: "The Tuscans have lost one more man in the battle-line; the Romans are conquerors in the war." [3] At all events the Romans left the field like victors, and the Etruscans like an army that has been defeated. [4] For when it grew light and not a single enemy was to be seen, Publius Valerius the consul gathered up the spoils and returned in triumph to Rome. His colleague's funeral he celebrated with all the pomp then possible; but a far greater honour to the dead man was the general grief, which was particularly conspicuous inasmuch as the matrons mourned a year for him, as for a father, because he had been so spirited an avenger of outraged modesty.

[5] Soon after this the surviving consul, so fickle are the affections of the mob, became unpopular; not only did the people dislike him, but they actually suspected him and made cruel charges against him. [6] It was noised about that he was aspiring to the power of a king, since he had not caused a colleague to be elected in the place of Brutus, and was building a house on the highest part of the Velia, an elevated position of natural strength, men said, which he was converting into an impregnable citadel. [7] The frequency of these remarks and the general acceptance they met with, shamefully unjust as they were, distressed the consul. He summoned the people to a

council, and with lowered fasces mounted the speaker's platform. [8] It was a welcome spectacle to the multitude when they beheld the emblems of authority there abased before them, in acknowledgment that the people's majesty and power were superior to the consul's. Then, bidding them attend, the consul extolled the good fortune of his colleague, who, after his country had thrown off the yoke, had held the highest office in her gift, and, fighting for the state, at the height of a reputation as yet untarnished by envy, had met his death. He had himself outlived his glory, and survived to face accusations and ill-will. [9] From being the saviour of his country he had sunk to the level of the Aquilii and Vitellii. "Will there never be worth and merit, then," he exclaimed, "so established in your minds that suspicion cannot wrong it? [10] Could I possibly have feared that I, well known as the bitterest enemy of kings, should myself incur the charge of seeking kingly power? Could I have believed that, though I dwelt in the very Citadel and on the Capitol itself, I could be feared by my fellow-citizens? Can so trivial a cause ruin my reputation with you? Does your confidence rest on so slight a foundation that it makes more difference where I am than who I am? [11] There shall be no menace in the house of Publius Valerius to your liberties, Quirites; your Velia shall be safe. I will not only bring my house down on to level ground, but will even place it under a hill, that you may live above me, the citizen whom you suspect. Let those build on the Velia who can better be trusted with men's liberty than can Publius Valerius!" [12] Immediately the materials were all brought down below the Velia, and the house was erected where the temple of Vica Pota is now, at the bottom of the slope.

8. Laws were then proposed which not only cleared the consul from the suspicion of seeking kingly power, but took such an opposite turn that they even made him popular and caused him to be styled Publicola, the People's Friend. [2] Above all, the law about appealing from the magistrates to the people, and the one that pronounced a curse on the life and property of a man who should plot to make himself king, were welcome to the commons. [3] When he had carried through these measures alone, that he might enjoy without a rival all the favour arising out of them, he finally held an election to choose a colleague for the unexpired term. [4] The choice

fell upon Spurius Lucretius, who by reason of his great age was no longer strong enough for the duties of the consulship, and died within a few days. They elected in Lucretius's place Marcus Horatius Pulvillus. [5] In some ancient authorities I do not find Lucretius given as consul, but Brutus is followed immediately by Horatius; I suppose that because no exploit lent distinction to Lucretius's consulship men forgot it.

The temple of Jupiter on the Capitol had not yet been dedicated. [6] Valerius and Horatius the consuls drew lots to determine which should do it. Horatius received the lot, and Publicola set out to conduct the war against the Veientes. With more bitterness than was reasonable, the friends of Valerius resented that the dedication of so famous a temple should be given to Horatius. [7] They tried in all sorts of ways to hinder it, but their schemes all came to naught. Finally, when the consul's hand was on the door-post and he was in the midst of his prayers to the gods, they broke in upon the ceremony with the evil tidings that his son was dead, averring that whilst the shadow of death was over his house he could not dedicate a temple. [8] Whether he did not believe the news to be true, or possessed great fortitude, we are not informed with certainty, nor is it easy to decide. Without permitting himself to be diverted from his purpose by the message, further than to order that the body should be buried, he kept his hand upon the doorpost, finished his prayer, and dedicated the temple.

[9] Such were the achievements, at home and in the field, of the first year after the expulsion of the kings.

9. Next Publius Valerius (for the second time) and Titus Lucretius were made consuls. By this time the Tarquinii had sought refuge with Lars Porsinna, king of Clusium. There they mingled advice and entreaty, now imploring him not to permit them, Etruscans by birth and of the same blood and the same name as himself, to suffer the [2] privations of exile, and again even warning him not to allow the growing custom of expelling kings to go unpunished. Liberty was sweet enough in itself. [3] Unless the energy with which nations sought to obtain it were matched by the efforts which kings put forth to defend their power, the highest would be reduced to the level of the lowest; there would be nothing lofty, nothing that stood out

above the rest of the state; there was the end of monarchy, the noblest institution known to gods or men. [4] Porsinna, believing that it was not only a safe thing for the Etruscans that there should be a king at Rome, but an honour to have that king of Etruscan stock, invaded Roman territory with a hostile army. [5] Never before had such fear seized the senate, so powerful was Clusium in those days, and so great Porsinna's fame. And they feared not only the enemy but their own citizens, lest the plebs should be terror-stricken and, admitting the princes into the City, should even submit to enslavement, for the sake of peace. [6] Hence the senate at this time granted many favours to the plebs. The question of subsistence received special attention, and some were sent to the Volsci and others to Cumae to buy up corn. Again, the monopoly of salt, the price of which was very high, was taken out of the hands of individuals and wholly assumed by the government. Imposts and taxes were removed from the plebs that they might be borne by the well-to-do, who were equal to the burden: the poor paid dues enough if they reared children. [7] Thanks to this liberality on the part of the Fathers, the distress which attended the subsequent blockade and famine was powerless to destroy the harmony of the state, which was such that the name of king was not more abhorrent to the highest than to the lowest; [8] nor was there ever a man in after years whose demagogic arts made him so popular as its wise governing at that time made the whole senate.

10. When the enemy appeared, the Romans all, with one accord, withdrew from their fields into the City, which they surrounded with guards. Some parts appeared to be rendered safe by their walls, others by the barrier formed by the river Tiber. [2] The bridge of piles almost afforded an entrance to the enemy, had it not been for one man, Horatius Cocles; he was the bulwark of defence on which that day depended the fortune of the City of Rome. [3] He chanced to be on guard at the bridge when Janiculum was captured by a sudden attack of the enemy. He saw them as they charged down on the run from Janiculum, while his own people behaved like a frightened mob, throwing away their arms and quitting their ranks. [4] Catching hold first of one and then of another, blocking their way and conjuring them to listen, he called on gods and men to witness that if

they forsook their post it was vain to flee; once they had left a passage in their rear by the bridge, there would soon be more of the enemy on the Palatine and the Capitol than on Janiculum. [5] He therefore warned and commanded them to break down the bridge with steel, with fire, with any instrument at their disposal; and promised that he would himself receive the onset of the enemy, so far as it could be withstood by a single body. [6] Then, striding to the head of the bridge, conspicuous amongst the fugitives who were clearly seen to be shirking the fight, he covered himself with his sword and buckler and made ready to do battle at close quarters, confounding the Etruscans with amazement at his audacity. [7] Yet were there two who were prevented by shame from leaving him. These were Spurius Larcius and Titus Herminius, both famous for their birth and their deeds. With these he endured the peril of the first rush and the stormiest moment of the battle. [8] But after a while he forced even these two to leave him and save themselves, for there was scarcely anything left of the bridge, and those who were cutting it down called to them to come back. [9] Then, darting glances of defiance around at the Etruscan nobles, he now challenged them in turn to fight, now railed at them collectively as slaves of haughty kings, who, heedless of their own liberty, were come to overthrow the liberty of others. They hesitated for a moment, each looking to his neighbour to begin the fight. [10] Then shame made them attack, and with a shout they cast their javelins from every side against their solitary foe. But he caught them all upon his shield, and, resolute as ever, bestrode the bridge and held his ground; and now they were trying to dislodge him by a charge, when the crash of the falling bridge and the cheer which burst from the throats of the Romans, exulting in the completion of their task, checked them in mid-career with a sudden dismay. [11] Then Cocles cried, "O Father Tiberinus, I solemnly invoke thee; receive these arms and this soldier with propitious stream!" So praying, all armed as he was, he leaped down into the river, and under a shower of missiles swam across unhurt to his fellows, having given a proof of valour which was destined to obtain more fame than credence with posterity. [12] The state was grateful for so brave a deed: a statue of Cocles was set up in the comitium, and he was given as much land as he could plough around

in one day. [13] Private citizens showed their gratitude in a striking fashion, in the midst of his official honours, for notwithstanding their great distress everybody made him some gift proportionate to his means, though he robbed himself of his own ration.

11. Porsinna, repulsed in his first attempt, gave up the plan of storming the City, and determined to lay siege to it. Placing a garrison on Janiculum, he pitched his camp in the plain by the banks of the Tiber. [2] He collected ships from every quarter, both for guarding the river, to prevent any corn from being brought into the City, and also to send his troops across for plundering, as the opportunity might present itself at one point or another; [3] and in a short time he made all the territory of the Romans so unsafe that not only were they forced to bring all their other property inside the walls, but even their flocks too, nor did anybody dare to drive them outside the gates. [4] This great degree of licence was permitted to the Etruscans not so much from timidity as design. For Valerius the consul, who was eager for an opportunity of assailing a large number at once, when they should be scattered about and not expecting an attack, cared little to avenge small aggressions, and reserved his punishment for a heavier blow. [5] Accordingly, to lure forth plunderers, he issued orders to his people that on the following day a large number of them should drive out their flocks by the Esquiline Gate, which was the most remote from the enemy, believing that they would hear of it, since the blockade and famine were causing desertions on the part of faithless slaves. [6] And in fact the enemy did hear of it from a deserter's report, and crossed the river in much greater force than usual, in the hope of making a clean sweep of the booty. [7] Consequently Publius Valerius directed Titus Herminius to lie in ambush with a small force two miles out on the Gabinian Way, and Spurius Larcus with a body of light-armed youths to take post at the Colline Gate, until the enemy should pass, and then to throw themselves between him and the river, cutting off his retreat. [8] Of the two consuls, Titus Lucretius went out by the Naevian Gate with several maniples of soldiers, Valerius himself led out some picked cohorts by way of the Caelian Mount. These last were the first to be seen by the enemy. [9] Herminius had no sooner perceived that the skirmish was begun than he rushed in from his ambush and fell upon

the rear of the Etruscans, who had turned to meet Valerius. On the right hand and on the left, from the Naevian Gate and from the Colline, an answering shout was returned. [10] Thus the raiders were hemmed in and cut to pieces, for they were no match for the Romans in fighting strength, and were shut off from every line of retreat. This was the last time the Etruscans roamed so far afield.

12. The blockade went on notwithstanding. The corn was giving out, and what there was cost a very high price, and Porsinna was beginning [2] to have hopes that he would take the City by sitting still, when Gaius Mucius, a young Roman noble, thinking it a shame that although the Roman People had not, in the days of their servitude when they lived under kings, been blockaded in a war by any enemies, they should now, [3] when free, be besieged by those same Etruscans whose armies they had so often routed, made up his mind that this indignity must be avenged by some great and daring deed. [4] At first he intended to make his way to the enemy's camp on his own account. Afterwards, fearing that if he should go unbidden by the consuls and without anyone's knowing it, he might chance to be arrested by the Roman sentries and brought back as a deserter — a charge which the state of the City would confirm — he went before the senate. [5] "I wish," said he, "to cross the river, senators, and enter, if I can, the enemy's camp — not to plunder or exact reprisals for their devastations: I have in mind to do a greater deed, if the gods grant me their help." [6] The Fathers approved. Hiding a sword under his dress, he set out. [7] Arrived at the camp, he took up his stand in the thick of the crowd near the royal tribunal. It happened that at that moment the soldiers were being paid; a secretary who sat beside the king, and wore nearly the same costume, was very busy, and to him the soldiers for the most part addressed themselves. Mucius was afraid to ask which was Porsinna, lest his ignorance of the king's identity should betray his own, and following the blind guidance of Fortune, slew the secretary instead of the king. [8] As he strode off through the frightened crowd, making a way for himself with his bloody blade, there was an outcry, and thereat the royal guards came running in from every side, seized him and dragged him back before the tribunal of the king. [9] But friendless as he was, even then, when Fortune wore so menacing an aspect, yet as one more to be feared

than fearing, "I am a Roman citizen," he cried; "men call me Gaius Mucius. [10] I am your enemy, and as an enemy I would have slain you; I can die as resolutely as I could kill: both to do and to endure valiantly is the Roman way. Nor am I the only one to carry this resolution against you: behind me is a long line of men who are seeking the same honour. Gird yourself therefore, if you think it worth your while, for a struggle in which you must fight for your life from hour to hour with an armed foe always at your door. [11] Such is the war we, the Roman youths, declare on you. [12] Fear no serried ranks, no battle; it will be between yourself alone and a single enemy at a time." [13] The king, at once hot with resentment and aghast at his danger, angrily ordered the prisoner to be flung into the flames unless he should at once divulge the plot with which he so obscurely threatened him. Whereupon Mucius, exclaiming, "Look, that you may see how cheap they hold their bodies whose eyes are fixed upon renown!" thrust his hand into the fire that was kindled for the sacrifice. When he allowed his hand to burn as if his spirit were unconscious of sensation, the king was almost beside himself with wonder. [14] He bounded from his seat and bade them remove the young man from the altar. "Do you go free," he said, "who have dared to harm yourself more than me. I would invoke success upon your valour, were that valour exerted for my country; since that may not be, I release you from the penalties of war and dismiss you scathless and uninjured." [15] Then Mucius, as if to requite his generosity, answered, "Since you hold bravery in honour, my gratitude shall afford you the information your threats could not extort: we are three hundred, the foremost youths of Rome, who have conspired to assail you in this fashion. [16] I drew the first lot; the others, in whatever order it falls to them, will attack you, each at his own time, until Fortune shall have delivered you into our hands."

13. The release of Mucius, who was afterwards known as Scaevola, from the loss of his right hand, was followed by the arrival in Rome of envoys from Porsinna. [2] The king had been so disturbed, what with the hazard of the first attack upon his life, from which nothing but the blunder of his assailant had preserved him, and what with the anticipation of having to undergo the danger as many times more as there were conspirators remaining, that he voluntarily

proposed terms of peace to the Romans. [3] In these terms Porsinna suggested, but without effect, that the Tarquinius should be restored to power, more because he had been unable to refuse the princes this demand upon their behalf than that he was ignorant that the Romans would refuse it. [4] In obtaining the return of their lands to the Veientes he was successful; and the Romans were compelled to give hostages if they wished the garrison to be withdrawn from Janiculum. On these terms peace was made, and Porsinna led his army down from Janiculum and evacuated the Roman territory. [5] The Fathers bestowed on Gaius Mucius, for his bravery, a field across the Tiber, which was later known as the Mucian Meadows.

[6] Now when courage had been thus distinguished, even the women were inspired to deeds of patriotism. Thus the maiden Cloelia, one of the hostages, eluded the sentinels, when it chanced that the Etruscans had encamped not far from the bank of the Tiber, and heading a band of girls swam the river and, under a rain of hostile darts, brought them all back in safety to their kinsmen in Rome. [7] When this had been reported to the king, he was at first enraged and sent emissaries to Rome to demand that the hostage Cloelia be given up, for he made no great account of the others. [8] Then, admiration getting the better of anger, he asserted that her feat was a greater one than those of Cocles and Mucius, and declared that although in case the hostage was not returned he should regard the treaty as broken, yet if she were restored to him he would send her back safe and inviolate to her friends. Both parties kept their word. [9] The Romans returned the pledge of peace, as the treaty required; and the Etruscan king not only protected the brave girl but even honoured her, for after praising her heroism he said that he would present her with half the hostages, and that she herself should choose the ones she wished. [10] When they had all been brought out it is said that she selected the young boys, because it was not only more seemly in a maiden, but was unanimously approved by the hostages themselves, that in delivering them from the enemy she should give the preference to those who were of an age which particularly exposed them to injury. [11] When peace had been established the Romans rewarded this new valour in a woman with a new kind of honour, an equestrian statue, which was set up on the summit of the Sacred

Way, and represented the maiden seated on a horse.

14. This peaceful departure of the Etruscan king from Rome is inconsistent with the custom handed down from antiquity even to our own age, among other formalities observed at sales of booty, of proclaiming “the goods of King Porsinna.” [2] Such a practice must either have arisen during the war and have been retained when peace was made, or else have had its origin in some kindlier circumstance than would be suggested by the notice that an enemy’s goods were to be sold. [3] The most credible of the traditional explanations is that when Porsinna retired from Janiculum he handed over his camp, well stocked with provisions brought in from the neighbouring fertile fields of Etruria, as a gift to the Romans, who were then in a destitute condition after the long siege. [4] These supplies were then sold, lest, if people were given a free hand, they might plunder the camp like an enemy; and they were called the goods of Porsinna rather by way of implying thankfulness for the gift than an auction of the king’s property, which was not even in the possession of the Roman People.

[5] On relinquishing his campaign against the Romans, Porsinna was unwilling that he should appear to have led his army into that region to no purpose, and accordingly sent a part of his forces, under his son Arruns, to besiege Aricia. At first the Aricini were paralysed with surprise. [6] Afterwards the auxiliaries whom they called in from the Latin peoples, and also from Cumae, so encouraged them that they ventured to measure their strength with the enemy in the open field. When the battle began, the attack of the Etruscans was so impetuous that they routed the Aricini at the first charge. [7] The Cumaean levies, employing skill to meet force, swerved a little to one side, and when the enemy had swept by them, faced about and attacked them in the rear, with the result that the Etruscans, caught between two lines, almost in the moment of victory, were cut to pieces. [8] A very small number of them, having lost their leader and finding no nearer refuge, drifted to Rome, unarmed and with all the helplessness and the dejected aspect of suppliants. There they were kindly received and were quartered about among the citizens. [9] When their wounds had healed, some departed for their homes to report the hospitality and kindness they had met with, but many were persuaded to remain in Rome by the affection they felt for their hosts

and for the City. To these a place of residence was allotted which was afterwards called the Vicus Tuscus.

15. Spurius Larcius and Titus Herminius were the next consuls, and after them came Publius Lucretius and Publius Valerius Publicola. In the latter year an embassy was sent to Rome for the last time by Porsinna to negotiate for the restoration of Tarquinius to power. To these envoys the senate replied that they would send representatives to the king, and they forthwith dispatched those of the Fathers who were held in the highest esteem. [2] It would not have been impossible, they said, to reply shortly that the royal family would not be received. It was not for that reason that they had preferred to send chosen members of the senate to him rather than to give their answer to his ambassadors in Rome. But they had desired that for all time discussion of that question might be ended, and that where there were so great obligations on both sides there might not be mutual irritation, from the king's seeking that which was incompatible with the liberty of the Roman people, while the Romans, unless they were willing to sacrifice their existence to their good nature, denied the request of a man whom they would not willingly have denied anything. [3] The Roman people were not living under a monarchy, but were free. They had resolved to throw open their gates to enemies sooner than to kings; in this prayer they were all united, that the day which saw the end of liberty in their City might also see the City's end. [4] They therefore entreated him, if he desired the welfare of Rome, to permit her to be free. [5] The king, yielding to his better feelings, made answer: "Since this is your fixed resolve, I will neither importune you with repeated insistence upon a hopeless plea, nor will I deceive the Tarquini with the hope of aid which it is not in my power to grant. Let them seek elsewhere, whether war or peace be their object, for a place of exile, that nothing may hinder my being at peace with you." His words were followed by yet more friendly deeds. [6] The hostages remaining in his hands he returned, and he gave back the Veientine land which he had taken from the Romans by the treaty made on Janiculum. [7] Tarquinius, cut off from all hope of returning, departed for Tusculum, to spend his exile in the home of his son-in-law, Mamilius Octavius. The Romans enjoyed an unbroken peace with Porsinna.

16. The consulship of Marcus Valerius and Publius Postumius. This year a successful war was waged against the Sabines, and the consuls triumphed. More elaborate preparations for war were then made by the Sabines. [2] To confront them, and to prevent any sudden peril arising from Tusculum, in which quarter hostility, though not openly avowed, was none the less suspected, Publius Valerius was made consul for the fourth time and Titus Lucretius for the second. [3] A schism which occurred between the advocates of war and those of peace amongst the Sabines resulted in the transfer of some part of their strength to the Romans. [4] For Attius Clausus, afterwards known at Rome as Appius Claudius, himself a champion of peace, was hard bested by the turbulent war-party, and finding himself no match for them, left Inregillus, with a large band of clients, and fled to Rome. These people were made citizens and given land across the Anio. [5] The "Old Claudian Tribe" was the name used later, when new tribesmen had been added, to designate those who came from this territory. Appius, having been enrolled in the senate, came in a short time to be regarded as one of its leading members. [6] The consuls led an army into the country of the Sabines, and by wasting their fields, and afterwards by a battle, so crushed the enemy's strength that there could be no fear for a long time of any outbreak of hostilities in that region. [7] They then returned to Rome and triumphed. Publius Valerius, universally regarded as the foremost citizen, both in military and in civil qualities, died in the following year, when Agrippa Menenius and Publius Postumius were consuls. He was a man of extraordinary reputation, but so poor that money was wanting for his burial, and it was furnished from the treasury of the state. [8] He was mourned by the matrons as Brutus had been. In the same year two Latin colonies, Pometia and Cora, revolted to the Aurunci. The Aurunci were the first to be attacked. Upon the defeat of the great army which had boldly issued forth to meet the invasion of their territory by the consuls, the whole weight of the Auruncan war fell upon Pometia. [9] After the battle, as well as during its progress, no quarter was given. The slain had somewhat outnumbered the prisoners, and the prisoners were indiscriminately slaughtered. Even the hostages, of whom three hundred had been received, were not spared in the rage of war. This year also a triumph

was celebrated at Rome.

17. The consuls of the next year, Opiter Verginius and Spurius Cassius, attempted to capture Pometia, first by assault and then by the use of mantlets and other engines. [2] Against their besiegers the Aurunci, rather of an implacable hatred than for any hope or opportunity offered, rushed out, armed with firebrands for the most part, instead of swords, and carried death and flames in all directions. [3] The mantlets were burned, many of their enemies were wounded or slain, and one of the consuls — which one the historians do not add — was seriously wounded, thrown from his horse, and almost killed. [4] The Romans then marched home, defeated. Amongst the many wounded they brought the consul, hovering betwixt life and death. When a short time had elapsed, long enough for healing wounds and recruiting the army, they returned, with heightened resentment and also with augmented forces, to the attack of Pometia. [5] They had repaired their mantlets and the rest of their equipment, and they were already upon the point of sending their men against the walls when the town capitulated. [6] But the fate of the Aurunci was no less awful from their having surrendered their city than if it had been stormed. Their chief men were beheaded, and the rest of the colonists were sold as slaves. The town was razed; its land was sold. [7] The consuls obtained a triumph, more because they had heavily avenged Rome's wrongs than because of the magnitude of the war which they had successfully concluded.

18. The year after had as its consuls Postumius Cominius and Titus Largius. [2] In this year, during the celebration of the games at Rome, the Sabine youths, in a spirit of wantonness, forcibly abducted certain harlots. Men gathered hastily and there was a brawl which was almost a battle, and, trifling as its origin was, it seemed to threaten a fresh outbreak of the war. [3] Besides the Sabine peril, it was generally known that the thirty Latin cities had already conspired, at the instigation of Octavius Mamilius. [4] These grave apprehensions having occasioned a general anxiety, the appointment of a dictator was suggested, for the first time. But there is no general agreement as to the year, or which consuls were distrusted as being of the Tarquinian faction — for this is included in the tradition — or who it was that was first named dictator. [5] In the oldest writers,

however, I find it said that Titus Largius was the first to be made dictator, and that Spurius Cassius was master of the horse. They chose men of consular rank, for so the law prescribed which had been passed to regulate the selection of a dictator. [6] I am therefore the more disposed to believe that Largius, a consular, rather than Manius Valerius, the son of Marcus and grandson of Volesus, a man who had not yet held the consulship, was assigned to be the director and superior of consuls; [7] and indeed if men had been specially desirous of choosing the dictator from that family, they would much sooner have selected Marcus Valerius the father, a man of proven worth and an ex-consul.

[8] When they had named a dictator for the first time at Rome, and men saw the axes borne before him, a great fear came over the plebs and caused them to be more zealous in obeying orders. For there was no recourse in this case, as with the consuls, who shared the powers of their office equally, to the assistance of the man's colleague, nor was there any appeal nor any help anywhere but in scrupulous obedience. [9] The Sabines, too, were inspired with fear by the appointment of the dictator, especially since they believed that it was on their account that he had been created. [10] Accordingly they sent legates to treat for peace. When they requested the dictator and the senate to pardon an error committed by young men, the answer was given that to pardon young men was possible, but not old men who contrived one war after another. [11] Nevertheless negotiations for peace were begun, and it would have been granted to the Sabines, could they have made up their minds to guarantee, as the Romans demanded, the sum which had been expended for the war. Hostilities were declared, but a tacit truce preserved a state of peace through the year.

19. In the consulship of Servius Sulpicius and Manius Tullius nothing worthy of note occurred. They were succeeded by Titus Aebutius and Gaius Vetusius. [2] During their year of office Fidenae was besieged, Crustumeria taken; Praeneste went over from the Latins to the Romans, and it was no longer possible to postpone the Latin war, which had now been smouldering for several years. [3] Aulus Postumius as dictator, and Titus Aebutius as master of the horse, set out with large forces of infantry and cavalry, and at Lake

Regillus, in the territory of Tusculum, met the enemy's advancing column. [4] The Romans had learned that the Tarquinius were with the Latin army, and were so enraged that they could not be withheld from instantly attacking, and the battle itself, in consequence of this report, was fought with a good deal more determination and bitterness than any other had been. [5] For the leaders were not only in the field to direct the engagement with their strategy, but joined battle and fought in their own persons. Almost none of the nobles on either side came off unscathed, except the Roman dictator. [6] Postumius was in the front rank encouraging his men and forming them, when Tarquinius Superbus, though now burdened with years and broken in strength, rode full-tilt against him. But the old man received a thrust in the side, and his followers rushed in and rescued him. [7] Similarly on the other wing, Aebutius, the master of the horse, charged Octavius Mamilius. But the Tusculan commander saw him coming, and he too spurred his horse to the encounter; [8] and so great was the force in their levelled lances as they met, that the arm of Aebutius was transfixed, while Mamilius was struck in the breast. [9] Mamilius was received by the Latins within their second line: Aebutius, being unable to manage a weapon with his wounded arm, retired from the battle. [10] The Latin leader, not a jot discouraged by his wound, urged on the fighting, and, because he saw that his men were in retreat, called up a cohort of Roman exiles, commanded by a son of Lucius Tarquinius, and these, fighting with greater fury on account of the loss of their property and native land, restored the battle for a while.

20. When the Romans were now beginning to give way in that part of the field, Marcus Valerius, Publicola's brother, espied the young Tarquinius, who was boldly inviting attack in the front rank of the exiles. [2] Valerius found in his brother's glory an additional incentive, and resolving that the family which had the honour of expelling the tyrants should also gain the credit for their death, he dug his spurs into his charger and rode at Tarquinius with levelled spear. [3] Tarquinius drew back within the company of his followers to avoid his desperate antagonist. Valerius was plunging blindly into the exiles' line when one of them attacked him in the flank and ran him through the body. But the rider's wound did not check the career

of his horse, and the dying Roman came down in a heap upon the ground with his arms upon him. [4] When the dictator Postumius perceived that so brave a soldier had fallen, that the exiles [5] were advancing boldly at the double, and that his troops were checked and were giving ground, he issued orders to his own cohort, a picked body of men which he kept about his person as a guard, that if they saw any Roman running away they should treat him as an enemy. [6] Being thus between two dangers, the Romans faced about to meet the foe, and the battle-line was formed again. The cohort of the dictator then entered the engagement for the first time. [7] With fresh strength and spirit they attacked the weary exiles and cut them to pieces. Then began another combat between leaders. The Latin general, perceiving that the cohort of the exiles was nearly cut off by the Roman dictator, took a few companies of his reserves and hurried them to the front. [8] As they came marching up, Titus Herminius, the lieutenant, caught sight of them, and in their midst, conspicuous in dress and accoutrements, he saw and recognized Mamilius. [9] Whereupon he hurled himself upon the enemy's commander with so much more violence than the master of the horse had done a little before, that not only did he pierce Mamilius through the side and slay him with a single lunge, but in the act of stripping the body of his antagonist he was himself struck by a hostile javelin, and after being borne off in the moment of victory to the Roman camp, expired just as they began to dress his wound. [10] The dictator then dashed up to the knights and besought them, since the foot-soldiers were exhausted, to dismount and enter the fight. They obeyed: they leaped down from their horses, hastened to the front, and covered the front-rankers with their shields. [11] It restored at once the courage of the foot to see the young nobles on even terms with themselves and sharing in the danger. Then at last the Latins received a check, and their battle-line was forced to yield. [12] The knights had their horses brought up that they might be able to pursue the enemy, and they were followed by the infantry. Then the dictator, neglecting no help, divine or human, is said to have vowed a temple to Castor, and to have promised rewards to the soldiers who should be first and second to enter the camp of the enemy; [13] and so great was the ardour of the Romans, that with a single rush they routed their opponents and took their

camp. Such was the battle at Lake Regillus. The dictator and his master of the horse returned to the City and triumphed.

21. For the next three years there was neither a stable peace nor war. The consuls Quintus Cloelius and Titus Larcus were followed by Aulus Sempronius and Marcus Minucius. [2] In the latter year a temple to Saturn was dedicated and the Saturnalia was established as a festal day. Next Aulus Postumius and Titus Verginius were made consuls. [3] It was not until this year, according to some authorities I have consulted, that the battle of Lake Regillus was fought. They say that Aulus Postumius, because his colleague was of doubtful loyalty, resigned the consulship, and was then made dictator. [4] One is involved in so many uncertainties regarding dates by the varying order of the magistrates in different lists that it is impossible to make out which consuls followed which, or what was done in each particular year, when not only events but even authorities are so shrouded in antiquity.

[5] At the next election Appius Claudius and Publius Servilius were chosen consuls. This year was marked by the announcement of Tarquinius's death. He died at Cumae, whither he had gone to the court of Aristodemus after the downfall of the Latin cause. [6] These tidings cheered the Fathers and encouraged the plebs. But the Fathers were too inconsiderate, in consequence of their rejoicing at this event; and the plebs, who up to this time had been most studiously deferred to, began to feel the oppression of the nobles. [7] The same year the colony of Signia, which King Tarquinius had planted, was recruited with new colonists and established for the second time. At Rome twenty-one tribes were formed. The temple of Mercury was consecrated on the fifteenth of May.

22. With the Volscian race there had been during the Latin war neither peace nor open hostilities; for while the Volsci had raised levies to send to the aid of the Latins, had the Roman dictator not moved quickly, yet the Romans did move quickly, that they might not have to fight both nations in the same battle. Upon this quarrel the consuls led their legions into the country of the Volsci, who, not expecting to be held to account for their design, were surprised and overwhelmed. [2] They had no thought of resisting, and surrendered as hostages three hundred children of the nobility of Cora and

Pometia, and so the legions were withdrawn without a conflict. [3] Yet it was not long before the Volsci, being relieved of their alarm, resumed their native duplicity; again they made secret preparations for war, and formed a military alliance with the Hernici, while they also sent out envoys, this way and that, to instigate the Latins to rebellion. [4] But the disaster which had recently befallen the Latins at Lake Regillus so filled them with rage and hate against anyone who advised them to go to war, that they did not even abstain from violating an embassy, but seized the Volsci and brought them to Rome. There they delivered them up to the consuls with the information that the Volsci and the Hernici were preparing to attack the Romans. [5] When this service had been reported to the senate the Fathers were so grateful that they released to the Latins six thousand captives, and referred the question of a treaty, which they had all but refused in perpetuity, to the incoming magistrates. [6] Then, indeed, the Latins rejoiced at the action they had taken, and the advocates of peace were in great repute. They sent a golden crown as a gift to the Capitoline Jupiter. With the envoys who brought the gift came the captives who had been restored to their friends, a vast attendant multitude. [7] Proceeding to the homes of those whom they had severally served, they thanked them for the liberality and consideration which had been shown them in their adversity, and entered into covenants of hospitality with them. Never before had there been so close a union, both official and personal, between the Latin name and the Roman state.

23. But not only was war with the Volsci imminent; the citizens were at loggerheads among themselves, and internal dissensions between the Fathers and the plebs had burst into a blaze of hatred, chiefly on account of those who had been bound over to service for their debts. [2] These men complained loudly that while they were abroad fighting for liberty and dominion they had been enslaved and oppressed at home by fellow-citizens, and that the freedom of the plebeians was more secure in war than in peace, amongst enemies than amongst citizens. This bitter feeling, which was growing spontaneously, the notable calamity of one man fanned into a flame. [3] Old, and bearing the marks of all his misfortunes, the man rushed into the Forum. His dress was covered with filth, and the condition of

his body was even worse, for he was pale and half dead with emaciation. [4] Besides this, his straggling beard and hair had given a savage look to his countenance. He was recognized nevertheless, despite the hideousness of his appearance, and the word went round that he had commanded companies; yet other military honours were openly ascribed to him by the compassionate bystanders, and the man himself displayed the scars on his breast which bore testimony to his honourable service in various battles. [5] When they asked the reason of his condition and his squalor, he replied, while the crowd gathered about him much as though it were an assembly, that during his service in the Sabine war not only had the enemy's depredations deprived him of his crops, but his cottage had been burnt, all his belongings plundered, and his flocks driven off. [6] Then the taxes had been levied, in an untoward moment for him, and he had contracted debts. When these had been swelled by usury, they had first stripped him of the farm which had been his father's and his grandfather's, then of the remnants of his property, and finally like an infection they had attacked his person, and he had been carried off by his creditor, not to slavery, but to the prison and the torturechamber. [7] He then showed them his back, disfigured with the wales of recent scourging. The sight of these things and the man's recital produced a mighty uproar. [8] The disturbance was no longer confined to the Forum, but spread in all directions through the entire City. Those who had been bound over, whether in chains or not, broke out into the streets from every side, and implored the Quirites to protect them. [9] At no point was there any lack of volunteers to join the rising; everywhere crowds were streaming through the different streets and shouting as they hurried to the Forum. [10] Great was the peril of those senators who happened to be in the Forum and fell in with the mob, which would not indeed have stopped short of violence had not the consuls, Publius Servilius and Appius Claudius, hurriedly intervened to put down the insurrection. But the crowd turned on them and displayed their chains and other hideous tokens. [11] These, they cried, were the rewards they had earned, and they bitterly rehearsed the campaigns they had each served in various places. They demanded, in a manner much more threatening than suppliant, that the consuls should convene the senate; and they surrounded the Curia, that they might

them. [12] selves witness and control the deliberations of the state. The consuls succeeded in collecting only a few of the senators whom chance had thrown in their way. [13] The rest were afraid to enter not only the Curia but even the Forum, and nothing could be done because those present were too few. Whereat the people concluded they were being flouted and put off, and that the missing senators were absent not from accident, nor fear, but with the intent to hinder action, and that the consuls themselves were paltering; nor did they doubt that their misery was made a jest. [14] A little more and not even the majesty of the consuls could have held in check the angry crowd, when the absent Fathers, uncertain whether they should incur more danger by holding back or by coming forward, finally came into the senate, and the required number being at length assembled, not only the senators, but even the consuls themselves were unable to agree. [15] Appius, a headstrong man, was for settling the matter by the exercise of consular authority; when one or two men had been arrested, the others, he said, would calm down. Servilius, more inclined to gentle measures, believed that it was safer, as well as easier, to assuage their fury than to quell it.

24. In the midst of the debate a greater alarm arose from a new quarter, for some Latin horsemen galloped up with the disquieting news that a Volscian army was advancing to attack the City. This report awoke very different feelings — so completely had their dissensions divided the state into two — in the Fathers and the plebs. [2] The commons were jubilant; they said that the gods were taking a hand in punishing the arrogance of the senators. They encouraged one another not to give in their names; it would be better to perish all together than alone. Let the Fathers serve, let the Fathers take up arms, that those might incur the hazards of war who received its rewards. [3] The Curia, on the other hand, was downcast and dismayed. In their twofold fear — of their fellow-citizens and of the enemy — they begged Servilius the consul, whose character appealed more to the people than did that of his colleague, that he would extricate the state from the fearful perils with which it was beset. [4] Thereupon the consul adjourned the senate and went before the people. There he declared that the Fathers were anxious to consult the interests of the plebs, but that their deliberations

concerning that very important part — but only a part after all — of the state had been broken off by their fears for the entire nation. [5] It was impossible, when the enemy was almost at the city gates, to consider anything before the war; and even if there should be some slight respite in that regard, it was neither to the credit of the plebs to refuse to arm for their country, unless they should first receive a recompense, nor honourable to the Fathers to be driven by fear into passing measures for the relief of their fellow-citizens which they would have passed later of their own free will. [6] He then confirmed his speech by a proclamation in which he commanded that no one should hold a Roman citizen in chains or durance so that he should not be able to give in his name to the consuls, and that none should seize or sell a soldier's property so long as he was in camp, or interfere with his children or his grandchildren. [7] When this edict had been published, the debtors who were present at once enlisted, and from every quarter, all over the City, they hastened from the houses where their creditors no longer had the right to detain them, and rushed into the Forum to take the military oath. [8] It was a great throng, nor were there any soldiers whose courage and usefulness in the Volscian war were more conspicuous. The consul led his troops against the enemy, and pitched his camp at a short distance from theirs.

25. The next night the Volsci, relying on the lack of harmony among the Romans, attacked their camp on the chance that the darkness might encourage desertions or treachery. But the sentries perceived them, the army was roused, and, the signal being given, rushed to arms. [2] Thus the design of the Volsci came to naught, and the remainder of the night was devoted by both armies to sleeping. On the following day at dawn the Volsci filled up the trenches and assaulted the rampart, and soon they were everywhere pulling down the palisades. [3] On every side the consul's men were clamouring for the signal — none more loudly than the debtors. He waited a moment, to test the temper of the soldiers. When there could no longer be any doubt of their great ardour, he finally gave the command for a sortie and released them, eager for the fray. At the very first onset the enemy were routed. [4] While they ran, the foot-soldiers struck at them from behind as long as they could keep up the

pursuit; then the horsemen drove them panic-stricken clear to their camp. Soon the camp itself had been surrounded by the legions, and when the Volsci had fled from it in terror, it was taken and plundered. [5] Next day Servilius led his forces to Suessa Pometia, where the enemy had taken refuge, and within a few days took the town and gave it up to be sacked. This yielded some slight relief to the soldiers, who needed it [6] badly. The consul led his army back to Rome, with great honour to himself. As he was setting out on his return thither ambassadors approached him from the Volsci of Ecetra, who were alarmed at their own prospects, in view of the capture of Pometia. A decree of the senate granted them peace, but took away their land.

26. Directly after this the Sabines also caused an alarm at Rome — for it was indeed a turmoil rather than war. One night the City got word that a Sabine army bent on pillage had come as near as the river Anio, and was there plundering and burning farmhouses right and left. [2] The Romans at once dispatched in that direction all their cavalry, under Aulus Postumius, who had been dictator in the Latin war. He was followed by the consul Servilius with a picked body of foot-soldiers. [3] Many stragglers were cut off by the cavalry and, when the column of infantry drew near, no resistance was offered by the Sabine troops. Exhausted not only by their march but by their night of pillage as well, a great part of them had gorged themselves in the farmhouses with food and wine, and had scarcely vigour enough to run away.

[4] A single night having sufficed for hearing of the Sabine war and ending it, men's hopes next day ran high that peace was now assured in every quarter, when legates from the Aurunci appeared before the senate to say that unless the territory of the Volsci were evacuated they should declare war. [5] The Auruncan army had set out from home at the same time with the legates, and the report that it had already been seen not far from Aricia threw Rome into such a state of confusion that it was impossible to bring the matter regularly before the senate, or to return a peaceful answer to a people who had already drawn the sword, while they themselves were also arming. [6] They marched on Aricia in fighting order, joined battle with the Aurunci not far from the town, and in a single engagement finished

the war.

27. Having routed the Aurunci, and having been, within a few days, victorious in so many wars, the Romans were looking for the help which the consul had promised and the senate guaranteed, when Appius, partly out of native arrogance, partly to discredit his colleague, began to pronounce judgment with the utmost rigour in suits to recover debts. In consequence, not only were those who had been bound over before delivered up to their creditors, but others were bound over. [2] Whenever this happened to a soldier he would appeal to the other consul. The people flocked to the house of Servilius: it was he who had made them promises; it was he whom they reproached, as each rehearsed his services in the wars and displayed the scars he had received. They demanded that he should either lay the matter before the senate or lend his aid as consul to his fellow-citizens, as general to his soldiers. [3] They moved the consul by this plea, but the situation forced him to temporize, so vehemently was the other side supported, not only by his colleague, but by the entire party of the nobles. And so he steered a middle course, and neither avoided the dislike of the plebs nor gained the goodwill of the Fathers. [4] These considered him a pusillanimous consul and an agitator, while the commons held him to be dishonest; and it was soon apparent that he was as cordially hated as Appius. [5] The consuls had got into a dispute as to which should dedicate the temple to Mercury. The senate referred the case to the people for decision. Whichever consul should, by command of the people, be entrusted with the dedication was to have charge of the corn-supply, to establish a guild of merchants, and perform the solemn rites in the presence of the [6] pontifex. The people assigned the dedication to Marcus Laetorius, a centurion of the first rank — a choice which would readily be understood as intended not so much to honour Laetorius, to whom a commission had been given which was too exalted for his station in life, as to humiliate the [7] consuls. Appius and the Fathers were furious then, if they had not been before; but the plebeians had plucked up heart and threw themselves into the struggle with far more spirit than they had shown at [8] first. For, despairing of help from consuls and senate, they no sooner beheld a debtor being haled away than they flew to his assistance from every

[9] side. It was impossible for the consul's decree to be heard above the din and shouting, and when it had been pronounced nobody obeyed it. Violence was the order of the day, and fear and danger had quite shifted from the debtors to the creditors, who were singled out and maltreated by large numbers in full sight of the [10] consul. To crown these troubles came the fear of a Sabine invasion. A levy was decreed, but no one enlisted. Appius stormed and railed at the insidious arts of his colleague, who, he said, to make himself popular, was betraying the state by his inactivity; and to his refusal to give judgment for debt was adding a fresh offence in refusing to hold the levy as the senate had [11] directed. Nevertheless the welfare of the state was not wholly forgotten, nor the authority of the consulate abandoned; he would himself, single-handed, assert both his own and the senate's [12] majesty. When the usual daily throng of lawless men was standing about him, he gave orders to seize one who was a conspicuous leader in their disturbances. The lictors were already dragging the man away, when he appealed; nor would the consul have granted the appeal, for there was no question what the decision of the people would be, had not his obstinacy been with difficulty overcome, more by the advice and influence of the nobles than by the popular outcry, so steeled was he to endure men's [13] hate. From that moment the trouble grew worse each day, and not only were there open disturbances, but what was far more pernicious, secret gatherings and conferences. At last the consuls whom the plebeians so hated went out of office. Servilius had the goodwill of neither party, but Appius was in high esteem with the senators.

28. Aulus Verginius and Titus Vetusius then entered upon the consulship. Whereat the plebs, uncertain what sort of consuls they would prove to be, held nightly gatherings, some on the Esquiline and other on the Aventine, lest if they met in the Forum they might be frightened into adopting ill-considered measures, and manage all their business rashly and at haphazard. [2] This seemed to the consuls, as indeed it was, a mischievous practice. They laid the matter before the Fathers, but their report could not be discussed in an orderly fashion, so tumultuously was it received, with shouts from every part of the house and expressions of indignation from the senators, that a thing which ought to have been settled by an exercise of consular

authority should be invidiously referred by the consuls to the senate. [3] It was evident that if only there were magistrates in the nation there would have been no assembly in Rome but the assembly of the people; as it was, the government was broken up into a thousand separate curias and meetings. One single *man* — a more significant word than *consul* — of the type of Appius Claudius, would have dispersed those assemblages in a moment. [4] When the consuls, thus upbraided, asked the Fathers what then they desired them to do, and [5] promised that their conduct of the matter should be no whit less strenuous and stern than the senate wished, it was resolved that they should hold a levy with the utmost severity: it was idleness that made the plebeians lawless. [6] Having adjourned the senate, the consuls mounted the tribunal and cited the young men by name. When no one answered to his name, the crowd, which surrounded the speaker as in a public meeting, declared that it was impossible to deceive the commons any longer; [7] the consuls would never have a single soldier unless a public guarantee were given: liberty must first be restored to every man before arms were given him, that he might fight for his country and his fellow-citizens, not for a master. [8] It was clear to the consuls what the senate had bidden them do; but of all those who had uttered truculent speeches within the walls of the curia they found not one at their side to share their odium, and they saw before them a terrible struggle with the people. [9] Accordingly they thought it best, before proceeding to extremities, to consult the senate a second time. When it met, the youngest senators all rushed up in hot haste to the seats of the consuls, bidding them to abdicate their office and to lay down an authority which they lacked the spirit to support.

29. Having sufficiently weighed both the courses open to them, the consuls finally said: "Lest you should say that you had not been warned, Conscript Fathers, we are on the verge of a great mutiny. We demand that those who are loudest in accusing us of cowardice stand by us while we hold the levy. [2] The most severe amongst you, since such is your pleasure, shall guide our procedure." They returned to the tribunal, and purposely commanded to cite by name one of those who were present. When he stood still without answering, in the midst of a little knot of men who, fearing the possibility of violence,

had gathered round him, the consuls sent a lictor to him. [3] The lictor was driven back. Whereupon, with a cry of "Shame!" the senators who were attending the consul rushed down from the tribunal to assist the lictor. [4] But when the mob turned from the officer, whom they had merely prevented from arresting the man, and assailed the senators, the consuls intervened and checked the brawl, in which no stones had been thrown nor any weapons used, and there were more shouts and expressions of rage than hurts. [5] The senate was convened in confusion, and they deliberated in still greater confusion. Those who had been roughly handled demanded an investigation, and all the more violent members urged the resolution, not only with speeches but with shouts and uproar. [6] When at length their passions had subsided, and the consuls berated them for showing as little sanity in the Curia as the people had shown in the Forum, they began to deliberate in an orderly manner. [7] Three proposals were made. Publius Verginius advised against a general relief: only those who, relying on the promise of Publius Servilius the consul, had fought in the Volscian, Auruncan, and Sabine wars should, he thought, be considered. [8] Titus Lartius held that this was no time for merely requiting services; the whole commons was submerged in debt, and the situation could not be remedied unless provision were made for all; indeed, if some were treated in one way and some in another, it would heighten the discontent instead of allaying it. [9] Appius Claudius, naturally harsh, and rendered savage by the hatred of the plebs on the one hand and the praises of the Fathers on the other, said that it was not misery but licence that had stirred up so great a hubbub, and that wantonness was what ailed the plebs rather than anger. [10] That was precisely the mischief which the appeal occasioned; for the consuls might threaten but could not command, when those who had shared in the guilt might be constituted the court of appeal. [11] "Come," said he, "let us appoint a dictator, from whom there is no appeal. [12] At once this frenzy which has now set everything ablaze will be stilled. Let anybody strike a lictor then, knowing that the right to scourge and behead him rests with that one man whose majesty he has violated!"

30. Many felt, and with reason, that the proposal of Appius was stern and cruel; on the other hand those of Verginius and Lartius

were inexpedient because of the precedent; particularly that of Largius, since it destroyed all credit. The most reasonable and moderate plan, in its regard for both sides, was held to be that of Verginius. [2] But owing to party spirit and consideration for private interests, things which have always been hurtful to public deliberations and always will be, Appius prevailed, and came very near [3] to being himself appointed dictator, a step which would infallibly have estranged the commons, and that at a most dangerous moment, since the Volsci, the Aequi, and the Sabines were all, as it chanced, up in arms at once. [4] But the consuls and the older senators saw to it that a magistracy rendered formidable by its paramount authority should be committed to a man of gentle disposition, and chose for dictator Manius Valerius, son of Volesus. [5] The plebs, though they perceived that it was against themselves that the creation of a dictator was aimed, still, since it was through a law proposed by a brother of Valerius that they possessed the right of [6] appeal, they had no fear of any harsh or oppressive act on the part of one of that family. An edict which the dictator soon promulgated strengthened their confidence. [7] It conformed essentially to the edict of Servilius; but Valerius and the office he held commanded greater confidence, and, ceasing to struggle, men gave in their names. So large an army had never been enrolled before. [8] Ten legions were embodied; each consul was given three of these, and the dictator had four.

Nor could war be deferred any longer, for the Aequi had invaded Latin territory. Emissaries from the Latins begged the senate either to send them help or permit them to take up arms themselves in defence of their country. [9] It seemed safer that the Latins should be defended without arming them, than that they should be suffered to resume their weapons. Vetusius the consul was dispatched to them, and this ended the pillaging. The Aequi left the fields, and trusting more to situation than to arms, secured themselves on the summits of the ridges. [10] The other consul marched against the Volsci. Lest he too might waste his time, he provoked the enemy, chiefly by ravaging their lands, to bring their camp nearer and do battle with him. [11] In the plain between the camps the two armies formed their lines, each in front of its own stockade. [12] In numbers the Volsci were somewhat superior, and accordingly they came on in a loose and

careless order. The Roman consul did not advance, nor did he allow a response to the enemy's shout. He commanded his men to plant their spears in the ground and stand still until the enemy had come to close quarters; then they were to assail them with all their might, and settle the question with the sword. [13] The Volsci, weary with running and shouting, hurled themselves upon the Romans, who seemed to be numb with fear. But when the attackers found that their charge was firmly met and saw the swords flash in their faces, they were no whit less confounded than if they had fallen into an ambush, and turned and fled; and even flight was beyond their strength, since they had been running as they entered the battle. [14] The Romans on the contrary, having stood at ease at the beginning of the fight, were fresh and strong; they readily caught up with the exhausted Volsci, and having taken their camp with a rush, pursued their enemies beyond it to Velitrae, where vanquished and victors burst into the city in one body. [15] More blood was shed there, in the promiscuous slaughter of all sorts of people, than had been in the battle itself. A very few were granted quarter, having come without arms and given themselves up.

31. While these things were going on in the Volscian country, the dictator put to rout the Sabines — by far Rome's most important enemy — and captured their camp. [2] Attacking with his cavalry, he made havoc of their centre, which, in extending their wings too widely, they had unduly weakened; and in the midst of the disorder the infantry assailed them. By a single rush the camp was captured and the war ended. [3] From the time of the fight at Lake Regillus no other battle of those days was more famous. The dictator entered the City in triumph. In addition to the customary honours a place was assigned him in the circus, for himself and his descendants, to witness the games, and a curule chair was put there for him. [4] The Volsci, having been conquered, were deprived of the Veliternian land; colonists were sent from the City to Velitrae and a colony was planted. Soon after this there was a battle with the Aequi, though the consul was against it, for it was necessary to approach the enemy from unfavourable ground; [5] but his men accused him of dragging out the campaign in order that the dictator might relinquish his office before their return to the City, and his promises thus come to naught,

as the consul's promises had done before. Vetusius was thus driven to order an advance at random, up the mountains which confronted him. [6] This ill-advised measure the enemy's cowardice turned into success, for before the Romans had come within a spear's throw, the Aequi, appalled at their audacity, abandoned the camp which they had maintained in a highly defensible position, and threw themselves down into the valleys on the other side. There the Romans gained considerable booty and a bloodless victory.

[7] Though a threefold success had thus been gained in the war, neither senators nor plebeians had been relieved of their anxiety respecting the outcome of affairs at home, so great was the artfulness, as well as influence, with which the money-lenders had laid their plans to baffle not only the commons but even the dictator himself. [8] For after the return of the consul Vetusius, the first business which Valerius brought before the senate was in behalf of the victorious people, that the senate might declare its policy regarding the treatment of those bound over for debt. [9] This resolution having failed to pass, the dictator said: "I do not please you in urging harmony. You will soon wish, I warrant you, that the Roman plebs had men like me for their spokesmen. For my own part I will not be the means of further disappointing my fellow citizens, nor will I be dictator to no purpose. [10] Internal strife and foreign war made this office necessary to the nation; peace has been secured abroad, but at home it is being thwarted; I will play my part as a private citizen rather than as a dictator, when the mutiny breaks out." So saying he left the Curia and laid down his office. [11] It was evident to the people that resentment of their wrongs had caused him to resign the magistracy. And so, as though he had kept his pledge (for it had not been his fault that it was not being carried out), they attended him as he retired to his house with manifestations of favour and approval.

32. Thereupon the senators became alarmed, fearing that if the army should be disbanded there would again be secret gatherings and conspiracies. And so, although the levy had been held by order of the dictator, yet because the men had been sworn in by the consuls they regarded the troops as bound by their oath, and, under the pretext that the Aequi had recommenced hostilities, gave orders to lead the legions out of the City. [2] This brought the revolt to a head. At first it

is said, there was talk of killing the consuls, that men might thus be freed from their oath; but when it was explained to them that no sacred obligation could be dissolved by a crime, they took the advice of one Sicinius, and without orders from the consuls withdrew to the Sacred Mount, which is situated across the river Anio, three miles from the City. [3] — This version of the story is more general than that given by Piso, namely that the Aventine was the place of their secession. [4] — There, without any leader, they fortified their camp with stockade and trench, and continued quietly, taking nothing but what they required for their subsistence, for several days, neither receiving provocation nor giving any. [5] There was a great panic in the City, and mutual apprehension caused the suspension of all activities. The plebeians, having been abandoned by their friends, feared violence at the hands of the senators; the senators feared the plebeians who were left behind in Rome, being uncertain whether they had rather they stayed or went. [6] Besides, how long would the seceding multitude continue peaceable? What would happen next if some foreign war should break out in the interim? [7] Assuredly no hope was left save in harmony amongst the citizens, and this they concluded they must restore to the state by fair means or foul. [8] They therefore decided to send as an ambassador to the commons Agrippa Menenius, an eloquent man and dear to the plebeians as being one of themselves by birth. On being admitted to the camp he is said merely to have related the following apologue, in the quaint and uncouth style of that age: [9] In the days when man's members did not all agree amongst themselves, as is now the case, but had each its own ideas and a voice of its own, the other parts thought it unfair that they should have the worry and the trouble and the labour of providing everything for the belly, while the belly remained quietly in their midst with nothing to do but to enjoy the good things which they bestowed upon it; they therefore conspired together that the hands should carry no food to the mouth, nor the mouth accept anything that was given it, nor the teeth grind up what they received. [10] While they sought in this angry spirit to starve the belly into submission, the members themselves and the whole body were reduced to the utmost weakness. [11] Hence it had become clear that even the belly had no idle task to perform, and was no more

nourished than it nourished the rest, by giving out to all parts of the body that by which we live and thrive, when it has been divided equally amongst the veins and is enriched with digested food — that is, the blood. [12] Drawing a parallel from this to show how like was the internal dissension of the bodily members to the anger of the plebs against the Fathers, he prevailed upon the minds of his hearers. 33. Steps were then taken towards harmony, and a compromise was effected on these terms: the plebeians were to have magistrates of their own, who should be inviolable, and in them should lie the right to aid the people against the consuls, nor should any senator be permitted to take this magistracy. [2] And so they chose two “tribunes of the people,” Gaius Licinius and Lucius Albinus. These appointed three others to be their colleagues. Amongst the latter, Sicinius, the promoter of the revolt, was one, as all agree; the identity of the other two is less certain. [3] Some hold that there were only two tribunes elected on the Sacred Mount, and that the law of inviolability was enacted there.

During the secession of the plebs Spurius Cassius and Postumus Cominius entered upon their consulship. [4] In this year a treaty was made with the Latin peoples. In order to make this treaty one of the consuls remained in Rome, while the other was dispatched to the Volscian war, and defeated and put to flight the Volsci of Antium. Forcing them to take refuge in the town of Longula, he followed them up and captured the place. [5] Thence he proceeded to take Polusca, another Volscian town, after which he directed a strong attack upon Corioli. There was in camp at that time amongst the young nobles Gnaeus Marcius, a youth of active mind and ready hand, who afterwards gained the surname of Coriolanus. [6] The Romans were laying siege to Corioli and were intent upon the townspeople shut up within the walls, with no thought of danger from any attack which might be impending from without, when they found themselves suddenly assailed by a Volscian army from Antium, and simultaneously by the besieged, who made a sortie from the town. It happened that Marcius was on guard. [7] Taking a picked body of men he not only repelled the sally, but boldly forced his way through the open gate, and having spread carnage through the adjacent part of the town, caught up a firebrand on the spur of the

moment, and threw it upon the buildings which overhung the wall. [8] Thereupon the townspeople raised a shout, mingled with such a wailing of women and children as is generally heard at the first alarm. This brought new courage to the Romans and covered the Volsci with confusion — as was natural when the city which they had come to relieve was taken. [9] Thus the men of Antium were routed, and Corioli was won. So completely did the glory of Marcius overshadow the consul's fame, that, were it not for the record on a bronze column of the treaty with the Latins which was struck by Spurius Cassius alone, in the absence of his colleague, men would have forgotten that Postumus Cominius had waged war on the Volsci.

[10] That same year saw the death of Agrippa Menenius, a man who throughout his life had been equally beloved by patricians and plebeians, and who after the secession was even dearer to the commons. [11] This mediator and umpire of civil harmony, this ambassador of the senators to the people, this restorer of the plebs to Rome, did not leave sufficient wealth to pay for a funeral. He was buried by the commons, who contributed a *sextans* each to the cost.

34. The consuls next chosen were Titus Geganius and Publius Minucius. This year, though there was no war to occasion trouble from without and the breach at home had been healed, another and a much more serious misfortune befell the nation; [2] for first the price of corn went up, from men's failure to cultivate the fields during the withdrawal of the plebs; and this was followed by a famine, such as comes to a beleaguered city. [3] It would have meant starvation for the slaves, at least, and the plebeians, had not the consuls met the situation by sending agents far and wide to buy up corn, not only to Etruria, northwards along the coast from Ostia, and south past the Volsci by sea, all the way to Cumae, but even to Sicily — so far afield had the enmity of Rome's neighbours driven her to seek for help. [4] When grain had been purchased at Cumae the ships were held back by Aristodemus, the tyrant, in satisfaction for the property of the Tarquini, whose heir he was. Among the Volsci and Pomptini the agents could not even make any purchases, and they were actually in danger from the violence of the people. [5] From the Tuscans corn came in by way of the Tiber, and with this the plebs

were kept alive. A disastrous war would have been added to the distresses arising from the scarcity of provisions, had not a grievous pestilence descended upon the Volsci just as they were beginning hostilities. [6] Its ravages so terrified the enemy that even after the worst of it was over they did not fully recover from their fear, and the Romans increased the number of colonists at Velitrae and sent out a new colony to Norba, in the mountains, as a stronghold for the Pomptine country.

[7] Next year, in the consulship of Marcus Minucius and Aulus Sempronius, a large quantity of grain was imported from Sicily, and the senate debated at what price it should be sold to the plebeians. [8] Many thought the time had come for repressing the commons, and resuming the rights which they had violently extorted from the Fathers by secession. Conspicuous among these was Marcius Coriolanus, an enemy to the tribunician power, who said: "If they want corn at the old price let them restore to the senate its ancient rights. [9] Why do I see plebeian magistrates, why do I, after being sent beneath the yoke and ransomed, as it were, from brigands, behold Sicinius in power? [10] Shall I endure these humiliations any longer than I must? When I would not brook Tarquinius as king, must I brook Sicinius? Let him secede now and call out the plebs; the way lies open to the Sacred Mount and the other hills. Let them seize grain from our fields as they did two years ago. Let them enjoy the corn-prices they have brought about by their own madness. [11] I make bold to say that this evil plight will so tame them that they will sooner till the land themselves than withdraw under arms and prevent its cultivation by others." [12] It is not so easy to say whether it would have been right to do this, as it is clear, I think, that it lay within the Fathers' power to have made such conditions for reducing the price of corn as to have freed themselves from the tribunician authority and all the terms which they had unwillingly agreed to.

35. Even the senate deemed the proposal too harsh, and the plebs were so angry that they almost resorted to arms. Starvation, they said, was now being employed against them, as though they were public enemies, and they were being defrauded of their food and sustenance; the imported corn, their only supply, unexpectedly bestowed on them by Fortune, was to be snatched from their mouths

unless the tribunes should be delivered up in chains to Gnaeus Marcius, unless he should work his will on the persons of the Roman plebeians; in him a new executioner had risen up against them, who bade them choose between death and slavery. [2] When he came out from the Curia they would have set upon him, had not the tribunes, in the nick of time, appointed a day to try him; whereupon their anger subsided, for every man saw that he was himself made his enemy's judge, and held over him the power of life and death. [3] With contempt at first Marcius heard the threats of the tribunes, alleging that the right to help, not to punish, had been granted to that office, and that they were tribunes not of the Fathers, but of the plebs. But the commons had risen in such a storm of anger that the Fathers had to sacrifice one man to appease them. [4] For all that, they resisted the hatred of their adversaries and called upon the private resources of the several senators, as well as the strength of the entire order. At first they tried, by posting their clients here and there, to frighten persons from coming together for deliberation, in the hope that they might thereby break up their plans. [5] Then they came out in a body — you would have said all the members of the senate were on their trial — and entreated the plebs to release to them one citizen, one senator; if they were unwilling to acquit him as innocent let them give him up, though guilty, as a favour. [6] But when Marcius himself, on the day appointed for the hearing, failed to appear, men's hearts were hardened against him. Condemned in his absence, he went into exile with the Volsci, uttering threats against his country, and even then breathing hostility. When he came among the Volsci they received him with a kindness which increased from one day to the next, in proportion as he allowed a greater hatred of his own people to appear, and was more and more frequently heard to utter both complaints and threats. [7] His host was Attius Tullius, at that time by far the foremost of the Volscian name and ever unfriendly to the Romans. And so, spurred on, the one by his inveterate hatred and the other by fresh resentment, they took counsel together how they might make war on Rome. [8] They believed that it would be no easy matter to induce the Volscian commons to take up the arms which they had so often unluckily essayed; the destruction of their young men in oft-repeated wars, and finally by the plague, had, they

supposed, broken their spirit; artifice must be invoked, where hate had grown dull with lapse of time, that they might find some new cause of anger to exasperate men's hearts.

36. It so happened that at Rome preparations were making to repeat the Great Games. The reason of the repetition was as follows: at an early hour of the day appointed for the games, before the show had begun, a certain householder had driven his slave, bearing a yoke, through the midst of the circus, scourging the culprit as he went. [2] The games had then been begun, as though this circumstance had in no way affected their sanctity. Not long after, Titus Latinus, a plebeian, had a dream. He dreamt that Jupiter said that the leading dancer at the games had not been to his liking; that unless there were a sumptuous repetition of the festival the City would be in danger; that Latinus was to go and announce this to the consuls. [3] Though the man's conscience was by no means at ease, nevertheless the awe he felt at the majesty of the magistrates was too great; he was afraid of becoming a laughing-stock. [4] Heavy was the price he paid for his hesitation, for a few days later he lost his son. Lest this sudden calamity should leave any uncertainty as to its cause in the mind of the wretched man, the same phantom appeared again before him in his dreams, and asked him, as he thought, whether he had been sufficiently repaid for spurning the gods; for a greater recompense was at hand unless he went quickly and informed the consuls. [5] This brought the matter nearer home. Yet he still delayed and put off going, till a violent attack of illness suddenly laid him low. [6] Then at last the anger of the gods taught him wisdom. And so, worn out with his sufferings, past and present, he called a council of his kinsmen and explained to them what he had seen and heard, how Jupiter had so often confronted him in his sleep, and how the threats and anger of the god had been instantly fulfilled in his own misfortunes. [7] Then, with the unhesitating approval of all who were present, he was carried on a litter to the consuls in the Forum; and thence, by their command, to the Curia, where he had no sooner told the same story to the Fathers, greatly to the wonder of them all, when — lo, another miracle! [8] For it is related that he who had been carried into the senate-house afflicted in all his members, returned home, after discharging his duty, on his own feet.

37. Games of the greatest possible splendour were decreed by the senate, and to see them came, at the suggestion of Attius Tullius, a host of Volsci. [2] Before the beginning of the spectacle Tullius, in pursuance of the plan he and Marcius had formed at home, went to the consuls and told them that he had something of public importance which he wished to discuss with them in private. [3] When the bystanders had been removed, "I am loath," he said, "to tell concerning my countrymen what may discredit them. Still I do not come to charge them with having committed any crime, but to put you on your guard lest they should commit one. [4] The disposition of our people is far more fickle than I could wish. [5] Many disasters have taught us the truth of this, since it is not to our own merit, but to your patience, that we owe our preservation. A great crowd of Volsci is now in Rome; there are games; the citizens will be intent upon the spectacle. [6] I remember what the Sabine youths did in this City on the same opportunity arising; I tremble lest something ill-advised and rash may happen. It has seemed to me that both on our account and on yours I ought to tell you this beforehand, consuls. [7] For my own part I intend to go home at once, lest being on the spot I might be implicated in some act or word and be compromised." With this he departed. The consuls laid before the senate this vague warning which came from so reliable a source. [8] It was the source, as often happens, rather than the story, which induced them to take precautions, even though they might prove superfluous. The senate decreed that the Volsci should leave the City, and heralds were sent about to command them all to depart before nightfall. [9] At first they were stricken with a great alarm, as they hurried this way and that to the houses of their hosts to get their things. But when they had started, their hearts swelled with indignation, that like malefactors and polluted persons, they should have been driven off from the games at a time of festival, and excluded, in a way, from intercourse with men and gods. 38. As they journeyed on in an almost unbroken line, Tullius, who had gone ahead, arrived before them at the source of the Ferentina. There, when any of their chief men arrived, he met them with words of complaint and indignation. These leaders, eagerly drinking in the words with which he ministered to their anger, he conducted and, thanks to their influence, the rest of the

throng also, to a field which lay below the road. [2] There he launched out upon a speech like a general's harangue. "Though you should forget all else," he cried, "the ancient wrongs done by the Roman People and the disasters that have overtaken the Volscian race, with what feelings, pray, can you bear the insult which this day has brought to us, making our humiliation serve as the opening of their festival? [3] Or did you not feel that they were triumphing over you to-day? That you furnished a spectacle to everybody when you departed — to the citizens, to the strangers, to all the neighbouring nations? [4] That your wives and children were made a mock in the eyes of the world? What of those who heard the words of the herald? What of those who saw us going away? What of those who have met this ignominious procession? What think you they all supposed, but that we were certainly attainted of some sin; that because, were we to be present at the spectacle, we should pollute the games and incur the god's displeasure — for that reason we were being expelled from the seat of the righteous and from their gathering and their council? [5] Moreover, does it not occur to you that we are alive because we hastened to depart? — if, indeed, this is a departure and not rather a flight. And this City — do you not regard it as a city of enemies, when if you had delayed there a single day, you would all have had to die? [6] War has been declared upon you, and greatly shall they rue it who have been responsible, if you are men." So, their spontaneous anger fanned to a flame, they dispersed to their several homes, and, every man arousing his own people, they brought about a revolt of the entire Volscian name.

39. As generals for this war the nations all agreed in choosing Attius Tullius and Gnaeus Marcius, the Roman exile, who inspired rather more hope than did his colleague. [2] This hope he by no means disappointed, so that it was easy to see that Rome's commanders were a greater source of strength to her than her armies were. Marching first to Circei, he drove out the Roman colonists from that city and turned it over, thus liberated, to the Volsci. [3] He took Satricum, Longula, Polusca, and Corioli, places which the Romans had recently acquired. [4] He then recovered Lavinium, and then, passing over by cross-roads into the Latin Way, captured in succession Corbio, Vetelia, Trebium, Labici, and Pedum. [5] From

Pedum he finally led his army against Rome and, pitching his camp at the Cluilian Trenches, five miles from the City, laid waste the Roman territory from that base, sending out guards with the pillagers to preserve intact the farms of the patricians, whether from anger at the plebs, or to sow dissension between them and the Fathers. [6] And no doubt it would have sprung up, so vehemently did the tribunes seek by their [7] accusations to rouse the already headstrong commons against the nation's leaders, but dread of invasion, the strongest bond of harmony, tended to unite their feelings, however they might suspect and dislike one another. [8] In this one point they were unable to agree, that the senate and the consuls saw no hope anywhere but in arms, while the plebs preferred anything to war. Spurius Nautius and Sextus Furius were now consuls. [9] While they were reviewing their levies and distributing garrisons about the walls and the other places where they had seen fit to place pickets and sentries, a great multitude of people demanding peace first terrified them with their rebellious clamour, and then forced them to call the senate together and propose the sending of envoys to Gnaeus Marcius. The Fathers consented to propose it when they saw that the plebeians were growing discouraged, and ambassadors were sent to Marcius to treat for peace. [10] Stern was the answer they brought back. [11] If the land of the Volsci were restored to them the question of peace could be taken up; if the Romans wished to enjoy the spoils of war without doing anything, he would forget neither the wrong his fellow-citizens had done him nor the kindness of his hosts, but would strive to show that exile had quickened his courage, not broken it. [12] When the same envoys were sent back a second time, they were denied admittance to the camp. Even priests, wearing the appropriate fillets, are said to have gone as suppliants to the enemy's camp, where they were no more able than the envoys had been to alter the determination of Marcius.

40. Then the married women gathered in large numbers at the house of Veturia, the mother of Coriolanus, and Volumnia, his wife. [2] Whether this was public policy or woman's fear I cannot find out; in any case they prevailed with them that both Veturia, an aged woman, and Volumnia should take the two little sons of Marcius and go with them to the camp of the enemy; and that, since the swords of

the men could not defend the City, the women should defend it with their prayers and tears. [3] When they reached the camp, and the word came to Coriolanus that a great company of women was at hand, at first, as might have been expected of one whom neither the nation's majesty could move, as represented in its envoys, nor the awfulness of religion, as conveyed to heart and eye by the persons of her priests, he showed even greater obduracy in resisting women's tears. [4] Then one of his friends, led by Veturia's conspicuous sadness to single her out from amongst the other women, as she stood between her son's wife and his babies, said: "Unless my eyes deceive me, your mother is here and your wife and children." [5] Coriolanus started up like a madman from his seat, and running to meet his mother would have embraced her, but her entreaties turned to anger, and she said: "Suffer me to learn, before I accept your embrace, whether I have come to an enemy or a son; whether I am a captive or a mother in your camp. [6] Is it this to which long life and an unhappy old age have brought me, that I should behold in you an exile and then an enemy? Could you bring yourself to ravage this country, which gave you birth and reared you? [7] Did not your anger fall from you, no matter how hostile and threatening your spirit when you came, as you passed the boundary? Did it not come over you, when Rome lay before your eyes: 'Within those walls are my home and my gods, my mother, my wife, and my children?' [8] So then, had I not been a mother Rome would not now be besieged! Had I no son I should have died a free woman, in a free land! [9] But I can have nothing now to suffer which could be more disgraceful to you or more miserable for myself; nor, wretched though I am, shall I be so for long: it is these you must consider, for whom, if you keep on, untimely death or long enslavement is in store." The embraces of his wife and children, following this speech, and the tears of the entire company of women, and their lamentations for themselves and their country, at last broke through his resolution. [10] He embraced his family and sent them back, and withdrew his forces from before the City. Having then led his army out of Rome's dominions he is said to have perished beneath the weight of resentment which this act caused, by a death which is variously described. I find in Fabius, by far the oldest authority, that Coriolanus lived on to old age. [11] At

least he reports that this saying was often on his lips, that exile was a far more wretched thing when one was old. There was no envy of the fame the women had earned, on the part of the men of Rome — so [12] free was life in those days from disparagement of another's glory — and to preserve its memory the temple of Fortuna Muliebris was built and dedicated.

Afterwards the Volsci again invaded Roman soil, in conjunction with the Aequi, but these would no longer put up with Attius Tullius for their general. [13] Whereupon the dispute as to whether the Volsci or the Aequi should furnish a commander for the allied army, led to a quarrel, and this to a bloody battle. There the good fortune of the Roman People destroyed two hostile armies in one struggle, which was no less ruinous than it was obstinately fought.

[14] The consulship of Titus Sicinius and Gaius Aquilius. Sicinius got the Volscian war for his command, and Aquilius that with the Hernici — for they too were up in arms. This year the Hernici were conquered, while the campaign against the Volsci was indecisive.

41. Spurius Cassius and Proculus Verginius were then made consuls. A treaty was struck with the Hernici, and two-thirds of their land was taken from them. Of this the consul Cassius proposed to divide one half amongst the Latins and the other half amongst the plebeians. [2] To this gift he wished to add some part of that land which, he charged, was held by individuals, although it belonged to the state. Whereupon many of the Fathers, being themselves in possession of the land, took fright at the danger which threatened their interests. But the senators were also concerned on public grounds, namely, that the consul by his largesses should be building up an influence perilous to liberty. [3] This was the first proposal for agrarian legislation, and from that day to within living memory it has never been brought up without occasioning the most serious disturbances. [4] The other consul resisted the largess, and the Fathers supported him; nor were the commons solidly against him, for to begin with, they had taken offence that the bounty had been made general, being extended to include allies as well as citizens; [5] and again, they often heard the consul Verginius declare in his speeches, as though he read the future, that destruction lurked in the gift proposed by his colleague; that those lands would bring servitude to

the men who should receive them, and were being made a road to monarchy. [6] For what reason had there been, he asked, in including the allies and the Latin name, and in restoring to the Hernici, who had been enemies a short time before, a third of the land which had been taken from them, if it were not that these tribes might have Cassius in the room of Coriolanus for their captain? [7] Popular favour now began to go over to the opponent and vetoer of the land-legislation. Each consul then began, as if vying with the other, to pamper the plebs. Verginius said that he would permit lands to be assigned, provided they were assigned to none but Roman citizens. [8] Cassius, having by his proposed agrarian grants made a bid for the support of the allies and thereby lowered himself in the eyes of the Romans, desired to regain the affection of his fellow-citizens by another donation, and proposed that the money received from the Sicilian corn should be paid back to the people. [9] But this the people spurned, as a downright attempt to purchase regal power; to such an extent did their instinctive suspicion of monarchy render them scornful of his gifts, as if they had possessed a superfluity of everything; and Cassius had no sooner laid down his office than he was condemned and executed, as all authorities agree. [10] There are those who say that his father was responsible for his punishment: that he tried the case in his house, and that, after causing his son to be scourged and put to death, he consecrated to Ceres his personal property, from the proceeds of which a statue was made and inscribed "the gift of the Cassian family." [11] I find in certain authors, and this is the more credible account, that the quaestors Caeso Fabius and Lucius Valerius brought him to trial for treason, and that he was found guilty by judgment of the people and his house pulled down by popular decree. Its site is now the open space in front of the temple of Tellus. [12] But whether it was a domestic or a state trial, he was condemned in the consulship of Servius Cornelius and Quintus Fabius.

42. It was not long before the people forgot the anger they had felt against Cassius. The inherent attractiveness of the agrarian legislation appealed to them on its own account, when its author had been removed, and their desire for it was enhanced by the meanness of the Fathers, who after the defeat in that year of the Volsci and the

Aequi defrauded the soldiers of their booty. [2] Whatever was taken from the enemy Fabius sold and placed the proceeds in the public treasury. The Fabian name was hateful to the plebs, on the last consul's account; nevertheless the patricians succeeded in procuring the election of Caeso Fabius to that office, along with Lucius Aemilius. [3] This increased the rancour of the plebeians, and by their seditions at home they brought about a foreign war. The war then caused domestic strife to be interrupted, while with one mind and purpose patricians and plebeians met the rebellious Volsci and Aequi and, led by Aemilius, defeated them in a successful action. [4] Yet more of the enemy perished in flight than in the battle, so relentlessly did the cavalry pursue their routed forces. [5] Castor's temple was dedicated the same year, on the fifteenth of July. It had been vowed during the Latin war by Postumius, the dictator. His son, being made duumvir for this special purpose, dedicated it.

[6] The desires of the plebs were this year again excited by the charms of the land-law. The tribunes of the plebs endeavoured to recommend their democratic office by a democratic law, while the senators, who thought there was frenzy enough and to spare in the populace, without rewarding it, shuddered at the thought of land-grants and encouragements to rashness. [7] The most strenuous of leaders were at hand for the senatorial opposition, in the persons of the consuls. Their party was therefore victorious and not only won an immediate success but, besides, elected as consuls for the approaching year Marcus Fabius, Caeso's brother, and one whom, on account of the prosecution of Spurius Cassius, the people hated even more, namely, Lucius Valerius. [8] This year also there was a conflict with the tribunes. Nothing came of the legislation, and its supporters fell into contempt, from boasting of a measure which they could not carry through. The Fabii were thence-forward held in great repute, after their three successive consulships, which had all without interruption been subjected to the proof of struggles with the tribunes; accordingly the office, as if well invested, was permitted to remain some time in that family. [9] War then broke out with Veii, and the Volsci revolted. But for foreign wars there was almost a superabundance of resources, and men misused them in quarrelling amongst themselves. [10] To increase the general anxiety which was

now felt, portents implying the anger of the gods were of almost daily occurrence in the City and the country. For this expression of divine wrath no other reason was alleged by the soothsayers, when they had enquired into it both officially and privately, sometimes by inspecting entrails and sometimes by observing the flight of birds, than the failure duly to observe the rites of religion. [11] These alarms at length resulted in the condemnation of Oppia, a Vestal virgin, for unchastity, and her punishment.

43. Quintus Fabius and Gaius Julius were then made consuls. This year there was no less discord at home, and the menace of war was greater. The Aequi took up arms, and the Veientes even made a foray into Roman territory. During the increasing anxiety occasioned by these campaigns Caeso Fabius and Spurius Furius were elected to the consulship. [2] Ortona, a Latin city, was being besieged by the Aequi; while the Veientes, who by this time had their fill of rapine, were threatening to attack Rome itself. [3] These alarms, though they should have restrained the animosity of the plebeians, actually heightened it; and they resumed their custom of refusing service, though not of their own initiative; for it was Spurius Licinius, tribune of the plebs, who, deeming that the moment had come for forcing a land-law on the patricians by the direst necessity, had undertaken to obstruct the preparations for war. [4] But he drew upon his own head all the odium attaching to the tribunician office, nor did the consuls inveigh against him more fiercely than did his own colleagues, and with their help the consuls held a levy. [5] Armies were enlisted for two wars at the same time; the command of one, which was to invade the Aequi, was given to Fabius, while with the other Furius was to oppose the Veientes. [6] Against the Veientes nothing worth recording was accomplished; and in the Aequian campaign Fabius had somewhat more trouble with his fellow-Romans than with the enemy. That one man, the consul himself, preserved the state, which the army in its hatred of the consul would, so far as it was able, have betrayed. [7] For when the consul, besides the many other instances of good generalship which he displayed in preparing for the war and in his conduct of it, had so drawn up the battle-line that a charge of the cavalry alone sufficed to rout the enemy's army, the foot refused to pursue the flying foe; [8] nor could even their own sense of guilt — to

say nothing of the exhortation of their hated general, — nor even the thought of the immediate disgrace to all, and the danger they must presently incur if the enemy should recover his courage, compel them to quicken their pace, or, if nothing else, to stand in their ranks. [9] Contrary to orders they retreated and returned to their camp, in such dejection that you would have supposed them beaten, now uttering execrations against their leader and now against the efficient services of the horse. [10] Ruinous though their example was, the general found no remedy for it; so true is it that noble minds are oftener lacking in the qualities by which men govern their fellow-citizens than in those by which they conquer an enemy. [11] The consul returned to Rome, having purchased more hatred of his irritated and embittered soldiers than won increase in military fame. Nevertheless the Fathers held out for the retention of the consulship in the Fabian family. Marcus Fabius was the man they elected, and they gave him Gnaeus Manlius as a colleague.

44. This year also had a tribune who advocated a land-law, Tiberius Pontificius. He set out on the same path that Spurius Licinius had trodden, as though Licinius had been successful, and for a time obstructed the levy. [2] The senators were again thrown into consternation, but Appius Claudius told them that the tribunician power had been overcome the year before, actually for the time being, and potentially for ever, since a way had been discovered for employing its resources to its own undoing. [3] For there would always be some tribune who would be willing to gain a personal victory over his colleague, and obtain the favour of the better element, while doing the nation a service. There would be a number of tribunes, if a number should be needed, who would be ready to help the consuls; and a single one was enough, though opposed to all the rest. [4] Only let the consuls, and the leading senators as well, make a point of winning over, if not all, at any rate some of the tribunes to the state and the senate. [5] Acting on the instructions of Appius, the Fathers began as a class to address the tribunes in a courteous and kindly manner; and those who were of consular rank, when it happened that any of them had any private claim upon an individual tribune, brought it about, in part by personal influence, in part by political, that those officials were disposed to use their

powers for the good of the state; and four of them, as against one who would have hindered the general good, assisted the consuls to hold the muster.

[6] The army then set out for a war with the Veientes, [7] to whose help forces had rallied from every quarter of Etruria, not so much roused by goodwill towards the men of Veii as by hopes that civil discord might effect the downfall of the Roman state. [8] And indeed the leading men in the councils of all the Etrurian peoples were wrathfully complaining that there would be no end to the power of the Romans unless factional quarrels should set them to fighting amongst themselves. They asserted that this was the only poison, the only decay which had been found to work upon opulent states, so as to make great empires transitory. [9] For a long time the Romans had withstood this evil, thanks partly to the prudence of the senate, partly to the patience of the plebs; but they had now come to a crisis. Two states had been created out of one: each faction had its own magistrates, its own laws. [10] At first, though they had a way of fiercely opposing the levies, yet when war began they had obeyed their generals. No matter what the condition of things in the City, so long as military discipline held it had been possible to make a stand; but now the fashion of disobeying magistrates was following the Roman soldier even to his camp. [11] In their latest war, when the army was already drawn up for battle, and at the very instant of conflict, they had with one accord actually handed over the victory to the conquered Aequi, had deserted their standards, had left their general on the field, and had returned, against his orders, to their camp. [12] Assuredly if her enemies pressed forward they could vanquish Rome by means of her own soldiers. There needed nothing more than to make a declaration and a show of war; Fate and the gods would of their own will do the rest. Such were the hopes which had led the Etruscans to take up arms, after many a shifting hazard of defeat and victory. 45. The Roman consuls also felt that they had nothing else to dread but their own forces and their own arms. The recollection of the heinous example set in the last war deterred them from offering battle in a situation where they would be in danger from two armies at the same time. [2] Accordingly they kept within their camp, restrained by the thought of so grave a peril: time and

circumstances would perhaps assuage the anger of the men and bring them to their senses. [3] Their enemies the Veientes and the other Etruscans were for that reason the more in haste to act; they attempted to provoke the Romans to fight, at first by riding up to their camp and challenging them to come out, and finally, when they gained nothing by this, by shouting insults both at the consuls themselves and at the army. [4] They said that their pretended want of harmony amongst themselves had been resorted to in order to conceal their fear, and that the consuls distrusted the courage of their men even more than their loyalty; it was a strange kind of mutiny where armed men were silent and inactive. [5] To these taunts they added others upon the newness of their race and origin, partly false and partly true. This abuse, noisily uttered beneath the very rampart and the gates, was endured unconcernedly enough by the consuls. But the inexperienced rank and file, stirred now by indignation and now by shame, were diverted from the thought of their domestic troubles; they were unwilling that their enemies should go unpunished; [6] they were unwilling that the patricians, that the consuls should obtain a success; hatred of the foe contended in their bosoms with hatred of their fellow-citizens. At length the former feeling got the upper hand, so proud and insolent was the jeering of the enemy. [7] They gathered in crowds at the praetorium, demanded battle, requested that the signal should be given. The consuls, as though considering the matter, put their heads together and conferred for a long time. [8] They desired to fight, but it was needful to keep back their desire and conceal it, that by opposition and delay they might stimulate to fury the already eager soldiery. The men were therefore told that the thing was premature, that the time for battle had not yet come; that they must keep within the camp. [9] Then the consuls issued an order to abstain from fighting, declaring that if any man fought without orders they should treat him as an enemy. Dismissed with these words, the less inclination the soldiers discovered in the consuls the greater became their own eagerness for the fray. [10] They were still further exasperated by the enemy, who were much bolder even than before, when the consuls' determination not to fight became known: it was clear that they could insult the Romans with impunity; their soldiers were not trusted with weapons,

the affair would culminate in absolute mutiny, and the end of the Roman power had come. [11] Relying on these convictions, they charged up to the gates, flung gibes at their defenders, and scarcely refrained from assaulting the camp. At this the Romans could no longer brook their insults; from all over the camp they came running to the consuls. [12] There were no more cautious requests, preferred through the chief centurions, but on all sides arose a general clamour. The time was ripe; nevertheless the consuls hung back. Then Fabius, when his colleague, beginning to fear mutiny, was on the point of yielding to the growing tumult, commanded silence by a trumpet-blast and said: "I know, Gnaeus Manlius, that these men have the power to conquer, but their will to do so I know not; and for this they are themselves to blame. [13] I am therefore resolved and determined not to give the signal unless they swear that they will return victorious from this engagement. Once, in a battle, the soldiers betrayed a Roman consul: they will never betray the gods." [14] There was a centurion named Marcus Flavoleius, who had been among the foremost in demanding battle. "I will return victorious from the field, Marcus Fabius," he cried, and invoked the wrath of Father Jupiter, Mars Gradivus, and the other gods, if he failed to keep his vow. The same pledge was then taken in order by the entire army, each man invoking its penalties upon himself. [15] When they had sworn, the signal sounded. They armed and entered the fight, angry and confident. Now let the Etruscans fling their taunts! [16] Now — they all cried — now, when they were armed, let the lip-bold enemy face them! On that day they all showed splendid courage, both commoners and nobles, but the Fabian name was especially distinguished. In the course of many political struggles they had estranged the plebs, and they resolved to regain their goodwill in that battle.

46. The line was drawn up, nor did the Veientes and the Etruscan levies shun the encounter. They felt almost certain that the Romans would no more fight with them than they had fought with the Aequi. That they might even be guilty of some greater enormity, exasperated as they were, and possessed of a critical opportunity, was not too much to hope. [2] But it turned out quite otherwise. For there had never been a war when the Romans went into battle with a keener

hostility — so embittered had they been, on the one hand by the enemy's insults, on the other by the procrastination of the consuls. [3] The Etruscans had barely had time to deploy when their enemies, who in the first excitement' had rather cast their javelins at random than fairly aimed them, were already come to sword-strokes at close quarters, where fighting is the fiercest. [4] The Fabian clan was conspicuous among the foremost, a spectacle and encouragement to their fellow-citizens. One of them, the Quintus Fabius who had been consul three years before, was leading the attack on the closely marshalled Veientes, when a Tuscan, exulting in his strength and skill at arms, caught him unawares in the midst of a crowd of his enemies and drove his sword through his breast. As the blade was withdrawn Fabius fell headlong upon his wound. [5] It was but the fall of one man, but both armies felt it; and the Romans were giving way at that point, when Marcus Fabius the consul leaped over the prostrate corpse and, covering himself with his target, cried, "Was this your oath, men, that you would return to your camp in flight? [6] Do you then fear the most dastardly of foes more than Jupiter and Mars, by whom you swore? But I, though I have sworn no oath, will either return victorious or fall fighting here by you, Quintus Fabius!" To this speech of the consul Caeso Fabius, consul of the year before, made answer, "Think you that your words will persuade them to fight, brother? [7] The gods will persuade them, by whom they have sworn. And let us, as is meet for nobles, as is worthy of the name of Fabius, kindle by fighting rather than by exhortation the courage of our soldiers!" With that the two Fabii rushed into the press with levelled spears and carried the whole line forward with them.

47. Thus the fortune of the day was retrieved in one part of the field. On the other wing Gnaeus Manlius the consul was urging on the fight with no less vigour, when almost the same thing happened. [2] For as Quintus Fabius had done on the other flank, so here the consul Manlius was personally leading the attack upon the enemy, whom he had almost routed, for his soldiers followed him valiantly, when he was severely wounded and retired from the fighting line. [3] His men believed him to be dead, and faltered; and they would have yielded the position, had not the other consul ridden up at a gallop, with some few troops of horse, and calling out that his colleague was

alive, and that he himself had defeated and routed the other wing and was come to help them, in that way put a stop to their wavering. [4] Manlius also showed himself among them, helping to restore the line; and the soldiers, recognizing the features of their two consuls, plucked up courage. At the same time the battle-line of the enemy was now less strong, for, relying on their excess of numbers, they had withdrawn their reserves and dispatched them to storm the Roman camp. [5] There, having forced an entrance without encountering much opposition, they were frittering away their time, their thoughts more taken up with the booty than with the battle, when the Roman reserves, which had been unable to withstand the first onset, sent word to the consuls how things stood, and then closed up their ranks, returned to the praetorium, and of themselves resumed the battle. Meanwhile Manlius the consul had ridden back to the camp, and by posting men at all the gates had cut off the enemy's egress. [6] In desperation at this turn the Etruscans had been inflamed to the point rather of madness than of recklessness. For when, as they rushed in whatever direction there seemed a prospect of escape, they had made several charges to no purpose, one band of youths made a dash at the consul himself, whose arms made him conspicuous. Their first discharge of javelins was parried by the soldiers who surrounded him, but after that there was no withstanding their violence. [7] The consul fell, mortally wounded, and all about him fled. The Etruscans grew more reckless than before; the Romans were driven, quaking with terror, right across the camp, and their case would have been desperate, had [8] not the lieutenants caught up the body of the consul and opened a way for the enemy by one of the gates. By that they burst forth, and escaping in a disordered column, fell in the way of the other, the victorious consul, where they were again cut to pieces, and dispersed in all directions. [9] A victory of great importance had been won, but it was saddened by the death of two so famous men. [10] The consul therefore made answer to the senate, when it would have voted him a triumph, that if the army could triumph without its general, its services in that war had been so remarkable that he would readily grant his consent; as for himself, when his family was in mourning for the death of Quintus Fabius his brother, and the state was half

orphaned by the loss of the other consul, he would not accept a laurel which was blighted with national and private sorrow. [11] No triumph ever celebrated was more famous than was his refusal to accept a triumph, so true is it that a seasonable rejection of glory sometimes but increases it. The consul then solemnized, one after the other, the funerals of his colleague and his brother, and pronounced the eulogy of each; but while yielding their meed of praise to them, he gained for himself the very highest praises. [12] Nor was he unmindful of that policy which he had adopted in the beginning of his consulship, of winning the affections of the plebs, but billeted the wounded soldiers on the patricians, to be cared for. To the Fabii he assigned the largest number, nor did they anywhere receive greater attention. For this the Fabii now began to enjoy the favour of the people, nor was this end achieved by aught but a demeanour wholesome for the state.

48. The senators were now therefore not more forward than the plebeians in choosing Caeso Fabius to be consul, along with Titus Verginius. On taking office his first concern was neither war nor the raising of troops nor anything else, save that the prospect of harmony which had been already partly realized should ripen at the earliest possible moment into a good understanding between the patricians and the plebs. [2] He therefore proposed at the outset of his term that before one of the tribunes should rise up and advocate a land-law, the Fathers themselves should anticipate him by making it their own affair and bestowing the conquered territory upon the plebs with the utmost impartiality; for it was right that they should possess it by whose blood and toil it had been won. [3] The senators scorned the proposal, and some even complained that too much glory was spoiling and dissipating that vigorous intellect which Caeso had once possessed. [4] In the sequel there were no outbreaks of strife and faction in the City, but the Latins were plagued with incursions of the Aequi. Thither Caeso was dispatched with an army, and passed over into the Aequians' own country to lay it waste. The Aequi retired to their towns and kept within their walls. For this reason there was no memorable battle.

[5] But the Veientes inflicted a defeat on the Romans owing to the rashness of the other consul; and the army would have been destroyed if Caeso Fabius had not come, in the nick of time, to its

rescue. Thenceforward there was neither peace nor war with the Veientes, but something very like freebooting. [6] In the face of the Roman legions they would retreat into their city; when they perceived the legions to be withdrawn they would make raids upon the fields, evading war by a semblance of peace, and peace in turn by war. Hence it was impossible either to let the whole matter go or to end it. Other wars, too, were immediately threatening — like the one with the Aequi and the Volsci, who would observe peace only so long as the suffering involved in their latest defeat was passing away, — or were soon to be begun, by the always hostile Sabines and all Etruria. [7] But the enmity of the Veientes, persistent rather than perilous, and issuing in insults oftener than in danger, kept the Romans in suspense, for they were never permitted to forget it or to turn their attention elsewhere. [8] Then the Fabian clan went before the senate, and the consul said, speaking for the clan: “A standing body of defenders rather than a large one is required, Conscript Fathers, as you know, for the war with Veii. Do you attend to the other wars, and assign to the Fabii the task of opposing the Veientes. We undertake that the majesty of the Roman name shall be safe in that quarter. [9] It is our purpose to wage this war as if it were our own family feud, at our private costs: the state may dispense with furnishing men and money for this cause.” The thanks of the Fathers were voted with enthusiasm. [10] The consul came out from the senate-house, and escorted by a column of the Fabii, who had halted in the vestibule of the curia while awaiting the senate’s decision, returned to his house. After receiving the command to present themselves armed next day at the consul’s threshold, they dispersed to their homes.

49. The news spreads to every part of the City and the Fabii are lauded to the skies. Men tell how a single family has taken upon its shoulders the burden of a state, how the war with Veii has been turned over to private citizens and private arms. [2] If there were two other clans of equal strength in the City, the one might undertake the Volsci, the other the Aequi, and the Roman People might enjoy the tranquillity of peace, while all the neighbouring nations were being subdued. On the following day the Fabii arm and assemble at the designated place. [3] The consul, coming forth in the cloak of a

general, sees his entire clan drawn up in his vestibule, and being received into their midst gives the order to march. [4] Never did an army march through the City less in number or more distinguished by the applause and the wonder of men: three hundred and six soldiers, all patricians, all of one blood, no one of whom you would have rejected as a leader, and who would have made an admirable senate in any period, were going out to threaten the existence of the Veientine nation with the resources of a single house. [5] They were followed by a throng partly made up of people belonging to them, their kinsmen and close friends, whose thoughts were busy with no mean matters, whether of hope or of fear, but with boundless possibilities; partly of those who were moved with concern for the commonwealth, and were beside themselves with enthusiasm and amazement. [6] "Go," they cry, "in your valour, go with good fortune, and crown your undertaking with success as great!" [7] They bid them look forward to receiving consulships at their hands for this work, and triumphs, and all rewards and all honours. As they pass by the Capitol and the citadel and the other temples, they beseech whatever gods present themselves to their eyes and their thoughts to attend [8] that noble band with blessings and prosperity, and restore them soon in safety to their native land and their kindred. Their prayers were uttered in vain. [9] Setting out by the Unlucky Way, the right arch of the Porta Carmentalis, they came to the river Cremera, a position which seemed favourable for the erection of a fort.

Lucius Aemilius and Gaius Servilius were then chosen consuls. And so long as nothing more than plundering was afoot the Fabii were not only an adequate garrison for the fort, but in all that region where the Tuscan territory marches with the Roman they afforded universal security to their own countrymen and annoyance to the enemy, by ranging along the border on both sides. [10] Then came a brief interruption to these depredations, while the men of Veii, having called in an army from Etruria, attacked the post on the Cremera, and the Roman legions, led thither by Lucius Aemilius the consul, engaged them in a pitched battle; [11] though in truth the Veientes had scarcely time to draw up a battle-line, for at the first alarm, while the ranks were falling in behind the standards and the reserves were being posted, a division of Roman cavalry made a

sudden charge on their flank and deprived them of the power not only of attacking first, but even of standing their ground. [12] And so they were driven back upon Saxa Rubra, where they had their camp, and sued for peace. It was granted, but their instinctive fickleness caused them to weary of the pact before the Roman garrison was withdrawn from the Cremera.

50. Again the Fabii were pitted against the people of Veii. No preparations had been made for a great war, yet not only were raids made upon farming lands, and surprise attacks upon raiding parties, but at times they fought in the open field and in serried ranks; [2] and a single clan of the Roman People often carried off the victory from that most mighty state, for those days, in all Etruria. [3] At first the Veientes bitterly resented this; but they presently adopted a plan, suggested by the situation, for trapping their bold enemy, and they even rejoiced as they saw that the frequent successes of the Fabii were causing them to grow more rash. [4] And so they now and then drove flocks in the way of the invaders, as if they had come there by accident; and the country folk would flee from their farms and leave them deserted; and rescuing parties of armed men, sent to keep off pillagers, would flee before them in a panic more often feigned than real. By this time the Fabii had conceived such scorn for the enemy that they believed themselves invincible and not to be withstood, no matter what the place or time. [5] This confidence so won upon them that on catching sight of some flocks at a distance from the Cremera, across a wide interval of plain, they disregarded the appearance here and there of hostile arms, and ran down to capture them. Their rashness carried them on at a swift pace past an ambushade which had been laid on both sides of their very road. [6] They had scattered this way and that and were seizing the flocks, which had dispersed in all directions, as they do if terrified, when suddenly the ambush rose up, and enemies were in front and on every side of them. [7] First the shout which echoed all along the Etruscan line filled them with consternation, and then the javelins began to fall upon them from every quarter; and as the Etruscans drew together and the Romans were now fenced in by a continuous line of armed men, the harder the enemy pressed them the smaller was the space within which they themselves were forced to [8] contract their circle, a thing which

clearly revealed both their own fewness and the vast numbers of the Etruscans, whose ranks were multiplied in the narrow space. [9] The Romans then gave up the fight which they had been directing equally at every point, and all turned in one direction. Thither, by dint of main strength and arms, they forced their way with a wedge. Their road led up a gentle acclivity. [10] There they at first made a stand; presently, when their superior position had afforded them time to breathe and to collect their spirits after so great a fright, they actually routed the troops which were advancing to dislodge them; and a handful of men, with the aid of a good position, were winning the victory, when the Veientes who had been sent round by the ridge emerged upon the crest of the hill, thus giving the enemy the advantage again. [11] The Fabii were all slain to a man, and their fort was stormed. Three hundred and six men perished, as is generally agreed; one, who was little more than a boy in years, survived to maintain the Fabian stock, and so to afford the very greatest help to the Roman People in its dark hours, on many occasions, at home and in the field.

51. When this disaster befel, Gaius Horatius and Titus Menenius had begun their consulship. Menenius was at once sent out to confront the Etruscans, elated by their victory. Again the Roman arms were unsuccessful, and Janiculum was taken by the enemy. [2] They would also have laid siege to Rome, which was suffering not only from war but from a scarcity of corn — for the Etruscans had crossed the Tiber — had not the consul Horatius been recalled from the Volscian country; and so nearly did that invasion approach the very walls of the City that battles were fought first at the temple of Hope, where the result was indecisive, and again at the Colline Gate. [3] There, although the advantage to the Roman side was but slight, still the engagement restored their old-time spirit to the troops and made them the better soldiers for the battles that were to come.

[4] Aulus Verginius and Spurius Servilius were made consuls. After the defeat the Veientes had suffered in the last fight, they avoided a battle and took to pillaging. From Janiculum, as from a citadel, they sent out expeditions far and wide into the territory of the Romans; there was no security anywhere for flocks or country-folk. [5] After a time they were caught by the same trick with which they

had caught the Fabii. Having pursued the flocks which had been driven out here and there on purpose to lure them on, they plunged into an ambush, and as their numbers exceeded those of the Fabii so did their losses. [6] This disaster threw them into a violent rage, which proved the cause and the beginning of a greater reverse. For they crossed the Tiber in the night and assaulted the camp of the consul Servilius. There they were routed with heavy losses and regained Janiculum with difficulty. [7] Forthwith the consul himself crossed the Tiber and fortified a camp beneath the hill. Next day at dawn, partly because he was emboldened by the successful battle of the day before, but more because the want of corn drove him to the rashest kind of measures, provided only they were speedy, he was [8] so reckless as to lead his army up Janiculum to the enemy's camp, and after suffering a more disgraceful repulse than he had administered the day before, owed his own rescue and that of his army to the arrival of his colleague. [9] Caught between two lines, the Etruscans turned their backs first on one and then on the other, and were cut down with great slaughter. Thus the Veientine invasion was defeated by a lucky temerity.

52. There came to the City with the return of peace a relaxation in the corn-market; for not only was grain imported from Campania, but now that each had ceased to fear for his own future want, men brought out the stores which they had concealed. [2] As a consequence of plenty and idleness a spirit of licence again began to affect men's minds, and they began to seek at home for the old troubles which were no longer to be met with abroad. The tribunes roused the plebs to madness with their usual poison, a land-law. The Fathers resisted, but the tribunes incited the people against them, not as a body merely, but as individuals. [3] Quintus Considius and Titus Genucius, the proposers of the agrarian measure, cited Titus Menenius to appear for trial. He had incurred the dislike of the plebs owing to the loss of the outpost on the Cremera, when he as consul had occupied a permanent camp not far away; [4] and this unpopularity was his undoing, though the senators exerted themselves in his behalf no less than they had done for Coriolanus, and though the favour enjoyed by his father Agrippa had not yet passed away. [5] In respect to the penalty the tribunes showed

restraint; though they had charged him with a capital offence, they fixed the fine of the condemned at two thousand *asses*. But it cost him his life; they say that he could not endure the shame and grief, and from this cause fell ill and died.

[6] Another man was then put upon his trial, namely Spurius Servilius. He had laid down the consulship and been succeeded by Gaius Nautius and Publius Valerius, when he was cited, in the very beginning of the year, by the tribunes Lucius Caedicius and Titus Statius. Unlike Menenius, he did not meet the attacks of the tribunes with entreaties, preferred by himself or the senators, but with high confidence in his innocence and popularity. [7] He, too, was accused in connection with the battle against the Etruscans at Janiculum. But the fiery courage of the man had not been more in evidence in the nation's hour of peril than it was then in his own, and he confuted not only the tribunes but the plebs, upbraiding them, in a daring speech, with the condemnation and death of Menenius, to whose father, he declared, the plebs formerly owed their restoration and the possession of those very magistrates and laws which were the tools of their cruelty. This boldness swept away the danger. [8] He was helped, too, by Verginius, his colleague, who, being called as a witness, shared his own credit with Servilius. But the trial of Menenius stood him in even better stead, so great a revulsion of feeling had set in.

53. Domestic strife was at an end; but war broke out with the Veientes, with whom the Sabines had united their arms. Publius Valerius the consul was dispatched to Veii with an army to which had been added auxiliaries from the Latins and the Hernici. He at once advanced upon the Sabine camp, which had been established in front of the walls of their allies, and threw the enemy into such confusion that, while they were running out in small groups, some one way and some another, to repel the attack of the Romans, he captured the gate against which he had directed his first assault. [2] What followed within the stockade was a massacre rather than a battle. The sounds of confusion in the camp penetrated even to the city, and the frightened inhabitants ran hastily to their weapons, as though Veii had been surprised. [3] Some went to the rescue of the Sabines, others assailed the Romans, who were wholly preoccupied

with the camp. For a moment the Romans were disconcerted and thrown into disorder; then they, too, faced both ways and made a stand, and the horse which the consul sent into the fight dispersed and routed the Etruscans. [4] In one and the same hour two armies, two of the greatest and most powerful neighbouring nations, were defeated.

While these victories were being won at Veii, the Volsci and the Aequi had encamped on Latin soil, and had laid waste the country. These the Latins, acting independently, with the assistance of the Hernici, but without either general or aid from Rome, despoiled of their camp. [5] Immense booty, in addition to property of their own which they recovered, fell into their hands. Nevertheless a consul, Gaius Nautius, was sent from Rome against the Volsci. The precedent, I suppose, of allies waging wars, without a Roman commander and army, by means of their own forces and their own strategy, was not welcome. [6] There was no species of disaster or indignity which was not visited upon the Volsci, yet they could not be forced into giving battle.

54. Lucius Furius and Gaius Manlius were the next consuls. To Manlius fell the command against the Veientes. But there was no war; a truce for forty years was granted, at their solicitation, and corn and a money-indemnity were exacted of them. [2] The foreign peace was immediately succeeded by quarrels at home. The land-law with which the tribunes goaded the plebs excited them to the pitch of madness. The consuls, not a jot intimidated by the condemnation of Menenius, not a jot by the danger of Servilius, resisted the measure with the utmost violence. [3] As their term expired, Gnaeus Genucius, a plebeian tribune, haled them to trial.

Lucius Aemilius and Opiter Verginius entered upon the consulship. Vopiscus Julius I find given as consul in certain annals, instead of Verginius. This year — whoever its consuls were — Furius and Manlius went about among the people as men accused, in garments of mourning, seeking out the younger patricians, as well as the plebeians. [4] They advised them, they warned them to forbear from office-holding and the administration of the public business; as for the consular fasces, the purple-bordered toga, and the curule chair, — these they should regard in no other light than as the

pageantry of burial; for splendid insignia, like the fillets placed on victims, doomed the wearer to death. [5] But if the consulship was so alluring to them, let them recognize at once that it had been fettered and enslaved by the might of the tribunes; that the consul, as though an attendant upon those officials, must be subject in all he did to their beck and call; [6] if he should bestir himself, if he should show consideration for the patricians, if he should believe that the state comprised any other element than the plebs — let him call to mind the exile of Gnaeus Marcius, the condemnation of Menenius and his death. [7] Fired by these speeches, the senators began to hold councils, no longer publicly, but in private, where the people could not learn their plans. In these deliberations there was but one guiding principle, that by fair means or foul the defendants must be got off. The more truculent a suggestion was, the greater was the favour it evoked, and an agent was not wanting for the most daring crime. [8] Well then, on the day of the trial the plebeians were in the Forum, on tiptoe with expectation. At first they were filled with amazement because the tribune did not come down; then, when at length his delay began to look suspicious, they supposed he had been frightened away by the nobles, and fell to complaining of his desertion and betrayal of the people's cause; finally, those who had presented themselves at the tribune's vestibule brought back word that he had been found dead in his house. [9] When this report had spread through all the gathering, the crowd, like an army which takes to flight at the fall of its general, melted away on every side. The tribunes were particularly dismayed, for the death of their colleague warned them how utterly ineffectual to protect them were the laws that proclaimed their sanctity. [10] Nor did the senators place a proper restraint upon their satisfaction; so far, indeed, was anyone from repenting of the guilty deed that even the innocent desired to be thought its authors, and men openly asserted that chastisement must be employed to curb the power of the tribunes.

55. Immediately following this pernicious victory a levy was proclaimed, which the timorousness of the tribunes allowed the consuls to push through without ever a veto. [2] But this time the commons were fairly roused to anger, more by the silence of the tribunes than by the consuls' power. They declared that it was all up

with their liberty; that men had gone back to their old ways; that with Genucius the tribunician power had suffered death and burial. [3] They must adopt another course and other plans to resist the patricians; but the only way was this: that the plebs should undertake their own defence, since they had no one else to help them. Twenty-four lictors were all the retinue of the consuls, and even these were plebeians. Nothing was more contemptible or weaker, if there were any to condemn; it was every man's own imagination that made them great and awe-inspiring. [4] They had incited one another with arguments of this sort when the consuls sent a lictor to arrest Volero Publilius, a plebeian, who, on the ground that he had been a centurion, denied their right to make him a common soldier. Volero called upon the tribunes. [5] When no one came to aid him, the consuls gave orders to strip the man and get out the rods. "I appeal," cried Volero, "to the people, since the tribunes would rather a Roman citizen should be scourged with rods before their eyes than themselves be murdered in their beds by you." But the more boldly he shouted the more roughly the lictor fell to tearing off his clothes and stripping him. [6] Then Volero, who was himself a powerful man and was helped by those he had called to his assistance, beat off the lictor and, choosing the place where the uproar of his sympathisers was the angriest, plunged into the thick of the crowd, calling out, "I appeal, and implore the protection of the plebs; help, citizens! [7] help, fellow-soldiers! It is useless for you to wait for the tribunes, who themselves stand in need of aid from you." [8] In their excitement men made ready as if to fight a battle, and it was evident that anything might happen, that nobody would respect any right, whether public or private. The consuls, exposed to this furious tempest, were quickly convinced of the insecurity of majesty when unaccompanied with force. [9] The lictors were roughly handled and their rods were broken, while the consuls themselves were driven out of the Forum into the Curia, with no means of knowing how far Volero might use his victory. [10] Afterwards, when the uproar began to die away, they summoned the Fathers into the senate-house and complained of the insults they had suffered, the violence of the plebs, and Volero's outrageous conduct. [11] Though many daring opinions were expressed, the wishes of the older men prevailed, who had no

mind to a conflict between an angry senate and a reckless plebs.

56. Volero, having been taken into favour by the plebs, was at the next election made plebeian tribune for that year which had Lucius Pinarius and Publius Furius for consuls. [2] And contrary to the expectation of all, who believed that he would employ his tribuneship in persecuting the consuls of the preceding year, he set the general welfare above his private grievance, and without attacking the consuls by so much as a word, brought a bill before the people providing that plebeian magistrates should be chosen in the tribal assembly. [3] It was no trivial matter which he proposed under this form, which at first sight appeared so harmless, but one that completely deprived the patricians of the power of using their clients' votes to select what tribunes they liked. [4] This measure was extremely welcome to the plebs; the Fathers opposed it with all their might, yet the only effectual resistance — to wit, a veto by some member of the tribunician college — neither consuls nor nobles were sufficiently influential to command. Nevertheless the legislation, which its very importance rendered difficult, was drawn out by party strife to the end of the year. [5] The plebs re-elected Volero tribune: the senators, thinking the quarrel was sure to proceed to extremities, made Appius Claudius, son of Appius, consul, a man whose unpopularity with the plebs and hostility towards them went back to the struggles between their fathers. For colleague they gave him Titus Quinctius.

[6] The new year was no sooner begun than discussion of the law took precedence of everything else, and it was urged not only by its author, Volero, but by his colleague Laetorius as well, whose advocacy of it was at once fresher and more acrimonious. [7] He was emboldened by the great reputation he enjoyed as a soldier, since no one of that generation surpassed him in physical prowess. While Volero spoke of nothing but the law, and forbore to inveigh against the consuls' persons, Laetorius launched out into an arraignment of Appius and his family, as most cruel and arrogant towards the Roman plebs. [8] But when he strove to show that the patricians had elected, not a consul, but an executioner, to harass and torture the plebeians, the inexperienced tongue of the soldier was inadequate to express his audacity and spirit. [9] Accordingly when words began to

fail him he cried, "Since speech is not so easy for me, Quirites, as it is to make good what I have spoken, be at hand tomorrow. I will either die here in your sight or carry through the law." [10] The tribunes were the first on the scene next day, and possessed themselves of the rostra; the consuls and nobles took their stand in the assembly, with the purpose of obstructing the passage of the law. Laetorius ordered the removal of all but those who were voting. [11] The youthful nobles stayed where they were and would not give way at the officer's behest. Then certain of them were ordered by Laetorius to be seized. [12] The consul Appius declared that the tribune had no authority over anybody but a plebeian, seeing that he was not a magistrate of the people, but of the plebs; and even if he were, he could not, consistently with the custom of the Fathers, command the removal of anyone, by virtue of his authority, since the formula ran thus: "If it seems good to you, depart, Quirites." It was an easy matter to throw Laetorius into a passion by these contemptuous remarks about his rights. [13] It was therefore in a blaze of anger that the tribune dispatched his attendant to the consul; [14] while the consul sent his lictor to the tribune, crying out that Laetorius was a private citizen, without power, and no magistrate; and the tribune would have been mishandled, had not the whole assembly rallied fiercely to his support against the consul, while men rushed into the Forum from all over the City, in an excited throng. [15] Still, Appius was obstinately holding out, despite the fury of the tempest, and a sanguinary battle would have ensued, if Quinctius, the other consul, had not entrusted the senators of consular rank with the task of getting his colleague out of the Forum, by force, if they could not achieve it otherwise; while he himself now appealed to the raging populace with soothing entreaties, and now besought the tribunes to dismiss the council. [16] Let them give their anger time: time would not rob them of their power, but would add wisdom to their strength; the Fathers would be subject to the people, and the consul to the Fathers.

57. It was hard for Quinctius to still the plebs; much harder for the senators to quiet the other consul. At length the council of the plebs was adjourned, and the consuls convened the senate. [2] At this meeting alternating hope and fear gave rise to conflicting opinions.

But in proportion as their passions cooled with the lapse of time and gave way to deliberation, their minds more and more revolted from the struggle; insomuch that they passed a vote of thanks to Quinctius, because it was due to him that the quarrel had been abated. [3] They desired Appius to be content that the majesty of the consul should be no greater than was compatible with harmony in the state, pointing out that while tribunes and consuls were each striving to carry things his own way there was no strength left in the nation at large, and the commonwealth was torn and mangled, the question being rather in whose power it was than how it might be safe. [4] Appius, on the other hand, called gods and men to witness that the state was being betrayed through cowardice, and abandoned; that it was not the consul who was failing the senate, but the senate the consul; that harder terms were being accepted than had been accepted on the Sacred Mount. Nevertheless he was borne down by the senate's unanimity and held his peace. The law was passed without opposition. 58. Then for the first time tribunes were elected in the tribal assembly. That their number was also increased by three, as if there had been only two before, is stated by Piso. [2] He also gives the names of the tribunes: Gnaeus Siccus, Lucius Numitorius, Marcus Duillius, Spurius Icilius, Lucius Maecilius.

While Rome was thus distracted, the Volsci and the Aequi began war. [3] They had laid waste the fields in order that the plebeians, if they should secede, might find a refuge with them. Then, when the matter was settled, they withdrew their camp. Appius Claudius was sent against the Volsci; to Quinctius fell the command against the Aequi. [4] In his conduct in the field Appius displayed the same violence that he had shown in Rome, and it now had freer play because it was not hampered by the tribunes. He hated the plebs with a hatred that surpassed his father's: What? [5] Had he been beaten by them? Was it in his consulship, who had been chosen as pre-eminently fitted to resist the tribunician power, that a law had been passed which former consuls had prevented, with less effort and by no means so much hope of success on the part of the patricians? [6] His wrath and indignation at this thought drove his fierce spirit to torment the army with a savage exercise of authority. Yet he was unable by any violence to subdue them, so deeply had their spirits

drunk of opposition. [7] Sloth, idleness, neglect, and obstinacy were in all they did. Neither shame nor fear restrained them. If he wished the column to advance more rapidly they deliberately retarded their pace; if he stood by to encourage their work, they would all relax the industry they had manifested of their own accord. [8] In his presence they sunk their gaze; as he passed by they cursed him under their breath; till that proud spirit, which the hatred of the plebs had never broken, was at times disturbed. [9] After exhausting every species of severity without effect, he would have no more to do with the men; the centurions, he said, had corrupted the army, and he sometimes sneeringly dubbed them “tribunes of the plebs” and “Voleros.”

59. Every one of these circumstances was known to the Volsci, and they pressed their enemy the harder, hoping that the Roman army would exhibit the same spirited opposition to Appius which it had evinced towards the consul Fabius. [2] But Appius found his men far more unruly than had Fabius; for not only were they unwilling to conquer, as the Fabian army had been, but they wished to be conquered. Being drawn out into battle-order, they basely fled and sought their camp; nor did they make a stand until they saw the Volsci advancing against their fortifications and inflicting a disgraceful slaughter upon their rearguard. [3] This compelled them to exert themselves and fight, with the result that the enemy was dislodged from the stockade in the moment of victory. Yet it was evident enough that the capture of their camp was the only thing at which the Roman soldiers balked, and that elsewhere they rejoiced at their own defeat and ignominy. [4] These things in no wise daunted the haughty spirit of Appius. But when he would have gone further and have vented his rage upon the army, and was issuing orders for an assembly, the lieutenants and tribunes gathered hurriedly about him and warned him upon no account to seek a test of his authority, when its effectiveness all depended on the goodwill of those obeying it. [5] The men, they reported, were saying that they would not go to be harangued, and everywhere voices were overheard demanding that the camp be removed from Volscian territory. The victorious enemy had a little while before been almost in their gates and on their wall, and a great disaster was not merely to be apprehended, but was openly hovering before their eyes. [6] Giving way at last, since

the soldiers were gaining nothing but a postponement of their punishment, he relinquished the idea of an assembly, and commanded a march for the following day. At daybreak he caused the signal for departure to be sounded on the trumpet. [7] At the very instant when the column was getting clear of the camp, the Volsci, as though set in motion by the same signal, fell upon their rear. Thence the confusion spread to the van, and the panic so disordered the standards and the ranks that it was impossible either to hear commands or to form a line. [8] Nobody thought of anything but flight, and so demoralised was the rout, as the men escaped over fallen bodies and discarded weapons, that the enemy sooner ceased to pursue than the Romans to flee. [9] When at last the soldiers had been collected from their scattered flight, the consul, who had followed his men in a vain attempt to call them back, pitched his camp on friendly soil. Then he summoned an assembly and soundly rated them, not without reason, as an army which had been false to military discipline and had deserted its standards. [10] Asking them all in turn where their arms and where their standards were, he caused the unarmed soldiers and the standard-bearers who had lost their standards, and in [11] addition to these the centurions and the recipients of a double ration who had quitted their ranks, to be scourged with rods and beheaded; of the remaining number every tenth man was selected by lot for punishment.

60. To contrast with all this, in the Aequian campaign there subsisted between consul and soldiers an emulation of goodwill and kindness. Not only was it natural to Quinctius to be more gentle, but the unfortunate harshness of his colleague had given him the more reason to be content with his own disposition. [2] Against this complete harmony between commander and army the Aequi ventured no opposition, but suffered their enemies to devastate their fields at will; and in fact no previous war had ever yielded a larger booty from that country. [3] This was all given to the troops, and to the spoils were added encomiums, which are no less efficacious than rewards in rejoicing a soldier's heart. Not only their leader, but for their leader's sake the Fathers, too, were looked upon with greater kindness by the army when they returned. They declared that to them the senate had given a parent, to the other army a tyrant.

[4] Varying fortune in war, grievous discord at home and in the field, had characterized the year just ended; but it was chiefly distinguished by the tribal assembly, a matter more important because the men had won a victory in the struggle which they had undertaken than in its practical results; [5] for the loss of dignity to the assembly itself, caused by the removal from it of the patricians, was greater than the gain in strength by the plebeians or the loss of it by the Fathers.

61. A stormier year succeeded, under the consuls Lucius Valerius and Titus Aemilius, partly owing to strife between the classes about the land-law, partly to the trial of Appius Claudius. [2] He was the bitterest opponent of the law, and was upholding the claim of those who had possession of the public domain as if he had been a third consul, when Marcus Duillius and Gnaeus Siccus lodged an accusation against him. [3] Never before had a defendant whom the plebs so detested been brought to trial before the people, burdened as he was with men's hatred, both of himself and of his father. [4] The patricians, for their part, had not lightly put forth such exertions in behalf of any man. They felt that the champion of the senate and the guardian of their own dignity, who had stood firm against all sorts of tribunician and plebeian outbreaks, though he had possibly gone too far in the heat of the struggle, was being exposed to the angry commons. [5] Alone amongst the Fathers, Appius Claudius himself regarded tribunes, plebs, and his own trial with perfect unconcern. He was not one whom the threats of the plebeians or the entreaties of the senate could ever prevail upon, I do not say to put on mourning, or to seek men out with appeals for mercy, but even to soften and subdue in a slight degree the accustomed sharpness of his tongue, though it was before the people he must plead. [6] There was the same expression on his countenance, the same arrogance in his glance, the same fire in his speech; so markedly, in fact, that a great part of the plebs feared Appius no less when a defendant than they had feared him as consul. [7] Once only did he plead his cause, in the tone he had been wont to use on all occasions, namely, that of a prosecutor; and so completely did his firmness overwhelm the tribunes and the commons that they themselves voluntarily adjourned the trial to a later day, and then allowed the affair to drag. [8] The interval was not

very long, but before the appointed day came round Appius fell sick and died. [9] When his eulogy was being pronounced, the tribunes of the plebs attempted to interfere, but the plebs were not willing that the funeral-day of so great a man should be defrauded of the customary honours. They listened to his praises with as great goodwill, now he was dead, as they had heard the living man accused, and attended his burial in crowds.

62. The same year Valerius the consul, having marched with an army against the Aequi, was unable to entice the enemy into a battle, and directed an assault upon their camp. This was foiled by an awful storm that descended upon them with hail and claps of thunder. [2] Their amazement was soon increased, on the signal for retreat being given, by the reappearance of so tranquil and cloudless a sky, that, as though some god had defended the camp, they scrupled to attack it a second time, and directed all their hostility towards devastating the fields. [3] The other consul, Aemilius, conducted a campaign in the Sabine country. There, too, the enemy kept within his walls, and the Romans laid waste his fields. [4] Afterwards, by setting fire not only to farmhouses but even to the villages, where the people lived close together, they aroused the Sabines, who, having met the pillagers and fought a drawn battle with them, next day withdrew their camp to a safer position. [5] This seemed to the consul a sufficient pretext for leaving the enemy, as conquered, and he retired ere the campaign had fairly begun.

63. While these wars were going on and there was still discord at home, Titus Numicius Priscus and Aulus Verginius were elected consuls. [2] It was clear that the plebs would endure no further postponement of the land-law, and were preparing to use violent measures, when the approach of a Volscian army was announced by the smoke which rose from burning farmhouses and by the flight of the country people. By this circumstance the insurrection, which was already matured and on the point of breaking out, was repressed. [3] The consuls, being at once commanded to do so by the senate, led the young men out of the [4] City to the war, a policy which diminished the restlessness of the plebeians who were left behind. [5] As for the enemy, they did no more than cause the Romans a needless panic, and hastily retreated. Numicius marched to Antium

against the Volsci, Verginius against the Aequi. In the Aequian campaign an ambush nearly resulted in a severe defeat for the Romans, but the courage of the soldiers restored the day, which the carelessness of the consul had almost lost. [6] The Volscian expedition was better directed: the enemy were routed in the first engagement and driven in flight to Antium, a very opulent city for those days. This place the consul did not venture to assail, but he captured from the Antiates another town, named Caeno, of far less wealth. [7] While the Aequi and Volsci kept the Roman armies busy, the Sabines advanced clear to the gates of the City on a plundering raid. A few days after this they themselves had to confront two armies, for both the consuls indignantly invaded their borders, and they suffered greater losses than they had themselves inflicted.

64. Towards the close of the year there was a brief season of peace, but, as always on other occasions, a peace distracted by the strife of patricians and plebeians. [2] The angry plebs refused to take part in the consular elections: by the votes of the patricians and their clients Titus Quinctius and Quintus Servilius were chosen consuls. They experienced a year like the preceding one: dissensions, to begin with, then a foreign war and tranquillity. [3] The Sabines executed a rapid march across the Crustumian plains, bringing fire and sword to the country about the river Anio. When almost at the Colline Gate and the City walls they were beaten back, yet they carried off immense spoils of men and cattle. [4] Servilius the consul pursued them with an army, and though he could not overtake the column itself on ground which was suitable for offering battle, he devastated the country so extensively as to leave nothing untouched by the ravages of war, and returned with many times the plunder which the Romans had lost. [5] Operations in the Volscian country, too, were very successful, thanks both to the general and to his soldiers. First, there was a pitched battle in the open field, with enormous numbers killed and wounded on both sides. [6] The Romans indeed, whose fewness made them feel their loss more sensibly, would have fallen back, had it not been for a salutary falsehood told by the consul, who shouted that the enemy were running away on the other wing, and so aroused the spirits of his troops. [7] The Romans charged and, believing themselves to be conquering, they conquered. The consul feared lest by pressing the

enemy too hard he might cause a renewal of the struggle. [8] He therefore gave the signal for the recall. For a few days both sides rested, as if they had tacitly agreed on a truce. Meanwhile a great force of men came in from all their tribes to the camp of the Volsci and Aequi. [9] They made no question but that the Romans, if they had perceived them, would retreat in the night, and accordingly at about the third watch they came to attack the camp. [10] Quinctius stilled the tumult which the sudden alarm had raised, and bidding the soldiers remain quietly in their tents, led out a cohort of Hernici to an outpost, and mounting trumpeters and buglers upon horses, ordered them to blow their instruments in front of the rampart and keep the enemy in suspense till daybreak. [11] For the remainder of the night all was so peaceful in camp that the Romans were even able to sleep. But the Volsci, beholding armed foot-soldiers, whom they supposed to be more numerous than they were, and to be Romans; and hearing the stamping and neighing of the horses, which were infuriated not only at finding unaccustomed riders on their backs, but also by the blare of the trumpets, were kept on the alert in anticipation of an attack.

65. As soon as it was light, the Romans, who were fresh and had enjoyed a good sleep, were led out into line of battle. [2] The Volsci, weary from standing and from loss of sleep, were driven back at the first assault; though it was rather a retreat than a rout, for behind them were hills, to which, under cover of the first line, they withdrew safely and in good order. The consul ordered a halt when his army reached rising ground. The infantry could hardly be restrained, noisily demanding permission to press on after the fleeing enemy. [3] Still more ardent were the cavalry. They swarmed about the general, and shouted that they were going on before the standards. While the consul was hesitating, feeling certain of the valour of his troops but doubtful of the ground, the men cried out that they were going, and instantly made good their word. Planting their spears in the ground, that they might be the lighter for the ascent, they went up at a run. [4] The Volsci, having discharged their javelins at the first onset, picked up the stones which lay about under their feet, and flung them at their enemies as they mounted. Confused by this rain of missiles from above, the left wing of the Romans was nearly overwhelmed, and

had already begun to retreat, when the consul, reproaching them at once with rashness and with cowardice, succeeded in shaming them out of their fear. [5] First they made a resolute stand; then, after holding their ground and returning blow for blow, they even dared to press forward and, renewing their cheers, set their line in motion; then with another rush they struggled upward and scaled the height; and they were just emerging upon the summit of the ridge, when the enemy turned and fled. [6] Running at full speed, and almost in one body, the pursued and the pursuers reached the Volscian camp, which was captured in the panic. Those of the Volsci who succeeded in escaping made for Antium, and to Antium marched the Roman army also. [7] After a blockade of a few days the place surrendered; the besiegers had not delivered any new attack, but the Volsci had lost heart from the moment of their unsuccessful battle and the capture of their camp.

SUMMARY OF BOOK II

BRUTUS bound the people with an oath to allow no one to reign in Rome. Tarquinius Collatinus, his colleague, who had incurred suspicion because of his relationship to the Tarquinii, he forced to abdicate the consulship and withdraw from the state. He ordered the king's goods to be plundered, and consecrated his land to Mars. It was named the Campus Martius. Certain noble youths — among them his own sons and his brother's — he beheaded, because they had conspired to bring back the kings. To the slave who gave the information, a man called Vindicius, he gave his freedom; from his name came the word *vindicta*. Having led an army against the princes, who had collected forces from Veii and Tarquinii and begun a war, he fell in the battle, together with Arruns, the son of Superbus, and the matrons mourned for him a year. Publius Valerius the consul proposed a law about appealing to the people. The Capitol was dedicated. Porsenna, king of Clusium, made war in behalf of the Tarquinii and came to Janiculum, but was prevented from crossing the Tiber by the bravery of Horatius Cocles, who, while the others were cutting down the Sublician Bridge, kept the Etruscans at bay,

single-handed, and when the bridge had been destroyed, threw himself armed into the river and swam across to his fellows. Another example of courage was exhibited by Mucius. Having entered the camp of the enemy with the purpose of killing Porsenna, he slew a secretary, whom he had taken for the king. Being arrested, he placed his hand upon the altar, where sacrifice had been made, and suffering it to be burned off, declared that there were three hundred others as determined as himself. Overcome with astonishment at their daring, Porsenna proposed terms of peace and, having taken hostages, relinquished the war. One of the hostages, the maiden Cloelia, evaded the sentinels and swam across the Tiber to her people. She was given up to Porsenna, but was restored by him with marks of honour, and was presented with an equestrian statue. Aulus Postumius the dictator fought a successful battle against Tarquinius Superbus, who was advancing with an army of Latins. Appius Claudius came over from the Sabines to the Romans. On this account the Claudian tribe was added and the number of tribes was increased to twenty-one. The plebs, after seceding to the Sacred Mount because of those who had been enslaved for debt, were induced by the advice of Menenius Agrippa to cease from their rebellion. The same Agrippa when he died was buried, owing to his poverty, at the state's expense. Five plebeian tribunes were elected. The Volscian town of Corioli was captured by the valiant efforts of Gnaeus Marcius, who acquired from this circumstance the name of Coriolanus. Titus Latinus, a man of the plebs, was warned in a dream to inform the senate regarding certain offences against religion. Having neglected to do it, he lost a son and was paralysed in his feet. When he had been carried to the senate in a litter and had revealed these same matters, he recovered the use of his feet and returned to his house. When Gnaeus Marcius Coriolanus, who had been driven into exile and had been made general of the Volsci, had led a hostile army nearly to Rome, and when the envoys who had been sent to him at first and afterwards the priests had vainly besought him not to make war upon his native land, his mother Veturia and his wife Volumnia persuaded him to withdraw. For the first time a land-law was proposed. Spurius Cassius, the ex-consul, charged with aspiring to be king, was condemned and put to death. Opillia, a Vestal Virgin, was

buried alive for unchastity. The neighbouring Veientes being a troublesome rather than a dangerous enemy, the Fabian family asked to be allowed to carry on that war, and dispatched thither 306 armed men, who were all but one killed by the enemy at the Cremera. When Appius Claudius the consul had sustained a defeat at the hands of the Volsci, owing to the contumacy of his army, he caused every tenth soldier to be scourged to death. It contains besides campaigns against the Volsci, the Hernici, and the Veientes, and the quarrels between the patricians and the plebs.

BOOK III

Translated by B. O. Foster

1. AFTER the capture of Antium, Titus Aemilius and Quintus Fabius were elected consuls. This was that 467 Fabius who had been the sole survivor of his family destroyed at the Cremera. [2] In his former consulship Aemilius had already supported the assignment of land to the plebs. Consequently, when he entered a second time upon the office, not only had the agrarians begun to have hopes of a law, but the tribunes, who had often tried to carry the measure against the opposition of the consuls, now took it up in the belief that with the co-operation of a consul it could certainly be made good; and the consul continued of the same mind. [3] The possessors of the land, comprising a large proportion of the patricians, complained that the head of the state was openly supporting tribunician policies and making himself popular by a generosity exhibited at other men's expense; they thus diverted the resentment awakened by the whole affair from the tribunes to the consul. [4] A bitter struggle was impending, when Fabius, by a proposal which neither side found injurious, set the matter right. [5] Under the leadership and auspices of Titus Quinctius, as he pointed out, a considerable territory had been conquered the year before from the Volsci; Antium, a well-situated maritime city, could be made the seat of a colony; in this way the plebs would obtain farms without causing the landholders to complain, and the state would be at harmony. [6] This suggestion was adopted. [7] As commissioners for distributing the land Fabius appointed Titus Quinctius, Aulus Verginius, and Publius Furius, and it was ordered that those who wished to receive grants should give in their names. There at once appeared the fastidiousness which usually attends abundance, and so few persons enrolled that Volscian colonists were added to fill out the number; the rest of the populace preferred demanding land at Rome to receiving it elsewhere. [8] The Aequi begged Quintus Fabius, who had invaded their country, to grant them peace; and broke it themselves by a sudden raid on Latin territory.

2. Quintus Servilius, being sent against the Aequi in the following year — when he and Spurius Postumius were consuls — made a permanent camp in the Latin country, where the army was attacked by a pestilence which deprived it of the power to act. [2] The war dragged on into its third year, the consulship of Quintus Fabius and Titus Quinctius. To Fabius was given the command against the Aequi, without the customary drawing of lots, since he had been victorious over them and had granted them peace. [3] Setting out in the full expectation that the glory of his name would bring the enemy to terms, he sent envoys to their national council and bade them announce that Quintus Fabius the consul said that he had brought peace from the Aequi to Rome, and was then bringing war from Rome to the Aequi in the same right hand, now armed, which he had formerly given them in friendship. [4] Whose faithlessness and perjury were responsible for this, the gods were even then witnesses, and would presently punish the offenders. Yet however that might be, he would himself prefer that the Aequi should even now freely repent, instead of suffering the penalties of war. [5] If they did so, they could count on a safe refuge in the clemency they had already proved; but if they rejoiced in perjury, it was rather with the angry gods than with their enemies that they would be at war. [6] So far were these words from having the slightest effect on anyone, that the envoys narrowly escaped violation, and an army was dispatched to Algidus against the Romans. [7] On the arrival of this news at Rome, the insult, rather than the danger, brought the other consul out from the City. And so two consular armies approached the enemy, drawn up in line of battle, that they might instantly engage them. [8] But since it happened to be near the end of the day, a man called out to them from an outpost of the enemy, “This, Romans, is making a parade of war, not waging it. [9] When night is about to fall, you draw up your battle-line; we need more hours of daylight for the struggle which is close at hand. To-morrow at sunrise form your battle-line again; there will be opportunity for fighting, never fear!” [10] Galled by these words the troops were led back to their camp to await the morrow; the night would be a long one, they felt, that must intervene before the combat. Meanwhile they refreshed themselves with food and sleep. When it grew light next morning, the Roman army took

the field, some time before the enemy. At last the Aequi too came out. [11] The battle raged fiercely on both sides, for the Romans fought with exasperation and hatred, while the Aequi were conscious that the danger in which they were involved was due to their own fault, and this, with their despair of ever being trusted again, incited them to the last degree of daring and exertion. [12] Nevertheless they were unable to withstand the attack of the Romans. And yet, when they had been defeated and had fallen back to their own territory, the warlike soldiers, their spirit as little inclined to peace as ever, complained against their generals for having staked the cause on a pitched battle, a species of fighting in which the Romans excelled; [13] the Aequi, they said, were better at pillaging and raiding, and a number of scattered bands could make war more effectively than the great mass of a single army.

3. Leaving a garrison, therefore, in their camp, they crossed the Roman border in so headlong an incursion as to carry terror even to the City. [2] Moreover, the unexpectedness of the inroad added to the alarm, for nothing could have been apprehended less than that an enemy who was defeated and almost shut up in his camp should be thinking of a raid; [3] and the country people who in their fright came tumbling in through the gates told not of pillaging nor of small bands of raiders, but, exaggerating everything in their senseless fear, cried out that whole armies of the enemy were close at hand and rushing on the City in a serried column. [4] The very vagueness of these rumours led to further exaggeration as the bystanders passed them on to others. The running and shouting of men as they called "To arms!" was almost like the panic in a captured city. It chanced that the consul Quinctius had returned from Algidus to Rome. [5] This circumstance allayed men's fears, and when the confusion had been stilled, he indignantly reminded them that the enemy they dreaded had been conquered, and posted watches at the gates. [6] He then convened the senate, and in accordance with a resolution which the Fathers passed, proclaimed a suspension of the courts. [7] After that he set out to defend the frontier, leaving Quintus Servilius as prefect of the City, but did not meet with the enemy in the field. The other consul campaigned with great success. [8] Knowing where the enemy would come, he fell upon them when they were weighed down with

the booty which incumbered their advancing column, and caused them bitterly to rue their pillaging. But few of them escaped the ambush, and the spoils were all recovered. [9] So the suspension of the courts, which had lasted four days, was lifted on the return of the consul Quinctius to the City.

The census was then taken and Quinctius solemnized the concluding purification. [10] There are said to have been registered 104,714 citizens, besides orphans and widows. In the Aequian country there was no memorable action after that; the people retired to their towns, and permitted their farms to be burnt and ravaged. The consul made a number of forays with his army throughout the enemy's territory, and returned to Rome with great renown and huge spoils.

4. The next consuls were Aulus Postumius Albus and Spurius Furius Fusus. (Some writers spell the name Fusius instead of Furius, which I note lest anybody should regard as a substitution of one man for another what is really only a matter of names.) [2] There was no doubt but that one consul would make war on the Aequi, and these accordingly appealed to the Ecetranian Volsci for help. It was eagerly granted them — such was the rivalry between these nations in inveterate hatred of Rome — and the most vigorous preparations were made for war. [3] The Hernici perceived, and warned the Romans, that Ecetra had gone over to the Aequi. Suspicion already rested on the colony of Antium, on the ground that a large body of men, escaping from the place at the time of its capture, had taken refuge with the Aequi; [4] and in fact they fought with the greatest spirit all through the Aequian war; afterwards, when the Aequi had been shut up in their towns, this company dispersed, returned to Antium, and won over the colonists, who were even then at heart disloyal to the Romans. [5] The plot was not yet ripe when their proposed defection was reported to the senate, and the consuls were instructed to summon the leaders of the colony to Rome and inquire what was going on. [6] These men made no objection to coming, but on being introduced into the senate by the consuls returned such answers to the questions they were asked that they were under a stronger suspicion when dismissed than they had been on their arrival.

[7] War was from that moment regarded as certain. Spurius Furius, one of the consuls, having received that command, set out against the Aequi. In the country of the Hernici he found the enemy engaged in marauding, and being ignorant of their strength, because they had never all been seen together, rashly offered battle with an army which was no match for theirs in numbers. [8] At the first attack he was repulsed and withdrew into his camp. Nor did this end his danger, for both that night and the following day his camp was so vigorously hemmed in and assaulted that not even a messenger could be got off to Rome. [9] The Hernici reported the defeat and blockade of the consul and his army, striking such terror into the hearts of the senators that they passed a decree which has always been held to signify the direst necessity: that Postumius, the other consul, should be commissioned to see to it that the republic took no hurt. [10] It was deemed wisest that the consul himself should remain in Rome, to enroll all who were capable of bearing arms; and that a proconsul, Titus Quinctius, should be sent, with an army of the allies, to relieve the camp. [11] In order to fill out this army the Latins and the Hernici and the colony of Antium were commanded to furnish Quinctius with “emergency-men,” as they used then to term hastily-levied auxiliaries.

5. There was much manœuvring during the days that followed, and many attacks were delivered in one place or another, for the enemy, having a preponderance of numbers, set about harassing the Roman forces in many places, with the expectation that they would prove unequal to all the demands that were made upon them; [2] at the same time that they were besieging the camp, a part of their army was sent [3??] to devastate the Roman fields and to attack the City itself, should an opportunity offer. [4] Lucius Valerius was left to defend the City, while the consul Postumius was sent out to protect the frontier from pillage. There was no relaxation anywhere of vigilance or effort; watches were set in the City, outposts were established before the gates, and troops were posted on the walls; and, as was necessary in the midst of such confusion, the courts were suspended for several days. [5] In camp meanwhile the consul Furius, having begun by submitting tamely to the blockade, caught the Aequi off their guard, and made a sortie by the decuman gate. He might have pursued the

enemy, but stopped for fear the camp might be assailed from the opposite quarter. [6] The lieutenant Furius, a brother of the consul, was carried a good way off by his charge, nor did he observe, in the ardour of pursuit, either that his friends were retiring or that the enemy were moving up to attack him in the rear. His retreat was thus cut off, and after repeated but unsuccessful attempts to force his way back to the camp, he perished, fighting bravely. [7] The consul too, upon learning that his brother was surrounded, set his face towards the battle and plunged into the midst of the mellay, with more rashness than prudence; for he received a wound, and was barely rescued by the men about him. [8] This misfortune dismayed his own troops and quickened the courage of the enemy, who were so inspirited by the death of the lieutenant and the wounding of the consul that from that moment no force could withstand them, and the Romans were driven into their camp and again besieged, being no match for their opponents either in confidence or strength. The very existence of the army would have been imperilled, had not Titus Quinctius come up with the foreign troops, the Latins and Hernici. [9] He found the Aequi intent on the Roman camp, and truculently displaying the head of the lieutenant. Attacking them in the rear, while the besieged, in answer to a signal he had given them from afar, were making a sally from the camp, he intercepted a large body of them. [10] There was less carnage but a more headlong rout in the case of the Aequi who were in Roman territory. These men were dispersed and collecting booty when they were attacked by Postumius at several points where he had opportunely stationed troops. [11] The pillagers, fleeing in a disordered crowd, fell in with Quinctius, who was returning from his victory with the wounded consul; whereupon the consular army splendidly avenged the consul's wound and the slaughter of the lieutenant and his cohorts. Heavy losses were inflicted and sustained on both sides at that time. [12] It is hard to make a trustworthy statement, in a matter of such antiquity, as to just how many fought and how many fell; [13] yet Valerius Antias ventures to specify the totals, saying that the Romans lost five thousand eight hundred in the country of the Hernici; that of the Aequian marauders who were roaming about and pillaging within the Roman borders two thousand four hundred were slain by Aulus

Postumius, the consul; and that the rest of the expedition, which stumbled upon Quinctius as they were driving off their booty, got off by no means so lightly, for their killed amounted, so he says, with minute particularity, to four thousand two hundred and thirty.

[14] When the army had returned to Rome, and the suspension of the courts was ended, the heavens were seen to blaze with numerous fires, and other portents either were actually seen or were due to the illusions of the terror-stricken observers. To avert these alarms a three days' season of prayer was ordered, and during this period all the shrines were crowded with a throng of men and women beseeching the pardon of the gods. [15] After that the cohorts of the Latins and the Hernici were thanked by the senate for their energetic service and sent home. A thousand men from Antium who had come too late to help, when the battle was over, were dismissed, almost in disgrace.

6. The elections were then held, and Lucius Aebutius and Publius Servilius were chosen consuls. On the first of August, then the beginning of the year, they entered office. [2] It was the sickly season, and chanced to be a year of pestilence both in the City and in the country, for beasts as well as men; and the people increased the virulence of the disease, in their dread of pillage, by receiving flocks and country-folk into the City. [3] This conflux of all kinds of living things distressed the citizens with its strange smells, while the country-people, being packed into narrow quarters, suffered greatly from the heat and want of sleep; and the exchange of ministrations and mere contact spread the infection. [4] The Romans could scarce endure the calamities which pressed hard upon them, when suddenly envoys from the Hernici appeared, announcing that the Aequi and the Volsci had joined forces and established a camp in their territory, from which base they were devastating their land with an enormous army. [5] Not only did the reduced numbers of the senate show their allies that the nation was prostrated by the pestilence, but they also returned a melancholy answer to their suit, that the Hernici, namely, with the help of the Latins, must defend their own possessions; for the City of Rome, in a sudden visitation of divine displeasure, was being ravaged by disease; if there should come any respite from their suffering, they would help their friends, as they had done the year

before and on every other occasion. [6] The allies departed, bearing home, in return for their sad tidings, a reply that was even sadder, since it meant that their people must sustain by themselves a war which they could hardly have sustained with the powerful assistance of the Romans. [7] No longer did the enemy confine themselves to the country of the Hernici; they proceeded thence to invade the Roman fields, which had been made desolate even without the violence of war. Encountering no one there, not even an unarmed man, and passing through a country wholly destitute not only of defenders but also of cultivation, they came to the third milestone on the Gabinian Way.

[8] Death had taken Aebutius, the Roman consul; for his colleague Servilius there was little hope, though he still breathed; the disease had attacked most of the leading men, the greater part of the senators, and almost all of military age, so that their numbers were not only insufficient for the expeditions which so alarming a situation called for, but were almost too small for mounting guard. [9] The watchmen's duty was performed by those of the senators themselves whose years and strength admitted of it; the rounds were made and the watches supervised by the plebeian aediles; into their hands had passed the supreme control, and the majesty of consular authority.

7. In this helpless plight, without a leader and without strength, the commonwealth was saved by its tutelary gods and the good fortune of the City, which inspired the Volsci and Aequi with the spirit of plunderers rather than of soldiers. [2] For they were so far from entertaining any hope of approaching, not to speak of capturing, the walls of Rome, and the distant sight of her roofs and beetling hills so damped their ardour, that the entire army began to [3??] murmur, and to ask why they should waste their time in desolate and abandoned fields, where bodies of beasts and men lay rotting and there was no booty, when they might be invading an unspoiled country, the land of Tusculum, abounding in wealth; so they suddenly pulled up their standards, and passed by cross-roads through the Labican fields to the hills of Tusculum, and on that point all the impetus and fury of the war converged. [4] Meanwhile the Hernici and Latins, moved not by pity alone but by shame, if they should fail to oppose the common enemy, advancing in force against the City of Rome, and should

bring no assistance to their besieged allies, united their armies and proceeded to the City. [5] Failing to find the enemy there, but following the report and traces of his march, they met him as he was coming down from the Tusculan valley into that of Alba. There they engaged the invaders on far from equal terms, and their loyalty to their friends was for the moment not attended with success.

[6] In Rome the ravages of the disease were no less fatal than those of the sword had been amongst her allies. The surviving consul died; and death took other famous men, the augurs Marcus Valerius and Titus Verginius Rutulus, and the head curio, Servius B.C. 463 Sulpicius; [7] as for the base rabble, the violence of the plague stalked at large amongst them; until the senate, finding no help in man, sent the people to the gods in prayer, commanding them to take their wives and children and supplicate Heaven for forgiveness. [8] Thus summoned by the state's authority to do what each was impelled to by his own distress, they crowded all the shrines. Everywhere were prostrate matrons, sweeping the floors of the temples with their hair, while they besought the angry gods to grant them pardon and end the pestilence.

8. After that, little by little, whether it was that the gods had been persuaded to forgive or that the sickly season was now past, those whose disease had run its course began to regain their health; and men's thoughts now turned to the commonwealth. [2] Several interregna had expired, when Publius Valerius Publicola, three days after being made interrex, declared the election to the consulship of Lucius Lucretius Tricipitinus and Titus Veturius Geminus — or Vetusius, if that was his name. [3] On the 11th of August they took office, the nation being by that time so strong that it was able not only to defend itself, but even to assume the offensive. [4] Accordingly, when the Hernici reported that the enemy had crossed their borders, they were promptly offered assistance. Two consular armies were enlisted; Veturius was sent to carry the war into the country of the Volsci; [5] while Tricipitinus, having been appointed to secure the territory of the allies from inroads, proceeded no further than the land of the Hernici. [6] Veturius in his first battle defeated and routed his opponents; Lucretius, while encamped among the Hernici, was eluded by a company of raiders, who marched over the

mountains of Praeneste and thence down into the campagna; there they laid waste the Praenestine and Gabinian fields; and from the latter district turned towards the hills about Tusculum. [7] The City of Rome itself received a great fright, more on account of the surprise than from any lack of resources for defence. Quintus Fabius was in charge of the City. Arming the young men and disposing his defences, he made everything secure and tranquil. [8] And so the enemy, having laid hold of the plunder in their immediate neighbourhood, did not venture to approach Rome, but making a detour, set out towards home. The farther they got from the hostile City the less was their anxiety, till they came unexpectedly upon Lucretius the consul, who having already marked their line of march, had drawn up his troops and was eager to fight. [9] The spirits of the Romans were therefore prepared for their task, while the enemy were stricken with a sudden panic on being attacked, though by somewhat inferior numbers. The Romans completely routed the great multitude, and driving them into deep valleys, from which escape was difficult, surrounded them. [10] There the Volscian name was almost blotted out. Thirteen thousand four hundred and seventy fell in the battle and the flight, seventeen hundred and fifty were taken alive, and twenty-seven military standards were brought in, as I find recorded in certain annals; and though there may be some exaggeration of the numbers, it was beyond question a great slaughter. [11] The victorious consul, in possession of enormous spoils, returned to the permanent camp he had occupied before. Then the consuls encamped together, and the Volsci and Aequi united their shattered forces. The ensuing battle was the third of that year. Fortune bestowed the victory where she had done before; the enemy were routed, and even lost their camp.

9. Rome was thus restored to her former condition, and the success of the campaign at once occasioned disturbances in the City. [2] Gaius Terentilius Harsa was tribune of the plebs that year. Thinking that the absence of the consuls afforded the tribunes an opportunity for action, he employed some days in complaining to the people of the pride of the patricians, and inveighed especially against the authority of the consuls, as a thing excessive and intolerable in a free state. [3] For it was only in name, he said, that it was less hateful than that of a king; [4] in reality it was almost crueler, since in place of one master

they had now got two, who possessed an unregulated and unlimited power, and while free themselves and without restraint, brought to bear all the terrors of the law and all its punishments upon the plebs. [5] That they might not for ever have this licence, he was about to propose a law providing for the appointment of five men to write out the statutes pertaining to the consular power; such authority over them as the people had granted the consuls they should enjoy, but they should not make a law of their own whims and caprices. [6] When this measure had been promulgated, the Fathers were alarmed lest they might be humbled, in the absence of the consuls; the prefect of the City, Quintus Fabius, convened the senate, and attacked the measure and its author himself with such bitterness that if both the consuls had been present to outface the tribune there was nothing they could have added to his threats and denunciations. [7] Terentilius, he said, had laid an ambush and watching his opportunity had attacked the state. If the angry gods had given them a tribune like him the year before, when they were suffering from war and disease, it would have been impossible to save the situation. [8] Finding both consuls dead, the citizens plague-stricken, and confusion everywhere, he would have proposed a law to do away with consular government, and would have led the Volsci and the Aequi to besiege the City. Pray what did he desire? [9] Was he not at liberty, if the consuls had committed any act of pride or cruelty against a citizen, to call them into court and accuse them where the judges would be the very men against one of whom the injury had been done? [10] It was not the authority of the consul but the power of the tribune that he was making hateful and intolerable; this power had been reconciled and brought into harmony with the senate, but was now being degraded again to its former evil state. Yet he would not supplicate Terentilius to abandon the course on which he had embarked. [11] "It is you other tribunes," he cried, "whom we beg to reflect, as a matter of the last importance, that your power was obtained for the purpose of assisting individuals, not for the destruction of us all; that you were elected tribunes of the plebs, not enemies of the senate. [12] To us it is a source of sorrow, to you of odium, that the state should be attacked in the absence of its defenders. You will be diminishing, not your authority, but your unpopularity, if you plead with your

colleague to postpone the question, as it stands, until the arrival of the consuls. Even the Aequi and the Volsci, when disease last year had carried off the consuls, refrained from pressing a cruel and pitiless war against us.” [13] The tribunes pleaded with Terentilius, and the measure having been ostensibly postponed, but in reality killed, the consuls were immediately summoned.

10. Lucretius returned with vast spoils and far greater glory; and this he increased, on his arrival, by exposing all the booty in the Campus Martius, where it lay for three days, that every man might identify and carry off what belonged to him. [2] The other things, for which no owner appeared, were sold. That the consul had earned a triumph all agreed; but the matter was put off, for the tribune was urging his law, and this was a question of more importance in the eyes of Lucretius. [3] The measure was debated several days, not only in the senate but before the people. Finally the tribune gave way to the majesty of the consul and desisted. [4] The general and his army then received their meed of honour; Lucretius triumphed over the Volsci and the Aequi, and his own legions followed the triumphal chariot. The other consul was permitted to enter the City in an ovation, without soldiers.

[5] In the following year the Terentilian law was brought up again by the entire college and menaced the new consuls, to wit, Publius Volumnius and Servius Sulpicius. [6] This year the heavens were seen to blaze, and the earth was shaken with a prodigious quake. That a cow had spoken — a thing which had found no credence the year before — was now believed. Among other portents there was even a rain of flesh, which is said to have been intercepted by vast numbers of birds flying round in the midst of it; what fell to the ground lay scattered about for several days, but without making any stench. [7] The two commissioners for sacred rites consulted the Sibylline Books, where it was predicted that there was danger to come from a concourse of foreigners, lest they attack the highest places of the City, and blood be shed; amongst other things was a warning to avoid factions. The tribunes charged them with trying to hinder their law, and a violent struggle was impending; when lo! [8] — that the same cycle of events might recur each year — the Hernici announced that the Volsci and the Aequi, despite the losses they had sustained,

were again fitting out their armies; that Antium was the centre of the enterprise; that at Ecetra Antian colonists were holding public meetings; and that the Antiates were the head and sinews of the war. [9] After listening to this report, the senate decreed a levy, and directed the consuls to divide between them the direction of the war, so that one might operate against the Volsci, the other against the Aequi. [10] The tribunes openly and loudly protested in the Forum that the Volscian war was a prearranged farce, and that the nobles had employed the Hernici to act a part in it: they no longer used manhood even, to suppress the liberty of the Roman People, but cajoled and tricked them. [11] Inasmuch as the almost total destruction of the Volsci and Aequi made it incredible that they should be going to war on their own initiative, new enemies were trumped up, and a loyal and neighbouring colony was traduced. [12] It was against the innocent Antiates that war was being declared; it was being waged against the Roman plebeians, whom the consuls would load with arms and lead out of the City in hot haste, exiling and banishing citizens to avenge themselves upon the tribunes. [13] By these means — and they need not think that anything else had been intended — the law was already defeated, unless, while the situation was still intact, while they were at home, while they still wore the toga, they should guard themselves against expulsion from the City and submitting to the yoke. [14] If they proved courageous, help would not be wanting; the tribunes were all of one mind. There was no fear of foreign foes, no danger; the gods had seen to it the previous year that they might defend their liberties in safety. To this purport the tribunes.

11. But the consuls, on the other hand, had placed their chairs in full sight of the tribunes, and began to hold the levy. The tribunes hastened to the place, drawing the people after them. A few were cited, as if by way of a test, and immediately a riot began. [2] As often as a lictor arrested a man on the consul's order, a tribune would command that he be released; in every case it was not a man's right that determined his conduct, but the confidence he had in his strength; and one had to make good by force what one meant to do.

[3] Precisely as the tribunes had borne themselves in preventing the levy, so did the senators in blocking the law, which was brought

forward every day the comitia could be held. [4] The quarrel broke out when the tribunes had ordered the people to separate, since the patricians would not permit themselves to be removed. And yet the older nobles for the most part took no share in an affair which was not to be guided by wisdom, but had been committed to rashness and impudence. [5] To a considerable extent the consuls too kept aloof, lest they should expose their dignity to some affront in the general confusion.

[6] There was a young man, Caeso Quinctius, emboldened not only by his noble birth but also by his great stature and physical strength; and to these gifts of the gods he had himself added many honours in the field, and also forensic eloquence, so that no citizen was held to be readier, whether with tongue or with hand. [7] When this man had taken his place in the midst of the band of senators, towering above his fellows as though wielding all the might of dictators and consuls in his voice and strength of body, he would sustain unaided the attacks of the tribunes and the fury of the rabble. [8] His leadership often drove the tribunes from the Forum and ignominiously routed the plebeians; the man who crossed his path came off bruised and stripped; so that it was clear that if things were allowed to go on in this way the law was beaten. [9] Finally, when the other tribunes had already been pretty well cowed, one of their college named Aulus Verginius summoned Caeso to stand trial on a capital charge. The man's fierce nature was rather aroused by this than terrified; and he continued all the more bitterly to resist the law, to harry the plebs, and to assail the tribunes as if in actual warfare. [10] The accuser permitted the defendant to storm, and to fan the flames of popular resentment, while furnishing fresh materials for the charges which he intended to bring against him; meanwhile he continued to urge the law, not so much from any hope of carrying it as to provoke Caeso to recklessness. [11] In these circumstances it was Caeso alone, as being a suspected character, who got all the blame for many a rash word and act which proceeded from the young aristocrats. [12] Nevertheless the law continued to meet resistance. And Aulus Verginius kept saying to the plebeians: "I suppose you see now, Quirites, that you cannot at the same time have Caeso for a fellow-citizen and obtain the law you desire? [13] And yet why do I say *law* It is *liberty* he is

thwarting; in all the Tarquinian house was no such arrogance. Wait till this man becomes consul or dictator, whom you see lording it over us while a private citizen, by virtue of his strength and impudence!" There were many who agreed with him; they complained of the beatings they had received, and freely urged the tribune to see the business through.

12. The day of the trial now drew near, and it was clearly the general opinion that liberty depended on Caeso's condemnation. Then at last he was obliged, though greatly disdaining such a course, to sue for the support of individuals. [2] He was accompanied by his friends, the chief men of the state. Titus Quinctius Capitolinus, who had thrice been consul, rehearsed the many honours which had come to [3??] himself and his family, and declared that neither in the Quinctian clan nor in the Roman state had there ever been such native qualities, so early ripening into manly worth; Caeso had been his best soldier, and had often fought under his own eyes. [4] Spurius Furius testified that Caeso had been sent to him by Quinctius Capitolinus, and had come to his aid when he was in a dangerous plight; that there was no single person whose services he considered to have been more effectual in saving the day. [5] Lucius Lucretius, the consul of the year before, in the splendour of his new-won renown, shared his glory with Caeso, told of the young man's combats, and recounted his wonderful exploits on raids or in the field of battle; [6] he earnestly advised the people to prefer that a distinguished youth, endowed with every advantage of nature and of fortune, and sure to be an important factor in the affairs of any state which he might join, should rather be their own than the citizen of another nation. [7] Those qualities in him which gave offence, impetuosity and rashness, were diminishing each day, as he grew older: that in which he was deficient, namely prudence, was daily increasing. They should suffer a man of his greatness his worth maturing as he outlived his faults — to grow old in the possession of his citizenship. [8] The young man's father, Lucius Quinctius, surnamed Cincinnatus, was among his advocates. He did not dwell on Caeso's praises, lest he should add to his unpopularity; but, craving indulgence for his errors and his youth, he begged them to acquit the son as a favour to the father, who had offended no man

either in word or deed. [9] But some turned away from the petitioner, through either embarrassment or fear; while others complained of the injuries which Caeso had inflicted on themselves or their friends, and showed by their harsh replies how they meant to vote.

13. There was one charge, besides the general dislike of him, which bore hard upon the accused. [2] Marcus Volscius Fictor, who had been a tribune of the plebs a few years before, had certified that shortly after the epidemic had been in the City he had fallen in with a band of young men swaggering through the Subura. There a brawl had arisen, and his elder brother, who had not yet fully recovered from the disease, had been felled by a blow from Caeso's fist; he had been picked up halfalive and carried home, and his death, Volscius considered, had resulted from this hurt; yet under the consuls of previous years he had been unable to avenge that wicked crime. [3] As Volscius shouted out this story, men became so excited that Caeso had nearly perished by the fury of the people. Verginius gave orders to seize the fellow and throw him into prison. [4] The patricians resisted force with force. Titus Quinctius cried out that a man who had been charged with a capital crime and whose day of trial was at hand ought not to suffer violence, uncondemned and unheard. The tribune answered that he did not propose to punish him uncondemned, but that he should keep him in prison notwithstanding, till the day of trial, that the Roman People might have it in their power to punish a homicide. [5] The other tribunes, on being appealed to, asserted by a compromise their prerogative of protection: [6] they forbade the imprisonment of the accused, but declared it to be their pleasure that he be produced for trial, and that money be pledged to the people in the event of a failure to produce him. [7] How great a sum was proper to be guaranteed was a doubtful point; it was referred to the senate, and Caeso was detained in custody till the Fathers could be consulted. They voted that sureties should be furnished, and fixed the responsibility of one surety at 3,000 asses; how many sureties should be given they left the tribunes to determine. [8] They decided on ten, and with this number of sureties the accuser admitted the accused to bail. Caeso was the first that ever gave sureties to the people. Being allowed to leave the Forum, he departed that night and went into exile amongst the

Etruscans. [9] On the day of trial, when it was pleaded that he had gone into voluntary exile, Verginius nevertheless attempted to hold the comitia, but an appeal was taken to his colleagues, who dismissed the assembly. [10] The money was exacted from Caeso's father without pity, so that he was obliged to sell all that he had and live for some time on the other side of the Tiber, like one banished, in a certain lonely hovel.

14. This trial and the promulgation of the law kept the citizens in a turmoil: from foreign wars there was a respite. [2] The tribunes, assuming that the rebuff sustained by the patricians in Caeso's exile had given themselves the victory, believed the law to be as good as passed; and so far as the older senators were concerned, they had indeed relinquished their grasp upon the government; [3] but the juniors, especially those who had been of Caeso's fellowship, grew more bitter against the plebs, and their courage ran as high as ever. Yet they greatly promoted their cause by tempering their fury with a kind of moderation. [4] At the first attempt after Caeso's exile to pass the law, they were organized and ready, and fell upon the tribunes with a great army of clients, as soon as the tribunes gave them an excuse by attempting to remove them; in such wise that no single patrician came off with any conspicuous share of glory or unpopularity, and the plebeians complained that a thousand Caesos had sprung up in the place of one. [5] During the intervening days on which the tribunes took no action about the law, nothing could have been more peaceable or quiet than these same youths. They would salute plebeians courteously, converse with them, invite them to their houses, assist them in the courts, and permit the tribunes themselves to hold their other assemblies without interruption. They never displayed arrogance towards any one, either openly or in private, except when the law came up; at other times they were democratic. [6] By avoiding so much as an offensive word, to say nothing of any sort of violence, they managed little by little, with gentleness and tact, to disarm the hostility of the plebs. By such arts the law was evaded for an entire year. And yet not only did the tribunes carry through their other measures without opposition, but they were even re-elected for the following twelvemonth.

15. The state was less distracted when the consuls Gaius Claudius,

the son of Appius, and Publius Valerius Publicola assumed control. No new difficulty had come in with the new year; [2] anxiety to pass the law on the one side, and on the other the dread of having to accept it, occupied the thoughts of the citizens. [3] The more the younger patricians tried to ingratiate themselves with the plebs, the more sharply were they opposed by the tribunes, who endeavoured by bringing charges against their adversaries to make the plebeians suspect them: A conspiracy had been formed; Caeso was in Rome; plans had been laid to kill the tribunes and massacre the plebs; the elder patricians had intrusted the younger men with the task of abolishing the tribunician power from the commonwealth, that the state might have the same aspect it had worn before the occupation of the Sacred Mount. [4] Also men feared the Volsci and Aequi, whose attack was by this time almost a regular and stated custom of annual recurrence; and a new and unexpected danger sprang up nearer home. [5] Exiles and slaves to the number of twenty-five hundred, led by Appius Herdonius, the Sabine, came by night and seized the Capitol and the Citadel. [6] They at once put to the sword those in the Citadel who refused to conspire and take up arms with them. Some escaped in the confusion and ran down terror-stricken into the Forum. Alternating cries were heard, "To arms!" and "The enemy is in the City!" [7] The consuls were afraid either to arm the plebs or to leave them unarmed, not knowing whence this sudden attack upon the City had come, whether from without or from within, from the hatred of the plebs or the treachery of slaves. They tried to still the uproar, and sometimes by their efforts made it the greater; for the trembling, panic-stricken multitude could not be controlled by authority. [8] Nevertheless they gave out arms, not to everybody, but only so far as to insure, in the uncertainty regarding their foe, that there should be a fairly dependable defence for any emergency. Filled with concern, and wondering who their enemy was and what his numbers, they employed the rest of the night in disposing pickets at suitable points throughout the City. [9] Then came daylight and disclosed the nature of the war and its leader. From the Capitol Herdonius was calling the slaves to freedom; he had undertaken, he said, the cause of all the wretched, that he might bring back to their native land the exiles who had been wrongfully expelled, and release

the slaves from their heavy yoke; he had rather this were done with the approval of the Roman people: if there were no hope in that quarter, he would call in the Volsci and the Aequi and leave no desperate measure unattempted.

16. The situation became clearer to the senators and the consuls. Still, besides the dangers with which they were publicly threatened, they were afraid that this might be a ruse of the Veientes or the Sabines, and that while there were so many enemies within the City, Sabine and Etruscan levies might presently combine for an invasion; [2] or again that their perpetual foes, the Volsci and Aequi, might come, not as before to lay waste their fields, but to the City, which they would regard as already partly captured. [3] Men's fears were many and various; above all the rest stood out their dread of the slaves. Everybody suspected that he had an enemy in his own household, whom it was safe neither to trust, nor, from want of confidence, to refuse to trust, lest his hostility should be intensified; and it seemed hardly possible that even co-operation between the classes should arrest the danger. [4] So greatly did other evils overtop and threaten to engulf them that no one feared the tribunes or the plebeians; that seemed a milder mischief, and springing up, as it always did, when other troubles were quieted, appeared now to have been lulled to sleep by the foreign peril. [5] But in fact it bore down almost more heavily than anything else upon their sinking fortunes. For so frenzied were the tribunes that they asserted it was no war which had taken possession of the Capitol, but an idle mimicry of war, got up to divert the minds of the plebeians from thinking about the law; the patricians' friends and retainers would depart, when the passing of the law showed them how useless had been their insurrection, even more silently than they had come. [6] They then convened an assembly to carry the measure through, having called the people away from their service as soldiers. Meantime the consuls were holding a meeting of the senate, where more fear of the tribunes was manifested than the night-attack of the enemy had caused.

17. On being informed that the men were laying down their arms and quitting their posts, Publius Valerius left his colleague to keep the senate together, and hurrying from the Curia sought out the tribunes in their meeting-place. [2] "What means this, tribunes?" he

exclaimed, "Are you going to overturn the state under the leadership and auspices of Appius Herdonius? Has he who could not arouse the slaves been so successful in corrupting you? With the enemy over your heads can you choose to quit your arms and legislate?" Then, turning to the crowd, he continued: ("If you feel no concern, Quirites, for your City, or for yourselves, yet fear your gods, whom the enemy hold captive. [3] Jupiter Optimus Maximus, Queen Juno, and Minerva, and the other gods and goddesses, are beleaguered; a camp of slaves is in possession of the tutelary deities of your country; does this seem to you a healthy polity? [4] All these foes are not merely within our walls, but in the Citadel, above the Forum and the Curia; the people meanwhile are assembled in the Forum, and in the Curia sits the senate; as when peace reigns supreme, the senator gives voice to his opinion, the other Quirites vote. Should not every patrician and plebeian, the consuls, the tribunes, gods, and men, all have drawn the sword and helped; have rushed upon the Capitol; have brought liberty and peace to that most august house of Jupiter Optimus Maximus? [5] Father Romulus, grant thou to thy descendants that spirit in which thou didst aforetime regain thy Citadel from these same Sabines, when they had captured it with gold; bid them advance by that road where thou didst lead, and thy army followed. [6] Lo, I the consul will be the first, so far as mortal can emulate a god, to follow in thy footsteps!" He ended by announcing that he drew his sword and called to arms all the Quirites; if any hindered, he should no longer remember consular authority, nor tribunician power, nor the guarantees of sanctity; whoever the man, wherever he might be, — on the Capitol, in the Forum, — he should hold him a public enemy. [7] Since the tribunes forbade them to arm against Appius Herdonius, let them order an attack on Publius Valerius the consul; he would not fear to deal with tribunes as the founder of his family had dealt with kings. [8] It was evident that there would soon be an appeal to force, and that the enemy would be afforded the spectacle of mutiny among the Romans. 'Yet it was equally impossible for the law to be carried and for the consul to go up into the Capitol. [9] Night put an end to the struggle. The tribunes retired as darkness fell, fearing the armed strength of the consuls. [10] When the instigators of insurrection were once out of the way, the Fathers

went about among the plebs, and mingling with the different groups, talked to them in a strain adapted to the crisis. [11] They warned them to have a care into what straits they brought the nation: It was not between patricians and plebeians that the conflict lay; patricians and plebeians alike, the Citadel of the City, the temples of the gods, and the guardian deities of the state and of private citizens, were being surrendered to enemies. [12] Such were the means employed in the Forum to allay dissension. Meanwhile the consuls, lest Sabine or Veientine enemies might be afoot, had set out to make the round of the gates and walls.

18. That same night Tusculum received tidings of the capture of the Citadel, the seizure of the Capitol, and the general disorder in the City. [2] Lucius Mamilius was then dictator at Tusculum. He at once convoked the senate; and having introduced the messengers, expressed an earnest conviction that they ought not to wait till ambassadors should come from Rome requesting help; [3] her perilous and critical situation spoke for itself — the gods of their alliance and the obligations of their treaty called on them to act. Heaven would never bestow on them an equal opportunity to earn the gratitude of so powerful and so near a state, by doing it a service. [4] The senate resolved to help. The young men were enrolled, and arms were issued. As they marched towards Rome in the early dawn, the Tuscans, who were seen a long way off, were taken for enemies; it looked like an invasion of the Aequi or the Volsci. [5] When the alarm proved groundless, they were received into the City, and marched in column down into the Forum. There they found Publius Valerius, who had left his colleague to protect the gates and was marshalling his army. [6] The personal influence of the man had prevailed. He had assured the people that when the Capitol should be won back and peace restored in the City, if they would permit him to point out to them the mischief which lurked in the law the tribunes were proposing, he would remember his forefathers and the surname with which he had, as it were, inherited from those forefathers the charge of caring for the people, nor would he interfere with the council of the plebs. [7] Following him as their leader, despite the idle efforts of the tribunes to restrain them, they advanced up the Clivus Capitolinus, accompanied by the troops from Tusculum. [8] It was a

contest between the allies and the citizens, which should obtain the honour of recovering the Citadel. The leader of each party urged on his followers. The enemy now began to quake with fear, having no great confidence in anything but their position. As they stood there quaking, the Romans and their allies assailed them. [9] They had already burst into the vestibule of the temple, when Publius Valerius was killed, as he was directing the attack in the van. Publius Volumnius, a former consul, saw him fall. Charging his men to cover up the body, he threw himself into the consul's place. In the ardour and enthusiasm of the soldiers so important an event passed unnoticed; and they had won the victory before they realized that they were fighting without their leader. [10] Many of the exiles stained the temples with their blood; many were taken alive; Herdonius was slain. Thus the Capitol was regained. The captives, according as they were free or slave, paid the penalty appropriate in each case to their condition; the Tusculans were thanked; the Capitol was purged and ceremonially purified. [11] It is said that the plebeians flung their coppers into the consul's house, that he might be given a grander funeral.

19. When peace had been established, the tribunes began to urge the patricians to fulfil the promise made by Publius Valerius; and to urge Gaius Claudius to absolve the manes of his colleague from deceit, and allow the law to be discussed. The consul refused to permit discussion of the law, until he should have accomplished the election of a colleague. [2] These disputes continued up to the time when the comitia met to fill the vacant consulate. In December, thanks to extraordinary zeal on the part of the patricians, Lucius Quinctius Cincinnatus, Caeso's father, was declared consul, to enter upon the office at once. [3] The plebs were filled with dismay at the prospect of a consul incensed against themselves and strong in the favour of the senate, his own worth, and his three sons, none of whom was inferior to Caeso in courage, while they surpassed him in using wisdom and restraint when the need arose. [4] Cincinnatus, having taken up the magistracy, harangued the people incessantly from the tribunal; yet was no more vehement in repressing the plebs than in castigating the senate. [5] It was owing, he declared, to the apathy of that order that the tribunes of the plebs, whose tenure was

now become permanent, exercised such a tyranny of speech and accusation as might be expected in a disordered household, but not in the public affairs of the Roman People. With his son Caeso, manhood, steadfastness, and all the qualities which honour youth in war and in civil life had been driven from Rome and put to rout. [6] Garrulous, seditious, sowers of discord, obtaining office — by the most wicked practices — for a second and even a third term, the tribunes led as lawless a life as kings. “Did Aulus Verginius,” he cried, “because he was not in the Capitol, deserve less punishment than Appius Herdonius? Nay, somewhat more, if one were disposed to be fair. [7] Herdonius had one thing to his credit: by professing himself an enemy, he as good as warned you to arm; the other, denying the existence of a war, took away your arms and exposed you unprotected to your slaves and exiles. And did you — without offence to Gaius Claudius and the dead Publius Valerius be it said, — did you carry your standards against the Capitoline Hill before clearing these enemies out of the Forum? I am ashamed in the sight of gods and men. [8] When foes were in the Citadel, foes in the Capitol, when the captain of slaves and exiles, profaning everything, was quartered in the very shrine of Jupiter Optimus Maximus, it was Tusculum — not Rome — where the first sword was drawn. It was a question whether Lucius Mamilius, the Tusculan general, or Publius Valerius and Gaius Claudius, the consuls, would free the Roman Citadel; and we who until then did not allow the Latins to touch their weapons, even in their own defence, though they had an enemy within their borders, had now, unless the Latins had armed of their own free will, been taken captive and destroyed. [9] Is this, tribunes, what you mean by helping the plebs, — to deliver them over unarmed to be slaughtered by the enemy? Why, if the humblest man belonging to your plebs, a part of the people which you have sundered, as it were, from the rest and made a country of your own and a state apart, — if [10] one of these, I say, had announced that his slaves had armed and seized his house, you would have thought yourselves bound to help him; was Jupiter Optimus Maximus, beset by the swords of exiles and slaves, too mean to merit any man’s assistance? [11] And do these tribunes demand that they be held sacred and inviolable, in whose eyes the very gods are neither the one nor

the other? So! Weighed down with crimes against gods and men you assert that you will carry through your law this year! Then, by Heaven, it was an evil day for the nation when I was chosen consul, far more evil than when Publius Valerius the consul fell, — if indeed you carry it! [12] First of all then, Quirites,” he concluded, “I and my colleague are resolved to lead the legions against the Volsci and the Aequi. We are somehow fated to enjoy the favour of the gods in larger measure when warring than when at peace. How dangerous these peoples would have been, had they known that the Capitol was seized by exiles, we may more profitably conjecture from the past than ascertain by trying it.”

20. The consul’s speech had moved the plebs, and the senators took courage, believing that the state was on its feet again. The other consul, more spirited in co-operation than invention, had been quite willing that his colleague should take the lead in initiating such weighty measures; but in carrying them out he claimed for himself a share of the duties of the consulship. [2] Then the tribunes, jeering at what they termed the idle words of Cincinnatus, proceeded to inquire how the consuls were going to lead out an army, when no one would permit them to hold a levy. [3] “But we have no need of a levy,” said Quinctius, “for when Publius Valerius gave arms to the people for the recovery of the Capitol, they all made oath that they would assemble at the bidding of the consul and not depart without his order. [4] We therefore command that all you who took the oath report to-morrow, armed, at Lake Regillus.” Whereupon the tribunes, seeking to release the people from their obligation, resorted to a quibble: Quinctius had been a private citizen at the time when they bound themselves by the oath. [5] But there had not yet come about that contempt for the gods which possesses the present generation; nor did everybody seek to construe oaths and laws to suit himself, but rather shaped his own practices by them. [6] Accordingly the tribunes, as there was no prospect of thwarting the design, concerned themselves with retarding the departure; the more so since a story was about that the augurs had been commanded to present themselves at Lake Regillus, there to inaugurate a place where the auspices could be taken and matters brought before the people, to the end that whatever had been enacted at Rome — thanks [7] to the

violence of the tribunes — might there be repealed by the comitia; everybody, they said, would vote as the consuls wished; for there was no appeal when one was more than a mile from the City, and the tribunes, if they should come there, would be subjected, amongst the rank and file of the citizens, to the consular authority. [8] These were terrifying rumours, but far the greatest terror that preyed upon their spirits was this, that Quinctius repeatedly declared that he would hold no consular election; the disease of the commonwealth was not one that could be cured by ordinary remedies; the nation needed a dictator, that whoever went about to disturb the state might learn that the dictatorship knew no appeal.

21. The senate was in the Capitol. Thither came the tribunes with the troubled plebs. The multitude loudly besought protection, now of the consuls, now of the senators. Yet they could not move the consul from his purpose, until the tribunes had promised that they would submit to the authority of the Fathers. [2] The consul then brought up the demands of the tribunes and the plebs, and the senate resolved that neither should the tribunes proceed with the law that year, nor the consuls lead the army out of the City; that as regarded the future, it was the sense of the senate that for magistrates to succeed themselves and for the same tribunes to be re-elected was contrary to the general welfare. [3] The consuls acquiesced in the authority of the Fathers; the tribunes, in spite of the protests of the consuls, were returned to office. Then the patricians also, that they might yield in no respect to the plebs, would themselves have re-elected Lucius Quinctius consul. [4] At no time during the entire year did the consul express himself with greater vehemence. “Can I wonder,” he cried, “if your influence with the people, Conscript Fathers, is unavailing? [5] You yourselves impair it, when, because the people have disregarded the senate’s resolution regarding successive terms, you desire to disregard it yourselves, that you may not lag behind the multitude in rashness; as if to be more inconstant and more lawless were to possess more power in the state. For surely it is more fickle and light-minded to nullify one’s own decrees and resolutions, than those of others. [6] Pattern yourselves, Conscript Fathers, after the thoughtless crowd; and do you, who ought to set others an example, err rather by the example of those others, than permit them to follow

yours and do right. But I, with your leave, will not imitate the tribunes, nor suffer myself to be named consul against the senate's resolution. [7] As for you, Gaius Claudius, I urge that you too restrain the Roman People from this lawlessness; and for my own part be assured I shall not feel that your action has stood in the way of my election, but that my renown has gained by my refusal of the office, and that the odium which threatened me from its continuation has been removed." [8] They then united in an edict that no one should vote for Lucius Quinctius for consul; if any man should do so they would disregard his vote.

22. The consuls elected were Quintus Fabius Vibulanus (for the third time) and Lucius Cornelius Maluginensis. The census was taken that year, but there were scruples against performing the lustral sacrifice, on account of the seizure of the Capitol and the slaying of the consul.

[2] The consulship of Quintus Fabius and Lucius Cornelius was a stormy one from the very beginning of the year. The tribunes egged on the plebs; the Latins and the Hernici reported that a great attack was being launched by the Volsci and the Aequi, and that Volscian levies were already at Antium. There was much apprehension too lest the colony itself should revolt; and the tribunes were hardly prevailed upon to allow the war to have precedence. [3] Then the consuls divided the commands, appointing Fabius to take the legions to Antium, and Cornelius to defend Rome, lest some part of the enemy, in accordance with the Aequian custom, should make a foray. [4] The Hernici and the Latins were bidden to furnish soldiers, as by treaty bound; two-thirds of the army were allies, one-third citizens. When the allies had reported on the appointed day, the consul encamped outside the Porta Capena. Thence, after purifying the army, he set out for Antium, and took up a position at no great distance from the town and the standing camp of the enemy. [5] There the Volsci, not daring to give battle — for the Aequian army had not yet come up — sought to protect themselves, without fighting, behind their rampart. The next day Fabius, instead of mingling allies and citizens in one line of battle, drew up the three nations in three separate armies, about the enemy's works, taking the centre himself with the Roman legions. [6] He then commanded them all to wait for the signal, that the allies

might act with the citizens in beginning the fight, and in retreating, if he should sound the recall. He also stationed the cavalry belonging to each division behind its first line. [7] Advancing thus in three sections he surrounded the camp, and attacking sharply on every side, dislodged the Volsci, who were unable to sustain his charge, from their intrenchments. Passing over these, he drove the frightened rabble before him in one direction and cleared the camp of them. [8] As they dispersed in flight, the cavalry, who had found it difficult to surmount the rampart and had hitherto been mere spectators of the battle, having now a clear field before them played their part in the victory by cutting off the fugitives. [9] Great was the slaughter inflicted on the enemy as they attempted to escape, both in the camp and outside the works; but the booty was still greater, since they had barely been able to carry away their arms. If the forests had not covered the flight, their army would have been utterly destroyed.

23. While this battle was being fought near Antium, the Aequi had sent forward the flower of their troops, and by a surprise attack at night, had captured the Tusculan citadel. The rest of their army they stationed at a short distance from the walls of the town, in order to induce the enemy to extend his forces. [2] The news of these events being speedily carried to Rome and thence to the camp at Antium, had the same effect upon the Romans as if it had been announced that the Capitol was taken, — so fresh in their recollection was the service done them by the Tusculans, and so strongly did the similarity of the risk which their allies now ran seem to call for repayment of the assistance they had given. [3] Letting everything else go, Fabius quickly conveyed the plunder of the camp to Antium, and leaving there a moderate garrison, hastened by forced marches to Tusculum. The soldiers were allowed to take nothing but their arms and such bread as happened to be at hand; supplies were sent them from Rome by the consul Cornelius. [4] The fighting at Tusculum lasted for some months. With a part of his army the consul laid siege to the camp of the Aequi; a part he had given to the Tusculans to use in recovering the citadel. [5] The place could never be entered by assault; but the enemy were finally driven out by hunger. Having thus reduced them to extremities, the Tusculans took away their arms, and stripping them to the tunic, sent them under the yoke. As

they were ignominiously fleeing homeward, the Roman consul overtook them on Mount Algidus, and slew them, every man. [6] The victor led his army back to Columen — this is the name of a place — and went into camp. The other consul too, now that the defeat of the enemy had removed all danger from the walls of Rome, set out himself from the City. [7] Thus at two points the consuls invaded the enemy's borders, and with keen rivalry devastated the lands of the Volsci on the one hand, and those of the Aequi on the other. I find in a good many writers that the Antiates revolted that same year; and that Lucius Cornelius the consul conducted the war and took the town. I should not venture to affirm it for a certainty, since there is no mention of the matter in the older historians.

24. This war was no sooner finished, than the patricians were alarmed by one waged against them at home, by the tribunes, who cried out that the army was dishonestly kept afield — a trick intended to frustrate the passage of the law; which, notwithstanding, they had undertaken and proposed to carry through. [2] Still, Lucius Lucretius, the prefect of the City, obtained the postponement of any action by the tribunes until the consuls should have come. [3] There had also arisen a new cause for disquiet. Aulus Cornelius and Quintus Servilius, the quaestors, had summoned Marcus Volscius to trial, on the charge that he had been guilty of undoubted perjury against Caeso. [4] For it was becoming generally known, from many witnesses, first, that the brother of Volscius after having once fallen ill had not only never appeared in public, but had not even got up from his sick-bed, where he had died of a wasting disease which lasted many months; [5] and secondly, that within the period to which Volscius, in his testimony, had referred the crime, Caeso had not been seen in Rome; for those who had served with him affirmed that he had often during that time been in their company at the front, without taking any furlough. [6] To prove this contention, many persons offered Volscius to refer the question of fact to a private arbitrator. Since he did not dare proceed to arbitration, all these things, pointing in one direction, made the condemnation of Volscius as certain as that of Caeso had been made by Volscius's evidence. [7] The tribunes delayed matters by refusing to allow the quaestors to hold an assembly for his trial until one should first have been held to

consider the law. So both affairs dragged on till the arrival of the consuls. [8] When they had entered the City in triumph with their victorious army, nothing was said about the law, and many people thought the tribunes had been daunted. [9] But the tribunes were seeking a fourth term of office — for the end of the year was now at hand — and had diverted their efforts from the law to the contest for the election. And though the consuls strove quite as vehemently against the re-election of the incumbents to the tribuneship, as if a law were being urged which had been promulgated to curtail their own majesty, the contest resulted in victory for the tribunes.

[10] That same year the Aequi sought and obtained peace. The census, which had been begun the year before, was completed; and this, they say, was the tenth lustral sacrifice performed since the founding of the City. There were enrolled 117,319 citizens. [11] This year the consuls won great renown, at home and in the field; not only had they brought about peace with other nations, but at home also, though the state was not yet harmonious, yet it was less troubled than at other times.

25. Lucius Minucius and Gaius Nautius were chosen to be the next consuls, and inherited the two causes left over from the preceding year. As before, the consuls obstructed the passage of the law, and the tribunes the trial of Volscius; but the new quaestors were men of superior force and influence. [2] Marcus Valerius, son of Manius, and grandson of Volesus, shared the magistracy with Titus Quinctius Capitolinus, who had thrice been consul. [3] Capitolinus, since it was beyond his power to restore Caeso to the Quinctian family and the greatest of her young men to the state, waged war, as justice and loyalty demanded, on the false witness who had deprived an innocent man of the power to plead his cause. [4] Verginius was the most active amongst the tribunes in working for the law. The consuls were allowed two months' time to inspect the measure, that having explained to the people what hidden mischief was being proposed they might then permit them to vote. The granting of this breathing-space brought tranquillity to the City. [5] But the Aequi did not suffer it to remain long at rest; breaking the treaty which they had made with the Romans the year before, they intrusted the command of their forces to Cloelius Gracchus, at that time by far the most eminent man

in their state. [6] Under this man's leadership they invaded the territory of Labici, and from there the territory of Tusculum, with fire and sword, and, loaded with booty, pitched their camp on Algidus. To this camp came Quintus Fabius, Publius Volumnius, and Aulus Postumius, envoys from Rome, to complain of the wrongs done and demand restitution, as provided in the treaty. [7] The Aequian general bade them recite the message of the Roman senate to the oak, saying that he would meantime attend to other matters. (The oak, a mighty tree, overhung head-quarters and with its dense shade afforded a cool resting-place.) [8] Thereupon one of the envoys said, as he departed, "Let both this sacred oak and whatever gods there are hear that the treaty has been broken by you; and let them attend now to our complaints and presently support our arms, when we shall avenge the simultaneous violation of the rights of gods and men." [9] On the return of the envoys to Rome, the senate ordered one consul to lead an army to Algidus, against Gracchus, and to the other assigned the task of devastating the territories of the Aequi. The tribunes sought in their usual fashion to prevent the levy, and might perhaps have held out against it to the end; but suddenly a fresh alarm supervened.

26. A great body of Sabines made a hostile incursion almost to the walls of Rome, wasting the fields and terrifying the citizens. Thereupon the plebeians willingly enlisted, and despite the unavailing protests of the tribunes, two large armies were enrolled. One of these Nautius led against the Sabines. [2] Pitching his camp at Eretum, he sent out little expeditions, chiefly nocturnal raiding parties, and so liberally repaid on their own fields the depredations of the Sabines, that the Roman territories in comparison seemed scarcely to have been touched by war. [3] Minucius had neither the same good fortune nor equal spirit in conducting his campaign; for he encamped not far from the enemy, and without having suffered any considerable defeat, kept timidly within his breastworks. When the enemy perceived this, their audacity was heightened, as is usually the case, by their opponents' fear, and they attacked the camp by night. [4] Failing to accomplish anything by open force, they next day surrounded the place with earthworks; but before these could be thrown up on every side of the camp and so shut off all egress, five horsemen were sent out through the enemy's outposts and carried to

Rome the news that the consul and his army were beleaguered. Nothing more surprising or unlooked-for could have happened. [5] And so the alarm and consternation were as great as if it had been the City, not the camp, which the enemy were investing. [6] They sent for the consul Nautius; but deeming him unequal to their defence, and resolving to have a dictator to restore their shattered fortunes, they agreed unanimously on the nomination of Lucius Quinctius Cincinnatus.

[7] What followed merits the attention of those who despise all human qualities in comparison with riches, and think there is no room for great honours or for worth but amidst a profusion of wealth. The sole hope of the empire of the Roman People, Lucius Quinctius, cultivated a field of some four acres across the Tiber, now known as the Quinctian Meadows, directly opposite the place where the dockyards are at present. [8] There he was found by the representatives of the state. Whether bending over his spade as he dug a ditch, or ploughing, he was, at all events, as everybody agrees, intent upon some rustic task. [9] After they had exchanged greetings with him, they asked him to put on his toga, to hear (and might good come of it to himself and the republic!) the mandates of the senate. In amazement he cried, "Is all well?" and bade his wife Racilia quickly fetch out his toga from the hut. [10] When he had put it on, after wiping off the dust and sweat, and came forth to the envoys, they hailed him Dictator, congratulated him, and summoned him to the City, explaining the alarming situation of the army. [11] A boat was waiting for him, provided by the state; and as he reached the other side his three sons came out to receive him; after them came his other kinsmen and friends; and after them the greater part of the senate. Attended by this throng and preceded by his lictors he was escorted to his house. [12] The plebeians too were gathered in great numbers; but they were by no means so rejoiced at the sight of Quinctius, because they thought that not only was his authority excessive, but that the man was even more dangerous than the authority itself. That night nothing more was done than to keep a watch in the City.

27. On the following day the dictator, coming before dawn into the Forum, named as his master of the horse Lucius Tarquinius, a man of patrician birth, but one who had served as a foot-soldier because of

poverty, though in war he had been esteemed by far the best of the Roman youth. [2] With his master of the horse the dictator appeared before the people; proclaimed a suspension of the courts; ordered the shops to be closed all over the City; and forbade anybody to engage in any private business. [3] He then commanded all those who were of military age to come armed, before sunset, to the Campus Martius, bringing each enough bread to last five days, and twelve stakes; [4] those who were too old for war he ordered to prepare food for their neighbours who were soldiers, while the latter were getting their arms in order and looking for stakes. [5] So the young men ran this way and that in search of stakes, and every one took them from the nearest source, nor was anyone interfered with; and all presented themselves promptly as the dictator had commanded. [6] Then, having drawn up their column so as to be ready for fighting as well as for marching, if need were, the dictator himself led the legions, the master of the horse his cavalry. [7] In each division were spoken such words of encouragement as the occasion called for: Let them mend their pace; there was need of speed, that they might reach the enemy's camp in the night; a consul and a Roman army were being besieged, and it was now the third day of their investment; what each night or day might bring forth was uncertain; a single instant was often the turning-point of a great event. [8] The soldiers also, in complaisance to their commanders, cried out to one another, "Make haste, standard-bearer!" "Follow me, men!" At midnight they came to Algidus, and perceiving that they were now close to the enemy, halted.

28. Then the dictator, having ridden about and observed, as well as he could for the night, the extent of the camp and its shape, directed the military tribunes to make the soldiers throw down their packs in one place, and return, with arms and stakes, to their proper ranks. They did as he commanded. [2] Then, keeping the order of the march, he led out the whole army in a long column and surrounded the enemy's camp, commanding that at a given signal the troops should all raise a shout, and that after shouting every man should dig a trench in front of his own position and erect a palisade. The signal followed close on the announcement. [3] The men did as they had been bidden. Their cheer resounded on all sides of the enemy, and

passing over their camp, penetrated that of the consul; in the one it inspired panic, in the other great rejoicing. [4] The Romans, congratulating one another that it was their fellow-citizens who shouted, and that help was at hand, on their own part began to threaten the enemy with attacks from their pickets and outposts. [5] The consul said that they ought to act without delay; the shout not only signified that their friends were come, but that they had begun to fight; and it would be surprising if they were not already assailing the enemy's camp from without. He accordingly bade his men stand to arms and follow him. [6] It was night when they entered the battle; with a cheer they gave the legions of the dictator to know that on their side as well the issue had been joined. [7] The Aequi were already preparing to resist the work of circumvallation, when the attack was begun upon their inner line. Lest a sortie should be made through the midst of their camp, they turned their backs on those who were entrenching, and faced the attacking forces; and, leaving the others free to work all night, they fought till break of day with the soldiers of the consul. [8] At early dawn they had already been shut in by the dictator's rampart, and were scarcely maintaining the battle against one army. Then the troops of Quinctius, who had at once, on completing the works, resumed their weapons, assailed the rampart of the Aequi. Here was a new battle on their hands, and the other not yet in the least abated. [9] At this, hard-driven by a double danger, they turned from fighting to entreaties, and on the one hand implored the dictator, on the other the consul, not to make the victory a massacre, but to take their arms and let them go. The consul referred them to the dictator, who in his anger added ignominy to their surrender. [10] He commanded that Cloelius Gracchus, their commander, and the other captains, be brought to him in chains, and that the town of Corbio be evacuated. He said that he did not require the blood of the Aequi; they might go; but, that they might at last be forced to confess that their nation had been defeated and subdued, they should pass beneath the yoke as they departed. [11] A yoke was fashioned of three spears, two being fixed in the ground and the third laid across them and made fast. Under this yoke the dictator sent the Aequi.

29. Having taken possession of the enemy's camp, which

abounded in all sorts of supplies — for he had sent them out with nothing but their tunics — he [2] gave all the booty to his own troops exclusively, rebuking the consular army and the consul himself in these terms: “You shall have no share, soldiers, in the spoils of that enemy to whom you almost fell a spoil; and you, Lucius Minucius, until you begin to have the spirit of a consul, shall command these legions as my lieutenant.” [3] So Minucius abdicated the consulship, and remained, as he was ordered to do, with the army. But so tame and submissive was the temper of this army now towards a better commander, that, considering rather the benefit they had received at his hands than the humiliation, they voted the dictator a golden chaplet of a pound in weight, and when he departed, saluted him as their protector. [4] At Rome the senate, being convened by Quintus Fabius, the prefect of the City, commanded Quinctius to enter the gates in triumph, with the troops that accompanied him. [5] Before his chariot were led the generals of the enemy; the military standards were borne on ahead; after them came the soldiers, laden with booty. It is said that tables were spread before all the houses, and the troops, feasting as they marched, with songs of triumph and the customary jokes, followed the chariot like revellers. [6] On that day Lucius Mamilius the Tusculan was granted citizenship, with the approval of all. Cincinnatus would at once have resigned his office, had not the trial of Marcus Volscius, the false witness, caused him to delay. [7] The awe in which the tribunes held the dictator prevented them from interfering with the trial. Volscius was condemned and went into exile at Lanuvium. On the sixteenth day Quinctius surrendered the dictatorship which he had received for six months. During that period the consul Nautius fought a successful engagement at Eretum with the Sabines, who in addition to the devastation of their fields now suffered this new disaster. Fabius was sent to Mount Algidus to succeed Minucius. [8] At the close of the year there was some agitation for the law on the part of the tribunes; but since two armies were abroad, the senators insisted that no proposal should be laid before the people; the plebs were successful in electing the same tribunes for the fifth time. [9] It is said that wolves were seen on the Capitol, pursued by dogs; because of which prodigy the Capitol was purified. Such were the events of this year.

30. The next consuls were Quintus Minucius and Marcus Horatius Pulvillus, At the beginning of the year, though foreign relations were peaceful, at home there were dissensions, inspired by the same tribunes and the same law; [2] and they would have proceeded to even greater lengths — so inflamed were men's passions — had it not been announced, as if designedly, that the garrison at Corbio had perished in a night-attack made by the Aequi. [3] The consuls convoked the senate, and were directed to make a summary levy and lead the army to Mount Algidus. [4] From that moment the quarrel over the law was laid aside, and a fresh dispute arose, concerning the levy; in this consular authority was in a fair way to be defeated, by the help of the tribunes, when a new alarm was reported: that a Sabine army bent on pillage had descended upon the Roman fields, and was thence approaching the City. [5] This was such staggering news that the tribunes permitted the enrolment of troops; yet not without having obtained an agreement that since they had themselves been baffled for five years, and the existing tribunate was an insufficient protection to the plebs, ten tribunes should in future be elected. [6] To this the patricians were compelled to agree, only stipulating that they should not thereafter see the same men tribunes. [7] The tribunician election was held immediately, lest when the war was over this promise too might be broken, as the others had been. In the thirty-sixth year from the first plebeian tribunes ten men were elected, two from each class, and it was enacted that they should be chosen thus thereafter. [8] The levy was then held, and Minucius marched against the Sabines, but did not find the enemy. Horatius, after the Aequi, having put the garrison at Corbio to the sword, had also captured Ortona, fought a battle with them on Mount Algidus, killed many men, and drove off the enemy, not only from Algidus, but from Corbio and Ortona. Corbio he razed because of its betrayal of the garrison.

31. Marcus Valerius and Spurius Verginius succeeded to the consulship. Affairs were quiet both at home and abroad; but there was a shortage in the corn-supply, due to excessive rains. A law was passed opening up the Aventine to settlement. [2] The same tribunes of the plebs were returned; and in the following year, when Titus Romilius and Gaius Veturius were consuls, they took occasion to

urge the law in all their speeches: They were ashamed, they said, of the futile increase in their numbers, if this measure was to lie disregarded during their own two years of office, precisely as it had done throughout the five preceding years. [3] Just when this agitation was at its height, there came a disquieting report from Tusculum that the Aequi were in Tusculan territory. Men were ashamed, in view of the recent service of that nation, to delay in sending aid. Both 103 consuls were dispatched with an army; and finding the enemy on their usual ground, Mount Algidus, they there engaged them. [4] Above seven thousand of the enemy were slain; the rest were put to flight; and immense spoils were taken. These the consuls sold, owing to the impoverished condition of the treasury. Nevertheless, their action made them unpopular with the army, and it also furnished the tribunes with an occasion for impeaching the consuls before the plebs. [5] Accordingly when they laid down their office and Spurius Tarpeius and Aulus Aternius became consuls, they were brought to trial; Romilius by Gaius Calvius Cicero, a plebeian tribune, Veturius by Lucius Alienus, an aedile of the plebs. [6] Both were condemned, greatly to the indignation of the patricians; Romilius was fined 10,000 asses, Veturius 15,000. And yet this disaster to their predecessors did not diminish the energy of the new consuls; they said that it was possible that they should themselves be condemned, but that it was not possible that the plebs and the tribunes should carry their law. [7] Then the tribunes, discarding the law, which, in the time it had been before the people, had lost its vitality, began to treat more moderately with the patricians: Let them at last put an end, they said, to these disputes; if the plebeian measure were not agreeable to them, let them permit framers of laws to be appointed jointly from both the plebs and the nobility, that they might propose measures which should be advantageous to both sides, and secure equal liberty. [8] The patricians did not reject the principle; but they declared that no one should propose laws unless he were a patrician. Since they were agreed in regard to the laws, and only differed about the mover, they sent Spurius Postumius Albus, Aulus Manlius, and Publius Sulpicius Camerinus on a mission to Athens, with orders to copy the famous laws of Solon, and acquaint themselves with the institutions, customs, and laws of the other Greek states.

32. No foreign wars disturbed the quiet of that year; but even more quiet was the year that followed, when Publius Curiatius and Sextus Quinctilius were consuls, for the tribunes preserved an unbroken silence. [2] This was due in the first place to their waiting for the commissioners who had gone to Athens, and for the foreign laws; in the second place two terrible misfortunes had come at the same time, famine and pestilence, baneful alike to men and beasts. The fields were left untenanted; the City was emptied by incessant funerals; many distinguished families were in mourning. [3] The flamen of Quirinus, Servius Cornelius, died, and the augur Gaius Horatius Pulvillus, in whose place the augurs elected Gaius Veturius, the more eagerly because of his condemnation by the plebs. [4] Death took the consul Quinctilius, and four tribunes of the plebs. [5] The numerous losses made it a gloomy year; but Rome's enemies did not molest her.

The next consuls were Gaius Menenius and Publius Sestius Capitolinus. In this year likewise there was no foreign war, but disturbances arose at home. [6] The commissioners had now returned with the laws of Athens. The tribunes were therefore the more insistent that a beginning should be made at last towards codification. It was resolved to appoint decemvirs, subject to no appeal, and to have no other magistrates for that year. [7] Whether plebeians should be permitted a share in the work was for some time disputed; in the end they yielded to the patricians, only bargaining that the Icilian law about the Aventine and the other sacred laws should not be abrogated.

33. In the three hundred and second year from the founding of Rome the form of the polity was changed again, with the transfer of supreme authority from consuls to decemvirs, even as before it had passed from kings to consuls. [2] It was not so remarkable a change, because it did not last long. For the luxuriant beginnings of this magistracy took on too rank a growth; and in consequence it soon died down, and the custom was resumed of entrusting to two men the name and authority of consuls. [3] The decemvirs chosen were Appius Claudius, Titus Genucius, Publius Sestius, Lucius Veturius, Gaius Julius, Aulus Manlius, Publius Sulpicius, Publius Curiatius, Titus Romilius, and Spurius Postumius. [4] To Claudius and Genucius, the

consuls-elect for that year, the new office was given in compensation for the other; and to Sestius, one of the consuls of the year before, because he had brought the measure before the senate against his colleague's will. [5] Next to these were honoured the three envoys who had gone to Athens, not only that the office might serve to reward them for so distant a mission, but also in the belief that their knowledge of foreign laws would be useful in compiling a new code. The other four filled up the number. [6] It is said that old men were chosen for the last places, that they might make a less vigorous opposition to the measures proposed by the rest. [7] The guiding hand in the whole magistracy was that of Appius, thanks to the favour of the plebs; and so novel a character had he assumed, that from being a harsh and cruel persecutor of the plebs, he came out all at once as the people's friend, and caught at every breath of popularity. [8] Sitting each one day in ten they administered justice to the people. On that day he who presided in court had twelve fasces; his nine colleagues were each attended by a single orderly. And while they maintained an unparalleled harmony amongst themselves — a unanimity sometimes prejudicial to the governed, — they treated others with the utmost fairness. [9] As proof of their moderation, it will suffice to note a single example. Though they had been chosen to a magistracy from which there was no appeal, yet when a corpse was found buried in the house of Publius [10??] Sestius, a patrician, and produced before the assembly, and the man's guilt was as clear as it was heinous, Gaius Julius the decemvir summoned Sestius to trial, and appeared before the people to prosecute a man of whose guilt he was the lawful judge, surrendering his own prerogative that he might add to the liberty of the people what he subtracted from the power of the magistracy.

34. While this prompt justice, as pure as though derived from an oracle, was being meted out impartially by the decemvirs to the highest and the lowest, they were also busily engaged in framing laws. [2] Men's expectations were running high, when they set up ten tables, and summoning the people to assemble, commanded them — with a prayer that the result might be prosperous, favourable, and fortunate, for the commonwealth, for themselves, and for their children — to go and read the proposed statutes. [3] They themselves,

they said, so far as the capacities of ten men could forecast the event, had equalized the rights of all, both high and low; but there was greater efficacy in the capacities and counsels of many. [4] Let them consider each single point in their own minds, then discuss it with their fellows, and lastly state in public what excess or shortcoming there was in the several articles; [5] the Roman People should have only such laws as their unanimity might fairly be considered not only to have passed, but to have proposed. [6] When it appeared that the laws had been sufficiently amended, in the light of the opinions that men expressed concerning each separate section, the centuriate comitia met and adopted the Laws of the Ten Tables; which even now, in this great welter of statutes piled one upon another, are the fountain-head of all public and private law. [7] Afterwards the opinion was general that there lacked two tables, by the addition of which a corpus, so to speak, of all the Roman law could be rounded out. The hope of filling this lack made people desirous, when election day drew near, of choosing decemvirs again. [8] The plebs, besides the fact that they hated the name of consul quite as much as that of king, had already ceased to require even the help of the tribunes, since the decemvirs yielded to one another when an appeal was taken.

35. But when the comitia for the election of decemvirs had been announced to take place in four-and-twenty days, there was a great outburst of canvassing; [2] even the chief men in the state — from fear, I doubt not, that if they left the field this great power might fall into unworthy hands — solicited men's votes and humbly begged for an office which they had themselves opposed with all their influence, from those plebeians with whom they had contended. [3] The risk of losing his position, at his time of life, and after holding the offices he had held, acted as a spur to Appius Claudius. [4] One would not have known whether to reckon him among the decemvirs or the candidates. He was at times more like one who sought a magistracy than like one who exercised it. [5] He vilified the nobles; praised all the most insignificant and low-born candidates; and surrounding himself with former tribunes, like Duillius and Icilius, bustled about the Forum, and through them recommended himself to the plebs; till even his colleagues, who had been singularly devoted to him until then, looked askance at him and wondered what this could mean. [6]

It was evident there could be nothing genuine about it; so proud a man would certainly not be affable for nothing; excessive self-abasement and mingling with private citizens were not so much the marks of one who was in haste to retire from office as of one who sought the means of re-election. [7] Open opposition to his desires being more than they dared venture, they endeavoured by a show of complaisance to lessen its intensity; and unanimously appointed him, as their youngest colleague, to preside at the election. [8] This was a trick, that he might be unable to declare himself elected, a thing which none but tribunes of the plebs (and even there the precedent was most vicious) had ever done. But Appius, strange as it may seem, having promised, with a prayer for Heaven's blessing, to convene the comitia, turned the obstacle into an opportunity. [9] He effected by collusion the defeat of the two Quinctii, Capitolinus and Cincinnatus, of his uncle Gaius Claudius, a steadfast champion of the aristocratic cause, and of other citizens of the same exalted rank; and declared the election of decemvirs who were no match for these men in excellence. [10] His own name he announced among the first, a thing which good citizens condemned with as perfect unanimity, now it was done, as they had before believed he would not dare to do it. [11] With him were elected Marcus Cornelius Maluginensis, Marcus Sergius, Lucius Minucius, Quintus Fabius Vibulanus, Quintus Poetelius, Titus Antonius Merenda, Caeso Duillius, Spurius Oppius Cornicen, Manius Rabuleius.

36. Appius now threw off the mask he had been wearing, and began from that moment to live as his true nature prompted him. His new colleagues too he commenced, even before they entered upon office, to fashion after his own character. [2] Every day they met together without witnesses. The tyrannical designs which they there adopted they matured in secret. They now no longer sought to conceal their pride; they were difficult of access, and surly towards those who sought to speak with them. [3] Thus they carried matters until the Ides of May, at that time the traditional date for beginning a term of office. So then, when they had taken up their duties, they signalized the first day of their administration by a terrible threat. For whereas the former decemvirs had kept to the rule that only one should have the fasces, and that this regal emblem should pass from

one to another in rotation, so that each should have his turn, they suddenly appeared in public, every man with his twelve fasces. [4] A hundred and twenty lictors crowded the Forum, and before them, bound up in the rods, they carried axes. And indeed the decemvirs explained that there had been no reason for removing the axe, since the office to which they had been chosen was without appeal. [5] They seemed like ten kings; and the terror they inspired, not only in the humblest citizens but in the leaders of the senate, was intensified by the belief that the decemvirs were merely seeking a pretext and an opening for bloodshed, so that if anybody should pronounce a word in praise of liberty, either in the senate or before the people, the rods and axes might instantly be made ready, were it only to frighten the rest. [6] For besides that there was no help in the people, the right of appeal having been taken away, they had further agreed not to interfere with each other's decisions; whereas their predecessors had allowed their judgments to be revised upon appeal to one of their colleagues; and certain cases which might have been held to be within their own competence they had referred to the people. [7] For a brief period the terror was shared equally by all; but little by little its full force began to fall upon the plebs. The patricians were left unmolested; humbler folk were dealt with arbitrarily and cruelly. [8] It was all a question of persons, not of causes, with the decemvirs, since influence held with them the place of right. They concocted their judgments in private, and pronounced them in the Forum. If anybody sought redress from another decemvir, he came away regretting that he had not accepted the decision of the first. [9] Moreover a report had got out, though it was not vouched for, that they had not only conspired for present wrongdoing but had ratified with an oath a secret agreement amongst themselves not to call an election, but by means of a perpetual decemvirate to hold the power they had once for all acquired.

37. The plebeians then fell to searching the countenances of the patricians, and would catch at the breath of freedom in that quarter where they had so feared enslavement as to have reduced the state to its present plight. [2] The leading senators hated the decemvirs and hated the plebs. They could not approve of the things that were being done; still they believed them to be not undeserved. [3] They had no

desire to help those who in their greedy rush for liberty had fallen upon servitude, preferring that their wrongs should even be multiplied, that disgust at their actual situation might in the end arouse a longing for the two consuls and the former status of affairs. [4] And now the greater part of the year had passed, and the two tables of laws had been added to the ten of the year before; nor was there any further business to make the decemvirate necessary to the republic, so soon as those statutes too should have been enacted in the centuriate assembly. [5] People were anxiously looking forward to the time when the comitia for the election of consuls should be announced. The plebeians felt only one concern: how were they ever going to restore the tribunician power (their bulwark of liberty) which had been suspended? [6] Meanwhile there was no mention of an election. And the decemvirs, who had at first exhibited themselves to the plebs in the society of former tribunes, because this had [7??] been thought a recommendation to the people, had now assumed a retinue of young patricians. Their bands blocked the tribunals. They bullied the plebs and plundered their possessions; for success attended the strong, no matter what they coveted. [8] And now they ceased even to respect a man's person; some they scourged with rods, others they made to feel the axe; and, that cruelty might not go unrequited, they bestowed the victim's property upon his slayer. Corrupted by these wages, the young nobles not only made no stand against wrong-doing, but frankly showed that they preferred licence for themselves to liberty for all.

38. The Ides of May came. Without causing any magistrates to be elected, the decemvirs, now private citizens, appeared in public with no abatement either of the spirit with which they exercised their power or the insignia which proclaimed their office. [2] But this was unmistakable tyranny. Men mourned for liberty as for ever lost; nor did any one arise, or seem likely to do so, in its defence. And not only had the people themselves lost heart; but they had begun to be despised by the neighbouring nations, who could ill brook the existence of imperial power where there was no liberty. [3] The Sabines made an incursion with a large force into Roman territory, which they everywhere laid waste. Having safely driven off their booty, comprising men and beasts, they withdrew their army, which

had ranged far and wide, to Eretum. There they established a camp, hoping that the want of harmony at Rome would interfere with the levying of troops. Not only the messengers who came, but the flight of the country-people, who thronged the City, inspired a feeling of dismay. [4] The decemvirs considered what they had best do; for they were left in the lurch by the hatred of the patricians on the one side and of the plebs on the other. [5] Moreover Fortune sent an additional alarm. The Aequi came from another quarter and encamped on Algidus, and from there raided the lands of Tusculum. Tusculan envoys brought tidings of these acts, and besought protection. The fright which this occasioned drove the decemvirs, now that the City was hemmed in between two simultaneous wars, to consult the senate. [6] They ordered the Fathers to be summoned to the Curia, though they were not ignorant how great a storm of unpopularity was brewing: [7] the devastation of the land and the dangers which impended would be laid by everybody at their doors; and this would lead to an attempt being made to abolish their magistracy, unless they presented a united resistance, and by sharply exercising their power upon the few really daring spirits, put a stop to the efforts of the rest. [8] When the crier's voice was heard in the Forum, calling the senators to meet the decemvirs in the Curia, it was like an innovation, so long had they disregarded the custom of consulting the senate, and it aroused the attention of the plebs, who wondered what in the world could have happened, that after so long an interval they should be reviving a forgotten usage; the enemy and the war deserved men's gratitude, if anything whatever was being done which was usual in a free state. [9] Men looked about in every corner of the Forum to discover a senator, and seldom recognized one anywhere; then their glances rested on the Curia and the decemvirs sitting there alone. [10] Meantime the decemvirs themselves explained the Fathers' failure to assemble as owing to the universal detestation of their rule; the commons as due to their having no authority, being private citizens, to convoke the senate: a beginning, it seemed, was already being made towards the recovery of freedom, if the plebs would join with the senate; and if, even as the Fathers were refusing, when summoned, to attend the session, so they, for their part, would reject the levy. Such were the murmurs of the plebs. [11] Of senators

there was scarce one in the Forum, and there were but few in the City. In their resentment at the situation they had withdrawn to their farms and were absorbed in their private affairs, disregarding those of the nation; for they felt that they were secure from insult only so far as they removed themselves from contact and association with their tyrannical masters. [12] When on being cited they failed to appear, officers were sent round to their houses, for the double purpose of exacting fines and of ascertaining whether their recalcitrancy were deliberate. They reported that the senators were in the country. This was more pleasing to the decemvirs than if they had announced that the Fathers were in town and repudiated their authority. [13] They commanded them all to be summoned, and proclaimed a meeting of the senate for the following day. This session was somewhat better attended than they had themselves expected. Whereupon the plebs concluded that liberty had been betrayed by the senators, since those who had already gone out of office and were mere private citizens, save for the force they exercised, were obeyed by them as though they had the authority to command.

39. But their obedience in coming to the senate-house was greater, we are told, than their submissiveness in the expression of their views. [2] It is related that Lucius Valerius Potitus, after Appius Claudius had proposed his motion and before the senators were called upon in order for their opinions, demanded leave to speak on the state of the nation; and when the decemvirs tried with threats to prevent his doing so, stirred up a violent commotion by declaring that he would go before the plebs. [3] With equal spirit, it is said, did Marcus Horatius Barbatus enter the dispute, calling them ten Tarquini, and warning them that the Valerii and the Horatii had been leaders in the expulsion of the kings. [4] Nor was it the name, said he, which had then disgusted men, since by this name Jupiter was duly called; and Romulus, the founder of the City; and the successive kings; and it had even been retained for religious rites as a solemn title. [5] No, it was the pride and violence of the king which men had hated in those days; and if these qualities had then been intolerable in a king, or the son of a king, who would endure them in so many private citizens? [6] Let them beware lest by denying men freedom of speech in the Curia they should set them a-talking outside the Curia

as well. He could not see, he continued, how, as a private citizen, he was less entitled to assemble the people for a speech than they were to convene the senate. [7] When they liked they might learn by making the experiment how much stronger indignation was in the vindication of a man's own liberty than was ambition in defence of unjust power. [8] The decemvirs talked of a Sabine war, as if any war were more important to the Roman People than war with those who, though they had been appointed to propose statutes, had left no law in the state; who had done away with elections, with annual magistracies, with the succession of new governors — the only means of equalizing liberty; — and who, though private citizens, had the rods and the power of kings. [9] Following the expulsion of the kings there had been patrician magistrates; later, after the secession of the plebs, plebeian magistrates had been elected. Of what party, he asked, were they? Of the popular party? Pray what had they done through the agency of the people? Of the aristocratic party? When they had held no meeting of the senate for close upon a year, and were now so conducting it as to suppress discussion of the national welfare? [10] Let them not trust too much to other men's fears; the things men were enduring now seemed more grievous to them than the things they feared.

40. While Horatius was thus declaiming, the decemvirs were at a loss to know how far they could afford either to resent or to overlook it; nor could they make out what the upshot was likely to be. [2] But Gaius Claudius, the uncle of Appius the decemvir, made a speech, approaching more nearly to entreaty than expostulation, in which [3??] he implored him in the name of his own brother's and his father's departed spirits to remember rather the civil society in which he had been born than the wicked compact he had entered into with his colleagues. [4] This he begged much more for Appius's own sake than for the sake of the nation; indeed the nation would demand its rights in spite of the decemvirs, if they did not accord them voluntarily; but a great struggle usually aroused great passions, and he shuddered to think what these might lead to. [5] Although the decemvirs wished to prevent discussion of anything but the subject they had introduced, they were ashamed to interrupt Claudius, who accordingly brought his speech to a conclusion, with the proposal that the senate should

take no action. [6] Everybody accepted this as meaning that Claudius held the decemvirs to be private citizens; and many of consular rank signified their approval, without discussion. [7] Another motion, ostensibly harsher, but in reality somewhat less drastic, directed the patricians to assemble and proclaim an interrex. For by passing any measure whatsoever they declared those who presided over the senate to be magistrates; whereas they had been rated as mere citizens by him who advised the senate against adopting any resolution. [8] Thus the cause of the decemvirs was already collapsing, when Lucius Cornelius Maluginensis, brother of Marcus Cornelius the decemvir, who had purposely been reserved to be the last speaker among the ex-consuls, defended his brother and his brother's colleagues by feigning anxiety about the war. [9] He said he wondered by what fatality it had come about that the decemvirs were being attacked solely, or at least chiefly, by those who had sought election to that office; [10] or why it was that during the many months in which the state had been at peace nobody had raised the question whether regular magistrates were at the head of affairs, and only now, when the enemy were almost at their gates, were men sowing political dissension; unless it was because they thought that in troubled waters it would be harder to discern what was going on. [11] For the rest, was it not right that when men's attention was taken up with the larger concern, all prejudgment of so important a matter should be eliminated? He therefore proposed, concerning the charge brought by Valerius and Horatius that the official term of the decemvirs had expired on the day before the Ides of May, that they should first conclude the impending wars and restore the state's tranquillity, and then refer the question to the senate for settlement; [12] and that Appius Claudius should at once make up his mind to recognize that he must explain, regarding the comitia which he had held for the election of decemvirs — being one himself — whether they were chosen for one year or until the missing laws should be enacted. [13] For the present he thought they should pay no attention to anything but the war. If the current rumours about it seemed to them to be false, and if they supposed that not only the couriers but the Tusculan envoys also had brought them idle stories, he suggested that they send out scouts to investigate and return with more certain

information. [14] But if they trusted both couriers and envoys, a levy should be held at the earliest possible moment; and the decemvirs should lead the armies whither it seemed good to each of them, giving precedence to no other business.

41. The younger senators were about to force this motion through on a division, when Valerius and Horatius, in a second and more impassioned outburst, demanded that they be permitted to speak about the state of the nation. They would address the people, they said, if they were restrained by a faction from speaking in the senate; for neither could private citizens prevent them, whether in the senate-house or in an assembly, nor would they yield to the emblems of a fictitious authority. [2] Thereupon Appius, thinking the moment was at hand when, unless he opposed their violence with equal boldness, his [3??] authority was doomed, cried out, "It will be safer not to utter a word except on the subject of debate!" And when Valerius asserted that he would not be silenced by a mere citizen, he sent a lictor to arrest him. [4] Valerius was imploring the citizens for help, from the threshold of the Curia, when Lucius Cornelius, throwing his arms about Appius, and feigning to be concerned for the other man, stopped the quarrel. At his request Valerius was permitted to say what he wished. But liberty went no further than speech; the decemvirs made good their design. [5] Even the ex-consuls and the elder senators, in consequence of their lingering hatred of the tribunician power, which they thought the plebs regretted much more keenly than they did the authority of the consuls, almost preferred that at some later time the decemvirs should voluntarily abdicate than that hatred of them should lead to another rising of the plebs. [6] If gentle measures should restore the government to the consuls, without any popular outcry, they might, either through the intervention of wars, or through the moderation of the consuls in the exercise of their power, bring the plebeians to forget the tribunes.

[7] The senators permitted in silence the proclamation of a levy. The young men answered to their names, since the authority of the decemvirs was without appeal. When the legions were enrolled, the decemvirs settled among themselves who ought to go to the front and who command the armies. [8] Chief among the ten were Quintus Fabius and Appius Claudius. The war at home seemed more

important than that abroad. The violence of Appius was, they thought, more adapted to quell disturbances in the City; while Fabius was of a character deficient in steady rectitude rather than actively bad. [9] For this man, once pre-eminent in civil and in military affairs, had been so altered by the decemvirate and by his colleagues that he chose rather to be like Appius than like himself. To him was intrusted the war in the Sabine country, and Manius Rabuleius and Quintus Poetelius were given him as colleagues. [10] Marcus Cornelius was sent to Mount Algidus, with Lucius Minucius, Titus Antonius, Caeso Duillius, and Marcus Sergius. Spurius Oppius they assigned to Appius Claudius, to help him in looking out for the City; and they gave them the same powers as had been exercised by the entire board.

42. The business of the nation was managed no better in the field than at home. [2] The only fault of the generals was that they had made the citizens detest them; the rest of the blame belonged to the soldiers, who, that nothing might anywhere prosper under the command and auspices of the decemvirs, permitted themselves to be beaten, to their own disgrace and that of their commanders. [3] Their armies were routed, both by the Sabines near Eretum, and on Algidus by the Aequi. From Eretum they fled in the silence of the night, and intrenched themselves near the City, between Fidenae and Crustumeria, on elevated ground. [4] When the enemy followed them up, they nowhere ventured to fight in the open field, but defended themselves by the position and their rampart, not by bravery and arms. [5] The disgrace on Algidus was worse, and a worse disaster was sustained; even the camp was lost, and stripped of all their baggage, the soldiers fled to Tusculum, to subsist by the loyalty and compassion of their hosts, — which nevertheless did not fail them. [6] To Rome came such alarming reports that the patricians, laying aside now their hatred of the decemvirs, voted to establish watches in the City, and commanded all who were of an age to bear arms to guard the walls and do outpost duty before the gates. [7] They decreed that arms should be dispatched to Tusculum, and reinforcements, and that the decemvirs should descend from the Tusculan citadel and hold their troops in camp; that the other camp should be transferred from Fidenae to Sabine territory, so that by taking the offensive they might

frighten the enemy into abandoning his design to besiege the City.

43. To the disaster suffered at the hands of the enemy the decemvirs added two shameful crimes, one committed in the field, the other at home. [2] Lucius Siccus was serving in the Sabine campaign. Taking advantage of the hatred entertained for the decemvirs, he would scatter hints, in secret conversations with the common soldiers, that they should elect tribunes and secede. [3] So the generals sent him to look out a place for an encampment; and instructed the men whom they assigned to share his expedition to set upon him when they had got to a suitable spot, and kill him. [4] He died not unavenged. For he laid about him, and several of the assassins fell, for he was very strong, and though surrounded, defended himself with a courage equal to his strength. [5] The others reported at the camp that they had fallen into an ambuscade, and that Siccus had perished, fighting valiantly, and with him certain soldiers. [6] At first their report was believed; afterwards a cohort set out, by permission of the decemvirs, to bury the slain; and finding that none of the bodies there had been despoiled, and that Siccus lay armed in the midst, with all the bodies facing him, while the enemy had left no dead nor any indication of having withdrawn, they brought back the corpse, and declared that Siccus had certainly been murdered by his own men. [7] The camp was ablaze with indignation, and it was resolved that Siccus should be carried to Rome forthwith; but the decemvirs made haste to give him a military funeral at the public cost. The soldiers sorrowed greatly at his burial, and the worst reports were current about the decemvirs.

44. This outrage was followed by another, committed in Rome, which was inspired by lust and was no less shocking in its consequences than that which had led, through the rape and the death of Lucretia, to the expulsion of the Tarquins from the City and from their throne; thus not only did the same end befall the decemvirs as had befallen the kings, but the same cause deprived them of their power. [2] Appius Claudius was seized with the desire to debauch a certain maiden belonging to the plebs. The girl's father, Lucius Verginius, a centurion of rank, was serving on Algidus, a man of exemplary life at home and in the army. [3] His wife had been brought up in the same principles, and his children were being trained in

them. He had betrothed his daughter to the former tribune Lucius Icilius, an active man of proven courage in the cause of the plebeians. [4] She was a grown girl, remarkably beautiful, and Appius, crazed with love, attempted to seduce her with money and promises. But finding that her modesty was proof against everything, he resolved on a course of cruel and tyrannical violence. [5] He commissioned Marcus Claudius, his client, to claim the girl as his slave, and not to yield to those who demanded her liberation, thinking that the absence of the maiden's father afforded an opportunity for the wrong. [6] As Verginia was entering the Forum — for there, in booths, were the elementary schools — the minister of the decemvir's lust laid his hand upon her, and calling her the daughter of his bond-woman and herself a slave, commanded her to follow him, and threatened to drag her off by force if she hung back. [7] Terror made the maiden speechless, but the cries of her nurse imploring help of the Quirites quickly brought a crowd about them. The names of Verginius her father and of her betrothed Icilius were known and popular. Their acquaintance were led to support the girl out of regard for them; the crowd was influenced by the shamelessness of the attempt. [8] She was already safe from violence, when the claimant protested that there was no occasion for the people to become excited; he was proceeding lawfully, not by force. [9] He then summoned the girl to court. She was advised by her supporters to 145 follow him, and they went before the tribunal of Appius. The plaintiff acted out a comedy familiar to the judge, since it was he and no other who had invented the plot: The girl had been born, said Marcus, in his house, and had thence been stealthily conveyed to the home of Verginius and palmed off upon him as his own; [10] he had good evidence for what he said, and would prove it even though Verginius himself were judge, who was more wronged than he was; meanwhile it was right that the hand-maid should follow her master. [11] The friends of the girl said that Verginius was absent on the service of the state; he would be at hand in two days' time if he were given notice of the matter; it was unjust that a man should be involved in litigation about his children when away from home; [12] they therefore requested Appius to leave the case open until the father arrived, and in accordance with the law he had himself

proposed, grant the custody of the girl to the defendants, nor suffer a grown maiden's honour to be jeopardized before her freedom should be adjudicated.

45. Appius prefaced his decision by saying that it was evident how much he favoured liberty from that very law which the friends of Verginius made the pretext for their claim; [2] but the law would afford liberty a sure protection only if it varied neither with causes nor with persons; for in the case of others who were claimed as free, the demand was legal, since any one might bring an action: in the case of one who was under the authority of a father there was no one else to whom the master ought to yield the custody; [3] accordingly he decreed that the father should be summoned, and that meanwhile the claimant should not relinquish his right, but should take the girl in charge and guarantee that she should be produced at the coming of him who was called her father.

[4] Against the injustice of the decree, though many murmured their disapproval, there was not a single man who dared to stand out; when Publius Numitorius, the girl's great-uncle, and her lover Icilius, arrived on the scene. [5] When a path had been opened for them through the throng, since the crowd believed that the intervention of Icilius would be particularly effectual in resisting Appius, the lictor cried that the case had been decided, and as Icilius began to protest, attempted to thrust him aside. [6] Even a placid nature would have been incensed by so violent an insult. "You must use iron to rid yourself of me, Appius," he cried, "that you may carry through in silence what you desire should be concealed. This maiden I am going to wed; and I intend that my bride shall be chaste. [7] So call together all your colleagues' lictors too; bid them make ready rods and axes: the promised wife of Icilius shall not pass the night outside her father's house. [8] No! If you have taken from the Roman plebs the assistance of the tribunes and the right of appeal, two citadels for the defence of liberty, it has not therefore been granted to your lust to lord it over our children and our wives as well! [9] Vent your rage upon our backs and our necks: let our chastity at least be safe. If that shall be assailed, I will call on the Quirites here present to protect my bride, Verginius will invoke the help of the soldiers in behalf of his only daughter, and all of us will implore the protection of gods and

men; [10] nor shall you ever repeat that decree of yours without shedding our blood. I ask you, Appius, to consider earnestly whither you are going. [11] Let Verginius decide what to do about his daughter, when he comes; but of one thing he may rest assured: if he yields to this man's claim, he will have to seek a husband for her. As for me, in defence of the freedom of my bride I will sooner die than prove disloyal."

46. The crowd was deeply moved and a conflict appeared to be imminent. [2] The lictors had surrounded Icilius, but had nevertheless gone no further than to threaten him, since Appius declared that it was not a question of Verginia's defence by Icilius, but of a turbulent fellow, who even now breathed the spirit of the tribunate, seeking an opportunity to stir up strife. [3] He would furnish him no excuse for it that day; but that he might know now that the concession had not been made to his own wantonness but to the absent Verginius, to the name of father, and to liberty, he would not pronounce judgment that day nor deliver a decision; he would request Marcus Claudius to waive his right and suffer the girl to remain at large until the morrow; [4] but unless the father should appear the next day, he gave notice to Icilius and to those like Icilius that the proposer of his law would not fail to support it, nor the decemvir be wanting in firmness; and in any case he should not call together his colleagues' lictors to repress the instigators of sedition, but rest content with his own.

[5] The time for accomplishing the wrong having been postponed, the girl's supporters went apart by themselves, and decided that first of all the brother of Icilius and the son of Numitorius, active young men, should proceed straight to the City gate and make all possible haste to the camp, to summon Verginius; for the maiden's safety turned on her protector's being at hand in time. [6] They set out the moment they got their orders, and galloping their horses, carried the message through to the father. [7] When the claimant of the girl pressed Icilius to furnish the sureties required of her guarantor, and Icilius said that it was precisely that which he was considering (though he was doing his best to consume time, that the messengers who had been dispatched to the camp might get a start on the way), the people began on every side to raise their hands, and every man of them to indicate his readiness to go bail for Icilius. [8] And Icilius

said, with tears in his eyes, "I am grateful to you; to-morrow I will use your services; of sureties I now have enough." So Verginia was surrendered, on the security of her kinsmen. [9] Appius waited a little while, that he might not appear to have sat for this case only, and when nobody applied to him — for all other matters were forgotten in men's concern over this, — he went to his house and wrote to his colleagues in camp that they should grant no furlough to Verginius, and should even detain him in custody. [10] His base design was too late, as it deserved to be; Verginius had already got his leave, and had set out in the fore-part of the night, nor was it until early the next morning that the letters for detaining him were delivered, to no purpose.

47. But in the City, as the citizens at break of day were standing in the Forum, agog with expectation, Verginius, dressed in sordid clothes and leading his daughter, who was also meanly clad and was attended by a number of matrons, came down into the market-place with a vast throng of supporters. [2] He then began to go about and canvass people, and not merely to ask their aid as a favour, but to claim it as his due, saying that he stood daily in the battle-line in defence of their children and their wives; that there was no man of whom more strenuous and courageous deeds in war could be related — to what end, if despite the safety of the City those outrages which were dreaded as the worst that could follow a city's capture must be suffered by their children? Pleading thus, as if in a kind of public appeal, he went about amongst the people. [3] Similar appeals were thrown out by Icilius; but the women who attended them were more moving, as they wept in silence, than any words. [4] In the face of all these things Appius hardened his heart — so violent was the madness, as it may more truly be called than love, that had overthrown his reason — and mounted the tribunal. The plaintiff was actually uttering a few words of complaint, on the score of having been balked of his rights the day before through partiality, when, before he could finish his demand, or Verginius be given an opportunity to answer, Appius interrupted him. [5] The discourse with which he led up to his decree may perhaps be truthfully represented in some one of the old accounts, but since I can nowhere discover one that is plausible, in view of the enormity of the decision, it seems

my duty to set forth the naked fact, upon which all agree, that he adjudged Verginia to him who claimed her as his slave. [6] At first everybody was rooted to the spot in amazement at so outrageous a proceeding, and for a little while after the silence was unbroken. Then, when Marcus Claudius was making his way through the group of matrons to lay hold upon the girl, and had been greeted by the women with wails and lamentations, Verginius shook his fist at Appius and cried, "It was to Icilius, Appius, not to you that I betrothed my daughter; and it was for wedlock, not dishonour, that I brought her up. [7] Would you have men imitate the beasts of the field and the forest in promiscuous gratification of their lust? Whether these people propose to tolerate such conduct I do not know: I cannot believe that those who have arms will endure it."

[8] The claimant of the maiden was being forced back by the ring of women and supporters who surrounded her, when silence was commanded by a herald; 48. and the decemvir, crazed with lust, declared that he knew, not only from the abusive words uttered by Icilius the day before and the violence of Verginius, which he could prove by the testimony of the Roman People, but also from definite information, that all through the night meetings had been held in the City to promote sedition. [2] Accordingly, having been aware of the approaching struggle, he had come down into the Forum with armed men, not that he might do violence to any peaceable citizen, but to coerce, conformably to the dignity of his office, those who would disturb the nation's peace. [3] "You will therefore," he cried, "best be quiet! Go, lictor, remove the mob and open a way for the master to seize his slave!" When he had wrathfully thundered out these words, the crowd parted spontaneously and left the girl standing there, a prey to villainy. [4] Then Verginius, seeing no help anywhere, said, "I ask you, Appius, first to pardon a father's grief if I have somewhat harshly inveighed against you; and then to suffer me to question the nurse here, in the maiden's presence, what all this means, that if I have been falsely called a father, I may go away with a less troubled spirit." [5] Permission being granted, he led his daughter and the nurse apart, to the booths near the shrine of Cloacina, now known as the "New Booths," and there, snatching a knife from a butcher, he exclaimed, "Thus, my daughter, in the only way I can, do I assert

your freedom!” He then stabbed her to the heart, and, looking back to the tribunal, cried, “’Tis you, Appius, and your life I devote to destruction with this blood!” The shout which broke forth at the dreadful deed roused Appius, and he ordered Verginius to be seized. [6] But Verginius made a passage for himself with his knife wherever he came, and was also protected by a crowd of men who attached themselves to him, and so reached the City gate. Icilius and Numitorius lifted up the lifeless body and showed it to the people, bewailing the crime of Appius, the girl’s unhappy beauty, and the necessity that had constrained her father. [7] After them came the matrons crying aloud, “Was it on these terms that children were brought into the world? [8] Were these the rewards of chastity?” — with such other complaints as are prompted at a time like this by a woman’s anguish, and are so much the more pitiful as their lack of self-control makes them the more give way to grief. [9] The men, and especially Icilius, spoke only of the tribunician power; of the right of appeal to the people which had been taken from them; and of their resentment at the nation’s wrongs.

49. The wildest excitement prevailed amongst the people, occasioned in part by the atrocity of the crime, in part by the hope of improving the opportunity to regain their liberty. [2] Appius first commanded that Icilius be summoned; then, on his resisting, that he be arrested; and at last, when the crowd would not allow his attendants to approach the man, he headed a band of patrician youths in person, and advancing through the mob, bade them drag his enemy off to prison. [3] By this time Icilius was supported not only by the populace but by the leaders of the populace as well, Lucius Valerius and Marcus Horatius, who, forcing the lictor back, declared that if Appius proceeded legally, they would protect Icilius from the prosecution of a mere citizen; if he sought to make use of violence, there too they would be a match for him. [4] This led to a desperate struggle. The decemvir’s lictor now made a rush at Valerius and Horatius; his rods were broken by the mob. Appius mounted the platform; Horatius and Valerius followed him. [5] To them the crowd listened; the decemvir’s voice they drowned with noise. And now, as though vested with authority, Valerius was commanding the lictors to withdraw from one who was a private citizen; when Appius,

broken in spirit and fearing for his life, covered up his head and sought refuge in a house near the Forum, unobserved by his opponents. [6] Spurius Oppius, wishing to assist his colleague, burst into the Forum from the other quarter. He saw that authority had been overcome by force. Distracted then by the suggestions which came from every side, and timidly agreeing first with one and then with another of his many advisers, he ended by ordering the senate to be summoned. [7] This course, inasmuch as a great proportion of the patricians appeared to disapprove of the decemvirs' acts, afforded hopes that the senators would end their power, and so quieted the multitude. [8] The senate decided that the plebs must not be provoked, and that it was even more necessary to see to it that the arrival of Verginius in the army should not occasion any turbulence.

50. Accordingly certain of the younger senators were dispatched to the camp, which was then on Mount Vecilius, and carried word to the decemvirs that they must employ all their resources to keep the troops from mutiny. [2] There Verginius aroused a greater commotion than he had left in Rome. For besides that he was seen approaching attended by a body of nearly four hundred men, who had joined him when he left the City, in their anger and resentment at the affair, the weapon in his hand and the gore with which he was spattered drew the attention of the entire camp upon him. [3] Then too the appearance of togas in the camp, in many places, produced the effect of a greater company of civilians than were actually there. [4] Being asked what the matter was, Verginius wept, and for a long time answered never a word; at length, when the bustle and confusion of the gathering had subsided and silence had ensued, he gave an orderly account of all that had taken place. [5] Then, lifting up his hands in an attitude of prayer, and addressing the crowd as his fellow-soldiers, he besought them not to attribute to him the crime of which Appius Claudius stood guilty, nor to repudiate him as one who had murdered his child. [6] To him the life of his daughter had been dearer than his own, if she had been permitted to live pure and chaste; when he saw her being carried off like a slave to be dishonoured, thinking it better to lose his children by death than by outrage, he had been impelled by pity to an act of seeming cruelty; nor would he have survived his daughter, had he not hoped to avenge her death by the help of his

fellow-soldiers. [7] They too had daughters, sisters, and wives; the lust of Appius Claudius had not been extinguished with the life of Verginia, but its lawlessness would be proportioned to its impunity. In the calamity of another they had been given a warning to be on their guard against similar wrongs. [8] So far as he was concerned, his wife had been taken from him in the course of nature, his daughter, because she could no longer have lived chaste, had died a pitiful but an honourable death; [9] for the lust of Appius there was now no longer in his house any scope; from other forms which his violence might take he would defend his own person with no less spirit than he had shown in defence of his daughter; the others must look out for themselves and for their own children. [10] As Verginius spoke these words in a loud voice, the multitude signified with responsive shouts that they would not forget his sufferings nor fail to vindicate their liberty. And the civilians, mingling with the crowd, repeated the same complaints and told them how much more shameful the thing would have appeared if they could have seen it instead of hearing about it; [11] at the same time they reported that the decemvirate was already overthrown at Rome; and on the arrival of later tidings, to the effect that Appius had almost lost his life and had gone into exile, they induced the troops to raise the cry "To arms!" [12] and to pluck up their standards and set out for Rome. The decemvirs, troubled alike by what they saw and by what they heard had taken place in Rome, rushed through the camp, one this way, another that, to still the rising. [13] And so long as they mildly remonstrated, they got no answer; but if one of them tried to use his authority, they told him that they were men, and armed. They marched in column to the City and took possession of the Aventine, urging the plebeians, as often as they fell in with one, to [14??] make an effort to regain their liberty and to elect plebeian tribunes. Save this, no violent proposals were heard. [15] The senate was convened by Spurius Oppius. It was resolved that no harsh action should be taken, seeing that occasion for the mutiny had been given by themselves. Three delegates of consular rank, Spurius Tarpeius, Gaius Julius, and Publius Sulpicius, were dispatched in the name of the senate to inquire by whose orders the men had deserted the camp, and what they meant, who with arms had seized the Aventine, and, abandoning the enemy, had captured their

native City. [16] The men were at no loss for an answer: what they lacked was some one to make it, since they had as yet no definite leader, nor did individuals quite dare to single themselves out for enmity. But the crowd called out in unison that they should send them Lucius Valerius and Marcus Horatius, to whom they would intrust their reply.

51. After the delegates had been dismissed, Verginius reminded the soldiers that they had been thrown into confusion a few minutes before, over a matter of no very great importance, because the multitude had been without a head; [2] and although a very good answer had been returned, yet this had been due rather to their happening to feel alike about the matter than to a concerted plan. [3] He recommended that ten men should be chosen to have supreme command, and that they should be styled, by a military title, tribunes of the soldiers. [4] When they would have tendered Verginius himself the first appointment to this office, he replied, "Reserve your good opinion of me till my own affairs and yours are in a better plight; to me no honour can be agreeable while my daughter is unavenged; nor is it well for you, with the state in such confusion, to be led by those who are most exposed to hatred. [5] If I can render any service, [6??] it shall not be less because I am a private citizen." [7] So they chose ten military tribunes.

Nor was the army in the Sabine country inactive. There too, at the instigation of Icilius and Numitorius, a secession from the decemvirate was brought about; men's anger on being reminded of the murder of Siccius being no less violent than that which was kindled in them by the new story of the maiden whose dishonour had been so foully sought. [8] Icilius, on hearing that military tribunes had been elected on the Aventine, feared lest the City comitia might take their cue from the comitia of the soldiers and elect the same [9??] men to be tribunes of the plebs, for he was experienced in the ways of the people; and having designs upon that office himself, he saw to it, before they marched to the City, that the same number of men, vested with equal power, were chosen by his own army. [10] They entered Rome under their standards, by the Colline Gate, and marched right through the midst of the City to the Aventine. There they joined the other army, and directed the twenty military tribunes

to appoint two of their number to exercise supreme command. [11] Marcus Oppius and Sextus Manilius were appointed.

The Fathers were alarmed about the state; but, though the senate held daily sessions, they spent more time in recriminations than in deliberating. [12] Siccius's murder was cast in the teeth of the decemvirs, as well as the lust of Appius, and their disgraces in the field. It was decided that Valerius and Horatius should go to the Aventine. They agreed to go only on condition that the decemvirs would put off the insignia of that magistracy which they had already ceased to hold the year before. [13] The decemvirs, complaining that they were being deprived of their office, asserted that they would not lay down their authority until after the enactment of the laws which had been the reason of their appointment.

52. Having learned from Marcus Duillius, who had been a plebeian tribune, that nothing was coming of the endless bickerings of the senate, the commons quitted the Aventine for the Sacred Mount, since Duillius assured them that not until the patricians beheld the City deserted would they feel any real concern; [2] the Sacred Mount would remind them of the firmness of the plebs, and they would know whether it were possible or not that affairs should be reduced to harmony without the restoration of the tribunician power. [3] Marching out by the Via Nomentana, then called Ficulensis, they pitched their camp on the Sacred Mount, having imitated the good behaviour of their fathers and made no depredations. [4] Following the army came the plebeian civilians; nor did any one who was of an age to go hold back. They were attended a little way forth by their wives and children, who inquired pathetically to whose protection they were leaving them, in that City where neither chastity nor liberty was sacred.

[5] Now that all Rome was desolate with an unwonted loneliness, and there was nobody in the Forum but a few old men, and it appeared, particularly when the Fathers had been summoned to the senate-house, quite deserted, there were many others besides Horatius and Valerius who remonstrated. "What will you wait for, Conscript Fathers?" [6] they cried out. "If the decemvirs persist in their obstinacy, will you suffer everything to go to wrack and ruin? Pray what is that authority, decemvirs, to which you cling with such

tenacity? Is it to roofs and walls you will render judgment? [7] Are you not ashamed that your lictors should be seen in the Forum in almost larger numbers than the other citizens? What do you mean to do if the enemy should come to the City? What if, by and bye, the plebs, finding us unmoved by their secession, come with sword in hand? Do you wish the downfall of the City to be the end of your rule? And yet, either we must have no plebs, or we must have plebeian tribunes. [8] We will sooner dispense with patrician magistrates than they with plebeian. It was a new and untried power when they extorted it from our fathers: [9] now that they have once been captivated by its charm, they would be even less willing to forgo it, especially when we on our side do not so temper the exercise of our authority that they stand in no need of help.” [10] As these reproaches were flung at them from every quarter, the decemvirs were overborne by the consensus of opinion and gave assurances that they would submit, since it was thought best, to the authority of the senate. [11] They had but this one request to make — which was also a warning, — that their persons might be protected from men’s hate, and that their blood might not be the means of accustoming the plebs to punish senators.

53. Valerius and Horatius were then sent to bring back the plebs and adjust all differences, on such terms as might seem good to them; and they were also instructed to secure the decemvirs against the anger and violence of the people. [2] Having proceeded to the camp, they were received with great rejoicings by the plebs, as undoubted champions of liberty both in the beginning of the disturbance and in the sequel. In recognition of this they were thanked on their arrival, Icilius speaking on behalf of the multitude. [3] And it was Icilius too who, when terms were discussed and the commissioners inquired what the plebeians demanded, made such requests, in pursuance of an understanding already reached before the arrival of the envoys, that it was apparent they based their hope more on equity than on arms. [4] For the recovery of the tribunician power and the appeal were the things they sought — things which had been the help of the plebs before the election of decemvirs; — and that it should not be held against any man that he had incited the soldiers or the people to recover their liberties by secession. [5] Only in regard to the

punishment of the decemvirs was their demand a harsh one; for they thought it just that the decemvirs should be delivered up to them, and threatened to burn them alive. [6] To these proposals the commissioners replied: "The demands which have been prompted by your judgment are so right that they ought to have been accorded you voluntarily; for you seek in them guarantees of liberty, not of a licence to make attacks on others. [7] But your anger calls for pardon rather than indulgence, seeing that hatred of cruelty is driving you headlong into cruelty, and almost before you are free yourselves you are wishing to lord it over your adversaries. [8] Will the time never come when our state shall rest from punishments visited either by the patricians on the Roman plebs or by the plebs on the patricians? A shield is what you need more than a sword. [9] It is enough and more than enough for a lowly citizen when he lives in the enjoyment of equal rights in the state, neither inflicting an injury nor receiving one. [10] Even if you are one day to make yourselves dreaded, when you have got back your magistrates and laws and possess authority to put us on trial for our lives and fortunes, you shall then give judgment in accord with the merits of each particular case: for the present it is enough to regain your liberty."

54. When the people all consented that they should do as they saw fit, the envoys assured them that they would settle matters and presently return. [2] So they departed and explained to the Fathers the demands of the plebs. [3] The other decemvirs, when they found that, contrary to their expectation, no mention was made of any punishment of themselves, made no objection to anything: Appius, hard-hearted, knowing himself peculiarly unpopular, and measuring other men's hatred of himself by his own of them, exclaimed, "I am not unaware of the lot which threatens me. [4] I perceive that the attack upon us is only being postponed till arms are handed over to our adversaries. Hatred must have its offering of blood. [5] I too am willing to relinquish the decemvirate." A decree was passed by the senate that the decemvirs should abdicate the magistracy at the earliest possible moment; that Quintus Furius, the Pontifex Maximus, should hold an election of plebeian tribunes; and that no one should be made to suffer for the secession of the soldiers and the plebs.

[6] Having so decreed the senate adjourned and the decemvirs

went before the people and laid down their office, to the great delight of all. [7] These events were reported to the plebs, the envoys being accompanied by all the people left in the City. The multitude was met by another joyful throng from the camp, and they exchanged congratulations on the restoration of freedom and harmony to the state. [8] The commissioners addressed the people as follows: "Prosperity, favour, and good fortune to you and the Republic! Return to your native City, to your homes, to your wives, and your children; but let the self-restraint you have shown here, where no man's farm has been violated, though so many things were useful and necessary to so great a multitude, be preserved when you return to the City. [9] Go to the Aventine, whence you set out. There in the auspicious place where you first laid the foundations of your liberty, you shall choose tribunes of the plebs. The Pontifex Maximus will be at hand to hold the election." [10] With loud applause and great alacrity the people showed their approval of all that had been said. They pulled up their standards from the place and set out for Rome, vying with those whom they met in joyful demonstrations. [11] Armed, they proceeded in silence through the City to the Aventine. There the Pontifex Maximus at once held the comitia, and they elected tribunes of the plebs; [12] first of all Lucius Verginius; then Lucius Icilius and Publius Numitorius, Verginia's great-uncle, the instigators of the secession; then Gaius Sicinius, son of the man who is related to have been the first plebeian tribune chosen on the Sacred Mount; and Marcus Duillius, who had filled the tribuneship with distinction before the decemvirs were appointed, and had not failed the plebs in their contentions with the decemvirs. [13] Then, more by reason of their promise than for any deserts of theirs, they elected Marcus Titinius, Marcus Pomponius, Gaius Apronius, Appius Villius, and Gaius Oppius. [14] As soon as they had taken office, Lucius Icilius proposed to the people, and they so voted, that no man should suffer for the secession from the decemvirs. [15] Immediately a bill that consuls should be elected subject to appeal was offered by Marcus Duillius and was carried. These matters were all transacted by the council of the plebs, in the Flaminian Meadows, which men now call the Flaminian Circus.

55. Then, through an interrex, they elected to the consulship Lucius

Valerius and Marcus Horatius, who at once assumed office. Their administration was favourable to the people, without in any way wronging the patricians, though not without offending them; [2] for whatever was done to protect the liberty of the plebs they regarded as a diminution of their own strength. [3] To begin with, since it was virtually an undecided question whether the patricians were legally bound by plebiscites, they carried a statute in the centuriate comitia enacting that what the plebs should order in the tribal organization should be binding on the people — a law which provided the rogations of the tribunes with a very sharp weapon. [4] Next they not only restored a consular law about the appeal, the unique defence of liberty, which had been overthrown by the decemviral power, but they also safeguarded it for the future by the solemn enactment of a new law, that no one should declare the [5??] election of any magistrate without appeal, and that he who should so declare might be put to death without offence to law or religion, and that such a homicide should not be held a capital crime. [6] And having sufficiently strengthened the plebs, by means of the appeal on the one hand and the help of the tribunes on the other, they revived, in the interest of the tribunes themselves, the principle of their sacrosanctity (which was a thing that had now come to be well-nigh forgotten) by restoring certain long-neglected ceremonies; [7] and they rendered those magistrates inviolate, not merely on the score of religion but also by a statute, solemnly enacting that he who should hurt the tribunes of the plebs, the aediles, or the decemviral judges should forfeit his head to Jupiter, and that his possessions should be sold at the temple of Ceres, Liber, and Libera. [8] Expounders of the law deny that any one is sacrosanct by virtue of this statute, but maintain that the man who has injured any of these officials is solemnly forfeited to Jupiter; [9] hence the aedile may be arrested and imprisoned by the greater magistrates, an act which, though it be unlawful — for he is thereby injured who, according to this statute, may not be injured, — is nevertheless a proof that the aedile is not regarded as sacrosanct; [10] whereas the tribunes are sacrosanct in consequence of the ancient oath taken by the plebs, when they first created this magistracy. [11] There were some who taught that by this same Horatian law the consuls also were protected, and the praetors,

inasmuch as they were created under the same auspices as the consuls; for the consul was called “judge.” [12] But this interpretation is refuted by the fact that it was not yet the custom in those days for the consul to be called “judge,” but “praetor.” Such were the consular laws. [13] The practice was also instituted by the same consuls that the decrees of the senate should be delivered to the aediles of the plebs at the temple of Ceres. Up to that time they were wont to be suppressed or falsified, at the pleasure of the consuls. [14] Marcus Duillius, the tribune of the plebs, then proposed to the plebs, and they so decreed, that whosoever should leave the plebs without tribunes and whosoever should declare the election of a magistrate without appeal should be scourged and beheaded. [15] All these measures, though they were passed against the will of the patricians, were yet not opposed by them, since, so far, no one person had been singled out for attack.

56. Then, when the tribunician power and the liberty of the plebs were firmly established, the tribunes, believing that it was now safe to proceed against individuals and that the time was ripe for doing so, selected Verginius to bring the first accusation and Appius to be defendant. [2] When Verginius had cited Appius to appear, and the latter, attended by a crowd of young patricians, had come down into the Forum, there was instantly revived in the minds of all the recollection of that most wicked power, as soon as they caught sight of the man himself and his satellites. [3] Then Verginius said, “Oratory was invented for doubtful matters; and so I shall neither waste time in arraigning before you the man from whose cruelty you freed yourselves with arms, nor shall I suffer him to add to his other crimes the impudence of defending himself. [4] I therefore pardon you, Appius Claudius, all the impious and wicked deeds which you dared, during two years, to heap one upon another; on one charge only, unless you shall name a referee to establish your innocence of having illegally assigned custody of a free person to him who claimed her as his slave, I shall order you to be taken to prison.” [5] Neither in the protection of the tribunes nor in the decision of the people had Appius anything to hope; yet he called upon the tribunes, and when none of them would stay proceedings, and he had been arrested by an officer, he cried, “I appeal.” [6] The sound of this word,

the one safeguard of liberty, coming from that mouth by which, shortly before, a free person had been given into the custody of one who claimed her as a slave, produced a hush. [7] And while the people muttered, each man to himself, that there were gods after all, who did not neglect the affairs of men; and that pride and cruelty were receiving their punishment, which though late was nevertheless not light — that [8] he was appealing who had nullified appeal; that he was imploring the protection of the people who had trodden all the rights of the people under foot; that he was being carried off to prison, deprived of his right to liberty, who had condemned the person of a free citizen to slavery — the voice of Appius himself was heard amidst the murmurs of the assembly, beseeching the Roman People to protect him. [9] He reminded them of the services his forefathers had rendered the state in peace and in war; of his own unfortunate affection for the Roman plebs, in consequence of which he had given up his consulship — in order to make the laws equal for all — with great offence to the patricians; — of the laws he had himself drawn up, which were still standing while their author was being dragged off to prison. [10] For the rest, when he should be given an opportunity to plead his cause, he would try what would come of his own peculiar services and shortcomings; at present he asked that, in accordance with the common right of citizenship, he be permitted, being a Roman citizen and under accusation, to speak, and to be judged by the Roman People. [11] He did not so fear men's malice as to have no hope in the justice and pity of his fellow citizens. But if he was to be imprisoned, his cause unheard, he appealed once more to the tribunes of the plebs, and warned them not to imitate those whom they hated. [12] And if the tribunes should confess that they were bound by the same agreement which they charged the decemvirs with having entered into, not to hear an appeal, he still appealed to the people, and invoked the laws, both consular and tribunician, which had been enacted concerning appeals that very year. [13] For who, he asked, should make an appeal, if a man who had not been condemned, whose cause had not been heard, might not do so? What humble plebeian would find protection in the laws, if they afforded none to Appius Claudius? His own case would show whether the new statutes had established tyranny or freedom, and whether the

appeal to the tribunes and that to the people against the injustice of magistrates had been merely a parade of meaningless forms, or had been really granted.

57. Against this plea Verginius asserted that Appius Claudius alone was beyond the pale of the laws and of the rights of citizens and men. [2] He bade his hearers look on the tribunal, the stronghold of all crimes, where that man, as perpetual decemvir, deadly foe to their fortunes, their persons, and their lives, threatening them all with rods and axes, despising gods and men, backed by executioners instead of lictors, had began to turn his thoughts from rapine and murder to lust; [3] and, in full sight of the Roman People, had torn a free maiden from her father's arms, as though she had been a captive taken in war, and bestowed her as a gift upon his pimp and client; — the [4] tribunal where, by his tyrannical decree and wicked judgments, he had armed a father's right hand against his daughter; where, as they were lifting up the body of the dying girl, he had ordered her betrothed and her uncle to be haled to prison — more moved by the disappointing of his pleasure than by her death. For Appius too had been built that prison which he was wont to call the home of the Roman plebs. [5] Accordingly, though he should again and repeatedly appeal, he would himself again and repeatedly challenge him to prove before a referee that he had not adjudged a free citizen to the custody of one who claimed her as a slave. Should he refuse to go before a referee, he bade him be led to gaol, as one found guilty. [6] Though none raised his voice in disapproval, there were yet profound misgivings on the part of the plebs when he was cast into prison, since they saw in the punishment of so great a man a sign that their own liberty was already grown excessive. The tribune appointed a day for the continuance of the trial.

[7] Meanwhile from the Latins and the Hernici came envoys to congratulate the Romans upon the harmony subsisting between the patricians and the plebs; and to commemorate it they brought a gift for Jupiter Optimus Maximus, to the Capitol. This was a golden crown, of no great weight, for their states were not rich, and they observed the worship of the gods with piety rather than magnificence. [8] From these same envoy came the information that the Aequi and the Volsci were making strenuous preparations for

war. [9] The consuls were therefore bidden to divide the commands between them. To Horatius fell the campaign against the Sabines; to Valerius that against the Aequi. When they had proclaimed a levy for these wars, the plebs showed so much good-will that not only the juniors but also a great number of volunteers who had served their time presented themselves for enrolment, with the result that not alone in numbers but in the quality of the troops as well, owing to the admixture of veterans, the army was stronger than usual. [10] Before they left the City, the consuls had the decemviral laws, which are known as the Twelve Tables, engraved on bronze, and set them up in a public place. Some authors say that the aediles, acting under orders from the tribunes, performed this service.

58. Gaius Claudius, who loathed the wickedness of the decemvirs and was particularly offended by his nephew's insolence, had retired to Regillus, the ancient seat of his family. He was advanced in years, but he returned to Rome to beg for the pardon of the man whose vices he had fled. In sordid garments, accompanied by his clansmen and clients, he went about the Forum, soliciting the support of one citizen after another, beseeching them that they would not seek to brand the Claudian race with the shame of being held to merit imprisonment and chains. [2] A man whose portrait-mask would be held in the highest honour by coming generations, the framer of statutes and the founder of Roman law, lay in prison among night-prowling thieves and banditti. [3] Let them turn their minds from wrath, for a moment, to consider and reflect upon the matter; and let them sooner forgive one man, at the entreaty of so many Claudii, than scorn, in their hatred of one, the prayers of many. [4] He was doing this, he said, out of regard to his family and his name; nor had there been any reconciliation between him and the man whose adversity he sought to succour. By courage they had got back their liberty; by showing mercy they had it in their power to establish harmony between the orders. [5] There were some whom he moved, more by his family-loyalty than by the cause of the man for whom he pleaded. But Verginius begged them rather to pity himself and his daughter, and to hearken, not to the entreaties of the Claudian family, whose province it was to tyrannize over the plebs, but instead to those of Verginia's relations, the three plebeian tribunes, who had

been appointed to help the plebs but were themselves imploring the plebs to protect and comfort them. [6] Men found more reason in his tears. And so Appius, cut off from hope, did not wait for the appointed day to come, but killed himself.

[7] Immediately thereafter Publius Numitorius caused the arrest of Spurius Oppius, who stood next in point of unpopularity, because he had been in the City when the unjust verdict was pronounced by his colleague. [8] Yet a wrong which Oppius committed was more responsible for men's bitterness towards him than the one which he failed to prevent. A witness was produced who, after enumerating his twenty-seven campaigns, during which he had eight times received special decorations, which he wore in full sight of the people, tore open his tunic and exhibited his back, scored by the rods, professing that if the defendant could name any crime of which he had been guilty, he would suffer him without complaining, private citizen though he was, to vent his rage upon him a second time. [9] Oppius too was led to prison, and before the day of trial he there put an end to his life. The property of Claudius and that of Oppius was confiscated by the tribunes. Their colleagues in the decemvirate went into exile, and their possessions were forfeited. [10] Marcus Claudius also, the claimant of Verginia, was cited and condemned, but at the instance of Verginius himself the extreme penalty was remitted; and being allowed to depart, he went into exile at Tibur. [11] And so the manes of Verginia, who was more fortunate after her death than she had been while alive, after ranging through so many houses in quest of vengeance, were finally at peace; for no guilty man remained.

59. A great fear had come over the patricians, and the bearing of the tribunes was now just what that of the decemvirs had been, when Marcus Duillius, a tribune of the plebs, placed a salutary check upon their excessive power. [2] "Our own liberty," he declared, "and the exaction of penalties from our enemies have gone far enough; I shall therefore this year allow no one to be arraigned or thrown into gaol. [3] For on the one hand it is not good to rake up old offences, already blotted out of memory, now that recent crimes have been expiated by the punishment of the decemvirs; and on the other hand we have a guarantee that no wrong will be attempted that could call for the intervention of tribunician authority, in view of the unceasing care

both consuls take to protect your liberty.” [4] It was this moderation on the tribune’s part which first relieved the patricians of their fear. It also increased their dislike of the consuls, since the latter had been so wholly devoted to the plebs that the safety and independence of the patricians had been dearer to a plebeian magistracy than to their own, and their opponents had grown sated with punishing them before the consuls evinced any intention of opposing their licence. [5] And there were many who said that the senate had shown a want of resolution in having voted for the measures proposed by the consuls; and indeed there was no doubt that in the troubled state of public affairs they had yielded to the times.

60. The consuls, having set affairs in order in the City and established the position of the plebs, departed to their respective commands. [2] Valerius, facing the armies of the Aequi and Volsci, which had already effected a junction on Mount Algidus, deliberately postponed engaging them; had he risked an immediate decision, it is likely — such was the difference in spirit between the Romans and the enemy, in consequence of the godless dealings of the decemvirs — that the struggle would have cost him a severe defeat. [3] He established his camp a mile from the enemy and kept his men within the works. The enemy repeatedly drew up their troops in fighting order on the ground between the camps, and challenged the Romans to come out and engage them; but no one answered them. [4] At length, weary with standing and waiting, to no purpose, for the battle, the Aequi and Volsci concluded that the Romans had virtually yielded them the victory; and marched off to pillage, some against the Hernici, others against the Latins, leaving behind what was rather a garrison for the camp than a sufficient force for giving battle. [5] On perceiving this the consul repaid the fear he had previously been made to feel, and forming a line of battle, himself provoked the enemy. [6] Since they declined the combat, conscious of their want of strength, the Romans felt an immediate access of courage, and regarded their opponents, cowering behind the palisade, as beaten men. [7] After standing in line all day intent on fighting, the Romans withdrew at nightfall. And they, on their side, were full of hope, as they ate their evening meal; but the enemy’s spirits were by no means so high, and they sent out couriers far and wide, in great

alarm, to recall the marauders. [8] The nearest of these hastened back; but those who were farther afield could not be found. As soon as it was light, the Romans sallied from their camp, intending to assault the rampart, unless the enemy gave battle. So, when the day was now far spent and the enemy made no move, the consul ordered an advance. The Roman line having got in motion, the Aequi and Volsci were ashamed that their victorious armies should depend for protection upon stockades, instead of valour and the sword. Accordingly they too demanded of their leaders, and received, the signal to attack. [9] A part had already passed out through the gates and the rest were following in good order, each man coming out into his proper place; when the Roman consul, not waiting till the enemy's line should be strongly posted in full force, advanced to the charge. [10] The attack, which he delivered before their troops had all been brought out, and when those who had been were insufficiently deployed, found little more than a surging mob of men, who as they hurried this way and that cast anxious looks at one another and wished for their missing friends. [11] The shouting and the fury of the onset increased their agitation, and at first they fell back; then, when they had collected their wits and on every side heard their officers wrathfully demanding if they meant to yield to troops whom they had beaten, they rallied and held their own.

61. The consul, on the other side, bade the Romans remember that on that day they were for the first time fighting as free men for a free Rome. They would be conquering for themselves, not that they might become the spoil of decemvirs in the hour of victory. [2] It was no Appius who was commanding them, but the consul Valerius, descendant of liberators of the Roman People, and himself their liberator. Let them show that in previous battles it had been the fault of the generals, not of the soldiers, that they had failed to win. [3] It would be disgraceful to have shown more courage in facing their fellow citizens than in facing the enemy, and to have been more fearful of enslavement at home than abroad. [4] No one's chastity but Verginia's had been in danger while they were at peace, no citizen but Appius had been possessed of a dangerous lust; but if the fortune of war turned against them, the children of all of them would be in danger from all those thousands of enemies; [5] yet he would not utter

an omen which neither Jupiter nor Mars their Father would suffer to come home to a City founded with such auspices. [6] He reminded them of the Aventine and the Sacred Mount, that they might bring back an undiminished power to the spot where liberty had a few months before been won, and might show that the nature of Rome's soldiers was the same after the expulsion of the decemvirs that it had been before they were elected, and that equality before the law had not lessened the courage of the Roman People. [7] Having pronounced these words amid the standards of the infantry, he hastened to the cavalry. "Come, young men," he cried, "surpass the foot-soldiers in daring as you do in honour and in rank! [8] At the first encounter the infantry have forced the enemy back; now that they are repulsed, do you give rein to your horses and drive them from the field. [9] They will not sustain the shock; even now they are rather hesitating than resisting." Clapping spurs to their horses they charged the enemy, already disordered by the infantry-attack, and penetrating his lines, dashed through to the rear; while another division made a detour over unoccupied ground, and finding the enemy everywhere in flight turned most of them back from their camp and frightened them off by riding across their course. [10] The infantry and the consul himself swept on into the camp in the full tide of battle, and took possession of it. [11] The enemy's losses in men were great, but in booty were even greater.

The report of this battle having been brought not only to Rome but also to the Sabine country and the other army, was celebrated in the City with rejoicings, and in the camp inspired the soldiers with a desire to emulate the glorious achievement. [12] Horatius had already accustomed them, by practice in raids and skirmishes, to be self-reliant, instead of dwelling on the disgrace they had incurred under the leadership of the decemvirs; and small engagements had encouraged the highest hopes of the general outcome. [13] Nor were the Sabines backward — emboldened as they were by their victory of the year before — with challenges and threats. Why, they asked, did the Romans waste their time advancing swiftly in small companies, like brigands, and as hurriedly retreating; thus dissipating in many little combats the issues of one pitched battle? [14] Why did they not attack in line and suffer fortune to decide the matter once for all?

62. Besides the fact that they had of themselves accumulated a good store of confidence, the Romans were also kindled with indignation. The other army, they said, would presently be returning victorious to the City; they themselves were actually being insulted and reviled by the enemy; but when should they be a match for him, if they were not at that moment? [2] When the consul became aware how the soldiers were murmuring in the camp, he called them together. "Soldiers," said he, "you have heard, I suppose, how matters have gone on Algidus. The army has proved to be such as it was fitting that the army of a free people should be. By my colleague's strategy and the bravery of his men a victory has been won. [3] As for me, my strategy and my courage will be what you make them yourselves. It is within our power either to prolong the war with advantage or to bring it to a speedy and successful end. [4] If it is to be prolonged, I shall seek to increase your hopes and courage from day to day by the same course of training I have begun; if your spirits are already high enough and you wish the war to be decided, come, give a shout here in the camp, to show your good-will and your courage, like the cheer you will raise in the battle!" [5] The shout was given with great alacrity, and the consul promised, invoking good fortune on the enterprise, that he would do as they wished and lead them forth to battle on the morrow. The rest of the day they spent in making ready their arms.

[6] Next day, as soon as the Sabines saw the Romans forming, they came out themselves, for they had long been eager to fight. It was a battle such as takes place when both armies are confident; for the glory of the one was ancient and unbroken, and the other was exalted by its recent unaccustomed victory. [7] Moreover the Sabines employed a stratagem to increase their strength; for when they had marshalled a front of equal extent with the Roman, they held two thousand men in reserve to hurl against their opponent's left, as soon as the battle should be under way. [8] These troops, attacking in flank, had almost encompassed that wing, and were beginning to overpower it; when the cavalry of the two legions, numbering about six hundred, leaped down from their horses and rushed to the front, where their comrades were already giving ground. There they made a stand against the foe and at the same time roused the courage of the

infantry, first by sharing the danger on equal terms, and then by causing them to feel ashamed. [9] They felt humiliated that the cavalry should be fighting in their own fashion and in that of infantry too, and that the infantry should not be as good as the horsemen, even when these were dismounted.

63. They therefore renewed the battle which on their flank had been given up, and advanced again into the position from which they had retreated, and in a trice the fighting was not merely even, but the Sabine wing had begun to yield. [2] The horsemen, under cover of the ranks of infantry, regained their mounts. Then they galloped across to the other wing, announcing the victory to their friends; and at the same time they made a charge against the enemy, who were already panic-stricken, as they might well be when the stronger of their wings had been defeated. No other troops showed more conspicuous courage in that battle. [3] The consul looked out for every contingency, commended the brave, and upbraided any who fought listlessly. Being rebuked they would at once begin to acquit themselves like men, — shame proving as powerful an incentive to them as praise to the others. [4] With a fresh cheer all along the line the Romans made a concerted effort and drove the enemy back, and from that moment there was no resisting the violence of their onset. The Sabines fled in confusion through the fields and left their camp to be plundered by their foes. There the Romans won back not the possessions of their allies, as on Algidus, but their own which had earlier been lost to them through the raids on their lands.

[5] Though a double victory had been gained in two separate battles, the senate was so mean as to decree thanksgivings in the name of the consuls for one day only. The people went unbidden on the second day also in great numbers, to offer up thanks to the gods; and this unorganized and popular supplication was attended with an enthusiasm which almost exceeded that of the other. [6] The consuls had arranged to approach the City within a day of one another, and summoned the senate out into the Campus Martius. [7] While they were there holding forth on the subject of their victories, complaints were made by leading senators that the senate was being held in the midst of the army on purpose to inspire fear. [8] And so the consuls, to allow no room for the accusation, adjourned the senate from that

place to the Flaminian Meadows, where the temple of Apollo is now, and which was called even then Apollo's Precinct. When the Fathers, meeting there, refused with great unanimity to grant a triumph, Lucius Icilius the plebeian tribune laid the issue before the people. [9] Many came forward to dissuade them, and Gaius Claudius was particularly vehement. It was a triumph, he said, over the patricians, not Rome's enemies, which the consuls desired; they were seeking a favour in return for personal services they had done the tribune, not an honour in requital of valour. [10] Never before had a triumph been voted by the people; the decision whether this honour had been deserved had always rested with the senate; not even the kings had infringed the majesty of the highest order in the state; let not the tribunes so dominate all things as not to suffer the existence of any public council; if each order retained its own rights and its own dignity, then, and only then, would the state be free and the laws equal for all. [11] After many speeches had been made to the same purpose by the other older members of the senate, all the tribes voted in favour of the motion. Then, for the first time, a triumph which lacked the authorization of the senate was celebrated at the bidding of the people.

64. This victory of the tribunes and the commons had nearly resulted in a dangerous abuse; for the tribunes conspired together to obtain their re-election, and, that their own ambition might be less conspicuous, to procure as well the return to office of the consuls. [2] Their pretext was the solidarity of the patricians, which had operated, by injurious treatment of the consuls, to break down the authority of the tribunes of the plebs. [3] What would happen if, ere the laws were firmly established, the new tribunes should be assailed through the agency of consuls belonging to the patricians' own party? For there would not always be consuls like Valerius and Horatius, who preferred the liberty of the plebs to their own interests. [4] By a fortunate chance in this emergency the superintendence of the elections fell by lot to none other than Marcus Duillius, a far-seeing man who perceived that the re-election of the magistrates would be fraught with odium. [5] But when he asserted that he would not consider the candidacy of any of the former tribunes, his colleagues vehemently insisted that he should receive the suffrages of the tribes

without restriction, or else resign the presidency of the election to his fellow-tribunes, who would conduct the voting in accordance with the law rather than the desires of the patricians. [6] A controversy having thus arisen, Duillius summoned the consuls before the benches of the tribunes and asked them what course they meant to pursue in the consular elections; and finding, by their replying that they should have new consuls chosen, that he had got in them popular supporters of his unpopular policy, he went with them before the assembly. [7] When the consuls, on being there brought forth to the people and asked what they would do if the Roman People, mindful of their help in the recovery of liberty at [8??] home and remembering their military successes, should again elect them to office, declined to alter their determination, Duillius first praised the consuls for persisting to the end in their unlikeness to the decemvirs, and then held the election. And after five tribunes had been chosen and no other candidates obtained a majority of the tribes, on account of the eagerness with which the nine incumbents openly sought re-election, he dismissed the assembly, nor did he afterwards convene it for an election. [9] He declared that the law had been satisfied, which, without anywhere prescribing the number, provided only that the tribunate should not be left vacant; and directed that those who had been elected should co-opt colleagues. [10] He recited too the formula of the announcement, in which the following words occurred: "*If I shall call for your suffrages for ten tribunes of the plebs; if for any reason you shall elect to-day less than ten tribunes of the plebs, then let those whom the elected tribunes co-opt as their colleagues be as legally tribunes of the plebs as those whom you shall this day have chosen to that office.*" [11] Having persevered to the end in denying that the state could have fifteen plebeian tribunes, and having defeated the cupidity of his colleagues, Duillius laid down his magistracy, approved by patricians and plebs alike.

65. The new tribunes of the plebs consulted the wishes of the nobles in the co-optation of colleagues; they even chose two who were patricians and ex-consuls, Spurius Tarpeius and Aulus Aternius. [2] The new consuls, Spurius Herminius and Titus Verginius Caelimontanus, being specially devoted neither to the cause of the patricians nor to that of the plebs, enjoyed a peaceful year both at

home and abroad. [3] Lucius Trebonius, a tribune of the commons, being angry with the patricians, because, as he said, he had been defrauded by them in the co-optation of the tribunes and had been betrayed by his [4??] colleagues, proposed a law that he who called upon the Roman plebs to elect tribunes should continue to call upon them until he should effect the election of ten; and he so baited the nobles during his year of office as even to gain the surname of *Asper*, or “the Truculent.”

[5] Next, Marcus Geganius Macerinus and Gaius Julius became consuls, and assuaged the strife of the tribunes with the young nobles, without censuring those magistrates or sacrificing the dignity of the patricians. [6] They withheld the plebs from sedition by suspending a levy which had been decreed with a view to making war on the Volsci and the Aequi, averring that so long as the City was quiet their foreign relations were likewise entirely peaceful; that it was discord in Rome which made other nations take heart. [7] The pains they were at to maintain peace were also productive of internal harmony. But the one order was always taking advantage of the moderation of the other; the plebs were tranquil, but the younger patricians began to insult them. [8] When the tribunes attempted to assist the lowly, at first their services were of little effect; and later they did not even escape violence themselves, especially in the last months of their term, since not only were wrongs committed through cabals of the more powerful, but the effectiveness of every magistrate rather languished, as a rule, in the latter part of the year. [9] By this time the plebs had ceased to count upon the tribunate, unless they could have tribunes like Icilius; for two years they had had mere names. [10] The elder patricians, for their part, though they thought their young men too headstrong, yet preferred, if moderation must be left behind, that the excess of spirits should be on their side rather than with their adversaries. [11] So difficult is it to be moderate in the defence of liberty, since everyone, while pretending to seek fair-play, so raises himself as to press another down; while insuring themselves against fear, men actually render themselves fearful to others; and having defended ourselves from an injury, we proceed — as though it were necessary either to do or suffer wrong — to inflict injury upon our neighbour.

66. Titus Quinctius Capitolinus (for the fourth time) and Agrippa Furius were then made consuls. They experienced neither domestic sedition nor foreign war, but were threatened with both. [2] The strife between citizens could now no longer be repressed, since tribunes and plebs alike were inflamed against the patricians, and the trial of one or another of the nobles was continually embroiling the assemblies in new quarrels. [3] At the first disturbance in these meetings the Aequi and Volsci took up arms, as though they had received a signal, and also because their leaders, being eager for plunder, had convinced them that the Romans had found it impossible, the year before, to carry out the levy which they had proclaimed, since the plebs were no longer amenable to authority; and that this had been the reason why armies were not dispatched against themselves. [4] Lawlessness was breaking down their martial traditions, nor was Rome any longer a united nation; all the hostility and quarrelsomeness they had formerly entertained towards other nations was now being turned against themselves; the wolves were blinded with mad rage at one another, and there was now an opportunity to destroy them. [5] Combining their armies, they first desolated the country of the Latins, and then, when it appeared that there was no one in that region to punish them, they carried their marauding, amidst the triumphant rejoicings of the advocates of war, to the very walls of Rome, in the direction of the Esquiline Gate, where they insolently exhibited to the inhabitants of the City the devastation of their lands. [6] After they had withdrawn unmolested, and driving their booty before them had marched to Corbio, the consul Quinctius summoned the people to an assembly.

67. There he spoke, as I understand, to the following effect: “Although I am conscious, Quirites, of no wrong-doing, nevertheless it is with great shame that I have come to this assembly to confront you. To think that you know, to think that future generations will be told, that the Aequi and the Volsci, but now scarce a match for the Hernici, have in the fourth consulship of Titus Quinctius approached the walls of the City of Rome — with impunity, and armed! [2] We have now for a long time been living under such conditions that my mind could foresee nothing good; yet had I known that such a disgrace was in store for this year, of all others, I should have

shunned it even at the cost of exile or of death, in default of other means of escaping office. So! Had they been men whose swords were there at our gates, Rome might have been captured in my consulship! [3] I had enjoyed honours enough, I had had enough, and more than enough, of life; death should have come to me in my third consulship. For whom, pray, did the most dastardly of our enemies feel such contempt? [4] For us, the consuls, or for you, Quirites? If the fault is ours, deprive us of authority we do not merit; and if that is not enough, then punish us to boot: if yours, may neither god nor man seek to punish your sins, Quirites; only may you yourselves repent of them! [5] It was not cowardice in you that they despised, nor was it their own courage in which they put their trust; in truth they have been too often beaten and routed, despoiled of their camps, stripped of their lands, and sent under the yoke, not to know both themselves and you: it was the discord betwixt the classes, and the quarrels — poison of this City — between the patricians and the plebs that roused their hopes, as they beheld our greed for power and yours for liberty; your disgust at the patrician magistracies and ours at the plebeian. [6] In Heaven's name what would you have? You conceived a longing for tribunes of the plebs; for the sake of harmony we granted them. You desired decemvirs; we allowed them to be elected. [7] You grew exceedingly weary of the decemvirs; we compelled them to abdicate. When your resentment against them persisted in their retirement to private life, we permitted men of the highest birth and the most distinguished careers to suffer death and exile. [8] Again you desired to choose tribunes of the plebs, and chose them; to appoint consuls of your own faction, and though we saw that this was unfair to the patricians, we beheld even the patrician magistracy presented to the plebs. [9] That you should enjoy the support of tribunes and the right of appeal to the people; that the decrees of the plebs should be made binding upon the patricians; that on the pretext of equalizing the laws our rights should be trodden under foot — all this we have endured and are now enduring. [10] What end will there be to our dissensions? Will a time ever come when we can have a united City? Will a time ever come when this can be our common country? We, the beaten party, accept the situation with more equanimity than do you, the victors. [11] Is it not

enough that we must fear you? It was against us that the Aventine was taken; against us that the Sacred Mount was occupied; we have seen the Esquiline almost captured by the enemy, and the Volscian mounting our rampart. The enemy found none to drive him back; against us you show your manhood; against us you have drawn the sword.

68. "Come now, when you have laid siege to the senate-house here, and rendered the Forum unsafe, and filled the gaol with our leading men, go out in that same valorous spirit beyond the Esquiline Gate; [2] or if your courage is not equal even to that, behold from the walls how your fields have been laid waste with fire and sword, how your cattle are being driven off, while far and wide the smoke is rising from burning buildings. [3] 'But,' you may say, 'it is the community that suffers by these things: the fields are burned; the City is besieged; the glory of the war rests with the enemy.' How now? In what plight are your private interests? [4] Every man of you will presently be getting from the country a report of his personal losses. Pray what resources do you command for supplying the want of these things? Shall the tribunes restore and make good to you your losses? Resounding words they will pour forth to your hearts' content, and accusations against prominent men, and laws one after another, and assemblies; but from those assemblies there was never one of you returned home the better off in circumstances or in fortune. [5] Has ever one of you carried aught back to wife and children but animosities, complaints, and quarrels, both public and private? — from which you always fly for refuge, not to your own bravery and innocence, but to the help of others. [6] But, by Hercules! when you used to serve under us, the consuls, instead of under tribunes, and in camp instead of in the Forum; when your shout was raised in the battle-line, not the assembly, and caused not the Roman nobles but the enemy to shudder; — in those days, I say, you were wont to capture booty, to strip the enemy of his lands, and crowned with success and glory — for the state no less than for yourselves — to return in triumph to your homes and your household gods; now you suffer the foe to load himself with your riches and depart. [7] Hold fast to your assemblies and live your lives in the Forum; you shall still be pursued by the necessity of that service which you seek

to evade. It was hard to march against the Aequi and Volsci; the war is before your gates. If it is not driven back, it will soon be within the walls and will scale Citadel and Capitol and pursue you into your homes. [8] Last year the senate commanded that an army should be levied and led out to Algidus: we are still sitting idly at home, scolding each other like so many women, rejoicing in the temporary peace, and not perceiving that we shall soon be paying for this brief repose with a war many times as great. [9] I know that there are other things more pleasant to hear; but even if my character did not prompt me to say what is true in preference to what is agreeable, necessity compels me. I could wish to give you pleasure, Quirites, but I had far sooner you should be saved, no matter what your feeling towards me is going to be. [10] It has been ordained by nature that he who addresses a crowd for his own selfish ends should be more acceptable to it than he whose mind regards nothing but the general welfare; unless perhaps you suppose that it is for your sakes that the public flatterers — I mean your courtiers of the plebs, who will suffer you neither to be at war nor to keep the peace—are exciting you and urging you on. [11] Once thoroughly aroused you are a source of political advancement or of profit to them; and because they see that so long as the orders are harmonious they themselves count for nothing anywhere, they had rather lead an evil cause than none. [12] If you are capable at last of feeling a disgust for these things, and are willing to resume your fathers' and your own old-fashioned manners, in [13??] place of these new-fangled ones, I give you leave to punish me as you like, if within a few days I have not defeated and routed these devastators of our fields, stripped them of their camp, and shifted this alarm of war which now dismays you from our gates and walls to the cities of our enemies.”

69. Rarely has the speech of a popular tribune been more agreeable to the plebs than was at that time this speech by the sternest of consuls. [2] Even the young men, who amid such alarms were wont to regard a refusal to enlist as their sharpest weapon against the nobles, began to look forward to war and arms. And the flight of the country-people and the presence of those who had been plundered while on their farms and wounded, and who reported worse outrages than those which met the eyes of the citizens, filled all Rome with

resentment. [3] When the senate had met, then in truth all turned to Quinctius, whom they looked on as the sole champion of Roman majesty. The foremost senators declared that his speech had been worthy of the consular authority, worthy of the many consulships he had held in the past, worthy of his whole life, crowded as it had been with honours which, often as he had received them, he had still oftener deserved. [4] Other consuls had either flattered the plebs by betraying the dignity of the patricians, or by harshly enforcing the rights of their order had exasperated the populace while seeking to subjugate them; Titus Quinctius had spoken without forgetting the dignity of the patricians, or the harmony of the orders, or — what was particularly important — the existing crisis. [5] They begged him and his colleague to undertake the guidance of the state; they besought the tribunes to unite with the consuls in a single-minded effort to repel their enemies from the walls of the City, and to cause the plebs to yield obedience to the patricians in so alarming a situation; the appeal to the tribunes came, they said, from their common country, which implored their assistance for its wasted fields and its well-nigh beleaguered City. [6] By general consent a levy was proclaimed and held. The consuls announced in the assembly that there was no time to consider excuses; that all the juniors should present themselves at dawn of the following day in the Campus Martius; [7] that they would take time when the war was over to listen to the excuses of those who had failed to hand in their names; and that any man whose excuse they did not approve would be treated as a deserter. [8] Next day the entire body of young men appeared. The cohorts each chose their own centurions, and two senators were put in command of every cohort. We are told that all these measures were carried out so promptly that the standards were fetched from the treasury by the quaestors that very day, and being carried to the Campus Martius, headed the line of march from the mustering ground at ten o'clock in the morning; and the newly recruited army, with the voluntary escort of a few cohorts of veterans, encamped over night at the tenth mile-stone. [9] The following day brought the enemy into view, and the Roman camp was established close to theirs, near Corbio. [10] On the third day, the Romans being urged on by indignation, and the enemy, who had so

often revolted, by the consciousness of their guilt and by despair, no attempt was made to delay the battle.

70. Although the two consuls were of equal authority in the Roman army, yet they made an arrangement which is extremely advantageous in the administration of important measures, by which Agrippa yielded the supreme command to his colleague. The latter, thus preferred, responded courteously to the ready self-effacement of the other by admitting him to a share in his plans and his achievements, and treating him as an equal, despite his inferiority. [2] In the battle-line Quinctius held the right wing, Agrippa the left; to Spurius Postumius Albus, the lieutenant, they gave the centre in charge; and the other lieutenant, Publius Sulpicius, they put in command of the horse. [3] The infantry on the right fought brilliantly, and were vigorously resisted by the Volsci. [4] Publius Sulpicius broke through the enemy's centre with his cavalry. He might have returned to the Roman side the way he went, before the enemy could re-form their broken ranks; but it seemed better to assail them in the rear. It would have been but the work of a moment to charge them from behind and throw them into confusion between the two attacks; but the Volscian and Aequian cavalry met him with his own kind of troops and held him in check for some little while. [5] Thereupon Sulpicius cried out that there was no time for hesitation; they were surrounded and cut off from their fellows, unless they put forth all their might and disposed of the enemy's cavalry. [6] Nor was it enough to rout them and let them get safely off; they must destroy them, horse and man, that none might ride back into the battle or renew the fight. It would be impossible, he said, for their cavalry to resist his men, when the close ranks of their infantry had given way before them. [7] His words did not fall upon deaf ears. With a single rush the Romans routed the entire body of cavalry. Hurling great numbers of them from their horses, they transfixed men and steeds with their javelins. [8] This ended the cavalry-battle. Then they fell upon the hostile infantry, and sent off gallopers to announce their success to the consuls, where the enemy's line was already beginning to give way. The tidings at once aroused fresh ardour in the conquering Romans and filled the faltering Aequi with confusion. [9] It was in the centre that their defeat began, where the attack of the

troopers had thrown their ranks into disorder; then the left wing began to fall back before the consul Quinctius. [10] The Romans experienced most difficulty on the right; there Agrippa, young, active, and courageous, perceiving that the battle was everywhere going better than on his own front, snatched the standards from the men who bore them, and began to carry them forward himself, and even to fling some of them into the press of the enemy. The disgrace with which his soldiers were thus threatened spurred them to the attack, and the victory was extended to every part of the line. [11] A message then came from Quinctius, saying that he had beaten the enemy and was already threatening their camp, but did not wish to storm it until he knew that the fight had been decided on the left wing also; [12] if Agrippa had already defeated his opponents, let him bring up his troops, that the entire army might enter together into possession of the spoils. The victorious Agrippa accordingly joined his victorious colleague, with mutual congratulations, in front of the enemy's camp. [13] Its handful of defenders was speedily put to flight, and the Romans burst into the entrenchments without encountering resistance. The consuls led their army back to the City laden with a vast quantity of booty, as well as with the goods which they had lost by the pillage of their fields but had now recovered. [14] I do not find either that the consuls themselves asked for a triumph or that one was offered them by the senate; nor is there any record of the reason why they despised the honour or did not hope for it. [15] The best conjecture I myself can offer, after so long an interval of time, is this: since the consuls Valerius and Horatius, who besides beating the Volsci and Aequi had also attained renown by bringing the Sabine war to a successful conclusion, had been refused a triumph by the senate, they were ashamed to ask for that distinction in recompense of an achievement only half as great, lest even if it should be granted, it might seem that account had been taken rather of persons than of deserts.

71. The glory of defeating the enemy was sullied by a shameful judgment given by the people in Rome regarding the boundaries of her allies. [2] The men of Aricia and those of Ardea had often gone to war over a territory which both cities claimed. Exhausted by the many defeats which each had experienced, they referred their quarrel

to the Roman People for decision. [3] When they had come to plead their cause, and a popular assembly had been granted them by the magistrates, they argued their respective claims with great vehemence. The testimony had already been taken, and the time had come for the tribes to be summoned and the people to give their votes, when Publius Scaptius, an aged plebeian, arose and said: "If I am permitted, consuls, to speak concerning the nation's interests, I will not suffer the people to go wrong in this matter." [4] The consuls declared that he was an untrustworthy fellow and ought not to be listened to, and when he protested noisily that the public cause was being betrayed, they ordered him to be removed; whereat he appealed to the tribunes. [5] The tribunes, as almost always happens, were swayed by the crowd, instead of swaying it, and, to please the greedy ears of the plebs, gave Scaptius leave to say what he wished. [6] He therefore began, and said that he was eighty-two years old and had fought in the army, in that district which was under discussion, not as a youth, but as one already in his twentieth year of service at the time of the campaign before Corioli. [7] Hence it came that he was telling them of a matter forgotten with the lapse of years, but fixed in his own memory, namely that the disputed land had been a part of the territory of Corioli, and had consequently, on the capture of that town, become, by right of conquest, the property of the Roman People. He marvelled, he said, at the effrontery with which the men of Ardea and Aricia hoped to deprive the Roman People — whom they had made the judge, in place of being the owner — of a territory over which they had never exercised any authority so long as the state of Corioli was intact. [8] He had himself but a little while to live; yet he had not been able to convince himself that, having as a soldier done his part to conquer the land, he should not defend it, even in his old age, with the only weapon left him, to wit his voice. He earnestly counselled the people not to condemn their own cause from an unreasonable motive of propriety.

72. When the consuls had perceived that Scaptius was listened to not only in silence but actually with approval, they called on gods and men to witness that a great outrage was being perpetrated, and sent for the leaders of the senate. [2] With them they went about among the tribes and implored them not to be guilty of an act which,

utterly wrong in itself, would establish a precedent that was even worse, by diverting to their own possession, as judges, the property in dispute; and that too when, even if it were right that a judge should be concerned for his own advantage, they would by no means gain so much by the seizure of the land as they would lose by the wrongful estrangement of their allies. [3] For reputation at least and trustworthiness were things the loss of which was beyond all reckoning. Was this to be the report carried home by the envoys? Was this to be noised abroad and come to the ears of allies and enemies? [4] What grief it would cause the former, and what joy the latter! Did they suppose that Scaptius, a meddling old hanger-on of assemblies, would be held responsible for this by the neighbouring nations? It would be a famous thing for Scaptius to have inscribed beneath his portrait, but the Roman People would be playing a role of chicanery and of usurpation of the claims of others. [5] For what umpire in a private suit would have thought of awarding to himself the object of litigation? Even Scaptius, though he had already outlived all sense of shame, would not do that. [6] These arguments were loudly urged both by the consuls and by the Fathers; but they were less convincing than men's cupidity, or than Scaptius, who had aroused it. The tribes, being called upon to vote, decided the territory to be public land belonging to the Roman People. [7] Nor is it denied that such would have been the verdict if recourse had been had to another court; but in the circumstances the excellence of the cause did not in the slightest degree extenuate the disgrace of the judgment, which seemed no less scandalous and harsh to the Roman senators than to the men of Aricia and Ardea. The remainder of the year passed without disturbances in either domestic or foreign relations.

SUMMARY OF BOOK III

THERE were quarrels about land-laws. The Capitol was seized by exiles and slaves; who were slain and the Capitol recovered. The census was taken twice. By the earlier enumeration there were returned 8714 citizens, besides male and female wards; by the second 117,219. After a defeat had been sustained at the hands of the Aequi,

Lucius Quintius Cincinnatus, being appointed dictator, was summoned to the control of the war while engaged in working on his farm. He defeated the enemy and sent them under the yoke. The number of tribunes was increased to ten in the 36th year from the election of the first ones. After the laws of Athens had been searched out and brought to Rome by envoys, decemvirs with consular powers were chosen, without any other magistrates, to draw up and publish them. It was in the 302nd year after the founding of Rome that the power was transferred from consuls to decemvirs, as it had formerly been from kings to consuls. When the decemvirs had posted up ten tables of laws, after such moderation in the conduct of their office that it had been voted to continue the same magistracy for another year, they added two tables to the ten; and after many insolent acts refused to lay down their authority, but retained it for a third year, till the lust of Appius Claudius put an end to their hated dominion. Having fallen in love with the maiden Verginia, he suborned an agent to claim her as his slave, and obliged her father Verginius to act. Seizing a knife from the nearest stall, he slew his daughter, since there was no other way to keep her from falling into the hands of the man who meditated her dishonour. By this great wrong the plebeians were roused to action, and occupying the Aventine, forced the decemvirs to abdicate. Of these, Appius, who had been most guilty, was flung into prison; the rest were exiled. The book contains also successful campaigns against the Sabines and the Volsci, and a discreditable judgment rendered by the Roman People, who, being chosen umpire between the Ardeates and the Aricini, awarded to themselves the territory in dispute.

BOOK IV

Translated by B. O. Foster

1. MARCUS GENUCIUS and Gaius Curtius succeeded these men as consuls. It was a year of quarrels both at home and abroad. For at its commencement Gaius Canuleius, a tribune of the plebs, proposed a bill regarding the intermarriage of patricians and plebeians which the patricians looked upon as involving the debasement of their blood and the subversion of the principles inhering in the *gentes*, or families; [2] and a suggestion, cautiously put forward at first by the tribunes, that it should be lawful for one of the consuls to be chosen from the plebs, was afterwards carried so far that nine tribunes proposed a bill giving the people power to choose consuls as they might see fit, from either the plebs or the patriciate. [3] To carry out this last proposal would be, in the estimation of the patricians, not merely to give a share of the supreme authority to the lowest of the citizens, but actually to take it away from the nobles and bestow it on the plebs. [4] The Fathers therefore rejoiced to hear that the people of Ardea had revolted because of the unjust decision which deprived them of their land; that the men of Veii had ravaged the Roman frontier; and that the Volsci and Aequi were murmuring at the fortification of Verrugo; so decidedly did they prefer even an unfortunate war to an ignominious peace. [5] Accordingly they made the most of these threats, that the proposals of the tribunes might be silenced amidst the din or so many wars; and ordered levies to be held and military preparations to be made with the utmost energy, and if possible, even more strenuously than had been done when Titus Quinctius was consul. [6] Thereupon Gaius Canuleius curtly proclaimed in the senate that it was in vain the consuls sought to frighten the plebs out of their concern for the new laws; and, declaring that they should never hold the levy, while he lived, until the plebs had voted on the measures which he and his colleagues had brought forward, at once convened an assembly.

2. At one and the same time the consuls were inciting the senate against the tribune, and the tribune was arousing the people against

the consuls. The consuls declared that the frenzy of the tribunes could no longer be endured; the end had now been reached, and there was more war being stirred up at home than abroad. [2] This state of things was, to be sure, as much the fault of the senators as of the plebs, and the consuls were as guilty as the tribunes. [3] That tendency which a state rewarded always attained the greatest growth; it was thus that good men were produced, both in peace and in war. [4] In Rome the greatest reward was given to sedition, which had, therefore, ever been held in honour by all and sundry. Let them recall the majesty of the senate when they had taken it over from their fathers, and think what it was likely to be when they passed it on to their sons, and how the plebs could glory in the increase of their strength and consequence. [5] There was no end in sight, nor would be, so long as the fomenters of insurrection were honoured in proportion to the success of their projects. What tremendous schemes had Gaius Canuleius set on foot! [6] He was aiming to contaminate the *gentes* and throw the auspices, both public and private, into confusion, that nothing might be pure, nothing unpolluted; so that, when all distinctions had been obliterated, no man might recognise either himself or his kindred. For what else, they asked, was the object of promiscuous marriages, if not that plebeians and patricians might mingle together almost like the beasts? [7] The son of such a marriage would be ignorant to what blood and to what worship he belonged; he would pertain half to the patricians, half to the plebs, and be at strife even with himself. It was not enough for the disturbers of the rabble to play havoc with all divine and human institutions: they must now aim at the consulship. And whereas they had at first merely suggested in conversations that one of the two consuls should be chosen from the plebeians, they were now proposing a law that the people should elect consuls at its pleasure from patriciate or plebs. [8] Its choice would without doubt always fall upon plebeians of the most revolutionary sort, and the result would be that they would have consuls of the type of Canuleius and Icilius. [9] They called on Jupiter Optimus Maximus to forbid that a power regal in its majesty should sink so low. For their parts, they would sooner die a thousand deaths than suffer so shameful a thing to be done. [10] They felt certain that their forefathers too, had they

divined that all sorts of concessions would make the commons not more tractable but more exacting, and that the granting of their first demands would lead to others, ever more unjust, would rather have faced any conflict whatsoever than have permitted such laws to be imposed upon them. [11] Because they had yielded then, in the matter of the tribunes, they had yielded a second time; it was impossible there should be any settlement of the trouble, if in one and the same state there were both plebeian tribunes and patricians; one thing or the other must go, — the patriciate or the tribunate. It was better late than never to oppose their rashness and temerity. [12] Were they to be suffered with impunity first to sow discord and stir up neighbouring wars, and then to prevent the state from arming and defending itself against the wars they had raised themselves? [13] When they had all but invited in the enemy, should they refuse to allow the enrolment of armies to oppose that enemy; while Canuleius had the hardihood to announce in the senate that unless the Fathers permitted his laws to be received, as though he were a conqueror, he would forbid the levy? What else was this than a threat that he would betray his native City to attack and capture? How must that speech encourage, not the Roman plebs, but the Volsci, the Aequi, and the Veientes! [14] Would they not hope that, led by Canuleius, they would be able to scale the Capitol and the Citadel? Unless the tribunes had robbed the patricians of their courage when they took away their rights and their dignity, the consuls were prepared to lead them against criminal citizens sooner than against armed enemies.

3. At the very time when these opinions were finding expression in the senate, Canuleius held forth in this fashion in behalf of his laws and in opposition to the consuls: [2] “How greatly the patricians despised you, Quirites, how unfit they deemed you to live in the City, within the same walls as themselves, I think I have often observed before, but never more clearly than at this very moment, when they are rallying so fiercely against these proposals of ours. [3] Yet what else do we intend by them than to remind our fellow citizens that we are of them, and that, though we possess not the same wealth, still we dwell in the same City they inhabit? [4] In the one bill we seek the right of intermarriage, which is customarily granted to neighbours and foreigners — indeed we have granted citizenship, which is more

than intermarriage, even to defeated enemies; [5] — in the other we propose no innovation, but reclaim and seek to exercise a popular right, to wit that the Roman People shall confer office upon whom it will. [6] What reason is there, pray, why they should confound heaven and earth; why they should almost have attacked me just now in the senate; why they should declare that they will place no restraint on force, and should threaten to violate our sacrosanct authority? [7] If the Roman People is granted a free vote, that so it may commit the consulship to what hands it likes, if even the plebeian is not cut off from the hope of gaining the highest honours — if he shall be deserving of the highest honours — will this City of ours be unable to endure? Is her dominion at an end? When we raise the question of making a plebeian consul, is it the same as if we were to say that a slave or a freedman should attain that office? [8] Have you any conception of the contempt in which you are held? They would take from you, were it possible, a part of this daylight. [9] That you breathe, that you speak, that you have the shape of men, fills them with resentment. Nay, they assert, if you please, that it is sinning against Heaven to elect a plebeian consul. Tell me, if we are not admitted to consult the Fasti or the Commentaries of the Pontiffs, are we therefore ignorant of what all men, even foreigners, know, viz. that the consuls succeeded to the place of the kings, and possess no jot nor tittle of right or dignity that belonged not to the kings before? [10] Come! Would you believe the story was ever heard how Numa Pompilius — not only no patrician, but not even a Roman citizen — was sent for from the country of the Sabines, and reigned at Rome, by command of the people and with the senators' consent? [11] And again, how Lucius Tarquinius, who was not even of Italian stock — not to mention Roman — being the son of Demaratus of Corinth, and an immigrant from Tarquinii, was made king, while the sons of Ancus were still living? [12] And how after him Servius Tullius, son of a captive woman from Corniculum, who had nobody for his father and a bond-woman for his mother, held the royal power by his innate ability and worth? For why should I speak of Titus Tatius the Sabine, with whom Romulus himself, the Father of the City, shared his sovereignty? [13] Well then, so long as men despised no family that could produce conspicuous excellence, the dominion of Rome

increased. And are you now to scorn a plebeian consul, when our ancestors were not above accepting alien kings, and when the City was not closed against the meritorious foreigner, even after the expulsion of the kings? ^[14] The Claudian family at least we not only received from the Sabine country, after the kings had been driven out, and gave them citizenship, but even admitted them to the number of patricians. ^[15] Shall the son of a stranger become patrician and then consul, but a Roman citizen, if plebeian, be cut off from all hope of the consulship? ^[16] Do we not believe it possible that a bold and strenuous man, serviceable both in peace and in war, should come from the plebs, — a man like Numa, Lucius Tarquinius, or Servius Tullius? ^[17] Or shall we refuse, even if such an one appear, to let him approach the helm of state? Must we rather look forward to consuls like the decemvirs, the vilest of mortals, who nevertheless were all of patrician birth, than to such as shall resemble the best of the kings, new men though they were?

4. “‘But,’ you will say, ‘from the time the kings were expelled no plebeian has ever been consul.’ Well, what then?. Must no new institution be adopted? Ought that which has not yet been done — and in a new nation many things have not yet been done — never to be put in practice, even if it be expedient? ^[2] There were neither pontiffs nor augurs in the reign of Romulus; Numa Pompilius created them. There was no census in the state, no registration of centuries and classes; Servius Tullius made one. There had never been any consuls; when the kings had been banished, consuls were elected. ^[3] Neither the power nor the name of dictator had ever been known; in the time of our fathers they began. Plebeian tribunes, aediles, and quaestors, there were none; men decided to have them. Within the past ten years we have elected decemvirs for drawing up the laws, and removed them from the commonwealth. ^[4] Who can question that in a city founded for eternity and of incalculable growth, new powers, priesthoods, and rights of families and individuals, must be established? ^[5] Was not this very provision, that patricians and plebeians might not intermarry, enacted by the decemvirs a few years since, with the worst effect on the community and the gravest injustice to the plebs? Or can there be any greater or more signal insult than to hold a portion of the state unworthy of intermarriage,

as though it were defiled? [6] What else is this but to suffer exile within the same walls and banishment? They guard against having us for connections or relations, against the mingling of our blood with theirs. [7] Why, if this pollutes that fine nobility of yours — which many of you, being of Alban or of Sabine origin, possess not by virtue of race or blood, but through co-optation into the patriciate, having been chosen either by the kings, or, after their expulsion, by decree of the people — could you not keep it pure by your own private counsels, neither taking wives from the plebs nor permitting your daughters and sisters to marry out of the patriciate? No plebeian would offer violence to a patrician maiden: that is a patrician vice. [8] No one would have compelled anybody to enter a compact of marriage against his will. [9] But let me tell you that in the statutory prohibition and annulment of intermarriage between patricians and plebeians we have indeed at last an insult to the plebs. Why, pray, do you not bring in a law that there shall be no intermarrying of rich and poor? [10] That which has always and everywhere been a matter of private policy, that a woman might marry into whatever family it had been arranged, that a man might take a wife from that house where he had engaged himself, you would subject to the restraint of a most arrogant law, that thereby you might break up our civil society and make two states out of one. [11] Why do you not enact that a plebeian shall not live near a patrician, nor go on the same road? That he shall not enter the same festive company? That he shall not stand by his side in the same Forum? For what real difference does it make if a patrician takes a plebeian wife, or a plebeian a patrician? What right, pray, is invaded? [12] The children of course take the father's rank. There is nothing we are seeking to gain from marriage with you, except that we should be accounted men and citizens. Neither have you any reason to oppose us, unless you delight in vying with each other how you may outrage and humiliate us.

5. “Finally I would ask, is it you, or the Roman People, who have supreme authority? Did the banishment of the kings bring you dominion, or to all men equal liberty? [2] Ought the Roman People to be permitted, if it so desire, to enact a law; or shall you, as each proposal is brought up, proclaim a levy by way of penalty, and so soon as I, the tribune, begin to summon the tribes to vote, shall you,

the consul, at once administer the oath to those of military age and march them out to camp, with threats against the plebs and with threats against the tribune? [3] How would it be if you had not twice already proved how little those threats of yours are worth against the unanimous will of the plebs? ‘ I suppose it was consideration for our good that made you refrain from fighting? Or was this rather the reason there was no strife, because the stronger side was also the more moderate? [4] Neither will there be any struggle now, Quirites; they will always test your courage; but will never put your strength to the proof. [5] And so the commons are ready, consuls, for those wars you deal in, be they feigned or genuine, if you give them back their right of intermarriage, and make this a single state at last; if you enable them to coalesce, to unite, to merge with you in domestic alliances; if the hope of attaining honours is held out to strenuous men and brave; if they are granted a share in the partnership of government; if, in the enjoyment of equal liberty, they are allowed to govern and obey in turn, with the annual change of magistrates. [6] If anyone shall prevent these reforms, you may talk of wars, and multiply them in the telling; but nobody will give in his name, nobody will take up arms, nobody will fight for haughty masters with whom he has no association in the honours of the state nor in the marriages of private life.”

6. When the consuls had come forth to the people and set speeches had given place to wrangling, the tribune demanded what reason there was why a plebeian should not be chosen consul; [2] to whom Curtius replied, with truth perhaps, yet, in the circumstances, to little purpose, “because no plebeian has the auspices, and that is the reason the decemvirs have forbidden intermarriages, lest the auspices should be confounded by the uncertain standing of those born of them.” [3] At this the plebs fairly blazed with indignation, because it was declared that; they could not take auspices, as though they were hated by the immortal gods; nor was the controversy ended — for the plebeians had got a most energetic champion in their tribune, and rivalled him themselves in determination, — until [4] at last the patricians were beaten, and allowed the law regarding intermarriage to be passed, chiefly because they thought that so the tribunes would either wholly give over their contention for plebeian consuls or

would postpone it until after the war, and that the plebs meantime, contented with the right to intermarry, would be ready to submit to the levy.

[5] But since Canuleius was grown so great through his victory over the patricians and the favour of the plebs, the other tribunes were encouraged to take up the quarrel; and they fought for their measure with the utmost violence, hindering the levy, though the rumours of war increased from day to day. [6] The consuls, since they were powerless to do anything through the senate when the tribunes interposed their veto, held councils of their leading men in private. It was clear that they must submit to be conquered either by the enemy or by their fellow citizens. [7] Of all the consulars only Valerius and Horatius took no part in their deliberations. Gaius Claudius spoke in favour of arming the consuls against the tribunes; the Quinctii, both Cincinnatus and Capitolinus, were opposed to bloodshed and to injuring those whom they had acknowledged by a solemn treaty with the plebs to be inviolable. [8] The upshot of these consultations was this, that they permitted military tribunes with consular authority to be chosen indifferently from the patriciate and the plebs, but made no change in the election of consuls. With this decision both tribunes and commons were content. An election was called, for choosing three tribunes with consular powers. [9] No sooner was it proclaimed than everybody who had ever spoken or acted in a seditious manner, especially those who had been tribunes, fell to canvassing voters and bustling about all over the Forum in the white robes of candidates; [10] so that the patricians, what with despair of obtaining office now that the plebs were so wrought up, and what with scorn if they must share its administration with these fellows, were deterred from standing. At last, however, they were compelled by their leaders to compete, lest they might seem to have surrendered the control of the commonwealth. [11] The outcome of this election showed how different are men's minds when struggling for liberty and station from what they are when they have laid aside their animosities and their judgment is unbiassed; for the people chose all the tribunes from among the patricians, quite satisfied that plebeians should have been allowed to stand. [12] Where shall you now find in one single man that moderation, fairness, and loftiness of mind, which at that

time characterized the entire people?

7. In the year three hundred and ten from B.C. 444 the founding of Rome, military tribunes for the first time took office in place of consuls. Their names were Aulus Sempronius Atratinus, Lucius Atilius, and Titus Cloelius. During their administration domestic harmony insured peace abroad, as well. [2] (Some say that on account of a war with Veii, which broke out in addition to the war with the Aequi and Volsci and the revolt of the men of Ardea, two consuls were unable to cope with so many wars at once, and therefore three military tribunes were created. These writers say nothing of the promulgation of a law about the election of consuls from the plebs, but record that the three tribunes enjoyed the authority and insignia of consuls.) [3] Still, the power of that magistracy was not yet upon a firm footing, for three months after they had taken up their office they laid it down, the augurs having decreed that there had been a flaw in their election, because Gaius Curtius, who had presided over the assembly, had not properly selected the ground for the tent.

[4] Ambassadors from Ardea came to Rome, complaining of the injustice done them, and with such fairness that it was evident that if they [5??] were granted redress, through the restoration of their land, they would abide by the treaty and remain friendly. The senate replied that the judgment of the people could not be rescinded by them, not only because they had no precedent or authority for such action, but also because they had regard to the harmony between the orders. [6] If the Ardeates would bide their time and leave the senate to decide upon a remedy for the injury done them, the day would come when they would be glad that they had controlled their anger, and they would learn that the senators had been equally concerned that no wrong should be done them and that what had been done should be speedily redressed. [7] So the ambassadors, having said that they would refer the whole matter to their people, were courteously dismissed.

The patricians, since the state was without any curule magistrate, met and chose an interrex. [8] A dispute whether consuls or military tribunes should be appointed kept the state in an interregnum for several days. The interrex and the senate held out for the election of consuls; the plebeian tribunes and the plebs were for military

tribunes. [9] Victory rested with the senators, not only because the plebs gave up the idle contest whether they should confer this honour or that upon the patricians, but also because the leaders of the plebs preferred an election in which they would not be reckoned candidates to one in which they would be passed over as unworthy. [10] The tribunes, too, of the plebs relinquished the unavailing contest in favour of the leaders of the patricians. Titus Quinctius Barbatus, as interrex, declared the election of Lucius Papirius Mugillanus and Lucius Sempronius Atratinus. [11] In their consulship the treaty with the Ardeates was renewed; and in this lies the proof that these men were consuls that year, although their names are found neither in the ancient annals nor in the lists of magistrates; I suppose that, because there were military tribunes in the beginning of the year, the consuls who were elected in their place were passed over as if the tribunes had been in power throughout the year. [12] Licinius Macer testifies that the names of these consuls were given both in the treaty with Ardea and in the Linen Rolls in the temple of Moneta. Things were quiet both abroad and at home, despite the numerous alarms which neighbouring states had caused.

8. This year, whether it had tribunes only or B.C. 443 tribunes succeeded by consuls, was followed by one which had consuls about whom there is no question. These were Marcus Geganius Macerinus, for the second time, and Titus Quinctius Capitolinus, for the fifth time. [2] This same year saw the adoption of the censorship, an institution which originated in a small way but afterwards grew to such dimensions that it was invested with the regulation of the morals and discipline of the Romans. The distribution of honour and ignominy amongst the senate and the centuries of the knights was controlled by this magistracy, while jurisdiction over public and private sites, together with the revenues of the Roman People, were entirely subject to its discretion. [3] What first gave rise to the office was this: the people had not been rated for many years and the census could not be postponed; yet the consuls, when so many nations threatened war, had no time for this work. [4] The subject was brought up in the senate, where it was held that the task, which was a laborious one and beneath the dignity of a consul, required its own proper magistrates, who should have a staff of clerks, assume the

custody of the records, and regulate the form of the census. [5] The senators, though it was a small matter, nevertheless gladly welcomed the suggestion, in order that there might be more patrician magistracies in the administration of the state. They thought even then, I imagine, as afterwards proved to be the case, that it would not be long before the consequence of those who held the office would lend authority and dignity to the office itself. [6] The tribunes also, regarding it as a necessary rather than a showy service, as in those days it actually was, did not hold out against the plan, lest they might seem to be vexatiously obstinate even in trifles. [7] The principal men in the state scorned the office, and the taking of the census was, by the votes of the people, committed to Papirius and Sempronius (whose consulship is questioned), that they might round out their incomplete year of office with this magistracy. They were called censors from their function.

9. While these things were going on in Rome, there came envoys from Ardea begging the Romans in the name of their ancient alliance, renewed by the recent treaty, to send help to their city, which was on the brink of ruin. [2] For the enjoyment of peace, which they had most wisely preserved with the Roman People, had been denied them, owing to civil war. [3] This is said to have had its cause and origin in the rivalry of factions, which have been and will be fraught with destruction to more nations than foreign wars, or famine and pestilence, or whatsoever other scourges men attribute, as the most desperate national calamities, to the wrath of Heaven. [4] A maiden of plebeian family who was famous for her beauty had two youthful suitors. One was of her own class and relied on the approval of her guardians, who were themselves of the same standing. [5] The other was a noble, captivated solely by her good looks, who was supported by the favour of the optimates, which resulted in the introduction of party strife into the household of the girl herself. The noble was preferred by the mother, who wished her daughter to make as grand a match as possible. The guardians, mindful even in a matter like this of political interests, held out for their fellow plebeian. [6] When the dispute could not be settled privately, a suit was instituted. After listening to the pleas of the mother and the guardians, the magistrates decreed that the mother should have

power to decide as she saw fit about the marriage. [7] But violence was stronger than they; for the guardians, after openly addressing a crowd of their own party in the market-place, on the injustice of the decision, collected a party and carried the girl off from her mother's house. [8] To confront them an even more warlike band of nobles gathered, under the leadership of the injured and indignant youth, and a desperate battle followed. The plebs were routed, but, unlike the Roman plebs, having armed and withdrawn from their city and encamped upon a certain hill, they sallied forth, sword and torch in hand, to sack the farms of the nobles. [9] They even prepared to besiege the city itself, for the entire body of artizans, even those who had hitherto had no part in the quarrel, had been called out by the hope of plunder; [10] nor was there wanting any form of the horrors of war, as though the nation had been infected with the madness of the two young men who sought a fatal marriage in the ruin of their country. [11] Neither side saw that there had been enough of war and arms at home; the optimates called upon the Romans to relieve their beleaguered city; the plebeians sent for the Volsci to help them capture Ardea. [12] The Volsci, with the Aequian Cluilius for their leader, were the first to reach Ardea, and threw up intrenchments against the walls of their enemies. [13] When the news was brought to Rome, Marcus Geganius the consul immediately set out with an army. When three miles from the enemy he chose a place for his camp; and as the day was now fast drawing to a close, ordered his soldiers to refresh themselves. [14] Then in the fourth watch he marched out, and commencing a contravallation, made such speed that at sunrise the Volsci perceived that they were more securely hemmed in by the Romans than was the city by themselves; and on one side the consul had thrown out a work to join the walls of Ardea, in order that his friends in the town might be enabled to come and go.

10. The Volscian commander, who had maintained his men up to that time not out of a store provided in advance, but with corn taken from day to day in pillaging the country-side, was no sooner shut in by the rampart than he found himself all at once destitute of everything. He therefore invited the consul to a parley, and said that if the Roman general had come for the purpose of raising the siege,

he would lead the Volscians off. [2] The consul replied that it was for the conquered to accept terms, not to make them; the Volsci had consulted their own pleasure in coming to attack the allies of the Roman People; it would be otherwise with their departure. [3] He ordered them to surrender their general, to lay down their arms, and, confessing themselves defeated, to yield to his authority; if they did not, he would be their determined enemy, whether they attempted to go or to stay, and would rather bring back to Rome a victory over the Volsci than a treacherous peace with them. [4] The Volsci, testing the small hope that arms held out to them — for all other hope had been cut off — fought, not to speak of other disadvantages, in a position that was unfavourable for battle and still more unfavourable for flight; and being cut to pieces on every side, left off fighting and fell to entreaties; and after giving up their general and handing over their weapons, were sent under the yoke, with a single garment each, and so dismissed, overwhelmed with shame and disaster. [5] But on their encamping not far from the city of Tusculum, the Tusculans, upon an old grudge, attacked them in their defenseless state, and exacted so heavy a penalty that they scarce left any to report the massacre. [6] The Roman commander, finding Ardea distracted by sedition, composed its troubles by beheading the ringleaders of the revolt and confiscating their property to the public treasury of the Ardeates. The townsmen thought that the great service which the Roman People had thus rendered them had cancelled the injustice of the judgment, but the Roman senate felt that something still remained to do in order to wipe out that reminder of the national greed. [7] The consul returned to the City and triumphed, making Cluilius, the leader of the Volsci, walk before his chariot, and displaying the spoils which he had taken from the hostile army, before sending them under the yoke.

[8] It is no easy thing to do, but the consul Quinctius equalled in civil life the fame of his armed colleague; for so well did he maintain domestic peace and concord, by tempering the law to high and low, that the Fathers regarded him as a strict consul, and the plebs as mild enough. [9] He held his own, too, with the tribunes, more by his personal influence than by contending with them. Five consulships administered on the self-same principles, and a life which had been throughout of consular dignity, made the man himself almost more

revered than his office. Hence there was no talk of military tribunes while these men were consuls.

11. Marcus Fabius Vibulanus and Postumus Aebutius Cornicen were elected to the consulship. [2] These men, perceiving that they succeeded to a period of great renown for civil and military achievements, and that nothing made the year so memorable in the eyes of neighbouring peoples, both allies and enemies, as the earnestness with which the Romans had come to the assistance of the Ardeates in their dangerous crisis, were the more concerned to erase completely from men's minds the disgrace of the judgment. [3] They accordingly caused the senate to decree that inasmuch as the citizens of Ardea had been reduced by domestic troubles to a small number, colonists should be enrolled to defend that city against the Volsci. [4] This was the form in which the decree was drawn up and published, that the plebs and the tribunes might not perceive that a plan was on foot for rescinding the judgment; but the senators had privately agreed that they would enrol as colonists a much larger proportion of Rutulians than Romans, and that no land should be parcelled out except that which had been sequestered by the infamous decision, nor a single clod assigned there to any Roman until all the Rutulians had been provided for. [5] Thus the land reverted to the Ardeates. As triumvirs for establishing the colony at Ardea they appointed Agrippa Menenius, Titus Cloelius Siculus, Marcus Aebutius Helva. [6] These men not only had a far from popular service to perform, and offended the plebs by assigning to the allies land which the Roman People had adjudged to be its own; but failed to satisfy even the great patricians, because they had done nothing to conciliate any man's goodwill. [7] They therefore avoided vexatious attacks before the people — where the tribunes had already summoned them for trial — by remaining in the colony, which bore witness to their integrity and justice.

12. There was peace at home and abroad during this and the following year, when Gaius Furius Paculus and Marcus Papirius Crassus were consuls. [2] The games which the decemvirs had vowed in pursuance of a decree of the senate, during the secession of the plebs from the patricians, were that year celebrated. [3] Occasion for dissension was sought in vain by Poetelius, who though he had got

himself elected plebeian tribune for the second time, by proclaiming that he would carry through these very measures, was unsuccessful in forcing the consuls to lay before the senate a proposal for assigning land to the plebs; [4] and when, after a hard struggle, he obtained a vote of the senate to determine whether consuls or tribunes should be elected, the decision was for consuls. [5] Men only laughed when the tribune threatened to hold up the levy, for the neighbouring peoples were quiet, and war and warlike preparations were alike uncalled for.

[6] To this tranquil period succeeded the consulship of Proculus Geganius Macerinus and Lucius Menenius Lanatus, a year conspicuous for numerous deaths and dangers, for seditions, famine, and for the yoke of sovereignty, to which, won over by largesses, men almost bowed their necks. [7] The one thing lacking was foreign war, and if that had been added to their burden they could hardly have held out, though all the gods had aided them. The troubles began with a dreadful famine, whether because the season was unfavourable for crops, or that the attraction of assemblies and city-life had left the fields uncultivated; for both explanations have been given. The patricians accused the plebeians of idleness, and the tribunes of the plebs accused the consuls now of dishonesty, now of carelessness. [8] In the end they brought the plebs, with no opposition on the senate's part, to elect Lucius Minucius prefect of the corn-supply. He was destined, while filling this magistracy, to be more successful in safe-guarding liberty than in discharging the duties of his office, although in the end he also earned and received both gratitude and glory for relieving the scarcity. [9] For although he had dispatched to neighbouring peoples many embassies by land and sea without result — save that a little corn was brought in from Etruria — he found that he had not materially improved the supply. He then fell back upon the plan of distributing the shortage. [10] He forced men to declare their stocks of corn and to sell the surplus above the requirements of a month; he deprived the slaves of a portion of their daily ration; he brought charges against the dealers and exposed them to the anger of the people; [11] and by this bitter inquisition rather revealed than alleviated the scarcity, so that many of the plebeians lost hope, and sooner than suffer torment by prolonging their existence, covered up their heads and threw themselves into the

Tiber.

13. Then Spurius Maelius, of the equestrian order, a man for those times very rich, undertook to do a useful thing in a way that set a very bad example and had a motive still worse. [2] For having bought up corn in Etruria with his own money, through the agency of friends and clients there — which very circumstance had hindered, I can well believe, the public efforts to bring down prices — he set about distributing it gratis. [3] The plebeians were captivated by this munificence; wherever he went, conspicuous and important beyond the measure of a private citizen, they followed in his train; and the devotion and hope he inspired in them gave him no uncertain assurance of the consulship. [4] He himself, so insatiable of fortune's promises is the heart of man, began to cherish a loftier and less allowable ambition; and since even the consulship would have to be wrested from unwilling nobles, considered how he might be king: nothing else, he felt, would adequately reward him for his elaborate schemes and the toil and moil of the great struggle he must make. [5] The consular election was now at hand, and found him with his plans not yet fully ripened. [6] For the sixth time Titus Quinctius Capitolinus was chosen consul, a most unsuitable man for the purposes of a would-be revolutionary. [7] For colleague he was given Agrippa Menenius, surnamed Lanatus; and Lucius Minucius either was reappointed prefect of the corn-supply or had been named for an indefinite period, so long as the situation should require; for authorities do not agree, but the name of the prefect is entered in the Linen Rolls among the magistrates for both years. [8] This Minucius was discharging the same function in his public capacity which Maelius had undertaken to perform as a private citizen, and the same sort of men were coming and going in both their houses. [9] Thus Minucius discovered the affair and reported to the senate that weapons were being collected at the house of Maelius, that he was haranguing people there, and that they were certainly contriving a kingdom; the time for executing the plot was not yet fixed; all else had been agreed upon: the tribunes had been bribed to betray liberty, and the leaders of the mob had been assigned their parts. He said that he had withheld his report of these things almost longer than was safe, that he might not become voucher for anything of an uncertain

or trivial nature. [10] On hearing this the leaders of the senate loudly blamed the consuls of the year before because they had suffered these donations and plebeian gatherings to take place in a private house, and the new consuls because they had waited till information of so grave a crime was laid before the senate by the prefect of the corn-supply, though it wanted a consul not only to report it but to punish it; [11] but Quinctius said that the consuls were blamed unjustly, for, constrained by the laws of appeal, which had been enacted in order to break down their authority, they had by no means so much power in their office as they had will to punish so heinous an offence in the way it deserved. There was need, he continued, of a man, and one who was not only brave, but free and unfettered by the laws. [12] He would therefore name Lucius Quinctius dictator; there was a spirit whose stature was equal to that great power. Despite the universal approval of this step, Quinctius at first refused, and asked what they meant by exposing him at the end of his life to so fierce a struggle. [13] Then, when men called out on every side that there was not only more wisdom but more courage in that old man's heart than in all the rest and loaded him with not unmerited compliments, and when the consul would [14??] not recede from his purpose, at length Cincinnatus uttered a prayer to the immortal gods that they would not suffer his old age to bring harm or shame to the republic in so perilous a case, and was pronounced dictator by the consul. He then himself named Gaius Servilius Ahala his master of the horse.

14. The next day, after disposing guards at several points he went down into the Forum, where the novel and surprising sight drew upon him the attention of the plebs. [2] The followers of Maelius and their leader himself perceived that it was against them that the force of that high authority was aimed; while those who knew nothing of the plans for setting up a king asked what outbreak or what sudden war had called for the majesty of a dictator or for Quinctius (now past his eightieth year) to direct the state. [3] Then Servilius, the master of the horse, being sent by the dictator to Maelius, said: "The dictator summons you." When Maelius, trembling, asked what he wanted, Servilius replied that he must stand his trial and clear himself of a charge which Minucius had lodged against him with the senate. [4] Then Maelius drew back into the crowd of his retainers,

and at first, glancing this way and that, attempted to avoid the issue; but finally, when the attendant, being so commanded by the master of the horse, would have led him away, he was torn from his grasp by the bystanders and fled, calling on the Roman plebs to protect him, declaring that he was overthrown by [5??] a plot of the patricians because he had acted kindly by the commons, and begging them to help him in his extremity and not permit him to be murdered before their eyes. [6] While he was screaming out these appeals, Servilius Ahala overtook and slew him; then, bespattered with his blood and guarded by a company of young nobles, he returned to the dictator and reported that Maelius, having been summoned to appear before him, had repulsed the attendant and was rousing up the populace when he received the punishment he had deserved. [7] Whereat the dictator exclaimed, "Well done, Gaius Servilius; you have delivered the commonwealth!"

15. Then, as the crowd was in a turmoil, not knowing what to think of the deed, he bade convoke them to an assembly. There he asserted that Maelius had been justly slain, even though he had been innocent of plotting to make himself king, since he had been cited before the dictator by the master of the horse and had not obeyed. [2] He himself, he said, had sat to hear the cause, and if the hearing had been concluded Maelius would have prospered as his cause deserved; but, planning violence to avoid undergoing trial, he had been repressed by violence. [3] Neither would it have been right to deal with Maelius as with a citizen. The man had been born amongst a free people enjoying rights and laws, in a City from which he knew that the kings had been banished, and how in that very year the king's nephews, sons of the consul who had freed his country, had, on the exposure of a compact they had made to bring the princes back to Rome, been beheaded by their father's orders. [4] He knew that in this City the consul Tarquinius Collatinus had been commanded, out of hatred for the name he bore, to lay down his office and go into exile; that here, some years after, Spurius Cassius had been punished for aiming at royalty; that here, but lately, the decemvirs had been visited with confiscation, banishment, and death, because of kingly arrogance. [5] Yet in this same City a Spurius Maelius had conceived the hope of reigning. And who was this fellow? To be sure, no

nobility, no honours, no merits, opened wide the road to tyranny for any man; nevertheless the Claudii and Cassii had been encouraged by consulships and decemvirates, by their own honours and those of their forefathers, and by the splendour of their families, to aim at forbidden heights; [6] Spurius Maelius, a rich corn-dealer, a man who might have desired but ought scarcely to have hoped to become a plebeian tribune, had flattered himself that for a couple of pounds of spelt he had purchased the liberty of his fellow citizens; [7] he had imagined that by flinging food to them he could entice into slavery a people who had conquered all their neighbours, so that a state which could scarce have stomached him as a senator would endure him for its king, having the insignia and authority of Romulus its founder, who was descended from the gods and had returned to them. [8] This ought to be regarded as a thing no less monstrous than wicked; nor was his blood sufficient expiation, unless the roof and walls within which such madness had been conceived should be demolished, and the goods which had been tainted with the offer of them as the price to buy a tyranny be confiscated; he therefore bade the quaestors sell those goods and place the proceeds in the public treasury.

16. Quinticius then commanded the man's house to be pulled down, that the bare site might commemorate the frustration of his wicked purpose. The place was named Aequimaesium. [2] Lucius Minucius was presented with an ox and a gilded statue outside the Porta Trigemina, without opposition even on the part of the plebs, since Minucius divided the corn of Maelius among them at the price of one *as* the peck. [3] I find it stated by some historians that this Minucius went over from the patricians to the plebeians, and being co-opted an eleventh tribune of the plebs, allayed the rebellious feeling which arose from the killing of Maelius; [4] but it is hardly credible that the patricians should have permitted the number of tribunes to be increased, and that this precedent, of all others, should have been introduced by a patrician; or that the plebs, having once obtained this concession, should not have held fast to it, or at least have tried to do so. But what proves more conclusively than anything the falsity of the inscription on his portrait is this, that it was enacted by law a few years before that the tribunes might not co-opt a colleague. [5] Quintus Caecilius, Quintus Junius, and Sextus Titinius were the only

members of the college of tribunes who had not supported the law conferring honours on Minucius, and had never ceased to accuse now Minucius, now Servilius, before the plebs, and to complain of the unmerited death of Maelius. [6] So they forced through a measure providing that military tribunes should be elected instead of consuls, not doubting that for some of the six places — for this was now the number that might be filled — plebeians would be chosen, if they would promise to avenge the death of Maelius. [7] The plebeians, though they had been aroused that year by many different commotions, elected no more than three tribunes with consular powers, and among these Lucius Quinctius, son of Cincinnatus, from whose dictatorship men were trying to derive the odium for inspiring a mutiny. [8] Aemilius Mamercus, a man of the highest standing, was ahead of Quinctius in the voting; Lucius Julius was elected third.

17. During the term of these magistrates, Fidenae, a Roman colony, revolted to Lars Tolumnius and the Veientes. [2] To their defection they added a worse crime, for when Gaius Fulcinius, Cloelius Tullus, Spurius Antius, and Lucius Roscius, Roman envoys, came to inquire the reason of this new policy, at the command of Tolumnius they put them to death. [3] Some persons seek to palliate the king's act, saying that an ambiguous expression of his upon a lucky throw of dice, which made him seem to order them to kill the envoys, was heard by the Fidenates and was responsible for the men's death. [4] But it is quite incredible that the king on being interrupted by the Fidenates, his new allies, come to consult him about a murder that would violate the law of nations, should not have withdrawn his attention from the game, and that the attribution of the crime to a mistake did not come later. [5] It is easier to believe that he wished the people of Fidenae to be involved by the consciousness of so heinous a deed, that it might be impossible for them to hope for any reconciliation with the Romans. [6] The envoys who had been slain at Fidenae were honoured, at the public cost, with statues on the Rostra. [7] With the Veientes and Fidenates, not only because they were neighbouring peoples, but also in consequence of the nefarious act with which they had begun the war, a bitter struggle now impended.

Accordingly, out of regard for the general welfare, the plebeians and their tribunes kept quiet, and raised no opposition to the election

as consuls of Marcus Geganius Macerinus (for the third time) and Lucius Sergius Fidenas. [8] I suppose that the name was given him from the war which he then waged; for he was the first who fought a successful battle on this side the Anio with the king of the Veientes; but he gained no bloodless victory, and so there was more grief for the citizens who were lost than rejoicing over the defeat of the enemy; and the senate, as is usual in an alarming situation, commanded the appointment of a dictator, Mamercus Aemilius. [9] He named as his master of the horse a man who had been his colleague the year before, when they had both been military tribunes with consular authority, namely Lucius Quinctius Cincinnatus, a young man worthy of his father. [10] To the troops which the consuls levied were added veteran centurions experienced in war, and the losses of the last battle were made good. The dictator bade Titus Quinctius Capitolinus and Marcus Fabius Vibulanus follow him as his lieutenants. [11] The high authority of the dictatorship, in the hands of one who was equal to it, drove the enemy out of Roman territory and across the Anio. They withdrew their camp and pitched upon the hills between Fidenae and the Anio; nor did they descend into the plains until the forces of the Faliscans had come to their support. [12] Then, and not till then, did the Etruscans encamp before the walls of Fidenae. The Roman dictator likewise went into camp not far off, on the banks of both rivers, at their confluence, and threw up a rampart between his army and the enemy, where he was able to span the interval with intrenchments. Next day he formed up in line of battle.

18. The enemy were of several minds. The Faliscans, chafing under service performed away from home and fairly self-confident, demanded battle: the Veientes and Fidenates anticipated greater success from a prolongation of the war. [2] Tolumnius, though the views of his own followers were more agreeable to him, announced that he would fight on the following day, lest the Faliscans might not tolerate a protracted campaign. [3] The dictator and the Romans were encouraged at the enemy's reluctance; and the next day, on the soldiers threatening that they would at once attack the camp and the city, unless the enemy came to an engagement, both armies marched out in line of battle into the plain between the two camps. [4] The Veientes, having men to spare, dispatched a party round the

mountains to assail the camp of the Romans during the engagement. The army of the three nations was so drawn up that the Veientes held the right wing, the Faliscans the left, and the Fidenates formed the centre. [5] The dictator advanced on the right, against the Faliscans, and Quinctius Capitolinus on the left, to meet the Veientes; while the master of the horse, with the cavalry, led the attack on the centre. [6] For a brief moment all was hushed and still; since the Etruscans were resolved not to begin fighting unless they were forced, and the dictator kept looking back to the Citadel of Rome, that the augurs might thence make him a signal, as they had arranged to do, the moment the omens were propitious. [7] As soon as he descried the signal, he first sent his cavalry against the enemy, cheering as they charged; and the infantry followed with a furious attack. [8] At no point could the Etruscan legions withstand the onset of the Romans; their horse made the chief resistance, and of all their horse by far the bravest was the king himself, who rode against the Romans, as they scattered in every direction for the pursuit, and prolonged the struggle.

19. There was at that time among the cavalrymen a tribune of the soldiers named Aulus Cornelius Cossus, a man of strikingly handsome person and no less distinguished for courage and strength. Proud of his name, which was very famous when it came to him, he left to his descendants one still greater and more glorious. [2] This man, seeing how Tolumnius, wherever he charged, brought confusion to the Roman squadrons, and recognizing him, conspicuous in his royal dress, as he galloped swiftly up and down the line, exclaimed, "Is this the breaker of human leagues, the violater of the law of nations?" [3] I will speedily offer him up as a sacrificial victim, if only it is the will of Heaven that there should be aught sacred on this earth, to the manes of the envoys!" [4] Clapping spurs to his charger and levelling his spear, he made for his one enemy. Having struck and unhorsed his man, he himself leaped quickly to the ground by the help of his lance, and as the king struggled to his feet flung him back with the boss of his shield, and plunging the spear again and again into his body, pinned him to earth. [5] Then stripping the spoils from the corpse and cutting off the head, he bore it victoriously on the point of his spear and drove the

enemy before him, panic-stricken at the sight of their slain king. Thus even the cavalry was routed, which alone had made the issue of the contest doubtful. [6] The dictator pressed on after the flying legions, and pursuing them to their camp cut them to pieces. Large numbers of the Fidenates escaped, thanks to their knowledge of the ground, into the mountains. Cossus crossed the Tiber with his cavalry, and from the fields of the Veientes brought a vast quantity of booty back to town. [7] During the battle there was also fighting at the Roman camp with a part of the forces of Tolumnius which he had dispatched against it, as has been said before. [8] Fabius Vibulanus first manned the rampart with a cordon of defenders; and then, when the attention of the enemy was fixed on the wall, sallied out of the Porta Principalis, on the right, with his reserves, and fell suddenly upon them. In consequence of the panic thus occasioned, though the slaughter was less, because fewer were engaged, yet the rout was quite as complete as in the battle-line.

20. Having been everywhere victorious, the dictator, as decreed by the senate and ratified by the people, returned to the City in triumphal procession. [2] By far the greatest spectacle in the triumph was Cossus, bearing the spoils of honour of the slain king, while the soldiers sang rude verses about him, comparing him to Romulus. [3] The spoils he fastened up as an offering, with solemn dedication, in the temple of Jupiter Feretrius, near the spoils of Romulus, which had been the first to be called *opima*, and were at that time the only ones. Cossus had drawn the gaze of the citizens away from the car of the dictator upon himself, and the honours of that crowded festival were virtually his alone. [4] The dictator, at the people's behest, presented to Jupiter on the Capitol a golden chaplet of a pound in weight, from the public treasury.

[5] Following all previous historians, I have stated that Aulus Cornelius Cossus was a military tribune when he brought the second spoils of honour to the temple of Jupiter Feretrius. [6] But besides that only those are properly held to be "spoils of honour" which one commander has taken from another commander, and that we know no "commander" but him under whose auspices the war is waged, the very words inscribed upon the spoils disprove their account and mine, and show that it was as consul that Cossus captured them. [7]

Having heard from the lips of Augustus Caesar, the founder or renewer of all the temples, that he had entered the shrine of Jupiter Feretrius, which he repaired when it had crumbled with age, and had himself read the inscription on the linen breast-plate, I have thought it would be almost sacrilege to rob Cossus of such a witness to his spoils as Caesar, the restorer of that very temple. [8] Where the error in regard to this matter lies, in consequence of which such ancient annals and also the books of the magistrates, written on linen and deposited in the temple of Moneta, which Licinius Macer cites from time to time as his authority, only give Aulus Cornelius Cossus as consul (with Titus Quinctius Poenus) seven years later, is a matter on which everybody is entitled to his opinion. [9] For there is this further reason why so famous a battle could not be transferred to the later year, that the consulship of Cossus fell within a period of about three years when there were no wars, owing to a pestilence and a dearth of crops, so that certain annals, as though death-registers, offer nothing but the names of the consuls. [10] The third year after Cossus's consulship saw him military tribune with consular powers, and in the same year he was master of the horse, in which office he fought another famous cavalry-engagement. [11] Here is freedom for conjecture, but in my opinion it is idle; for one may brush aside all theories when the man who fought the battle, after placing the newly-won spoils in their sacred resting-place, testified in the presence of Jupiter himself, to whom he had vowed them, and of Romulus — witnesses not to be held lightly by a forger — that he was Aulus Cornelius Cossus, consul.

21. When Marcus Cornelius Maluginensis and Lucius Papirius Crassus were consuls, armies invaded the country of the Veientes and the Faliscans and drove off booty consisting of men and flocks; [2] they nowhere encountered their enemies in the fields nor met with any opportunity to give them battle; still, they besieged no cities, for a pestilence attacked the people. [3] And seditions were attempted at home, but not brought about, by Spurius Maelius, tribune of the plebs, who, imagining that the popularity of his name would enable him to stir up trouble, had appointed a day for the prosecution of Minucius, and had also proposed a law for confiscating the goods of Servilius Ahala, maintaining that [4??] Maelius had been circumvented

by Minucius with false accusations, and flinging it up to Servilius that he had killed a citizen who had not been condemned. [5] These charges were even less regarded by the people than was their author. But the increasing virulence of the disease gave concern, and so did certain alarms and prodigies; in particular that it was frequently announced that farm-buildings had been thrown down by earthquakes. A supplication was therefore offered up by the people under the direction of the duumviri.

[6] The pestilence was worse next year, when Gaius Julius (for the second time) and Lucius Verginius were the consuls, and caused such fears and ravages in the City and the country that not only did [7??] no one go out beyond the Roman marches to pillage, nor either patricians or plebs have any thought of waging war, but the men of Fidenae, who at first had kept to their mountains or their city walls, actually came down into Roman territory, bent on plunder. [8] Then, when they had called in an army from Veii — for the Faliscans could not be driven into renewing the war either by the calamity of the Romans or the entreaties of their allies, — the two peoples crossed the Anio and set up their standards not far from the Colline Gate. [9] The consternation in the City was therefore no less than in the fields; the consul Julius disposed his troops on the rampart and walls, and Verginius took counsel with the senate in the temple of Quirinus. [10] It was resolved that Quintus Servilius, whose surname some give as Priscus, others as Structus, should be appointed dictator. Verginius delayed till he could consult his colleague; then, with his consent, he that night named the dictator, who appointed as his master of the horse Postumus Aebutius Helva.

22. The dictator commanded everybody to be outside the Colline Gate at break of day. All those who were able to bear arms were at hand. The standards were taken out of the treasury and brought to the dictator. [2] While this was going on, the enemy withdrew to a more elevated position. Thither the dictator marched under arms, and not far from Nomentum joined battle with the Etruscan forces and put them to rout. [3] From there he drove them into the city of Fidenae, which he surrounded with a rampart; but could not capture it with scaling-ladders, since it was a lofty, well-fortified town, nor accomplish anything by blockade, for they not only had corn enough

for their necessities, but in fact were lavishly supplied with it from stores which they had collected in advance. [4] In despair therefore alike of storming the place and of forcing it to surrender; the dictator, operating in a region which was familiar from its nearness to Rome, began, on the farthest side of the city, which was least guarded because its peculiar character made it the safest of all, to drive a mine into the citadel. [5] He himself, advancing against the city from widely separated points-with his army in four divisions, that they might relieve one another in the attack — by [6] fighting continuously day and night distracted the enemy's attention from the work, until a tunnel had been dug through the hill and a passage-way constructed up into the citadel; when the Etruscans, intent on groundless alarms and unmindful of their real danger, were apprised by the shouts of the enemy above their heads that their city had been taken.

[7] In that year Gaius Furius Paculus and Marcus Geganius Macerinus the censors approved a public building erected in the Campus Martius, and the census of the people was taken there for the first time.

23. That the same consuls were re-elected the following year (Julius for a third and Verginius for a second term) I find stated by Licinius Macer: Valerius Antias and Quintus Tubero give Marcus Manlius and Quintus Sulpicius as the consuls for that year. [2] For the rest, in spite of the great discrepancy in their statements, both Tubero and Macer cite the authority of the Linen Rolls; neither writer dissembles the fact that the elder historians had recorded that there were military tribunes for that year. [3] Licinius sees fit to follow without hesitation the Linen Rolls: Tubero is uncertain where the truth lies. With all the other matters which are shrouded in antiquity this question too may be left undecided.

[4] There was great alarm in Etruria in consequence of the capture of Fidenae. Not only were the people of Veii terrified by the fear of a similar disaster, but the Faliscans too remembered that they had commenced the war in alliance with the Fidenates, although they had not supported them in their revolt. [5] Accordingly when the two states, sending envoys round amongst the twelve cities, had obtained their consent to have a council proclaimed for all Etruria at the shrine of Voltumna, the senate, feeling that they were threatened with a

great outbreak in that quarter, ordered that Mamercus Aemilius be again named dictator. [6] By him Aulus Postumius Tubertus was appointed master of the horse, and preparations for war were set about as much more energetically than on the last occasion, as the danger from all Etruria was greater than it had been from two cities.

24. This affair ended a good deal more quietly than anybody had anticipated. [2] It was reported by merchants that the Veientes had been refused assistance and had been told that having embarked on the war at their own discretion they must prosecute it with their own forces nor seek the alliance of those in their adversity with whom they had not shared the prospect of success. [3] Whereupon the dictator, that his appointment might not have been for nothing, was desirous, being deprived of the means of winning military renown, of accomplishing some peaceful achievement to signalize his dictatorship. He therefore laid his plans to weaken the censorship, either thinking its powers excessive, or troubled less by the greatness of the office than by its long duration. [4] So, calling an assembly, he said that the immortal gods had undertaken to manage the foreign relations of the state and to make everything safe: he himself would do what needed to be done within the City, and would defend the liberty of the Roman People. Now the greatest safeguard was that great powers should not be long-continued, but that a limit of time should be imposed on them, since no limit of jurisdiction could be. Other magistracies were tenable for one year, the censorship for five. [5] It was a serious matter for the same man to have authority over people for so many years, in a great part of their affairs. He announced that he should propose a law that the censorship might not last longer than a year and a half. [6] With vast enthusiasm on the part of the people the law was next day enacted, and Mamercus exclaimed, "That you may have positive proof, Quirites, how little I approve prolonged authority, I lay down my dictatorship." [7] Thus, having resigned his own magistracy and assigned a limit for the other, he was escorted to his home by the people, with striking manifestations of rejoicing and good-will. The censors, in their indignation that Mamercus had abridged a magistracy of the Roman People, removed him from his tribe, and assessing him at eight times his former tax, disfranchised him. This they say Mamercus bore with

great fortitude, having regard rather to the cause of his humiliation than to the humiliation itself. The leading patricians, though they had opposed the curtailment of the jurisdiction of the censorship, were offended by this example of censorial ruthlessness, since each of them perceived that he should be subjected to the censor for a longer period and more frequently than he should hold the [9] censor's office. The people at any rate are said to have been so enraged that no man's influence but that of Mamercus himself could have shielded the censors from their violence.

25. The tribunes of the plebs by persistent opposition prevented the consular elections from taking place. At last, when matters had been brought almost to an interregnum, they succeeded in their contention that military tribunes with consular powers should be chosen. [2] Though they hoped their victory would be rewarded by the choice of a plebeian, they were disappointed: all those who were elected were patricians, Marcus Fabius Vibulanus, Marcus Folius, Lucius Sergius Fidenas. [3] An epidemic that year afforded a respite from other troubles. A temple was vowed to Apollo in behalf of the people's health. The duumviri did many things by direction of the Books for the purpose of appeasing the angry gods and averting the plague from the people. [4] Nevertheless the losses were severe, both in the City and the country, and men and cattle were stricken without distinction. They even feared that famine would succeed the epidemic, since the farmers were down with the disease. They therefore sent to Etruria and the Pomptine district, and to Cumae, and finally to Sicily itself, for corn. [5] Nothing was said about consular elections; military tribunes with consular authority were chosen as follows: Lucius Pinarius Mamercus, Lucius Furius Medullinus, Spurius Postumius Albus — all patricians.

[6] This year the violence of the disease was mitigated, and there was no risk of a dearth of corn, since precautions had been taken in advance. [7] Schemes for instigating war were discussed in the councils of the Volsci and Aequi, and in Etruria at the shrine of Voltumna. [8] There the enterprise was put over for a year, and it was decreed that no council should convene before that date, though the Veientes complained — without effect — that Veii was threatened with the same destruction as had overtaken Fidenae.

[9] Meanwhile in Rome the leaders of the plebs, who had now for a long time, while there was peace with other nations, been thwarted in their hopes of attaining to greater honours, began to appoint meetings at the houses of the plebeian tribunes. [10] There they considered their plans in secret; they complained that they were held in such contempt by the plebs that although military tribunes with consular powers had been elected for so many years, no plebeian had ever been admitted to that office. [11] Their ancestors had shown great foresight in providing that no patrician should be eligible for the plebeian magistracies; otherwise they would have been obliged to have patricians as tribunes of the plebs, so contemptible did they appear, even to their own class, being no less despised by the commons than by the nobles. [12] Others exonerated the plebs and threw the blame upon the patricians: it was owing to their artful canvassing that the plebeians found the road to office blocked; if the plebs might have a breathing-spell from the mingled prayers and menaces of the nobles, they would think of their friends when they went to vote, and to the protection they had already won would add authority. [13] It was resolved in order to do away with canvassing, that the tribunes should propose a law forbidding anyone to whiten his toga, for the purpose of announcing himself a candidate. This may now appear a trivial thing and one scarcely to be considered seriously, but at that time it kindled a furious struggle between the patricians and the plebs. [14] Yet the tribunes prevailed and carried their law; and it was clear that the plebeians in their irritated mood would support the men of their own order. That they might not be at liberty to do so, the senate decreed that consuls should be elected.

26. The reason alleged was a sudden outbreak B..431 of hostilities on the part of the Aequi and Volsci, which the Latins and the Hernici had reported. [2] Titus Quinctius Cincinnatus, son of Lucius — the same who is given the added surname Poenus, — and Gnaeus Julius Mento were made consuls. Nor was the fear of war deferred. [3] After a levy, held under a *lex sacrata* which was their most effective means of collecting soldiers, strong armies marched out from both nations and met on Algidus, where the Aequi encamped [4??] in one place and the Volsci in another, and their generals took more pains than ever before to intrench, and to drill their men. For this reason the report

occasioned the more dismay in Rome. [5] The senate resolved that a dictator should be appointed, since, though often beaten, those nations had renewed the war with greater efforts than at any previous time, and a considerable proportion of the young Romans had been carried off by the plague. [6] Above all, men were frightened by the wrong-headedness of the consuls, their want of harmony between themselves, and their opposition to each other in all their plans. Some writers say that these consuls were defeated on Algidus, and that this was the reason of the dictator's being named. [7] Thus much is clear: though they might differ in other matters, they were agreed on one thing, to oppose the wishes of the Fathers for the appointment of a dictator; until, as the reports grew more and more alarming, and the consuls refused to be guided by the senate, Quintus Servilius Priscus, a man who had filled with distinction the highest offices, cried out, "To you, tribunes of the plebs, since matters [8??] have come to an extremity, the senate appeals, that in this great national crisis you may compel the consuls, by virtue of your authority, to name a dictator." [9] Hearing this the tribunes felt that an opportunity had come for increasing their power; they conferred apart, and then announced, in behalf of the college, that they were resolved that the consuls should obey the senate; if they persisted further to oppose the unanimous opinion of that most honourable order, they should command them to be put in prison. The consuls preferred to be defeated by the tribunes rather than by the senate. [10] They declared that the senators had betrayed the rights of the highest office in the state and had ignominiously surrendered the consulship to the tribunician power, since apparently it was possible for the consuls to be subjected to the official compulsion of a tribune, and even — what could a private citizen fear more than that? — be carried off to gaol. [11] It was determined by lot — for the colleagues had not been able to agree even about this — that Titus Quinctius should name the dictator. He appointed Aulus Postumius Tubertus, his father-in-law, a man of the sternest authority; and by him Lucius Julius was chosen master of the horse. At the same time a levy was proclaimed and a cessation of legal business, and it was ordered that nothing else should be done in all the City but prepare for war. [12] The examination of those who claimed exemption from military service

was put over till after the war, and so even those whose cases were uncertain were disposed to give in their names. Men were required also of the Hernici and the Latins, and in both instances the dictator was zealously obeyed.

27. These measures were all carried out with great dispatch. Gnaeus Julius the consul was left behind to protect the city; and Lucius Julius, the master of the horse, to meet the sudden demands which arise in war, that the troops might not be hampered in camp by the want of anything that they might need. [2] The dictator, repeating the words after Aulus Cornelius the pontifex maximus, vowed to celebrate great games if he succeeded in quelling the outbreak, and, dividing his army with the consul Quinctius, set out from Rome and came to the enemy. [3] Seeing that the opposing forces occupied two camps with a little space between, the Roman generals followed their example and encamped about a mile from the enemy, the dictator nearer to Tusculum and the consul to Lanuvium. [4] Thus the four armies in their four intrenchments had in their midst a field of sufficient extent not merely for small preliminary skirmishes but even for drawing up lines of battle on both sides. [5] Nor from the moment the Romans had pitched their camp near that of the enemy did they once cease skirmishing; and the dictator was well content that his men should match their strength against their adversaries, and by trying the outcome of these contests come, little by little, to count upon a general victory. [6] The enemy in consequence abandoned all hope of success in a regular battle and attacked the consul's camp at night, committing their cause to the hazard of a dangerous enterprise. The shout which suddenly broke out aroused not only the consul's sentries and after them his entire army, but the dictator as well. [7] When circumstances required instant action, the consul proved to be wanting neither in resolution nor in judgment. With a part of his soldiers he reinforced the guards at the gates; with a part he lined the palisade. [8] In the other camp, with the dictator, there was less confusion and a correspondingly clearer perception what was needful to be done. Reinforcements were immediately sent to the consul's camp, under Spurius Postumius Albus the lieutenant: the dictator himself, taking a part of his forces, marched by a slight detour to a place absolutely screened from the fighting, that he might

thence strike the enemy unawares as he faced the other way. [9] The lieutenant Quintus Sulpicius he put in charge of the camp; to the lieutenant Marcus Fabius he assigned the cavalry, but ordered him not to move his command till daybreak, as it would be hard to control in the confusion of the night. [10] Everything that any wise and active general could have commanded and carried out in such a situation was duly commanded and carried out by him; but an unusual proof of judgment and daring and one which reflects no ordinary credit upon him was this, that he actually attacked the enemy's camp (from which, as he ascertained, they had marched out with more than half their troops), dispatching Marcus Geganius with some chosen cohorts on that service. [11] This officer found his foes absorbed in the issue of the dangerous work undertaken by their fellows, and with no thought for themselves, neglecting their sentinels and outguards; [12] he attacked them, captured their camp almost before they fully realized that they were assailed, and sent up a prearranged signal of smoke, on seeing which the dictator cried out that the enemy's camp was taken and bade spread the news.

28. By this time the day was breaking and everything could be seen. Fabius had delivered a charge with his cavalry; the consul had made a sally from the camp against the enemy, who were already wavering; [2] while the dictator, on the other side of the field, attacking the supports and the second line, had fallen upon the foe from every side, as they wheeled about to meet the wild shouts and sudden onsets, with his victorious foot and horse. [3] Accordingly, being now hemmed in on every side, the enemy would have suffered to a man the penalty of their rebellion, had not Vettius Messius, a Volscian more distinguished by his deeds than by his birth, called out in a clear voice to his men, who were already crowding together in a circle, "Are you going to offer yourselves up here to the weapons of the enemy, defenceless and unavenged? [4] To what end then are you armed, or why without provocation did you make war, turbulent in peace and sluggards in the field? What hope is there while you stand here? Do you think that some god will protect you and deliver you from this plight? [5] It is your swords must make a way for you! Come, where you see me go before, there you must follow, if you would look on homes, parents, wives and children! It is not a wall or

rampart that blocks your path, but armed men like yourselves. In courage you are their equals; in necessity, which is the last and chiefest weapon, you are the better men.” [6] So he spoke, and acted on the word. Renewing their shouts they followed after, and hurled themselves against the Romans where the cohorts of Postumius Albus had confronted them. And they forced the victors to give ground, until the dictator came up, as his men were already falling back, and the fighting all centred on that spot. [7] On one single warrior, Messius, hung the fortunes of the enemy. Many were the wounds on either side, and great was the slaughter everywhere. Now even the Roman leaders were bleeding as they fought. [8] Only Postumius left the battle, struck by a stone that broke his head. A wounded shoulder could not drive the dictator from so critical a fight; nor would Fabius retire for a thigh almost pinned to his horse; nor the consul for an arm that was hewn away.

29. Messius pressed on with a band of courageous youths over the slain bodies of his enemies, and reached the Volscian camp, which had not yet been taken; and on that point the entire battle converged. [2] The consul, after pursuing his opponents clear up to the rampart, assailed the camp itself and the palisade; and thither from another part of the field the dictator brought up his troops. [3] The assault was no less vigorous than the battle had been. They say that the consul even cast his standard into the stockade, to make his men the more eager in the charge, and that in seeking to recover it they made the first breach. The dictator too had breached the rampart and had already carried the fighting into the camp. [4] Then the enemy began on every hand to throw down their arms and surrender. Finally the camp itself was captured, and the enemy were all sold into slavery, except the senators. A portion of the booty was restored to the Latins and the Hernici, on their identifying it as their own; a part was sold at auction by the dictator; who then left the consul in command of the camp and returning himself in triumph to the City laid down his office. [5] The memory of the noble dictatorship assumes a sombre hue in a tradition that Aulus Postumius’ son, who, tempted by an opportunity of fighting to advantage, had left his post unbidden, was in the hour of his victory beheaded by his father’s orders. [6] One is loath to believe this story, and the diversity of opinion allows one to

reject it. It is an indication of its falsity that we speak of Manlian, not Postumian discipline, whereas he who had first established so rigorous a precedent would himself have received that notorious stigma of cruelty. Besides, Manlius was given the surname *Imperiosus*— “the Despotic” — while Postumius received no such grim distinction.

[7] Gnaeus Julius the consul dedicated the temple of Apollo in the absence of his colleague, without drawing lots. Quinctius resented this, when he had dismissed his army and returned to the City; but his complaint of it in the senate was without effect.

[8] To the history of a year famous for its great events, is appended a statement — as though the incident was then regarded as of no importance to the Roman state—that the Carthaginians, destined to be such mighty enemies, then for the first time sent over an army into Sicily to assist one of the factions in the domestic quarrels of the Sicilians.

30. An effort was made in the City by the B.C. tribunes of the plebs to procure the election of military tribunes with consular powers, but it was unsuccessful. Lucius Papirius Crassus and Lucius Julius were chosen consuls. The Aequi, through their envoys, sought a treaty from the senate. [2] Instead of granting a treaty, the senate suggested that they surrender; but they asked and obtained a truce for eight years. The Volscian commonwealth, in addition to the disaster it had suffered on Algidus, had become involved in quarrels and seditions, in consequence of an obstinate struggle between the advocates of peace and those of war. [3] The Romans everywhere enjoyed peace. A law concerning the valuation of fines was most welcome to the people. [4] Having learned through the treachery of a member of the college that the tribunes were drawing one up, the consuls anticipated their action and themselves proposed it.

The next consuls were Lucius Sergius Fidenas (for the second time) and Hostius Lucretius Tricipitinus. [5] Nothing noteworthy was done this year. They were succeeded in the consulship by Aulus Cornelius Cossus and Titus Quinctius Poenus, who was elected for the second time. [6] The Veientes made inroads into Roman territory. It was rumoured that certain young men of Fidenae had shared in the pillaging. The investigation of this report was intrusted to Lucius

Sergius, Quintus Servilius, and Mamercus Aemilius; and certain men were banished to Ostia, because it was not clear why they had been away from Fidenae during those days. [7] A number of settlers were added to the colony, and land was assigned them which had belonged to men who had fallen in the war. [8] A drought that year caused great suffering. Not only did the skies provide too little rain, but the earth as well was deficient in native moisture and could hardly supply the perennial streams. [9] In some cases the failure of the sources caused the dry springs and brooks to be lined with cattle perishing of thirst; others were carried off by a mange, and their diseases were by contact communicated to mankind. At first they attacked country people and slaves; then the City was infected. [10] And not only were men's bodies smitten by the plague, but a horde of superstitions, mostly foreign, took possession of their minds, as the class of men who find their profit in superstition-ridden souls introduced strange sacrificial rites into their homes, pretending to be seers; [11] until the public shame finally reached the leading citizens, as they beheld in every street and chapel outlandish and unfamiliar sacrifices being offered up to appease Heaven's anger. [12] The aediles were then commissioned to see to it that none but Roman gods should be worshipped, nor in any but the ancestral way.

Revenge on the men of Veii was postponed till the following year, when Gaius Servilius Ahala and Lucius Papirius Mugillanus were consuls. [13] Even then a religious scruple prevented the immediate declaration of war and dispatch of armies; they resolved that fetials must first be sent to require restitution. [14] Not long before there had been a battle with the Veientes near Nomentum and Fidenae, and this had been followed not by peace but by a truce. Its time had now run out, and indeed the enemy had begun to fight again before its expiration; nevertheless fetials were sent; yet their words, when they sought reparation after taking the customary oath, were not attended to. [15] A dispute then arose whether war should be declared by command of the people, or whether a senatorial decree was enough. The tribunes prevailed, by threatening to hinder the levy, and forced the consul Quinctius to refer the question of war to the people. [16] All the centuries voted for it. In this respect also the plebs had the better, that they made good their wish that consuls should not be elected for

the following year.

31. Four military tribunes with consular powers were elected, Titus Quinctius Poenus, who had just been consul, Gaius Furius, Marcus Postumius, and Aulus Cornelius Cossus. [2] Of these, Cossus had charge of the City; the three others held a levy and marching against Veii gave a demonstration how unprofitable it was in war to parcel out authority. By pursuing each his own counsels, one having this opinion, another that, they gave the enemy room to take them at a disadvantage; [3] for their army was confused when some bade sound the charge, while others commanded the recall; and at this favourable moment the Veientes fell upon them. The camp, which was close by, received the demoralized and fleeing men, and so they suffered more disgrace than actual harm. [4] The nation was filled with grief, for it was not used to being conquered; disgusted with the tribunes, people demanded a dictator: therein, they said, lay the hope of the state. And when they seemed likely to be thwarted in that also, by a scrupulous feeling that no one but a consul could name a dictator, the augurs were consulted and removed the impediment. [5] Aulus Cornelius named as dictator Mamercus Aemilius and was himself appointed by Mamercus master of the horse, so true is it that when the fortune of the state required real worth, the animadversion of the censor could by no means prevent men's seeking a director of their affairs in a house undeservedly stigmatized.

[6] The Veientes, elated by their success, dispatched envoys round about to the peoples of Etruria, boasting that they had routed three Roman commanders in one fight. Nevertheless they obtained no general support from the league, though they attracted volunteers from all quarters by the prospect of booty. [7] Only the people of Fidenae voted to renew the war; and, as though it were forbidden to commence war without a crime, as before in the blood of the ambassadors, so now they imbued their swords in that of the new settlers, and joined the men of Veii. [8] Consultations followed between the leaders of the two nations whether they should take Veii or Fidenae for the headquarters of their campaign. Fidenae seemed the fitter; and accordingly the Veientes crossed the Tiber and transferred the war to Fidenae. [9] At Rome there was a wild alarm. The troops were recalled from Veii, though even their spirits were

much daunted in consequence of their failure, and encamped before the Colline Gate. Armed men were disposed along the walls, a cessation of the courts was proclaimed in the Forum, the shops were closed, and everything assumed more the look of a camp than of a city. 32. The dictator, sending heralds this way and that through the streets, summoned the frightened citizens to an assembly, where he rebuked them for possessing hearts so easily dismayed by trivial fluctuations of fortune that on sustaining a slight reverse — and [2] that not due to the valour of the enemy or the cowardice of the Roman army, but to a disagreement among their generals — they were seized with dread of the Veientine enemy whom they had six times defeated, and of Fidenae which they had captured almost more often than they had attacked it. [3] Both the Romans and their enemies were the same as they had been for so many generations; they had the same courage, the same bodily vigour, the same weapons; he was himself the same dictator Mamercus Aemilius who had formerly put to flight the armies of the Veientes and the Fidenates, with the Faliscans added, before Nomentum; [4] and, as master of the horse, Aulus Cornelius would be the same man in battle that he had shown himself in the former war, when as military tribune he had slain Lars Tolumnius, king of the Veientes, in full sight of both armies, and had borne the spoils of honour to the temple of Jupiter Feretrius. [5] Let them remember then that theirs were the triumphs, theirs the spoils, theirs the victory; while their enemies were stained with the crime of putting envoys to death against the law of nations, with the slaughter in time of peace of settlers at Fidenae, with the broken truce, with rebelling unsuccessfully for the seventh time. [6] Let them think of these things and arm. When once they should have pitched their camp near the camp of the enemy, he was very confident the dastardly foe would not long rejoice over the humiliation of a Roman army; [7] but that the Roman People would perceive how much better those men had served the state who had named him for the third time dictator, than had those who, because he had torn from the censorship its tyrannical powers, had fixed a stigma upon his second dictatorship. [8] Then, having offered vows to the gods, he marched out and encamped a mile and a half this side of Fidenae, protected on his right by mountains, on his left by the river Tiber. [9] His lieutenant

Titus Quinctius Poenus he commanded to secure the mountains and secretly to occupy the ridge which lay to the enemy's rear.

[10] On the morrow, when the Etruscans, in high feather at what, on the previous day, had been more good luck than good fighting, sallied forth to offer battle, the dictator delayed a little, till his scouts should report that Quinctius had come out on the ridge near the citadel of Fidenae; and then forming his infantry in line of battle led them at the double against the enemy. [11] He directed the master of the horse not to begin to fight until he got his orders: when he required the help of the cavalry, he would himself give the signal; let him then bear himself as one mindful of his battle with a king, of his glorious offering, of Romulus and Jupiter Feretrius. The armies came together with great fury. The Romans were consumed with hatred.

[12] "Traitors" was the name they gave the Fidenates, and "brigands" the men of Veii; they called them breakers of truces, stained with the horrid murder of ambassadors, sprinkled with the gore of their own settlers, faithless allies and cowardly enemies; and fed their rage at once with deeds and with words.

33. They had shaken the enemy's resistance at the very first onset, when suddenly the gates of Fidenae were flung open and a strange kind of army, never seen before or heard of, came pouring out. [2] Fire was the weapon of that vast multitude, and blazing torches threw a glare upon the entire throng when, as though inspired with a wild insanity, they rushed headlong on their enemy. [3] For an instant the strangeness of this kind of battle dismayed the Romans. Then the dictator, calling up the master of the horse and his cavalry, sending for Quinctius to come down from the mountains, and urging on the fight himself, hurried to the left wing, which, as though it found itself in a conflagration rather than a line of battle, had shrunk back in terror from the flames, and in a loud voice cried out: [4] "Will you quit your post, subdued with smoke like a swarm of bees, and yield to an unarmed foe? Will you not extinguish fire with the sword? [5] Will you not seize these self-same brands, and each for himself — if we must fight with fire, not with javelins — attack them with their own weapons? Come, call to mind the Roman name, your fathers' valour and your own; turn this blaze upon the enemy's city and destroy Fidenae with its own flames, since your kindness was

powerless to gain its friendship! The blood of your envoys and your colonists and your devastated borders exhort you to do as I say.” [6] At the dictator’s command the whole array was set in motion. [7] Here they caught up torches which had been flung away; there they wrested them violently from their bearers: both sides were armed with fire. The master of the horse on his part invented a new kind of cavalry-fighting. Commanding his men to pull off the bridles from their horses, he led the way, and setting spurs to his own, was carried by the unbridled charger into the midst of the flames. [8] The other horses too were urged on and bore their riders at full tilt against the enemy; while the dust that rose and mingled with the smoke darkened the eyes both of the men and of their mounts. [9] But the sight which had frightened the infantry had no terror for the horses, and the cavalry overthrew their enemies in heaps wherever they advanced. Then a new shout was heard. Both armies in astonishment looked that way; and when the dictator called out that Quinctius the lieutenant and his followers had assailed the enemy in the rear, the cheering was renewed, and he pressed home his own attack more sharply. [10] Now that two battle-fronts and two distinct attacks hemmed in the Etruscans and forced them back from front and rear; and there was no way for them to flee, either back into their camp or into the mountains, whence a new foe had appeared to block their path; and the horses, with loose reins, had borne their riders far and wide; — the Veientes for the most part ran in disorder to the Tiber, while those of the Fidenates who survived turned towards the city of Fidenae. [11] In their panic they fled into the middle of the carnage. Some were cut down on the banks of the river; others, forced into the water, were swept away by the current; even experienced swimmers were borne down by weariness and wounds and fear; only a few out of the many swam across. [12] The other party was carried on through the camp to the city. Thither the Romans too pushed forward in the impetuosity of the pursuit — especially Quinctius, and with him those who had just come down from the hills and were the freshest soldiers for the work, having arrived at the close of the battle.

34. After these troops, mingling with the enemy, had entered the gate, they made their way on to the wall, where they raised a signal to show their friends that the town was taken. [2] When the dictator

saw it — for by this time he had himself penetrated to the deserted camp of the enemy, — he checked his soldiers, who were eager to scatter in search of booty, by encouraging the hope that they would find larger spoils in the city; [3] and, leading them to the gate, was received within the walls and marched directly to the citadel, whither he saw that the throng of fugitives was rushing Nor was the slaughter in the city less than it had been in the battle, until they threw away their arms, and asking nothing but their lives, surrendered to the dictator. [4] The city and the camp were sacked. Next day the cavalrymen and centurions drew lots for a single captive each, while those who had shown conspicuous bravery received two. The rest were sold at auction, and the dictator marched his victorious army, enriched with plunder, back to Rome, and triumphed. [5] After commanding his master of the horse to lay down his office, he himself abdicated, giving up in peace on the sixteenth day the supreme authority he had received in time of war and danger. [6] Certain annalists have recorded that there was a naval battle also with the Veientes, near Fidenae, a thing equally difficult and incredible; for even to-day the river is not wide enough for that, and in those times it was somewhat narrower, as we learn from the old writers; [7] unless possibly there were a few ships assembled to dispute the passage of the river and this was exaggerated, as so often happens, by those who added to the inscription the false claim of a naval victory.

35. The next year there were military tribunes with consular powers, namely Aulus Sempronius Atratinus, Lucius Quinctius Cincinnatus, Lucius Furius Medullinus, Lucius Horatius Barbatus. [2] The Veientes were granted a truce of twenty years, and the Aequi one of three, though they had asked for a longer one. There was a respite also from civil disturbances.

[3] The following year was noteworthy neither for foreign war nor dissension at home, but gained celebrity from the games which had been vowed during the war and were splendidly carried out by the military tribunes and attended by a great concourse of neighbouring peoples. [4] The tribunes with consular authority were Appius Claudius Crassus, Spurius Nautius Rutulus, Lucius Sergius Fidenas, and Sextus Julius Iulus. The spectacle was rendered the more

agreeable to the visitors by the courtesy which their hosts had united in a resolution to extend to them. [5] After the games seditious speeches were made by the plebeian tribunes, who berated the populace because, in their besotted admiration of the men they hated, they kept themselves in perpetual servitude, and not only dared not aspire to claim participation in the consulship, but even in the matter of choosing military tribunes — an [6] election open alike to patricians and plebeians — took no thought either for themselves or for their friends. [7] Let them cease therefore to wonder why no one busied himself for the good of the plebs; toil was bestowed and danger risked, they said, in causes which held out hopes of emolument and honour; there was nothing men would not attempt if those who made great efforts were afforded the prospect of great rewards; [8] but that some one plebeian tribune should rush blindly into a struggle where the risk was enormous and the reward was nothing, and in consequence of which he might be certain that the patricians, against whom he would be striving, would pursue him with relentless animosity, and that the plebs, for whom he would have fought, would not add the least tittle to his honours, was a thing to be neither expected nor demanded. Great hearts were begotten of great honours. [9] No plebeian would despise himself when plebeians should cease to be despised. It was high time they made trial in one or two cases, to see whether there were some plebeian fit to hold high office, or whether it were almost a portent and a miracle that there should exist any brave and energetic man of plebeian origin. [10] By exerting their utmost force they had carried the point that military tribunes with consular powers might be chosen even from the plebs. Men whose worth had been proven at home and in the field had stood for the office; during the first years they had been buffeted about, rejected, and laughed at by the patricians; finally, they had ceased to expose themselves to insult. [11] They could see no reason, they said, why they should not even repeal a statute which authorized something that would never come; there would surely be less shame in the injustice of the law than in being passed over on account of their own unworthiness.

36. Speeches of this sort, being listened to with approval, incited certain men to stand for the military tribuneship, with the promise

that they would propose in their term of office such and such measures of advantage to the plebs. [2] Hopes were held out of dividing up the public domain and planting colonies, and of levying a tax on the occupants of the land and distributing the money as pay for the soldiers. [3] The military tribunes then watched for an opportunity when people were out of town, and recalling the senators by a secret notification, got the senate to pass a resolution, in the absence of the tribunes of the plebs, that [4??] since the Volsci were rumoured to have made a plundering expedition into the country of the Hernici, the tribunes of the soldiers should go and investigate the affair, and that a consular election should be held. [5] The tribunes set out, leaving Appius Claudius, the decemvir's son, as prefect of the City. He was an energetic young man and imbued from his very cradle with hatred of the tribunes and the plebs. The plebeian tribunes had no ground of contention either with the absent officials who had obtained the resolution of the senate, or with Appius, now that the thing was done. 37. Gaius Sempronius Atratinus and Quintus Fabius Vibulanus were elected consuls.

A foreign episode, but worth relating, is ascribed to this year, viz. that Volturnum, the Etruscan city which is now Capua, was taken by the Samnites, and named Capua from their leader Capys, or, as is more probable, from its champaign country. [2] Now they captured it after being admitted by the Etruscans — who were worn out with fighting — to a share in the city and its fields; then, on a holiday, when the old settlers were heavy with sleep and feasting, the newcomers fell upon them in the night and slew them.

[3] In the train of these events, the consuls whom I have named took up their duties, on the 13th of December. By this time not only had those who had been dispatched for this purpose reported that a Volscian invasion was imminent, but [4??] envoys from the Latins, and the Hernici as well, announced that never before had the Volscians been more energetic, whether in selecting generals or in levying an army; [5] that everywhere men were muttering that they must either give up for ever all thoughts of arms and war, and submit to the yoke, or must not lag behind those with whom they were contending for supremacy, either in courage or in endurance or in military discipline. [6] Their tidings were true, but they caused no answerable

activity among the senators; and Gaius Sempronius, to whom the command had been assigned by lot, trusting to fortune as though it were the most constant thing in the world, because he had commanded the victorious nation against the people they had defeated, conducted everything so carelessly and rashly that Roman discipline was more in evidence in the Volscian army than in the Roman. [7] Accordingly Fortune, as on many another occasion, waited on desert. In the first battle, which Sempronius entered without caution or deliberation, his line was not strengthened with reserves nor was his cavalry skilfully posted, when the fighting began. [8] The battle-cries were the first intimation how the affair was likely to go; [9] for the enemy's was louder and fuller, that of the Romans dissonant and uneven and, dragging more with each repetition, betrayed the faintness of their hearts. This caused the enemy to charge the more boldly, thrusting with shields and making play with swords. [10] On the Roman side helmets nodded, as their wearers looked this way and that for help, and irresolute soldiers made falteringly for the nearest group; at one moment the standards would be left behind by the retreat of the front-rankers, at the next they would be falling back among their proper maniples. [11] It was not yet a definite flight, not yet a victory; the Romans sought rather to protect themselves than to fight; the Volscians advanced and bore hard against the Roman line, but saw more of their enemies killed than running away.

38. But now the Romans were everywhere falling back, and it was in vain that Sempronius the consul upbraided or encouraged them. [2] There was no virtue either in his authority or in his dignity; and his men would presently have shown the enemy their backs, had not a cavalry decurion named Sextus Tempanius, just as the situation was becoming desperate, come with prompt courage to the rescue. [3] In a loud voice he cried out that the horsemen who wished to save the state should leap down from their horses, and when the troopers in every squadron had bestirred themselves as if at the command of the consul, he added: "Unless this bucklered cohort stops the enemy's rush it is all over with our supremacy. Follow my spear as your guidon; show Romans and Volscians that when you are mounted no cavalry are your equals, nor any infantry, when you fight on foot!" [4]

When a cheer had shown their approval of this exhortation, he advanced with uplifted spear. Wherever they went they forced a passage; holding their targets up before them, they charged where they saw the distress of their friends was greatest. [5] The fortune of the day was restored at every point where their onset carried them; nor was there any doubt that if those few men could have been present everywhere at the same time the enemy would have turned tail.

39. When the Volscian general saw that their attack could not anywhere be stopped, he ordered his troops to give ground to the men with bucklers, the enemy's new cohort, until, carried forward in their rush, they should be cut off from their friends. [2] On this being done, the horsemen were intercepted, and were unable to break through in the same way as they had got over, since their enemies were most thickly crowded together where they had made their path. [3] When the consul and the Roman legions could nowhere see the soldiers who a moment before had been a shield to the entire army, they pressed forward to save at any cost so many heroic men from being surrounded and borne down by the enemy. [4] The Volscians, facing two ways, sustained on one side the onset of the consul and the legions, and on the other front pressed home their attack upon Tempanius and his troopers; [5] who, having failed, in spite of many attempts, to force their way through to their friends, had seized a certain mound and, forming a circle, were defending themselves, not without taking vengeance on their assailants. The battle did not end till nightfall. [6] Neither did the consul relax his efforts anywhere, but kept the enemy engaged as long as there was any light. Darkness put a stop to the indecisive struggle, and the terror in each camp was such, in consequence of men's ignorance of the outcome, that both armies, abandoning their wounded and a good part of their baggage, retreated to the nearest hills, as though defeated. [7] Nevertheless the mound was besieged till after midnight. But when word was brought to the besiegers that their camp was abandoned, they too supposed that their side had been defeated, and every man fled where his panic led him in the darkness. [8] Tempanius feared an ambush and kept his soldiers close till daylight. Then, descending with a few followers to reconnoitre, he discovered by questioning some wounded enemies

that the camp of the Volscians was deserted, whereupon he joyfully called his men down from the hill and made his way into the Roman camp. [9] There he found everything abandoned and forlorn and the same desolation he had met with on the ground of the enemy; and, before the Volsci could learn of their blunder and return, he carried with him such of the wounded as he was able, and not knowing what way the consul had gone, took the nearest road to the City.

40. Thither the rumour of an unsuccessful engagement and the abandonment of the camp had already made its way, and more than all the rest the horsemen had been mourned, with public as well as private lamentations. [2] The consul Fabius was keeping watch before the gates — for the panic had permeated even the City — when cavalry were espied a long way off, and caused no little trepidation, since men knew not who they could be. [3] But being soon after recognized, they turned the people's fear to such rejoicing that the City was filled with the noise of congratulations on the safe and victorious return of the horse; and from the houses which a little while before had been filled with sadness and had bewailed their sons as dead, the inhabitants ran out into the street, and trembling mothers and wives, heedless of decorum in their happiness, hurried to meet the troops, and flung themselves with utter abandonment into the arms of their loved ones, being scarcely able to control themselves for joy. [4] The plebeian tribunes, who had set a day for the trial of Marcus Postumius and Titus Quinctius, because of their responsibility for the reverse at Veii, thought a favourable opportunity was afforded by the odium recently incurred by the consul Sempronius for renewing men's displeasure with them. [5] So, having called a meeting, they loudly declared that the state had been betrayed at Veii by its generals; and that then, because they had gone scot free, the army fighting with the Volsci had been betrayed by the consul, their heroic cavalry given over to slaughter, and the camp basely abandoned. [6] Then Gaius Junius, one of the tribunes, commanded the cavalryman Tempanius to be called, and turning to him spoke as follows: "Sextus Tempanius, I ask you whether you think that Gaius Sempronius the consul either joined battle at a suitable moment, or strengthened his line with supports, or performed any of the duties of a good consul; [7] and whether you

yourself, when the Roman legions had been beaten, dismounted the cavalry of your own motion and restored the fortunes of the battle; then, when you and your troopers had been cut off from our line, if either the consul himself came to your rescue or sent supports; [8] furthermore, whether you had any help anywhere next day, or you and your cohort forced a way to the camp by your own valour; whether you found any consul in the camp and any army, or a deserted camp and wounded and forsaken soldiers. [9] In the name of your courage and your loyalty, which alone have preserved the republic in this war, you must now answer these questions; finally you must tell us where Gaius Sempronius and our legions are; whether you were abandoned, or yourself abandoned the consul and the army; — in one word, whether we have been defeated or victorious.”

41. To these questions Tempanius is said to have replied in homely terms but with a soldierly dignity, in which was neither self-praise nor self-complacent criticism of others. [2] Touching the degree of skill in military matters possessed by Gaius Sempronius, it was not for a soldier, he said, to appraise a general: that had been the Roman People’s business when it elected Sempronius consul at the comitia. [3] It was not, therefore, to him that they must address inquiries concerning the strategy of commanders and the qualifications of consuls; even the weighing of such abilities demanded great mental and intellectual powers. [4] But that which he had seen he was able to report; and he had seen the consul, before he had himself been cut off from the main army, fighting in the front line, encouraging his men, and moving about amidst the standards of the Romans and the enemy’s missiles. [5] He had afterwards been carried out of sight of his friends; but still, from the din and shouting, he had made out that the struggle had been prolonged till nightfall, and he did not believe that it had been possible to break through to the hillock which he himself had held, in view of the enemy’s numbers. [6] Where the army was, he did not know; he supposed that, just as he himself had protected himself and his men by taking up a strong position, so likewise the consul, in order to save his army, had occupied a place of greater security than the camp. [7] And he did not believe that the Volsci were any better off than the Roman People; chance and

darkness had at every point confused both armies. [8] On his going on to beg that they would not detain him, exhausted by toil and wounds, it is said that he was dismissed with the highest praise, no less for his moderation than for his bravery. Meanwhile the consul had already reached the shrine of Quies on the Labican road. Thither wagons and beasts of burden were dispatched from the City, and brought the soldiers back, weary from fighting and the nightmarch. [9] A little later the consul entered the City, and showed no less concern to extol Tempanius with well-merited praise than to clear himself of blame. [10] While the citizens were grieving over their defeat, and were filled with resentment against their commanders, Marcus Postumius, who had been military tribune with consular authority at Veii, was brought before them for trial and condemned to pay a fine of ten thousand pounds of bronze. [11] Titus Quinctius his colleague, having been victorious both in the Volscian country, when consul under the auspices of the dictator Postumius Tubertus, and at Fidenae, as lieutenant to the other dictator, Mamercus Aemilius, shifted all the blame for the present campaign upon his colleague who had already been condemned, and was acquitted by all the tribes. [12] It is said that the memory of his father Cincinnatus, whom the people venerated, was a help to him, and also the fact that Quinctius Capitolinus, now well-stricken in years, supplicated and implored them not to suffer him, who had but a little time to live, to be the bearer of such sad news to Cincinnatus.

42. The plebs elected in their absence Sextus Tempanius, Marcus Asellius, Tiberius Antistius, and Tiberius Spurillius to be plebeian tribunes. These were men whom the cavalry had also chosen, at the instance of Tempanius, to act as centurions over them. [2] The senate, feeling that the hatred of Sempronius made the title of consul offensive, ordered the election of military tribunes with consular powers. The successful candidates were Lucius Manlius Capitolinus, Quintus Antonius Merenda, Lucius Papirius Mugillanus. [3] At the very beginning of the year Lucius Hortensius, tribune of the plebs, brought an action against Gaius Sempronius, consul of the year before. The tribune's four colleagues besought him in full sight of the Roman People not to persecute their general, in whom nothing could be reckoned amiss save his ill-fortune; [4] but this Hortensius

would not brook, regarding it as a test of his perseverance and persuaded that the defendant was relying not on the entreaties of the tribunes, which were thrown out merely to preserve appearances, but on their veto. [5] And so, turning now to Sempronius, he demanded to be told where the well-known patrician spirit was, and where the courage that placed its confident reliance upon innocence; was it in the shadow of the tribunate that a former consul had found a hiding-place? [6] And again, addressing his colleagues, he asked, "But what do you mean to do, if I persist in prosecuting the defendant? [7] Will you rob the people of their rights and overthrow the authority of the tribunes?" When they replied that the authority of the Roman People was supreme over Sempronius and all other men, and that they neither desired nor were able to annul the people's judgment; [8] but that if their entreaties in behalf of their commander, who stood in the relation of a parent to them, should prove ineffectual, they would put on mourning with him, then Hortensius declared, "The Roman plebs shall not see its tribunes clad in mourning. Gaius Sempronius may go free, for me, since his command has gained him this, to be so beloved by his soldiers." [9] Nor was the loyalty of the four tribunes more pleasing to both plebs and senators than was the disposition of Hortensius to yield so readily to reasonable entreaties.

[10] Fortune now ceased to favour the Aequi, who had accepted the dubious victory of the Volsci as their own. 43. The next year Numerius Fabius Vibulanus and Titus Quinctius Capitolinus, the son of Capitolinus, were consuls. Under the leadership of Fabius, to whom this command had been assigned by lot, nothing worthy of relation was accomplished. [2] The Aequi had scarce made an irresolute show of battle when they were routed and driven disgracefully from the field, and the consul got no credit by the affair. He was accordingly denied a triumph; but because he had relieved the ignominy incurred by Sempronius's defeat, he was allowed to enter the City in an ovation.

[3] But while the war had been concluded with less of a struggle than men had feared, in the City tranquillity gave place to unexpected and serious quarrels, which broke out between the plebs and the senators, and began over the duplication of the number of quaestors. [4] This measure — that besides the two city quaestors two

others should be elected to assist the consuls in the administration of wars — was proposed by the consuls and received the hearty approval of the senate, but the tribunes of the plebs made a fight to have half of the quaestors — hitherto patricians had been chosen — taken from the plebs. [5] Against this provision both consuls and senators at first exerted themselves with all their might; afterwards they were ready to concede that, just as in the case of tribunes with consular powers, so likewise with the quaestors, the people should be unrestricted in their choice; but making no headway with this offer, they dropped the whole question of enlarging the number of quaestors. [6] It was then taken up where they had left it by the tribunes; and other revolutionary schemes came to the fore in quick succession, among them one for enacting an agrarian law. When the senate, because of these disturbances, preferred that consuls be elected rather than tribunes, yet was unable to pass a resolution on account of tribunician vetoes, the government passed from the consuls to an interrex; [7] nor was even this accomplished without a violent struggle, for the tribunes tried to prevent the patricians from holding a meeting. [8] The greater part of the ensuing year dragged on with contests between the new tribunes and several interreges. At one time the tribunes would keep the patricians from meeting to appoint an interrex; at another time they would interpose their veto against the interrex, that the senate might not pass a resolution to hold the consular elections. [9] Finally Lucius Papirius Mugillanus was named interrex, and upbraiding now the senators, now the tribunes of the plebs, reminded them how the state, abandoned and forsaken by men, had been protected by the providential care of Heaven, and existed by the grace of the Veientine truce and the dilatory policy of the Aequi. [10] If an alarm should break out in that quarter, was it their pleasure that the republic should be caught without a patrician magistrate? that there should be no army, no general to enrol an army? [11] Or did they expect to beat off a foreign foe with a civil war? But if both should come at once, the help of the gods themselves would scarce suffice to stay the destruction of the Roman commonwealth. [12] Why would they not every man abate somewhat of his full rights and compromise harmoniously on a middle course, the Fathers consenting that military tribunes should be chosen

instead of consuls, the tribunes interposing no veto to prevent four quaestors being taken promiscuously from plebeians and patricians by free election of the people?

44. The election of tribunes was held first. The tribunes with consular powers who were chosen were all patricians, namely Lucius Quinctius Cincinnatus (for the third time), Lucius Furius Medullinus (for the second time), Marcus Manlius, and Aulus Sempronius Atratinus. [2] The last-named held the election for quaestors. Among the several plebeians who sought the place were the son of a plebeian tribune, named Aulus Antistius, and the brother of another, Sextus Pompilius. Yet neither the authority nor the support of these men could prevent the people from giving the preference, because of their noble birth, to men whose fathers and grandfathers they had seen consuls. [3] This made all the tribunes furious, but more than all the rest Pompilius and Antistius, who were incensed at the defeat of their kinsmen. [4] What in the world, they asked, was the meaning of this? Had neither their own services nor the wrongs which the patricians had inflicted, nor even the pleasure of exercising a right — since what had before been unlawful was now permitted — availed to elect a single quaestor from the plebs, let alone a military tribune? [5] Of no avail had been a father's entreaties for his son, a brother's for his brother, not though they had been tribunes of the plebs, and invested with an inviolable office, created for the protection of liberty. There was fraud in the matter, beyond question, and Aulus Sempronius had employed more artifice than honesty in the election. [6] It was by his wrong-doing, they complained, that their relations had been defeated for office. And so, since they could not attack the man himself, secure as he was not only in his innocence but in the magistracy which he was filling, they turned their anger upon Gaius Sempronius, the cousin of Atratinus; and prosecuted him, with the co-operation of their colleague Marcus Canuleius, on the score of the humiliation suffered in the Volscian war. [7] The same tribunes frequently mentioned in the senate the division of the public lands, a measure which Gaius Sempronius had always stoutly resisted, for they reckoned — and rightly — that either he would abandon the cause and his defence would become a matter of less concern to the patricians, or that persevering in his attitude he would give offence,

up to the moment of his trial, to the plebeians. [8] He chose to face the storm of unpopularity and to injure his own cause rather than be found wanting in that of the nation; and he held fast to the same opinion, that there should be no largess, for that would redound to the advantage of the three tribunes. [9] It was not land for the plebs they were then looking for, he declared, but hatred for himself; he was as ready as another to confront that tempest with a courageous heart; nor ought the senate to set so high a value upon himself or any other citizen that their tenderness for him should bring about a general disaster. [10] His spirit was not a whit less firm when the day of trial came. [11] He pleaded his own cause; the senators exerted in vain every means of mollifying the plebs; and he was condemned to pay a fine of fifteen thousand *asses*.

The same year a Vestal virgin named Postumia was put on trial for unchastity. [12] She was innocent of the charge, though open to suspicion because of her pretty clothes and the unmaidenly freedom of her wit. After she had been remanded and then acquitted, the pontifex maximus, in the name of the college, commanded her to abstain from jests, and to dress rather with regard to sanctity than coquetry. [13] In this same year Cumae, a city which the Greeks then held, was captured by the Campanians.

The ensuing year had as military tribunes with consular powers Agrippa Menenius Lanatus, Publius Lucretius Tricipitinus, and Spurius Nautius Rutulus. 45. It was a year remarkable, thanks to the good fortune of the Roman People, for a great danger but not a disaster. The slaves conspired to set fire to the City at points remote from one another, and, while the people should be busy everywhere with rescuing their houses, to seize the Citadel and the Capitol with an armed force. [2] Jupiter brought their wicked schemes to naught, and on the evidence of two of their number the guilty were arrested and punished. [3] Each informant was rewarded from the public treasury with ten thousand pounds of bronze — which passed for wealth in those days — and with freedom.

The Aequi then began to prepare again for war; and word was brought to Rome on good authority that new enemies, the Labicani, were making common cause with the old ones. [4] As for the Aequi, the citizens had by now grown accustomed to war with them, as to an

annual occurrence; but they dispatched envoys to Labici, and having got them back with an ambiguous answer, from which it appeared that though war was not as yet being organized, yet peace would not long continue, they commissioned the Tusculans to watch that no fresh outbreak should occur at that place.

[5] To the military tribunes with consular authority who held office the ensuing year, Lucius Sergius Fidenas, Marcus Papirius Mugillanus, and Gaius Servilius, son of the Priscus who as dictator had captured Fidenae, there came, [6??] just as they had entered on their magistracy, ambassadors from Tusculum, who announced that the Labicani had armed and, after devastating the Tusculan countryside in company with an Aequian army, had encamped on Algidus. [7] Thereupon war was declared against the Labicani, and the senate resolved that two of the tribunes should proceed to the front, while one attended to matters in Rome. At this a dispute immediately broke out amongst the tribunes, each of whom boasted of his superiority as a general and spurned the care of the City as a thankless and ignoble task. [8] While the astonished senators watched this unseemly rivalry amongst the colleagues, Quintus Servilius exclaimed, "Since you have no respect for this order nor for the republic, a father's authority shall end your quarrel. My son shall preside over the City, without recourse to lots. I only hope that those who are eager to make the campaign may conduct it with more consideration and harmony than they display in seeking it."

46. It was determined not to make a general levy on the entire people, but ten tribes were chosen by lot. From these the two tribunes enrolled the men of military age and led them to war. [2] The bickerings which had commenced between them in the City grew much hotter in the camp, from the same eagerness to command; they could not agree on anything; each strove for his own opinion; each desired his own plans and his own orders to be the only valid ones; [3] each despised the other and was in turn despised by him, until at last, reproved by their lieutenants, they arranged to exercise the supreme command on alternate days. [4] When the report of this reached Rome, it is said that Quintus Servilius, taught by years and experience, besought the immortal gods that the strife between the tribunes might not result more disastrously to the republic than had

been the case at Veii, and as though certain defeat were imminent, urged his son to enlist soldiers and make ready arms. [5] Nor was he a false prophet. For under the leadership of Lucius Sergius, whose day it was to command, the Romans found themselves in an unfavourable position close to the enemy's camp, whither they had been drawn, when the Aequi feigned fear and retired to their rampart, by the vain hope of capturing it; and there they were suddenly attacked by the Aequi and driven pellmell down a sloping valley, where many of them, as they rather tumbled down than retreated, were overtaken and put to the sword. [6] That day they defended their camp with difficulty, and on the next, when the enemy had almost surrounded it, they abandoned it by a disgraceful flight through the opposite gate. [7] The generals and their lieutenants and such of the army's strength as kept to the standards made for Tusculum: the others, scattering through the fields, this way and that, hastened to Rome by divers roads and reported a much heavier defeat than had been sustained. [8] There was the less dismay for the reason that the event had tallied with men's apprehensions, and because reserves which they could look to in the hour of danger had been made ready by the tribune of the soldiers. [9] It was by his orders too that the lesser magistrates had quieted the confusion in the City, when the scouts whom he had hurriedly sent out reported that the generals and the army were at Tusculum, and that the enemy had not broken camp. [10] And — what raised men's courage most — Quintus Servilius Priscus was in consequence of a senatorial decree named dictator — a man whose clear vision in public affairs the state had proved on many previous occasions, but particularly in the outcome of this war, because he alone had viewed the quarrel of the tribunes with anxiety, before their defeat. [11] Having appointed his son, by whom, when military tribune, he had himself been pronounced dictator, to be master of the horse, — as [12] some authorities have recorded; for others write that Servilius Ahala was master of the horse that year, — he set out with a fresh army for the war, sent for the troops which were at Tusculum, and fixed his camp two miles from the enemy.

47. In consequence of their success, the Aequi had taken over the arrogance and carelessness which the Roman generals had shown,

and the result was seen in the very first battle. [2] When the dictator had attacked with his cavalry and had thrown the enemy's front ranks into confusion, he ordered the legions to advance rapidly, and when one of his standard-bearers hesitated, cut him down. [3] So eager for combat were the troops, that the Aequi could not stop their rush, and when, defeated in the field, they had withdrawn to their camp in a disordered flight, it was stormed with less expenditure of time and effort than the battle itself had cost. [4] Having captured and sacked the camp, the dictator relinquished the plunder to his soldiers; and the cavalry, which had pursued the enemy as they fled from their encampment, came back with the report that all [5??] the Labicani, after their defeat, and a great part of the Aequi, had taken refuge in Labici. [6] Next day the army marched to Labici and, drawing a cordon about the town, stormed it with ladders and plundered it. Leading his victorious army back to Rome, the dictator resigned his office eight days after his appointment; and the senate seized the opportunity, before the tribunes of the plebs could stir up agrarian troubles by proposing a division of the Labican territory, to resolve, in a largely-attended meeting, that a colony should be planted in Labici. [7] Fifteen hundred colonists were sent from the City, and each received two *iugera*.

The year that followed the capture of Labici, having as military tribunes with consular powers Agrippa Menenius Lanatus, Gaius Servilius Structus, and Publius Lucretius Tricipitinus (all these for the second time), together with Spurius Rutilius Crassus; [8] and the succeeding year, with Aulus Sempronius Atratinus (for his third term) and Marcus Papirius Mugillanus and Spurius Nautius Rutulus (for their second) were a period of tranquillity in foreign relations but of civil discord arising out of agrarian laws.

48. Those who stirred up the people were Spurius Maecilius, tribune of the plebs for the fourth time, and Marcus Metilius, for the third, both having been elected in their absence. [2] On their proposing a law that the land which had been captured from enemies should be divided up among the citizens, a plebiscite which would mean the confiscation of the fortunes of a great part of the nobles — for [3] there was scarcely any land, as might be expected in the case of a city situated on alien soil, which had not been gained by force of

arms; [4] nor was much, if any, of that which had been sold or assigned by the state held by other than plebeians, — it appeared that a desperate struggle was at hand between the plebs and the patricians. [5] The military tribunes had hit upon no plan of action either in the senate or in the private conferences which they held with the leading men, when Appius Claudius, grandson of him who had been decemvir for drawing up the laws, himself the youngest of the council of senators, announced — so [6] the story goes — that he was bringing them from his house an old family device; [7] for it had been his great-grandfather Appius Claudius who had pointed out to the senators that the only way to break the power of the tribunes lay through the veto of their colleagues. [8] It was not difficult for the leading men of the state to induce upstart politicians to change their minds, if they would but suit their discourse meantime rather to the exigencies of the crisis than to their lofty station. [9] The sentiments of such fellows varied with their fortunes: when they saw that their colleagues, by taking the lead in the management of affairs, had appropriated all the favour of the populace in advance and had left no room there for themselves, they would incline without reluctance to the cause of the senate, by supporting which they might gain the goodwill not only of the order as a whole, but also of the foremost senators. [10] When they had all expressed their approval, and especially Quintus Servilius Priscus, who praised the young man as one who had not degenerated from the Claudian stock, everybody was given the task of inducing such of the tribunician college as he could to interpose their vetoes. [11] The senate adjourned and the leading members began to canvass the tribunes. [12] By arguments in which they mingled warnings with the promise that their action would earn the tribunes the personal gratitude of individuals, as well as that of the senate as a body, they got six men to promise their opposition. [13] Next day when the senate, in accordance with a preconcerted plan, had taken up the question of the sedition which Maecilius and Metilius were beginning by proposing a donation of the most objectionable type, the principal senators made speeches in which each took occasion to say that he could think of nothing to suggest and saw no help for the situation anywhere save in the assistance of the tribunes; [14] this was the power to whose protection

the harassed republic, like a private citizen in distress, now fled for succour; it was a, glorious thing both for the men themselves and for their office that the tribunate possessed no less strength for the resistance of its wicked colleagues than for troubling the senate and promoting discord between the orders. [15] Loud shouts were then heard from the entire senate and appeals were addressed to the tribunes from every part of the Curia. Then, after silence had been obtained, those who had been won over by the favour of the chief senators declared their readiness to veto the measure which their colleagues had proposed but the senate deemed subversive of the republic. [16] The thanks of the senate were voted the protesters. The authors of the bill convened an assembly, and accusing their colleagues of being traitors to the interests of the plebs and slaves of the consulars, and in other ways bitterly denouncing them, withdrew their measure.

49. There would have been two wars in the ensuing year, in which Publius Cornelius Cossus, Gaius Valerius Potitus, Quintus Quinctius Cincinnatus, and Numerius Fabius Vibulanus were military tribunes with consular powers, had not the war with Veii been delayed, thanks to the superstition of the [2??] Veientine leaders, whose farms an overflow of the Tiber had laid waste, chiefly by ruining the farmhouses. [3] At the same time the Aequi were deterred by the defeat they had suffered three years before from marching to the assistance of the Bolani, a tribe of their own race. [4] These people had made incursions into the neighbouring territory of Labici and attacked the new settlers. [5] The consequences of this outrage they had hoped to avoid by means of the co-operation of all the Aequi; but, having been abandoned by their friends, they lost their town and their lands, in a war which does not even merit description, as the result of a siege and a single skirmish. [6] An attempt on the part of Lucius Decius, a plebeian tribune, to carry a law providing that colonists should be sent to Bolae too, as well as to Labici, was frustrated through the intervention of his colleagues, who intimated that they would permit no plebiscite to pass unless it had the warrant of the senate.

[7] Bolae was retaken the next year, and the Aequi planted a colony there and strengthened the town with new defenders. Rome

now had the following military tribunes with consular powers, Gnaeus Cornelius Cossus, Lucius Valerius Potitus, Quintus Fabius Vibulanus (for the second time), and Marcus Postumius Regillensis.

[8] To this last was intrusted the campaign against the Aequi. He was a wrongheaded man, yet he showed it more in the hour of victory than during the campaign. [9] For he was energetic in raising an army and leading it to Bolae, where, after breaking the spirit of the Aequi in some trifling engagements, he finally forced an entrance into the town. He then diverted the quarrel from the enemy to his fellow-citizens; and though he had proclaimed at the time of the attack that the booty should belong to the soldiers, when he had taken the town he broke his promise. [10] This, I am inclined to believe, was the cause of the army's resentment, rather than the fact that in a recently-plundered city inhabited by new settlers, there was less booty than the tribune had predicted. [11] The ill-feeling was increased, when, being sent for by his colleagues on account of tribunician disturbances, he had returned to the City, by a stupid and almost insane remark he was heard to make in an assembly, where Marcus Sextius, a plebeian tribune, in introducing an agrarian measure, announced that he should propose also that colonists be dispatched to Bolae — for it was proper, he said, that the city and lands of the Bolani should belong to those who had captured them in war. “Woe to my soldiers,” exclaimed Postumius, “unless they hold their peace!” [12] — a saying which presently, on being reported to the senators, offended them no less than it had the assembly. And the tribune of the plebs, a keen and not uneloquent man, having got for one of his adversaries a man of haughty spirit and unbridled tongue, whom he could irritate and provoke to say things that would not only make himself disliked but his cause and the entire senate as well, made a point of involving Postumius in a dispute more [13??] often than any other member of the college of military tribunes. On this particular occasion, after that savage and brutal threat, he cried, “Do you hear him, Quirites, threatening his soldiers with punishment like slaves?” [14] Shall this wild beast seem to you, notwithstanding, more deserving of so great an office than those who would present you with a city and with lands, and send you out to colonies; who would provide a home for your old age; who fight for your interests against

these cruel and insolent adversaries? [15] And does it surprise you that so few espouse your cause? What are they to expect of you? Those offices which you give by preference to your opponents, rather than to the champions of the Roman People? [16] You groaned just now when you heard his remark. What of it? If you should be asked to vote this very moment, you would elect this man who threatens you with chastisement in preference to those who wish to secure you lands and houses and fortunes.”

50. When this saying of Postumius reached the troops, it stirred up much greater indignation in the camp: did the man who had fraudulently cut off his soldiers from their spoils also threaten them with punishment? [2] And while they murmured openly, the quaestor Publius Sestius, thinking that the mutiny could be quelled with the same violence which had occasioned it, sent a lictor to arrest a certain brawling soldier; [3] whereupon shouts and objurgations broke forth, and Sestius was hit with a stone and retreated from the scuffle, while the man who had wounded him thundered after him that the quaestor had got what the general had threatened to give his men. [4] Being summoned to deal with this disturbance, Postumius aggravated everything by his harsh inquisitions and savage punishments. Finally his anger got beyond all bounds, and when the shout of those whom he had ordered to be put to death under a hurdle had caused a crowd to gather, he ran down in a frenzy of passion from his tribunal to those who would have interrupted the execution. [5] There, when the lictors and centurions assailed the mob and tried to drive them back, on this side and on that, resentment ran so high that a military tribune was overwhelmed with a volley of stones from his own soldiers. [6] This dreadful deed having been announced in Rome, the tribunes of the soldiers wished to institute a senatorial inquiry into the death of their colleague, but the plebeian tribunes interposed their vetoes. [7] The dispute was closely connected with another struggle. The senators had become apprehensive lest the plebs, what with their fear of investigations and their indignation, should elect military tribunes from their own class; they therefore used all their efforts to have consuls chosen. [8] Since the plebeian tribunes would not allow the resolution of the senate to go through, and also vetoed the election of consuls, the state reverted to an

interregnum. The victory then rested with the senators.

51. Quintus Fabius Vibulanus, acting as interrex, held an election, and Aulus Cornelius Cossus and Lucius Furius Medullinus were chosen consuls. [2] In their consulship, early in the year, a senatorial resolution was passed that the tribunes should bring the investigation of Postumius's murder before the plebs at the earliest possible moment, and that the plebs should appoint whomsoever they wished to have charge of the inquiry. [3] The plebs unanimously referred the matter to the consuls. They accomplished their task with the utmost moderation and leniency, punishing a few only, — and these are generally believed to have committed suicide; — yet [4] they were unable to prevent the transaction from being bitterly resented by the plebs, who complained that the measures which had been proposed in their interests lay all this while neglected, whereas the law that was passed concerning their punishment and their lives was carried out at once, and most effectually. It would have been a very suitable occasion, now that the mutiny had been avenged, to appease their anger by offering to divide the Bolan territory. [5] Had the senators done this, they would have lessened men's desire for the agrarian law which was meant to expel the patricians from their wrongful occupation of the public domain. [6] As it was, a sense of injury was aroused by the very circumstance that the nobility not only persisted in retaining the public lands, which they held by force, but would not even divide among the plebeians the unoccupied ground which had recently been taken from the enemy and would soon, they thought, become, like all the rest, the booty of a few.

[7] The same year the Volsci laid waste the borders of the Hernici, and the legions were led out to meet them by the consul Furius. Not finding the enemy there, they captured Ferentinum, to which a great number of Volsci had retired. [8] There was less plunder there than they had expected, because the Volsci, having small hopes of defending the town, removed their possessions by night and abandoned it; next day, when it was taken, it was practically deserted. The town itself and its territory were given to the Hernici.

52. After this year, which the moderation of the tribunes had made a quiet one, came the plebeian tribuneship of Lucius Icilius, when Quintus Fabius Ambustus and Gaius Furius Paculus were consuls. [2]

While Icilius, at the very outset of the year, was endeavouring to stir up sedition by the promulgation of agrarian laws, as [3??] if it had been the appointed task of his name and family, a pestilence broke out, which, though it was more threatening than fatal, diverted men's thoughts from the Forum and political conflicts to their homes and the care of the sick, and is thought to have been less hurtful than the sedition would have been. [4] The state had escaped with very few deaths, considering the great number of those who had fallen ill, when the year of pestilence was succeeded, in the consulship of Marcus Papirius Atratinus and Gaius Nautius Rutulus, by a scarcity of corn, owing to the neglect of tillage usual at such times. [5] Indeed the famine would have been more baneful than the disease, had they not supplemented the supply of corn by dispatching emissaries to all the peoples round about who dwelt on the Tuscan sea or by the Tiber, to purchase it. [6] The Samnites who held Capua and Cumae insolently refused to permit the envoys to trade with them, but the Sicilian tyrants, on the contrary, lent them generous assistance; and the largest supplies of all were brought down the Tiber, with the hearty goodwill of the Etruscans. [7] The consuls experienced a lack of men in the afflicted City, and, being unable to find more than one senator for an embassy, were obliged to add two knights to each. [8] With the exception of the disease and the shortage of corn, there was no internal or foreign trouble during these two years. But no sooner had these anxieties departed, than there came an outbreak of all the ills which were wont to harass the state, domestic quarrels and war abroad.

53. In the consulship of Marcus Aemilius and Gaius Valerius Potitus the Aequi prepared to go to war, and the Volsci, though they did not take up arms as a nation, made the campaign as volunteers serving for pay. [2] When, on the rumour of their advance, — for they had already crossed over into Latin and Hernican territory, — Valerius the consul was raising troops, and Marcus Menenius, tribune of the plebs and proposer of an agrarian law, was obstructing the levy, and everybody who did not [3??] wish to go was availing himself of the tribune's protection and refusing the oath, on a sudden came the news that the citadel of Carventum had been seized by the enemy. [4] This humiliation not only gave the patricians the means of

stirring up feeling against Menenius, but supplied the rest of the tribunes, who had already been persuaded to veto the agrarian law, with a more justifiable pretext for resisting their colleague. [5] The dispute was long drawn out. The consuls called gods and men to witness that the responsibility for whatever defeat or disgrace had already been or threatened to be visited on them by the enemy would rest with Menenius, because of his interference with the levy; [6] Menenius, on the other hand, protested loudly that if the occupants of the public domain would surrender their illegal possession of it, he was prepared to withdraw his opposition to the muster. At this juncture nine tribunes interposed a resolution which ended the contention. [7] They proclaimed in the name of the college that they would support the consul Gaius Valerius if, in enforcing the levy, he resorted, despite the veto of their colleague, to fines and other forms of coercion against those who refused to serve. [8] Armed with this decree, the consul caused the few who appealed to the tribune to be haled before him; the rest were cowed into taking the oath. [9] The army marched to the citadel of Carventum; and although the soldiers were hated by the consul and returned his hostility, yet the moment they came to the place, they manfully drove out the garrison and recovered the stronghold, which had been laid open to attack by the negligence that had permitted men to slip away from the garrison in quest of booty. [10] There was a considerable accumulation of spoils from this constant raiding, because everything had been heaped up there for safety. All this the consul ordered the quaestors to sell at auction and place the proceeds in the public treasury, giving out word that the army should share in the plunder only when the men had not refused to serve. [11] This increased the enmity of plebs and soldiers towards the consul. [12] And so when he entered the City in an ovation, as the senate had decreed, the soldiers, with military freedom, shouted out rude verses now abusing the consul and now praising Menenius, while at every mention of the tribune's name the enthusiasm of the attendant populace vied with the voices of the men in cheers and applause. [13] This circumstance caused the patricians more anxiety than the sauciness of the soldiers towards the consul, which was virtually an established custom; and as though they made no question that Menenius would be chosen for one of the military

tribunes, if he were a candidate, they held a consular election and so excluded him.

54. The consuls elected were Gnaeus Cornelius Cossus and (for the second time) Lucius Furius Medullinus. [2] Never before had the plebs felt so aggrieved that they were not allowed to choose military tribunes. They showed their disappointment, and likewise avenged it, at the election of quaestors, when plebeians were for the first time chosen to that office; though among the four to be elected room was made for one patrician, Caeso Fabius Ambustus. [3] Three plebeians, Quintus Silius, Publius Aelius, and Publius Pupius, were preferred before young men of the most distinguished families. I find that those who encouraged the people to make so free with their votes were the Icillii. [4] Three members of that family, a family most hostile to the patricians, had been made plebeian tribunes for that year, in consequence of the many great hopes they had held out to the populace, always more than eager to accept such promises. [5] These men had declared that they would make no move in their behalf, if even in the election of quaestors — the only election which the senate had left open to both classes — the people could not find sufficient resolution to accomplish what they had so long wished to do and the laws permitted. [6] And so the plebs felt that they had won a great victory, not estimating the significance of that quaestorship by the limits of the office itself, but feeling that the way to consulships and triumphs was thrown open to new men. [7] The patricians, on the other hand, were as angry as though they had not merely shared their offices with the plebs but had lost them. They said that if such things were to be, it was wrong for them to rear children, who after being driven out from the places of their forefathers would behold others in possession of their honours, and would be left, without power or authority, to serve no other purpose than to offer up sacrifices, as salii and flamens, for the people. [8] The feelings of both sides were overwrought. The plebs had plucked up courage and they had three very distinguished leaders for the popular cause. The patricians, perceiving that every election where the plebs were free to choose either sort of candidate would be like that of the quaestors, strove to bring about a consular election, which was not yet open to both orders. [9] The Icillii, on the contrary, maintained that

military tribunes should be chosen; it was high time, they said, that the plebs were given their share of honours.

55. But the consuls had no measure on foot which the tribunes could oppose and so wring from them what they wanted, when, by a wonderful piece of luck, the Volsci and Aequi were reported to have crossed the border and raided the lands of the Latins and the Hernici. [2] As the consuls, in order to meet this invasion, were commencing to raise an army, in pursuance of a resolution of the senate, the tribunes obstructed the levy with all their might, declaring that the incident had been a fortunate one for the plebeians and themselves. [3] There were three of them, and they were all very active and belonged to a family which might now be called noble, considering that they were plebeians. [4] Two of them assumed the task of keeping constant watch on the consuls, each taking one of them; to the third was given the duty of haranguing the plebs, for the purpose, now of restraining, now of urging them on. The consuls could neither bring about the levy, nor the tribunes the election, they desired. Then, as fortune was inclining to the cause of the plebs, came couriers who reported that while the soldiers who were in garrison at the citadel of Carventum had dispersed to plunder, the Aequi had come, and killing the few guards, had rushed the place. [5] Some of the soldiers had been cut down as they were hurrying back to the fortress, others as they roamed the fields. This national reverse added strength to the contention of the tribunes. It was in vain they were importuned to cease at last their opposition to the war. [6] They yielded neither to the public need nor to men's hatred of themselves, and carried their point — that the senate should pass a decree for the election of military tribunes. It was, however, expressly provided that no one should be accepted as a candidate who had that year been tribune of the plebs, and that no tribune of the Plebs should be re-elected. [7] It is evident that the senate wished to stigmatize the Icili, whom they charged with seeking the consulship as a reward for their seditious conduct while tribunes. [8] The levy was then begun and preparation made for war, with the consent of all the orders. Whether both consuls marched to the citadel of Carventum, or one stayed behind to hold an election, is uncertain in view of the contradictory accounts of the authorities. Thus much is clear (for in this they do not differ), that the

Romans, after a long and futile siege, retired from the citadel of Carventum and recaptured Verrugo, in the Volscian country, with the same army, which spread great devastation both among the Aequi and in the territory of the Volsci, and gathered enormous spoils.

56. At Rome, though the plebeians were so far victorious as to have the election they preferred, yet in the outcome of the election the patricians won the day. [2] For the military tribunes with consular authority were all three, contrary to the universal expectation, chosen from the patricians, viz., Gaius Julius Iulus, Publius Cornelius Cossus, and Gaius Servilius Ahala. [3] The patricians are said to have employed a ruse (and the Icilius taxed them with it at the time), in that they mixed a rabble of unworthy competitors with the deserving, and the disgust which the notorious turpitude of certain of them provoked turned the people against the plebeian candidates.

[4] Then came a rumour that the Volsci and Aequi, whether encouraged by their defence of the citadel of Carventum or angered by the loss of the garrison at Verrugo, had risen in prodigious strength; [5] that the Antiates were the head and front of the war; that their envoys had gone about among the tribes of both races, upbraiding their cowardice in having hidden behind their walls the year before and allowed the Romans to pillage their lands and overwhelm the garrison at Verrugo. [6] They would presently be sending out, not merely armed expeditions across their borders, but colonies too; and not only, they said, had the Romans divided up their possessions amongst themselves, but they had even taken Ferentinum from them and bestowed it on the Hernici. [7] These words aroused indignation, and a number of young men were enlisted wherever the envoys went. So the forces of all the tribes drew together at Antium, where they encamped and waited for the enemy. [8] When these things had been reported at Rome, amid excitement even greater than the situation warranted, the senate at once had recourse to its final counsel in emergencies, and ordered the appointment of a dictator. [9] It is said that Julius and Cornelius resented this, and that a very bitter discussion took place. [10] In vain the leading senators complained that the military tribunes were not amenable to senatorial control, and eventually appealed to the tribunes of the plebs and reminded them that their authority had in a

similar case operated to restrain the consuls. But the tribunes of the plebs were delighted with the want of harmony amongst the senators. [11] They could give no assistance, they said, to men who did not regard them as citizens, or even as human beings. [12] If some day offices were thrown open to all, and they were given a share in the government, they would then see to it that no proud magistrate thwarted the decrees of the senate. [13] Meanwhile let the patricians live with no regard for laws and magistracies, and let the tribunes act as they saw fit.

57. This quarrel, so inopportune at a time when a great war was in hand, had quite taken possession of men's thoughts, and for a long time Julius and Cornelius — first [2] one and then the other — had argued that, since they were themselves quite capable of directing that campaign, it was unfair that they should be summarily deprived of the office which the people had intrusted to them; [3] when Servilius Ahala arose and said that he had been so long silent not because of any doubt as to his opinion — for what good citizen considered his own interests apart from those of the nation? — but because he had wished that his colleagues should of their own free will give in to the senators' authority, instead of suffering the power of the tribunes to be invoked against them. [4] Even then, if the circumstances allowed of it, he would gladly, he said, have given them time to retreat from their too obstinate contention; but since war's necessity did not wait upon man's deliberations, he should place the public welfare above the favour of his colleagues; [5] and if the senate held to its opinion, he should name a dictator that night, contenting himself, if any one vetoed the senate's resolution, with the expression of its wishes. [6] Having by this course gained the well-merited praise and friendly support of all, he named as dictator Publius Cornelius, by whom he was himself appointed master of the horse, thus showing such persons as considered the case of his colleagues and himself that favour and high office sometimes come more easily when men do not covet them. [7] The war was no way noteworthy. In a single battle, and an easy one, they defeated the enemy at Antium. The victorious army laid waste the Volscian country and took by storm a fortress at Lake Fucinus, where three thousand men were taken prisoners, the rest being driven within their

city-walls, leaving their fields defenceless. [8] The dictator, after so conducting the campaign that he seemed barely to have taken advantage of his luck, returned to the City, with more good fortune than renown, and resigned his magistracy. [9] The tribunes of the soldiers, without saying a word about electing consuls, — I suppose because of their indignation at the appointment of a dictator, — proclaimed an election of military tribunes. [10] At that the patricians were more concerned than ever, as they might well be when they saw their cause betrayed by their own fellows. [11] Accordingly, just as in the preceding year they had used the least worthy of the plebeian competitors to arouse a dislike of them all, even the deserving, so at this time, by setting up as candidates the senators of the greatest splendour and popularity, they secured all the places, in order that no plebeian might be chosen. [12] Four men were elected, all of whom had held that office before. They were Lucius Furius Medullinus, Gaius Valerius Potitus, Numerius Fabius Vibulanus, and Gaius Servilius Ahala. This last was continued in office partly for his other good qualities, partly because of the approval he had just gained by his singular moderation.

58. In that year, since the term of the truce with Veii had run out, steps were taken to demand restitution, through ambassadors and fetials. [2] Arriving at the frontier, these men were met by an embassy of the Veientes, who asked them not to proceed to Veii until they themselves should have gone before the Roman senate. The senate, considering that the Veientes were in the throes of civil discord, agreed not to demand a settlement of them; so far were they from taking advantage of another people's difficulties. [3] And in the Volscian country the Romans suffered a disaster, in the loss of their garrison at Verrugo. On that occasion the element of time was of such moment that, although the troops who were being besieged there by the Volsci appealed for help and might have been relieved if their friends had made haste, yet the army dispatched for that purpose only arrived in season to surprise the enemy as they were dispersed in quest of booty, just after putting the garrison to the sword. [4] The delay was due quite as much to the tribunes as to the senate, for they got reports that the garrison was making a strenuous resistance and failed to consider that no valour can transcend the

limits of human endurance. [5] But the heroic soldiers were not unavenged, living or dead.

[6] The following year, when Publius and Gnaeus Cornelius Cossus, Numerius Fabius Ambustus, and Lucius Valerius Potitus were consular tribunes, war broke out with Veii on account of the insolent reply of the Veientine senate, who, when envoys demanded restitution of them, bade them be [7??] answered that unless they got quickly out from their city and their borders, they would give them what Lars Tolumnius had given the others. [8] This angered the Fathers, and they decreed that the military tribunes should propose to the people a declaration of war on the Veientes at the earliest possible day. [9] As soon as this was promulgated, the young men protested loudly that the Volscian war was not yet brought to a conclusion; two garrisons had just been destroyed, and the other outposts were being held at great risk; not a year went by without a pitched battle; [10] and as though they had not troubles enough, a new war was being started with a neighbouring and very powerful people, who were sure to raise all Etruria against them.

This smouldering discontent was fanned into a blaze by the plebeian tribunes. [11] They persistently declared that it was the plebs with whom the senators were chiefly at war; [12] then they deliberately plagued with campaigning and exposed to be slaughtered by the enemy; then they kept at a distance from the City, and assigned to foreign service, lest they might have thoughts, if they remained peaceably at home, of liberty and colonies, and might agitate for public lands or the free use of their votes. [13] And laying hold of veteran soldiers, they enumerated the campaigns of each and his wounds and scars; asking where one could now find a whole place on their bodies to receive fresh wounds, or what blood they had left to shed for their country. [14] When the tribunes by repeating these arguments in their talk and in their speeches had produced in the plebs a reluctance to undertake the war, the authors of the bill put off the time for voting on it, since it was clear that if subjected to the storm of disapproval it would fail to pass.

59. Meantime it was determined that the military tribunes should lead the army into the country of the Volsci; only Gnaeus Cornelius was left in Rome. [2] The three tribunes, on its appearing that the

Volsci had no camp anywhere and did not propose to risk a battle, divided their army into three and advanced in different directions to lay waste the country. [3] Valerius marched upon Antium, Cornelius against Ecetrae, and wherever they went they plundered farms and buildings far and wide, to divide the forces of the Volsci; Fabius led his troops to Anxur, the principal object of their attack, and laid siege to it, without doing any pillaging. [4] Anxur, the Tarracinae of our day, was a city which sloped down towards the marshes. [5] On this side Fabius threatened an assault, while four cohorts marched round under Gaius Servilius Ahala, and seizing the hill which overhangs the city, assailed the walls from this superior position, where there was no force to oppose them, with great noise and confusion. [6] Hearing the din, the soldiers who were defending the lowest part of the town against Fabius were bewildered, and permitted him to bring up scaling-ladders; and soon the whole place was alive with enemies, who for a long time gave no quarter, slaughtering without distinction those who fled and those who resisted, the armed and the unarmed. [7] And so the vanquished, since they could hope for no mercy if they yielded, were compelled to fight; when suddenly the command was given that none should be hurt but those who carried weapons. Thereupon, all the survivors voluntarily laid down their arms, and about twenty-five hundred of them were taken alive. [8] Fabius made his soldiers leave the rest of the spoils until his colleagues could [9??] come up, saying that their armies had helped to capture Anxur by diverting the rest of the Volsci from the defence of that place. [10] When they arrived, the three armies sacked the town, which long years of prosperity had filled with riches. It was this generous treatment on the part of their commanders which first reconciled the plebs to the patricians. [11] In addition to this the senate then granted the people the most seasonable boon which has ever been bestowed on them by the chiefs of the state, when they decreed, without waiting for any suggestion by the plebs or their tribunes, that the soldiers should be paid from the public treasury, whereas till then every man had served at his own costs.

60. Nothing, it is said, was ever welcomed by the plebs with such rejoicing. Crowds gathered at B.C. 406 the Curia and men grasped the hands of the senators as they came out, saying that they were

rightly called Fathers, and confessing that they had brought it to pass that no one, so long as he retained a particle of strength, would grudge his life's blood to so generous a country. [2] Not only were they pleased at the advantage that their property would at least not diminish while their bodies were impressed for the service of the state, but the voluntary character of the offer, which had never been mooted by plebeian tribunes nor extorted by any words of their own, multiplied their satisfaction and increased their gratitude. [3] The tribunes of the plebs were the only persons who did not partake in the general joy and good feeling of both orders. They said that the measure would neither be so agreeable to the Fathers nor so favourable to the whole body of the citizens as the latter believed; it was a plan which at first sight had promised to be better than experience would prove it. [4] For where, they asked, could the money be got together, save by imposing a tribute on the people? The senators had therefore been generous at other men's expense; and even though everyone else should submit to it, those who had already earned their discharge would not endure that others should serve on better terms than they had themselves enjoyed, and that the same men who had paid their own expenses should also contribute to the expenses of others. [5] By these arguments they influenced a part of the plebs. Finally, when the assessment had already been proclaimed, the tribunes even announced that they would protect anybody who should refuse to contribute to a tax for paying the soldiers. [6] The Fathers had made a good beginning and persevered in supporting it. They were themselves the first to contribute, and since there was as yet no silver coinage, some of them brought uncoined bronze in waggons to the treasury, and even made a display of their contributing. [7] After the senators had paid most faithfully, according to their rating, the chief men of the plebs, friends of the nobles, began, as had been agreed, to bring in their quota. [8] When the crowd saw that these men were applauded by the patricians and were looked upon as good citizens by those of military age, they quickly rejected the protection of the tribunes and vied with one another who should be the first to pay. [9] And on the law being passed declaring war on the Veientes, an army consisting in great part of volunteers marched, under command of the new military

tribunes, upon that city.

61. Now the tribunes were Titus Quinctius Capitolinus, Quintus Quinctius Cincinnatus, Gaius Julius Iulus (for the second time), Aulus Manlius, Lucius Furius Medullinus (for the third time), and Manius Aemilius Mamercus. [2] By them Veii was for the first time besieged. Shortly after this siege began, the Etruscans held a numerously attended council at the shrine of Voltumna, but could reach no decision as to whether the entire nation should go to war in defence of the Veientes. [3] The siege languished during the year that followed, for some of the tribunes and a part of the army were called away to fight the Volsci.

[4] The military tribunes with consular powers for this year were Gaius Valerius Potitus (for the third time), Manius Sergius Fidenas, Publius Cornelius Maluginensis, Gnaeus Cornelius Cossus, Gaius Fabius Ambustus, and (for the second time) Spurius Nautius Rutulus. [5] A pitched battle was fought with the Volsci between Ferentinum and Ecetra, in which fortune favoured the Romans. The tribunes then laid siege to Artena, a Volscian town. [6] While attempting a sortie the enemy were driven back into the city and afforded the Romans an opportunity of forcing an entrance, so that the whole place, except the citadel, was captured; to this fortress, which was naturally strong, a band of armed men retired; below the citadel a large number were killed or taken prisoner. [7] The citadel was then besieged, but could neither be taken by assault, having a sufficient garrison in proportion to its area, nor appeared likely to surrender, for the whole public store of grain had been conveyed into the fortress before the capture of the town. The Romans would have withdrawn, discouraged, had not a slave betrayed the place into their hands. [8] This man admitted some soldiers by way of a steep approach, and they captured it and slew the sentries; whereupon the rest of the garrison was seized with a sudden panic and surrendered. [9] After demolishing the citadel and the town of Artena, the legions were withdrawn from the Volsci and all the might of Rome was brought to bear upon Veii. [10] The traitor was given the property of two families as a reward, besides his liberty, and was named Servius Romanus. There are those who think that Artena had belonged to the Veientes, not to the Volsci. [11] Their mistake is due to the fact that there was a city of the same name

between Caere and Veii; but this place was destroyed by the Roman kings, and it had been a dependency of Caere, not of Veii; the other town of the same name, whose overthrow I have just related, was in Volscian territory.

SUMMARY OF BOOK IV

A LAW about the marriage of patricians and plebeians was carried by the tribunes, after a violent struggle, against the opposition of the patricians. The tribunes . . . of the plebs. For some years the affairs of the Roman People at home and in the field were administered through this kind of magistracy. Likewise censors were then elected for the first time. The land taken from the Ardeates by the decision of the people was restored and colonists were sent out to it. When the Roman People was in sore straits on account of a famine, Spurius Maelius, a Roman knight, distributed corn to the people at his own expense. Having by this act gained the favour of the plebs, he aimed at royal power and was killed by Gaius Servilius Ahala, the master of the horse, at the command of the dictator Quintus Cincinnatus; Lucius Minucius gave evidence against him and was presented with a gilded ox. When the envoys of the Romans had been slain by the Fidenates, because they had fallen in the service of the state, statues were erected to them on the rostra. Cornelius Cossus, the military tribune, killed Tolumnius, king of the Veientes, and returned with the second spoils of honour. Mamercus Aemilius, the dictator, limited the office of censor, which was wont to be held for five years, to the period of eighteen months; for this he was stigmatized by the senators. Fidenae was subjugated and colonists were sent thither; the Fidenates, having slain these men and revolted, were defeated by Mamercus Aemilius the dictator, and Fidenae was captured. A conspiracy of the slaves was suppressed. Postumius, the military tribune, was for his cruelty put to death by his army. Pay from the public treasury was then for the first time given the soldiers. It contains also campaigns waged against the Volsci and the Fidenates and the Faliscans.

BOOK V

Translated by B. O. Foster

1. Peace was now established elsewhere, but Romans and Veientes were at war, and their rage and animosity were such that the end was clearly at hand for those that should be vanquished. Each people held an election very different from that of the other. [2] The Romans enlarged the number of their military tribunes with consular authority, and elected eight, a greater number than ever before, to wit, Manius Aemilius Mamercus (for the second time), Lucius Valerius Potitus (for the third), Appius Claudius Crassus, Marcus Quinctilius Varus, Lucius Julius Iulus, Marcus Postumius, Marcus Furius Camillus, Marcus Postumius Albinus. [3] But the Veientes, weary of annual canvassing, which was sometimes the cause of brawls, chose a king. This gave offence to the feelings of the Etruscan peoples, who loathed not more the institution of kings than the King himself. [4] He had for some time been hateful to the nation by reason of his wealth and arrogance, since he had violently broken up a solemn festival, which it is impious to interrupt, in his resentment of a political rebuff; [5] and because the suffrages of the Twelve Peoples had returned another man as priest in preference to him, he had suddenly carried off the actors, most of whom were his own slaves, in the middle of the games. [6] And so the nation which was devoted beyond all others to religious rites (and all the more because it excelled in the art of observing them) voted to refuse its help to the men of Veii, so long as they should obey a king. [7] This vote the Veientes would not suffer to be mentioned, in their fear of the King, who had a way of treating the man by whom any such saying was reported as a leader in sedition, not as the bearer of an idle tale. [8] Although the Romans got word that things were quiet in Etruria, still, because they [9??] heard that this question came up at all their meetings, they so constructed their works as to have a double fortification, one facing Veii, to oppose the sallies of the townsfolk, the other confronting Etruria, to shut off any assistance that might come from thence.

2. As the Roman generals hoped more from a siege than from an assault, they even began the erection of winter quarters — a new thing to the Roman soldier — and planned to carry the campaign on, straight through the winter. [2] When news of this came to Rome, to the plebeian tribunes, who had now for a long time been unable to [3??] hit upon any pretext for agitation, they hurried before the assembly and set to work upon the passions of the commons: So this was the reason that the soldiers had been granted pay! [4] They had not been mistaken in thinking that this gift of their opponents would be smeared with poison. The liberty of the commons had been sold; the young men, having been permanently removed and banished from the City and from the state, were no longer free, even in winter and the stormy season, to see to their homes and their affairs. [5] What, they asked, did their hearers suppose to be the reason for making the service continuous? They would assuredly find no other motive than this: [6] lest, through the presence in large numbers of the young men in whom lay all the vigour of the commons, something might be accomplished for the people's good. Moreover, they were far more ruthlessly abused and trodden down than [7??] were the Veientes, who, for their part, spent the winter in their houses, safeguarding their city by means of strong walls and natural defences, whilst the Roman soldiers were enduring toil and danger, overwhelmed with snows and frosts, in tents, not even laying aside their weapons in the winter time, a season of respite from all wars both by land and by sea. [8] Such slavery as this neither kings, nor the proud consuls who came before the establishment of the tribunician power, nor the stern authority of a dictator, nor harsh decemvirs, had laid upon them, — that they should wage perennial war. [9] Pray what would those men do if they should become consuls or dictators, who had made the semblance of consular authority so savage and truculent? But the commons were only getting their deserts. There had been no room even amongst eight military tribunes for a single plebeian. [10] Heretofore the patricians had been wont with the utmost exertion to fill three places in a year: now they were advancing eight abreast to make good their authority, and there was never a commoner hanging on to the crowd, were it only to remind his colleagues that their soldiers were not slaves but freemen and fellow

citizens; [11] whom, at least in winter, they were bound to bring back to the shelter of their houses, and to leave them some portion of the year to [12??] look after their parents, their children, and their wives, and to use their liberty and elect magistrates.

[13] As they shouted forth these and suchlike arguments, they found an opponent not unequal to them in Appius Claudius, whom his colleagues had left behind to repress sedition on the part of the tribunes. [14] He was a man experienced from his youth up in contentions with the plebs, and I have related how, some years before, he had advised that the intervention of their colleagues be used to break the power of the tribunes.

3. The man not only had a nimble wit but was already a practised orator, and he delivered on this occasion a speech to the following effect: [2] "If it has ever been a question, Quirites, whether it was for your sake or their own that the tribunes of the commons have always encouraged sedition, I am certain that the doubt has this year been resolved; [3] and not only do I rejoice that you have at length cleared up a long misunderstanding, but I congratulate both you, - and on your account the state as well, that it has: happened at a time, of all others, when your affairs are prospering. [4] Or is there anyone who doubts that no wrongs which you have suffered, if haply such there have sometimes been, have ever so offended and stirred up the plebeian tribunes as has the boon which the Fathers bestowed upon the commons, when they granted pay for military service? [5] What else do you believe they were afraid of then, or are seeking now to shatter, but the harmony of the orders, which they regard as very apt to overthrow the tribunician authority? [6] Indeed they are like quack-salvers seeking employment, since they desire that there should always be some disease in the body politic, that there may be something which you may call them in to cure. [7] Pray, are you tribunes defending the commons, or attacking them? Are you adversaries of the soldiers, or their advocates? [8] Or perhaps this is your plea: 'Whatever the Fathers do displeases us, be it in behalf of the commons or against them'; and just as masters forbid outsiders to have aught to do with their slaves, and think it right that they should abstain alike from benefiting and from harming them, so you deny the Fathers intercourse with the commons, lest we by our friendliness

and liberality encourage them, or they become dutiful and obedient to us. [9] How much more, if you had in you the slightest — I say not patriotism, but — humanity, ought you rather to have favoured, and, so far as in you lay, to have encouraged the kindly spirit of the Fathers and the complaisance of the plebs? [10] And if this harmony should last, who would not make bold to warrant that our empire would soon be the greatest among the neighbouring peoples?

4. “I shall presently explain, in regard to this plan of my colleagues, who have not been willing to withdraw the army from Veii with its task unaccomplished, — how not merely profitable but even necessary it was. [2] But first I wish to speak about the actual condition of the soldiers; and I think that if I should express my meaning not in your presence only but also in the camp, the army itself would judge it reasonable. Indeed, though I were unable to think of anything to urge myself, I could be quite content with the speeches of my opponents. [3] They were lately insisting that pay ought not to be given to the men, because it never had been given. How then can they object, if to those who have gained some new advantage be allotted new labour also, in proportion. [4] Nowhere, as a rule, is service given without recompense, nor recompense except for service; toil and pleasure, most unlike in nature, have been linked together in a sort of natural bond. [5] Formerly the soldier was vexed that he must serve the state at his own cost; yet he was happy to be able, for a half of the year, to till his own field and gain the means of keeping himself and his family, whether he were at home or with the army. [6] Now he is happy that the state affords him gain, and is glad to receive his pay. Let him therefore be resigned to remaining away a little longer from his home and his property, which is now under no heavy charges. [7] Why, if the commonwealth should call him to a reckoning, would it not justly say, ‘You have a year’s stipend, render a year’s service; do you think it right that for a campaign of six months you should receive the pay of twelve?’ [8] I dislike to dwell upon this point, Quirites; for it is thus that men who employ mercenaries ought to argue; we would deal as though with fellow citizens, and we think it only right that you deal with us as with your native country. [9] Either we ought not to have undertaken the war, or we ought to conduct it as befits the Roman People, and end it as

quickly as possible. [10] And we shall end it, if we press our beleaguered foes, and quit them not till we have fulfilled our hopes and captured Veii. Truly, if there were no other reason, the very indignity of the thing should compel us to persist! [11] Did all Greece once, for one woman's sake, war ten years against a city so far from home, with all those lands and seas between? [12] And does it irk us, being less than twenty miles away and almost within sight of Rome, to maintain a siege for a single year? Doubtless our reason for fighting is a trivial one, and we have no proper and sufficient grievance to incite us to persevere! [13] Seven times have they renewed the war; never have they kept faith in peace; our fields they have pillaged a thousand times; they forced the Fidenates to forsake us; our settlers there they put to death; [14] it was they who instigated, in violation of the law of nations, the impious murder of our envoys; they sought to raise up all Etruria against us, and they are striving to this end to-day; when our ambassadors sought redress they well-nigh did them bodily injury.

5. "With such enemies ought we to wage a fainthearted and dilatory war? If so just grounds of resentment have no power to move us, pray have the following considerations none? [2] The city is hemmed in with vast siege-works, which confine the enemy within his walls; he has not cultivated his land, and what was cultivated has been laid waste in the war; [3] if we bring our army back, who can doubt that not only a desire for revenge, but also necessity, constraining them to plunder others since they have lost their own possessions, will cause them to invade our territory? So we are not postponing the war, if we act on your advice, but are receiving it within our own borders. [4] And what of that matter which specially concerns the soldiers, whom the worthy plebeian tribunes formerly wished to rob of their pay, but are now desirous of protecting? How does it stand with them? [5] The rampart and the trench, each involving prodigious toil, they have carried all that distance; forts they erected only a few at first, but since then, with the growth of the army, they have built very many; they have thrown up earthworks, not only against the city, but also facing Etruria, if any aid should come from that side; what need to speak of towers, mantlets, penthouses, and the rest of the equipment for storming towns? [6]

When they have expended all this labour, and the end of their task is at last in sight, do you: vote for abandoning these things, that when summer comes they may sweat and toil again to produce them afresh? [7] How much less effort it requires to guard what is already made, and to press on and persevere and put an end to our anxiety! For surely it is- a thing soon done, if we carry it through without stopping, and do not ourselves drag out our hopes with these interruptions and delays. [8] I talk of the loss of time and labour; what of the danger that we run by putting off the war? Do -the frequent debates in Etruria about the dispatch of succours to Veii allow us to forget it? [9] Just now they are angry and resentful, and declare that they will send none; for all they care, we may capture Veii. But who is to guarantee that if we postpone the campaign they will hereafter feel the same: [10] since if you slacken, a greater and more numerous embassy will set out, and since what now offends the Etruscans — the setting up of a king at Veii — may be altered with the lapse of time or by agreement of the citizens, to the end that thereby they may regain the goodwill of Etruria; or with the consent of the King himself, who would not wish his sovereignty to hurt the safety of his people? [11] See how many undesirable consequences attend that line of policy: the loss of works constructed with such effort; the imminent devastation of our fields; the Etruscans, instead of the Veientes only, aroused to war with us. [12] It is thus, tribunes, that you would manage matters, much as though in dealing with a sick man, who if he would undergo a strict regimen might begin at once to recover, you should protract his illness and perhaps render it incurable, by indulging his immediate desire for meat and drink.

6. “If it were of no moment to this war, it was yet, I assure you, of the utmost importance for military discipline that our soldiers become accustomed not only to pluck a victory within their grasp, but [2??] if a campaign should be even more protracted, to put up with the tedium and await the outcome of their hopes, however long-deferred; and if a war be not finished in a summer, to stay for winter, nor, like birds of passage, cast about at once, on the approach of autumn, for shelter and covert. [3] Do the eagerness, pray, and delight that men have in hunting carry them through snow and frost into the mountains and the forests; and shall not we use in the stress of war

the same resolution which even sport and pleasure are wont to call out? [4] Do we think the bodies of our soldiers so effeminate, their hearts so faint, that they cannot endure to be one winter in camp, away from home; that like sailors they must wage war with an eye on the weather, observing the seasons, incapable of withstanding heat or cold? [5] They would certainly blush if anyone should charge them with this, and would maintain that manly endurance was in their souls and bodies, and that they could campaign as well in winter as in summer; that they had given the tribunes no commission to protect softness and idleness; and that they were mindful that their grandsires had not founded the tribunician power in the shade or under roofs.

[6] “It is due to the valour of your soldiers, it is due to the Roman name, that you should look not merely to Veii and this present war that is upon us, but should seek for the years to come a reputation that will serve you in other wars and amongst all other nations. [7] Do you suppose there will be no great difference in men’s opinion of us, whether our neighbours conclude the Roman People to be such, that if a city withstand the brunt of their first assault for a very brief time, it need thenceforward have no fears; [8] or whether our name inspire such dread, that men believe that once a Roman army has sat down before a town, it will never budge, either from the weariness of a protracted siege or from the rigours of winter, that it knows no other end of war but victory, and relies in its campaigns not more on swiftness than on perseverance? [9] For perseverance, needful in every kind of warfare, is especially so in besieging cities, since fortifications and natural advantages make most of them impregnable, and time itself subdues them, with hunger and thirst, and captures them, as it [10??] shall capture Veii, unless the plebeian tribunes help our enemies, and the Veientes find in Rome those succours which they are seeking to no purpose in Etruria.

[11] “Could anything happen which would so please the Veientes as that factions should spring up, first in the City of Rome, and then, as though by contagion, in the camp? [12] But our enemies, by Heaven, are so well disciplined that no weariness of the blockade nor even of kingly rule has occasioned the smallest revolt among them; neither has the Etruscans’ denial of help provoked their spirit; for

whosoever prompts sedition shall forthwith die the death; [13] nor shall any man there have licence to say what is said with impunity to you. [14] Death by cudgelling is the wage of him who forsakes the standards or quits his post; but those who advise the men to abandon their standards and desert the camp gain a hearing, not with one or two soldiers, but with whole armies, openly, in public meetings; [15] so accustomed are you to hear with complacency whatever a tribune says, even if it tends to betray the City and to undo the state; and captivated by the charm of that authority, you suffer any wickedness whatsoever to lurk beneath it. [16] It only remains for them to utter in camp and in the presence of the soldiers the view which they noisily publish here, and to corrupt the armies and not to suffer them to obey their leaders. [17] For in the upshot liberty has come to mean at Rome, that a man respect neither senate nor magistrates, nor laws, nor ancestral customs, nor institutions of the fathers, nor military discipline.”

7. Appius was already holding his own with the tribunes of the plebs, even in public meetings, when a sudden disaster, from a source which could least have been anticipated, befell the army before Veii, giving Appius the advantage in the argument, while it increased the mutual good-will of the orders and their ardour for a more vigorous prosecution of the siege. [2] For when they had pushed forward the terrace towards the town, and had all but brought the mantlets into contact with the walls, — more intent upon erecting their works by day than on guarding them by night, — the [3] gate was suddenly flung open, and a vast horde, most of them armed with torches, hurled fire on the works, and in an hour’s time terrace and mantlets, that had taken so long to make, were consumed in the flames; and many men perished by the sword or the fire, in vain efforts to save them. [4] When the news of this came to Rome, it filled the City with sadness, the senate with anxiety and apprehension, lest they might now indeed be unable to check the disaffection, either in the City or the camp, and the tribunes might crow over the commonwealth as though they had overthrown it; when lo! [5] those who were of equestrian rating, but had not received horses from the state, having first taken counsel together, came to the senate, and being granted a hearing, volunteered to serve on their own horses. [6]

These men had no sooner received a vote of thanks from the senate, in the most honourable terms, and the report of it had spread to the Forum and the City, than the plebeians suddenly ran together to the Curia, and: [7] declared that it was now the turn of the foot-soldiers to proffer extraordinary service to the state, whether it would have them march to Veii, or anywhere else; [8] if they should be led to Veii, they promised that they would not quit their ground until they had taken the enemy's city. [9] Then indeed the senate could scarce control its already overflowing joy; for they did not, as with the knights, issue an order to the magistrates to thank them, nor did they call them into the Curia to receive an answer, neither did the senate keep within the House; but each for himself cried out from above, to the multitude standing in the Comitium, and by speech and gesture signified the general joy. [10] Rome was blest, they said, and invincible and eternal, by reason of this noble harmony; they praised the knights, they praised the plebeians, they extolled the very day itself, and confessed that the courtesy and good-will of the senate had been surpassed. [11] Fathers and commoners mingled their tears of joy, till the Fathers were recalled into the senate-house, and [12??] decreed that the military tribunes should hold an assembly and thank the infantry and the knights, and say to them that the senate would remember their loyalty to their country, and that it was voted that all who had volunteered to serve out of their due order should receive pay. [13] The knights, too, were granted a definite money allowance. Then for the first time cavalry-men began to serve on their own horses. The volunteer army, having marched to Veii, not only replaced the works that had been lost, but added new ones. The city dispatched provisions with more than its former zeal, that nothing might be lacking to an army that had deserved so well.

8. The ensuing year had for consular tribunes Gaius Servilius Ahala (for the third time), Quintus Servilius, Lucius Verginius, Quintus Sulpicius, Aulus Manlius (for the second time), and Manius Sergius (for the second time). In their term of office, while everyone was intent on the war with Veii, the garrison at Anxur was neglected; [2] soldiers were given furlough, Volscian traders were admitted without discrimination, and, the sentinels at the gates being suddenly overpowered, the town was taken. [3] Not many soldiers perished,

because they were all, except the sick, occupied, like sutlers, with trafficking in the country-side and the towns near by. [4] Nor were things any better at Veii, which was at that time the nation's chief concern; for the Roman commanders showed more jealousy of one another than spirit in dealing with the enemy, whose forces moreover were enlarged by the unexpected accession of the Capenates and the Faliscans. [5] These two Etruscan peoples, being nearest in situation, believed that if the Veientes were conquered it would be their turn next to face a Roman invasion. The Faliscans, besides, had incurred hostility on their own account, because they had been mixed up before in the war with Fidenae. [6] So they exchanged embassies, bound themselves by an oath, and their armies suddenly appeared before Veii. It happened that they attacked the camp at that point where the tribune Manius Sergius was in command, and great was the terror they inspired, since the Romans thought that all Etruria had risen and was come with a mighty array against them. [7] The same belief roused up the Veientes in the town. Thus a two-fold attack was directed against the camp. [8] The soldiers rallied into groups, facing now this way and now that, yet were unable either quite to confine the Veientes within the siege-lines, or to ward off the attack upon their own defences and protect themselves from the enemy outside. Their only hope was if help should come from the larger camp, so that the legions might face different ways, some of them confronting the Capenates and Faliscans, and others the sortie of the townsfolk. [9] But that camp was under the command of Verginius, who was privately hated by Sergius and returned his enmity. [10] This man, though word was brought that many bastions had been stormed and the ramparts scaled, and that the enemy were attacking on both sides, held his troops under arms, saying that if his colleague needed help he would let him know. [11] His pride found a match in the other's obstinacy, and Sergius, lest he should seem to have required any aid of his rival, preferred defeat at the hands of the enemy to victory gained through a fellow citizen. [12] For a long time the Romans were slaughtered between the two attacking armies; finally they abandoned their works, and a very few escaped into the larger camp, while Sergius himself, with the chief part of his men, kept on to Rome. It was there decided, on his throwing all the blame upon his

colleague, to summon Verginius from camp, and in the meanwhile put lieutenants in command of it. [13] The affair was then debated in the senate and the colleagues heaped abuse on one another. There were but few who spoke for the commonwealth: most of them argued for one or the other disputant, according as each was swayed by private interest or favour.

9. The leading senators held, that whether the fault or the misfortune of the commanders were the cause of this shameful disaster, they ought not to await the regular time for elections, but proceed at once to choose new military tribunes, to begin their magistracy on the first of October. [2] While the members were voting for this proposal, the other military tribunes raised no objection; [3] but of all people Sergius and Verginius, the very men on account of whom it was evident that the senate was disgusted with the magistrates of that year, first begged to be spared the humiliation, then vetoed the senate's decree, declaring that they would not resign their authority before the thirteenth of December, the accustomed day for entering upon office. [4] Whereupon the tribunes of the plebs, who so long as harmony prevailed and the affairs of the City prospered, had reluctantly held their tongues, suddenly broke out and threatened the tribunes of the soldiers, that unless they submitted to the senate they would send them to prison. [5] Then Gaius Servilius Ahala, a military tribune, said: "So far as concerns you, tribunes of the commons, and your menaces, I should indeed willingly put it to the proof how you have in your threats as little legality as courage; but it is impious to oppose the authority of the senate. [6] Accordingly do you give over seeking in our quarrels occasion for working mischief, and my colleagues shall either do as the senate decrees, or if they persist in stubborn opposition, I will forthwith name a dictator, to compel them to lay down their authority." [7] This speech was universally approved, and the Fathers rejoiced that they needed not the trumpery threats of the tribunician power, but had found another and a greater force to coerce the magistrates; [8] and the latter, overborne by the unanimity of feeling, held an election of military tribunes, to begin service on October the first, and before that date resigned their office.

10. The consular tribuneship of Lucius Valerius Potitus (for the

fourth term), Marcus Furius Camillus (for the second), Manius Aemilius Mamercus (for the third), Gnaeus Cornelius Cossus (for the second), Caeso Fabius Ambustus, and Lucius Julius Iulus, was a time of great activity both at home and in the field. [2] For they made war at many points simultaneously, before Veii, at Capena, at Falerii, and in the Volscian country — to recover Anxur from the enemy; — and [3] in Rome both the levy and the payment of the war-tax occasioned difficulties, a quarrel sprang up over the co-optation of plebeian tribunes, and the trials: of the two who had lately exercised consular powers aroused no small commotion. [4] The first concern of the military tribunes was to levy troops, and they not only enrolled the younger men, but also compelled the seniors to enlist for service in guarding the City. But the more they increased the number of the soldiers, the more money they required for pay. [5] This they tried to collect by taxation; but those who remained at home contributed with reluctance, because they had also in defence of the City to perform the labour of soldiers and serve the commonwealth. [6] To make this obligation, heavy in itself, seem yet more grievous, the tribunes of the plebs delivered seditious speeches, in which they alleged that the senators had established pay for the troops for this reason, that they might ruin one half of the plebs with fighting and the other half with taxation. [7] They were now drawing out a single war into its third year, and were purposely misconducting it, that they might conduct it the longer. Again, with one levy they had enrolled armies for four wars, and had haled away even boys and old men. [8] Now they were confounding winter with summer, to allow no rest ever to the unhappy commons, on whom finally they had even imposed a tax; [9] that when they should drag home their bodies spent with toil, with wounds, and at last with old age, and should then find all things gone to waste in the long absence of the owners, they might pay tribute out of their diminished property, and return to the state many times, as it were with usury, the wages they had received as soldiers.

[10] What with the levy and the tax and the weightier cares that preoccupied men's minds, they were unable on the day of election to return the full number of plebeian tribunes. [11] An effort was then made to obtain the co-optation of patricians for the vacant places. When this failed, nevertheless, in order to invalidate the law, it was

brought about that Gaius Lacerius and Marcus Acutius should be chosen tribunes, without doubt through patrician influence.

11. It so happened that in that year one of the tribunes was Gnaeus Trebonius, whose name and family seemed to make it his duty to defend the Trebonian law. [2] This man said that what the Fathers had formerly aimed at (and had been foiled on their first attempting), the tribunes of the soldiers had finally extorted; he asseverated that the Trebonian law had been done away with, and that the tribunes of the plebs had been appointed not by the votes of the people but at the dictation of the nobles; [3] that things had come to such a pass, that they must perforce have either patricians or the satellites of patricians for tribunes of the plebs; their sacred laws were being taken away, the tribunician power wrested from them. [4] This was done, he declared, by the knavery of the patricians, the rascality and the treason of his colleagues.

Men were burning with resentment, not only against the patricians, but also against the tribunes of the plebs, both those who had been co-opted and those who had co-opted them, when three of the college, Publius Curatius, Marcus Metilius, and Marcus Minucius, being alarmed at their own situation, I fell violently upon Sergius and Verginius, the military tribunes of the previous year, and by appointing them a day for trial turned against them the anger and displeasure which the plebs had evinced towards themselves. [5] They reminded their hearers, that those who were aggrieved by the levy, or the tax, or the protracted service and the long duration of the war, those who sorrowed for the calamity that befell at Veii, those whose houses were in mourning for the loss of sons, brothers, kinsmen or connexions, — that [6] all those now had the right and the power, thanks to the speakers, of avenging the nation's grief and their own private sorrow on the two culprits; for of all their sufferings Sergius and Verginius were the cause; [7] and this their accusers were not more forward to maintain than the defendants to confess, who, equally guilty, threw the blame on one another, Verginius taxing Sergius with his flight, while Sergius complained of Verginius's treachery. [8] Their madness had been so incredible, that it was much more probable that they had done the thing upon agreement, with the collusion of the senators; [9] who having before given opportunity to

the Veientes to set fire to their works, in order to prolong the war, had now betrayed the army and delivered up a Roman camp to the Faliscans. [10] They were doing everything to wear out the young men before Veii, and prevent the tribunes from bringing before the people the question of land and other advantages to the plebs, and from pushing their measures in well-attended assemblies and thwarting the conspiracy of the patricians. [11] Judgment was already given against the accused both by the senate and by the Roman People, and also by their own college; for the senate had by its decree removed them from authority, and when they refused to abdicate their office, their colleagues had coerced them by threatening to appoint a dictator, and the Roman People had elected tribunes to assume their duties, not on the thirteenth of December, the usual date, but immediately, on October the first, believing that the state could endure no longer if the incumbents should remain in place; [12] yet, in spite of all, these men, stigmatized and fore-judged by so many adverse verdicts, presented themselves for trial by the people, and fancied that they were quit and sufficiently mulcted because they were made private citizens two months before their time; [13] not perceiving that they had then merely been deprived of the power to do further mischief, not punished, since their colleagues, too, were turned out of office, though they had certainly done no wrong. [14] Let the Quirites call back the spirit they had shown when the recent calamity had occurred, when they had beheld the flight and confusion of their troops, as they stumbled, wounded and dismayed, through the City gates, accusing neither fortune nor any of the gods, but these their leaders. [15] They were sure that there was not a man present in the assembly who had not on that day cursed and execrated the lives, the houses, and the fortunes of Lucius Verginius and Manius Sergius. [16] It was not reasonable that their hearers, having a legal and moral right in the matter, should not use their power against those upon whom each one of them had invoked the wrath of Heaven. The gods themselves never laid hands upon the guilty; it was enough if they armed with an opportunity for vengeance those who had been wronged.

12. Incited by these speeches, the plebs condemned the accused to pay each a fine of 10,000 pounds of bronze. It was in vain that

Sergius blamed Fortune and the common chance of war, while Verginius begged that he might [2??] not be more unlucky at home than he had been in the campaign. [3] On them the wrath of the people was poured out, and the co-optation of the tribunes and the evasion of the Trebonian law were almost forgotten.

[4] The victorious tribunes, that the plebs might have an immediate reward for its judgment, proposed a land-law and forbade the gathering of the war-tax, notwithstanding that pay was needed for so many armies, whose campaigning, though successful, yet failed to realize the desired end in any war. [5] Thus, at Veii, they recovered the lost camp and strengthened it with fortresses and garrisons, led by the military tribunes Manius Aemilius and Caeso Fabius; Marcus Furius in the Faliscan country, and Gnaeus Cornelius in the territory of Capena, meeting no enemies afield, drove off booty, and burning farmhouses and crops, laid waste the land, but the towns they neither assaulted nor besieged; [6] in the Volscian country, however, after ravaging the fields, they made a futile attack on Anxur, which was seated on an eminence, and finding force to be unavailing, began to invest it with a stockade and trench, under Valerius Potitus, who had got the command against the Volsci.

[7] While military affairs were in this posture, a quarrel that broke out at home aroused more energy than went to their making of wars; and since the tax could not be taken up, on account of the tribunes, and the generals were sent no money, while the soldiers were clamouring for their pay, the camp, too, was like to have been disrupted by the contagion of mutiny in the City. [8] In the midst of this hostility which the plebs felt towards the patricians, though the plebeian tribunes said that the time was now come to establish liberty, and to transfer the highest office from such as Sergius and Verginius to [9??] stout and courageous commoners, yet they got no further than the election of one plebeian (by way of asserting their right), namely, Publius Licinius Calvus, to be military tribune with consular powers; [10] the others chosen were patricians: Publius Manlius, Lucius Titinius, Publius Maelius, Lucius Furius Medullinus, Lucius Publilius Volscus. [11] The plebeians themselves were amazed that they had gained so important a point, and not alone the man who had been chosen, one that had held no offices before,

but was only a senator of long standing, now well on in years. [12] There is no unanimity of opinion why he was selected as the first and fittest to taste of the new honours. Some think it was the favour of his cousin Gnaeus Cornelius, who as tribune of the soldiers the year before had granted triple pay to the cavalrymen, ‘ that got him his promotion to so great an office; others, that he himself made a timely speech on the harmony of the orders, which pleased both patricians and plebeians. [13] Overjoyed at their victory in this election, the tribunes of the plebs withdrew that opposition to the tax which was the greatest obstacle to the business of the state, and it was obediently paid in and dispatched to the army.

13. Anxur of the Volsci was speedily recaptured, a holiday having relaxed the vigilance of their guard. This year was remarkable for so cold and snowy a winter, that the roads were blocked and the Tiber became unnavigable. The price of corn, owing to the supply which they had brought in before, did not go up. [2] Publius Licinius had obtained his magistracy without any disorders, rejoicing the commons more than he offended the patricians, and in the same spirit he conducted it; the people therefore became desirous of returning plebeians at the next election of consular tribunes. [3] Marcus Veturius was the sole patrician candidate to get in; all the other military tribunes with consular authority were commoners, as the result of an all but unanimous vote of the centuries. Their names were Marcus Pomponius, Gnaeus Duillius, Volero Publilius, Gnaeus Genucius, Lucius Atilius

[4] The severe winter was succeeded, whether in consequence of the sudden change from such inclement weather to the opposite extreme, or for some other reason, by a summer that was noxious and baleful to all living creatures. [5] Unable to discover what caused the incurable ravages of this distemper, or would put an end to them, the senate voted to consult the Sibylline Books. [6] The duumvirs in charge of the sacred rites then celebrated the first lectisternium ever held in Rome, and for the space of eight days sacrificed to Apollo, to Latona and Diana, to Hercules, to Mercury and to Neptune, spreading three couches for them with all the splendour then attainable. [7] They also observed the rite in their homes. All through the City, they say, doors stood wide open, all kinds of viands were

set out for general consumption, all comers were welcomed, whether known or not, and men even exchanged kind and courteous words with personal enemies; there was a truce to quarrelling and litigation; [8] even prisoners were loosed from their chains for those days, and they scrupled thenceforth to imprison men whom the gods had thus befriended.

Meantime alarms were multiplied at Veii, where three wars were rolled into one. [9] For, precisely as before, the Capenates and the Faliscans came suddenly to raise the siege, and the Romans fought about their works against three armies, which attacked them on both sides. What helped them most, was the recollection how Sergius and Verginius had been condemned. [10] And so from the principal camp, where the delay had occurred on the former occasion, troops were dispatched by a short circuit and fell upon the Capenates in the rear, as they faced the rampart of the Romans. [11] Beginning there, the battle carried terror even among the Faliscans, who were wavering, when a timely sally from the camp put them to flight. Then, as they retreated, the victors pursued them with great slaughter; [12] and not long after a party that was raiding the territory of the Capenates happened to fall in with them and destroyed such as had survived the battle. [13] Of the Veientes likewise, many, as they fled back to the town, were slain before the gates, when their friends, fearing lest the Romans should burst in along with them, had closed the portals, and barred out the hindmost of their own people.

14. Such were the events of this year. And now the time drew near for choosing military tribunes and the Fathers were almost more concerned about the election than about the war, perceiving that the highest authority had been not merely shared with the plebs, but well-nigh lost to themselves. [2] They therefore arranged that their most distinguished members should stand, — men whom they believed the electors would be ashamed to pass over, — and at the same time they themselves, as if they had all been candidates, left no stone unturned, and called to their aid not only men, but the gods as well, by raising a religious scruple anent the election held two -years before. [3] In the year before the last, they said, there had been an intolerable winter, like a warning from Heaven. [4] Last year had come not prodigies but actual realities: a pestilence had descended

upon the fields and the City, clearly proceeding from the anger of the gods, whom they must propitiate in order to avert the plague, as the fateful Books had indicated; it had seemed to the gods an affront that an election held under their auspices should prostitute honours and confound family distinctions. [5] The people were awed not only by the dignity of the candidates, but by the fear of Heaven, and to be military tribunes with consular powers chose all patricians, and chiefly the most illustrious among them, as follows: [6] Lucius Valerius Potitus (for the fifth time), Marcus Valerius Maximus, Marcus Furius Camillus (for the second time), Lucius Furius Medullinus (for the third), Q. Servilius Fidenas (for the second), Quintus Sulpicius Camerinus (for the second). These tribunes achieved absolutely nothing noteworthy at Veii, but employed all their strength in pillaging. [7] The two chief commanders, Potitus and Camillus, — one at Falerii, the other at Capena, — carried off huge spoils and left nothing untouched that iron or fire could destroy.

15. Meanwhile many portents were reported, most of which, because they had only one witness each to vouch for them, obtained no credence and were slighted; and, besides, when the Etruscans, whose services they employed to avert evil omens, were at war with them, they had no soothsayers. [2] One thing occasioned universal anxiety, namely that the lake in the Alban Wood, without any rains or other cause to make it less than a miracle, rose to an unwonted height. [3] To inquire what the gods could possibly foretell by that prodigy, envoys were sent to the Delphic oracle. [4] But a nearer interpreter of the fates presented himself, an old man of Veii, who, while the Roman and Etruscan soldiers were scoffing at one another as they stood guard at the outposts, declared in a prophetic strain that until the water should be drawn off from the Alban Lake the Romans never could take Veii. [5] At first they made light of this as an idle taunt; then they began to talk it over; presently one of the Roman outpost inquired of the townsman nearest him (for owing to the long continuance of the war they had now got into the way of conversing together) who that man was who threw out mysterious hints regarding the Alban Lake. [6] When he heard that he was a soothsayer, being himself not without a touch of superstition, he alleged a desire to consult him about the averting of a domestic

portent, if he could spare the time, and so enticed the seer to a conference. [7] And when they had walked a little way apart from the friends of both, unarmed and fearing nothing, the stalwart young Roman laid hold of the feeble old man in the sight of them all, and despite an unavailing hubbub raised by the Etruscans, bore him off to his own fellows. [8] There they had him before the general, who sent him on to Rome, to the senate. [9] When the Fathers questioned him what it was he had meant about the Alban Lake, he answered that the gods must surely have been incensed at the people of Veii on the day when they put it into his: [10] mind to reveal the destruction destined to befall his native city; and so what he had then uttered under divine inspiration, he could not now unsay and recall; and perhaps in concealing what the immortal gods wished to be published guilt was incurred no less than by disclosing what should be hid. [11] Thus then it was written in the books of fate, thus handed down in the lore of the Etruscans, that when the Alban water should overflow, if then the Romans should duly draw it off, they would be given the victory over the Veientes; until that should come, to pass, the gods would not abandon the walls of Veii. [12] He then went on to explain the appointed method of draining it. But the senators, making slight account of his authority, as not sufficiently trustworthy in so grave a matter, determined to wait for their deputies with the response of the Pythian oracle.

16. But before these envoys could return from Delphi or an expiation be devised for the Alban portent, new military tribunes with consular authority came in; these were Lucius Julius Iulus, Lucius Furius Medullinus (for the fourth time), Lucius Sergius Fidenas, Aulus Postumius Regillensis, Publius Cornelius Maluginensis, and Aulus Manlius. [2] In that year a new enemy arose in the Tarquinienses, who seeing the Romans beset with many wars at once, — against the Volsci, who were laying siege to the garrison at Anxur, against the Aequi, who were attacking the Roman colony at Labici, and also against the men of Veii, of Falerii, and of Capena, — and perceiving that affairs within the City were no less troubled, owing to contentions betwixt the patricians and the plebs, believed that in these circumstances they had an opportunity to do the Romans a hurt, and sent out light-armed detachments to raid their territory; [3]

for they thought that either the Romans would put up with the wrong, to avoid the burden of another war, or would take the field with a small and therefore inadequate army. [4] The indignation of the Romans was greater than their concern for the damage wrought by the Tarquinienses; so they neither made strenuous efforts to prepare, nor deferred taking action to a distant date. [5] Aulus Postumius and Lucius Iulus, without holding a regular levy — for this the plebeian tribunes hindered — but with a company consisting almost solely of volunteers whom they had induced to join by their exhortations, marched out by cross-country ways through the territory of Caere, and surprised the Tarquinienses as they were returning from their depredations laden with booty. [6] Many men they slew, all they stripped of their baggage; and having recovered the spoils of their own fields, returned to Rome. [7] Two days were allowed the owners to identify their property; on the third all that had not been recognized — chiefly things belonging to the enemy themselves — was sold under the spear and the proceeds divided amongst the soldiers.

[8] The other campaigns, especially the one at Veii, were indecisive. And now the Romans, despairing of human aid, were looking to destiny and the gods, when the deputies returned from Delphi, bringing the oracle's response, which corresponded with the utterance of the captive seer: [9] "Roman, see that thou suffer not the Alban water to be confined within the lake, nor to fret its own channel to the sea; thou shalt draw it forth and water the fields withal, and spread it abroad till it be lost in rivulets; [10] after that press boldly on against the walls of the foe, and know that over that city which thou dost beleaguer for so many years, the fates now disclosed have given thee the victory. [11] When thou hast ended the war with conquest, bring to my temple an ample gift, and repeat and accomplish in customary wise the ancestral rites thou hast neglected."

17. The captive soothsayer began from that moment to be held in great repute, and the military tribunes, Cornelius and Postumius, set out to employ him about the expiation of the Alban prodigy and the due appeasement of the gods. [2] At length it was discovered wherein the gods taxed them with neglecting ceremonies or omitting a

festival: it was assuredly nothing else than that magistrates in whose election there had been a flaw had improperly proclaimed the Latin games [3??] and the sacrifice on the Alban Mount ; only one atonement for these errors was open to them, to make the tribunes of the soldiers resign their office, to take the auspices afresh, and to begin an interregnum. [4] By decree of the senate these things were done. [5] There were three successive interreges, Lucius Valerius, Quintus Servilius Fidenas, Marcus Furius Camillus, In the meantime there were continuous disturbances, and the plebeian tribunes blocked the election, until it had first been agreed that the majority of the military tribunes should be chosen out of the commons.

[6] While this was going on, the Etruscans met in council at the Fane of Voltumna; where the Capenates and Faliscans proposed that all the nations of Etruria should unite in a common resolution ‘and design to raise the siege of Veii. [7] The council made answer that they had before refused the Veientes this request, on the ground that they had no right to ask help from those whom they had not cared to look to for advice in so weighty a matter. [8] Just then, however, the plight of their country itself denied the petition. There was now in the greatest part of Etruria a strange race, new settlers, with whom they were neither securely at peace nor yet certain to have war. [9] Nevertheless, out of regard for the blood and the name and the present perils of their kinsmen, they would grant that if any of their young men wished to serve in that war, they might do so without let or hindrance. [10] Of such recruits it was said at Rome that a great number had come in; and so domestic differences began to subside, as generally happens, in the face of a common danger.

18. It occasioned the Fathers no displeasure when the prerogative centuries chose Publius Licinius Calvus tribune of the soldiers, without his seeking office; he was a man whose moderation had been proven in his former term, but was now become superannuated. [2] It was clear that all who had been his colleagues in that same year would also be returned, one after the other, to wit: Lucius Titinius, Publius Maenius, Gnaeus Genucius, Lucius Atilius. [3] But before they were declared to the duly assembled tribes, Licinius spoke as follows, having obtained permission of the interrex: “It is an omen of harmony, as I perceive, Quirites, a thing most needful at this

juncture, that you seek for the ensuing year, when in your voting you remember our former magistracy; [4] but whereas in my colleagues you are choosing again the same men, and all the better for experience, in me you see no longer the same Publius Licinius, of whom but the shadow and the name are left. [5] My strength of body is decayed, my sight and hearing dulled, memory fails me, and the vigour of my mind is impaired. Here," he cried, laying hold of his son, "here is a young man, the effigy and likeness of him you formerly chose for military tribune first of all plebeians. [6] Him have I bred up in my own principles, and in my stead I give and dedicate him to the state, and I pray you, Quirites, who without my seeking have offered me the office, that you grant it to him, who seeks it, and to the prayers I have added in his behalf." The father was granted his request, and the son, Publius Licinius, was declared military tribune with consular powers, together with those I have named above. [7] Titinius and Genucius, tribunes of the soldiers, having marched against the Faliscans and Capenates, brought more spirit than generalship to their conduct of the war, and plunged into an ambush. [8] Genucius, atoning for his rashness by an honourable death, fell fighting among the foremost, in front of the standards; Titinius rallied his men, who had been thrown into great confusion, on a little eminence, and made a stand, yet he would not risk an engagement on level ground. [9] The disgrace outweighed the defeat, which had almost proved disastrous, so great was the panic which it caused, not only in Rome, where a greatly exaggerated report of the affair had been received, but also in the camp before Veii. [10] There the soldiers could hardly be restrained from flight, for a rumour had run through the camp that the victorious Capenates and Faliscans, having slaughtered the Roman commanders and their army, were close at hand, with all the manhood of Etruria. [11] Accounts even more alarming had been credited at Rome: that the camp at Veii was already under attack; that already a division of the enemy was marching to assail the City. [12] There was a rush to the walls, and the women, drawn from their houses by the general consternation, betook themselves to prayer in the temples, and besought the gods to ward off destruction from the houses and shrines of the City and from the walls of Rome, and to turn that panic against Veii, if the

sacred rites had been duly renewed and the portents expiated.

19. And now the games and the Latin Festival had been repeated, now the water had been let out from the Alban Lake upon the fields, and the doom of Veii drew on apace. [2] Accordingly the commander destined to destroy that city and to save his country, Marcus Furius Camillus, was appointed dictator, and named Publius Cornelius Scipio as his master of the horse. [3] The change in the command at once made a change in all things else; there was new hope and a new spirit, and even the fortune of the City seemed to be renewed. [4] The dictator's first act was to visit military punishment upon those who had fled from Veii in the panic there, and to teach his men that the enemy was not the worst thing they had to fear. [5] He then fixed the levy for a certain day, and in the interval hastened to Veii to encourage his soldiers; thence he returned to Rome to enroll the new army, and found no one who refused to serve. [6] Even foreign troops, Latins and Hernicans, came with promises to help in this war, and the dictator thanked them in the senate. All things being now in readiness for the campaign, Camillus vowed, in pursuance of a senatorial decree, to celebrate the great games, if he should capture Veii, and to restore and dedicate anew the temple of Mater Matuta, which in time gone by had been consecrated by King Servius Tullius. [7] Marching out from the City, where he left a greater feeling of suspense than of confidence, he first engaged the Faliscans and Capenates, in the Nepesine country. [8] There all his measures, being executed with consummate skill and prudence, were attended, as generally happens, with good fortune. Not only did he rout the enemy in battle, but he also deprived them of their camp and got possession of enormous booty, the chief part of which was made over to the quaestor, and no great quantity given to the soldiers. [9] He then led his army to Veii, where he increased the number of redoubts, and withdrawing the troops from the skirmishes which frequently took place, on the spur of the moment, in the space between the town wall and the stockade, by an edict forbidding [10??] any man to fight without orders, he employed them in digging. Of all the works, much the greatest and most laborious was a mine they began to drive into the enemy's citadel. [11] That this work might not be interrupted nor the same men become exhausted by perpetually

toiling under ground, he divided the workers into six parties and assigned them six-hour shifts in rotation; night and day the work went on unceasingly, till they had made a way into the citadel.

20. The dictator saw that victory was at last within his grasp, and that a city of great wealth was on the point of being taken, with booty more than if all previous wars had been put together. [2] Lest, therefore, he might incur either the resentment of the soldiers, in consequence of a niggardly division of the spoils, or the ill-will of the Fathers, if he were lavish in sharing them out, he wrote to the senate, that thanks to the [3??] favour of the immortal gods, his own direction, and the patient efforts of his troops, Veii would presently be in the power of the Roman People, and asked what disposition they proposed making of the plunder. [4] The senate was divided between two opinions; the aged Publius Licinius, who was the first, they say, that his son called upon to speak, advised making public proclamation that the people decreed that whoso desired a share in the spoils should proceed to the camp at Veii; [5] the other plan was that of Appius Claudius, who declared that such largess was without example, reckless, unfair, and ill-advised; if they were persuaded once for all that it was wicked that money captured from the enemy should lie in the treasury, which had been exhausted by the wars, he urged them to pay the soldiers out of it, that [6??] the plebs might have so much the less war-tax to contribute ; this was a boon of which all families alike would feel the benefit, nor would the hands of idle city-folk, greedy of pillage, pluck away the rewards of valiant fighting men — since it commonly turned out that in proportion as a man was prone to seek a leading share of toil and danger, he was slow in plundering. [7] Licinius argued, on the other hand, that this money would breed endless suspicion and hate, and would furnish grounds for accusations before the plebs, and so for agitation and revolutionary laws; [8] it was better, therefore, to win over by this gift the sympathies of the commons, to succour them, exhausted and impoverished as they were by so' many years' taxation, and to let them enjoy the spoils and fruits of that war in which they had well-nigh grown old men; there would in every instance be more satisfaction and pleasure in what a man took with his own hand from the enemy and brought home, than if he received many times its

value at the discretion of another; [9] the dictator himself would fain avoid the enmity and charges arising from this business, and therefore had handed it over to the senate; the senate, likewise, in its turn, should refer the question to the plebs, and let every man keep what the fortune of war might give him. [10] This policy seemed the safer, since it would make the senate popular. Accordingly, proclamation was made that all who liked might go to the dictator in camp, to share in the plunder of Veii.

21. A vast throng went out, and filled the camp. Then the dictator, after taking the auspices, came forth and commanded the troops to arm. [2] “Under thy leadership,” he cried, “Pythian Apollo, and inspired by thy will, I advance to destroy the city of Veii, and to thee I promise a tithe of its spoils. [3] At the same time I beseech thee, Queen Juno, that dwellest now in Veii, to come with us, when we have gotten the victory, to our City — soon to be thine, too — that a temple meet for thy majesty may there receive thee.” [4] These prayers uttered, he set forward with overwhelming numbers to assault the town on every side, that the inhabitants might not perceive the danger pressing upon them from the mine. [5] The Veientes, unconscious that they were already given up by their own soothsayers, and by foreign oracles, that some of the gods had already been invited to share in their despoiling, while others having been entreated to quit their city were beginning to look to new homes in the temples of their enemies, and that this was the [6??] last day they were themselves to live, feared nothing less than that their defences were undermined and their citadel already filled with foemen, and, each for himself, took up arms and ran out to the ramparts; [7] marvelling what it meant that whereas for so many days not a Roman had stirred from his post, they should now, as though they had suddenly gone mad, be rushing blindly against the walls.

[8] At this point men introduce a tale, how, as the King of the Veientes was sacrificing, the Roman soldiers in the mine overheard the soothsayer declare that to him who should cut up the inwards of that victim would be given the victory, and were moved to open the mine and seize the entrails, which they bore off to the dictator. [9] But in matters of so great antiquity I should be content if things probable were to be received as true: this story, more fit to be displayed on the

stage, that delights in wonders, than to be believed, it is worth while neither to affirm nor to refute.

[10] The mine, which was then filled with picked troops, suddenly discharged its armed men into the temple of Juno, on the Veientine citadel; some of them assailed the backs of their enemies, who were on the walls; others wrenched off the bars that made fast the gates; others, when the women and slaves cast down stones and tiles from roofs, fetched fire against them. [11] The air resounded with shouts; discordant threats of the attackers and despairing shrieks of the defenders were blended with the wailing of women and children. [12] In a moment the armed soldiers were everywhere hurled from the walls, and the gates thrown open. A part of the Romans poured through them in a body, others scaled the deserted walls; the city was overrun with enemies; the battle raged in every quarter; [13] then, when there had already been great carnage, the fighting began to flag, and the dictator bade the heralds proclaim that those without arms should be spared. This ended the slaughter. [14] The unarmed began to give themselves up, and the Romans scattered, with the dictator's permission, in quest of booty. When this was brought before him, and he saw that it was considerably larger and comprised effects of greater value than he had hoped or thought, it is said that he raised his [15??] hands to heaven and prayed that if any god or man deemed his good fortune and that of the Roman People to be excessive, it might be granted him to appease that envy with the least harm to his own private interests and to the public welfare of the Roman People. [16] As he turned, while making this prayer, tradition states that he slipped and fell, and that this omen was seen (when men came later to gather its meaning from the event) to point to the condemnation of Camillus himself, and in the second place, to the capture of Rome, a disaster which befell a few years afterwards. [17] So that day was spent in the slaughter of enemies and the sack of a most opulent city.

22. On the following day the dictator sold the free-born inhabitants into slavery. This was the only money that went into the state treasury, but the commons were angry about it; as for the booty they brought back themselves, they gave the credit not to their commander, who had referred to the Fathers, that they might support his niggardliness, a matter which had lain [2??] within his own

discretion, nor yet to the senators, but- to the house of the Licinii, whose son had brought to a vote in the senate that popular measure which his father had proposed. [3] When the wealth that belonged to men had now been carried away out of Veii, they began to remove the possessions of the gods and the gods themselves, but more in the manner of worshippers than of pillagers. [4] For out of all the army youths were chosen, and made to cleanse their bodies and to put on white garments, and to them the duty was assigned of conveying Queen Juno to Rome. [5] Reverently entering her temple, they scrupled at first to approach her with their hands, because this image was one that according to Etruscan practice none but a priest of a certain family was wont to touch; when one of them, whether divinely inspired or out of youthful jocularly, asked, "Wilt thou go, Juno, to Rome?" — whereat the others all cried out that the goddess had nodded assent. [6] It was afterwards added to the story that she had also been heard to say that she was willing. At all events we are told that she was moved from her place with contrivances of little power, as though she accompanied them voluntarily, and [7??] was lightly and easily transferred and carried safe and sound to the Aventine, the eternal home to which the prayers of the Roman dictator had called her; and there Camillus afterwards dedicated to her the temple which he himself had vowed.

[8] Such was the fall of Veii, the wealthiest city of the Etruscan race, which gave evidence of its greatness even in its final overthrow; since after a blockade of ten continuous summers and winters, during which time it had inflicted considerably heavier losses than it had sustained, it yet was ultimately taken, when at last even destiny fought against it, by siege-works and not by force.

23. When word came to Rome that Veii was taken, although the portents had been averted and the answers of the soothsayers and the Pythian oracle were known; and though they had done all that human wisdom could do to help, in choosing Marcus Furius Camillus, greatest of all generals, to lead them; [2] nevertheless, because they had warred there so many years with varying fortune and had suffered many a reverse, their joy, as though unexpected, knew no bounds; and ere the senate could act, the temples were all thronged with Roman matrons giving thanks to the gods. [3] The senate decreed

supplications for four days, a longer period than in any former war. [4] Moreover, as the dictator drew near, all sorts and conditions of men ran forth to meet him in such numbers as had never welcomed a general before, and the triumph far exceeded the measure of honour usual on that day. [5] He was himself the most conspicuous object in it, as he rode into the City on a chariot drawn by white horses; an act which struck men as being not only undemocratic, but irreverent, for they were troubled at the thought that in respect to his steeds the dictator was made equal to Jupiter and the sun-god; [6] and the triumph, chiefly for this one reason, was more brilliant than popular. [7] He then let the contract for the temple of Queen Juno on the Aventine, and dedicated one to Mater Matuta; and having fulfilled these obligations to gods and men, laid down the dictatorship.

[8] The next thing to be discussed was the gift to Apollo, to whom Camillus said that he had solemnly promised a tenth part of the spoils. The pontiffs ruled that the people must discharge this obligation, but it was not easy to devise a method [9??] for compelling them to return the booty, that out of it the due proportion might be set apart for the sacred object. [10] They finally resorted to what seemed the least oppressive plan, namely, that whosoever wished to acquit himself and his household of obligation on the score of the vow, should appraise his own share of the spoils, and pay in a tenth part of its value to the public treasury, to the [11??] end that it might be converted into an offering of gold befitting the grandeur of the temple and the power of the god and corresponding to the majesty of the Roman People. This contribution still further alienated the affections of the commons from Camillus. [12] In the midst of these affairs came envoys from the Volsci and the Aequi seeking peace, and their suit was granted, more that the state, worn out with so long a war, might be at rest, than because the petitioners deserved it.

24. The year which followed the capture of Veii had six consular tribunes, to wit, the two Publili Corneli, Cossus and Scipio, Marcus Valerius Maximus (for the second time), Caeso Fabius Ambustus (for the third), Lucius Furius Medullinus (for the fifth), Quintus Servilius (for the third). To the Corneli was allotted the Faliscan war, to Valerius and Servilius the war with Capena. [2] They attempted no cities, either by assault or by siege, but wasted the

countryside and despoiled the farmers of their possessions, leaving not one fruit-tree in the land nor any productive plant. This devastation overcame the resistance of the Capenates; they begged for peace and it was granted. [3] In the Faliscan country the war went on.

[4] At Rome, meanwhile, there were disturbances of many sorts, to quiet which the senate had voted to plant a colony on the Volscian frontier, and to enroll for that destination three thousand Roman citizens, to each of whom a board of three, appointed for the purpose, had proposed to assign three iugera and seven-twelfths. [5] This donation men were disposed to spurn, regarding it as a sop intended to divert their hopes from greater things: for why should the plebs be banished to the Volscian country, when the fair city of Veii and the Veientine lands (more fertile and extensive than those of Rome) were there in plain sight? [6] The city, too, they preferred to the City of Rome, whether for situation, or for the splendour of its public and private buildings and its places. [7] Nay, they even mooted the plan which certainly had a great following later, when the Gauls had captured Rome, of migrating to Veii. [8] For the rest, they intended that half of the plebs and half of the senate should dwell in Veii, regarding it as possible for the Roman people to inhabit two cities with a common polity.

[9] This proposal the patricians opposed with such vehemence as to declare that they would sooner die in the sight of the Roman People than suffer anything of the sort to come to a vote; for when there was already so much dissension in a single city, what would it be in two? [10] Was it possible that any man should prefer a vanquished to a victorious city, and suffer Veii captured to enjoy a greater fortune than Veii free? [11] In fine, it was conceivable that they should be left behind in their native city by their fellow Romans; but to forsake their country and their fellow-citizens no violence should ever force them; they had no mind to follow Titus Sicinius — the tribune of the plebs who had proposed the bill — to Veii, as their founder, abandoning the god Romulus, the son of a god, the Father and Author of the Roman City.

25. These differences gave rise to disgraceful contentions — for the Fathers had won over some of the plebeian tribunes to their

opinion — and [2] the only thing that compelled the plebs to stay their hands was this, that as often as they raised a shout, in order to begin a riot, the leaders of the senate were the first to confront the mob, bidding them visit blows, wounds, and death on them. [3] The grey hairs of these men, their distinctions, and their honours, they shrank from outraging, and shame thwarted their rage in all similar attempts.

Camillus harangued the people constantly, and in all places. [4] It was no wonder, he said, that the citizens had gone mad, since, bound though they were to carry out their vow, they were more concerned about everything else than about the discharge of their obligation. [5] He would say nothing of their penny contribution — a truer name for it than tithe — since in this regard each man had bound himself as an individual, and the state was freed; [6] but there was one thing his conscience would not suffer him to pass over in silence; to wit, that the tithe should be defined as consisting of that part only of the booty which was movable; and that nothing should be said of the captured city and its territory, which were likewise included in the vow.

[7] Unable to agree on this point, the senate referred it to the pontiffs, who decided, after consulting with Camillus, that so far as these things had belonged to the Veientes before the vow was made, and had subsequently come into the possession of the Roman People, a tithe thereof was sacred to Apollo. Thus the city and the land came into the estimate. [8] Money was drawn from the treasury, and the tribunes of the soldiers with consular rank were directed to purchase gold with it; and there being not enough of this metal, the matrons held meetings to consider the need, and binding themselves by a common resolution to supply the tribunes with gold, brought in all their ornaments to the treasury. [9] No act was ever more acceptable to the senate, and to honour the matrons for their generosity, it is said to have voted that they might drive in four-wheeled carriages to festivals and games, and in two-wheeled cars on holy and working days. [10] When the gold received from each had been appraised, in order that the moneys might be repaid, it was determined to make a golden bowl and carry it to Delphi as an offering to Apollo.

[11] No sooner had they eased their minds of the vow, than the tribunes of the commons began again their agitation, inflaming the populace against all the nobles, but especially against Camillus,

whom they charged with having reduced to naught the spoils of Veii, by devoting them to the state and to religion. [12] If any of the leaders were absent, they were fiercely denounced; being present they outfaced their angry critics and shamed them into silence. [13] As soon as the people saw that the question would be carried over from that year, they worked for the re-election of the tribunes of the plebs who were backing the measure; and the patricians exerted themselves to do the same for its opponents. So, for the most part, the same tribunes were returned to office.

26. At the voting for military tribunes, the senators with much ado obtained the election of Marcus Furius Camillus. The need of a commander for the wars was their pretext, but what they really wanted was a man who would combat the lavishness of the tribunes. [2] With Camillus were elected to that office, Lucius Furius Medullinus (for the sixth time), Gaius Aemilius, Lucius Valerius Publicola, Spurius Postumius, and (for the second time) Publius Cornelius. [3] At the outset of the year the tribunes of the commons made no move, until Marcus Furius Camillus should march against the Faliscans, for to him this war had been committed. Then came delays, and men's enthusiasm waned, while Camillus, the opponent whom they chiefly feared, won fresh renown in the Faliscan country. [4] For though at first the enemy kept within their walls, deeming this their safest course, he compelled them, by ravaging their fields and burning their farm-houses, to come out of their city. [5] Still, they were afraid to advance very far, and pitched their camp about a mile from the town, trusting that it was quite safe, without other reason than the difficulty of approaching it; for the ground about it was rough and broken, and the roads were either narrow or steep. [6] But Camillus, employing a prisoner taken in that very region for his guide, broke camp in the dead of night, and showed himself at earliest dawn in a considerably superior position. The Romans, divided into three shifts, began to build a rampart, the soldiers who were not working standing by in readiness to fight. [7] There, when the enemy sought to hinder the work, he defeated and routed them; and so great was the panic that came over the Faliscans, that they fled in disorder past their camp, which was the nearer refuge, and made for the town; and many were slain or wounded, before, in their terror,

they could rush in through the gates. [8] The camp was taken, and the booty was paid over to the quaestors. This incensed the troops, but they were overborne by the strictness of the discipline, and admired, while they detested, their general's probity. [9] Then came a blockade of the town, and the construction of siege works; and sometimes, when opportunity offered, the townsfolk would raid the Roman outposts and skirmishes would ensue. [10] Time wore on, without bringing hope to either side; the besieged had corn and other supplies, which they had laid up beforehand in greater abundance than the besiegers; and it began to seem as though the struggle would be as long drawn out as at Veii, had not Fortune, at one stroke, given the Roman general an opportunity to display the magnanimity already familiar from his exploits in war, and an early victory.

27. It was customary amongst the Faliscans to employ the same person as teacher and attendant of their children, and they used to intrust a number of lads at the same time to the care of one man, a practice which still obtains in Greece. [2] The children of the chief men, as is commonly the case, were under the tuition of one who was regarded as their foremost scholar. This man had in time of peace got into the way of leading the boys out in front of the city for play and exercise, and during the war made no change in his routine, but would draw them sometimes a shorter, sometimes a longer distance from the gate, with this and that game and story, until being farther away one day than usual, he seized the opportunity [3??] to bring them amongst the enemy's outposts, and then into the Roman camp, to the headquarters of Camillus. [4] He then followed up his villainous act with an even more villainous speech, saying that he had given Falerii into the hands [5??] of the Romans, having delivered up to them the children of those whose fathers were in power there. [6] On hearing this Camillus answered: "Neither the people nor the captain to whom you are come, you scoundrel, with your scoundrel's gift, is like yourself. Between us and the Faliscans is no fellowship founded on men's covenants; but the fellowship which nature has implanted in both sides is there and will abide. [7] There are rights of war as well as of peace, and we have learnt to use them justly no less than bravely. We bear no weapons against those tender years which find mercy even in the storming of a city, but against those who are

armed themselves, who, without wrong or provocation at our hands, attacked the Roman camp at Veii. [8] Those people you have done your best to conquer by an unheard-of crime. I shall conquer them, as I conquered Veii, in the Roman way, by dint of courage, toil, and arms.” [9] He then had the fellow stripped, his hands bound behind his back, and gave him up to the boys to lead back to Falerii, providing them with rods to scourge the traitor as they drove him into town. [10] To behold this spectacle, there was at first a great gathering together of the people, and presently the magistrates called a meeting of the senate about the strange affair, and men underwent such a revulsion of feeling, that those who a short time before, in the fury of their hate and resentment would almost have preferred the doom of Veii to the peace of Capena, were now calling for peace, with the voice of an entire city. [11] The honesty of the Romans, and the justice of their general, were praised in market-place and senate-house, and, with the consent of all, envoys proceeded to Camillus in his camp, and thence, by his permission, to the Roman senate, to surrender Falerii. [12] Being introduced into the Curia they are said to have spoken as follows: “Conscript Fathers, you and your general have won a victory over us which no one, whether God or man, could begrudge you, and we give ourselves into your hands, believing (than which nothing can be more honourable to a victor) that we shall be better off under your government than under our own laws. [13] The outcome of this war has afforded the human race two wholesome precedents: you have set fair-dealing in war above immediate victory; and we, challenged by your fair-dealing, have freely granted you that victory. [14] We are under your sway; send men to receive our arms and hostages, and our city, the gates of which stand open. [15] Neither shall you be disappointed in our fidelity nor we in your rule.” Camillus was thanked both by his enemies and by his fellow citizens. The Faliscans were commanded to pay the soldiers for that year, that the Roman People might be exempted from the war tax. Peace being granted, the Roman army was led home.

28. Camillus, having returned to the City distinguished by a far better kind of glory than when he had entered it in triumph drawn by white horses — for he had conquered his enemies by justice and fair-dealing — uttered no reproaches, but the senators were ill-at-ease till

they should free him, without delay, from the obligation of his vow. [2] And so, to carry the golden bowl as a gift to Apollo at Delphi, they appointed Lucius Valerius, Lucius Sergius, and Aulus Manlius, who, being dispatched in a single warship, were captured by Liparaean pirates not far from the Sicilian Straits and carried to Liparae. [3] It was the manner of that people to divide up the booty which they had obtained by a kind of public piracy, but it chanced that year that one Timasitheus was chief magistrate, a man more resembling the Romans than his own countrymen; [4] who, himself revering the title of the envoys and their gift, as well as the god to whom it was being sent and the cause of the oblation, imbued also the people, who are almost always like their ruler, with a due sense of religious awe; and after entertaining the ambassadors in the guest-house of the state, even sent ships to convoy them to Delphi, and thence brought them safely back to Rome. [5] A covenant of hospitality was made with him by decree of the senate, and gifts were presented him in the name of the state.

The same year there was a war with the Aequi, of so varied fortune that it was not clear, either at the front itself or in Rome, whether the upshot had been victory or defeat. [6] The Roman generals were two of the military tribunes, Gaius Aemilius and Spurius Postumius. At first they exercised the command conjointly; afterwards, when they had routed the enemy in battle, they arranged that Aemilius should hold Verrugo with a garrison, while Postumius should lay waste the country. [7] As he was leading his troops in irregular formation, somewhat carelessly in consequence of his success, the Aequi fell upon them and throwing them into confusion drove them to the nearest hills, whence the panic spread even to Verrugo, to the other army. [8] Postumius having rallied his men in a position of safety, called them together and chid them for their alarm and flight, telling them they had been discomfited by the most craven and fugitive of foes. Whereat the army cried out as one man, that they deserved his reproaches, and confessed the enormity of their misconduct, but promised that they would themselves mend it, and that their enemies' joy should be short-lived. [9] Demanding to be led forthwith against the camp of the Aequi — which was in full sight in the plain where they had pitched it — they professed themselves

willing to undergo any punishment if they should not have stormed it before nightfall. [10] Postumius commended them and bade them sup and be ready at the fourth watch. The enemy, too, that they might cut off any retreat by night along the road to Verrugo, from the hill where the Romans lay, were afield and met them, and the battle began before daylight, but there was a moon all night. [11] They could see to fight as well as in the daytime; but the shouts were heard in Verrugo, the soldiers believed the Roman camp was being attacked, and so great was their consternation that, despite the efforts of Aemilius to check them and despite his appeals, they fled in a scattered rout to Tusculum. [12] From thence a rumour was carried to Rome that Postumius and the army were destroyed. But Postumius, as soon as the first rays of light had removed all fear of ambushes in case of a wide-spread pursuit, rode down the line, reminding his men of the promises they had given him, and inspired such ardour that the Aequi could no longer withstand their charge, and were slaughtered while they fled (as happens when rage is more concerned than valour), till their army was clean destroyed; [13] and the gloomy tidings from Tusculum which had thrown the City into a needless fright, were succeeded by a laurel-wreathed letter from Postumius, announcing the victory of the Roman People and the annihilation of the Aequian army.

29. The measures introduced by the tribunes of the plebs being still undecided, the commons strove to prolong the tenure of the supporters of the bill, and the patricians to re-elect the tribunes who had vetoed it; [2] but in the election of their own magistrates the plebeians proved the stronger, a disappointment which the Fathers avenged by passing a resolution in the senate providing for the election of consuls — a magistracy odious to the plebs. There had been no consuls for fifteen years, when they elected Lucius Lucretius Flavus, and Servius Sulpicius Camerinus. [3] In the beginning of this year, the tribunes united in a spirited attempt — for none of the college was disposed to object — to carry the bill; and the consuls, for that very reason, were quite as active in opposing them. While the whole body politic was absorbed in this one concern, Vitellia, a Roman colony, was captured by the Aequi, in whose territory it was situated. [4] The greatest part of the settlers escaped, for the place was

taken by treachery at night and their flight through the opposite quarter of the town was unopposed, and made their way to Rome in safety. [5] To Lucius Lucretius the consul fell the command in this affair. Marching out with his army, he defeated the enemy in a battle and returned victorious to the City, where he found a far more serious struggle impending. [6] A day of trial had been appointed for the plebeian tribunes of two years before, namely Aulus Verginius and Quintus Pomponius, to defend whom the senate, as the patricians all agreed, was in honour bound; for no man brought any charge against their lives or the conduct of their office, except their having, out of complaisance to the Fathers, opposed the tribunician law. [7] But the influence of the senators was out-weighed by the resentment of the plebs, and a shameful precedent was set, when the innocent men were condemned each to pay a fine of 10,000 asses. [8] This roused the indignation of the senate. Camillus frankly denounced the depravity of the commons, who having turned against their own representatives, failed to perceive that they had by their wicked judgment of the tribunes done away with the veto, and that in doing away with the veto they had overthrown the tribunician power. [9] For if they supposed that the unbridled licence of that office would be tolerated by the Fathers, they were mistaken; if tribunician violence could not be resisted by the help of tribunes, the senators must find some other weapon. [10] He rebuked the consuls also, because they had, without protesting, allowed those tribunes who had followed the guidance of the senate to suffer for their reliance on the guarantee of state protection. By such sentiments, publicly expressed in speeches, he angered the people more and more from day to day.

30. As to the senate, he ceased not to encourage it in opposing the law: they must go down into the Forum, when the day should arrive for voting on it, in no other spirit than that of men who realized that they had to fight for hearth and home, for the temples of their gods, and for the soil of their birth. [2] So far, indeed, as the question touched his private interest, it would actually be an honour to him, if it were not sinful to be thinking of his own renown while his country was struggling for life, that the city he had, won should be thronged with people; that he should daily be reminded of his glory, and have before his eyes the town which had figured in his triumph; that all

men should tread in the footsteps of his fame. [3] But he thought it an offence against Heaven that a city deserted and forsaken by the immortal gods should be inhabited, and that the Roman People should dwell on conquered soil, exchanging their victorious City for a vanquished one.

[4] These earnest words of their leading member so stirred the senators, old men as well as young, that on the day the law was proposed they formed in a body and came into the Forum, where they dispersed among the tribes, and canvassing every man [5??] his own tribesmen, began with tears to beseech them, that they would not forsake that City for which both they and their fathers had fought with the greatest courage and good fortune. [6] They pointed to the Capitol, to the shrine of Vesta, and to the other temples standing all about them; they begged them not to drive the Roman People, an exile, and a wanderer from its native land and its household gods, to the city of its enemies, nor to carry things so far that it would be better that Veii had not been taken, so that Rome might not be deserted. [7] Since the patricians used not force but entreaties, and in their entreaties made many a reference to the gods, the greater part felt the prick of conscience, and the law was rejected by one more tribe than voted in its favour. [8] And so greatly did this victory rejoice the Fathers, that next day, at the instance of the consuls, a decree was passed by the senate, that seven *iugera* of the Veientine land should be apportioned to every plebeian, and not alone to the heads of families, but so as to reckon in all the free-born members of the household, that with such a prospect before them men might be willing to rear children.

31. Appeased by this largess, the plebs made no objection to an assembly for the election of consuls, and the choice fell on Lucius Valerius Potitus and Marcus Manlius, afterwards surnamed Capitolinus. [2] These consuls celebrated the Great Games, which Marcus Furius the dictator had vowed in the war with Veii. [3] This year saw also the dedication of a temple to Queen Juno, vowed by the same dictator in the same war; and tradition relates that the ceremony was attended by throngs of enthusiastic matrons.

[4] A campaign in no way memorable was fought with the Aequi on Mount Algidus, the enemy being routed before they had well

begun to fight. Valerius was the more persistent in cutting them down as they fled, and to him was decreed a triumph; Manlius was allowed to enter the City in an ovation. [5] In this year also a new war broke out, namely with the people of Volsinii. Owing to a famine and pestilence which arose in the Roman territories on account of drought and excessive heat, it was impossible to send an army against them; and in consequence of this the Volsinienses, having added the Sappinates to their forces, were puffed up with pride and made an incursion themselves into the fields of the Romans. [6] War was then declared against both nations.

Gaius Julius, the censor, died, and Marcus Cornelius was substituted in his place, a circumstance which was afterwards thought to have offended the gods, because in this lustrum Rome was captured; [7] nor from that day has a censor ever been appointed in the room of one who has died. [8] The consuls, too, caught the plague, and it was voted that fresh auspices should be obtained by means of an interregnum. Accordingly, when the consuls, in obedience to the senate's decree, had abdicated, Marcus Furius Camillus was appointed interrex, and named as his successor Publius Cornelius Scipio, who, in turn, named Lucius Valerius Potitus interrex; [9] under whom they elected six military tribunes of consular rank, so that even if any of them should fall ill the state might still have magistrates.

32. On the first day of July they entered office, to wit, Lucius Lucretius, Servius Sulpicius, Marcus Aemilius, Lucius Furius Medullinus (for the seventh time), Furius Agrippa, and (for the second time) Gaius Aemilius. [2] Of these, Lucius Lucretius and Gaius Aemilius were assigned the war with Volsinii as their province, while the Sappinates fell to Agrippa Furius and Servius Sulpicius. [3] The Volsinienses were encountered first, in a campaign of great magnitude in respect to the enemy's numbers, though the engagement with them was no very sharp affair. Their line broke at the first assault, and in the rout eight thousand soldiers were cut off by the cavalry, and laying down their arms, surrendered. [4] When the Sappinates heard of this campaign, they refused to risk a battle, but retired within their walls and prepared to defend themselves. [5] The Romans plundered right and left, both the lands of Sappinum and

those of Volsinii, without finding any to resist their force, until the Volsinienses wearied of the war; and upon their agreeing to restore the goods of the Roman People and furnish pay for the army for that campaign, they were granted a truce of twenty years.

[6] The same year Marcus Caedicius, a plebeian, reported to the tribunes, that in the Nova Via, where the chapel now stands above the temple of Vesta, he had heard in the silence of the night a voice more distinct than a man's, which bade him tell the magistrates that the Gauls were approaching. [7] This portent was neglected, as often happens, because of the informant's humble station, and because that race was remote and therefore not well known. And not only did they reject the warnings of Heaven, as their doom drew nearer, but they even sent away from the City the only human assistance present with them, in the person of Marcus Furius. [8] He had been indicted by Lucius Apuleius, tribune of the plebs, on account of the spoils of Veii, just at the time of losing his youthful son. Summoning to his house his fellow tribesmen and his clients (who formed a good part of the plebs), he sounded their feelings, and having been answered that they would make up such an amount as he might be [9??] fined, but that they could not acquit him, he departed into exile, beseeching the immortal gods that if he were an innocent man to whom that wrong was done they would speedily make his thankless fellow citizens wish to have him back. He was fined in his absence in the sum of 15,000 asses.

33. After the expulsion of that citizen whose presence, if anything in this life is certain, would have made the capture of Rome impossible, disaster approached the ill-fated City with the arrival of envoys from the men of Clusium seeking help against the Gauls. [2] The story runs that this race, allured by the delicious fruits and especially the wine — then a novel luxury — had crossed the Alps and possessed themselves of lands that had before been tilled by the Etruscans; [3] and that wine had been imported into Gaul expressly to entice them, by Arruns of Clusium, in his anger at the seduction of his wife by Lucumo. This youth, whose guardian he had been, was so powerful that he could not have chastised him without calling in a foreign force. [4] He it was who is said to have guided the Gauls across the Alps, and to have suggested the attack on Clusium. Now I

would not deny that Arruns or some other citizen brought the Gauls to Clusium, but that those who besieged Clusium were not the first who had passed the Alps is generally agreed. [5] Indeed it was two hundred years before the attack on Clusium and the capture of Rome, that the Gauls first crossed over into Italy; neither were the Clusini the first of the Etruscans with whom they fought; [6] but long before that the Gallic armies had often given battle to those who dwelt between the Apennines and the Alps.

[7] The Tuscan sway, down to the rise of the Roman domination, stretched over a wide expanse of land and sea. How great their power was on the upper and the lower seas, by which Italy is surrounded like an island, is apparent from the names, since the Italian races have called one of them Tuscan, the [8??] general designation of the race, and the other Hadriatic, from Hatria, an Etruscan colony; and the Greeks know the same seas as Tyrrhenian and Adriatic. [9] In the lands which slope on either side towards one of these seas, they had twice twelve cities; first the twelve on this side the Apennines, towards the lower sea; [10] to which afterwards they added the same number beyond the Apennines, sending over as many colonies as there were original cities, and taking possession of all the transpadane region (except the angle belonging to the Veneti who dwell about the gulf) as far as the Alps. [11] The Alpine tribes have also, no doubt, the same origin, especially the Raetians; who have been rendered so savage by the very nature of the country as to retain nothing of their ancient character save the sound of their speech, and even that is corrupted.

34. Concerning the migration of the Gauls into Italy we are told as follows: While Tarquinius Priscus reigned at Rome, the Celts, who make up one of the three divisions of Gaul, were under the domination of the Bituriges, and this tribe supplied the Celtic nation with a king. [2] Ambigatus was then the man, and his talents, together with his own and the general good fortune, had brought him great distinction; for Gaul under his sway grew so rich in corn and so populous, that it seemed hardly possible to govern so great a multitude. [3] The king, who was now an old man and wished to relieve his kingdom of a burdensome throng, announced that he meant to send Bellovesus and Segovesus, his sister's sons, two

enterprising young men, to find such homes as the gods might assign to them by augury; [4] and promised them that they should head as large a number of emigrants as they themselves desired, so that no tribe might be able to prevent their settlement. Whereupon to Segovesus were by lot assigned the Hercynian highlands ; but to Bellovesus the gods proposed a far pleasanter road, into Italy. [5] Taking out with him the surplus population of his tribes, the Bituriges, Arverni, Senones, Haedui, Ambarri, Carnutes, and Aulerci, he marched with vast numbers of infantry and cavalry into the country of the Tricastini.

[6] There the Alps stood over against them; and I for one do not wonder that they seemed insuperable, for as yet no road had led across them — as far back at all events as tradition reaches — unless one chooses to believe the stories about Hercules. [7] While they were there fenced in as it were by the lofty mountains, and were looking about to discover where they might cross, over heights that reached the sky, into another world, superstition also held them back, because it had been reported to them that some strangers seeking lands were beset by the Salui. [8] These were the Massilians, who had come in ships from Phocaea. The Gauls, regarding this as a good omen of their own success, lent them assistance, so that they fortified, without opposition from the Salui, the spot which they had first seized after landing. [9] They themselves crossed the Alps through the Taurine passes and the pass of the Duria; routed the Etruscans in battle not far from the river Ticinus, and learning that they were encamped in what was called the country of the Insubres, who bore the same name as an Haeduan canton, they regarded it as a place of good omen, and founded a city there which they called Mediolanium.

35. Presently another band, consisting of Cenomani led by Etitovius, followed in the tracks of the earlier emigrants; and having, with the approval of Bellovesus, crossed the Alps by the same pass, established themselves where the cities of Brixia and Verona are now. [2] After these the Libui came and settled, and the Salluvii — taking up their abode hard by the ancient tribe of the Laevi Ligures, about the river Ticinus. Then, over the Poenine Pass, came the Boii and Lingones, who finding everything taken up between the Po and the Alps, crossed the Po on rafts, and drove out not only the

Etruscans, but also the Umbrians from their lands; nevertheless, they kept on the further side of the Apennines. [3] Then the Senones, the latest to come, had their holdings from the river Utens all the way to the Aesis. This was the tribe, I find, which came to Clusium and from thence to Rome, but whether alone or assisted by all the peoples of Cisalpine Gaul, is uncertain.

[4] The men of Clusium, alarmed by this strange invasion, when they beheld the numbers and the unfamiliar figures of the men and their novel weapons, and heard that on many afield, this side the Po and beyond it, they had put to flight the levies of Etruria; though they had no rights of alliance or of friendship with the Romans, except that they had refused to defend their kinsmen the Veientes against the Roman People; did yet dispatch envoys to Rome to ask help of the senate. [5] As for the help, they were unsuccessful; but the three sons of Marcus Fabius Ambustus were sent as ambassadors to remonstrate with the Gauls, in the name of the senate and the Roman People, against their attack on those who had done them no wrong, and were the Roman People's allies and friends. [6] The Romans, they said, would be obliged to defend them, even going to war, if circumstances should make it necessary; but it had seemed preferable that the war itself should, if possible, be avoided, and that they should make the acquaintance of the Gauls — a new race to them — in a friendly rather than in a hostile manner.

36. It was a peaceful embassy, had it not been for the violence of the ambassadors, who were more like Gauls than Romans. [2] To them, when they had made known their mission in the council, the Gauls replied, that although they then heard for the first time the name of Roman, they could yet believe them to be stout-hearted men, since the Clusini had sought their aid in time of danger; [3] and inasmuch as they had chosen to defend their allies by negotiation rather than by the sword, they would not, for their own part, spurn the peace which the Romans proposed, if the men of Clusium, who possessed more land than they could till, would surrender to the Gauls, who needed land, a portion of their territory; on no other terms could they consider granting peace. [4] They added that they desired to be answered in the presence of the Romans, and that if land were refused them, it was under the eyes of these same Romans

that they meant to fight, that they might be able to tell their friends how greatly the Gauls excelled all other men in prowess. [5] When the Romans asked what conceivable right they had to demand land of its occupants under threat of war, and what business Gauls had in Etruria, they were truculently informed, that the new-comers carried their right at the point of the sword and that all things belonged to the brave. [6] So, angry passions being kindled on both sides, they ran to their weapons and joined battle; and the envoys, impelled by the fate which was even then urging Rome to its doom, took up arms, in defiance of the law of nations. Nor could it pass unnoticed, when in the very fore-front of the Tuscan line there were fighting three of the noblest and most valiant of the Roman youth, so conspicuous was the strangers' bravery. [7] Nay, Quintus Fabius even rode out in front of the line, and meeting the Gallic leader as he charged boldly at the very standards of the Etruscans, ran his spear through his side and killed him. [8] As he was engaged in despoiling his man, the Gauls recognized him, and the word passed through all the army that it was the Roman envoy. Thereupon, they gave over their anger at the Clusini and sounded the retreat, uttering threats against the Romans. Some were for marching at once on Rome; but the older men brought them over to send envoys first to complain of their wrongs, and to demand the surrender of the Fabii, in satisfaction for their violation of the law of nations. [9] When the Gallic emissaries had stated their mission according to instructions, the senate disapproved of the conduct of the Fabii and felt the demands of the barbarians to be just; but private interest could not suffer them, in the case of men of such exalted station, to decree what they approved. [10] And so, that the blame might not rest with the senate, if a Gallic war should chance to bring disaster, they referred the demands of the Gauls to the people for consideration; and with them wealth and influence carried so much more weight, that the men whose punishment was under discussion were elected consular tribunes for the ensuing year. [11] At this the Gauls were enraged, as they had every right to be, and returned to their people with open threats of war. The tribunes of the soldiers chosen with the three Fabii were Quintus Sulpicius Longus, Quintus Servilius (for his fourth term), and Publius Cornelius Maluginensis.

37. Now that so heavy a calamity drew towards,—such is the blindness Fortune visits on men's minds when she would have her gathering might meet with no check, — that state which against the Fidenates and Veientes and other neighbouring tribes had on many occasions resorted to the last expedient and named a dictator — that [2] state, I say, though now an enemy never yet seen or heard of was rousing up war from the ocean and the remotest corners of the world, had recourse to no unusual authority or help. [3] The tribunes whose rashness had brought on the war were in supreme command; they conducted the levy with no greater care than had usually been employed in preparing for ordinary campaigns, and even disparaged the rumoured seriousness of the danger. [4] The Gauls, meanwhile, on learning that honours had actually been conferred on men who had violated the rights of mankind and that their embassy had been made light of, were consumed with wrath (a passion which their race is powerless to control), an straightway catching up their standards, set their column in rapid motion. [5] As they marched swiftly and noisily on, the terrified cities armed in haste, and the peasants fled; but they signified with loud cries, wherever they came, that Rome was their goal, and their horse and foot in an extended line covered a vast tract of ground. [6] Yet, though rumour and the report of the Clusini preceded them, and after that successive messages from other peoples, the utmost consternation was wrought in Rome by the enemy's swiftness, which was [??] such that the army, albeit levied as it were *en masse* and hurriedly led out, barely covered eleven miles before confronting him, at the point where the river Allia descends in a very deep channel from the Crustumian mountains, and mingles, not far south of the highway, with the waters of the Tiber. [8] The Gauls had already overrun all the ground in front and on both sides, and — the race being naturally given to vainglorious outbursts — their wild songs and discordant shouts filled all the air with a hideous noise.

38. There the tribunes of the soldiers, without having selected a place for a camp or fortified a position to which they might retreat, and, forgetting even the gods, to say nothing of men, without auspices or sacrificial omens, drew up their line with the wings extended to prevent being outflanked by the numbers of the enemy;

yet could not stretch their front as wide as his, though they thinned it till the centre was weak and scarce held together. [2] There was a little eminence on the right which they decided to occupy with their reserves, a measure which, though it was the beginning of their panic and flight, was also the sole salvation of the fugitives. [3] For Brennus, the Gallic chieftain, seeing the Romans to be so few, was especially apprehensive of a stratagem. He supposed that they had seized the higher ground' for this purpose, that when the Gauls had made a frontal attack on the battle-line of the legions, the reserves might assail them in the flank and rear. [4] He therefore directed his assault against the reserves, not doubting that, if he could dislodge them, it would be easy for his greatly superior numbers to obtain a victory in the plain. Thus not only luck but generalship as well were on the side of the barbarians. [5] In the other army there was no resemblance to Romans, either amongst officers or private soldiers. Terror and dismay had got hold of their spirits, and such complete forgetfulness of everything that a much greater number fled to Veii, a hostile city, though the Tiber was across their way, than by the straight road to Rome, to their wives and children. For a little while the reserves were protected by their position. [6] In the rest of the field, no sooner had those who were nearest heard the shouting on their flank, and those who were farthest the outcry in their rear, than — fresh and unhurt — they ran away from their strange enemies, almost before they had caught sight of them; and so far were they from risking a combat, that they did not even return their battle-cry. [7] None were slain in fight; but they were cut down from behind as they blocked their escape by their own struggles in the disordered rout. [8] On the bank of the Tiber, whither the whole left wing had fled, after throwing away their arms, there was great slaughter, and many who could not swim, or lacked the strength, weighed down by their corslets and other armour, sank beneath the flood. [9] Nevertheless, the chief part got safely to Veii, whence they not only sent no succours to Rome, but dispatched not even a messenger to tell of the defeat. [10] From the right wing, which had stood at a distance from the river and closer to the foot of the mountain, the fugitives all made for Rome, and without stopping even to shut the city gates, sought refuge in the Citadel.

39. The very Gauls themselves, stunned by the marvellous victory they had so suddenly gained, at first stood rooted to the spot with amazement, like men that knew not what had happened; then they feared an ambush; after that they fell to collecting the spoils of the slain and erecting piles of arms, as their custom is; then at last having discovered no hostile movement anywhere, they began their march, and a little before sunset reached the environs of Rome. [2] There, when the cavalry had reconnoitred and had reported that the gates were not closed, that no out-guards were watching before the gates, that no armed men were on the walls, astonishment held them spell-bound as before; [3] and fearful of the night and the lie of the unknown : City, they went into camp between Rome and the Anio, after sending off patrols about the walls and the rest of the gates, to find out what the enemy in their desperate case could possibly be at. [4] As for the Romans, inasmuch as more, on escaping from the battle, had fled to Veii than to Rome, and no one supposed that any were left alive except those who had found refuge in the City, they mourned for all alike, both the living and the dead, and well nigh filled the City with lamentation. [5] But presently their personal griefs were overwhelmed in a general panic, with the announcement that the enemy was at hand; and soon they could hear the dissonant howls and songs of the barbarians, as their squadrons roamed about the walls. [6] During all the time that intervened before the following morning their hearts were. in, such. suspense, that each moment they anticipated an immediate attack:. on the first arrival of the enemy, because they had come close to the City — for they would have stopped at the Allia, had this not been their design; — again, [7] towards sundown, because there was little daylight left, they thought that they would enter the City before nightfall; then they concluded that they had put it off till night, to strike more fear into them. [8] Finally the approach of dawn put them beside themselves, and close upon these restless apprehensions came the evil they were dreading, when the hostile forces entered the city gates. Yet neither that night nor the following day did the citizens at all resemble those who had fled in such consternation at the Allia. [9] For having no hopes that they could protect the City with so small a force as remained to them, they resolved that the men of military age and the able-bodied

senators should retire into the Citadel and the Capitol, with their wives and children; [10] and, having laid in arms and provisions, should from that stronghold defend the gods, the men, and the name of Rome; [11] that the flamen and the priestesses of Vesta should remove the sacred objects pertaining to the State far from the bloodshed and the flames, nor should their cult be abandoned till none should be left to cherish it. [12] If the Citadel and the Capitol, where dwelt the gods; if the senate, the source of public wisdom; if the young men capable of bearing arms survived the impending destruction of the City, they could easily bear to lose the crowd of old men left behind them, who were bound to die in any case. [13] And in order that the multitude of commoners might endure it with the more composure, the old men who had triumphed and those who had been consuls declared publicly that they would perish with those others, nor burden with bodies incapable of bearing arms in defence of the country the scanty stores of the fighting men.

40. Such were the consolations which the old men appointed to die exchanged among themselves; then, directing their encouragement to the band of youths whom they were escorting to the Capitol and the Citadel, they committed to their valour and their young strength whatever fortune might yet be in store for a City that for three hundred and sixty years had been victorious in every war. [2] On the departure of those who carried with them all hope and help, from those who had resolved not to [3??] survive the capture and destruction of their City, though the separation was a pitiful thing to see, yet the tears of the women, as they, ran distractedly up and down, and following now these, -now those, demanded of husbands and sons to what fate they were consigning them, supplied the final touch of human wretchedness. [4] Still, the greater part of them followed their sons into the Citadel, though none either forbade or encouraged it, since what would have helped the besieged to lessen the number of non-combatants would have been inhuman. [5] Another host — consisting chiefly of plebeians — too large for so small a hill to receive, or to support with so meagre a supply of corn, streamed out of the City as though forming at last one continuous line, and took their way towards Janiculum. [6] Thence some of them scattered through the country-side, and others made for the towns near by.

They had neither leader nor concerted plan; each followed the promptings of his own hopes and his own counsels, in despair of the: commonwealth.

[7] Meanwhile the flamen of Quirinus and the Vestal virgins, with no thought for their own belongings, were consulting which of the sacred things they should carry with them, and which, because they were not strong enough to carry them all, they must leave behind, and, finally, where these objects would be safe. [8] They judged it best to place them in jars and bury them in the shrine adjoining the flamen's house, where it is now forbidden to spit; the rest of the things they carried, sharing the burden amongst them, along the road which leads by the Sublician Bridge to Janiculum. [9] As they mounted the hill they were perceived by a plebeian named Lucius Albinus, who had a waggon in which he was conveying his wife and children, amidst the throng of those who, unfit for war, were leaving the City. [10] Preserving even then the distinction between divine and human, and holding it sacrilege that the priestesses of his country should go afoot, bearing the sacred objects of the Roman People, while his family were seen in a vehicle, he commanded his wife and children to get down, placed the virgins and their relics in the waggon, and brought them to Caere, whither the priestesses were bound.

41. At Rome meantime such arrangements for defending the Citadel as the case admitted of were now fairly complete, and the old men returned to their homes to await the coming of their enemies with hearts that were steeled to die. [2] Such of them as had held curule magistracies, that they might face death in the trappings of their ancient rank and office, as beseemed their worth, put on the stately robes which are worn by those who conduct the *tensae* or celebrate a triumph, and, thus habited, seated themselves on ivory chairs in the middle of their houses. [3] Some historians record that Marcus Folius, the pontifex maximus, led in the recitation of a solemn vow, by which they devoted themselves to death, in behalf of their country and the Roman Quirites.

[4] The Gauls found their lust for combat cooled by the night which had intervened. At no point in the battle had they been pushed to desperate exertions, nor had they now to carry the City by assault.

It was therefore without rancour or excitement that they entered Rome, on the following day, by the Colline Gate (which lay wide open), and made their way to the Forum, gazing about them at the temples of the gods and at the Citadel, which alone presented some show of war. [5] Thence, after leaving a moderate guard to prevent any attack upon their scattered forces from Citadel or Capitol, they dispersed in quest of booty through streets where there was none to meet them, some rushing in a body into whatever houses were nearest, while others sought out the most remote, as though supposing that only such would be intact and full- of plunder. [6] But being frightened out of these by their very solitude, lest the enemy should by some ruse entrap them as they wandered apart, they came trooping back to the Forum and the places near it. [7] There they found the dwellings of the plebeians fastened up, but the halls of the nobles open; and they hesitated almost more to enter the open houses than the shut, — so [8] nearly akin to religious awe was their feeling as they beheld seated in the vestibules, beings who, besides that their ornaments and apparel were more splendid than belonged to man, seemed also, in their majesty of countenance and in the gravity of their expression, most like to gods.

[9] While they stood reverentially before them, as if they had been images, it is related that a Gaul stroked the beard of one of them, Marcus Papirius, — which he wore long, as they all did then, — whereat the Roman struck him over the head with his ivory mace, and, provoking his anger, was the first to be slain; after that the rest were massacred where they sat; [10] and when the nobles had been murdered, there was no mercy then shown to anyone; the houses were ransacked, and after being emptied were given to the flames.

42. But whether it was that not all the Gauls desired to destroy the City, or that their leaders had resolved to make a certain show of burning, to inspire alarm, in hopes that the besieged might be driven to capitulate by affection for their homes, but not to [2??] burn up all the houses, in order that they might hold whatever remained of the City as a pledge to work on the feelings of their enemies — however this may have been, the fire spread by no means so freely or extensively on the first day as is commonly the case in a captured town. [3] As the Romans looked down from their fastness and saw the

City full of enemies running up and down in all the streets, while first in one quarter and then in another some new calamity would be occurring, they were unable, I do not say to keep their heads, but even to be sure of their ears and eyes. [4] Wherever the shouting of the invaders, the lamentations of the women and children, the crackling of the flames, and the crash of falling buildings drew their attention, trembling at each sound, they turned their thoughts and their gaze that way, as though Fortune had placed them there to witness the pageant of their dying country. [5] Of all their possessions nothing was left them to defend save their persons alone; and so much more wretched was their plight than that of all others who have ever been beleaguered, that they were cut off from their native City and confined where they could see all that belonged to them in the power of their enemies. [6] Nor was the night more tranquil, after a day of such distress; and the night was followed by a restless day, with never a moment that had not still some fresh calamity to unfold. [7] Yet, oppressed as they were, or rather overwhelmed, by so many misfortunes, nothing could alter their resolve; though they should see everything laid low in flames and ruins, they would stoutly defend the hill they held, however small and naked, which was all that Liberty had left. [8] And now that the same events were occurring every day, like men grown used to grief, they had ceased to feel their own misfortunes, looking solely to their shields and the swords in their right hands as their only remaining hope.

43. The Gauls likewise, having vainly for some days waged war against only the buildings of Rome, when they saw that there was nothing left amidst the smouldering ruins of the captured City but armed enemies, who for all their disasters were not a jot appalled nor likely to yield to anything but force, took a desperate resolution to attack the Citadel. [2] At daybreak the signal was made; and the entire host, having formed up in the Forum, gave a cheer, and raising their shields above their heads and locking them, began the ascent. The defenders on the other hand did nothing rashly or in confusion. At all the approaches they had strengthened the guard-posts, and where they saw the enemy advancing they stationed their best soldiers, and suffered them to come up, persuaded that the higher they mounted up the steep the easier it would be to drive them down. [3] They made

their stand about the middle of the declivity, and there, launching their attack from the higher ground, which seemed of itself to hurl them against the foe, dislodged the Gauls, with such havoc and destruction that they never attempted to attack in that manner again, with either a part or the whole of their strength. So, relinquishing all hope of getting up by force of arms, they prepared for a blockade. [4] Having never till that moment considered such a thing, they had destroyed all the corn in the City with their conflagrations, and what was in the fields had all been hurriedly carried off, within the last few days, to Veil. [5] They therefore arranged to divide their army, and employ part of it to pillage the neighbouring nations and part to invest the Citadel, in order that those who held the lines might be provisioned by the foragers.

[6] When the Gauls departed from the City, Fortune's own hand guided them to Ardea, that they might make trial of Roman manhood. [7] Camillus was languishing there in exile, more grieved by the nation's calamity than by his own; and as he sorrowfully inveighed against gods and men, and asked, with wonder and humiliation, where those heroes were who had shared with him in the capture of Veii and Falerii, and whose gallantry in other wars had ever outrun their success, [8??] of a sudden he heard that the army of the Gauls was coming, and that the Ardeates in alarm were deliberating what to do about it. With an inspiration nothing less than divine, he pushed into the midst of their conference, — though before accustomed to avoid these councils — and there, 44. "Men of Ardea," he said, "my ancient friends, and of late my fellow citizens, — since your goodness would have it so and my own fortune has made it necessary, — let none of you suppose me to have come forward in forgetfulness of my condition; but circumstances and our common peril oblige every man at this crisis to contribute what he can to the general defence. [2] And when shall I show gratitude for your great kindnesses to me, if I am backward now? Or when shall you have need of me, if not in war? 'Twas by this art that I stood secure in my native City: unbeaten in war, I was driven out in time of peace by the thankless citizens. [3] But you, men of Ardea, have now an opportunity of requiting the Roman People for such great benefits as you yourselves are mindful of, — nor need I cast up to you things

which you remember; — and your city has an opportunity to win from our common enemy great renown in war. [4] That people now drawing near in loose array has been endowed by nature with bodily size and courage, great indeed but vacillating; which is the reason that to every conflict they bring more terror than strength. This may be seen in their defeat of the Romans. [5] They captured the City, which lay wide open; but a handful of men in the Citadel and the Capitol are holding them at bay; already, oppressed by the tedium of the siege, they are departing and roaming aimlessly through the country-side. [6] They greedily gorge themselves with food and wine, and when night approaches they erect no rampart, and without pickets or sentries, throw themselves down anywhere beside a stream, in the manner of wild beasts. Just now success has rendered them even more careless than they are wont to be. [7] If you have a mind to protect your city and not to suffer all this country to become Gaul, arm yourselves in the first watch, and follow me in force, not to a battle but a massacre. If I do not deliver them up to you fast asleep, to be butchered like cattle, I am ready to submit at Ardea to the same fate that I endured at Rome.”

45. Well-wishers and opponents were alike persuaded that there was no such warrior in those days anywhere. Breaking up the council, they supped, and waited intently for the signal. On its being given, in the silence of the early night, they presented themselves before Camillus at the gates. [2] They had not left the city very far behind them, when they came to the camp of the Gauls, unguarded, just as he had prophesied, and open on every side, and, giving a loud cheer, rushed upon it. [3] There was no resistance anywhere: the whole place was a shambles, where unarmed men, relaxed in sleep, were slaughtered. Those, however, who were farthest off were frightened from the places where they lay, and ignorant of the nature of the attack or its source, fled panic-stricken, and some ran unawares straight into the enemy. The most of them were carried into the territory of Antium, where they wandered about until the townspeople sallied out and cut them off.

[4] A similar overthrow was experienced, in the region of Veii, by the Etruscans. So far were they from pitying a City that had been their neighbour for close upon four hundred years, and was now

overwhelmed by an enemy never seen or heard of before, that they chose that time to make incursions into the lands of the Romans; and laden with spoils, even meditated an attack on Veii and its garrison, the last hope of the Roman name. [5] The Roman soldiers had seen them, as they ranged through the fields and afterwards, gathering in a body, drove the booty off before them, and could descry their camp, which was pitched not far from Veii. [6] This made them at first to compassionate themselves; then they were seized with resentment, which soon gave way to rage: were even the Etruscans, whom they had saved from the Gauls by incurring war themselves, to make sport of their calamities? [7] They could hardly curb an impulse to assail them on the instant; but being restrained by the centurion Quintus Caedicius, whom they had chosen to be their commander, they postponed the affair till dark. [8] The only thing wanting was a leader like Camillus; in all else the order followed was the same, and the same success was achieved. Indeed, under the guidance of captives who had survived the nocturnal massacre, they set out on the following night and came to another band of Etruscans, at the salt-works, whom they surprised and defeated with even greater carnage; and so, rejoicing in their double victory, returned to Veii.

46. At Rome meanwhile the siege was for the most part languishing and all was quiet on both sides, the Gauls being solely concerned with preventing the escape of any enemy through their lines, when suddenly a young Roman attracted the wondering admiration of fellow citizens and foes. [2] There was an annual sacrifice to be made on the Quirinal Hill by the family of the Fabii. To celebrate it Gaius Fabius Dorsuo, in the Gabinian cincture, with the sacred vessels in his hands, descended from the Capitol, passed out through the midst of the enemy's pickets, and regardless of any words or threats, proceeded to the Quirinal, where he duly accomplished all the rites. [3] He then returned by the same way, with the like resolute countenance and gait, in the full assurance of the favour of the gods whose service not even the fear of death could cause him to neglect, and rejoined his friends on the Capitol, leaving the Gauls dumbfounded by his astonishing audacity, or perhaps even moved by religious awe, a sentiment to which that race is far from indifferent.

[4] At Veii, all this while, they were gathering from day to day, not courage merely, but strength as well. Not only were Romans coming in from the country-side, — men who had been wanderers since the defeat, or the capture of the City, — but volunteers were also pouring in from Latium, that they might share in the spoils. [5] It seemed therefore that the time was now ripe to return to their native City and wrest it from the hands of the enemy; but their strong body lacked a head. [6] The place itself reminded men of Camillus, and there were many of the soldiers who had fought successfully under his leadership and auspices. Moreover, Caedicius declared that he would suffer neither god nor man to put an end to his authority, but, remembering his station, would himself demand the appointment of a general. [7] With the consent of all they resolved to send for Camillus from Ardea, but not till the senate at Rome had been consulted; so modest were they in their conduct of everything, preserving the proper distinctions even in their well-nigh desperate case. It was necessary at enormous risk to pass the enemy's outposts. [8] This an active youth named Pontius Cominus undertook to do, and supporting himself on a strip of cork, floated down the Tiber to the City. [9] Once there, he passed by the shortest way from the bank up a cliff so steep that the enemy had neglected to guard it, to the Capitol, and being brought before the magistrates delivered to them the message from the army. [10] Then, on the senate's resolving that the *curiate comitia* should recall Camillus from exile, and that, even as the people commanded he should straightway be appointed dictator, and the soldiers have the general they desired, the messenger returned by the same route and came in haste to Veii; [11] whence envoys were despatched to Ardea for Camillus, and fetched him to Veii; or rather — as I prefer to believe that he did not quit Ardea until he had learnt that the law was passed, since he could not change his residence without the People's command, nor take the auspices in the army till he had been appointed dictator—the curiate law was passed and Camillus declared dictator, in his absence.

47. While this was going on at Veii, the Citadel of Rome and the Capitol were in very great danger. [2] For the Gauls had noticed the tracks of a man, where the messenger from Veii had got through, or perhaps had observed for themselves that the cliff near the shrine of

Carmentis afforded an easy ascent. So on a starlit night they first sent forward an unarmed man to try the way; [3] then handing up their weapons when there was a steep place, and supporting themselves by their fellows or affording support in their turn, they pulled one another up, as the ground required, and reached- the summit, in such silence that not only the sentries but even the dogs — creatures easily troubled by noises in the night — were not aroused. [4] But they could not elude the vigilance of the geese, which, being sacred to Juno, had, notwithstanding the dearth of provisions, not been killed. This was the salvation of them all; for the geese with their gabbling and clapping of their wings woke Marcus Manlius, — consul of three years before and a distinguished soldier, — who, catching up his weapons and at the same time calling the rest to arms, strode past his bewildered comrades to a Gaul who had already got a foothold on the crest and dislodged him with a blow from the boss of his shield. [5] As he slipped and fell, he overturned those who were next to him, and the others in alarm let go their weapons and grasping the rocks to which they had been clinging, were slain by Manlius. [6] And by now the rest had come together and were assailing the invaders with javelins and stones, and presently the whole company lost their footing and were flung down headlong to destruction. [7] Then after the din was hushed, the rest of the night — so far as their excitement would permit, when even a past peril made them nervous — was given up to sleep. At dawn the trumpet summoned the soldiers to assemble before the tribunes. Good conduct and bad had both to be requited. [8] First Manlius was praised for his courage and presented with gifts, not only by the tribunes of the soldiers, but by agreement amongst the troops, who brought each half a pound of spelt and a gill of wine to his house, which stood in the Citadel. It is a little thing to tell, but the scarcity made it a great token of affection, since everyone robbed himself of his own sustenance and bestowed what he had subtracted from his physical necessities to do honour to one man. [9] Then the watchmen of the cliff which the enemy had scaled without being discovered were called up. [10] Quintus Sulpicius, the tribune, announced his intention to punish them all in the military fashion; but deterred by the cries of the soldiers, who united in throwing the blame upon a single sentinel, he spared the others. This man was

guilty beyond a doubt, and was flung from the rock with the approval of all. [11] From that time the guards on both sides were more alert: the Gauls, because it had been put about that messengers were passing between Veii and Rome, the Romans, from their recollection of the peril of the night.

48. But worse than all the evils of the blockade and the war was the famine with which both armies were afflicted. [2] The Gauls suffered also from a pestilence, being encamped between hills on low ground, parched and heated by the conflagration, where the air was filled with ashes, as well as dust, whenever a breeze sprang up. [3] These annoyances were intolerable to a race accustomed to damp and cold, and when, distressed by the suffocating heat, they began to sicken of diseases that spread as though the victims had been cattle, they were soon too slothful to bury their dead singly, and piling the bodies up in promiscuous heaps, they burned them, causing the place to be known from that circumstance as the Gallic Pyres. [4] A truce was afterwards made with the Romans, and the commanders allowed their soldiers to talk together. Since in these conversations the Gauls used frequently to taunt their enemies with their famished state, and call on them to yield to that necessity and surrender, the Romans are said, in order to do away with this opinion, to have cast bread down from the Capitol in many places, into the outposts of the enemy. [5] Yet at last they could neither dissemble their hunger nor endure it any longer. The dictator was now holding a levy of his own at Ardea, and having ordered the master of the horse, Lucius Valerius, to bring up his army from Veii, was mustering and drilling a force with which he might cope with the Gauls on equal terms. [6] But the army on the Capitol was worn out with picket duty and mounting guard; and though they had got the better of all human ills, yet was there one, and that was famine, which nature would not suffer to be overcome. [7] Day after day they looked out to see if any relief from the dictator was at hand; but at last even hope, as well as food, beginning to fail them, and their bodies growing almost too weak to sustain their armour when they went out on picket duty, they declared that they must either surrender or ransom themselves, on whatever conditions they could make; for the Gauls were hinting very plainly that no great price would be required to induce them to raise the siege. [8]

Thereupon the senate met, and instructed the tribunes of the soldiers to arrange the terms. Then, at a conference between Quintus Sulpicius the tribune and the Gallic chieftain Brennus, the affair was settled, and a thousand pounds of gold was agreed on as the price of a people that was destined presently to rule the nations. [9] The transaction was a foul disgrace in itself, but an insult was added thereto: the weights brought by the Gauls were dishonest, and on the tribune's objecting, the insolent Gaul added his sword to the weight, and a saying intolerable to Roman ears was heard, — Woe to the conquered!

49. But neither gods nor men would suffer the Romans to live ransomed. For, by some chance, before the infamous payment had been consummated, and when the gold had not yet, owing to the dispute, been all weighed out, the dictator appeared and commanded the gold to be cleared away and the Gauls to leave. [2] They objected vehemently, and insisted on the compact; but Camillus denied the validity of that compact which, subsequently to his own appointment as dictator, an inferior magistrate had made without his authorization, and warned them to prepare for battle. [3] His own men he ordered to throw their packs in a heap, make ready their weapons, and win their country back with iron instead of gold; having before their eyes the temples of the gods, their wives and their children, the soil of their native land, with the hideous marks of war upon it, and all that religion called upon them to defend, recover, or avenge. [4] He then drew up his line, as well as the ground permitted, on the naturally uneven surface of the half-ruined City, and saw to it that his soldiers had every advantage in choice of position and in preparation which the art of war suggested. [5] The Gauls were taken aback; they armed, and, with more rage than judgment, charged the Romans. But now fortune had turned; now the might of Heaven and human wisdom were engaged in the cause of Rome. Accordingly, at the first shock the Gauls were routed with as little effort as they had themselves put forth to conquer on the Allia. [6] They afterwards fought a second, more regular engagement, eight miles out on the Gabinian Way, where they had rallied from their flight, and again the generalship and auspices of Camillus overcame them. Here the carnage was universal; their camp was taken; and not a man survived

to tell of the disaster. [7] The dictator, having recovered his country from her enemies, returned in triumph to the city; and between the rough jests uttered by the soldiers, was hailed in no unmeaning terms of praise as a Romulus and Father of his Country and a second Founder of the City.

[8] His native City, which he had saved in war, he then indubitably saved a second time, now that peace was won, by preventing the migration to Veil: though the tribunes were more zealous for the plan than ever, now that the City lay in ashes, and the plebs were of themselves more inclined to favour it. [9] This was the reason of his not resigning the dictatorship after his triumph, for the senate besought him not to desert the state in its hour of uncertainty. 50. His first act, in conformity with his scrupulous attention to religion, was to lay before the senate such matters as pertained to the immortal gods, and to obtain the [2??] passage of a decree that all shrines, in so far as they had been in the enemy's possession, should be restored, their boundaries established, and rites of purification celebrated, and that the duumvirs should search the Books for the proper rites; [3] that a covenant of hospitality should be entered into by the state with the people of Caere, because they had received the holy things of the Roman People and its priests, and thanks to their good offices worship of the immortal gods had not been interrupted; [4] that Capitoline Games should be held, because Jupiter Optimus Maximus had protected his own abode and the Citadel of the Roman People in its time of danger; and that Marcus Furius the dictator should to that end constitute a board consisting of men who lived on the Capitol and the Citadel. [5] A proposal was made, too, for propitiating the voice which was heard in the night to foretell disaster before the Gallic War, and was disregarded, and a temple was ordered to be built in the Nova Via to Aius Locutius. [6] The gold which had been carried away from the Gauls and that which had been collected from other temples during the alarm and carried into the shrine of Jupiter, since there was no clear recollection where it ought to be returned, was all adjudged to be sacred and ordered to be deposited under the throne of Jupiter. [7] Even before this the scrupulousness of the citizens had been apparent in this connexion, for when the gold in the public coffers was insufficient to make up to the Gauls the stipulated

sum, they had accepted what the matrons got together, that they might not touch the sacred gold. For this a vote of thanks was given to the matrons, and they were granted the honour of having eulogies pronounced at their funerals, as in the case of the men. [8] After these measures, which related to the gods and lay within the competence of the senate, had been enacted, then, and only then, heeding the importunity of the tribunes, who were urging the plebs unceasingly to quit their ruins and emigrate to a city ready to their hand at Veii, Camillus went up into the assembly, attended by the entire senate, and discoursed as follows:

51. "So painful to me, Quirites, are these controversies with the tribunes of the plebs, that my most bitter exile knew no other solace but this, all the time that I lived at Ardea, that I was far away from these contentions. And they are likewise the cause that though you had a thousand times recalled me by resolution of the senate and the people's vote, I intended never to return. [2] Nor have I now been induced to do so by any change in my desires, but by the alteration in your fortunes. For the issue was this, that my countrymen should abide in their own home, not that I, at any or all costs, should be with my countrymen. Even now I would gladly stop and hold my peace, were not this too the quarrel of my country; whom to fail while life endures is in other men disgraceful, but in Camillus impious. [3] For why did we seek to win her back, why rescue her, when besieged, from the hands of the enemy, if, now that she is recovered, we voluntarily abandon her? And although, while the Gauls were victorious and in possession of the entire City, the Capitol nevertheless and the Citadel were held by the gods and men of Rome, shall we now, when the Romans are victorious and the City is regained, desert even Citadel and Capitol? Shall our prosperity make Rome more desolate than our adversity has done? [4] Indeed, if we had no religious rites established with the founding of the City and by tradition handed down, yet so manifest has at this time the divine purpose been in the affairs of Rome, that I for one should suppose it no longer possible for men to neglect the worship of the gods. [5] For consider these past few years in order, with their successes and reverses; you will find that all things turned out well when we obeyed the gods, and ill when we spurned them. [6] First of all, the

war with Veii. How many years we fought, and with what painful exertion! And the end came not, until, admonished by Heaven, we drew the water off from the Alban Lake. [7] What, I beseech you, of this strange disaster that lately overwhelmed our City? Did it come before we disregarded the voice from Heaven that announced the approach of the Gauls? before the law of nations was violated by our envoys? before we, that ought to have punished their fault, had passed it by, with the same indifference towards the gods? [8] Therefore were we conquered, led captive, and put to ransom; and suffered such punishments at the hands of gods and men as to be a warning to all the world. [9] Adversity then turned our thoughts upon religion. We fled for refuge to the Capitol and its gods, to the seat of Jupiter Optimus Maximus; of our holy things, some, in the ruin of our fortunes, we concealed in the earth, others we removed to neighbouring cities out of sight of our enemies; in the worship of the gods, albeit forsaken of gods and men, yet were we unceasing. [10] Therefore have they given us our native land again, and victory, and our ancient renown in war that we had forfeited; and against our enemies, who, blinded with greed, broke treaty and troth in the weighing of the gold, have they turned dismay and rout and slaughter.

52. "As you consider these momentous effects upon the affairs of men, of serving the deity and of neglecting him, do you begin, Quirites, to perceive how, though yet scarce clear of the wreckage of our former guilt and calamity, we are headed towards a grievous sin? [2] We have a City founded with due observance of auspice and augury; no corner of it is not permeated by ideas of religion and the gods; for our annual sacrifices, the days are no more fixed than are the places where they may be performed. [3] Do you intend, Quirites, to abandon all these gods, both of state and of family? How squares your conduct with that of the noble young man Gaius Fabius in the recent siege, which the enemy beheld with no less astonishment and admiration than yourselves, when he descended from the Citadel through the missiles of the Gauls and offered the annual sacrifice of the Fabian clan on the Quirinal Hill? [4] What? Would you suffer no interruption, even in war, of family rites, but desert the national worship and the gods of Rome in time of peace? [5] Would you have

the pontiffs and the flamens less careful of the ceremonies of the state religion than a private citizen has been of the anniversary of his clan? Perhaps someone may say that we shall either do these things at Veii, or thence dispatch our priests to Rome to do them; [6] but of these courses neither can be followed without violation of the sacred usages. [7] For, not to enumerate all the kinds of rites and all the gods, is it possible at the feast of Jupiter that the couch should be spread elsewhere than in the Capitol? Why need I speak of Vesta's eternal fires, and the image which is preserved as a pledge of empire in her temple? or of your sacred shields, O Mars Gradivus and Quirinus our Father? [8] All these holy things would you leave behind on unconsecrated ground — things coeval with the City, and some more ancient than its origin?

“And mark what a difference between us and our forefathers! They handed down to us certain rites to be solemnized on the Alban Mount and in Lavinium. But if we scrupled to transfer sacred rites from hostile cities to ourselves in Rome, can we shift them without sin from Rome to Veii, city of our enemies? [9] Recollect, I beg you, how often sacrifices are renewed because some point of antique ritual has been, through carelessness or accident, omitted. What was it, a while ago, after the portent of the Alban Lake, that brought relief to the commonwealth — then in the throes of war with Veii — if not a renewal of the sacred rites and auspices? [10] But, more than that, like men mindful of their old religious fervour, we have both brought in foreign deities to Rome and established new ones. [11] Queen Juno was lately conveyed from Veii and enshrined on the Aventine, and how notable was that day, for the zeal of the matrons and the throng! We have ordered a temple to be built for Aius Locutius because of the voice from heaven, clearly heard in the Nova Via. [12] We have added Capitoline Games to the other annual festivals, and by authority of the senate have established a new college for this purpose. Was there any of these things we needed to have undertaken, if we meant to retire from Rome along with the Gauls; if we remained not voluntarily in the Capitol, through so many months of siege, but constrained by fear of the enemy? [13] We talk of sacred rites and temples; pray, what about the priests? Do you never think what a sacrilege you are about? The Vestals surely have but that one

dwelling-place, from which nothing ever caused them to remove but the capture of the City; the Flamen Dialis may not lie for a single night outside the City, without sin. [14] Will you make these priests Veientine instead of Roman? Shall thy Virgins forsake thee, Vesta, and the Flamen, as he dwells abroad, bring, night after night, such guilt upon himself and the republic? [15] What about the other matters nearly all of which we transact, after taking auspices, within the pomerium? To what oblivion and neglect do we consign them? [16] The curiate comitia which deals with the business of war, the centuriate comitia, where you elect the consuls and military tribunes — where can these be held, with due observance of the auspices, save in the customary places? [17] Shall we transfer them to Veii? Or shall the people, for the sake of the comitia assemble with enormous inconvenience in this City, forsaken of god and man?

53. “‘But,’ you will say, ‘while it is obvious that everything will be polluted beyond all possibility of purification, yet the situation itself compels us to leave a City which fires and falling buildings have made a wilderness, and emigrate to Veii, where everything is untouched, nor vex the helpless commons with building here.’ [2] But that this is rather a pretext than a true reason is, I think, apparent to you, Quirites, without my saying so; for you remember how, before the coming of the Gauls, when our roof-trees, public and private, were unharmed and our City stood uninjured, that this same proposal was urged, of migrating to Veii. [3] And consider, tribunes, how wide is the difference between my view and yours. You think that even if then it ought not to have been done, yet now at any rate it ought; I on the contrary — and be not astonished at this, till you have heard what my meaning is, — even if it had been right to migrate then, with the City all intact, should not think it right to abandon these ruins now. [4] For then our victory would have been a reason for migrating to a captured city — a reason glorious to ourselves and our posterity; but now such a removal is for us a wretched and humiliating course, and a glory to the Gauls. [5] For we shall not seem to have left our country as victors, but to have lost it as men vanquished. It will be thought that the rout on the Allia, the capture of the City, the blockade of the Capitol, have compelled us to forsake our family gods, and sentence ourselves to banishment and exile from that place which we were

powerless to defend. [6] Have Gauls then been able to cast Rome down; and must Romans appear unable to have raised her up? What remains, if they should presently come with fresh forces — for all agree that their numbers are scarce to be believed, — and should wish to dwell in this City which they have captured and you have abandoned, but that you should suffer them? [7] What if not the Gauls but your ancient foes the Volsci and Aequi should migrate to Rome? Should you like them to be Romans, and yourselves Veientes? Or should you not prefer this to be your wilderness, rather than the city of your enemies? For my part I do not see what could be more abominable. Are you ready to stomach these outrages, these infamies, because it irks you to build? [8] If in all the City no house could be put up better or bigger than is the famous Hut of our Founder, would it not be better to live in huts, as shepherds and rustics do, amongst our sacred monuments and our household gods, than to go forth as a nation into exile? [9] Our ancestors refugees and herdsmen, at a time when there was nothing in this region but forests and marshes, built quickly a new City; and are we loath, though Capitol and Citadel are untouched and the temples of the gods are standing, to rebuild what has been destroyed by fire? And what each would have done for himself, if his house had been burned, shall we refuse to do together after this common conflagration?

54. “Or suppose that by crime or chance a fire should break out at Veii, and that the wind should spread the flames, as may easily happen, until they consume a great part of the city; are we to quit it, and seek out Fidenae, or Gabii, or any other town you like, and migrate thither? [2] Have the soil of our native City and this land which we call our mother so slight a hold on us? [3] Is our love of country confined to buildings and rafters? And in truth I will confess to you — though: like not to recall the wrong you did me — that as often, during my absence, as I thought of my native place, all these objects came into my mind: the hills and the fields and the Tiber and the region familiar to my eyes, and this sky beneath which I had been born and reared. And I wish these things may rather move you now with love, Quirites, to make you abide in your own home, than afterwards, when you have left it, torment you with vain regrets. [4] Not without cause did gods and men select this place for establishing

our City — with its healthful hills; its convenient river, by which crops may be floated down from the midland regions and foreign commodities brought up; its sea, near enough for use, yet not exposing us, by too great propinquity, to peril from foreign fleets; a situation in the heart of Italy — a spot, in short, of a nature uniquely adapted for the expansion of a city. [5] This is proved by the very greatness of so new a place. It is now, Quirites, in its three hundred and sixty-fifth year. Amongst all these ancient nations you have for so long a time been waging wars; and all this while — to say nothing of single cities — neither the Volsci joined with the Aequi, and all their powerful towns, nor all Etruria, with its enormous strength on land and water, and its occupancy of the entire breadth of Italy from sea to sea, has been a match for you in war. [6] Since this is so, what a plague is the reason why you that have experienced these things should experiment with others? Granting that your valour may go elsewhere, yet surely the fortune of this place could not be taken along! [7] Here is the Capitol, where men were told, when of old they discovered there a human head, that in that place should be the head of the world and the seat of empire; here, when the Capitol was being cleared with augural rites, Juventas and Terminus, to the vast joy of your fathers, refused to be removed; here are Vesta's fires, here the shields that were sent down from heaven, here are all the gods propitious, if you remain."

55. The speech of Camillus is said to have moved them, particularly where he touched upon religion; but the doubtful issue was resolved by a word that was let fall in the nick of time. It was while the senate, a little later, was deliberating about these matters in the Curia Hostilia; some cohorts returning from guard-duty were marching through the Forum, and as they came to the Comitium a centurion cried out, "Standard-bearer, fix your ensign; here will be our best place to remain." [2] Hearing this sentence the senators came out from the Curia and shouted their acceptance of the omen, and the commons gathering round them signified approval. The bill was then rejected, and people began in a random fashion to rebuild the City. [3] The state supplied tiles, and granted everybody the right to quarry stone and to hew timber where he liked, after giving security for the completion of the structures within that year. [4] In their haste men

were careless about making straight the streets, and paying no attention to their own and others' rights, built on the vacant spaces. [5] This is the reason that the ancient sewers, which were at first conducted through the public ways, at present frequently run under private dwellings, and the appearance of the City is like one where the ground has been appropriated rather than divided.

SUMMARY OF BOOK V

AT the siege of Veii winter quarters were constructed for the soldiers. This, being a new departure, stirred the ire of the tribunes of the plebs, who complained that the plebs were given no rest from warfare even in winter. The cavalry began then for the first time to serve on their own mounts. An inundation from the Alban Lake having occurred, a soothsayer was captured from the enemy that he might explain it. Furius Camillus the dictator captured Veii in a ten years' siege, transferred to Rome the image of Juno, and sent a tithe of the spoils to Apollo at Delphi. When the same man was besieging the Falisci as military tribune, he restored to their parents the sons of the enemy who had been betrayed, whereupon the Falisci surrendered and he obtained the victory by his justice. On the death of one of the censors, Gaius Julius, Marcus Cornelius was chosen to fill out his term, but this was never afterwards done because in that five-year period Rome was taken. Furius Camillus, having been cited for trial by Lucius Apuleius, a tribune of the plebs, went into exile. When the Gallic Senones were besieging Clusium and the envoys sent by the senate to arrange a peace between them and the Clusini fought in the army of the Clusini, the Senones were angered and marched to the attack of Rome. Defeating the Romans on the Allia they captured the City, all but the Capitol, in which the Romans of fighting age had taken refuge, and slew the elders, who, dressed in the insignia of the offices which they had held, were sitting in the vestibules of their houses. And when, climbing up on the other side of the Capitol, they had already come out on the top of it, they were betrayed by the gabbling of geese and — chiefly by the efforts of Marcus Manlius — were flung down. Later the Romans were

reduced so low by hunger as to offer a thousand pounds of gold and with this price to purchase an end of the siege. Furius Camillus, having been appointed dictator in his absence, came up with his army in the midst of this very conference about the terms of peace, and six months after their coming drove out the Gauls from Rome and cut them to pieces. Men said that they ought to remove to Veii because the City had been burned and overthrown, but this counsel was rejected, at the instance of Camillus. The people were moved also by the omen of certain words that a centurion was heard to utter, when having come into the Forum he said to his company: "Halt, soldiers, we shall do well to stop here." A temple was erected to Jupiter Capitolinus, because a voice had been heard before the capture of the City, which declared that the Gauls were coming.

BOOK VI

Translated by B. O. Foster

1. THE history of the Romans from the founding of the City of Rome to the capture of the same — at first under kings and afterwards under consuls and dictators, decemvirs and consular tribunes — their [2] foreign wars and their domestic dissensions, I have set forth in five books, dealing with matters which are obscure not only by reason of their great antiquity — like far-off objects which can hardly be descried — but also because in those days there was but slightly and scanty use of writing, the sole trustworthy guardian of the memory of past events, and because even such records as existed in the commentaries of the pontiffs and in other public and private documents, nearly all perished in the conflagration of the City. [3] From this point onwards a clearer and more definite account shall be given of the City's civil and military history, when, beginning for a second time, it sprang up, as it were from the old roots, with a more luxuriant and fruitful growth.

[4] Now it stood at first by leaning on the same support by which it had raised itself up, that is on Marcus Furius, its foremost citizen; [5] neither would men suffer him to resign the dictatorship till the completion of the year. [6] That elections for the ensuing year should be held by the tribunes, in whose magistracy the City had been captured, was considered inadvisable, and the state reverted to an interregnum. While the citizens were engrossed in unremitting toil and labour to restore the City, Quintus Fabius had no sooner quitted his magistracy than he was indicted by Gnaeus Marcius, a tribune of the plebs, on the ground of his having fought in violation of the [7??] law of nations against the Gauls, to whom he had been sent as an envoy — a trial which he escaped by a death so opportune that the majority believed it voluntary. [8] The interregnum began: Publius Cornelius Scipio was interrex; and after him Marcus Furius Camillus, who effected the election, as tribunes of the soldiers with consular authority, of Lucius Valerius Publicola (for the second time) Lucius Verginius, Publius Cornelius, Aulus Manlius, Lucius

Aemilius, and Lucius Postumius.

[9] Having, immediately after the interregnum, entered upon their term, they consulted the senate before everything else on questions of religious observance. [10] Among the first decrees they passed was one for searching out the treaties and laws — to wit, the twelve tables and certain laws of the kings, — so far as they could be discovered. Some of these were made accessible even to the common people, but such as dealt with sacred rites were kept private by the pontiffs, chiefly that they might hold the minds of the populace in subjection through religious fear. [11] Then they proceeded to deliberate about days of evil omen. The 18th of July was notorious for a double misfortune, since it was on that day that the Fabii were massacred at the Cremera and that subsequently the rout at the Allia occurred, which resulted in the destruction of the City. From the latter disaster they named it the Day of the Allia, and forbade any public or private business to be done that day. [12] Some think, because Sulpicius had, on the day after the Ides of July, made an unacceptable sacrifice, and, without having gained the divine approval, had two days later exposed the Roman army to the enemy, that therefore religious rites were omitted also on the days after the several Ides; and that afterwards it became traditional that the morrow after Kalends and Nones should likewise be avoided, from the same scruple.

2. But the Romans were not left long to the peaceful consideration of plans for raising their state after its grievous fall. [2] On the one hand the Volsci, their ancient foes, had armed for the purpose of extinguishing the Roman name: on the other, merchants brought word from Etruria that the leading men of all her nations had met at the shrine of Voltumna and conspired to make war. [3] A fresh alarm, too, was occasioned by the revolt of the Latins and the Hernici, who since the battle fought at Lake Regillus had continued for close upon a hundred years, with unquestioned loyalty, in the friendship of the Roman People. [4] And so, when such dangers threatened them on every side, and it was clear to all that the name of Rome was not only held in hatred by her enemies, but even in contempt by her allies, it was [5??] resolved that the republic should be defended under the same auspices under which it had been redeemed and that Marcus Furius

Camillus should be named dictator. [6] Being appointed dictator he designated Gaius Servilius Ahala master of the horse, and after proclaiming a cessation of legal business, held a levy of the juniors, yet without excluding such of the older men as still possessed any vigour, to whom also he administered the oath and mustered them into centuries.

[7] Having enrolled the army and equipped it, he divided it into three parts. [8] One division he stationed in the Veientine district to confront Etruria; a second he ordered to encamp before the City. These divisions were put under the command of military tribunes, Aulus Manlius for the home troops, Lucius Aemilius for those which were being dispatched against the Etruscans. [9] The third division he led himself against the Volsci, and not far from Lanuvium — *ad Mecium* the place is called — advanced to attack their camp. The enemy had gone to war from a feeling of contempt for the Romans, believing that their fighting strength had been nearly wiped out by the Gauls, but merely on hearing that Camillus was their general, they were so terrified that they protected themselves with a rampart and [10??] the rampart with a barricade of logs, that the Romans might nowhere be able to penetrate to their defences. On perceiving this, Camillus ordered his men to throw fire on the barrier. [11] It so happened that there was a high wind blowing towards the enemy, which not only caused the blaze to open a path, but what with the flames making towards the camp, and the heat and smoke and the crackling of the green wood, so alarmed the enemy, that the Roman soldiers experienced less difficulty in scaling the fortifications of the Volscian camp than they had met with in crossing the burnt barricade. [12] Having routed and slain his enemies and taken their camp by assault, the dictator gave the booty to his soldiers, an act which, coming unexpectedly from a commander who was by no means open-handed, was all the more acceptable to the men. [13] Then after pursuing the fugitives and laying waste all the Volscian countryside, he forced the Volsci to surrender at last, after seventy years of war. [14] The victor, leaving the Volsci, crossed over to the Aequi, who were themselves making preparations for war; their army he surprised at Bolae, and carried not only their camp but their city, too, at the first assault.

3. While affairs were thus prosperous in that region where Camillus commanded for Rome, in another direction a great danger threatened. Well-nigh the whole of Etruria was in arms and was laying siege to Sutrium, an ally of the Roman People. [2] Envoys of the Sutrines had appeared before the senate to beg for assistance in their distress, and had obtained a decree that the dictator should march to the aid of their people at the earliest opportunity. [3] But the plight of the besieged would not admit of their waiting till this hope was realized; and the population of the little town, exhausted with the labour, guard-mounting, and wounds, which fell always to the lot of the same men, had come to terms, and having surrendered their city to the enemy, were leaving their homes in a sad procession, unarmed and with but a single garment each, when, as it chanced, Camillus appeared on the scene with a Roman army. [4] The disconsolate rabble cast themselves at his feet, while their leading men addressed him with words drawn from them by the direst necessity and accompanied by the wailing of the women and children, who were being dragged along as the companions of their exile. He bade the Sutrines spare their lamentations; the Etruscans were those to whom he was bringing grief and tears. [5] He then gave orders that the packs should be set down; that the Sutrines should stop there, with a small guard which he left them; and that his soldiers should take their weapons and follow him. So, with his army in light marching order, he set out for Sutrium, where he was not surprised to find everything at loose ends, as a consequence — common enough — of their success; there was no outpost before the walls; the gates were open; and the victors had dispersed and were fetching the booty out of the houses of their enemies. [6] For the second time, therefore, on the same day, Sutrium was captured. [7] The victorious Etruscans were everywhere slaughtered by the new enemy, and had no time given them to assemble and unite their forces or to arm. As they tried, every man for himself, to reach the gates, if by chance they might somehow escape out into the fields, they found them shut, for so the general had ordered in the beginning. [8] After that some caught up their swords; others, whom the sudden attack had found already armed, tried to call their fellows together for a battle, and this would have been hotly fought, because of the enemy's despair, had not

heralds been dispatched through the town who made proclamation that arms should be laid down and the unarmed receive quarter, and that none should suffer any violence except those that carried weapons. [9] Then even such as had in their extremity resolved to fight to the death, now that hope of life was held out to them, began everywhere to throw down their swords, and to go unarmed — for fortune had made this the safer way — to meet their enemies. [10] The great throng was divided among companies of guards; and before night the town was restored to the Sutriners, unharmed and without scathe of war, because it had not been carried by assault, but had been surrendered upon terms.

4. Camillus returned to the City and triumphed for his victories in three simultaneous wars. [2] By far the greatest number of the captives led before his chariot were Etruscans; they were sold under the spear, and fetched so large a sum that after the matrons had been repaid for their gold, the surplus sufficed to make three golden bowls, which were inscribed, as is well known, with [3??] the name of Camillus, and kept, until the burning of the Capitol, in the chapel of Jupiter, at Juno's feet.

[4] This year were received into the state such of the Veientes, Capenates, and Faliscans as had come over to the Romans in the course of these wars, and lands were allotted to these new citizens. [5] There were also recalled from Veii to the City, by senatorial decree, those who being too indolent to build in Rome had taken possession of empty houses in Veii and had gone there to live. They had indeed murmured at first, and had flouted the order; but the designation of a day and the threat of a capital penalty for failure to return to Rome reduced them from a defiant group to obedient individuals, as each became alarmed for himself. [6] Rome was now growing in numbers, and in every part at once new buildings were springing up; the state contributed towards the costs, and the aediles forwarded the work as though it had been public business, while the citizens themselves, incited by their desire to be using it, hurried their building to a conclusion; and within the year there was a new City standing.

[7] At the close of the year an election of military tribunes with consular powers was held. Those chosen were Titus Quinctius Cincinnatus, Quintus Servilius Fidenas (for the fifth time), Lucius

Julius Iulus, Lucius Aquilius Corvus, Lucius Lucretius Tricipitinus, and Servius Sulpicius Rufus. [8] These men led one army against the Aequi, not to war — for they confessed themselves vanquished — but from hatred, in order to waste, their territories and leave them with no strength to make new trouble; with another they invaded the district of Tarquinii, where they captured by assault the Etruscan towns Cortuosa and Contenebra. [9] At Cortuosa there was no struggle: in a surprise attack they carried the place at the first shout and onset, and then sacked and burned it. Contenebra held out for a few days, but the continuous fighting, without respite either day or night, overcame them. [10] The Roman army had been divided into six corps, of which each in its turn went into battle for six hours; while the townsmen were so few that the same men were exposed to an attack that was constantly renewed, until at last they gave way and afforded the Romans an opening to enter the City. [11] The tribunes decided that the booty should go to the state, but were less prompt in issuing orders than in planning; and, while they procrastinated, it was already in the hands of the soldiers and could not be taken away without offending them.

[12] That same year, that the City might not grow in private buildings only, the Capitol was provided with a substructure of hewn stone, a work which even amidst the present splendours of the City is deserving of remark.

5. And now, while the citizens were taken up with building, the tribunes of the plebs were trying to attract crowds to their meetings by proposals for agrarian laws. [2] They held out hopes of the Pomptine district, of which the Romans had then for the first time — since the defeat inflicted on the Volsci by Camillus — acquired undisputed control. [3] The tribunes brought the charge that this district was worse plagued by the nobility than it had been by the Volsci; for the latter, as long as they were strong enough and had arms, had done no more than make incursions into it; [4] but the nobles were taking violent possession of the public domain, and unless it should be parcelled out before they seized it all, there would be no room there for the commons. [5] They made no great impression on the plebs, who were seldom in the Forum, because they were so intent on building, and, exhausted with the expense

thereby incurred, had no thought of land, which they lacked the means of stocking.

[6] The citizens were much given to religious fears, and at that time, owing to the recent calamity, even the leaders were a prey to superstition; so, in order that new auspices might be had, the state went into an interregnum. [7] The office of interrex was successively held by Marcus Manlius Capitolinus, Servius Sulpicius Camerinus, and Lucius Valerius Potitus. Finally, the last-named held an election of military tribunes and announced that the choice had fallen on Lucius Papirius, Gaius Cornelius, Gaius Sergius, Lucius Aemilius (for the second time), Lucius Menenius and Lucius Valerius Publicola (for the third time). These men took office at the conclusion of the interregnum.

[8] In that year the temple of Mars vowed in the Gallic war was dedicated by Titus Quinctius, duumvir for sacrifices. Four additional tribes were formed out of the new citizens, the Stellatina, Tromentina, Sabatina, and Arniensis; these filled up the number of tribes to twenty-five.

6. The question of the Pomptine territory was brought up by Lucius Sicinius, a tribune of the plebs, in popular meetings which were now more numerously attended, and by men more easily induced to covet land, than had been the case before. [2] The senate talked also of war with the Latins and the Hernici, but dread of a greater war — Etruria being up in arms — caused them to defer it.

[3] The government passed to Camillus, as tribune of the soldiers with consular authority. He was given five colleagues: Servius Cornelius Maluginensis, Quintus Servilius Fidenas (for a sixth term), Lucius Quinctius Cincinnatus, Lucius Horatius Pulvillus, and Publius Valerius. [4] Early in the year the general concern was diverted from the Etruscan war, when a band of fugitives from the Pomptine district suddenly appeared in Rome with tidings that the Antiates were in arms. [5] The Latin communities, so they reported, had sent their soldiers to help in the war, but asserted that their government was not involved, since they had merely, as they said, not forbidden their young men to serve, as volunteers, where they liked.

[6] The Romans had ceased by this time to make light of any wars. And so the senate gave thanks to the gods that Camillus was in

office, for in sooth they would have been obliged to make him dictator, if he had been a private citizen; [7] and his colleagues declared that the general control, when any warlike danger threatened, belonged to one man alone, and that they were resolved to subordinate their own authority to Camillus; nor did they believe that there was any derogation of their own dignity in such concessions as they might make to his. The senate commended the tribunes, and Camillus himself, deeply moved, expressed his thanks.

[8] A heavy responsibility he said, was placed upon him by the Roman People, who had now elected him for the fourth time; no small one by the senate, in so judging of him; but the greatest of all proceeded from the deference accorded him by such distinguished colleagues. [9] Accordingly, if it were possible to add to his exertions and his vigilance, he should vie with himself in an effort to make the very high opinion which his fellow citizens so unanimously entertained of him an abiding one. [10] As for the war with the men of Antium, there was more bluster in that quarter than real danger; nevertheless, as he would have them fear nothing, so he would counsel them to despise nothing. [11] The City of Rome was ringed about by the envy and ill-will of her neighbours; consequently there needed several generals and armies to administer the interests of the state. [12] "It is my wish," said he, "that you, Publius Valerius, should share my authority and deliberations, and join me in leading the legions against the enemy at Antium; [13] that you, Quintus Servilius, should organize and equip a second army, and maintain your camp near Rome, on the alert, in case any move should be made in the meantime from Etruria, as happened recently, or from this new source of anxiety, the Latins and Hernici; certain I am that you will discharge the commission in a manner worthy of your father, your grandfather, and yourself, and of your six tribuneships. [14] Let a third army be enrolled by Lucius Quinctius, out of those who are invalided or over age, to defend the City and the walls. Let Lucius Horatius provide arms, missiles, corn, and what else the exigencies of the war demand. [15] You, Servius Cornelius, we, your colleagues, appoint to be president of this state council, guardian of religious rites, of the elections, the laws, and all the affairs of the City."

[16] All promised loyally to do their best in their respective

departments of their office; and Valerius, who had been selected to share in the command, added that he should regard Marcus Furius as a dictator and himself as his master of the horse; [17] in proportion therefore to men's confidence in their unique commander should be their hopes of the outcome of the war. [18] Whereat the senators in their enthusiasm shouted that they hoped right well of the war, and of the peace, and of the common weal in general; adding that the state would never need a dictator if it might have such men in office, united in such loving concord, equally ready to command and obey, and rather contributing to the common stock of glory than drawing upon it for their own behoof.

7. After proclaiming a suspension of legal business and holding a levy, Furius and Valerius set out for Satricum, where the Antiates had collected not only the fighting men of the Volsci, recruited from a new generation, but also a large force of Latins and Hernici, nations which, having been long at peace, were extremely strong. The consequence of this addition of new enemies to their old ones was to trouble the spirit of the Roman soldiers. [2] But when the centurions reported to Camillus, as he was already drawing up his line, that the men were demoralized; that they had been loath to arm and had hesitated and delayed in leaving the camp, nay, that some had even been heard to say that they would be one against a hundred in the battle, and that so great a host could hardly be withstood even though unarmed, much less when provided with weapons — being [3] told of this, I say, Camillus vaulted upon his horse, and riding along the ranks in front of the standards, faced his troops and thus addressed them:

“Soldiers, what means this gloom and this unwonted reluctance? Are you strangers to the enemy, or to me, or to yourselves? [4] The enemy — what else are they but inexhaustible material for you to fashion into glorious deeds of valour? As for yourselves, when acting as my soldiers, though I say nothing of your capturing Falerii and Veii and routing the Gallic legions in your captured City, you celebrated, only the other day, a three-fold triumph for a triple victory over these very Volsci and Aequi and over Etruria. [5] Or is it that I, having given you the signal not as dictator but as tribune of the soldiers, am not recognized as your commander? And yet neither do

I desire supreme authority over you, nor ought you to regard in me anything but myself; for the dictatorship could never give me resolution, nor could even exile deprive me of it. [6] We are all, therefore, exactly as we were, and since we bring the same qualities in all respects to this campaign that we brought to earlier ones, let us look forward to the same result. As soon as you have joined battle, every man will do what he has learned and has become accustomed to: you will conquer, they will run away.

8. He then sounded the charge, and leaping from his horse, caught hold of the nearest standard bearer and hurried him towards the enemy, calling out: "Forward soldiers!" [2] But when they saw Camillus, who for bodily feats was now grown old and infirm, advancing in person against the foe, they all gave a cheer and rushed forward together, and every man took up the cry of "Follow the General!" [3] It is even said that Camillus bade the standard-bearer hurl his ensign into the press of enemies, and urging the front ranks to recover it, then for the first time discomfited the Antiates. [4] The panic did not stop with the first line, but spread even to the troops in support. [5] It was not only the dash of the Roman soldiers, inspired by their leader's presence, which overcame them; for nothing so daunted the spirits of the Volsci as the sight of Camillus himself, when they happened to encounter him — so surely, wherever he went, did he carry victory with him. [6] This was especially apparent on the left. That wing had already nearly given way, when Camillus suddenly threw himself upon a horse, and, armed with an infantry-shield, rode up and by his presence retrieved the battle, calling out that the rest of the army was conquering. [7] The fortune of the day had now turned, but the enemy's numbers were an obstacle even to their flight, and a great multitude remained for the weary soldiers to dispatch with long-drawn massacre, when suddenly great gusts of wind brought on a downpour of rain, which broke off what was rather a certain victory than a battle. [8] Thereupon the recall was sounded, and the night that followed finished the campaign for the Romans, while they slept. For the Latins and Hernici abandoned the Volsci and marched off to their homes, their evil counsels rewarded with as evil an outcome; [9] and the Volsci, perceiving themselves to be deserted by those on whom they had relied in their rebellion,

forsook their camp and shut themselves up within the walls of Satricum. [10] Camillus at first set about confining them with a palisade and mound, intending to lay siege to them; but finding the enemy made no sorties to interrupt the work, he concluded they had not sufficient resolution to make him wait so long for victory. He therefore encouraged his troops not to wear themselves out with protracted toil, as though they were besieging Veii, when victory was within their grasp; and with great alacrity on the part of the soldiers, he approached the walls from every side and captured the town with scaling ladders. The Volsci threw away their weapons and surrendered.

9. But the general's thoughts were turning to a matter of greater moment, namely Antium, which, as being the Volscian capital, he held responsible for the last war. [2] But because, without extensive equipment of artillery and engines, it was impossible to take so strong a town, he left his colleague in command of the army and proceeded to Rome, that he might urge the senate to undertake the destruction of Antium. [3] While he was speaking — I suppose it was Heaven's will that the Antian state should continue somewhat longer — envoys from Nepete and Sutrium appeared, who asked for help against the Etruscans, saying that the opportunity of lending aid would soon be past. To this quarter Fortune diverted the energies of Camillus, away from Antium. [4] For since these places were on the frontier of Etruria, and were the barriers, so to speak, and gateways of that region, the Etruscans were concerned to seize them, as often as they had any new design in hand, and the Romans to recover or defend them. [5] The senate therefore resolved to request of Camillus that he should relinquish Antium and undertake the Etruscan war, and voted him the city levies which had been under the command of Quinctius. [6] Although Camillus would have preferred the army, disciplined and used to his authority, which lay in the Volscian country, he made no objection, only stipulating that Valerius should be associated with him in the command. [7] Quinctius and Horatius were dispatched to succeed Valerius against the Volsci.

Leaving the City and marching to Sutrium, Furius and Valerius found that a part of the town was already captured by the Etruscans, and that in the other part the townspeople had barricaded the streets

and were defending themselves with great difficulty from the onslaughts of their enemies. [8] The arrival of succour from Rome, and particularly the great reputation which Camillus enjoyed with both friends and foes, checked for the moment the disastrous course of events and afforded time to render assistance. [9] Accordingly, Camillus divided the army, and directed his colleague to make a circuit with his forces and to attack the walls on the side which was held by the enemy. His hope was not so much that the city would be taken by escalade, as that the enemy might be diverted to that quarter — easing thereby the strain upon the townsmen, who were already worn out with fighting — and that he might himself have an opportunity of entering the place without encountering resistance. [10] But on this plan being put into effect simultaneously at both points, the Etruscans, finding themselves threatened on either side and seeing that the walls were being violently assailed and that the enemy was inside the city, threw themselves out by the only gate which chanced to be unguarded, in one panic-stricken throng. [11] Great was the carnage they suffered as they fled, both in the city and in the fields. Furius's men slew more within the walls; the soldiers of Valerius were more lightly equipped for pursuit, and kept up the massacre until night made it impossible to see.

[12] Having retaken Sutrium and restored it to our allies, the army marched to Nepete, which had surrendered to the Etruscans, who were now in complete possession.

10. It appeared likely that this town would be more troublesome to recover, not only because it was wholly in the hands of the enemy, but also because a faction of the Nepesini had betrayed their state and arranged the capitulation. [2] It was nevertheless decided to send word to their leaders, that they should sever themselves from the Etruscans and extend to the Romans the same trusty aid which they had requested at their hands. [3] When the reply came back that they were powerless, that the Etruscans held the walls and guarded the gates, the Romans first laid waste their fields, in an effort to frighten the townsfolk; [4] then, when the sanctity of their surrender proved to be more binding on them than that of their alliance, they gathered osiers from the fields and made fascines, and the army being led against the walls filled up the moat, erected scaling ladders, and

carried the town at the first shout and charge. [5] The Nepesini were then commanded to lay down their weapons and the order was given to spare such as were unarmed. The Etruscans were put to death, whether armed or not. Of the Nepesini, too, those who were responsible for the surrender were executed; the innocent populace were given back their possessions, and the town was left with a garrison. [6] After thus regaining from the enemy two cities of the allies, the victorious army under its tribunes marched gloriously back to Rome.

The same year demands for reparation were made upon the Latins and the Hernici, and they were asked why, during recent years, they had furnished no soldiers, as they had agreed to do. [7] Both nations replied in plenary assemblies that no blame or evil purpose attached to the state because a few of their young men had served with the Volsci. [8] These men had, for that matter, paid the penalty for their distorted judgment, and not one of them had come back; as to their having furnished no soldiers, this had been due to their constant fear of the Volsci — a pest that clung so fast to them that with all that long succession of wars they had been unable to shake it off. [9] On learning of this answer, the senators were of opinion that they lacked not so much the ground for war as a favourable opportunity.

11. In the following year, when the consular tribunes were Aulus Manlius, Publius Cornelius, Titus and Lucius Quinctius Capitolinus, Lucius Papirius Cursor (for the second time) and Gaius Sergius (for the second time), a serious foreign war broke out, and an even more serious domestic schism. [2] The war was set on foot by the Volsci, in conjunction with a revolt on the part of the Latins and Hernici; the schism originated where such a thing was least to be apprehended, with a man of patrician family and high renown, Marcus Manlius Capitolinus. [3] This man, scorning, in his overweening pride, the other nobles, but envying the one who excelled them all in honours and good qualities, namely Marcus Furius, could ill endure that Camillus should at last have attained to such solitary eminence, both amongst the magistrates and in the armies, as to have those who had been chosen under the same auspices not for colleagues but for servants; [4] whereas — if one considered the situation fairly — it would have been impossible for Marcus Furius to redeem his native

City from the leaguer of her enemies, unless Manlius himself had before that saved the Capitol and Citadel. [5] Camillus had assailed the Gauls while they were receiving the gold and while their resolution was relaxed by thoughts of peace; but he himself had driven them back, as they came on, sword in hand, in the act of taking the Citadel. Of the glory of Camillus a goodly portion belonged to all the soldiers who had conquered with him: in his own victory it was acknowledged that no mortal soever had a share. [6] Puffed up with these opinions, and being besides, through a defect of nature, impetuous and passionate, when he perceived that his abilities did not bring him that leadership amongst the nobles [??] which he thought they merited, he was the first of all the patricians to turn demagogue and to cast in his lot with the plebeian magistrates. He abused the nobles, he courted the favour of the plebs; and swept along by the breath of popularity and not by good counsel chose rather to be reputed great than virtuous. [8] Moreover, not content with agrarian proposals, which had ever served the tribunes to stir up sedition, he began an attack on credit; for he held that debt was a sharper goad, since it not only threatened poverty and shame, but terrified the freeman with the thought of shackles and imprisonment. [9] And in fact there had been a vast piling up of debts, by reason of a thing that is ruinous even to the rich, to wit, building. And so the Volscian war, grave in itself and made still graver by the defection of the Latins and Hernici, was alleged as a reason for seeking a greater authority; [10] but the revolutionary schemes of Manlius were the more compelling cause of the senate's naming a dictator. They appointed Aulus Cornelius Cossus, who appointed as his master of the horse Titus Quinctius Capitolinus.

12. The dictator perceived that a greater struggle was impending at home than abroad. But either the war demanded haste, or he believed that by a victory and triumph he could add power to the dictatorship itself. So he mustered his forces and proceeded to the Pomptine territory, which he had heard was invaded by a Volscian army.

[2] I doubt not that those who are surfeited with reading in all these books about endless wars waged with the Volsci will ask, as with great astonishment I did myself, on examining the historians who were nearer in point of time to those events, where the so oft

defeated Volsci and Aequi got their supply of soldiers. [3] But since the ancients have passed over this question in silence, what can I adduce other than an opinion such as everyone can by conjecture arrive at for himself? [4] It is probable either that in the intervals between wars successive generations sprang up — as happens nowadays in the levies of the Romans — which they used for their frequent renewals of war; or that it was not always the same tribes from which they enrolled their armies — though it was always the same nation which made war; [5] or else that there was an innumerable multitude of freemen in those regions which in our day scarce afford a scanty seed-plot for soldiers, and are only saved from becoming a waste desert by gangs of Roman slaves. [6] In any case, all the authorities would agree that the army of the Volsci was an enormous one, although their state had recently suffered a heavy blow from the generalship and auspices of Camillus. There were, besides, additional forces of Latins and Hernici, as well as a certain number from Circeii, and even Roman colonists from Velitrae.

[7] On the morning after he had made his camp, the dictator took the auspices, and coming forth from his tent offered up a victim and besought the favour of Heaven. He then with great cheerfulness presented himself before the soldiers, who were already arming by the first rays of light, as they had been warned to do when the signal for battle should be displayed. [8] “Ours is the victory, soldiers,” he exclaimed, “if the gods and the soothsayers who interpret them can at all see what is coming. And so, as befits men who with sure confidence are about to fight with those who are no match for them, let us lay our javelins at our feet and arm our right hands with swords only. I would have none run out from the line, but all stand firmly planted and receive the onset of our enemies. [9] When they have discharged their missiles without effect, and come thronging upon you where you stand, then let your blades flash out, and let every man of you bethink him that the gods are the Roman’s helpers, that the gods have with fair omens sent him into battle. [10] Do you, Titus Quinctius, hold back your cavalry and watch for the first beginning of the mellay; when you see that the lines are already close-locked, foot to foot, then loose the terrors of your horse against them, while they are taken up with another fear; charge them as they fight, and

break their ranks.” [11] so horse and foot fought exactly as they had been ordered; the general failed not his legions, nor fortune the general.

13. The hostile multitude, relying on numbers only and measuring both armies with their eyes, recklessly began the fight and as recklessly gave it up; [2] their boldness went no further than the battle-cry, the discharge of missiles, and the first fury of the onset; the play of swords, when foot met foot, and the glance of the foeman that darted out the fire of his spirit, they could not abide. [3] Their front was first driven in and communicated its disorder to the supports; the horsemen, too, inspired a terror of their own; next the ranks were broken at many points, and all was in commotion, and the line resembled a surging wave. Then, as soon as each began to see that with the fall of those in front his own turn to be killed would soon be coming, they turned and fled. [4] The Romans pressed on after them, and as long as they retained their arms and withdrew in masses, it was the infantry’s task to pursue them; but when the enemy were seen to be throwing away their weapons on every hand and their army to be dispersed in flight over the fields; then the cavalry squadrons were let loose, with orders not to stop to kill single fugitives and afford meanwhile an opportunity to the main body of escaping; [5] it was sufficient if by darting missiles at them to alarm them, and by riding across their path, they should hold the column in check, till the infantry could overtake the enemy and utterly destroy them. [6] Flight and pursuit continued until nightfall. The Volscian camp was also captured the same day and sacked, and all the booty except the persons of freemen was turned over to the soldiers. [7] The chief part of the prisoners consisted of Latins and Hernici, not all of whom were plebeians, such as might be supposed to have served as mercenaries, but certain youths of high rank were discovered, a clear proof that their states had publicly countenanced the Volscian enemy. [8] Some, again, were recognized as being from Circeii and from the colony at Velitrae. They were all sent to Rome, and being questioned by the chief senators, gave the same answers they had given the dictator, and in no uncertain terms laid bare the defection of their respective peoples.

14. The dictator maintained his army in camp, not doubting in the

least that the senate would declare war on those nations; when a greater disturbance broke out at home and obliged them to summon him to the City, where the sedition was increasing from day to day, and occasioned more than the usual alarm by reason of the man who was behind it. [2] For now not only the speeches of Marcus Manlius, but his actions as well, while ostensibly democratic, were really revolutionary, considering the purpose which inspired them. [3] A centurion renowned for military prowess had been condemned for debt. As he was being led away, Manlius caught sight of him, and hastening to his side through the midst of the Forum with his band of retainers, he laid hold of him, and exclaiming at the arrogance of the patricians, the heartlessness of the money-lenders, the sufferings of the plebs, and the merits and misfortunes of this man, [4??] “Then in very truth,” he cried, “was it all in vain that with this right hand I saved the Capitol and the Citadel, if I am to see my fellow citizen and fellow soldier carried off a captive — as though the Gauls had conquered us — to servitude and chains!” [5] He then paid the money to the creditor in full sight of the people, and with the ceremony of the scales and bronze redeemed the debtor and set him free, to invoke the blessing of gods and men on Marcus Manlius, his liberator, the father of the Roman plebs. [6] The man was at once received into the midst of a tumultuous throng, and added to the tumult by displaying the scars he had received in the Veientine, the Gallic, and other successive wars. [7] While he had himself been fighting, he said, and rebuilding his ruined home, he had been overwhelmed with usury, though he had paid already many times the amount of the capital debt, for the interest always swallowed up the principal; [8] that he beheld the light of day, the Forum, the faces of his fellow citizens, he owed to the generosity of Marcus Manlius, at whose hands he had experienced all the loving-kindness of parents; to him he solemnly devoted his remaining strength and life and blood; what ties soever bound him to native land and the gods of his state and family, bound him to one man alone. [9] Excited by these words, the commons were already at the beck of a single man, when Manlius did another thing even better calculated to promote a general embroilment. [10] For he gave a farm in the Veientine district, which formed the main part of his fortune, to an auctioneer to sell,— “that I may not suffer one of

your number, Quirites,” said he, “to be condemned, made over, and carried off to slavery, so long as anything of my estate remains.” At this their ardour was so kindled that it was clear that in every measure, right or wrong, they would follow the champion of their liberty.

[11] Besides this he delivered in his house harangues that were full of accusation against the patricians; amongst other things, he declared, with reckless indifference to truth or falsehood, that the patricians were concealing treasures of Gallic gold, and were no longer content with possessing the state lands, unless they could also divert to their own use the money of the state — money which, if it were employed for the common weal, would suffice to clear the plebs of debt. On this hope being held out to them, the commons felt that they were indeed ill-used. [12] When, they said, it had been necessary to raise gold for the redemption of their City from the Gauls, it had been collected by taxation; but this same gold, after being captured from the enemy, had become the spoil of a few. [13] They therefore persistently demanded to be told where all that stolen money was hid; and when he put them off with the promise that he would tell them at the proper time, they dropped their other concerns and became one and all so absorbed in this, that it was evident he would reap no little gratitude if his report proved true, and no small offence if it turned out to be false.

15. Such was the critical state of affairs when the dictator was sent for from the army and came to Rome. Next day he held a meeting of the senate, and having satisfied himself of the people’s support, he commanded the senators not to leave him, and coming forth with a great company of them into the Comitium, he there set up his curule chair and dispatched an officer for Marcus Manlius. [2] Being thus summoned by order of the dictator, Manlius signalled to his friends that the struggle was [3??] at hand, and advanced with a great train of followers to the tribunal. [4] On this side were ranged the senators, on that the plebs, looking, every man of them, to his respective leader, as though they had formed up for battle. Then, having obtained silence, the dictator began: “I would,” said he, “that I arid the senators of Rome might agree with the plebs in all things else as readily as I am confident we shall do regarding you, Manlius, and the

demand I am about to make of you. [5] I perceive that you have caused the citizens to hope that the money which has been lent may be repaid, without injury to credit, out of Gallic treasure which prominent patricians are concealing. [6] This proposal I am so far from hindering, that on the contrary I exhort you, Marcus Manlius, to free the Roman plebs from usury, and dislodge from their secret hoards those men who are brooding jealously over the public treasure; which if you do not, whether that you may share the spoil yourself, or because your story is a lie, I shall order you into custody, nor suffer you any longer to excite the multitude with delusive hopes.”

[7] To this Manlius replied that he had not failed to perceive that the appointment of a dictator was aimed, not at the Volsci, who were enemies whenever it suited the convenience of the patricians, nor at the Latins and Hernici, whom they were driving by false accusations to take up arms, but at himself and the Roman plebs. [8] And now they had dropped their pretended war and were attacking him; now the dictator was coming out as the champion of the money-lenders against the plebs; and they were seeking now to derive from the people’s friendliness to him some charge that might lead to his destruction. [9] “Does it offend you,” he asked, “Aulus Cornelius, and you, Conscript Fathers, that a crowd attends me? Why do you not take it from me by doing, each of you, acts of kindness, by saving debtors, by rescuing your fellow citizens from prison, by preventing the enslavement of those who have been condemned and assigned, by employing your superfluity of wealth to sustain the necessities of others? [10] But why should I ask of you that you spend of your own money? Receive what is outstanding of the original debts, after deducting from the principal what has been paid in interest, and my retinue will soon attract no more notice than any man’s. But why, you will ask, am I the only man to be concerned for my fellow citizens? [11] I can no more answer you than if you were to ask why I was the only man to save the Capitol and Citadel. [12] As then — to the best of my ability — I helped the people at large, so now will I help single persons. And touching the Gallic treasure — the thing itself is simple, but your questioning makes it difficult. For why do you ask about a thing you know? Why do you bid us shake out what

is in your purses, and not rather lay it down yourselves — unless there is some cheat involved? [13] The more you bid us expose your sleight-of-hand, the more I fear you may have robbed us even of our eyes, while we were watching you. And so it is not I that must be forced to tell of your plunder, but you that must be compelled to give it up.”

16. But the dictator bade him cease to quibble, and insisted that he should either make his indictment good or confess to the crime of having accused the senate falsely and exposed it to the unmerited odium of a charge of theft; and when Manlius refused to speak at the pleasure of his enemies, he commanded him to be imprisoned. [2] On being arrested by the attendant, Manlius cried out, “Jupiter Optimus Maximus, and Queen Juno and Minerva, and all ye other gods and goddesses that dwell in the Capitol and in the Citadel, is it thus ye suffer your soldier and protector to be tormented by his adversaries? [3] Shall this right arm wherewith I routed the Gauls from your shrines be now chained and fettered?” There was none that could endure to behold or hear this shame; but there were certain rules of conduct which the citizens, deeply submissive to regular authority, had made inviolable; nor did either the tribunes of the plebs or the plebs themselves dare to lift their eyes or open their mouths against the power of the dictator. [4] But after Manlius was cast into gaol, it is certain that a great part of the people put on mourning, and that many men permitted their hair and beards to grow, and that a mournful throng hung about the entrance to the prison.

[5] The dictator triumphed over the Volsci, but gained more ill-will thereby than glory; for men murmured that he had earned it, not in the field, but at home, not over an enemy, but over a citizen; one thing only had been lacking to his arrogance, in that Marcus Manlius had not been led before his car. [6] By this time the feeling was grown well-nigh seditious; and to appease it the senate — though none demanded it — became all at once a voluntary giver, and commanded two thousand Roman citizens to be led out to plant a colony at Satricum. [7] Two *iugera* and a half of land were allotted them; but since they chose to regard it as too little, and only given to a few, and as being the price of Manlius’s condemnation, the remedy but aggravated the sedition. [8] And now the Manlian party were more

conspicuous than before, both for their sordid dress and for the sorrowful countenances of defendants; men's fears had been removed by the abdication of the dictator, following his triumph, and their tongues and spirits had been set free.

17. Accordingly one began to hear the opinion openly expressed that the people were to blame, because they always by their favours raised their champions to a dizzy eminence, and then at the critical juncture left them in the lurch: [2] it had been so with Spurius Cassius and with Spurius Maelius, of whom the former was destroyed while summoning the people to the land, and the latter while endeavouring at his own expense to stave off starvation from his fellow citizens; [3] it was so with Marcus Manlius, who, finding a part of the citizens overwhelmed and sunk in debt, was dragging them out into light and liberty, when they betrayed him to his adversaries; the plebs fattened their own defenders for the shambles. Was this the penalty a consular must undergo, if he answered not when the dictator nodded to him? [4] Let them assume that he had lied before, and for that reason was then unable to reply: what slave had ever been cast into prison for a lie? Did they not recall that night which had almost been the last eternal night of the Roman name? Could they not see the line of Gauls scaling the Tarpeian Rock? Could they not see Marcus Manlius himself, as they had seen him, covered with sweat and blood, when he had rescued as it were Jupiter himself from the hands of our enemies? [5] Had their half-pound measures of meal required the saviour of their country? Would they suffer one whom they had well-nigh made a god, and in surname, at any rate, the equal of Jupiter Capitolinus, to be confined in prison, and to draw his breath in darkness, at the mercy of the executioner? When one man had been quite able to help them all, was there no help in so many men for one? [6] By this time the crowd would not even leave the place at night and were threatening that they would force the gaol, when suddenly, just as they were about to rescue Manlius, the senate voted to release him — an act which, instead of ending the sedition, supplied it with a leader.

[7] At about this time came Latins and Hernici, with colonists from Circeii and from Velitrae, to clear themselves of the charge of joining in the Volscian war and to ask for the release of the captives,

that they might punish them in accordance with their own laws. They were harshly answered — especially the colonists, because, though Roman citizens, they had formed the impious design of attacking their native country. [8] And so they were not only denied the captives, but received a rebuke which the allies were spared; being commanded in the name of the senate to make haste and depart the City, out of the presence and sight of the Roman People, lest they should find no protection in the rights of envoys, which were meant for foreigners, not for citizens.

18. The sedition of Manlius was breaking out afresh, towards the end of the year, when an election was held which resulted in the choice of the following consular tribunes: Servius Cornelius Maluginensis (for the second time), Publius Valerius Potitus (for the second), Marcus Furius Camillus (for the fifth), Servius Sulpicius Rufus (for the second), Gaius Papirius Crassus, and (for the second time) Titus Quinctius Cincinnatus. [2] The peace which was enjoyed in the early part of this year was equally advantageous to the patricians and to the plebs; to the plebs because, not being called to service by the levy, they had hopes that they might be able under their powerful leader to storm the stronghold of usury; to the patricians, because they desired not to be diverted by any foreign peril from healing the sores of the state. [3] Accordingly both sides had taken the field with much more spirit, and the hour of conflict was now at hand. Manlius indeed was inviting the plebeians to his house, and night and day discussing with their leaders plans for accomplishing the revolution, for he was much bolder and more resentful than before. [4] His wrath had been kindled by his recent humiliations, for his pride was a stranger to insult; and his courage had waxed, as he considered that the dictator had not dared to serve him as Quinctius Cincinnatus had served Spurius Maelius, and that his imprisonment had aroused such hatred as not only the dictator had resigned his office to escape, but even the senate had been unable to endure. [5] At once elated and exasperated by these thoughts, he began to work upon the already excited emotions of the plebs.

“How long, pray,” he asked them, “will you remain ignorant of your own strength, which nature has willed that even brutes shall know? At least count up your numbers and the number of your

adversaries. For as many as you were that gathered as clients about a single patron, so many shall you now be against a single enemy. [6] If you were going to meet them man for man, I should still believe that you would fight more fiercely for your liberty than they for domination. [7] Make but a show of war, and you shall have peace. Let them see you ready to resist, and they will give you your rights of their own accord. [8] We must all unite in some bold stroke, or else, divided, submit to every evil. How long will you keep looking round for me? It is true I shall not fail a single one of you; but you must see to it that fortune fail not me. I myself, your champion, was suddenly brought to naught, when it pleased your enemies; and you all beheld that man dragged off to prison who had protected each of yourselves from imprisonment. [9] What can I expect, if my enemies grow bolder? Must I look forward to dying like Cassius and Maelius? You do well to express abhorrence. The gods *will* forbid such a thing; but they will never come down from heaven on my account; they must give you the inspiration to forbid it, as they gave me, in war and in peace, the inspiration to defend you from the barbarity of your foes and the arrogance of your fellow citizens. [10] Is there so little spirit in this great people that you are always satisfied with the help your tribunes lend you against your adversaries, and never quarrel with the senators, save as to the length you will suffer them to go in ruling you? And this is no native trait in you, but you are slaves by use. [11] Why, pray, are you so high and mighty with foreigners as to deem yourselves meet to be their lords? [12] It is because you have been used to vie with them for sovereignty; but against these men, though you make attempts at gaining your liberty, you are not used to defend it. Nevertheless, with such leaders as you have had, and such courage as you yourselves could muster, you have thus far obtained, by violence or good fortune, whatever you have sought. [13] The time has come to attempt even greater things. Do but make trial of your own good fortune and of me, whom, as I think, you have already happily proved; you will find it less trouble to impose a ruler on the patricians, than you encountered in imposing tribunes on them to resist their rule. [14] Dictatorships and consulships must be levelled with the ground, that the Roman plebs may be enabled to lift its head. [15] Stand by me, then; prevent all court-proceedings regarding

moneys; I avow myself the patron of the commons — a title with which my zeal and loyalty have invested me: if you choose to give your leader a more striking title of authority or honour, you will find him the more able to make good your wishes.” [16] It was thus, they say, that the agitation for kingly power was begun; but there is no very clear tradition with whom or to what length his plans were matured.

19. On the other side the senate were discussing the secret gathering of the plebs in a private house — a house, too, that, as it happened, was situated in the Citadel — and the grave danger that threatened liberty. [2] The majority exclaimed that a Servilius Ahala was needed, one who would not exasperate a public enemy by ordering his imprisonment, but would sacrifice a single citizen to end a domestic war. [3] However, they had recourse to a proposal which sounded milder, though its force was identical, namely, that the magistrates should see to it that the republic took no harm by the ruinous devices of Marcus Manlius. [4] Thereupon the consular tribunes and the tribunes of the plebs — for they too, perceiving that their own authority would come to an end with the general liberty, had made their submission to the Fathers — all these men, I say, thereupon took counsel together, what was needful to be done. [5] They could none of them see any way but violence and bloodshed, which would clearly involve a mighty struggle, when Marcus Menenius and Quintus Publilius, tribunes of the plebs, addressed them as follows: “Why do we make a conflict between patricians and plebeians out of what ought to be the quarrel of the state with a single pestilent citizen? [6] Why in attacking him do we attack the plebs as well, when it is safer to attack him by the help of this same plebs, that his very strength may bring about his ruin? [7] We propose to summon him to trial. Nothing is less popular than kingly power. As soon as the populace, perceiving that our quarrel is not with them, are changed from supporters into judges, and see that the prosecutors are plebeians, the defendant a patrician, and the accusation that of seeking to set up a kingdom, they will not favour any man at the expense of their own liberty.”

20. This argument won universal approbation, and Manlius was indicted. The first effect of this was to rouse [??] great feeling in the

commons, especially when they saw the defendant meanly clad and not attended by a single senator, or even by his kinsmen or connexions, or indeed by his own brothers, Aulus and Titus Manlius. That a man's nearest friends should not join him in assuming mourning in an hour so fraught with danger to him, was something that had never until that day occurred. [3] They remembered that on the imprisonment of Appius Claudius, his enemy Gaius Claudius and all the Claudian family had gone into mourning; and they concluded that there must be a general conspiracy to put down the people's friend because he had been the first to forsake the patricians for the plebs.

[4] The day of the trial came, but I do not find it stated in any authority what facts were alleged by his accusers that bore directly on the charge of plotting to establish a kingdom, except gatherings of the populace and seditious expressions and his largesses and false charge; [5] and yet I doubt not they were of moment, since the reluctance of the plebs to condemn him was not owing to his cause but to the place. One thing appears worthy of remark, that men may know what great and glorious achievements a vile lust for regal power rendered not merely thankless but actually hateful. [6] It is said that he brought forward nearly four hundred men to whom he had lent money without interest, thus saving their goods from being sold and their persons from enslavement; [7] that besides this the military distinctions which he not only enumerated but produced for all to see, comprised the spoils of thirty enemies whom he had slain, and some forty decorations from his generals, amongst which were conspicuous two mural and eight civic crowns; [8] that he told, besides, of citizens saved from the enemy, and among these named Gaius Servilius, the master of the horse, who was not present. [9] And after rehearsing his services in war, in a speech as magnificent as the height of his achievements and equalling his deeds with its words, he is said to have bared his breast, marked with the scars of battle, and gazing steadily at the Capitol to have called on Jupiter and the other gods to help him, that they might inspire the Roman People in his hour of danger with the same spirit they had given him when he defended the Capitoline Hill; and to have implored the Romans one and all to fix their eyes on the Capitol and Citadel, and turn to the

immortal gods while they judged him.

[10] In the Campus Martius, when the people were being called by centuries, and the defendant, stretching forth his hands to the Capitol, had turned from men to make his prayers to the gods, the tribunes clearly saw that unless they could also emancipate men's eyes from the associations of so glorious a deed, no accusation, however true, could ever find lodgment in their grateful hearts. [11] And so they adjourned the day of trial and appointed a council of the people to meet in the Peteline Wood outside the Flumentane Gate, whence no prospect of the Capitol was afforded. There they made good their charge; men steeled their hearts and pronounced a dolorous judgment, abhorrent to the very ones who rendered it. [12] Some authorities assert that he was condemned by duumvirs appointed to deal with a charge of treason. The tribunes flung him from the Tarpeian Rock, and the same spot served to commemorate extraordinary fame and the extremity of punishment, as experienced by the self-same man.

[13] To his death were added marks of ignominy: one of a public nature, because the people were asked to vote that, since his house had stood where the temple and mint of Moneta now are, no patrician might dwell in the Citadel or the Capitol; [14] the other proceeding from his family, in that the Manlian clan made a decree forbidding anyone thenceforth to bear the name of Marcus Manlius. Such was the end of a man who, had he not been born in a free state, would have left a memorable name. [15] In a short time the people, remembering — now that he was no longer a source of danger — only his good qualities, regretted him. Moreover a pestilence soon ensued, and caused a heavy mortality for which there were no obvious causes, and this many people ascribed to the execution of Manlius: [16] the Capitol, they said, had been polluted by the blood of its saviour, and the gods had not been pleased that the man who had rescued their temples from the hands of the enemy, should be punished almost under their very eyes.

21. The pestilence was succeeded by a scarcity of corn, and in the following year, when the rumour of these two misfortunes had got abroad, by various wars. The consular tribunes were Lucius Valerius (for the fourth time), Aulus Manlius (for the third), Servius Sulpicius

(for the third), Lucius Lucretius, Lucius Aemilius (for the third time) and Marcus Trebonius. [2] Besides the Volsci, who had been provided, as it were by a kind of fatality, to furnish perpetual occupation for the Roman arms, and the colonies of Circeii and Velitrae, which had long been scheming a rebellion, and the Latins, whose loyalty was suspected, a new enemy suddenly rose up at Lanuvium, a city which until then had been very faithful. [3] Believing that they were now actuated by contempt, on finding the revolt of the Veliterni, who were Roman citizens, to go so long unpunished, the senate decreed that a proposal should be laid before the people, at the earliest possible moment, for declaring war on them; [4] and, to make the plebs readier for this campaign, they appointed five commissioners to divide up the Pomptine land, and three to conduct a colony to Nepete. [5] They then asked the people for a declaration of war, and notwithstanding the opposition of the plebeian tribunes, all the tribes voted for war. [6] Preparations for the campaign were made that year, but owing to the pestilence the army did not take the field. This delay would have given the colonists time to sue the senate for pardon — and in fact a majority of them were in favour of sending an embassy to Rome to make submission — [7] but danger to the commonwealth was bound up, as often happens, with that of individuals, and the ring-leaders of the revolt were so afraid of the Romans — lest they alone might be charged with the crime and offered up as a sacrifice to Roman indignation — that they turned the colonies away from peaceful counsels. [8] Moreover, not content with merely opposing the embassy in their senate, they egged on a great part of the commons to go out and pillage the Roman lands; and this new outrage destroyed all hope of peace. [9] The Praenestines, too, were that year, for the first time, reported as disloyal; evidence against them was given by the Tusculans, the Gabini, and the Labicani, whose borders they had invaded; but the senate returned so mild an answer that it was evident that they refused to believe in the charges because they wished them not to be true.

22. The next year Spurius and Lucius Papirius, the new consular tribunes, led the levies to Velitrae, while their four colleagues, Servius Cornelius Maluginensis (in his third term), Quintus Servilius, Gaius Sulpicius, and Lucius Aemilius (in his fourth term), remained

behind to protect the City and to guard against any fresh commotion which might be reported from Etruria — a quarter from which everything was suspected. [2] Near Velitrae the Romans defeated an army in which auxiliaries from Praeneste almost outnumbered the colonists themselves; but the city was so close at hand that, as it occasioned their early retreat, so it afforded them their only refuge. The tribunes abstained from attacking the place; they were not certain of succeeding, nor did they think it right to aim at the extermination of the colony. [3] In the letter which they sent to the senate in Rome, announcing the victory, they were more severe upon the enemies from Praeneste than upon those of Velitrae.

[4] And so, by resolution of the senate and popular enactment, war was proclaimed against the people of Praeneste; who, uniting in the following year with the Volsci, attacked the Roman colony of Satricum, and having carried it, despite the obstinate resistance of the colonists, abused their victory by cruel treatment of the captives. [5] This incensed the Romans, and they elected Marcus Furius Camillus tribune of the soldiers, for the sixth time. To be his colleagues they gave him Aulus and Lucius Postumius Regillensis and Lucius Furius, together with Lucius Lucretius and Marcus Fabius Ambustus.

[6] The Volscian war was entrusted, out of the regular course, to Marcus Furius. Of the other tribunes, Lucius Furius was assigned him by lot for his assistant, not so much (it should seem) for the good of the commonwealth, as that he might be the source of all honour to his colleague; who gained it in his public capacity because he made good what the other's rashness had lost, and as a man because he used the error of Lucius to earn his gratitude rather than glory for himself. Camillus was now extremely old. [7] At the election he was prepared to excuse himself by taking the customary oath on the score of health, had not the unanimous wishes of the people prevented him. But a lusty spirit flourished in his sturdy breast, and his senses were as keen as ever; and though he no longer much concerned himself with politics, wars excited him. [8] He enrolled four legions, each of four thousand men, appointed the army to assemble on the following day at the Esquiline Gate, and marched on Satricum. There the conquerors of the colony were waiting for him, undismayed, for they confided in their numbers, in which they possessed a considerable

superiority. [9] On perceiving the approach of the Romans they formed up at once. It was their purpose to engage immediately in a decisive battle; for so the numerical weakness of their enemies would derive no help from the skill of their unique commander, which constituted — so they assumed — their sole reliance.

23. There was the same ardour in the Roman army, and in one of its generals. The hazard of an immediate battle was only postponed by the wisdom and the authority of one man, who sought an opportunity to supplement his resources with strategy, by prolonging the campaign. [2] This made the enemy the more urgent, and, no longer content with deploying their line before the camp, they advanced into the middle of the field, and, marching up almost to the rampart of the Romans, displayed the proud confidence which their strength gave them. [3] The Roman soldiers were mortified at this, and even more mortified was one of their two tribunes, Lucius Furius. His youth and native disposition made him head strong, and the utterly baseless enthusiasm of the rank and file filled him with assurance. [4] The soldiers were already in a state of excitement, but he further instigated them by disparaging his colleague in the only possible way, on the score of age. [5] Wars, he insisted, were the province of youth; the growth and decay of the spirit kept pace with those of the body; the most energetic of soldiers was become a procrastinator, and he who had been wont to storm a camp or a city on the first approach, was sitting still and wasting time behind intrenchments. [6] What accession to his own strength did he look for, or what diminution of the enemy's? What opportunity, what favourable moment, what ground for an ambush was he making ready? [7] The old man's strategy was cold and torpid. But why, though Camillus had had enough both of life and of glory, should they permit the state, which ought to be immortal, to sink into decrepitude in company with the mortal body of one man?

[8] When he had won over the entire army by these speeches, and the men were everywhere demanding battle, he said to his colleague: "Marcus Furius, we can no longer resist the enthusiasm of the soldiers; and the enemy, whose courage we have augmented by our delay, is insulting us with an arrogance no longer to be endured. Give way, for you are alone against us all, and suffer yourself to be

overcome in counsel, that you may overcome the sooner in war.” [9] To this Camillus replied that in the wars which up to that day had been conducted under his sole auspices neither the Roman People nor himself had repented of his strategy or fortune; he was aware that he had now a colleague of equal commission and authority, and of more vigorous years; [10] and so, although — as regarded the army — he was accustomed not to be governed but to govern, yet he had no power to thwart the authority of his associate. [11] Let him proceed, with Heaven’s blessing, to do what he thought best for the commonwealth: for his own grey hairs he begged this favour, that he might not be assigned to the front; of such duties as belonged in war to an old man he would not be negligent. One thing he entreated of the immortal gods: that no mischance might occur, to make his own appear to have been the wiser plan. [12] But neither did men heed these salutary words, nor the immortal gods his loyal prayers. The man responsible for the engagement marshalled the battle-line. Camillus provided adequate supports, and stationed a strong out-guard before the camp; he then took up his post on an eminence, and watched intently for the issue of another’s strategy. 24. At the very instant of the first clash of arms the enemy gave ground, not out of fear, but guile. [2] Behind them the ground sloped gently up from the battle-line to their camp; and having plenty of men they had left a few strong cohorts armed and drawn up within the camp, which were to sally forth when the fighting had got under way, and the Romans had approached the rampart. [3] The Romans pursued the retreating enemy without order, and were drawn into an unfavourable position, where this attack could be made upon them with advantage. Thus the victors were threatened in their turn, and, what with the new foe and the declivity, the Roman line gave way. [4] They were closely pressed by the fresh Volsci who had made the sortie, and those, too, who had pretended flight renewed the battle. [5] And now the Roman soldiers were no longer retiring in order, but regardless of their late impetuosity and their ancient fame, had turned their backs and were everywhere in full flight towards the camp; when Camillus was lifted into the saddle by his attendants, and rapidly throwing his reserves into the fight, “Soldiers,” he cried, “is this the battle you demanded? What man, what god is there, whom you could accuse? Yours was

the rashness then, now the infamy is yours. [6] You have followed another leader: follow now Camillus, and, as your habit is when I am leading, conquer. Why do you look on the rampart and the camp? Not one of you shall find entrance there, save as a victor.”

[7] A sense of shame at first checked their headlong flight; then, as they saw the standards face about and the line form up against the enemy, while their general, distinguished for his many triumphs and rendered venerable by his age, exposed himself at the front amidst the ensigns, where the fighting and the danger were the greatest, they began each and every one to cry out against themselves and their fellows, and their mutual encouragements ran through the entire army in a ringing cheer. [8] Nor was the other tribune behindhand, but being sent by his colleague — who was re-forming the line of foot — to rally the horse, he did not chide them — for his share in their fault would have made this of little use — but turning wholly from commands to entreaties, he besought them one and all to save him from the guilt of that day’s mishap, for which he was responsible. [9] “Notwithstanding,” he said, “the refusal and the opposition of my colleague, I gave my adhesion to the general recklessness in preference to the prudence of one man. [10] Camillus sees glory for himself, whichever way your fortune turns; but I, if the battle is not restored, shall experience the utter misery of sharing with everybody the disaster, while enduring the infamy alone.” It seemed best, as the battle-line was wavering, to dismiss the horses and attack the enemy on foot. Conspicuous for their arms and their courage, they advanced where they saw the foot-soldiers hardest pressed. [11] Neither generals nor soldiers relaxed their utmost efforts, and the help afforded by their brave exertions was felt in the result. The Volsci fled in a genuine panic over the ground where they had lately pretended fear. Great numbers of them were slain both in the battle itself and in the flight which followed; the others were cut down in the camp, which was captured in the same charge; but more were made prisoners than were slain.

25. In taking account of the prisoners, they recognized some as being Tusculans. These were separated from the rest and brought before the tribunes, to whom they confessed, on being questioned, that they had served at the bidding of the state. [2] The danger of so

near a war disturbed Camillus, who declared that he would straightway carry the prisoners to Rome, that the Fathers might not be kept in ignorance how the Tusculans had broken the alliance. [3] In the meantime he proposed that his colleague should, if agreeable, take charge of the camp and the army. A single day had taught Lucius Furius not to prefer his own to wiser counsels, yet neither he nor anyone in the army supposed that Camillus would condone his fault, which had plunged the commonwealth into such desperate peril; [4] and everybody, not in the army only, but also in Rome, agreed in saying, that in the ups and downs of the Volscian war, the responsibility for the defeat and flight lay with Lucius Furius, and all the credit for the victory with Camillus. [5] But when the prisoners had been introduced into the senate, and the Fathers, having decided that they must make war on Tusculum, had designated Camillus to conduct it, he requested that he might have a single lieutenant to assist him, and being permitted to select any one of his colleagues whom he might desire, contrary to everybody's expectation he selected Lucius Furius — an instance of magnanimity which, while it lightened the disgrace of his colleague, also brought great honour to himself.

[6] But no war was, in fact, waged with the Tusculans: by their steadfast adherence to peace they saved themselves from violation by the Romans, as they could not have done by resorting to arms. [7] When the Romans entered their territory, they did not withdraw from the places near the line of march, nor break off their labour in the fields; the gates of their city stood wide open; the citizens, wearing the toga, came out in great numbers to meet the generals; [8] and provisions for the army were obligingly brought into the camp from the city and the farms. [9] Camillus set up his camp before the gates, and desirous of knowing whether the same aspect of peace prevailed within the walls that was displayed in the country, entered the city and beheld the house-doors open, the shops with their shutters off and all their wares exposed, the craftsmen all busy at their respective trades, the schools buzzing with the voices of the scholars, crowds in the streets, and women and children going about amongst the rest, this way and that, as their several occasions called them — with [10] never anywhere an indication of surprise, much less of fear. [11] He

looked everywhere for any visible evidence that a war had been on foot; but there was no sign that anything had been either removed or brought out for the moment; everything looked so undisturbed and peaceful that it seemed scarce credible that so much as a rumour of war should have come there.

26. Overcome therefore by the enemy's submissiveness, he commanded their senate to be called. "Men of Tusculum," he said, "until now you alone have discovered the right weapons and the right resources with which to defend your possessions from the resentment of the Romans. [2] Go to Rome, to the senate; the Fathers will determine whether you have deserved more punishment hitherto or pardon now. I will not forestall them by accepting your gratitude for a favour that must be granted by the state; from me you shall have an opportunity to solicit mercy; the answer to your suit must be such as the senate sees fit to make."

[3] When the Tusculans arrived in Rome, and the senators of a people who before had been faithful allies appeared in the vestibule of the Curia, covered with dejection, the Fathers were straightway moved, and in a spirit that had already more in it of hospitality than hostility bade them be at once admitted. [4] The Tusculan dictator thus addressed them: "Though you declared war on us and invaded our country, Conscript Fathers, we went forth to meet your generals and your legions armed and accoutred exactly as you now behold us standing in the entrance of your senate-house. [5] Such has ever been our garb and the garb of our people — ay, and ever shall be — save at such times as we have been armed by you and for your defence. We give thanks to your commanders and your armies, since they have believed their eyes more than their ears, and where they encountered no hostility, themselves have showed none. [6] The peace we have used towards you, we ask of you in return; direct your war, we beseech you, to that quarter where war, if anywhere, exists; if we must try, by suffering, what your arms can achieve against ourselves, we will try unarmed. [7] Such is our resolution; Heaven send it be not less fortunate than loyal. As to the charges which stirred you to declare a war, though it skills not to disprove with words what facts have already confuted, still, even were they true, we think we might safely plead guilty to them, since our repentance is so evident. Let

men wrong you, so long as you continue worthy to receive such amends.” [8] To this purport was the speech of the Tusculans. They were granted peace for the present, and not long after were even admitted to be citizens. The legions were withdrawn from Tusculum.

27. Renowned for his strategy and courage in the Volscian war and his success in the expedition against Tusculum, and for his singular gentleness and generosity on both occasions towards his colleague, Camillus laid down his office, after announcing the election of military tribunes for the ensuing year. [2] The successful candidates were Lucius and Publius Valerius (Lucius for the fifth and Publius for the third time), Gaius Sergius (for the third time), Lucius Menenius (for the second time), Publius Papirius, and Servius Cornelius Maluginensis. [3] There was need also this year of censors, chiefly on account of the uncertain reports which were going about in regard to debt. The tribunes of the plebs even exaggerated the extent of this grievance, whereas it was understated by those who were interested in having it appear that loans were more in danger from the bad faith than the bad fortune of the debtors. [4] The censors chosen were Gaius Sulpicius Camerinus and Spurius Postumius Regillensis, and they had already set about their task, when it was interrupted by the death of Postumius; for there were religious scruples against replacing the colleague of a censor. [5] So then, Sulpicius resigned, and other censors were elected, but, owing to a defect in the election, did not serve. The senate could not bring itself to proceed to a third election, being persuaded that the gods would permit no censorship that year. [6] But this irresolution the tribunes characterized as an intolerable mockery of the plebs. The senate, they said, was seeking to avoid the evidence of witnesses and public records regarding the property of every man, because they were unwilling it should be seen how great was the volume of debt, which would show that half of the state had been ruined by the other half, while the debt-ridden plebs were in the meantime being exposed to one enemy after another; [7] wars were now sought indiscriminately, far and wide; from Antium the legions had been marched to Satricum, from Satricum to Velitrae, from there to Tusculum; now it was the Latins, the Hernici and the Praenestini who were threatened with attack, more out of hatred of Rome’s citizens than of her

enemies. The object was to wear the plebeians out with service and give them no time to take breath in the City, or leisure to bethink them of liberty or to stand in the assembly, where they might sometimes hear the voice of a tribune urging the reduction of interest and the removal of their other grievances. [8] But if the plebs had the spirit to recall their fathers' liberty, they would allow no Roman citizen to be bound to a creditor, nor any levy to be held, until the amount of indebtedness had been examined and a plan for lessening it put into operation, that every man might know what was his own and what another's, and whether his person was still free, or whether even that was owing to the gaol.

[9] The reward held out to sedition soon brought sedition to a head. For many were being bound over, and the senate had voted to enlist new levies on the rumour of hostilities at Praeneste. Both these proceedings began at the same time to be interfered with by the exercise of the tribunician protection and the common action of the plebs; for the tribunes would not allow those who had been bound over to be led away, nor would the young men give in their names. [10] The patricians were for the moment less concerned with enforcing the law of debt than with the levy — not unnaturally, since the enemy were reported as having already set out from Praeneste and encamped in the territory of Gabii — but [11] on the tribunes of the plebs this intelligence had acted more as an incentive to the struggle they had undertaken than as a deterrent, and the only thing that was able to allay the quarrel in the City was the approach of the enemy to its very walls.

28. For when the Praenestini were informed that no army had been enrolled in Rome, that there was no one definitely in command, that patricians and plebeians had turned against each other, their leaders [2??] concluded that their opportunity had come, and quickly putting their troops in motion, they devastated the fields along their line of march and advanced against the Colline Gate. [3] Great was the consternation in the City. The call to arms was given, and men hurried to the walls and gates. [4] They had turned at last from domestic strife to war, and proceeded to make Titus Quinctius Cincinnatus dictator, who named Aulus Sempronius Atratinus master of the horse. No sooner was this known — so great was the terror the

dictatorship inspired — than the enemy at once withdrew from before the walls, and the Romans of military age assembled without offering objection, in accordance with the edict.

[5] While the army was being enrolled at Rome, the enemy had gone into camp not far from the Allia. [6] From this centre they pillaged in all directions, and boasted to one another that they had occupied a position that was fraught with fate for the City of Rome; there would be another rout there like the one in the Gallic war; for if the Romans feared a day infected with evil omen and marked it with the name of that place, how much more than the Day of the Allia would they dread the Allia itself, that memorial of their great defeat? [7] They were sure to behold there apparitions of ruthless Gauls, and to have the sound of their voices in their ears. Indulging these idle speculations on idle themes, they had rested their hopes on the fortune of the place. [8] The Romans on the other hand were well assured that wherever their Latin enemy was, he was one whom they had conquered at Lake Regillus and had held in peaceable subjection for a hundred years; a place notorious for the memory of disaster would rather inspire them to wipe out the recollection of the disgrace than cause them to fear that any ground was inauspicious for their victory; [9] nay, if the Gauls themselves should confront them on that spot, they would fight as they had fought at Rome in recovering their City and on the following day at Gabii, when they left no enemy who had entered the walls of Rome, to bear home tidings either of weal or woe.

29. Such were the feelings on either side when the Romans arrived at the Allia. As they came within sight of the enemy, drawn up and eager for the fray, the dictator addressed Sempronius. “Do you see,” he said, “how they have made their stand at the Allia, putting their trust in the fortune of the place? We shall find the immortal gods have given them no surer grounds for confidence nor any more substantial help. [2] But do you confide in arms and valour, and charge their centre at the gallop; I, with the legions, will attack them when they are in disorder and confusion. Be with us, gods of the treaty, and exact the penalties due to you for the injury you have suffered and to us for the deception put upon us in your holy name!”

[3] The men of Praeneste could cope with neither horse nor foot.

Their ranks were broken at the first shout and charge; then, as their line yielded at every point, they turned and fled, and in their confusion were carried even beyond their own camp; neither did they check their headlong flight until they had come within sight of Praeneste. [4] There the scattered remnants of the rout took up a position which lent itself to hasty fortification, lest, if they sought refuge within the walls, they might immediately find the torch put to their crops, and, after losing everything, be subjected to a siege. [5] But no sooner had the victorious Romans appeared, fresh from plundering the camp on the Allia, than they abandoned these defences also, and, regarding even walls as little enough protection, immured themselves in the town of Praeneste. [6] There were eight other towns which were under the sway of the Praenestini. [7] Against these the Romans directed their campaign, and having taken them, with no great exertion, one after the other, marched to Velitrae and stormed that place also. [8] Coming then to Praeneste, the fountain-head of the war, they got possession of it not by force but through capitulation. Titus Quinctius had gained one pitched battle, captured two camps, taken nine towns by assault, and received the surrender of Praeneste. He returned to Rome bringing with him from Praeneste the image of Jupiter Imperator. [9] This he bore in triumph to the Capitol, where he dedicated it, between the shrine of Jupiter and that of Minerva. [10] Below it he placed a tablet, in commemoration of his deeds, with an inscription to the following effect: "Jupiter and all the gods granted Titus Quinctius the dictator that he should take nine towns." On the twentieth day after his appointment he resigned the dictatorship.

30. In the ensuing election of military tribunes with consular powers, patricians and plebeians came off alike. [2] Of the patricians Publius and Gaius Manlius were successful, along with Lucius Julius; the plebs returned Gaius Sextilius, Marcus Albinus, and Lucius Antistius. The Manlii were superior in birth to their plebeian colleagues, and in popularity to Julius. [3] To them, therefore, by special enactment, without reference to the lot or to mutual agreement, was given the command against the Volsci — an honour which they rued in the upshot, as did also the senators who had conferred it. [4] Without reconnoitring they sent some troops to

forage, and believing them to be cut off, for they had received a false report that such was the case, they hastened to their assistance, without so much as securing the author of the story — a Latin enemy who had deceived them in the guise of a Roman soldier, — and plunged into an ambuscade. [5] While they were making a stand there on unfavourable ground, by the sheer courage of the men, who were selling their lives dearly, the Roman camp which lay in the plain was attacked by the enemy on the opposite side. In both places victory was thrown away by the rashness and ignorance of the generals. [6] Whatever was left of the good fortune of the Roman People was saved by the pluck of the soldiers, which continued steadfast even when it lacked guidance. [7] On the announcement of these events at Rome, it was at first resolved to appoint a dictator; but later, when word came that things were quiet in the Volscian country, and it appeared that the enemy knew not how to use his victory and opportunity, even the armies and commanders which were there were withdrawn, and thereafter there was no trouble as far as the Volsci were concerned; [8] the only disturbance — towards the close of the year — was a mutiny of the Praenestini, who had stirred the peoples of Latium to revolt.

[9] That same year new colonists were enrolled for Setia, whose inhabitants themselves were complaining of their lack of men. For the ill success of the war there was consolation in the tranquillity at home, which was due to the influence of the plebeian military tribunes and the honour in which their order held them.

31. The following year started off in a blaze of party strife. The military tribunes with consular powers were Spurius Furius, Quintus Servilius (for the second time), Lucius Menenius (for the third), Publius Cloelius, Marcus Horatius, and Lucius Geganius. [2] Now the subject and reason of the strife was debt. But when Spurius Servilius Priscus and Quintus Cloelius Siculus had been made censors in order that they might investigate the situation, they were prevented from doing so by a war; [3] for first frightened messengers, and then the country-folk fleeing from the fields, brought word that the Volscian legions had crossed the border, and were everywhere devastating Roman territory. [4] Yet with all this alarm, the danger from abroad was so far from restraining dissensions at home, that on the contrary

the tribunes but acted with the greater violence, in exerting their powers to block the levy; until the senate submitted to their terms, and agreed that till the war was finished no one should pay a war-tax or give judgment in a case of debt. [5] The plebs, on obtaining this relief, ceased to obstruct the levy. When the new legions had been enrolled, it was resolved to divide them and form two armies to invade the country of the Volsci. Spurius Furius and Marcus Horatius marched to the right, towards Antium and the coast; Quintus Servilius and Lucius Geganius to the left, in the direction of Ecetra and the mountains. [6] In neither region did they find the enemy. They accordingly laid waste the country, not in the desultory fashion of the Volsci, who like bandits, trusting in the discord of their foes but fearing their courage, had made a hasty foray in fear and trembling, — but with a regular army, justly provoked, and the more destructive in that they took more time. [7] In fact, the Volsci had confined their pillaging to the borders, because of their fear lest an army might come out from Rome while they were at it; the Romans, on the contrary, were partly actuated, in remaining on hostile ground, by the desire of luring the enemy into a battle. [8] So they burned all the farm-houses everywhere, and even certain villages, and leaving not a single fruit-tree nor the standing corn with its hope of harvest, they carried off as booty all the men and beasts outside the towns, and led both armies back to Rome.

32. The debtors had been given a little time for breathing, but no sooner did hostilities cease than the courts began once more to be alive with prosecutions, and not only was there no prospect of obtaining relief from the old debts, but further debts were incurred through the levying of a tax to build a wall of hewn stone, which the censors had contracted for. [2] To this burden the plebs were forced to submit, in the absence of any levy which their tribunes could obstruct. [3] The nobles even possessed sufficient influence to oblige the plebs to elect all patricians to the millitary tribunate; these were Lucius Aemilius, Publius Valerius (for the fourth time), Gaius Veturius Servius Sulpicius, Lucius and Gaius Quinctius Cincinnatus. [4] The same influence enabled them to carry through their plans against the Latins and the Volsci, who had united their forces and were encamped near Satricum. [5] No one objected when the men of

military age were all compelled to take the oath, and three armies were enrolled: one was intended to defend the City; another was for use in sudden expeditions, if a revolt should break out anywhere; a third — much the strongest — marched to Satricum, under Publius Valerius and Lucius Aemilius. [6] There they found the enemy drawn up in a strong position, and at once attacked them; [7] and though victory was not yet assured, yet the battle was in a hopeful state, when great gusts of wind brought on a heavy downpour of rain and interrupted it. [8] Next day the combat was renewed, and for some little time the enemy — particularly the Latin legions, schooled in Roman discipline by their long alliance — resisted with equal courage and success. But the cavalry were sent against them and threw their ranks into confusion, and before they could recover, the infantry were upon them; [9] in proportion as the Roman line advanced, was the enemy forced out of his position; and when once the tide of battle turned, there was no stopping the onrush of the Romans. [10] The routed enemy made for Satricum, two miles away, instead of their camp, and suffered great slaughter, especially at the hands of the cavalry. Their camp was taken and sacked. The night after the battle they fled rather than marched towards Antium; and though the Roman army followed hard after, fear proved swifter than wrath. [11] So the enemy got within the walls before the Romans could harass or delay their rear. A few days were then consumed in ravaging the land, since the Romans had not enough equipment to attack the walls, nor the enemy to risk a battle.

33. A quarrel now broke out between the Antiates and the Latins. The men of Antium, overwhelmed by their misfortunes and worn out by a war which had lasted from their birth to their old age were minded to capitulate: [2] the Latins had but just revolted after a long peace; their spirits were still fresh; and they meant to continue boldly with the war. The dispute came to an end as soon as each party saw that the other could not prevent it in any way from carrying out its policy. [3] The Latins departed, and freed themselves from all share in what they considered a degrading peace; the Antiates, being rid of inconvenient witnesses to their salutary measures, surrendered their city and lands to the Romans. [4] The frenzied wrath of the Latins sought relief — since they could neither do the Romans any injury in

war nor retain the Volsci under arms — in burning Satricum, the town which had been their first place of refuge after their defeat. [5] They applied the torch without discrimination both to sacred and to secular buildings, and not one escaped destruction, except the temple of Mater Matuta; from this they were kept away, according to the story, neither by their own scruples, nor by their reverence for the gods, but by an awe-inspiring voice that issued from the temple and threatened dire retribution if they did not remove those impious fires to a distance from the sacred walls. [6] Crazy and infuriated, a sudden impulse carried them to Tusculum. They were angry that the Tusculans had deserted the common council of the Latins and had yielded themselves to be not only allies but citizens of Rome. [7] The gates were open, for their attack was unexpected, and the first shout had not died away when the town was taken, all except the citadel. To this the townsfolk fled for safety, with their wives and children, and sent off messengers to Rome to let the senate know of their predicament. [8] With a promptness worthy of the honour of the Roman People, an army marched to Tusculum, commanded by the military tribunes Lucius Quinctius and Servius Sulpicius. [9] They found the gates of Tusculum closed and the Latins at once besiegers and besieged; on the one hand they were defending the walls of the town, on the other assailing the fortress, and they experienced themselves the same terror they inspired. [10] The arrival of the Romans produced a change in the spirits of both sides: the Tusculans were roused from the depths of despair to the greatest cheerfulness; the Latins, who had felt almost certain that since the town was theirs they would soon possess the citadel, were reduced almost to despair of their own lives. [11] The Tusculans in the citadel gave a cheer and were answered by one much louder from the Roman army. On both sides the Latins were hard pressed: they could neither resist the charges of the townsmen, as they rushed down from above, nor drive back the Romans, who were coming up under the walls and forcing the bars of the gates. [12] The walls were first scaled and captured; then the fastenings of the gates were burst. The Latins were caught between two enemies, who assailed them hotly in front and rear; they had no strength to fight and no room to escape, and were slain where they stood, to the very last man. Having recovered Tusculum from its

enemies, the army returned to Rome.

34. But in proportion as the successful wars of that year had everywhere secured tranquillity abroad, in the City the violence of the patricians and the sufferings of the plebs were increasing from one day to another, since the very fact that payment was compulsory made it more difficult to pay. [2] And so, now that a man could make no compensation with his property, his reputation and his person were made over and assigned to his creditor by way of satisfaction, and punishment had come to take the place of payment. [3] So abject indeed was the surrender not only of the lowest of the plebs but even of their leaders, that, far from contending with patricians for the military tribuneship — a [4] privilege for which they had striven with such energy — there was not a man of them of sufficient force and enterprise to seek or to administer the plebeian magistracies. The patricians seemed therefore to have regained possession in perpetuity of an office which the plebeians had merely assumed for some few years.

[5] That this state of affairs might not inspire excessive joy in the patricians, a trivial cause — as often happens — set on foot a mighty change. Marcus Fabius Ambustus was very influential, not only amongst his fellows, but with the plebs as well, for the members of that class felt that he was far from looking down upon it. This man had married his two daughters, the elder to Servius Sulpicius, the younger to Gaius Licinius Stolo, a man of mark, albeit a plebeian; and the very fact that he had not rejected such an alliance had won regard for Fabius with the common people. [6] It fell out that the sisters Fabia were together in the house of Servius Sulpicius, then a consular tribune, and were whiling away the time in talk, as women will, when a lictor of Sulpicius, who was returning from the Forum, rapped on the door, in the usual manner, with his rod. At this the younger Fabia, being unused to the custom, went white, which made the elder laugh with surprise at her sister's ignorance. But that laugh rankled in the other's mind, for a woman's feelings are influenced by trifles. [7] I suppose, too, that the crowd of people who attended the tribune and took a ceremonious leave of him made her look upon her sister's marriage as a fortunate one and regret her own, in that ill-judging spirit which makes us all so very loath to be outdone by our

nearest friends. [8] She was still suffering from the smart of wounded pride, when her father, happening to see her, asked if anything was wrong. [9] She would fain have concealed the reason of her grief, which was too little consistent with sisterly affection and did no great honour to her husband; but he brought her by tender inquiries to confess that she was unhappy in being mated to one beneath her, having married into a house where neither dignities nor influence could enter. [10] Ambustus then comforted his daughter and bade her be of good cheer: she would see ere long in her own home the same state she beheld at her sister's. [11??] From that moment he began to make plans with his son-in-law, taking into their counsels also Lucius Sextius, a strenuous youth, whose aspirations were thwarted only by his lack of patrician blood.

35. An opportunity for innovation was presented by the enormous load of debt, which the plebs could have no hope of lightening but by placing their representatives in the highest offices. [2] They therefore argued that they must gird themselves to think of this: with toil and effort the plebeians had already advanced so far that it was in their power, if they continued to exert themselves, to reach the highest ground, and to equal the patricians in honours as well as in worth. [3] For the present it was resolved that Gaius Licinius and Lucius Sextius should be elected tribunes of the plebs, a magistracy in which they might open for themselves a way to the other distinctions. [4] Once elected, they proposed only such measures as abated the influence of the patricians, while forwarding the interests of the plebs. One of these had to do with debt, providing that what had been paid as interest should be deducted from the original sum, and the remainder discharged in three annual instalments of equal size. [5] A second set a limit on lands, prohibiting anyone from holding more than five hundred *iugera*. A third did away with the election of military tribunes, and prescribed that of the consuls one, at any rate, should be chosen from the plebs. These were all matters of great moment, and it would not be possible to carry them without a tremendous struggle.

[6] Now when all the things that men immoderately covet, lands, money, and promotion, were jeopardized at once, the patricians became thoroughly alarmed; and failing, after frightened conference

in public and private gatherings, to devise any other remedy than that veto which they had already tried before in many struggles, provided themselves with friends amongst the colleagues of the tribunes, to oppose their measures. [7] These men, seeing Licinius and Sextius summon the tribes to vote, came up in the midst of a body-guard of patricians, and refused to permit the bills to be recited or anything else to be done that was usual in passing a resolution of the plebs. [8] And now the assembly had been summoned repeatedly without avail, and the rogations were as though they had been voted down, when Sextius cried out, "So be it! Since it is your pleasure that the intercession should be so powerful, we will use that very weapon for the protection of the plebs. [9] Come now, senators, and proclaim an assembly for the choice of military tribunes; I warrant you shall have no joy of that word *veto*, which you now hear with such satisfaction from the chorus of our colleagues." [10] His threats were no idle ones: except for the aediles and tribunes of the plebs, there was not an election held. Licinius and Sextius were chosen again, and suffered no curule magistrates to be elected; and this dearth of magistrates continued in the City for five years, while the plebs continued to re-elect the two men tribunes, and they to prevent the election of military tribunes.

36. There was fortunately a respite from other wars, but the colonists of Velitrae, growing insolent in time of peace, because they knew that the Romans had no army, not only made several incursions into Roman territory, but went so far as to lay siege to Tusculum. [2] This circumstance affected not only the senators but even the plebeians; that the Tusculans, who had long been their friends and were now their fellow citizens, should be imploring aid filled them with shame. [3] The tribunes of the plebs relaxing their opposition, elections were held by an interrex, which resulted in the choice of the following military tribunes: Lucius Furius, Aulus Manlius, Servius Sulpicius, Servius Cornelius, and Publius and Gaius Valerius. [4] They found the plebs much less submissive to the levy than they had been to the election; but by strenuous efforts they enrolled an army, and, marching out, not only drove the enemy away from [5??] Tusculum, but even shut him up within his own walls, and Velitrae was besieged with far more vigour than Tusculum had been. Yet

those who had begun the siege were not able to conclude it before the election of new military tribunes. [6] The candidates chosen were Quintus Servilius, Gaius Veturius, Aulus and Marcus Cornelius, Quintus Quinctius, and Marcus Fabius. Even these tribunes accomplished nothing memorable at Velitrae.

At home the situation was more dangerous. [7] For besides Sextius and Licinius, who had proposed the laws and were now for the eighth time re-elected tribunes of the plebs, the military tribune Fabius, Stolo's father-in-law, was openly advocating the adoption of the measures he had himself suggested. [8] And whereas there had been at first eight members of the college of plebeian tribunes who opposed the bills, there were now but five; and these, puzzled and confounded, as is apt to be the case with men who forsake their party, were no more than mouthpieces, repeating in justification of their vetoes only what they had been privately schooled to say, to wit, that a majority of the plebeians were absent at Velitrae with the army; [9] and that the assemblies ought to be put off until the return of the soldiers, so that the entire body of the plebs might vote on matters that concerned them. [10] Sextius and Licinius, with some of their colleagues and one of the military tribunes, Fabius, being experts now — after so many years of practice — in the art of playing on the passions of the commons, would bring the leading senators forward and ply them with questions about each of the measures they were laying before the people: Had they the hardihood to demand that, when land was being assigned to the plebs in parcels of two *iugera*, they themselves should be authorized to hold more than five hundred *iugera*? [11] Did they desire that single patricians should possess the allotments of almost three hundred citizens; and that the plebeian should have a farm scarce large enough to contain a shelter for his necessities or a place of burial? [12] Or was it their wish that the plebs, undone with usury, should give up their bodies to imprisonment and torture, instead of paying the principal sums they owed? Did they mean every day to drag off gangs of condemned debtors from the Forum? to fill with prisoners the houses of the nobles? to make of every patrician's dwelling a private gaol?

37. The shame and pity of these conditions awoke more indignation in their hearers, who feared for their own safety, than the

speakers had themselves felt in denouncing them. [2] And yet the patricians — as they proceeded to assert — would never check their greed for land, nor cease murdering the plebs with usury, until the commons should elect one of the two consuls from their own number, to guard their liberties. [3] Contempt, they argued, was now become the portion of the plebeian tribunes, for they used the veto to break down their own power. [4] There could be no question of equal rights, where the other side commanded and they themselves could do nothing but protest. Until they shared in the authority, the plebs would never have an equal footing in the state. And let no one think that it would be sufficient if plebeians were accepted as candidates at the consular elections: unless it were required that at least one consul must be chosen from the commons, none ever would be. [5] Had they already forgotten, that although the election of tribunes of the soldiers rather than consuls had been resolved upon, expressly in order that the highest honour might be open even to plebeians, yet for four and forty years no commoner had been chosen to that office? [6] How could they suppose, that with two places only now available, the patricians would of their own volition bestow the office on the plebs, when they had habitually claimed eight places in electing military tribunes? Would those men allow the consulship to be approached, who had blocked so long the road to the tribuneship? [7] The law must make good for them what they could not gain by favour at the elections; one of the two consulships must be set apart for the undisputed use of the plebs, for if left in dispute it would always fall a prize to the more powerful. [8] Neither could it any longer be maintained — as the nobles had been wont to assert — that among the plebeians were none who were suitable for curule magistracies. Had the public administration been a jot more indifferent or slipshod since the tribuneship of Publius Licinius Calvus, who was the first man elected from the plebs, than it had been during those years in which none but patricians had been military tribunes? [9] Nay, on the contrary, several patricians had been impeached after holding the tribuneship, but not one plebeian. Quaestors, too, like military tribunes, had begun a few years before to be elected from the commons, nor had the Roman People regretted it in a single case. [10] The consulship remained for the commons to

achieve; this was the citadel of liberty, this its pillar. If they attained to this, then would the Roman People hold that the kings had been really driven from the City, and their freedom firmly based; [11] for the commons would thenceforward be partakers in all that made the patricians now surpass them, — authority and honour, martial renown, birth and nobility, — great things for themselves to enjoy, but even greater to bequeath to their children.

[12] Perceiving that speeches of this sort were well received, they introduced a new measure, providing that in place of two men vested with superintendence of the sacred rites, a board of ten should be elected, with a proviso that half the number should be of the plebs, and half patricians; the voting on all these bills they deferred until the return of the army which was besieging Velitrae.

38. A year rolled round before the legions could be brought back from Velitrae; consequently the question of the laws remained in abeyance and was put off until the coming in of the new military tribunes; for as to the tribunes of the plebs, the commons chose the same men over again — the two, at any rate, who had brought in the bills. [2] The military tribunes chosen were Titus Quinctius, Servius Cornelius, Servius Sulpicius, Spurius Servilius, Lucius Papirius, and Lucius Veturius. [3] At the very outset of the year came a final struggle over the laws; and when the tribes were summoned to vote, and the proposers of the measures would not yield to the vetoes of their colleagues, the frightened patricians were put to their two last shifts — the greatest office, and the greatest of the citizens. [4] They voted to name a dictator, and appointed Marcus Furius Camillus, who chose Lucius Aemilius for his master of the horse. To meet these formidable preparations of their adversaries, the proposers of the laws on their side armed the commons with tremendous enthusiasm for the cause, and proclaiming a council of the plebs, called up the tribes to vote.

[5] Attended by a body of patricians, and breathing wrath and menaces, the dictator took his seat, and the affair began with the usual skirmish between the tribunes of the plebs, some of whom urged the passing of the law while others interposed their vetoes. But powerful as the veto was on the legal side, it was being overcome by the popularity of the bills themselves and their proposers, and the

tribes which had been summoned first were voting “Ay,” when Camillus addressed the people. [6] “Quirites,” he said, “since you are now swayed not by the authority of the tribunes but by their lawlessness, and are bringing to naught the right of protest — obtained through the secession of the plebs — with the same violence with which you won it; for your own sake no less than for the sake of the whole republic, I shall, as dictator, sustain the veto, and safeguard with my absolute authority your defence which you are overthrowing. [7] If then Gaius Licinius and Lucius Sextius yield to the protest of their colleagues, I will in no way intrude a patrician magistracy upon a council of the plebs; but if, in defiance of the protest, they try to impose their terms, as though upon a conquered state, I will not permit the tribunician power to work its own undoing.”

[8] This warning the tribunes treated with contempt, and were proceeding with unabated energy to carry out their plans, when Camillus, in high dudgeon, sent his lictors to turn the commons out; and threatened, that if they continued in their course, he would administer the oath to all of military age, and forthwith lead the army out of the City.

[9] The plebs were greatly dismayed; but the courage of their leaders was rather kindled than damped by his vehemence. Yet before the matter had been decided either way, Camillus resigned his office, whether because there had been a flaw in his election — as certain writers have held — or because the tribunes proposed to the plebs and the plebs decreed, that if Marcus Furius should take any action in the capacity of dictator, he should be fined five hundred thousand asses. [10] But that the auspices, and not a law without a precedent, were responsible for his withdrawal, the very nature of the man inclines me to believe; also the fact that Publius Manlius was at once made dictator in his place — for what good would his appointment do, in a struggle in which Marcus Furius had been beaten? [11] Besides, Marcus Furius himself was dictator again in the following year, and he would surely have been ashamed to resume an authority which had broken down in his own hands the year before. [12] Moreover at the time when the proposal to fine him is said to have been made, either he had the power to resist this order — which

[13] deprived him, as he could see, of all authority, — or else he lacked the power to obstruct even those measures in defence of which this order had been proposed. Finally, whatever conflicts have occurred between tribunes and consuls, down to the times we can ourselves remember, the dictatorship has always towered above them.

39. In the interval between the abdication of the earlier dictator and the entrance upon his office of the new one, Manlius, the tribunes — as though there were an interregnum — held a council of the plebs, and it became evident which of the measures proposed were more acceptable to the plebeians, and which to their introducers. [2] For the tribes were on the point of passing the bills relating to interest and land, and of rejecting the one about the plebeian consul, and both policies would have been finally [3??] disposed of, if the tribunes had not said that they were putting all these questions to the plebs collectively. [4] Then Publius Manlius, becoming dictator, gave the affair a turn in favour of the plebs by naming Gaius Licinius, who had been military tribune and was a commoner, his master of the horse. I find that the patricians took offence at this, but that the dictator was wont to excuse himself to them by alleging his close relationship to Licinius, and asserting that a master of the horse possessed no greater authority than a consular tribune.

[5] Licinius and Sextius, when an assembly had been proclaimed for the election of plebeian tribunes, so bore themselves that while professing an unwillingness to be re-elected, they furnished the plebs with the strongest incentives to give them what they pretended not to covet. [6] They said it was now nine years that they had stood embattled, as it were, against the optimates, with the greatest danger to themselves and no advantage to the public. [7] The measures they had proposed and the whole power of the tribunate had, like themselves, grown old and useless. First the intercession of their colleagues had been employed to attack their laws; then the young men had been banished to the seat of war at Velitrae; finally they had themselves been menaced with the thunderbolt of the dictatorship. [8] At present they were thwarted neither by their colleagues, nor by war, nor even by the dictator, for he had actually given them a presage of plebeian consuls by appointing a plebeian master of the

horse: [9] no, it was the plebs themselves who stood in the way of their own advancement. [10] A City and a Forum rid of creditors, and lands delivered from unlawful occupation, were things they might enjoy at once, if they would. When, pray, did they expect to weigh these blessings and be duly grateful, if at the very moment of entertaining measures for their own advantage they cut off all hope of office from the men who introduced them? It was not like the reasonableness of the Roman People to ask to be relieved themselves of usury and settled on lands which the nobles had unjustly held, while leaving the men to whom they owed these advantages to grow old as tribunicians — not only without honours, but even without the hope of them. [11] So let them first make up their minds what it was they wished; and then declare their wishes at the election of the tribunes. [12] If they desired to enact together the measures which the tribunes had brought forward, there was some reason for re-electing them; for they would carry through what they had advocated; but if every man cared only for the adoption of such clauses as concerned him personally, there was no use in an invidious prolongation of their term; they would do without the tribuneship, and the people would do without the proposed reforms.

40. On hearing the tribunes make this stubborn speech, though the other senators were dazed and dumbfounded by such outrageous arguments, they [2??] say that Appius Claudius Crassus, the decemvir's grandson, moved more by hate and resentment than by hope, came forward to oppose them, and spoke to the following purpose: [3] "It would be no strange or surprising thing to me, Quirites, if on this occasion I, too, should be taunted with the one reproach that rebellious tribunes have ever directed at our family, to wit, that the Claudian gens from its very origin has regarded no feature of our public life as more important than the majesty of the senate and has always opposed the interests of the plebs. [4] The former of these charges I neither deny nor seek to refute — namely, that we have striven with all our might, from the day we were first called to be citizens and senators, that, so far as in us lay, the dignity of those families with which you proposed to rank us might truthfully be said to have rather gained than lost; [5] as to the other charge, I would venture to maintain, Quirites, speaking for myself

and for my forefathers, that unless one should assume that what is done for the good of the whole nation is opposed to the welfare of the plebs, — as though they inhabited another city, — we have never wittingly done anything, whether as private citizens or magistrates, disadvantageous to the plebs; and that no word or act of ours can be truthfully alleged as being against your interests, though some there may have been which ran counter to your wishes. [6] But were I not a Claudius, nor sprung from a patrician line, but were merely any one of the Quirites, assuming only that I knew my parents had both been born to freedom and that I lived in a free state, could I pass this by in silence? [7] Are Lucius Sextius yonder and Gaius Licinius, our perpetual tribunes — save the mark! — grown so presumptuous in the nine years of their reign, as to threaten that they will leave you free to exercise your right of suffrage neither in elections nor in enacting laws?

[8] “‘On a certain condition,’ says one of them, ‘you shall elect us tribunes for the tenth time ‘; as though he were to say,’ What others sue for we are so surfeited withal that we will not accept it without a great reward.’ [9] But what in short is that reward by the grant of which we may always have you for tribunes of the plebs? ‘That you adopt,’ says he, ‘all our rogations in a lump, whether you like them or detest them, — be they good or bad.’ [10] I beseech you, Tarquin tribunes of the plebs, imagine me a simple citizen calling out from the midst of the assembly, ‘By your good leave, suffer us to choose from these proposals those we regard as wholesome for us, and to reject the rest.’ [11] ‘No,’ he answers, ‘you shall not have leave to enact the measures that concern you all, touching interest and lands, unless you will put up with the monstrous sight in Rome of Lucius Sextius and Gaius Licinius here as consuls — an idea you loathe and abominate; — accept everything, or I offer nothing.’ [12] As though a man were starving, and one should serve poison to him with his food, and command him either to abstain from what would give him life, or mix the deadly with the life-giving. Well then! If this state were free, would not the people have cried out to you in full assembly, ‘Begone, with your tribuneships and your rogations!’ Come! If you will not propose what is profitable to the people to accept, shall there be none to do it? [13] Suppose that some patrician, or — what those

fellows would make out to be still more hateful — some Claudius, should say, ‘ Either take all or I will propose nothing,’ which of you, Quirites, would endure it? [14] Will you never choose rather to look at facts than at advocates, but always lend ready ears to the utterances of that noble magistrate, and refuse to hear what is said by any of us?

[15] “*His language*, you will admit, is far from appropriate in a free state; well, what of his *rogation*, which they resent your refusal to accept? Quirites, it is all of a piece with his words. ‘ I propose,’ he says, ‘that it shall not be permitted you to choose such consuls as you will.’ [16] For can aught else be his meaning, when he commands that in any case one consul be chosen from the plebs, and deprives you of the power to name two patricians? [17] If wars should arise in these days, like the Etruscan war, when Porsinna held Janiculum, or like the Gallic war a little while ago, when all this City — except the Capitol and the Citadel — was in the hands of your enemies; and if Lucius Sextius were standing for the consulship, along with Marcus Furius here, and any other patrician whomsoever; could you endure that Lucius Sextius should be certain of election, while Camillus had to risk defeat? [18] Is it thus they would equalize the opportunities of office? Would they authorize the election of two plebeian consuls, and forbid the choice of two patricians? Must we perforce take one plebeian, while for both places we may pass the patricians by? What sort of fellowship, of partnership, is this? Are you not satisfied to get a part of that in which you had no part before, unless in reaching for the part you can seize the whole? [19] ‘I fear’ he replies, ‘lest if it be permitted to choose two patricians, you may choose no one from the plebs.’ His meaning is: ‘Since of your own accord you will never choose unworthy men, I will make it obligatory on you to elect those whom you do not wish.’ [20] What follows? Why, a man would not owe the people so much as thanks, if he were the sole plebeian candidate along with two patricians: he would say that he had been elected not by your suffrages, but by the statute.

41. “They would force us, not invite us, to grant them office; and thus they mean to win the very highest honours without incurring even such obligations as would be imposed by the least important. They would make their canvass not on worth but on opportunity. [2] There is many a man who resents being investigated and appraised,

who thinks it right that he alone should be certain of success, while his competitors are struggling for office; who would withdraw himself from your judgment; who would have you vote for him from compulsion, not from choice — not as freemen, but as slaves. [3] I say nothing of Licinius and Sextius, whose years of continuous power you reckon like those of the kings on the Capitol: who is there in the state to-day so lowly that the opportunities afforded by that law would not make access to the consulship easier for him than for us and for our children? To elect us will sometimes be beyond your power, even though you wish it; but those persons you would be compelled to elect, even against your inclinations.

[4] “Of the indignity of the thing I have said enough. But dignity after all is concerned with men: what of religious observances and auspices — for the immortal gods are involved in insult and disrespect to these? That this City was founded under auspices; that all measures, warlike and peaceful, at home and in the field, are carried out with auspices, who does not know? [5] Who then control the auspices, by the tradition of our fathers? The patricians, to be sure; for no plebeian magistrate is elected under auspices; [6] the auspices belong so exclusively to us, that not only are the patrician magistrates whom the people elect no otherwise elected than with auspices, but we ourselves even — without the people’s suffrage — take auspices and nominate an interrex; and have, as private citizens, the right of taking them, which you plebeians have not even in your magistracies. [7] He therefore deprives the state outright of auspices, who by electing plebeian consuls deprives the patricians of them — for they alone can take them. They may jeer now, if they like, at religious scruples. [8] ‘After all,’ they will say, ‘what difference does it make if the sacred chickens will not feed; if they are slow to come out from the coop; if a bird utters an ill-omened cry? ‘ These are trivial things; but because they did not scorn these trivial things, your fathers were able to build this great republic; and now we, as though we had no further use for Heaven’s favour, are polluting all [9] the ceremonies. Let pontiffs then, augurs, and kings of the sacrifices, be chosen from the vulgar herd; let us set the mitre of the Flamen Dialis on anybody’s head, so he but be a man; let us make over the sacred shields, the inner shrine, the gods and the service of the gods, to

those whom we may not without sin intrust^[10] with them; let laws be proposed and magistrates elected without the approval of the auspices; neither to centuriate nor curiate comitia let the fathers give their sanction; let Sextius and Licinius bear sway in Rome, like Romulus and Tatius — because they give away the moneys and the lands^[11] of others. Is it so sweet to plunder others of their fortunes? Does it not occur to them that one of their laws will make vast deserts in the country-side, by driving the landlords out from their demesnes, while the other will wipe out credit, and with it all^[12] human intercourse? Upon every account I urge you to reject these bills; and may Heaven prosper what you do!”

42. The speech of Appius availed no further than to put off the passing of the measures. ^[2] Returned for the tenth time to office, the tribunes Sextius and Licinius obtained the enactment of a law requiring that half the board of ten who had charge of sacred rites should be plebeians. Having elected five patricians and five plebeians, the people felt that they had set a precedent for the consulship. ^[3] Satisfied with their victory, the plebs gave way to the patricians, and relinquishing for the moment discussion about the consuls, permitted the election of military tribunes. Those chosen were Aulus and Marcus Cornelius (for their second terms), Marcus Geganus, Publius Manlius, Lucius Veturius, and (for the sixth time) Publius Valerius.

^[4] Rome’s foreign relations were now peaceful everywhere except for the siege of Velitrae — the result of which, though delayed, was scarce in doubt — when a sudden rumour of a Gallic war drove the state to appoint Marcus Furius to his fifth dictatorship. He nominated Titus Quinctius Poenus to be master of the horse. ^[5] Claudius relates that the battle with the Gauls took place that year near the river Anio; and that this was the occasion of the famous duel on the bridge in which Titus Manlius slew a Gaul who had challenged him to combat, and despoiled him of his chain, while the two armies looked on. ^[6] But I am more inclined to believe, with the majority of our authorities, that this exploit took place no less than ten years later, and that in the year of which I am now writing, the dictator, Marcus Furius, fought a battle against the Gauls on Alban soil. ^[7] Notwithstanding the great terror occasioned by the invasion of the

Gauls and the recollection of their old defeat, the Romans gained a victory that was neither difficult nor uncertain. [8] Many thousands of barbarians fell in battle, and many after the camp was taken. The others roamed about, making mostly towards Apulia, and owed their escape from the Romans to their distant flight and the dispersion which resulted from their panic and their straggling. [9] The dictator was awarded a triumph with the consent of both senate and plebs.

Hardly had Camillus brought the war to an end, when he was confronted with a fiercer opposition in the City. After desperate struggles the senate and the dictator were beaten, and the measures advocated by the tribunes were adopted. [10] An election of consuls was held, against the wishes of the nobles, and resulted in the choice of Lucius Sextius, the first of the plebeians to attain that honour. Even this did not end their disputes. [11] The patricians declared that they would not ratify the election, and the affair had almost led to a secession of the plebs and threatened other terrible embroilments, when the dictator finally proposed a compromise which allayed the discord; the nobles gave way to the plebs in regard to the plebeian consul, and the plebs conceded to the nobles that they might elect from the patricians one praetor to administer justice in the City. [12] Thus after their long quarrel the orders were reconciled at last. The senate decided that this was a fitting occasion to honour the immortal gods — who deserved it then, if ever at any time — by celebrating the Great Games, and voted that one day should be added to the customary three; [13] this burden the aediles of the plebs refused to shoulder, whereupon the young patricians called out that they would willingly do it for the sake of honouring the gods. [14] The entire people united in thanks to them, and the senate decreed that the dictator should hold a popular election of two aediles to be chosen from the patricians, and that the Fathers should ratify all the elections of that year.

SUMMARY OF BOOK VI

THE book contains the victorious campaigns against the Volsci, the Aequi, and the Praenestini. Four tribes were added, the Stellatina, the

Tromentina, the Sabatina, and the Arniensis. Marcus Manlius, who had defended the Capitol against the Gauls, after liberating the debtors and releasing those whose persons had been seized, was found guilty of aiming at sovereignty, and was flung from the Rock; to stigmatize him the senate decreed that none of the Manlian family should bear the name of Marcus. Gaius Licinius and Lucius Sextius, tribunes of the plebs, proposed a law that the consuls, who were formerly chosen from the patricians, might be elected from the plebs, and in a strenuous struggle against the opposition of the patricians, carried their point, after these same tribunes of the plebs had for five years been the only magistrates, and Lucius Sextius was the first plebeian to be elected consul. Another law was also passed, that none might hold above five hundred *iugera* of land.

BOOK VII

Translated by B. O. Foster

1. This year will stand out as the one in which a “new man” held the consulship, and also for the establishment of two new magistracies, the praetorship and the curule aedileship. These dignities the patricians had devised for themselves, to compensate them for the second consulship, which they had granted to the commons. [2] The plebs bestowed their consulship on Lucius Sextius, by whose law it had been won. The patricians, through their influence in the Campus Martius, obtained the praetorship for Spurius Furius Camillus, the son of Marcus, and the aedileship for Gnaeus Quinctius Capitolinus and Publius Cornelius Scipio, who belonged to their own houses. [3] Lucius Aemilius Mamercus was chosen from the patricians as colleague of Lucius Sextius. Early in the year there was some talk about the Gauls — who having at first scattered through Apulia were now rumoured to be gathering — and about a defection on the part of the Hernici. [4] The patricians purposely deferred all action, in order that the plebeian consul might have no hand in anything; [5] it seemed from the general hush and lack of bustle as though a cessation of the courts had been proclaimed; save that the tribunes would not suffer it to pass in silence that the nobles, in return for one plebeian consul, had got three patrician magistrates for themselves, who wore the purple-bordered toga and sat, like consuls, in curule chairs, while the praetor even dealt out justice — having [6] been elected as a colleague to the consuls and under the same auspices. In consequence of this criticism the senate was ashamed to order that the curule aediles be chosen from the patricians. [7] At first it was arranged to take them from the plebs in alternate years: later the election was thrown open without distinction.

Then came the consulship of Lucius Genucius and Quintus Servilius. There was neither party strife nor war to disturb the peace, but lest there should ever be freedom from fear and danger, a great pestilence broke out. [8] It is stated that a censor, a curule aedile, and three plebeian tribunes died, with a correspondingly large number

from the rest of the population. But what chiefly made this pestilence noteworthy was the death of Marcus Furius, who, though ripe in years, was bitterly regretted. [9] For he was truly a man of singular excellence whether in good or evil fortune; foremost in peace and in war before his banishment, and in exile even more distinguished, whether one thinks of the yearning of his countrymen who called on him in his absence to save their captured City, or of the success with which on being restored to his country he restored the country itself at the same time; [10] after this for five and twenty years — for he survived so long — he maintained his glorious reputation, and was deemed worthy of being named next after Romulus, as Rome's second Founder.

2. The pestilence lasted during both this and the following year, the consulship of Gaius Sulpicius Peticus and Gaius Licinius Stolo. [2] In the latter year nothing memorable occurred, except that with the object of appeasing the divine displeasure they made a *lectisternium*, or banquet to the gods, being the third in the history of the City; [3] and when neither human wisdom nor the help of Heaven was found to mitigate the scourge, men gave way to superstitious fears, and, amongst other efforts to disarm the wrath of the gods, are said also to have instituted scenic entertainments. [4] This was a new departure for a warlike people, whose only exhibitions had been those of the circus; but indeed it began in a small way, as most things do, and even so was imported from abroad. Without any singing, without imitating the action of singers, players who had been brought in from Etruria danced to the strains of the flautist and performed not ungraceful evolutions in the Tuscan fashion. [5] Next the young Romans began to imitate them, at the same time exchanging jests in uncouth verses, and bringing their movements into a certain harmony with the words. [6] And so the amusement was adopted, and frequent use kept it alive. The native professional actors were called *histriones*, from *ister*, the Tuscan word for player; they no longer — as before — alternately [7] threw off rude lines hastily improvised, like the Fescennines, but performed medleys, full of musical measures, to melodies which were now written out to go with the flute, and with appropriate gesticulation.

Livius was the first, some years later, to abandon 364 *saturae* and

compose a play with a plot. [8] Like everyone else in those days, he acted his own pieces; and the story goes that when his voice, owing to the frequent demands made upon it, had lost its freshness, he asked and [9??] obtained the indulgence to let a boy stand before the flautist to sing the monody, while he acted it himself, with a vivacity of gesture that gained considerably from his not having to use his voice. [10] From that time on actors began to use singers to accompany their gesticulation, reserving only the dialogue parts for their own delivery. When this type of performance had begun to wean [11??] the drama from laughter and informal jest, and the play had gradually developed into art, the young men abandoned the acting of comedies to professionals and revived the ancient practice of fashioning their nonsense into verses and letting fly with them at one another; this was the source of the after-plays which came later to be called *exodia*, and were usually combined with Atellan farces. [12] The Atellan was a species of comedy acquired from the Oscans, and the young men kept it for themselves and would not allow it to be polluted by the professional actors; that is why it is a fixed tradition that performers of Atellan plays are not disfranchised, but serve in the army as though they had no connexion with the stage. [13] Amongst the humble origins of other institutions it has seemed worth while to set down the early history of the play, that it might be seen how sober were the beginnings of an art that has nowadays reached a point where opulent kingdoms could hardly support its mad extravagance.

3. However, the plays thus for the first time introduced by way of expiation neither freed men's minds of religious fears nor their bodies of disease. [2] Indeed, it fell out quite otherwise; for the games were in full swing when an inundation of the Tiber flooded the circus and put a stop to them, an accident which — as though the gods had already turned away, rejecting the proffered appeasement of their anger — filled the people with fear. [3] And so when Gnaeus Genucius and Lucius Aemilius Mamercus (for the second time) were consuls, and men's minds were more troubled by the search for means of propitiation than were their bodies by disease, it is said that the elders recollected that a pestilence had once been allayed by the dictator's driving a nail. [4] Induced thereto by this superstition, the

senate ordered the appointment of a dictator to drive the nail. [5] Lucius Manlius Imperiosus was appointed, and named Lucius Pinarius master of the horse.

There is an ancient law, recorded in archaic words and letters, that the chief magistrate shall on the thirteenth of September drive a nail; the tablet was formerly affixed to the right side of the temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus, where Minerva's chapel is. [6] This nail served, they say, in those days of little writing, to mark the number of years, and the law was confided to the chapel of Minerva, for the reason that number was an invention of that goddess. [7] (Cincius, a careful student of such memorials, asserts that at Volsinii, too, nails may be seen in the temple of Nortia, an Etruscan goddess, driven in to indicate the number of [8] years.) Marcus Horatius the consul dedicated the temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus in accordance with this law, in the year after the expulsion of the kings; later the ceremony of driving the nail was transferred from consuls to dictators, because theirs was the higher authority. Then, after the custom had been allowed to lapse, it was thought to be of sufficient importance to warrant the appointment of a dictator for that very [9] purpose. It was for this reason that Manlius was designated, who, however, as though appointed to wage war and not to discharge a religious obligation, aspired to conduct the war with the Hernici, and hunted down the men of military age in a rigorous levy; but in the upshot, opposed by the united efforts of all the tribunes of the plebs, he yielded either to force or to a sense of shame, and resigned his dictatorship.

4. Nevertheless, at the beginning of the ensuing year — the consulship of Quintus Servilius Ahala and Lucius Genucius — Manlius was put upon his trial by Marcus Pomponius, a tribune of the plebs. [2] The people hated him for the severity of his levy, in which they had endured not only fines but bodily distress, some having suffered stripes for failure to respond to their names and others having been dragged off to prison; [3] but more than all else they hated the man's cruel disposition and his surname, Imperiosus, which offended a free state and had been assumed in ostentation of the truculence which he used as freely with his nearest friends and his own family as with strangers. [4] Amongst other charges the

tribune cited the man's behaviour to his son: the youth, he said, had been found guilty of no misconduct, yet Manlius had excluded him from the City, from his home and household gods, from the Forum, the light of day, and the fellowship of his young friends, [5??] consigning him to slavish drudgery in a kind of gaol or work-house, where a youth of distinguished birth and the son of a dictator might learn by his daily wretchedness how truly "imperious" was the father that had begot him. [6] Yes, but what was the young man's fault? Why, he had been a little slow of speech — unready with his tongue! But ought not his father to have healed and mended this infirmity of nature — if he had a particle of humanity about him — instead of chastising it and by persecution making it conspicuous? Why even the dumb brutes, if one of their young is unfortunate, do none the less cherish it and foster it. [7] But Lucius Manlius was aggravating his son's evil plight by evil treatment, and was doubling the burden on his heavy wits; and any spark of native talent that might be there he was quenching in the rustic life and clownish bringing up amongst the dumb brutes where he kept him.

5. Everyone was incensed by these charges, except the young man himself. He, on the contrary, was vexed to be the cause of additional dislike and accusation of his father; [2] and that all gods and men might know that he had rather help his father than his father's enemies, he conceived a plan, in keeping to be sure with his rude and uncouth spirit, which, though it set no pattern of civic conduct, was yet praiseworthy for its filial piety. [3] Without anybody's knowledge, he girded himself with a knife in the early morning, and coming to the City, made his way at once from the gate to the house of Marcus Pomponius, the tribune. There he told the porter that he must see his master instantly, and bade him say that it was Titus Manlius, the son of Lucius. [4] Being presently admitted — for it seemed likely that he was moved with wrath against his father, or was bringing some fresh charge or plan of action — he received and returned the salutation of his host, and then announced that there were matters of which he wished to speak to him without witnesses. [5] When they had all been sent away, he drew his knife, and standing over the tribune's couch with his weapon ready, he threatened that unless the man should swear, in the terms he himself should dictate, never to hold a council

of the plebs for the purpose of accusing his father, he would immediately stab him. [6] The frightened tribune, seeing the blade flash in his face, and perceiving himself to be alone and unarmed, and the other to be a stalwart youth, and, what was no less terrifying, foolhardy by reason of his strength, took the oath that was required of him, and afterwards publicly declared that he had been compelled by force to relinquish his undertaking. [7] And the plebs, however much they would have liked to be given the opportunity to cast their votes in the case of so cruel and insolent a defendant, were yet not displeased that a son had dared such a deed in defence of his parent; and they praised it all the more, because the father's shocking harshness had made no difference in the son's filial devotion. [8] And so not only was the arraignment of the father dismissed, but the youth himself gained distinction from the affair; [9] for in the election of military tribunes for the legions, which had that year for the first time been resolved upon — until then the generals themselves had nominated them, as they do to-day those who are known as *Rufuli* — he was chosen second of the six, though neither at home nor in the field had he done aught to merit popularity, and no wonder, since his youth had been passed in the country, remote from the gatherings of men.

6. That same year, whether owing to an earthquake or to some other violent force, it is said that the ground gave way, at about the middle of the Forum, and, sinking to an immeasurable depth, left a prodigious chasm. [2] This gulf could not be filled with the earth which everyone brought and cast into it, until admonished by the gods, they began to inquire what it was that constituted the chief strength of the Roman People; [3] for this the soothsayers declared that they must offer up, as a sacrifice to that spot, if they wished the Roman Republic to endure. Thereupon Marcus Curtius, a young soldier of great prowess, rebuked them, so the story runs, for questioning whether any blessing were more Roman than arms and valour. [4] A hush ensued, as he turned to the temples of the immortal gods which rise above the Forum, and to the Capitol, and stretching forth his hands, now to heaven, and now to the yawning chasm and to the gods below, devoted himself to death. [5] After which, mounted on a horse caparisoned with all possible splendour, he plunged fully

armed into the gulf; and crowds of men and women threw offerings and fruits in after him. It was he, they say, and not Curtius Mettius, the soldier of Titus Tatius in days of old, who gave his name to the Curtian Lake. [6] Diligence would not be wanting, were there any path which could lead the inquirer to the truth; as it is, one must hold by the tradition, where antiquity will not allow us to be certain; and the name of the pool is better known from this more recent legend.

[7] After the expiation of this great portent, the senate dealt in the same year with the question of the Hernici, and having dispatched fetials to demand reparations, without avail, resolved to submit to the people for their approval, at the earliest possible day, a declaration of war against that nation. In a crowded assembly the people voted for war, and the consul Lucius Genucius was by lot intrusted with the conduct of it. [8] The citizens were in a fever of suspense, since he would be the first plebeian consul to conduct a war under his own auspices, and they would judge by the sequel whether they had done well or ill to throw these honours open. [9] It so happened that Genucius, marching in great force against the enemy, plunged into an ambuscade. The legions, in a sudden panic, were put to flight, and the consul was surrounded and slain by men who knew not whom they had taken. [10] When the news reached Rome, the patricians, by no means so cast down by the general disaster as elated at the unlucky generalship of the plebeian consul, filled the City with their taunts. Let them go and choose consuls from the plebs! Let them transfer the auspices to those who might not have them without sin! [11] They had been able by a plebiscite to expel the patricians from their rightful honours: had their unsanctioned law prevailed also against the immortal gods? The gods themselves had vindicated their divine authority and their auspices; for these had no sooner been touched by one who had no legal or religious warranty for so doing, than the army and its general had been annihilated, as a lesson never again to overturn the rights of the patrician families in conducting an election. Such words as these resounded through the Curia and the Forum. [12] Appius Claudius had urged the rejection of the law, and this now gave his words the greater weight, as he denounced the outcome of a policy which he himself had censured. Him, therefore, the consul Servilius, with the approval of the patricians, appointed

dictator. An enrolment was proclaimed, and the courts were suspended.

7. But before the dictator and his new levies were got to the country of the Hernici, the lieutenant Gaius Sulpicius, profiting by a favourable opportunity, had fought a brilliant engagement. [2] The Hernici, whom the consul's death had made contemptuous, approached the Roman camp with every expectation of taking it by storm; but the soldiers, heartened by their general and bursting with anger and resentment, made a sortie, and so far were the Hernici from attacking the stockade, as they had hoped to do, that they actually fell back in confusion from the ground. [3] Then came the dictator, and the new army was joined to the old and the forces doubled. Calling the men together, Appius lauded the lieutenant and his soldiers, by whose bravery the camp had been defended; thus at the same stroke he encouraged those who heard themselves deservedly commended, and stimulated the others to emulation of their conduct. [4] Nor were the enemy less energetic in making ready for the war; mindful of the glory they had won before, and aware that the forces of their adversaries had been augmented, they also strengthened theirs. All who bore the name of Hernici and were of military age were called upon, and eight cohorts were formed, each numbering four hundred of their best men. [5] This choice flower of their manhood they inspired with additional hope and courage by a decree which allowed them double pay. They were exempted, also, from military tasks, in order that, being reserved for the one labour of fighting, they might be sensible of an obligation to exert themselves beyond the capacity of ordinary men. [6] Finally, they were assigned a post in the battle outside the line, to make their bravery the more conspicuous.

A plain extending for two miles separated the Roman camp from the Hernici. In the middle of this plain, at a spot almost equidistant from both camps, the battle was fought. [7] At first the event of the struggle was in doubt and nothing came of the oft-repeated attempts of the Roman horse to break the enemy's line. [8] Finding their charges ineffectual, despite their efforts, they consulted the dictator and with his permission left their horses, and, rushing to the front with a mighty cheer, inaugurated a new kind of fighting. [9] There

would have been no stopping them, had it not been for the special cohorts, who flung themselves across their path with a vigour and gallantry equal to their own.

8. The struggle then lay between the best men of both nations, and whatever losses the chance of war inflicted on either side were serious out of all proportion to their number. The common herd of soldiers, as though they had made over the battle to their betters, rested their future on the bravery of others. Many on both sides were slain and more were wounded. [2] At length the knights began to rail at one another. What else, they asked, was there to do, if they had neither beaten the enemy when mounted, nor were able to accomplish anything on foot? What third kind of battle were they waiting for? [3] What good had they done by dashing boldly out in front of the line and fighting in a place that belonged to others? Stirred by these mutual reproaches, they advanced with renewed cheering, and first they made the enemy yield, then forced them back, and finally routed them in no uncertain fashion. [4] What it was that turned the scale, where forces were so evenly matched, would be hard to say, unless the fortune regularly attendant on each nation had the power to quicken or to daunt their resolution. [5] The Romans chased the fleeing Hernici clear to their camp, which, owing to the lateness of the hour, they refrained from attacking; — the dictator had been unable to give the battle-signal before noon, having failed for a long time to obtain favourable omens, for which reason the struggle had been protracted until night. [6] — On the following day the camp was discovered to have been deserted by the fleeing Hernici, and a few of their wounded were found, whom they had left behind. The column of fugitives was passing the walls of Signia, when the townsfolk espied their thinly attended ensigns, and falling upon them, scattered them in headlong flight across the country. [7] Yet the Romans got no bloodless victory: they lost a fourth part of their foot, and a number of Roman horsemen fell, which was no less grave a loss.

9. Next year the consuls Gaius Sulpicius and Gaius Licinius Calvus led an army against the Hernici, and not finding the enemy abroad, captured their city of Ferentinum by assault. As they were returning thence, the men of Tibur closed their gates against them. [2]

Many complaints had before this been bandied back and forth between the two peoples, but this new offence made the Romans finally determine that after sending the fetials to demand redress they would declare war on the Tiburtine people.

[3] It is well established that Titus Quinctius Poenus was dictator that year and that Servius Cornelius Maluginensis was master of the horse. [4] Licinius Macer states that the appointment was for the purpose of holding an election and was made by Licinius the consul, who, because his colleague was in haste to hold the election before the campaign, so that he might succeed himself in the consulship, felt obliged to thwart his evil designs. [5] But the praise which he seeks to bestow on his own family makes the testimony of Licinius less weighty, and since I find no mention of the circumstance in the older annals, I am more disposed to think that it was a Gallic war which occasioned the appointment of a dictator. [6] In any case, this was the year in which the Gauls encamped at the third milestone on the Salarian road, beyond the bridge over the Anio.

The dictator having, by reason of the Gallic rising, proclaimed a suspension of the courts, administered the oath to all of military age. Then marching out of the City with a great army he pitched his camp on the hither bank of the stream. [7] The bridge lay between, and neither side would break it down, lest it be regarded as a sign of fear. There were frequent skirmishes for the possession of the bridge, and yet, so evenly matched were their forces, it could not be determined who were masters of it. [8] Then a Gaul of extraordinary size advanced upon the empty bridge, and making his voice as loud as possible, cried out, "Let him whom Rome now reckons her bravest man come out and fight, that we two may show by the outcome which people is the superior in war."

10. The young Roman nobles were for a long time silent. Ashamed to decline the challenge, they were loath to volunteer for a service of transcendent peril. [2] Then Titus Manlius, the son of Lucius, who had rescued his father from the persecution of the tribune, left his station and went to the dictator. "Without your orders, General," he said, "I would fain never leave my place to fight, not though I saw that victory was assured; [3] but if you permit me, I would show that beast who dances out so boldly before the standards of the enemy, that I

come of the family that hurled the column of Gauls from the Tarpeian Rock.” To whom the dictator made answer, “Success attend your valour, Titus Manlius, and your loyalty to father and to country! [4] Go, and with Heaven’s help make good the unconquerable Roman name.” The young man’s friends then armed him; he assumed the shield of a foot-soldier, and to his side he buckled a Spanish sword, convenient for close fighting. Armed and accoutred, they led him forth to the Gaul, who in his stupid glee — for the ancients have thought even this worth mentioning — thrust his tongue out in derision. They then retired to their station, and the two armed men were left by themselves in the midst, like gladiators more than soldiers, and by no means evenly matched, to judge from [6] outward show. One had a body extraordinary for its size, and resplendent in a coat of shifting hues and armour painted and chased with gold: the other was of a middling stature for a soldier, and his arms were but indifferent to look at, being suitable but [7] not ornate. He neither sang nor danced about with idle flourishes of his weapons, but his bosom swelled with courage and silent wrath, and all his ferocity was reserved for the crisis of [8] the combat. When they had taken their ground between the two embattled armies, while the hearts of the surrounding multitude were suspended betwixt hope and fear, the Gaul, whose huge bulk towered [9??] above the other, advanced his shield with the left arm, to parry the attack of his oncoming enemy, and delivered a slashing stroke with his sword, that made a mighty clatter but did [10] no harm. The Roman, with the point of his weapon raised, struck up his adversary’s shield with a blow from his own against its lower edge; and slipping in between the man’s sword and his body, so close that no part of his own person was exposed, he gave one thrust and then immediately another, and gashing the groin and belly of his enemy brought him headlong to the ground, where he lay stretched out over a [11] monstrous space. To the body of his fallen foe he offered no other indignity than to despoil it of one thing — a chain which, spattered with blood, he cast round his [12] own neck. The Gauls were transfixed with fear and wonder, while the Romans, quitting their station, ran eagerly to meet their champion and brought him with praise and gratulation to [13] the dictator. Amidst the rude banter thrown out by the soldiers in a kind of verse,

was heard the appellation of Torquatus, and thereafter this was given currency as an honoured surname, used even by descendants of [14] the family. The dictator gave him, besides, a golden chaplet, and loudly extolled that fight of his in a public speech.

11. And in fact the combat was of so great consequence to the issue of the whole war, that the army of the Gauls withdrew in trepidation from their camp on the succeeding night and crossed over into the territory of Tibur. There they formed a military alliance with the Tiburtes, and having been liberally assisted by them with provisions, they soon departed and went into Campania. [2] This was the reason why in the following year the consul Gaius Poetelius Balbus, when his colleague Marcus Fabius Ambustus had been appointed to the campaign with the Hernici, was commanded by the people to march against the men of Tibur. [3] To aid their allies, the Gauls returned from Campania, and the cruel devastations which ensued in the districts of Labici, Tusculum, and Alba were clearly instigated and directed by the Tiburtes. [4] Against the Tiburtine foe the state was satisfied to be commanded by a consul; but the Gallic invasion required the appointment of a dictator. The choice fell on Quintus Servilius Ahala, who designated Titus Quinctius master of the horse, and, instructed by the senate, made a vow to celebrate the great games, in the event of a successful termination of the war. [5] Directing the consular army to remain where they were, in order to confine the Tiburtes to their own field of action, the dictator administered the oath to all the young men, none of whom endeavoured to avoid the service. [6] The battle was fought not far from the Colline Gate. The Romans put forth all their strength in full sight of their parents and their wives and children. These are powerful incentives to courage even when unseen, but being then in full view, set the soldiers on fire with a sense of honour and compassion. [7] The slaughter was great on both sides, but at last the Gallic army was driven off. In their flight they turned towards Tibur, as though it had been the stronghold of the Gallic war; as they straggled on, they encountered the consul Poetelius, not far from the town, and when the Tiburtes came out to their assistance they were beaten back through the gates along with the Gauls. [8] The affair was admirably handled by the consul as well as by the dictator. And the

other consul Fabius defeated the Hernici — at first in little skirmishes, but ultimately in one remarkable battle, in which the enemy attacked with all their forces. [9] The dictator, having handsomely lauded the consuls in the senate and before the people, even giving them the credit for his own achievements, resigned his office. Poetelius celebrated a double triumph over the Gauls and the Tiburtes: it was thought enough for Fabius that he should enter the City in an ovation.

The Tiburtes ridiculed the triumph of Poetelius. Where was it, they asked, that he had fought a battle with them? [10] A handful of people had gone outside the gates to look on at the flight and panic of the Gauls, and finding that they too were attacked and that all who came in the way of the Romans were cut down without discrimination, had retired within their walls; this was the great achievement that the Romans had deemed worthy of a triumph! [11] That they might not regard it as too wonderful and great a thing to cause a flurry at their enemy's gates, they should themselves behold a greater panic in front of their own walls.

12. Accordingly, in the following year, when Marcus Popilius Laenas and Gnaeus Manlius were consuls, a hostile expedition set out from Tibur and arrived in the first silence of the night, at the walls of Rome. [2] It was terrifying to be suddenly waked out of sleep by a surprise and a night alarm; moreover many of the people knew not who their enemies were nor whence they had come; nevertheless the call to arms was quickly given, and watches were set at the gates and the walls were manned. [3] And when the first light showed the enemy before the City to be in no great force, and only the men of Tibur, the consuls sallied out at two gates and assailed them on both flanks as they were now drawing near the walls. [4] It was evident that in coming they had relied more on opportunity than on courage, for they scarcely withstood the first shock of the Roman onset. [5] In fact their expedition was confessedly a good thing for the Romans, and the fear occasioned by so near an enemy repressed a quarrel that was already in the air, between the patricians and the plebs.

[6] Another hostile incursion was more terrifying to the countryside. The Tarquinienses, bent on plundering, ranged over the Roman territory, particularly that part which adjoins Etruria; and

demands for reparation proving futile, the new consuls, Gaius Fabius and Gaius Plautius, declared war against them, as commanded by the people. This campaign fell to Fabius, that against the Hernici to Plautius.

[7] Rumours of a Gallic war began also to be rife. But with many perils, there was this consolation, that they had granted peace to the Latins, at their desire, and had received a large force of soldiers from them, under the terms of an ancient treaty which the Latins had for many years disregarded. [8] Thus strengthened, the Romans heard soon after with small concern that the Gauls had come to Praeneste and had then pitched their camp in the vicinity of Pedum. [9] They resolved on making Gaius Sulpicius dictator, and sent for Gaius Plautius the consul to appoint him; Marcus Valerius was named as his master of the horse. These two marched against the Gauls, with the choicest troops from both the consular armies.

[10] The war was considerably more protracted than was pleasing to either side. At first only the Gauls had been eager for battle; but later the Romans far exceeded the Gauls in the ardour with which they would run to arm themselves and fight. [11] Yet the dictator was by no means willing, being under no compulsion, to hazard his fortune against an enemy whom each day made less formidable, as he lingered on in an unfriendly country, without a magazine of food, and without adequate defences — an enemy, too, whose strength and courage lay wholly in attacking, and languished as soon as there came a slight delay.

[12] Upon these considerations the dictator spun out the war and threatened to punish anyone severely who should fight the enemy without his orders. The soldiers were mortified at this. At first they grumbled among themselves about the dictator, when on picket-duty or watching in the night, and sometimes railed at the senators collectively for not having given the consuls charge of the war; a fine general they had chosen, a unique commander, who thought that without his lifting a finger victory would fly down from heaven into his lap! [13] But they presently began to utter these same sentiments quite openly and in the light of day, and even bolder things than these: they would not wait, they declared, for the general's orders, but would either fight or go in a body to Rome. [14] The centurions

began to mingle with the soldiers; the murmuring was not confined to little knots of men, but in the main street and before the commander's tent there was now one general clamour; the throng increased to the bigness of an assembly, and on every side shouts were heard that they should go instantly to the dictator, and that Sextus Tullius should be spokesman for the army, as became his courage.

13. It was now the seventh campaign in which Tullius had served as first centurion, nor was there anyone in the army, at least among the foot-soldiers, more distinguished for his services. [2] At the head of the men, who followed in a body, he approached the platform, where the amazement of Sulpicius on seeing the mob was not greater than at seeing it led by Tullius, a soldier most obedient to authority. [3] "By your leave, Dictator," he began, "the entire army, deeming itself condemned in your mind for cowardice and almost deprived of its arms by way of humiliation, has asked me to plead its cause with you. [4] For my part, even if we could be taunted with anywhere quitting a post, with turning our backs on the foe, with shamefully losing our standards, I should still think you ought to hearken to our entreaty that we be permitted to redeem our fault with valour, and by winning new renown blot out the memory of our disgrace. [5] Even the legions that were routed at the Allia afterwards set out from Veii and by manful conduct won back the very City their cowardice had lost. In our case, thanks to the kindness of the gods and to your good fortune and that of the Roman People, both our cause and our glory are unimpaired. [6] Yet I hardly dare to mention glory, since the enemy flout us with every species of insult, as though we were women cowering behind our rampart; and since you, our general — a thing far harder to bear — regard us as an army without spirit, without swords, and without hands, and ere you have given us a trial, have so despaired of us as to reckon yourself a commander of cripples and weaklings. [7] For how else can we account for it, that you, an experienced and fearless general, should, as they say, be sitting down with folded hands? Indeed, however this may be, it is more reasonable that you should seem to distrust our bravery, than that we should seem to distrust yours. [8] But if this is not your own but public policy, and if some agreement amongst the senators, and

not the Gallic war, keeps us in exile from the City and from our homes, then I beg you to hear what I have to say, as though it were spoken not by his soldiers to a general but by the plebs to the patricians — for if the plebs, even as you have your policies, should assert that they proposed likewise to have theirs, who, pray, could be angry with them? [9] I say, then, we are your soldiers, not your slaves; you have sent us to war, not into banishment; if anyone would give us the signal and lead us into battle, we are ready to quit us in the fight like men and Romans: but if there be no occasion for our arms, we had rather spend our leisure in Rome than in a camp. [10] Thus much we would say to the patricians. But of you, our general, we, your soldiers, beg that you give us an opportunity of fighting. We are eager not only to conquer, but to conquer under your leadership; to win for you the glorious laurel; to enter the City with you in the march of triumph; and following your chariot, to approach the throne of Jupiter Optimus Maximus with gratulations and rejoicings.” [11] The speech of Tullius was supported by the entreaties of the crowd, who on all sides clamoured for the signal and the command to arm.

14. Though the dictator felt that a good thing had been carried out in a way to set a bad example, yet he undertook to do as the soldiers wished. [2] In private he questioned Tullius what this proceeding meant and on what precedent he had acted. Tullius earnestly besought the dictator not to believe that he had forgotten the training of a soldier, nor forgotten himself and the honour due to his commander: the crowd, he said, had become excited; crowds were generally like their leaders, and he had not refused to lead it, for fear that some other might come forward, of the sort that an unruly mob was likely to choose; for his own part he would do nothing without the approval of his general. [3] But Sulpicius, he continued, must none the less be very wary himself, to keep the army in hand; postponement would not do, where feelings were so exasperated; the men would choose for themselves a time and place for fighting, if their general did not provide them. [4] While they were talking thus, it chanced that a Gaul attempted to drive off certain sumpter animals that were grazing outside of the stockade, and two Roman soldiers took them away from him. These men were stoned by the Gauls. Whereupon a shout arose in the Roman outpost, and men ran forward

on both sides. [5] And now the mellay was likely to end in a regular battle, had not the centurions speedily parted the combatants. Sulpicius was assured by this incident that Tullius spoke truth, and, the situation admitting of no delay, he announced a general engagement for the morrow.

Yet the dictator was entering a struggle in which he relied more on the spirit of his troops than on their strength. [6] He began therefore to cast about and every way to consider how he might strike terror into the enemy by some stratagem. His cleverness produced a new expedient, which many generals both of our own and foreign countries — some even in the present age — have since employed. [7] Commanding the muleteers to remove the packsaddles from the mules, leaving only a pair of saddle-cloths on each, and arming them, partly with captured weapons, partly with those belonging to the sick, he mounted them. [8] Having in this way made out near a thousand, he mixed a hundred cavalrymen with them and ordered them to go up by night on to the mountains above the camp and conceal themselves in the woods, and not to stir from thence until they received a signal from him. [9] The dictator himself, as soon as it was light, began to deploy his front along the lower slopes, on purpose to make the enemy take their stand facing the mountains where the preparations had been made for inspiring them with a fear which, groundless though it was, yet served the Romans almost better than actual strength. [10] At first the Gallic leaders supposed that the Romans would not come down into the plain; then, when they saw that they had suddenly begun to descend, they also, being themselves eager for the combat, rushed into battle, and the fighting began before the signal could be given by the generals.

15. The right wing of the Gauls attacked fiercely, and it would have been impossible to stop them, if the dictator had not happened to be there. Calling out to Sextus Tullius by name, he chid him and asked if this was the kind of fighting he had promised that the men should do. [2] Where were those shouts with which they had called for arms? Where were their threats that they would begin the battle without the general's orders? Here was their general himself, who with a loud voice summoned them to fight, and advanced, sword in hand, in the very van! [3] Of those who but now were ready to lead, was there

none to follow? They might swagger in camp; in the field they were arrant cowards. What he said was the truth, and so stung them with shame that they rushed on the weapons of the enemy in utter forgetfulness of danger. [4] This well-nigh frenzied onset first threw their enemies into disarray, and before they could recover their confusion the cavalry charged and routed them. The dictator himself, as soon as he saw that a part of their line was wavering, turned the infantry attack against their left, where he descried a throng of the enemy gathering, and made the appointed signal to those on the mountain. [5] And when they too raised a shout and were seen to be moving obliquely down the mountain in the direction of the Gallic camp, the enemy, fearing to be shut out, ceased fighting and rushed pell-mell for their entrenchments. [6] There however they were met by Marcus Valerius, the master of the horse, who, having scattered the enemy's right wing, was then riding up to their works; [7] whereupon they turned and fled towards the mountains and the woods, where very many of them were intercepted by the muleteers masquerading as cavalry; and those whose fright had carried them into the woods were pitilessly slaughtered, after the battle had died down. [8] Not since the time of Marcus Furius has anyone celebrated a Gallic triumph that was better deserved than that of Gaius Sulpicius. He also collected from the spoils a considerable weight of gold, which he walled up with hewn stone in the Capitol, and so dedicated.

[9] In the same year the consuls, too, waged war with varying success. Gaius Plautius defeated the Hernici and reduced them to subjection; his colleague Fabius showed neither prudence nor skill in his battle with the Tarquinienses. [10] And yet the disaster experienced on the field was overshadowed by the fact that the Tarquinienses slew three hundred and seven captured Roman soldiers as a sacrifice — an act of savage cruelty that greatly emphasized the humiliation of the Roman People. [11] In addition to this defeat, the Romans suffered the devastation of their fields in sudden incursions made by the Privernates, and afterwards by the Veliterni.

[12] In the same year two tribes were added; the Pomptine and the Publilian; the votive games, which Marcus Furius had vowed as dictator, were given; and a statute against bribery was then for the first time laid before the people by Gaius Poetelius, tribune of the

plebs, with the approbation of the senate. [13] By this measure they thought to have suppressed corrupt practices, particularly on the part of men risen from the people, who were wont to haunt the country fairs and gathering-places.

16. Less agreeable to the senate was a measure which came up in the following year, in the consulship of Gaius Marcius and Gnaeus Manlius. It fixed the rate of interest at one per cent., and was carried through by Marcus Duillius and Lucius Menenius, tribunes of the plebs. [2] The commons ratified it much more eagerly than they had done the other law.

Besides the new wars determined on in the previous year, the Faliscans also rose up as enemies. They were charged with two offences: their youth had fought on the side of the Tarquinienses; and they had refused the demand of the fetials that they should give up the Romans who had taken refuge in Falerii, after the defeat. [3] This command was assigned to Gnaeus Manlius. Marcius led an army into the territory of Privernum, unravaged during a long period of peace, and loaded his troops with booty. This abundance he administered bountifully, and sequestering nothing to the public treasury, encouraged the men to augment their private fortunes. [4] The Privernates having encamped in front of their town, within strong intrenchments, Marcius called his soldiers together and thus addressed them: "I give you now for booty the camp and city of our enemies, if you promise me that in the battle you will play the part of men, and be not more ready to plunder than to fight." [5] They clamoured loudly for the signal and entered the battle with spirit, emboldened by no uncertain expectations. There in the fore-front Sextus Tullius, who has been mentioned before, cried out, "Look, general, and see how your army keeps the promises it gave you!" Then, laying down his javelin, he drew his sword and charged the foe. [6] All of the front line followed Tullius, and putting the enemy to flight at the first shock, pursued them to the town, where the Romans were already bringing up their scaling ladders to the wall, when the place surrendered. A triumph was celebrated over the Privernates.

[7] The other consul accomplished nothing worth recording, except that without precedent he got a law passed in his camp before Sutrium — the men voting by tribes — which levied a tax of one-

twentieth on manumissions. The Fathers ratified this law, since it brought in no small revenue to the empty treasury; but the tribunes of the plebs, troubled less by the law than by the precedent established, had it made a capital offence for anyone thereafter to summon the people to the comitia away from Rome. [8] If this should be permitted, there was nothing, they argued, however baneful to the people, which could not be carried through by the votes of soldiers sworn to obey their consul.

[9] In the same year Gaius Licinius Stolo was prosecuted under his own statute by Marcus Popilius Laenas, and condemned to pay a fine of ten thousand *asses*, on the charge that he held with his son a thousand *iugera* of land, and by emancipating his son had evaded the law.

17. New consuls now came in, Marcus Fabius Ambustus and Marcus Popilius Laenas, each for the second time. They had two wars. [2] One of these was easy; it was waged by Laenas against the Tiburtes, and he shut up the enemy within their city and pillaged their fields. The other consul was routed by the Faliscans and Tarquinienses in his first engagement. [3] The panic was chiefly due to this, that their priests, bearing serpents and blazing torches before them, came rushing on like Furies, and utterly dismayed the Roman soldiers with the extraordinary sight. At first they were like men frantic and distraught, and flung themselves in a disordered mob into their own works. [4] Then when the consul, the lieutenants and the tribunes laughed at them and upbraided them for being scared like children at idle tricks, shame caused a sudden revulsion in their feelings, and they rushed, as if blinded, on the very objects from which they had fled. [5] In this spirit they brushed aside the enemy's vain paraphernalia, and hurling themselves on his real fighting men, they routed the whole army, and even captured the camp that day. As they returned victorious with the rich plunder they had won, they jested in soldier-fashion and scoffed not only at the enemy's devices but at their own fright as well. [6] All who bore the Etruscan name then rose in arms, and led by the men of Tarquinii and Falerii, advanced as far as Salinae. To meet this fearful danger Gaius Marcius Rutulus was made dictator, the first that was ever appointed from the plebs, and he named a plebeian also, Gaius Plautius, to be

master of the horse. [7] But the patricians thought it shameful that even the dictatorship should now be common; and they exerted all their influence to prevent anything being decreed or made ready for the dictator, to carry on that war. [8] For which reason the people voted the more promptly everything that the dictator proposed. Marching out from the City and setting his army across the Tiber by means of rafts, wherever a rumour [9??] of the enemy called him, he surprised many straggling pillagers as they roamed about the fields, on both sides of the river; he also captured their camp in a surprise attack, and with it eight thousand soldiers; [10] and having slain the rest, or driven them out of Roman territory, was granted a triumph by the people, but without the authorization of the senate.

[11] The patricians were not willing that a consular election should be held by a plebeian, whether dictator or consul, and the other consul being detained by the war, the state relapsed into an interregnum. The office of interrex was held successively by Quintus Servilius Ahala, Marcus Fabius, Gnaeus Manlius, Gaius Fabius, Gaius Sulpicius, Lucius Aemilius, Quintus Servilius, and Marcus Fabius Ambustus. [12] In the second interregnum a controversy arose because two patricians were on the point of being named as consuls; and when the tribunes sought to veto the announcement, the interrex Fabius declared that the Twelve Tables enacted that whatsoever the people decreed last should have the binding force of law, and their votes were also a decree. [13] The tribunes gained nothing more by their intervention than a postponement of the comitia, and two patrician consuls were elected, namely Gaius Sulpicius Peticus (for the third time) and Marcus Valerius Publicola. They entered office that very day, 18. in the four hundredth year from the founding of Rome and the thirty-fifth from its recovery from the Gauls, depriving the plebs of the consulship they had enjoyed for ten years. [2] Empulum was won that year from the Tiburtes without any memorable battle being fought; whether, as some writers state, the campaign was conducted there under the auspices of the two consuls; or whether the lands belonging to Tarquinius were ravaged by the consul Sulpicius at the same time that Valerius led his legions against the Tiburtes.

The consuls had a harder struggle at home, with the plebs and the

tribunes. [3] They held that honour as well as courage required of them that, even as two patricians had received the consulship, so they should hand it over to successors who were both patricians: [4] indeed they ought rather to withdraw from the consulship altogether, that it might at once become a plebeian magistracy, or else retain undivided that control which they had inherited entire from their fathers. [5] On the other side, the plebeians were asking angrily why they lived, why they were counted a part of the state, if they were unable by their collective efforts to maintain what the courage of two men, Lucius Sextius and Gaius Licinius, had won for them. [6] It were better to put up with kings or decemvirs, or — if possible — a [7] more stern type of government than theirs, rather than see the consuls both patricians and have no turns at obeying and commanding, while a part of the people thought themselves established forever in authority and the commons born for no other end than servitude. [8] There was no lack of tribunes to promote disturbances, but where all were so excited, to begin with, the leaders were hardly to be discerned. [9] After the people had several times gone down to the Campus Martius to no purpose, and many meeting days had been spent in rioting, the persistence of the consuls finally prevailed. The plebs, thereupon, in a burst of resentment, followed their tribunes, who cried out that liberty was lost and that they ought now to leave not only the voting-field but the City, too, which was taken captive and enslaved by the tyranny of the patricians. [10] The consuls, being deserted by half the people, nevertheless, despite the paucity of voters, completed the election. The successful candidates were both patricians, Marcus Fabius Ambustus (for the third time) and Titus Quinctius. In certain annals I find Marcus Popilius given as consul instead of Titus Quinctius.

19. Two wars were successfully prosecuted this year, and the Tarquinienses and Tiburtes were forced to make submission. From the latter their city of Sassula was taken, and the rest of their towns would have met with the same fortune, had the whole nation not laid down their arms and cast themselves upon the mercy of the consul. [2] A triumph was celebrated over them, but in all other respects the victory was used with clemency. The men of Tarquinii were shown no ruth; many were slain in the field of battle, and out of the vast

number taken prisoners three hundred and fifty-eight were selected — the noblest of them all — to be sent to Rome, and the rest of the populace were put to the sword. [3] Neither were the People less stern towards those who had been sent to Rome, but scourged them all with rods in the middle of the Forum and struck off their heads. Such was the vengeance they exacted of their enemies for the Romans sacrificed in the market-place of Tarquinii. [4] Their success in war induced the Samnites also to apply for their friendship. The senate made a courteous answer to their ambassadors, and granted them a treaty of alliance.

[5] The Roman commons were not so fortunate at home as in the field. For notwithstanding they had been relieved of usury by the adoption of a one per cent. rate, the very poor found even the principal sum a crushing burden, and were being bound over to their creditors. Hence it was that neither the incumbency of two patrician consuls, nor concern for the elections or affairs of state, could divert the thoughts of the plebeians from their personal distresses. [6] Accordingly both consulships continued in the hands of the patricians; Gaius Sulpicius Peticus was elected for the fourth time, and Marcus Valerius Publicola for the second.

While the citizens were occupied with thoughts of an Etruscan war — for it was rumoured that the people of Caere, out of compassion for their kinsmen of Tarquinii, had made common cause with them — came envoys from the Latins and turned their thoughts upon the Volsci, with a report that they had mustered and equipped an army, which was even then descending upon Latium, from whence it would invade and devastate the territory of the Romans. [7] The senate therefore resolved that neither threat must be neglected; and ordered that legions should be enrolled for both campaigns, and that the consuls should decide the commands by lot. [8] But the Etruscan war afterwards came to be their chief concern, on the receipt of a dispatch from the consul Sulpicius, who had received the assignment to Tarquinii, with the news that the countryside lying near the Roman salt-works had been pillaged, and a part of the booty carried into the borders of the Caerites, whose soldiers had, without question, been amongst the depredators. [9] And so the senate recalled Valerius the consul, who was opposing the Volsci and had his camp

close to the Tusculan frontier, and ordered him to nominate a dictator. [10] His choice fell upon Titus Manlius, the son of Lucius, who appointed as master of the horse Aulus Cornelius Cossus. Asking for no more than the consular army, the dictator, by the senate's authority, and at the bidding of the people, proclaimed war on the Caerites.

20. It was then that the Caerites realized for the first time the full danger of war, as if the words of their enemies conveyed a more emphatic hint of it than their own acts, though they had pillaged the Romans and harried them. Beginning then to perceive how inadequate was their strength to such a quarrel, they repented of their raid, and cursed the Tarquinienses, who had encouraged them to fall away. [2] Nobody made ready his arms and prepared for war, but one and all bade dispatch ambassadors to Rome, to beg forgiveness for their error. The envoys, having approached the senate, were sent by them to be dealt with by the people. [3] Calling on the gods whose sacred emblems they had received and religiously protected in the Gallic war, they besought them to inspire the Romans in their prosperity with such compassion for the men of Caere as they themselves had formerly shown for Rome in her time of tribulation. Then, turning to the shrine of Vesta, they invoked the flamens and Vestals whom they had entertained with a pure and scrupulous hospitality. [4] Could anyone, they asked, believe that those who had deserved so well of the Romans had suddenly turned enemies without reason? [5] or that if they had in fact committed an act of hostility, it had been deliberately planned, and had not rather been owing to a fit of madness? Would they undo their own kindness of old, especially kindness to such grateful friends, with new misdeeds; and choose to be enemies of the Roman People in their flourishing state and at the height of their success in war, when they had sought their friendship in the hour of their adversity? Let them not give the name of "purpose" to what should properly be called "force" and "necessity." [6] The Tarquinienses, marching in hostile array through their territories, had sought nothing of them save permission to pass, but had drawn certain rustics after them in their train, who had borne a part in the pillaging with which the people of Caere were now taxed. [7] If it pleased the Romans that these men should be

surrendered, they would surrender them; if they would have them punished, they should be made to suffer. But Caere, the sanctuary of the Roman People, the hostel of its priests and refuge of the Roman religion, let them preserve intact and unstained by the imputation of making war, for the sake of the hospitality it had shown their Vestals and the reverence it had paid their gods. [8] The people were moved, not so much by their present claims as by their ancient merits, and chose rather to forget an injury than a kindness. So peace was granted to the people of Caere, and it was resolved that a truce of a hundred years be made, and recorded on a table of bronze. [9] The brunt of the war was turned against the Faliscans, who lay under the same accusation; but the enemy were nowhere encountered. Having ranged over their lands and laid them waste, the Romans refrained from attacking their cities, and led their legions home. The rest of the year was consumed in repairing the walls and towers, and a temple was dedicated to Apollo.

21. In the latter part of the year the consular election was broken off by a quarrel between the patricians and the plebs: the tribunes refused to permit the assembly to be held unless it were held agreeably to the Licinian law, and the dictator was obstinately determined rather to remove the consulship root and branch out of the state than to throw it open to patricians and plebs without distinction. [2] The assembly was therefore repeatedly adjourned, until the dictator's term had expired, and the state reverted to an interregnum. The interreges found the commons hostile to the patricians, and the factional struggle continued until there had been eleven interreges. [3] The tribunes continually vaunted their backing of the Licinian law: the plebs were more concerned with the distress they suffered from the increasing weight of usury, and their private worries broke out into public quarrels. [4] Worn out with these, the senate ordered Lucius Cornelius Scipio, the interrex, for harmony's sake to observe the Licinian law at the consular election. Publius Valerius Publicola was elected, with a plebeian colleague named Gaius Marcius Rutulus. [5] Now that the minds of men were once inclined to concord, the new consuls set themselves to obtain relief in the matter of usury also, which appeared to be the sole obstacle to harmony. They made the discharge of debts a concern of the state,

appointing five commissioners, whom they called bankers, from their having the disposition of the money. [6] These men by their impartiality and diligence fairly earned the distinction which attaches, in all the histories, to the names of Gaius Duillius, Publius Decius Mus, Marcus Papirius, Quintus Publilius, and Titus Aemilius. [7] In the discharge of a very difficult duty, involving always a hardship for one of the parties, and in most instances for both, they managed matters wisely in other respects, and, in particular, they expended without throwing away the public funds. [8] For with long-standing accounts, embarrassed more by the debtors' neglect than by their lack of means, they dealt in one of the following ways: either they paid them out of the treasury — taking security for the people first — at the banking tables they had set up in the Forum; or they settled them upon a valuation, at fair prices, of the debtor's effects. And so, not only without injustice, but even without complaint from either side, a vast amount of indebtedness was cleared off.

[9] A groundless fear of war with Etruria, on a report that the twelve nations had conspired, compelled the appointment of a dictator. The appointment was made in camp — for thither had the resolution of the senate been sent to the consuls — and Gaius Julius became dictator, with Lucius Aemilius for master of the horse. But abroad all was serene, 22. while at home an attempt, made through the dictator, to obtain the return of patricians to both consulships, brought the state to an interregnum. [2] The two interreges who were put in, Gaius Sulpicius and Marcus Fabius, brought to pass what the dictator had vainly striven for; and the plebs being now grown more tractable, thanks to the help lately granted them in the relief of debt, both men elected consuls were patricians. [3] These were that very Gaius Sulpicius Peticus, who was the earlier of the two interreges, and Titus Quinctius Poenus. (Some give Caeso, others Gaius, as the praenomen of Quinctius.) [4] Both marched out to fight, Quinctius against the Faliscans, Sulpicius against the Tarquinienses; but nowhere encountering their enemies in battle, they warred rather with the land, which they burnt and pillaged, than with men; [5] until the obstinacy of both peoples was overcome, as by the wasting of a lingering illness, and they requested a truce, first of the consuls, and later, by their permission, of the senate. They were granted one for

forty years.

[6] The anxiety arising from two threatening wars being thus allayed, it was resolved that while there was some rest from arms they would take the census; for the settlement of debts had brought about the change of ownership in many properties. [7] But when notice had been given of an assembly for the election of censors, an announcement that he should be a candidate on the part of Gaius Marcius Rutulus, who had been the first plebeian dictator, played havoc with the harmony of the orders; [8] for he seemed to have taken this step at an untoward time, since both the consuls, as it fell out, were then patricians, who declared that they would receive no votes for him; [9] but Rutulus himself held firmly to his purpose, and the tribunes aided him with all their power, in the hope of recovering what they had lost in the election of consuls; and not only was the man's own greatness equal to any honour, however lofty, but the plebs desired that they might be called to share the censorship by the same man who had opened up for them a path to the dictatorship. [10] There was no dissenting opinion shown at the assembly, and Marcius was elected, along with Manlius Naevius.

There was a dictator in this year also, namely, Marcus Fabius, not because of any threatened war, but to prevent the observance of the Licinian law in the consular election. [11] Quintus Servilius was assigned to the dictator as master of the horse. But the dictatorship made the unanimity of the patricians no more potent in the election of consuls than it had been in the election of censors. 23. Marcus Popilius Laenas was chosen from the plebs, Lucius Cornelius Scipio from the patricians.

[2] Fortune even made the plebeian consul the more illustrious, for the news that a huge army of Gauls had encamped in Latium found Scipio afflicted with a grave disorder, and the conduct of the war was entrusted by special arrangement to Popilius. [3] He levied troops with energy, and ordered all the young men to assemble under arms outside the Porta Capena, at the temple of Mars, commanding the quaestors to convey the standards thither, from the treasury. After filling up four legions, he turned over the supernumeraries to the praetor, Publius Valerius Publicola, urging the senators to enroll a second army as a national reserve against the uncertain emergencies

of war. [4] Having at length concluded all the necessary preparations, he himself marched against the enemy; [5] and that he might first learn their strength before putting it to the test of a decisive battle, he seized and began to fortify an eminence as close as he could find to the camp of the Gauls. [6] These, being a fierce people and by nature eager for the combat, on beholding the Roman ensigns in the distance, at once drew out their line, as if for instant battle. But perceiving that the Romans did not descend into the plain, but sought to protect themselves not only by their position but even with a rampart, they supposed them to be panic-stricken and at the same time the more open to attack for being just then taken up with their task. They advanced, therefore, with hideous yells. [7] The Romans without a pause in their work, on which the reserves were engaged, began the action with their troops of the first and second lines, who had been standing alert and armed in front of the working party. [8] Besides their valour, they had an advantage from the elevation, for their javelins and spears, instead of falling without effect, as they mostly do when thrown on a level field, were steadied by their own weight and all struck home. [9] The Gauls were burdened with the missiles which had either transfixed their bodies, or, sticking in their shields, had made them very heavy; their dash had carried them almost up the slope, but first they halted, uncertain what to do, and then — for [10] the mere delay had abated their ardour and increased that of their foes — they were thrown back, and falling one upon another wrought greater carnage than even their enemies had done; for so headlong was the rout, that more were trodden under foot than slain with the sword.

24. But the Romans were not yet sure of victory; on descending into the plain they found another fight awaiting them. [2] For the Gallic host, superior to any feeling for such losses, sprang up like a new army, and urged their fresh troops against the victorious foe. [3] The Romans, slowing down, came to a halt, for they were confronted, weary as they were, with a second struggle, and the consul, rashly exposing himself in the van, had received a javelin in his left shoulder that had like to have gone clean through it, and had withdrawn for a brief space from the fight. [4] And now the delay had almost lost them the victory, when the consul, whose wound had

been dressed, rode up again to the front. "Why are you standing there, my men?" he exclaimed. "You have no Latin or Sabine foe to deal with, whom you may overcome in fight and transform from an enemy into an ally; we have drawn the sword against wild beasts, and we must have their blood or yield them ours. [5] You have repulsed them from your camp, you have driven them headlong down a sloping valley, you stand on heaps of your slain enemies; cover the plain with the same carnage you have spread upon the mountains. [6] Do not wait for the enemy to flee from you, while you stand still; you must move forward and attack them." [7] Roused once more to action by these exhortations, they drove back the foremost of the Gallic maniples, and then, forming in wedges, burst through into the midst of the main array; [8] whereat the barbarians were thrown into confusion, having no definite orders nor commanders, and, turning, charged upon their fellows; and so, dispersed about the fields, and even carried past their own camp in the rout, they made for the highest point in the range of hills that met their eyes, namely, the Alban Citadel. [9] The consul did not pursue them beyond their camp, for his wound was troubling him, and he was unwilling to send his troops against the hills which the enemy had occupied. Giving over to his soldiers the entire booty of the camp, he led back his army, flushed with victory and enriched with the Gallic spoils, to Rome. [10] The consul's triumph was delayed by reason of his wound, which also made the senate wish for a dictator, that there might be someone — in the illness of the consuls — who could hold the election. [11] Lucius Furius Camillus was appointed to that office, and Publius Cornelius Scipio was made his master of the horse. Camillus restored to the patricians their ancient possession of the consulship, and in recognition of this service was himself, with their warm support, elected consul, and announced the election of Appius Claudius Crassus as his colleague.

25. Before the new consuls entered office, Popilius celebrated his triumph over the Gauls, with great enthusiasm on the part of the plebeians, who, muttering low, would often ask each other if anyone regretted the choice of a plebeian [2] consul. At the same time they railed against Camillus, who by declaring himself elected consul, when he was dictator, had got a reward, they said, for his contempt

of the Licinian law more disgraceful for his personal cupidity than for the injury done the [3] commonwealth.

The year was signalized by many and various disturbances. The Gauls came down from the Alban hills, having been unable to endure the sharpness of the winter, and ranging over the plains and sea-coast, laid waste the [4] country. The sea was infested by fleets of Greeks, and so were the seaboard of Antium, the Laurentine district, and the mouth of the Tiber. It happened once that the sea-robbers encountered the land-raiders, and a hard-fought battle ensued, from which the Gauls withdrew to their camp and the Greeks to their ships, alike uncertain whether they had been defeated or [5] victorious. But by far the greatest of these alarms was occasioned by councils of the Latin tribes, assembled at the grove of Ferentina, and the unambiguous reply vouchsafed by them to a demand for [6] soldiers. Let the Romans, they said, have done with issuing commands to those whose assistance they required: the Latins would sooner bear arms in behalf of their own liberty than of an alien [7] domination. Involved in two foreign wars at once, and worried besides by the defection of their allies, the senate perceived that those whom loyalty had not restrained must be restrained by fear, and bade the consuls exert the full extent of their authority in levying troops: for they must depend on a soldiery of citizens, when their allies were leaving [8] them. They say that soldiers were enlisted everywhere, not in the City alone but in the country, and ten legions were embodied, each of four thousand two hundred foot and three hundred [9] horse. The raising of a new army of this size to-day, in case of any aggression from abroad, could not easily be compassed by the concentration on one object of the existing resources of the Roman People, though the world hardly contains them; so strictly has our growth been limited to the only things for which we strive, — wealth and [10] luxury.

Among the untoward occurrences of this year was the death of one of the consuls, Appius Claudius, in the midst of the preparations for [11] war. The administration of the state passed to Camillus, over whom, as sole consul, — whether owing to his general high standing, which deserved not to be subordinated to the dictatorship, or to the happy omen, in a Gallic rising, of his surname, — the Fathers

concluded it not meet to set a [12] dictator. The consul appointed two legions to defend the City, and divided the other eight with Lucius Pinarius the praetor. Having a lively recollection of his father's prowess, he took upon himself, without drawing lots, the conduct of the Gallic war, and commanded the praetor to secure the seaboard and prevent the Greeks from [13] landing. Then, marching down into the Pomptine district, he chose a suitable site for a permanent camp; for he had no mind to meet the enemy in the field, unless compelled to do so, believing that he should effectually subdue them if he kept them from making raids, since they subsisted necessarily on plunder.

26. While they were there quietly passing the time in guard-duty, a Gaul came out to them, remarkable for his great stature and his armour, and, smiting his spear against his shield and thereby obtaining silence, challenged the Romans, through an interpreter, to send a man to fight with him. [2] There was a young tribune of the soldiers, named Marcus Valerius, who, regarding himself as no less worthy of that honour than Titus Manlius had been, first ascertained the consul's wishes, and then armed himself and advanced into the midst. [3] But the human interest of the combat was eclipsed by the intervention of the gods; for the Roman was in the very act of engaging, when suddenly a raven alighted on his helmet, facing his adversary. [4] This the tribune first received with joy, as a heaven-sent augury, and then prayed that whosoever, be it god or goddess, had sent the auspicious bird might attend him with favour and protection. [5] Marvellous to relate, the bird not only held to the place it had once chosen, but as often as the combatants closed, it rose on its wings and attacked the enemy's face and eyes with beak and talons, till he was terror-struck with the sight of such a portent, and bewildered at once in his vision and his mind, was dispatched by Valerius, — whereupon the raven flew off towards the east and was lost to sight. [6] Hitherto the outguards on either side had stood quietly by; but when the tribune began to despoil the corpse of his fallen foe, the Gauls remained no longer at their station, and the Romans ran up even more swiftly to the victor. [7] There a scuffle, arising over the body of the prostrate Gaul, led to a desperate fight that was not long confined to the maniples of the nearest outposts, for the legions, rushing out on both sides, carried on the battle. Camillus ordered his

soldiers to fall on, elated as they were by the tribune's victory, elated too by the present assistance of the gods; and pointing to the tribune, decked out in his spoils, he cried, "Here is your pattern, soldiers! [8] Bring down the Gauls in troops around their prostrate leader!" Both gods and men helped in that battle, and they fought it out with the Gauls to a conclusion that was never doubtful, so clearly had each side foreseen the result implicit in the outcome of the single combat. [9] Between those who began the fray, and by their conflict drew in the others, there was a bitter struggle; but the rest of the Gallic host turned tail ere they came within the cast of a javelin. At first they scattered among the Volsci and through the Falernian countryside; from there they made their way into Apulia or to the Tuscan Sea.

[10] The consul assembled his soldiers, and having eulogized the tribune, bestowed on him ten oxen and a golden coronet; Camillus himself was commanded by the senate to take charge of the operations on the coast, and accordingly joined forces with the praetor. [11] The campaign there seemed likely to be long drawn out, for the Greeks were poltroons and refused to risk an engagement. [12] He therefore, on the authorization of the senate, appointed Titus Manlius Torquatus to be dictator, that an election might be held. The dictator, after naming Aulus Cornelius Cossus master of the horse, presided over a consular election, and announced, amid great popular rejoicings, that the choice had fallen — in his absence — upon a youth of twenty-three, the Marcus Valerius Corvus — for this was his surname from that time — who had rivalled Manlius's own glorious achievement. [13] As colleague of Corvus they elected the plebeian Marcus Popilius Laenas to be for the fourth time consul. With the Greeks, Camillus fought no memorable action; they were no warriors on land, nor were the Romans on the sea. [14] In the end, being kept off shore, and their water giving out, as well as other necessities, they abandoned Italy. [15] To what people or race their fleet belonged is uncertain. I am most inclined to think that they were Sicilian tyrants; for Greece proper was at that time exhausted with civil wars and trembled, even then, at the power of the Macedonians.

27. When the armies had been disbanded, and there was peace with other nations, and — thanks to the goodwill betwixt the orders — quietness at home, that the happiness of the citizens might not pass

all bounds, a pestilence attacked them and the senate was compelled to order the ten commissioners to consult the Sibylline Books. [2] By their direction a lectisternium was held. In the same year a colony was sent out to Satricum by the Antiates, and that city, which had been destroyed by the Latins, was rebuilt. [3] Further, a treaty was entered into at Rome with envoys of the Carthaginians, who had come seeking friendship and an alliance.

The same peaceful conditions continued at home and abroad during the consulship of Titus Manlius Torquatus and Gaius Plautius. But the rate of interest was reduced from one to one-half per cent., [4] and debts were made payable, one-fourth down and the remainder in three annual instalments; even so some of the plebeians were distressed, but the public credit was of greater concern to the senate than were the hardships of single persons. What did the most to lighten the burden was the omission of the war-tax and the levy.

[5] In the second year after the rebuilding of Satricum by the Volsci, Marcus Valerius Corvus became consul for the second time, with Gaius Poetelius. [6] A report having come out of Latium that emissaries of the Antiates were circulating amongst the Latin peoples with a view to stir up war, Valerius was ordered to deal with the Volsci before more enemies should arise, and marched to the attack of Satricum. There he was opposed by the Antiates and the other Volsci, with forces which they had levied in advance, in case any measures should be taken by the Romans; and both sides being actuated by inveterate hatred, the battle was joined without delay. [7] The Volsci, a race more spirited in beginning than in prosecuting war, were defeated in the struggle and fled in disorder to the walls of Satricum. Indeed, they put no great reliance even in their walls, for when the city had been encircled with troops and was on the point of being escaladed, they surrendered, being in number about four thousand soldiers, besides the unarmed populace. [8] The town was dismantled and burnt; only the temple of Mater Matuta was saved from the flames. All the booty was given to the soldiers. The four thousand who had surrendered were not reckoned a part of the spoils; these the consul sent in chains before his chariot when he triumphed, and they were subsequently sold, and brought in a great sum to the treasury. [9] Some think that this multitude of captives consisted of

slaves, and this is more likely than that surrendered men were sold.

28. These consuls were succeeded by Marcus Fabius Dorsuo and Servius Sulpicius Camerinus. War then broke out with the Aurunci, in consequence of a raid which they unexpectedly executed. [2] It was feared that this act of a single nation might be the joint design of all of the Latin name, and a dictator was appointed — as though to oppose a Latium already up in arms — in the person of Lucius Furius. [3] After naming Gnaeus Manlius Capitolinus to be his master of the horse, he suspended the courts, and having levied troops without exemptions — as was customary in great emergencies — he led them with all possible speed against the Aurunci. These he discovered to possess the spirit of freebooters rather than of enemies, and so brought the war to a conclusion in the first engagement. [4] Howbeit the dictator, considering that they had been the aggressors in the war and were accepting battle without shrinking, saw fit to summon even the gods to help him, and in the heat of the encounter vowed a temple to Juno Moneta. This vow the result made binding, and the dictator having returned to Rome victorious, resigned his authority. [5] The senate ordered that two commissioners should be designated to erect the temple in a style becoming to the grandeur of the Roman People, and a site was appointed for it in the Citadel, where once had stood the house of Marcus Manlius Capitolinus. [6] The consuls, employing the dictator's army for the Volscian war, made a surprise attack upon the enemy and captured Sora.

The temple of Moneta was dedicated the next year after it was vowed, when Gaius Marcius Rutulus was consul for the third time and Titus Manlius Torquatus for the second. [7] The dedication was immediately followed by a prodigy like the one which had happened long before on the Alban Mount; for a shower of stones fell, and a curtain of night seemed to stretch across the sky; and when the Books had been consulted and the City was filled with forebodings of divine displeasure, the senate resolved on the appointment of a dictator, to establish days of worship. [8] The choice fell on Publius Valerius Publicola, who was given Quintus Fabius Ambustus as master of the horse. They determined that not only the Roman tribes but the neighbouring peoples also should offer supplications; and they appointed an order for them, on what day each should make

entreaty. [9] It is handed down that during this year the people rendered severe judgments against usurers, who had been brought to trial by the aediles. [10] The state — for no specially memorable reason — reverted to an interregnum, which was followed — so that this might appear to have been intended — by the election to both consulships of patricians, namely Marcus Valerius Corvus, for the third time, and Aulus Cornelius Cossus.

29. Wars of greater magnitude, in respect both of the forces of our enemies and of the remoteness of their countries and the long periods of time involved, now fall to be related. [2] For in that year the sword was drawn against the Samnites, a people powerful in arms and in resources; and hard upon the Samnite war, which was waged with varying success, came war with Pyrrhus, and after that with the Carthaginians. How vast a series of events! How many times the extremity of danger was incurred, in order that our empire might be exalted to its present greatness, hardly to be maintained! [3] Now the cause of the war between the Romans and the Samnites, who had been united in friendship and alliance, was of external origin and not owing to themselves. [4] The Samnites had unjustly attacked the Sidicini, because they happened to be more powerful than they, and the Sidicini, driven in their need to fly for succour to a more wealthy nation, had attached themselves to the Campanians. [5] The Campanians had brought reputation rather than real strength to the defence of their allies; enervated by luxury, they had encountered a people made hardy by the use of arms, and being defeated in the territory of the Sidicini, had then drawn down the full force of the war upon themselves. [6] For the Samnites, disregarding the Sidicini and attacking the Campanians — the very stronghold of their neighbours, — from whom they would gain full as easy a victory and more plunder and renown, had seized and with a strong force occupied Tifata — a range of hills looking down on Capua — and thence had descended in battle-order into the plain that lies between. [7] There a second battle had been fought, and the Campanians, being worsted, had been shut up within their walls; and having, after the loss of their choicest troops, no prospect of relief at hand, had been driven to seek assistance of the Romans.

30. Their ambassadors, on being introduced into the senate, spoke

substantially as follows: “The Campanian people has sent us to you as ambassadors, Conscript Fathers, to solicit your lasting friendship and present help. [2] Had we sought this amity when our affairs were prosperous, though it had been begun more quickly, yet had it been contracted with a weaker bond; for in that case, as those who remembered that they had joined with you in friendship on an equal footing, though perhaps as much your friends as now, we should have been less subject and beholden to you; [3] as it is, attached to you by your compassion and defended in our time of trouble by your aid, we must lovingly remember the benefit also, lest we appear as ingrates and undeserving of any help, divine or human. [4] Nor do I think, in sober truth, that the circumstance of the Samnites having become your allies and friends before ourselves should make against our being received into your friendship, though it entitle them to an advantage over us in respect of priority and rank; and indeed there was no stipulation in your treaty with the Samnites that you should make no further treaties.

[5] “It has ever been with you a sufficiently just cause for friendship that he who sought you desired to be friends with you. [6] We Campanians, though our present plight will not suffer us to boast, are inferior neither in the splendour of our city, nor yet in the fertility of our soil, to any people but yourselves; and in associating ourselves with you we bring, as I think, no small accession to your prosperity. [7] As often as the Aequi and the Volsci — perpetual enemies of this city — shall stir abroad, we shall be upon their backs, and what you will have done first for our preservation, that we will ever do for your empire and your glory. [8] When once you have subdued these nations that lie between our boundaries and your own — a thing which your valour and good fortune guarantee will speedily come to pass — your rule will extend unbroken all the way to our frontier. [9] Grievous and pitiful is the confession that our misfortune obliges us to make: to that pass, Conscript Fathers, are we Campanians come that we must be the chattels either of our friends or of our enemies. [10] Defend us, and we are yours; desert us, and the Samnites will possess us. Consider therefore whether it be your preference that Capua and all Campania augment Rome’s power, or that of Samnium.

[11] "It is meet that your compassion, Romans, and your succour should be open to all mankind, but especially to those who in endeavouring beyond their strength to grant these blessings to the prayers of others, have come themselves to require them most of all. [12] And yet we fought but ostensibly for the Sidicini, in reality for ourselves, since we saw that a people on our borders was being cruelly despoiled by the brigand Samnites, and that, once that conflagration had consumed the Sidicini, it would spread to us. [13] Nor at this very moment are the Samnites come to attack us out of resentment for any injury received, but rejoicing rather that a pretext has been afforded them. [14] Otherwise, if this were the satisfaction of revenge and not an opportunity to appease their greed, was it not enough that first in the territory of Sidicinum, and again in Campania itself, they made slaughter of our legions? [15] What wrath is this, that is so implacable that the blood two armies have poured out cannot appease it? Add to this the devastation of our lands and the booty they have driven off, both men and cattle; add the burning and destruction of our farm-houses and the general havoc fire and sword have wrought. [16] Could not all this placate their wrath? Nay, but their greed must be appeased. It is this that hurries them to the siege of Capua; they must needs either destroy the fairest of cities, or themselves become its masters. [17] But do you, Romans, sooner gain it by your generosity than suffer them to have it by their malice. I am not speaking before a people that refuses righteous wars; still, if you make but a show of helping us, you will have, I think, no need of going to war. [18] As far as to ourselves does the scorn of the Samnites reach, it mounts not higher; accordingly the shadow of your help is able, Romans, to protect us, and whatever thereafter we shall have, whatever we ourselves shall be, we shall consider wholly yours. [19] For you shall be ploughed the Campanian plain, for you shall the city of Capua be crowded; you shall be to us as founders, parents, and immortal gods; you shall have no colony that surpasses us in obedience and loyalty.

[20] "Grant the favour of your countenance, Conscript Fathers, and of your unconquered might, to the Campanians, and bid them hope that Capua will be saved. [21] With what thronging crowds of every sort were we accompanied, think you, at our setting out? How did we

leave on every hand prayers and tears! [22] In what suspense are now the senate and the people of Campania, our wives and our children! Well I know that all the people are standing at the gates, their eyes fixed on the northern road. What message, Conscript Fathers, do you bid us carry back to their perplexed and troubled spirits? [23] One answer would bring salvation, victory, light, and liberty; the other — I shrink from the ominous prediction! Do you therefore deliberate regarding us, as regarding those who shall either be your allies and friends, or else have no being anywhere.”

31. The ambassadors were then made to withdraw while the senate considered their request. It was evident to many that the largest and wealthiest city of Italy, with a very fertile territory near the sea, would in times of scarcity be a store-house for the Roman People. [2] Yet this great advantage was of less moment with them than their honour, and the consul, being so instructed by the senate, returned the following answer to the ambassadors: “Men of Campania, the senate holds you worthy of assistance; but on such terms only can we become your friends as shall not violate an older friendship and alliance. The Samnites and we are united by a covenant; we must therefore refuse to make war in your behalf upon the Samnites, for this would be to wrong first gods, and then men; we will, however, dispatch envoys, as is right and just, to entreat our allies and friends to do you no violence.” [3] To this the leader of the delegation answered — in accordance with instructions they had brought with them:— “Since you decline to use a righteous violence to protect from violence and injustice what belongs to us, you will at least defend your own; [4] to your sovereignty, therefore, Conscript Fathers, and to the sovereignty of the Roman People, we surrender the people of Campania and the city of Capua, with our lands, the shrines of our gods, and all things else, whether sacred or profane; whatever we endure henceforth, we shall endure as your surrendered subjects.”

[5] When these words had been pronounced, they all stretched forth their hands in supplication to the consul, and weeping bitterly, threw themselves face downwards on the floor of the entrance to the Curia. [6] The Fathers were profoundly moved by the vicissitudes of human fortune, considering how that great and opulent people, famed

for its luxury and pride, of whom a little while before its neighbours had sought assistance, was become so broken in spirit as to yield itself up with all its possessions to the dominion of another. [7] They now held it to be a point of honour not to betray those who were become their subjects; neither did they think that the Samnite people would deal justly, if they attacked a country and a city, which, by surrendering, had become the property of the Roman People. [8] The senate accordingly voted to dispatch ambassadors to the Samnites, without loss of time. Their instructions were to inform the Samnites what the Campanians had asked, how the senate, mindful of the friendship of the Samnites, had replied to them, and lastly how they had surrendered; [9] they were then to request that the Samnites, out of regard for the friendship and alliance of the Romans, would spare their subjects, and make no hostile incursion into a territory which belonged now to the Roman People; [10] if soft words proved ineffectual, they were to warn the Samnites, in the name of the Roman People and the senate, not to meddle with the city of Capua or the Campanian domain. [11] But the Samnites, when these things were represented to them in their council by the envoys, behaved so insolently as not only to declare that they meant to carry on the war, but their magistrates stepping out of the senate-house — while the envoys stood by — summoned [12] the commanders of their cohorts, and with a loud voice gave them orders to proceed at once to make a raid upon Campania.

32. When the news of this embassy reached Rome, the Fathers, putting aside all other business, sent fetials to demand redress, and failing to obtain it, declared war after the customary fashion. [2] They then voted that the people be asked to ratify this action at the earliest possible moment; and being commanded so to do, both consuls took the field; and Valerius marching into Campallia and Cornelius into Samnium, the one encamped at the foot of Mount Gaurus, the other near Saticula. It was Valerius whom the Samnite levies encountered first — for that was the direction which they expected the invasion to take. [3] The Campanians moreover had incurred their sharp resentment, having been so ready now to render aid against them, now to invoke it. [4] But when they beheld the Roman camp, they began, every man for himself, to call loudly on their leaders for the

battle-signal, affirming that the Romans would have no better fortune in helping the Campanians than these had experienced in helping the Sidicini.

Valerius, having delayed not many days for the purpose of testing the enemy in small skirmishes, hung out the signal for a battle. [5] But first he spoke a few words of encouragement to his soldiers, bidding them have no fear of a strange war and a strange enemy. [6] With every advance of their arms from Rome, he said, they came to nations that were more and more unwarlike. [7] They must not judge of the courage of the Samnites by the defeats they had administered to the Sidicini and Campanians. Whatever their respective qualities, it was inevitable that when they fought together, one side should be vanquished. As for the Campanians, there was no question they had been beaten rather by the enervation resulting from excessive luxury and by their own effeminacy, than by the strength of their enemies. [8] Furthermore, what were the Samnites' two successful wars in so many ages, as against the many glorious achievements of the Roman People, who could count almost more triumphs than the years since their City had been founded; [9] who had subjugated by their arms all the nations round about them, the Sabines, Etruria, the Latins, the Hernici, the Aequi, the Volsci, and the Aurunci; who after beating the Gauls time after time in battle, had ended by compelling them to flee to the sea-board and their ships? [10] He said that they ought, as they went into action, not only to rely every man on his own courage and martial glory, but also to consider under whose command and auspices they would have to fight; [11] whether he were one who only merited a hearing as a brilliant orator, warlike only in his words, and ignorant of military operations, or one who knew himself how to handle weapons, to advance before the standards, and to play his part in the press and turmoil of a battle. [12] "Soldiers," he cried, "it is my deeds and not my words I would have you follow, and look to me not only for instruction but for example. Not with factions, nor with the intrigues common amongst the nobles, but with this right hand, have I won for myself three consulships and the highest praise. [13] Time was when it might have been said: Ah, but you were a patrician and sprung from the liberators of your country, and your family held the consulship in the very year that saw the institution of that office.' [14]

But now the consulship lies open on equal terms to us, the nobles, and to you plebeians, nor is it any longer a reward of birth, but of merit. Have regard, therefore, soldiers, in every instance, to great honours. [15] Though you men have given me, with Heaven's sanction, my surname of Corvinus, I have not forgot the ancient surname of our family — the [16] Publicolae: at home and in the field, as a private citizen, in little magistracies and in great ones, as consul no less than as tribune, and with the same undeviating course through all my successive consulships, have I cherished, and cherish still, the Roman plebs. [17] Now, with Heaven's good help, to the work we have in hand! Seek with me a novel triumph never yet won from the Samnites!"

33. There was never a commander who more endeared himself to his men by cheerfully sharing all their duties with the meanest of the soldiers. [2] At the military sports, too, in which those of a like age contend with one another in strength and swiftness, he was easy-going and good-natured; he would win or lose without changing countenance, nor did he scorn to match himself with anyone who challenged him; [3] in his acts his kindness was suited to the circumstances, in his speech he had regard to the liberty of others no less than to his own dignity; finally — and nothing can be more popular than this — he [4] was the same in office that he had been while a candidate. [5] It was therefore with incredible eagerness that the whole army, after listening to the general's speech, marched out of camp.

The battle began, if ever battle did, with like hopes on both sides and equal strength, and a self-confidence which yet was not mixed with contempt for the enemy. [6] The Samnites were' emboldened by their recent exploits and by their double victory of a few days before, the Romans on their part by the glories of four centuries and a victorious career that dated from the founding of the City; [7] each side nevertheless experienced some anxiety at meeting an untried foe. The engagement testified how resolute they were, for they so fought that for some time neither battle-line gave ground. [8] Then the consul, thinking that he must inspire his enemies with fear, since he could not drive them back by force, attempted by sending in the cavalry to 'throw their front ranks into disorder. [9] But when he saw

that nothing came of the confused fighting of the squadrons, as they tried to manœuvre in a narrow space, and that they could not break the enemy's line, he rode back: to the front ranks of his legions, and, dismounting from his horse, exclaimed, "Soldiers, it is for us, the infantry, to accomplish yonder task! [10] Come, as you shall see me making a path for myself with my sword wherever I advance against the enemy's line, so do you every man strike down whom you encounter; all that array where now uplifted spears are glancing you shall see laid open with great carnage." [11] No sooner had he said these words, than the horsemen, by the consul's order, drew off towards the wings and left the legions room to attack the centre. [12] The consul was the very foremost in the charge, and slew the man he chanced to meet with. Kindled by this sight, the Romans on the right and on the left pushed forward, every man of them, and fought a memorable combat; the Samnites stood manfully at bay, but they took more strokes than they delivered.

[13] The battle had now lasted a considerable time; there was dreadful slaughter about the standards of the Samnites, but as yet no retreating anywhere, so determined were they to be overcome by naught but death. [14] And so the Romans, who saw that their strength was fast ebbing away in weariness and that little daylight yet remained, were filled with rage, and hurled themselves against the enemy. [15] Then for the first time were there signs of giving way and the beginning of a rout; then were the Samnites captured or slain; nor would many have survived, if night had not ended what was now a victory rather than a battle. [16] The Romans admitted that never had they fought with a more stubborn adversary; [17] and the Samnites, on being asked what it was that first had turned them, resolute as they were, to flight, replied that it was the eyes of the Romans, which had seemed to blaze, and their frenzied expression and infuriated looks; this it was more than anything else that had caused their panic. And this panic stood confessed not alone in the outcome of the fight but in the night-retreat that followed. [18] On the morrow the Romans took possession of the deserted camp, and thither the whole population of Capua streamed out to congratulate them.

34. But this rejoicing came near to being marred by a great reverse in Samnium. For the consul Cornelius, marching from Saticula, had

unwarily led his army into a forest which was penetrated by a deep defile, and was there beset on either hand by the enemy; [2] nor, until it was too late to withdraw with safety, did he perceive that they were posted on the heights above him. [3] While the Samnites were only holding back till he should send down the whole column into the bottom of the valley, Publius Decius, a tribune of the soldiers, espied a solitary hill, which rising above the pass, commanded the enemy's camp, and though arduous of access to an army encumbered with baggage, was not difficult for men in light marching order. [4] He accordingly said to the consul, who was much perturbed: "Do you see, Aulus Cornelius, that summit that rises above the enemy? [5] It is the fortress of our hope and safety, if we are prompt to seize it, since the Samnites have been so blind as to neglect it. Give me no more than the first and second lines of a single legion; when with these I have mounted to the top, do you go forward fearlessly and save yourself and the army; for the enemy, exposed to all our missiles, will not be able to stir without bringing destruction on themselves. [6] As for us, thereafter the fortune of the Roman People or our own manhood will extricate us." [7] Being commended by the consul and receiving his detachment, he advanced under cover through the wood, nor did the enemy perceive him till he had nearly reached the place which he wished to gain. [8] They were then all overcome with astonishment and dread, and while they turned, every man of them, and gazed at him, the consul was given time to withdraw his army to more favourable ground, and Decius himself took his post on the top of the hill. [9] The Samnites, turning their standards now this way and now that, threw away both opportunities; they could not pursue the consul, except through the same defile where a little before they -had held him at the mercy of their javelins, nor could they charge up the hill which Decius had captured over their heads. [10] But not only did their resentment urge them rather against those who had snatched victory from their grasp, but so also did the nearness of the place and the fewness of its defenders; [11] and first they would be for surrounding the hill with troops, so as to cut Decius off from the consul, and next for leaving his road open, so that they might attack him when he was got down into the valley. [12] Before they had made up their minds, night overtook them.

Decius at first had hopes of fighting from the higher ground, as they mounted the hill; then he marvelled that they neither began to attack, nor, if they were deterred from that design by the difficulty of the ground, attempted to shut him in with trench and rampart. [13] Then, calling the centurions to him, he said: “What want of military skill, what slothfulness can that be? How did those people conquer the Sidicini and Campanians? You see their standards moving now this way, now that, first closing in together, then deploying, while no man falls to work, though we might ere this have been fenced in with a palisade. [14] Then in truth should we be no better than they, were we to tarry here longer than suits our interest. Come on then and follow me, so that while there is yet a little light we may find out where they post their guards, and where the way out from this place lies open.” [15] Wrapped in a common soldier’s cloak and accompanied by his centurions, who were also dressed like privates, lest the enemy should notice that the general was on his rounds, he investigated all these matters.

35. Next, having disposed the sentries, he commanded that the word be passed to everybody, that on hearing the trumpet sound for the second watch they should silently arm and present themselves before him. [2] When they had assembled there without a word, as he had ordered, he thus began: “You must preserve this silence, soldiers, as you listen to me, omitting all soldier-like acclaim. When I have finished explaining my plan, then those of you who find it good will quietly pass over to the right; on whichever side the majority shall be, we will abide by their decision. [3] Hear now what I have in mind. The enemy has not invested you here as men who ran away or were left behind through laziness: it was by valour that you took the place, and by valour you must escape from it. [4] By coming hither you saved a splendid army for the Roman People; save yourselves by breaking out. You are worthy to have carried help, though few, to greater numbers, and to have needed no man’s help yourselves. [5] You have an enemy to deal with who neglected yesterday through indolence an opportunity of destroying our whole army; who failed to see the importance of this hill by which he is commanded, until we had taken it; who, though we were so few and his own thousands so many, neither kept us from gaining the ascent, nor, when the place

was ours and much daylight still remained, surrounded us with entrenchments. [6] An enemy whom you thus eluded while he was wide awake and watching, you ought to baffle when he is overcome with sleep. [7] Indeed it is necessary that you do so, for our situation is such that I am rather pointing out your necessity to you than advocating a plan. [8] Nor truly can it be a debatable question whether you should stay or go away from here, since Fortune has left you nothing but your arms and the spirit to employ them, and we must die of hunger and thirst, if we dread the sword's point more than it is fitting men and Romans should. [9] Our one way of safety, then, is to break through and get away. We must do this either in the day-time or at night. [10] But this, look you, is a question that is even less in doubt, for if we should wait for dawn, what hope is there that the enemy would not hem us in with a continuous trench and rampart, who has now, as you see, encompassed the hill on every hand with the bodies of his men lying below us. And yet, if night is favourable for our sally, as it is, this is surely the fittest hour of the night. [11] You have come together on the signal of the second watch, when sleep lies heaviest on mortals; you will make your way among drowsy forms, either eluding them unsuspected in your silence, or ready, if they should perceive you, to affright them with a sudden shout. [12] Do but follow me, whom you have followed hitherto; I will follow that same Fortune that has led us hither. Now then let those who approve my plan step over-to the right."

36. They all crossed over. Decius then made his way through the spaces left unguarded, and they followed him. [2] They had already got half way through the camp, when a soldier in stepping over the bodies of some sleeping sentries struck his shield and made a sound. A sentry was awakened by this, and having shaken his neighbour, they stood up and began to rouse the rest, not knowing whether they had to do with friends or foes, whether the party on the hill were escaping, or the consul had captured the camp. [3] Decius, seeing that they were discovered, gave the order to his men, and they set up such a shout that the Samnites, who had been stupefied with sleep, were now in addition [4??] breathless with terror, which prevented them from either arming promptly or making a stand against the Romans or pursuing them. [5] During the fright and confusion amongst the

Samnites, the Romans cut down such guards as they came across, and proceeded towards the consul's camp.

It wanted yet some time till daylight, and they now appeared to be in safety, when Decius said, "All honour to your courage, Roman soldiers! [6] Your expedition and return shall be renowned through all the ages. But the light of day is needed to set off such gallantry, nor do you merit that your glorious return to camp should be accomplished in silence and under cover of night. Let us wait here quietly until the dawn." [7] They did as he said. With the first rays of light they sent forward a courier to the consul, and the camp was woke with loud rejoicings. When word was sent round that those were returning safe and sound, who in behalf of the general safety, had exposed their bodies to no uncertain peril, they all poured out to meet them, and, each for himself, praised and congratulated them, calling them their saviours, one and all. To the gods they offered praise and thanks, and Decius they extolled to the skies. [8] Now followed a triumph for Decius in the camp, as he marched through the midst with his battalion under arms. All eyes were directed towards him, and paid the tribune equal homage with the consul. [9] When they reached headquarters, the consul bade the trumpet sound an assembly, and fell to lauding Decius, as he deserved. But Decius, interrupting him, induced him to defer his speech; then, urging that all other considerations should be postponed whilst they had such an opportunity at hand, he persuaded him to attack the enemy. [10] They were now, he said, bewildered by the night alarm and dispersed about the hill in separate detachments, and he doubted not that a party would have been sent out after him and would be wandering through the forest. [11] The troops were commanded to arm, and marching out of camp, were led by a more open route — for, thanks to their scouts, the forest was now better known to them — in the direction of the enemy. [12] These they caught quite off their guard by a surprise attack, for the Samnite soldiers were scattered far and wide, and most of them were without their weapons, Unable either to assemble or to arm or to regain their works, they were first driven headlong into their camp, and then the outposts were routed and the camp itself was taken. The shouting was heard all round the hill and sent the detachments flying from their several stations. [13] Thus a

great part of the Samnites fled without coming into contact with the enemy. Those whom panic had driven within the enclosure — to the number of some thirty thousand — were all put to the sword, and the camp was spoiled.

37. The battle having sped thus, the consul called an assembly, and pronounced a panegyric upon Decius, in which he rehearsed, in addition to his former services, the fresh glories which his bravery had achieved. Besides other military gifts, he bestowed on him a golden chaplet and a hundred oxen, and one choice white one, fat, and with gilded horns. [2] The soldiers who had been on the hill with him were rewarded with a double: ration in perpetuity, and for the present an ox apiece and two tunics. Following the consul's award, the legions, accompanying the gift with their cheers, placed on Decius's head a wreath of grass, to signify his rescuing them from a siege; and his own detachment crowned him with a second wreath, indicative of the same honour. [3] Adorned with these insignia, he sacrificed the choice ox to Mars, and presented the hundred others to the soldiers who had served with him on the expedition. To these same soldiers the legions contributed a pound of spelt and a pint of wine for each man. All these awards were carried out amid the greatest cheerfulness, the shouts of the soldiers testifying to the general approval.

[4] A third engagement was fought at Suessula, for the Samnites, after the rout inflicted on them by Marcus Valerius, had called out all the men they had of military age, determined to try their fortune in a final encounter. [5] From Suessula the alarming news was carried to Capua, whence gallopers were dispatched to Valerius the consul, to implore assistance. [6] The troops were immediately set in motion, and leaving behind the baggage and a strong garrison for the camp, made a rapid march, and being got within a short distance of the enemy, encamped in a very small compass, for they had only their horses with them and neither beasts of burden nor a crowd of camp-followers.

[7] The Samnites, assuming that the battle would not be delayed, formed up in line; then, as no one came out to meet them, they advanced against the enemy's camp. [8] When they saw the soldiers on the rampart, and when the scouts whom they had dispatched to

spy out the camp on every hand reported how straitened its dimensions were, inferring thence the paucity of their foes, the whole army began to murmur that they ought to fill up the trenches, breach the rampart, and burst into the enclosure; [9] and their rashness would have brought the war to a conclusion, had not the commanders restrained the ardour of their men. [10] But since their numbers were a burden on the commissariat, and since, owing first to their sitting down before Suessula and afterwards to the delay in fighting, they were almost reduced to want for everything, they decided that while the enemy were cowering within their works, they would send their soldiers over the country-side to forage: [11] meantime the Romans, remaining inactive, would be reduced to destitution, for they had come in light marching order, with only so much corn as they could carry, along with their armour, on their shoulders.

[12] Seeing the Samnites dispersed about the fields, and their stations thinly manned, the consul addressed a few words of encouragement to his soldiers and led them to the assault of the enemy's camp. [13] Having taken it at the first shout and rush, and slain more men in their tents than at the gates and on the breastworks, he ordered the captured standards to be collected in one spot. [14] Then, leaving two legions to guard them and defend the place, — with strict injunctions to refrain from spoiling until he himself returned, — he marched out in serried column, and sending the cavalry on before to surround the scattered Samnites, as with a cordon of hunters, and so drive them in, he made a prodigious slaughter of them. [15] For in their terror they were unable to agree either under what standard they should rally, or whether they should make for their camp or direct their flight towards some more remote place; [16] and so great was their discomfiture and panic, that the Romans brought in to the consul no less than forty thousand shields — though not near so many men were slain — and of military standards, including those which had been captured in the camp, no fewer than a hundred and seventy. [17] The victors then returned to the enemy's camp and there the plunder was all given to the soldiers.

38. The fortunate outcome of this war not only impelled the Faliscans, with whom there was a truce, to ask the senate for a treaty, but caused the Latins, whose armies were ready to take the field, to

transfer their attack from Rome to the Paeligni. [2] Nor was the fame of this success confined to Italy; even the Carthaginians sent their envoys to Rome, with congratulations and the gift of a golden crown, weighing five and twenty pounds, to be placed in the shrine of Jupiter on the Capitol. [3] Both consuls triumphed over the Samnites, and after them came Decius, conspicuous in his decorations and so renowned, that the soldiers in their rude jests named the tribune no less often than the consuls.

[4] The deputations of the Campanians and the Suessulani were then heard, and a favourable reply was made to their petition that a garrison should be dispatched, to remain through the winter with them and protect them against inroads by the Samnites.

[5] Capua was even then a far from wholesome place for military discipline, and with its means for gratifying every pleasure proved so fascinating to the soldiers that they forgot their native land, and formed a project, while in winter quarters, for taking the city away from the Campanians by the same wicked practice by which the Campanians had taken it from its ancient inhabitants. [6] There would be a certain justice, they argued, in turning their own example against them. Besides, why should the most fertile land in Italy, and a city worthy of the land, belong to the Campanians, who were incapable of defending either themselves or their possessions? Why, rather, should it not belong to the conquering army, which had toiled and bled to drive the Samnites out of it? [7] Was it fair that their surrendered subjects should enjoy that fertile and agreeable tract, while they, exhausted with campaigning, wrestled with the arid and noxious soil in the neighbourhood of Rome, or endured the ruinous usury that had fastened on the City and was increasing from one day to the next?

[8] These schemes, discussed in secret cabals and not yet communicated to all the troops, were discovered by the new consul, Gaius Marcius Rutulus, to whom the lot had assigned Campania for his province, leaving Quintus Servilius, his colleague, in charge at Rome. [9] And so having found out through his tribunes exactly what had taken place, Rutulus, who was of ripe years and experience, — for the present consulship was his fourth and he had been both dictator and censor — thought that his best course would be to

frustrate the men's impetuosity, by encouraging the hope that they would be able at any time they chose to carry out their plan. [10] He accordingly set on foot a rumour that the garrisons would winter in the same towns in the following year also, — for they had been distributed among the cities of Campania and from Capua their designs had spread to the entire army, — and the conspirators being thus afforded time for breathing, the sedition subsided for the present.

39. The consul having led out his troops to the summer encampment, and finding the Samnites quiet, resolved to purge the army of its troublemakers by discharging them.: Of some of them he said that they had served out their time; of others, that they were now too old or deficient in sturdiness. [2] To some he granted furlough, singling out individuals at first, but later dismissing certain cohorts, on the ground that they had passed the winter far from their homes and their affairs. Many, too, were sent off on some pretext of military employment, some one way, some another. [3] All these the other consul and the praetor detained at Rome, alleging a variety of reasons. And at first, not suspecting a trick, they were far from sorry to visit their homes again. [4] Later on, when they saw that the first to go failed to rejoin the colours, and that practically none were dismissed but those who had wintered in Campania, and particularly such of these as had encouraged the conspiracy, they marvelled at first, and presently began to entertain very definite fears that their designs had come to light: [5] soon there would be investigations, soon informations would be lodged, they would soon be punished in secret, one by one, and would be made to feel the unrestrained and cruel despotism with which the consuls and the senate governed them. [6] Such were the fears that were secretly put about by the soldiers in the camp, for they saw that the sinews of their plot had been plucked out by the consul's artifice.

[7] One cohort which was stationed not far from Anxur went into camp near Lautulae, in the narrow pass between the sea and the mountains, where they could intercept those whom the consul continued to dismiss, on one pretext or another, as has been said before. [8] They were soon a very numerous body, and lacked no essential element of an army except a general. And so, without order,

and pillaging as they went, they proceeded as far as the Alban country, and under the ridge of Alba Longa encamped and threw up a rampart. [9] Having finished the work, they employed the remainder of the day in wrangling over the choice of a general, for they had no great confidence in anyone there present. [10] But whom could they summon from Rome? What patrician or plebeian was there who would wittingly expose himself to so great a danger, or to whom the cause of the army, maddened by its wrongs, could fitly be committed? [11] On the following day, while they were debating the same question, certain of their roving foragers reported having learned that Titus Quinctius was living on a farm near Tusculum, with no thoughts of the City or its honours. [12] This man, who belonged to a noble family, had won great distinction in the wars, but a lameness in one of his feet, resulting from a wound, had put an end to his campaigning, and had determined him to take up his residence in the country, far from the Forum and from politics. [13] On hearing his name they remembered the man at once, and bade send for him, invoking a blessing on this step. But there being little prospect that he would voluntarily assist them, they resolved on employing threats and violence. [14] Coming therefore to his farm-house in the silence of the night, those who had been dispatched upon this errand caught Quinctius sound asleep, and offering him no choice but authority and rank, or death, — with which, when he held back, they threatened him, unless he would go along with them — they carried him off to the camp. [15] Once there they immediately hailed him General, and dazed as he was by the astounding suddenness of it all, conferred on him the insignia of that office and bade him lead them to the City. [16] Then, more on their own impulse than by the counsel of their general, they pulled up their standards and marched in warlike array as far as the eighth milestone, on what is now the Appian Way; [17] whence they would at once have gone on to the City, had they not learned that an army was coming to oppose them, under Marcus Valerius Corvus, who had been created dictator for that purpose, with Lucius Aemilius Mamercus as master of the horse.

40. As soon as they came within sight of one another and recognized one another's arms and ensigns, all were at once reminded of their fatherland, and their anger cooled. [2] Men were not

yet so hardy in shedding the blood of countrymen; they knew no wars but those with outside nations, and thought that frenzy could go no further than secession from their people. [3] And so on either side both the leaders and their men began to seek for ways to meet and confer together. For Quinctius was sated with war, even war in behalf of his country, to say nothing of fighting against it; and the affection of Corvinus embraced all his fellow-citizens, particularly the soldiers, and above all others, his own army. [4] He now came forward to parley, and being recognized, was instantly accorded a silent attention, in which his opponents showed as great respect for him as did his followers.

“Soldiers,” he began, “as I was setting forth from the City, I adored your gods and mine, and humbly besought them of their goodness to vouchsafe to me the glory of reconciling, not of conquering you. [5] There have been wars in plenty, and will be others, where men may win renown: in this crisis we must seek for peace. [6] The petition which I made to the immortal gods, as I offered up my prayer, you are able of yourselves to grant me, if you are willing to reflect that your camp is pitched not in Samnium nor among the Volsci, but on Roman soil; that those hills which you see are in your native land; that this army is made up of your fellow-citizens; that I am your consul, under whose command and auspices you twice last year defeated the Samnite legions, and twice stormed their camp. [7] I am Marcus Valerius Corvus, soldiers, whose patrician blood has declared itself in kindnesses done you, not in injuries; I have urged no insolent law against you, no cruel senatorial resolution; in every position of authority I have been sterner to myself than to you. [8] And in truth if any man’s family, if any man’s own worth, if any man’s dignities and honours have been able to inspire pride in him, my birth was such, I had given such proof of my capacity, and had achieved so young the highest magistracy, that I might easily, on becoming consul at the age of three and twenty, have been overbearing even towards the nobles, not merely towards the plebs. [9] But what have you heard that I said or did, when consul, more tyrannical than my words and deeds as tribune? In that same spirit I administered two subsequent consulships; in that same spirit shall this dictatorship with its dread power be administered; so that I

shall be no gentler to these my soldiers and the soldiers of my country, than to you — I shudder to say the word, — our enemies. [10] You shall therefore sooner draw sword on me than I on you. It is on your side that the trumpets will sound, on your side that the battle-cry will be raised and the attack begin, if fight we must. [11] Steel your hearts to do that which neither your fathers nor yet your grandfathers could resolve upon — neither those who seceded to the Sacred Mount, nor those who later encamped upon the Aventine. [12] Wait until to each of you — as once to Coriolanus — your mothers and wives come forth from the City with dishevelled hair. On that day the legions of the Volsci ceased fighting, because they had a Roman leader: will you, an army of Romans, not relinquish this impious war? [13] Titus Quinctius, whatever be your position over there — whether you have taken it voluntarily or against your will, — if we must do battle, do you retire to the rear; you will even flee with less discredit, turning your back upon your fellow-citizens, than you will incur in fighting against your country. [14] Now, however, to make peace you will stand with honour and credit amongst the foremost, and will be a salutary mediator at this conference. Let your men ask what is reasonable, and receive it; yet must we rather put up with what is not, than join together in impious strife.”

[15] Titus Quinctius turned with streaming eyes and addressed his people: “I, too, soldiers, if I am of any use to you, can better lead you to peace than into war. [16] For it was no Volscian or Samnite that just spoke those words, but a Roman. It was your consul, your general, soldiers. You have proved his auspices in your own behalf; seek not to prove their worth against you. [17] The senate had other leaders who would have made more ruthless war on you; but they have chosen him who would deal most mercifully with you, his men; one in whom, as in your general, you might place the most utter confidence. [18] Peace is the goal desired even by those who are able to conquer: what then ought our desire to be? [19] Nay, let us abandon wrath and hope — deceitful counsellors — and commit ourselves and all our cause to a man of known fidelity!”

41. A shout of approval burst from every throat, and Titus Quinctius, advancing in front of the standards, announced that the soldiers would submit to the dictator’s authority. He begged him to

undertake the cause of his wretched fellow-citizens, and having done so to forward it with the same fidelity with which he had been used to deal with the interests of the state. [2] For himself privately, he said, he demanded no assurance, he had no wish to found a hope on aught but innocence. But the soldiers must be assured, as in their fathers' day the plebs had been, and, on a second occasion, the legions, that they should not be punished for secession.

[3] After praising Quinctius and bidding the rest be of good cheer, the dictator galloped back to the City, and having secured the authority of the Fathers, got the people to enact a law, in the Peteline Wood, that none of the soldiers should be held to answer for the secession. [4] He begged them also, as citizens, to grant him the favour that none would make the incident a matter of reproach to any, either in jest or in earnest. There was also passed a military law, under penalty of devotion, to the effect that the name of no one enrolled as a soldier might be struck off the list, except with his own consent. [5] To this a provision was added that no one might later command a century in the legion where he had been a military tribune. [6] This clause was demanded by the conspirators on account of Publius Salonijs, who in almost regular alternation was tribune of the soldiers one year, and chief centurion — whom they now call “centurion of the first javelin” — the next. The men were incensed at Salonijs because he had always opposed their mutinous schemes, and had fled from Lautulae that he might not share in them. [7] And so, when this one provision would have failed of enactment by the senate, out of consideration for Salonijs, he himself besought the Fathers not to think more highly of his distinction than of harmony in the state, and induced them to pass this also. [8] An equally shameless demand was made that the pay of the cavalry should be reduced — they served at that time for treble pay — on the ground that they had opposed the conspiracy.

42. In addition to these transactions, I find in certain writers that Lucius Genucius, a tribune of the plebs, proposed to the plebs that it should be unlawful to lend at interest. [2] Also that it was provided in other plebiscites that no one might hold the same office twice within ten years, nor two offices in one year; and that it should be legal for both consuls to be chosen from the plebs. If all these concessions

were made to the commons, it is evident that the revolt possessed no little strength. [3] Other annalists have recorded that Valerius was not made dictator, but that the whole affair was managed through the consuls, and that it was not before they came to Rome, but in Rome, that this great company of conspirators was dismayed into arming; [4] further, that the night attack was made, not on the farm of Titus Quinctius, but on the town house of Gaius Manlius, and that it was he whom the conspirators seized and made their leader. Thence they proceeded — according to this account — to the fourth milestone, where they entrenched a camp. [5] Nor was it the leaders who suggested a reconciliation, but suddenly, when the two armies had marched out in [6??] battle array, salutations were exchanged, and the soldiers, mingling together, began tearfully to clasp hands and embrace each other, so that the consuls, seeing the men to be in no mood for fighting, had been compelled to lay proposals before the senate for the re-establishment of harmony. [7] Thus in no single instance do the ancient authorities agree, except that there was a sedition, and that it was composed.

[8] The report of this sedition, in conjunction with the dangerous war entered upon with the Samnites, caused several nations to forsake their alliance with the Romans, and not only were the Latins unfaithful to the treaty — as they had been for some time — but the Privernates even, in a sudden raid, laid waste the neighbouring Roman colonies of Norba and Setia.

SUMMARY OF BOOK VII

Two new magistracies were added, the praetorship and the curule aedileship. The citizens were afflicted with a pestilence, and this the death of Furius Camillus rendered memorable. While a remedy for stopping it was being sought in new religious observances, scenic exhibitions were given for the first time. Lucius Manlius having been cited by Marcus Pomponius, tribune of the plebs, to answer for his ruthless conduct of the levy and for having relegated his son to the country without making any charge against him, the young man himself whose relegation was being used against his father entered

the bed-room of the tribune, and drawing his sword, compelled him to swear, after a form which he dictated to him, that he would not go on with the prosecution. At this time all sorts of precious things were cast into a chasm which had opened to a great depth in Rome. Into it leaped Curtius, fully armed and bestriding his horse; and so it was closed over. Titus Manlius, the youth who had saved his father from the persecution of the tribune, went down to confront a Gaul who had challenged any Roman soldier to single combat; and, having slain him, took from him a golden necklace, which he afterwards wore himself and from it was given the name of Torquatus. Two tribes were added, the Pomptina and the Publilia. Licinius Stolo was condemned, under a statute that had been enacted, because he possessed more than five hundred *iugera* of land. Marcus Valerius, a tribune of the soldiers, killed a Gaul by whom he had been challenged, while a raven perched on the Roman's crest and with beak and talons attacked his enemy; from this circumstance he received the name of Corvus, and the next year was, for his bravery, elected consul, at the age of twenty-three. Friendship was made with the Carthaginians. The Campanians, when hard pressed in war by the Samnites, asked aid against them from the senate, and, failing to obtain it, surrendered their city and territory to the Roman People. In view of this action, the Roman People voted to go to war with the Samnites, to defend these their possessions. The army was led by Aulus Cornelius, the consul, into a difficult position, and was in great danger, but was saved by the act of Publius Decius Mus, a tribune of the soldiers, who by occupying a hill which commanded the ridge on which the Samnites had encamped, afforded the consul an opportunity of withdrawing to more favourable ground; after which, though encircled by the enemy, Decius himself broke through. The Roman soldiers who had been left in garrison at Capua conspired to seize the city, and fearful of punishment, on the detection of their crime, revolted from the Roman People, but were restored to their country through the influence of the dictator, Marcus Valerius Corvus, who by his counsel had recalled them from their madness. The book also comprises victorious campaigns against the Hernici, Gauls, Tiburtes, Privernates, Tarquinienses, Samnites, and Volsci.

BOOK VIII

Translated by B. O. Foster

1. THE consuls were now Gaius Plautius (for the second time) and Lucius Aemilius Mamercus, when the men of Setium and Norba brought tidings to Rome that the Privernates were in revolt, with complaints of a defeat suffered at their hands. [2] it was also reported that a Volscian army, conducted by the Antiates, had encamped at Satricum. both wars were by lot assigned to Plautius. [3] he marched first on Privernum and at once gave battle. without much ado he overcame the enemy, captured Privernum, and putting in it a strong garrison, restored it to the inhabitants, but deprived them of two — thirds of their territory. [4] thence he led his victorious army towards Satricum, to oppose the Antiates. The battle there, which was desperately fought, with heavy losses on both sides, was interrupted by a storm before victory had inclined to either army. [5] The Romans, not a whit discouraged by so indecisive a struggle, prepared to do battle on the morrow; but the Volsci, when they reckoned up the men they had lost in the fighting, were by no means so eager to incur the danger a second time, and in the night marched off like beaten men for Antium, with fear and trembling, abandoning their wounded and a part of their baggage. [6] a great quantity of arms was found, not only amongst the slain but also in the enemy's camp. declaring that he gave these arms to Lua Mater, the consul proceeded to lay waste the enemy's country as far as the coast.

[7] The other consul, Aemilius, having entered the Sabellian territory, nowhere encountered a Samnite camp or levies. as he was ravaging their fields with fire and sword, he was approached by Samnite envoys, who begged for peace. [8] being referred by Aemilius to the senate, they obtained an audience, and giving over their air of arrogance, besought the Romans to grant them peace and the right to war against the Sidicini. [9] These requests, they said, were the more justifiable, inasmuch as they had become friends of the Roman People when their state was flourishing and not, like the Campanians, in their adversity; [10] moreover, it was against the

Sidicini that they were drawing the sword, a people always their enemies and never friendly to the Romans, of whom they had never, like the Samnites, sought friendship in time of peace, nor assistance, like the Campanians, in time of war; neither were they under the protection of the Roman People, nor yet their subjects.

2. Titus Aemilius the praetor laid the petition of the Samnites before the senate, and the Fathers voted to renew the treaty with them. [2] The praetor then replied to the ambassadors that the Roman People had not been to blame for the interruption of the friendship, and that, since the Samnites were themselves grown weary of a war contracted through their own fault, they had no objection to renewing the covenant; [3] as for the Sidicini, the Romans would not interfere with the free judgment of the Samnite People regarding peace and war. [4] on the ratification of the treaty, the ambassadors went home, and the Roman army was at once recalled, after receiving a year's pay and rations for three months, which the consul had stipulated should be the price of a truce, to last until the envoys should return.

[5] The Samnites marched against the Sidicini with the same forces which they had employed in the war with Rome, and were confidently hoping to capture the city of their enemies in a little while, when the Sidicini attempted to anticipate them by surrendering to the Romans. [6] then, after the Fathers had rejected their offer, on the ground that it came too late and had been wrung from them only by the direst necessity, they carried it to the Latins, who had already risen in arms on their own account. [7] even the Campanians — so much more vivid was their recollection of the injury done them by the Samnites than of the kindness of the Romans — could not refrain from joining in this expedition. [8] one great army, gathered out of all these nations, invaded the borders of the Samnites, under a Latin general, but wrought more havoc by pillage than in battle; and although the Latins came off best in all encounters, they were not unwilling to retire from the enemy's country, that they might not have to fight so often. [9] The Samnites thus had time to send ambassadors to Rome. appearing before the senate, they complained that they were suffering the same treatment as allies that they had experienced while enemies, and besought the Romans, with the utmost humility, that they [10??] would be satisfied to have

snatched from the grasp of the Samnites a victory over their Campanian and Sidicinian foes, and not suffer them actually to be conquered by the most cowardly of nations. [11] if the Latins and Campanians were subject to the Roman People, let the Romans use their authority and keep them from invading Samnium; but if they rejected that authority, let them hold them in check by force of arms. [12] to this plea the Romans returned an ambiguous reply, since they were loath to confess that the Latins were no longer under their control, and feared to estrange them if they censured them. [13] The Campanians, they said, were upon a different footing, having come under their protection not by treaty but by surrender; accordingly the Campanians, whether willing or not, should keep the peace; but there was nothing in their treaty with the Latins which entitled them to prevent their going to war with whom they chose.

3. this answer, as it left the Samnites quite at a loss to forecast the Roman policy, so it alienated the Campanians with fear, while it persuaded the Latins that there was no longer any concession the Romans would not make them, and rendered them yet more audacious. [2] accordingly their leaders, under colour of forwarding the war against the Samnites, appointed numerous councils, and in all their deliberations secretly concocted war with Rome. in this war, too, the Campanians took part, against their preservers. [3] but though all their measures were sedulously concealed — for they wished to shake off the Samnite foe behind them before the Romans should take the alarm — yet through certain persons connected by private ties of hospitality and kinship, information of the conspiracy leaked out and was brought to Rome. [4] The consuls were commanded, before their time was up, to resign their office, in order that new consuls might the sooner be chosen to confront so momentous an invasion; but a scruple arose at allowing the election to be held by those whose authority had been abridged, and so they had an interregnum. [5] there were two interreges, Marcus Valerius and Marcus Fabius: the latter announced the election to the consulship of Titus Manlius Torquatus (for the third time) and Publius Decius Mus.

[6] it is believed to have been in this year that Alexander, king of Epirus, sailed with a fleet to Italy — a war which, had it prospered in

its beginning, would doubtless have extended to the Romans. [7] this was also the era of the exploits of Alexander the Great, who was the son of this man's sister, and was doomed to be cut off by sickness while a young man, in another quarter of the world, after proving himself to be invincible in war.

[8] but the Romans, though quite certain that the allies and all the Latins were going to revolt, nevertheless, as if concerned not for themselves but for the Samnites, summoned to Rome the ten chief men of the Latins, that they might give them such commands as they might wish. [9] Latium at that time had two praetors, Lucius Annius Setinus and Lucius Numisius Circeiensis, both from Roman colonies, through whose contrivance, besides Signia and Velitrae — likewise Roman colonies — even the Volsci had been induced to draw the sword. [10] it was determined to summon these men by name. nobody could be in doubt why they were sent for; accordingly, before setting out for Rome the praetors held a council, and explaining how they had been summoned by the Roman senate, asked instructions touching the answers they should give to the questions which they supposed would be put to them.

4. while one was suggesting this thing and another that, Annius arose. "notwithstanding I have myself referred to you," said he, "the question as to what our reply should be, nevertheless I consider that what we are to do is of more importance to the welfare of our nation than what we are to say. [2] it will be easy, when we have straightened out our plans, to frame words suitable to our conduct. for if we are able even now to endure slavery under a shadowy pretence of equal treaty — rights, what is left for us but to give up the Sidicini, and obeying the behest not of the Romans only but also of the Samnites, make answer to the Romans that we are ready to lay down our arms at their beck and call? [3] but if our hearts are pricked at last with a longing for liberty; if treaties, if alliances, mean equality of rights; if we may now glory in the kinship of the Romans, of which we were formerly ashamed; if they mean by "allied army" one which added to their own doubles its numbers, one which they would not wish to make its own war and peace, apart from them; — if [4] these things are so, I say, why are not *all* things equalized? [5] why is not one consul furnished by the Latins? where a portion of the strength is,

there, too, should be a portion of the authority. [6] for us, indeed, this is not in itself any too great an honour, since we suffer Rome to be the capital of Latium; but we have made it seem an honour by our prolonged submissiveness. [7] and yet, if ever at any time you have desired to share in the government and to use your freedom, behold, now is your opportunity, bestowed on you by your valour and by Heaven's favour! [8] you have tried their patience by denying them troops; who can doubt that they were enraged when we broke the tradition of two hundred years? yet they swallowed their resentment. we waged war on our own account with the Paeligni; those who aforetime withheld from us even the right to defend our own borders by ourselves, never interposed. [9] they have heard how we received the Sidicini into our protection, how the Campanians have left them and joined us, how we are raising armies against the Samnites, their confederates, — and have not stirred from the City. [10] whence comes this great restraint on their part, if it come not from the consciousness of our strength — and their own? I have good authority for saying that when the Samnites were complaining of us, the Roman senate answered in such wise that it might readily appear that even the Romans themselves no longer demanded that Latium should be under their authority. [11] do but take up in your demands what they tacitly concede to you. if there is any man whom fear prevents from saying this, lo, I declare that I myself will say it, in the hearing not of the Roman People only and their senate, but of Jupiter himself, who dwells in the Capitol; that if they wish us to observe the treaty of alliance, they must receive from us one consul and a moiety of the senate.” [12] These bold encouragements, and even promises, were received with a general shout of approval, and Annius was empowered to act and speak as might seem conducive to the welfare of the Latin state and befitting his own honour.

5. on the arrival of the Latins in Rome, they were given audience of the senate in the Capitol. there, after Titus Manlius the consul had pleaded with them, as directed by the senate, to make no war upon the Samnites, [2??] united as they were by treaty with the Romans, Annius held forth like some conqueror who had taken the Capitol by storm, not like an envoy protected by the law of nations. [3] “it was high time, Titus Manlius,” he said, “and you, Conscript Fathers, that

you should cease at length to deal with us as in any sort our rulers, perceiving, as you have, that Latium, by Heaven's blessing, is flourishing exceedingly in arms and men, after vanquishing the Samnites in war and receiving as allies the Sidicini and Campanians, and now even the Volsci besides, and that your own colonies as well have preferred the Latin to the Roman sway. [4] but, since you cannot make up your minds to bring your impotent sovereignty to a close, we — though able by force of arms to give Latium her freedom — will [5] nevertheless concede so much to kinship as to offer terms of peace fair and equal to both sides, since the immortal gods have willed that we should be of equal strength. [6] one consul should be chosen from Rome, the other from Latium, the senate should be drawn in equal proportions from both nations, there should be one people and one state; and that we may have the same seat of empire and the same name for all, by all means let this rather be our city, since one side must make concessions, — and may good come of it to both peoples! [7] — and let us all be known as Romans.”

it so happened that the Romans had, in their consul Titus Manlius, a man who was a match for Annius in boldness. so far was he from controlling his indignation, that he openly declared that if the Fathers were so demented as to receive terms from a Setine, he would gird on his sword, and entering the senate would slay with his own hand any Latin he might see within the Curia. [8] and turning to the statue of the god, “hear, Jupiter,” he cried, “these wicked words! hear ye, Law and Right! [9] shalt thou behold, O Jupiter, alien consuls and an alien senate in thy consecrated temple, thyself overpowered and taken captive? [10] are these the covenants, Latins, that Tullus, the Roman king, made with your Alban forefathers, that Lucius Tarquinius afterwards made with you? remember you not the battle at Lake Regillus? have you so forgot your old disasters. and our goodness to you?”

6. The consul's speech having been warmly seconded by the indignant senators, it is recorded that in answer to the numerous supplications of the gods, whom the consuls repeatedly invoked as the witnesses of treaties, the voice of Annius was heard spurning the power of the Roman Jupiter. [2] at all events, as he hurried, beside himself with rage, from the entrance of the temple, he slipped on the

stairs, and struck his head so hard on the lowest stone that he lost consciousness. [3] that he was killed is not asserted by all writers, wherefore I, too, may leave the question undecided, as also the tradition that while men were calling on the gods to witness the breaking of the treaty, there was a loud crash in the heavens, and a hurricane burst forth; for these things may be true, or they may be apt inventions to express in a lively manner the wrath of Heaven. [4] Torquatus, who had been sent by the senate to dismiss the envoys, saw Annius lying there, and exclaimed in a voice that was heard alike by the people and the senators: "it is well; the gods have begun a righteous war. [5] there *is* a heavenly power; thou *dost* exist, great Jupiter; not in vain have we established thee in this holy seat, the Father of gods and men. [6] why do you hesitate to arm, Quirites, and you Conscript Fathers, with the gods to lead you? as you behold their ambassador brought low, even so will I cast down the Latin legions." [7] The consul's words were received with approval by the people, and so enraged them, that the envoys, at their setting out, owed their protection from men's wrath and fury more to the care of the magistrates — who attended them at the consul's bidding — than to the law of nations.

[8] The senate also agreed on war; and the consuls, enrolling two armies, marched out through the country of the Marsi and Paeligni, and having added to their forces the army of the Samnites, went into camp near Capua, where the Latins and their allies had already assembled. [9] there in the stillness of the night both consuls are said to have been visited by the same apparition, a man of greater than human stature and more majestic, who declared [10??] that the commander of one side, and the army of the other, must be offered up to the Manes and to Mother Earth; and that in whichever host the general should devote to death the enemy's legions, and himself with them, that nation and that side would have the victory. [11] when the consuls had compared these visions of the night, they resolved that victims should be slain to turn away the wrath of Heaven; and, at the same time, that if the warning of the entrails should coincide with what they had seen in their dream, one or other of the consuls should fulfil the decrees of fate. [12] The report of the soothsayers agreed with the secret conviction which had already found lodgment in their

breasts; [13] whereupon they sent for their lieutenants and the tribunes, and having openly declared the pleasure of the gods, that so the consul's voluntary death might not terrify the soldiers in the fray, they agreed with one another that on whichever flank the Roman army should begin to yield, there the consul should devote himself in behalf of the Roman People and Quirites. [14] it was also urged in the council that if ever any war had been conducted with stern authority, now was the occasion of all others for recalling military discipline to its ancient courses. [15] their anxiety was sharpened by the fact that they must fight against the Latins, who were like themselves in language, customs, fashion of arms, and above all in military institutions; soldiers had mingled with soldiers, centurions with centurions, tribunes with tribunes, as equals and colleagues in the same garrisons and often in the same maniples. [16] lest this might betray the soldiers into some blunder, the consuls proclaimed that no man should quit his place to attack the foe.

7. it chanced that amongst the other squadron — leaders who had been sent off in all directions to reconnoitre, Titus Manlius the consul's son had ridden out with his troopers beyond the enemy's camp, till he was hardly the cast of a spear from their nearest outpost. [2] there the Tusculan horse were stationed, under the command of Geminus Maecius, who enjoyed a reputation amongst his fellows for his achievements no less than for his noble birth. [3] this man recognized the Roman cavalry, and, conspicuous in their van, the consul's son — for they were all known to one another, particularly the men of mark. [4] “come now,” he cried, “will you Romans wage war on the Latins and their allies with a single squadron? what will the consuls, what will two consular armies be doing in the meantime?” [5] “they will be here soon enough,” said Manlius, “and with them will be Jupiter himself, the witness of those covenants which you have violated, who is mightier and more powerful than they. [6] if at Lake Regillus we gave you your fill of fighting, here likewise we shall certainly see to it that you have no great joy of meeting us in the serried ranks of battle.” [7] at this, Geminus rode out a little in front of his men, and asked, “would you like then, while waiting for that great day to come, when with a mighty effort you are to set your hosts in motion — would you like meanwhile, I say, to do

battle with me, yourself, that from the outcome of our duel men may see at once how far the Latin horse surpass the Roman?" [8] The youth's bold heart was stirred, whether by anger, or by shame at the thought of refusing the combat, or by the irresistible force of destiny. and so, forgetting the commands of his father and the edict of the consuls, he allowed himself to be swept headlong into an encounter where it would make little difference to him whether he won or lost. [9] they caused the rest of the horsemen to stand back, as though it had been a spectacle, and spurred their steeds against one another across the vacant space between. [10] with lances levelled they rushed together; but the lance of Manlius glanced off the helmet of his enemy, and that of Maecius passed over the neck of the other's horse. then, as they pulled their horses round, Manlius, who was the first to gather himself up for a second thrust, pricked his enemy's charger between the ears. [11] The smart of this wound made the horse rear and toss his head so violently that he threw off his rider, who, raising himself with spear and shield, was struggling to his feet after the [12??] heavy fall, when Manlius plunged his lance into his throat so that it came out between the ribs and pinned him to the ground. [13] he then gathered up the spoils and rode back to his troopers, who attended him with shouts of triumph to the camp, where he sought at once the headquarters of his father, knowing not what doom the future held for him, or whether praise or punishment were his appointed guerdon.

[14] "Father," he said, "that all men might truly report me to be your son, I bring these equestrian spoils, stripped from the body of an enemy who challenged me." [15] on hearing this, the consul straightway turned from his son and commanded a trumpet to sound the assembly. when the men had gathered in full numbers, the consul said, "inasmuch, Titus Manlius, as you [16??] have held in reverence neither consular authority nor a father's dignity, and despite our edict have quitted your place to fight the enemy, and so far as in you lay, have broken military discipline, whereby the Roman state has stood until this day unshaken, thus compelling me to forget either the republic or myself, we will sooner endure the punishment of our wrong — doing [17] than suffer the republic to expiate our sins at a cost so heavy to herself; we will set a stern example, but a salutary

one, for the young men of the future. [18] for my own part, I am moved, not only by a man's instinctive love of his children, but by this instance you have given of your bravery, perverted though it was by an idle show of honour. [19] but since the authority of the consuls must either be established by your death, or by your impunity be forever abrogated, and since I think that you yourself, if you have a drop of my blood in you, would not refuse to raise up by your punishment the military discipline which through your misdemeanour has slipped and fallen, — go, lictor, bind him to the stake.”

[20] all were astounded at so shocking a command; every man looked upon the axe as lifted against himself, and they were hushed with fear more than with reverence. [21] and so, after standing, as if lost in wonder, rooted to the spot, suddenly, when the blood gushed forth from the severed neck, their voices burst out in such unrestrained upbraiding that they spared neither laments nor curses; [22] and covering the young man's body with his spoils, they built a pyre outside the rampart, where they burned it with all the honours that can possibly attend a soldier's funeral; and the “orders of Manlius” not only caused men to shudder at the time, but became a type of severity with succeeding ages.

8. nevertheless the brutality of the punishment made the soldiers more obedient to their general; and not only were guard — duties, watches, and the ordering of outposts, everywhere more carefully observed, but in the final struggle, as well, when the troops had gone down into battle, that stern act did much good. [2] now the battle was exceedingly like the battles in a civil war, so little did the Latins differ from the Romans in anything but courage.

[3] The Romans had formerly used small round shields; then, after they began to serve for pay, they made oblong shields instead of round ones; [4] and what had before been a phalanx, like the Macedonian phalanxes, came afterwards to be a line of battle formed by maniples, with the rearmost troops drawn up in a number of companies. [5] The first line, or *hastati*, comprised fifteen maniples, stationed a short distance apart; the maniples had twenty light — armed soldiers, the rest of their number carried oblong shields; moreover those were called “light — armed” who carried only a

spear and javelins. [6] this front line in the battle contained the flower of the young men who were growing ripe for service. behind These came a line of the same number of maniples, made up of men of a more stalwart age; these were called the *principes*; they carried oblong shields and were the most showily armed of all. [7] this body of thirty maniples they called *antepilani*, because behind the standards there were again stationed other fifteen companies, each of which had three sections, the first section in every company being known as *pilus*. [8] The company consisted of three *vexilla* or “banners”; a single *vexillum* had sixty soldiers, two centurions, one *vexillarius*, or colourbearer; the company numbered a hundred and eighty — six men. The first banner led the *triarii*, veteran soldiers of proven valour; the second banner the *rorarii*, younger and less distinguished men; the third banner the *accensi*, who were the least dependable, and were, for that reason, assigned to the rear most line.

[9] when an army had been marshalled in this fashion, the *hastati* were the first of all to engage. if the *hastati* were unable to defeat the enemy, they retreated slowly and were received into the intervals between the companies of the *principes*. The *principes* then took up the fighting and the *hastati* followed them. [10] The *triarii* knelt beneath their banners, with the left leg advanced, having their shields leaning against their shoulders and their spears thrust into the ground and pointing obliquely upwards, as if their battle — line were fortified with a bristling palisade. [11] if the *principes*, too, were unsuccessful in their fight, they fell back slowly from the battle — line on the *friarii*. (From this arose the adage, “to have come to the *triarii*,” when things are going badly.) [12] The *friarii*, rising up after they had received the *principes* and *hastati* into the intervals between their companies, would at once draw their companies together and close the lanes, as it were; then, with no more reserves behind to count on, they would charge the enemy in one compact array. [13] this was a thing exceedingly disheartening to the enemy, who, pursuing those whom they supposed they had conquered, all at once beheld a new line rising up, with augmented numbers. [14] there were customarily four legions raised of five thousand foot each, with three hundred horse to every legion.

[15] An equivalent contingent used to be added from the levy of the

Latins, who were now the enemies of the Romans and had drawn up their battle — line in the same formation; and they knew that not only must section meet in battle with section, *hastati* with *hastati*, *principes* with *principes*, but even — if the companies were not disordered — centurion with centurion. [16] in either army the *prinus plus*, or chief centurion, was with the *triarii*. The Roman was far from strong in body, but was an energetic man and an experienced soldier; the Latin was a man of might and a first — rate [17] warrior; they were well acquainted with each other, because they had always commanded companies of equal rank. [18] The Roman, putting no confidence in his strength, had obtained permission from the consuls before leaving Rome to choose whom he liked for his deputy — centurion, to defend him from the one man marked out for his opponent. this youth, encountering the Latin centurion in the battle, won the victory over him.

[19] The engagement came off not far from the foot of Mount Vesuvius, where the road led to Vesis. 9. The Roman consuls before leading their troops into battle offered sacrifices. it is said that the soothsayer pointed out to Decius that the head of the liver was wounded on the friendly side; but that the victim was in all other respects acceptable to the gods, and that the sacrifice of Manlius had been greatly successful. [2] “it is well enough,” said Decius, “if my colleague has received favourable tokens,” in the formation already described they advanced into the field. Manlius commanded the right wing, Decius the left. [3] in the beginning the strength of the combatants and their ardour were equal on both sides; but after a time the Roman *hastati* on the left, unable to withstand the pressure of the Latins, fell back upon the *principes*. [4] in the confusion of this movement Decius the consul called out to Marcus Valerius in a loud voice: “we have need of Heaven’s help, Marcus Valerius. come therefore, state pontiff of the Roman People, dictate the words, that I may devote myself to save the legions.” [5] The pontiff bade him don the purple — bordered toga, and with veiled head and one hand thrust out from the toga and touching his chin, stand upon a spear that was laid under his feet, and say as follows: [6] “janus, Jupiter, Father Mars, Quirinus, Bellona, Lares, divine Novensiles, divine Indigites, ye gods in whose power are both we and our enemies, and

you, divine Manes, — I [7] invoke and worship you, I beseech and crave your favour, that you prosper the might and the victory of the Roman People of the Quirites, and visit the foes of the Roman People of the Quirites with fear, shuddering, and death. [8] as I have pronounced the words, even so in behalf of the republic of the Roman People of the Quirites, and of the army, the legions, the auxiliaries of the Roman People of the Quirites, do I devote the legions and auxiliaries of the enemy, together with myself, to the divine Manes and to Earth.”

[9] having uttered this prayer he bade the lictors go to Titus Manlius and lose no time in announcing to his colleague that he had devoted himself for the good of the army. [10] he then girded himself with the Gabinian cincture, and vaulting, armed, upon his horse, plunged into the thick of the enemy, a conspicuous object from either army and of an aspect more august than a man’s, as though sent from heaven to expiate all anger of the gods, and to turn aside destruction from his people and bring it on their adversaries. [11] thus every terror and dread attended him, and throwing the Latin front into disarray, spread afterwards throughout their entire host. [12] this was most clearly seen in that, wherever he rode, men cowered as though blasted by some baleful star; but when he fell beneath a rain of missiles, from that instant there was no more doubt of the consternation of the Latin cohorts, which everywhere abandoned the field in flight. [13] at the same time the Romans — their spirits relieved of religious fears — pressed on as though the signal had just then for the first time been given, and delivered a fresh attack; [14] for the *rorarii* were running out between the *antepilani* and were joining their strength to that of the *hastati* and the *principes*, and the *triarii*, kneeling on the right knee, were waiting till the consul signed to them to rise.

10. while the struggle continued, and in some parts of the field the Latins were prevailing by reason of their numbers, the consul Manlius learned of his colleague’s end, and having paid to so memorable a death — as justice and piety demanded — its well — merited [2] meed of tears as well as praise, he was for a little while in doubt whether the moment were yet come for the *triarii* to rise; but afterwards deeming it better to keep them fresh for the final push, he

commanded the *accensi* to advance from the rear before the standards. [3] no sooner had they gone up, than the Latins, supposing their enemies had done the same, sent in their own *triarii*. These having fought fiercely for some time, and worn themselves out and broken or blunted their spears, yet were driving back the foe, and supposed that they had already won the field and penetrated the last line, when the consul cried out to the Roman *triarii*: [4] “rise up now, and with fresh strength confront the weary enemy, remembering your country and your parents, your wives and your children, remembering the consul who lies dead that you may conquer.” [5] when the *triarii* had got to their feet, fresh and sound in their glittering armour, a new and unforeseen array, they received the *antepilani* into [6??] the gaps between their files, and, raising a shout, threw the enemy’s front ranks into disorder, and thrusting their spears into their faces, disposed of the fine flower of their manhood and went through the other maniples almost scatheless, as though their opponents had been unarmed, penetrating their masses with such slaughter as scarce to leave a fourth part of their enemies alive. [7] The Samnites, too, drawn up a little way off at the base of the mountain, were a source of terror to the Latins.

[8] for the rest, of all the citizens and allies, the chief glory of that war went to the consuls; of whom the one had drawn all the threats and menaces of the supernal and infernal gods upon himself alone, and the other had shown such valour and ability in the battle that it is readily agreed by both Romans and Latins who have handed down an account of this engagement that whichever side had been led by Titus Manlius would undoubtedly have been victorious. [9] The Latins fled to Minturnae. their camp was captured after the battle and many men — chiefly Campanians — were caught and slain there. [10] The body of Decius could not be found that day, for night overtook the searchers; on the following day it was found, covered with missiles, in a great heap of enemies, and was given burial by his colleague in a manner befitting his death.

[11] it seems proper to add here that the consul, dictator, or praetor who devotes the legions of the enemy need not devote himself, but may designate any citizen he likes from a regularly enlisted Roman legion if the man who has been devoted dies, it is deemed that all is

well; [12] if he does not die, then an image of him is buried seven feet or more under ground and a sin — offering is slain; where the image has been buried tither a Roman magistrate may not go up. [13] but if he shall choose to devote himself, as Decius did, if he does not die, he cannot sacrifice either for himself or for the people without sin, whether with a victim or with any other offering he shall choose. he who devotes himself has the right to dedicate his arms to Vulcan, or to any other god he likes. [14] The spear on which the consul has stood and prayed must not fall into the hands of an enemy; should this happen, expiation must be made to Mars with the sacrifice of a swine, a sheep, and an ox. 11. These particulars, even though the memory of every religious and secular usage has been wiped out by men's preference of the new and outlandish to the ancient and homebred, I have thought it not foreign to my purpose to repeat, and in the very words in which they were formulated and handed down.

[2] i find in certain writers that it was not until the battle was over that the Samnites, who had been waiting [3??] for the outcome of the engagement, came up to support the Romans. [4] The Latins, too, were already defeated when the Lavinians, who were consuming time in deliberation, began to march to their assistance; and receiving word of the disaster to the Latins just as their foremost ensigns and a portion of their column had passed out through the gates, they faced about and returned into the city, their praetor, Milonius, remarking, so it is said, that they would have to pay a large price to the Romans for that little march.

[5] such of the Latins as survived the battle, after being dispersed over many roads, were reunited, and took refuge in the town of Vescia. [6] in the councils which they held there, Numisius, their commander — inchief, asserted that the fortune of war had in truth been common, overwhelming both armies with equal carnage. [7] The Romans, he said, were victorious only in name, in all else they too were as though they had been defeated; both consular headquarters were polluted, the one by the blood of a son, the other by the death of the devoted consul; their whole army had been cut to pieces, their first and second lines had been massacred, and the slaughter had extended from the troops before the standards to those behind them; finally the veterans had restored the day; [8] but though the Latin

forces had been equally cut up, yet, for recruiting, either Latium or the Volscian country was nearer than Rome; [9] if therefore it seemed good to then, he would speedily summon the fighting men from the Latin and Volscian tribes, and would return with an embattled host to Capua, where the unexpectedness of his arrival would strike dismay into the Romans, who just then were looking for anything rather than a battle. [10] misleading letters were sent out to all parts of Latium and the country of the Volsci, and since those who received them had not been present at the battle, gained ready credence; and an army of militia was levied in hot haste and brought together from every quarter.

[11] this force Torquatus the consul met near Trifanum, a place situated between Sinuessa and Minturnae. both armies, without waiting to choose sites for their camps, piled their baggage and fell to fighting, and the war was ended then and there; [12] for the enemy's strength was brought so low that, when the consul led his victorious army to pillage their fields, the Latins all surrendered, and the Campanians followed their example. Latium and Capua were deprived of territory. [13] The Latin territory, with the addition of that belonging to Privernum, together with the Falernian — which had belonged to the Campanian people — as far as the river Volturnus, was parcelled out amongst the Roman plebs. [14] The assignment was two *iugera* in Latium supplemented with three — fourths of a *iugerum* from the land of Privernum, or three *iugera* in the Falernian district, — a fourth of a *iugerum* being added to compensate for its remoteness. [15] The Laurentes and the Campanian knights were exempted from the punishment inflicted on the Latins, because they had not revolted; it was ordered that the treaty with the Laurentes should be renewed, and it has been renewed every year from that time, on the tenth day after the Latin Festival. [16] The Campanian knights received Roman citizenship, and to commemorate the occasion a bronze tablet was fastened up in the temple of Castor at Rome. moreover, the Campanian people were commanded to pay them each a yearly stipend — there were sixteen hundred of them — amounting to four hundred and fifty *denarii*. 12. The war being thus dispatched, and rewards and penalties distributed in accordance with everyone's deserts, Titus Manlius returned to Rome; it is said that on

his approach only the seniors went out to meet him, and that the young men, then and for all the remainder of his days, abhorred and execrated him.

[2] The Antiates committed depredations upon the lands of Ostia, Ardea, and Solonium. Manlius, the consul, having been unable himself to conduct this war because of ill — health, appointed as dictator Lucius Papirius Crassus, who at that time happened to be praetor, and he in turn named Lucius Papirius Cursor master of the horse. [3] The dictator accomplished nothing noteworthy against the Antiates, though he lay some months encamped in their territory.

[4] to a year that was famous for its victory over so many and so powerful nations, and also for the glorious death of one of the consuls and the other's severity of discipline, which though cruel was nevertheless renowned through the ages, succeeded the consulship of Tiberius Aemilius Mamercinus and Quintus Publilius Philo. [5] These men had no such opportunities, and were, besides, more concerned for their own or their party's interests than for the country. The Latins took up arms again, being incensed at the confiscation of their land, and suffered a defeat and the loss of their camp, in the Fenectane Plains. [6] while Publilius, under whose command and auspices the campaign had been conducted, was receiving the surrender of the Latin peoples whose soldiers had fallen there, Aemilius led his army against Pedum. The Pedani were supported by the people of Tibur, Praeneste, and Velitrae, and auxiliaries had also come from Lanuvium and Antium. [7] though the Romans proved superior in certain engagements, yet the town of Pedum and the camp [8??] of the allied nations, which adjoined it, still remained intact to be dealt with, when suddenly the consul, hearing that his colleague had been decreed a triumph, left the war unfinished [9??] and returned to Rome to demand a triumph for himself as well, without staying to obtain a victory. this self — seeking disgusted the Fathers, who denied him a triumph, unless he should capture Pedum or receive its surrender. [10] estranged from the senate by this rebuff, Aemilius thereafter administered his consulship in the spirit of a seditious tribune. [11] for, all the time that he was consul, he ceased not to accuse the senators to the people, while his colleague. since he too was of the plebs, offered not the smallest opposition. [12] The

ground of his accusations was the niggardly apportionment of land to the plebeians in the Latin and Falernian districts. and when the senate, desiring to put an end to the authority of the consuls, ordered that a dictator should be appointed to oppose the rebellious Latins, Aemilius, who then had [13??] the rods, named his colleague dictator, by whom Junius Brutus was designated master of the horse. [14] Publius was a popular dictator, both because of his denunciation of the senate and because he carried through three laws very advantageous to the plebs and prejudicial to the nobles: [15] one, that the decisions of the plebs should be binding on all the Quirites; another, that the Fathers should ratify the measures proposed at the centuriate comitia before they were voted on; and a third, that at least one censor should be chosen from the plebs — since [16] they had gone so far as to make it lawful for both to be plebeians. [17] The harm that was wrought at home in that year by the consuls and the dictator outweighed — in the belief of the patricians — the increase in empire that resulted from their victory and their management of the war.

13. in the following year, when Lucius Furius Camillus and Gaius Maenius were consuls, the senators, in order to render more conspicuous the negligence of Aemilius in the year before, insisted angrily that men and arms and every kind of force must be employed to capture Peditum and destroy it; and the new consuls were forced to put aside all other matters and set out for that place. [2] The Latins were now come to such a pass that they could endure neither war nor peace; for war they lacked the means, and they scorned peace, for they still smarted under the confiscation of their land. [3] it seemed necessary to adopt a compromise, and keep to their towns — lest they might provoke the Romans and afford them a pretext for hostilities — and if tidings were brought that any town was beleaguered, to send in help to the besieged from all the surrounding peoples. [4] for all that, the cities that aided Peditum were very few. [5] The Tiburtes and Praenestini, whose territories lay near by, reached Peditum; the Aricini, Lanuvini, and Veliterni, as they were effecting a juncture with the Antiates Volsci at the river Astura, were suddenly attacked by Maenius and routed. [6] Camillus dealt with the very powerful army of the Tiburtes in the vicinity of Peditum; the struggle

was harder, but the issue was equally successful. [7] The greatest confusion was occasioned by a sudden sally of the townsfolk during the battle; but Camillus, sending a part of his army against them, not only drove them back into their city, but having discomfited both them and their allies, even took the place by escalade that very day. [8] The consuls then resolved, with the added energy and courage that came with the capture of one city, to proceed with their victorious army to the thorough conquest of the Latins; nor did they rest until, by storming every city or receiving its surrender, they had brought all Latium under their dominion. [9] then, distributing garrisons amongst the recovered towns, they departed for Rome, to enjoy the triumph by general consent awarded them. in addition to the triumph, they were granted the honour — a rare one in those days — of equestrian statues put up in the Forum.

[10] before the consular elections for the following year were held, Camillus referred to the senate the disposition of the Latin peoples, and spoke as follows: [11] “Conscript Fathers, what was needful to be done in Latium in the way of war and arms has now by Heaven’s favour and the valour of our troops been brought to a conclusion. [12] The armies of our enemies have been cut to pieces at Pedum and on the Astura; all the Latin towns, and Antium in the land of the Volsci, have either been carried by storm or have made submission, and are in the keeping of your garrisons. [13] it remains to consider, since they so often occasion us anxiety by a renewal of hostilities, how we may hold them quietly to a lasting peace. [14] The immortal gods have given you such absolute control of the situation as to leave the decision in your hands whether Latium is henceforward to exist or not. you are therefore able to assure yourselves of a permanent peace, in so far as the Latins are concerned, by the exercise of either cruelty or forgiveness, at your discretion. [15] would you adopt stern measures against those who have surrendered or been vanquished? you may blot out all Latium, and make vast solitudes of those places where you have often raised a splendid army of allies and used it through many a momentous war. [16] would you follow the example of your fathers, and augment the Roman state by receiving your conquered enemies as citizens? you have at hand the means of waxing great and supremely glorious. that government is certainly by

far the strongest to which its subjects yield obedience gladly. [17] but whatever it pleases you to do, you must determine promptly; you are holding so many peoples in suspense betwixt hope and fear, that it behoves you both to resolve your own anxiety regarding them as soon as may be, and to be beforehand with them, whether in the way of punishment or kindness, while they are waiting in a dull amazement. [18] our task has been to give you the power to decide regarding everything; it is yours to determine what is best for yourselves and for the state.”

14. The leading senators praised the motion of Camillus on the national policy, but said that, since the Latins were not all in like case, his advice could best be carried out if the consuls would introduce proposals concerning the several peoples by name, as each should seem to merit. they were therefore taken up and disposed of separately. [2] The Lanuvini were given citizenship, and their worship was restored to them, with the stipulation that the temple and grove of Juno Sospita should be held in common by the burghers of Lanuvium and the Roman [3] People. The Aricini, Nomentani, and Pedani were received into citizenship on the same terms as the [4] Lanuvini. The Tusculans were allowed to retain the civic rights which they enjoyed, and the charge of renewing the war’ was laid to a few ringleaders, without endamaging the [5] community. The Veliterni, Roman citizens of old, were severely punished, because they had so often revolted: not only were their walls thrown down, but their senate was carried off and commanded to dwell across the Tiber, with this [6] understanding: that if any should be caught on the hither side, his redemption should be set at a thousand pounds of bronze, and that he who had captured him might not release his prisoner from bondage until the fine was paid. colonists were settled on the senators’ lands, and on their enrolment Velitrae regained its former appearance of [7] populousness. to Antium likewise a colony was dispatched, with an understanding that the Antiates might be permitted, if they liked, themselves to enroll as [8] colonists; their war — ships were taken from them and their people were forbidden the sea; they were granted [9] citizenship. The Tiburtes and Praenestini were deprived of territory, not only because of the fresh charge of rebellion brought against them in common with the other Latins, but

because they had once, in disgust at the power of Rome, united in arms with the Gauls, a race of savages. The rest of the Latin peoples were deprived of the rights of mutual trade and intermarriage and of holding common ^[10] councils. The Campanians, out of compliment to their knights, because they had not consented to revolt along with the Latins, were granted citizenship without the suffrage; so too were the Fundani and Formiani, because they had always afforded a safe and peaceful passage through their territories. it was voted to give the people of Cumae and Suessula the same rights and the same terms as the ^[11] Capuans. The ships of the Antiates were some of them laid up in ^[12??] the Roman dockyards, and some were burnt and a motion passed to employ their beaks for the adornment of a platform erected in the Forum. this place was dedicated with augural ceremonies and given the name of Rostra or The Beaks.

15. in the consulship of Gaius Sulpicius Longus and Publius Aelius Paetus the good — will which their generous conduct had procured for the Romans had been no less efficacious than their power in maintaining a general peace, when a war broke out between the Sidicini and the Aurunci. ^[2] The Aurunci had surrendered in the consulship of Titus Manlius and had given no trouble since that time, for which reason they had the better right to expect assistance from the Romans. ^[3] but before the consuls marched from Rome — for the Senate had directed them to defend the Aurunci — tidings ^[4] were brought that the Aurunci had abandoned their town, in their alarm, and had taken refuge, with their wives and children, in Suessa — now called Aurunca — which they had fortified: and that their ancient walls and their city had been destroyed by the Sidicini. ^[5] this news made the senate angry with the consuls, by whose tardiness the allies had been betrayed, and they ordered a dictator to be appointed. The nomination fell to Gaius Claudius Inregillensis, who named as his master of horse Gaius Claudius Hortator. ^[6] Areligious difficulty was then raised about the dictator, and on the augurs' reporting that there seemed to have been a flaw in his appointment, the dictator and his master of the horse resigned.

^[7] in that year the Vestal Minucia, suspected in the first instance because of her dress, which was more ornate than became her station, was subsequently accused before ^[8??] the pontiffs on the testimony of

a slave, and having been by their decree commanded to keep aloof from the sacred rites and to retain her slaves in her own power, was convicted and buried alive near the Colline Gate, to the right of the paved road in the Polluted Field — so called, I believe, on account of her unchastity.

[9] in the same year Quintus Publilius Philo was made praetor, — the first to be chosen from the plebs. Sulpicius the Consul opposed his election and declared that he would receive no votes for him; but the senate, having failed in its opposition to plebeian candidates for the highest magistracies, was less obstinate in the matter of the praetorship.

16. The following year, being the consulship of Lucius Papirius Crassus and Caeso Duillius, was remarkable for a war more novel than important, [2??] to wit with the Ausonians, who inhabited the city of Cales. [3] they had joined forces with their neighbours, the Sidicini, and the army of the two peoples having suffered a defeat in one — by no means memorable — battle, was by the nearness of their cities not only the more disposed to flight, but found in that same flight the readier safety. The senators, however, did not cease to be concerned over this war, so many times before had the Sidicini either drawn the sword themselves, or lent aid to those who were drawing it, or been the occasion of hostilities. [4] they accordingly bent every effort to elect to his fourth consulship the greatest soldier of that age, Marcus Valerius Corvus. [5] to be his colleague, they gave him Marcus Atilius Regulus; and lest there should by chance be some miscarriage, they requested of the consuls that Corvus be given the command, without the drawing of lots. [6] taking over the victorious army from the previous consuls, he marched on Cales, where the war had originated, and routing the enemy — who had as yet not even recovered from the panic of the earlier encounter — at the first cheer and onset, he attacked the town itself. [7] The soldiers, for their part, were so eager that they wished to attempt the walls at once with scaling — ladders, and insisted that they could carry the place; but Corvus, since this would have been an arduous achievement, preferred to accomplish his purpose at the cost of labour rather than of danger to his men. [8] he therefore constructed a terrace and brought up mantlets, and moved his towers close to the walls, but a

fortunate circumstance made it unnecessary to employ them. [9] for Marcus Fabius, a Roman prisoner, being neglected by his guards on a day of merrymaking, broke his bonds, let himself down by the wall, hand over hand, into the Roman works, by a rope which he had made fast to a battlement, and induced the general to attack the enemy while they were overcome with feasting and drinking. [10] The result was that the Ausonians and their city were captured with no greater effort than they had been defeated in the field. huge spoils were taken, a garrison was established in the town, and the legions were led back to Rome. [11] The consul triumphed, in pursuance of a senatorial decree, and lest Atilius should go without his meed of glory, both consuls were directed to march against the Sidicini. [12] but first — being so instructed by the senate — they named a dictator to preside at the elections, their choice falling on Lucius Aemilius Mamercinus, who selected Quintus Publilius Philo to be master of the horse. under the presidency of the dictator, Titus Veturius and Spurius Postumius were chosen consuls. [13] These men, although a half of the war — with the Sidicini — yet remained, nevertheless, in order to anticipate the desires of the plebs by doing them a service, brought in a proposal for sending out a colony to Cales. [14] The senate resolved that twenty — five hundred men should be enrolled for it, and appointed Caeso Duillius, Titus Quinctius, and Marcus Fabius a commission of three to conduct the settlers to the land and apportion it amongst them.

17. The new consuls then took over the army from their predecessors, and entering the enemy's territory laid it waste as far as their city walls. [2] at this juncture, since the Sidicini had themselves raised an enormous army and seemed likely to make a desperate struggle in behalf of their last hope, and since the rumour went that Samnium was arming, the senate authorized the consuls to nominate a dictator. [3] they appointed Publius Cornelius Rufinus, and Marcus Antonius was made master of the horse. [4] ascruple was subsequently raised about the regularity of their appointment, and they resigned their office; and when a pestilence ensued, it was supposed that all the auspices were affected by that irregularity, and the state reverted to an interregnum.

[5] finally Marcus Valerius Corvus, the fifth interrex from the

beginning of the interregnum, achieved the election to the consulship of Aulus Cornelius (for the second time) and Gnaeus Domitius. [6] coming, as it did, when all was tranquil, the rumour of a Gallic war worked like an actual rising, and caused the senate to have recourse to a dictator. Marcus Papirius Crassus was the man, and he named Publius Valerius Publicola master of the horse. [7] while they were conducting their levy, more strenuously than they would have done for a war against a neighbouring state, scouts were sent out, and returned with the report that all was quiet amongst the Gauls. [8] Samnium likewise had now for two years been suspected of hatching revolutionary schemes, for which reason the Roman army was not withdrawn from the Sidicine country. [9] but an invasion by Alexander of Epirus drew the Samnites off into Lucania, and these two peoples engaged in a pitched battle with the King, as he was marching up from Paestum. [10] The victory remained with Alexander, who then made a treaty of peace with the Romans; with what faith he intended to keep it, had the rest of his campaign been equally successful, is a question.

[11] in this same year the census was taken and new citizens were assessed. on their account the Maecian and Scaptian tribes were added. The censors who added them were Quintus Publilius Philo and Spurius [12] Postumius. The people of Acerra became Romans under a statute, proposed by the praetor Lucius Papirius, which granted them citizenship without the suffrage. such were the events of this year at home and in the field.

18. a terrible year succeeded, whether owing to the unseasonable weather or to man's depravity. The consuls were Marcus Claudius Marcellus and Gaius Valerius. [2] i find Flaccus and Potitus severally given in the annals, as the surname of Valerius; but it does not greatly signify where the truth lies in regard to this. [3] one thing, however, I should be glad to believe had been falsely handed down — and indeed not all the authorities avouch it — namely, that those whose deaths made the year notorious for pestilence were in reality destroyed by poison; still, I must set forth the story as it comes to us, that I may not deprive any writer of his credit. [4] when the leading citizens were falling ill with the same kind of malady, which had, in almost every case the same fatal termination, a certain serving —

woman [5] came to Quintus Fabius Maximus, the curule aedile, and declared that she would reveal the cause of the general calamity, if he would give her a pledge that she should not suffer for her testimony. Fabius at once referred the matter to the consuls, and the consuls [6??] to the senate, and a pledge was given to the witness with the unanimous approval of that body. [7] she then disclosed the fact that the City was afflicted by the criminal practices of the women; that they who prepared these poisons were matrons, whom, if they would instantly attend her, they might take in the very act. [8] they followed the informer and found certain women brewing poisons, and other poisons stored away. These concoctions were brought into the Forum, and some twenty matrons, in whose houses they had been discovered, were summoned thither by an apparitor. two of their number, Cornelia and Sergia, of patrician houses both, asserted that these drugs were salutary. [9] on the informer giving them the lie, and bidding them drink and prove her charges false in the sight of all, they took time to confer, and after the crowd had been dismissed they referred the question to the rest, and finding that they, like themselves, would not refuse the draught, they all drank off the poison and perished by their own wicked practices. [10] their attendants being instantly arrested informed against a large number of matrons, of whom one hundred and seventy were found guilty; [11] yet until that day there had never been a trial for poisoning in Rome. their act was regarded as a prodigy, and suggested madness rather than felonious intent. [12] accordingly when a tradition was revived from the annals how formerly in secessions of the plebs a nail had been driven by the dictator, and how men's minds, which had been distracted by dissension, had by virtue of that expiation regained their self — control, they resolved on the appointment of a dictator to drive the nail. [13] The appointment went to Gnaeus Quinctilius, who named Lucius Valerius master of the horse. The nail was driven and they resigned their posts.

19. The consular election resulted in the choice of Lucius Papirius Crassus (for the second time) and Lucius Plautius Venox. [2] at the outset of this year Volscian ambassadors from Fabrateria and Luca came to Rome asking protection, and promising that, if defended from Samnite aggressions, they would be loyal and obedient subjects

of the Roman People. The senate thereupon sent envoys to the Samnites and warned them to do no violence to the territories of those cities. [3] The embassy was effective, not so much because the Samnites desired peace, as because they were unprepared, as yet, for war.

The same year saw the beginning of the war with Privernum. [4] The enemy had the Fundanians for allies, and even a Fundanian general, by the name of Vitruvius Vaccus. he was a man of distinction, not only in his own city, but in Rome as well, where he had a house on the Palatine, at the place which, after the building had been demolished and the area confiscated, was known as the Meadows of Vaccus. [5] he was spoiling, far and wide, the territories of Setia, Norba, and Cora, when Lucius Papirius marched out to confront him, and took up a position not far from the other's camp. [6] Vitruvius had neither the strength of mind to remain behind his rampart in the face of a more powerful opponent, nor the courage to fight at a distance from his works. [7] The last of his troops were scarcely clear of the camp gates and his line deployed, and the soldiers were thinking more of flight than of battle or the enemy, when he began, without showing either prudence or audacity, a critical engagement. [8] he was easily and decisively defeated; yet, because his camp was so near and so readily accessible, he was able without great difficulty to save his men from heavy losses; indeed, there were hardly any slain in the battle itself, and in the flight only a few amongst the stragglers, as they rushed into the camp. [9] under cover of the earliest dusk they sought Privernum in a panic — stricken throng, to obtain for themselves the protection of walls in place of a rampart.

from Privernum the other consul Plautius, after everywhere pillaging the fields and driving off the cattle, led his army into the domain of Fundi. [10] as he crossed the border he was met by the Fundanian senate, who said that they had come to plead, not for Vitruvius and his followers, but for the people of Fundi, whom even Vitruvius himself had cleared of responsibility for the war, when he sought refuge in Privernum and not in his native city. [11] it was therefore in Privernum that the Roman People should seek out and punish its enemies, who had fallen away at the same time from Fundi

and from Rome, unmindful of either allegiance: the Fundani were peaceful, their sympathies were Roman, and they held in grateful recollection the gift of citizenship. [12] they begged the consul to make no war upon an innocent people, and declared that their lands, their city, their persons, and those of their wives and children were subject to the dominion of the Roman People and would so remain. [13] The consul heartily commended them, and announcing in a dispatch to Rome that the Fundanians were loyal, turned aside and marched against Privernum. [14] Claudius writes that before he set out, the consul executed the leaders of the plot, and sent some three hundred and fifty of the conspirators in chains to Rome; but that the senate would not accept of their surrender, being persuaded that the people of Fundi sought to escape with the punishment of their poor and lowly.

20. while the two consular armies were laying siege to Privernum, the other consul was recalled to Rome to hold the elections. [2] chariot cells were built this year for the first time in the Circus.

The war with Privernum was not yet out of the way, when there came an alarming report of a Gallic rising, a warning which the senate almost never disregarded. [3] accordingly, without a moment's hesitation, the new consuls, Lucius Aemilius Mamercinus and Gaius Plautius, were directed, on the very day on which they entered office — the Kalends of July — to divide the commands between them, and Mamercinus, to whom the Gallic war had fallen, was bidden to enlist an army without granting a single exemption; [4] indeed it is said that a rabble of craftsmen even, and sedentary mechanics, was called out — a type the least qualified of all for military service. [5] An enormous army was brought together at Veii, which was to be the base for the campaign against the Gauls; further afield they would not go, lest the enemy, advancing upon the City, might slip by them on another road. after a few days it became quite evident that no disturbance on the part of the Gauls was to be apprehended at that time, whereupon the whole array was directed against Privernum.

[6] from this point there is a twofold tradition: some say that the city was carried by storm, and that Vitruvius was taken alive; others, that before the final assault was made, the people came out with a flag of truce to the consul and surrendered, and that Vitruvius was

betrayed by his own followers. [7] The senate, being consulted regarding Vitruvius and the Privernates, commanded the consul Plautius to raze the walls of Privernum, and placing a strong garrison in the town, to come to Rome and triumph. [8] Vitruvius was to be held a prisoner till the consul should return, and then scourged and put to death; his house on the Palatine was to be pulled down, and his goods dedicated to Semo Sangus. out of the bronze which his chattels realized were fashioned bronze disks, which were placed in the shrine of Sangus, over against the temple [9] of Quirinus. concerning the senate of Privernum, it was decreed that any senator who had remained in Privernum after its defection from the Romans should dwell across the Tiber on the same terms as [10] the Veliterni. These decrees having been promulgated, no more was said about the Privernates, until Plautius had triumphed. after his triumph the consul caused Vitruvius and his associates in wrongdoing to be executed, and deeming it now safe to take up the question of the Privernates with men who were already sated with the punishment of the guilty, spoke [11] as follows: "since the authors of rebellion have now received the reward they merited, at the hands of the immortal gods, and at your own hands, Conscript Fathers, what is your pleasure regarding the [12] innocent multitude? for my own part, though it becomes me rather to ask opinions than to offer one, yet when I see that the Privernates are neighbours to the Samnites, whose peaceful relations with ourselves are at this time most precarious, I could wish that as little bad feeling as possible might be left between them and us."

21. The question was of itself a hard one to decide, and every senator argued, as his own nature prompted him, for severity or mercy; but the whole situation was rendered even more uncertain by one of the deputation from Privernum, who possessed a livelier sense of the condition in which he had been born than of the exigencies of the actual crisis. [2] this man, on being asked by a certain advocate of harsher measures what punishment he thought the Privernates merited, replied, "that punishment which is merited by those who deem themselves worthy to be free." [3] The consul perceived that this proud answer had increased the hostility of those who were before assailing the cause of the Privernates. [4] in the hope that he

might himself, by putting a more kindly question, elicit a friendlier response, “what,” said he, “if we remit your punishment? what sort of peace may we hope to have with you?” [5] “if you grant us a good one,” was the answer, “you may look to find it faithfully and permanently kept; if a bad one, you must not expect that it will long endure.” [6] whereat some cried out that the Privernate was threatening them, and in no ambiguous terms, and asserted that by such words as those pacified peoples were roused up to rebellion. but the more merciful party in the senate put a better construction on his answer, and pronounced it the utterance of a man, and a man free — born. was it credible, they asked, that any nation, or for that matter any man, should abide longer than he must in a condition that was painful? [7] that peace, they asserted, was faithfully observed where the terms were willingly accepted; they must not hope for loyalty in a quarter where they sought to impose servitude.

[8] The consul himself did the most to bring about the adoption of these views, by remarking repeatedly to the consulars, who led in the [9??] expression of opinion, in a voice loud enough for many to overhear, that only those who took no thought for anything save. [10] liberty were worthy of becoming Romans. accordingly they gained their cause in the senate, and on the authorization of the Fathers a measure was brought before the people conferring citizenship on the Privernates.

[11] in that same year three hundred colonists were sent to Anxur, where they received each two *iugera* of land.

22. The following year, when Publius Plautius Proculus and Publius Cornelius Scapula were consuls, was not signalled by any military or domestic event, except that a colony was sent out to Fregellae — the [2] territory had belonged to the people of Signia, and afterwards to the Volsci — and a dole of meat was given to the people by Marcus Flavius, at the funeral of his mother. [3] some thought that under colour of honouring his mother he had paid a price that he owed the people, because they had acquitted him, when brought to trial by the aediles, of the charge of corrupting a married woman. [4] though the dole was made for the past favour shown him in the trial, it was also the cause of his receiving an office; and at the next election he was chosen tribune of the plebs in his absence, in

preference to some who canvassed.

[5] there was a city called Palaepolis, not far from the spot where Neapolis is now, and the two cities were inhabited by one people. Cumae was their mother city, and the Cumani derive their origin from Chalcis in Euboea. [6] thanks to the fleet in which they had sailed from their home, they enjoyed much power on the coast of that sea by which they dwell; having landed first on the island of Aenaria and the Pithecusae, they afterwards ventured to transfer their seat to the mainland. [7] this nation, relying in part on its own strength, in part on the faithlessness shown by the Samnites in their alliance with the Romans, or perhaps on the plague which was reported as having assailed the City of Rome, committed many hostile acts against the Romans dwelling in the districts of Campania and Falerii. [8] when therefore Lucius Cornelius Lentulus and Quintus Publilius Philo (for the second time) were consuls, fetials were dispatched to Palaepolis to demand redress; and on their bringing back a spirited answer from the Greeks — a race more valiant in words than in deeds — the people acted upon a resolution of the senate and commanded that war be made upon Palaepolis. [9] by the division of the commands between the consuls, the war with the Greeks fell to Publilius; Cornelius, with another army, was ordered to be ready for the Samnites, in case they should take the field; [10] and since it was rumoured that they were only waiting to bring up their army the moment the Campanians began a revolt, that seemed to be the best place for the permanent encampment of Cornelius.

23. both consuls informed the senate that there was very little hope of peace with the Samnites: Publilius reported that two thousand soldiers from Nola and four thousand Samnites had been received into Palaepolis, — rather under compulsion from the Nolani than by the good — will [2] of the Greeks; Cornelius, that the Samnite magistrates had proclaimed a levy, and that all Samnium was up, while the neighbouring cities of Privernum, Fundi, and Formiae were being openly solicited to join. [3] The senate having, in view of these facts, voted to send ambassadors to the Samnites before declaring war, received a defiant answer from them. [4] indeed they actually accused the Romans of improper conduct, yet without neglecting to clear their own skirts — if they could — of the charges brought

against them: [5] the Greeks, they said, were receiving no public counsel or support from them, nor had they asked the Fundani or Formiani to revolt; indeed they were quite strong enough to look out for themselves, if they chose to fight; [6] on the other hand, they could not dissemble the chagrin of the Samnite nation that Fregellae, which they had captured from the Volsci and destroyed, should have been restored by the Roman People, and a colony planted in the territory of the Samnites which the Roman settlers called by that name; [7] this was an insult and an injury, which, if its authors did not themselves recall it, they proposed to resist with might and main. [8] when the Roman legate invited them to discuss the question with the common allies and friends of both, the Samnite spokesman said, “why do we beat about the bush? our differences, Romans, will be decided, not by the words of envoys nor by any man’s arbitration, but by the Campanian plain — where we must meet in battle, — by the sword, and by the common chance of war. [9] let us encamp then face to face betwixt Suessula and Capua, and settle the question whether Samnite or Roman is to govern Italy.” [10] The Roman legates having replied that they should go, not where the enemy summoned them, but where their generals led then . . .

by taking up a favourable position between Palaepolis and Neapolis, Publius had already deprived the enemy of that mutual exchange of assistance which they had made use of, as one place after another was hard pressed. [11] accordingly, since the time drew near for the elections, and it was not for the advantage of the state that Publius, who was threatening the enemy’s walls, should be called away from the prospective capture of their city, which might happen any day, the senate got [12??] the tribunes to propose a popular enactment, providing that Quintus Publius Philo should, on the expiration of his consulship, conduct the campaign as proconsul until the Greeks should have been conquered.

[13] to Lucius Cornelius, who had already entered Samnium, and whom they were equally unwilling to withdraw from the vigorous prosecution of the war, they sent a letter directing him to name a dictator for conducting the elections. [14] he named Marcus Claudius Marcellus, who named Spurius Postumius master of the horse. but the comitia were not held by the dictator, inasmuch as the regularity

of his appointment was called in question. The augurs were consulted, and announced that the procedure appeared faulty. [15] this sentence the tribunes by their accusations made suspect and infamous; for the flaw, as they pointed out, could not easily have been discovered, since the consul rose in the night and appointed the dictator in silence, neither had the consul written to anyone regarding the transaction, whether officially or privately, nor was there a single mortal living who could say that he had seen or heard a thing that would bring to naught the auspices; [16] nor yet could the augurs have divined, as they sat in Rome, what obstacle the consul had met with in the camp. was there anyone, they would like to know, who could not see that the plebeian standing of the dictator was the thing which had seemed irregular to the augurs? [17] These and other objections were made by the tribunes to no purpose; the state at length reverted to an interregnum, and after the comitia had been again and again postponed, on one pretext or another, at last the fourteenth interrex, Lucius Aemilius, procured the election of consuls, viz. Gaius Poetelius and Lucius Papirius Mugillanus — in other annals I find the name of Cursor.

24. it is recorded that in that same year Alexandria in Egypt was founded, and that Alexander, king of Epirus, being murdered by a Lucanian exile, fulfilled by his death the oracle of Jupiter at Dodona. [2] on his being summoned to Italy by the Tarentines, the oracle had warned him to beware of the Acherusian water and the city Pandosia, for there he was destined to end his days. [3] on this account he had passed over with the more speed into Italy, that he might be as far removed as possible from the city of Pandosia in Epirus and from the river Acheron, which, debouching from Molossis into the Infernal Marshes, discharges its waters into the Thesprotian Gulf. [4] but, as generally happens, in seeking to escape his doom he ran full upon it. having repeatedly defeated the Bruttian and Lucanian levies; having taken Heraclea, a Tarentine colony, from the Lucanians, and Sipontum belonging to the Apulians, and the Bruttian towns Consentia and Terina, and after that other towns of the Messapians and Lucanians; [5] and having sent to Epirus three hundred illustrious families, to be held as hostages, he took up his station not far from the city Pandosia, which looks down upon the borders of Lucania

and Bruttium, on three hills that stand some little distance apart from one another, that he might thence make incursions into every quarter of the enemy's country. [6] he had about him some two hundred Lucanian exiles, whom he trusted; but their loyalty, like that of most men of that nation, was prone to change with the change of fortune.

[7] continuous rains, which flooded all the fields, having isolated the three divisions of the army and cut them off from mutual assistance, the two bodies other than the king's were surprised and overpowered by the enemy, who, after putting them all to the sword, proceeded with their entire strength to blockade Alexander himself. [8] whereupon the Lucanian exiles sent messengers to their countrymen, and promised that, if assured of restoration, they would give up the king, alive or dead, into their hands. [9] but Alexander, with a chosen band, made a daring attempt, and broke out through the midst of his foes, cutting down the Lucanian general in a hand — to — hand encounter. [10] then, rallying his followers, who had become scattered in the flight, he came to a river, where the fresh ruins of a bridge, which the violence of the current had swept away, pointed out the road. [11] as his company were making their way across the stream by a treacherous ford, a discouraged and exhausted soldier cried out, cursing the river's ill — omened name, "you are rightly called the Acheros!" When the king heard this, he at once bethought him of the oracle, and stopped, undecided whether he should cross or [12] not. whereat Sotimus, one of the young nobles who attended him, asked why he hesitated in so dangerous a crisis, and pointed out the Lucanians, who were looking for a chance to waylay [13] him. with a backward glance the king perceived them at a little distance coming towards him in a body, and drawing his sword, urged his horse through the middle of the stream. he had already gained the shallow water, when a Lucanian exile cast a javelin that transfixed [14] him. he fell with the javelin in his lifeless body, and the current carried him down to the enemy's guard. by them his corpse was barbarously mangled, for they cut it in two through the middle, and sending a half to Consentia, kept the other half to make sport for [15] themselves. they were standing off and pelting it with javelins and stones, when a solitary woman, exposing herself to the inhuman savagery of the raging crowd, besought them to forbear a little, and

with many tears declared that her husband and children were prisoners in the hands of the enemy, and that she hoped that with the body of the king, however much disfigured, she might redeem [16] them. this ended the mutilation. what was left of the corpse was cremated at Consentia by the care of none other than the woman, and the bones sent back to Metapontum, to the [17] enemy; whence they were conveyed by ship to Epirus, to his wife Cleopatra and his sister Olympias, of whom the latter was mother, the former sister, to Alexander the [18] Great. this brief account of the sad end of Alexander may be excused on the score of his having warred in Italy, albeit Fortune held him back from attacking the Romans.

25. a *lectisternium*, the fifth since the founding of the City, was held this year, to propitiate the same deities as before. [2] then the new consuls, having sent fetials, as commanded by the people, to declare war on the Samnites, not only began themselves to make ready for it, on a much greater scale in every respect than they had done against the Greeks, but received new and at that time quite unlooked for help. [3] for the Lucanians and Apulians, nations which until then had had no dealings with the Roman People, put themselves under their protection and promised arms and men for the war, and were accordingly received into a treaty of friendship. [4] at the same time, the Romans conducted a successful campaign in Samnium. three towns — Allifae, Callifae, and Rufrium — fell into their hands, and the rest of the country was devastated far and wide at the first coming of the consuls.

[5] while this war was beginning in so prosperous a fashion, the other, against the Greeks, was in a fair way to be concluded. for not only were a part of the besieged cut off from the rest by the intervening entrenchments of the Romans, but things were going on within their walls much more dreadful than the perils with which the enemy threatened them; [6] and as though the inhabitants had been made prisoners by their own defenders, they were subjected to outrage even in the persons of their children and their wives, and suffered all the horrors of captured cities. [7] and so, on a report that reinforcements were on their way, both from Tarentum and from the Samnites, they felt that they had within their city more Samnites than they wanted, but being Greeks, [8??] looked forward to the coming of

their fellow Greeks, the young men of Tarentum, to enable them to resist the Samnites and the Nolani, no less than their enemies, the Romans. in the end it appeared to them that surrender to the Romans was the least intolerable evil. [9] Charilaus and Nymphius, their principal citizens, took counsel together, and arranged the part that each should play in order to bring this about. one was to go over to the Roman general, the other to remain behind and make the city ready for the accomplishment of their design. [10] it was Charilaus who went to Publius Philo, and praying that it might turn out a good and favourable and fortunate thing for Palaepolis and for the Roman People, announced that he had resolved to deliver up the walls. [11] it depended, he said, upon the honour of the Romans whether, having accomplished his intention, he should appear to have betrayed his country or to have saved it. [12] for himself in particular he neither stipulated nor requested anything; for his people he requested — though he did not stipulate — that if the enterprise succeeded, the Roman People should consider with what eagerness they had resumed the friendship, and the hazard which they ran, rather than the folly and temerity which had led them to forget their duty. [13] The general commended him, and gave him three thousand soldiers to seize that part of the city where the Samnites were established, appointing Lucius Quinctius, a military tribune, to command the force.

26. at the same time Nymphius for his part had gone craftily to work with the Samnite commander, and pointing out that all the forces of the Romans were either about Palaepolis or in Samnium, got him to consent that he should take a fleet and sail round them to the Roman seaboard, where he proposed, so he said, to ravage not only the coastal region, but the vicinity of Rome itself; [2] it would however be necessary, in order to slip past the enemy unobserved, to put out at night, and the ships must be drawn down at once. [3] that this might be accomplished the more expeditiously, all the Samnite soldiers, except the few who were needed to mount guard in the city, were sent down to the shore. while Nymphius was killing time there in the darkness, purposely issuing contradictory orders to confuse the throng, which was so large as to get in its own way, Charilaus, having been received into the city, as agreed upon by the

conspirators, had occupied the highest part of it with Roman soldiers, whom he now commanded to give a cheer. [4] on hearing this, the Greeks, who had received a signal from their leaders, remained still, but the Nolani fled through the opposite quarter of the city by the road that leads to Nola. The Samnites, being shut out from the town, enjoyed a momentary advantage in the ease with which they fled, but appeared in a more disgraceful light, when the danger had been left behind. [5] unarmed — for they had abandoned everything to the enemy — they returned to their homes despoiled and destitute, a laughingstock not only to strangers but to their own countrymen. [6] i am not unaware of the other tradition which ascribes the capture to betrayal by the Samnites, but have followed the authorities who are more deserving of credence; moreover, the treaty with Neapolis — to which place the Greeks now transferred the seat of government — makes it more likely that they renewed the friendship voluntarily. Publilius was decreed a triumph, in consequence of a belief that the enemy had surrendered because they were forced to do so by the siege. he was the first to enjoy these two distinctions: an extension of his command, never before granted to any, and a triumph after the expiration of his term.

27. this war was immediately followed by the outbreak of another, with the Greeks of the eastern coast. [2] for the Tarentines, after sustaining the people of Palaepolis for some time with delusive hopes of succour, when they learned that the Romans had got possession of the city, inveighed against the Palaepolitans, as though, instead of deserting them, they themselves had been deserted, and were raging with hatred and envy against the Romans: the more so, because they learnt that the Lucanians and Apulians had made their submission to the Roman People — for an alliance was formed that year with both these nations. [3] The Romans, they said, were almost at the gates of Tarentum, and matters would soon be come to such a pass, that they must needs have them for enemies or masters; [4] it was clear that their own future hinged on the outcome of the war then being waged by the Samnites; [5] this was the only nation that continued to hold out, and indeed that nation was none too strong since the defection of the Lucanians; but the latter might even yet be brought back and induced to repudiate the Roman alliance, if a little

art were employed in sowing discord.

[6] These counsels having prevailed — for they were eager to fall in with novel schemes — they [7] bribed certain young Lucanians, of greater prominence among their countrymen than respectability, who lacerated one another with rods and then exhibited their naked bodies before a concourse of their fellow citizens, crying out that for having dared to enter the Roman camp they had been ordered by the consuls to be scourged, and had narrowly escaped losing their heads. [8] this spectacle, so hideous in itself, pointed clearly to injury and not to guile. in an uproar of excitement, the people obliged their magistrates to convoke the senate. [9] at the meeting some crowded round and clamoured for war against the Romans, while others hurriedly departed this way and that, to rouse the inhabitants of the countryside to arms, till even the prudent lost their heads in the tumult, and it was voted to renew the alliance with the Samnites; and ambassadors were sent off to arrange it. [10] this impulsive action, as it had no cause, so it carried no conviction; they were forced by the Samnites both to give hostages and also to admit garrisons within their strongholds; but, blinded by the cheat and by resentment, they stuck at nothing. [11] a little later, when the false witnesses had retired to Tarentum, they began to see through the imposition; but having lost all power of independent action, they could only indulge in vain regrets.

28. in that year the liberty of the Roman plebs had as it were a new beginning; for men ceased to be imprisoned for debt. [2] The change in the law was occasioned by the notable lust and cruelty of a single usurer, Lucius Papirius, to whom Gaius Publilius had given himself up for a debt owed by his father. The debtor's youth and beauty, which might well have stirred the creditor's compassion, did but inflame his heart to lust and contumely. [3] regarding the lad's youthful prime as additional compensation for the loan, he sought at first to seduce him with lewd conversation; later, finding he turned a deaf ear to the base proposal, he began to threaten him and now and again to remind him of his condition; [4] at last, when he saw that the youth had more regard to his honourable birth than to his present plight, he had him stripped and scourged. [5] The boy, all mangled with the stripes, broke forth into the street, crying out upon the money — lender's lust and cruelty; [6] and a great throng of people,

burning with pity for his tender years, and with rage for the shameful wrong he had undergone, and considering, too, their own condition and their children's, rushed down into the Forum, and from there in a solid throng to the Curia. [7] The consuls were forced by the sudden tumult to convene the senate; and as the Fathers entered the Curia, the people threw themselves at the feet of each, and pointed to the young lad's mutilated back. [8] on that day, owing to one man's outrageous injury, was broken a strong bond of credit, and the consuls were ordered to carry a proposal to the people that none should be confined in shackles or in the stocks, save those who, having been guilty of some crime, were waiting to pay the penalty; and that for money lent, the debtor's goods, but not his person, should be distrainable. [9] so those in confinement were released, and it was forbidden that any should be confined thereafter.

29. in that same year, though the Samnite war and the sudden revolt of the Lucanians, together with the Tarentines their abettors, were enough of themselves to fill the senators with concern, yet the Vestini added to their cares by uniting with the Samnites. [2] this action was widely discussed in private conversations, without being made the subject, in that year, of any public deliberations; but the consuls of the following year, Lucius Furius Camillus (for the second time) and Junius Brutus Scaeva, deemed it a matter that should take precedence over all other business to come before the senate. [3] there, notwithstanding it was no news to them, the situation occasioned the Fathers so great anxiety as to make them equally afraid to deal with it or to let it alone, lest the impunity of the Vestini might inspire the neighbouring tribes with licence and insolence, or a punitive war inflame them with apprehensions of imminent danger and with resentment; [4] moreover the race as a whole was fully equal to the Samnites in military power, comprising, as it did, the Marsi, and the Paeligni and Marrucini, — all of whom must be had for enemies, should the Vestini be molested. [5] The day, however, was carried by that party which might have seemed at the moment to have on its side a greater share of courage than of wisdom; but the sequel showed that Fortune favours the brave. [6] being authorized by the senate, the people voted a war against the Vestini. [7] this command was assigned by lot to Brutus, that against the Samnites to

Camillus. armies were dispatched in both directions, and the enemy, concerned to protect their borders, were kept from joining forces. [8] but one of the consuls, Lucius Furius, on whom the heavier burden had been laid, had the misfortune to fall dangerously ill and was compelled to relinquish his command; [9] being ordered to nominate a dictator for the purpose of carrying on the war, he named by far the most distinguished soldier of that time, Lucius Papirius Cursor, by whom Quintus Fabius Maximus Rullianus was appointed master of the horse. [10] they were a pair famous for the victories won while they were magistrates; but their quarrelling, which almost went the length of a mortal feud, made them more famous still.

[11] The other consul, in the country of the Vestini, carried on a war of many phases, but of unvarying success at every point. [12] for he ravaged their farms, and by pillaging and burning their houses and their crops, compelled them against their will to take the field; and then in a single battle wrought such havoc with the Vestinian power — though his own troops came off by no means scatheless — that the enemy not only retreated to their camp, but, no longer trusting to their parapet and trenches, slipped away to their several towns, seeking protection in the situation of the places and their walls. [13] finally, the consul addressed himself to the capture of these towns. The soldiers fought with great fury to revenge their wounds, for hardly a man had come unhurt out of the battle; and first Cutina was carried by escalade, and then Cingilia. [14] The consul gave the booty of both these cities to his men, because neither the gates nor the walls of the enemy had held them back.

30. The expedition into Samnium was attended with ambiguous auspices; but the flaw in them took effect, not in the outcome of the war, which was waged successfully, but in the animosities and madness of the generals. [2] for Papirius, the dictator, as he was setting out for Rome, on the advice of the keeper of the sacred chickens, to take the auspices afresh, warned the master of the horse to remain in his position, and not to engage in battle with the enemy while he himself was absent. [3] when Quintus Fabius had ascertained from his scouts — after the departure of the dictator — that [4] the enemy were in all respects as careless and unguarded as if there had been not a single Roman in Samnium, whether it was that the spirited

young man felt aggrieved that all power should seem to be vested in the dictator, or that lie was tempted by the opportunity of striking a successful blow, he put the army in fighting trim, and advancing upon a place they call Imbrinium, engaged in a pitched battle with the Samnites. [5] this engagement was so fortunate that no greater success could have been gained, had the dictator been present; the general failed not his men, nor the men their general. [6] The cavalry, too — at the suggestion of Lucius Cominius, a tribune of the soldiers — after charging a number of times without being able to break the enemy's lines, pulled the bridles off their horses and spurred them on so hotly that nothing could resist the shock, and arms and men went down before them over a wide front. [7] The foot soldiers, following up the cavalry charge, advanced on the disordered enemy, of whom it is said that twenty thousand were slain that day. i find it stated by certain writers that Quintus Fabius twice fought the enemy while the dictator was absent, and twice gained a brilliant victory. The oldest historians give but this one battle, and in certain annals the story is omitted altogether.

[8] The master of the horse found himself, after so great a slaughter, in possession of extensive spoils. he piled the enemy's arms in a great heap, applied a torch to them, and burnt them. [9] this may have been done in fulfilment of a vow to one of the gods, or — if one chooses to accept the account of Fabius — to prevent the dictator reaping the harvest of his glory and inscribing his name on the arms, or having them carried in his triumph. [10] a dispatch, too, reporting the victory, which Fabius sent to the senate and not to the dictator, argues that he had no mind to share the credit with him. at all events, the dictator so received the news, that while everyone else was rejoicing at the victory, he showed no uncertain signs of anger and discontent. [11] and so, having hastily dismissed the senate, he rushed out of the Curia, repeatedly asserting that in that battle the master of the horse had defeated and overthrown the prestige of the dictatorship and military discipline not less decisively than the Samnite legions, should it end in his having flouted orders with impunity. [12] and so lie set out for the camp, breathing wrath and menaces; but though he travelled by exceedingly long stages, he was unable to arrive before the report of his being on the way. [13] for

couriers had hastened from the City, bringing word that the dictator was coming, athirst for vengeance and praising with almost every other word the deed of Titus Manlius.

31. Fabius at once convened an assembly of the soldiers, and reminding them how their bravery had saved the state from the most determined of enemies, conjured them to be no less brave in defending him — under whose command and auspices they had gained the victory — from the ungovernable wrath of the dictator. [2] he was coming, said Fabius, crazed with jealousy, and exasperated that another should have been both brave and fortunate; it enraged him that the state should have won a glorious victory in his absence; he would prefer — could he effect a change of fortune — that [3] the Samnites and not the Romans had been the victors; he repeatedly declared that his authority had been despised, as though his orders against fighting had not been inspired by the same motive as was his grief over the battle! [4] on the former occasion envy had made him wish to thwart the bravery of others; he would have stripped the most willing of soldiers of their arms, that they might be unable to use them in his absence. at present his rage and resentment were due to this, that his troops, though lacking the help of Lucius Papirius, had lacked neither swords nor hands to wield them, and that Quintus Fabius had regarded himself as master of the horse, and not as the dictator's orderly. [5] what would he have done, had the chances of war and the common lot of armies resulted in defeat? despite the conquest of the enemy and a campaign so well directed that not even his own peerless leadership could have bettered it, he was now threatening the master of the horse with punishment, victorious though he was. [6] for that matter, he was no angrier with the master of the horse than with the tribunes of the soldiers, the centurions, and the men. had he been able, he would have vented his rage upon them all: this being imposible, he was pouring it out on one. [7] The truth is that envy, like lightning, seeks out the highest places; he was hurling himself upon the head of their counsels, upon their general; should he succeed in destroying Fabius, and with him the glory of their achievement, he would then follow up his victory — as though lording it over a captured army — and would visit upon the soldiers all the cruelty he had been permitted to inflict upon the master of the

horse. [8] let them defend, he cried, the liberty of all by defending him. if that same singleness of purpose which the army had displayed in battle should appear in the way they stood up for their victory and made one man's safety the safety of them all, the dictator would incline his heart to a more merciful determination. [9] he ended by committing himself, his life, and his fortunes to their loyalty and valour.

32. a shout arose from the whole concourse, bidding him be of good courage; no one, they cried, should do him violence, while the Roman legions were safe.

not long after came the dictator, and forthwith by sound of trumpet summoned an assembly. [2] then a herald, having obtained silence, cited Quintus Fabius the master of the horse, who was no sooner come up from below to the tribunal, than the dictator cried out: [3] "i ask you, Quintus Fabius, seeing that the dictator's authority is paramount, and the consuls obey him, though they possess the might of kings, and the praetors, too, who have been elected under the same auspices with the consuls, whether or no you deem it to be reasonable that the master of the horse should hearken to his word; [4] and I put this further question to you — whether, when I knew that I had set out from home with uncertain auspices, it was my duty, in view of our troubled relations with the gods, to jeopardize the public safety, or to seek auspices again, that I might take no steps while the will of Heaven was in doubt; [5] and I likewise ask whether that which a religious scruple has prevented the dictator from doing can be freely and unrestrainedly undertaken by the master of the horse. but why do I put these questions, since, had I gone off without a word, nevertheless your thoughts should have been directed to the interpretation of my will? [6] come, answer me: Did I forbid you to take any measures in my absence? did I forbid you to engage the enemy? [7] but you spurned this order; and notwithstanding the uncertainty of the auspices and our uneasy scruples, you had the hardihood, against all military precedent, and the discipline of our fathers, and the divine will of the gods, to encounter with the enemy. [8] answer these questions I have put to you; but have a care that you utter no word besides' Stand ready, lictor."

to answer the separate indictments was far from easy. [9] now

complaining that the same man was his accuser and his judge in a matter of life and death, and again crying out that he could more easily be robbed of his life than of the glory of his deeds, he defended himself [10??] and accused the general by turns, until Papirius in a fresh burst of anger bade them strip the master of the horse and make ready rods and axes. [11] then Fabius, imploring the protection of the soldiers, escaped from the clutches of the lictors with his clothes in tatters, and sought refuge in the midst of the *triarii*, who were stirring up riot in the rear of the assembly.

[12] thence the outcry spread to the entire host. in one place were heard entreaties, in another threats. those who chanced to be standing next to the tribunal, and being under the general's eyes were able to be marked by him, implored him to spare the master of the horse, and not condemn the army with him. [13] those in the outskirts of the meeting, and the crowd that surrounded Fabius, railed at the dictator's cruelty, and were near to mutiny. [14] not even the tribunal itself was quiet; the lieutenants, standing about the dictator's chair, besought him to put the matter off until the morrow and allow time for consideration and for his anger to cool; [15] he had sufficiently chastened the youth of Fabius, they said, and discredited his victory; it would not be well to carry out his punishment to the end, nor to fasten such humiliation upon a young man of extraordinary merit, nor on that most distinguished man, his father, and the Fabian family. [16] finding that neither prayers nor arguments did any good, they bade him look at the turmoil in the assembly; when the passions of the soldiers were so overwrought, it was not, they said, for one of his years and discretion to furnish fuel to the flames of mutiny; [17] no one would ascribe the fault to Quintus Fabius — who was but deprecating his own punishment — but all would blame the dictator, if, blinded with resentment, he should bring down the angry multitude upon himself by an ill — judged contention. [18] finally, that he might not suppose that they argued thus out of any personal regard for Fabius, they were ready, they said, to take an oath that it appeared to be inconsistent with the interests of the state that Quintus Fabius should then be punished.

33. but the lieutenants by these words rather stirred up the wrath of the dictator against themselves than lessened his rancour against the

master of the horse, and he ordered them to go down from the tribunal. [2] he then sought by the mouth of a herald to procure silence, but without success, for the din and uproar were so great that it was impossible for the dictator himself or his attendants to be heard; [3] and it was left for darkness, as though descending on a battle — field, to end the struggle.

[4] The master of the horse was commanded to appear next day; but since everyone assured him that Papirius would be more violent than ever, aroused as he was and exasperated by the opposition he had met with, he slipped out of the camp and fled to Rome. [5] there, with the approval of his father, who had thrice been consul, and dictator to boot, he at once assembled the senate, and had reached, in his speech to the senators, the very point where he was complaining of the violence and injury offered him by the dictator, when a sudden noise was heard outside the Curia, as the lictors cleared the way, and Papirius himself, in high dudgeon, appeared before them; [6] for he had learned of the other's departure from the camp, and taking a troop of light horse had pursued him. [7] The dispute was now renewed, and the dictator ordered Fabius to be seized. both the leading members and the senate as a body sought to pacify his wrath; but he would not relent, and persisted in his purpose. [8] then the father of the young man said: "inasmuch as neither the senate's authority nor my old age — which you are going about to bereave — nor the merits and noble lineage of a master of the horse whom you yourself appointed, are of any weight with you, nor yet entreaties, which have often moved an enemy to mercy, which can persuade the gods to put away their anger, — I invoke the tribunes of the plebs, and appeal to the people; and since you would shun the judgment of your own army and shun the judgment of the senate, I propose to you a judge that singly has more might and power — be well assured — than has your dictatorship. [9] we shall see whether you will submit to an appeal to which a Roman king, Tullus Hostilius, submitted!"

[10] leaving the senate — house, they repaired to the speaker's platform, which the dictator mounted with only a few attendants, while the master of the horse was accompanied thither by the whole body of the leading men. [11] then Papirius bade Fabius be removed from the Rostra to the ground below; and his father followed him,

exclaiming, “you do well to bid us be removed to a place where even as private citizens we can say our say!” [12] at first there were not so much set speeches to be heard above the tumult as an interchange of angry words. [13] but presently the strong voice and the indignation of the elder Fabius prevailed over the din, as he inveighed against the pride and cruelty of Papirius. he reminded him that he too had been dictator at Rome, and that no man — not even a plebeian, a centurion, or a common soldier — had [14] been misused by him; but Papirius was seeking a victory and triumph over a Roman general, as if over commanders of the enemy. how great was the difference betwixt the moderation of the ancients and this new — fangled arrogance and ruthlessness! [15] when Quinctius Cincinnatus had been dictator, and had rescued the consul Lucius Minucius from the toils of the enemy, his anger had gone no further than to leave Minucius in command of the army as his lieutenant, in place of being consul. [16] Marcus Furius Camillus, when Lucius Furius, in contempt of his great age and his authority, had fought a battle, with the direst results, not only controlled his indignation at the moment and made no animadversions upon his colleague in writing to the senate or the people, but, on being permitted by the senate, after his return, to choose a partner in command, selected Lucius Furius in preference to all the other consular tribunes, his associates. [17] as to the people, who had all power in their hands, their indignation against those who by recklessness or lack of skill had lost their armies had never burned so fiercely that they punished them with anything worse than a fine; a capital charge on account of a defeat had never until that day been lodged against a general. [18] but now the generals of the Roman People, who even if beaten might not be so dealt with without sin, were, despite their victories and their well — earned title to a triumph, being threatened with scourging and decapitation. [19] what, pray, would his son have suffered, if he had lost his army, if he had been discomfited, routed, and driven from his camp? to what higher pitch could the passionate violence of Papirius have mounted than to scourge him and put him to death? [20] how proper it was that because of Quintus Fabius the citizens should exult in victory with thanksgivings and rejoicings; while he on whose account the shrines of the gods were open, and the altars smoked with sacrifices and

were heaped high with incense and with offerings, should be stripped [21??] and mangled with rods in full sight of the Roman People, as he looked up to the Capitol and the Citadel and the gods whose help in battle he had twice invoked, and not in vain! [22] in what spirit would this be taken by the army, which under his conduct and his auspices had gained the victory? what grief would there be in the Roman camp, what rejoicings amongst their enemies!

[23] so he made his plea, now chiding and now complaining, now calling on gods and men to help him, now bursting into tears, as he embraced his son.

34. on his side were ranged the countenance of the senate, the favour of the populace, the assistance of the tribunes, the remembrance of the absent army. [2] his opponent urged the invincible authority of the Roman People, and military discipline, and the edict of a dictator — which had ever been revered as the will of Heaven — and the severity of Manlius, who had preferred the general good to the love he bore his son, even as Lucius Brutus, the founder of Roman liberty, had done before, in the case of his two children. [3] but nowadays — the dictator proceeded — fathers were indulgent; and the older generation, little caring if another man's authority were flouted, excused the young for overturning military discipline, as a thing of no importance. [4] he should nevertheless persist in his undertaking, nor remit an iota of his due punishment to one who had fought against his orders, while the rites of religion were confused and the auspices uncertain. [5] whether the majesty of the supreme authority were to endure or not was beyond his power to determine; but Lucius Papirius would do nothing to diminish it. [6] he prayed that the tribunes might not employ their power — itself inviolate — to violate by their interference the authority of Rome; that the people might not single out the very time of his holding that office to extinguish the lawful might of the dictatorship. [7] should they do so, it would not be Lucius Papirius, but the tribunes and the crooked judgment of the people, that posterity would censure, and censure without avail. [8] for let military discipline be once broken, and soldier would not obey centurion, nor centurion tribune, nor tribune lieutenant, nor lieutenant consul, nor master of the horse dictator — none would have respect for men, none reverence for the

gods; [9] neither edicts of generals nor auspices would be regarded; the soldiers, without leave, would roam in hostile as in peaceful territory; with no thought of their oath they would quit the service by their own permission, when they pleased; [10] the standards would be deserted, the men would not come together at command; they would fight without reference to night or day, to the advantage or disadvantage of the ground, to the orders or prohibition of the general; they would neither wait for the word nor keep to their ranks; blind and haphazard brigandage would supplant the time — honoured and hallowed ways of war. [11]— “on such charges, tribunes of the plebs, expose yourselves to be arraigned through all the ages! let your own heads bear the guilt of the licence of Quintus Fabius!”

35. The tribunes were dumbfounded, more troubled now on their own account than on his, for whom their help was being solicited; but the Roman People relieved them of their burden of responsibility, when they turned as one man to the dictator, and entreated and adjured him to remit for their sake the punishment of the master of the horse. [2] The tribunes, too, fell in with the prevailing mood, and earnestly besought Papirius to allow for human frailty, to allow for the youth of Quintus Fabius, who had suffered punishment enough. [3] now the young man himself, now his father Marcus Fabius, forgetting all contention, threw themselves down at the dictator’s knees and attempted to avert his anger. [4] then said the dictator, when silence was obtained, “it is well, Quirites. The discipline of war, the majesty of government, have got the victory, despite the danger that this day would see the end of them. [5] Quintus Fabius is not found guiltless, seeing that he fought against the orders of his general; but, convicted of that guilt, is granted as a boon to the Roman People, is granted to the authority of the tribunes, who plead for him but can bring him no legal relief. [6] live, Quintus Fabius, more blest in this consent of your fellow citizens to save you, than in the victory over which, a little while ago, you were exulting! live, though you dared a deed which not even your sire would have pardoned, had he been in the place of Lucius Papirius! [7] with me you shall again be on good terms when you will; for the Roman People, to whom you owe your life, you can do nothing greater than to show that you have learned

what this day clearly teaches — to submit in war and in peace to lawful authority.” [8] then, declaring that the master of the horse was free to depart, he descended from the platform, and the joyful senators and yet more joyful people thronged about them and attended them, congratulating now the master of the horse and now the dictator. [9] it seemed that the peril of Fabius had been not less efficacious than the pitiful punishment of young Manlius in the establishment of military authority.

[10] it so fell out that year, that as often as the dictator left the army, there was a rising of the enemy in Samnium. but with the example of Quintus Fabius before his eyes, Marcus Valerius, the lieutenant who commanded in the camp, could not fear any violence of the enemy more than the dread displeasure of the dictator. [11] and so when a party of foragers had fallen into an ambush and fighting at a disadvantage had been slain, it was commonly believed that the lieutenant might have rescued them, had he not quailed at the thought of those harsh orders. [12] their resentment of this still further estranged the soldiers from the dictator, angry as they already were at his unwillingness to pardon Quintus Fabius, and his having granted to the Roman People a boon he had denied to their own entreaties.

36. when the dictator had set Lucius Papirius Crassus over the City and had forbidden Quintus Fabius, the master of the horse, to exercise his magistracy in any way, he returned to the camp, where his arrival occasioned no great satisfaction to the Romans nor the slightest apprehension to their enemies. [2] for on the following day, whether unaware that the dictator was come or caring little whether he were there or not, the Samnites formed in order of battle and approached the camp. [3] so great however was the importance of one man, Lucius Papirius, that if the goodwill of the soldiers had seconded the measures taken by their general, it was held as certain that the war with Samnium might that day have been brought to a successful termination — so [4] skilfully did he dispose his army, so well secure it with every advantage of position and reserves, and with every military art. but the men were listless, and, on purpose to discredit their commander, threw away the victory. there were more Samnites killed, more Romans wounded. [5] The experienced general perceived what stood in the way of his success: he must qualify his

native disposition, and mingle geniality with his sternness. [6] so, calling together his lieutenants, he made the round of his wounded soldiers in person, and putting his head into their tents and asking each how he was doing, he commended them by name to the care of the lieutenants, the tribunes, and the prefects. [7] this of itself was a popular thing to do, and Papirius managed it with such tact, that in healing their bodies he gained their affections much more rapidly; and indeed there was nothing that more promoted their recovery than the pleasurable feelings with which they accepted these attentions. [8] when the army was restored, he met the enemy, with no doubt as to the result, either on his own part or on that of his soldiers, and so routed and dispersed the Samnites that this was the last time they joined battle with the dictator. [9] The victorious army then marched on where the prospect of booty beckoned them, and traversed the territories of the enemy without encountering any armed resistance whatsoever, either face to face or from an ambush. [10] The dictator had increased the alacrity of his troops by proclaiming that the booty should all be theirs, and private gain did as much as the public resentment to whet their zeal against the enemy. [11] discouraged by these reverses, the Samnites sought peace of Papirius, and agreed with him to give every soldier a garment and a year's pay. [12] he directed them to go before the senate, but they replied that they would attend him thither, committing their cause wholly to his honour and integrity. so the army was withdrawn from Samnium.

37. The dictator, having entered the City in triumph, would have laid down his office, but was commanded by the senate first to hold a consular election; he announced that Gaius Sulpicius Longus had been chosen for the second time, together with Quintus Aemilius Cerretanus. [2] The treaty was not completed, owing to a disagreement over terms, and the Samnites left the City with a truce for a year; nor did they scrupulously hold even to that; so encouraged were they to make war, on learning that Papirius had resigned.

[3] in the consulship of Gaius Sulpicius and Quintus Aemilius — some annals have Aulius — the defection of the Samnites was followed by a new war with Apulia. armies were sent out in both directions. [4] The lots assigned the Samnites to Sulpicius, the Apulians to Aemilius. some say that the war was not waged against

the Apulians, but in defence of some of the allies of that people whom the Samnites had wantonly invaded; [5] but the circumstances of the Samnites, who at that time could hardly ward off invasion from themselves, render it more probable that they did not attack the Apulians but that they and the Apulians were at war with Rome simultaneously. [6] there was, however, no memorable engagement. The Romans laid waste Apulia and Samnium, without encountering the enemy in either country.

at Rome a nocturnal alarm awoke the sleeping citizens with such a fright that Capitol and Citadel, walls and gates, were crowded with armed men; and after all the hurrying to posts and crying "to arms!" [7] in every quarter, day broke and discovered neither author nor occasion of the panic.

in the same year, the Tusculans were tried before the people in accordance with the Flavian rogation. [8] Marcus Flavius, a plebeian tribune, had proposed to the people that the Tusculans be punished for having lent their countenance and aid to the Veliterni and Privernates in their war with the Roman People. [9] The citizens of Tusculum, with their wives and children, came to Rome; and the great throng, putting on the sordid raiment of defendants, went about amongst the tribes and clasped the knees of the citizens in supplication. [10] and so it happened that pity was more effective in gaining them remission of their punishment than were their arguments in clearing away the charges. [11] all the tribes rejected the proposal, save only the Pollian, which voted that the grown men should be scourged and put to death, and their wives and children sold at auction under the laws of war. [12] it seems that the resentment engendered in the Tusculans by so cruel a proposal lasted down to our fathers' time, and that a candidate of the Pollian tribe almost never got the vote of the Papirian.

38. in the following year, when Quintus Fabius and Lucius Fulvius were consuls, the dread of a serious war with the Samnites — who were said to have gathered an army of mercenaries from neighbouring tribes — occasioned the appointment of Aulus Cornelius Arvina as dictator and Marcus Fabius Ambustus as master of the horse. [2] by a vigorous levy these men raised an excellent army, and marching against the Samnites, went into camp on hostile

soil with as little regard to their position as if the enemy had been far away. suddenly the Samnite legions appeared, and advancing with great hardihood entrenched themselves close to the Roman outposts. [3] night was now drawing on, which prevented them from assaulting the Roman works; but they made no secret of their intention to do so with the morrow's earliest light. [4] The dictator saw that the battle was coming sooner than he had anticipated, and feared that the courage of his men would be affected by their cramped position. so, leaving behind him numerous fires to deceive the enemy, he silently led the legions out. but the camps were so near each other that he could not elude their observation. [5] their cavalry at once pursued him, but though they hung upon the fringe of his column, they refrained from attacking until the day began to break; as for the infantry, they did not even leave their stockade before the dawn. [6] finally, when it was light, the cavalry ventured to charge the Romans, and by harassing their rear and pressing them when they came to places that were difficult to cross, delayed their march. [7] meanwhile the foot had caught up with the horse, and the Samnites were throwing all their forces into the assault. then the dictator, finding that he could make no headway without great distress, gave orders to lay out a camp on the very spot where he had halted. but enveloped, as they were, by the enemy's horse, it was impossible to gather stakes and begin the work.

[8] and so, when he saw that he could neither advance nor encamp, he removed the baggage from his column and formed a line of battle. The enemy then formed up against him, being inferior neither in spirit nor in strength. [9] their encouragement was due chiefly to ignorance that their enemies had retreated from an awkward position, and not from them; for they assumed that their own doughty appearance had driven the Romans before them in a panic. [10] this held the fighting in balance for a while, though the Samnites had now for some time been unused to abide the battle — cry of a Roman army. indeed it is said that on that day from the third hour to the eighth the outcome was so much in doubt, that there was never a second cheer after that which was once given when the armies rushed together; nor were standards either moved forward or withdrawn; nor did the combatants anywhere give ground. [11] facing each other with

every man squarely in his place, they pressed forward with their shields and fought without stopping to breathe or to look behind. The monotonous din and changeless tenor of the battle made it seem probable that sheer exhaustion or the night would put an end to it. [12] and now men's strength was ebbing, and the sword was forgetting its keenness and the generals their strategy; — when the Samnite horsemen, learning from one of their squadrons that had pushed on ahead how the baggage of the Romans lay remote from their fighting men, without defenders or a rampart to protect it, were seized with the lust of pillaging, and made a sudden dash for it. [13] but when a frightened messenger brought word of this to the dictator, he said, “only let them cumber themselves with spoil!” after that came others and still others, crying aloud that the soldiers' possessions were being plundered and carried clean away. [14] then Cornelius called the master of the horse and said, “do you not see, Marcus Fabius, how the enemy's cavalry have ceased to fight? [15] they are caught fast and entangled in our baggage. have at them while they are dispersed, as any body of men will be in pillaging! you shall find few in the saddle, few sword in hand; while they are loading themselves and their horses with spoils, cut them down unarmed and make it a bloody booty for them. [16] i will see to the legions and the battle of the infantry; be yours the glory of the cavalry fight.”

39. The cavalry, drawn up in the most perfect order, charged their scattered and embarrassed enemies and cut them down on every hand. [2] they had hastily flung aside their packs — which lay all about and impeded the terrified horses as they tried to run away — and, powerless either to resist or to escape, were massacred where they stood. [3] then Marcus Fabius, having almost annihilated the enemy's cavalry, fetched a short compass with his squadrons and attacked from behind their line of infantry. [4] The shouts that were now heard in that quarter struck terror into the hearts of the Samnites; and the dictator, seeing the men in their fighting line glance nervously behind them, and their standards become disordered, and their line begin to waver, then cried out to his men, then urged them on, and called by name on tribunes and company — commanders to join him in a new attack. [5] with a fresh cheer the ranks pressed forward, and at each advance perceived the Samnites

to be more and more confused. [6] The horse themselves could now be seen by those in the van; and Cornelius, looking back on the maniples of soldiers, made them understand as best he could with hand and voice that he saw the banners and round shields of their comrades. [7] on hearing and at the same time seeing them, they straightway forgot the toil they had endured for well — nigh the entire day, and forgot their wounds, and, like troops who were but that moment fresh from camp and had received the battle — signal, they flung themselves upon the enemy. [8] The Samnites could support no longer the fury of the cavalry and the violent onset of the foot; some were slaughtered in the midst, others were scattered abroad in flight. [9] The foot — soldiers surrounded those who resisted and put them to the sword; the cavalry made havoc of the fugitives, amongst whom perished their general himself.

[10] this defeat, after all that had gone before, so broke the spirit of the Samnites, that in all their councils they began to murmur that it was no wonder if they met with no success in an impious war, undertaken in violation of a treaty, for the gods had even more right than men to be incensed with them. [11] they would have to pay a heavy price to expiate this war and atone for it; the only question was, should they offer atonement with the blood of the guilty few or with that of the innocent multitude? some ventured at this juncture to name those who had been responsible for the war. [12] one name in particular could be distinguished; for all agreed in denouncing Papius Brutulus, a powerful noble who had without question been the breaker of the latest truce. [13] The praetors were compelled to refer his case to the council, which decreed that Papius Brutulus should be surrendered to the Romans, and that all the Roman booty and all the prisoners should be sent with him to Rome; and further, that all the property which the fetials had sought to recover under the provisions of the treaty should be restored in compliance with law and with religion. [14] The fetials proceeded to Rome, in accordance with this resolution, taking with them the lifeless body of Brutulus, who had escaped the humiliation and punishment by a voluntary death. [15] it was voted to surrender his goods also with his body. but of all these things the Romans would accept none but the prisoners and such articles of booty as they recognized as theirs; the surrender of all the

rest was of no effect. The dictator triumphed by resolution of the senate.

40. some writers hold that this war was waged by the consuls, and that it was they who triumphed over the Samnites; they say that Fabius even advanced into Apulia and thence drove off much booty. [2] but that Aulus Cornelius was dictator in that year is not disputed, and the doubt is only whether he was appointed to administer the war, or in order that there might be somebody to give the signal to the chariots at the Roman Games — since [3] the praetor, Lucius Plautius, happened to be very sick — and whether, having discharged this office, which is, to be sure, no very noteworthy exercise of power, he resigned the dictatorship. it is not easy to choose between the accounts or the authorities. [4] The records have been vitiated, I think, by funeral eulogies and by lying inscriptions under portraits, every family endeavouring mendaciously to appropriate victories and magistracies to itself — a practice which has certainly wrought confusion in the achievements of individuals and in the public memorials of events. [5] nor is there extant any writer contemporary with that period, on whose authority we may safely take our stand.

SUMMARY OF BOOK VIII.

THE Latins and Campanians revolted, and sending envoys to the senate proposed as a condition of peace that one of the two consuls should be chosen from the Latins. after delivering these terms, their praetor Annius fell from the Capitol, and so lost consciousness. Titus Manlius the consul had his son beheaded, because he had fought — albeit successfully — against the Latins in defiance of his edict. in a battle which was going against the Romans, Publius Decius, who was then consul, along with Manlius, devoted himself in behalf of the army, and having spurred his horse among the enemy, was slain, and by his death restored the victory to the Romans. The Latins surrendered. Titus Manlius, returning to the City, was met by none of the young men. Minucia, a Vestal virgin, was convicted of unchastity. The Ausonians were defeated; and their town being taken

from them, the colonies of Cales and Fregellae were established. a number of matrons were discovered to be guilty of poisoning, of whom very many drank off at once the drugs they had prepared, and died. a law about poisoning was then for the first time enacted. The Privernates, having gone to war, were defeated and given citizenship. The Neapolitans were beaten in war and in a siege, and made submission. Quintus Publilius, who had besieged them, was the first to have his authority extended and to be granted a triumph as proconsul. The plebs were relieved of imprisonment for debt on account of the lust of Lucius Papirius, a creditor, who had sought to violate the chastity of his debtor, Gaius Publilius. when Lucius Papirius Cursor the dictator had returned from the army to the City in order to renew the auspices, Quintus Fabius, the master of the horse, tempted by the opportunity for a successful action, fought the Samnites, against orders, and gained a victory. for this reason it appeared that the dictator would punish the master of the horse; but Fabius fled to Rome, and though his cause was weak, was begged off by the people. The book also contains victories over the Samnites.

BOOK IX

Translated by B. O. Foster

1. IN the following year came the Caudine Peace, the notorious sequel of a disaster to the Roman arms. [2] Titus Veturius Calvinus and Spurius Postumius were consuls. The Samnites had that year for their general Gaius Pontius, whose father Herennius far excelled them all in wisdom, while the son was their foremost warrior and captain. [3] when the envoys who had been dispatched to make restitution returned without having achieved a peace, Pontius said: "you must not think that this embassy has been of no avail: whatever divine resentment we incurred by breaking the treaty has been appeased. [4] well do I know that whatever gods desired that we might be compelled to restore the spoils which had been demanded again of us in accordance with the treaty did not desire that our expiation of the treaty should be so scornfully rejected by the Romans. [5] for what more could have been done to mollify the gods and to placate men than we have done? The goods of the enemy which we had taken as booty, and regarded as our own by the laws of war, we restored to them; [6] the authors of the war, whom we could not surrender living, we surrendered dead; their possessions — that no guilt might remain with us from touching them — we carried to Rome. [7] what more do I owe to you, Romans, or to the treaty, or to the gods, its witnesses? whom can I proffer as umpire betwixt your anger and my punishment? i refuse no nation, no private citizen. [8] but if, in dealing with the mighty, the weak are left no human rights, yet will I seek protection of the gods, who visit retribution on intolerable pride, and will beseech them that they turn their anger against those who are not content with the restitution of their own possessions, nor the heaping up in addition of [9??] other men's; whose rage is not sated with the death of the guilty, nor with the surrender of their lifeless bodies, nor with the master's goods going with that surrender — unless we yield them our blood to drink and our flesh to rend. [10] Samnites, that war is just which is necessary, and righteous are their arms to whom, save only in arms, no hope is left. [11] since, therefore, it is of the utmost

moment in the affairs of men whether what they undertake be pleasing in the sight of Heaven or whether it be offensive, be well assured that you waged your former war rather against gods than men, but that you will wage this war now threatening with the gods themselves for your leaders.”

2. having pronounced these words, as prophetic as they were encouraging, he led his army out and encamped with all possible secrecy in the vicinity of Caudium. [2] thence he dispatched in the direction of Calatia, where he heard that the Roman consuls were already in camp, ten soldiers in the guise of shepherds, with orders to graze their flocks — dispersed one here another there — at no great distance from the Romans. [3] on encountering pillagers, they were all to tell one story; namely, that the Samnite levies were in Apulia, where they were laying siege with all their forces to Luceria, and were on the point of taking it by assault. [4] this rumour, which had designedly been given out before, had already come to the ears of the Romans, but the prisoners strengthened their belief in it, especially since they all gave the same account. [5] The Romans did not hesitate about helping the Lucerini, their good and faithful allies, and preventing Apulia at the same time from a general defection in the face of instant peril: the only subject of deliberation was by what route they should march.

[6] there were two roads to Luceria. one skirted the Adriatic, and though open and unobstructed, was long almost in proportion to its safety. [7] The other led through the Caudine Forks, and was shorter, but this is the nature of the place: two deep defiles, narrow and wooded, are connected by an unbroken range of mountains on either hand; shut in between them lies a rather extensive plain, grassy and well — watered, with the road running through the middle of it; [8] but before you come to it, you must enter the first defile, and afterwards either retrace the steps by which you made your way into the place, or else — should you go forward — pass out by another ravine, which is even narrower and more difficult.

[9] into this plain the Romans debouched from the rocky gorge of one of the two passes; and advancing forthwith to the other pass, found it blocked with a barrier of felled trees and huge boulders. The enemy’s stratagem now stood revealed, and indeed a body of troops

was descried at the head of the defile. [10] The Romans thereupon hastened back to regain the road by which they had come, but found that this was likewise closed with its own barricade and armed men. at this they came to a halt, without any command, and a stupor came over the minds of all, and a strange kind of numbness over their bodies; and looking at one another — for [11] every man supposed his neighbour more capable of thinking and planning than himself — they stood for a long time motionless and silent. [12] afterwards, when they saw the tents of the consuls going up and some of the men getting out entrenching tools, although they perceived that in their desperate plight, deprived of every hope, it would be ridiculous for them to entrench [13??] themselves, nevertheless, that they might not add a fault to their misfortunes, they fell to digging — each for himself with no encouragement or command from anyone — and fortified a camp close to the water; [14] meanwhile not only did their enemies insolently scoff at them, but they jested themselves, with pathetic candour, at the futility of their works and the pains they took. [15] The dejected consuls did not even call a council, for the situation admitted neither of discussion nor of help, but the lieutenants and tribunes assembled of their own accord, and the soldiers, turning to the headquarters tent, called on their generals for help, which the immortal gods could scarce have given them.

3. night came, and found them not so much consulting as lamenting, while each murmured as his nature prompted him. “let us force the barriers of the road,” said one, “let us scale the mountains, penetrate the forests, go wherever we can carry [2??] arms, if only we may come at the enemy, whom we have now been conquering for close upon thirty years ; any field will be smooth and level to a Roman who fights against a treacherous Samnite!” [3] Another would ask: “where or by what way can we go? do we think to remove the mountains from their seat? so long as these ridges tower over you, how shall you come at the enemy? armed and unarmed, the brave and the cowardly, we are all alike captured and beaten men. The foe will not even draw his sword on us, that we may die with honour; he will end the war by sitting still.” [4] with such — like exchange of talk the night wore on, neither was there any thought of food or sleep.

even the Samnites were at a loss what course to follow in such

happy circumstances; and accordingly they agreed unanimously to dispatch a letter to Herennius Pontius, the father of their general, asking his advice. [5] this man, bowed down with years, had already withdrawn not only from military but even from civic duties; yet, despite his bodily infirmity, his mind and judgment retained their vigour. [6] when he learned that the Roman armies had been hemmed in between two defiles at the Caudine Forks, and was asked by his son's messenger for his opinion, he advised that they should all be dismissed unscathed, at the earliest possible moment. [7] this policy having been rejected, and the messenger returning a second time to seek his counsel, he recommended that all, to the last man, be slain. [8] having received these answers, as inconsistent as the riddling responses of an oracle, the younger Pontius was among the first to conclude that his father's mind had now given way along with his failing body, but yielded to the general desire and sent for him to advise with them in person. [9] The old man made no objection; he was brought to the camp in a waggon — so the story runs — and being invited to join the council of war, spoke to such purpose as merely, without changing his opinion, to add thereto his reasons: If, he said, they adopted his first proposal — which [10] he held to be the best — they would establish lasting peace and friendship with a very powerful people by conferring an enormous benefit upon them; by adopting the other plan they would postpone the war for many generations, in which time the Roman State, having lost two armies, would not easily regain its strength; there was no third plan. [11] when his son and the other leading men pressed him to say what would happen if they took a middle course, and while letting them go unhurt imposed terms upon them by the rights of war, as upon the vanquished, "that," he answered, "is in sooth a policy that neither wins men friends nor rids them of their enemies. [12] spare, if you will, those whom you have stung to anger with humiliation; the Roman race is one that knows not how to be still under defeat. [13] whatever shame you brand them with in their present necessity, the wound will ever rankle in their bosoms, nor will it suffer them to rest until they have exacted many times as heavy a penalty of you," neither proposal was accepted, and Herennius was carried home from the camp.

4. in the other camp the Romans, finding themselves now, after many fruitless efforts to break out, in want of everything, were reduced to the necessity of sending envoys; [2] who were first to treat for an equal peace, and, if peace could not be had, to provoke the enemy to fight. [3] to them Pontius made answer, that the war was already fought and won; and since they knew not how to admit their plight, even when beaten and made prisoners, he intended to send them unarmed and with a single garment each under the yoke; [4] in all else the peace should be one of equal terms to the vanquished and the victors; for if the Romans would evacuate the Samnite territory and withdraw their colonies, Romans and Samnites should thenceforward live by their own laws in an equal alliance. [5] on these terms he was ready to conclude a treaty with the consuls; if they were any of them unacceptable, he forbade the envoys to return to him. [6] when the upshot of this embassy was made known to the Romans, they all straightway fell to groaning, and so overcome were they with sorrow that it seemed as though they [7??] could not possibly take it more to heart if they should be told that they must all die in that place.

finally, after a long silence — for the consuls were incapable of uttering a word, either for a treaty so disgraceful or against a treaty so necessary — [8] Lucius Lentulus, at that time first of the lieutenants both for his valour and his dignities, spoke as follows: “consuls, I have often heard my father say that on the Capitol he was the only man who would not have the senate ransom the City from the Gauls with gold, since their enemies, who were most indolent besiegers, had not shut them in with trench and rampart, and they were able to make a sortie, if not without great danger, yet without certain destruction. [9] but if, in like manner as they had it in their power to run down from the Capitol, sword in hand, against their enemy, even as the besieged have often sallied out against the besiegers, so we were able, whether on favourable ground or no, only to come to grips with our antagonist, I should not lack my father’s spirit in advising you. [10] i do indeed confess that it is glorious to die for one’s country, and I am ready to devote myself for the Roman People and the legions, or to throw myself into the midst of the enemy; [11] but it is here I see my country, here all the legions Rome

possesses, and unless they would rush on death to please themselves, what have they to save by dying? [12] ‘The roof — trees of the City,’ someone may say, ‘and its walls, and the multitude by whom it is inhabited.’ nay, not so! for all these are betrayed, not saved, if this army is wiped out! [13] for who shall preserve them? The unwarlike, unarmed rabble? ay, even as it preserved them from the onset of the Gauls! [14] or will they pray perhaps that an army may be sent from Veii, and a Camillus to command it? here are all our hopes and our resources, which if we save we save our country; whereas if we give these up to die, we abandon our country and betray it. [15] ‘But surrender is shameful and humiliating.’ true, but our country is so dear that we would save it by enduring shame, as we would, if need were, by our death. [16] let us submit then to that indignity, however great, and obey necessity, to which even gods are not superior. go, consuls, at the cost of arms redeem the City which your sires paid gold to redeem.”

5. The consuls then went to confer with Pontius. The victor proposed a treaty, but they declared that a treaty could not be made without the authorization of the people, nor without fetials and the rest of the customary ceremonial. [2] consequently the Caudine Peace was not entered into by means of a treaty, as people in general believe and as Claudius actually states, but by a guarantee. for what need would there have been for guarantors or for hostages in a treaty, where the agreement is concluded with a prayer that the nation responsible for any departure from the recited terms may be smitten by Jupiter even as the swine is smitten by the [4] fetials? The guarantors were the consuls, the lieutenants, the quaestors, and the tribunes of the soldiers, and the names of all who gave the guarantee are extant, whereas, if the agreement had been entered into as in making a treaty, none would be preserved except those of the two [5] fetials; and because of the inevitable postponement of the treaty, hostages were also required to the number of six hundred knights, whose lives were to be forfeit if the Romans should fail to keep the [6] terms. a time was then set for the delivery of the hostages and the dismissal of the army without their arms.

fresh lamentations broke out in the camp when the consuls returned; and the men could hardly keep from laying violent hands

on those through whose rashness they had been led into that place, and through whose cowardice they were now to depart more shamefully than they had [7] come. they bethought them how they had been unprovided either with guides or with patrols, but had been driven blindly, like wild beasts, into a [8] trap. they looked at one another; they gazed on the arms that they must presently surrender, on the right hands that would be helpless and the bodies that would be at the mercy of the [9] foe. they pictured to their mind's eye the hostile yoke, the victor's taunts, and fleeing countenance; and how they must pass unarmed between the ranks of their armed enemies, and then wend their wretched way, a pitiful band, through the cities of their allies; and finally the return to their own city and their parents, whither they themselves and their ancestors had often returned in [10] triumph. they alone had been defeated without a wound, without a weapon, without a battle; to them it had not been granted to draw the sword, nor to join in combat with the enemy; on them in vain had arms, in vain had strength, in vain had bravery been [11] bestowed.

as they uttered these complaints, the fateful hour of their humiliation came, an hour destined to transcend all anticipations in the bitterness of its [12] reality. to begin with, they were ordered to pass outside the rampart, clad in their tunics and unarmed, and the hostages were at once handed over and led off into [13] custody. next, the lictors were commanded to forsake the consuls, who then were stripped of their generals' cloaks, — a thing which inspired such compassion in those very men who a little while before had cursed them and had declared that they deserved [14??] to be given up and put to torture, that every man, forgetting his own evil case, averted his eyes from that degradation of so majestic an office, as from a spectacle of horror.

6. first the consuls, little better than half — naked, were sent under the yoke, then their subordinates were humbled, each in the order of his rank; and then, one after another, the several legions. [2] The enemy under arms stood on either side, reviling them and mocking them; many they actually threatened with the sword, and some, whose resentment of the outrage showing too plainly in their faces gave their conquerors offence, they wounded or slew outright.

[3] thus they were sent under the yoke, and, what was almost harder to bear, while their enemies looked on. on emerging from the pass, although they seemed like men raised from the dead, who beheld for the first time the light of day, yet the very light itself, which allowed them to see that dismal throng, was gloomier than any death. [4] and so, although it was in their power to have made Capua before nightfall, yet, questioning the loyalty of their allies, and withheld also by shame, they threw themselves upon the ground along the roadside, not far from the city, with nothing to supply their wants. [5] when tidings of this were brought to Capua, a feeling of pity, natural to allies, overcame the ingrained arrogance of the Campanians. [6] ungrudgingly, without an instant's hesitation, they dispatched the insignia of their office to the consuls, together with arms, horses, clothing, and provisions, for the men; [7] and as they drew near Capua, the whole senate and people going forth to meet them used towards them all the rites of hospitality and every public and private courtesy. [8] yet the kindness of their allies and their friendly looks and words were so far from drawing the Romans into talk that they could not even be got to raise their eyes or look their friends and comforters in the face; [9] so constrained were they by a kind of humiliation — over and above their grief — to [10] avoid the speech and assemblages of men.

[11] on the following day, when the young nobles sent from Capua to attend them to the borders of Campania had returned, and were called into the senatehouse and questioned by the elders, they reported that they had seemed to be much more sorrowful and dejected than before: their column had marched on in silence and almost as though dumb; [12] the old Roman spirit was quite dashed; they had lost their courage with their arms; being saluted, they returned not the salutation; they responded to no questions; not a man of them had been able to open his mouth for shame, as if they still bore on their necks the yoke under which they had been sent; [13] the Samnites had won not only a famous but a lasting victory, for they had conquered, not Rome — as the Gauls had done before — but a thing which demanded far greater prowess — the Roman valour and independence. 7. such were the opinions that were spoken and listened to, and the Roman name had well — nigh [2] been given

up for lost in the council of Rome's faithful allies, when Aulus Calavius, son of Ovius, a man of famous birth and achievements and at that time venerable also for his age, asserted that the case was very different: [3] that obstinate silence, those eyes fixed on the ground and ears deaf to every consolation, that shame at looking on the light, were signs, he argued, of bosoms bursting with passionate resentment; [4] either he knew nothing of the Roman character, or that silence was destined ere long to draw from the Samnites cries and groans of anguish, and the Caudine Peace to become a far more bitter memory to Samnites than to Romans; [5] for each people would have its own native spirit wherever they might encounter, but the Samnites would not everywhere have a Caudine Pass.

by this time Rome, too, had heard of her shameful calamity. [6] The first news was that the army was entrapped; then came a gloomier report, more by reason of the disgraceful peace than because of the peril. [7] on the rumour of a blockade they had begun to hold a levy; but they afterwards gave over their measures for relief, when they learned that there had been so infamous a capitulation, and immediately, without official sanction of any sort, betook themselves with one mind to every form of mourning. [8] The booths round about the Forum were shut up, and ere proclamation could be made, all business was suspended; tunics with the broad stripe of purple were discarded, as were golden rings. [9] The citizens were almost more dejected than the army; and not only were they enraged against their generals and those who had favoured and guaranteed the peace, but they even visited their hate upon the innocent soldiers and proposed to exclude them from the City and from their homes. [10] but this flurry of resentment was dispelled by the arrival of the army, which even angry men could not but pity. [11] for they came not like men returning in safety to their homes, after all hope of them had been abandoned; but entering the City late in the day, with the bearing and looks of prisoners, they slipped away every man to his own house, and on the next and the succeeding days not one of them would look into the Forum or the streets. [12] The consuls shut themselves up in their houses and would transact no public business, except that they were forced by a senatorial decree to name a dictator to preside at the election. [13] they designated

Quintus Fabius Ambustus, with Publius Aelius Paetus to be master of the horse. [14] a flaw in their appointment occasioned the substitution in their room of Marcus Aemilius Papus, as dictator, and Lucius Valerius Flaccus, as master of the horse. however, even they did not hold an election; and because the people were dissatisfied with all the magistrates of that year, the state reverted to an interregnum. [15] The interreges were Quintus Fabius Maximus and Marcus Valerius Corvus. The latter announced the election to the consulship of Quintus Publilius Philo (for the third time) and Lucius Papirius Cursor (for the second) with the unmistakable approval of the citizens, for there were at that time no leaders more distinguished.

8. on the day of their election — for so the Fathers had ordained — they entered upon the duties of their magistracy, and having disposed of the routine resolutions, raised the question of the Caudine Peace. [2] Publilius had the fasces, and called on Spurius Postumius to speak. having risen to his feet, he said, with the same expression on his countenance as when he had been sent [3??] under the yoke, “i am not ignorant, consuls, that I have been called on first and bidden to speak because of my disgrace, and not to honour me; not as a senator, but as one charged with the guilt not only of an unlucky war but of a shameful peace. [4] however, you have not raised the question of our wrongdoing or our punishment; I will therefore attempt no defence — though it should be no difficult cause to plead before judges not unacquainted with the fortunes of men and their necessities — but will briefly formulate a motion concerning the subject you have asked us to consider. [5] my motion will bear witness whether it was myself or your legions that I spared, when I bound myself by a base, or, perhaps, a necessary pledge, — by which, however, the Roman People is not held, since it was given without the people’s authorization; nor by its terms is aught but our own persons due to the Samnites. [6] let us be given up, I propose, by the fetials, stripped and bound; let us release the people from their religious obligation, if in any such we have involved them, that no obstacle, divine or human, may block the way to a just and righteous renewal of the war. [7] meantime I move that the consuls enroll an army and arm it and lead it forth, yet without crossing the borders of the enemy, until all the ceremonies incident to our surrender shall

have been completed. [8] do you, immortal gods, I beseech and pray you, if you were not pleased that the consuls Spurius Postumius and Titus Veturius should [9??] wage a successful war with the Samnites, yet deem it enough to have seen us sent beneath the yoke, to have seen us bound by an infamous agreement, to behold. [10] us, naked and in bonds, delivered to the enemy, receiving on our own heads all the resentment of our foes; and vouchsafe to the new consuls and the Roman legions so to wage war with the Samnites, as, until our consulship, all Rome's wars were waged."

[11] when he had finished speaking, such a thrill of astonishment, and at the same time of pity for the man, ran through the senate, that at first men could hardly believe it was the same Spurius Postumius who had been the author of a peace so shameful; [12] and presently they were all compassion, to think that such a man should suffer what would be no ordinary punishment at the hands of enemies enraged by the rupture of the peace. [13] as they were all crossing over to support his motion, with nothing but praises for his heroism, Lucius Livius and Quintus Maelius, tribunes of the plebs, endeavoured for a moment to interpose their veto. [14] The people, they said, could not be freed from their obligation by surrendering *them*, unless every advantage which the Samnites had possessed at Caudium were restored to them; [15] moreover, they had merited no punishment for having preserved by their pledge of peace the army of the Roman People; nor, finally, seeing that they were sacrosanct, could they be surrendered to the enemy or violated.

9. then said Postumius: "meanwhile, surrender us, who are unconsecrate, as you may do without offence to Heaven; [2] afterwards you shall surrender also those sacrosanct ones, when once they have retired from their magistracy; but, if you should listen to me, before surrendering them you would have them scourged here in the Comitium, that they might receive in advance this extra punishment, by way of interest. [3] for when they deny that the people can be freed of their obligation by surrendering us, who is so unacquainted with the fetial law as not to be aware that they say this, more that they may not be surrendered than because the case is so? [4] and yet, Conscript Fathers, I do not dispute the fact that guarantees as well as treaties are sacred in the eyes of those who cherish honour

among men on an equal footing with obligations due to the gods; but I deny that without the people's authorization any sanction can be given which shall be binding on the people. [5] what! If the Samnites with that same arrogance with which they extorted this capitulation from us had compelled us to pronounce the solemn form of words of those who surrender cities, would you tribunes assert that the Roman People had been surrendered, and that this City, with its temples, its holy places, its bounds and waters, was become the property of the Samnites? [6] but enough of *surrender*; we are talking of a *guarantee*. how, pray, if we had guaranteed that the Roman People should forsake this City? that they should burn it? [7] that it should cease to have magistrates, a senate, laws? that it should be subject to the rule of kings? 'The gods forbid!' you say. and yet the unworthiness of the conditions cannot lessen the force of a guarantee; if there is anything for which the people can be bound, it can be bound for everything. [8] nor does it matter, either, as some are perhaps inclined to think, whether consul or dictator or praetor have given the guarantee. and this the very Samnites themselves deemed to be true, for not content with the guarantee of consuls, they obliged the lieutenants, the quaestors, and the tribunes of the soldiers to add theirs.

[9] "and let no man now demand of me why I gave this guarantee, seeing that a consul has no right so to do and that I could not pledge them a peace which was not [10??] mine to grant, nor in your behalf, who had given me no mandate. [11] there was nothing done at Caudium, Conscript Fathers, by man's wisdom: the immortal gods deprived of understanding both your commanders and the enemy's. We, on our part, took no sufficient precautions in the war: while, as for them, they threw away their ill — got victory by their ill — guided conduct, for they hardly trusted the very ground that had given them their conquest, in their haste to deprive of arms, on any terms, men born to the use of arms. [12] why, had they had their wits about them, would it have been hard, while summoning old men from home for consultation, to dispatch envoys to Rome? [13] to treat with senate and with people for a peace and covenant? it was only three days' journey to those who travel light; meantime hostilities would have been suspended, until their envoys should return from

Rome with either certain victory or a peace. [14] then, and then only, would there have been a guarantee in which our pledge was backed by the mandate of the people. but neither would you have voted one, nor should we have given it; [15] nor was it Heaven's will that the affair should have any other ending, but that they should be beguiled with a dream too joyful for their comprehension, and that our army should be extricated by the same fortune which had entrapped it; that their idle victory should evaporate in a yet idler peace, and a guarantee be proffered that should bind none but the guarantor. [16] for what negotiation, Conscript Fathers, has there been with you or with the Roman People? who can appeal to you, who can say that he has been deceived by you? can the enemy, can a fellow — citizen? [17] you have pledged nothing to the enemy, you have given no authority to make a pledge to any fellow — citizen. [18] you have therefore naught to do with us, to whom you gave no mandate, or with the Samnites, with whom you have had no dealings. The Samnites have in us guarantors who are responsible and quite competent, so far as concerns what belongs to ourselves and what we are able to deliver, namely, our persons and our lives; against these let them storm, against these direct their swords, against these make sharp their anger. [19] as for the tribunes, you must determine whether their surrender can take place at once or had better be deferred; meantime, Titus Veturius, let us, and you others, offer these caitiff heads of ours in satisfaction of our pledge, and by our suffering liberate the Roman arms."

10. both the cause itself and the speaker greatly stirred the Conscript Fathers and the others present, including even the tribunes of the plebs, who declared that they would obey the senate, and having forthwith [2??] resigned their office were delivered over to the fetials to be led with the rest to Caudium. when the senate had acted on this motion, it somehow seemed as though day had dawned upon the State. [3] Postumius was on all men's lips; they extolled him to the skies, and compared his conduct to the devotion of Publius Decius, the consul, and to other glorious deeds. [4] The state, they said, had emerged — thanks to his wisdom and his services — from a slavish peace; he was freely giving himself up to the tortures of a resentful foe, that he might make expiation for the Roman People. [5] men

thought of nothing but war and arms. [6] would ever the hour come, they asked, when they might encounter the Samnites, sword in hand?

in a city ablaze with wrath and hate, the levy was almost wholly made up with volunteers. The same soldiers were enrolled into new legions, and the army marched on Caudium. [7] before them went the fetials, who, when they had come to the gate, bade the guarantors of peace be stripped and their hands be bound behind their backs. [8] as the officer, awed by the dignity of Postumius, would have left him loosely bound, “nay, draw the thong tight,” he exclaimed, “that the surrender may be duly carried out,” then, on arriving at the assembly of the Samnites and the tribune of Pontius, Aulus Cornelius Arvina the fetial spoke as follows: [9] “whereas these men, unbidden by the Roman People of the Quirites, have guaranteed that a treaty should be ratified, and by so doing have committed an injury; to the end that the Roman People may be absolved of heinous guilt, I deliver up these men to you. [10] as the fetial spoke these words, Postumius thrust his knee into the other’s thigh, with all the force he could summon up, and proclaimed in a loud voice that he was a Samnite citizen, who had maltreated the envoy in violation of the law of nations, whereby the Romans would make war with the better right.

11. then said Pontius, “I will not receive this surrender, nor will the Samnites hold it valid. [2] and you, Spurius Postumius, if you believe in the existence of the gods, why not either reject the whole negotiation or abide by your agreement? The Samnite People is entitled to all whom it had in its power, or to peace in place of them. [3] but why do I appeal to you, who yield yourself a prisoner as honourably as you can? i appeal to the Roman People; if they repent them of the pledge that was given at the Caudine Forks, let them replace their legions in the defile where they were surrounded. [4] let no one deceive anybody; let as though it had not happened; let them resume the arms they laid down in accordance with the compact; let them go back to their camp; whatever they had on the day before the conference, let them have again; *then* let them vote for war and warlike measures, *then* let them reject the guarantee and the peace! [5] let us fight it out in those circumstances, and in those positions, which were ours before peace was mentioned; let the Roman People not blame the pledge given by the consuls, nor let us blame the

honour of the Roman People. [6] will you never, when you have been beaten, lack excuses for not holding to your covenants? you gave hostages to Porsinna — and withdrew them by a trick. you ransomed your City from the Gauls with gold — and cut them down as they were receiving the gold. you pledged us peace, on condition that we gave you back your captured legions — and you nullify the peace. and always you contrive to give the fraud some colour of [8] legality. does the Roman People not approve the preservation of its legions by a disgraceful peace? let it keep its peace, and give back the captured legions to the victor; that would be conduct worthy of its promise, its covenants, its fetial [9] ceremonies. that you, on your side, should have what you aimed at in your compact, the safety of these many citizens, but that I should not have the peace I stipulated for, when I released them, — is this the judgment which you, Aulus Cornelius, and you, fetials, render to the nations?

[10] “as for me, I will none of these whom you pretend to be surrendering, nor do I deem them to be surrendered, neither do I stand in the way of their returning, despite the wrath of all the gods, whose divinity they have made a mock, to the City which is committed by their [11] guarantee. aye, go to war, since Spurius Postumius has just now jostled the envoy with his knee! so shall the gods believe that Postumius is a Samnite — not a Roman — citizen, and that a Roman envoy has been maltreated by a Samnite, and that you, in consequence of this, have justly made war on [12] us! does it not shame you to bring forth into the light of day these mockeries of religion, and, old men and consulars as you are, to devise such quibbles to evade your promise as were scarce worthy of [13] children? go, lictor, strike their fetters from the Romans; let no man hinder them from departing when they list,” and the guarantors, released it may be from the nation’s pledge, but at all events from their own, returned from Caudium, inviolate, to the Roman camp.

12. The Samnites now perceived that instead of their domineering peace they were confronted with the renewal of a most bitter war, and not only imagined but almost saw all the consequences which afterwards proceeded from it. [2] too late and all in vain did they praise the alternative policies suggested by the aged Pontius, between which they had fallen, and exchanged a victory already in their

possession for an uncertain peace; they had let slip the opportunity both of doing good and of doing harm, and were going to fight with men whom they might permanently have removed from their path, as enemies, or have made their permanent friends. [3] and though there had so far been no battle since the Caudine Peace to give an advantage to either side, yet such a change of feeling had come about that Postumius enjoyed more fame among the Romans for his surrender than did Pontius among the Samnites for his bloodless victory; [4] and while the Romans regarded their being able to make war as certain victory, the Samnites felt that the Romans had at one and the same moment renewed the war and won it.

[5] meanwhile the Satricans revolted to the Samnites, and the colony of Fregellae, in a surprise attack by the Samnites — accompanied, it would seem, by people from Satricum — was seized during the night. [6] mutual fear then caused both sides to remain quiet until the morning, when the light ushered in a battle which for a long time was equally sustained — for the townsfolk were fighting for their hearths and altars and a throng of those unfit for arms gave them assistance from the housetops, — still, [7] the people of Fregellae held their own, until presently a ruse decided the victory; for they permitted a herald to be heard, who promised safety to any who laid down his arms. [8] The hope of this relaxed the tension of their courage and on every side they began throwing their arms away. The more determined portion of them retained their weapons and burst out by the opposite gate, and their boldness stood them in better stead than did their too credulous timidity the others; for these the Samnites compassed about with fire, and, despite their appeals to Heaven and to the promise of their captors, burnt them alive.

[9] The consuls having divided the provinces between them, Papirius took his way into Apulia towards Luceria, where the Roman knights given up at Caudium for hostages were being guarded, while Publilius stopped behind in Samnium to oppose the Caudine legions. [10] this plan distracted the minds of the Samnites, since they neither dared move towards Luceria, lest they should bring the enemy down upon their rear, nor remain where they were, for fear that Luceria would meanwhile be lost. [11] The best course seemed to be to entrust their cause to Fortune and fight it out with Publilius. they accordingly

formed up in line of battle.

13. Publilius the consul was ready to engage them, but thinking it best to encourage his soldiers first, he bade summon them to an assembly. but though they came running to the praetorium with vast alacrity, yet the outcry of those who demanded battle was so loud that the general's exhortation could not be heard; still, every man's own heart, remembering the late humiliation, was there to exhort him. [2] so they went forward into battle, urging on their standard — bearers; and, that there might be no delay in coming to grips while they were discharging their javelins and drawing their swords, they threw away their javelins, as if a signal had been given them, and, sword [3??] in hand, pushed forward at the double against the enemy. [4] no tactical skill was there employed in ranging centuries or reserves: the wrath of the soldiers swept everything along in its mad rush. and so not only were the Samnites routed, but not daring to interrupt their flight even at their camp, they dispersed and struck out for Apulia; yet they afterwards rallied again and came to Luceria in one body. [5] The same fury that took the Romans through their enemy's battle — line, carried them also into his camp. there was more bloodshed and carnage there than in the battle, and the greater part of the booty was destroyed in anger.

[6] The other army, under the consul Papirius, marching along the coast as far as Arpi, had found all peaceably disposed, more because of the wrongs done by the Samnites and the hatred they had engendered than owing to any favour shown by the Roman People. [7] for the Samnites, who in those days dwelt in villages among the mountains, used to ravage the regions of the plain and coast, despising their cultivators, who were of a softer character, and one that — as often happens — resembled their country, while they themselves were rude highlanders. [8] if this district had been faithful to the Samnites, it would either have been impossible for a Roman army to have got as far as Arpi, or the utterly barren nature of the intervening country would have destroyed them, cut off as they would have been from their supplies. [9] even as it was, when they had proceeded to the vicinity of Luceria, besiegers and besieged suffered alike from scarcity of food: everything was carried up from Arpi for the Romans, but so precarious were their supplies, that

while the foot — soldiers were busy with outpost — duty, guard — mounting, [10] and entrenching, the cavalry brought up corn for them from Arpi in leather pouches, and, now and then, encountering the enemy, were forced to throw off the corn from their horses and fight; the besieged, until the arrival of the other consul with his victorious army, had got in their provisions — and auxiliary forces too — from the mountains of the Samnites. [11] The coming of Publilius tightened up the lines; for, turning the siege over to his colleague, he was free to range the country — side, where he made things difficult for the supply — trains of the enemy. [12] The Samnites, therefore, who were encamped about Luceria, in despair of being able to endure the scarcity, if the siege continued, were obliged to gather up their forces from every quarter and give battle to Papirius.

14. at this juncture, while both sides were making ready for the struggle, came ambassadors from Tarentum, admonishing both Samnites and Romans to desist from war. whichever party should oppose the cessation of hostilities, against that they proposed to fight in behalf of the other. [2] after listening to these envoys, Papirius, as though moved by what they said, replied that he would consult his colleague. having sent for Publilius, he employed every moment of the interval in making his preparations, and when he had conferred with him about a matter which admitted of no doubt, displayed the battle — signal. [3] The consuls were busy with matters pertaining to gods and to men, as they are wont to be on the eve of an engagement, when the envoys from Tarentum approached them to receive their answer; [4] to whom Papirius replied, “Tarentines, the keeper of the chickens reports that the signs are favourable; the sacrifice too has been exceedingly auspicious; as you see, the gods are with us at our going into action.” [5] he then commanded to advance the standards, and marshalled his troops, with exclamations on the folly of a nation which, powerless to manage its own affairs, because of domestic strife and discord, presumed to lay down the limits of peace and war for others.

[6] The Samnites, on their side, having dismissed from their minds every anxiety regarding the war, either because they sincerely wished for peace, or because it was expedient for them to pretend that they wished it, in order to gain the support of the Tarentines, when they

beheld [7??] the Romans suddenly arrayed for battle, cried out that they would abide by the will of the Tarentines and would neither take the field nor advance beyond the rampart; [8] they had been deceived, but they chose rather to endure whatever Fortune might have in store for them than be thought to have spurned the peaceful advice of the Tarentines. [9] The consuls declared that they embraced the omen, praying that the enemy might be so minded as not even to defend his rampart. they themselves, dividing their troops between them, marched up to the earthworks of the Samnites, and attacked them at once from every side. some began to fill the trenches, others to pull up the palings and fling them into the trenches; besides their native courage they were goaded on by anger at the disgrace that rankled in their hearts. [10] forcing their way into the camp, while every man repeated that here were no Forks, no Caudium, no trackless passes, where guile had arrogantly triumphed over error, but Roman manhood, which neither rampart nor trenches could keep out, they cut down without distinction those who resisted and those who fled, the armed and the unarmed, slaves and [11??] freemen, adults and children, men and beasts; [12] nor would anything living have survived, had not the consuls bade sound the recall and expelled the bloodthirsty soldiers from the enemy's camp with commands and threats. [13] The men were incensed at the interruption of their sweet revenge, and accordingly the consuls at once addressed them and explained that they had neither yielded nor meant to yield to any of the soldiers in hatred of the enemy; [14] on the contrary, they would have led the way, as in war, so in the exaction of endless vengeance, had their indignation not been checked by thoughts of the six hundred knights who were being held as hostages in Luceria; [15] but they feared that the enemy, if they despaired of quarter, might be driven blindly to put their prisoners to death, choosing to slay before they were slain themselves. [16] These arguments the men applauded, and rejoiced that their wrath had been restrained; they confessed that it was better that they should suffer anything than betray the lives of so many distinguished young Romans.

15. The assembly was dismissed, and a council of war was held to determine whether they should press the siege with all their forces, or should employ one army and its general to test the dispositions of the

Apulians around them — a people whose sympathies were still in doubt. [2] The consul Publilius set out on a march through Apulia and in a single expedition either subjugated, or by granting terms, received into alliance, a goodly number of states. [3] Papirius, too, who had remained behind at Luceria to conduct the siege, soon found the outcome answerable to his hopes; for all the roads by which supplies were wont to be brought in from Samnium were blocked, and the Samnite garrison were reduced by hunger to send a deputation to the Roman consul with an offer to release the horsemen who were the cause of the war, on condition that he would raise the siege. [4] Papirius replied that they ought to have gone to Pontius, the son of Herennius, at whose instance they had sent the Romans under the yoke, to find out what the vanquished deserved to suffer; [5] however, since they preferred that their enemies should decide on a just penalty for them, rather than propose one for themselves, he bade them take word to Luceria that they should leave their arms, packs, sumpter animals, and all the noncombatants, within the walls; [6] the soldiers he intended to send under the yoke, clad only in their tunics, inflicting on them no new disgrace, but requiring that which had first been put upon the Romans. [7] they made no objection, and seven thousand men were sent under the yoke. huge spoils were captured in Luceria, and all the standards and arms which had been lost at Caudium were retaken, and, to cap the climax of their joy, the horsemen were recovered whom the Samnites had assigned, as pledges of peace, to be guarded at Luceria. [8] there is scarce any other Roman victory more glorious for its sudden reversal of fortune, especially if it is true, as I find in certain annals, that Pontius the son of Herennius, the Samnite general — in — chief, was sent with the rest under the yoke, to expiate the humiliation of the consuls.

[9] be that as it may, I am not greatly surprised that there should be some doubt as to the general of the enemy who was surrendered and disgraced; the amazing thing is the uncertainty whether it was Lucius Cornelius, as dictator — with Lucius Papirius Cursor, as master of the horse — who [10] won these victories at Caudium and subsequently at Luceria, and, because of the signal vengeance that he exacted for Rome's shame, enjoyed a triumph which I should be inclined to rate as the best — deserved of all down to that time, next

after that of Furius Camillus; or whether that honour belongs to the consuls — and particularly to Papirius. [11] this doubt is attended with another — whether at the ensuing election Papirius Cursor was retained in office in recognition of his victory at Luceria, being returned for a third time to the consulship, together with Quintus Aulus Cerretanus — then chosen for the second time — or whether it was Lucius Papirius Mugillanus, and the mistake was a matter of the surname.

16. it is agreed that from this point onwards the war was brought to a conclusion by the consuls. Aulus finished in one successful battle the campaign against the Ferentani, and having exacted hostages, received the surrender of the city itself, in which their defeated army had taken [2] refuge. with no less good fortune the other consul overcame the Satricans, who — though Roman citizens — had revolted, after the Caudine misfortune, to the Samnites, of whom they had admitted a garrison into their [3] city. for when the Roman army had drawn near the walls of Satricum, the townspeople sent ambassadors to sue humbly for peace; but the consul returned them a harsh answer: that unless they put to death the Samnite garrison or delivered it up, they must come back to him no more — a saying which struck more terror into their hearts than the threatened [4] assault. and so the envoys persisted in demanding of the consul how he supposed that they, being few and weak, could force so strong and well — armed a [5] garrison. but he bade them seek advice from those same men at whose instigation they had received the garrison into their city; and after they had with no small difficulty persuaded him to suffer them to consult their senate in the matter and report to him its decision, they went back to their [6] people. two factions kept the senate divided: one of these had for leaders the men who had inspired the revolt from Rome, the other was composed of loyal citizens; both, however, were equally anxious to accommodate the consul, so that they might be granted [7] peace. one party, seeing that the Samnite garrison was intending to escape on the following night — for they had made no preparations for enduring a siege — deemed it sufficient to let the consul know at what hour and by what gate the enemy meant to leave, and what road he planned to [8] take. The others, who had opposed going over to the Samnites, that same night

also opened a gate to the consul, and without letting the Samnites know, admitted his soldiers into the [9] city. in consequence of this double betrayal, the Samnite garrison was surprised and overpowered by an ambush laid in the woods about their road, while a shout went up in the city, which was filled with enemies. thus, in one crowded hour, the Samnites were slain and the Satricans captured, and all things brought under the power of the consul; who conducted an investigation, and, having ascertained who were responsible for the defection, had the guilty parties scourged and [10] beheaded; after which he imposed a strong garrison upon the Satricans and deprived them of their arms.

[11] Papirius Cursor then departed for Rome to celebrate his triumph, as those writers state who name him as the commander who recovered Luceria and sent the Samnites under the [12] yoke. no question, he was a man deserving of all praise as a soldier, excelling, as he did, not only in the vigour of his spirit, but in physical strength. he possessed remarkable fleetness of foot, which was even the source of his [13] surname. it is said that he vanquished all his mates at running, whether owing to the strength of his legs or to much exercise; that he had also the greatest capacity for food and [14] wine; and that no general was harder on his men, whether horse or foot, for his own constitution could never be overcome by [15] toil. it is related how his cavalymen ventured once to ask him if in view of their good conduct he would not excuse them from some portion of their duties; to whom he answered, “that you may not say that I have excused you nothing, I freely excuse you from the duty of rubbing your backs when you [16] dismount,” and the man possessed a power of command which was equally effective with citizens and allies. a Praenestine praetor had, through timidity, been somewhat slow in bringing his men up from the supports to the fighting [17] line. Papirius strolled over to the praetor’s tent and having bidden them call him out, commanded a lictor to prepare his [18] axe. hearing this the praetor stood aghast, but Papirius said to the lictor, “come, cut out this root; it is a nuisance to those who walk,” he then fined the man and let him go, half — dead with the fear of capital [19] punishment. there can be no doubt that in his generation, than which none was ever more fruitful of great qualities, there was no single

man who did more to uphold the Roman State. indeed people regard him as one who might have been a match in generalship for Alexander the Great, if the latter, after subjugating Asia, had turned his arms against Europe.

17. nothing can be thought to have been more remote from my intention, since I first set about this task, than to depart unduly from the order of events, and to aim, by the introduction of ornamental digressions, at providing as it were agreeable bypaths for the reader, and mental relaxation for myself. [2] nevertheless the mention of so great a prince and captain evokes certain thoughts which I have often silently pondered in my mind, and disposes me to enquire how the Roman State would have fared in a war with Alexander.

[3] it appears that in war the factors of chief importance are the numbers and valour of the soldiers, the abilities of the commanders, and Fortune, which, powerful in all the affairs of men, is especially so in war. [4] These factors, whether viewed separately or conjointly, afford a ready assurance, that, even as against other princes and nations, so also against this one the might of Rome would have proved invincible. [5] first of all — to begin by comparing commanders — I do not deny that Alexander was a remarkable general; still, his fame was enhanced by the fact that he was a sole commander, and the further fact that he died young, in the flood — tide of success, when as yet he had experienced no other lot. [6] not to speak of other distinguished kings and generals, illustrious proofs of human vicissitude, what else was it but length of days that exposed Cyrus, whom the Greeks exalt so high in their panegyrics, to the fickleness of Fortune? [7] and the same thing was lately seen in the case of Pompey the Great. need I repeat the names of the Roman generals, not all nor of every age, but those very ones with whom, as consuls or as dictators, Alexander would have had to fight — Marcus [8] Valerius Corvus, Gaius Marcius Rutulus, Gaius Sulpicius, Titus Manlius Torquatus, Quintus Publilius Philo, Lucius Papirius Cursor, Quintus Fabius Maximus, the two Decii, Lucius Volumnius, Manius Curius? [9] after these come some extraordinary men, if he had turned his attention to war with Carthage first and later with Rome, and had crossed into Italy when somewhat old. [10] any one of these was as highly endowed with courage and talents as was Alexander; and

military training, handed down from the very beginning of the City, had taken on the character of a profession, built up on comprehensive principles. [11] so the kings had warred; so after them the expellers of the kings, the Junii and the Valerii, and so in succession the Fabii, Quinctii, Corneli, and Furius Camillus, whom in his old age those had seen, as youths, who would have had to fight with Alexander. [12] but in the performance of a soldier's work in battle — for which Alexander was no less distinguished — Manlius Torquatus or Valerius Corvus would, forsooth, have yielded to him, had they met him in a hand — to — hand encounter, famous though they were as soldiers before ever they won renown as captains! [13] The Decii, of course, would have yielded to him, who hurled their devoted bodies upon the foe! Papirius Cursor would have yielded, with that wondrous strength of body and of spirit! [14] The counsels of a single youth would no doubt have got the better of that senate — not to speak of individual members — which was called an assembly of kings by him who before all others had a true conception of the Roman Senate! [15] and I suppose there was the danger that Alexander would display more skill than any of these whom I have named, in selecting a place for a camp, in organizing his service of supply, in guarding against ambuscades, in choosing a time for battle, in marshalling his troops, in providing strong reserves! [16] he would have said it was no Darius whom he had to deal with, trailing women and eunuchs after him, and weighed down with the gold and purple trappings of his station. him he found a booty rather than an enemy, and conquered without bloodshed, merely by daring to despise vain shows. [17] far different from India, through which he progressed at the head of a rout of drunken revellers, would Italy have appeared to him, as he gazed on the passes of Apulia and the Lucanian mountains, and the still fresh traces of that family disaster wherein his uncle, King Alexander of Epirus, had lost his life.

18. and we are speaking of an Alexander not yet overwhelmed with prosperity, which none has ever been less able to bear. [2] for viewing him in the light of his new fortune and of the new character — if I may use the expression — which [3] he had assumed as conqueror, he would evidently have come to Italy more like Darius than like Alexander, at the head of an army that had forgotten Macedonia and

was already adopting the degenerate customs of the Persians. [4] i am loath, in writing of so great a prince, to remind the reader of the ostentatious alteration in his dress, and of his desire that men should prostrate themselves in adulation, a thing which even conquered Macedonians would have found oppressive, much more than those who had been victorious; [5] of his cruel punishments and the murder of his friends as they drank and feasted; of the boastful lie about his origin. what if his love of wine had every day grown stronger? and his truculent and fiery anger? [6] i mention only things which historians regard as certain. can we deem such vices to be no detraction from a general's good qualities? but there was forsooth the danger — as the silliest of the Greeks, who exalt the reputation even of the Parthians against the Romans, are fond of alleging — that [7] the Roman People would have been unable to withstand the majesty of Alexander's name, though I think that they had not so much as heard of him; and that out of all the Roman nobles not one would have dared to lift up his voice against him, although in Athens, a city crushed by the arms of Macedonia, at the very moment when men had before their eyes the reeking ruins of the [8??] neighbouring Thebes, they dared inveigh against him freely, as witness the records of their speeches.

[9] however imposing the greatness of the man may appear to us, still this greatness will be that of one man only, and the fruits of little more than ten years of success. those who magnify it for this reason, that the Roman People, albeit never in any war, have yet suffered defeat in a number of battles, whereas Alexander's fortune was never aught but prosperous in any battle, fail to perceive that they are comparing the achievements of a man — and [10] a young man too — with those of a people that was now in its four hundredth year of warfare. [11] should it occasion us surprise if, seeing that upon the one side are counted more generations than are years upon the other, fortune should have varied more in that long time than in a life of thirteen years? [12] why not compare a man's fortune with a man's, and a general's with a general's? How many Roman generals could I name who never suffered a reverse in battle! in our annals and lists of magistrates you may run through pages of consuls and dictators of whom it never on any day repented the Roman People, whether of

their generalship or fortune. [13] and what makes them more wonderful than Alexander or any king is this: some were dictators of ten or twenty days, and none held the consulship above a year; [14] their levies were obstructed by the tribunes of the plebs; they were late in going to war, and were called back early to conduct elections; [15] in the midst of their undertakings the year rolled round; now the rashness, now the frowardness of a colleague occasioned them losses or difficulties; they succeeded to affairs which others had mismanaged, they received an army of raw recruits, or one badly disciplined. [16] now consider kings: not only are they free from all impediments, but they are lords of time and circumstance, and in their counsels carry all things with them, instead of following in their train. [17] so then, an undefeated Alexander would have warred against undefeated generals, and would have brought the same pledges of Fortune to the crisis. [18] nay, he would have run a greater risk than they, inasmuch as the Macedonians would have had but a single Alexander, not only exposed to many dangers, but incurring them voluntarily, while there would have been [19??] many Romans a match for Alexander, whether for glory or for the greatness of their deeds, of whom each several one would have lived and died as his own fate commanded, without endangering the State.

19. it remains to compare the forces on both sides, whether for numbers, or types of soldiers, or size of their contingents of auxiliaries. [2] The quinquennial enumerations of that period put the population at 250,000. And so at the time when all the Latin allies were in revolt it was the custom to enroll ten legions, by a levy which was virtually limited to the City. [3] in those years frequently four and five armies at a time would take the field, in Etruria, in Umbria (where they also fought the Gauls), in Samnium, and in Lucania. [4] later on Alexander would have found all Latium, with the Sabines, the Volsci and the Aequi, all Campania, and a portion of Umbria and Etruria, the Picentes and the Marsi and Paeligni, the Vestini and the Apulians, together with the whole coast of the Lower Sea, held by the Greeks, from Thurii as far as Naples and Cumae, and thence all the way to Antium and Ostia — all these, I say, he would have found either powerful friends of the Romans or their defeated enemies. [5] he himself would have crossed the sea with

veteran Macedonians to the number of not more than thirty thousand foot and four thousand horse — mostly Thessalians — for this was his main strength. if to these he had added Persians and Indians and other nations, he would have found them a greater burden to have dragged about than a help.

[6] add to this, that the Romans would have had recruits ready to call upon, but Alexander, [7??] as happened afterwards to Hannibal, would have found his army wear away, while he warred in a foreign land. [8] his men would have been armed with targets and spears: the Romans with an oblong shield, affording more protection to the body, and the Roman javelin, which strikes, on being thrown, with a much harder impact than the lance. [9] both armies were formed of heavy troops, keeping to their ranks; but their phalanx was immobile and consisted of soldiers of a single type; the Roman line was opener and comprised more separate units; it was easy to divide, wherever necessary, and easy to unite. moreover, what soldier can match the Roman in entrenching? who is better at enduring toil? [10] Alexander would, if beaten in a single battle, have been beaten in the war; but what battle could have overthrown the Romans, whom Caudium could not overthrow, nor Cannae? [11] nay, many a time — however prosperous the outset of his enterprise might have been — would he have wished for Indians and Persians and unwarlike Asiatics, and would have owned that he had before made war upon women, as Alexander, King of Epirus, is reported to have said, [12??] when mortally wounded, contrasting the type of war waged by this very youth in Asia, with that which had fallen to his own share.

[13] indeed when I remember that we contended against the Carthaginians on the seas for four — and twenty years, I think that the whole life of Alexander would hardly have sufficed for this single war; and perchance, inasmuch as the Punic State had been by ancient treaties leagued with the Roman, and the two cities most powerful in men and arms might well have made common cause against the foe whom both dreaded, he had been crushed beneath the simultaneous attacks of Rome and Carthage. [14] The Romans have been at war with the Macedonians — not, to be sure, when Alexander led them or their prosperity was unimpaired, but against Antiochus, Philippos, and Perses — and not only without ever suffering defeat, but even

without incurring any danger. [15] proud word I would not speak, but never — and may civil wars be silent! — never have we been beaten by infantry, never in open battle, never on even, or at all events on favourable ground: [16] cavalry and arrows, impassable defiles, regions that afford no road to convoys, may well occasion fear in heavy — armed troops. [17] a thousand battle — arrays more formidable than those of Alexander and the Macedonians have the Romans beaten off — and shall do — if only our present love of domestic peace endure and our concern to maintain concord.

20. Marcus Polius Flaccina and Lucius Plautius Venox were the next consuls. in that year came ambassadors from many Samnite states to seek a renewal of the treaty. [2] prostrating themselves before the senate, they aroused the pity of that order, but on being referred to the people found their prayers by no means so efficacious. [3] accordingly they were refused the treaty, but after some days spent in importuning individual citizens, they succeeded in obtaining a two years' truce. [4] in Apulia, likewise, the Teanenses and Canusini, exhausted by the devastation of their lands, gave hostages to Lucius Plautius the consul and made submission. [5] in the same year praefects began to be elected and sent out to Capua, after Lucius Furius, the praetor, had given them laws — both [6] steps being taken at the instance of the Capuans themselves, as a remedy for the distress occasioned by internal discord. at Rome two tribes were added, the Ufentina and the Falerna.

when affairs had once taken a turn in Apulia, the Apulian Teates also came to the new consuls, Gaius Junius Bubulcus and Quintus Aemilius Barbula, to sue for a treaty, engaging to insure the Roman People peace throughout [8] Apulia. by this bold pledge they prevailed so far as to obtain a treaty — not, however, on equal terms, but such as made them subject to the [9] Romans. after Apulia had been thoroughly subdued — for Forentum, a strong town, had also fallen into the hands of Junius — the campaign was extended to the Lucanians, from whom, on the sudden arrival of Aemilius the consul, Nerulum was taken by [10] assault. and once it had been noised abroad amongst the allies how the affairs of Capua were firmly established by Roman discipline, the Antiates, too, complained that they were living without fixed statutes and without magistrates, and the senate

designated the colony's own patrons to draw up laws for it. not Roman arms alone but also Roman law began to exert a widespread influence.

21. The consuls Gaius Junius Bubulcus and Quintus Aemilius Barbula gave over their legions, at the conclusion of the year, not to Spurius Nautius and Marcus Popilius, the consuls at whose election they had presided, but to a dictator — Lucius Aemilius. [2] The latter, with Lucius Fulvius, his master of the horse, laid siege to Saticula, and by so doing afforded the Samnites a pretext for renewing the war. [3] The Romans were thus threatened in two quarters: on the one side the Samnites, with a large army which they had mustered to relieve their besieged allies, were encamped at no great distance from the Roman camp; on the other side the Saticulani suddenly threw their gates wide open and charged pell — mell against the outposts of the Romans. [4] both hostile armies — each relying rather on the other's help than on any strength of its own — then pressed home their attack, in what soon developed into a general engagement. but the dictator, despite the twofold struggle, was protected on both fronts, since he had chosen a position that was difficult to turn, and made his maniples face opposite ways. [5] however, he attacked the sallying party with the greater fury, and, encountering no very sharp resistance, drove them back into the town. he then directed his entire line against the Samnites. [6] there was more resistance here, but though the victory was slow in coming yet it was neither dubious nor partial. The Samnites fled in disorder to their camp, and in the night, putting out their fires, they silently stole away, and relinquishing all hope of saving Saticula, themselves laid siege to Plistica, an ally of Rome, that they might pay the enemy out in their own coin.

22. when the year had come round, the conduct of the war passed without a break into the hands of the dictator Quintus Fabius. The new consuls, as their predecessors had done, remained in Rome; Fabius took new forces to replace the old, and proceeded to Saticula, to receive the army from Aemilius. [2] for the Samnites had not continued before Plistica, but, summoning fresh troops from home and confiding in their numbers, had pitched their camp on the same spot as before, and were trying to provoke the Romans into giving battle, in the endeavour to divert them from the siege. [3] this but

intensified the dictator's concentration on the enemy's walls, for he deemed the war to consist solely in the attack upon the city, and treated the Samnites with much indifference, save only that he posted out — guards to prevent their making any inroad upon his camp. [4] but this only made the Samnites the more audacious, and riding again and again up to the rampart, they gave no respite to the Romans. and now the enemy were almost in the gateway of the camp, when Quintus Aulus Cerretanus, the master of the horse, without consulting the dictator, sallied out with all his squadrons in a furious charge and drove them off. [5] at this juncture — though in a type of battle by no means marked by obstinacy — Fortune so used her powers as to bring extraordinary losses on both sides, and on the commanders themselves distinguished deaths. [6] The Samnite general first, indignant at being routed and put to flight from a position he had so boldly occupied, prevailed with his troopers by entreaties and encouragement to renew the conflict; [7] against whom, conspicuous amongst his followers as he urged them into battle, the Roman master of the horse rode such a tilt with levelled lance as at one lunge unhorsed and killed him. [8] yet the rank and file were not more dismayed by their leader's death — though it often happens so — than they were angered; and as Aulus rode recklessly on through the enemy's squadrons, all those about him darted their javelins at him. [9] but the glory of avenging the Samnite general was given by Heaven in largest measure to his brother, who, wild with grief and rage, dragged down the victorious Roman from his seat and slew him. indeed the Samnites almost got possession of the body, which had fallen in the midst of their troops. [10] but the Romans at once dismounted, and the Samnites were forced to do the same; and hurriedly forming up their lines, they began a battle on foot around the bodies of their generals, in which the Romans had easily the better. so they rescued the body of Aulus, which they bore back victoriously to their camp, with mingled feelings of sorrow and satisfaction. [11] The Samnites, having lost their commander, and having tried what they could do in a cavalry engagement, gave up Saticula, which they felt was holding out in vain, and returned to the siege of Plistica. within a few days' time Saticula had surrendered to the Romans and the Samnites had carried Plistica by assault.

23. The seat of war was now shifted, and the legions were transferred from Samnium and Apulia to Sora, which had gone over to the Samnites, after putting to death the Roman colonists. [2] The Roman army, by a series of forced marches, undertaken to avenge their slaughtered fellow — citizens and regain the colony, came first upon the ground. [3] but the scouts who had scattered out along the roads reported one after the other that the Samnite legions were following and were already close at hand. [4] whereupon the Romans marched to meet the enemy, and an indecisive battle was fought near Lautulae. [5] it was not the losses nor the rout of either army that put a stop to the engagement, but darkness, which left them uncertain if they had lost or won. [6] i find in some authorities that the Romans were defeated in this battle, and that it was here that the master of the horse, Quintus Aulus, lost his life. to fill out the term of Aulus they appointed Gaius Fabius, who marched from Rome with a fresh army. sending messengers on ahead to the dictator, he consulted him as to where he should halt, and when, and from what quarter, attack the enemy. [7] on being accurately informed regarding every detail of the dictator's plans, he halted where his army could lie concealed. [8] for some days after the battle the dictator had kept his soldiers within their works, more like one besieged than a besieger. then, suddenly, he displayed the battle — signal, and thinking it more efficacious for quickening the courage of brave men to leave none of them any hope but in himself, he concealed from his troops the arrival [9??] of the master of the horse and his new army, and, as though their only salvation lay in cutting their way through, "soldiers," he said, "we are trapped and have no way of escape save such as victory shall open to us. [10] our standing camp is sufficiently protected by its rampart, but for lack of provisions is untenable; for every place round about us from which supplies could be brought up has revolted, and even if men wished to help us, the character of the country is against it. [11] i will therefore not beguile you by leaving the camp standing here for you to make a refuge, if you fail of victory, as on the former occasion. entrenchments should be secured by arms, not arms by entrenchments. [12] let those have a camp, and retire to it, who have time to prolong the war: as for us, let us shut out all regard for everything but victory. [13] forward against the

enemy! when the column is outside the rampart, let those who have been ordered to do so fire the camp! your losses, men, shall be made good with the spoils of all the revolted peoples round about!” [14] inflamed by the dictator’s speech, which pointed to the direst necessity, the soldiers advanced upon the foe; and the mere sight of their blazing camp as they glanced back, though only the nearest tents were set afire — for so the dictator had commanded — was no small whet to their resentment. [15] and so, charging like madmen, they threw the enemy’s ranks into confusion at the first assault; and in the nick of time the master of the horse, who had seen far away the burning camp — which was the signal they had agreed upon — assaulted the enemy from behind. [16] being thus hemmed in, the Samnites fled, as each best might, in different directions; a vast throng huddled up together, in their terror, and blocking each other’s way in the confusion, were cut down where they stood. [17] The enemy’s camp was seized and plundered, and the soldiers, laden with the spoils, were led back by the dictator to the Roman camp, rejoicing not so greatly in their victory as because, contrary to their expectation, they found all safe there, except for a trifling part that had been damaged by the flames.

24. The Romans then returned to Sora; and new consuls, Marcus Poetelius and Gaius Sulpicius, took over the army from Fabius the dictator, dismissing a great part of the veteran troops and bringing in new cohorts to replace them. [2] but the city lay in a troublesome position, where the Romans could devise no very certain way of getting at it, and it seemed that victory would either be long in coming, or fraught with fearful risks; [3] when a Soran deserter stole out of the town, and picking his way to the Roman sentinels, bade them bring him immediately to the consuls. arrived in their presence, he offered to betray the city. [4] on being questioned how he could accomplish it, he satisfied his interrogators that his plan was not unfeasible, and induced them to withdraw the Roman camp — which was almost in contact with the city walls — to a distance of six miles from the town; for so, he said, the sentinels would be less vigilant in guarding the place, whether by night or day. [5] he himself on the following night, having directed certain cohorts to seek cover in the woods below the town, took with him ten picked men, whom he

conducted over steep and almost impassable ground up to the citadel. [6] here he had brought together a quantity of missiles out of all proportion to the number of men, besides which there were stones — both those which happened to be lying there, as is usual in rough country, and those which the townsmen had piled up on purpose, for the better protection of the place.

[7] on this height he posted the Romans, and, indicating to them a steep and narrow path which led up from the town to the citadel, lie said, “from an ascent like this three men would be enough to keep back a multitude, however numerous: you are not only ten, but Romans, and of Romans the very bravest. [8] you will have the advantage of position and of night, which makes everything loom greater in the eyes of frightened men, because of the obscurity. as for me, I will presently strike terror into every heart: do you hold the citadel and watch.” [9] he then ran down, making all the noise he could, as he cried “to arms!” and “help, help, my countrymen! The citadel has been taken by the enemy! defend us!” [10] These words he shouted as he knocked at the doors of the great, the same to all he met, the same to those who rushed out terrified into the streets. The panic begun by one man was spread by numbers through all the city. [11] quaking with fear, the magistrates dispatched scouts to investigate, and on hearing that armed men, in exaggerated numbers, held the citadel, relinquished all hope of regaining it. [12] The city was thronged with fugitives, and men who were hardly yet awake and most of them unarmed, began battering down the gates. through one of them rushed in the band of Romans, who had started up on hearing the outcry, and now running through the streets, cut down the frightened townsfolk. [13] Sora was already taken, when the consuls arrived at early dawn, and received the surrender of such as Fortune had spared in the rout and slaughter of the night. [14] of these, two hundred and twenty — five, who were designated on all hands as the authors of the revolt and the hideous massacre of the colonists, they sent to Rome in chains; the rest they left unharmed in Sora, only setting a garrison over them. [15] all those who were taken to Rome were scourged and beheaded in the Forum, to the great joy of the commons, whom it most nearly concerned that the people who were sent out here and there to colonies should in every case be protected.

25. The consuls on leaving Sora conducted a campaign against the lands and cities of the Ausones. [2] for everything had been disturbed by the coming of the Samnites, when the battle was fought at Lautulae, and conspiracies had been formed all about Campania. even Capua itself did not escape accusation; nay, the investigation actually led to Rome and to some of the prominent men there. [3] but the Ausones were brought into subjection by the betrayal of their cities, as had happened in the case of Sora. [4] from Ausona, from Minturnae, and from Vescia, twelve young nobles, having conspired to betray their cities, came to the consuls, and explained to them that their countrymen, after long looking forward to the coming of the Samnites, had no sooner heard of the [5??] battle at Lautulae than they had concluded the Romans vanquished and had aided the Samnites with men and arms; [6] that since the expulsion of the Samnites from that region, they had been living in an uncertain kind of peace, not closing their gates upon the Romans, lest to do so should invite attack, but determined none the less to close them in case an army should approach; and that in that wavering state of mind they could be surprised and overcome. [7] by their advice the camp was moved up nearer and soldiers were simultaneously sent round to the three towns. some of these, in armour, were to lie in ambush in places near the walls, while others, wearing the toga and concealing swords under their dress, were to enter the cities, a little before day, by the open gates. [8] These latter fell upon the watchmen, at the same time making a signal to their fellows in armour to rush in from their ambuscade. thus the gates were captured, and three towns were taken in one hour and by one device. [9] but because the leaders were not present when the attack was made, there was no limit to the slaughter, and the Ausonian nation was wiped out — though it was not quite clear that it was guilty of defection — exactly as if it had contended in an internecine war.

26. in the same year Luceria, betraying its Roman garrison to the enemy, passed into the possession of the Samnites; but the traitors did not long go unpunished for their deed. [2] not far away there was a Roman army, which captured the city — situated as it was in a plain — at the first attack. [3] The Lucerini and Samnites were shown no quarter, and resentment ran so high that even in Rome, when the

senate was debating the dispatch of colonists to Luceria, there were many who voted to destroy the town. [4] besides men's hate, which was very bitter against those whom they had twice subdued, there was also the remoteness of the place, which made them shrink from condemning fellow — citizens to an exile so far from home and surrounded by such hostile tribes. [5] however, the proposal to send colonists prevailed, and twenty — five hundred were sent.

in that year also of general disloyalty to the Romans, there were secret conspiracies of the nobles, even at Capua. [6] on their being reported to the senate, the danger was by no means minimized, but tribunals of enquiry were voted and it was determined to appoint a dictator to conduct the investigations. [7] Gaius Maenius was nominated, and named Marcus Folius master of the horse. Great was the terror inspired by that magistracy; and so, whether from fear or a guilty conscience, the Calavii, Ovius and Novius, who had headed the conspiracy, before informations could be lodged against them with the dictator, avoided trial by a death which was undoubtedly self — inflicted.

[8] after that, the field of enquiry at Capua having been exhausted, the proceedings were transferred to Rome, on the theory that the senate had ordered an investigation, not of specified individuals in Capua, but, in general, of all who had anywhere combined or conspired against the State; and that cabals for obtaining magistracies had been made against the common weal. [9] The enquiry began to take a wider range, in respect both of charges and of persons, and the dictator was nothing loath that there should be no limit to the jurisdiction of his court. [10] certain nobles were accordingly impeached, and on appealing to the tribunes found none to help them by stopping the informations. [11] The nobles then declared — not those alone at whom the charge was levelled, but all of them conjointly — that this accusation did not lie against the nobility, to whom, unless fraudulently obstructed, the road to office lay wide open, but rather against upstart politicians; [12] that in fact the dictator and the master of the horse themselves were fitter to be tried on such a charge than to act as judges, and they would find this to be so the moment they resigned their places.

[13] then indeed Maenius, more mindful now of his reputation than

of his authority, came forward and addressed the assembly. [14] “you are all of you,” he said, “Quirites, aware of my past life, and this very office which has been conferred upon me is witness to my innocence; for it was necessary to select as dictator for the administration of judicial investigations, not the most distinguished soldier — as has often been done at other times, when some crisis in the state required it — but the man who had lived a life most aloof from these cabals. [15] but since certain noblemen — for what cause it is better that you should form your own opinion than that I as magistrate should affirm anything not fully ascertained — have in the first place striven with might and main to defeat these very investigations; [16] and then, finding themselves not strong enough to escape pleading their cause in court, have sought refuge, patricians though they are, in the safeguards of their adversaries — the appeal, I mean, and the help of the tribunes; — [17] and since at last, repulsed in that quarter, they have fallen upon us — so much safer does any course appear to them than to try to vindicate their innocence and have not blushed, though private citizens, to demand the impeachment of a dictator; [18] — in order that all gods and men may know that they are attempting even impossibilities to avoid accounting for their lives, whereas I am ready to face their charge and to offer myself to my enemies to be tried, I hereby resign the dictator’s authority. [19] you, consuls, I beseech, if the task shall be devolved upon you by the senate, that you begin your investigations with me and with Marcus Folius here, that it may be seen that we are safe from these accusations by reason of our innocence, not by reason of the awe inspired by our office.” [20] he then resigned as dictator, and so at once did Folius as master of the horse. they were the first to go to trial before the consuls — for to these the senate had given the matter in charge — and, against the testimony of the nobles, were gloriously acquitted. [21] Publius Philo, too, after all his famous achievements at home and in war, and after having repeatedly held the highest offices, had incurred the hate of the nobility, and was brought to trial and acquitted. [22] but the inquisition, as often happens, had the vigour to deal with illustrious defendants no longer than while its novelty lasted; after that it began to descend to the baser sort, until it was finally put down by the cabals and factions which it had been instituted to oppose.

27. The rumour of these events, and still more the hope of a Campanian insurrection, which had been the aim of the conspirators, recalled the Samnites from Apulia, on which their attention had been fixed, to Caudium; [2] in the hope that, being there so near, they might, if any disturbance should afford the opportunity, seize Capua from the Romans; and to Caudium came the consuls, with a powerful force. [3] both armies at first held back, each on its own side of the pass, for either would have been at a disadvantage in advancing against the other. [4] then the Samnites made a short detour over open ground, and brought their army down to the plain, where the hostile forces were, for the first time, encamped in sight of one another. some skirmishing followed, in which both sides made trial more often of their cavalry than their foot. [5] The Romans were not dissatisfied either with the outcome of these brushes or with the delays by which the campaign was protracted. [6] to the Samnite leaders, on the contrary, it appeared that their forces were daily diminishing with petty losses, and were wasting away with the prolongation of the war.

[7] they accordingly made ready for a general engagement, dividing their cavalry between the wings, with orders to pay more attention to the camp, to prevent any attack upon it, than to the battle; for the infantry would sufficiently safeguard the line. [8] of the consuls, Sulpicius took up his post on the right wing, Poetelius on the left. The formation on the right was spread out over a considerable distance, and on that wing the Samnites, too, were drawn up in ranks of little depth, either meaning to turn the Romans' flank, or to keep their own from being turned. [9] The troops on the left, besides being drawn up in closer order, had received an accession to their strength from a plan conceived on the spur of the moment by Poetelius. [10] for those subsidiary cohorts which were wont to be kept fresh in reserve, to meet the chance needs of a long engagement, he sent immediately into the fighting line; and by using all his strength at once, he forced the enemy back at the first assault. as the Samnite infantry wavered, their cavalry moved up to support them. but while they came obliquely onward, in the interval between the armies, the Roman cavalry charged them at the gallop, confounding the ranks and the formations of horse and foot, until they had routed the entire army at

that point. [11] on that wing Sulpicius was present, as well as Poetelius, to animate the soldiers, for when the shouting arose upon the left, he had ridden over there, leaving his own men, who were not yet come to grips with the enemy. [12] but perceiving his colleague's victory to be safe, he left him and rode off with twelve hundred men to his own wing. [13] there he found affairs in a different posture; the Romans had been driven out of their position, and the victorious enemy were charging their disordered ranks. but all was quickly changed by the arrival of the consul. for the sight of their general revived the spirits of the soldiers, and the brave men who followed him were a greater succour than their numbers indicated; and the tidings of their comrades' victory, which they soon saw for themselves, restored the battle. [14] presently the Romans had begun to conquer all along the line, while the Samnites, giving up the struggle, were massacred or made prisoners, except those who fled to Maleventum, the city which is now called Beneventum. tradition avers that some thirty thousand Samnites were slain or captured.

28. The consuls, who had won a brilliant victory, at once marched away to lay siege [2??] to Bovianum, where they remained in winter quarters, until the new consuls, Lucius Papirius Cursor (for the fifth time) and Gaius Junius Bubulcus (for the second) appointed Gaius Poetelius dictator, who, with Marcus Foliu as master of horse, took over the command. [3] Poetelius, hearing that the citadel of Fregellae was captured by the Samnites, raised the siege of Bovianum and proceeded to Fregellae. having got possession of the place without a struggle — for the Samnites fled from it in the night — he installed a strong garrison there, and leaving Fregellae, marched back into Campania, for the purpose, chiefly, of winning back Nola by force of arms. [4] within its walls, as the dictator drew near, the whole Samnite population and the Nolani of the country — side had taken refuge. [5] after examining the position of the city, the dictator, in order to open up approaches to the walls, caused all the buildings round them — and the tract was densely inhabited — to be burnt. not very long after this Nola was captured, whether by Poetelius the dictator or the consul Gaius Junius — for the story is told both ways. [6] those who ascribe the honour of capturing Nola to the consul, add that Atina and Calatia were won by the same man, but that Poetelius was made

dictator on the outbreak of a pestilence, that lie might drive the nail.

[7] colonies were planted in that same year at Suessa and Pontiae. Suessa had belonged to the Aurunci; Volscians had inhabited Pontiae, an island which lay within sight of their own coast. [8] The senate also passed a resolution that a colony be sent out to Interamna Sucasina, but it was left for the next consuls, Marcus Valerius and Publius Decius, to appoint the three commissioners and send out four thousand settlers.

29. The war with the Samnites was practically ended, but the Roman senators had not yet ceased to be concerned about it, when the rumour of an Etruscan war sprang up. [2] in those days there was no other race — setting apart the risings of the Gauls — whose arms were more dreaded, not only because their territory lay so near, but also because of their [3] numbers. accordingly, while the other consul was in Samnium, dispatching the last remnants of the war, Publius Decius, who was very sick and had stopped behind in Rome, in pursuance of a senatorial resolution named Gaius Sulpicius Longus dictator, who appointed Gaius Junius Bubulcus to be his master of the [4] horse. Sulpicius, as the gravity of the circumstances required, administered the oath to all those of military age, and made ready arms and whatever else the situation called for, with the utmost assiduity. yet he was not so carried away with these great preparations as to plan for an offensive war, clearly intending to remain inactive, unless the Etruscans should first take the [5] field. but the Etruscans followed the same policy, preparing for war but preventing it from breaking out. neither side went beyond their own frontiers.

[6] noteworthy, too, in that year was the censorship of Appius Claudius and Gaius Plautius; but the name of Appius was of happier memory with succeeding generations, because he built a road, and conveyed a stream of water into the [7] City. These undertakings he carried out by himself, since his colleague had resigned, overcome with shame at the disgraceful and invidious manner in which Appius revised the list [8] of senators; and Appius, exhibiting the obstinacy which had marked his family from the earliest days, exercised the [9] censorship alone. it was Appius, too, by whose warranty the Potitian clan, with whom the priesthood of Hercules at the Ara Maxima was

hereditary, taught the ritual of that sacrifice to public slaves, in order to devolve the service [10] upon them. tradition relates that after this a strange thing happened, and one that might well give men pause ere they disturb the established order of religious ceremonies. for whereas at that time there were twelve families of the Potitii, and grown men to the number of thirty, within the year they had perished, every man, and the stock had [11] become extinct; and not only did the name of the Potitii die out, but even the censor, by the unforgetting ire of the gods, was a few years later stricken blind.

30. and so the consuls of the following year, Gaius Junius Bubulcus (for the third time) and Quintus Aemilius Barbula (for the second), complained to the people, at the outset of their administration, that the senatorial order had been depraved by the improper choice of members, in which better men had been passed over than some that had been appointed. [2] they then gave notice that they should ignore that list, which had been drawn up with no distinction of right and wrong, in a spirit of favouritism and caprice; and proceeded to call the roll of the senate in the order which had been in use before Appius Claudius and Gaius Plautius were censors. [3] in that year, also, two commands — both military — began to be conferred by the people; for it was enacted, first, that sixteen tribunes of the soldiers should be chosen by popular vote for the four legions, whereas previously these places had been for the most part in the gift of dictators and consuls, very few being left to popular suffrage ; secondly, that the people should likewise elect two naval commissioners to have charge of equipping and refitting the fleet. [4] The former of these measures was proposed by the tribunes of the plebs Lucius Atilius and Gaius Marcius; the latter by Marcus Decius, another tribune of the plebs.

[5] i should omit, as an incident hardly worth narrating, a little thing that happened in that same year, but that it seemed to concern religion. The flute — players, angry at having been forbidden by the last censors to hold their feast, according to old custom, in the temple of Jupiter, went off to Tibur in a body, so that there was no one in the City to pipe at sacrifices. [6] troubled by the religious aspect of the case, the senate dispatched representatives to the Tiburtines, requesting them to use their best endeavours to restore these men to

Rome. [7] The Tiburtines courteously undertook to do so; and sending for the pipers to their senate — house, urged them to return. when they found it impossible to persuade them, they employed a ruse, not ill — adapted to the nature of the men. [8] on a holiday various citizens invited parties of the pipers to their houses, on the pretext of celebrating the feast with music. there they plied them with wine, which people of that profession are generally greedy of, until they got them stupefied. [9] in this condition they threw them, fast asleep, into waggons and carried them away to Rome; nor did the pipers perceive what had taken place until daylight found them — still suffering from the debauch — in the waggons, which had been left standing in the Forum. [10] The people then flocked about them and prevailed with them to remain. they were permitted on three days in every year to roam the City in festal robes, making music and enjoying the licence that is now customary, and to such as should play at sacrifices was given again the privilege of banqueting in the temple. These incidents occurred while men were preoccupied with two mighty wars.

31. The consuls divided the commands between them: to Junius the lot assigned the Samnites, to Aemilius the new war with Etruria. [2] in Samnium the Roman garrison at Cluviae, which had defended itself successfully against assault, was starved into submission. The Samnites, having scourged their prisoners in brutal fashion, put them to death, although they had surrendered. [3] incensed by this act of cruelty, Junius felt that nothing should take precedence over an attack on Cluviae. he carried the place by storm on the day he arrived before it, and slew all the grown — up males. [4] from there he led his victorious army to Bovianum. this was the capital of the Pentrian Samnites, a very wealthy city and very rich in arms and men. [5] against this town the soldiers were not so exasperated, but the hope of plunder spurred them on to capture it. and so there was less severity shown to the enemy, but there was almost more booty carried out than was ever collected from all the rest of Samnium, and the whole of it was generously made over to the soldiers.

[6] when the conquering arms of the Romans might now no longer be withstood by any embattled host or camp or city, the leaders of the Samnites all eagerly directed their attention to the seeking out a

place for an ambush, on the chance that the army might somehow be permitted to disperse for plundering, and so be surprised and surrounded. [7] certain rustic deserters and prisoners, some falling into the consul's hands by accident and some on purpose, by giving all the same account — and a true one, too — of enormous flocks that had been brought together in an inaccessible mountain meadow, persuaded him to lead thither his legions in light marching order to seize the booty. [8] there a great army of the enemy had secretly beset the ways, and seeing that the Romans had entered the pass, rose up suddenly with much din and shouting and fell upon them unawares. [9] at first the unexpectedness of the attack occasioned some trepidation, while the soldiers were putting on their armour and piling their packs in the midst. afterwards, when everyone had got rid of his encumbrance and had armed himself, they began to assemble from every side about their standards. in the course of a long training in the army they had become familiar with their places, and formed a line of their own accord, without anyone's direction. [10] The consul, riding up to the place where the fighting was most critical, leaped down from his horse, and called on Jupiter and Mars and the other gods to witness that he had come there seeking no glory for himself, but only booty for his soldiers: [11] his sole fault, he said, was a too great desire to enrich his men; from this disgrace nothing could save him but their courage. [12] only let them all unite in singleness of purpose to assail an enemy conquered in battle, stripped of his camp, deprived of his cities, and pinning his last hopes to the treachery of an ambuscade, were his trust was in his position, not in arms. but what position was there now, he demanded, too strong for Roman valour to overwhelm? [13] he reminded them of Fregellae's citadel and Sora's, and all the places where they had triumphed over disadvantage of ground.

[14] roused by these words, the soldiers disregarded every obstacle and advanced against the battle — line which their enemies had formed above them. there was a little hard fighting there, while the column was mounting the slope; [15] but as soon as the foremost companies had reached the plateau at the top, and the soldiers perceived that their line was now established on level ground, the panic was straightway turned upon the waylayers, who fled,

dispersing and throwing down their arms, in search of those very lurking — places where a little while before they had concealed themselves. [16] but the ground which they had sought out for the difficulties it presented to an enemy caught the Samnites themselves in a trap of their own devising. and so, very few were able to get off; about twenty thousand men were slain; and the victorious Romans struck out this way and that to collect the booty of cattle which the enemy had thrown in their way.

32. while these events were taking place in Samnium, all the peoples of Etruria, except the Arretini, had already armed, and beginning with the siege of Sutrium, a city in alliance with the Romans, and forming as it were the key to Etruria, had set on foot a tremendous war. [2] thither the other consul, Aemilius, came with an army, to relieve the blockade of the allies. as the Romans came up, the Sutrini obligingly brought provisions to their camp, which was formed before the city. [3] The Etruscans spent the first day in deliberating whether to accelerate the war or to draw it out. [4] on the following day, their generals having decided on the swifter plan in preference to the safer, the signal for battle was displayed at sunrise and their men in fighting array marched out upon the field. [5] when this was reported to the consul, he at once commanded the word to be passed round that the men should breakfast, and having recruited their strength with food, should then arm. The order was obeyed; and the consul, seeing them equipped and ready, bade advance the standards beyond the rampart, and drew up his troops a little way off from the enemy. [6] for some time both sides stood fast, observing one another closely, each waiting for the other to give a cheer and begin to fight, and the sun had begun his downward course in the heavens ere a missile was hurled on either side. [7] then the Etruscans, that they might not withdraw without accomplishing their purpose, set up a shout, and with sound of trumpets advanced their ensigns. [8] The Romans were equally prompt to begin the battle. The two armies rushed together with great fury, the enemy having a superiority in numbers, the Romans in bravery. [9] Victory hung in the balance and many perished on both sides, including all the bravest, and the event was not decided until the Roman second line came up with undiminished vigour to relieve their exhausted comrades in the first;

and the Etruscans, whose fighting line was supported by no fresh reserves, all fell in front of their standards and around them. [10] there would never in any battle have been more bloodshed or less running away, but when the Etruscans were resolved to die, the darkness shielded them, so that the victors gave over fighting before the vanquished. [11] The sun had set when the recall was sounded, and in the night both armies retired to their camps.

thereafter there was nothing done that year at Sutrium worth recording. [12] The enemy had lost their whole first line in a single engagement, and had only their reserves remaining, who barely sufficed to garrison their camp; whilst the Romans had so many wounded that more died of their hurts after the battle than had fallen on the field.

33. Quintus Fabius, consul in the following year, took over the campaign at Sutrium. for colleague he was given Gaius Marcius Rutulus. [2] Fabius brought up replacements from Rome, and a new army came from Etruria to reinforce the enemy.

[3] for a great many years now there had been no contests between the patrician magistrates and the tribunes, when a dispute — arose through that family which was fated, as it seemed, to wrangle with the tribunes and with the plebs. [4] Appius Claudius the censor, on the expiration of the eighteen months which had been fixed by the Aemilian law as the limit of the censorship, although his colleague Gaius Plautius had abdicated, could himself by no compulsion be prevailed upon to do likewise. [5] it was Publius Sempronius, a tribune of the people, who commenced an action to confine the censorship to its legal limits — an action no less just than popular, and as welcome to every aristocrat as to the common people. [6] having repeatedly read out the Aemilian law, and praised its author, Mamercus Aemilius the dictator, for confining the censorship — which had until then been tenable for five years and was proving despotic by reason of the long continuance of its authority — within [7] the space of a year and a half, he said, “come, tell us, Appius Claudius, what you would have done had you been censor at the time when Gaius Furius and Marcus Geganius were censors.” [8] Appius replied that the tribune’s question had no particular bearing upon his own case; [9] for even though the Aemilian law had bound those

censors in whose term of office it had been passed, because the people had enacted the law after their election to the censorship and their latest enactment was always the effective law, yet neither himself nor any one of those who had been chosen censors subsequently to the passage of that law could have been bound by it.

34. while Appius raised these quibbles, but found no one to support him, “behold, Quirites,” said Sempronius, “the descendant of that Appius, who having been elected decemvir for one year, himself declared his own election for a second year, and in the third, although a private citizen, with neither his own nor another’s warrant of election, retained [2??] the fasces and authority, and relinquished not his hold on the magistracy until he was overwhelmed by his ill — gotten, ill — administered, and ill — continued powers. it was this same family, Quirites, under compulsion of whose violence and abuse you banished yourselves from your native City and occupied the Sacred Mount ; the same against which [4??] you provided yourselves with the help of tribunes ; the same, because of which two armies of you encamped upon the Aventine ; the same that has ever attacked the laws restricting usury and throwing open the public [5] lands. this same family broke off marriages between patricians and plebeians ; this same family blocked the path of the plebeians to curule [6] offices. it is a name that is far more hostile to your liberty than that of the Tarquini. so, Appius Claudius! though it is now a hundred years since Mamercus Aemilius was dictator, and in that time we have had all these censors, high — born and valiant men, has never one of them inspected the Twelve [7] Tables? has none of them known that the law was that which the people had last enacted? nay, all of them knew it; and they obeyed the Aemilian law in preference to that ancient ordinance which governed the first elections of censors, precisely because it was the latest which the people had enacted, and [8??] because in a conflict of two laws the old is ever superseded by the new.

[9] “or will this be your contention, Appius, that the people is not bound by the Aemilian law? or that the people is bound, but that you alone are exempt? The Aemilian law bound those violent censors Gaius Furius and Marcus Geganius, who showed what mischief that magistracy could accomplish in the state, when, in their rage at the

abridgment of their powers, they reduced Mamercus Aemilius, the foremost man of his time in war and peace, to the lowest class of ^[10] citizens; it bound all the censors who succeeded them, for the period of a hundred years; it binds Gaius Plautius, your colleague, who was given the office under the same auspices and with the same rights as ^[11] yourself. or did the people not make Plautius censor as one who had been elected with the fullest rights? are you the sole exception in whose case this holds, as a unique and peculiar ^[12] privilege? whom, pray, could men elect as king for sacrifice? he will seize on the title of sovereignty, and assert that he has been chosen as one elected with fullest rights to be king at Rome. who, think you, will be content with six months as dictator; who with five days as ^[13] interrex? whom would you be so rash as to make dictator for the purpose of driving the nail or celebrating games? how dull and lumpish must those men seem to Appius, who after accomplishing great feats resigned the post of dictator within twenty days, or laid down the reins of office because of a flaw in their ^[14] election! why should I cite antiquity? recently, within these ten years, Gaius Maenius the dictator, for conducting an inquisition with more severity than was safe for certain great men, was accused by his ill — wishers of being tainted with that very felony which he was searching out, and abdicated the dictatorship, that he might face the charge as a private ^[15] citizen. far be it from me to require such self — denial of you! fall not away from the most imperious and proud of families; quit not your magistracy one day, one hour, sooner than you must; only see that you overstep not the appointed ^[16] limit. is it enough to add a day, or a month, to his censorship? three years,’ quoth he, and six months beyond the time permitted by the Aemilian law will I administer the censorship, and administer it alone.’ surely this begins to look like ^[17] monarchy!

“or will you substitute a colleague for the other, though even in a dead man’s place such substitution is forbidden by ^[18] religion? you are not satisfied forsooth with having in your scrupulous exercise of a censor’s powers diverted the service of our most ancient cult, the only one inaugurated by the god himself in whose honour it is observed, from the priesthood of the most exalted nobles to the ministry of ^[19] slaves; it was not enough that a family more ancient

than the beginnings of this City, and sanctified by the entertainment of the immortal gods, should through you and your censorship be within a year uprooted and [20] destroyed; no, you must needs involve the entire state in such heinous guilt as even to name is an omen that fills my mind with [21] dread. The city was captured in that lustrum when, on the death of his colleague Gaius Julius, Lucius Papirius Cursor, to avoid having to vacate his office, caused Marcus Cornelius Maluginensis to be substituted in the room of the dead man. and how much more moderate, Appius, was his ambition than [22] yours! The censorship of Lucius Papirius was neither a sole one nor one prolonged beyond the legally established term; yet he found none to follow his example; all succeeding censors have abdicated on the death of a colleague. but you neither the expiration of your time restrains nor the fact that your colleague has resigned, nor the law, nor a sense of decency: you reckon worth in terms of pride, of recklessness, of contempt for gods and [23] men.

“for my own part, Appius Claudius, when I think of the dignity of that office you have held and the reverence attaching to it, I could wish that I might spare you not only personal violence but even an ungentle [24] word; but your stubbornness and pride have compelled me to say what I have so far said, and unless you obey the Aemilian law, I shall order you to [25] prison; nor, seeing that our forefathers have ordained that in the election of censors, if either fall short of the legal vote, the election shall be put off and the other not be declared elected, will I now suffer you, who cannot be elected as sole censor, to administer the censorship alone.”

[26] having uttered these and similar remonstrances, he ordered the censor to be arrested and carried off to prison. six tribunes approved the action of their colleague: three protected Appius on his appeal, and, greatly to the indignation of all classes, he continued as sole censor.

35. during the progress of this affair in Rome, the Etruscans were already laying siege to Sutrium; and the consul Fabius, leading his army along the foot of the mountains to relieve the allies, and, if in any way practicable, to attack the works of the besiegers, encountered the enemy drawn up in line of battle. [2] The plain spreading out below him revealed to the consul their exceeding

strength; and in order to make up for his own deficiency in numbers by the advantage of position, he altered slightly his line of march, so as to mount the hills — which were rough and covered with stones — and there turned and faced the enemy. [3] The Etruscans, forgetting everything but their numbers, in which alone they trusted, entered the combat with such haste and eagerness that they cast away their missiles in order to come the sooner to close quarters, and drawing their swords rushed at the enemy. [4] The Romans, on the contrary, fell to pelting them, now with javelins and now with stones, of which latter the ground itself provided a good supply; [5] and even such of the Etruscans as were not wounded were confused by the blows that rattled down on their helmets and shields. [6] it was no easy matter to get close enough for fighting hand to hand, and they had no javelins for long — range work. there they stood, exposed to missiles, with no adequate cover of any sort, and as some of them gave ground and the line began to waver and be unsteady, the Roman first and second lines, giving a fresh cheer, charged them, sword in hand. [7] their onset was too much for the Etruscans, who faced about and fled headlong towards their camp. [8] but the Roman cavalry, riding obliquely across the plain, presented themselves in front of the fugitives, who then abandoned the attempt to reach their camp and sought the mountains; from which they made their way in a body, unarmed and suffering from their wounds, to the Ciminian Forest. The Romans, having slain many thousand Etruscans and captured eight — and — thirty standards, took possession also of the enemy's camp, with a very large booty. they then began to consider the feasibility of a pursuit.

36. in those days the Ciminian Forest was more impassable and appalling than were lately the wooded defiles of Germany, and no one — not even a trader — had up to that time visited it. to enter it was a thing that hardly anyone but the general himself was bold enough to do: with all the rest the recollection of the Caudine Forks was still too vivid. [2] then one of those present, the consul's brother Marcus Fabius, — some say that it was Caeso Fabius, others Gaius Claudius, a son of the same mother as the consul — offered to explore and return in a short time with definite information about everything. [3] he had been educated at Caere in the house of family

friends, and from this circumstance was learned in Etruscan writings and knew the Etruscan language well. i have authority for believing that in that age Roman boys were regularly wont to be schooled in Etruscan literature, as nowadays they are trained in Greek; but it seems more probable that this man possessed some exceptional qualification to induce him to venture amongst enemies in so daring a disguise. [4] it is said that his only companion was a slave, brought up with him, and hence acquainted, like his master, with the language. [5] they set out, after acquiring no more than a summary knowledge of the nature of the region they must enter and the names of the chief men in those tribes, to save them from being detected in conversation by boggling at any well — known fact. [6] they went dressed as shepherds and armed with rustic weapons, namely billhooks and a brace of javelins apiece. but neither their familiarity with the tongue nor the fashion of their dress and weapons was so great a protection to them as the fact that it was repugnant to belief that any stranger would enter the Ciminian defiles. [7] they are said to have penetrated as far as Camerinum in Umbria, where the Roman, having ventured to tell who they were, was introduced into the senate, and treated with them in the consul's name for friendship and an alliance. [8] having then been hospitably entertained, lie was bidden to carry word back to the Romans that thirty days' provisions for their army would be waiting for them, if they came into that region, and that the young men of the Umbrian Camertes would be armed and ready to obey their orders.

[9] on their success being made known to the consul, he sent the baggage ahead, in the first watch, and directed the legions to follow the baggage. [10] he himself stopped behind with the cavalry, and at dawn of the following day made a demonstration against the enemy's outposts, which had been stationed at the entrance to the pass. having kept the enemy in play for a sufficient time, he retired within his camp, and emerging from it by the opposite gate overtook the column before night. [11] next day, with the first rays of light, he was on the crest of the Ciminian mountain and, looking thence over the rich ploughlands of Etruria, sent his soldiers to plunder. [12] The Romans had already brought away out enormous booty when certain improvised bands of Etruscan peasants, called together in hot haste

by the chief men of that country, encountered them, but with so little discipline that in seeking to regain the spoils they had nearly been made a spoil themselves. [13] having slain or driven off these men and wasted the country far and wide, the Romans returned to their camp, victorious and enriched with all manner of supplies. [14] there, as it happened, they found five legates, with two tribunes of the plebs, who had come to order Fabius in the name of the senate not to cross the Ciminian Forest. rejoicing that they had come too late to be able to hinder the campaign, they returned to Rome with tidings of victory.

37. this expedition of the consul's, instead of putting an end to the war, only gave it a wider range. for the district lying about the base of Mount Ciminus had felt the devastation, and had aroused not only Etruria to resentment but the neighbouring parts of Umbria also. [2] so an army came to Sutrium that was larger than any they had raised before; and not only did they move forward their camp, out of the woods, but even, in their eagerness for combat, came down into the plain at the earliest opportunity in battle formation. [3] at first, after forming up, they stood still in their positions, having left their enemies room to draw up opposite. then, finding the Romans in no haste to engage them, they advanced up to the rampart. [4] when they saw that even the outguards had retired within the works, they began shouting to their generals, to have their rations for the day sent out to them from the camp; they would wait under arms, they said, and either that night, or at daybreak at the latest, attack the enemy's stockade. The Roman army was every whit as restless, but was restrained by the general's authority. [5] it was about the tenth hour of the day when the consul bade the soldiers sup, and commanded them to be armed and ready at whatever hour of the day or night he might give the signal. [6] in a brief address he magnified the Samnite wars and belittled the Etruscans: there was no comparison, he said, between the two enemies, or between their numbers; moreover, he had an additional weapon in concealment; they should know about it when the time came; until then it must remain a secret. [7] by these obscure hints he sought to engender a belief that the enemy were being betrayed, in order to revive the spirits of his men, which were damped by the numbers of their enemies; and the fact that the

Etruscans had thrown up no breastworks where they lay lent colour to the insinuation.

refreshed with food, the soldiers gave themselves up to sleep, and at about the fourth watch were awakened without noise and put on their armour. [8] mattocks were issued to the soldiers' servants, that they might level the rampart and fill up the trenches. [9] The line was drawn up inside the fortifications, and selected cohorts were posted at the exits. then, on the signal being given a little before dawn, which on summer nights is the time of deepest sleep, the rampart was thrown down, and the Romans, rushing out in battle — formation, fell upon their enemies, who were lying all about the field. [10] some were slain without even stirring in their sleep, some were but half awake, the greatest number were reaching in terror for their weapons. only a few were given time to arm themselves; and even these, with no definite standard to follow and no leader, the Romans routed and chased from the field. some made for the camp and others for the mountains, as they fled this way and that. The forests afforded the surer refuge; for the camp, being situated in the plain, was captured the same day. [11] orders were issued that all gold and silver be brought to the consul; the rest of the booty went to the soldiers. on that day the enemy lost sixty thousand slain or captured.

some historians relate that this famous battle was fought on the other side of the Ciminian Forest, near Perusia, and that Rome was in a panic lest the army should be surrounded and cut off in that dangerous defile by the Tuscans and Umbrians rising up on every hand. [12] but, wherever it was fought, the Romans were the victors. and so from Perusia and Cortona and Arretium, which at that time might be the chief cities of the nations of Etruria, ambassadors came to Rome to sue for peace and an alliance. they obtained a truce for thirty years.

38. while these things were going on in Etruria, the other consul, Gaius Marcius Rutulus, captured Allifae from the Samnites by assault. many forts and villages besides were either wiped out in the course of hostilities or came intact into the hands of the [2] Romans.

at about this time a Roman fleet, commanded by Publius Cornelius, whom the senate had placed in charge of the coast, sailed for Campania and put into Pompeii. from there the sailors and rowers

set out to pillage the territory of Nuceria. having quickly ravaged the nearest fields, from which they might have returned in safety to their ships, they were lured on, as often happens, by the love of booty, and going too far abroad aroused the [3] enemy. while they roamed through the fields, nobody interfered with them, though they might have been utterly annihilated; but as they came trooping back, without a thought of danger, the country — folk overtook them not far from the ships, stripped them of their plunder, and even slew a part of them; those who escaped the massacre were driven, a disordered rabble, to their [4] ships.

Great as had been the fears excited in Rome when Quintus Fabius marched through the Ciminian Forest, the rejoicings that took place in Samnium amongst the enemy were no less on their hearing a report that the Roman army was intercepted and [5] besieged. they recalled the Caudine Forks as showing what the disaster would be [6] like; with the same temerity, they said, a race that was ever reaching out for what lay beyond had been led into pathless forests and there hemmed in, more by the difficulties of the ground than by the arms of their [7] enemy. soon their joy began to be mixed with a kind of envy, that Fortune should have transferred the glory of the Roman war from Samnites to [8] Etruscans. so they hastened to bring all their strength to bear upon crushing Gaius Marcius, the consul; and resolved, if Marcius should avoid an encounter, to march forthwith into Etruria, through the countries of the Marsi and the Sabines. The consul met them, and the battle was fiercely contested on both sides, but without a decision being reached. yet, doubtful though it was which side had suffered most, the report gained ground that the Romans had been worsted: they had lost certain members of the equestrian order, certain military tribunes, and one lieutenant, and — most conspicuous of their misfortunes — the consul himself was [9] wounded.

These reverses as usual were further exaggerated in the telling, and the senate in great dismay determined on the appointment of a [10] dictator. nobody could doubt that Papirius Cursor, who was regarded as the foremost soldier of his time, would be [11] designated. but the senators were not certain that a messenger could be got through in safety to Samnium, where all was hostile, nor that the

consul Marcius was alive. The other consul, Fabius, had a private grudge against [12] Papirius; and lest this enmity might hinder the general welfare, the senate decided to send a deputation of former consuls, in the hope that their personal influence, when added to the wishes of the government, might induce him to forget those quarrels for the good of the [13] country. The ambassadors went to Fabius and delivered the resolution of the senate, with a discourse that suited their instructions. The consul, his eyes fixed on the ground, retired without a word, leaving the ambassadors uncertain what he proposed to [14] do. then in the silence of the night, as the custom is, he appointed Lucius Papirius dictator. when the envoys thanked him for nobly conquering his feelings, he continued obstinately silent, and dismissed them without making any reply or alluding to what he had done, so that it was clearly seen what agony his great [15] heart was suppressing.

Papirius named Gaius Junius Bubulcus master of the horse. when he began to lay before the curiate assembly a law confirming his authority, the proceedings were cut short by an evil omen, the first vote to be counted being that of the ward called Faucia, notorious for two calamities, the capture of the City and the Caudine Peace, which had both been incurred in years when this same curia had the right of [16] the first return. Licinius Macer makes this ward unlucky also for a third disaster — that of the Cremera.

39. next day the dictator sought the auspices afresh and carried the law through. then, setting out with the legions which had recently been recruited on account of [2??] the fear occasioned by the army's march through the Ciminian Forest, he came to the vicinity of Longula, and taking over from Marcius the consul his veteran troops, marched out and offered battle, which the enemy on their part seemed willing to accept. [3] but while the two armies stood armed and ready for the conflict, which neither cared to begin, night overtook them. [4] for some time after that they remained quietly in the camps they had established near one another, neither lacking confidence in themselves nor yet making light of their adversaries. [5] meanwhile the Etruscans, employing a *lex sacrata*, had raised an army in which each man had chosen his comrade, and joined battle, with greater forces, and at the same time with greater valour, than

ever before. [6] The field was contested with such rivalry of rage that neither side discharged a missile. The battle began with swords, and, furious at the outset, waxed hotter as the struggle continued, for the victory was long undecided. it seemed as though the Romans were contending, not with the so oft defeated Etruscans, but with some new race. [7] no sign of flight was visible in any quarter. as the front — rankers fell, the second line moved up to replace the first, that the standards might not want defenders. [8] after that the last reserves were called upon; and to such extremity of distress and danger did the Romans come that their cavalry dismounted, and made their way over arms and over bodies to the front ranks of the infantry. like a fresh line springing up amongst the exhausted combatants, they wrought havoc in the companies of the Etruscans. [9] then the rest of the soldiers, following up their charge, despite of weariness, at last broke through the enemy's ranks. [10] at this their stubbornness began to be overcome, and certain companies to face about; and when these had once turned tail, the rest likewise took to flight. [11] that day for the first time broke the might of the Etruscans, which had long flourished in prosperity. their strength was cut off in the battle, and their camp was taken and plundered in the same attack.

40. The war in Samnium, immediately afterwards, was attended with equal danger and an equally glorious conclusion. The enemy, besides their other warlike preparations, had made their battle — line to glitter with new and splendid arms. [2] there were two corps: the shields of the one were inlaid with gold, of the other with silver. The shape of the shield was this: the upper part, where it protected the breast and shoulders, was rather broad, with a level top; below it was somewhat tapering, to make it easier to handle. [3] they wore a sponge to protect the breast, and the left leg was covered with a greave. their helmets were crested, to make their stature appear greater. The tunics of the gilded warriors were parti — coloured; those of the silvern ones were linen of a dazzling white. [4] The latter had silver sheaths and silver baldrics: the former gilded sheaths and golden baldrics, and their horses had gold — embroidered saddle — cloths. [5] The right wing was assigned to these: the others took up their post on the left. The Romans had already learned of these splendid accoutrements, and their generals had taught them that a soldier

should be rough to look on, not adorned with gold and silver but putting his trust in iron and in courage: [6] indeed those other things were more truly spoil than arms, shining bright before a battle, but losing their beauty in the midst of blood and wounds; [7] manhood they said, was the adornment of a soldier; all those other things went with the victory, and a rich enemy was the prize of the victor, however poor.

whilst his men were animated by these words, Cursor led them into battle. [8] he took up his own post on the right, and committed the left to the master of the horse. [9] from the moment of encountering, there was a mighty struggle with the enemy, and a struggle no less sharp between the dictator and the master of the horse, to decide which wing was to inaugurate the victory. it so happened that Junius was the first to make an impression on the Samnites. with the Roman left he faced the enemy's right, where they had consecrated themselves, as their custom was, and for that reason were resplendent in white coats and equally white armour. [10] declaring that he offered up these men in sacrifice to Orcus, Junius charged, threw their ranks into disorder, and clearly made their [11] line recoil. when the dictator saw this, he cried, "shall the victory begin upon the left? shall the right, the dictator's division, follow the attack of others? shall it not carry off the honours of [12] the victory?" this fired the soldiers with new energy; nor did the cavalry display less valour than the foot, or the lieutenants less enthusiasm than the generals. Marcus Valerius on the right and Publius Decius on the left, both men of consular rank, rode out to the cavalry, which was posted on the wings, and, exhorting them to join with themselves in seizing a share of glory, charged obliquely against the [13] enemy's flanks. thus a new and appalling danger enveloped their line on either side, and when the Roman legions, observing the terror of the Samnites, pressed forward with redoubled shouts, the enemy began [14] to flee. The fields were soon heaped with slain and with glittering armour. at first the frightened Samnites found a refuge in their camp, but presently even that had to be abandoned, and ere nightfall it had been taken, sacked, and set on fire.

[15] The dictator, as decreed by the senate, celebrated a triumph, in which by far the finest show was afforded by the [16] captured armour.

so magnificent was its appearance that the shields inlaid with gold were divided up amongst the owners of the moneychangers' booths, to be used in decking out the Forum. from this is said to have come the custom of the aediles adorning the Forum whenever the *tensae*, or covered chariots of the gods, were [17] conducted through it. so the Romans made use of the splendid armour of their enemies to do honour to the gods; while the Campanians, in consequence of their pride and in hatred of the Samnites, equipped after this fashion the gladiators who furnished them entertainment at their feasts, and bestowed on them the [18] name of Samnites.

in the same year the consul Fabius fought a battle with the remnants of the Etruscan forces near Perugia — which, together with other cities, had broken the truce — and gained an easy [19] and decisive victory. he would have taken the town itself — for after the battle he marched up to the walls — had not ambassadors come out and [20] surrendered the place. having placed a garrison in Perugia and having sent on before him to the senate in Rome the Etruscan deputations which had come to him seeking friendship, the consul was borne in [21??] triumph into the City, after gaining a success more brilliant even than the dictator's; indeed the glory of conquering the Samnites was largely diverted upon the lieutenants, Publius Decius and Marcus Valerius, of whom, at the next election, the people with great enthusiasm made the one consul and the other praetor.

41. in recognition of his remarkable conquest of Etruria, Fabius was continued in the consulship, and was given Decius for his colleague. [2] Valerius was for the fourth time chosen praetor. [3] The consuls cast lots for the commands, Etruria falling to Decius and Samnium to Fabius. The latter marched against Nuceria Alfaterna, and rejecting that city's overtures of peace because its people had declined it when it was offered them, laid siege to the place and forced it to surrender. [4] a battle was fought with the Samnites, in which the enemy were defeated without much difficulty, nor would the engagement have been remembered but for the fact that it was the first time that the Marsi had made war against the Romans. [5] The Paeligni imitated the defection of the Marsi, and met with the same fate.

Decius, the other consul, was also successful in war. [6] when he

had frightened the Tarquinienses into furnishing corn for the army and seeking a truce for forty years, he captured by storm a number of strongholds belonging to the people of Volsinii. [7] some of these he dismantled, lest they should serve as a refuge for the enemy, and by devastating far and wide he made himself so feared that all who bore the Etruscan name begged the consul to grant them a treaty. this privilege they were denied, but a truce for a year was granted them. [8] they were required to furnish the Roman army with a year's pay and two tunics for each soldier; such was the price they paid for a truce.

The tranquillity which now obtained in Etruria was disturbed by a sudden revolt of the Umbrians, a people which had escaped all the distress of war, except that an army had passed through their territory. [9] calling up all their fighting men, and inducing great part of the Etruscans to rebel, they mustered so large an army, that they boasted, with much glorifying of themselves and fleeing at the Romans, that they would leave Decius behind them in Etruria and march off to the assault of Rome. [10] when this purpose of theirs was reported to the consul Decius, he hastened by forced marches from Etruria towards the City, and encamped in the fields belonging to Pupinia, eagerly waiting for word of their approach. [11] at Rome no one made light of an Umbrian invasion. their very threats had excited fear in those who had learnt from the Gallic disaster how unsafe was the City they inhabited. [12] accordingly envoys were dispatched to carry word to Fabius the consul, that if there were any slackening in the Samnite war he should with all speed lead his army into Umbria. [13] The consul obeyed the order, and advanced by long marches to Mevania, where the forces of the Umbrians at that time lay.

[14] The sudden arrival of the consul, whom they had believed to have his hands full with another war in Samnium, a long way from Umbria, so dismayed the Umbrians that some were for falling back on their fortified cities, and others for giving up the war; but one canton — which [15] they themselves call Materina — not only kept the rest to their arms, but brought them to an immediate engagement. [16] Fabius was entrenching his camp when they attacked him. as soon as he saw them rushing madly upon his ramparts, he recalled the soldiers from their work and drew them up, as time and the

nature of the ground permitted, and encouraging them with a true relation of the honours they had won, some in Etruria and some in Samnium, bade them end this trivial sequel to the Etruscan war, and revenge upon the foe his impious threat that he would assault the City of Rome. [17] These words were received by the soldiers with such alacrity that the speech of the general was interrupted by a spontaneous cheer. then, before the command could be given, they hurled themselves — to the blare of horns and trumpets — with the wildest abandon against the enemy. [18] they fought not as though their opponents had been men and armed; but — marvellous to relate — began with tearing the standards out of the bearers' hands, and then fell to dragging the bearers themselves before the consul and to bringing armed men over from the other line to their own; wherever they met with resistance, they did their work more with shields than with swords, swinging them from the shoulder and knocking down their enemies with the bosses. [19] The slain were outnumbered by the prisoners, and all along the battle line one cry was heard: that they should lay down their arms. [20] and so, while the battle was still going on, the surrender was made, by the men who had first advocated war. on the next and on succeeding days the other peoples of Umbria also capitulated: the men of Oriculum were received into friendship under a stipulation.

42. Fabius, having won a war assigned by lot to another man, led his army back to his own province. [2] just as in the preceding year the people had rewarded his successful campaign by re — electing him to the consulship, so now the senate continued him in command for the year to follow. The new consuls were Appius Claudius and Lucius Volumnius, the former of whom had strongly opposed the resolution.

[3] i find in certain annals that Appius sought the consulship when censor, and that Lucius Furius, a tribune of the plebs, refused to let him stand until he should have resigned the censorship. [4] The election over, his colleague was decreed the command in the new war — with the Sallentini — and Appius remained in Rome, to strengthen his power by civil arts, since the means of acquiring repute in war remained with others.

[5] Volumnius had no cause to regret his assignment. he engaged

in many successful battles and took several hostile towns by assault. generous in his distribution of the spoil, he enhanced the effect of a liberality which was pleasing in itself by his friendly bearing — traits which had made his soldiers eager for toil and danger.

[6] The proconsul Quintus Fabius fought near the city Allifae a pitched battle with the army of the Samnites. The result was anything but doubtful, for the enemy were routed and driven into their camp; and they could not have held the camp had there not been very little daylight left. even so they were invested before dark, and guards were posted in the night to prevent anyone's escaping. [7] next day, before it was well light, they began to surrender. The Samnites among them bargained to be dismissed in their tunics; all these were sent under the yoke. [8] The allies of the Samnites were protected by no guarantee, and were sold into slavery, to the number of seven thousand. those who gave themselves out for Hernic citizens were detained apart in custody, and Fabius sent them all to the senate in Rome. [9] there an enquiry was held as to whether they had been conscripted or had fought voluntarily for the Samnites against the Romans; [10] after which they were parcelled out amongst the Latins to be guarded, and a resolution was passed directing the new consuls, Publius Cornelius Arvina and Quintus Marcius Tremulus — for these men had been elected — to refer the matter to the senate for fresh action. [11] this the Hernici resented. The people of Anagnia assembled a council of all the states in the circus which they call the Maritime Circus, and all of the Hernic name, excepting the inhabitants of Aletrium, Ferentinum and Verulae, declared war on the Roman People.

43. in Samnium, too, the departure of Fabius was the cause of fresh disturbances. Calatia and Sora with their Roman garrisons were taken by assault, and the captured soldiers were treated with shameful rigour. accordingly Publius Cornelius was dispatched in that direction with an army. [2] The new enemies — for by this time war had been declared on the men of Anagnia and the other Hernici — were allotted to Marcius. [3] at the outset of the campaign the enemy were so successful in seizing all the strategic points between the camps of the [4??] consuls, that not even a nimble courier could get through, and for some days the consuls were kept in uncertainty

regarding everything and could only speculate about one another's state. fears for their safety even extended to Rome, where all of military age were given the oath and two full armies were enlisted, to meet any sudden emergencies. [5] but the war with the Hernici by no means answered to the present panic or to the nation's old renown. [6] they ventured nothing to speak of at any point, and having lost three camps in the space of a few days they bargained for a thirty days' truce, to enable them to send envoys to the senate in Rome, and delivered up two months' pay and corn, and a tunic for every soldier. [7] The senate sent them back to Marcius, having passed a resolution empowering him to deal with the Hernici as he saw fit. he received, their submission on terms of unconditional surrender.

in Samnium the other consul was also stronger than the enemy, but was more embarrassed by the character of the ground. [8] The enemy had blockaded all the roads and seized the practicable passes, to prevent supplies being brought up anywhere. but though the consul offered battle daily, he could not entice them to fight. [9] it was quite apparent that the Samnites would not accept an immediate engagement, nor the Romans endure any prolongation of the war. [10] The arrival of Marcius, who, having subdued the Hernici, made haste to come to the assistance of his colleague, deprived the enemy of any power to delay the struggle. [11] for since they had not considered themselves equal to a battle with even one army, and believed that, once they had suffered two consular armies to unite, there would be no hope for them, they made an attack on Marcius as he was approaching in loose marching order. [12] hastily throwing down their packs in the midst, the Romans formed up as well as time permitted. The shouting was the first thing that was noticed in the camp of Cornelius. then, far off, a cloud of dust was descried, and caused a commotion in the camp. [13] The consul ordered his men to arm, and leading them quickly out into line attacked the enemy in the flank, when their hands were full with another struggle, crying out that it would be a burning shame if they [14??] let the other army win both victories, and failed to claim for themselves the glory of their own campaign. [15] bursting through at the point where he had charged, he advanced through the enemy's line, and capturing their camp, which was empty of defenders, set fire to it. [16] when the soldiers of

Marcus saw the blaze, and the enemy, looking over their shoulders, saw it too, the flight of the Samnites soon became general; but at every point death blocked the way, and there was no escaping anywhere.

[17] thirty thousand of the enemy had already fallen, and the consuls had sounded the recall and were proceeding to assemble their forces in one body, amid the mutual congratulations and rejoicings of the men, when suddenly some new cohorts of the Samnites, which had been levied as reliefs, were made out in the distance, and occasioned a renewal of the slaughter. [18] The victors rushed upon them, without orders from the consuls or receiving any signal, exclaiming that the Samnites must begin their soldiering with a bitter lesson. [19] The consuls indulged the ardour of the legions, being well aware that the enemy's recruits, in the midst of routed veterans, would scarce be equal to so much as an attempt at fighting. they were not mistaken. [20] all the forces of the Samnites, old and new, broke and fled to the nearest mountains, up which the Romans too advanced in pursuit of them. The conquered could find no refuge anywhere that afforded safety, but were driven pell — mell from the ridges where they had made a stand. and now with one voice they all begged for peace. [21] they were required to furnish corn for three months, with a year's pay and a tunic for each Roman soldier, and envoys were then dispatched to the senate to sue for terms.

Cornelius was left in Samnium. [22] Marcus returned to the City, which he entered in a triumph over the Hernici. An equestrian statue in the Forum was decreed him and was erected in front of the temple of Castor. [23] to the three Hernic peoples of Aletrium, Verulae, and Ferentinum their own laws were restored, because they preferred them to Roman citizenship, and they were given the right to intermarry with each other — a privilege which for some time they were the only Hernici to enjoy. [24] The people of Anagnia and such others as had borne arms against the Romans were admitted to citizenship without the right of voting. they were prohibited from holding councils and from intermarrying, and were allowed no magistrates save those who had charge of religious rites.

[25] in the same year the censor Gaius Junius Bubulcus let the contract for the temple of Safety, which he had vowed, while consul,

during the Samnite war. he and his colleague, Marcus Valerius Maximus, built roads through the countryside at the public [26] costs. in this year also the treaty with the Carthaginians was renewed for the third time, and their ambassadors, who had come for the purpose of arranging it, were treated with courtesy and given presents.

44. The same year had a dictator in the person of Publius Cornelius Scipio, the master of the horse being Publius Decius Mus. [2] These men held a consular election — for to this end they had been appointed, since neither consul had been able to leave the seat of war. [3] The consuls chosen were Lucius Postumius and Tiberius Minucius. Piso makes these men follow Quintus Fabius and Publius Decius, omitting the two years in which we have placed the consulship of Claudius and Volumnius and that of Cornelius and Marcius. [4] whether in the redaction of his annals he forgot them, or omitted two sets of consuls purposely, as not authentic, is uncertain.

[5] in that year also the Samnites made forays upon the Campus Stellatis in Campania. [6] both consuls were accordingly dispatched into Samnium in different directions, Postumius marching on Tifernum, and Minucius on Bovianum. The fighting began at Tifernum, where Postumius commanded. [7] some relate that the Samnites were decisively beaten and that twenty thousand prisoners were taken; [8] others that the armies quitted the field on even terms, and that Postumius, feigning fear, in the night withdrew his forces secretly to the mountains, where the enemy followed him and themselves entrenched a camp, at a distance of two miles from his. [9] The consul, that it might appear to have been his object to gain a position at once secure and abounding in supplies, — and such indeed it was — having [10] fortified his camp and equipped it with all manner of useful things, left in it a strong garrison, and in the third watch led his legions in light marching order by the most direct route to his colleague, who likewise lay in camp, facing another army. [11] there, at the instigation of Postumius, Minucius gave battle to the enemy; and when the doubtful struggle had been prolonged until late in the afternoon, Postumius with his fresh legions fell unexpectedly upon the now jaded forces of their opponents. [12] The Samnites, debarred by their weariness and wounds even from flight, were utterly annihilated, and the Romans, having taken twenty — one

standards, set out for the camp of Postumius. [13] there the two victorious armies assailed the enemy, already dismayed by the tidings of the other battle, and overwhelmingly routed them, capturing six — and — twenty standards, the commander of the Samnites — Statius Gellius — and many other prisoners, besides both camps. [14] on the following day they began the siege of the city of Bovianum, and on its capture, which quickly ensued, the consuls crowned their glorious achievements with a triumph. [15] some writers state that Minucius the consul was severely wounded and expired after being carried back to his camp. they add that Marcus Fulvius was made consul suffect in his place, and that it was he who, being sent out to the army of Minucius, captured Bovianum.

[16] in that year Sora, Arpinum, and Cesennia were won back from the Samnites. The great statue of Hercules was set up and dedicated on the Capitol.

45. in the consulship of Publius Sulpicius Saverrio and Publius Sempronius Sophus, the Samnites, whether seeking to end or only to postpone hostilities, sent envoys to Rome to treat for peace. [2] to their humble supplications the answer was returned, that if the Samnites had not frequently sought peace while preparing for war, a treaty could have been arranged by mutual discussion: as it was, since words had hitherto proved of no effect, the Romans must needs take their stand on facts. [3] Publius Sempronius, the consul, would shortly be in Samnium with an army; he was one whom they would be unable to deceive as to whether their hearts inclined to peace or war; after a thorough investigation he would report his findings to the senate; and on his leaving Samnium their envoys might attend him. [4] The Roman army marched all over Samnium; the people were peaceable and furnished the army liberally with supplies; accordingly their ancient treaty was in that year restored again to the Samnites.

[5] The arms of Rome were then directed against the Aequi, who had been her enemies of old, but for many years past had remained quiet, under colour of a peace which they observed but treacherously.

[6] The reason for making war on them was as follows: before the overthrow of the Hernici they had repeatedly joined with them in sending assistance to the Samnites, and after the subjugation of the Hernici, almost the entire nation had gone over to the enemy, without

attempting to disguise their policy; [7] and when fetials had applied to them for reparation, after the adoption of the Samnite treaty at Rome, they had persistently asserted that the Romans were attempting under threats of war to intimidate them into becoming Roman citizens; and how little that was a thing to be desired had [8??] been shown, they said, by the Hernici, since those who had been permitted to do so had chosen their own laws in preference to Roman citizenship, while those who had not been given an option were to have citizenship thrust upon them as a punishment. [9] because of such expressions, publicly uttered in their assemblies, the Roman People decreed that war should be made upon the Aequi. [10] both consuls set out for the new seat of operations, and took up a position four miles from the enemy's camp.

[11] The army of the Aequi, who for many years had made no war on their own account, like a hastily levied militia, under no definite commanders and subject to no supreme authority, were in a state of panic. some were for offering battle, others for defending [12] the camp. The consideration that affected most of them was the devastation which their farms would suffer and the subsequent destruction of their cities, which they had left [13] inadequately garrisoned. and so when a proposal was heard — amongst many others — which disregarded the common welfare and made every one think of his own interest, to wit, that in the first watch they should leave the camp, and going their several ways, [14??] carry off all their possessions from the fields and defend their cities by means of their walls, they all with loud acclaim adopted it. The enemy were scattered over the countryside when at break of day the Romans came out and formed in order of battle, and encountering nobody, advanced at a quick pace towards the [15] Aequian camp. but not perceiving any outposts before the gates or anybody on the rampart, and missing the usual noises of a camp, they were troubled by the unaccustomed silence, and apprehending an [16] ambush, halted. later, when they had scaled the rampart and found everything deserted, they attempted to follow the enemy by his tracks; but the tracks, which led in all directions — as they would when an army had dispersed — at first [17] bewildered them. afterwards they found out through their scouts what the enemy designed to do; and attacking

his cities in succession, one after another, they captured thirty — one of them within fifty days, in every instance by assault. of these the greater number were dismantled and burnt, and the Aequian name was almost [18] blotted out. a triumph was celebrated over the Aequi; and warned by the example of their downfall, the Marrucini, Marsi, Paeligni, and Frentani sent ambassadors to Rome to sue for peace and friendship. These nations, at their request, were granted a treaty of alliance.

46. in the same year a government clerk, Gnaeus Flavius, the son of Gnaeus, was curule aedile. born in humble circumstances — his father being a freedman — he was, for the rest, a man of shrewdness and eloquence. [2] i find in certain annals that being in attendance upon the aediles, and perceiving that the tribes were supporting him for aedile, but that his name was thrown out because he was acting as a recorder, he put away his tablet and took an oath that he would keep no record. [3] Licinius Macer alleges that he had ceased some time before to act as secretary, having been already a tribune, and on two occasions a triumvir, once on the commission which had charge of the night — watch, and again on one appointed to found a colony. [4] at all events there is no difference of opinion about the stubbornness of his contention with the nobles, who despised his lowly birth. [5] he published the formulae of the civil law, which had been filed away in the secret archives of the pontiffs, and posted up the calendar on white notice — boards about the Forum, that men might know when they could bring an action. [6] he dedicated a temple of Concord in the precinct of Vulcan, greatly to the resentment of the nobles; [7] and Cornelius Barbatus, the chief pontiff, was forced by the unanimous wishes of the people to dictate the form of words to him, though he asserted that by custom of the elders none but a consul or commanding general might dedicate a temple. [8] so, in accordance with a senatorial resolution, a measure was enacted by the people providing that no one should dedicate a temple or an altar without the authorization of the senate or a majority of the tribunes of the plebs. — I will relate an incident, of no importance in itself, which may serve to show how the plebs asserted their liberties against the arrogance of the nobles. [9] Flavius had come to make a call upon a colleague who was sick, and the young nobles who were

sitting by his bed with one consent omitted to rise on his entering; whereupon he ordered his curule chair to be fetched in, and from his official seat gazed at his adversaries, who were choking with resentment. [10] now Flavius had been elected aedile by the faction of the market — place, which had become powerful in consequence of the censorship of Appius Claudius. [11] Claudius had been the first to debase the senate by the appointment of the sons of freedmen, and afterwards, when no one allowed the validity of his selection, and he had failed to gain the influence in the senate — house [12] which had been his object, he had distributed the humble denizens of the City amongst all the tribes, and had thus corrupted the Forum and the Campus Martius. and so great was the indignation over the election of Flavius that many of the nobles laid aside their golden rings [14] and medals. from that time the citizens were divided into two parties; the men of integrity, who favoured and cherished right principles, tended one way, the rabble of the marketplace another; until Quintus Fabius and Publius Decius became censors, and Fabius, partly for the sake of harmony, partly that the elections might not be in the hands of the basest of the people, culled out all the market — place mob and cast them into four tribes, to which he gave the name [15] of Urban. The arrangement, they say, was so gratefully received, that by this regulation of the orders he purchased the surname of the Great, which not all his victories had been able to procure him. it was Fabius too, so it is said, who instituted the parade of the knights on the fifteenth of July.

SUMMARY OF BOOK IX

TITUS VETURIUS and Spurius Postumius, the consuls, having led their army into a narrow place at the Caudine Forks, when there was no hope of escaping, made a treaty with the Samnites, and having given six hundred Roman knights as hostages, got their army off, on condition that all should be sent under the yoke. and these same men having been delivered up to the Samnites, together with two tribunes of the plebs and all those who had guaranteed the treaty — on the suggestion of Spurius Postumius the consul, who had advised the

senate that the pledge of the State should be redeemed by the surrender of those by whose fault so disgraceful a treaty had been made — were by them rejected. not long after, the Samnites were routed by Papirus Cursor and sent beneath the yoke, and the six hundred Roman knights who had been given as hostages were recovered, thus wiping out the shame of the earlier disgrace. two tribes were added, the Oufentina and the Falerna. colonies were planted at Suessa and Pontia. Appius Claudius the censor completed an aqueduct; paved the road which was called the Appian Way; and admitted the sons of freedmen to the senate, for which reason, since that order appeared to have been polluted with unworthy members, the consuls of the following year kept the senate as it had been before the last censors. The book also contains successful campaigns against the Apulians, the Etruscans, the Umbrians, the Marsi, the Paeligni, the Aequi, and the Samnites, to whom their treaty was restored. Gnaeus Flavius, a government clerk and a freedman's son, was elected curule aedile by the faction of the market — place, which since it threw into confusion the comitia and the Campus Martius, which it dominated by its overweening strength, was by Quintus Fabius the censor divided up into four tribes which he called "urban"; and this circumstance procured Fabius his surname of Maximus. in this book the author mentions Alexander, who lived in those times, and, after appraising the strength of the Roman people in that age, gathers that if Alexander had crossed into Italy, he would not have gained the victory over the Roman People, as he had done over those races which he subjugated in the Orient.

BOOK X

Translated by B. O. Foster

1. IN the consulship of Lucius Genucius and Servius Cornelius there was in general a respite from foreign wars. colonies were established at Sora and Alba. [2] six thousand settlers were enrolled for Alba, in the Aequian country. Sora had belonged to the territory of the Volsci, but the Samnites had got possession of it; to this place were sent four thousand men. [3] in this year also the Arpinates and Trebulani were granted citizenship. The Frusinates were mulcted in one — third of their land, because it was discovered that they had tampered with the Hernici; the ringleaders of the conspiracy, after the consuls, at the instance of the senate, had conducted an investigation, were scourged and beheaded. [4] nevertheless, that their year might not go by without any war whatever, the consuls made a little expedition into Umbria, because of a report that armed men issuing from a certain cave were making raids upon the farms. [5] The soldiers carried their standards into the cave, and there in the murk received many wounds, particularly from stones that were thrown at them; until, having found the other mouth of the cavern — for there was a way of going through it — they heaped up faggots at both openings and set them afire. [6] in this way about two thousand armed men perished in the cave from the smoke and heat, for they finally rushed into the very flames in their efforts to escape.

[7] when Marcus Livius Denter and Marcus Aemilius were consuls, the Aequi resumed hostilities. indignant that a colony had been established, like a citadel, within their borders, they attacked it with great fury. [8] they were beaten off by the colonists themselves, but occasioned such dismay at Rome — since it was scarce to be believed that the Aequi when in so weakened a condition should have begun a war relying solely on their own resources — that a dictator was appointed to cope with the outbreak, in the person of Gaius Junius Bubulcus. [9] setting out with Marcus Titinius, his master of the horse, he reduced the Aequi to submission at the first encounter, and having returned in triumph to the City eight days

later, dedicated as dictator the temple of Safety which he had vowed as consul and for which as censor he had let the contract.

2. during the same year a Greek fleet commanded by Cleonymus the Lacedaemonian put in to the shores of Italy and seized the city of Thuriae in the country of the Sallentini. [2] The consul Aemilius was dispatched against this enemy, whom he routed in a single engagement and drove to his ships. [3] Thuriae was restored to its old inhabitants, and peace was established in the Sallentine territory. i find in some annals that Junius Bubulcus the dictator was sent among the Sallentini, and that Cleonymus withdrew from Italy before it became necessary to fight the Romans.

[4] rounding then the promontory of Brundisium, he was swept on by the winds in the mid gulf of the Adriatic, and dreading the harbourless coasts of Italy on his left and on his right the Illyrians, Liburnians, and Histrians, — savage tribes and notorious most of them for their piracies — kept straight on until he reached the coasts of the Veneti. [5] having sent a small party ashore to explore the country, and learning that it was a narrow beach that extended in front of them, on crossing which one found behind it lagoons which were flooded by the tides; that not far off level fields could be made out, and that hills were seen rising beyond them, and that a river of great depth — the [6] Mediachus — debouched there, into which they could bring round their ships to a safe anchorage — having learned all this, I say, he ordered the fleet to sail in and make its way up stream. [7] but the channel would not admit the heaviest ships, and the multitude of armed men, passing over into the lighter vessels, kept on till they came to thickly inhabited fields; for three maritime villages of the Patavini were situated there along the river — bank. [8] disembarking there they left a small body of men to defend the boats, burnt the houses, made spoil of men and cattle, and, lured on by the sweets of pillage, advanced to a greater and greater distance from their ships.

[9] when word of these events was brought to the Patavians, whom the vicinity of the Gauls kept always under arms, they divided their young men into two divisions. one of these marched into the region where the scattered marauding was reported; the other, taking a different road, to avoid falling in with any of the marauders,

proceeded to the place where the ships were moored, fourteen miles from the town. [10] The latter party, slaying the guards, who were unaware of their approach, made a rush for the ships, and the terrified sailors were forced to get them over to the other side of the stream. onland, too, the battle waged against the straggling plunderers was equally successful, and when the Greeks would have fled back to their station, the Veneti stood in their way. thus the enemy were caught between two parties and were cut to pieces. [11] some of them, being taken prisoners, told how the fleet and King Cleonymus were three miles off. [12] thereupon the captives were consigned to the next village for safe — keeping, and armed men filling the river boats — suitably constructed with flat bottoms, to enable them to cross the shallow lagoons — and others manning the craft they had captured from the invaders, they descended upon the fleet and surrounded the unwieldy ships; [13] which, being more fearful of the unknown waters than of the enemy, and more bent on escaping to the deep sea than on resisting, they pursued clear to the river's mouth, and having captured some of them and burnt them, after they had been run aground in the confusion, returned victorious. [14] Cleonymus sailed off with barely a fifth part of his ships intact. in no quarter of the Adriatic had his attempts succeeded. there are many now living in Patavium who have seen the beaks of the ships and the spoils of the Laconians which were fastened up in the old temple of Juno. [15] in commemoration of the naval battle a contest of ships is held regularly, on the anniversary of the engagement, in the river that flows through the town.

3. a treaty was entered into at Rome this year with the Vestini, who solicited friendship. [2] thereafter there were alarms in several quarters. it was reported that Etruria was up in arms, in consequence of an outbreak that had its origin in dissensions at Arretium, where a movement was begun to drive out the Cilnii — a very powerful family — because of the envy occasioned by their wealth. at the same time the Marsi forcibly resisted the confiscation of their land, where the colony of Carscoli had been planted with an enrolment of four thousand men. [3] in view, therefore, of these tumults, Marcus Valerius Maximus was appointed dictator and named Marcus Aemilius Paulus to be his master of the horse. [4] this I choose rather

to believe than that Quintus Fabius, at his time of life and after the offices he had held, was made subordinate to Valerius; but I would not deny that the error might have originated in the surname of Maximus. [5] — Setting out with his army, the dictator overthrew the Marsi in a single battle; then shutting them up in their walled cities, he captured Milonia, Plestina, and Fresilia, in the course of a few days, and having fined the Marsi in a part of their territory, renewed the treaty with them. [6] The campaign was then directed against the Etruscans; [7] the dictator having set out for Rome, to take the auspices over again, the master of the horse went out to forage, and being ambushed, lost a number of standards and was driven back into his camp, with a shameful rout and slaughter of his soldiers. [8] — This discomfiture is very unlikely to have befallen Fabius, not only because if in any quality he came up to his surname, he assuredly did so in the glory of a soldier, but also because, remembering the severity of Papirius, he could never have been brought to engage in battle without the orders of the dictator.

4. The news of this reverse gave rise in Rome to a greater alarm than the situation warranted. for, as though the army had been destroyed, a cessation of legal business was proclaimed, guards were [2??] called into service at the gates, and night — watches in the several streets, arms and missiles being heaped upon the walls. [3] after summoning all of military age to take the oath, the dictator was dispatched to the army, and there found everything more tranquil than he had expected and reduced to order by the careful measures of the master of the horse. [4] The camp had been withdrawn to a safer site, the cohorts that had lost their standards had been left outside the rampart [5??] without tents, and the army was eager for battle, that it might the sooner wipe out its disgrace. [6] accordingly he advanced without delay into the district of Rusellae. to this place the enemy followed him; and although in consequence of their success they had every confidence in their ability to cope with the Romans even in the open field, yet they also attempted an ambushade, which they had successfully essayed before. [7] not far from the Roman camp stood the half — ruined buildings of a village which had been burned when the country was laid waste. [8] concealing armed men in these ruins, they drove out some cattle in full sight of a Roman outpost, which

was under the command of the lieutenant Gnaeus Fulvius. but when this tempting bait failed to lure any of the Romans from their post, one of the shepherds came up under the very works and called out to the others, who were hesitating to drive out their flock from amongst the tumble — down buildings, asking why they were so slow, for they could safely drive them through the midst of the Roman camp. [9] some men from Caere interpreted these words to the lieutenant, and great was the indignation aroused through all the maniples of soldiers; yet they dared not stir without the orders of their leader, who commanded those familiar with the language to mark whether the shepherds' speech were more like that of rustics or of city — folk. [10] on their reporting that in accent, in carriage, and in complexion they were too refined for shepherds, “go then,” said he, “and bid them uncover the ambuscade they have laid in vain; for the Romans know all, and can now no more be entrapped than they can be conquered by force of arms.” [11] These words were no sooner heard and repeated to those who lay in ambush than they suddenly all rose up from their hiding — places and advanced in martial array into the plain which was spread open to the view on every side. [12] their army seemed to the lieutenant to be greater than his own detachment could withstand, and he therefore sent in all haste to the dictator to summon help, in the meantime resisting by himself the enemy's charges.

5. on receiving his message the dictator bade advance the standards, and commanded his men to arm and follow them. [2] but everything was almost sooner done than ordered; standards and arms were hurriedly caught up, and the soldiers could hardly be restrained from pushing forward at a run. it was not anger alone that spurred them on, as they thought of the defeat they had recently sustained, but the shouts, as well, that fell faster on their hearing as the fight waxed more hot. [3] so they urged one another forward and exhorted the standard — bearers to a faster pace. but the more haste the dictator saw them make, the more earnest was he to hold them in, and commanded them to slow down their march. [4] The Etruscans, on the contrary, having been called out at the beginning of the battle, had taken the field with all their troops. one messenger after another informed the dictator that all the Etruscan legions were engaged and

that his own men could hold out no longer; and looking down from the higher ground, he could see for himself the perilous situation of his people. [5] still, feeling fairly confident that his lieutenant was capable, even then, of maintaining the fight, and that he was himself not too far off to rescue him from danger, he desired the enemy to become completely exhausted, that he might fall upon them with undiminished vigour when their strength was spent. [6] yet although the Romans advanced but slowly, they had now but a little space to charge in, especially the horse. in the van were the standards of the legions, lest the enemy should be apprehensive of any concealed or rapid movement; but the dictator had left intervals between the files of the infantry, to allow ample room for the horses to go through. [7] The legionaries gave a cheer, and simultaneously the horsemen were let loose and with a free course galloped straight upon the enemy, who were not prepared to resist a shock of cavalry and were overwhelmed with a sudden panic. [8] and so, though the help had nearly come too late for men who were already well — nigh surrounded, yet they were now all given a respite, and the battle was taken over by fresh troops — a battle of no long duration nor of doubtful issue. [9] The routed enemy fled back to their camp, and when the Roman standard — bearers pressed in after them, they gave way and huddled up together in the farthest part of the enclosure. [10] The narrow gates became choked with fugitives and a great part of them climbed upon the mound and palisade, in hopes that from that elevation they might be able either to defend themselves, or to climb over somewhere and escape. [11] it chanced that in a certain place the mound had not been solidly rammed down, and this, overburdened with the weight of those who stood upon it, slid over into the trench. [12] by that opening — crying out that the gods were providing them a means of flight — they saved themselves, but more got away without their arms than with them.

in this battle the might of the Etruscans was broken for the second time. by promising a year's pay for the soldiers, with two months' corn, they obtained permission from the dictator to send envoys to Rome to negotiate a peace. [13] Peace was denied them, but they were granted a truce of two years. The dictator returned to Rome and triumphed. — I find historians who say that Etruria was pacified by

the dictator without any memorable battle, only by settling the dissensions of the Arretini and reconciling the Cilnian family with the plebs. — Marcus Valerius resigned as dictator, to enter immediately upon the consulship. [14] some authors have recorded that he was elected without seeking the office, indeed without even being present, and that the election was presided over by an interrex; this only is not disputed, that he held the consulship in company with Apuleius Pansa.

6. during their year of administration the foreign relations of the state were fairly peaceful: [2] the Etruscans were kept quiet by their failure in war and by the truce; the Samnites, tamed by the defeats of many years, had not wearied as yet of the new covenant. [3] at Rome also the relief afforded by the emigration of large numbers to the colonies had quieted the commons Nevertheless, that tranquillity might not be found everywhere, the plebeian tribunes Quintus and Gnaeus Ogulnius stirred up a quarrel among the first men of the state, both patrician and [4] plebeian. they had sought in every quarter occasions for maligning the Fathers to the plebs; and having tried everything else in vain, they set on foot a project by which they might inflame, not the lowest of the rabble, but the very leaders of the plebs [5] — the commons, namely, who had enjoyed consulships and triumphs, and who lacked nothing but priesthoods, which were not yet open to all, to complete their list of [6] honours. The Ogulnii accordingly proposed a law, that whereas there were then four augurs and four pontiffs and it was desired to augment the number of priests, four pontiffs and five augurs should be added, and should all be taken from the [7] plebs. — How this college could have been reduced to four augurs, unless by the death of two, I cannot discover; since it is a settled principle amongst the augurs that their number should be uneven, to the end that the three ancient tribes, the Ramnes, Titienses and Luceres, should each have its augur, or else [8] — if a larger number should be needed — that they should increase the priests in the same proportion; as in fact they were increased when five were added to the four, and, making up the number of nine, gave each tribe [9] three. — But since they were to be added from the plebs, the patricians were as distressed by the proposal as they had been when they saw the consulship thrown [10] open. they pretended that' the

gods were more concerned than they themselves were: the gods would see to it that their rites should not be contaminated; for their own part they only hoped that no disaster might come upon the [11] state. they made, however, no great struggle, accustomed as they now were to being worsted in contests of this kind; and they beheld their adversaries no longer reaching out after great honours which they had formerly scarce any hopes of attaining, but in full possession of all the things for which they had striven with dubious prospects of success — repeated consulships, censorships, and triumphs.

7. there is said, however, to have been a vigorous discussion as to the passage or rejection of the bill, in which Appius Claudius and Publius Decius Mus were the principal speakers. [2] after they had brought up nearly the same arguments concerning the rights of patricians and plebeians as had formerly been employed in behalf of and against the Licinian Law, when the plebeians sought access to the consulship, it [3??] is related that Decius evoked the image of his father as he had been seen by many who were then present in the assembly, wearing his toga with the Gabine cincture, and standing over his weapon, as he had done when offering himself a sacrifice for the Roman People and the legions. [4] Publius Decius the consul had on that occasion seemed to the immortal gods an oblation no less pure and holy than if his colleague Titus Manlius had been offered up; could not then this same Publius Decius — he asked — have been duly chosen to solemnize the public sacrifices of the Roman People? [5] or was it to be feared that the gods would hearken less readily to the speaker's prayers than to those of Appius Claudius? did Appius perform with more devotion the rites of domestic religion, and worship the gods more scrupulously than he did himself? [6] who was there that repented him of the vows that had been uttered in the state's behalf by so many plebeian consuls and so many dictators, either on going to their armies or in the midst of their campaigns? [7] let them enumerate the generals of those years that had elapsed since campaigns were first conducted under the leadership and auspices of plebeians; let them enumerate the triumphs; even on the score of their nobility, the plebeians had now nothing to regret. [8] he felt quite sure that if suddenly some war

should arise, the senate and the Roman People would rest their hopes no more on patrician than on plebeian generals.

[9] “since this is so,” he proceeded, “what god or man can deem it inappropriate that those heroes whom you have honoured with curule chairs, with the purple — bordered robe, with the tunic adorned with palms, and with the embroidered toga, the triumphal crown and the laurel wreath, whose houses you have made conspicuous amongst the rest with the spoils of your enemies which you have fastened to their walls, — who, I say, can object if such men add thereto the insignia of the pontiffs and the [10] augurs? may the man who, decked with the robes of Jupiter Optimus Maximus, has been borne through the City in a gilded chariot and has mounted the Capitol — may that man not be seen with chalice and crook, when, covering his head, he offers up the victim, or receives an augury from the [11] Citadel? if men shall read with equanimity, in the inscription that accompanies his portrait, of consulship, censorship, and triumph, will their eyes be unable to endure the brightness, if you add to these the augurate or [12] pontificate? for my own part — under Heaven’s favour be it spoken — I trust that we are now, thanks to the Roman People, in a position to reflect upon the priesthoods — in consequence of our recognized fitness for office — no less credit than we shall receive from them, and to seek, more for the service of the gods than for ourselves, that those whom we worship privately we may also worship in the name of the state.

8. “but why have I been reasoning hitherto as if the patrician claim on the priesthoods were intact, and we were not already in possession of the one supremely honourable priesthood? [2] we see that plebeians are members of the Ten charged with the sacred rites, interpreters of the Sibylline oracles and the destinies of this people, the same being also overseers of Apollo’s ritual and of other ceremonies. [3] and yet the patricians were in no way wronged at the time when the two commissioners in charge of sacred rites were increased in number on account of the plebeians; [4] and our brave and vigorous tribune, in proposing at the present time to add five augurs’ places and four pontiffs’, to which plebeians may be named, has not desired to oust you patricians, Appius, from your places, but that men of the plebs may help you in the administration also of divine affairs, even as they

help you in other and human matters, to the measure of their strength. [5] blush not, Appius, to have a colleague in the priesthood whom you might have had in the censorship or consulship. it is quite as possible that he should be dictator and you his master of the horse as that it should be the other way about. [6] a Sabine immigrant, the first of your house to be ennobled — call him Attius Clausus or Appius Claudius, as you will — was admitted to their number by the patricians of that olden time: be not too proud to admit us into the number of the priests. [7] we bring many distinctions with us, aye, every one of those same distinctions that have made you so high and mighty. [8] Lucius Sextius was the first plebeian consul, Gaius Licinius Stolo the first master of the horse; Gaius Marcius Rutulus the first dictator and censor, Quintus Publilius Philo the first praetor. [9] from you we have heard always the same song — that the auspices belong to you, that you alone are of noble birth, that you alone have the full *imperium* and right to divination, both at home and in the field. but the authority and divination of plebeian and patrician have prospered in equal measure until now, and so they shall do in the future. [10] pray, has it ever been wafted to your ears that those who were first appointed to be patricians were not beings descended from celestial regions, but were such as could name their fathers — were free — born men, that is, and nothing more? [11] i can already name a consul for my father, and my son will presently be able to name one for his grandfather. in truth the matter is simply, Quirites, that we must always be first denied, and yet have our way in the end. a struggle is all that the patricians ask: they care not what may be the outcome of the struggle. [12] i hold that this law — and may good come of it and favour and prosperity, to yourselves and to the state! — should be ordered, as proposed.”

9. The people straightway commanded the tribes to be called, and it seemed that the measure would be accepted; nevertheless it was put off for that day on account of a veto. [2] on the following day the tribunes were cowed and the law was passed with acclamation. to be pontiffs were chosen the advocate of the law, Publius Decius Mus, with Publius Sempronius Sophus, Gaius Marcius Rutulus, and Marcus Livius Denter; the five augurs were likewise of the plebs, Gaius Genucius, Publius Aelius Paetus, Marcus Minucius Faesus,

Gaius Marcius, and Titus Publilius. thus the number of pontiffs became eight and of augurs nine.

[3] in the same year Marcus Valerius the consul proposed a law of appeal with stricter sanctions. this was the third time since the expulsion of the kings that such a law had been introduced, by the same family in every instance. [4] The reason for renewing it more than once was, I think, simply this, that the wealth of a few carried more power than the liberty of the plebs. yet the Porcian law alone seems to have been passed to protect the persons of the citizens, imposing, as it did, a heavy penalty if anyone should scourge or put to death a Roman citizen. [5] The Valerian law, having forbidden that he who had appealed should be scourged with rods or beheaded, merely provided that if anyone should disregard these injunctions it should be deemed a wicked act. [6] this seemed, I suppose, a sufficiently strong sanction of the law, so modest were men in those days; [7] at the present time one would hardly utter such a threat in earnest.

The same consul conducted an insignificant campaign against the rebellious Aequi, who retained nothing of their ancient fortune but a warlike spirit. [8] Apuleius, the other consul, laid siege to the town of Nequinum in Umbria. it was a steep place and on one side precipitous — the site is now occupied by Narnia — and could be captured neither by assault nor by siege operations. [9] The enterprise was therefore still unfinished when Marcus Fulvius Paetus and Titus Manlius Torquatus, the new consuls, took it over.

[10] Licinius Macer and Tubero declare that all the centuries were for naming Quintus Fabius consul for this year, though he was not a candidate, but that Fabius himself urged them to defer his consulship to a year when there was more fighting; just then he would be of greater service to the state if invested with an urban magistracy. [11] and so, neither dissembling what he had in mind nor yet seeking it, he was elected curule aedile, with Lucius Papirius Cursor. [12] i have been unable to put this down for certain, because Piso, one of the older annalists, states that the curule aediles for that year were Gnaeus Domitius Calvinus, the son of Gnaeus, and Spurius Carvilius Maximus, the son of Quintus. [13] i fancy that this surname occasioned an error in regard to the aediles, and that a story

afterwards grew up in harmony with the error, from a confusion of the aedilician with the consular elections. [14] this year witnessed also the closing of the lustrum, by the censors Publius Sempronius Sophus and Publius Sulpicius Saverrio, and two tribes were added — the Aniensis and the Terentina. so much for affairs at Rome.

10. meantime, at the town of Nequinum, while the siege dragged slowly on, two of the townsmen, whose dwellings abutted on the wall, dug a tunnel and made their way in secret to the Roman outposts. [2] thence they were conducted to the consul, whom they assured of their readiness to admit a party of soldiers within the fortifications and the walls. [3] it was not thought wise to spurn this offer, nor yet rashly to confide in it. in company with one of these men — the other being held as a hostage — two scouts were sent through the tunnel; [4] the result of their investigation was satisfactory, and three hundred armed men, with the renegade as guide, effected an entrance by night into the city and seized the nearest gate. once this had been broken down, the Roman consul and his army captured the place without a struggle. [5] thus Nequinum came under the sway of the Roman People. a colony was sent there to make head against the Umbrians, and was given the name of Narnia from the river Nar. The army, enriched with spoil, marched back to Rome.

[6] The Etruscans planned to go to war that year in violation of the truce; but while they were busy with this project an enormous army of Gauls invaded their borders and diverted them for a little while from their purpose. [7] afterwards, putting their trust in money, of which they had great store, they endeavoured to convert the Gauls from enemies into friends, to the end that, uniting the Gallic army with their own, they might fight the Romans. [8] The barbarians made no objection to an alliance: it was only a question of price. when this had been agreed upon and received, and the Etruscans, having completed the rest of their preparations for the war, bade their new allies follow them, the Gauls demurred. [9] they had made no bargain, they said, for a war with Rome; whatever they had received had been. [10] in consideration of their not devastating the Etruscan territory and molesting its inhabitants; nevertheless they would take the field, if the Etruscans were bent on having them, but on one

condition only — that the Etruscans admit them to a share in their land, where they might settle at last in a permanent home. [11] many councils of the peoples of Etruria were held to consider this offer, but nothing could be resolved upon, not so much from a reluctance to see their territory lessened as because everyone shrank from having men of so savage a race for neighbours. [12] so the Gauls were dismissed, and departed with a vast sum of money, acquired without any toil or risk. The Romans were alarmed by the rumour of a Gallic rising in addition to a war with the Etruscans, and lost no time in concluding a treaty with the people of Picenum.

11. The command in Etruria fell by lot to Titus Manlius the consul. he had barely entered the territory of the enemy, and was exercising with the cavalry, when, in wheeling his horse about after a swift gallop, he was thrown [2??] and ere long breathed his last, for the third day following the accident saw the end of the consul's life. taking this as an omen of the war, and declaring that the gods had begun hostilities in their behalf, the Etruscans plucked up courage. [3] it was sad news to the Romans; not only could they ill spare the man, but his death occurred at an embarrassing moment. [4] The Fathers would have ordered the nomination of a dictator had not the election held to choose a substitute for the consul fallen out in accordance with the wishes of the leaders. Marcus Valerius was the choice of all the centuries for consul. [5] it was he whom the senate had intended to have named as dictator, and they now commanded him to proceed forthwith to the legions in Etruria. [6] his arrival so damped the ardour of the Etruscans that none ventured outside their fortifications, and their own fear was like a besieging host. nor could the new consul entice them into giving battle by wasting their lands and firing their buildings, though the smoke was rising on every side from the conflagration not only of farm — houses but of many villages as well.

[7] while this war was prolonged beyond anticipation, another war — justly dreaded by reason of the many losses which the parties to it had inflicted on each other — was beginning to be talked of in consequence of information given by the Picentes, Rome's new allies. [8] The Samnites, they said, were looking to arms and a renewal of hostilities, and had solicited their help. [9] The Picentes

were thanked, and the senate's anxiety was diverted, in great measure, from Etruria to the Samnites.

The citizens were also concerned at the dearness of provisions, and would have experienced the direst need, as those writers have recorded who are pleased to represent Fabius Maximus as having been aedile in that year, if that heroic man, who had on many occasions managed military undertakings, had not at this juncture shown himself equally expert in the administration of the market and the purchase and importation of corn.

[10] in this year — for no cause assigned — there befell an interregnum. The interreges were Appius Claudius, and afterwards Publius Sulpicius. The latter held a consular election, and announced that the choice had fallen on Lucius Cornelius Scipio and Gnaeus Fulvius.

[11] in the beginning of this year Lucanian envoys came to the new consuls to complain that the Samnites, since they had been unable by offering inducements to entice them into an armed alliance, had invaded their territories with a hostile army and by warring on them were obliging them to go to war. [12] The people of Lucania, they said, had on a former occasion strayed all too far from the path of duty, but were now so resolute as to deem it better to endure and suffer anything than ever again to offend the Romans. [13] they besought the Fathers both to take the Lucanians under their protection and to defend them from the violence and oppression of the Samnites. though their having gone to war with the Etruscans was necessarily a pledge of loyalty to the Romans, yet they were none the less ready to give hostages.

12. discussion in the senate was soon over. every opinion was for entering into a treaty with Lucania and demanding satisfaction of the Samnites. [2] The Lucanians received a friendly answer, and the league was formed. fetials were then sent to command the Samnites to leave the country belonging to Rome's allies, and withdraw their army from the territory of Lucania. they were met on the way by messengers, whom the Samnites had dispatched to warn them that if they went before any Samnite council they would not depart unscathed. [3] when these things were known at Rome, the senate advised and the people voted a declaration of war against the

Samnites.

The consuls divided the commands between them, Scipio getting Etruria and Fulvius the Samnites, and set out for their respective wars. Scipio looked forward to a slow campaign like that of the previous year, but was met near Volaterrae by the enemy drawn up in [4] column. The fighting, which lasted for the best part of a day, was attended with heavy losses on [5] both sides; and night came on while it was yet uncertain to which nation victory had been vouchsafed. The morning showed who was victor and who vanquished, for in the silence of the night the Etruscans [6] had decamped. The Romans marched out into line of battle; and when they saw that the enemy by his retreat had conceded their superiority, they advanced and possessed themselves of the camp, which was unoccupied and contained much booty, for it had been a permanent post and had been [7] hurriedly abandoned. Scipio then led his troops back into the Faliscan territory, and having left his baggage with a small guard in Falerii, set out with his army in light marching order to ravage the territory of [8] the enemy. The whole country was laid waste with fire and sword and booty was brought in from all directions. not only was the soil left bare for the enemy, but even strongholds and villages were burned. The consul stopped short of attacking the walled towns, into which the frightened Etruscans had fled [9] for refuge.

The other consul, Gnaeus Fulvius, fought a famous battle in Samnium, near Bovianum, and gained a victory that was by no means doubtful. he then attacked and captured Bovianum, and not long afterwards Aufidena.

13. a colony was founded in that same year at Carseoli in the land of the Aequicoli. The consul Fulvius triumphed over the Samnites. [2] as the consular elections drew near, a rumour arose that the Etruscans and the Samnites were levying huge forces; [3] it was said that in all their councils the leaders of the Etruscans were openly censured for not having brought the Gauls into the war, on whatever terms; and the Samnite magistrates were attacked for having confronted the Romans with an army raised to oppose a Lucanian foe; [4] thus their enemies were girding themselves for war, in their own might and the might of their allies, and they would have to contend with them on far from even terms.

[5] this danger, though illustrious men were candidates for the consulship, made everyone turn to Quintus Fabius Maximus, who was not a candidate, in the first place, and who, when he saw the direction of the people's wishes, actually refused to stand. [6] why must they trouble him, he asked, who was an old man now and had done with toil and the rewards of toil? neither his body nor his mind retained their vigour undiminished, and he feared Fortune herself, lest some god might deem that she had already been too kind to him and more constant than human beings were meant to find her. [7] he himself had risen to the glory of his elders, and he rejoiced to see others growing up to the measure of his own. [8] there was no lack of great offices in Rome for the bravest men, nor of brave men for the offices.

[9] such moderation but intensified the well — merited enthusiasm of his friends; and Fabius, thinking that it would have to be restrained by respect for the laws, bade read aloud the statute which prohibited the re — election of the same man to the consulship within ten years. [10] whereupon there was such a clamouring that the law could scarce be heard, and the tribunes of the plebs declared that it should be no impediment, for they would propose to the people that he be granted a dispensation from the laws. Fabius, for his part, stoutly persisted in his refusal. [11] what, in that case, he demanded, was the good of making laws, when their very makers broke them? The laws were no longer in control, but were themselves controlled. [12] nevertheless the people proceeded to the election, and every century, as it was summoned within, in no uncertain terms named Fabius consul. then at last, overborne by the consent of all the citizens, “may Heaven,” he said, “approve, Quirites, of what you are doing and propose to do. [13] for the rest, since you are bound to have your way with me, grant me a favour in the matter of my colleague and make consul with me Publius Decius, a man whose friendliness I have experienced in the fellowship of office, a man worthy of you and worthy of his sire. [14] “The recommendation seemed a reasonable one. all the remaining centuries voted for Quintus Fabius and Publius Decius.

in that year many men were prosecuted by the aediles on the charge of possessing more land than the law allowed. hardly anybody

was acquitted, and exorbitant greed was sharply curbed.

14. while the new consuls, Quintus Fabius Maximus (in his fourth term) and Publius Decius Mus (in his third), were laying plans together how one should take the field against the Samnites, [2??] and the other against the Etruscans, and were considering what forces would suffice for these respective provinces and which of them was the better suited to the one command and which to [3??] the other, there came deputies from Sutrium and Nepete and Falerii, with the news that the nations of Etruria were counselling together how they might sue for peace, and thus diverted upon Samnium the whole burden of war. [4] when the consuls set out, in order to lessen the difficulty of getting supplies and to keep the enemy uncertain where the attack would come, Fabius marched into Samnium by way of Sora, Decius through the territory of the Sidicini.

[5] arrived at the borders of the enemy, each spread his army over a wide front and pillaged. [6] yet they scouted more widely than they pillaged, and the enemy were therefore unable to surprise them near Tifernum, where they had drawn their forces up in a secluded valley, and were preparing to assail the Romans from above, once they should have entered it. [7] removing the baggage to a place of safety and appointing a small force to guard it, Fabius warned his troops that a struggle was at hand, and forming them into a hollow square, led them up towards the place where the enemy lay, as I have said, concealed. [8] balked of their surprise attack, the Samnites — since it must ultimately come to an open trial of strength — likewise preferred to fight a regular engagement. [9] they accordingly descended to level ground, and committed their cause to Fortune, with courage greater than their hopes. however, whether owing to their having assembled the fighting strength of all the Samnite nations, or because a contest on which everything was staked heightened their valour, they occasioned some perturbation amongst the Romans, even in an open battle.

[10] when Fabius saw that the enemy were nowhere giving way, he ordered Maximus his son and Marcus Valerius — military tribunes with whom he had hurried to the front — to [11] go to the horsemen and tell them that if they remembered ever an occasion when the state had been helped by the horse, now was the time for them to

exert their strength to preserve untarnished the glory of that body: [12] in the struggle of infantry the enemy were yielding not an inch; no hope remained save in a charge of cavalry. addressing each of the young men by name, he loaded them now with praise and now with promises. [13] but since it was conceivable that even their prowess might prove to be inadequate, he thought proper to resort to strategy, if strength should not achieve his purpose. [14] so he ordered Scipio, his lieutenant, to withdraw the *hastati* of the first legion from the battle and conduct them, as secretly as possible, by a circuitous route to the nearest mountains; they were then, concealing their ascent from observation, to climb the heights and suddenly show themselves on the enemy's rear.

[15] The cavalry, led by the tribunes, occasioned hardly more confusion in their enemies than in their friends, as they rode out unexpectedly in front of the standards. [16] The Samnite line held firm against their galloping squadrons, and could at no point be forced back or broken, and the cavalry, finding their attack abortive, retired behind the lines and left the battle. [17] this gave the enemy a fresh access of spirits; and the front ranks would have been incapable of sustaining so long a struggle and the increasing violence with which the enemy's confidence inspired him, had not the second line, by the consul's order, come up to relieve them. [18] their fresh strength halted the Samnites, who were now pressing forward; and catching sight just at this juncture of our detachments descending from the mountains, and hearing the cheer they gave, the enemy was filled with terror of worse things than actually threatened him; [19] for Fabius shouted that his colleague Decius was approaching, and the soldiers themselves in their joy and eagerness cried out that the other consul was at hand — that [20] the legions were at hand; and this mistake, occurring in a good hour for the Romans, filled the Samnites with fear and bewilderment, for they dreaded nothing so much as that the other army, fresh and entire, might overwhelm them in their exhausted state. [21] The slaughter was less than is usual in so great a victory, for the enemy scattered far and wide in their flight. three thousand four hundred were slain; about eight hundred and thirty were made prisoners, and twenty — three standards were taken.

15. The Apulians would have joined the Samnites before the battle had not Publius Decius the consul encamped over against them at Maleventum, and then drawn them into an engagement and defeated them. [2] in this instance also the rout was greater than the slaughter: two thousand Apulians were killed, and Decius, scorning such an enemy, led his legions into Samnium. [3] there the two consular armies, overrunning the land in different directions, had laid all waste within four months' time. [4] there were forty — five places in Samnium where Decius had encamped; the other consul had encamped in eighty — six. [5] nor did they leave behind them only the traces of their ramparts and their trenches, but other much more conspicuous memorials, in the havoc and devastation of the country round about. Fabius also captured the city of Cimetra. [6] in this siege two thousand nine hundred men — at — arms were taken and some nine hundred and thirty were slain fighting.

[7] after this he set out for Rome for the election, which he made haste to call. The centuries that voted first were all naming Quintus Fabius for consul, when Appius Claudius, who was a [8??] candidate for that post and a pushing and ambitious man, but no more eager to gain the honour for himself than to have the patricians recover two consular places, exerted his own strength and that of the whole nobility to induce them to elect him as Fabius's colleague. [9] Fabius would not have it so, raising virtually the same objections he had raised in the previous year. The nobles all thronged about his seat, and besought him to lift up the consulship out of the plebeian mire and restore both to the office and to the aristocratic families their old — time dignity. [10] obtaining silence, Fabius soothed their excited feelings with a temperate speech, in which he said that he would have done as they desired and have received the names of two patricians, if he had seen another than himself being made consul; [11] as it was, he would not entertain his own name at an election, for to do so would violate the laws and establish a most evil precedent. [12] so Lucius Volumnius, a plebeian, was returned, together with Appius Claudius, with whom he had also been paired in an earlier consulship. The nobles taunted Fabius with having avoided Appius Claudius for a colleague, as a man clearly his superior in eloquence and statecraft.

16. The election over, the old consuls were bidden to carry on the war in Samnium, having received an extension of their command for six months. [2] so in the following year likewise — the consulship of Lucius Volumnius and Appius Claudius — Publius Decius, who had been left behind in Samnium, when consul, by his colleague, ceased not as proconsul to lay waste the farms, until finally he forced the army of the Samnites — which would nowhere risk a battle — to withdraw from the country.

[3] they retreated into Etruria, and thinking that what they had often tried in vain to bring about by means of embassies they might with so great a body of armed men and the menace which would be added to their entreaties accomplish more effectually, called for a council of the Etruscan leaders. [4] on its assembling, they pointed out for how many years they had been fighting with the Romans for their liberty. [5] they had made every effort, they said, if haply they might of their own strength bear up under so great a war; and had also — but to little purpose — made trial of the help of neighbouring nations. unable to sustain the war, they had sought peace of the Roman People; but had renewed hostilities, because peace with servitude was harder to endure than war with liberty. [6] their sole remaining hope lay in the Etruscans, whom they knew for the richest nation of Italy, in arms, in men, and in money; a nation, too, that marched with the Gauls, men born amid the clash of arms and possessing not only an instinctive love of fighting but a feeling of enmity to the Roman People, whose defeat at their hands and ransom for gold they were wont to relate with no idle boast. [7] if the Etruscans had the spirit that once had animated Porsinna and their forefathers, there was no reason why they should not expel the Romans from all the country north of the Tiber, and compel them to fight, not for an intolerable sovereignty over Italy, but for their own existence. [8] here was a Samnite army, provided with arms and pay, and ready to follow on the instant, though they should lead it to the assault of Rome itself.

17. while they were thus boasting and intriguing in Etruria, the Roman invasion was distressing their countrymen at home. for Publius Decius, having ascertained through scouts that the Samnite army had departed, summoned a council, and said, “why do we range

about the countryside, bringing war to this, that, and the other village? [2] why do we not assail cities and walled towns? there is no longer any army defending Samnium; they have withdrawn beyond their borders, sentenced to banishment by their own decree.” [3] with their unanimous approval he led them to the assault of Murgantia, a strong city; and such was the ardour of the troops, by reason both of affection for their general and the hopes that they entertained of greater booty than was to be got by ranging the country, that they took the place by force of arms in a single day. [4] there two thousand one hundred Samnites were surrounded and made prisoners as they fought, and vast spoils of other kinds were seized. [5] lest these should encumber the marching army with heavy baggage, Decius called the soldiers together and thus addressed them: “will this single victory or these spoils content you? will your expectations not be equal to your courage? all the cities of the Samnites and the riches left behind in them are yours, since, after defeating their legions in so many battles, you have in the end expelled them from their country. [6] sell these prizes and with hope of gain lure the traders on to follow your column; I will find you from time to time wares to dispose of. [7] let us go from here to the city Romulea, where no greater toil awaits you, but greater booty.”

The booty was sold off, and the men themselves urging on their general, they marched to Romulea. there, too, they used no siege — works or artillery; but once they had come up under the walls, no force could constrain them to retire; quickly setting up their ladders at the nearest places, they swarmed over the battlements. [8] The town was captured and sacked; two thousand three hundred were slain and six thousand made prisoners, and the soldiers came into possession of huge spoils which they were obliged, as before, to sell. [9] after that they marched with the utmost alacrity — though they had been allowed no time to rest — to Ferentinum. [10] but there they encountered more difficulty and danger: the city was defended with the utmost energy, and fortification and nature had combined to make it safe; yet all obstacles were overcome by a soldiery grown used to plunder. some three thousand of the enemy were slain about the walls; the spoils went to the men.

[11] of the glory accruing from these sieges the larger share is in

certain annals assigned to Maximus; they allow that Murgantia was stormed by Decius, but give to Fabius Ferentinum and Romulea. [12] there are those who claim the credit for the new consuls, and some give it not to both but to one of them, Lucius Volumnius, to whom, they say, fell the command in Samnium.

18. whilst these operations were being carried out in Samnium — whoever had the command and auspices — a mighty war was preparing against the Romans in Etruria, on the part of many nations, at the instigation of a Samnite named Gellius Egnatius. [2] The Tuscans had almost all voted for war; the nearest Umbrian tribes had caught the contagion; and Gallic auxiliaries were being solicited for pay. [3] all this multitude was assembling at the camp of the Samnites. when news of this sudden rising was brought to Rome, Lucius Volumnius the consul, with the second and third legions and fifteen thousand of the allies, had already set out for Samnium, and it was resolved to send Appius Claudius into Etruria at the earliest possible moment. [4] two Roman legions followed him, the first and fourth, and twelve thousand of the allies. [5] they encamped not far from the enemy.

but the consul's prompt arrival accomplished more, by checking, through dread of the Roman name, certain peoples of Etruria that were already meditating war, than he gained by his generalship, which was characterized neither by much ability nor by good fortune. [6] he repeatedly joined battle at untoward times and places, and the enemy grew every day more hopeful and more formidable, until now the soldiers were near losing confidence in their commander and he in them. [7] i find it recorded by three annalists that he dispatched a letter sending for his colleague out of Samnium; yet am i loath to set it down for certain, since the consuls of the Roman People, now holding that office for the second time, disputed about that very point-Appius denying that he had sent a letter, Volumnius affirming that a letter from Appius had summoned him.

[8] Volumnius had already captured three fortresses in Samnium, in which some three thousand of the enemy had been slain and about half as many taken prisoners; and dispatching Quintus Fabius as proconsul with a seasoned army into Lucania, he had suppressed — with the hearty approval of the optimates — certain insurrections

which had broken out there at the instigation of necessitous plebeian agitators. [9] leaving to Decius the devastation of the fields, Volumnius himself with his own troops marched to join his colleague in Etruria, where he was welcomed on his arrival with general rejoicings. [10] but what Appius was feeling his conscience alone could tell! — indeed he was justly angered if he had sent no word, but illiberal and ungracious if he had needed help and now sought to dissemble — for [11] coming forth to meet his colleague, before they had fairly greeted one another, he demanded, “is all well, Lucius Volumnius? how stand affairs in Samnium? what has moved you to come out of your own province?” [12] Volumnius replied that affairs were prospering in Samnium, and that he was come being sent for by Appius’ own letter; but if this were a forgery and he were not needed in Etruria, he would immediately face about and march back. [13] “by all means go!” cried Appius. “no one hinders you! for truly it is no way fitting that when, perhaps, you are hardly equal to your own war, you should boast of coming hither to help others.” [14] Volumnius prayed that Hercules might direct all for the best; he had rather, he said, his trouble should go for naught than that anything should have befallen to make one consular army insufficient for Etruria.

19. The consuls were parting, when the lieutenants and tribunes from the army of Appius gathered round them. some of them besought their general not to spurn his colleague’s help — which [2] ought even to have been asked for — now that it was proffered voluntarily; the greater number threw themselves in the way of Volumnius, as he turned to go, and conjured him not to betray the welfare of the state by an unworthy quarrel with his colleague: [3] if any disaster should occur, the blame would lie more with the deserter than the deserted; to such a pass had matters come that the entire credit or disgrace of success or failure in Etruria was referred to Lucius Volumnius; [4] no one would enquire what the words of Appius had been, but what the fortune of the army; he was being dismissed by Appius, but retained by the republic and the army; let him but test the wishes of the soldiers.

[5] thus admonishing and entreating them they dragged the all but resisting consuls to the place of assembly. [6] there they spoke at

greater length, but substantially to the same effect as they had argued before in the hearing of a few; and when Volumnius, besides having the better cause, likewise showed himself to be no mean orator in opposing the rare [7??] eloquence of his colleague, Appius jeeringly remarked that they ought to give himself the credit, for that instead of a mute and tongue — tied consul they had got one who was actually fluent, since in his former consulship, at all events in its early months, he had been incapable of opening his mouth, but was now delivering popular orations. [8]— “how I could wish,” exclaimed Volumnius, “that you might rather have learnt from me to act with vigour than that I should have learnt to speak cleverly from you!” in conclusion he proposed a compact which would determine, not which was the better orator — for this was not what the republic wanted — but the better general. [9] Etruria and Samnium were the nations to be conquered; let Appius choose which he liked; with his own army he would campaign either in Etruria or in Samnium.

[10] then the soldiers began to cry out that both should undertake the Etruscan war together. [11] perceiving them to be of one mind in this, Volumnius said, “since I erred in interpreting my colleague’s wishes, I will not make the blunder of leaving yours in doubt: do you signify by a shout whether you would have me stay or go.” [12] then in truth they cheered so loud that the enemy were drawn out from their camp, and snatching up their arms went down into line of battle. Volumnius, too, bade sound the signal and advance the banners from the camp. [13] Appius, they say, was uncertain what to do, perceiving that, whether he fought or refrained from fighting, the victory would be his colleague’s; then, fearing that even his own legions would follow Volumnius, he, too, gave his men the signal for which they were clamouring.

[14] on neither side had the forces been very advantageously marshalled; for the Samnite commander Gellius Egnatius had taken a few cohorts and gone off to forage, and his soldiers were entering the battle more as their own impulse guided them than under [15??] anybody’s leadership or orders, and the Roman armies were not both led out together nor had they sufficient time to form. [16] Volumnius was engaged before Appius came within reach of the enemy, and the line of attack was accordingly uneven. moreover, as though lots had

been cast, there was a shifting of the customary opponents, the Etruscans confronting Volumnius, and the Samnites — after a little hesitation, owing to the absence of their general — meeting Appius. [17] it is said that when the conflict was at its hottest, Appius was seen to lift up his hands in the very forefront of the standards and utter this petition: “Bellona, if to — day thou grant us the victory, then do I vow thee a temple,” having pronounced this prayer, as though the goddess were inspiring him, he kept pace with the courage of his colleague and the army kept pace with his. [18] and now the generals were quitting themselves like true commanders, and the soldiers were striving that victory might not come first on the other wing. [19] they therefore routed and put to flight the enemy, who found it no easy task to withstand a greater force than they had been wont to engage with. [20] pressing hard upon them when they faltered and pursuing where they fled, the Romans drove them to their camp. there, on the appearance of Gellius and the Sabellian cohorts, the battle was renewed for a little while; [21] but presently, when these too had been dispersed, the conquering troops assailed the camp, and while Volumnius himself led a charge against the gate, and Appius, calling from time to time on Bellona, goddess of victory, inspirited his soldiers, they burst through the trenches and the rampart. [22] The camp was taken and pillaged, and the vast booty found there was given over to the soldiers. seven thousand eight hundred of the enemy were slain, two thousand one hundred and twenty taken prisoners.

20. while both consuls and all the strength of Rome were being devoted mainly to the Etruscan war, new armies rose up in Samnium to waste the territories under Roman sway, and crossing over into Campania and the Falernian district, through the land of the Vescini, gathered in huge spoils. [2] as Volumnius was returning by long marches into Samnium — for now the extension of authority granted to Fabius and Decius was drawing to a close — a rumour about the Samnite army and its depredations in the territory of Campania turned him aside to the defence of the allies. [3] when he came to the Calenian country, he saw for himself the fresh traces of the enemy’s ravages, and the Calenians informed him that the Samnites had already so great a train of booty as to march with difficulty, and their

leaders were [4??] saying openly that they must retire at once into Samnium, and leaving their plunder there, return to the invasion, and not subject an army so heavily burdened to the risks of battle. These reports were plausible enough; nevertheless he thought it right to obtain more authentic information. [5] he therefore sent out horsemen in various directions, to intercept straggling plunderers in the fields, from whom he learned, on questioning them, that [6??] their army was encamped at the Volturnus river, whence they would set forward in the third watch and march towards Samnium.

[7] being satisfied of the truth of these reports, he followed the enemy and encamped at such a distance from them that while they could not learn of his arrival from his being too close at hand, he yet might surprise them as they were leaving their camp. [8] a little before dawn he approached the camp and sent ahead men who knew the Oscan language to find out what was being done. mingling with their enemies, as they could easily do in the confusion of the dark, they learned that the standards had gone forward with a scanty following of men — at — arms, that the booty and its escort were just setting out, but that the column was incapable of progress, since every man was intent upon his own affairs, with no common understanding among any of them nor any very definite leadership. [9] The time seemed highly suitable for delivering an attack, and the day was breaking. [10] Volumnius therefore ordered them to sound the charge and assailed the enemy's column. The Samnites were impeded by their booty and few of them were armed; some quickened their pace and drove the cattle before them, some stood still, uncertain whether it were safer to go on or to return to camp; while they hesitated, the Romans were upon them, and now they had scaled the rampart and the camp was filled with carnage and commotion. [11] The Samnite column, besides being charged by the enemy, had also been disordered by a sudden outbreak of the prisoners, some of [12??] whom, being loose, were releasing those who were bound, while others were catching up the weapons tied up in the soldiers' packs, and, mixed up with the column as they were, caused a hurly — burly that was more terrifying than the battle itself. [13] they presently performed a remarkable exploit; for as Staius Minatius, the Samnite general, was riding along the ranks and encouraging them, they made

a rush at him, and scattering the horsemen who were with him, surrounded him, and hurried him off a prisoner, horse and all, to the Roman consul. [14] this tumult had the effect of bringing back the vanguard of the Samnites, who renewed the battle, which had been almost finished. [15] but prolonged resistance was impossible. The slain amounted to six thousand men, and twenty — five hundred were captured — among them four military tribunes — as well as thirty standards. what caused most joy among the victors was the recovery of seven thousand four hundred prisoners and a vast quantity of spoils belonging to the allies. The owners were summoned by proclamation to identify and recover their property on an appointed day. [16] those things for which no owner appeared were made over to the soldiers, and they were compelled to sell their booty, that they might have no concern in anything but fighting.

21. this raid upon the Campanian countryside had occasioned a great alarm in Rome; [2] and just at that time, as it happened, there came news out of Etruria, that after the withdrawal of the army of Volumnius the Etruscans had been induced to arm, that Gellius Egnatius, the Samnite general, and the Umbrians were being invited to join in the revolt, and that the Gauls were being tempted with great sums of money. [3] terrified by these reports, the senate ordered that a cessation of the courts should be proclaimed, and that a levy should be held of every sort of men. [4] not only was the oath administered to free citizens of military age, but cohorts were also formed out of older men, and freedmen were mustered into centuries. [5] plans were discussed for defending the City, and the supreme command was given to the praetor, Publius Sempronius. but the senators were relieved of a part of their anxiety by a dispatch from Lucius Volumnius, the consul, apprising them of the slaughter and dispersion of the army that had ravaged Campania. [6] they accordingly voted a thanksgiving for the victory, in the consul's name, and reopened the courts, which had been closed for eighteen days. [7] The thanksgiving was a very joyful one.

they next considered how they might protect the region devastated by the Samnites, and resolved to plant two colonies in the Vescinian and Falernian country, [8??] one, which was named Minturnae, at the mouth of the river Liris, the other in the Vescinian forest, hard by the

Falernian district, where the Greek city of Sinope is said to have stood, thereafter called Sinuessa by the Roman settlers. [9] The tribunes of the plebs were assigned the task of obtaining a plebiscite directing Publius Sempronius the praetor to appoint three commissioners to conduct the colonists to these places; [10] yet it was not easy to find men who would enroll, since they regarded themselves as sent, not to settle on the land, but to serve almost as a perpetual outpost in a hostile territory.

[11] The senate's attention was diverted from these cares by the growing seriousness of the war in Etruria, and by a succession of dispatches from Appius, in which he warned them not to make light of the disturbance in that region. [12] four races, he said, were uniting their arms, the Etruscans, Samnites, Umbrians, and Gauls; and they had already divided their camp into two, one place not being able to hold so great a multitude. [13] for these reasons and because of the elections — the time for which was rapidly approaching — the consul Lucius Volumnius was recalled to Rome. before summoning the centuries to vote, he brought the people together in an assembly, and discoursed at length of the magnitude of the war in Etruria: [14] even earlier, when he himself and his colleague had campaigned there together, the war had been so great that one general and one army could not have conducted it; but it was said that the Umbrians had since then been added to the enemy's forces, as well as a huge army of Gauls; [15] they should remember that on that day they were choosing consuls to oppose four peoples; for his own part, were he not confident that the Roman People would unanimously choose for consul the man who was then looked upon as unquestionably the first of all commanders, he would at once have named him dictator.

22. no one doubted that Fabius would by the common voice of all be for the fifth time elected; and in fact the prerogative centuries and all those which were summoned first were naming him consul, together with Lucius Volumnius. [2] Fabius then made a speech, to the same purport as he had done two years before; but, overborne by the general agreement, he ended by requesting that he might have for colleague Publius Decius, who would be a prop to his old age. [3] in the censorship and the two consulships which he had shared with Decius, he had found that nothing more tended to the preservation of

the commonwealth than the harmony of colleagues. to a new partner in authority he could now hardly hope to adapt an old man's mind: with one whose character he knew, it would be easier to share his counsels. [4] his plea was seconded by the consul, who bestowed well — merited [5] praise on Publius Decius, and recalling the advantages that accrued from harmony betwixt the consuls to the administration of military measures and the harm that resulted from their discord, reminded his hearers how dire had been the danger occasioned lately by the strife between himself and his colleague. [6] Decius and Fabius, he said, were of one heart and one mind, and were, besides, men born for war, great in their deeds, but unskilled in the strife of words and of the tongue. [7] theirs were talents meet for the consul's office. but shrewd and clever men, masters of the law and of eloquence, like Appius Claudius, should be had to preside over the City and the Forum, and should be elected praetors to administer [8] justice. with these transactions the day was taken [9] up. on the following day, by the direction of the consul, elections were held both of consuls and of praetors. Quintus Fabius and Publius Decius were chosen consuls and Appius Claudius praetor — all three being absent — and the senate passed a decree, which the people ratified, prolonging for a year the command of Lucius Volumnius.

23. in that year were many portents, to avert which the senate decreed supplications for two days. [2] wine and incense were provided by the state, and the people went in throngs to offer their prayers -both men and women. [3] The supplication was rendered memorable by a quarrel that broke out among the matrons in the chapel of Patrician Modesty, which stands in the Cattle Market, by the round temple of Hercules. Verginia, Aulus's daughter, a patrician wedded to a commoner, Lucius Volumnius the consul, had been excluded by the matrons from their ceremonies, on the ground that she had married out of the [5] patriciate. this led to a short dispute, which the hot anger of the sex soon kindled to a blaze of passionate contention. Verginia boasted, and with reason, that she had entered the temple of Patrician Modesty both a patrician and a modest woman, as having been wedded to the one man to whom she had been given as a maiden, and was neither ashamed of her husband nor of his honours and his [6] victories. she then added a noble deed to her

proud words. in the Vicus Longus, where she lived, she shut off a part of her mansion, large enough for a shrine of moderate size, and, erecting there [7??] an altar, called together the plebeian matrons, and after complaining of the injurious behaviour of the patrician ladies, said, “i dedicate this altar to Plebeian [8] Modesty; and I urge you, that even as the men of our state contend for the meed of valour, so the matrons may vie for that of modesty, that this altar may be said to be cherished — if it be possible — more reverently than that, and by more modest [9] women,” this altar, too, was served with almost the same ritual as that more ancient one, so that no matron but one of proven modesty, who had been wedded to one man alone, should have the right to [10] sacrifice. afterwards the cult was degraded by polluted worshippers, not matrons only but women of every station, and passed finally into [11] oblivion.

in that same year Gnaeus and Quintus Ogulnius the curule aediles brought a number of usurers to [12??] trial, and, confiscating their possessions, employed the share which came into the public treasury to put brazen thresholds in the Capitol, and silver vessels for the three tables in the shrine of Jupiter, and a statue of the god in a four — horse chariot on the roof, and at the fig — tree Ruminalis a representation of the infant Founders of the City being suckled by the wolf. they also made a paved walk of squared stone from the Porta Capena to the temple [13] of Mars. and the plebeian aediles Lucius Aelius Paetus and Gaius Fulvius Curvus, likewise with the money from fines, which they exacted from convicted graziers, held games and provided golden bowls for the temple of Ceres.

24. after that Quintus Fabius (for the fifth time) and Publius Decius (for the fourth) began their consulship, having thrice been colleagues in that office and once in the censorship, [2??] and being not more distinguished for the renown, great though that was, of their achievements than for their harmonious co — operation. [3] this, however, was not destined to be permanent, though its interruption was due, I think, more to rivalry between the orders than to their own; for the patricians strove that Fabius should have the command in Etruria without drawing lots, and the plebeians insisted that Decius should demand that method of determining the question. [4] at all events there was a contention in the senate, and Fabius proving to

be the stronger there, the case was carried before the people. in the assembly the speeches were short, as befitted soldiers and men who trusted more to deeds than to words.

[5] Fabius argued that when one man had planted a tree, it was unfair that another should gather the fruit that dropped from it; it was he that had opened up the Ciminian Forest and had made a path for Roman arms through remote and desert tracts. [6] why, pray, had they troubled him, old as he was, if they had meant to wage the war with another general? [7] it was only too clear, he said — taking gradually a more reproachful tone — that he had selected an adversary, not a partner in command, and that Decius had begrudged the friendly spirit in which they had administered three offices together. [8] finally, he asked no more than that if they thought him worthy of the command they should give it to him; he had submitted to the decision of the senate and would obey the people.

[9] Publius Decius complained of the senate's injustice: as long as they were able, the Fathers had striven to deny the plebeians access to great honours; and since native worth had of its own strength won the right to be recognized in any class of men, they were seeking to make of none effect not only [10??] the suffrages of, the people but also the awards of Fortune, and to subject them to the control of a few. [11] all the consuls who had preceded him had drawn lots for their commands, but the senate was now conferring a command on Fabius without the lot. if they were doing this to honour him, he would say that the man had deserved so well both of [12??] himself and of the state that he stood ready to promote the glory of Fabius, provided only that its lustre were not purchased with insult to himself. but who could doubt, when there was one difficult, dangerous war, and this was entrusted without lots to one of the consuls, that the other was regarded as superfluous and useless? [13] Fabius gloried in his Etruscan victories: Publius Decius would fain glory too. and perhaps that fire which Fabius had left covered up, but so that it was continually breaking out into new flames, might be by him extinguished. [14] in short he was willing, for the reverence he bore his colleague's years and dignity, to yield to him honours and rewards; but when peril, when strife, was set before them — he yielded not, of his own consent — nor ever would. [15] and if he got

nothing else by this contest, one thing at any rate he would get — that what belonged to the people should be disposed of by the people, not bestowed by the Fathers as a favour. [16] to Jupiter Optimus Maximus and the immortal gods he prayed that they would grant him an equal chance in the lot with his colleague only if they were ready to grant him the same courage and the same good fortune in the administration of the war. [17] at least it was a thing in its nature reasonable, in its example salutary, and material to the reputation of the Roman People, that the consuls should be such that the Etruscan war could be managed aright under the leadership of either one of them.

[18] Fabius only prayed the Roman people to listen, before the tribes were called to vote, to a dispatch of Appius Claudius the praetor that had been brought in from Etruria. he then left the comitium, and the people then, as unanimously as the senate had done, decreed that Fabius should have the command in Etruria without drawing lots.

25. nearly all the younger men now flocked about the consul, and each gave in his name, so eager were they to serve under such a captain. [2] surrounded by this throng he said, “i have in mind to enrol no more than four thousand foot and six hundred horse; I will take with me those of you who give in your names to — day and to — morrow. [3] I am more concerned to bring all my men back with their purses filled than to wage war with many soldiers.” [4] marching out with a fit army, which was all the more confident and hopeful because he had not desired a great host, he took his way towards the town of Aharna, from which the enemy were not far distant, to the camp of Appius the praetor. [5] a few miles this side the camp he encountered some men who had come out with an armed escort to gather wood. These people, seeing the lictors in the van and learning that Fabius was consul, with lively manifestations of satisfaction gave thanks to the gods and to the Roman People for having sent him to be their general. [6] then, as they trooped about him and hailed him consul, Fabius asked whither they were bound, and they answered that they were come out to get wood. [7] “is it possible,” he cried, “that you have no rampart round your camp?” and, on their shouting back that they had a double rampart and a trench and yet were in

mortal fear, “then you have quite wood enough,” said he; “go back and pull up your stockade.” [8] Returning to camp they began pulling up the palings, to the terror of their comrades who had stayed behind, as [9??] well as of Appius himself, till the news was spread, as each talked with his neighbours, that they were acting under orders of the consul Quintus Fabius. on the morrow the camp was removed and the praetor Appius was sent away to Rome. [10] thenceforward the Romans had no permanent camp anywhere. it was of no use, Fabius maintained, for the army to sit down in one place: by marching and shifting its position it grew more mobile and more healthy. [11] The marches, of course, were such as could be made at a season when winter was not yet over.

in the early spring, leaving the second legion in the neighbourhood of Clusium — which they used of old to call Camars — and [12] putting Lucius Scipio, as propraeor, in charge of the camp, Fabius himself returned to Rome to consult about the war, either voluntarily, because he had a task in prospect that was greater than he had believed the reports to signify, or, it may be, summoned by the senate; for both accounts are vouched for. [13] some would have it appear that he was compelled to return by Appius Claudius the praetor, who continued to exaggerate the perils of the Etruscan war in the senate and before the people, as he had done persistently in his dispatches. [14] it was not enough, he said, to have one commander and one army against four nations: the danger was — whether they united to overwhelm him or campaigned separately — that one man would be incapable of meeting simultaneously all emergencies. [15] he himself had left on the ground two Roman legions, and less than five thousand infantry and cavalry had come with Fabius. [16] it was his opinion that Publius Decius the consul should march at the very earliest moment to Etruria, to join his colleague, and that Lucius Volumnius should be given the command in Samnium; or, if the consul preferred to go out to his own province, that Volumnius should set out for Etruria with a regular consular army. [17] The majority were moved by the praetor’s speech, but Publius Decius — so they say — advised that all be left to the free and unhampered judgment of Quintus Fabius, until Fabius should either come to Rome himself — if this were compatible with public

policy — or [18] send some one of his lieutenants, to inform the senate how great a war was on foot in Etruria, and with what forces, commanded by how many generals, it ought to be conducted.

26. Fabius, when he returned to Rome, both in the senate and afterwards in speaking to the people, steered a middle course, that he might appear neither to exaggerate the current reports about the war nor minimize them, and in accepting an additional commander to be rather consulting the fears of others than guarding against a danger to himself or the republic. [2] for the rest, if they chose to give him a helper in the war and a partner in authority, how — he asked — could he possibly forget Publius Decius the consul, whom he had proved so often when they had been colleagues? [3] there was no one living with whom he would sooner share his commission; he should have troops enough, if Decius were with him, and his enemies would never be too numerous. [4] but if his colleague preferred some other arrangement, let them give him Lucius Volumnius to be his coadjutor. The decision in regard to everything was left by the people and the senate, and by his colleague himself, entirely to Fabius; and when Publius Decius had made known his readiness to set out either for Samnium or Etruria, there were such rejoicings and congratulations that men tasted the sweets of victory in anticipation, and it seemed as though the consuls had been voted a triumph and not a war.

[5] i find in some historians that Fabius and Decius set out for Etruria at the very beginning of their consulship, and they make no mention of the casting of lots for provinces or of the disputes betwixt the colleagues which I have described. [6] on the other hand, even these disputes have not been enough for some, but they have added invectives pronounced by Appius before the people against the absent Fabius, and stubborn opposition on the praetor's part to the consul who was present, and another quarrel between the colleagues, when Decius urged that each should attend to his allotted province. [7] The authorities begin to be in agreement from the moment that both consuls set out for the seat of war.

but before the consuls could reach Etruria, the Senonian Gauls were come with a great multitude to Clusium, to besiege the Roman legion in camp there. [8] Scipio, who was in command, thought it

necessary that he should gain the advantage of position to eke out the smallness of his numbers, and marched his troops up a hill situated between the city and his camp; [9] but, as happens in sudden emergencies, he had sent no scouts ahead of him, and led his men up to a ridge which was held by the enemy, who had approached it from another direction. [10] thus the legion was attacked in the rear and found itself surrounded, with the enemy assailing it from every quarter. [11] some writers say that the legion was even annihilated there, so that none survived to bear away the tidings, and that the consuls, who were not far from Clusium, got no report of the disaster till some Gallic horsemen came in sight, with heads hanging at their horses' breasts or fixed on their lances, and singing their customary song of triumph. [12] others allege that they were not Gauls but Umbrians, and that the reverse experienced was not so great. some foragers, according to their account, under Lucius Manlius Torquatus, a lieutenant, had been cut off and Scipio the propraetor sallied forth from the camp to their relief, and renewing [13??] the battle defeated the victorious Umbrians and took from them their prisoners and their booty. [14] it is more probable that the discomfiture was incurred at the hands of a Gallic than of an Umbrian enemy, since apprehensions of a Gallic rising, which had often at other times troubled the Romans, were in that year particularly alarming. and so, not only did both consuls go out to war, having four legions and a strong body of Roman cavalry, together with a thousand picked horse from Campania — furnished for this campaign — and an army of allies and Latins that outnumbered the Romans; [15] but two other armies were posted over against Etruria, not far from the City, one in the Faliscan district and the other in the Vatican. Gnaeus Fulvius and Lucius Postumius Megellus — propraetors both — were ordered to maintain a standing camp there.

27. The consuls came up with the enemy — who had crossed the Apennines — in the territory round Sentinum, and went into camp about four miles off. [2] consultations were then held amongst the enemy and they decided not to unite all their forces in one camp nor to give battle all together; to the Samnites were joined the Gauls and to the Etruscans the men of Umbria. [3] a day was designated for the battle, and the Samnites and Gauls were appointed to make the

attack; in the midst of the engagement the Etruscans and the Umbrians were to assault the Roman camp. [4] These plans were upset by three Clusinian deserters who came over secretly in the night to Fabius, and having informed him of the enemy's designs were rewarded and sent back again, so that from time to time, as each new step should be decided on, they might find it out and report upon it. [5] The consuls wrote to Fulvius and Postumius to march from their respective posts in the Faliscan and Vatican districts to Clusium, and lay waste the territories of the enemy with the utmost rigour. [6] The reports of this devastation drew off the Etruscans from the region of Sentinum to the defence of their own frontiers. [7] thereupon the consuls strove to bring about an engagement in their absence. for the space of two days they harassed the enemy, but in these two days there was nothing done worth telling: a few were slain on either side and spirits were whetted for a downright battle, but the main issue was not brought to a decision. [8] on the third day the opposing armies descended in full strength into the field.

as they stood arrayed for battle, a hind, pursued by a wolf that had chased it down from the mountains, fled across the plain and ran between the two lines. they then turned in opposite directions, the hind towards the Gauls, the wolf towards the Romans. for the wolf a passage was opened between the ranks, but the hind was killed by the Gauls. [9] then one of the front — rankers on the Roman side called out, "that way flight and slaughter have shaped their course, where you see the beast lie slain that is sacred to Diana; on this side the wolf of Mars, unhurt and sound, has reminded us of the Martian race and of our Founder."

[10] on the right wing stood the Gauls, on the left the Samnites. facing the Samnites, Quintus Fabius drew up the first and third legions, to form the Roman right, while Decius marshalled the fifth and sixth on the Roman left, against the Gauls. [11] The second and the fourth were campaigning in Samnium under Lucius Volumnius the proconsul. at the first shock the strength put forth on both sides was so equal that if the Etruscans and the Umbrians had been present either in the battle or at the camp, in whichever quarter they had thrown their weight the Romans must have suffered a disaster.

28. but, though so far it was a doubtful battle and Fortune had

given no indication where she intended to bestow her might, the fighting was very different on the right wing from what it was on the left. [2] The Romans with Fabius were rather defending themselves than attacking, and were trying to prolong the struggle to as late an hour in the day as possible. [3] this was because their general was persuaded that both Samnites and Gauls fought fiercely at the outset of an engagement, but only needed to be withstood; [4] when a struggle was prolonged, little by little the spirits of the Samnites flagged, while the physical prowess of the Gauls, who could least of all men put up with heat and labour, ebbed away, and, whereas in the early stages of their battles they were more than men, they ended with being less than women. [5] so until the time should come when the enemy were wont to fail, he was keeping his men as fresh as he could contrive to do. [6] but Decius, with the greater impetuosity of his youth and spirits, expended all the strength he could muster in the first encounter. [7] and because the fighting of the infantry seemed to languish, he called on the cavalry to attack, and attaching himself to the bravest squadron of troopers besought the youthful nobles to join him in a charge. theirs, he said, would be a double share of glory, if victory should come first to the left wing and to the cavalry. twice they drove the Gallic cavalry back. [8] The second time they were carried on for a considerable distance and soon found themselves in the midst of the companies of infantry, when they were subjected to a new and terrifying kind of assault; [9] for, standing erect in chariots and waggons, armed enemies came rushing upon them with a mighty clattering of hoofs and wheels, frightening the horses of the Romans with the unfamiliar din. [10] thus the victorious cavalry were scattered, as if by a panic fit of madness, and, suddenly fleeing, were overthrown, both horse and rider. from them the disorder was communicated to the standards of the legions, and many of the first line were trodden underfoot, as horses and chariots swept through their ranks. [11] no sooner did the Gallic infantry perceive the confusion of their enemies than they charged, without leaving them a moment to recover or regain their breath.

[12] Decius cried out to them to tell him whither they were fleeing, or what hope they had in flight; he endeavoured to stop them as they broke and ran, and to call them back; then, his exertions proving

powerless to stay their rout, he cried aloud on the name of his father Publius Decius. “why,” he asked, “do I seek any longer to postpone the doom of our house? [13] it is the privilege of our family that we should be sacrificed to avert the nation’s perils. now will I offer up the legions of the enemy, to be slain with myself as victims to Earth and the Manes.”

[14] on going down into the field of battle he had ordered Marcus Livius the pontifex not to leave his side. he now commanded this man to recite before him the words with which he proposed to devote himself and the enemy’s legions in behalf of the army of the Roman People, the Quirites. [15] he was then devoted with the same form of prayer and in the same habit his father, Publius Decius, had commanded to be used, when he was devoted at the Vesperis, in the Latin war ; and having [16??] added to the usual prayers that he was driving before him fear and panic, blood and carnage, and the wrath of gods celestial and gods infernal, and should [17??] blight with a curse the standards, weapons and armour of the enemy, and that one and the same place should witness his own destruction and that of the Gauls and Samnites, — having [18] uttered, I say, these imprecations upon himself and the enemy, he spurred his charger against the Gallic lines, where he saw that they were thickest, and hurling himself against the weapons of the enemy met his death.

29. from that moment the battle seemed scarce to depend on human efforts. The Romans, after losing their general — an occurrence that is wont to inspire terror — fled no longer, but sought to redeem the field; [2] the Gauls, and especially the press about the body of the consul, as though deprived of reason, were darting their javelins at random and without effect, while some were in a daze, and could neither fight nor run away. [3] but in the other army the pontifex Livius, to whom Decius had handed over his lictors, bidding him act as proprætor, cried aloud that the Romans had won the victory, being quit of all danger by the consul’s doom. [4] The Gauls, he said, and the Samnites were made over to Mother Earth and to the Manes; Decius was haling after him their devoted host and calling it to join him, and with the enemy all was madness and despair. [5] while the Romans were restoring the battle, up came Lucius Cornelius Scipio and Gaius Marcius, whom Quintus Fabius the consul had ordered to

take reserves from the rearmost line and go to his colleague's support. there they learned of Decius's death, a great incentive to dare everything for the republic. [6] and so, though the Gauls stood crowded together with their shields interlocked in front of them, and it looked no easy battle at close quarters, the lieutenants bade their men gather up the javelins that were scattered about on the ground between the hostile lines and cast them against the *testudo* of their enemies; and as many of these missiles stuck fast in the shields and now and then one penetrated a soldier's body, their phalanx was broken up — many falling, though unwounded, as if they had been [7] stunned. such were the shifts of Fortune upon the Roman left.

[8] on the right, Fabius had begun, as has been said before, by holding back and delaying the decision; later, when neither the shouts of the foe, nor their assaults, nor the missiles they discharged, seemed to have any longer the same force, he ordered the praefects of the cavalry to lead their squadrons [9??] round the wing of the Samnites, that, on the signal being given, they might attack them in the flank with all possible vigour, and commanded his own men to push forward by degrees and dislodge the [10] enemy. when he saw that they made no resistance and there could be no question of their weariness, he gathered up all the troops which he had hitherto held in reserve, and, sending in his legions, made a signal to the cavalry to [11] charge. The Samnites could not withstand their onset and fled in confusion past the Gallic line itself, abandoning their comrades in the midst of the fighting and seeking refuge in their camp. The Gauls had formed a *testudo* and stood there closely packed [12] together. then Fabius, who had learned of his colleague's death, commanded the squadron of Campanians, about five hundred lances, to withdraw from the line, and fetching a compass, assail the Gallic infantry in the [13] rear; these the *principes*, or middle line, of the third legion were to follow, and, pushing in where they saw that the cavalry charge had disordered the enemy's formation, make havoc of them in their [14] panic. he himself, after vowing a temple and the enemy's spoils to Jupiter Victor, kept on to the Samnite camp, whither the whole affrighted throng was being [15] driven. under the very rampart, since the gates could not receive so great a multitude, those who were shut out by the crowding of their fellows attempted some resistance; there

Gellius Egnatius, the commander — in [16] — chief of the Samnites, fell; in the upshot the Samnites were driven within the rampart and after a short struggle their camp was taken and the Gauls were cut off in the [17] rear. there were slain that day five — and — twenty thousand of the enemy, and eight thousand were captured; nor was it a bloodless victory; for of the army of Publius Decius seven thousand were slain and seventeen hundred of the army of [18] Fabius. Fabius sent out men to search for the body of his colleague, and, piling up the spoils of the enemy, burned them in sacrifice to Jupiter the [19] Victor. The consul's body could not be found that day, having been buried under heaps of Gauls who had been slain above him; on the day after, it was found and brought in, amidst the lamentations of the [20] soldiers. postponing his concern for everything else, Fabius celebrated the funeral of his colleague with every show of honour and well — merited eulogiums.

30. in Etruria too at the same time Gnaeus Fulvius the propraetor was succeeding according to his wishes, and, besides the enormous damage which his forays inflicted on the enemy, fought also a victorious battle with them. [2] The Perusini and Clusini lost upwards of three thousand men, and some twenty military standards were captured from them. [3] The Samnite army, as it fled through the Paelignian territory, was surrounded by the inhabitants, and of five thousand men about a thousand were slain.

[4] Great is the glory of that day on which the battle was fought in the district of Sentinum, even if a man hold fast to truth; [5] but some writers have so exaggerated as to over — shoot the credible, and have written that in the army of the enemy — including, of course, the Umbrians and Tuscans, for these, too, were present in the battle — there were six hundred thousand infantry, forty — six thousand horse, and a thousand cars; [6] and, to enlarge in like manner the forces of the Romans, they add to the consuls as a general Lucius Volumnius the proconsul, and his army to their legions. [7] in the majority of histories this victory is reserved to the two consuls, and Volumnius is waging war at the same time in Samnium, where, having driven the Samnite army up Mount Tifernus, he routs and scatters them, undeterred by the difficulties of the ground.

[8] Quintus Fabius, leaving the Decian army on guard over Etruria,

led down his own legions to Rome and triumphed over the Gauls, the Etruscans, and the Samnites. [9] The soldiers followed his triumphal chariot and in their rude verses celebrated no less the glorious death of Publius Decius than the victory of Fabius, reviving by their praise of the son the memory of the father, whose death (and its service to the commonwealth) had now been matched. [10] every soldier received from the spoils a present of eighty — two *asses* of bronze, with a cloak and tunic, a reward for military service in those days far from contemptible.

31. despite these victories, there was not yet peace either with the Samnites or in Etruria; [2] for war had broken out afresh at the instigation of the Perusini, after the consul had withdrawn his army, and the Samnites were raiding the lands of Vescini and of Formiae on the one hand, and on the other the territory of Aesernia and the region adjacent to the Volturnus river. [3] against these the praetor Appius Claudius was dispatched with the army that Decius had commanded. Fabius dealt with the new outbreak in Etruria, where he slew four thousand five hundred of the Perusini and took one thousand seven hundred and forty prisoners, who were ransomed at three hundred and ten *asses* each, the rest of the [4??] booty being made over to the soldiers. [5] The Samnite levies, of whom a part were being pursued by Appius Claudius the praetor and a part by Lucius Volumnius the pro — consul, effected a junction in the Stellate district, where they all took up a position near Caiatia. Appius and Volumnius also combined their forces. [6] The ensuing battle was very bitterly contested, the Romans being incited by resentment against a people who had so often rebelled, while those on the other side were staking their last hopes on the conflict. [7] The Samnites accordingly lost sixteen thousand three hundred slain and two thousand seven hundred captured; in the Roman army two thousand seven hundred fell.

[8] The year, though one of success in war, was saddened by a pestilence and vexed with prodigies. showers of earth were reported to have fallen in many places, and it was said that in the army of Appius Claudius many had been struck by lightning. [9] on account of these signs the Sibylline books were consulted. in this year Quintus Fabius Gurges, the consul's son, assessed a fine of money against a

number of married women who were convicted before the people of adultery, and with this money erected the temple of Venus which is near the Circus.

[10] there are more Samnite wars still to come, though we have dealt with them continuously throughout four books, covering a period of forty — six years, from the consulship of Marcus Valerius and Aulus Cornelius, who were the first that made war on Samnium; and — not [11] to go over now the disasters sustained in so many years on either side and the toils endured, by which nevertheless those sturdy hearts could not be daunted — in [12] the year just past the Samnites had fought in the territory of Sentinum, in the Pelignian country, at Tifernus, and in the Stellate plains, now by themselves, with their own levies, now in company with troops from other nations, and had been cut to pieces by four armies under four Roman generals; they had lost their nation's most distinguished commander; [13] they beheld their comrades in war, the Etruscans, Umbrians, and Gauls, in the same plight as their own; nor could they longer maintain themselves, either by their own resources or by those of outside nations; yet would they not abstain from war; [14] — so far were they from wearying of a liberty which they had unsuccessfully defended, preferring rather to be conquered than not to try for victory. [15] who, pray, could grudge the time for writing or reading of these wars, when they could not exhaust the men who fought them?

32. Quintus Fabius and Publius Decius were succeeded in the consulship by Lucius Postumius Megellus and Marcus Atilius Regulus. [2] Samnium was assigned them both for their province, in consequence of a report that the enemy had raised three armies, with one of which they meant to return into Etruria, with another to resume the devastation of Campania, while the third was making ready for the defence of their frontiers. [3] Postumius was detained in Rome by ill health: Atilius marched out at once, that he might put down the enemy in Samnium — for such was the senate's plan — ere they could cross the border. [4] as though it had been prearranged, they encountered the foe in a place where they themselves were prevented from laying waste the territory of their enemies, while they prevented the Samnites from coming out into the district which had been pacified and the territory of the allies of the Roman People. [5]

on the camps being established over against each other, what the Romans would hardly have dared to do, victorious as they had so often been, the Samnites ventured — such temerity does utter hopelessness beget, — that is, to assault the enemy's camp; and although their desperate enterprise did not fully succeed, still, it was not altogether futile. [6] there was a fog which lasted well on into the day, so dense as to shut out the light and render it impossible to see, not only beyond the rampart, but even at a little way off, when people approached each other. [7] relying on this, as on a screen for their operations, the Samnites came up, when day had scarcely dawned, and even so was hidden behind the murk, to the Roman outpost that was negligently standing guard before the gate. [8] falling upon them unawares they encountered neither courage nor strength sufficient to hold them in check. [9] they charged in by the decuman gate in the rear of the camp, captured the quaestor's tent, and slew the quaestor, Lucius Opimius Pansa; whereupon a general alarm was cried.

33. The consul, aroused by the din, commanded the two allied cohorts which happened to be nearest — those from Lucania and Suessa — to guard headquarters, and put himself at the head of the legionary maniples in the *via principalis*. The men fell in ere they had fairly fitted on their armour, and, knowing the enemy more by their shouting than by the sight of them, were unable to form any estimate of their [3] numbers. at first they gave ground, uncertain how fortune stood with them, and admitted the foe into the middle of the [4] camp; then, on the consul's asking them whether they meant to be driven without the wall and afterwards make an assault on their own camp, they gave a cheer, and, exerting themselves, first made a successful stand, and afterwards pushed forward and forced their enemies back, and, having once repulsed them, left them no time to recover their first dismay, but thrust them out of gate and [5] rampart. not venturing then to go on and pursue them, since the dim light made them fear an ambush, they retired — content to have cleared their camp — within the palisade, having slain about three hundred of the [6] enemy. The Roman loss, at the outpost and amongst those who were taken by surprise at the quaestor's tent, was some seven hundred and [7] thirty.

this bold and not unsuccessful venture of the Samnites raised their

spirits; and not only would they not permit the Romans to go forward, but they would not even permit them to forage in their fields; the foragers fell back on the peaceful territory about [8] Sora. The rumour of these events — more startling even than the events themselves — being brought to Rome compelled the consul Lucius Postumius, though barely recovered, to take the [9] field. but after issuing a proclamation calling upon his soldiers to assemble at Sora, he himself, before leaving the City, dedicated a shrine to Victory, which he had built, as curule aedile, with money received from [10] fines. having then set out to join the army, he led it from Sora to his colleague's camp in Samnium. The Samnites then retreated, having no confidence in their ability to resist two armies, and the consuls separated and marched in different directions to waste their fields and attack their cities.

34. Postumius essayed to capture Milonia. unsuccessful in his first attempt to storm the place, he proceeded against it by regular approaches, and, having brought his pent — houses into contact with the walls, effected an entrance. [2] thereupon, though the city was already taken, there ensued in every quarter without interruption, from the fourth hour till about the eighth, a desperate struggle, the result of which was long in doubt. at last the Romans made themselves masters of the place. [3] The Samnites lost three thousand two hundred slain and four thousand seven hundred captured, besides other booty.

[4] from there the legions were led to Feritrum, which the townspeople, with all their possessions which they could carry or drive away, evacuated in the silence of the night, by the opposite gate. [5] so, then, the consul was no sooner come than he advanced up to the walls with all the order and circumspection of one who looked for the same resistance that he had met with at Milonia; [6] but afterwards, finding the city as silent as a desert and neither arms nor men upon the battlements and towers, he restrained his soldiers, who were eager to scale the abandoned walls, lest they should rush improvidently into some hidden trap. he ordered two squadrons of Latin allies to make a circuit of the fortifications and effect a thorough reconnaissance. [7] The troopers discovered a wide — open gate, and near it in the same quarter another one, and saw in the

roads leading out of them the traces of the enemy's nocturnal flight. [8] riding up then slowly and cautiously to the gates, they saw that the city could be safely traversed by streets that led straight through it, and reported to the consul that it had been abandoned. this was evident, they said, from the unmistakable solitude and the fresh signs of flight and the objects that lay scattered about where they had been discarded in the confusion of the darkness. [9] on receiving this account, the consul led his army round to that side of the city which the horsemen had approached. halting the troops not far from the gate, he commanded five horsemen to enter and advance for a short distance; then, if all seemed safe, three of these were to remain there together, and the other two were to report to him what they had found. [10] when they came back and reported that they had advanced to a place from which a view could be had in all directions, and that silence and solitude reigned far and wide, the consul at once led some light — armed [11] cohorts into the city and ordered the rest to construct a camp in the meanwhile. [12] having entered the place and broken in the house — doors, the soldiers discovered some few decrepit or bed — ridden people and certain things abandoned as too difficult to remove. These things were seized. [13] it was learned from the prisoners that a number of communities in the vicinity had agreed together in planning flight; their own people had left in the first watch; they believed that the Romans would find the same solitude in the other cities. [14] The statements of the prisoners turned out to be true, and the consul took possession of the deserted towns.

35. The other consul, Marcus Atilius, had by no means so easy a war. he was marching, at the head of his legions, towards Luceria, which he had heard was being besieged by the Samnites, when the enemy met him at the Lucerine frontier. [2] on this occasion rage made their strength as great as his, and the battle was one of shifting fortunes and doubtful issue. yet its outcome was more discouraging to the Romans, both as having been unaccustomed to defeat, and because, as they were retiring from the field, they could see, even better than during the actual engagement, how much their side had got the worst of it in killed and wounded. [3] The consequence of this was such a panic in the camp as, had it come over them whilst they were fighting, must have led to a signal overthrow. [4] even so the

night was an anxious one, for they thought that the Samnites would soon be attacking the camp, or else that they would have to fight their victorious enemy at break of day.

The enemy had suffered less, but was not less faint — hearted. as soon as it grew light they wished to retire without giving battle. but there was only one road, and this led past their enemies, and when they had started to go that way, they looked as if marching straight to attack the camp. [5] The consul ordered the soldiers to arm and follow him outside the rampart. [6] to the lieutenants, tribunes, and prefects of the allies he explained what part it was needful for their several commands to play. they all assured him that, as for themselves, they were ready for anything, but that the soldiers were dispirited; [7] all night long they had been kept awake by the groans of the wounded and the dying; had the enemy attacked the camp before daylight, their fear would have been so great as to cause them to desert their ranks; [8] as it was, they were withheld by shame from running away, but were otherwise as good as beaten.

[9] on hearing this, the consul thought he had best go about himself among the men and talk to them. wherever he went he scolded those who were hesitating to arm themselves: Why did they linger and hold back? [10] The enemy would come into the camp, unless they went out; and they would be fighting before their tents, if they were not willing to fight before the palisade. [11] if men armed themselves and fought, it was a question whose the victory would be; but a man who waited for the enemy, unarmed and helpless, must put up with either death or slavery. [12] to these objurgations and reproaches they replied that they were exhausted with the battle of the previous day and had no strength left nor blood to shed; while the enemy appeared to be in greater numbers than on the day before.

[13] meanwhile the column was approaching; and presently, as the soldiers obtained a closer view of them, they declared that the Samnites were carrying stakes and were doubtless going to fence in the camp. [14] at this the consul lost all patience, and shouted out that it was a shameful thing to suffer such disgrace and humiliation at the hands of the most cowardly of foes. “shall we even be pent up within our camp,” he cried, “to die shamefully of hunger, rather than, if need be, by the sword, like gallant men?” [15] Heaven prosper them!

they must act as each thought worthy of himself; but the consul, Marcus Atilius — alone if there were none to follow him — would [16] charge the enemy, and sooner fall amongst the standards of the Samnites than see a Roman camp beleaguered. [17] The consul's words were approved by the lieutenants and the tribunes and by all the squadrons of horse and the centurions of highest rank.

then the soldiers began, for very shame, to arm, and slowly emerged from the stockade; in a long and straggling column, discouraged and almost beaten, they advanced towards the enemy, who were no better off for hopefulness or courage. [18] accordingly, no sooner had they beheld the Roman standards than a murmur ran through the column of the Samnites, from the foremost to the hindmost, that the Romans — just [19] as they had feared — were coming out to dispute their passing; there was no way open even for flight; they must fall where they stood, or else cut down their foes and escape over their bodies.

36. they heaped up their baggage together, and, being armed, went every man to his own place in the ranks, and the battle — line was formed. [2] and now there was but a little space between the armies, and they halted, each waiting for the other to be first to attack and first to raise a cheer. [3] neither side had any stomach for fighting, and they would have gone off in opposite directions, scatheless and unhurt, had they not been afraid that, if they retired, their enemies would advance. [4] no signal was given, but though unwilling and reluctant, they began to fight, in a half — hearted manner, with an uncertain and unequal shout; nor would any man stir from his place.

then the Roman consul, to put some life into the work, detached a few troops of cavalry and sent them in. of these the most part were unhorsed, and, the rest being thrown into confusion, there was a rush on the part of the Samnites to dispatch the fallen and on that of the Romans to save their comrades. [5] this infused a little spirit into the fighting; but the Samnites had charged somewhat more briskly and in greater numbers, and the disordered cavalry, their horses becoming terrified, rode down their own supports, who began a flight that spread to the whole Roman army. [6] and now the Samnites were on the backs of the fugitives, when the consul, galloping [7??] on before to the gate of the camp, posted there a guard of horse and

commanded them, whosoever should make for the rampart, be he Roman or Samnite, to treat him as a foe. he likewise threatened the men himself, and stopped them as they made in disorder for the camp. [8] “where are you going, men?” he shouted: “here too you will find arms and soldiers, and while your consul lives you shall not enter the camp, except as victors. choose, therefore, whether you would sooner fight with fellow — citizens or enemies!”

[9] as the consul spoke these words, the cavalry gathered round the infantry and levelling their spears bade them return into the battle. not only the consul’s bravery but Fortune also helped; for the Samnites did not press their advantage, and he had time to reverse his standards and change his front from the camp to the enemy. [10] they then began to encourage each other to resume the fight; the centurions snatched the standards from the standard — bearers and carried them forward, pointing out to their men that the enemy were few in number and were coming on in irregular and ill — formed ranks. [11] at this juncture the consul lifted up his hands to heaven, and in a clear voice, so as to be overheard, vowed a temple to Jupiter the Stayer, if the Roman army should stay its flight, and renewing the struggle cut to pieces and overcome the legions of the Samnites. [12] everybody, all along the line — officers, soldiers, infantry and horse — made an effort to restore the day. it even seemed that the divine power of the gods was concerned for the renown of Rome, so easily was the struggle turned and the enemy repulsed from the camp, and in a short time driven back to the place where the fighting had begun. [13] there they were held up by the heap of bundles which they had piled together, and, to keep their effects from being rifled, they formed around them a circle of armed men. [14] then the foot — soldiers fell hotly upon them in the front, and the cavalry rode round and assailed them in the rear; and so between the two they were slaughtered or made prisoners. The number of the captives was seven thousand eight hundred, who were all stripped and sent under the yoke: the slain were reported at four thousand eight hundred. [15] even the Romans had no joy of their victory, for the consul found, on reckoning up the two days’ casualties, that he had lost seven thousand eight hundred men.

[16] whilst these affairs were taking place in Apulia, the Samnites

with a second army attempted to seize Interamna, a Roman colony on the Latin Way, but could not take it; [17] having pillaged the farms, they were driving off a miscellaneous booty of men and beasts, together with the captured settlers, when they encountered the victorious consul returning from Luceria, and not only lost their spoils, but, marching without order in a long and encumbered column, were massacred themselves. [18] The consul made proclamation summoning the owners back to Interamna to identify and receive again their property, and, leaving there his army, went to Rome for the purpose of conducting the elections. [19] when he sought to obtain a triumph, the honour was denied him, on the ground that he had lost so many thousand men, and because he had sent the prisoners under the yoke, though they had made no terms.

37. The other consul, Postumius, in default of enemies in Samnium, transferred his army to Etruria. [2] there he first devastated the lands of the Volsinienses, and then, when they came out to defend their territory, defeated them at no great distance from their own walls. two thousand eight hundred Etruscans were slain; the rest were saved by their nearness to the city. [3] The army was then led into the territory of Rusellae. there not only were the fields laid waste, but the town was captured too. more than two thousand were made prisoners and somewhat fewer were killed in the fighting about the walls. [4] yet a peace was made that year in Etruria that was more glorious and of more importance than the fighting had been. three very powerful cities, the chief places in that country, namely Volsinii, Perugia, and Arretium, made overtures of peace, and arranged with the consul, in return for clothing and corn for his troops, to be permitted to send ambassadors to Rome, who obtained a truce for forty years. [5] a fine of five hundred thousand *asses*, to be paid at once, was assessed upon each state.

[6] in view of these achievements, the consul asked the senate for a triumph, more as a matter of custom than with any hope of obtaining his request. [7] when he perceived that some were for denying him on the ground of his tardiness in leaving the City, and others because he had gone over without the authorization of the senate from Samnium into Etruria — a part of these critics being his personal enemies, and the rest friends of his colleague, who were minded to console the

latter for his rebuff by denying a triumph to Postumius also — seeing, [8] I say, how matters stood, he spoke as follows: “i shall not be so mindful, Conscript Fathers, of your dignity as to forget that I am consul. in virtue of the same authority with which I conducted my wars, I intend, now that those wars are happily concluded with the subjugation of Samnium and Etruria and the winning of victory and peace, to celebrate a triumph.” [9] so saying he left the senate. a dispute then arose amongst the tribunes of the plebs; some declared that they would interpose their veto to prevent this unprecedented kind of triumph, others that they would support his claims against the opposition of their colleagues. [10] The question was discussed in an assembly and the consul was asked to speak. he reminded them that Marcus Horatius and Lucius Valerius, the consuls, and lately Gaius Marcius Rutulus, father of him who was then censor, had triumphed not by authorization of the senate but by command of the people; [11] and he added that he, too, would have referred the question to the people, had he not known that there were tribunes who were owned by the nobles and would obstruct the law ; but the wishes and approbation of the [12??] people when they were of one accord had all the binding force with him — and ever would have of any orders whatsoever. [13] and so, on the following day, with the support of three tribunes of the plebs, against the opposition of seven who forbade the proceedings and a unanimous senate, Postumius triumphed, with the people thronging in attendance.

of this year, too, the tradition is uncertain. Postumius, if we follow Claudius, after capturing several cities in Samnium, was defeated in Apulia and put to flight, and, being wounded himself, was forced to take refuge with a few followers in Luceria; while Atilius campaigned in Etruria and obtained a triumph. [14] Fabius writes that both consuls fought in Samnium and at Luceria; that the army was led over into Etruria — by which consul he does not state — and [15] that at Luceria both sides suffered heavy losses; in the course of the battle a temple was vowed to Jupiter Stator, as Romulus had vowed one before; but only the *fanum*, or place set apart for the temple, had been consecrated; [16] this year, however, their scruples demanded that the senate should order the erection of the building, since the state had now been obligated for the second time by the same vow.

38. The following year brought with it a consul, Lucius Papirius Cursor, remarkable both for his father's glory and for his own, and a mighty war, with a victory such as no one, save Lucius Papirius, the consul's father, had until that day obtained over the Samnites. [2] and it happened that the enemy had made their preparations for the war with the same earnestness and pomp and all the magnificence of splendid arms, and had likewise invoked the assistance of the gods, initiating, as it were, their soldiers, in accordance with a certain antique form of oath. [3] but first they held a levy throughout Samnium under this new ordinance, that whosoever of military age did not report in response to the proclamation of the generals, or departed without their orders, should forfeit his life to Jupiter. [4] which done, they appointed all the army to meet at Aquilonia, where some forty thousand soldiers, the strength of Samnium, came together.

[5] there, at about the middle of the camp, they had enclosed an area, extending approximately two hundred feet in all directions, with wicker hurdles, and roofed it over with linen. [6] in this place they offered sacrifice in accordance with directions read from an old linen roll. The celebrant was one Ovius Paccius, an aged man, who claimed to derive this ceremony from an ancient ritual of the Samnites which the forefathers of those present had formerly employed when they had gone secretly about to get Capua away from the Etruscans. [7] on the conclusion of the sacrifice, the general by his apparitor commanded to be summoned all those of the highest degree in birth and deeds of arms; and one by one they were introduced. [8] besides other ceremonial preparations, such as might avail to strike the mind with religious awe, there was a place all enclosed, with altars in the midst and slaughtered victims lying about, and round them a guard of centurions with drawn swords. [9] The man was brought up to the altar, more like a victim than a partaker in the rite, and was sworn not to divulge what he should there see or hear. [10] they then compelled him to take an oath in accordance with a certain dreadful form of words, whereby he invoked a curse upon his head, his household, and his family, if he went not into battle where his generals led the way, or if he either fled from the line himself or saw any other fleeing and did not

instantly cut him down. [11] some there were at first who refused to take this oath; these were beheaded before the altars, where they lay amongst the slaughtered victims — a warning to the rest not to refuse. [12] when the leading Samnites had been bound by this imprecation, the general named ten of them and bade them choose every man another, and so to proceed until they had brought their number up to sixteen thousand. These were named the “Linen Legion,” from the roof of the enclosure wherein the nobles had been sworn, and were given splendid arms and crested helmets, to distinguish them from the rest. [13] a little over twenty thousand men composed another corps, which neither in physical appearance nor in martial renown nor in equipment was inferior to the Linen Legion. this was the size of the army, comprising their effective forces, which encamped at Aquilonia.

39. The consuls set out from the City, Spurius Carvilius, to whom had been assigned the veteran legions which Marcus Atilius the consul of the previous year had left in the territory of Interamna, being the first to take the field. [2] proceeding with these forces into Samnium, while the enemy, busy with their superstitious rites, were holding secret councils, he carried the Samnite town of Amiternum by assault. [3] there about two thousand eight hundred men were slain and four thousand two hundred and seventy made prisoners. [4] Papirius, having levied a new army — for so it had been decreed — took by storm the city of Duronia, making fewer prisoners than his colleague but killing many more. in each place a rich booty was obtained. [5] afterwards, the consuls having ranged over Samnium and laid waste especially the district of Atina, Carvilius appeared before Cominium and Papirius before Aquilonia, where the main power of the Samnites lay encamped. [6] there for some days there was neither cessation from hostilities nor downright fighting, but the time was spent in provoking the enemy when they were quiet and retreating when they offered resistance — in a word, in feinting rather than attacking. [7] whatever was undertaken or given over, the result of every skirmish, no matter how trivial it might be, was reported at the other camp, which was twenty miles away. The other colleague, Carvilius, though absent, shared in every plan of operations, and was more intent upon Aquilonia, as the crisis became more imminent,

than upon Cominium, to which he was laying siege.

[8] Lucius Papirius, being now prepared at all points for the battle, sent word to his colleague that he purposed, if the auspices permitted, to engage the enemy on the following day; [9] it was needful, he said, that Carvilius should also direct an assault, as violent as possible, on Cominium, that no relaxation of the pressure there might allow of the Samnites' sending relief to Aquilonia. The messenger had a day for the journey. returning in the night, he reported that Carvilius approved the measures taken by his colleague. [10] Papirius had no sooner sent off the courier than he addressed his [11??] troops, and said many things of war in general and much regarding the present equipment of the enemy, more vain and showy than effective. [12] for crests, said he, dealt no wounds, and painted and gilded shields would let the Roman javelin through, and their battle — array, resplendent in white tunics, would be stained with blood when sword met sword. long ago a gilt and silvern Samnite army had been utterly destroyed by his father, and the spoils had done their conquerors more credit than the arms had brought to their bearers. [13] it had perhaps been granted to his name and family to be sent forth as generals against the mightiest efforts of the Samnites, and to win such trophies as should strikingly adorn even public places. [14] The immortal gods, he said, were ready to intervene in behalf of treaties so often sought and so often broken. [15] if it were possible in any way to surmise the feelings of the gods, they had never been [16??] more enraged with any army than with this one, which with horrid rites and stained with the commingled blood of men and beasts, doubly devoted to the wrath of Heaven, as it trembled now at the gods that attested the treaties it had made with the Romans, and now at the curses called down [17??] when it undertook to break those treaties, had sworn unwillingly, hated its oath, and dreaded at one and the same moment its gods, its fellow — citizens, and its enemies.

40. These fears had been made known to Papirius by deserters; and when he had described them to his soldiers, incensed as they already were of themselves, their hopes both of gods and men ran high, and they called out in unison demanding battle; they were vexed at the postponement of the struggle until the morrow, and to wait for a day

and night disgusted them. [2] in the third watch of the night, having now received his colleague's answer, Papirius rose silently and sent the keeper of the chickens to take the auspices. [3] there was no class of men in camp who were not affected by the lust of battle; both high and low felt the same eagerness; the general could see the ardour of the men, the men that of their general. [4] this universal zeal spread even to those who took the auspices, for when the chickens refused to feed, their keeper dared to falsify the presage and reported that the corn danced on the ground as it fell from their greedy beaks. [5] The consul joyfully announced that the omens were most favourable, and that the gods would be with them as they fought. [6] so saying, he displayed the signal for a battle. it chanced, as he was already moving out to the field, that a deserter came up with the information that twenty cohorts of the Samnites — of about four hundred each — had set out for Cominium. [7] that his colleague might not be ignorant of this, he instantly dispatched a messenger to him, and ordered his own troops to advance in double time. [8] he had assigned supports to take their posts at favourable points and officers to command them; the right wing he had given to Lucius Volumnius, the left to Lucius Scipio; to lead the cavalry he appointed the other lieutenants, Gaius Caedicius and Titus Trebonius. Spurius Nautius he directed to remove the pack — saddles from the mules, and with three cohorts of auxiliaries to make a hasty detour to a hill which lay in full view, and thence to show himself, in the heat of the engagement, raising as much dust as possible.

while the general was thus employed, a dispute which broke out amongst the keepers of the chickens about the auspices for that day was overheard by some Roman cavalrymen, who, deeming it no negligible matter, reported to Spurius Papirius, the consul's nephew, that the auspices were being called in [10] question. The young man had been born before the learning that makes light of the gods, and having inquired into the affair, that he might not be the bearer of an uncertain rumour, acquainted the consul with [11] it. The consul replied: "for yourself, I commend your conduct and your diligence; but he who takes the auspices, if he reports aught that is false, draws down the wrath of Heaven upon [12] himself; as for me, I was told that the corn had danced; it is an excellent omen for the Roman People

and the army,” he then ordered the centurions to station the keepers of the chickens in the front rank. The Samnites, too, advanced their standards, which were followed by the battle — line in gorgeous armour — a splendid spectacle, though composed of [13] enemies. before the first shout and the clash of arms, a random javelin struck the chicken — keeper and he fell before the [14] standards. The consul, on being told of this, exclaimed, “The gods are present in the battle; the guilty wretch has paid the penalty!” in front of the consul a raven, just as he spoke, uttered a clear cry, and Papirius, rejoiced with the augury, and declaring that never had the gods been more instant to intervene in human affairs, bade sound the trumpets and give a cheer.

41. The battle was fought fiercely, but with far from equal spirit. The Romans were filled with rage and hope and ardour for the combat, and, thirsting for their enemies’ blood, rushed into the engagement. as for the Samnites, in most cases it was necessity and the fear of Heaven that compelled them, however reluctant, rather to resist than to attack. [2] nor would they have held out against the first battle — cry and onset of the Romans, accustomed, as they had now been for some years, to being beaten, had not another yet more powerful fear benumbed their hearts and prevented them from fleeing. [3] for their eyes beheld all that array of the secret rite, and the armed priests, and the mingled slaughter of men and beasts, and the altars spattered with the blood of victims — and with that other blood — and they could hear the baleful execrations and that dire oath, framed to invoke perdition on their families and on their stock. [4] These were the chains that stayed them from flight, and they feared their countrymen more than they feared their foes. on came the Romans from either wing and from the centre, and cut them down as they stood there dazed by the dread of gods and men. [5] they resisted, but sluggishly, like men whom cowardice restrained from running.

The carnage had now reached almost to the standards, when a cloud of dust appeared on their flank, as though raised by the oncoming of a mighty host. [6] it was Spurius Nautius — some say Octavius Maecius — with the auxiliary cohorts; they made more dust than their numbers warranted, for the grooms who rode the mules

were dragging leafy branches along the ground. arms and standards were made out in the van through the murky air, and behind them another denser cloud of dust seemed to show that cavalry were closing the rear, and deceived not only the Samnites, but the Romans as well. [7] this mistake the consul confirmed by calling out in the front ranks, so loud that his voice carried even to the enemy, that Cominium was taken, and that his victorious colleague was at hand; let them therefore strive to conquer before the other army won the glory. [8] he was on horseback as he shouted these words. he then commanded the tribunes and centurions to open a path for the cavalry, having previously admonished Trebonius and Caedicius that when they saw him holding his lance aloft and shaking it, they should make their horsemen run full tilt against the enemy. [9] everything fell out according to his wishes, as happens when plans are laid beforehand. lanes were opened up between the files; the cavalry dashed out, and with levelled spears assailed the midst of the enemy's array, and broke his ranks wherever they charged. [10] hard after them came Volumnius and Scipio, and made havoc of the disordered Samnites.

then at last, overwhelmed by gods and men, the Linen Cohorts were put to rout; the sworn and the unsworn fled alike, and knew no fear but fear of the enemy. [11] such portion of the foot as survived the battle was driven to the camp or to Aquilonium; the nobles and cavalry escaped to Bovianum. horse were pursued by horse, infantry by infantry. The Roman wings advanced on different objectives, the right on the Samnite camp, the left on their city. [12] Volumnius succeeded somewhat sooner in capturing the camp. from the city Scipio met with a more violent resistance — not that vanquished men are more courageous, but walls avail better to keep out armed enemies than does a rampart; and from thence they drove their assailants off with stones. [13] Scipio, fearing that it would be a tedious task to reduce a fortified city, unless the affair were concluded during the first panic of his enemies and before they should collect their spirits, asked his soldiers whether they could be content that the other wing should have taken the camp, while they, though victors, were repulsed from the city gates. [14] when they all together cried out "no!" he himself led the way to the gate, shield

over head, and the others, following him, formed a *testudo*, burst into the city, and hurling down the defenders seized the walls adjoining the gate; they durst not venture into the middle of the city, because their numbers were so small.

42. of these events the consul was at first unaware, and was intent upon the withdrawal of his army; for the sun was now rapidly sinking in the west, and night coming on apace made all things dangerous and suspect, even to the victors. [2] as he rode farther forward, he saw on his right hand that the camp was taken, while from the city, on his left, a confused uproar was rising in which the shouts of the combatants were mingled with screams of terror; and it so happened that at that very moment the struggle at the gate was in progress. [3] then, riding nearer and perceiving that his men were on the walls and that his course was already marked out for him, since the adventurousness of a few men had provided him with a great opportunity, he gave orders that the troops withdrawn should be called back and advance against the city. [4] they entered it on the nearest side, and, as night was approaching, bivouacked; in the night the town was abandoned by the enemy.

[5] there were slain that day of the Samnites at Aquilonia twenty thousand three hundred and forty, and three thousand eight hundred and seventy were captured, with ninety — seven military standards. [6] tradition also avers that hardly had there ever been a general more joyous in combat, whether owing to his native temper or to his confidence that he should gain the victory. [7] it resulted from the same stoutness of heart that he was not to be recalled from giving battle by the dispute about the omen, and that in the hour of crisis, when it was customary to vow temples to the immortal gods, he made a vow to Jupiter the Victor that if he routed the legions of the enemy he would present him with a thimbleful of mead before he drank strong wine himself. this vow was pleasing to the gods and they gave a good tum to the auspices.

43. The same good fortune attended the other consul at Cominium. with the dawn he led up all his forces under the walls and invested the city, posting strong supports to prevent any sally from the gates. [2] he was in the act of giving the signal when the courier from his colleague came up with the alarming news about the twenty cohorts,

thus delaying the assault and obliging him to recall a part of his troops who were already drawn up and eager to attack. [3] he commanded Decimus Brutus Scaeva, his lieutenant, to proceed with the first legion, ten auxiliary cohorts, and the cavalry, to confront the new forces of the enemy: [4] wherever he fell in with them, he was to block their path and delay them, giving battle if the situation happened to require it; but on no account must these troops be suffered to approach Cominium. [5] he himself gave orders to bring up scaling — ladders from every side against the walls of the city, and under a mantlet of shields approached the gates. thus at the same instant the gates were burst open and the walls assaulted. The Samnites, although, until they beheld armed men upon their walls, they had pluck enough to keep their enemies from coming near the city, yet when the combat was no longer carried on with missiles at long range, but was fought hand — to — hand, and when those who had mounted with difficulty from the. [6] plain on to the walls — overcoming the inequality of position, which was what they had chiefly dreaded — were [7] making easy work of it on the level ground with an enemy that was no match for them, they forsook their towers and battlements, and, huddled all together in the market — place, made there one last brief attempt to redeem the day. [8] then, throwing down their arms, some eleven thousand four hundred men cast themselves on the mercy of the consul; about four thousand eight hundred had been slain.

[9] such were the operations at Cominium and at Aquilonia. in the place between, where a third battle had been looked for, the enemy were not encountered. recalled by their leaders when seven miles from Cominium, they had not been present at either engagement. [10] as the evening shadows began to fall, when they had already come within sight of the camp and of Aquilonia, they had been halted by the shouts, which were equally loud from both directions. [11] but afterwards, from the direction of the camp, which had been fired by the Romans, the flames broke out so extensively, with their warning of an unmistakable disaster, as to keep them from advancing further, and throwing [12??] themselves on the ground at random, just where they were, without stopping to remove their arms, they passed the whole weary night in waiting for the dawn, which at the same time

they dreaded. [13] as the day broke, they were hesitating which way to march, when the Roman cavalry, who had pursued the Samnites when they left their town in the night, caught sight of the army, lying there without breastworks or outpost, and instantly routed them. [14] their mass had been seen, too, from the walls of Aquilonia, and presently the legionary cohorts were likewise in pursuit of them. but the infantry could not overtake the fugitives, though the cavalry killed some two hundred and eighty of the rear — guard, who in their fright abandoned a quantity of arms and eighteen military standards. [15] The rest of the column made good its escape, as safely as could be in so great a confusion, to Bovianum.

44. The rejoicing in each of the Roman armies was enhanced by the good fortune the other had enjoyed. each consul, with the approval of his fellow, made over the town he had captured to be sacked by the soldiers, and when the houses had been emptied, gave it to the flames. [2] so on the same day Aquilonia and Cominium were destroyed by fire, and the consuls, amid the mutual exultations and good wishes of their legions and themselves, united their camps. [3] in the full sight of both armies Carvilius commended his men as each had merited, and presented them with decorations; and Papirius, who had fought an engagement of many sorts — in line of battle, round the camp, and about the city — awarded armlets and wreaths of gold to Spurius Nautius and to his nephew Spurius Papirius, and to four centurions and a maniple of *hastati* [4] — to Nautius for the charge by which, as though with a huge force, he had dismayed the enemy; to the young Papirius for his valiant service with the cavalry, both in the battle and in the night when he harassed the flight of the Samnites after their secret departure from [5] Aquilonia; to the centurions and soldiers because they had been the first to capture the gate and wall of Aquilonia. all the horsemen, in recognition of their distinguished conduct in many places, he decorated with little silver horns and silver [6] armlets.

a council of war was then held, and the question was debated whether the time were now come for withdrawing both armies, or at any rate one of the two, from [7] Samnium. but they decided that the greater the damage they had inflicted on the Samnites, the more sharply and pertinaciously ought they to carry out such measures as

remained, and to persist until they could hand over to the consuls who succeeded them a Samnium utterly [8] subdued.

since there was no longer any hostile army that seemed likely to engage in a pitched battle with them, one form of war alone remained, the storming of cities; by destroying which they would be able to enrich their troops with booty and crush their enemies, who would fight for their altars and their [9] hearths. accordingly, after dispatching letters to the senate and the Roman People recounting their achievements, the consuls parted company, Papirius marching to attack Saepinum, and Carvilius Velia.

45. The consuls' letters were listened to with vast exultation both in Senate — house and in assembly, and the general rejoicing found expression in the eagerness with which a thanksgiving of four days' duration was observed by individual citizens. [2] for the Roman People, moreover, it was not only a great but also a very seasonable victory, since it happened that they got news at about the same time that the Etruscans had commenced hostilities again. [3] men wondered how they could have withstood Etruria if anything had gone wrong in Samnium; for the Samnite coalition and the diversion of both consuls and all Rome's military strength to Samnium had encouraged these other enemies to revolt while the Roman People had their hands full.

[4] deputations from the allies, introduced into the senate by Marcus Atilius the praetor, complained that their lands were being burnt and devastated by the neighbouring Etruscans, because they were not willing to forsake the Roman People, and besought the Conscript Fathers to defend them against the violence and injuries of their common foes. [5] answer was made to the deputations that the senate would see to it that the allies should not regret their loyalty: [6] the Etruscans would shortly meet with the same fortune as the Samnites, Nevertheless, the Etruscan business would have dragged but for intelligence that the Faliscans likewise, who had for many years been friendly, were now united in arms with the Etruscans. [7] The proximity of this people sharpened the anxiety of the Fathers, and they decreed that fetials should be dispatched to demand redress. on the refusal of this demand, war was declared against the Faliscans, by command of the people, on the authorization of the senate, and

the consuls were bidden to cast [8??] lots to determine which should cross over with his army from Samnium into Etruria.

[9] Carvilius had already taken Velia and Palumbinum and Herculaneum from the Samnites — Velia in a few days' time, and Palumbinum the same day that he approached its walls. [10] at Herculaneum he even fought a regular engagement, of which the issue was for some time in doubt and his losses heavier than the enemy's; he then pitched his camp and shut the enemy up within his walls, and finally stormed the town and captured it. [11] in these three places ten thousand or so of the enemy were taken or put to death, with the prisoners very slightly outnumbering the slain. when the consuls cast lots for their commands, Etruria fell to Carvilius, thus answering the prayers of his soldiers, who could endure no longer the rigorous cold in Samnium. [12] Papirius, before Saepinum, had a larger body of the enemy still to reckon with. his troops were many times engaged in regular battle, many times when marching, and many times about the city itself, in resisting the sorties of the enemy. it was not a siege, but war upon even terms; for the Samnites protected their walls with arms and men full as much as the walls protected them. [13] at length, fighting hard, he forced the enemy to submit to a regular blockade, and by assault and siege — works captured the place. [14] The exasperation of the Romans made the massacre more bloody when the city fell. seven thousand four hundred were slain and fewer than three thousand were made prisoners. The booty, which was very great, since the Samnites had gathered their wealth together in a few cities, was handed over to the soldiers.

46. The ground was now covered with snow and men could no longer live out of doors. The consul therefore withdrew his army from Samnium. [2] on his coming to Rome he was unanimously voted a triumph. this he celebrated, while still holding office, in a style which, for the circumstances of those days, was magnificent. [3] foot-soldiers and horsemen marched or rode past the crowds adorned with their decorations; many civic crowns were seen, and many that had been won at the escalade of a rampart or a city wall. men inspected the spoils that he had taken from the Samnites, and compared them for splendour and beauty with those his father had won, which were

familiar to them from being often used in the decoration of public [5] places. a number of noble captives, famous for their own and their fathers' deeds, were led in the procession. of heavy bronze there were carried past two million five hundred and thirty — three thousand pounds. this bronze had been collected, it was said, from the sale of captives. of silver which had been taken from the cities there were eighteen hundred and thirty [6] pounds. all the bronze and silver was placed in the Treasury, none of the booty being given to the soldiers. The ill — feeling which this gave rise to in the plebs was increased by the gathering of a war — tax to pay the troops, since, if the consul had forgone the glory of depositing the captured money in the Treasury, the booty would then have afforded the soldiers a donative, as well as providing for their [7] pay. Papirius dedicated the temple of Quirinus. i find no ancient authority who states that it was vowed in the hour of conflict, nor indeed could it possibly have been completed in so short a time; his father had vowed it when dictator, and the son as consul dedicated it, adorning it with the spoils of the [8] enemy. of these there was such a great quantity that not only were the temple and the Forum bedecked with them, but they were distributed also amongst the allies and the neighbouring colonies for the decoration of their temples and public [9] squares. after triumphing, Papirius led his army into the country of the Vescini — a district infested by the Samnites — to pass the [10] winter.

in Etruria meanwhile the consul Carvilius, having made his preparations to begin with an attack on Troilum, agreed with four hundred and seventy of the wealthiest inhabitants for a large sum of money to let them [11] go; the rest of the population and the town itself he took by assault. he then stormed five fortresses situated in positions of great [12] strength. there he slew two thousand four hundred of the enemy, making fewer than two thousand prisoners. he also granted a year's truce to the Faliscans — who came to him seeking peace — having stipulated for a hundred thousand of heavy bronze and the year's pay for his [13] soldiers. after these exploits he departed to enjoy his triumph, which, though less distinguished than his colleague's had been for success against the Samnites, was a match for it when the Etruscan war was counted [14] in. - Of heavy

bronze he lodged in the Treasury three hundred and eighty thousand pounds; with what remained he contracted for a temple to Fors Fortuna to be erected from the general's spoils, near the temple of that goddess dedicated by ^[15??] King Servius Tullius, while to the soldiers he apportioned from the rest of the booty one hundred and two *asses* each, and as much again to the centurions and horsemen. These allowances were all the more welcome because of the parsimony of his ^[16] colleague. The consul's popularity served to shield his lieutenant Lucius Postumius from the people. he had been indicted by Marcus Scantius, a plebeian tribune, but had escaped trial before the people — so the story ran — through his appointment to the lieutenantancy; so that it was easier to threaten him than to carry home the accusation.

47. The year having now run its course, new tribunes of the plebs came in, but owing to a flaw in their election they were themselves supplanted by others, five days later. ^[2] The lustrum was closed that year by the censors Publius Cornelius Arvina and Gaius Marcius Rutulus; there were enrolled two hundred and sixty — two thousand three hundred and twenty — one. The censors were the twenty — sixth pair from the first censors; the lustrum was the ^[3] nineteenth. this year for the first time those who had been presented with crowns because of gallant behaviour in the war wore them at the Roman games, and palms were then for the first time conferred upon the victors, in accordance with a custom borrowed from the ^[4] Greeks. The same year the curule aediles who gave those games procured the conviction of a number of graziers, and with their fines paved the road from the temple of Mars as far as ^[5] Bovillae.

The consular comitia were held by Lucius Papirius, who declared the election of Quintus Fabius Gurges, the son of Maximus, and Decimus ^[6] Junius Brutus Scaeva. Papirius himself was chosen praetor.

The year had been one of many blessings, which yet were hardly a consolation for one misfortune — a pestilence which ravaged both city and countryside. its devastation was now grown portentous, and the Books were consulted to discover what end or what remedy the gods proposed ^[7] for this misfortune. it was discovered in the Books that Aesculapius must be summoned to Rome from Epidaurus; but

nothing could be done about it that year, because the consuls were occupied with the war, except that for one day a supplication to that god was held.

SUMMARY OF BOOK X

COLONIES were planted at Sora, at Alba, and at Carseoli. The surrender of the Marsi was received. The augural college was enlarged so that there were nine where before there had been four. a law about appeals was then for the third time laid before the people by the consul Murena. two tribes were added, the Aniensis and the Terentina. War was declared upon the Samnites and victories were often gained over them. when the Etruscans, Umbrians, Samnites, and Gauls were being fought under the leadership of Publius Decius and Quintus Fabius and the Roman army was in sore peril, Publius Decius, following the example of his father, devoted himself on behalf of the army and by his death gave the victory in that battle to the Roman People. Papirius Cursor routed the army of the Samnites, which had taken the field after binding itself with an oath, that it might fight with a more constant courage. The census was taken and the lustrum closed. there were enumerated 272,320 citizens.

SUMMARIES OF MISSING BOOKS XI-XX

Translated by B. O. Foster

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BOOK XI

WHEN Fabius Gurgus the consul had fought an unsuccessful battle with the Samnites and the senate was debating his removal from the command, Fabius Maximus his father begged them to spare his son this ignominy. what particularly moved the senate was his promise to go out as his son's lieutenant, which he did. aided by his advice and services, his son the consul defeated the Samnites and triumphed. Gaius Pontius, the general of the Samnites, was led in the triumph and beheaded. when the state was troubled with a pestilence, the envoys dispatched to bring over the image of Aesculapius from Epidaurus to Rome fetched away a serpent, which had crawled into their ship and in which it was generally believed that the god himself was present. on the serpent's going ashore on the island of the Tiber, a temple was erected there to Aesculapius. The consular Lucius Postumius was convicted of having used the labour of soldiers on his own land when in command of the army. The Samnites sought peace and the treaty with them was renewed for the fourth time. Curius Dentatus the consul having slaughtered the Samnites and conquered the Sabines, who had revolted, and received their submission, triumphed twice in the same year of office. colonies were established at Castrum, Sena, and Hadria. a board of three to deal with capital offences was then chosen for the first time. The number of citizens was returned as 272,000. Because of their debts, the plebs, after serious and protracted quarrels, seceded to Janiculum, whence they were brought back by Quintus Hortensius the dictator, who died before the expiration of his term. The book contains also campaigns with the Vulsinienses and likewise with the Lucanians, against whom the Romans had voted to assist the people of Thurii.

BOOK XII

ROMAN envoys having been put to death by the Senonian Gauls, war was for that reason declared against the Gauls, and Lucius Caecilius the praetor and his legions were cut to pieces by them. The Tarentines plundered a Roman fleet, slew the duumvir who commanded it, and maltreated the envoys whom the senate had dispatched to them to complain of these wrongs. on this account war was declared against them. The Samnites revolted. several successful battles were fought with them and with the Lucanians and the Brittii and the Etruscans, under a number of generals. Pyrrhus, king of the Epirots, came to Italy to help the Tarentines. a Campanian legion, commanded by Decius Vibellius, being sent to protect the people of Regium, put the inhabitants to death and seized the city.

BOOK XIII

THE consul Valerius Laevinus fought a losing engagement with Pyrrhus, the soldiers being greatly terrified by the strange sight of the elephants. after this battle, when Pyrrhus was looking at the bodies of the Romans who had fallen, he found that they all faced their enemies, and laying waste the country, advanced towards the city of Rome. Gaius Fabricius, being sent to him by the senate to treat for the ransom of the prisoners, was in vain solicited by the King to forsake his country. The prisoners were released without a price. Cineas, having been dispatched by Pyrrhus as an envoy to the senate, asked that the King might be received into the City for the purpose of arranging terms of peace. on its having been resolved to refer this proposal to a fuller meeting of the senate, Appius Claudius, who by reason of a weakness of the eyes had long abstained from public business, entered the Curia and by his speech prevailed on the senators to deny Pyrrhus his request. Gnaeus Domitius was the first plebeian censor to close the lustrum. The number of the citizens was returned as 287,222. There was a second battle with Pyrrhus, of an indecisive nature. The treaty with the Carthaginians was renewed for the fourth time. when a deserter from Pyrrhus promised Gaius Fabricius the consul that he would poison the King, Fabricius sent him back to the King with the story of his guilt. The book contains also successful campaigns against the Lucanians and the Bruttians, the Samnites and the Etruscans.

BOOK XIV

PYRRHUS crossed into Sicily. when, amongst other prodigies, the statue of Jupiter in the Capitol had been thrown down by a thunderbolt, its head was discovered by haruspices. The consul Curius Dentatus, on holding a levy, was the first to sell the goods of any man who did not answer the summons; he likewise defeated Pyrrhus, who had returned from Sicily into Italy, and drove him out of Italy. The censor Fabricius removed Publius Cornelius Rufinus, an ex — consul, from the senate, because he had in his possession ten pounds of wrought silver. when the censors had closed the lustrum, there were found to be 271,224 citizens. An alliance was made with Ptolemy, king of Egypt. sextilia, a Vestal Virgin, was found guilty of unchastity and was buried alive. The colonies of Posidonia and Cosa were established. a fleet of the Carthaginians came to the assistance of the Tarentines, an act which constituted a violation of the treaty. The book also contains successful wars with the Lucanians, the Bruttians, and the Samnites, and the death of King Pyrrhus.

BOOK XV

THE Tarentines, having been vanquished, were granted peace and liberty. The Campanian legion which had seized Regium was besieged and forced to surrender and its members were beheaded. envoys from Apollonium to the senate were beaten by certain youths, who were given up to the people of Apollonium. The Picentes were defeated and granted peace. colonies were sent out to Ariminum in the Picentian district and to Beneventum in Samnium. then for the first time the Roman People began to use silver. The Umbrians and the Sallentines were conquered and their submission was received. The number of quaestors was enlarged, so that there were eight.

BOOK XVI

THE origin of the Carthaginians and the beginnings of their city are described. against them and against Hiero, king of the Syracusans, the senate determined to assist the Mamertines, after a bitter debate about the proposal between its advocates and its opponents. then for the first time Roman cavalry crossed the sea, and fought a number of victorious engagements against Hiero. on his suing for peace, it was granted him. The lustrum was closed by the censors. there were enumerated 382,234 citizens. Decimus Junius Brutus was the first to give a gladiatorial exhibition, in honour of his dead father. The colony of Aesernia was planted. The book contains also successful operations carried on against the Carthaginians and the Vulsinii.

BOOK XVII

THE consul Gnaeus Cornelius was surrounded by a Carthaginian fleet and was made prisoner by fraud, having been lured out as to a colloquy. The consul Gaius Duillius fought a successful engagement with the fleet of the Carthaginians and was first of all Roman leaders to triumph for a naval victory. for this reason he was granted a perpetual honour — that a waxen torch should be borne before him and a flautist should make music when he returned from dining out. The consul Lucius Cornelius fought successfully in Sardinia and Corsica against the Sardinians and Corsicans and against Hanno, the Carthaginian general. The consul Atilius Calatinus having rashly led his army into a place surrounded by the Carthaginians, escaped through the valiant services of Marcus Calpurnius, a tribune of the soldiers, who with three hundred men broke through the enemy and drew their attack upon himself. Hannibal, a Carthaginian general, on the defeat of the fleet which he commanded, was crucified by his own soldiers. Atilius Regulus the consul, having beaten the Carthaginians in a naval battle, crossed into Africa.

BOOK XVIII

ATILIUS REGULUS in Africa slew a serpent of portentous size with the loss of many of his soldiers. having fought several successful battles with the Carthaginians, and finding that owing to his good fortune in the prosecution of the war the senate was not disposed to send anyone to succeed him, he wrote to the senate and complained of this very thing, alleging, amongst other reasons for desiring a successor, that his little farm had been deserted by the labourers hired to work it. afterwards, on Fortune's seeking to exhibit in the case of Regulus an example of both extremes, the Carthaginians sent for Xanthippus, a general of the Lacedaemonians, who defeated Regulus in battle and made him prisoner. after that all the Roman generals gained victories on land and sea; but these were marred by the wreck of fleets. Tiberius Coruncanius was the first to be chosen pontifex maximus from the plebs. manius Valerius Maximus and Publius Sempronius Sophus, when as censors they were passing on the senate, removed sixteen from that order. they closed the lustrum and the number of citizens returned was 297,797. Regulus being sent by the Carthaginians to the senate to treat for peace, or, failing that, for an exchange of prisoners, and being bound by an oath to return to Carthage, if the Romans would not exchange, advised the senate to grant neither request, and having loyally returned, was tortured to death by the Carthaginians.

BOOK XIX

CAECILIUS METELLUS, after a prosperous campaign against the Carthaginians, triumphed brilliantly, having thirteen of the enemy's generals and a hundred and twenty elephants in his procession. The consul Claudius Pulcher having set out in opposition to the auspices — he ordered the chickens to be drowned, when they would not feed — fought an unsuccessful naval engagement with the Carthaginians, and on being recalled by the senate and directed to name a dictator, named Claudius Glicia, a man of the basest sort, who afterwards, when he had been forced to abdicate the office, witnessed the games in his purple — bordered toga. Aulus Atilius Calatinus was the first dictator to lead an army out of Italy. An exchange of prisoners with the Carthaginians was effected. colonies were founded at Fregenae and in the Sallentine country at Brundisium. The lustrum was closed by the censors. 241,212 citizens were registered. claudia, the sister of Publius Claudius, who had been defeated after making light of the auspices, being jostled by the crowd while returning from the games, exclaimed, "o that my brother were alive to command another fleet!" for this she was fined. then for the first time two praetors were elected. Caecilius Metellus, the pontifex maximus, kept Aulus Postumius, the consul, in the City, since he was also the flamen of Mars, when he desired to go forth to war, nor would he suffer him to forsake his sacred functions. after a number of generals had gained successes against the Carthaginians, Gaius Lutatius crowned the victory by defeating the Carthaginian fleet off the Aegatian Islands. The Carthaginians sued for peace and it was granted them. when the temple of Vesta was burning, Caecilius Metellus, the pontifex maximus, rescued the sacred objects from the flames. two tribes were added, the Velina and the Quirina.

BOOK XX

THE Faliscans, having revolted, were on the sixth day subdued and permitted to surrender. a colony was planted at Spoletium. then for the first time an army marched against the Ligurians. The Sardinians and Corsicans having revolted were reduced to subjection. tuccia, a Vestal Virgin, was convicted of unchastity. War was declared against the Illyrians on account of the murder of one of the envoys who had been dispatched to them, and they were subdued and received in surrender. The number of praetors was enlarged to four. transalpine Gauls who had made an incursion into Italy were cut to pieces. The author states that in that war the Roman People had under arms 800,000 men, of their own and of the Latin name. then for the first time Roman armies crossed the Po, and defeating the Insubrian Gauls in several battles, received their submission. The consul Marcus Claudius Marcellus having slain the chief of the Insubrian Gauls, Vertomarus, brought back the spoils of honour. The Histrians were subjugated. The Illyrians having gone to war a second time were defeated and their submission was received. The census was thrice taken by the censors. in the first census there were registered 270,212 citizens. . . The freedmen were assigned to four tribes, whereas before they had been dispersed through them all — the four being the Esquilina, the Palatina, the Suburana, the Collina. The censor Gaius Flaminius built 'the Flaminian Way and the Flaminian Circus. colonies were established in the territory taken from the Gauls, at Placentia and Cremona.

BOOK XXI

Translated by B. O. Foster

1. IN this preface to a part of my history I may properly assert what many an historian has declared at the outset of his entire work, to wit, that the war which I am going to describe was the most memorable of all wars ever waged — the war, that is, which, under the leadership of Hannibal, the Carthaginians waged with the Roman People. [2] For neither have states or nations met in arms possessed of ampler resources, nor was their own might and power ever so great. Nor yet were they strangers to one another's modes of fighting, which the First Punic War had made them understand. And so variable were the fortunes of the war and so uncertain was its outcome that those who ultimately conquered had been nearer ruin. [3] The animosity, too, with which they fought was almost greater than their strength: the Romans were enraged that the conquered should be actually drawing sword upon their conquerors; the Phoenicians, because they believed that the conquered had been treated with domineering arrogance and greed.

[4] It is said moreover that when Hannibal, then about nine years old, was childishly teasing his father Hamilcar to take him with him into Spain, his father, who had finished the African war and was sacrificing, before crossing over with his army, led the boy up to the altar and made him touch the offerings and bind himself with an oath that so soon as he should be able he would be the declared enemy of the Roman People. [5] The loss of Sicily and Sardinia was a continual torture to the proud spirit of Hamilcar. For he maintained that they had surrendered Sicily in premature despair, and that the Romans had wrongfully appropriated Sardinia — and even imposed an indemnity on them besides — in the midst of their African disturbances.

2. Tormented by these thoughts, he so bore himself in the African War, which followed hard upon the Roman peace and lasted for five years, and likewise afterwards, during the nine years he spent in Spain in extending the Punic empire, that it was plain to see that he meditated a more important war than the one he was engaged in, and

that if his life had been prolonged, [2??] the Phoenicians would have invaded Italy under the leadership of Hamilcar, as they did in fact under that of Hannibal.

[3] Hamilcar's very timely death and the boyhood of Hannibal delayed the war. In the interval betwixt father and son, the supreme command devolved, for about eight years, on Hasdrubal. [4] It was his youthful beauty, they say, that won for him in the first instance the favour of Hamilcar, who subsequently selected him, no doubt for other, that is mental, qualifications, to be his son-in-law. As such — through the influence of the Barcine faction which was very strong with the soldiers and the common people — he was given the command, though the leading citizens had no liking for this step. [5] Relying more often on policy than force, Hasdrubal enlarged the sway of Carthage rather by setting up friendly relations with the petty kings and winning over new tribes through the goodwill of their leaders than by war and arms. [6] But he was not a whit more safe for being at peace. A certain barbarian slew him openly, to avenge his master, whom Hasdrubal had put to death. On being seized by the bystanders he expressed in his countenance the cheerfulness of one who had escaped, and even as he was being tortured, joy so got the upper hand of agony that he seemed actually to smile. [7] With this Hasdrubal, because of the marvellous skill which he had shown in tempting the native tribes to join his empire, the Roman People had renewed their covenant, with the stipulation that neither side should extend its dominion beyond the Ebro, while the Saguntines, situated between the empires of the two peoples, should be preserved in independence.

3. For Hasdrubal's successor there could be no question but that the choice originating with the soldiers — who immediately bore young Hannibal into the praetorium and with loud and universal acclamation hailed him general — would obtain the ratification of the senate. The approval of the commons followed. [2] The new commander had been summoned to Spain by Hasdrubal when a mere lad, and the matter had even been debated in the senate. The Barcine party were urging that Hannibal should become inured to warfare and succeed to the resources of his father, when Hanno, the leader of the other faction, addressed the House. [3] "There is reason," said he,

“in Hasdrubal’s request, nevertheless I am opposed to granting it.” [4] When astonishment at a speech so inconsistent had attracted everybody’s attention, he continued: “The youthful charms which Hasdrubal himself permitted Hannibal’s father to enjoy he considers that he has the right to require again at the hands of the son. But that we should accustom our young men, by way of military training, to gratify the concupiscence of our generals is most unseemly. [5] Or do we fear lest Hamilcar’s son may too late behold the inordinate powers and the regal pomp which his father has set up? that the son of the king who left our armies as a legacy to his son-in-law may find us too slow in accepting him for our master? [6] For my part, I think that the young man should be kept at home and taught to live in submission to the laws and the magistrates, upon an equal footing with the others, lest one day this small fire kindle a great conflagration.”

4. A few, and these included nearly all the best men, supported Hanno, but, as often happens, the larger party prevailed over the better. Hannibal was sent to Spain, where he was no sooner come than he won the favour of the entire army. [2] The old soldiers thought that Hamilcar was restored to them as he had been in his youth; they beheld the same lively expression and piercing eye, the same cast of countenance and features. But he soon brought it to pass that his likeness to his father was the least consideration in gaining him support. [3] Never was the same nature more adaptable to things the most diverse — obedience and command. And so one could not readily have told whether he were dearer to the general or the army. [4] When any bold or difficult deed was to be done, there was no one whom Hasdrubal liked better to entrust with it, nor did any other leader inspire his men with greater confidence or daring. [5] To reckless courage in incurring dangers he united the greatest judgment when in the midst of them. No toil could exhaust his body or overcome his spirit. Of heat and cold he was equally tolerant. His consumption of meat and drink was determined by natural desire, not by pleasure. [6] His times of waking and sleeping were not marked off by day or night: [7] what time remained when his work was done he gave to sleep, which he did not court with a soft bed or stillness, but was seen repeatedly by many lying on the ground wrapped in a

common soldier's cloak amongst the sentinels and outguards. His dress was in no way superior to that of his fellows, but his arms and horses were conspicuous. [8] Both of horsemen and of foot-soldiers he was undoubtedly the first — foremost to enter battle, and last to leave it when the fighting had begun. [9] These admirable qualities of the man were equalled by his monstrous vices: his cruelty was inhuman, his perfidy worse than Punic; he had no regard for truth, and none for sanctity, no fear of the gods, no reverence for an oath, no religious scruple. [10] With this endowment of good and evil traits he served for the space of three years under Hasdrubal, omitting nothing that should be done or seen by one who was to become a great commander.

5. For the rest, from the day on which he was proclaimed commander-in-chief, as though Italy had been assigned to him for his field of operations and he [2??] had been instructed to make war on Rome, he felt that no postponement was permissible, lest he too, like his father Hamilcar, and afterwards Hasdrubal, should be overtaken, while delaying, by some accident, and resolved upon attacking the Saguntines. [3] But since an attack on them must certainly provoke the Romans to hostile action, he marched first into the territory of the Olcades — a tribe living south of the Ebro, within the limits of the Carthaginians but not under their dominion — that he might appear not to have aimed at the Saguntines but to have been drawn into that war by a chain of events, as he conquered the neighbouring nations and annexed their territories. [4] Cartala, a wealthy town, the capital of that tribe, he stormed and sacked; and this so terrified the lesser towns that they submitted and agreed to an indemnity. The victorious army, enriched with spoil, was led back to New Carthage for [5] the winter. There, by a generous partition of the booty and the faithful discharge of all arrears of pay, he confirmed them all, both citizens and allies, in their allegiance to himself; and early in the spring pushed forward into the land of [6] the Vaccaeii. Their cities, Hermandica and Arbocala, were taken by assault. Arbocala, thanks to the bravery and numbers of its inhabitants, held out for a [7] long time. The fugitives from Hermandica, uniting with the exiles of the [8] Olcades — the tribe which had been subdued in the previous summer — roused up the Carpetani, and falling upon Hannibal as he was

returning from the Vaccaeï, not far from the river Tagus, threw his column, encumbered as it was with booty, into [9] some disorder. Hannibal refrained from battle and encamped on the bank of the river. As soon as the enemy were settled for the night and silent, he crossed the river by a ford, and so laid out his rampart as to allow them room for crossing, resolving to attack them as they were [10] passing over. He ordered his cavalry to charge their column of foot when they saw that it had [11??] entered the stream, and posted the elephants, of which he had forty, along the bank. The Carpetani, together with the contingents of the Olcades and Vaccaeï, numbered a hundred thousand — an invincible array, had they been going to fight in a [12] fair field. And so, inspired by a native intrepidity, confiding in their multitude, and believing — since they supposed that their enemies had retreated out of fear — that victory was delayed but till they should have passed the river, they broke into a cheer, and, staying for no man's orders, rushed into the stream wherever it happened to [13] be nearest. From the other side a great body of cavalry was sent in [14] against them. The meeting in mid-channel was no equal conflict, for there the footmen were unsteady, and, scarce trusting to the ford, might even have been overthrown by unarmed riders, urging their horses forward at haphazard; while the horsemen, having their bodies and weapons free and horses that were steady even in the deep pools, could fight either at close quarters or [15] long range. A great part of them perished in the stream; some the eddying current carried over to their enemies, where they were trampled down by [16] the elephants. The rearmost, who could retreat to their own bank more safely, were gathering from the various directions in which they had fled, when, before they could recover from so great a panic, Hannibal entered the stream in a fighting column, and driving them in confusion from the bank, laid waste their fields, and in a few days' time received the surrender of the [17] Carpetani also. And now everything south of the Ebro, except Saguntum, was in the hands of the Carthaginians.

6. With the Saguntines there was as yet no war, but quarrels that might be a pretext for it were already being sown betwixt them and their neighbours, especially the Turdetani. Now when the side of the Turdetani was espoused by the same man who had sowed the

quarrel, and it was clearly seen that he was aiming not at arbitration but force, the Saguntines sent ambassadors to Rome, imploring help for a war that was now [3] indubitably imminent. The Roman consuls at that time were Publius Cornelius Scipio and Tiberius Sempronius Longus. After introducing the ambassadors into the senate, they had brought up the question of public policy, and the senators had voted to dispatch envoys to Spain, to examine into the affairs of their [4??] allies, to the end that, if there appeared to be just cause, they might formally warn Hannibal to keep aloof from the Saguntines, the allies of the Roman People; after which they were to cross over into Africa, to Carthage, and [5] present the complaint of Rome's allies. This embassy had been voted but not yet sent off, when, sooner than all expectation, came the news that Saguntum was besieged. The case was [6] then referred anew to the senate. Some were for sending the consuls into Spain and Africa respectively and waging war by land and sea; others wanted to direct their [7] whole force against Spain and Hannibal; some there were who argued that so grave a quarrel should not be lightly entered on, and proposed to await the return [8] of the envoys out of Spain. This last opinion, which seemed the safest, carried the day, and the envoys, Publius Valerius Flaccus and Quintus Baebius Tamphilus, were sent off with the more dispatch. They were to go to Saguntum first, to Hannibal, and thence, if he would not cease hostilities, to Carthage, to demand the surrender of the general himself in satisfaction of the broken treaty.

7. While the Romans were thus planning and deliberating, the siege of Saguntum was already being pressed with the greatest vigour. [2] This city was much the wealthiest of those beyond the Ebro and was situated about a mile from the sea. Its inhabitants are said to have come originally from the island of Zacynthus, and to have included also a strain from the Ardeate Rutulians. [3] Be this as it may, they had attained quickly to their great prosperity, whether owing to the produce of the sea or the land, to the growth of their population, or to the integrity of their discipline, which caused [4??] them to keep faith with their allies even to their own undoing. [5] Crossing their borders with a hostile army Hannibal laid waste their country far and wide and advanced in three divisions against their city. There was an angle of the wall that gave on a valley more open

and more level than the other ground about the town. [6] Against this he determined to bring up pent-houses, that under their cover the battering-rams might be brought into contact with the walls. [7] But though the ground at some distance from the wall was smooth enough for moving the pent-houses, the attempt succeeded very ill when it came to the final execution of it. There was a great overhanging tower, and the wall — as was natural in a suspected place — had been carried up to a greater height than elsewhere, and the pick of the fighting men having been stationed there, where the greatest danger threatened, offered a more strenuous resistance. [8] At first they drove the assailants off with missiles and left no spot safe for their pioneers; [9] afterwards not only did their javelins dart from wall and tower, but they even had the hardihood to sally out against the pickets and earthworks of their enemies, and in these rough-and-tumble fights hardly more Saguntines fell than Phoenicians. [10] But when Hannibal himself, who had somewhat incautiously ventured up under the wall, was severely wounded in the front of his thigh with a heavy javelin and sank to the ground, those about him fell into such confusion and dismay as almost to abandon their works and pent-houses.

8. For the next few days, while the general's hurt was healing, there was rather a blockade than an assault; but though during this interval there was rest from combat, yet was there no slackening in the preparation of engines and defences. [2] Accordingly the fighting broke out afresh more fiercely than before, and pent-houses began to be pushed forward and rams brought up at many points, though in some places the ground would hardly admit of them. [3] The Phoenician was lavishly equipped with men — he is credibly supposed to have had a hundred and fifty thousand under arms — but [4] the townsmen, who, in order to guard and defend every quarter, had been divided into numerous companies, found their strength inadequate. [5] And so now the walls were being battered with rams and in many places had been severely shaken. One section, giving way continuously for some distance, had exposed the town: three towers in a row, together with the wall connecting them, had come down with a loud crash. [6] The Phoenicians believed that the town was taken with that breach, through which from either side men

rushed to attack, as though the wall had protected both parties alike. [7] It was not at all like the mellays that commonly occur in sieges, where one side gets an opportunity, but regular battle lines had formed, as in an open field, between the ruins of the wall and the buildings of the city, which stood at some distance off. [8] On this side hope, on that despair inspired courage. The Phoenicians believed the city to be theirs, if they put forth a little effort. The Saguntines opposed their bodies to defend their city, denuded of its walls, nor would one of them draw back his foot lest he admit an enemy to the spot which he had vacated. [9] And the harder both sides fought and the more they crowded in together, the greater was the number of those wounded, for no missile fell without taking effect on shield or body. [10] The Saguntines had a javelin, called a *phalarica*, with a shaft of fir, which was round except at the end whence the iron projected; this part, four-sided as in the *pilum*, they wrapped with tow and smeared with pitch. [11] Now the iron was three feet long, that it might be able to go through both shield and body. But what chiefly made it terrible, even if it stuck fast in the shield and did not penetrate the body, was this, that when it [12??] had been lighted at the middle and so hurled, the flames were fanned to a fiercer heat by its very motion, and it forced the soldier to let go his shield, and left him unprotected against the blows that followed.

9. When the outcome of the struggle had long been doubtful, and the Saguntines, because they were holding out beyond their hopes, had gained new courage, while the Phoenician, because he had not conquered, was as good as beaten; [2] suddenly the townspeople set up a shout and thrust forth their enemies amongst the ruins of the wall, and routing them out from thence, confused and frightened, drove them back at last in full flight to their camp.

In the meantime it was announced that ambassadors had come from Rome. [3] Hannibal sent men to the shore to meet them and say that it would not be safe for them to come to him through the armed bands of so many unruly tribes, and that he had no time for listening to embassies at so critical a juncture. It was clear that, if they were denied a hearing, they would at once proceed to Carthage. [4] He therefore dispatched couriers before them, with a letter for the leaders of the Barcine faction, so that they might prepare the minds

of their adherents to prevent the opposing party from affording any satisfaction to the Roman People.

10. Accordingly, save for being admitted and allowed a hearing, this mission also was idle and of no effect. [2] Hanno stood alone in pleading for the treaty against the views of the senate. There was a deep hush while he spoke, by reason of his personal authority, but he was listened to without approval. He adjured the senators in the name of the gods, vouchers for treaties and their witnesses, to provoke not a Roman along with the Saguntine war. [3] He had advised them and forewarned them not to send the offspring of Hamilcar to the army; neither the man's ghost nor his progeny was at rest, nor ever, so long as any of the lineage and name of Barca should survive, would the treaty with the Romans rest untroubled. [4] "You have sent to your armies," he went on, "as though heaping fuel on a fire, a youth who burns with lust for sovereign power and sees but one way to obtain it — if, by sowing seeds of war, he can raise up other wars and live girt round with arms and legions. [5] You have therefore fed these flames with which you are now ablaze. Your armies now invest Saguntum, which the treaty forbids them to approach: ere long the Roman legions will be investing Carthage, led by those very gods who helped them in the former war to avenge the broken treaty. [6] Is it your enemy you know not, or yourselves, or the fortunes of both peoples? When ambassadors came from allies on behalf of allies, your worthy general would not admit them to his camp, but thrust aside the law of nations; nevertheless these men, being driven from a place where even an enemy's envoys are admitted, have come to you. They seek amends in accordance with a treaty. That the state may be void of offence, they demand the author of the wrong, the man on whom they charge the guilt. [7] The more mildly they proceed, the more slowly they begin, the more obstinate, I fear, when they *have* begun, will be their rage. Set Eryx and the Aegatian islands before your eyes, and all that you suffered by land and sea for four and twenty years. [8] Nor was this boy your leader, but Hamilcar himself, the father, a second Mars, as his partisans will have it. But we could not keep our hands from Tarentum, that is, from Italy, as by treaty bound, even as now we cannot keep them from Saguntum. [9] Gods therefore vanquished men, and that which had been verbally

disputed — which people of the twain had broken the treaty — the outcome of the war, like an impartial judge, decided, and to those who had the right granted the victory. [10] It is Carthage against which Hannibal is now bringing up his pent-houses and towers; it is the walls of Carthage he is battering with his rams. Saguntum's walls — may my prophecy prove false! — will fall upon *our* heads, and the war we have entered upon with the Saguntines we must carry on against the Romans. [11] 'Shall we then surrender Hannibal?' someone will ask. I know that my influence is slight, because of my quarrel with his father; but I rejoiced when Hamilcar perished, for this reason, that were he living, we should now be at war with Rome; [12] and this young man, who, like a fury, now brandishes the torch of war, I loathe and abominate, and I hold, not only that he ought to be surrendered in expiation of the broken treaty, but that, if none demanded him, he ought to be deported to the farthest limits of land and sea — to be banished to a place whence neither name nor fame of his could reach us, nor he be able to vex the quiet of our state. [13] My opinion is this: we should send ambassadors at once to Rome, to give satisfaction to the senate; and others to announce to Hannibal that he must withdraw his army from Saguntum, and to hand over Hannibal himself to the Romans as the treaty requires; a third embassy I would send to make restitution to the Saguntines."

11. When Hanno had concluded, not a single person found it necessary to oppose his arguments, so nearly unanimous was the senate in supporting Hannibal. They declared that Hanno had spoken more bitterly than Valerius Flaccus, the Roman envoy. [2] They then gave their answer to the envoys, to the effect that the war had been begun by the Saguntines, not by Hannibal, and that the Roman People would be doing wrong if they preferred the Saguntines to their very ancient alliance with the Carthaginians.

[3] While the Romans were wasting time in dispatching embassies, Hannibal had allowed his soldiers, exhausted as they were with fighting and constructing works, to rest for a few days, after posting outguards to look to the pent-houses and other engines. Meanwhile he kindled their ardour, now by inciting them to rage against their enemies, again by holding out hopes of rewards. [4] But when he made a speech proclaiming that the spoils of the captured city should

go to the soldiers, they were so excited, one and all, that if the signal had been given instantly, it seemed as if no force could have withstood them. [5] The Saguntines, though they had had a rest from fighting, neither attacking nor being attacked for several days, had laboured incessantly, both day and night, to replace the wall where its collapse had exposed the town.

The assault was now resumed, with far greater fury than before, and it was hard for the inhabitants to know, when shouts and cries were resounding on every hand, to what point they should first, or preferably, bring up supports. [6] Hannibal was present in person to urge on his men, where they were pushing up a movable tower that surpassed in height all the defences of the city. [7] As soon as it had been brought up, and the catapults and *ballistae* distributed through all its platforms had stripped the ramparts of defenders, Hannibal, believing that he now had his opportunity, sent about five hundred Africans with pickaxes to undermine the wall. This was no hard task, for the rubble had not been solidified with mortar, but filled in with mud, after an ancient mode of building. [8] It therefore fell for wider stretches than were actually hacked away, and through the breaches bands of armed men passed into the city. [9] They even seized an elevation, and setting up catapults and *ballistae* there, built a wall around it, so as to have within the town itself a stronghold that commanded it like a citadel. [10] The Saguntines too built a wall within the old one, to protect that part of the city that was not yet taken. On both sides the soldiers worked and fought with the utmost energy; but the Saguntines, contracting their defences, were bringing their city day by day within a smaller compass. [11] At the same time there was an increasing scarcity of everything, on account of the long blockade; and the prospect of help from without was growing less, [12??] since the Romans, their only hope, were so far away, and all the country round about was in the possession of their enemies. [13] Yet their drooping spirits were revived for a little while by the sudden departure of Hannibal for the territories of the Oretani and the Carpetani. These two nations, exasperated by a rigorous conscription, had seized the recruiting officers and thereby given rise to fears of a revolt, but were caught unprepared by Hannibal's celerity, and laid down the arms they had taken up.

12. But the siege of Saguntum did not flag. Maharbal, the son of Himilco, whom Hannibal had left in charge, so bestirred himself that the absence of the general was felt neither by his countrymen nor by the enemy. [2] He fought a number of successful skirmishes, and with three battering-rams laid low a considerable portion of the wall, and on Hannibal's return, showed him the place all covered with the newly fallen ruins. [3] And so the troops were led at once against the citadel itself, and a fierce battle began, in which many on both sides were killed and a part of the citadel was taken.

An all but hopeless attempt to arrange a peace was then made by two men, Alco, a Saguntine, and a Spaniard named Alorcus. [4] Alco, thinking that something might be effected by entreaties, went over to Hannibal in the night, without the knowledge of the Saguntines. But finding that tears were of no avail and that the terms obtainable were such as a wrathful conqueror would impose, he changed from pleader to deserter, and remained with the enemy, declaring that anybody who should treat for peace on those conditions would be put to death. [5] The conditions were as follows: they must make restitution to the Turdetani, and, delivering up all their gold and silver, quit their city with a single garment each and take up their abode where the Phoenician should direct them. [6] When Alco asserted that the Saguntines would not accept such terms, Alorcus, affirming that where all else is conquered the heart is conquered too, undertook the negotiation of a peace. He was at that time a soldier in the service of Hannibal, but was officially recognized by the Saguntines as their friend and guest. [7] Openly surrendering his weapon to the sentries, he passed the enemy's lines, and was conducted — by his own command — before the Saguntine general. [8] A crowd of all descriptions immediately flocked together there; but all save the senators were sent away, and Alorcus, being permitted to address them, spoke as follows:

13. "If Alco, your own fellow citizen, after going to Hannibal to sue for peace, had brought back to you the terms of peace which Hannibal offers, this journey of mine would have been superfluous, for I should have come to you neither as Hannibal's spokesman nor yet as a deserter. [2] But seeing that, whether through your fault or his own, he has stopped behind with your enemy — his own if his fears

were feigned, yours if it is unsafe to bring you a true report — that you might not be ignorant that terms there are upon which you may enjoy both life and peace, I have come to you myself, having regard to the long-standing friendship which subsists between us. [3] Moreover, that I say what I say for your sake and no other's, you may take this as proof: so long as you held your ground with your own forces, and expected to receive help from the Romans, I never mentioned peace to you; [4] but now that you have no longer any hope from Rome, and neither your arms nor your fortifications are adequate to defend you, I bring you a peace more necessary than equitable. [5] That this peace may be realized there is some ground for hoping only if, even as Hannibal proposes it in the spirit of a conqueror, so you shall hearken to it in the spirit of the conquered, and shall not consider as lost what is taken from you, since all things are the victor's, but consider whatever is left you as a gift. [6] Your city, which he has in great part overthrown, and almost wholly captured, he takes from you: your lands he leaves you, and intends to designate a site whereon you may erect a new town. [7] All your gold and silver, both public and private, he orders to be brought to him: your persons, with those of your wives and children, he preserves inviolate, if you are willing to go forth unarmed from Saguntum with two garments each. [8] These terms a victorious enemy imposes on you; these terms, albeit harsh and cruel, your fortune counsels you to accept. Indeed I am not without hope that when full control of everything shall have been granted him, he may remit somewhat of this severity; [9] but even this you ought, I think, rather to endure than to suffer yourselves to be massacred and your wives and children to be forcibly dragged away into captivity before your eyes, in accordance with the laws of war."

14. To hear this speech the populace had little by little crowded round, and the people's council had mingled with the senate, when on a sudden the leading men, withdrawing from the throng before an answer could be given, fetched all the gold and silver, both of state and private ownership, into the market-place, and casting it into a fire which they had hurriedly made up for this purpose, many threw themselves headlong into the same flames. [2] The resulting panic and dismay had no sooner spread to all the city, than another loud noise

and outcry were heard from the citadel. A tower that had long been battered had collapsed, and through the breach a cohort of Phoenicians had rushed in and signalled to the general that the city was denuded of its customary guards and sentinels. [3] Hannibal, deeming it no time to hesitate, when such an opportunity offered, attacked with all his strength and captured the city out of hand. [4] He had given orders that all the grown inhabitants be put to the sword — a cruel command, but found in the upshot to have been well-nigh inevitable; for who could be spared of those who either shut themselves up with their wives and children and burned the houses over their own heads, or took arms and never gave over fighting till they died?

15. The captured town yielded enormous spoils. For although much property had been destroyed on purpose by its owners, and in the carnage rage had scarce made any distinction of years, and the captives had been given as booty to the soldiers, nevertheless [2??] it is agreed that a large sum was realized from the sale of goods, and much valuable furniture and apparel sent to Carthage.

[3] Some have recorded that Saguntum was taken in the eighth month from the beginning of the siege; that Hannibal then retired to New Carthage, into winter quarters; and then, after leaving New Carthage, arrived in the fifth month in Italy. [4] If this is so, it cannot have been the case that Publius Cornelius and Tiberius Sempronius were the consuls to whom the Saguntine envoys were dispatched in the beginning of the siege, and who, in their own year of office, fought with Hannibal, the one at the river Ticinus, and both — a little later — at the Trebia. [5] Either all these things took up somewhat less time, or Saguntum was not first besieged but finally captured in the outset of the year which had Cornelius and Sempronius as consuls. [6] For the battle at the Trebia cannot have been fought as late as the consulship of Gnaeus Servilius and Gaius Flaminius; for Gaius Flaminius began his consulship at Ariminum, having been elected under the presidency of Tiberius Sempronius who was then consul, and had, after the battle at the Trebia, come to Rome to hold the consular elections, and then returned to the winter quarters of the army.

16. At almost the same time the ambassadors who had returned

from Carthage brought back word to Rome that all was hostile in that quarter, and the fall of Saguntum was announced. [2] And so great was the grief of the senators, and their pity at the unmerited doom of their allies, and their shame at having failed to help them, and their wrath against the Carthaginians and fear for the safety of the commonwealth — as though the enemy were already at their gates — that, confounded with so many simultaneous emotions, they rather trembled than deliberated. [3] For they felt that they had never encountered a fiercer or more warlike foe, and that Rome had never been so torpid and unwarlike. The Sardinians and Corsicans, the Istrians and Illyrians, had provoked but had hardly exercised the Roman arms; [4] while against the Gauls there had been desultory fighting rather than real war. But the Phoenician was an old and experienced enemy, who in the hardest kind of service amongst the Spanish tribes had for three and twenty years invariably got the victory; [5] he was accustomed to the keenest of commanders, was flushed with the conquest of a very wealthy city, and crossing the Ebro and drawing after him the many Spanish peoples which he had enlisted, would be rousing up the Gallic tribes — [6] always eager to unsheathe the sword — and the Romans would have to contend in war with all the world, in Italy and under the walls of Rome.

17. The fields of operation of the consuls had already been named: they were now commanded to draw lots for them. Cornelius obtained Spain, Sempronius Africa with Sicily. [2] Six legions were voted for that year, with such allied contingents as the consuls themselves should approve and as large a fleet as could be got ready. There were enrolled four and twenty thousand Roman foot-soldiers and eighteen hundred horsemen, and of the allies forty thousand foot-soldiers and four thousand four hundred horsemen. [3] Of ships there were launched two hundred and twenty quinqueremes, and twenty swift cruisers. [4] The question was then laid before the people whether it were their will and pleasure that war be declared against the people of Carthage; and on their voting in the affirmative a supplication was held throughout the City and the gods were besought to grant a fair and prosperous outcome to the war which the Roman People had decreed.

[5] The forces were divided between the consuls as follows:

Sempronius received two legions — each numbering four thousand foot and three hundred horse — sixteen thousand foot of the allies, and eighteen hundred horse, together with a hundred and sixty warships and twelve swift cruisers. [6] With these forces for land and sea Tiberius Sempronius was dispatched to Sicily, that he might cross by that way into Africa, if the other consul were able to keep the Phoenicians out of Italy. [7] Cornelius was given fewer troops, since Lucius Manlius, the praetor, was also being sent into Gaul with a not inconsiderable army; [8] and of ships, in particular, he received a smaller number, namely, sixty quinqueremes, for they did not suppose that the enemy would come by sea or use that kind of warfare. He had two Roman legions with their proper complement of horse, and fourteen thousand infantry of the allies, with sixteen hundred horse. [9] The province of Gaul received two Roman legions and ten thousand foot of the allies, with a thousand allied and six hundred Roman horse. These troops were designed for the same service — the Punic War.

18. When these arrangements had been made, in order that, before going to war, they might observe all the formalities, they dispatched into Africa an embassy consisting of certain older men, to wit, Quintus Fabius, Marcus Livius, Lucius Aemilius, Gaius Licinius, and Quintus Baebius, to demand of the Carthaginians whether Hannibal had attacked Saguntum with the sanction of [2] the state; and if, as seemed likely to be the case, they should avow the act and stand to it as their public policy, to declare war on the [3] Carthaginian People. As soon as the Romans had come to Carthage and the senate had granted them an audience, Quintus Fabius asked only the one question contained in [4] his instructions. Then one of the Carthaginians replied: “There was something headlong, Romans, even in your former embassy, when you demanded that we surrender Hannibal on the ground that he was laying siege to Saguntum on his own responsibility; but your present embassy, though expressed thus far more mildly, is in reality [5] more harsh. For on that occasion Hannibal was both accused and his surrender called for; at present you are trying to wring a confession from us, and, as though we had pleaded guilty, demand [6] instant satisfaction. But to me it would seem that you ought to ask, not whether Saguntum was besieged as

the result of private or of public policy, but whether justly [7] or unjustly. For it belongs to us to enquire what our fellow citizen has done on our authority or his own, and to punish him; with you the only question we have to discuss is this, whether what he did was permissible under [8] the treaty. Well then, since you wish that a distinction should be drawn between the things that generals do by direction of the state and the acts for which they are themselves responsible, let me remind you that we have a [9??] treaty with you, which Gaius Lutatius, your consul, made, wherein, although the allies of both sides were protected, there was no provision made regarding the Saguntines, for as yet they were not [10] your allies. ‘But,’ you will say, ‘in that treaty which was made with Hasdrubal, the Saguntines are expressly cared for.’ To this I shall make no other answer than the one that I have learnt from you. For you denied that you were bound by the treaty which Gaius Lutatius, the consul, originally entered into with us, because it had been made without the senate’s sanction or the people’s command; accordingly a new treaty, having the approval of the state, was [11] entered into. Now, if you are not bound by your treaties, unless they are concluded at your own instance or command, no more could the treaty of Hasdrubal, which he made without our knowledge, be binding [12] upon us. Cease then to prate of Saguntum and the Ebro, and bring forth at last the thought with which your mind has long been [13] in travail!” Then the Roman, gathering up his toga into a fold, said, “We bring you here both war and peace; choose which you will!” When he had said these words, they cried out with no less truculence that he might give them whichever [14] he liked; and on his shaking out the fold again, and announcing that he gave them war, they all replied that they accepted it, and in that same spirit in which they accepted it were resolved to wage it.

19. This straightforward demand and declaration of war seemed more in keeping with the dignity of the Roman People than to bandy words regarding the rights involved in treaties, especially at that moment, when Saguntum had been destroyed. [2] Though for that matter, had it been proper to debate the question, what comparison could there be between Hasdrubal’s treaty and the earlier treaty of Lutatius, which was altered? [3] For in the treaty of Lutatius it had

been expressly added that it should be valid only if the people ratified it; but in Hasdrubal's treaty no such proviso had been made, and by the silence of so many years the treaty had during his lifetime been so sanctioned that even on its author's death no slightest change was made in it. [4] And yet, even if the earlier treaty were adhered to, the Saguntines had been sufficiently protected by the provision made concerning the allies of both the parties; for there had been no specification of "those who were then allies," nor exception of "such as might afterwards be received." [5] And since they were permitted to take new allies, who would think it fair either that they should admit no one, however deserving, to their friendship, or that, having once taken people under their protection, they should not defend them — provided only that allies of the Carthaginians should not be tempted to desert them nor be made welcome if they left them voluntarily?

[6] The ambassadors, conformably to the instructions given them in Rome, crossed over from Carthage into Spain for the purpose of approaching the different states and winning them to an alliance, or at least detaching them from the Phoenicians. [7] The Bargusii were the first they visited, and being warmly welcomed by them, for men were wearying of the Punic sway, they aroused in many nations south of the Ebro a desire to revolt. [8] From there they came to the Volciani, who gave them an answer that was carried all over Spain and turned all the other states against an alliance with the Romans. [9] For the eldest of them replied as follows in their council: "With what face, Romans, can you ask us to prefer your friendship to the Carthaginian, when those who did so have been more cruelly betrayed by you, their allies, than destroyed by their enemy, the Phoenician? You must seek allies, in my opinion, only where the disaster of Saguntum is unknown. [10] To the Spanish peoples the ruins of Saguntum will constitute a warning, no less emphatic than deplorable, that none should trust to the honour or alliance of the Romans." [11] Being then bidden straightway to depart out of the borders of the Volciani, they received from that day forth no kinder response from any Spanish council. Accordingly, having traversed that country to no purpose, they passed over into Gaul.

20. There they beheld a strange and terrifying spectacle, for the

Gauls, as was customary with the race, came armed to their assembly. When the envoys, boasting of the renown and valour of the Roman People and the extent of their dominion, requested the Gauls to deny the Phoenician a passage through their lands and cities, if he should attempt to carry the war into Italy, [3??] it is said that they burst out into such peals of laughter that the magistrates and elders could scarce reduce the younger men to order [4] — so stupid and impudent a thing it seemed, to propose that the Gauls should not suffer the invaders to pass into Italy, but bring down the war on their own heads, and offer their own fields to be pillaged in place of other men's. When at last the uproar had been quelled, the Gauls made answer to the envoys that they owed the Romans no kindness nor the Carthaginians any grudge, to induce them to draw the sword in behalf of the former or against the [5] latter; on the contrary, [6??] they heard that men of their own race were being driven from the land and even out of the borders of Italy by the Roman People, and were paying tribute and suffering every other [7] humiliation. In the rest of the Gallic councils their proposals and the replies they got were to substantially the same effect, nor did they hear a single word of a truly friendly or peaceable tenor until they reached [8] Massilia. Here they learned of all that had happened from their allies, who had made enquiries with faithful diligence. They reported that Hannibal had been beforehand with the Romans in gaining the good-will of the Gauls, but that even he would find them hardly tractable — so fierce and untamed was their nature — unless from time to time he should make use of gold, of which the race is very covetous, to secure the favour of their principal [9] men. So the envoys, having travelled through the nations of Spain and Gaul, returned to Rome, not long after the consuls had set out for their respective commands. They found the citizens all on tip-toe with expectation of the war, for the rumour persisted that the Phoenicians had already crossed the Ebro.

21. Hannibal, after the capture of Saguntum, had withdrawn his army into winter quarters at New Carthage. There he learned what had been done in Rome and Carthage and what had been decreed, and that he was not only commander in the war, but the cause of it as well. [2] So, having divided or sold off what was left of the plunder, he thought best to defer his plans no longer, and, calling together the

soldiers of Spanish blood, thus addressed them: [3] “My allies, I doubt not that you yourselves perceive how, having conquered every tribe in Spain, we must either bring our campaigning to a close and disband our armies, or shift the seat of war to other countries. [4] For these nations here will enjoy the blessings not merely of peace, but also of victory, only if we look to other nations for spoils and glory. [5] Since, therefore, you are on the eve of an expedition that will carry you far afield, and it is uncertain when you will see again your homes and what there is dear to each of you, if any of you desires to visit his friends, I grant him furlough. [6] Be at hand, I charge you, with the first signs of spring, that with Heaven’s good help we may begin a war that shall bring us vast renown and booty.” [7] There were very few who did not welcome the opportunity thus freely proffered of visiting their homes, for they were already homesick and looked forward to an even longer separation from their friends. [8] The full winter’s rest between the labours already undergone and those that were presently to come gave them new strength and courage for a fresh encounter with every hardship. [9] Early in the spring they assembled in obedience to their orders.

When Hannibal had reviewed the contingents sent in by all the nations, he went to Gades and discharged his vows to Hercules, binding himself with fresh ones, in case he should be successful in the remainder of his undertaking. [10] Then, with equal concern for attack and defence, lest while he should be himself advancing upon Italy by an overland march through Spain and Gaul, Africa might lie exposed and open to a Roman invasion on the side of Sicily, he resolved to garrison that country with a powerful force. [11] To supply its place he requisitioned troops for himself from Africa — lightarmed slingers chiefly — so that Africans might serve in Spain and Spaniards in Africa, and both be the better soldiers for being far from home, as though mutually pledged to loyalty. [12] Thirteen thousand eight hundred and fifty targeteers and eight hundred and seventy Balaric slingers, with twelve hundred horsemen drawn from many nations, he sent to Africa. [13] A part of these troops were to be a garrison for Carthage, a part to be distributed through the country. At the same time he directed that recruiting officers be sent out into the states, and that four thousand picked men be brought to Carthage,

to serve at once as defenders and as hostages.

22. And considering that neither must Spain be neglected, and so much the less since he was not unaware that Roman ambassadors had journeyed through it to seek the support of its leading men, he appointed it to be the charge of his brother Hasdrubal — an [2] active, energetic man — and secured it with troops, for the most part African. Of infantry there were eleven thousand eight hundred and fifty Africans, three hundred Ligurians, and five hundred Baliares. [3] To these infantry forces he added the following units of cavalry: four hundred and fifty Libyphoenicians — a race of mixed Punic and African blood — and some eight hundred Numidians and Moors, who dwell near the ocean, and a little company of three hundred Spanish Ilergetes. Finally, that no sort of land force might be lacking, there were twenty-one elephants. [4] He also assigned a fleet to Spain, for the protection of its seaboard, since it might be expected that the Romans would again on this occasion employ that mode of warfare in which they had been victorious. There were fifty quinqueremes, two quadriremes, and five triremes. But only thirty-two quinqueremes and the five triremes were equipped and manned with rowers.

From Gades Hannibal returned to New Carthage, to the winter quarters of his army. [5] Setting out from thence, he marched along the coast, past the city of Onusa, to the Ebro. [6] It was there, as they tell, that he saw in his sleep a youth of godlike aspect, who declared that he was sent by Jupiter to lead him into Italy: let him follow, therefore, nor anywhere turn his eyes away from his guide. [7] At first he was afraid and followed, neither looking to the right nor to the left, nor yet behind him; but presently wondering, with that curiosity to which all of us are prone, what it could be that he had been forbidden to look back upon, he was unable to command his eyes; [8] then he saw behind him a serpent of monstrous size, that moved along with vast destruction of trees and underbrush, and a storm-cloud coming after, with loud claps of thunder; [9] and, on his asking what this prodigious portent was, he was told that it was the devastation of Italy: he was therefore to go on, nor enquire further, but suffer destiny to be wrapped in darkness.

23. Rejoicing at this vision, he led his troops across the Ebro in

three columns, after sending agents ahead, to win over with presents the Gauls who dwelt in the region which the army had to cross, and to explore the passes of the Alps. [2] He had ninety thousand foot and twelve thousand horse when he crossed the Ebro. He now subdued the Ilergetes, and the Bargusii and Ausetani, and also Lacetania, which lies at the foot of the Pyrenees. All this coast he put in charge of Hanno, that the passes connecting Spain and Gaul might be under his control. [3] To garrison this district, he gave Hanno ten thousand foot and a thousand horse.

[4] When the army had entered the defiles which lead over the Pyrenees, and more definite rumours had spread amongst the barbarians that the war was to be with Rome, three thousand of the Carpetanian foot turned back. It was understood that they were influenced not so much by the war as by the long march and the impossibility of crossing the Alps. [5] To recall them or to detain them forcibly would have been hazardous, for it might have roused resentment in the savage bosoms of the others. [6] And so Hannibal sent back to their homes above seven thousand more, whom he had perceived to be chafing at the service, pretending that he had also dismissed the Carpetani.

24. Then, in order that his troops might not become demoralized by delay and inaction, he crossed the Pyrenees with the remainder of his forces and pitched his camp by the town of Iliberri. [2] The Gauls, though they heard that the war was aimed at Italy, nevertheless, because it was said that the Spaniards beyond the Pyrenees had been forcibly subjugated and strong garrisons imposed upon them, were driven by the fear of servitude to arm themselves, and several tribes assembled at Ruscino. [3] When Hannibal was apprised of this, he was more afraid of delay than of fighting, and dispatched ambassadors to their chieftains to inform them that he wished to confer with them in person, and suggested that either they come nearer to Iliberri or that he would go forward to Ruscino, so that being close to one another they might meet more easily. [4] He would be glad, he said, to receive them in his camp, nor would he hesitate to go to them. He had come into Gaul as a friend, not as an enemy, and would keep his sword sheathed, if the Gauls would let him, till he had entered Italy. [5] Thus far his emissaries. But when the Gallic

chieftains, moving up their camp at once near Iliberri, came, nothing loath, to the Phoenician, they were captivated by his gifts, and permitted the army to march unmolested through their borders and past the town of Ruscino.

25. In Italy meanwhile nothing more was known than that Hannibal had crossed the Ebro — which was the news that Massiliot envoys brought to Rome — when, as though he had already crossed the Alps, the Boi, after rousing up the Insubres, revolted. To this they were incited not so much by their old animosity against the Roman People as by vexation at the recent establishment of colonies in Gallic territory, near the Po, at Placentia and [3] Cremona. Flying to arms they made an incursion into that very district, and spread such terror and confusion that not only the rural population, but the Roman commissioners themselves, who had come for the purpose of assigning lands, not trusting to the walls of Placentia, fled to Mutina. (Their names were Gaius Lutatius, Gaius Servilius, and Marcus Annius. There is no question about Lutatius: for Annius and Servilius, some annals have Manius Acilius and Gaius Herennius, others Publius Cornelius Asina and Gaius Papirius [4] Maso. This, too, is uncertain, whether envoys sent to expostulate with the Boi were maltreated, or an attack was made upon the three commissioners as they were measuring off the [5] land.) Whilst they lay shut up in Mutina, the Gauls — who know nothing of the art of assaulting cities, and, besides, are very indolent in regard to siege-works, and were now sitting idly down before the walls without attempting them [6] — feigned a readiness to treat for peace; and their leaders having invited the Romans to send out spokesmen to confer with them, they seized these envoys, in violation not only of the [7??] law of nations, but also of a pledge which they had given for this time, and declared that they would not let them go unless their own hostages were restored to them. When word arrived of this affair of the envoys, and Mutina and its garrison were in danger, Lucius Manlius, the praetor, blazing with resentment, set out for Mutina with his army in loose marching [8] order. In those days the road led through a forest, as the country was not, for the most part, under cultivation, and Manlius, advancing without reconnoissance, plunged into an ambush, and after sustaining heavy losses, managed with

difficulty to get through into the open [9] fields. There he entrenched a camp, and since the Gauls lacked heart to assail it, [10??] the soldiers recovered their spirits, though it was no secret that as many as five hundred men had [11] fallen. Then they began their march again, nor, so long as the column advanced through open country, was the enemy to be seen; but when they had once more got into the woods, the Gauls attacked [12??] their rear, and throwing the whole column into terror and confusion, slew seven hundred soldiers and carried off six ensigns. The alarming onsets of the Gauls and the panic of the Romans ended when they got clear of the trackless [13] woods and thickets. Thereafter, marching across open ground, the Romans had no difficulty in protecting their column, and hastened to Tannetum, a village lying near the Po, where by means of temporary fortifications and [14??] supplies got in by the river, and with the help also of the Brixian Gauls, they defended themselves against the enemy, whose numbers were increasing daily.

26. When the news of this sudden insurrection was brought to Rome, and the Fathers learnt that the Punic War was augmented by a war with the Gauls, they commanded Gaius Atilius, the praetor, to take one Roman legion and five thousand of the allies — a [2] force which the consul had just levied — and proceed to the relief of Manlius. Atilius reached Tannetum without any fighting, for the enemy had retired in alarm.

[3] Publius Cornelius, too, after enrolling a new legion in place of that which had been sent with the praetor, set out from the City with sixty ships of war, and coasting Etruria and the mountainous country of Liguria and the Salui, arrived at Massilia, and went into camp at the nearest mouth of the Rhone — for [4] the river discharges itself into the sea by several — hardly believing, even then, that Hannibal could have crossed the Pyrenees. [5] But when he found that Hannibal was actually planning how to cross the Rhone, being uncertain where he should encounter him, and his soldiers not having as yet fully recovered from the tossing of the sea, he sent out a chosen band of three hundred cavalry, with Massiliot guides and Gallic auxiliaries, to make, while he was waiting, a thorough reconnaissance, and have a look at the enemy from a safe distance.

[6] Hannibal, having pacified the others through fear or bribery,

had now reached the territory of a powerful nation called the Volcae. They inhabit both banks of the Rhone, but doubting their ability to keep the Phoenician from the western bank, they had brought nearly all their people over the Rhone, so as to have the river for a bulwark, and were holding the eastern bank [7] with arms. The rest of the dwellers by the river, and such of the Volcae themselves as had clung to their homes, were enticed by Hannibal's gifts to assemble large boats from every quarter and to fashion new ones; and indeed they themselves were eager to have the army set across as soon as possible and to relieve their district of the burden of so huge a horde of men. So they brought together a vast number of boats, and of canoes roughly fashioned for local traffic, and made new ones by hollowing out [8] single trees. The Gauls took the lead in this, but the soldiers presently fell to work themselves, when they found the timber plentiful and the [9] labour light. They were unshapely troughs, but the men could make them quickly, and their one concern was to get something that would float and hold a cargo, in which they might ferry themselves and their belongings over.

27. Everything was now in readiness for the crossing, which, however, was menaced by the enemy on the other side, who covered the whole bank with their horse and foot. [2] In order to draw them off, Hannibal ordered Hanno, the son of Bomilcar, to set out in the first watch of [3??] the night with a part of the troops, chiefly Spaniards, and, making a march of one day up the stream, to take the first opportunity of crossing it, with the greatest secrecy, and fetch a compass with his column, so that, when the time came, he might assail the enemy in the rear. [4] The Gauls who had been appointed to be his guides informed him that some five-and-twenty miles upstream the river flowed round a little island, and being wider where it divided, and therefore shallower, afforded a passage. There they quickly felled some trees and constructed rafts to transport the men and horses and other burdens. [5] The Spaniards without more ado stuffed their clothes into skins, and placing their bucklers on top of these and supporting themselves by means of them, swam across. The rest of the force, too, got over, by means of the rafts which they had made, and went into camp near the river. [6] They were tired by the night march and their strenuous exertions, but their commander

allowed them but one day to rest, being intent on carrying out the stratagem at the proper time. [7] Resuming their march on the following day they sent up a smoke-signal from an elevated place, to show that they had got over the river and were not far off. When Hannibal saw this, he gave the order to cross, so as not to miss the favourable moment. [8] The infantry had their skiffs all ready and equipped, while the cavalry had large boats, for the most part, on account of their horses. The large boats were sent across higher up the stream, to take the force of the current, and provided smooth water for the skiffs that crossed below them. [9] A good part of the horses swam and were towed by their halters from the sterns of the boats, except those which they had saddled and bridled and put on board, that their riders might have them ready for instant use on landing.

28. The Gauls rushed to meet them on the bank, with all sorts of yells and their customary songs, clashing their shields together above their heads and brandishing darts in their [2??] right hands, despite the menace of so great a multitude of vessels coming against them and the loud roaring of the river and the confused hallooing of the boatmen and the sailors, as they strove to force their way athwart the current or shouted encouragement to their fellows from the further bank. [3] But the tribesmen were already somewhat daunted by the tumult which confronted them, when a still more appalling clamour arose in the rear, where Hanno had captured their camp. He was soon on the scene himself, and a twofold terror hemmed them in, as that mighty force of armed men came out upon the shore and the unlooked-for line of battle closed in from behind. [4] When the Gauls had attempted charges in both directions and found themselves repulsed, they broke through where the way seemed least beset, and fled in confusion to their several villages. Hannibal brought over at leisure the rest of his forces, and giving himself no more concern over Gallic outbreaks, pitched his camp.

I believe that there were various plans for transporting the elephants; at all events the tradition varies as to how it was accomplished. [5] Some say that the elephants were first assembled on the bank, and then the keeper of the fiercest of them provoked the beast and fled into the water; as he swam off, the elephant pursued

him and drew the herd in his train; and though they were afraid of the deep water, yet as soon as each of them got out of his depth, the current itself swept him over to the other bank. [6] It is, however, more generally believed that they were carried across on rafts; this method, as it would be the safer, if the thing were to be done, so, in view of its accomplishment, is more probably the one employed. [7] A raft, two hundred feet long and fifty feet wide, was thrust out from the shore into the stream, and, after being moored to the bank above by a number of stout hawsers, so as not to be carried down the current, was covered with earth, like a bridge, in order that the beasts might boldly venture upon it, as on solid ground. [8] A second raft, of equal width and a hundred feet long, and fit for crossing the river, was coupled to the first. Then the elephants, with the females leading, were driven out over the stationary raft, as over a road; and after they had passed on to the smaller raft adjoining it, the ropes by which this had been loosely attached were cast off and it was towed across by some rowboats to the eastern bank. [9] After landing the first contingent in this fashion, they returned and fetched the others over. [10] The elephants exhibited no signs of fear so long as they were being driven along as though on a connected bridge; they first became frightened when the raft was cast loose from the other and was carried out into mid-channel. [11] The crowding together which resulted, as those on the outside shrank back from the water, gave rise to a slight panic, till terror itself, as they looked at the water all about them, made them quiet. [12] Some, in their frenzy, even fell overboard; but, steadied by their very weight, threw off their riders, and feeling their way to the shallow places, got out upon the land.

29. Whilst the elephants were being got across, Hannibal had dispatched five hundred Numidian horsemen in the direction of the Roman camp, to find out where the enemy were and in what force, and what they meant to do. [2] This body fell in with the three hundred Roman horsemen, sent out, as was mentioned before, from the mouth of the Rhone. [3] The battle that followed was more hotly fought than the size of the contending forces would suggest, for besides the many who were wounded, the numbers of the slain were about equal on both sides, and only the dismay and panic of the Numidians gave the victory to the Romans, who were by that time

fairly exhausted. The victors lost about a hundred and forty, not all Romans but some of them Gauls; the vanquished about two hundred. [4] This was at once the beginning of the war and an omen that promised the Romans success in the final outcome, though their victory would be by no means without bloodshed and would only come after a doubtful struggle.

[5] When the participants in this affair had returned to their respective generals, it was impossible for Scipio to adopt any settled plan, except to frame his own measures to meet the strategy and movements of the enemy; [6] while Hannibal, uncertain whether to march on, as he had begun, to Italy, or give battle to the first Roman army that had come in his way, was diverted from an immediate trial of strength by the arrival of Boian envoys, with their chief Magalus. These assured him that they would guide his march and share its perils, and urged him to avoid a battle and to keep his forces whole and unimpaired for the invasion of Italy. [7] The rank and file were fearful of the enemy — for their memory of the former war was not yet erased — but more fearful of the interminable march over the Alps, an undertaking which rumour made appalling, at any rate to the inexperienced.

30. Accordingly Hannibal, having settled in his own mind to go forward and advance on Italy, called the soldiers together and worked on their feelings with alternate chiding and encouragement. [2] He marvelled, he said, what sudden terror had invaded breasts that had ever been dauntless. For these many years they had been victorious in war, nor had they quitted Spain until all the tribes and territories which lay between two distant seas were in the power of the Carthaginians. [3] Then, indignant that the Roman People should demand that whoever had laid siege to Saguntum be surrendered up to them, as though to expiate a felony, they had crossed the Ebro, in order to wipe out the Roman name and liberate the world. [4] The march had not then seemed long to any of them, though they meant to advance from the setting to the rising sun; [5] but now, when they could see that they had measured off the greater part of it; when they had made their way, through the fiercest tribes, over the Pyrenees; when they had crossed the Rhone — that mighty river — in the teeth of so many thousand Gauls, overcoming, too, the violence of the

stream itself; when the Alps, the other side of which was in Italy, were in full sight; [6] — were they halting now, as though exhausted, at the very gates of their enemies? [7] What else did they think that the Alps were but high mountains? They might fancy them higher than the ranges of the Pyrenees; but surely no lands touched the skies or were impassable to man. The Alps indeed were inhabited, were tilled, produced and supported living beings; their defiles were practicable for armies. [8] Those very ambassadors whom they beheld had not crossed the Alps in the air on wings. Even the ancestors of these men had not been natives of Italy, but had lived there as foreign settlers, and had often crossed these very Alps in great companies, with their children and their wives, in the manner of emigrants. [9] For armed soldiers, taking nothing with them but the instruments of war, what could be impassable or insurmountable? To capture Saguntum, what dangers or what hardships had they not endured for eight long months? [10] Now that Rome, the capital of the world, was their objective, could anything seem so painful or so difficult as to delay [11] their enterprise? Had Gauls once captured that which the Phoenician despaired of approaching? Then let them yield in spirit and manhood to a race which they had so often vanquished in the course of the last few days, or look to end their march in the field that lay between the Tiber and the walls of Rome.

31. After encouraging them with this exhortation, he bade them refresh themselves and make ready for the march. [2] Setting out the following day he advanced up the Rhone towards the interior of Gaul, not that it was the more direct way to the Alps, but believing that the farther he retired from the sea, the less likely he was to fall in with the Romans, [3??] with whom he had no mind to fight a battle until he should arrive in Italy. The fourth day's march brought him to the Island. [4] There the rivers Isara and Rhone, rushing down from different Alps, unite their waters, after enclosing a considerable territory, and the Island is the name which has been given to the plains lying between them. [5] Near by is the country of the Allobroges, a tribe, even at that early day, inferior to no Gallic tribe in wealth or reputation. Just then it was a prey to discord. [6] Two brothers were disputing the sovereignty. The elder, Braneus by name, who had held sway before, was being driven out by a faction of

juniors headed by the younger brother, whose right was less but his might greater. [7] This quarrel having very opportunely been referred to Hannibal for settlement, who thus became arbiter of the kingdom, he espoused the sentiments of the senate and the leading men and restored the sovereign power to the elder. [8] In requital of this service he was assisted with provisions and supplies of every sort, particularly clothing, which the notorious cold of the Alps made it necessary to provide.

[9] Having settled the contentions of the Allobroges, Hannibal was now ready for the Alps; but instead of marching directly towards them, he turned to the left, to the country of the Tricastini, and thence proceeded through the outer borders of the territory of the Vocontii to the Tricorii, by a road which nowhere presented any difficulties, until he came to the Druentia. This, too, is an Alpine river and by far the most difficult of all the rivers of Gaul [11] to cross; for, though it brings down a vast volume of water, it does not admit of navigation, since, not being confined within any banks, but flowing at once in several channels, not always the same, it is ever forming new shallows and new pools — a fact which makes it dangerous for foot-passengers as well — besides which it rolls down jagged stones and affords no sure or stable footing to one who [12] enters it. And at that time, as it happened, it was swollen with rains, and the crossing took place amidst the wildest tumult, for the men — besides their other difficulties — were confused by their own excitement and bewildered outcries.

32. Publius Cornelius the consul, some three days after Hannibal had left the bank of the Rhone, marched in fighting order to the enemy's camp, intending to offer battle without delay. [2] But finding the works deserted, and perceiving that he could not readily overtake the enemy, who had got so long a start of him, he returned to the sea, where he had left his ships, thinking that he would thus be more safely and easily enabled to confront Hannibal as he descended from the Alps. [3] Still, that he might not leave Spain stripped of Roman defenders — for the lot had assigned it to him as his province — he [4] sent Gnaeus Scipio, his brother, with the chief part of his troops, to deal with Hasdrubal, with the object not merely of protecting the allies and of winning over new ones, but also of driving Hasdrubal

out of Spain. [5] He himself, with extremely scanty forces, sailed back to Genoa, proposing to safeguard Italy with the army which lay in the valley of the Po.

[6] Hannibal, leaving the Druentia, and advancing for the most part through a champaign country, reached the Alps without being molested by the Gauls who inhabited those regions. [7] Then, though report, which is wont to exaggerate uncertain dangers, had already taught them what to expect, still, the near view of the lofty mountains, with their snows almost merging in the sky; the shapeless hovels perched on crags; the frost-bitten flocks and beasts of burden; the shaggy, unkempt men; animals and inanimate objects alike stiff with cold, and all more dreadful to look upon than words can tell, renewed their consternation. [8] As their column began to mount the first slopes, mountaineers were discovered posted on the heights above, who, had they lain concealed in hidden valleys, might have sprung out suddenly and attacked them with great rout and slaughter. Hannibal gave the command to halt, and sent forward some Gauls to reconnoitre. [9] When informed by them that there was no getting by that way, he encamped in the most extensive valley to be found in a wilderness of rocks and precipices. [10] He then employed these same Gauls, whose speech and customs did not differ greatly from those of the mountaineers, to mingle in their councils, and in this way learned that his enemies guarded the pass only by day, and at night dispersed, every man to his own home. As soon as it was light, he advanced up the hills, as though he hoped to rush the defile by an open attack in the daytime. [11] Then having spent the day in feigning a purpose other than his real one, he entrenched a camp on the spot where he had halted. [12] But no sooner did he perceive that the mountaineers had dispersed from the heights and relaxed their vigilance, than, leaving for show more fires than the numbers of those who remained in camp demanded; leaving, too, the baggage and the cavalry and a great part of the infantry, he put himself at the head of some light-armed soldiers — all [13] his bravest men — and, marching swiftly to the head of the defile, occupied those very heights which the enemy had held.

33. With the ensuing dawn the Carthaginians broke camp and the remainder of their army began to move. [2] The natives, on a signal

being given, were already coming in from their fastnesses to occupy their customary post, when they suddenly perceived that some of their enemies were in possession of the heights and threatened them from above, and that others were marching through the pass. [3] Both facts presenting themselves at the same time to their eyes and minds kept them for a moment rooted to the spot. Then, when they saw the helter-skelter in the pass and the column becoming embarrassed by its own confusion, the horses especially being frightened [4??] and unmanageable, they thought that whatever they could add themselves to the consternation of the troops would be sufficient to destroy them, and rushed down from the cliffs on either side, over trails and trackless ground alike, with all the ease of habit. [5] Then indeed the Phoenicians had to contend at one and the same time against their foes and the difficulties of the ground, and the struggle amongst themselves, as each endeavoured to outstrip the rest in escaping from the danger, was greater than the struggle with the enemy. [6] The horses occasioned the greatest peril to the column. Terrified by the discordant yells, which the woods and ravines redoubled with their echoes, they quaked with fear; and if they happened to be hit or wounded, were so maddened that they made enormous havoc not only of men but of every sort of baggage. [7] Indeed the crowding in the pass, which was steep and precipitous on both sides, caused many — some of them armed men — to be flung down to a great depth; but when beasts of burden with their packs went hurtling down, it was just like the crash of falling walls. [8] Dreadful as these sights were, still Hannibal halted for a little while and held back his men, so as not to augment the terror and confusion. [9] Then, when he saw that the column was being broken in two, and there was danger lest he might have got his army over to no avail, if it were stripped of its baggage, he charged down from the higher ground and routed the enemy by the very impetus of the attack, though he added to the disorder amongst his own troops. [10] But the flurry thus occasioned quickly subsided, as soon as the roads were cleared by the flight of the mountaineers; and the whole army was presently brought over the pass, not only without molestation but almost in silence. [11] Hannibal then seized a stronghold which was the chief place in that region, together with the outlying hamlets, and with the captured

food and flocks supported his troops for three days. And in those three days, being hindered neither by the natives, who had been utterly cowed at the outset, nor very greatly by the nature of the country, he covered a good deal of ground.

34. They came next to another canton, thickly settled for a mountain district. There, not by open fighting, but by his own devices, trickery and deception, Hannibal was all but circumvented.

[2] The elder headmen of the strongholds waited on him, as a deputation, and said that, taught by other men's misfortunes — a useful warning — they preferred to experience the friendship of the Phoenicians rather than their might; [3] they were ready, therefore, to carry out his orders, and they requested him to accept provisions and guides and also hostages as a guarantee of good faith. [4] Hannibal, neither blindly trusting nor yet repulsing them, lest, being spurned, they might become openly hostile, returned a friendly answer, accepted the proffered hostages, and used the supplies, which they had brought down, themselves, to the road. But he drew up his column, before following their guides, by no means as though for a march through a friendly country. [5] The van was made up of elephants and cavalry; he himself, with the main strength of the infantry, came next, looking warily about him and watching everything. [6] When they had got to a narrow place, which was overhung on one side by a ridge, the tribesmen rose up on every quarter from their ambush and assailed them, front and rear, fighting hand to hand and at long range, and rolling down huge boulders on the marching troops. [7] The rear-guard bore the brunt of the attack, and as the infantry faced about to meet it, it was very evident that if the column had not been strengthened at that point, it must have suffered a great disaster in this pass. [8] Even so, they were in the utmost peril and came near destruction. For while Hannibal was hesitating to send his division down into the defile, since he had no troops left to secure the rear of the infantry, as he himself secured that of the horse, the [9??] mountaineers rushed in on his flank, and breaking through the column, established themselves in the road, so that Hannibal spent one night without cavalry or baggage.

35. On the following day, since by now the barbarians were attacking with less vigour, his forces were re-united and surmounted

the pass; and though they suffered some casualties, still they lost more baggage animals than men. [2] From this point on the mountaineers appeared in smaller numbers, and, more in the manner of brigandage than warfare, attacked sometimes the van, sometimes the rear, whenever the ground afforded an advantage, or the invaders, pushing on too far ahead or lagging behind, gave opportunity. [3] The elephants could be induced to move but very slowly along the steep and narrow trails; but wherever they went they made the column safe from its enemies, who were unaccustomed to the beasts and afraid of venturing too near them.

[4] On the ninth day they arrived at the summit of the Alps, having come for the most part over trackless wastes and by roundabout routes, owing either to the dishonesty of their guides, or — when they would not trust the guides — to their blindly entering some valley, guessing at the way. For two days they lay encamped on the summit. [5] The soldiers, worn with toil and fighting, were permitted to rest; and a number of baggage animals which had fallen among the rocks made their way to the camp by following the tracks of the army. [6] Exhausted and discouraged as the soldiers were by many hardships, a snow-storm — for the constellation of the Pleiades was now setting — threw them into a great fear. [7] The ground was everywhere covered deep with snow when at dawn they began to march, and as the column moved slowly on, dejection and despair were to be read in every countenance. [8] Then Hannibal, who had gone on before the standards, made the army halt on a certain promontory which commanded an extensive prospect, and pointing out Italy to them, and just under the Alps the plains about the Po, he told them that they were now scaling the ramparts not only of Italy, but of Rome itself; the rest of the way would be level or downhill; [9] and after one, or, at the most, two battles, they would have in their hands and in their power the citadel and capital of Italy.

[10] The column now began to make some progress, and even the enemy had ceased to annoy them, except to make a stealthy raid, as occasion offered. But the way was much more difficult than the ascent had been, as indeed the slope of the Alps on the Italian [11??] side is in general more precipitous in proportion as it is shorter. [12] For practically every road was steep, narrow, and treacherous, so that

neither could they keep from slipping, nor could those who had been thrown a little off their balance retain their footing, but came down, one on top of the other, and the beasts on top of the men.

36. They then came to a much narrower cliff, and with rocks so perpendicular that it was difficult for an unencumbered soldier to manage the descent, though he felt his way and clung with his hands to the bushes and roots that projected here and there. [2] The place had been precipitous before, and a recent landslide had carried it away to the depth of a good thousand feet. [3] There the cavalry came to a halt, as though they had reached the end of the road, and as Hannibal was wondering what it could be that held the column back, word was brought to him that the cliff was impassable. [4] Going then to inspect the place himself, he thought that there was nothing for it but to lead the army round, over trackless and untrodden steeps, however circuitous the detour might be. [5] But that way proved to be insuperable; for above the old, untouched snow lay a fresh deposit of moderate depth, through which, as it was soft and not very deep, the men in front found it easy to advance; [6] but when it had been trampled down by the feet of so many men and beasts, the rest had to make their way over the bare ice beneath and the slush of the melting snow. [7] Then came a terrible struggle on the slippery surface, for it afforded them no foothold, while the downward slope made their feet the more quickly slide from under them; so that whether they tried to pull themselves up with their hands, or used their knees, these supports themselves would slip, and down they would come again! Neither were there any stems or roots about, by which a man could pull himself up with foot or hand — only smooth ice and thawing snow, on which they were continually rolling. [8] But the baggage animals, as they went over the snow, would sometimes even cut into the lowest crust, and pitching forward and striking out with their hoofs, as they struggled to rise, would break clean through it, so that numbers of them were caught fast, as if entrapped, in the hard, deep-frozen snow.

37. At last, when men and beasts had been worn out to no avail, they encamped upon the ridge, after having, with the utmost difficulty, cleared enough ground even for this purpose, so much snow were they obliged to dig out and remove. [2] The soldiers were

then set to work to construct a road across the cliff-their only possible way. Since they had to cut through the rock, they felled some huge trees that grew near at hand, and lopping off their branches, made an enormous pile of logs. This they set on fire, as soon as the wind blew fresh enough to make it burn, and pouring vinegar over the glowing rocks, caused them to crumble. [3] After thus heating the crag with fire, they opened a way in it with iron tools, and relieved the steepness of the slope with zigzags of an easy gradient, so that not only the baggage animals but even the elephants could be led down. [4] Four days were consumed at the cliff, and the animals nearly perished of starvation; for the mountain tops are all practically bare, and such grass as does grow is buried under snow. [5] Lower down one comes to valleys and sunny slopes and rivulets, and near them woods, and places that begin to be fitter for man's habitation. [6] There the beasts were turned out to graze, and the men, exhausted with toiling at the road, were allowed to rest. Thence they descended in three days' time into the plain, through a region now that was less forbidding, as was the character of its inhabitants.

38. Such were the chief features of the march to Italy, which they accomplished five months after leaving New Carthage — as certain authorities state — having crossed the Alps in fifteen days. [2] The strength of Hannibal's forces on his entering Italy is a point on which historians are by no means agreed. Those who put the figures highest give him a hundred thousand foot and twenty thousand horse; the lowest estimate is twenty thousand foot and six thousand horse. [3] Lucius Cincius Alimentus, who says that he was taken prisoner by Hannibal, would be our weightiest authority, did he not confuse the reckoning by adding in Gauls and Ligurians: including these, he says that Hannibal brought eighty thousand foot and ten thousand horse — but [4] it is more probable, and certain historians so hold, that these people joined his standard in Italy; he says, moreover, that he had learned from Hannibal's own lips that after crossing the Rhone he lost thirty-six thousand men and a vast number of horses and other animals. [5] The Taurine Gauls were the first people he encountered on descending into Italy. [6] Since all are agreed on this point, I am the more astonished at the difference of opinion in regard to his route over the Alps, and that it should be commonly held that he crossed

by the Poenine Pass and that from this circumstance that ridge of the Alps derived its name — and [7] that Coelius should state that he crossed by the ridge of Cremo; for both these passes would have brought him down, not amongst the Taurini but through the Salassi Montani to the Libuan Gauls. [8] Neither is it probable that these routes to Gaul were open at that time; those leading to the Poenine Pass, at any rate, would have been blocked by tribes of half-German stock. [9] Nor for that matter — if anyone happens to consider this point of consequence — do the Seduni Veragri, who inhabit those mountains, know of their having been named from any passage of the Phoenicians (or Poeni) but from that deity whose sanctuary is established on their very summit and whom the mountaineers call Poeninus.

39. Quite opportunely for the opening of the campaign, the Taurini, the nearest tribe, had begun a war against the Insubres. But Hannibal was unable to put an army in the field to aid the Insubres, as the soldiers while convalescing felt more keenly than ever the distress arising from the hardships they had undergone; [2] for rest coming after toil, plenty after want, comfort after filth and wet, produced all manner of disorders in their squalid and well-nigh brutalized bodies. [3] This was the reason why the consul Publius Cornelius, who had come by sea to Pisa, though the army which he received from Manlius and Atilius was made up of raw recruits, still quaking from their recent defeats, yet marched in all haste towards the Po, that he might join battle with an enemy not yet restored to vigour. [4] But when the consul reached Placentia, Hannibal had already broken camp and taken the capital city of the Taurini by assault, because they would not freely come into his friendship. [5] On the other hand, he would have brought the Gauls who dwell along the Po to join him, not alone from fear but even of their own free choice, had not the consul taken them by surprise, appearing unexpectedly whilst they were looking about them for a pretext to revolt. [6] Hannibal, too, moved forward from the Taurini, being persuaded that the Gauls, uncertain which side they had best adhere to, would attach themselves to those who were on the spot.

[7] The armies were now almost within sight of each other, and the opposing generals, though as yet they did not know one another well,

had yet each been imbued with a kind of admiration for his antagonist. [8] For Hannibal's name had been very renowned amongst the Romans, even before the destruction of Saguntum, and Scipio was a man of mark in the eyes of Hannibal, from the mere fact of his having been selected, in preference to any other, to command against himself. [9] Each had increased the other's good opinion — Scipio, because, though left behind in Gaul, he had confronted Hannibal at his crossing over into Italy; Hannibal by the audacity with which he had conceived and executed his passage of the Alps.

[10] Scipio, however, was the first to cross the Po. He brought his army up to the river Ticinus, and in order to put heart into the men before leading them out to fight, harangued them after the following fashion:

40. "Soldiers, if I were leading into battle the army that I had under me in Gaul, I should have deemed it unnecessary to address you. [2] For what point would there have been in exhorting either those horsemen who at the river Rhone had signally defeated the horsemen of the enemy, or those legions with which I pursued this very enemy in his flight, and by the confession implied in his withdrawal and avoidance of a battle, gained a virtual victory? [3] As it is, since that army, enrolled for service in Spain, is campaigning there under my auspices with my brother Gnaeus Scipio, where the senate and the Roman People desired that it should serve, and I myself, that you might [4??] have a consul for your leader against Hannibal and the Phoenicians, have of my own choice undertaken the present conflict, it is right that your new commander should say a word or two to his new soldiers.

[5] "That you may not be ignorant what manner of war it is, or what your enemies are, you are to fight, my men, with those whom you defeated in the former war, on land and sea; with those from whom you exacted tribute for twenty years; with those from whom you wrested Sicily and Sardinia, which you now hold as the spoils of war. [6] You and they will therefore enter the present struggle with such spirits as usually attend the victors and the vanquished. Nor are they now going to fight because they dare, but because they must; [7] unless you think that those who avoided battle when their strength was unimpaired would, now that they have lost two-thirds of their

infantry and cavalry in the passage of the Alps, have become more hopeful! [8] But, you will say, their numbers indeed are small, but their courage and vigour are so great that scarce any force could withstand their might and power. Nay, not so! [9] They are but the semblance, the shadows of men, wasted away with hunger and cold, with filth and squalor; bruised and crippled amongst the rocks and cliffs; moreover, their limbs are frost-bitten, their muscles stiffened by the snow, their bodies numb with cold, their arms shattered and broken, their horses lame and feeble. [10] That is the cavalry, that the infantry with which you are to fight; you have no enemy — only the last relics of an enemy! And I fear nothing more than this, that when you have fought, it may seem to have been the Alps that conquered Hannibal. [11] But perhaps it was right that the gods themselves, without any human aid, should begin and decide a war with a general and a people who break their treaties; and that we, whose injury was second to that of the gods, should add the finishing stroke to a war already so begun and so decided.

41. “I am not afraid that anyone may suppose that I am using these brave words to encourage you, but that in my heart I think otherwise. [2] It was open to me to proceed with my army to my own province, Spain, for which I had already started; I might there have had a brother to share my counsels and my dangers, and Hasdrubal instead of Hannibal for my enemy, and a war undoubtedly less difficult to conduct; [3] nevertheless, when rumours of this enemy reached me, as I sailed along by the coast of Gaul, I landed, and sending my cavalry ahead, moved my camp up to the Rhone. [4] In a cavalry engagement — for this was the arm with which I was given the opportunity of fighting — I put the enemy to rout: his infantry column, marching hastily off as if in flight, I could not overtake by land; returning therefore to my ships I accomplished with all possible expedition so circuitous a voyage and march, and am come to confront this redoubtable enemy almost at the very foot of the Alps. Does it look as though I were avoiding battle and had blundered upon him unawares? [5] or, rather, as though I were in hot haste to encounter him and to provoke and bait him into fighting? [6] I would willingly make trial whether the earth has suddenly produced in the last twenty years another breed of Carthaginians, or whether they are the same

who fought at the Aegatian islands and whom you suffered to depart from Eryx at a rating of eighteen denarii a head; [7] and whether our friend Hannibal is a rival, as he himself would have it, of the wandering Hercules, or has been left to the Roman People by his father to be their tributary, tax-payer, and slave. [8] Were he not maddened by the crime he committed at Saguntum, he would surely have regard, if not for his conquered country, yet at least for his house and his father and the treaties written by the hand of Hamilcar, who, under the orders of our consul, withdrew his garrison from Eryx; [9] who submitted with rage and anguish to the heavy terms imposed upon the beaten Carthaginians; who agreed, on withdrawing from Sicily, to pay tribute to the Roman People. [10] And so I could wish you, soldiers, to fight not only with that courage with which you are wont to fight against other enemies, but with a kind of resentful rage, as if you saw your slaves all at once take up arms against you. [11] When we had shut them up at Eryx, we might have killed them by starvation, the worst torment that man can know; we might have dispatched our victorious fleet to Africa, and in a few days' time, without the slightest struggle, have annihilated Carthage. [12] But we gave them the quarter they besought of us; we lifted the siege and let them go; we made peace with them when we had conquered them; and thereafter, when they were hard pressed by the war in Africa, we regarded them as under our protection. [13] In requital of these benefits they are coming in the train of a crazy youth to assail our country! [14] And I would that your honour only and not your very existence were in jeopardy: you have got to fight not for the ownership of Sicily and Sardinia, which were formerly in dispute, but for Italy. [15] There is no second army at our back to stop the enemy, in case we fail to beat him, nor are there other Alps to obstruct his advance while we make ready new defences. Here, soldiers, is the spot where we must make our stand, as though we were fighting before the walls of Rome. [16] Let each and every one of you consider that his arms protect, not his own person, but his wife and little children; nor let him be concerned for his family alone, but remember that ours are the hands to which the senate and the Roman People are now looking, and that even as our might and valour shall prove to be, [17??] such henceforward will be the fortune of that City

and the Roman empire.” So spoke the consul to the Romans.

42. Hannibal thought it well to encourage his soldiers by an object lesson before haranguing them. He therefore caused the army to gather in a circle for the spectacle, and setting in the midst some captive mountaineers with fetters on them, gave the order to throw some Gallic weapons down at their feet, and bade an interpreter enquire if any were willing to fight for life or death, on condition of being granted freedom, if victorious, and presented with a horse and arms. [2] When the captives, to the last man, called for sword and combat, and lots were being cast to decide amongst them, each hoped that he should be the one whom fortune selected for that contest; [3] and he who had drawn the lot would leap for joy, and dancing about — as their custom is — while the others showered congratulations on him, would eagerly snatch up his weapons. [4] But when they fought, the feeling, not only in the bosoms of the other captives but even amongst the onlookers in general, was such that the fortune of those who conquered was not more praised than that of those who met an honourable death.

43. Having thus, by the exhibition of several pairs, worked on the passions of his troops, he dismissed them. Then, convening an assembly, he addressed them — so it is said — in the following strain: “If that spirit which but now was roused in you by the example of the plight of others shall presently be yours, when you consider your own prospects, then, soldiers, the victory is ours. [2] For that was no mere spectacle, but a kind of picture, as it were, of your own condition. [3] And I incline to think that Fortune has laid you under stronger bonds and heavier necessities than your captives. [4] On the right and on the left two seas encompass you, and you have not a single ship, even to flee in; round you is the river Po — the Po, a greater and more turbulent river than the Rhone; behind you tower the Alps, which you hardly scaled when you were fresh and vigorous. [5] Here, soldiers, you must conquer or die, where for the first time you have faced the enemy. And the same Fortune which has laid upon you the necessity of fighting holds forth the promise of such prizes, in the event of victory, that men are wont to ask not even the immortal gods for greater. [6] If it were only Sicily and Sardinia, wrested from our fathers, that we were going to recover by our

valour, these would still be great enough rewards. As it is, whatever the Romans have won and heaped up in the course of all their triumphs, whatever they possess, is all destined — and its owners with it — to be yours. [7] Come then! Arm yourselves, with Heaven helping you, to earn this splendid wage! [8] Long enough have you been chasing flocks on the barren mountains of Lusitania and Celtiberia, without seeing any recompense for all your toil and dangers. [9] It is now time for you to make rich and lucrative campaigns, and reap the large rewards of so long a march over so many mountains and rivers and through so many warlike tribes. Here Fortune has fixed the final goal of your labours; here, when your wars are ended, she will worthily requite you.

[10] “Nor must you think that in proportion to the great name of the war will be the difficulty you will have in winning it. [11] It has often happened that even an enemy held cheap has caused a bloody battle, and that nations and princes of renown have been very lightly overcome. Take from your enemies this one glory of the Roman name, and in what particular can they bear comparison with you? [12] To say nothing of your twenty years of service and your far-famed courage and good fortune, you [13??] have come from the Pillars of Hercules, from the Ocean and the uttermost limits of the world, and through so many of the fiercest tribes of Spain and Gaul have fought your way victoriously to this field. [14] You will be pitted against an army of recruits, who have been this very summer cut to pieces, routed, and besieged by Gauls — an army as yet unknown to its general and one that knows not him. [15] Or am I, who if not actually born in the headquarters of my father-most illustrious of commanders — was at least brought up there, am I, the subjugator of Spain and Gaul and conqueror not only of the Alpine tribes, but — what is much more — of the Alps themselves, am I, I ask you, to compare myself to this six-months general, who has deserted his own army? [16] Why, if one were to show him to-day the Phoenicians and Romans without their standards, I am certain he would not know which army he was consul of. [17] For my part, soldiers, I regard it as no slight advantage that there is not one of you in whose sight I have not often myself performed some soldierly feat; not one of whose courage I have not in my turn been a spectator and eye-witness —

whose deeds of prowess, noted, together with their times and circumstances, I am not able to rehearse. [18] I shall enter the battle in company with men whom I have praised and decorated a thousand times, and to all of whom I was a foster-son before I was their general. Opposed to me will be men who do not even know each other.

44. “Wherever I turn my eyes I see nothing but eagerness and strength, a veteran infantry, cavalry from the noblest tribes, riding with bridles or without, here [2??] the trustiest and most valiant of allies, there Carthaginians, prepared to fight not only in defence of their native land, but in satisfaction of a most righteous indignation. [3] We are the assailants, and are descending with hostile standards into Italy, where we shall fight with more boldness and courage than our foes in proportion as our hopes are higher and the gallantry of the assailant greater than his who but defends himself. [4] Moreover, our hearts are kindled and pricked by rancour, wrongs, and insults. They called for the punishment of myself first, as your leader, then of all of you who had borne a part in the assault upon Saguntum; had we been given up, they meant to have inflicted upon us the worst of tortures. [5] Most inhuman and most arrogant of nations, they reckon the world as theirs and subject to their pleasure. With whom we are to be at war, with whom at peace, they think it right that they should determine. [6] They circumscribe and hem us in with boundaries of mountains and rivers which we may not cross; yet they do not observe those boundaries which they have set. [7] ‘Do not cross the Ebro! Have naught to do with the Saguntines!’ But Saguntum is free. ‘Do not budge from where you are in any direction!’ Is it not enough that you have taken away my ancient provinces of Sicily and Sardinia? Are you taking away Spain as well? If I withdraw from these, shall you cross over into Africa? *Shall*, do I say? They *have* dispatched the two consuls of this year, the one into Africa, and the other into Spain! [8] Nothing is left us anywhere, except what we shall defend by force of arms. They can afford to be timid and unenterprising who have something to fall back upon; whom their own country and their own fields will receive as they flee over safe and peaceful roads. As for you, you must be stout-hearted men, and discarding, without vain regrets, all hopes of anything but victory or

death, either conquer or, if Fortune falters, sooner perish in battle than in flight. [9] If this idea has been firmly fixed and implanted in your hearts, let me say once more: the victory is already yours. The immortal gods have bestowed on man no sharper weapon for winning victories than contempt of death.”

45. When the spirits of the soldiers on both sides had been whetted for the struggle by these speeches, the Romans threw a bridge over the Ticinus and erected a fort besides for its protection; [2] and the Phoenician, whilst his enemies were engaged in fortification, sent Maharbal with a squadron of Numidians, numbering five hundred horse, to ravage the fields belonging to the allies of the Roman People, with orders to spare the Gauls as much as possible and tempt their leaders to desert. [3] On the completion of the bridge, the Roman army marched over into the country of the Insubres, and took up a position five miles from Victumulae. [4] It was there that Hannibal had his camp, who, quickly recalling Maharbal and his cavalry, when he saw that a battle was imminent, called his troops together — for he never felt that he had done enough in the way of preparing and cheering the men — and held out definite rewards to them to fight for; [5] he would give them land, he said, in Italy, Africa, or Spain, as each might choose, tax-free to the recipient and to his children; those who had rather have money than land he would content with silver; if any of the allies desired to become citizens of Carthage, he would give them the opportunity; [6] as for such as preferred to go back to their homes, he would see to it that they should feel no inclination to change places with any of their countrymen; [7] besides this he promised freedom to the slaves who had come with their masters, and declared that he would make restitution to the latter, at the rate of two for one. [8] And that they might know that these promises would be kept, he held a lamb with his left hand, and with his right a flint, and praying that if he should deceive them, then Jupiter and the other gods might slay him, even as he had slain the lamb, he thereupon smote the lamb’s head with the stone. [9] Then indeed they all, as though each had received the blessing of the gods on his own particular hopes, and thought that their fulfilment was being delayed only because they were not yet fighting, cried out with one accord and one voice for battle.

46. On the Roman side there was far less alacrity, for, besides other things, they were also frightened by some recent portents: [2] a wolf had entered the camp and after rending those whom it met, had itself escaped unharmed; and a swarm of bees had settled in a tree that hung over the consul's tent. [3] After averting these omens, Scipio set out with his cavalry and light-armed darters to reconnoitre at close hand the enemy's camp and the size and character of his forces, and encountered Hannibal, who had likewise come out with his cavalry to explore the surrounding country. [4] Neither party descried the other at first; afterwards an increasingly thick cloud of dust, that rose with the advance of so many men and horses, gave them notice that their enemies were approaching. Both bodies halted and began to make ready for battle. [5] Scipio stationed his darters and Gallic horse in front, holding in reserve the Romans and the best of the allies; Hannibal put the cavalry who rode with bridles in the centre, and made his wings strong with Numidians. Hardly had the battle-cry been raised, when the darters fled through their supports to the second line. [6] Then followed a cavalry fight of which the issue was for a time in doubt; but by and by the horses became excited by the presence of the foot-soldiers who were mingled with them, and many riders lost their seats or dismounted on seeing their fellows in distress, and the battle was now fought chiefly on foot; until the Numidians, who were posted on the flanks, rode round in a little circuit and showed themselves on the rear. [7] So alarming a sight filled the Romans with dismay, and, to add to their fear, the consul was wounded and was only saved from danger by the intervention of his son, who was just reaching manhood. [8] This is the youth who will have the glory of finishing this war, and be surnamed Africanus, from his famous victory over Hannibal and the Phoenicians. [9] However, the rout was chiefly amongst the darters, the first to be charged by the Numidians: the cavalry rallied, and receiving the consul into their midst, and shielding him not only with their arms but with their persons also, brought him back to camp without panic or confusion at any point in their retreat. (The credit for saving the consul's life is given by Coelius to a Ligurian slave. [10] I should prefer, for my own part, that the story about his son were the true one, and this is the version which most authorities have handed down

and tradition has established.)

47. Such was the first battle fought with Hannibal, in which it was clearly seen that the Phoenician was superior in cavalry and that consequently open plains, like those between the Po and the Alps, were ill-suited to the Romans for campaigning. [2] Accordingly, the next night Scipio gave his men the order to pack up without making any noise, and quitting his camp on the Ticinus, marched swiftly to the Po, intending to use the bridge of boats which he had thrown across the river and had not yet broken up, in order to set his army over without confusion or interruption by the enemy. [3] They were at Placentia before Hannibal was well aware that they were gone from the Ticinus; nevertheless some six hundred men, who were lingering on the northern bank and taking their time about casting off the raft, fell into Hannibal's hands. He was not able to cross the bridge, for when the end was cast off, the whole raft swung down stream with the current.

[4] Coelius states that Mago with the cavalry and the Spanish foot immediately swam the river, and that Hannibal himself led his army across the Po by an upper ford, after placing the elephants in a line to break the current of the river. [5] Those who are acquainted with the Po will hardly credit this account; for, in the first place, it is unlikely that the horsemen could have breasted so strong a current without the loss of arms or horses, even if all the Spaniards had swum over on inflated skins, and in the second place it would have needed a circuitous march of many days to reach fords on the Po by which an army encumbered with baggage could get across.

[6] Those writers seem to me more worthy of belief who relate that in two days' search a pace was scarcely found where the river could be spanned by a bridge of boats; by this the cavalry and light Spanish infantry were sent forward under Mago. [7] While Hannibal, who had lingered on the northern bank to give a hearing to some Gallic embassies, was bringing over the heavy infantry, Mago and his horsemen advanced a day's march from the crossing of the river towards Placentia and the enemy. [8] A few days later, Hannibal went into camp behind entrenchments, six miles from the town, and on the following day drew up his troops in sight of the enemy and offered battle.

48. The next night there was a bloody affray in the Roman camp, occasioned by some Gallic auxiliaries, though the confusion was greater than the loss of life. [2] Some two thousand foot-soldiers and two hundred horsemen cut down the guards doing duty at the gates and fled to Hannibal, who received them with fair words, and after encouraging them to hope for great rewards, sent them off to their several states to solicit the support of their countrymen. [3] Scipio apprehended that this bloodshed would prove to be a signal for the defection of all the Gauls, and that they would fly to arms, as if maddened by the contagion of this crime. [4] Accordingly, though still troubled with his wound, he marched silently away in the fourth watch of the next night to the river Trebia, and encamped on higher ground, where hills made it more difficult for cavalry to operate. [5] He was less successful than he had been on the Ticinus in eluding the observation of Hannibal, who sent after him first the Numidians and then all his cavalry, and would have thrown the rearguard at least into disorder, had not the Numidians, in their greed for booty, turned aside to plunder the camp which the Romans had abandoned. [6] Whilst they frittered away the time there, rummaging in every nook and cranny without finding anything that really repaid them for the loss of time, they let their enemies slip through their fingers. The Romans had already passed the Trebia and were marking out their camp, when the Numidians caught sight of them and cut down a few loiterers whom they intercepted on the hither side of the stream. [7] Scipio could no longer bear the pain occasioned by the jolting of his wound in travelling, and besides he judged it best to wait for the arrival of his colleague, who was already recalled — so he had heard — from Sicily. He therefore chose what seemed to be the safest place near the river for a permanent camp, and proceeded to entrench it.

[8] Hannibal, too, went into camp not far away. Elated as he was at the victory of his horse, he was no less worried by the dearth of food, which increased from day to day, as he advanced through hostile territory without having anywhere arranged beforehand for supplies. [9] In the village of Clastidium the Romans had got together a great quantity of corn. Thither Hannibal dispatched some soldiers, who were making preparations to assault the place, when hopes were held out of its betrayal. The price was not a large one: Dasius of

Brundisium, who was in command of the garrison, accepted a bribe of four hundred gold pieces, and turned Clastidium over to Hannibal. [10] This served the Phoenicians as a granary, while they lay encamped on the Trebia. The surrendered garrison were spared, as Hannibal wished to gain at the very outset a reputation for clemency.

49. Though the war on land had come to a standstill at the Trebia, engagements had in the meantime been fought by land and sea off Sicily and the islands near the Italian coast, not only by Sempronius the consul, but even before his coming thither. [2] Twenty quinqueremes with a thousand men at arms had been sent by the Carthaginians to lay waste the coast of Italy; nine of them reached Liparae and eight the Isle of Vulcan; three the current diverted from their course into the Straits. [3] These last were sighted by the people of Messina, and Hiero, king of the Syracusans, who happened to be in Messina at the time, waiting for the Roman consul, dispatched twelve ships, which captured the enemy's ships without a struggle and brought them into the harbour of Messina. [4] It was learned from the prisoners that, besides the fleet of twenty galleys to which they themselves belonged — which had sailed for Italy — five and thirty other quinqueremes were on the way to Sicily to rouse up the old allies; [5] the seizure of Lilybaeum was their prime object; but they supposed that the same storm by which they had themselves been scattered had struck this fleet as well and had driven it out of its course to the Aegatian Islands. [6] The king wrote a full account of these rumours, just as they had come to him, to Marcus Aemilius, the praetor, [7??] who was in command in Sicily, and warned him to garrison Lilybaeum strongly. The praetor at once sent out his lieutenants and tribunes to the cities round about, and urged his people to be on their guard. [8] Above all, Lilybaeum was kept in a state of readiness for war, an edict having been published directing the naval allies to bring to their ships cooked rations for ten days, so that, on the signal being given, there might be nothing to delay their embarkation. All along the coast men were sent to keep a look-out from the watch-towers for the coming of the enemy's fleet. [9] And so, notwithstanding that the Carthaginians had delayed their sailing on purpose that they might come up to Lilybaeum in the dark, they were nevertheless perceived, because there was a moon all night and

they bore down under a spread of canvas. [10] The signal was at once displayed from the watchtowers, and in the town the call to arms was sounded and the ships were manned; some of the troops were at once on the walls or guarding the gates, some on the ships. [11] And the Carthaginians, seeing that they should have to do with men who were not unprepared, stood off from the harbour until dawn and employed the time in taking down their masts and sails and putting the fleet in fighting trim. [12] When the day broke, they withdrew into the open sea, to give room for the battle and to allow their enemy's ships a ready egress from the harbour. Nor did the Romans shun the encounter. [13] They remembered the victories that had been won in that same vicinity, and relied on the numbers and the bravery of their men. 50. Once at sea, the Romans wanted to join battle and match their strength against the enemy's at close quarters. [2] The Phoenicians, on the contrary, preferred to manœuvre; to conduct the affair by strategy, not by force, and to make it a contest rather of ships than of men or arms. [3] For although their fleet was well equipped with rowers, they were short of fighting men; and when a ship was grappled, the men-at-arms in her were greatly outnumbered by their enemies. [4] Perceiving this, the Romans derived a fresh access of courage from their numbers, and the other side were correspondingly disheartened by their fewness. Seven Punic ships were instantly cut out and captured, and the rest took to flight. [5] There were seventeen hundred soldiers and sailors on the captured ships, including three Carthaginian nobles. The Roman fleet returned intact into the harbour: one ship only had been rammed, and even this was brought safely in.

[6] After this engagement, but before the people in Messina had got wind of it, the consul Tiberius Sempronius came to that city. [7] As he was entering the straits, King Hiero put out to meet him, with his fleet in fighting order, and passing over from the royal galley to the praetorian, congratulated Sempronius on having arrived in safety with his army and his ships, and prayed that he might have a safe and successful passage to Sicily. [8] He then described conditions in the island and the attempts made by the Carthaginians, and promised that with the same spirit with which, in [9??] his youth, he had helped the Roman People in the former war he would help them now, as an old

man, and would furnish corn and clothing gratis to the legions of the consul and the naval allies. [10] He added that Lilybaeum and the cities of the coast were in great danger, and that some of them would welcome a revolution. [11] In view of these things, the consul saw fit to sail without delay for Lilybaeum, and the king attended him with the royal fleet. On the voyage they learned of the action that had been fought near that city, and the defeat and capture of the enemy's ships.

51. From Lilybaeum the consul dismissed King Hiero and his fleet, and leaving the praetor to protect the coast of Sicily, set sail for the island of Melita, which was held by the Carthaginians. [2] On his arrival, Hamilcar, Gisco's son, the commandant of the garrison, surrendered himself and nearly two thousand soldiers, together with the town and island. From Melita Sempronius returned in a few days to Lilybaeum, and consul and praetor sold into slavery the prisoners they had made, with the exception of those who were distinguished by noble birth. When the consul judged that Sicily was in no danger from that quarter, he crossed over to the Isles of Vulcan, where it was rumoured that a Punic fleet was lying; but no single enemy was discovered near those islands. [3] They had already, as it happened, sailed across to ravage the Italian [4??] coast, and after pillaging the country about Vibo, were even threatening the town. [5] The consul was returning again to Sicily when tidings reached him of the enemy's raid on the lands of Vibo, and a letter was delivered to him from the senate, apprising him of Hannibal's descent into Italy and bidding him go to the assistance of his colleague at the earliest possible moment. [6] Beset with many cares at once, he immediately embarked his army and dispatched it through the Adriatic to Ariminum; to Sextus Pomponius, his lieutenant, he assigned five and twenty ships of war, with the task of defending the territory of Vibo and the coast of Italy; the fleet under Marcus Aemilius the praetor he increased to fifty sail. [7] He himself, after settling the affairs of Sicily, took ten ships, and skirting the Italian coast, arrived at Ariminum. Thence he marched with his army to the Trebia and effected a junction with his colleague.

52. Now that both the consuls and all the forces which the Romans could muster were opposing Hannibal, it was obvious enough either that the troops there under arms were able to defend Rome's empire

or that her case was hopeless. [2] Nevertheless one of the consuls, disheartened by a single cavalry engagement and weak from his wound, preferred to postpone the decision. The other, unwearied and therefore the more impetuous, would put up with no delay.

[3] The country between the Trebia and the Po was in those days inhabited by Gauls, who in this struggle of two mighty peoples maintained a neutral attitude and plainly intended to court the goodwill of the victor. [4] This policy was agreeable enough to the Romans, if only the Gauls made no disturbance, but was far from acceptable to Hannibal, who declared repeatedly that he had come on the invitation of the Gauls, to set them free. [5] In his resentment at this state of affairs, and in order at the same time to sustain his troops with plunder, he ordered two thousand foot and a thousand horse — chiefly Numidians but with a sprinkling of Gauls — to [6] waste the entire country-side, field after field, right up to the banks of the Po. The helpless Gauls, who had been undecided until then, were compelled to turn from the authors of their wrongs to those who might avenge them; and, sending envoys to the consuls, besought the Romans to come to the aid of a land that was suffering for its inhabitants' too great loyalty to Rome. [7] Cornelius liked neither the occasion nor the time for fighting, and regarded the Gauls with suspicion, both because of many acts of perfidy, and especially — even though time had obliterated those ancient grievances — because of the recent treachery of the Boi. [8] Sempronius, on the contrary, held that the strongest bond for keeping the allies to their obligations was the defence of those who should first stand in need of help. [9] On the present occasion, while his colleague hesitated, Sempronius sent his cavalry, interspersed with about a thousand foot-soldiers, armed with darts, to protect the Gallic lands beyond the Trebia. [10] Falling unexpectedly upon the enemy, who were scattered and disorganized — most of them laden too with spoils — they drove them with great slaughter in a terror-stricken rout to the very outposts of the Carthaginian camp. Thence the enemy poured out in numbers and repulsed the Romans, in their turn; but reserves came up and restored the day. [11] Thereafter the fortune of the battle shifted, as pursuit was followed by retreat; and though in the end the opposing armies were on even terms, still the enemy had lost more men and the Romans

got the credit of a victory.

53. But to no one did the victory seem greater or more unequivocal than to Sempronius the consul; he was beside himself with joy that with that arm of the service with which the other consul had been beaten, he himself had been successful. [2] He declared that the spirits of the men were restored and renewed, and that no one but his colleague desired to put off the struggle; Cornelius, he said, was sick in spirit rather than in body, and the recollection of his wound made him dread a battle and its missiles. [3] But they must not droop and languish along with a sick man. Why indeed should they further postpone the conflict, or waste time? What third consul, what other army were they waiting for? [4] The Carthaginians were encamped in Italy and almost within sight of Rome. Their object was, not to get back Sicily and Sardinia, taken from them after their defeat, nor to cross the Ebro and occupy northern Spain, but to expel the Romans from the land of their fathers and from their native soil. [5] “How would our fathers groan,” he cried, “that were wont to wage war about the walls of Carthage, could they see us, their offspring, two consuls and two consular armies, cowering within our camp in the heart of Italy; and the Phoenician in full sway over all the territory between the Alps and the Apennines!” Thus he ran on, as he sat by the bed of his sick colleague; thus he argued in the praetorium, almost as if haranguing the troops. [6] His impatience was increased, too, by the near approach of the elections, lest the war go over to the term of the new consuls and he lose the opportunity of gaining all the glory for himself, while his colleague was laid up. [7] Accordingly, despite the unavailing protests of Cornelius, he commanded the soldiers to make ready for an early battle.

Hannibal, since he saw what was best for the enemy, hardly dared to hope that the consuls would take any rash or ill-considered step; but knowing, as he did — by hearsay first and afterwards by experience — that [8] one of them was of a fiery and reckless disposition, and believing that the late successful brush with the Carthaginian raiders would have made him still more headstrong, he was fairly confident that the good fortune of a general engagement was at hand. [9] It was therefore his one concern to let slip no opportunity for bringing this about, while the soldiers of the enemy

still lacked experience, while the abler of their generals was incapacitated by his wound, while the courage of the Gauls was up — since [10] he knew that their vast multitude would follow the less willingly, the farther they were drawn from home. [11] For these and similar reasons he hoped that a battle would soon be fought, and was eager, should there be any hesitation, to force it on. And so, when his Gallic scouts — who were safer for gathering the information that he wanted because there were men of that nation in both camps — had reported that the Romans were prepared to fight, the Phoenician began to look about for a place in which to lay an ambush.

54. Between the two camps was a water-course, shut in by very high banks on either side and overgrown all round with marsh-grass and the underbrush and brambles with which uncultivated land is usually clothed. When Hannibal, riding over the ground himself, saw that this place afforded sufficient cover even for cavalry, he said to his brother Mago, “This will be the place for you to hold. [2] Choose out a hundred men from all the infantry and a hundred from the cavalry, and come with them to my quarters at the first watch. It is time now to sup and rest.” With that he broke up the council. In a little while Mago presented himself with his picked men. [3] “I see the stoutest of my men,” said Hannibal, “but that your numbers too may be strong to match your bravery, choose, each of you, from the squadrons and the maniples, nine others like yourselves. Mago will point out to you the spot where you are to lie in ambush; you have an enemy who is blind to these stratagems.” [4] Mago and his thousand horse and thousand foot being thus dispatched, Hannibal ordered the Numidian cavalry to cross the Trebia at dawn, and riding up to the enemy’s gates and discharging missiles against his outposts, to lure him into battle; and then, when the fight was on, to give ground insensibly and draw him across the river. Such were the orders of the Numidians. [5] The other officers, both of cavalry and of infantry, were instructed to make their men have breakfast, and then, armed and with horses saddled, to await the signal.

[6] On the flurry caused by the Numidians, Sempronius, confident where cavalry was concerned, first led out all of this part of his forces; then six thousand of the infantry; and finally all the rest of his troops. He had fully made up his mind beforehand and was eager for

the battle. [7] It chanced to be the time of year when the days are shortest, and it was snowing in the region between the Alps and the Apennines, and the proximity of rivers and marshes intensified the bitter cold. [8] Moreover, men and horses had been turned out in haste, without stopping for food or doing anything to guard against becoming chilled; there was no warmth in them, and the nearer they approached the atmosphere of the river the sharper grew the cold wind in their faces. [9] But when, in pursuit of the fleeing Numidians, they entered the water — swollen breast-high with the rain that had fallen in the night — or at any rate when they got out upon the further bank, then indeed their bodies were all so benumbed that they could hardly hold their weapons; and at the same time they were fainting with fatigue, and, as the day wore on, with hunger as well.

55. Hannibal's soldiers had in the meantime made fires before their tents; in each company they had been served with oil to supple their joints, and had breakfasted at leisure. When, therefore, they were told that the enemy had crossed the river, they were eager both in mind and body, as they armed and went out to battle. [2] In front of the standards Hannibal placed the Baliares, light-armed troops numbering about eight thousand, and behind these his heavy infantry, tile strength and flower of his army; the wings he formed of ten thousand horse, and, dividing the elephants, stationed them outside the wings. [3] The consul's troopers were scattered in pursuit of the Numidians, when suddenly the latter made a stand and took them unawares; whereupon he called them back and posted them on either flank of the infantry. [4] There were eighteen thousand Romans and twenty thousand allies of the Latin name, besides the auxiliaries of the Cenomani, the only Gallic tribe that continued loyal. These were the contending forces.

The Baliares began the battle, but those light-armed troops, finding the legions too strong to cope with, were quickly withdrawn and sent to the wings. [5] This manœuvre at once caused the Roman cavalry acute distress; for they numbered but four thousand, and, tired as they were, would scarce have been able to hold out any longer against the enemy's ten thousand cavalry alone, who were most of them fresh; [6] and now they were overwhelmed, as it were with a cloud of missiles, by the Baliares. [7] Besides this, the

elephants, looming large on the outer extremities of the wings, gave rise to such a panic, particularly among the horses, not only by their strange appearance, but also by their unfamiliar smell, as to bring about a general flight. [8] As for the infantry, they were fairly matched in courage, but not in strength, which was unimpaired in the case of the Phoenicians, who had refreshed themselves shortly before entering the battle, while the Romans were faint with fasting and fatigue, and were stiff and numb with cold. Yet their courage would have enabled them to resist, had they fought against infantry alone. [9] But the Baliares, having put the cavalry to flight, were raining missiles on their flanks; the elephants had now charged the centre of the line; and Mago and his Numidians, as soon as the Roman army had passed their ambushade without observing it, started up in their rear, and caused the wildest panic and confusion. [10] Nevertheless, amidst all these evils, the line held for a time unshaken, and even — what no one had dared to hope for — against the elephants. [11] Skirmishers, expressly posted to deal with the beasts, would throw darts at them and make them turn away, and then pursuing them would strike them under the tail, where the skin is softest and it is possible to wound them.

56. In their terror they were now on the point of charging their own people, when Hannibal gave orders to drive them from the centre to the extreme left wing, against the Gallic auxiliaries. Here they immediately caused a decided stampede, and the Romans experienced a fresh alarm when they saw B.C. 218 their auxiliaries routed. [2] And so, hemmed in as they now were on every side, about ten thousand men, when they found it impossible to escape at any other point, forced a passage, with great slaughter of their enemies, through the Carthaginian centre, which was composed of Gallic auxiliaries, and being cut off by the river [3??] from returning to their camp and so blinded by the rain that they could not well discern where to help their comrades, took the shortest way to Placentia. After that sundry groups broke out at various points. [4] Those who headed for the river were either drowned in its eddies, or, while they hesitated to enter it, were overtaken by the enemy; [5] but those who scattered over the countryside in flight made their way by following the tracks of the retreating column, to Placentia; others, venturing, in

their terror of the enemy, to attempt the river, got across, and reached the camp. [6] The mingled rain and snow and the intolerable sharpness of the cold brought death to many men and beasts of burden and to almost all the elephants. [7] The Phoenicians pursued their enemies no further than to the river Trebia, and got back to camp so benumbed and chilled as hardly to feel the joy of victory. Consequently, when, in the night that followed, the garrison of the camp, and such soldiers without arms [8??] for the most part-as had survived the rout, were crossing the Trebia on rafts, they either heard nothing, owing to the noise made by the rain, or being unable, for weariness and wounds, to bestir themselves, pretended not to hear; and unmolested Polybius (II. lxxiv, 11), all but *one* perished from the effects of the rain and snow that followed the battle. [9] by the enemy Scipio led his army in silence to B.C. 218 Placentia, and thence-after crossing the Po-to Cremona, so that that one town might not be overburdened with furnishing winter quarters for two armies.

57. To Rome the news of this disaster brought such consternation that people looked for the immediate appearance of the hostile army before their very City, and knew not which way to turn for any hope or help in defending their gates and walls against its onset. [2] When one consul had been defeated on the Ticinus, the other had been summoned back from Sicily; but now that two consuls and two consular armies had been beaten, what other generals, what other legions had they to call upon? [3] In the midst of this alarm the consul Sempronius arrived. He had made his way, taking tremendous risks, through the enemy's cavalry — which was widely dispersed in quest of booty — relying more on audacity than calculation or the prospect of eluding his enemies, or of resisting, should he be unable to elude them. [4] The election of consuls was the one crying need of the hour. This Sempronius accomplished and returned forthwith to his winter quarters. [5] The choice had fallen on Gnaeus Servilius and — for the second time — on Gaius Flaminius.

For the rest, the Romans were given no peace even in their winter quarters. The Numidian cavalry ranged far and wide, and any ground that was too rough for them was covered by the Celtiberians and Lusitani. [6] The result was the cutting off of all supplies from every quarter, save such as were brought up the Po in ships. Their

magazine, which was near Placentia, was elaborately fortified and strongly garrisoned. This place Hannibal hoped to capture by assault, and set out thither with his cavalry and light infantry. [7] He had counted mainly on the concealment of his movements for their effectiveness; but his night attack failed to catch the sentries off their guard, and the defenders at once set up so loud an outcry that it was heard even in Placentia. And so at break of day the consul was on the spot with his cavalry, having ordered the legions to follow him in fighting column. [8] Meanwhile, a cavalry engagement took place, in which Hannibal was wounded and withdrew from the fight, and [9??] the enemy were so alarmed by this that the post was successfully defended. [10] After this Hannibal, when he had rested only a few days and his wound was scarce healed over, set out to attack Victumulae. This had been a Roman magazine in the Gallic war, and having then been fortified had since attracted numerous settlers from the various peoples dwelling in the neighbourhood; [11] and just then the fear of raids had caused large numbers to flock in from the countryside. [12] Such was the character of the population, which, fired by the story of the stout defence of the fortress near Placentia, flew to arms and went out to meet Hannibal. More like marching columns than embattled armies they encountered each other in the road; and since on one side there was only an undisciplined rabble, and on the other a general who relied upon his soldiers, and soldiers who confided in their general, some thirty-five thousand men were routed by a very few. [13] The next day they surrendered and received a garrison within their walls. Being commanded to give up their weapons they complied: whereupon a signal was suddenly given to the victors to sack the town, as if they had taken it by storm. [14] Nor was any cruelty omitted which historians generally deem worth noting on such an occasion; but every species of lust and outrage and inhuman insolence was visited upon the wretched inhabitants. Such were Hannibal's winter expeditions.

58. For no long time thereafter, while the cold was still unbearable, he allowed his men to rest, and on the first doubtful [2??] signs of spring broke up his winter quarters and marched towards Etruria, with the object of drawing that nation also to his standards, either by force or with their own consent, as he had done with the Gauls and

the Ligurians. [3] In attempting to cross the Apennines he was assailed by a storm so terrible as almost to surpass the horrors of the Alps. With the wind and rain blowing full in their faces, at first — because they must either have dropped their arms or else, if they struggled against it, be caught by the hurricane and hurled to the ground — they [4] halted; then, when it actually stopped their breath and would not allow them to respire, they turned their backs on the gale and for a time huddled together on the ground. [5] And now the heavens resounded with a frightful tumult, and between the terrific crashes the lightning flashed. [6] Deafened and blinded, they were all stunned with fear. At length the downpour ceased, but the wind only blew the more furiously, and there seemed to be nothing to do but to pitch camp on the very spot where they had been caught. [7] This, however, was but a fresh beginning of their troubles, for they could neither spread nor set up a tent, nor, once set up, would it stay in place, for the wind rent everything to shreds and swept it away; [8] and when presently the moisture taken up by the wind had been congealed over the cold mountain ridges, it descended in such a storm of sleet that the men let go of everything and threw themselves on their faces on the ground, overwhelmed by their shelters rather than protected by them; [9] and the cold that ensued was so severe that when anyone sought to rise and lift himself from out that pitiful heap of men and beasts, for a long time he would be unable, because his sinews were so stiff and tense that he could hardly bend his joints. [10] Afterwards, when at last by exerting themselves they had recovered the power of motion and regained their courage, and had begun here and there to kindle fires, each, in his helplessness, applied to someone else for help. [11] For two days they remained on that spot as if beleaguered. Many men and many horses perished, and seven of the elephants that had survived the battle on the Trebia.

59. Descending from the Apennines, Hannibal turned back once more towards Placentia, and after marching about ten miles went into camp. The next day he advanced against the enemy with twelve thousand foot and five thousand horse. [2] Nor did the consul Sempronius, who had now returned from Rome, decline the combat. That day there were only three miles between the two encampments. On the following day they fought, with great spirit and with shifting

fortunes. [3] At the first encounter the Romans had so far the best of it that not only were they victorious in the battle, but they pursued the beaten enemy to his camp, and were soon attacking the camp itself. [4] Hannibal stationed a few defenders on the rampart and at the gates and received the rest in a crowded throng within the enclosure, where he bade them watch intently for the signal to sally forth. [5] It was now about the ninth hour of the day, when the Roman general, who had worn out his men to no avail and saw no prospect of capturing the camp, bade sound the recall. [6] When Hannibal heard this and perceived that the fighting had grown lax and that the enemy had retired from his rampart, he suddenly sent his cavalry against them from the right and left and rushed out himself with the strength of his infantry from the centre of the camp. [7] Seldom has there been a fiercer battle or one more notable for the losses on both sides than this would have been, had the light permitted it to be prolonged; but darkness put an end to a conflict which had been begun with the greatest ardour. [8] The fury of the combatants was consequently greater than the carnage, and as the battle was practically a drawn one, so were the losses equal when the opposing forces separated. [9] On neither side had more than six hundred of the infantry fallen or half as many of the cavalry; but the loss of the Romans was out of proportion to the number slain, for it included several knights, five tribunes of the soldiers, and three praefects of the allies. [10] After this engagement Hannibal retired into Liguria and Sempronius to Luca. The Ligurians had ambushed and made prisoners of two Roman quaestors, Gaius Fulvius and Lucius Lucretius, with two tribunes of the soldiers and five members of the equestrian order — mostly sons of senators. These men they handed over to Hannibal on his coming among them, as a further earnest of their peaceful and friendly disposition towards him.

60. Whilst these things were going on in Italy, Gnaeus Cornelius Scipio, who had been sent out to Spain with a fleet and an army, had [2??] set sail from the mouth of the Rhone and passing the Pyrenees had put into Emporiae. [3] Landing his army there and beginning with the Laetani, he had brought all that coast, as far as the river Ebro, under Roman sway, partly by renewing old alliances and partly by forming new ones. [4] The reputation which he there acquired for

clemency and justice availed not only with the maritime tribes, but also with the more warlike clans inhabiting the interior and the mountainous parts; so that he was able not only to establish peaceful relations but even to conclude a military alliance with them, and several strong cohorts of auxiliaries were raised there.

[5] North of the Ebro Hanno was the Carthaginian commander, for Hannibal had left him there to defend that region. Feeling, therefore, that something ought to be done, before everything was lost to Carthage, he pitched his camp in sight of the enemy and offered battle. [6] The Roman general saw no reason to put off the engagement; he knew that he must fight with Hanno and Hasdrubal, and chose rather to deal with them separately than both at once. Neither was the battle very difficult to win. [7] Six thousand of the enemy were killed and two thousand captured, together with the garrison of the camp — for this too was attacked and taken. The general himself and several chieftains were made prisoners, and Cissis, a town which stood near the camp, was carried by assault. [8] The plunder of the town yielded objects of little worth — household belongings of barbarians and slaves of no great price — but the camp made the soldiers rich; [9] for in it they found not only the valuables of the army that they had just defeated, but also those of the army that was now serving under Hannibal in Italy, for the men had left nearly all their treasures behind when they crossed the Pyrenees, so as not to burden themselves with heavy baggage on the march.

61. Hasdrubal had not yet received definite tidings of this disaster when he crossed the Ebro with eight thousand infantry and a thousand cavalry, as though to confront the Romans at their first arrival; but on learning of the catastrophe at Cissis and the loss of the camp, he turned and marched in the direction of the sea. [2] Not far from Tarraco he came upon the soldiers of the fleet and the naval allies, who were dispersed and wandering over the country-side, with the carelessness which usually attends success; and sending out his cavalry in all directions he drove them, with much slaughter and more confusion, to their ships. [3] But not venturing to tarry longer in that region, lest Scipio should be down upon him, he retreated across the Ebro. [4] Scipio, hearing of these new enemies, did indeed march thither with all speed; but after punishing a few of the ships'

captains, he left a garrison of moderate size in Tarraco and returned with the fleet to Emporiae. [5] No sooner was he gone than Hasdrubal appeared, and inciting the Ilergetes, who had given Scipio hostages, to revolt, he used the young men of this very tribe to lay waste the fields of the allies who were faithful to the Romans. [6] But this having roused Scipio from his winter quarters, he retreated again and abandoned all the territory north of the Ebro. Scipio invaded the country of the Ilergetes — left thus in the lurch by the instigator of their revolt — with fire and sword, and driving them all into the city of Atanagrus, the capital of that nation, laid siege to them. [7] Within a few days he had exacted more hostages of them than before, and mulcting them also in a sum of money, had received them under his authority and rule. [8] Thence he marched against the Ausetani, near the Ebro, who were likewise allies of the Phoenicians; and besieging their city, laid an ambush for the Lacetani, as they were bringing assistance to their neighbours, and fell upon them in the night, not far from the city, when they would have entered it. [9] The slain amounted to about twelve thousand; almost all the others lost their arms, and scattering over the fields in all directions, fled to their homes. As for the besieged, nothing could have saved them but a winter that was most unfavourable to the besiegers. [10] The blockade lasted thirty days, during which time the snow rarely lay less than four feet deep, and so completely had it covered the mantlets and pent-houses of the Romans that this alone was sufficient to protect them from the firebrands that were several times discharged upon them by the enemy. [11] Finally, when their chief Amusicus had fled and taken refuge with Hasdrubal, they made terms and surrendered, agreeing to pay twenty talents of silver. The Romans returned to Tarraco and went into winter quarters.

62. In Rome or near it many prodigies occurred that winter, or — as often happens when men's thoughts are once turned upon religion — many were reported and too easily credited. Some of these portents were: that a free-born infant of six months had cried "Triumph!" [2] in the provision market; that in the cattle market an ox had climbed, [3??] of its own accord, to the third storey of a house and then, alarmed by the outcry of the occupants, had thrown itself down; [4] that phantom ships had been seen gleaming in the sky; that the

temple of Hope, in the provision market, had been struck by lightning; that in Lanuvium a slain victim had stirred, and a raven had flown down into Juno's temple and alighted on her very couch; that in the district of Amiternum, in many places, apparitions of men in shining raiment had appeared in the distance, but had not drawn near to anyone; [5] that in the Picentian country there had been a shower of pebbles; that at Caere the lots had shrunk; that in Gaul a wolf had snatched a sentry's sword from its scabbard and run off with it. [6] For the other prodigies the decemviri were commanded to consult the Books, but for the shower of pebbles in the Picentian country a nine days' sacrifice was proclaimed. They then set about the expiation of the other portents, and in this virtually all the citizens bore a part. [7] First of all, the city was purified, and major victims were offered up to the designated gods; [8] a gift of gold weighing forty pounds was carried to Lanuvium for Juno, and a bronze statue was dedicated to Juno, by the matrons, on the Aventine; a *lectisternium* was ordered at Caere, where the lots had shrunk; and a supplication was ordered to be made to Fortune on Mount Algidus; [9] in Rome, too, a *lectisternium* was specially appointed for Juventas, and a supplication at the temple of Hercules, and later the entire people was commanded to observe this rite at all the *pulvinaria*; [10] also five major victims were slain in honour of the Genius of the Roman People; and Gaius Atilius Serranus the praetor was ordered to make a vow, "if the commonwealth should abide for ten years in its present state." [11] The making of these vows and expiations, as prescribed by the Sibylline Books, went far to alleviate men's anxiety concerning their relations with the gods.

63. Of the consuls designate, Flaminius, to whom the legions wintering at Placentia had been assigned by lot, dispatched an edict and a letter to the consul, commanding that these troops should be ready in the camp at Ariminum on the Ides of March. [2] It was here, in his province, that he designed to enter on the consulship, for he remembered his former controversies with the senators, which he had waged when a tribune of the plebs, and later as consul — in the first place about his consulship, which they tried to annul, and again concerning his triumph. He was also hated by the senators on account of an unprecedented law which Quintus Claudius the tribune

of the plebs had introduced, despite the opposition of the senate, with the backing of Gaius Flaminius alone of all that body, providing that no senator or senator's son should own a sea-going ship of more than three hundred amphoras burden — this was reckoned to be sufficient to transport the crops from one's fields, and all money-making was held unseemly [4] in a senator. The measure, which was vehemently opposed, had been productive of great resentment on the part of the nobles against Flaminius, who had advocated its enactment; but had procured for him the favour of the plebs and afterwards [5] a second consulship. Believing, therefore, that his enemies would falsify the auspices and make use of the Latin Festival and other means of hindering a consul, to detain him in the City, he pretended that he had to take a journey, and departing, as a private citizen, slipped away secretly [6] to his province. This behaviour, when the truth came out, aroused fresh indignation in the breasts of the already hostile senators: Gaius Flaminius, they said, was waging war not only with the senate, but this time with [7] the immortal gods. He had formerly been made consul without the confirmation of the auspices, and, though both gods and men had sought to recall him from the very battle-line, he had not obeyed; now, conscious of having spurned them, he had fled the Capitol and the vows that were regularly undertaken, that he might not, on the day of entering upon his office, approach the temple of [8] Jupiter Optimus Maximus; that he might not see and consult the senate, which hated him and which he alone of all men hated; that he might not proclaim the Latin Festival and offer the accustomed sacrifice to Jupiter Latiaris on [9] the Alban Mount; that he might not, after receiving auspices, go up to the Capitol to make his vows, and thence proceed, in the general's cloak and accompanied by lictors, to his province; like some camp-follower, without insignia and without lictors, he had set out in secret and by stealth, precisely as though [10] going into exile; he thought, forsooth, that it was more in keeping with the dignity of his high command to begin his magistracy in Ariminum than in Rome — to assume the purple-bordered toga in an inn than in the presence of [11] his household gods! With one accord they voted to recall him and drag him back and compel him to discharge in person all his obligations to gods and men, before he went to his army [12] and his

province. On this commission — for commissioners they resolved to dispatch — Quintus Terentius and Marcus Antistius set forth, but moved Flaminius no more than the letter sent him by the senate had moved him in ^[13] his former consulship. A few days later he entered on his magistracy, and as he was offering up a calf, it escaped — after being struck — out of the hands of those who would have sacrificed it, and spattered many of the bystanders ^[14] with its blood. The dismay and confusion were even greater among those who stood farther B..217 off and knew not what was occasioning the panic. By most people it was regarded as an omen ^[15] of great terror. After this the army comprising the two legions received from Sempronius, the consul of the year before, and the two taken over from Gaius Atilius the praetor, began its march into Etruria through the passes of the Apennines.

SUMMARY OF BOOK XXI

IN this book is described the beginning of the Second Punic War, and how Hannibal, the general of the Phoenicians, crossed the river Ebro in violation of the treaty. Besieging Saguntum, a city belonging to allies of the Roman People, he captured it in the eighth month. These injuries led to the dispatch of ambassadors to the Carthaginians, to complain. On their refusing satisfaction, war was declared against Carthage. Hannibal, after surmounting the passes of the Pyrenees, traversed Gaul — having routed the Volcae, who had attempted to stop him — and arrived at the Alps. After a troublesome passage of these mountains, in the course of which he also defeated in several battles the Gallic mountaineers, when they blocked his way, he descended into Italy and routed the Romans in a cavalry battle near the river Ticinus. In this battle Publius Cornelius Scipio was wounded and was saved by his son, who later received the name of Africanus. Again a Roman army was routed near the river Trebia. After this Hannibal crossed the Apennines, with great distress to his soldiers, because of violent storms. In Spain Gnaeus Cornelius Scipio fought successfully against the Phoenicians and captured the enemy's general, Mago.

BOOK XXII

Translated by B. O. Foster

1. SPRING was now drawing on, and accordingly Hannibal moved out of his winter encampment. He had tried before this to cross the Apennines, but had failed because of the intolerable cold. [2] And the delay had been attended with the greatest danger and anxiety; for when the Gauls, whom the hope of spoil and pillage had excited to revolt, perceived that instead of harrying and plundering the fields of others, their own lands were the seat of war and were burdened with the winter quarters of both armies, they turned their hatred back again from the Romans upon Hannibal. [3] But though their leaders laid many a plot against him, their treachery to one another saved him, for they gave him information of these conspiracies with the same inconstancy with which they had conspired. Moreover, changing now his dress and now his headgear, he protected himself against their plots by the uncertainty which this gave rise to. [4] Still, the fear of such plots was another reason for quitting his winter quarters early.

About the same time, on the Ides of March, Gnaeus Servilius entered on his consulship at Rome. [5] On his then referring the state of the nation to the senate for discussion, their anger at Gaius Flaminius was renewed. They had chosen two consuls, they said, but had only one; for what proper authority or right of auspices did Flaminius possess? [6] Magistrates, they urged, carried with them this prerogative when they set out from home — from their own and the nation's hearth — after celebrating the Latin Festival, sacrificing on the Alban Mount and duly offering up their vows on the Capitol; [7] but a private citizen could neither take the auspices with him, nor, if he had left Rome without them, receive them new from the beginning on foreign soil.

[8] Men's fears were augmented by the prodigies reported simultaneously from many places: that in Sicily the javelins of several soldiers had taken fire, and that in Sardinia, as a horseman was making the round of the night-watch, the same thing had

happened to the truncheon which he held in his hand; that many fires had blazed up on the shore; that two shields had sweated blood; that certain soldiers had been struck with lightning; that the sun's disk had seemed to be contracted; [9] that glowing stones had fallen from the sky at Praeneste; that at Arpi bucklers had appeared in the sky and the sun had seemed to be fighting with the moon; that at Capena two moons had risen in the daytime; [10] that the waters of Caere had flowed mixed with blood, and that bloodstains had appeared in the water that trickled from the spring of Hercules itself; that at Antium, when some men were reaping, bloody ears of corn had fallen into their basket; that at Falerii the sky had seemed to be rent as it were with a great fissure; and through the opening a bright light had shone; [11] and that lots had shrunk and that one had fallen out without being touched, on which was written, "*Mavors* brandishes his spear;" [12] that in Rome, about the same time, the statue of Mars on the Appian Way and the images of the wolves had sweated; that at Capua there had been the appearance of a sky on fire and of a moon that fell in the midst of a shower of rain. [13] Afterwards less memorable prodigies were also given credence: that certain folk had found their goats to have got woolly fleeces; that a hen had changed into a cock and a cock into a hen.

[14] When the consul had laid these reports before the senate exactly as they had come to him and had introduced into the House the men who vouched for their truth, he consulted the Fathers regarding their religious import. [15] It was voted that these prodigies should be expiated, in part with greater, in part with lesser victims, and that a supplication should be held for three days at all the couches of the gods; [16] as for the rest, when the decemvirs should have inspected the Books, such rites were to be observed as they should declare, in accordance with the sacred verses, to be pleasing to the gods. [17] Being so admonished by the decemvirs, they decreed that the first gift should be made to Jupiter, a golden thunderbolt weighing fifty pounds; and that Juno and Minerva should be given offerings of silver; [18] that Juno Regina on the Aventine and Juno Sospita at Lanuvium should receive a sacrifice of greater victims, and that the matrons, each contributing as much as she could afford, should make up a sum of money and carry it as a gift to Juno Regina

on the Aventine and there celebrate a *lectisternium* ; and that even the very freed-women should contribute money, in proportion to their abilities, for an offering to Feronia. [19] These measures being taken, the decemvirs sacrificed at Ardea in the market-place with the greater victims. Finally-the month was now December — victims were slain at the temple of Saturn in Rome and a *lectisternium* was ordered-this time senators administered the rite — and [20] a public feast, and throughout the City for a day and a night “Saturnalia” was cried, and the people were bidden to keep that day as a holiday and observe it in perpetuity.

2. While the consul was occupied at Rome in appeasing the gods and levying troops, Hannibal, who had left his winter quarters, heard that Flaminius, the other consul, had already arrived at Arretium; [2] and so, though another route, longer, to be sure, but less difficult, was pointed out to him, he took the shorter, though the marshes, which the river Arno had lately flooded to an unusual extent. [3] He ordered the Spaniards and the Africans and all the flower of his veteran army, taking their own baggage with them so as not to want the necessities of life wherever they might be forced to halt, to march in the van; the Gauls to follow them and form the centre of the column; and the cavalry to fall in behind. [4] Mago and the Numidian light horse were to bring up the rear, their principal duty being to keep the Gauls in order, in case they should weary of the long and painful march — for the race is ill adapted to such hardships — and attempt to steal away or refuse to go forward.

[5] Those in front only asked that their guides lead on before. Through deep and well-nigh bottomless quagmires left by the flood, almost engulfed in the mud into which they plunged, they nevertheless followed on after their standards. [6] But the Gauls could neither keep from falling when they slipped, nor regain their footing, once they had plunged into a hole; the flesh was neither sustained by the spirit nor the spirit by hope. Some could hardly drag their tired limbs along; others, their courage yielding once for all to their weariness, dropped down and died amongst the baggage-animals, for these too were lying all about. [7] What distressed them most of all was the want of sleep, which they had now endured for four days and three nights. [8] And since everything was under water and they could

find no dry spot on which to stretch their weary bodies, they would pile their packs in the flood and lie down on these; [9] or the heaps of sumpter-animals that were everywhere strewn about along the line of march would afford a makeshift bed — for all they asked was a place that stood out above the water, where they could snatch a little sleep.

[10] Hannibal himself, whose eyes were suffering in the first place from the trying spring weather, alternating betwixt hot and cold, rode upon the sole surviving elephant, that he might be higher above the water. [11] But lack of sleep, damp nights, and the air of the marshes affected his head, and since he had neither place nor time for employing remedies, he lost the sight of one of his eyes.

3. Many men and beasts had perished miserably, when at last he got out from the marshes, and pitching his camp on the first dry ground available, ascertained from scouts whom he had sent on ahead that the Roman army lay around the walls of Arretium. [2] He then went to work with all possible diligence to learn the plans and temper of the consul, the lie of the land and the roads, his resources for provisioning the army — everything, in short, which it was important to find out.

[3] The district was one of the most fertile in Italy, for the Etruscan plains between Faesulae and Arretium abound in corn and flocks and all sorts of provisions. The consul had been proud and headstrong since his former consulship, and lacked all proper reverence, not only for the laws and for the senate's majesty, but even for the gods. [4] This native rashness had been nourished by the success which Fortune had bestowed on him in political and military enterprises. It was therefore sufficiently apparent that, seeking no counsel, either divine or human, he would manage everything with recklessness and headlong haste; but to make him incline the more towards his characteristic faults, the Phoenician planned to provoke and exasperate him. [5] Leaving the enemy therefore on his left, and looking out for an [6??] opportunity to ambush him, he proceeded to lay waste the heart of Etruria and exhibited to the consul from afar all the havoc that fire and sword could possibly effect.

[7] Flaminius, even had his enemy sat still, was not the man to have sat still himself; but now, when he saw the farms of the allies being harried and pillaged almost under his own eyes, he felt it as a

personal disgrace that the Phoenician should be roaming through the midst of Italy, and marching, with no one to dispute his passage, to assault the very walls of Rome. [8] In the council of war the rest were all for safe in preference to showy measures: he should wait, they said, for his colleague to come up, in order that they might unite their forces and conduct the war with a common policy and resolution; [9] meantime, he should employ his cavalry and skirmishers to check the enemy's widespread, unrestricted pillaging. [10] Enraged by this advice, Flaminius flung out of the council, and having given the signal at once for marching and for fighting, exclaimed, "Ay, truly! Let us sit still under the walls of Arretium, for here are our native city and our household gods; let Hannibal slip through our fingers and ravage Italy, and, laying waste and burning everything, march clear to Rome; and let us not move from this spot, till the Fathers, as once they summoned Camillus from Veii, shall summon Gaius Flaminius from Arretium."

[11] Uttering these scornful words he bade pluck up the standards quickly, and vaulted upon his horse, when suddenly the charger stumbled, and unseating the consul threw him over his head. The dismay which this occasioned in all who were present, [12??] as an evil omen for beginning the campaign, was intensified on its being reported that, although the standard-bearer was exerting all his might, the standard could not be pulled up. [13] Rounding upon the messenger the consul cried, "Do you bring me a dispatch too from the senate, forbidding me to fight? Go, tell them to *dig* the standard out, if their hands are too numb with fear to *pull* it up!"

[14] The column then began to advance, though the higher officers, besides disapproving of the consul's plan, were terrified by the double prodigy. The soldiers, most of them, rejoiced in the temerity of their commander: their hopes ran high: the grounds for hoping they did not scrutinize.

4. Hannibal laid waste the land between the city of Cortona and Lake Trasumennus with every circumstance of cruelty known to war, in order the more to whet his enemy's anger and prompt him to avenge the sufferings of his allies. [2] And now he had reached a spot designed by nature for an ambuscade, where Trasumennus approaches closest to the mountains of Cortona. Between them is

nothing but a very narrow track, as though room had been left expressly for this purpose; the ground then widens into a little plain; beyond this the hills rise steeply. [3] At this point he laid out a camp in the open, for himself and his African and Spanish troops only; the Baliares and the rest of his light-armed forces he led round behind the mountains; the cavalry he stationed near the entrance to the defile, where some hillocks formed a convenient screen for them, so that when the Romans should have entered the pass, they might block the road, and trap the entire army between the lake and the mountains.

Flaminius had reached the lake at sunset; the next morning, without reconnoitring, and scarcely waiting for broad daylight, he passed through the defile. [4] As the column began to spread out on the more open ground, they caught sight of those enemies only who were right in front of them; the ambush in their rear and that above them they failed to perceive. [5] The Phoenician had now gained his object, the Romans were hemmed in between the mountains and the lake and their escape cut off by his own troops, when he made the signal for all his forces to attack at once. [6] As they charged down, each at the nearest point, their onset was all the more sudden and unforeseen inasmuch as the mist from the lake lay less thickly on the heights than on the plain, and the attacking columns had been clearly visible to one another from the various hills and had therefore delivered their charge at more nearly the same instant. [7] From the shouting that arose on every side the Romans learned, before they could clearly see, that they were surrounded; and they were already engaged on their front and flank before they could properly form up or get out their arms and draw their swords.

5. Amidst the general consternation the consul himself displayed — if allowance be made for the terrifying circumstances — considerable coolness. He brought such order as time and place permitted out of the confusion in the ranks, where the men were all turning different ways to face the various shouts; and wherever he could go and make himself heard, he tried to encourage them and bade them stand and fight. [2] Their position, he said, was one from which vows and supplications to the gods could not extricate them, but only their own brave exertions: it was the sword that opened a

way through embattled enemies, and the less men feared, the less, in general, was their danger. [3] But the din and confusion were so great that neither advice nor orders could be heard, and so far were the men from knowing their proper standards companies and places, that they had hardly enough spirit to arm and prepare themselves to fight, and some were borne down while more encumbered than protected by their armour. [4] Indeed the fog was so thick that ears were of more use than eyes, and the groans of the wounded, the sound of blows on body or armour and the mingled shouts and screams of assailants and assailed made them turn and gaze, now this way and now that. [5] Some, as they sought to escape, were swept into a crowd of combatants and held there; others, trying to get back into the fight, were turned aside by a throng of fugitives. [6] When attempts to break through had resulted everywhere in failure and they found themselves shut in on the flanks by the mountains and the lake, and in front and rear by the enemy; when it became apparent that their only hope of safety lay in their right arms and their swords; then every man became his own commander and urged himself to action, and the battle began all over again. [7] It was no ordered battle, with the troops marshalled in triple line, nor did the vanguard fight before the standards and the rest of the army behind them, neither did each soldier keep to his proper legion cohort and manipule: [8] it was chance that grouped them, and every man's own valour assigned him his post in van or rear; and such was the frenzy of their eagerness and so absorbed were they in fighting, that an earthquake, violent enough to overthrow large portions of many of the towns of Italy, turn swift streams from their courses, carry the sea up into rivers, and bring down mountains with great landslides, was not even felt by any of the combatants.

6. The conflict lasted for about three hours, and was bitterly contested at every point; but nowhere did it rage so fiercely as about the consul. [2] He was attended by the bravest of his soldiers and stoutly lent a hand himself, wherever he saw the Romans hard pressed and in dire straits. [3] His arms made him conspicuous, and the enemy attacked and his own people defended him with the greatest fury, until an Insubrian horseman, named Ducarius, who recognized the consul also by his face, cried out to his countrymen,

“Behold the man who massacred our legions and laid waste our fields and our city! Now will I offer him up as a sacrifice to the shades of our fellow citizens so foully slain!” [4] Then clapping spurs to his horse, he dashed through the very thick of his enemies, and first cutting down the armour-bearer, who had thrown himself in the way of his onset, transfixing the consul with his spear, but could not despoil him, for the veterans interposed their shields and kept him off.

[5] A great part of the Romans now began to run; neither lake nor mountains could any longer check the panic; defiles and precipices were all alike to them, as they rushed blindly to escape, and arms and men came down pell-mell together. [6] Many, having no room to flee, waded out into the shallow water at the margin of the lake, and kept on till only their heads and shoulders were above the surface. [7] Some were driven by their unreasoning panic even to attempt escape by swimming; but this was an endless, desperate undertaking, and either their hearts failed them and they sank in the deep water, or else, exhausted to no purpose, they struggled back with difficulty to the shoals, and were cut down on every hand by the horsemen, who rode into the water after them.

[8] Some six thousand of those in the van made a valiant thrust through the enemy that barred their way, and got out of the defile without knowing anything of what was going on behind them. Taking up their stand on some rising ground, whence they could only hear the shouting and the clash of arms, they could neither know nor make out, for the murk, which way the victory was going. [9] It was not until the battle was decided, that the mist dissolved with the growing heat of the sun and revealed the day, when the clear light on hill and plain showed that all was lost and the Roman army shamefully discomfited. [10] And so, lest they should be seen afar and the enemy’s cavalry be sent against them, they hurriedly pulled up their standards and marched off as fast as they could go. [11] On the following day, when besides their other misfortunes they were threatened also with the extremity of hunger, Maharbal — who with all the cavalry had overtaken them in the night — pledged his word that if they delivered up their arms, he would let them go, with a single garment each, and they surrendered. [12] This pledge Hannibal

observed with true Punic reverence and threw them all into chains.

7. Such was the famous battle of Trasumennus, a disaster memorable as few others have been in Roman history. [2] Fifteen thousand Romans were killed on the field; ten thousand, scattered in flight over all Etruria, made their way by different roads to the City. [3] Two thousand five hundred of the enemy fell in the battle and many perished subsequently of their wounds. Some writers multiply the losses on both sides: I myself, besides that I would not idly exaggerate anything — a [4] vice to which historians are in general all too prone — have taken Fabius, who lived at the time of this war, as my authority, in preference to any other. [5] Hannibal dismissed scot-free the prisoners of the Latin name and gave the Romans into captivity. Having issued orders that the bodies of his own dead should be sorted out from the heaps of their enemies and buried, he would have given the body of Flaminius burial also, but though he-caused it to be searched for with great diligence, he could not find it.

[6] At Rome the first tidings of this defeat brought the citizens into the Forum in a frightened and tumultuous throng, while the matrons wandered about the streets and demanded of all they met what sudden disaster had been reported and how it was going with the army. [7] And when the crowd, like some vast public assembly, turned to the Comitium and the senate-house and called for the magistrates, at last, as the sun was almost going down, Marcus Pomponius, the praetor, said, “A great battle has been fought, and we were beaten.” [8] And although they learned nothing more definite from him, still they picked up a rumour here and a rumour there, and returning to their homes brought word that the consul and a great part of his soldiers had been slain: [9] that only a few survived, either dispersed as fugitives throughout Etruria or taken prisoners by the enemy.

[10] The vicissitudes of the defeated army were no more various than the apprehensions which preyed upon the minds of those whose relatives had served under Gaius Flaminius, the consul. They were ignorant of how those dear to each of them were faring, nor did anyone really know what to hope or fear. [11] On the next and on several succeeding days the City gates were thronged with a crowd in which the women almost outnumbered the men, waiting for some

kinsman, or for news of him. Surrounding anybody who came along, they plied him with questions, nor could they tear themselves away — especially from those they were acquainted with — until they had enquired into every detail. [12] Very different were the expressions you would have noted in their countenances, according as the tidings they received were glad or sorrowful, when they moved away from their informants and returned to their homes, surrounded by friends, congratulating or consoling them. [13] The women especially exhibited extremes of joy and grief; one, on suddenly meeting her son safe and sound at the very gate, expired, they say, in his embrace; another, whose son had been falsely reported dead, sat sorrowing at home, and no sooner beheld him entering the house, than she died of excessive joy. [14] For some days the praetors kept the senate in session in the Curia, from sunrise until sunset, deliberating with what possible commander or what forces they could withstand the victorious Phoenicians.

8. They had not yet fully determined what to do, when, lo! another disaster was reported, for which they were quite unprepared. Four thousand horse under the propraeor Gaius Centenius had been sent by the Consul Servilius to join his colleague; but on hearing of the battle at Trasumennus they had turned aside into Umbria, and had there fallen into the hands of Hannibal. [2] The news of this affair affected people variously: some, whose thoughts were taken up with a greater sorrow, regarded this fresh loss of the cavalry as trivial in comparison with their former losses; [3] others refused to judge of the misfortune as an isolated fact, but held that, just as when a man was sick, any disorder, however slight, was felt more than a worse one would be [4??] by a healthy man, so now, when the state was sick and suffering, any untoward occurrence should be gauged not by its intrinsic importance but by the enfeebled condition of the commonwealth, which could endure no aggravation. [5] And so the citizens had recourse to a remedy that had now for a long time neither been employed nor needed — the creation of a dictator. And because the consul, who alone was supposed to possess the power to nominate one, was absent, and because it was no easy matter, when Italy was beset with Punic arms, to get a courier or a letter through to him, they did what had never been done until that day, and created a

dictator by popular election. [6] Their choice fell on Quintus Fabius Maximus, and Marcus Minucius Rufus they made master of the horse. [7] To them the senate entrusted the task of strengthening the walls and towers of the City, of disposing its defences as to them seemed good, and of breaking down the bridges over the rivers: they would have to fight for their City and their homes, since they had not been able to save Italy.

9. Hannibal marched straight on through Umbria as far as Spoletium. [2] But when, after systematically ravaging the country, he attempted to storm the town, he was repulsed with heavy losses; and conjecturing from the strength of a single colony which he had unsuccessfully attacked how vast an undertaking the City of Rome would be, he turned aside into the Picentine territory, a land [3??] not only abounding in all kinds of produce, but filled with livestock, which his greedy and impoverished men gathered in from far and wide. [4] He remained in camp there for some days, while his soldiers recovered from the marches they had made in wintry weather and through swamps, and from the battle, which, however successful its outcome, had been no light or easy adventure. [5] After allowing sufficient rest to his soldiers, who delighted more in booty and rapine than in quiet and repose, he resumed his march and laid waste the Praetutian and Hadrian fields, and after these the lands of the Marsi, Marrucini and Paeligni, and the nearest part of Apulia, in the vicinity of Arpi and Luceria.

[6] Gnaeus Servilius, the consul, had engaged in skirmishes with the Gauls and had taken one insignificant town by assault, when he learned of the destruction of his colleague and the army, and being now alarmed for the safety of the capital, lest he should be absent in the very crisis of its peril, set out for Rome.

[7] Quintus Fabius Maximus, dictator now for the second time, convened the senate on the day he entered upon his office. Taking up first the question of religion, he convinced the Fathers that the consul Flaminius had erred more through his neglect of the ceremonies and the auspices than through his recklessness and ignorance; [8] and asserting that they ought to enquire of the gods themselves how the displeasure of the gods might be appeased, prevailed with them to do what is rarely done except when dreadful prodigies have been

announced, and order the decemvirs to consult the Sibylline books. [9] When the decemvirs had inspected the Books of Fate, they reported to the Fathers that the vow which had been made to Mars on account of this war had not been duly performed, and must be performed afresh and on an ampler scale; [10] that great games must be vowed to Jupiter, and temples to Venus Erycina and to Mens ; and finally that a supplication and *lectisternium* must be celebrated in honour of the gods, and a Sacred Spring be vowed, if they proved victorious and the state remained as it had been before the outbreak of hostilities. [11] The senate, seeing that Fabius would be occupied with the conduct of the war, commanded Marcus Aemilius the praetor, as the college of pontifices had recommended, to see that all these measures were promptly put into effect.

10. When the senate had passed these resolutions, the praetor consulted the college, and Lucius Cornelius Lentulus, the Pontifex Maximus, gave his opinion that first of all a popular vote must be taken about the Sacred Spring; for it could not be vowed without the authorization of the people. [2] The question was put to them in this form: “Do you will and so order that these things be done in the manner following? If the Republic of the Roman People, the Quirites, shall be preserved for the next five years — as I would wish it preserved — in [3] these wars, to wit, the war of the Roman People with the People of Carthage and the wars with the Gauls on this side of the Alps, let the Roman People, the Quirites, offer up in indefeasible sacrifice to Jupiter what the spring shall have produced of swine, sheep, goats and cattle — which shall not have been consecrated to some other deity — beginning with the day which the senate and the People shall have designated. [4] Let him who shall make a sacrifice do so at such time and by such rite as shall seem good to him; in what manner soever he does it, let it be accounted duly done. [5] If the animal which he ought to sacrifice dies, let it be deemed unconsecrated and let no guilt attach to him; if any shall hurt it or slay it unawares, let it be no sin; if any shall steal it, let no guilt attach to the People nor to him from whom it shall have been stolen; [6] if he shall sacrifice unwittingly on a black day, let the sacrifice be deemed to have been duly made; by night or by day, if slave or freeman perform the sacrifice, let it be deemed to have been duly

made; if sacrifice shall be performed before the senate and the People shall have ordered it to be performed, let the People be absolved therefrom and free [7] of obligation.”

[8] For the same cause great games were vowed, to cost three hundred and thirty-three thousand, three hundred and thirty-three and a third bronze asses, and, besides, a sacrifice to Jupiter of three hundred oxen, and of white oxen and the other customary victims to many other gods. When the vows had been duly pronounced, a supplication was decreed, and was performed not only by the urban population, with their wives and children, but by such country folk besides, as, having some fortune of their own, were beginning to feel concern for [9] the Commonwealth. A *lectisternium* was then celebrated during three days under the supervision of the decemvirs who had charge of sacrifices. Six couches were displayed: one for Jupiter and Juno, a second for Neptune and Minerva, a third for Mars and Venus, a fourth for Apollo and Diana, a fifth for Vulcan and Vesta, a sixth for Mercury [10] and Ceres. The temples were then vowed — that to Venus Erycina by Quintus Fabius Maximus the dictator, because the Books of Fate had given out that he whose authority in the state was paramount should make the vow; and the temple to Mens by the praetor Titus Otacilius.

11. Religious duties being thus acquitted, the dictator turned to affairs of war and state, and called upon the senate to decide with what and how many legions the victorious enemy should be faced. [2] It was voted that he should take over the army of Gnaeus Servilius, the consul; that he should enroll, besides, from the citizens and the allies, as many horsemen and foot-soldiers as seemed good to him; and with regard to all other questions should act as he deemed conducive to the welfare of the state. [3] Fabius announced that he should add two legions to the army that Servilius had commanded. These legions he enlisted, through his master of the horse, and commanded them to assemble at Tibur on a given day. [4] He also issued an edict that those who dwelt in unfortified towns and hamlets should remove to places of safety; and that all the inhabitants of that district where Hannibal was likely to be marching should abandon their farms, first burning the buildings and destroying the crops, that there might be no supplies for him of any kind. [5] He himself went

out by the Flaminian way to meet the consul and his army, and when, close to the Tiber near Oriculum, he came in sight of the column and saw the consul riding towards him at the head of his cavalry, he dispatched an orderly to bid the consul appear before the dictator without lictors. [6] The consul obeyed, and their meeting vividly impressed the greatness of the dictatorship on citizens and allies, who had now, with the lapse of years, almost forgotten that supreme authority. Just then a dispatch was delivered from the City, announcing that ships of burden with supplies from Ostia for the army in Spain had been captured by the Punic fleet off the port of Cosa. [7] Accordingly, the consul was ordered to set out at once for Ostia and, manning such ships as were at Rome or Ostia with soldiers and naval allies, to pursue the enemy's fleet and protect the coasts of Italy. [8] A vast number of men had been enrolled in Rome; even freedmen who had children and were of military age had taken the oath. [9] Of this urban levy those who were less than thirty-five years old were sent on board the ships; the others were left to garrison the City.

12. The dictator, after taking over the consul's army from Fulvius Flaccus, his lieutenant, marched through the Sabine country to Tibur, where he had given the new levies notice to assemble on a certain day. [2] From Tibur he marched to Praeneste, and striking across the country came out into the Latin Way, and then, reconnoitring the roads with the utmost circumspection, advanced in the direction of the enemy, though resolved nowhere to commit himself to fortune, except in so far as necessity might compel him.

[3] On the day when Fabius first encamped in sight of the enemy, not far from Arpi, the Phoenician promptly led out his forces into line and offered battle. [4] But when he perceived that all was quiet on the other side, and could hear no sounds of commotion in their camp, he went back to his quarters, exclaiming scornfully that the boasted martial spirit of the Romans was broken at last, that the war was fought and won, that they had openly bade valour and renown farewell; [5] but in the silence of his heart he was troubled by the thought that he would have a general to deal with by no means like Flaminius or Sempronius, since the Romans, schooled by their misfortunes, had now at last sought out a leader to match Hannibal.

[6] The prudence of the dictator was indeed an immediate source of worry to him, but, possessing as yet no experience of his firmness, he began to provoke and try his temper by frequent shifting of his camp and by pillaging the lands of the allies before his very eyes. [7] Now he would march off rapidly and disappear; and now would lie in wait at some turn of the road, in hopes to cut the Romans off when they had descended on to level ground.

[8] Fabius kept leading his troops along the heights, at a moderate distance from the enemy, so as neither to lose touch nor yet come to blows with him. He would keep his men in camp, except for such necessary duties as obliged their leaving it; when they went out for wood and fodder, they were neither few in number nor dispersed; [9] a corps of cavalry and skirmishers drawn up and ready for sudden onsets made everything safe for his own men and dangerous for the scattered pillagers of the enemy. [10] He refused to stake all on a general engagement, and yet by means of little skirmishes, undertaken from a safe position and with a place of refuge close at hand, he at length accustomed his soldiers, disheartened by their former defeats, to be less diffident of their own courage and good fortune.

[11] But even Hannibal was not more vexed by these prudent measures than was the master of the horse, who was only withheld from plunging the nation into ruin by his subordinate authority. Violent and hasty in his opinions and of unbridled tongue, he spoke of Fabius — at first in the hearing of a few, but after a time quite openly to everybody — not [12] as deliberate but as slothful, not as cautious but as timid, inventing faults that neighboured on his virtues; and exalted himself by disparaging his superior — an infamous practice, which has grown in favour from the all too great prosperity of many who have followed it.

13. Hannibal, leaving the Hirpini, crossed over into Samnium, laid waste the lands of Beneventum, and captured the city of Telesia. He even deliberately sought to vex the Roman general, for he hoped that by so often insulting and distressing his allies he might anger him and induce him to come down and fight on equal terms. [2] Amongst the numerous allies of Italian stock who had been made prisoners by Hannibal at Trasumennus and afterwards released were three

Campanian knights, whom he had even then enticed with gifts and promises to procure for him the goodwill of their countrymen. [3] These men now informed him that if he would bring his army into Campania the opportunity would be afforded him of taking Capua. It was a weighty undertaking for such men to enter into, and Hannibal hesitated, now trusting and again distrusting them, but in the end they persuaded him to march from Samnium into Campania. [4] He warned them again and again to confirm their words with deeds, and dismissed them with orders to come back to him with more people, including some of their leading men. [5] He then ordered his guide to conduct him to the territory of Casinum, for he had been told by those who knew the country that if he occupied that pass he could keep the Romans from marching to the aid of their allies. [6] But the difficulty experienced by Carthaginians in pronouncing Latin names caused the guide to understand *Casilinum* instead of *Casinum*; and quitting the proper road he led him down through the districts of Allifae, Caiatia and Cales into the Plain of Stella. [7] There Hannibal, looking round on the mountains and rivers that enclosed the plain, called up the guide and asked him where in the world he was. [8] And only when the guide had answered that he should lodge that night in Casilinum, did he perceive at last how the man had blundered, and that Casinum lay far off in another direction. [9] Whereupon he scourged the guide, and, to terrify the others, crucified him, and going into camp behind entrenchments, dispatched Maharbal with the cavalry to ravage the Falernian countryside. The devastation extended even to the Baths of Sinuessa. [10] The Numidians wrought great havoc and spread dismay and terror more widely still; [11] yet this terror, even though all the country blazed with war, did not cause the allies to waver in their loyalty, assuredly because the rule under which they were governed was just and temperate, nor did they refuse — and that is the only guarantee of loyalty — to yield obedience to their betters.

14. But when Hannibal had encamped by the river Volturnus, and the fairest district in all Italy was in flames, and the smoke went curling up from burning farm-houses, while Fabius continued to march along the ridges of Mount Massicus, there was almost a new outburst of sedition. [2] For the disaffected had kept quiet for several

days, believing that the army, which had been moving more rapidly than usual, was hastening to preserve Campania from devastation. [3] But when they reached the farthest extremity of the range, and saw the enemy down below them setting fire to the farms of the Falernian district and the colony of Sinuessa, and yet no word was uttered about fighting, Minucius cried, “Are we come here as to a spectacle, that we may gratify our eyes with the slaughter of our friends and the burning of their homes? [4] If nothing else can awaken us to a sense of shame, do we feel none when we behold these fellow citizens of ours whom our fathers sent as colonists to Sinuessa to secure this frontier from the Samnite enemy? [5] It is not our Samnite neighbours who are wasting it now, but Phoenician invaders, who have been suffered to come all this way, from the farthest, limits of the world, by our delays and slothfulness. So greatly, alas! [6] do we degenerate from our fathers that we behold overrun with enemies and in the possession of Numidians and Moors that coast past which *they* could not see the Punic navies cruising without feeling that their empire was disgraced. [7] When, a little while ago, Saguntum was besieged, we appealed indignantly, not to men only, but to treaties and to the gods; but now that Hannibal is scaling the walls of a Roman colony, we look on with indifference. [8] The smoke from burning farm-houses and fields comes into our eyes and mouths; our ears are ringing with the lamentations of our allies, who invoke our aid more often than that of Heaven; and here we are, leading our army — like a flock of sheep — through summer pastures and by devious mountain trails, and hiding ourselves in clouds and forests. [9] If Marcus Furius had tried to recover Rome from the Gauls by wandering thus over mountain heights and passes, even as this new Camillus, this wonderful dictator to whom we have turned in our distress, is planning to recover Italy from Hannibal, the Gauls would be in Rome to-day; and I fear that if we linger thus, our fathers will so often have preserved it only for Hannibal and the Phoenicians. [10] But that brave man and true Roman, on the day that the news was brought to Veii of his being appointed dictator, by command of the people in pursuance of a senatorial resolution — though [11] Janiculum was high enough for him to have sat there and enjoyed a prospect of the enemy — came down into the plain, and on that very

day, in the midst of the City — where now the Gallic Pyres are — and again on the following day, this side of Gabii, cut the legions of the Gauls to [12] pieces. What! When, many years later, at the Caudine Forks, our Samnite foe had sent us under the yoke, was it, pray, by scouring the heights of Samnium, or by pressing Luceria hard and laying siege to it, and by challenging the victorious enemy, that Lucius Papirius Cursor struck off the yoke from Roman necks and imposed it on the [13] haughty Samnite? What else was it than swiftness that gave the victory, not long since, to Gaius Lutatius, who bore down upon the enemy's fleet, laden deep with stores and hampered with its own munitions and equipment, on the day after he [14] sighted it? It is folly to think that a war can be won by sitting still or making vows; you must arm and go down into the field, and do battle, man to man! Rome's greatness has come from daring and from doing; not from these sluggish policies that timid folk [15] term cautious." When Minucius held forth in this fashion, like a general encouraging his troops, a crowd of tribunes and Roman knights would gather round him, and his fiery words even reached the ears of the common soldiers; and if the election of their general had rested with the men, they showed unmistakably that Minucius would have been preferred to Fabius.

15. But Fabius, watching his own men no less carefully than the enemy, proved first that it was not in *them* to overcome his resolution. Though he knew full well that his policy of waiting was in bad repute, not only in his camp but by this time in Rome as well, he held doggedly to the same line of conduct and dragged out the remainder of the summer; [2] so that Hannibal, disappointed in his hopes of the battle which he had made every effort to bring on, was now looking round for a place to winter in; for the country where he was, though a land of plenty for the time being, could not support him permanently, being taken up with orchards and vineyards, and planted everywhere with agreeable rather than necessary fruits. [3] Fabius was informed of this by his scouts. Feeling certain that Hannibal would leave the Falernian district, by the same passes through which he had entered it, he posted a fair-sized garrison on Mount Callicula and another in Casilinum. [4] (The river Volturnus runs through this town, which marks the boundary between the

Falernian district and Campania). The main army he led back by the same ridges, after sending on Lucius Hostilius Mancinus with four hundred cavalry of the allies to reconnoitre. [5] Mancinus was one of the crowd of young officers who often listened to the blustering speeches of the master of the horse. He advanced at first as if making a reconnaissance, with the object of observing the enemy from a safe distance. [6] But when he saw the Numidians roaming about through the villages, and had even seized the opportunity to cut off a few of them, his heart was suddenly filled with the lust of combat, and he forgot the instructions [7??] of the dictator, who had bade him proceed as far as was compatible with safety, and retire before the enemy should see him. [8] The Numidians, first one troop and then another, by charging and then retreating, drew him on almost to their very camp and wore out his horses and his men. Then Carthalo, the commander of all the enemy's cavalry, swooped down upon the Romans at a gallop, and routing them before he had got within a javelin-throw, pursued them as they fled for nearly five miles at one stretch. [9] As soon as Mancinus perceived that the enemy would not give over the pursuit, and that he could not hope [10??] to get away, he rallied his men and led them back into the fight, though overmatched in every particular. [11] Accordingly, he himself and the best of his troopers were surrounded and slain, and the rest in a scattered flight made their way first to Cales, and thence, by well-nigh impassable trails, to the dictator.

It happened that on that day Minucius had joined Fabius. He had been sent to secure the pass which contracts above Tarracina into a narrow gorge close to the sea, to prevent the Phoenician from taking the Appian Way from Sinuessa into Roman territory. [12] Combining their forces, the dictator and the master of the horse camped on the road where Hannibal was going to march.

16. The enemy was two miles away. Next day the Phoenicians were on the march, filling the road which lay between the two camps. [2] The Romans had formed up just under their rampart and had clearly the advantage of position. None the less did Hannibal advance with his light infantry and cavalry, to provoke them into fighting. At one point after another the Phoenicians attacked, dashing up and then retreating. The Roman line stood firm. [3] The battle was

long drawn out and was more to the liking of the dictator than of Hannibal. Two hundred fell on the Roman side, and eight hundred of the enemy.

[4] Hannibal now seemed to be hemmed in, the road to Casilinum being blocked. The Romans had Capua and Samnium at their backs and all their wealthy allies to furnish them with provisions; but the Phoenicians faced the prospect of passing the winter between the cliffs of Formiae and the sands and marshes of Liternum, and amid tangled forests. [5] Hannibal did not fail to perceive that his own strategy was being turned against him. Accordingly, since he could not get out by way of Casilinum, but must take to the mountains and cross the ridge of Callicula, fearing lest the Romans should assail his troops as they were marching through the gorges, he [6??] resolved to approach the mountains under cover of darkness in the forepart of the night, after first contriving a terrifying exhibition, to cheat the enemy's eyes. [7] Preparations for the ruse were made as follows. Pine-knots, collected from all the country round, and bundles of twigs and dry branches were tied to the horns of cattle, of which — counting those that were broken in and those that were not — they possessed, among their other rustic spoils, a considerable number. [8] Of these, they got together about two thousand head, and Hasdrubal was commissioned to drive this herd in the night, with their horns ablaze, on to the mountains, and particularly — if it should be feasible — above the pass held by the enemy.

17. In the dusk of evening the Carthaginians broke camp in silence, driving on the cattle a little way before the standards. [2] When they reached the foothills and the narrow roads, the signal was immediately given to set fire to the horns and drive the herd up the mountain. And their very-fear, as the flames at once shot up from their heads, and the heat, that soon penetrated to the quick at the base of their horns, made the cattle as wild as though they had gone crazy. [3] As they suddenly rushed this way and that, all the bushes far and near seemed to be burning, as if the woods and mountains had been set on fire; and when they shook their heads, they only fanned the blaze and made it: look as if men were running about in all directions. [4] When the troops who had been posted to hold the pass caught sight of certain-fires on the mountain-tops above them, they

thought that they were surrounded and forsook their station. Where the fewest flames were flashing — for this seemed the safest way — they made for the summits of the ridges, but nevertheless fell in with some of the cattle which had strayed from their herds. [5] And at first, when they saw them afar, breathing fire, as they supposed, they were dazed by the wonder of it, and stood stock still; [6] but afterwards, perceiving it to be a trick devised by men, they concluded that it was an ambush and took to their heels in greater confusion than before. They also ran into some light-armed soldiers of the enemy; the darkness, however, by equalizing their fears, kept both sides there till daylight without either beginning the battle. [7] In the meanwhile Hannibal had conveyed his entire army through the pass — surprising some of his enemies in the pass itself — and had pitched his camp in the district of Allifae.

18. Fabius heard the din, but believing it to be an ambush, and disliking, in any case, to fight at night, kept his men within their works. At break of day there was a battle under the ridge. [2] The Romans had cut off the light-armed troops of the enemy from the others, and possessing some superiority in numbers, would easily have overpowered them, had it not been for the arrival of a cohort of Spaniards, which Hannibal had sent back expressly to forestall them. [3] These troops were more used to mountains, and better suited to skirmishing amid rocks and crags, and being more agile and more lightly armed, they had no difficulty — thanks to the nature of the fighting — in getting the better of an enemy whose heavy armour and stationary tactics were adapted to level ground. [4] Thus the struggle had been far from equal, when they parted and made off for their respective camps. [5] Hardly any of the Spaniards had been hurt, but the Romans had lost a considerable number of their men.

Fabius, too, broke camp, and marching through the pass established himself in a lofty and naturally strong position above Allifae. [6] Hannibal now feigned a movement upon Rome by way of Samnium, and marched back right to the land of the Paeligni, pillaging as he went. Fabius led his troops along the ridges between the enemy's army and the City, neither shunning his foe nor coming to grips with him. [7] From the Paelignian country the Phoenician turned, and marched back towards Apulia till he came to Gereonium,

a town which its own inhabitants had abandoned in their alarm at the collapse of a part of its walls. [8] The dictator encamped in the country about Larinum, and being summoned thence to Rome on religious business, commanded, counselled, and all but entreated the master of the horse to put more trust in prudence than in fortune, and rather to imitate his strategy than that of Sempronius and Flaminius. [9] He was not to suppose, said Fabius, that nothing had been accomplished, because almost the whole summer had been tediously spent in baffling the enemy; physicians too sometimes found rest more efficacious than motion and activity; [10] it was no small matter to have ceased to be defeated by an enemy who had so often been victorious, and to have breathed again after a series of disasters. When he had thus fore-warned the master of the horse — but all in vain — he set out for Rome.

19. At the beginning of the summer in which these operations were carried on, war was also begun in Spain by land and sea. [2] To the number of ships, all rigged and fitted out, which Hasdrubal had taken over from his brother he added ten, and entrusted the fleet of forty sail to Himilco; [3] and then, setting out from Carthage, he made his ships keep near the land and led his army along the shore, prepared to do battle with whatever part of their forces the Romans might bring against him. [4] When Gnaeus Scipio learned that the enemy had left his winter quarters, he was minded at first to do the same; but on second thoughts concluded not to risk a battle on land, in view of the enormous number of auxiliaries with which rumour credited the Carthaginian, and embarking some of his best troops, went out to meet the enemy with a fleet of five and thirty ships.

[5] On the second day out of Tarraco he came to an anchorage ten miles from the mouth of the river Ebro. Thence he dispatched two Massiliot scouting vessels, who reported that the Punic fleet was lying in the mouth of the river and their camp established on the bank. [6] Accordingly, in order to take them off their guard and unprepared, while at the same time spreading a universal panic, he weighed anchor and proceeded towards the enemy. The Spaniards have numerous towers built on heights, which they use both as watch-towers and also for protection against pirates. [7] From one of these the hostile ships were first descried, and on a signal being made

to Hasdrubal, the alarm broke out on land and in the camp before it reached the sea and the ships; for no one had yet heard the beat of the oars or other nautical sounds, nor had the promontories yet disclosed the fleet to view, when suddenly one galloper-after another, sent off by Hasdrubal, dashed up to the sailors, who were strolling about the beach or resting in their tents and thinking of nothing so little as of the enemy or of fighting on that day, and bade them board their ships in haste and arm themselves, for the Roman fleet was even then close to the harbour. [8] These orders the gallopers who had been sent out carried [9??] far and wide, and presently Hasdrubal himself appeared on the scene with his entire army, and all was noise and confusion as the rowers and soldiers rushed down together to their ships, as though their object were rather to flee the shore than to enter battle. [10] Hardly were they all on board, when some cast off the hawsers and swung out on to their anchors, and others — that nothing might detain them — cut the anchor cables, and, in the hurry and excessive haste with which everything was done, the soldiers' gear interfered with the sailors in the performance of their tasks, and the confusion of the sailors kept the soldiers from taking and fitting on their armour.

[11] By this time the Romans were not only drawing near, but had already formed their ships in order of battle. The result was that the Phoenicians were dismayed alike by the enemy's attack and by their own confusion, and after making rather a pretence of fighting than actually engaging, turned about and ran for it. [12] With a line so extended — and many ships came up at the same time — they were quite unable to get into the river's mouth against the current, but rowed in anywhere to the land; and getting ashore, some through shoals and others on a dry beach, some with their arms and some without, they fled to the battle-line of their friends, which was drawn up along the shore. Two, however, of the Punic ships had been taken in the first attack and four had been sunk.

20. The Romans, although the land was in the possession of the enemy, whose line of battle could be seen extending all along the shore, continued without the slightest hesitation to press their pursuit of the terror-stricken fleet, and, attaching cables to the stern of every vessel which had neither broken its prow on the beach nor grounded

[2??] its keel in the shoals, they towed it out to sea, until they had captured some twenty-five of the forty ships. [3] Nor was this the most brilliant feature of the victory, but the fact that the Romans in one easy battle had made themselves the masters of all that coast.

[4] So they spread their sails for Onusa, where they disembarked and stormed and sacked the city, and thence laid a course [5??] for Carthage, and after devastating all the country round about, ended by setting fire even to the buildings that adjoined the walls and gates. [6] Then the fleet — heavy-laden now with plunder — sailed to Longuntica, where they found a great quantity of esparto-grass, which Hasdrubal had got together for the use of his ships. Of this they took what they needed and burned all the rest. [7] And they not only cruised along the mainland, but crossed over to the island of Ebusus. There they endeavoured strenuously for two days, but without success, to capture the chief city of the [8] island. And when they saw that their hopes were vain and their time was being wasted, they [9??] betook themselves to pillaging the country-side, and after sacking and burning several villages, returned to their ships with more booty than they had collected from the mainland. Here envoys from the Baliaric islands came to Scipio to sue for peace.

[10] The fleet now put about and returned to the northern part of the province, and thither flocked ambassadors from all the communities on this side of the Ebro and even from many places in farthest Spain; but the communities that gave hostages and really came under the rule and government of Rome were more than a hundred and [11] twenty. Feeling, therefore, sufficiently strong on land, as well as on the sea, the Roman general advanced as far as the pass of [12] Castulo. Hasdrubal retired into Lusitania, nearer the ocean.

21. It looked as if the rest of the summer would be undisturbed, and so it would have been as far as the Phoenicians were concerned. [2] But, besides that the Spaniards themselves are constitutionally restless and eager for change, no sooner had the Romans withdrawn from the pass to the seacoast, than Mandonius and Indibilis — the [3] latter had formerly been a chieftain of the Ilergetes — roused up their countrymen and invaded the peaceful territories of Rome's allies, on a marauding expedition. [4] To oppose them Scipio dispatched a tribune of the soldiers with light-armed auxiliaries. They easily

routed the enemy — a mere hastily-organized militia — slaying a thousand of them, making some prisoners, and disarming the greater part. [5] Nevertheless, this outbreak induced Hasdrubal, who was retreating towards the ocean, to turn back and cross the Ebro, for the purpose of protecting his allies. [6] The Phoenicians were in camp in the country of the Ilergavonenses, the Romans near Nova Classis, when tidings came which gave at once a new turn to the campaign. [7] The Celtiberians, who had sent their leading men to treat with the Romans and had given hostages, incited by a message from Scipio, rose up in arms and invaded the Carthaginian province with a powerful army. [8] They captured three towns by assault, and afterwards twice engaged successfully in battle with Hasdrubal himself, slaying some fifteen thousand of their enemies, and taking four thousand prisoners, with many military standards.

22. Such was the position of affairs in Spain when Publius Scipio came into the province. The senate had prolonged his command after the consulship and had sent him out with thirty men-of-war and eight thousand soldiers and a great convoy of supplies. [2] This fleet, which the number of cargo-vessels swelled to an enormous size, caused great rejoicing amongst the Romans and their allies, when it was made out in the offing and standing in dropped anchor in the harbour of Tarraco. [3] There Scipio disembarked his troops and set out to join his brother; and from that time forward they carried on the war with perfect harmony of temper and of purpose.

[4] Accordingly, while the Carthaginians were taken up with the Celtiberian campaign, they lost no time in crossing the Ebro, and seeing nothing of any enemy, marched directly on Saguntum, where it was said that hostages from all over Spain were being guarded in the citadel by a small garrison, to whose keeping they had been consigned by Hannibal. [5] It was this pledge alone that checked the inclination of all the Spanish states to ally themselves with Rome, for fear that the blood of their own children might expiate the guilt of their defection. [6] From this constraint Spain was released by the machinations — more clever than honest — of one man. Abelux was his name, and he was a noble Spaniard of Saguntum. [7] Loyal hitherto to the Phoenicians, he had now — as barbarians are for the most part prone to do — altered his allegiance with the alteration in

their fortunes. But reflecting that a deserter who went over to the enemy without betraying to them something of great moment was but a single worthless and dishonoured individual, he proposed to benefit his new allies to the utmost extent of his ability. [8] And considering everything that fortune could put into his power, he inclined for choice to deliver up the hostages, believing that this was the one thing that would most effectively secure for the Romans the friendship of the Spanish leaders.

[9] But since he knew that the men guarding the hostages would do nothing without the orders of Bostar, the governor, he [10??] artfully approached Bostar himself, who was encamped outside the city, on the very shore, to preclude the approach of the Romans from that quarter. Taking him on one side, he explained the situation, as though the other had no knowledge of it. [11] Fear, he said, had until then kept the Spaniards down, because the Romans were a long way off; now the Roman camp was on this side of the Ebro, a sure stronghold and asylum for any who wished a change; those, accordingly, who were not bound by fear must be secured by kindness and generosity. [12] When Bostar asked in amazement what this gift could be that should suddenly be of so great value, "Send back the hostages to their homes," said Abelux. [13] "That will at once be grateful personally to their parents, who are the people of most consequence in their own states, and to their tribes in general. [14] Everyone wishes to be trusted: confide in people, and almost always you confirm their confidence in you. The task of restoring the hostages to their homes I request for myself, that I may work, as well as counsel, for the furtherance of my plan, and to an act that is gracious in itself lend such added grace as I am able."

[15] Once he had brought Bostar round — for his wits were not as sharp as those of most Phoenicians — he departed secretly by night for the enemy's outposts, and encountering certain Spanish auxiliaries, who conducted him to Scipio, disclosed his plan, and when he had given pledges and received them, and had agreed upon a time and place for turning over the hostages, returned to Saguntum. [16] The following day he spent with Bostar, receiving instructions how to carry out the enterprise, and left him with the understanding that he was to go at night, in order to elude the enemy's sentinels. [17]

At the hour agreed on with the Romans he wakened the boys' custodians, and led them all, as if unwittingly, into the trap prepared by his own treachery. They were then conducted to the Roman camp.

[18] The remainder of the plan for the restoration of the hostages to their friends was carried out, through the agency of Abelux, exactly as he and Bostar had agreed, and everything was done as it would have been if he had been acting in the name of the Carthaginians.

[19] The gratitude which the Romans won under such circumstances was much greater than the Carthaginians would have enjoyed. For the Carthaginians had been found to be harsh and arrogant in the hour of their prosperity, and their gentleness might have appeared as the result of misfortune and timidity; but the Romans on first coming thither — and [20] till then they were unknown — had begun with an act of clemency and liberality, and Abelux was held to have shown discernment, and not without reason to have changed his friends. [21] The Spaniards were therefore all with one accord intending to revolt, and would have drawn the sword at once, if winter had not intervened and compelled both Romans and Carthaginians to retire to their quarters.

23. Such was the course of events in Spain in the second summer of the Punic war. In Italy meanwhile the defeated Romans had been afforded a little breathing space by Fabius's wise policy of holding back. [2] This policy, though it occasioned Hannibal no small anxiety — for he saw that the Romans had finally chosen a military leader who waged war as reason and not as blind chance dictated — yet [3] incurred the scorn of Fabius's fellow citizens, both soldiers and civilians, especially when his absence had been followed, thanks to the rashness of the master of the horse, by a battle which may truthfully be characterized as having ended with more rejoicing than success. [4] Two things, moreover, increased the dictator's unpopularity. One was a crafty ruse of Hannibal's. Some deserters having pointed out to him the dictator's farm, he razed to the ground all the buildings in its neighbourhood, but ordered that this one place should be preserved from fire and sword and every kind of hostile violence, in order that it might appear that Fabius was in this way being rewarded for some secret compact. [5] The other was something that he did himself, which, though perhaps open to criticism in the

first place — because he had not waited for the authorization of the senate — redounded in the upshot, and in no uncertain manner, greatly to his fame. [6] In exchanging prisoners the Roman and Phoenician generals had followed the example set in the first Punic war and had agreed that the side which recovered more men than it restored should pay for each two pounds and a half of silver. [7] The Romans recovered two hundred and forty-seven more than the Phoenicians, but the senate, though the matter was often discussed, was slow in voting the money owing for them, on the ground that the dictator had not consulted them; [8] till finally Fabius sent his son Quintus to Rome to sell the farm which the enemy had spared, and discharged the nation's obligation at his own expense.

[9] Hannibal lay encamped under the walls of Gereonium, where he had left a few buildings standing, to serve as granaries, when he captured and burned the city. [10] From there he would send two-thirds of his army to gather corn; the other third, ready to march, he kept at the post under his own command, with the twofold object of protecting the camp and of guarding lest any attack be made upon his foragers.

24. The Roman army was at that time in the neighbourhood of Larinum. Minucius, the master of the horse, was in command, for the dictator, as has been said before, had departed for the City. [2] The camp had been established on a high hill in a position of security, but was now brought down to level ground; and more vigorous measures were being discussed — in keeping with the temper of the general — for attacking the enemy's scattered foragers, or his camp, which was left but lightly garrisoned.

[3] Hannibal saw well enough that the change in leaders had brought a change in strategy, and that the Romans were likely to be more bold than prudent. [4] But though the enemy was close at hand, he himself did something that would almost seem incredible, and sent out a third part of his troops to forage, retaining two-thirds in his camp; [5] then he brought the camp itself up nearer the enemy, about two miles away from Gereonium, to a hill in full sight of the Romans, that they might know that he was watching to protect his foragers, if they should be at all molested. [6] He then observed a hill even nearer the Romans and threatening their very camp; but since, if

he should attempt to take it openly by daylight, the Romans, who had a shorter way to go, would doubtless get ahead of him, he sent some Numidians secretly in the night, and they seized the hill. [7] They were holding the place next day, when the Romans, despising their scanty numbers, dislodged them and transferred their own camp thither. [8] There was now, at all events, but a very little space between rampart and rampart, and this the Romans had pretty well covered with their troops, which they had drawn up in line of battle. At the same time they had sent out their cavalry and skirmishers from the side of the camp which was farthest from the enemy, and these had fallen upon the scattered foragers, whom they routed with great slaughter. [9] Still, Hannibal did not dare to fight a battle, for his forces were so small that he was hardly able to defend his camp, if the Romans should assault it, and he now began [10??] to wage war by the arts of Fabius, inaction and delay, and had withdrawn his troops to their former camp, which lay under the walls of Gereonium.

[11] Some writers relate that there was even a regular pitched battle, in which the Phoenicians were driven from the field at the first encounter and pursued all the way to their camp, from which they sallied and quickly dismayed the Romans in their turn; but that Numerius Decimius the Samnite then came up and restored the day.

[12] They say that Decimius, who was the person of most consequence both for family and fortune, not only in his own town of Bovianum but in all Samnium, was on his way to the camp, by the dictator's order, at the head of eight thousand foot and five hundred horse, when, appearing on Hannibal's rear, he was mistaken by both armies for reinforcements coming up with Quintus Fabius from Rome. [13] Hannibal, fearing some trap as well, drew back his men, and the Romans, pressing forward and assisted by the Samnites, carried, that same day, two redoubts. [14] Six thousand of the enemy were slain and fully five thousand Romans. Nevertheless, though the losses had been so nearly equal, a foolish tale was carried to Rome of an extraordinary victory, with a letter from the master of the horse that was more foolish still.

25. These events were the occasion of many speeches both in the senate and in the popular assembly. [2] The citizens rejoiced, and only the dictator refused to credit either rumour or dispatch, and declared

that even though the story were all true, he feared success more than adversity. [3] Then Marcus Metilius, tribune of the plebs, cried out that this was past all bearing: not only had the dictator prevented a successful engagement being fought while he was present, but [4??] he even objected now that the victory was won, and persisted in drawing out the war and wasting time, in order the longer to remain in office, and to continue, both at Rome and in the army, in sole possession of authority; for one of the consuls had fallen in battle, and the other — under [5] the pretext of pursuing the Punic fleet — had been sent a great way off from Italy; the two praetors were employed in Sicily and Sardinia, neither of which required a praetor at this time; [6] and Marcus Minucius, the master of the horse, that he might not see the enemy or carry out any military operation, had been kept almost a prisoner. [7] Thus it had actually come to pass that not only Samnium — whose territories, as though they lay beyond the Ebro, had already been surrendered to the Phoenicians — but Campania, and the districts both of Cales and Falerii had been utterly laid waste; while the dictator sat still at Casilinum and used the legions of the Roman People to protect his own estate. [8] The army — eager as it was to fight — and the master of the horse had virtually been cooped up and confined within the rampart; and their swords, as though they had been captured enemies, had been taken from them. [9] At last, when the dictator had gone away, they had come out from behind their works, as if released from a blockade, and had routed and put to flight their enemies. [10] For all these reasons, if their ancient spirit had still animated the Roman plebs, he would boldly have proposed the abrogation of Quintus Fabius's command; as it was, he should move the adoption of a moderate measure, to wit, the elevation of the master of the horse to a footing of equality with the dictator. [11] Yet, even so, they must not let Fabius rejoin his army till he had first installed a consul in the place of Gaius Flaminius.

[12] The dictator refrained from making speeches to the people, in a cause that was far from popular. Even the senate listened coldly when he spoke in high terms of the enemy, and charging the reverses of the past two years to the rashness and [13??] ignorance of the Roman generals, declared that the master of the horse must answer to

him for having fought against his orders. [14] If his authority and strategy should be paramount, he would soon let people know that with a good commander fortune was of little moment; that mind and reason were in control; [15] and that to have preserved the army in its hour of danger, yet without disgrace, was more glorious than to have slain many thousands of the enemy. [16] After making several speeches to this purport, yet without effect, and presiding over the election of Marcus Atilius Regulus to the consulship, that he might not take a personal part in the dispute about the command, on the day preceding the bringing forward of the resolution he left by night for the army.

[17] When at break of day the plebs assembled in their council, though at heart they were inclined to dislike the dictator and to favour the master of the horse, yet they wanted sufficient courage to come forward and advocate a course which most of them approved, so that the motion, despite its exceeding popularity, lacked support. [18] One man alone was found to urge the passage of the bill. This was Gaius Terentius Varro, praetor of the year before, whose antecedents were not merely base but even sordid. [19] It is said that his father had been a butcher, who peddled his wares himself, and that he had employed this very son about the menial tasks associated with that calling.

26. The young man had no sooner inherited from his father the money gained in this kind of occupation than he felt encouraged to hope for a more liberal career, and resolved to enter public life; [2] and by declaiming on behalf of ignoble men and causes against the property and reputation of persons of the better sort achieved first notoriety and then office. [3] He had held the quaestorship and both aedileships — plebeian and curule — and finally even the praetorship. He now ventured to aspire to the consulship, and with considerable shrewdness sought to capture the favour of the populace by [4??] exploiting their animosity against the dictator, with the result that he alone reaped all the popularity growing out of the plebiscite.

[5] Everyone, whether in Rome or with the army, whether friend or foe, looked on the passing of this bill as an insult to the dictator — everyone, [6] that is, but the dictator himself, who with the same unruffled spirit with which he had borne the slanders uttered against

him before the multitude by his adversaries now bore the injustice of the infuriated people. [7] While still on the way he received a dispatch from the senate about the equal division of command, but fairly confident that though the authority of the commanders had been equalized, their abilities had not, he returned to the army with a spirit that neither fellow citizens nor enemies could daunt.

27. As for Minucius, success and the favour of the crowd had already made him well-nigh insufferable. [2] But now, at all events, he cast away all modesty and moderation and boasted of his triumph not only over Hannibal but over Quintus Fabius as well: [3] that wonderful leader, to whom his countrymen had turned in their distress as a match for Hannibal, had by vote of the people been reduced to a level — the superior with his subordinate, the dictator with his master of the horse; and this action, to which history could afford no parallel, had been taken in that very state in which masters of the horse had been used to tremble and shudder at the rods and axes of the dictator; so conspicuous had been his own success and courage. [4] He would therefore follow up his good fortune, if the dictator persisted in that dilatory and inactive course which gods and men had united in condemning. [5] Accordingly, on the day of his first meeting with Quintus Fabius, he said that the very first thing to be settled was the manner in which they should exercise the joint command: [6] he himself thought that the best way would be for each to have supreme command and authority either every other day, or, if longer periods seemed preferable, for equally apportioned times, to the end that he [7??] might be a match for the enemy not only in strategy but in numbers also, if he should meet with a favourable opportunity for fighting.

[8] This proposal by no means suited Quintus Fabius, for he saw that everything which his rash colleague should have got control of would be controlled by Fortune: he had been made, he said, to share the supreme command with another, not deprived of it; [9] he would therefore never voluntarily relinquish that share which he possessed of the power to guide the campaign prudently; he would not divide with Minucius the times or days of commanding, but would divide the army, and in accordance with his own plans would save what he could, since he was not permitted to save everything. [10] In this way

he brought about a division of the legions, such as was customary between consuls. The first and fourth fell to Minucius, the second and third to Fabius. [11] In like manner they divided equally the cavalry and auxiliaries, both allies and Latins. The master of the horse chose that their camps, too, should be separated.

28. All this caused Hannibal a twofold joy, for, fully acquainted as he was with whatever went on amongst his enemies both from much information brought in by deserters and from the discoveries of his own spies, he reckoned on entrapping [2??] the uncontrolled rashness of Minucius after his own fashion, while he saw that the sagacity of Fabius had been deprived of half its strength.

[3] There was a hill between the camp of Minucius and that of the Phoenicians, and it was certain that he who occupied it would place his enemy in a rather bad position. [4] This Hannibal was desirous not so much of capturing without a struggle — though this would have been worth while — as of using to bring on a battle with Minucius, who would sally forth, as he well knew, to oppose him. [5] It appeared at first sight that none of the ground between could be used for an ambush, since it not only had nothing on it in the shape of trees, but was nowhere so much as screened with brambles. But in fact it was formed by nature for covering an ambuscade — all the more because in a bare valley no such trap could be suspected — for in its windings there were hollow cliffs, so large that some of them would hold two hundred soldiers. [6] In these lurking-places Hannibal concealed five thousand foot and horse — as many in each as could readily lie in wait there. [7] Lest, however, the movement of anyone who might carelessly step out or the glint of arms should [8??] betray the ruse, in a valley so bare and open, he dispatched a small party at dawn to seize the hill already mentioned and draw off the enemy's attention.

The Romans no sooner descried them than they laughed at their small numbers, and everybody asked to be assigned the duty of dislodging the Carthaginians and capturing the place. [9] Their general himself, as fatuous and rash as anyone, called the men to arms and railed at the enemy with idle threats. [10] First he ordered out the light infantry; then he sent the cavalry off in a solid column; finally, when he saw that the enemy too were bringing up supports,

he set forth with his legions in battle array. Hannibal likewise, as the struggle waxed hotter and his men were sore bested, sent in reinforcement after [11??] reinforcement, horse and foot, till he now had a regular army in the field, and both sides were engaged with all their forces. [12] The Roman light infantry, as they were advancing from the lower ground on to the height which the enemy had already occupied, was the first to suffer a repulse, and as they were driven downhill, caused a panic among the cavalry, which was coming up behind them, and fled to the standards of the legions. [13] These alone maintained their line undaunted, when all the rest were in full flight, and it looked as if, had the battle been a regular front-to-front engagement, they would have proved fully equal to their enemy — so encouraged had they been by the successful action a few days before. [14] But the men in ambush, suddenly springing out and charging them on both flanks and in the rear, worked such havoc and alarm that not one of them had any courage left for fighting or any hope in flight.

29. “There it is,” said Fabius, when first the cries of the frightened soldiers were heard, and then the confusion in the distant battle-line became discernible; “misfortune has not overtaken rashness more quickly than I feared. [2] Though made equal to Fabius in authority, he finds Hannibal his superior, both in courage and in fortune. But another time will do for upbraiding and resentment; for the present, march out from your trenches, and let us wrest from the enemy his victory and from our fellow citizens a confession of their blunder.”

[3] By this time large numbers of the Romans had either been slain or were casting about for a way to escape, [4??] when suddenly Fabius and his army appeared, as though they had come down from heaven to help them; and before they got within a javelin’s range or struck a blow, had checked both the headlong flight of the Romans and the reckless fury of the enemy’s attack. [5] Those who had quitted their ranks and dispersed this way and that came running up on every side to the unbroken line; those who had retreated in a body faced about to meet the enemy and, forming a circle, at first slowly retreated, but presently, being more compactly drawn together, stood their ground. [6] And now the beaten army and the fresh one had pretty much united into a single line and were ready to advance against the

enemy, when Hannibal sounded the recall, declaring openly that he had beaten Minucius, but that Fabius had beaten him.

[7] When the troops had got back to their camps, towards the close of a day of such varied fortune, Minucius called his men together and thus addressed them: "Soldiers, I have often heard that the best man is he who can himself advise us what is profitable; [8] the next best he who listens to good advice; but that he who can neither counsel well nor obey: another has the meanest capacity of all. [9] Since to us the first rank of intelligence and capacity has been denied, let us hold fast to the second or middle state, and while we are learning to command, make up our minds to obey a man of wisdom. [10] Let us join our camp to that of Fabius; and when we have brought our standards to his tent, and I have given him the name of 'Father' — as [11] befits his goodness to us and his great position — you, soldiers, will salute as 'patrons' those whose hands and swords just now protected you; and, if nothing else, this day shall at least have conferred on us the, glory of possessing thankful hearts."

30. The moment the signal was given, the order to pack was shouted round. Setting forth they marched in column to the dictator's camp, to the astonishment of Fabius himself and all who were about. [2] When they had planted their ensigns before the tribunal, the master of the horse advanced in front of the rest and called upon Fabius by the name of Father, and his entire army saluted the soldiers who had gathered round them as their patrons. [3] Then Minucius said, "To my parents, Dictator, with whom I have just made you equal in name, which is all that speech can do, I owe only my life; to you I owe not merely my own safety but the safety of all of these. [4] Accordingly I am the first to reject and repeal that plebiscite which has been more onerous to me than honourable, and to place myself again under your command and auspices and restore to you these standards and these legions; and may good fortune come of it to you and to me and to these your armies, to the preserved and the preserver. [5] Lay aside, I pray, your just resentment, and bid me retain my post of master of the horse and these their own proper companies and ranks." [6] Then hands were clasped, and the assembly being dismissed, the soldiers were kindly and hospitably entertained, alike by friends and strangers, and a day which a little earlier had

been very gloomy and almost accursed was turned into one of rejoicing.

[7] In Rome, when the report of this affair came in, and was later confirmed by letters not only from both commanders, but from the soldiers generally in both armies, all men joined in lauding Maximus to the skies. [8] With Hannibal and the hostile Phoenicians his renown was equally great; then for the first time they realized that they were fighting with Romans and in Italy. [9] For during the past two years they had so despised the Roman generals and soldiers that they could hardly believe that they were at war with the same nation as that of which they had heard such terrifying stories from their fathers. [10] And Hannibal is said to have remarked, as he was returning from the field, that at last that cloud which had long been hovering about the mountain-tops had broken in a storm of rain.

31. While these things were happening in Italy, Gnaeus Servilius Geminus the consul, with a fleet of a hundred and twenty ships, sailed round Sardinia and Corsica, and after taking hostages from both, bore away for Africa. [2] Before descending on the mainland, he plundered the island of Meninx; and after accepting ten talents of silver, which the people of Cercina gave him, to induce him not to burn and pillage their territory also, he sailed in to the coast of Africa and disembarked his troops. [3] Soldiers and naval allies went off to pillage the country-side and dispersed as freely as if they were plundering desert islands. [4] And so they quickly fell into an ambush, and losing contact with each other, and knowing nothing of the country, were set upon by large bands of their enemies, who knew it well, and driven back to their ships in a bloody and disgraceful rout. [5] Fully a thousand men were lost, including the quaestor, Tiberius Sempronius Blaesus. Moorings were cast off in a hurry, and the fleet, leaving the shore behind it lined with enemies, stood away for Sicily. [6] At Lilybaeum it was handed over to the praetor Titus Otacilius, to be conducted by his lieutenant, Publius Cincius, back to Rome. [7] The consul himself proceeded overland through Sicily to the straits, where he crossed into Italy, in obedience to a dispatch from Quintus Fabius. The dictator had sent for Servilius, and for Marcus Atilius his colleague, to take over his armies, for his six months' tenure of authority was drawing to a close.

[8] Nearly all the annalists state that Fabius was dictator in his campaign against Hannibal; Coelius even writes that he was the first to be created dictator by the people. [9] But Coelius and the rest forget that only the consul Gnaeus Servilius, who was then far away in his province of Gaul, had the right of naming a dictator. [10] It was because the nation, appalled by their great disaster, could not put up with so long a delay that resort was had to the popular election of an *acting* dictator. [11] Thereafter the general's successes and his great renown, and the additions which his descendants made to the inscription which accompanies his portrait, led easily to the belief that one who had in fact been made acting dictator had been dictator.

32. The consuls — Atilius taking over the army of Fabius and Geminus Servilius that of Minucius — constructed a winter camp betimes, and carried on the war for the rest of the autumn with the greatest harmony, on the lines laid down by Fabius. [2] As often as Hannibal went out to forage, they were sure to appear, at one place or another, harassing his march and cutting off the stragglers: a general engagement, which the enemy sought with all the arts at his command, they declined to risk; [3] and Hannibal was driven to such extremity of want, that if he had not thought that his departure would necessarily look like flight, he would have gone back into Gaul. For he had given up all hope of supporting his army in those regions, if the next consuls should make use of the same strategy.

[4] Winter had already brought the fighting about Gereonium to a standstill, when envoys from Neapolis arrived in Rome. [5] Bringing forty massive golden bowls into the senate-house, they delivered themselves to this effect: that they knew that the treasury of the Roman People was becoming exhausted by the war, and since it was being waged no less in behalf of the cities and lands of the allies than for the capital and citadel of Italy — the City of Rome — and [6] for its empire, the Neapolitans had deemed it right to employ the gold which their ancestors had bequeathed them, whether for the adornment of their temples or as a subsidy in time of need, to assist the Roman People; [7] had they thought themselves capable of helping with their persons, they would have offered these with the same heartiness; it would gratify them if the Roman senators and people would look on all the possessions of the Neapolitans as their

own, and consider [8??] that their gift deserved a willing acceptance, as being greater and of more account in respect of the friendliness and good-will of the givers than in actual value. [9] The envoys received a vote of thanks for this generosity and thoughtfulness, and the bowl of least weight was accepted.

33. At about this time a Carthaginian spy who for two years had eluded capture was caught in Rome, and after his hands had been cut off, was allowed to go; and five and twenty slaves were crucified, on the charge of having conspired in the Campus Martius. [2] The informer was rewarded with freedom and twenty thousand sesterces. [3] Ambassadors were dispatched to Philip, King of the Macedonians, to demand the person of Demetrius of Pharos, who, beaten in war, had fled to him for refuge; [4] and others to expostulate with the Ligurians, because they had aided the Phoenician with supplies and men, and at the same time to observe at close range what was going on amongst the Boi and the Insubres. [5] Ambassadors were likewise sent to King Pineus in Illyria, to demand a tribute which was overdue, or, in case he wished the time extended, to take hostages. [6] So far were the Romans, though bearing upon their shoulders the burden of a mighty war, from permitting any concern of theirs to escape them, in however remote a part of the world it lay. [7] They were troubled, too, that the contract for the temple of Concord, which the praetor Lucius Manlius had vowed two years before in Gaul, during the mutiny of the soldiers, had hitherto not been let. [8] Accordingly the city praetor, Marcus Aemilius, appointed for the purpose two commissioners, Gaius Pupius and Caeso Quinctius Flaminius, who arranged to have the temple built on the Citadel.

The same praetor, acting on instructions from the senate, wrote to the consuls, requesting that, if it seemed good to them, one of them would come to Rome to hold an election of consuls, and promising to appoint the comitia for the day which they [9] should designate. To this the consuls answered that they could not withdraw from the presence of the enemy without detriment to [10] the republic; it would therefore be better that the election be conducted by an interrex than that one of the consuls be called away from the seat [11] of war. To the senators it seemed preferable that the consuls should appoint a dictator to preside at the election. They appointed Lucius Veturius

Philo, who named Marcus Pomponius Matho master of ^[12] the horse. There was a flaw in their appointment and they were commanded on the fourteenth day to resign their magistracy, whereupon the state reverted to an interregnum.

34. The authority of the consuls was extended for a year. To be interrex the Fathers named Gaius Claudius Cento, the son of Appius, and after him Publius Cornelius Asina. The latter conducted an election, which was marked by a bitter struggle between patricians and plebeians.

^[2] Gaius Terentius Varro had endeared himself to the plebeians — the class to which he himself belonged — by invectives against the leading men and the usual tricks of the demagogue. The blow he had struck at the influence and dictatorial authority of Fabius brought him the glory which is won by defaming others, and the rabble was now striving to raise him to the consulship, while the patricians opposed the attempt with all their might, lest men should acquire the custom of assailing them as a means of rising to their level. ^[3] Quintus Baebius B.C. 217 Herennius, a tribune of the plebs and kinsman of Gaius Terentius, railed not only at the senate but at the augurs too, because they had forbidden the dictator to accomplish the election, and by placing them in an unfavourable light, strengthened the candidacy of his friend. ^[4] The nobles, he said, had been seeking war for many years, and it was they who had brought Hannibal into Italy. It was their machinations, too, that were spinning out the war, when it might be brought to a victorious conclusion. ^[5] That four legions if united were able to hold their own in a general engagement had been shown in a successful battle fought by Marcus Minucius, when Fabius was absent. ^[6] Notwithstanding this, two legions had just been exposed to be massacred by the enemy and subsequently rescued from the massacre, to the end that the names of Father and Patron might be conferred on one who had kept the Romans from conquering before keeping them from being conquered. ^[7] After that the consuls had employed the arts of Fabius to prolong the war, when they were able to have ended it. ^[8] The nobles had all made a compact to this effect; nor would his hearers see an end of the war until they had elected a true plebeian, a new man, to the consulship; for the plebeian nobles had already been admitted to the same rites as

the others and had begun to look down on the plebs from the moment when they themselves had ceased to be looked down on by the patricians. [9] Who could fail to see that their end and purpose in resorting to an interregnum had been to keep the election in the hands of the patricians? [10] To this end both consuls had remained with their army in the field; to this end, later on, because a dictator had been named, against their wishes, for the purpose of holding an election, they had succeeded in having the augurs declare that there had been a flaw in his appointment. [11] They had therefore the interregnum they desired. But at least one consulship belonged to the Roman plebs; and the people meant to keep it free, and bestow it on him who would rather win an early victory than remain long in command.

35. When the plebs had been inflamed by these harangues, though there were three patrician candidates, Publius Cornelius Merenda, Lucius Manlius Volso, and Marcus Aemilius Lepidus, [2??] and two plebeians of families which had already been ennobled, namely, Gaius Atilius Serranus and Quintus Aelius Paetus, of whom one was a pontifex, the other an augur, Gaius Terentius was the only consul elected, and the assembly called to choose a colleague for him was therefore under his control. [3] The nobles, finding that Varro's competitors had not been able to command the necessary strength, thereupon obliged Lucius Aemilius Paulus to stand, though he held out long and earnestly against their importunity. He had been consul together with Marcus Livius, and the condemnation of his colleague — from which he had not himself escaped unscathed — had embittered him against the plebs. [4] On the next election day all those who had been Varro's rivals withdrew their names, the consul was given Paulus, rather as a competent opponent than as a colleague. [5] The election of praetors then took place, and Marcus Pomponius Matho and Publius Furius Philus were chosen. To Philus the lot assigned the urban praetorship, for administering justice in Rome; to Pomponius the jurisdiction in suits between Roman citizens and foreigners. [6] Two additional praetors were elected, Marcus Claudius Marcellus for Sicily, and Lucius Postumius Albinus for Gaul. [7] These were all elected in their absence, and not one of them, except Terentius the consul, received a magistracy which he had not already

filled before, a number of stout-hearted, active men being passed over because it seemed unwise at such a juncture to give any man an office to which he was new.

36. The armies also were augmented. But how large were the additions of infantry and cavalry I should hardly venture to declare with any certainty — so greatly do historians differ in regard to the numbers and kinds of troops. [2] Some say that ten thousand new soldiers were enlisted as replacements; others that four new legions were enrolled, so that they took the field with eight. [3] Some assert that the legions were also increased in the numbers of their infantry and cavalry, and that each received an additional thousand foot and a hundred horse, bringing up the total of every one to five thousand foot and three hundred horse; [4] and that double the number of horse and an equal number of foot were furnished by the allies. [5] One thing is not disputed — that they proceeded with more energy and enthusiasm than in former years, because the dictator had given them ground for hoping that they would be able to defeat the enemy.

[6] Before, however, the new legions marched out from the City, the decemvirs were instructed to consult the Sacred Books, on account of a general alarm occasioned by strange portents. [7] For a shower of stones had been reported as having fallen at Rome on the Aventine, and about the same time at Aricia; in the Sabine country the images of the gods, and at Caere the waters that flowed from the hot spring had been drenched with blood — a [8] prodigy all the more alarming from its having occurred so often; and in the arched way which used to lead to the Campus Martius some men had been struck by lightning and killed. These prodigies were expiated as the Books directed. [9] Ambassadors came from Paestum, bringing golden bowls to Rome. They were thanked, as the Neapolitans had been, but the gold was not accepted.

37. About this time a fleet came in to Ostia from King Hiero with a great store of supplies. [2] His envoys were introduced into the senate, where they told how the news of the destruction of Gaius Flaminius the consul and his army had so grieved the King that no disaster to himself or his own kingdom could have distressed him more. [3] Accordingly, though well aware that the greatness of the Roman People was almost more astonishing in adversity than in prosperity,

he had nevertheless sent them all those things with which good and faithful allies were wont to assist their friends in time of [4??] war, and he earnestly besought the Conscript Fathers not to refuse them. [5] In the first place, for the omen's sake, they were bringing a golden Victory, weighing two hundred and twenty pounds, which they begged the Romans to accept and keep, and to regard it as their own for ever. [6] They had also brought three hundred thousand measures of wheat and two hundred thousand of barley, that there might be no failure of provision; and whatever additional quantity were needed they stood ready to convey to any place which the senate might designate. [7] For heavy foot and horse, the King knew that the Roman People employed none but Romans and Latins; [8] but amongst the light-armed auxiliaries, he had seen in the camps of the Romans even foreigners; he had therefore sent a thousand archers and slingers, a force well adapted to cope with Moors and Baliares and other tribes that fought with missiles. [9] To these gifts they added a piece of advice, that the praetor, namely, who might be assigned to Sicily should sail over with his fleet to Africa, so that the enemy, too, might have war on their own soil, whereby they would experience less freedom in dispatching aid to Hannibal.

[10] The senate, in replying to the royal emissaries, said that Hiero was a good man and a rare ally, who from the time when he became a friend of the Roman People had maintained an unswerving loyalty, and always and in every place had given generous assistance to the Roman cause. For this the Romans were grateful, as in duty bound. [11] As for the gold, other states as well had proffered it, but the Roman People, though thankful for the kind intention, had not accepted it; [12] the Victory and her omen they did accept; and to that goddess they dedicated and assigned the Capitol, the temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus, to be her seat. Established in that citadel of Rome she would be gracious and propitious, faithful and steadfast, to the Roman People.

[13] The slingers and archers and the corn were turned over to the consuls. Twenty-five quinqueremes were added to the fleet of fifty ships that was under the command of Titus Otacilius in Sicily, and permission was given him, if he deemed it advantageous to the state, to sail across to Africa.

38. When they had finished with the levy, the consuls waited a few days for the soldiers from the allies and the Latins to come in. [2] An oath was then administered to the soldiers by their tribunes — which was a thing that they had never done before. [3] For until that day there had only been the general oath to assemble at the bidding of the consuls and not depart without their orders; then, after assembling, they would exchange a voluntary pledge amongst themselves — the cavalrymen in their decuries and the infantry in their centuries — that [4] they would not abandon their ranks for flight or fear, but only to take up or seek a weapon, either to smite an enemy or to save a fellow citizen. [5] This voluntary agreement amongst the men themselves was replaced by an oath administered formally by the tribunes.

Before the troops marched from the City, the consul Varro uttered many truculent harangues. [6] He declared that the war had been brought into Italy by the nobles, and would not cease to prey upon the nation's vitals, if they had many generals like Fabius; but that he himself would put an end to it on the day when he came within sight of the enemy. [7] His colleague Paulus spoke but once, on the day before he left the City. [8] His words were more truthful than agreeable to the people; but he said nothing harsh against Varro, except this: that he marvelled — and indeed how should he not? — that a general, who before he knew either his own or the enemy's army or the lie of the land or the character of the country, was already certain, ere he had yet laid aside the [9??] dress of a civilian, what measures he must adopt when in the field — he [10] marvelled that such a general should even be able to predict the very day on which he would be giving battle to the enemy! [11] For himself, he would not anticipate, before they ripened, those plans with which circumstances provided men but which men could not well impose on circumstances. [12] He hoped that what was done with care and caution would turn out for the best: rashness was not only foolish but had hitherto been unfortunate as well. It was quite apparently his own intention to choose a safe course rather than a hasty one; [13] and, to confirm him in this resolution, Quintus Fabius Maximus is said to have addressed him, on his setting out, to this effect: —

39. “If either, Lucius Aemilius, you had, as I should prefer, a

colleague like yourself, or if you were like your colleague, my words would be superfluous. [2] For, as two good consuls, even if I held my peace, you would act in all respects in accordance with the public interest and your own loyalty; and, as bad ones, you would neither take my words into your ears nor my advice into your hearts. [3] As it is, when I see what your colleague is like and what you are like, it is to you alone that I must address myself: though I perceive that you will be a good man and good citizen to little purpose, if the state is lame on the other side and evil counsels enjoy the same rights and the same authority as good. [4] For you err, Lucius Paulus, if you suppose that your struggle will be less with Gaius Terentius than with Hannibal. I am not sure that you may not find the one more dangerous as an opponent than the other as an enemy, and that with your enemy you will have to contend only in battle; with your opponent, everywhere and at all times. [5] Against Hannibal and his legions you will have your cavalry and infantry to fight for you: when Varro takes the field, it will be to attack you with your own soldiers.

[6] “For the very omen’s sake, I would not have you remember Gaius Flaminius! Yet Flaminius only began to rave when he had been made consul and was in his province and had joined his army; whereas Varro was mad before he sought the consulship, as he was thereafter during his canvass, and is now as consul, before he has ever beheld his camp or the enemy. [7] And if a man can rouse such gusts of passion even now, by bragging of battles and of stricken fields among civilians, what think you he will do when surrounded by armed youths, where words are translated instantly into deeds? [8] And yet, if he fights at once, as he declares that he intends to do, either I know nothing of military science, of the nature of this war, and of our enemy, or another place will be more notorious than Trasumennus for our overthrow.

[9] “It is no time to boast, when I am speaking to one man, and for my part I had rather go too far in despising than in seeking reputation; but the simple truth is that the only way of conducting a war with Hannibal is the way in which I have conducted it; [10] and not only the event — that schoolmaster of fools — teaches us this, but the same reasoning which held good then will hold unchanged,

so long as circumstances remain the same. [11] It is in Italy, our homeland, that we are fighting; everywhere about us are fellow citizens and friends; [12] they are helping us with arms, men, horses, and supplies, and will continue helping us — such proof of loyalty have they already given us in our adversity; each day that passes makes us better, wiser, more steadfast men. [13] Hannibal, on the contrary, is in an alien and hostile country, where all his surroundings are inimical and threatening, far from home and native city; for him there is no peace, on either land or sea; no cities receive him, no walls protect him; nowhere does he see aught that he can call his own; he subsists on the plunder of each day; he has barely a third of that army which he led across the Ebro; [14] more have perished by starvation than by the sword, and the few that are left have no longer any food. [15] Can you doubt then that if we sit still we must gain the victory over one who is growing weaker every day and is destitute of provisions, of replacements, and of money? [16] How long, before Gereonium, a pitiful fort in Apulia, as if it had been the walls of Carthage, has he — but of myself I will not boast, even to you. [17] See how the consuls of last year, Servilius and Atilius, made a mock of him!

“This is the only way of safety, Lucius Paulus, and your fellow citizens will do more than your enemies to make it hard and dangerous for you. [18] For your own soldiers will desire the same thing as the soldiers of the enemy; Varro, the Roman consul, will long for the same thing as Hannibal, the Phoenician commander-in-chief. Single-handed you will have to thwart two generals. But thwart them you will, if you stand out with sufficient firmness against rumours and men’s idle talk, if neither the foolish applause bestowed upon your colleague nor your own unmerited disgrace shall move you. [19] Truth, they say, is all too frequently eclipsed but never extinguished. He who scorns false glory shall possess the true. [20] Let them call you timid, instead of cautious; slow, instead of circumspect; unwarlike, instead of experienced soldier. I had rather a wise enemy should fear you than foolish fellow citizens should praise you. He who dares all things will earn Hannibal’s contempt; he who does nothing rashly will inspire him with fear. [21] Yet I do not urge that you do nothing, but that reason and not fortune should be your guide. Be master always of yourself and all that is yours; be

armed and watchful; be not wanting when opportunity presents itself to you, neither present an opportunity to your enemy. [22] All things will be clear and definite to one who does not hurry. Haste is improvident and blind.”

40. In reply to this the consul spoke in no very cheerful strain, admitting rather that what Fabius said was true than that it was easy of accomplishment. [2] The dictator had found his master of the horse intolerable: what power or influence then would a consul have over a turbulent and headstrong colleague? [3] In his former consulship he had escaped badly burnt from the flames of popular resentment; he hoped that everything would turn out for the best; but if any misfortune should befall, he would sooner expose his life to the swords of the enemy than to the suffrages of his angry fellow citizens.

[4] Immediately after this conference they say that Paulus set out, escorted by the foremost senators: the plebeian consul was escorted by his own friends, the plebeians — in point of numbers the more imposing throng, though it contained no persons of distinction.

[5] When they got to the camp, the new forces were united with the old and the camp was divided into two, with the new and smaller one nearer Hannibal, while the greater part of the army and all the choicest troops were in the old one. [6] Of the consuls of the year before, Marcus Atilius pleaded the excuse of age and was sent back to Rome; Geminus Servilius was put in command of the smaller camp, having under him a Roman legion and two thousand infantry and cavalry of the allies. [7] Hannibal, though he perceived that the forces of his enemies were augmented by a half, was nevertheless greatly rejoiced at the coming of the consuls. [8] For not only were the spoils exhausted on which his men had subsisted from day to day, but there was not even any district left for them to spoil; for when it appeared that the farms were no longer safe, the corn had everywhere been carried into the walled towns, and in consequence there was barely grain enough left — as [9] was afterwards discovered — to last ten days, and the Spaniards, for want of food, had made ready to desert, if the Romans had only waited till the time was ripe.

41. But even Fortune furnished material to the recklessness and over-hasty temper of the consul. The repulse of a foraging party had

led to a general mellay, which came about from the soldiers rushing forward to attack the enemy, rather than from any plan or orders on the part of the generals; and in this the Phoenicians by no means held their own. [2] About seventeen hundred of them were slain and not more than a hundred of Romans and allies. But the consul Paulus, who was in command that day — for they commanded on alternate days — was [3] fearful of an ambuscade and checked the victors in their headlong pursuit, despite the angry remonstrances of Varro, who cried out that they had let the enemy slip through their hands and that they might have brought the war to a conclusion if they had not relaxed their efforts.

[4] Hannibal was not greatly disconcerted by this reverse; indeed he rejoiced that the hook should have been baited, as it were, for the rashness of the more impetuous consul, and especially for that of the new soldiers. [5] All the circumstances of his enemies were as familiar to him as his own: that their generals were unlike each other and were at loggerheads, and that nearly two-thirds of their army consisted of recruits. [6] Believing, therefore, that place and time were favourable for a ruse, he left his camp full of every sort of public and of private riches, and putting himself at the head of his troops, who carried nothing but their weapons, marched over the nearest ridge, drew up the [7??] infantry in ambush on the left, and the cavalry on the right, and made the baggage-train pass through the valley between, intending to fall upon [8??] the enemy whilst they were preoccupied and encumbered with the pillage of the camp, which would seem to them to have been deserted by its owners. [9] He left a large number of fires burning, as though he had sought by means of this illusory appearance of an encampment to hold the consuls to their positions — as he had cheated Fabius the year before — till he could gain as long a start as possible in his retreat.

42. When day came, first the fact that the outposts had been withdrawn, and afterwards — as they came nearer — the unwonted silence filled the Romans with amazement. [2] Then, as it became quite evident that there was no one in the camp, there was a rush of men to the headquarters of the consuls, announcing that the enemy had retreated in such trepidation as to quit the camp without striking their tents, and had even left a great number of fires burning to

conceal their flight. [3] Next they began to clamour for the order to advance and to pursue the enemy and plunder the camp without delay, and one of the consuls behaved like a member of the mob of soldiers. [4] Paulus kept insisting on the need for watchfulness and circumspection, and finally, when there was no other way in which he could withstand the mutiny and the leader of the mutiny, he sent the praefect Marius Statilius with a troop of Lucanian horse to reconnoitre.

[5] Riding up to the gates, Statilius commanded the others to wait outside the trenches, and himself with two horsemen entered the camp. After making a thorough and careful examination he reported that there was undoubtedly some treachery afoot. [6] The fires, he said, had been left on the side of the camp that faced the Romans; the tents were open and all kinds of valuables were left exposed to view; here and there he had seen silver carelessly flung down in the lanes, as if to tempt a pillager.

[7] The report, which had been made with the purpose of checking the soldiers' greed, only inflamed it, and they began to shout that if the signal were not given, they would go without any leaders. But there was no lack of a leader; for Varro at once gave the command to start. [8] Paulus himself wished to delay; and when the sacred fowls had refused their sanction, he gave orders to notify his colleague, who was just setting forth with the standards from [9] the gate. Varro was greatly vexed at this, but the recent disaster of Flaminius and the memorable defeat at sea of the consul Claudius, in the first Punic War made him fearful of offending the [10] heavenly powers. On that day, it might almost be said, the very gods put off, but did not prevent, the calamity that impended over the Romans: for it chanced that when the consul ordered the standards back into the camp and the soldiers were refusing to obey him, two slaves appeared on the scene, one belonging to a Formian, the other to a Sidicinian knight. They had been captured by the Numidians, along with other foragers, in the consulship of Servilius and Atilius, and on that day had escaped back to [11] their masters. Being conducted to the consuls, they stated that Hannibal's entire army was lying in ambush just over the [12] nearest hills. Their opportune arrival restored the authority of the consuls, when one of them, by running after popularity, and by

unprincipled indulgence, had impaired their prestige — beginning with his own — amongst the soldiers.

43. Hannibal, perceiving that the Romans, although they had acted ill-advisedly, had not proceeded to the extremity of rashness, returned to the camp, his stratagem having been detected and rendered idle. [2] There, however, the scarcity of corn forbade his remaining many days, and new plans were daily forming, not only amongst the soldiers, the mingled offscourings of every race on earth, but even in the mind of the general himself. [3] For when the men, with murmurs at first and afterwards with loud clamours, demanded their arrears of pay, and complained at first of the scarcity of corn, and finally of being starved; and when the report went round that the mercenaries — particularly those of Spanish blood — had resolved on going over to the enemy; [4] they say that even Hannibal himself had thoughts of abandoning all his infantry and saving himself and his cavalry by escaping into Gaul. [5] Such being the projects that were entertained in camp and such the temper of his soldiers, he decided to move from his present quarters to Apulia, where the climate was warmer and in consequence of this the harvest earlier; at the same time it would be the more difficult, the greater their distance from the enemy, for those of his followers who were fickle to desert. [6] He set out in the night, after making up some fires, as before, and leaving a few tents standing where they would be seen, so that the Romans might be withheld from following him through fear of an ambush, as before.

But when the same Lucanian, Statilius, had made a thorough reconnoissance beyond the camp and on the other side of the mountains, and had reported seeing the enemy on the march a long way off, then the question of pursuing him began to be [8] debated. The consuls were each of the same mind as they had always been; but Varro had the support of almost everybody, Paulus of none except Servilius, the consul of the year [9] before. The will of the majority prevailed, and they set forward, under the urge of destiny, to make Cannae famous for the calamity which there befell the [10] Romans. This was the village near which Hannibal had pitched his camp, with his back to the Volturnus, a wind that brings clouds of dust over the drought-parched [11] plains. Such a disposition was very

convenient for the camp itself and bound to be particularly salutary when the troops formed up for battle, facing in the opposite direction, with the wind blowing only on their backs, and ready to fight with enemies half-blinded by the dust driven into their faces.

44. The consuls, after making a sufficient reconnaissance of the roads, followed the Phoenicians until they came to Cannae, where, having the enemy in view, they divided their forces, as they had done before, and fortified two camps, at about the same distance from one another as at Gereonium. [2] The river Aufidus, flowing past both their camps, was readily accessible to water-carriers at such spots as were convenient for each, though not without fighting; [3] it was, however, from the smaller camp, which was situated across the Aufidus, that the Romans could fetch water more freely, since the enemy had no troops posted on the further bank.

[4] Hannibal had conceived a hope that the consuls would give him an opportunity of fighting in a place that was formed by nature for a cavalry action, in which arm he was invincible. He therefore drew out his men in battle array and ordered the Numidians to make a sally and provoke the enemy. [5] This caused the camp of the Romans to be once more the scene of strife amongst the soldiers and dissension between the consuls. Paulus cast in Varro's teeth the recklessness of Sempronius and Flaminius; [6] Varro retorted that Fabius was a specious example for timid and slothful generals, and called on gods and men to witness that it was through no fault of his that Hannibal had by now acquired as it were a prescriptive right to Italy, for he was kept in fetters by his colleague, and the soldiers, enraged as they were and eager to fight, were deprived of swords and arms. [7] Paulus rejoined that if anything untoward should befall the legions, recklessly abandoned to an ill-advised and rash engagement, he would himself be guiltless of all blame, but would share in all the consequences; let Varro, he said, see to it, that where tongues were bold and ready, hands — when it came to fighting — were no less so.

45. While they wasted time, rather quarrelling than consulting, Hannibal withdrew the rest of his troops, whom he had kept in line till far on in the day, [2??] into his camp, and sent the Numidians across the river to attack the men from the smaller Roman camp who were fetching water. [3] They had hardly come out upon the other

bank when their shouts and tumult sent that unorganized rabble flying, and they rode on till they came to the party that was stationed in front of the rampart, and almost to the very gates. [4] So wholly outrageous, however, did it seem that by now even a Roman camp should be terrorized by irregular auxiliaries, that only one thing kept the Romans from crossing the river forthwith and giving battle — the fact that Paulus happened then to be in command.

[5] The next morning, therefore, Varro, whom the lot had made commander for that day, hung out the signal, without saying a word of the matter to his colleague, and, making his troops fall in, led them over the river. Paulus followed him, for he could more easily disapprove the plan than deprive it of his help. [6] Once across, they joined to their own the forces which they had kept in the smaller camp, and marshalled their battle-line as follows: on the right wing — the one nearer the river — they placed the Roman cavalry, and next them the Roman foot; [7] the left wing had on the outside the cavalry of the allies; and nearer the centre, in contact with the Roman legions, the infantry of the allies. The slingers and other light-armed auxiliaries were formed up in front. [8] The consuls had charge of the wings, Terentius of the left, Aemilius of the right; and Geminus Servilius was entrusted with the centre.

46. Hannibal crossed the river at break of day, after sending ahead of him the Baliares and the other light-armed troops, and posted each corps in line of battle, in the order in which he had brought it over. [2] The Gallic and Spanish horse were next the river, on the left wing, facing the Roman cavalry; [3] the right wing was assigned to the Numidian horse; the centre was composed of infantry, so arranged as to have the Africans at both ends, and between them Gauls and Spaniards. [4] The Africans might have passed for an array of Romans, equipped as they were with arms captured partly at the Trebia but mostly at Lake Trasumennus. [5] The Gauls and the Spaniards had shields of almost the same shape; their swords were different in use and in appearance, those of the Gauls being very long and pointless, whilst the Spaniards, who attacked as a rule more by thrusting than by striking, had pointed ones that were short and handy. These tribes were more terrifying to look on than the others, because of the size of their bodies and the display they made of them.

[6] The Gauls were naked from the navel up; the Spaniards had formed up wearing crimson-bordered linen tunics that shone with a dazzling whiteness. The total number of the infantry who then took their place in line was forty thousand, of the cavalry ten thousand. [7] The generals commanding on the wings were Hasdrubal on the left, Maharbal on the right; Hannibal himself, with his brother Mago, had the centre.

[8] The sun — whether they had so placed themselves on purpose or stood as they did by accident — was, very conveniently for both sides, on their flanks, the Romans looking south, the Phoenicians north. [9] A wind — which those who live in those parts call Voltumnus — beginning to blow against the Romans carried clouds of dust right into their faces and prevented them from seeing anything.

47. With a shout the auxiliaries rushed forward and the battle began between the light-armed troops. Then the Gallic and Spanish horse which formed the left wing engaged with the Roman right in a combat very unlike a cavalry action. [2] For they had to charge front to front, there being no room to move out round the flank, for the river shut them in on one side and the ranks of infantry on the other. [3] Both parties pushed straight ahead, and as the horses came to a standstill, packed together in the throng, the riders began to grapple with their enemies and drag them from their seats. They were fighting on foot now, for the most part; but sharp though the struggle was, it was soon over, and the defeated Roman cavalry turned and fled.

[4] Towards the end of the cavalry engagement the infantry got into action. At first they were evenly matched in strength and courage, as long as the Gauls and Spaniards maintained their ranks; [5] but at last the Romans, by prolonged and frequent efforts, pushing forward with an even front and a dense line, drove in the wedge-like formation which projected from the enemy's line, for it was too thin to be strong; [6] and then, as the Gauls and Spaniards gave way and fell back in confusion, pressed forward and without once stopping forced their way through the crowd of fleeing, panic-stricken foes, till they reached first the centre and ultimately — for they met with no resistance — the African supports. [7] These had been used to form the two wings, which had been drawn back, while the centre, where

the Gauls and Spaniards had been stationed, projected somewhat. When this wedge was first driven back so far as to straighten the front, and then, continuing to yield, even left a hollow in the centre, the Africans had already begun a flanking movement on either side, and as the Romans rushed incautiously in between, they [8??] enveloped them, and presently, extending their wings, crescent-wise, even closed in on their rear. From this moment the Romans, who had gained one battle to no purpose, gave over the pursuit and slaughter of the Gauls and Spaniards and began a new fight with [10] the Africans. In this they were at a twofold disadvantage: they were shut in, while their enemies ranged on every side of them; they were tired, and faced troops that were fresh and strong.

48. By this time the Roman left, where the cavalry of the allies had taken position facing the Numidians, was also engaged, though the fighting was at first but sluggish. It began with a Punic ruse. [2] About five hundred Numidians, who, in addition to their customary arms and missiles, carried swords concealed under their corslets, pretended to desert. [3] Riding over from their own side, with their bucklers at their backs, they suddenly dismounted and threw down bucklers and javelins at the feet of their enemies. Being received into the midst of their ranks they were conducted to the rear and ordered to fall in behind. [4] And while the battle was getting under way at every point, they kept quite still; but no sooner were the minds and eyes of all absorbed in the struggle, than they snatched up the shields which lay strewn about everywhere amongst the heaps of slain, and assailing the Romans from behind and striking at their backs and hamstrings, effected a great slaughter and a terror and confusion that were even greater. [5] And now in one place there was a panic rout and in another an obstinate though hopeless struggle, when Hasdrubal, who commanded in that part of the field, withdrew the Numidians from the centre — since they fought but half-heartedly against men who met them face to face — and [6] dispatching them in pursuit of the scattered fugitives, sent in the Spanish and Gallic cavalry to help the Africans, who were now almost exhausted, though more with slaying than with fighting.

49. In the other part of the field Paulus, although he had received a severe wound from a sling at [2??] the very outset of the battle,

nevertheless repeatedly opposed himself to Hannibal, with his men in close formation, and at several points restored the [3] fight. He was guarded by Roman cavalry, who finally let their horses go, as the consul was growing too weak even to control his horse. At this Hannibal, being told by someone that the consul had ordered his troopers to dismount, is said to have exclaimed: "How much better if he had handed them over to me in [4] fetters!" The dismounted horsemen fought as men no longer doubting that the enemy must be [5] victorious. They were beaten, but chose rather to die where they stood than to run away; and the victors, angry that their victory was thus delayed, cut them down, when they could not rout them. But they routed them at last, when only a few were left, exhausted with fighting and with [6] wounds. The survivors were now all dispersed, and those who could attempted to regain their horses and escape.

[7] Gnaeus Lentulus, a tribune of the soldiers, as he rode by on his horse, caught sight of the consul sitting on a stone and covered with [8] blood. "Lucius Aemilius," he cried, "on whom the gods ought to look down in mercy, as the only man without guilt in this day's disaster, take this horse, while you have still a little strength remaining and I can attend you and raise you up and guard [9] you. Make not this battle calamitous by a consul's death; even without that there are tears and grief enough."

To this the consul answered, "All honour, Cornelius, to your [10] manhood! But waste not in unavailing pity the little time you have to escape the enemy. Go, and tell the senators in public session to fortify the City of Rome and garrison it strongly before the victorious enemy draws near: in private say to Quintus Fabius that Lucius Aemilius has lived till this hour and now dies remembering his [11] precepts. As for me, let me breathe my last in the midst of my slaughtered soldiers, lest either for a second time I be brought to trial after being consul, or else stand forth the accuser of my colleague, blaming another in defence of my own [12] innocence." While they were speaking, there came up with them first a crowd of fleeing Romans, and then the enemy, who overwhelmed the consul, without knowing who he was, beneath a rain of [13] missiles. Lentulus, thanks to his horse, escaped in the confusion. The rout was now everywhere complete. Seven thousand men escaped into the smaller camp, ten

thousand into the larger, and about two thousand into the village of Cannae ^[14] itself. These last were immediately cut off by Carthalo and his cavalry, for the village was not fortified. The other consul, whether by accident or by design, had not joined any throng of fugitives, but fled to Venusia with some fifty ^[15] horsemen.

It is said that forty-five thousand five hundred foot and two thousand seven hundred horse were slain, in an almost equal proportion of citizens and ^[16] allies. In the number were the quaestors of both consuls, Lucius Atilius and Lucius Furius Bibaculus, and twenty-nine military tribunes, some of consular rank, some of praetorian or aedilician — amongst others are mentioned Gnaeus Servilius Geminus and Marcus Minucius, who had been master of the horse in the preceding years and consul several years before ^[17] — and besides these, eighty senators or men who had held offices which would have given them the right to be elected to the senate, but had volunteered to serve as soldiers in the ^[18] legions. The prisoners taken in this battle are said to have numbered three thousand foot-soldiers and fifteen hundred horsemen.

50. Such was the battle of Cannae, a calamity as memorable as that suffered at the Allia, and though less grave in its results — because ^[2] the enemy failed to follow up his victory — yet for the slaughter of the army even more grievous and disgraceful. ^[3] For the flight at the Allia, though it betrayed the City, saved the army: at Cannae the consul who fled was accompanied by a scant fifty men; the other, dying, had well-nigh the entire army with him.

In the two Roman camps the crowd was half-armed and destitute of leaders. The men in the larger camp sent a messenger bidding those in the smaller one come over to them in the night, while the enemy, exhausted by the fighting and by the feasting that had followed on ^[4??] their triumph, were sunk in sleep: they would then set out in one body for Canusium. ^[5] This plan some were for totally rejecting. Why, they asked, did not those who summoned them come themselves to the smaller camp, where they could just as well effect a junction? Clearly because the ground between was covered with enemies and they preferred to expose to such danger the persons of others rather than their own. Some were not so much displeased with the plan as wanting in resolution. ^[6] Then said the military tribune

Publius Sempronius Tuditanus: “So you had rather be captured by the greediest and most cruel of foes, and be appraised at so much a head by those who ask, ‘Are you a Roman citizen or a Latin ally?’ in order that from the insults and misery you suffer, the other may win distinction? [7] ‘Not so!’ each man will answer, if you are indeed fellow citizens of Lucius Aemilius the consul, who preferred an honourable death to life with ignominy, and of all those heroes who lie in heaps around him! [8] But before daylight surprises us and the enemy blocks our way in greater force, let us break out through these men that are clamouring in disorder and confusion at our gates. [9] With a sword and a stout heart a man may pass through enemies, be they never so thick. In close formation you may scatter this loose and unorganized force as though there were nothing in your way. Follow me, then, as many of you as desire safety for yourselves and for the commonwealth! [10] “Uttering these words he grasped his sword, and, forming a column, strode away through the midst of the enemy; [11] and when the Numidians hurled missiles at their right sides, which were unprotected, they shifted their shields to the right and so got through, about six hundred of them, to the larger camp; and thence, after being joined by the other great body of men, they made their way at once without loss to Canusium. [12] These things the conquered did rather from the urge of such courage as each derived from his own nature or from chance than in consequence of their own deliberation or any man’s authority.

51. Hannibal’s officers crowded round him with congratulations on his victory. The others all advised him, now that he had brought so great a war to a conclusion, to repose himself and to allow his weary soldiers to repose for the remainder of that day and the following night. [2] But Maharbal, the commander of the cavalry, held that no time should be lost. “Nay,” he cried, “that you may realize what has been accomplished by this battle, in five days you shall banquet in the Capitol! Follow after; I will precede you with the cavalry, that the Romans may know that you are there before they know that you are coming!” [3] To Hannibal the idea was too joyous and too vast for his mind at once to grasp it. And so, while praising Maharbal’s goodwill, he declared that he must have time to deliberate regarding his advice. [4] Then said Maharbal, “In very truth the gods bestow not

on the same man all their gifts; you know how to gain a victory, Hannibal: you know not how to use one.” That day’s delay is generally believed to have saved the City and the empire.

[5] The morning after, as soon as it was light, they pressed forward to collect the spoil and to gaze on a carnage that was ghastly even to enemies. [6] There lay those thousands upon thousands of Romans, foot and horse indiscriminately mingled, as chance had brought them together in the battle or the rout. Here and there amidst the slain there started up a gory figure whose wounds had begun to throb with the chill of dawn, and was cut down by his enemies; [7] some were discovered lying there alive, with thighs and tendons slashed, baring their necks and throats and bidding their conquerors drain the remnant of their blood. [8] Others were found with their heads buried in holes dug in the ground. They had apparently made these pits for themselves, and heaping the dirt over their faces shut off their breath. [9] But what most drew the attention of all beholders was a Numidian who was dragged out alive from under a dead Roman, but with mutilated nose and ears; for the Roman, unable to hold a weapon in his hands, had expired in a frenzy of rage, while rending the other with his teeth.

52. After spending a good part of the day in gathering spoils, Hannibal proceeded to attack the smaller camp. The first thing that he did was to throw up an entrenchment which cut them off from the river. [2] But they were all so tired out from fighting and lack of sleep, as well as from wounds, that they surrendered even sooner than he had expected. The terms agreed upon were as follows: they were to give up their arms and horses; the ransom was fixed at three hundred chariot-pieces for every Roman, two hundred for every ally, and one hundred for every slave; [3] on the payment of this price they were to go free, with a single garment each. [4] They then received their enemies into the camp and were all placed in custody, citizens being separated from allies. During the delay there, those in the larger camp who possessed sufficient strength and courage, amounting to four thousand foot and two hundred horse, had escaped, some in a body, others scattering — no less safely — over the country-side, and reached Canusium. The camp itself the wounded and timorous surrendered to the enemy on the same terms as the other. [5] It yielded

enormous spoils, and except for the horses and men and such silver as there was — which was mostly on the harness of the horses, for they then used very little plate, especially when in the field — the rest of the booty was all given up to pillage. [6] He then commanded the bodies of his dead to be brought into one place for burial. It is said that they numbered about eight thousand of his bravest men. Some historians state that the Roman consul, too, was sought out and given burial.

[7] Those who escaped to Canusium were aided by an Apulian woman of birth and fortune named Busa. The townspeople had merely afforded them the protection of the walls and shelter, but she provided them with corn, clothing, and money for the way, in return for which munificence she was afterwards, on the conclusion of the war, voted honours by the senate.

53. Now though there were four tribunes of the soldiers on the ground — Quintus Fabius Maximus of the first legion, whose father had been dictator the year before, Lucius [??] Publicius Bibulus and Publius Cornelius Scipio of the second legion, and Appius Claudius Pulcher, who had very recently been aedile, of the third legion — the [3] supreme command was by unanimous consent made over to Publius Scipio, the merest youth, and to Appius Claudius. [4] These two were considering the general situation, in company with a few others, when Publius Furius Philus, the son of an ex-consul, came in and told them that they were idly entertaining a lost hope; the state was already given over and mourned as dead; [5] some of the young nobles, of whom Marcus Caecilius Metellus was the chief, were looking to the sea and ships, proposing to abandon Italy and flee for refuge to some king. [6] These evil tidings, dreadful in themselves and coming as a new distress on the top of so many disasters, stunned those who heard them with a dull amazement. But when they would have called a council to talk the matter over, young Scipio, the predestined leader in this war, declared that it was no matter for taking counsel: [7] they must be bold and act, not deliberate, in the face of this great evil; let them take arms and go with him at once, as many as wished to save the state; [8] no camp was so truly the camp of the enemy as one where such thoughts were rife. [9] He proceeded, with only a few followers, to the quarters of Metellus, where he

found a gathering of the young men of whom he had been informed. [10] Raising his sword over their heads, as they sat in consultation, “I solemnly swear,” he said, “that even as I myself shall not desert the republic of the Roman People, so likewise shall I suffer no other Roman citizen to do so; [11] if I wittingly speak false, may Jupiter Optimus Maximus utterly destroy me, my house, my family, and my estate. [12] Marcus Caecilius, I call on you and the others who are present to swear after these terms, and if any refuse to swear, let him know that against him this sword is drawn.” [13] Quaking as though they beheld the victorious Hannibal, all took the oath, and delivered themselves into the custody of Scipio.

54. While this was happening at Canusium, about four thousand five hundred horse and foot, who had scattered over the country-side in flight, made their way to Venusia, to the consul. [2] All these the inhabitants distributed amongst various families where they might be kindly received and cared for, and bestowed on each horseman a toga and a tunic and twenty-five chariot-pieces, and on each foot-soldier ten pieces, together with arms, where they were needed. In all other matters, too, they dealt hospitably by them, both as a town and as individuals, in their zeal that the People of Venusia should not lag behind a Canusian woman in friendly offices.

[4] But the great multitude was beginning to be too heavy a burden upon [5] Busa — and indeed there were now as many as ten thousand men — and Appius and Scipio, when they learned that the other consul was alive, immediately dispatched a messenger to let him know what forces of infantry and cavalry they had with them, and at the same time to enquire whether he desired the army to be brought to Venusia or remain [6] at Canusium. Varro transferred his own troops to Canusium; and they now had something resembling a consular army, and might look to defend themselves against the enemy, behind walls, at all events, if not in [7] the field.

But at Rome it was reported that not even these pitiful remnants of citizens and allies survived, but that the army with its two consuls was clean destroyed and all their forces [8] blotted out. Never, save when the City had been captured, was there such terror and confusion within the walls of Rome. I shall therefore confess myself unequal to the task, nor attempt a narrative where the fullest

description would fall short of the truth. The year before a consul and his army had been lost at Trasumennus, and now it was not merely one blow following another, but a calamity many times as great that [9] was reported; two consuls and two consular armies had been lost, and there was no longer any Roman camp, or general, or soldier; Hannibal was master of Apulia, Samnium, and well-nigh the whole [10] of Italy. Surely there was no other people that would not have been overwhelmed by a disaster of such [11] vast proportions. Would you compare the disaster off the Aegatian islands, which the Carthaginians suffered in the sea-fight, by which their spirit was so broken that they relinquished Sicily and Sardinia and suffered themselves to become tax-payers and tributaries? or the defeat in Africa to which this very Hannibal afterwards succumbed? In no single aspect are they to be compared with this calamity, except that they were endured with less of fortitude.

55. Publius Furius Philus and Marcus Pomponius, the praetors, called the senate together in the Curia Hostilia, to consult about the defence of Rome; [2] for they made no doubt that the enemy, after wiping out their armies, would be advancing to besiege the City, which was all that remained to do to end the war. [3] But when, amid dangers at once so immense and so incalculable, they failed to think of even any tolerable plan of action, and were deafened with the cries and lamentations of the women, both the living and the dead — in the lack as yet of any announcement — being [4] indiscriminately mourned in almost every house, then Quintus Fabius Maximus urged that light-armed horsemen be sent out along the Appian and Latin ways, and questioning those they met — for some there would surely be who had dispersed and made off in the rout — bring back word of the fortunes of the consuls and the armies, and if the immortal gods, taking pity on the empire, had spared any remnant of the Roman name, where those forces were; [5] whither Hannibal had gone after the battle, what his plans were, what he was doing and was likely to do. [6] To discover and ascertain these facts was a task, he said, for active youths; what the Fathers themselves must do, since there were not magistrates enough, was this: quell the panic and confusion in the City; keep the matrons off the streets and compel them each to abide in her own home; [7] restrain families from lamentation; procure

silence throughout the City; see that bearers of any news were brought before the praetors — every man must wait at home for tidings that concerned himself; [8] — and, besides this, post sentries at the gates, to keep anyone from leaving the City, and make the people rest all hope of safety on the safety of Rome and of its walls. When the tumult had died down, then the Fathers must be convened again and consider how to defend the City.

56. After they had all voted for this proposal without debate, and the throng had been cleared out of the Forum by the magistrates, and the Fathers had dispersed in various directions to still the uproar, then at last came a dispatch from Gaius Terentius the consul, announcing that the consul Lucius Aemilius and his army had been destroyed; [2] that he himself was at Canusium, collecting — as though after a storm at sea — the wreckage of that great disaster; that he had about ten thousand men, not organised or assigned to companies; [3] that the Phoenician was sitting down at Cannae, haggling over the ransom of his prisoners and over the rest of the booty, exhibiting neither the spirit of a conqueror nor the behaviour of a great commander.

[4] Announcement was then made from house to house of the losses they had each sustained, and the entire City was so filled with lamentation that the annual rite of Ceres was allowed to lapse, since it may not be performed by mourners, nor was there at that time a single matron who was not bereaved. [5] Accordingly, lest for this same reason other public or private rites might be neglected, the senate decreed that mourning should be limited to thirty days.

[6] But when the confusion in the City had subsided and the Fathers had been summoned back to the senate-house, another dispatch was brought in from Sicily, from the propraetor Titus Otacilius. [7] He reported that Hiero's kingdom was being laid waste by a Punic fleet, and that when he would have responded to Hiero's appeal for help, he had got news of another fleet, that was standing off the Aegatian islands, all ready and equipped, so that when the Phoenicians should perceive that he had turned his back on them to go to the rescue of the Syracusan coast, they might instantly descend on Lilybaeum and the rest of the Roman province. [8] A fleet was therefore necessary if they desired to protect the king, their ally, and

Sicily.

57. When the dispatches from the consul and the praetor had been read out, the senate voted to send Marcus Claudius, the praetor commanding the fleet at Ostia, to Canusium, and to write to the consul to turn the army over to him and come to Rome at the earliest moment compatible with the welfare of the state.

They were terrified not only by the great disasters they had suffered, but also by a number of prodigies, and in particular because two Vestals, Opimia and Floronia, had in that year been convicted of unchastity. Of these one had been buried alive, as the custom is, near the Colline Gate, and the other had killed herself. [2] Lucius Cantilius, a secretary to the pontiffs — one [3] of those who are now called the lesser pontiffs — had been guilty with Floronia, and the Pontifex Maximus had him scourged in the Comitium so severely that he died under the blows. [4] Since in the midst of so many misfortunes this pollution was, as happens at such times, converted into a portent, the decemvirs were commanded to consult the Books, and Quintus Fabius Pictor was [5??] dispatched to Delphi, to enquire of the oracle with what prayers and supplications they might propitiate the gods, and what would be the end of all their calamities. [6] In the meantime, by the direction of the Books of Fate, some unusual sacrifices were offered; amongst others a Gaulish man and woman and a Greek man and woman were buried alive in the Cattle Market, in a place walled in with stone, which even before this time had been defiled with human victims, a sacrifice wholly alien to the Roman spirit.

[7] Deeming that the gods had now been sufficiently appeased, Marcus Claudius Marcellus sent fifteen hundred soldiers whom he had under him, enrolled for service with the fleet, from Ostia to Rome, to defend the City; and sending before him to Teanum Sidicinum the naval legion (to wit, the third) under its tribunes, handed over the fleet to his colleague Publius Furius Philus and a few days later hastened by forced marches to Canusium. [8] The senate then authorized the appointment of a dictator and Marcus Junius [Pera] was named to that office, with Tiberius Sempronius as master of the horse. [9] Proclaiming a levy they enlisted the young men over seventeen and some who still wore the purple-bordered dress of boyhood. Of these they made up four legions and a thousand horse.

They also sent men to the allies and the Latins to take over their soldiers, as by treaty provided. [10] They gave orders that armour, weapons and other equipment should be made ready, and took down from the temples and porticoes the ancient spoils of enemies. [11] The levy wore a strange appearance, for, owing to the scarcity of free men and the need of the hour, they bought, with money from the treasury, eight thousand young and stalwart slaves and armed them, first asking each if he were willing to serve. [12] They preferred these slaves for soldiers, though they might have redeemed the prisoners of war at less expense.

58. For Hannibal, after his great victory at Cannae, had been more concerned with the projects of a conqueror than with those of one who was still waging war. [2] Mustering the prisoners and dividing them into two groups, he addressed a few kindly words to the allies and dismissed them without ransom, as he had done previously at the Trebia and Lake Trasumennus. He then called up the Romans also and spoke to them with a mildness he had never shown before. [3] He was waging, he said, no war of extermination with them, but was contending for honour and dominion. His forerunners had yielded to the valour of the Romans, and he was striving to compel them in their turn to yield to his own good fortune and valour. [4] He would therefore give them an opportunity to redeem the prisoners, and would fix their ransom at five hundred chariot-pieces for each horseman, three hundred for each foot-soldier, and a hundred for each slave.

[5] Although this was a rather large addition to the ransom which the horsemen had agreed to on surrendering, they joyfully accepted any terms of treaty. [6] It was resolved that the prisoners should themselves elect ten representatives to go to the senate in Rome; nor did Hannibal take any other pledge of their good faith than their oath that they would return. [7] Carthalo, a Carthaginian noble, was sent with them, so that, if he should see that the Romans inclined to peace, he might offer terms. [8] The envoys had just left the camp when one of them, a fellow of thoroughly un-Roman character, returned to it — as if he had forgotten something — in order to free himself from his oath, and before dark had caught up with his companions. [9] When the news reached Rome that they were

coming, a lictor was sent to meet Carthalo on the way and warn him in the name of the Dictator to depart before nightfall out of Roman territory.

59. As for the envoys of the prisoners, the dictator admitted them into the senate, where their leader spoke as follows: “Marcus Junius and Conscript Fathers, none of us is unaware that no state ever held prisoners of war in less esteem than ours. [2] But, unless we overrate our cause, there have never been men who came into the power of the enemy less deserving than ourselves of your neglect. [3] For we did not yield up our swords through fear on the field of battle, but standing on the heaped bodies of the slain prolonged the combat almost until nightfall and then retired to our camp. [4] The rest of the day and the succeeding night, though exhausted with fighting and with wounds, we defended the stockade. [5] On the following day, surrounded by a victorious army and cut off from water, having no longer any hope of breaking through the throng of enemies, and thinking it no disgrace that when fifty thousand of our troops had been cut down, some few Roman soldiers should survive the battle of Cannae, we finally stipulated [6??] for a price at which we might be ransomed, and delivered to the enemy the arms in which there was no longer any help. [7] Even our ancestors — so we had heard — redeemed themselves from the Gauls with gold; and your fathers, despite their fierce opposition to terms of peace, sent envoys to Tarentum to ransom prisoners. [8] And yet neither the battle with the Gauls at the Allia nor that with Pyrrhus at Heraclea owed its unhappy fame so much to carnage as to craven flight. At Cannae the plains are covered with heaps of Roman corpses, and if we survive, it is only because our enemies’ swords were dulled and their strength spent with slaughtering. [9] There are some of us, too, who were never even in the battle, but were left to guard the camp, and on its surrender passed into the enemy’s hands. [10] Think not that I envy the good luck or circumstances of any fellow citizen or fellow soldier, nor would I raise myself by thrusting another down; but — unless there be a prize for fleetness of foot and running — it is not those who, without weapons for the most part and fleeing from the fight, never stopped until they reached Venusia or Canusium that can justly set themselves above us or boast that they are better defenders of the

state than ^[11] we. Both in them and in us you shall have good and valiant soldiers; but we shall be even more eager than they to defend our country, since we shall owe to your kindness our redemption and our restoration to that country. You are levying soldiers of every age and condition; I hear that eight thousand slaves are being ^[12] armed. Our number is not less than that, and our ransom would be no more costly than their purchase; I make no comparison between our worth and theirs, for that would be to insult the name of ^[13] Roman. One other point I would suggest, as meriting consideration, when you deliberate about this matter, Conscript Fathers: if haply you should incline to deal harshly by us — which we do not in the least deserve — to what enemy would you be leaving us? To a Pyrrhus, pray, who treated his prisoners like ^[14] guests? or to a barbarian and Phoenician, of whom it can hardly be determined whether his avarice or cruelty be ^[15] greater? If you could behold the fetters, the squalor, the degradation of your fellow-citizens, assuredly the sight would move you no less profoundly than if, on the other hand, you saw your legions lying slaughtered on the fields of Cannae. One thing you can see — the distress and tears of our kinsmen who are standing at the entrance of the Curia awaiting your ^[16] decision. When these people are in such suspense and agony for us and for those who are absent, what think you the men themselves must feel whose life and liberty are hanging in the balance? If Hannibal — Heaven help ^[17] me! — should himself be pleased, against his nature, to show us mercy, we should nevertheless deem life a worthless boon, if we had seemed to you unworthy of being ransomed. There once came back to Rome some prisoners whom Pyrrhus had allowed to go scot-free; but they came back in company with envoys, the first men of the state, whom you had sent to ransom ^[18] them. Am I to come back to my country as a citizen not reckoned to be worth three hundred pieces? Every man, Conscript Fathers, has his own way of ^[19] thinking. I know that my life and person are in jeopardy; but I am troubled more by the danger to my honour — lest we depart under your condemnation and rebuff; for the world will never believe that you were niggardly about the cost.”

60. As soon as he had finished speaking, the throng in the Comitium began to utter doleful cries, and holding out their hands to

the Curia besought the senators to give them back their sons, their brothers, and their kinsmen. [2] Even the women had been driven by their fear and destitute condition to mingle in the Forum with the crowd of men. The senate was cleared of strangers and the debate began. [3] Opinions differed. Some were for ransoming the prisoners at the public cost; others would have no money disbursed by the state, but would not prohibit ransoming at the expense of individuals, and to such as might not [4??] have the money in hand proposed to grant loans from the treasury, guarding the people against loss by taking sureties and mortgages. [5] Then Titus Manlius Torquatus, a man of an old-fashioned and, as it seemed to many, a too harsh austerity, was called upon for his opinion and spoke as follows:

[6] "If, in pleading the cause of those who are in the hands of our enemies, their representatives had been content to ask that they be ransomed, I should have said my say in a few words, without reflecting upon any of them; for what else need I have done than warn you to hold fast to the tradition of our fathers and teach a lesson necessary for military discipline? [7] But as it is, since they have almost boasted of having surrendered to the enemy, and have held that they are to be preferred not only to those who were captured by the enemy in battle, but also to those who made their way to Venusia and Canusium, and even to the consul, Gaius Terentius himself, I will not permit you to be ignorant, Conscript Fathers, of any part of their conduct there. [8] And I wish that what I am going to say to you I might say at Canusium in the presence of the army itself, the most competent witness to any man's cowardice or valour, or that Sempronius, at least, were with us here, whose leadership if yonder men had followed, they would to-day be soldiers in a Roman camp, not prisoners in the hands of our enemies. [9] But when the enemy, worn out with fighting, and rejoicing in their victory, had themselves for the most part gone back to their own camp and left the night free for a sally; though seven thousand armed men could have forced their way even through a close array of foes, they neither attempted to do this of themselves, nor yet were willing to follow another. [10] During almost all that night Publius Sempronius Tuditanus ceased not to admonish and exhort them to let him lead them, while only a few of their enemies were near the camp, while everything was

hushed and still, while the darkness might afford a cover for their enterprise. Before daylight, he declared, they could reach a place of safety among the towns of the allies. [11] If he had said what, within the recollection of our grandsires, Publius Decius, tribune of the soldiers, said in Samnium; or what Marcus Calpurnius Flamma said, when we ourselves were young men, in the former Punic war, to three hundred volunteers whom he was leading to take a hill that rose in the very midst of the enemy: ‘Soldiers, let us die, and by our death set free the beleaguered legions’ — if [12] Publius Sempronius had said *this*, I should have deemed you no true men, to say nothing of Romans, if none had come forward to share so brave an exploit. [13] But instead he points out to you a road that leads to safety as surely as to fame. He proposes to restore you to your country, to your parents, to your wives and children. You lack even the spirit to be saved! What would you do then if your country called on you to die? [14] Fifty thousand fellow Romans and allies lay slaughtered round you that very day. If so many brave examples could not move you, nothing ever will. If that dreadful carnage has not made life cheap, none ever will. Long for your country, whilst you are free and unattainted. Nay, rather, long for it whilst it *is* your country, whilst you are reckoned with its citizens. [15] Too late now is your longing; you have forfeited your status, lost your civic rights, been made slaves of the Carthaginians. Do you think to return, for ransom, to that condition which you forfeited by cowardice and turpitude? [16] You would not listen to Publius Sempronius, your fellow citizen, when he bade you arm and follow him; but you listened to Hannibal a little later, when he bade you betray the camp and surrender your arms. But why do I charge these men with cowardice when I could bring against them a charge of crime? [17] For not only did they refuse to follow a man who gave them good advice, but they tried to thwart and hinder him; and those heroic men were forced to draw their swords and thrust the cowards from their path. Aye, Publius Sempronius must needs break through a band of Roman citizens before he could break through their enemies: Can their country wish to recover such citizens as these? [18] If the others had resembled these, she would possess to-day no single citizen of all those who fought at Cannae. Out of seven thousand soldiers, six hundred were

sufficiently courageous to force their way through and return to their country, free and armed. [19] Nor did these six hundred encounter any opposition from the enemy; how safe then, think you, would have been their march, if they had amounted almost to two legions? [20] You would have to-day under arms at Canusium, Conscript Fathers, twenty thousand brave and loyal men. But how can these men now be good and loyal citizens — for they themselves would hardly claim to be brave? [21] Unless we are to believe that they helped their comrades to sally out, when in fact they tried to prevent the sally; or that they grudge not those men both the safety and the renown their courage has earned them, knowing, as they do, that fear and cowardice are the cause of their own disgraceful servitude. They had a good chance of escaping in the silence of the night, but preferred to hide in their tents and await both the day and the enemy. [22] But perhaps, though they lacked the courage to sally forth, they had courage enough for a valiant defence of the camp? Perhaps they were besieged for several days and nights, and protected the rampart with their swords, and themselves with the rampart? [23] and finally, after suffering the last extremities, when every support of life gave out and their strength was so impaired with hunger that they could now no longer hold up their shields, they were overcome by the necessities of human nature and not by arms? [24] Nay, the sun was up when the enemy approached the rampart, and the day was not two hours old when, without once putting their fortune to the test of battle, they surrendered both their arms and their persons. Such, mark you, were the exploits these men performed during two days. [25] When they ought to have stood fast in the line and fought, they fled to their tents; when they ought to have fought for their stockade, they surrendered the camp, worthless alike in the field and behind entrenchments. [26] And you would have us ransom you? When it is time to sally from your camp, you hesitate and stop there; when it is needful that you stop and defend it with your swords, you hand over camp and swords and your own bodies to the enemy! [27] No, Conscript Fathers, I would no more vote for ransoming these men than I would for giving those others up to Hannibal, who forced their way from the camp through the midst of enemies, and, by exerting the utmost valour, gave themselves back to their country.”

61. After the speech of Manlius, though most of the senators, too, had relatives amongst the prisoners, yet, besides the example of a state which had shown from of old the scantiest consideration for [2??] prisoners of war, they were also moved by the greatness of the sum required, not wishing either to exhaust the treasury, on which they had already made a heavy draft to purchase slaves and arm them for service, or to furnish Hannibal with money — the one thing of which he was rumoured to stand most in need. [3] When the stern reply, that the prisoners would not be ransomed, had gone forth, and fresh sorrow had been added to the old, at the loss of so many of their fellow-citizens, the crowd attended the envoys to the gate with many tears and lamentations. [4] One of them departed to his home, pretending to have freed himself from his oath when he deceitfully returned to the enemy's camp. As soon as this became known and was reported to the senators, they voted unanimously to arrest him and appointed guards to conduct him back to Hannibal.

[5] There is also another accounts of the prisoners of war: that ten envoys came at first, and that the senate, after hesitating whether or no to admit them to the City, admitted them, with the proviso that they should have no hearing. [6] Later, on their delaying longer than anybody had anticipated, three additional envoys came, namely Lucius Scribonius and Gaius Calpurnius and Lucius Manlius; then at last a motion was made in the senate by a kinsman of Scribonius, who was tribune of plebs, that the prisoners be ransomed, but the motion was defeated; [7] the three new envoys now returned to Hannibal, but the original ten remained in Rome, alleging that they had freed themselves of their obligation by going back to Hannibal's camp, after starting on their journey, under the pretext of reviewing the prisoners' names. [8] A proposal to surrender them was hotly debated in the senate and was lost by only a few votes. [9] However, under the next censors the ten were so overwhelmed with every species of reprobation and disgrace that some of them killed themselves forthwith, and the rest during all the remainder of their lives avoided not only the Forum, but, one might almost say, the light of day and the public streets. [10] It is more amazing that the authorities should be so divergent than easy to make out the truth.

For the rest, how greatly this disaster exceeded those that had

gone before is plain from this: the loyalty of the allies, which had held firm until the day of Cannae, now began to waver, assuredly for no other reason than because they had lost all hope of the empire. [11] Now these are the peoples that revolted: the Campanians, the Atellani, the Calatini, the Hirpini, a part of the Apulians, all the [12??] Samnites but the Pentri, all the Bruttii, the Lucanians, and besides these the Uzentini and almost all the Greeks on the coast, the Tarentines, the Metapontines, the Crotoniates and the Locri, together with all the Cisalpine Gauls. [13] Yet these disasters and the falling away of the allies could not induce the Romans anywhere to mention peace, either before the consul came to Rome or after his coming had turned men's thoughts anew to the calamity which they had suffered. [14] In that very hour there was such courage in the hearts of the citizens that when the consul was returning from that defeat for which he himself had been chiefly responsible, a crowd of all sorts and conditions went out to meet him on the way, and gave him thanks because he had not despaired of the state; [15] whereas, had he been the commander of the Carthaginians, there was no punishment he would not have been compelled to suffer.

SUMMARY OF BOOK XXII

HANNIBAL, losing sleep continuously in the marshes, went blind in one eye, and reached Etruria after marching through the swamps for four days and three nights without repose. Gaius Flaminius the consul, a headstrong man, set out, against the warning of the auspices, after digging out the military standards which they had been unable to pull up, and after the horse which he had mounted had thrown him over its head; and, entrapped by Hannibal in an ambush at Lake Thrasymennus, was slain and his army cut to pieces. Six thousand men who had broken through the enemy's lines were thrown into chains through Hannibal's perfidy, notwithstanding the pledge which Atherbal had given them. While the Romans were mourning at the tidings which had come of this calamity, two mothers died of joy on recovering the sons whom they had given up for lost. Because of this defeat a Sacred Spring was vowed, by the

direction of the Sibylline Books.

When, after that, Quintus Fabius Maximus, who had been sent out as dictator to oppose Hannibal, was loath to meet him in the open field, for he would not trust his soldiers, who had been cowed by these defeats, in a battle with an enemy emboldened by his victories; and was satisfied merely to thwart the efforts of Hannibal, by blocking his way; Marcus Minucius, the master of the horse, a rash and headstrong man, charging the dictator with sluggishness and timidity persuaded the people to decree that his own authority should be equal to that of the dictator. But, the army being divided between them, Minucius gave battle in an unfavourable position, and his legions were in great peril, when Fabius Maximus came up with his army and saved him. Won over by this generosity, he joined his camp to that of Fabius, and, saluting him as his father, bade his army do the same.

Hannibal, after laying waste Campania, was penned in by Fabius between the town of Casilinum and Mount Callicula. Binding twigs about the horns of oxen and setting them on fire, he frightened off the detachment of Romans stationed on Callicula, and so marched over the pass. It was Hannibal, too, who spared the farm of Quintus Fabius Maximus the dictator, when burning all that country-side, in order to make him suspected of being a traitor.

Aemilius Paulus and Terentius Varro then became consuls and commanded the army which fought disastrously with Hannibal at Cannae. There were slain in that battle forty-five thousand Romans, including the consul Paulus, and ninety senators, and thirty others who had been consuls or praetors or aediles. After that some young nobles were plotting, in their despair, to abandon Italy, when Publius Cornelius Scipio, a tribune of the soldiers, who was later surnamed Africanus, held his drawn sword over the heads of the conspirators and vowing that he would treat as a public enemy whoever should not swear at his dictation, compelled them all to bind themselves with an oath not to abandon Italy.

There were so few soldiers that they armed eight thousand slaves. They were given an opportunity of ransoming the prisoners, but did not ransom them.

The book also describes the panic and grief in the City, and the

operations, conducted more successfully, in Spain. The Vestals Opimia and Florentia were convicted of unchastity. The people went out to meet Varro, and thanked him because he had not despaired of the Republic.

BOOK XXIII

Translated by William A. McDevitte

B.C. 216-215

The Campanians revolt to Hannibal. Mago is sent to Carthage to announce the victory of Cannae. Hanno advises the Carthaginian senate to make peace with the Romans, but is overborne by the Barcine faction. Claudius Marcellus the praetor defeats Hannibal at Nola. Hannibal's army is enervated in mind and body by luxurious living at Capua. Casilinum is besieged by the Carthaginians, and the inhabitants reduced to the last extremity of famine. A hundred and ninety-seven senators elected from the equestrian order. Lucius Postumius is, with his army, cut off by the Gauls. Cneius and Publius Scipio defeat Hasdrubal in Spain, and gain possession of that country. The remains of the army, defeated at Cannae, are sent off to Sicily, there to remain until the termination of the war. An alliance is formed between Philip, king of Macedon, and Hannibal. Sempronius Gracchus defeats the Campanians. Successes of Titus Manlius in Sardinia he takes Hasdrubal the general, Mago, and Hanno prisoners. Claudius Marcellus again defeats the army of Hannibal at Nola, and the hopes of the Romans are revived as to the results of the war.

* * * * *

1. After the battle of Cannae, Hannibal, having captured and plundered the Roman camp, had immediately removed from Apulia into Samnium; invited into the territory of the Hirpini by Statius, who promised that he would surrender Compsa. Tiebius, a native of Compsa, was conspicuous for rank among his countrymen; but a faction of the Mopsii kept him down — a family of great influence through the favour of the Romans. After intelligence of the battle of Cannae, and a report of the approach of Hannibal, circulated by the discourse of Trebius, the Mopsian party had retired from the city; which was thus given up to the Carthaginian without opposition, and a garrison received into it. Leaving there all his booty and baggage,

and dividing his forces, he orders Mago to receive under his protection the cities of that district which might revolt from the Romans, and to force to defection those which might be disinclined. He himself, passing through the territory of Campania, made for the lower sea, with the intention of assaulting Naples, in order that he might be master of a maritime city. As soon as he entered the confines of the Neapolitan territory, he placed part of his Numidians in ambush, wherever he could find a convenient spot; for there are very many hollow roads and secret windings: others he ordered to drive before them the booty they had collected from the country, and, exhibiting it to the enemy, to ride up to the gates of the city. As they appeared to be few in number and in disorder, a troop of horse sallied out against them, which was cut off, being drawn into an ambuscade by the others, who purposely retreated: nor would one of them have escaped, had not the sea been near, and some vessels, principally such as are used in fishing, observed at a short distance from the shore, afforded an escape for those who could swim. Several noble youths, however, were captured and slain in that affair. Among whom, Hegeas, the commander of the cavalry, fell when pursuing the retreating enemy too eagerly. The sight of the walls, which were not favourable to a besieging force, deterred the Carthaginian from storming the city.

2. Thence he turned his course to Capua, which was wantoning under a long course of prosperity, and the indulgence of fortune: amid the general corruption, however, the most conspicuous feature was the extravagance of the commons, who exercised their liberty without limit. Pacuvius Calavius had rendered the senate subservient to himself and the commons, at once a noble and popular man, but who had acquired his influence by dishonourable intrigues. Happening to hold the chief magistracy during the year in which the defeat at the Trasimenus occurred, and thinking that the commons, who had long felt the most violent hostility to the senate, would attempt some desperate measure, should an opportunity for effecting a change present itself; and if Hannibal should come into that quarter with his victorious army, would murder the senators and deliver Capua to the Carthaginians; as he desired to rule in a state preserved rather than subverted (for though depraved he was not utterly

abandoned), and as he felt convinced that no state could be preserved if bereaved of its public council, he adopted a plan by which he might preserve the senate and render it subject to himself and the commons. Having assembled the senate, he prefaced his remarks by observing, "that nothing would induce him to acquiesce in a plan of defection from the Romans, were it not absolutely necessary; since he had children by the daughter of Appius Claudius, and had a daughter at Rome married to Livius: but that a much more serious and alarming matter threatened them, than any consequences which could result from such a measure. For that the intention of the commons was not to abolish the senate by revolting to the Carthaginians, but to murder the senators, and deliver the state thus destitute to Hannibal and the Carthaginians. That it was in his power to rescue them from this danger, if they would resign themselves to his care, and, forgetting their political dissensions, confide in him." When, overpowered with fear, they all put themselves under his protection, he proceeded: "I will shut you up in the senate-house, and pretending myself to be an accomplice in the meditated crime, I will, by approving measures which I should in vain oppose, find out a way for your safety. For the performance of this take whatever pledge you please." Having given his honour, he went out; and having ordered the house to be closed, placed a guard in the lobby that no one might enter or leave it without his leave.

3. Then assembling the people, he thus addressed them: "What you have so often wished for, Campanians, the power of punishing an unprincipled and detestable senate, you now have, not at your own imminent peril, by riotously storming the houses of each, which are guarded and garrisoned with slaves and dependants, but free and without danger. Take them all, shut up in the senate-house, alone and unarmed; nor need you do any thing precipitately or blindly. I will give you the opportunity of pronouncing upon the life or death of each, that each may suffer the punishment he has deserved. But, above all, it behoves you so to give way to your resentment, as considering that your own safety and advantage are of greater importance. For I apprehend that you hate these particular senators, and not that you are unwilling to have any senate at all; for you must either have a king, which all abominate, or a senate, which is the

only course compatible with a free state. Accordingly you must effect two objects at the same time; you must remove the old senate and elect a new one. I will order the senators to be summoned one by one, and I shall put it to you to decide whether they deserve to live or die: whatever you may determine respecting each shall be done; but before you execute your sentence on the culprit, you shall elect some brave and strenuous man as a fresh senator to supply his place." Upon this he took his seat, and, the names having been thrown together into an urn, he ordered that the name which had the lot to fall out first should be proclaimed, and the person brought forward out of the senate-house. When the name was heard, each man strenuously exclaimed that he was a wicked and unprincipled fellow, and deserved to be punished. Pacuvius then said, "I perceive the sentence which has been passed on this man; now choose a good and upright senator in the room of this wicked and unprincipled one." At first all was silence, from the want of a better man whom they might substitute; afterwards, one of them, laying aside his modesty, nominating some one, in an instant a much greater clamour arose; while some denied all knowledge of him, others objected to him at one time on account of flagitious conduct, at another time on account of his humble birth, his sordid circumstances, and the disgraceful nature of his trade and occupation. The same occurred with increased vehemence with respect to the second and third senators, so that it was evident that they were dissatisfied with the senator himself, but had not any one to substitute for him; for it was of no use that the same persons should be nominated again, to no other purpose than to hear of their vices, and the rest were much more mean and obscure than those who first occurred to their recollection. Thus the assembly separated, affirming that every evil which was most known was easiest to be endured, and ordering the senate to be discharged from custody.

4. Pacuvius, having thus rendered the senators more subservient to himself than to the commons by the gift of their lives, ruled without the aid of arms, all persons now acquiescing. Henceforward the senators, forgetful of their rank and independence, flattered the commons; saluted them courteously; invited them graciously; entertained them with sumptuous feasts; undertook those causes,

always espoused that party, decided as judges in favour of that side, which was most popular, and best adapted to conciliate the favour of the commons. Now, indeed, every thing was transacted in the senate as if it had been an assembly of the people. The Capuans, ever prone to luxurious indulgence not only from natural turpitude, but from the profusion of the means of voluptuous enjoyment which flowed in upon them, and the temptations of all the luxuries of land and sea; at that time especially proceeded to such a pitch of extravagance in consequence of the obsequiousness of the nobles and the unrestrained liberty of the commons, that their lust and prodigality had no bounds. To a disregard for the laws, the magistrates, and the senate, now, after the disaster of Cannae, was added a contempt for the Roman government also, for which there had been some degree of respect. The only obstacles to immediate revolt were the intermarriages which, from a remote period, had connected many of their distinguished and influential families with the Romans; and, which formed the strongest bond of union, that while several of their countrymen were serving in the Roman armies, particularly three hundred horsemen, the flower of the Campanian nobility, had been selected and sent by the Romans to garrison the cities of Sicily.

5. The parents and relations of these men with difficulty obtained that ambassadors should be sent to the Roman consul. The consul, who had not yet set out for Canusium, they found at Venusia with a few half-armed troops, an object of entire commiseration to faithful, but of contempt to proud and perfidious allies, like the Campanians. The consul too increased their contempt of himself and his cause, by too much exposing and exhibiting the disastrous state of his affairs; for when the ambassadors had delivered their message, which was, that the senate and people of Capua were distressed that any adverse event should have befallen the Romans, and were promising every assistance in prosecuting the war, he observed, "In bidding us order you to furnish us with all things which are necessary for the war, Campanians, you have rather observed the customary mode of addressing allies, than spoken suitably to the present posture of our affairs; for hath anything been left us at Cannae, so that, as if we possessed that, we can desire what is wanting to be supplied by our allies? Can we order a supply of infantry, as if we had any cavalry?

Can we say we are deficient in money, as if that were the only thing we wanted? Fortune has not even left us anything which we can add to. Our legions, cavalry, arms, standards, horses, men, money, provisions, all perished either in the battle, or in the two camps which were lost the following day. You must, therefore, Campanians, not assist us in the war, but almost take it upon yourselves in our stead. Call to mind how formerly at Saticula we received into our protection and defended your ancestors, when dismayed and driven within their walls; terrified not only by their Samnite but Sidicinian enemies; and how we carried on, with varying success, through a period of almost a century, a war with the Samnites, commenced on your account. Add to this, that when you gave yourselves up to us we granted you an alliance on equal terms, that we allowed you your own laws, and lastly, what before the disaster at Cannae was surely a privilege of the highest value, we bestowed the freedom of our city on a large portion of you, and held it in common with you. It is your duty, therefore, Campanians, to look upon this disaster which has been suffered as your own, and to consider that our common country must be protected. It is not a Samnite or Tuscan foe we are engaged with, so that the empire taken from us might still continue in Italy. A Carthaginian enemy draws after him from the remotest regions of the world, from the straits of the ocean and the pillars of Hercules, a body of soldiers who are not even natives of Africa, destitute of all laws, and of the condition and almost of the language of men. Savage and ferocious from nature and habit, their general has rendered them still more so, by forming bridges and works with heaps of human bodies; and, what the tongue can scarcely utter, by teaching them to live on human flesh. What man, provided he were born in any part of Italy, would not abominate the idea of seeing and having for his masters these men, nourished with such horrid food, whom even to touch were an impiety; of fetching laws from Africa and Carthage; and of suffering Italy to become a province of the Moors and Numidians? It will be highly honourable, Campanians, that the Roman empire, sinking under this disastrous defeat, should be sustained and restored by your fidelity and your strength. I conceive that thirty thousand foot and four thousand horse may be raised in Campania. You have already

abundance of money and corn. If your zeal corresponds with your means, neither will Hannibal feel that he has been victorious, nor the Romans that they have been defeated.”

6. After the consul had thus spoken, the ambassadors were dismissed; and as they were returning home, one of them, named Vibius Virius, observed, “that the time had arrived at which the Campanians might not only recover the territory once injuriously taken away by the Romans, but also possess themselves of the sovereignty of Italy. For they might form a treaty with Hannibal on whatever terms they pleased; and there could be no question but that after Hannibal, having put an end to the war, had himself retired victorious into Africa, and had withdrawn his troops, the sovereignty of Italy would be left to the Campanians.” All assenting to Vibius, as he said this, they framed their report of the embassy so that all might conclude that the Roman power was annihilated. Immediately the commons and the major part of the senate turned their attention to revolt. The measure, however, was postponed for a few days at the instigation of the elder citizens. At last, the opinion of the majority prevailed, that the same ambassadors who had gone to the Roman consul should be sent to Hannibal. I find in certain annals, that before this embassy proceeded, and before they had determined on the measure of revolting, ambassadors were sent by the Campanians to Rome, requiring that one of the consuls should be elected from Campania if they wished assistance to the Roman cause. That from the indignation which arose, they were ordered to be removed from the senate-house, and a lictor despatched to conduct them out of the city and command them to lodge that day without the Roman frontier. But as this request is too much like that which the Latins formerly made, and as Coelius and other writers had, not without reason, made no mention of it, I have not ventured to vouch for its truth.

7. The ambassadors came to Hannibal and concluded a treaty of peace with him on the terms, “That no Carthaginian commander should have any authority over a Campanian citizen, nor any Campanian serve in war or perform any office against his will: that Capua should have her own laws and her own magistrates: that the Carthaginian should give to the Campanians three hundred captives

selected by themselves, who might be exchanged for the Campanian horse who were serving in Sicily.” Such were the stipulations: but in addition to them, the Campanians perpetrated the following atrocities; for the commons ordered that the prefects of the allies and other citizens of Rome should be suddenly seized, while some of them were occupied with military duties, others engaged in private business, and be shut up in the baths, as if for the purpose of keeping them in custody, where, suffocated with heat and vapour, they might expire in a horrid manner. Decius Magius, a man who wanted nothing to complete his influence except a sound mind on the part of his countrymen, had resisted to the uttermost the execution of these measures, and the sending of the embassy to Hannibal, and when he heard that a body of troops was sent by Hannibal, bringing back to their recollection, as examples, the haughty tyranny of Pyrrhus and the miserable slavery of the Tarentines, he at first openly and loudly protested that the troops should not be admitted, then he urged either that they should expel them when received, or, if they had a mind to expiate, by a bold and memorable act, the foul crime they had committed in revolting from their most ancient and intimate allies, that leaving slain the Carthaginian troops they should give themselves back to the Romans. These proceedings, having been reported to Hannibal, for they were not carried on in secret, he at first sent persons to summon Magius into his presence at his camp, then, on his vehemently refusing to come, on the ground that Hannibal had no authority over a Campanian, the Carthaginian, excited with rage, ordered that the man should be seized and dragged to him in chains, but afterwards, fearing lest while force was employed some disturbance might take place, or lest, from excitement of feeling, some undesigned collision might occur, he set out himself from the camp with a small body of troops, having sent a message before him to Marius Blossius, the praetor of Campania, to the effect, that he would be at Capua the next day. Marius calling an assembly, issued an order that they should go out and meet Hannibal in a body, accompanied by their wives and children. This was done by all, not only with obedience, but with zeal, with the full agreement of the common people, and with eagerness to see a general rendered illustrious by so many victories. Decius Magius neither went out to

meet him, nor kept himself in private, by which course he might seem to indicate fear from a consciousness of demerit, he promenaded in the forum with perfect composure, attended by his son and a few dependants, while all the citizens were in a bustle to go to see and receive the Carthaginian. Hannibal, on entering the city, immediately demanded an audience of the senate; when the chief men of the Campanians, beseeching him not to transact any serious business on that day, but that he would cheerfully and willingly celebrate a day devoted to festivity in consequence of his own arrival, though naturally extremely prone to anger, yet, that he might not deny them any thing at first, he spent a great part of the day in inspecting the city.

8. He lodged at the house of the Ninii Celeres, Stenius and Pacuvius, men distinguished by their noble descent and their wealth. Thither Pacuvius Calavius, of whom mention has already been made, who was the head of the party which had drawn over the state to the Carthaginian cause, brought his son, a young man, whom he had forced from the side of Decius Magius, in conjunction with whom he had made a most determined stand for the Roman alliance in opposition to the league with the Carthaginians; nor had the leaning of the state to the other side, or his father's authority, altered his sentiments. For this youth his father procured pardon from Hannibal, more by prayers than by clearing him. Hannibal, overcome by the entreaties and tears of his father, even gave orders that he should be invited with his father to the banquet; to which entertainment he intended to admit no Campanian besides his hosts, and Jubellius Taurea, a man distinguished in war. They began to feast early in the day, and the entertainment was not conformable to the Carthaginian custom, or to military discipline, but as might be expected in a city and in a house both remarkable for luxury, was furnished with all the allurements of voluptuousness. Perolla, the son of Calavius, was the only person who could not be won either by the solicitations of the masters of the house, or those which Hannibal sometimes employed. The youth himself pleaded ill health as an apology, while his father urged as an excuse the disturbed state of his mind, which was not surprising. About sunset, Calavius, who had gone out from the banquet, was followed by his son; and when they had arrived at a

retired place, (it was a garden at the back part of the house,) he said, "I have a plan to propose to you, my father, by which we shall not only obtain pardon from the Romans for our crime, in that we revolted from them to the Carthaginian, but shall be held in much higher esteem, than we Campanians ever have been." When the father inquired with surprise what that plan could be, he threw back his gown off his shoulder and exposed to view his side, which was girt with a sword. "Forthwith will I ratify the alliance with Rome with the blood of Hannibal. I was desirous that you should be informed of it first, in case you might prefer to be absent while the deed is performing."

9. On hearing and seeing which the old man, as though he were actually present at the transactions which were being named to him, wild with fear, exclaimed, "I implore, I beseech you, my son, by all the ties which unite children to parents, that you will not resolve to commit and to suffer every thing that is horrible before the eyes of a father. Did we but a few hours ago, swearing by every deity, and joining right hands, pledge our fidelity to Hannibal, that immediately on separating from the conference we should arm against him the hands which were employed as the sacred pledges of our faith? Do you rise from the hospitable board to which as one of three of the Campanians you have been admitted by Hannibal, that you may ensanguine that very board with the blood of your host. Could I conciliate Hannibal to my son, and not my son to Hannibal? But let nothing be held sacred by you, neither our pledges, nor the sense of religion, nor filial duty; let the most horrid deeds be dared, if with guilt they bring not ruin upon us. Will you singly attack Hannibal? What will that numerous throng of freemen and slaves be doing? What the eyes of all intent on him alone? What those so many right hands? Will they be torpid amidst your madness? Will you be able to bear the look of Hannibal himself, which armed hosts cannot sustain, from which the Roman people shrink with horror? And though other assistance be wanting, will you have the hardihood to strike me when I oppose my body in defence of Hannibal's? But know that through my breast you must strike and transfix him. Suffer yourself to be deterred from your attempt here, rather than to be defeated there. May my entreaties prevail with you, as they did for you this day."

Upon this, perceiving the youth in tears, he threw his arms around him, and kissing him affectionately, ceased not his entreaties until he prevailed upon him to lay aside his sword and give his promise that he would do no such thing. The young man then observed, "I will indeed pay to my father the debt of duty which I owe to my country, but I am grieved for you on whom the guilt of having thrice betrayed your country rests; once when you sanctioned the revolt from the Romans; next when you advised the alliance with Hannibal; and thirdly, this day, when you are the delay and impediment of the restoration of Capua to the Romans. Do thou, my country, receive this weapon, armed with which in thy behalf I would fain have defended this citadel, since a father wrests it from me." Having thus said, he threw the sword into the highway over the garden wall, and that the affair might not be suspected, himself returned to the banquet.

10. The next day an audience of a full senate was given to Hannibal, when the first part of his address was full of graciousness and benignity, in which he thanked the Campanians for having preferred his friendship to an alliance with the Romans, and held out among his other magnificent promises "that Capua should soon become the capital of all Italy, and that the Romans as well as the other states should receive laws from it. That there was, however, one person who had no share in the Carthaginian friendship and the alliance formed with him, Decius Magius, who neither was nor ought to be called a Campanian. Him he requested to be surrendered to him, and that the sense of the senate should be taken respecting his conduct, and a decree passed in his presence." All concurred in this proposition, though a great many considered him as a man undeserving such severe treatment; and that this proceeding was no small infringement of their liberty to begin with. Leaving the senate-house, the magistrate took his seat on the consecrated bench, ordered Decius Magius to be apprehended, and to be placed by himself before his feet to plead his cause. But he, his proud spirit being unsubdued, denied that such a measure could be enforced agreeably to the conditions of the treaty; upon which he was ironed, and ordered to be brought into the camp before a lictor. As long as he was conducted with his head uncovered, he moved along earnestly

haranguing and vociferating to the multitude which poured around him on all sides. "You have gotten that liberty, Campanians, which you seek; in the middle of the forum, in the light of day, before your eyes, I, a man second to none of the Campanians, am dragged in chains to suffer death. What greater outrage could have been committed had Capua been captured? Go out to meet Hannibal, decorate your city to the utmost, consecrate the day of his arrival, that you may behold this triumph over a fellow-citizen." As the populace seemed to be excited by him, vociferating these things, his head was covered, and he was ordered to be dragged away more speedily without the gate. Having been thus brought to the camp, he was immediately put on board a ship and sent to Carthage, lest if any commotion should arise at Capua on account of the injustice of the proceeding, the senate also should repent of having given up a leading citizen; and lest if an embassy were sent to request his restoration, he must either offend his new allies by refusing their first petition, or, by granting it, be compelled to retain at Capua a promoter of sedition and disturbance. A tempest drove the vessel to Cyrenae, which was at that time under the dominion of kings. Here flying for refuge to the statue of king Ptolemy, he was conveyed thence in custody to Alexandria to Ptolemy; and having instructed him that he had been thrown into chains by Hannibal, contrary to the law of treaties, he was liberated and allowed to return to whichever place he pleased, Rome or Capua. But Magius said, that Capua would not be a safe place for him, and that Rome, at a time when there was war between the Romans and Capuans, would be rather the residence of a deserter than a guest. That there was no place that he should rather dwell in, than in the dominions of him whom he esteemed an avenger and the protector of his liberty.

11. While these things were carrying on, Quintus Fabius Pictor, the ambassador, returned from Delphi to Rome, and read the response of the oracle from a written copy. In it both the gods were mentioned, and in what manner supplication should be made. It then stated, "If you do thus, Romans, your affairs will be more prosperous and less perplexed; your state will proceed more agreeably to your wishes; and the victory in the war will be on the side of the Roman people. After that your state shall have been restored to prosperity and safety,

send a present to the Pythian Apollo out of the gains you have earned, and pay honours to him out of the plunder, the booty, and the spoils. Banish licentiousness from among you." Having read aloud these words, translated from the Greek verse, he added, that immediately on his departure from the oracle, he had paid divine honours to all these deities with wine and frankincense; and that he was ordered by the chief priest of the temple, that, as he had approached the oracle and performed the sacred ceremonies decorated with a laurel crown, so he should embark wearing the crown, and not put it off till he had arrived at Rome. That he had executed all these injunctions with the most scrupulous exactness and diligence, and had deposited the garland on the altar of Apollo at Rome. The senate decreed that the sacred ceremonies and supplications enjoined should be carefully performed with all possible expedition. During these events at Rome and in Italy, Mago, the son of Hamilcar, had arrived at Carthage with the intelligence of the victory at Cannae. He was not sent direct from the field of battle by his brother, but was detained some days in receiving the submission of such states of the Bruttii as were in revolt. Having obtained an audience of the senate he gave a full statement of his brother's exploits in Italy: "That he had fought pitched battles with six generals, four of whom were consuls, two a dictator and master of the horse, with six consular armies; that he had slain above two hundred thousand of the enemy, and captured above fifty thousand. That out of the four consuls he had slain two; of the two remaining, one was wounded, the other, having lost his whole army, had fled from the field with scarcely fifty men; that the master of the horse, an authority equal to that of consul, had been routed and put to flight; that the dictator, because he had never engaged in a pitched battle, was esteemed a matchless general; that the Bruttii, the Apulians, part of the Samnites and of the Lucanians had revolted to the Carthaginians. That Capua, which was the capital not only of Campania, but after the ruin of the Roman power by the battle of Cannae, of Italy also, had delivered itself over to Hannibal. That in return for these so many and so great victories, gratitude ought assuredly to be felt and thanks returned to the immortal gods."

12. Then, in proof of this such joyful news, he ordered the golden

rings to be poured out in the vestibule of the senate-house, of which there was such a heap that some have taken upon themselves to say that on being measured they filled three pecks and a half. The statement has obtained and is more like the truth, that there were not more than a peck. He then added, by way of explanation, to prove the greater extent of the slaughter, that none but knights, and of these the principal only, wore that ornament. The main drift of his speech was, "that the nearer the prospect was of bringing the war to a conclusion, the more should Hannibal be aided by every means, for that the seat of war was at a long distance from home and in the heart of the enemy's country. That a great quantity of corn was consumed and money expended; and that so many pitched battles, as they had annihilated the armies of the enemy, had also in some degree diminished the forces of the victor. That a reinforcement therefore ought to be sent; and money for the pay, and corn for the soldiers who had deserved so well of the Carthaginian name." After this speech of Mago's, all being elated with joy, Himilco, a member of the Barcine faction, conceiving this a good opportunity for inveighing against Hanno, said to him, "What think you now, Hanno? do you now also regret that the war against the Romans was entered upon? Now urge that Hannibal should be given up; yes, forbid the rendering of thanks to the immortal gods amidst such successes; let us hear a Roman senator in the senate-house of the Carthaginians." Upon which Hanno replied, "I should have remained silent this day, conscript fathers, lest, amid the general joy, I should utter any thing which might be too gloomy for you. But now, to a senator, asking whether I still regret the undertaking of the war against the Romans, if I should forbear to speak, I should seem either arrogant or servile, the former of which is the part of a man who is forgetful of the independence of others, the latter of his own. I may answer therefore to Himilco, that I have not ceased to regret the war, nor shall I cease to censure your invincible general until I see the war concluded on some tolerable terms; nor will any thing except a new peace put a period to my regret for the loss of the old one. Accordingly those achievements, which Mago has so boastingly recounted, are a source of present joy to Himilco and the other adherents of Hannibal; to me they may become so; because successes

in war, if we have a mind to make the best use of fortune, will afford us a peace on more equitable terms; for if we allow this opportunity to pass by, on which we have it in our power to appear to dictate rather than to receive terms of peace, I fear lest even this our joy should run into excess, and in the end prove groundless. However, let us see of what kind it is even now. I have slain the armies of the enemy, send me soldiers. What else would you ask if you had been conquered? I have captured two of the enemy's camps, full, of course, of booty and provisions; supply me with corn and money. What else would you ask had you been plundered and stripped of your camp? And that I may not be the only person perplexed, I could wish that either Himilco or Mago would answer me, for it is just and fair that I also should put a question, since I have answered Himilco. Since the battle at Cannae annihilated the Roman power, and it is a fact that all Italy is in a state of revolt; in the first place, has any one people of the Latin confederacy come over to us? In the next place, has any individual of the five and thirty tribes deserted to Hannibal?" When Mago had answered both these questions in the negative, he continued: "there remains then still too large a body of the enemy. But I should be glad to know what degree of spirit and hope that body possesses."

13. Mago declaring that he did not know; "Nothing," said he, "is easier to be known. Have the Romans sent any ambassadors to Hannibal to treat of peace? Have you, in short, ever heard that any mention has been made of peace at Rome?" On his answering these questions also in the negative: "We have upon our hands then, said he, a war as entire as we had on the day on which Hannibal crossed over into Italy. There are a great many of us alive now who remember how fluctuating the success was in the former Punic war. At no time did our affairs appear in so prosperous a condition as they did before the consulship of Caius Lutatius and Aulus Posthumius. In the consulship of Caius Lutatius and Aulus Posthumius we were completely conquered at the islands Aegates. But if now, as well as then, (oh! may the gods avert the omen!) fortune should take any turn, do you hope to obtain that peace when we shall be vanquished which no one is willing to grant now we are victorious. I have an opinion which I should express if any one should advise with me on

the subject of proffering or accepting terms of peace with the enemy; but with respect to the supplies requested by Mago, I do not think there is any necessity to send them to a victorious army; and I give it as my opinion that they should far less be sent to them, if they are deluding us by groundless and empty hopes.” But few were influenced by the harangue of Hanno, for both the jealousy which he entertained towards the Barcine family, made him a less weighty authority; and men’s minds being taken up with the present exultation, would listen to nothing by which their joy could be made more groundless, but felt convinced, that if they should make a little additional exertion the war might be speedily terminated. Accordingly a decree of the senate was made with very general approbation, that four thousand Numidians should be sent as a reinforcement to Hannibal, with four hundred elephants and many talents of silver. Moreover, the dictator was sent forward into Spain with Mago to hire twenty thousand foot and four thousand horse, to recruit the armies in Italy and Spain.

14. But these resolutions, as generally happens in the season of prosperity, were executed in a leisurely and slothful manner. The Romans, in addition to their inborn activity of mind, were prevented from delaying by the posture of their affairs. For the consul was not wanting in any business which was to be done by him; and the dictator, Marcus Junius Pera, after the sacred ceremonies were concluded, and after having, as is usual, proposed to the people that he might be allowed to mount his horse; besides the two legions which had been enlisted by the consuls in the beginning of the year, and besides the cohorts collected out of the Picenian and Gallic territories, descended to that last resort of the state when almost despaired of, and when propriety gives place to utility, and made proclamation, that of such persons as had been guilty of capital crimes or were in prison on judgment for debt, those who would serve as soldiers with him, he would order to be released from their liability to punishment and their debts. These six thousand he armed with the Gallic spoils which were carried in the procession at the triumph of Caius Flaminius. Thus he marched from the city at the head of twenty-five thousand men. Hannibal, after gaining Capua, made a second fruitless attempt upon the minds of the Neapolitans,

partly by fear and partly by hope: and then marched his troops across into the territory of Nola: not immediately in a hostile attitude, for he did not despair of a voluntary surrender, yet intending to omit nothing which they could suffer or fear, if they delayed the completion of his hopes. The senate, and especially the principal members of it, persevered faithfully in keeping up the alliance with the Romans; the commons, as usual, were all inclined to a change in the government and to espouse the cause of Hannibal, placing before their minds the fear lest their fields should be devastated, and the many hardships and indignities which must be endured in a siege; nor were there wanting persons who advised a revolt. In this state of things, when a fear took possession of the senate, that it would be impossible to resist the excited multitude if they went openly to work, devised a delay of the evil by secret simulation. They pretended that they were agreeable to the revolt to Hannibal; but that it was not settled on what terms they should enter into the new alliance and friendship. Thus having gained time, they promptly sent ambassadors to the Roman praetor, Marcellus Claudius, who was at Casilinum with his army, and informed him what a critical situation Nola was in; that the fields were already in the possession of Hannibal and the Carthaginians, and that the city soon would be, unless succour were sent; that the senate, by conceding to the commons that they would revolt when they pleased, had caused them not to hasten too much to revolt. Marcellus, after bestowing high commendations on the Nolans, urged them to protract the business till his arrival by means of the same pretences; in the mean time, to conceal what had passed between them, as well as all hope of succour from the Romans. He himself marched from Casilinum to Calatia, and thence crossing the Volturnus, and passing through the territories of Saticula and Trebula, pursuing his course along the mountains above Suessula, he arrived at Nola.

15. On the approach of the Roman praetor, the Carthaginians retired from the territory of Nola and marched down to the sea close upon Naples, eager to get possession of a maritime town to which there would be a safe course for ships from Africa. But hearing that Naples was held by a Roman prefect, Marcus Junius Silanus, who had been invited thither by the Neapolitans themselves, he left

Naples as he had left Nola, and directed his course to Nuceria, which he at length starved into capitulation, after having besieged it for a considerable time, often by open force, and often by soliciting to no purpose sometimes the commons, at other times the nobles; agreeing that they should depart with single garments and without arms. Then, as wishing to appear from the beginning to show lenity to all the inhabitants of Italy except the Romans, he proposed rewards and honours to those who might remain with him, and would be willing to serve with him. He retained none, however, by the hopes he held out; they all dispersed in different directions throughout the cities of Campania, wherever either hospitable connexions or the casual impulse of the mind directed them, but principally to Nola and Naples. About thirty senators, including as it happened all of the first rank, made for Capua; but being shut out thence, because they had closed their gates on Hannibal, they betook themselves to Cumae. The plunder of Nuceria was, given to the soldiery, the city sacked and burned. Marcellus continued to hold possession of Nola, relying not more from confidence in his own troops than from the favourable disposition of the leading inhabitants. Apprehensions were entertained of the commons, particularly Lucius Bantius, whose having been privy to an attempt at defection, and dread of the Roman praetor, stimulated sometimes to the betrayal of his country, at others, should fortune fail him in that undertaking, to desertion. He was a young man of vigorous mind, and at that time enjoying the greatest renown of almost any of the allied cavalry. Found at Cannae half dead amid a heap of slain, Hannibal had sent him home, after having had him cured, with the kindest attention, and even with presents. In gratitude for this favour, he had conceived a wish to put Nola under the power and dominion of the Carthaginian; but his anxiety and solicitude for effecting a change did not escape the notice of the praetor. However, as it was necessary that he should be either restrained by penal inflictions or conciliated by favours, he preferred attaching to himself a brave and strenuous ally, to depriving the enemy of him; and summoning him into his presence, in the kindest manner said, "that the fact that he had many among his countrymen who were jealous of him, might be easily collected from the circumstance that not one citizen of Nola had informed him how

many were his splendid military exploits. But that it was impossible for the valour of one who served in the Roman camp to remain in obscurity; that many who had served with him had reported to him how brave a man he was, how often and what dangers he had encountered for the safety and honour of the Roman people; and how in the battle of Cannae he had not given over fighting till, almost bloodless, he was buried under a heap of men, horses, and arms which fell upon him. Go on then," says he, "and prosper in your career of valour, with me you shall receive every honour and every reward, and the oftener you be with me, the more you shall find it will be to your honour and emolument." He presented the young man, delighted with these promises, with a horse of distinguished beauty, ordered the quaestor to give him five hundred denarii, and commanded the lictors to allow him to approach him whenever he might please.

16. The violent spirit of the youth was so much soothed by the courteous treatment of Marcellus, that thenceforward no one of the allies displayed greater courage or fidelity in aiding the Roman cause. Hannibal being now at the gates, for he had moved his camp back again from Nuceria to Nola, and the commons beginning to turn their attention to revolt afresh, Marcellus, on the approach of the enemy, retired within the walls; not from apprehension for his camp, but lest he should give an opportunity for betraying the city, which too many were anxiously watching for. The troops on both sides then began to be drawn up; the Romans before the walls of Nola, the Carthaginians before their own camp. Hence arose several battles of small account between the city and the camp, with varying success, as the generals were neither willing to check the small parties who inconsiderately challenged the enemy, nor to give the signal for a general engagement. While the two armies continued to be thus stationed day after day, the chief men of the Nolans informed Marcellus, that conferences were held by night between the commons of Nola and the Carthaginians; and that it was fixed, that, when the Roman army had gone out at the gates, they should make plunder of their baggage and packages, then close the gates and post themselves upon the walls, in order that when in possession of the government and the city, they might then receive the Carthaginian

instead of the Roman. On receiving this intelligence Marcellus, having bestowed the highest commendations on the senators, resolved to hazard the issue of a battle before any commotion should arise within the city. He drew up his troops in three divisions at the three gates which faced the enemy; he gave orders that the baggage should follow close by, that the servants, suttlers' boys, and invalids should carry palisades; at the centre gate he stationed the choicest of the legionary troops and the Roman cavalry, at the two gates on either side, the recruits, the light-armed, and the allied cavalry. The Nolans were forbidden to approach the walls and gates, and the troops designed for a reserve were set over the baggage, lest while the legions were engaged in the battle an attack should be made upon it. Thus arranged they were standing within the gates. Hannibal, who had waited with his troops drawn up in battle-array, as he had done for several days, till the day was far advanced, at first was amazed that neither the Roman army marched out of the gates, nor any armed man was to be seen on the walls, but afterwards concluding that the conferences had been discovered, and that they were quiet through fear, he sent back a portion of his troops into the camp, with orders to bring into the front line, with speed, every thing requisite for assaulting the city; satisfied that if he urged them vigorously while they were indisposed to action, the populace would excite some commotion in the city. While, in the van, the troops were running up and down in a hurried manner in discharge of their several duties, and the line was advancing up to the gates, suddenly throwing open the gate, Marcellus ordered that the signal should be given, and a shout raised, and that first the infantry and after them the cavalry should burst forth upon the enemy with all possible impetuosity. They had occasioned abundant terror and confusion in the centre of the enemy's line, when, at the two side gates, the lieutenant-generals, Publius Valerius Flaccus and Caius Aurelius, sallied forth upon the wings. The servants, suttlers' boys, and the other multitude appointed to guard the baggage, joined in the shout, so that they suddenly exhibited the appearance of a vast army to the Carthaginians, who despised chiefly their paucity of numbers. For my own part I would not take upon me to assert what some authors have declared, that two thousand eight hundred of the enemy were slain, and that the

Romans lost not more than five hundred. Whether the victory was so great or not; it is certain that a very important advantage, and perhaps the greatest during the war, was gained on that day: for not to be vanquished by Hannibal was then a more difficult task to the victorious troops, than to conquer him afterwards.

17. When Hannibal, all hope of getting possession of Nola being lost, had retired to Acerrae, Marcellus, having closed the gates and posted guards in different quarters to prevent any one from going out, immediately instituted a judicial inquiry in the forum, into the conduct of those who had been secretly in communication with the enemy. He beheaded more than seventy who were convicted of treason, and ordered their foods to be confiscated to the Roman state; and then committing the government to the senate, set out with all his forces, and, pitching a camp, took up a position above Suessula. The Carthaginian, having at first endeavoured to win over the people of Acerrae to a voluntary surrender, but finding them resolved, makes preparations for a siege and assault. But the people of Acerrae had more spirit than power. Despairing therefore, of the defence of the city, when they saw their walls being circumvallated, before the lines of the enemy were completed, they stole off in the dead of night through the opening in the works, and where the watches had been neglected; and pursuing their course through roads and pathless regions, accordingly as design or mistake directed each, made their escape to those towns of Campania which they knew had not renounced their fidelity. After Acerrae was plundered and burnt, Hannibal, having received intelligence that the Roman dictator with the new-raised legions was seen at some distance from Casilinum, and fearing lest, the camp of the enemy being so near, something might occur at Capua, marched his army to Casilinum. At that time Casilinum was occupied by five hundred Praenestines, with a few Romans and Latins, whom the news of the defeat at Cannae had brought to the same place. These men setting out from home too late, in consequence of the levy at Praeneste not being completed at the appointed day, and arriving at Casilinum before the defeat was known there, where they united themselves with other troops, Romans and allies, were proceeding thence in a tolerably large body, but the news of the battle at Cannae them back to Casilinum. Having

spent several days there in evading and concerting plots, in fear themselves and suspected by the Campanians, and having now received certain information that the revolt of Capua and the reception of Hannibal were in agitation, they put the townsmen to the sword by night, and seized upon the part of the town on this side the Vulturnus, for it is divided by that river. Such was the garrison the Romans had at Casilinum; to these was added a cohort of Perusians, in number four hundred and sixty, who had been driven to Casilinum by the same intelligence which had brought the Praenestines a few days before. They formed a sufficient number of armed men for the defence of walls of so limited extent, and protected on one side by the river. The scarcity of corn made them even appear too numerous.

18. Hannibal having now advanced within a short distance of the place, sent forward a body of Getulians under a commander named Isalca, and orders them in the first place, if an opportunity of parley should be given, to win them over by fair words, to open the gates, and admit a garrison; but, if they persisted in obstinate opposition, to proceed to action, and try if in any part he could force an entrance into the city. When they had approached the walls, because silence prevailed there appeared a solitude; and the barbarian, supposing that they had retired through fear, made preparation for forcing the gates and breaking away the bars, when, the gates being suddenly thrown open, two cohorts, drawn up within for that very purpose, rushed forth with great tumult, and made a slaughter of the enemy. The first party being thus repulsed, Maharbal was sent with a more powerful body of troops; but neither could even he sustain the sally of the cohorts. Lastly, Hannibal, fixing his camp directly before the walls, prepared to assault this paltry city and garrison, with every effort and all his forces, and having completely surrounded the city with a line of troops, lost a considerable number of men, including all the most forward, who were shot from the walls and turrets, while he pressed on and provoked the enemy. Once he was very near cutting them off, by throwing in a line of elephants, when aggressively sallying forth, and drove them in the utmost confusion into the town; a good many, out of so small a number, having been slain. More would have fallen had not night interrupted the battle. On the following day, the minds of all were possessed with an ardent desire to commence the assault,

especially after a golden mural crown had been promised, and the general himself had reproached the conquerors of Saguntum with the slowness of their siege of a little fort situated on level ground; reminding them, each and all, of Cannae, Trasimenus, and Trebia. They then began to apply the vineae and to spring mines: nor was any measure, whether of open force or stratagem, unemployed against the various attempts of the enemy. These allies of the Romans erected bulwarks against the vineae, cut off the mines of the enemy by cross-mines, and met their efforts both covertly and openly, till, at last, shame compelled Hannibal to desist from his undertaking; and, fortifying a camp in which he placed a small guard, that the affair might not appear to have been abandoned, he retired into winter quarters to Capua. There he kept, under cover, for the greater part of the winter, that army, which, though fortified by frequent and continued hardships against every human ill, had yet never experienced or been habituated to prosperity. Accordingly, excess of good fortune and unrestrained indulgence were the ruin of men whom no severity of distress had subdued; and so much the more completely, in proportion to the avidity with which they plunged into pleasures to which they were unaccustomed. For sleep, wine, feasting, women, baths, and ease, which custom rendered more seductive day by day, so completely unnerved both mind and body, that from henceforth their past victories rather than their present strength protected them; and in this the general is considered by those who are skilled in the art of war to have committed a greater error than in not having marched his troops to Rome forthwith from the field of Cannae: for his delay on that occasion might be considered as only to have postponed his victory, but this mistake to have bereaved him of the power of conquering. Accordingly, by Hercules, as though he marched out of Capua with another army, it retained in no respect any of its former discipline; for most of the troops returned in the embrace of harlots; and as soon as they began to live under tents, and the fatigue of marching and other military labours tried them, like raw troops, they failed both in bodily strength and spirit. From that time, during the whole period of the summer campaign, a great number of them slunk away from the standards without furloughs, while Capua was the only retreat of the

deserters.

19. However, when the rigour of winter began to abate, marching his troops out of their winter quarters he returned to Casilinum; where, although there had been an intermission of the assault, the continuance of the siege had reduced the inhabitants and the garrison to the extremity of want. Titus Sempronius commanded the Roman camp, the dictator having gone to Rome to renew the auspices. The swollen state of the Volturnus and the entreaties of the people of Nola and Acerrae, who feared the Campanians if the Roman troops should leave them, kept Marcellus in his place; although desirous himself also to bring assistance to the besieged. Gracchus, only maintaining his post near Casilinum, because he had been enjoined by the dictator not to take any active steps during his absence, did not stir; although intelligence was brought from Casilinum which might easily overcome every degree of patience. For it appeared that some had precipitated themselves from the walls through famine and that they were standing unarmed upon the walls, exposing their undefended bodies to the blows of the missile weapons. Gracchus, grieved at the intelligence, but not daring to fight contrary to the injunctions of the dictator, and yet aware that he must fight if he openly attempted to convey in provisions, and having no hope of introducing them clandestinely, collected corn from all parts of the surrounding country, and filling several casks sent a message to the magistrate to Casilinum, directing that they might catch the casks which the river would bring down. The following night, while all were intent upon the river, and the hopes excited by the message from the Romans, the casks sent came floating down the centre of the stream, and the corn was equally distributed among them all. This was repeated the second and third day; they were sent off and arrived during the same night; and hence they escaped the notice of the enemy's guards. But afterwards, the river, rendered more than ordinarily rapid by continual rains, drove the casks by a cross current to the bank which the enemy were guarding; there they were discovered sticking among the osiers which grew along the banks; and, it being reported to Hannibal, from that time the watches were kept more strictly, that nothing sent to the city by the Volturnus might escape notice. However, nuts poured out at the Roman camp

floated down the centre of the river to Casilinum, and were caught with hurdles. At length they were reduced to such a degree of want, that they endeavoured to chew the thongs and skins which they tore from their shields, after softening them in warm water; nor did they abstain from mice or any other kind of animals. They even dug up every kind of herb and root from the lowest mounds of their wall; and when the enemy had ploughed over all the ground producing herbage which was without the wall, they threw in turnip seed, so that Hannibal exclaimed, Must I sit here at Casilinum even till these spring up? and he, who up to that time had not lent an ear to any terms, then at length allowed himself to be treated with respecting the ransom of the free persons. Seven ounces of gold for each person were agreed upon as the price; and then, under a promise of protection, they surrendered themselves. They were kept in chains till the whole of the gold was paid, after which they were sent back to Cumae, in fulfilment of the promise. This account is more credible than that they were slain by a body of cavalry, which was sent to attack them as they were going away. They were for the most part Praenestines. Out of the five hundred and seventy who formed the garrison, almost one half were destroyed by sword or famine; the rest returned safe to Praeneste with their praetor Manicius, who had formerly been a scribe. His statue placed in the forum at Praeneste, clad in a coat of mail, with a gown on, and with the head covered, formed an evidence of this account; as did also three images with this legend inscribed on a brazen plate, "Manicius vowed these in behalf of the soldiers who were in the garrison at Casilinum." The same legend was inscribed under three images placed in the temple of Fortune.

20. The town of Casilinum was restored to the Campanians, strengthened by a garrison of seven hundred soldiers from the army of Hannibal, lest on the departure of the Carthaginian from it, the Romans should assault it. To the Praenestine soldiers the Roman senate voted double pay and exemption from military service for five years. On being offered the freedom of the state, in consideration of their valor, they would not make the exchange. The account of the fate of the Perusians is less clear, as no light is thrown upon it by any monument of their own, or any decree of the Romans. At the same

time the Petelini, the only Bruttian state which had continued in the Roman alliance, were attacked not only by the Carthaginians, who were in possession of the surrounding country, but also by the rest of the Bruttian states, on account of their having adopted a separate policy. The Petelini, unable to bear up against these distresses, sent ambassadors to Rome to solicit aid, whose prayers and entreaties (for on being told that they must themselves take measures for their own safety, they gave themselves up to piteous lamentations in the vestibule of the senate-house) excited the deepest commiseration in the fathers and the people. On the question being proposed a second time to the fathers by Manius Pomponius, the praetor, after examining all the resources of the empire, they were compelled to confess that they had no longer any protection for their distant allies, and bid them return home, and having done every thing which could be expected from faithful allies, as to what remained to take measures for their own security in the present state of fortune. On the result of this embassy being reported to the Petelini, their senate was suddenly seized with such violent grief and dismay, that some advised that they should run away wherever each man could find an asylum, and abandon the city. Some advised, that as they were deserted by their ancient allies, they should unite themselves with the rest of the Bruttian states, and through them surrender themselves to Hannibal. The opinion however which prevailed was that of those who thought that nothing should be done in haste and rashly, and that they should take the whole matter into their consideration again. The next day, when they had cooled upon it, and their trepidation had somewhat subsided, the principal men carried their point that they should collect all their property out of the fields, and fortify the city and the walls.

21. Much about the same time letters were brought from Sicily and Sardinia. That of Titus Otacilius the proprætor was first read in the senate. It stated that Lucius Furius the prætor had arrived at Lilybaeum from Africa with his fleet. That he himself, having been severely wounded, was in imminent danger of his life; that neither pay nor corn was punctually furnished to the soldiers or the marines; nor were there any resources from which they could be furnished. That he earnestly advised that such supplies should be sent with all

possible expedition; and that, if it was thought proper, they should send one of the new praetors to succeed him.

Nearly the same intelligence respecting corn and pay was conveyed in a letter from Aulus Cornelius Mammula, the propraetor, from Sardinia. The answer to both was, that there were no resources from whence they could be supplied, and orders were given to them that they should themselves provide for their fleets and armies. Titus Otacilius having sent ambassadors to Hiero, the only source of assistance the Romans had, received as much money as was wanting to pay the troops and a supply of corn for six months. In Sardinia, the allied states contributed liberally to Cornelius. The scarcity of money at Rome also was so great, that on the proposal of Marcus Minucius, plebeian tribune, a financial triumvirate was appointed, consisting of Lucius Aemilius Papus, who had been consul and censor, Marcus Atilius Regulus, who had been twice consul, and Lucius Scribonius Libo, who was then plebeian tribune. Marcus and Caius Atilius were also created a duumvirate for dedicating the temple of Concord, which Lucius Manlius had vowed when praetor. Three pontiffs were also created, Quintus Caecilius Metellus, Quintus Fabius Maximus, and Quintus Fulvius Flaccus, in the room of Publius Scantinius deceased, and of Lucius Aemilius Paulus the consul, and of Quintus Aelius Paetus, who had fallen in the battle of Cannae.

22. The fathers having repaired, as far as human counsels could effect it, the other losses from a continued series of unfortunate events, at length turned their attention on themselves, on the emptiness of the senate-house, and the paucity of those who assembled for public deliberation. For the senate-roll had not been reviewed since the censorship of Lucius Aemilius and C. Flaminius, though unfortunate battles, during a period of five years, as well as the private casualties of each, had carried off so many senators. Manius Pomponius, the praetor, as the dictator was now gone to the army after the loss of Casilinum, at the earnest request of all, brought in a bill upon the subject. When Spurius Carvilius, after having lamented in a long speech not only the scantiness of the senate, but the fewness of citizens who were eligible into that body, with the design of making up the numbers of the senate and uniting more closely the Romans and the Latin confederacy, declared that he

strongly advised that the freedom of the state should be conferred upon two senators from each of the Latin states, if the Roman fathers thought proper, who might be chosen into the senate to supply the places of the deceased senators. This proposition the fathers listened to with no more equanimity than formerly to the request when made by the Latins themselves. A loud and violent expression of disapprobation ran through the whole senate-house. In particular, Manlius reminded them that there was still existing a man of that stock, from which that consul was descended who formerly threatened in the Capitol that he would with his own hand put to death any Latin senator he saw in that house. Upon which Quintus Fabius Maximus said, "that never was any subject introduced into the senate at a juncture more unseasonable than the present, when a question had been touched upon which would still further irritate the minds of the allies, who were already hesitating and wavering in their allegiance. That that rash suggestion of one individual ought to be annihilated by the silence of the whole body; and that if there ever was a declaration in that house which ought to be buried in profound and inviolable silence, surely that above all others was one which deserved to be covered and consigned to darkness and oblivion, and looked upon as if it had never been made." This put a stop to the mention of the subject. They determined that a dictator should be created for the purpose of reviewing the senate, and that he should be one who had been a censor, and was the oldest living of those who had held that office. They likewise gave orders that Caius Terentius, the consul, should be called home to nominate a dictator; who, leaving his troops in Apulia, returned to Rome with great expedition; and, according to custom, on the following night nominated Marcus Fabius Buteo dictator, for six months, without a master of the horse, in pursuance of the decree of the senate.

23. He having mounted the rostrum attended by the lictors, declared, that he neither approved of there being two dictators at one time, which had never been done before, nor of his being appointed dictator without a master of the horse; nor of the censorian authority being committed to one person, and to the same person a second time; nor that command should be given to a dictator for six months, unless he was created for active operations. That he would himself

restrain within proper bounds those irregularities which chance, the exigencies of the times, and necessity had occasioned. For he would not remove any of those whom the censors Flaminius and Aemilius had elected into the senate; but would merely order that their names should be transcribed and read over, that one man might not exercise the power of deciding and determining on the character and morals of a senator; and would so elect in place of deceased members, that one rank should appear to be preferred to another, and not man to man. The old senate-roll having been read, he chose as successors to the deceased, first those who had filled a curule office since the censorship of Flaminius and Aemilius, but had not yet been elected into the senate, as each had been earliest created. He next chose those who had been aediles, plebeian tribunes, or quaestors; then of those who had never filled the office of magistrate, he selected such as had spoils taken from an enemy fixed up at their homes, or had received a civic crown. Having thus elected one hundred and seventy-seven senators, with the entire approbation of his countrymen, he instantly abdicated his office, and, bidding the lictors depart, he descended from the rostrum as a private citizen, and mingled with the crowd of persons who were engaged in their private affairs, designedly wearing away this time, lest he should draw off the people from the forum for the purpose of escorting him home. Their zeal, however, did not subside by the delay, for they escorted him to his house in great numbers. The consul returned to the army the ensuing night, without acquainting the senate, lest he should be detained in the city on account of the elections.

24. The next day, on the proposition of Manius Pomponius the praetor, the senate decreed that a letter should be written to the dictator, to the effect, that if he thought it for the interest of the state, he should come, together with the master of the horse and the praetor, Marcus Marcellus, to hold the election for the succeeding consuls, in order that the fathers might learn from them in person in what condition the state was, and take measures according to circumstances. All who were summoned came, leaving lieutenant-generals to hold command of the legions. The dictator, speaking briefly and modestly of himself, attributed much of the glory Of the campaign to the master of the horse, Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus.

He then gave out the day for the comitia, at which the consuls created were Lucius Posthumius in his absence, being then employed in the government of the province of Gaul, for the third time, and Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus, who was then master of the horse and curule aedile. Marcus Valerius Laevinus, Appius Claudius Pulcher, Quintus Fulvius Flaccus, and Quintus Mucius Scaevola, were then created praetors. After the election of the magistrates, the dictator returned to his army, which was in winter quarters at Teanum, leaving his master of the horse at Rome, to take the sense of the fathers relative to the armies to be enlisted and embodied for the service of the year, as he was about to enter upon the magistracy after a few days. While busily occupied with these matters, intelligence arrived of a fresh disaster — fortune crowding into this year one calamity after another — that Lucius Posthumius, consul elect, himself with all his army was destroyed in Gaul. He was to march his troops through a vast wood, which the Gauls called Litana. On the right and left of his route, the natives had sawed the trees in such a manner that they continued standing upright, but would fall when impelled by a slight force. Posthumius had with him two Roman legions, and besides had levied so great a number of allies along the Adriatic Sea, that he led into the enemy's country twenty-five thousand men. As soon as this army entered the wood, the Gauls, who were posted around its extreme skirts, pushed down the outermost of the sawn trees, which falling on those next them, and these again on others which of themselves stood tottering and scarcely maintained their position, crushed arms, men, and horses in an indiscriminate manner, so that scarcely ten men escaped. For, most of them being killed by the trunks and broken boughs of trees, the Gauls, who beset the wood on all sides in arms killed the rest, panic-struck by so unexpected a disaster. A very small number, who attempted to escape by a bridge, were taken prisoners, being intercepted by the enemy who had taken possession of it before them. Here Posthumius fell, fighting with all his might to prevent his being taken. The Boii having cut off his head, carried it and the spoils they stole off his body, in triumph into the most sacred temple they had. Afterwards they cleansed the head according to their custom, and having covered the skull with chased gold, used it as a cup for

libations in their solemn festivals, and a drinking cup for their high priests and other ministers of the temple. The spoils taken by the Gauls were not less than the victory. For though great numbers of the beasts were crushed by the falling trees, yet as nothing was scattered by flight, every thing else was found strewn along the whole line of the prostrate band.

25. The news of this disaster arriving, when the state had been in so great a panic for many days, that the shops were shut up as if the solitude of night reigned through the city; the senate gave it in charge to the aediles to go round the city, cause the shops to be opened, and this appearance of public affliction to be removed. Then Titus Sempronius, having assembled the senate, consoled and encouraged the fathers, requesting, “that they who had sustained the defeat at Cannae with so much magnanimity would not now be cast down with less calamities. That if their arms should prosper, as he hoped they would, against Hannibal and the Carthaginians, the war with the Gauls might be suspended and deferred without hazard. The gods and the Roman people would have it in their power to revenge the treachery of the Gauls another time. That they should now deliberate about the Carthaginian foe, and the forces with which the war was to be prosecuted.” He first laid before them the number of foot and horse, as well citizens as allies, that were in the dictator’s army. Then Marcellus gave an account of the amount in his. Those who knew were asked what troops were in Apulia with Caius Terentius Varro the consul. But no practicable plan could be devised for raising consular armies sufficient to support so important a war. For this reason, notwithstanding a just resentment irritated them, they determined that Gaul should be passed over for that year. The dictator’s army was assigned to the consul; and they ordered such of the troops of Marcellus’s army as had fled from Cannae, to be transported into Sicily, to serve there as long as the war continued in Italy. Thither, likewise, were ordered to be sent as unfit to serve with him, the weakest of the dictator’s troops, no time of service being appointed, but the legal number of campaigns. The two legions in the city were voted to the other consul who should be elected in the room of Posthumius; and they resolved that he should be elected as soon as the auspices would permit. Besides, two legions were

immediately to be recalled from Sicily, out of which the consul, to whom the city legions fell, might take what number of men he should have occasion for. The consul Caius Terentius Varro was continued in his command for one year, without lessening the army he had for the defence of Apulia.

26. During these transactions and preparations in Italy, the war in Spain was prosecuted with no less vigour; but hitherto more favourably to the Romans. The two generals had divided their troops, so that Cneius acted by land, and Publius by sea. Hasdrubal, general of the Carthaginians, sufficiently trusting to neither branch of his forces, kept himself at a distance from the enemy, secured by the intervening space and the strength of his fortifications, until, after much solicitation, four thousand foot and five hundred horse were sent him out of Africa as a reinforcement. At length, inspired with fresh hopes, he moved nearer the enemy; and himself also ordered a fleet to be equipped and prepared for the protection of the islands and sea-coasts. In the very onset of renewing the war, he was greatly embarrassed by the desertion of the captains of his ships, who had ceased to entertain a sincere attachment towards the general and the Carthaginian cause, ever since they were severely reprimanded for abandoning the fleet in a cowardly manner at the Iberus. These deserters had raised an insurrection among the Tartessians, and at their instigation some cities had revolted; they had even taken one by force. The war was now turned from the Romans into that country, which he entered in a hostile manner, and resolved to attack Galbus, a distinguished general of the Tartessians, who with a powerful army kept close within his camp, before the walls of a city which had been captured but a few days before. Accordingly, he sent his light-armed troops in advance to provoke the enemy to battle, and part of his infantry to ravage the country throughout in every direction, and to cut off stragglers. There was a skirmish before the camp, at the same time that many were killed and put to flight in the fields. But having by different routes returned to their camp, they so quickly shook off all fear, that they had courage not only to defend their lines, but challenge the enemy to fight. They sallied out, therefore, in a body from the camp, dancing according to their custom. Their sudden boldness terrified the enemy, who a little before had been the

assailants. Hasdrubal therefore drew off his troops to a tolerably steep eminence, and secured further by having a river between it and the enemy. Here the parties of light-armed troops which had been sent in advance, and the horse which had been dispersed about, he called in to join him. But not thinking himself sufficiently secured by the eminence or the river, he fortified his camp completely with a rampart. While thus fearing and feared alternately, several skirmishes occurred, in which the Numidian cavalry were not so good as the Spanish, nor the Moorish darters so good as the Spanish targetteers, who equalled them in swiftness, but were superior to them in strength and courage.

27. The enemy seeing they could not, by coming up to Hasdrubal's camp, draw him out to a battle, nor assault it without great difficulty, stormed Asena, whither Hasdrubal, on entering their territories, had laid up his corn and other stores. By this they became masters of all the surrounding country. But now they became quite ungovernable, both when on march and within their camp.

Hasdrubal, therefore, perceiving their negligence, which, as usual, was the consequence of success, after having exhorted his troops to attack them while they were straggling and without their standards, came down the hill, and advanced to their camp in order of battle. On his approach being announced in a tumultuous manner, by men who fled from the watchposts and advanced guards, they shouted to arms; and as each could get his arms, they rushed precipitately to battle, without waiting for the word, without standards, without order, and without ranks. The foremost of them were already engaged, while some were running up in parties, and others had not got out of their camp. However, at first, the very boldness of their attack terrified the enemy. But when they charged their close ranks with their own which were thin, and were not able to defend themselves for want of numbers, each began to look out for others to support him; and being repulsed in all quarters they collected themselves in form of a circle, where being so closely crowded together, body to body, armour to armour, that they had not room to wield their arms, they were surrounded by the enemy, who continued to slaughter them till late in the day. A small number, having forced a passage, made for the woods and hills. With like consternation, their camp was abandoned,

and next day the whole nation submitted. But they did not continue long quiet, for immediately upon this, Hasdrubal received orders from Carthage to march into Italy with all expedition. The report of which, spreading over Spain, made almost all the states declare for the Romans. Accordingly he wrote immediately to Carthage, to inform them how much mischief the report of his march had produced. "That if he really did leave Spain, the Romans would be masters of it all before he could pass the Iberus. For, besides that he had neither an army nor a general whom he could leave to supply his place, so great were the abilities of the Roman generals who commanded there, that they could scarcely be opposed with equal forces. If, therefore, they had any concern for preserving Spain, they ought to send a general with a powerful army to succeed him. To whom, however prosperous all things might prove, yet the province would not be a position of ease."

28. Though this letter made at first a great impression on the senate, yet, as their interest in Italy was first and most important, they did not at all alter their resolution in relation to Hasdrubal and his troops. However, they despatched Himilco with a complete army, and an augmented fleet, to preserve and defend Spain both by sea and land. When he had conveyed over his land and naval forces, he fortified a camp; and having drawn his ships upon dry land, and surrounded them with a rampart, he marched with a chosen body of cavalry, with all possible expedition; using the same caution when passing through people who were wavering, and those who were actually enemies; and came up with Hasdrubal. As soon as he had informed him of the resolutions and orders of the senate, and in his turn been thoroughly instructed in what manner to prosecute the war in Spain, he returned to his camp; his expedition more than any thing else saving him, for he quitted every place before the people could conspire. Before Hasdrubal quitted his position he laid all the states in subjection to him under contribution. He knew well that Hannibal purchased a passage through some nations; that he had no Gallic auxiliaries but such as were hired; and that if he had undertaken so arduous a march without money, he would scarcely have penetrated so far as the Alps. For this reason, having exacted the contributions with great haste, he marched down to the Iberus. As soon as the

Roman generals got notice of the Carthaginian senate's resolution, and Hasdrubal's march, they gave up every other concern, and uniting their forces, determined to meet him and oppose his attempt. They reflected, that when it was already so difficult to make head against Hannibal alone in Italy, there would be an end of the Roman empire in Spain, should Hasdrubal join him with a Spanish army. Full of anxiety and care on these accounts, they assembled their forces at the Iberus, and crossed the river; and after deliberating for some time whether they should encamp opposite to the enemy, or be satisfied with impeding his intended march by attacking the allies of the Carthaginians, they made preparations for besieging a city called Ibera, from its contiguity to the river, which was at that time the wealthiest in that quarter. When Hasdrubal perceived this, instead of carrying assistance to his allies, he proceeded himself to besiege a city which had lately placed itself under the protection of the Romans; and thus the siege which was now commenced was given up by them, and the operations of the war turned against Hasdrubal himself.

29. For a few days they remained encamped at a distance of five miles from each other, not without skirmishes, but without going out to a regular engagement. At length the signal for battle was given out on both sides on one and the same day, as though by concert, and they marched down into the plain with all their forces. The Roman army stood in triple line; a part of the light troops were stationed among the first line, the other half were received behind the standards, the cavalry covering the wings. Hasdrubal formed his centre strong with Spaniards, and placed the Carthaginians in the right wing, the Africans and hired auxiliaries in the left. His cavalry he placed before the wings, attaching the Numidians to the Carthaginian infantry, and the rest to the Africans. Nor were all the Numidians placed in the right wing, but such as taking two horses each into the field are accustomed frequently to leap full armed, when the battle is at the hottest, from a tired horse upon a fresh one, after the manner of vaulters: such was their own agility, and so docile their breed of horses. While they stood thus drawn up, the hopes entertained by the generals on both sides were pretty much upon an equality; for neither possessed any great superiority, either in point

of the number or quality of the troops. The feelings of the soldiers were widely different. Their generals had, without difficulty, induced the Romans to believe, that although they fought at a distance from their country, it was Italy and the city of Rome that they were defending. Accordingly, they had brought their minds to a settled resolution to conquer or die; as if their return to their country had hinged upon the issue of that battle. The other army consisted of less determined men; for they were principally Spaniards, who would rather be vanquished in Spain, than be victorious to be dragged into Italy. On the first onset, therefore, ere their javelins had scarcely been thrown, their centre gave ground, and the Romans pressing on with great impetuosity, turned their backs. In the wings the battle proceeded with no less activity; on one side the Carthaginians, on the other the Africans, charged vigorously, while the Romans, in a manner surrounded, were exposed to a twofold attack. But when the whole of the Roman troops had united in the centre, they possessed sufficient strength to compel the wings of the enemy to retire in different directions; and thus there were two separate battles, in both of which the Romans were decidedly superior, as after the defeat of the enemy's centre they had the advantage both in the number and strength of their troops. Vast numbers were slain on this occasion; and had not the Spaniards fled precipitately from the field ere the battle had scarce begun, very few out of the whole army would have survived. There was very little fighting of the cavalry, for as soon as the Moors and Numidians perceived that the centre gave way, they fled immediately with the utmost precipitation, leaving the wings uncovered, and also driving the elephants before them. Hasdrubal, after waiting the issue of the battle to the very last, fled from the midst of the carnage with a few attendants. The Romans took and plundered the camp. This victory united with the Romans whatever states of Spain were wavering, and left Hasdrubal no hope, not only of leading an army over into Italy, but even of remaining very safely in Spain. When these events were made generally known at Rome by letters from the Scipios, the greatest joy was felt, not so much for the victory, as for the stop which was put to the passage of Hasdrubal into Italy.

30. While these transactions were going on in Spain, Petilia, in

Bruttium, was taken by Himilco, an officer of Hannibal's, several months after the siege of it began. This victory cost the Carthaginians much blood and many wounds, nor did any power more subdue the besieged than that of famine; for after having consumed their means of subsistence, derived from fruits and the flesh of every kind of quadrupeds, they were at last compelled to live upon skins found in shoemakers' shops, on herbs and roots, the tender barks of trees, and berries gathered from brambles: nor were they subdued until they wanted strength to stand upon the walls and support their arms. After gaining Petilia, the Carthaginian marched his forces to Consentia, which being less obstinately defended, he compelled to surrender within a few days. Nearly about the same time, an army of Bruttians invested Croton, a Greek city, formerly powerful in men and arms, but at the present time reduced so low by many and great misfortunes, that less than twenty thousand inhabitants of all ages remained. The enemy, therefore, easily got possession of a city destitute of defenders: of the citadel alone possession was retained, into which some of the inhabitants fled from the midst of the carnage during the confusion created by the capture of the city. The Locrians too revolted to the Bruttians and Carthaginians, the populace having been betrayed by the nobles. The Rhegians were the only people in that quarter who continued to the last in faithful attachment to the Romans, and in the enjoyment of their independence. The same alteration of feeling extended itself into Sicily also; and not even the family of Hiero altogether abstained from defection; for Gelo, his oldest son, conceiving a contempt for his father's old age, and, after the defeat of Cannae, for the alliance with Rome, went over to the Carthaginians; and he would have created a disturbance in Sicily, had he not been carried off, when engaged as arming the people and soliciting the allies, by a death so seasonable that it threw some degree of suspicion even upon his father. Such, with various result, were the transactions in Italy, Africa, Sicily, and Spain during this year. At the close of the year, Quintus Fabius Maximus requested of the senate, that he might be allowed to dedicate the temple of Venus Erycina, which he had vowed when dictator. The senate decreed, that Tiberius Sempronius, the consul elect, as soon as ever he had entered upon his office, should propose to the people, that they should create

Quintus Fabius duumvir, for the purpose of dedicating the temple. Also, in honour of Marcus Aemilius Lepidus, who had been consul twice and augur, his three sons, Lucius, Marcus, and Quintus exhibited funeral games and twenty-two pairs of gladiators for three days in the forum. The curule aediles, Caius Laetorius, and Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus consul elect, who during his aedileship had been master of the horse, celebrated the Roman games, which were repeated for three days. The plebeian games of the aediles, Marcus Aurelius Cotta and Marcus Claudius Marcellus, were thrice repeated. At the conclusion of the third year of the Punic war, Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus the consul entered upon his office on the ides of March. Of the praetors, Quintus Fulvius Flaccus, who had before been consul and censor, had by lot the city jurisdiction; Marcus Valerius Laevinus, the foreign. Sicily fell to the lot of Appius Claudius Pulcher; Sardinia to Quintus Mucius Scaevola. The people ordered that Marcus Marcellus should be in command as proconsul, because he was the only Roman general who had been successful in his operations in Italy since the defeat at Cannae.

31. The senate decreed, the first day they deliberated in the Capitol, that double taxes should be imposed for that year, one moiety of which should be immediately levied, as a fund from which pay might be given forthwith to all the soldiers, except those who had been at Cannae. With regard to the armies they decreed, that Tiberius Sempronius the consul should appoint a day for the two city legions to meet at Cales, whence these legions should be conveyed into the Claudian camp above Suenula. That the legions which were there, and they consisted principally of the troops which had fought at Cannae, Appius Claudius Pulcher, the praetor, should transport into Sicily; and that those in Sicily should be removed to Rome. Marcus Claudius Marcellus was sent to the army, which had been ordered to meet at Cales on a certain day, with orders to march the city legions thence to the Claudian camp. Titus Metilius Croto, lieutenant-general, was sent by Appius Claudius Pulcher to receive the old army and remove it into Sicily. People at first had expected in silence that the consul would hold an assembly for the election of a colleague, but afterwards perceiving that Marcus Marcellus, whom they wished above all others to be consul this year, on account of his brilliant

success during his praetorship, was removed to a distant quarter, as it were on purpose, a murmuring arose in the senate-house, which the consul perceiving, said "Conscript fathers, it was conducive to the interest of the state, both that Marcus Marcellus should go into Campania to make the exchange of the armies, and that the assembly should not be proclaimed before he had returned thence after completing the business with which he was charged, in order that you might have him as consul whom the situation of the republic required and yourselves prefer." Thus nothing was said about the assembly till Marcellus returned. Meanwhile Quintus Fabius Maximus and Titus Otacilius Crassus were created duumvirs for dedicating temples, Otacilius to Mens, Fabius to Venus Erycina. Both are situated in the Capitol, and separated by one channel. It was afterwards proposed to the people, to make Roman citizens of the three hundred Campanian horsemen who had returned to Rome after having faithfully served their period, and also that they should be considered to have been citizens of Cumae from the day before that on which the Campanians had revolted from the Roman people. It had been a principal inducement to this proposition, that they themselves said they knew not to what people they belonged, having left their former country, and being not yet admitted into that to which they had returned. After Marcellus returned from the army, an assembly was proclaimed for electing one consul in the room of Lucius Posthumius. Marcellus was elected with the greatest unanimity, and was immediately to enter upon his office, but as it thundered while he entered upon it, the augurs were summoned, who pronounced that they considered the creation formal, and the fathers spread a report that the gods were displeased, because on that occasion, for the first time, two plebeians had been elected consuls. Upon Marcellus's abdicating his office, Fabius Maximus, for the third time, was elected in his room. This year the sea appeared on fire; at Sinuessa a cow brought forth a horse foal; the statues in the temple of Juno Sospita Lanuvium flowed down with blood; and a shower of stones fell in the neighbourhood of that temple: on account of which shower the nine days' sacred rite was celebrated, as is usual on such occasions, and the other prodigies were carefully expiated.

32. The consuls divided the armies between them. The army which

Marcus Junius the dictator had commanded fell to the lot of Fabius. To that of Sempronius fell the volunteer slaves, with twenty-five thousand of the allies. To Marcus Valerius the praetor were assigned the legions which had returned from Sicily. Marcus Claudius, proconsul, was sent to that army which lay above Suessula for the protection of Nola. The praetors set out for Sicily and Sardinia. The consuls issued a proclamation, that as often as they summoned a senate, the senators and those who had a right to give their opinion in the senate, should assemble at the Capuan gate. The praetors who were charged with the administration of justice, fixed their tribunals in the public fish market; there they ordered sureties to be entered into, and here justice was administered this year. Meanwhile news was brought to Carthage, from which place Mago, Hannibal's brother, was on the point of carrying over into Italy twelve thousand foot, fifteen hundred horse, twenty elephants, and a thousand talents of silver, under a convoy of sixty men of war, that the operations of the war had not succeeded in Spain, and that almost all the people in that province had gone over to the Romans. There were some who were for sending Mago with that fleet and those forces into Spain, neglecting Italy, when an unexpected prospect of regaining Sardinia broke upon them. They were informed, that "the Roman army there was small, that Aulus Cornelius, who had been praetor there, and was well acquainted with the province, was quitting it, and that a new one was expected. Moreover, that the minds of the Sardinians were now wearied with the long continuance of rule; and that during the last year it had been exercised with severity and rapacity. That the people were weighed down with heavy taxes, and an oppressive contribution of corn: that there was nothing wanting but a leader to whom they might revolt." This secret embassy had been sent by the nobles, Hampsicora being the chief contriver of the measure, who at that time was first by far in wealth and influence. Disconcerted and elated almost at the same time by these accounts, they sent Mago with his fleet and forces into Spain, and selecting Hasdrubal as general for Sardinia, assigned to him about as large a force as to Mago. At Rome, the consuls, after transacting what was necessary to be done in the city now prepared themselves for the war. Tiberius Sempronius appointed a day for his soldiers to assemble at Sinuessa;

and Quintus Fabius also, having first consulted the senate, issued a proclamation, that all persons should convey corn from the fields into fortified towns, before the calends of June next ensuing: if any neglected to do so he would lay waste his lands, sell his slaves by auction, and burn his farm-houses. Not even the praetors, who were created for the purpose of administering justice, were allowed an exemption from military employments. It was resolved that Valerius the praetor should go into Apulia, to receive the army from Terentius, and that, when the legions from Sicily had arrived, he should employ them principally for the protection of that quarter. That the army of Terentius should be sent into Sicily, with some one of the lieutenant-generals. Twenty-five ships were given to Marcus Valerius, to protect the sea-coast between Brundisium and Tarentum. An equal number was given to Quintus Fulvius, the city praetor, to protect the coasts in the neighbourhood of the city. To Caius Terentius, the proconsul, it was given in charge to press soldiers in the Picenian territory, and to protect that part of the country; and Titus Otacilius Crassus, after he had dedicated the temple of Mens in the Capitol, was invested with command, and sent into Sicily to take the conduct of the fleet.

33. On this contest, between the two most powerful people in the world, all kings and nations had fixed their attention. Among them Philip, king of the Macedonians, regarded it with greater anxiety, in proportion as he was nearer to Italy, and because he was separated from it only by the Ionian Sea. When he first heard that Hannibal had crossed the Alps, as he was rejoiced that a war had arisen between the Romans and the Carthaginians, so while their strength was yet undetermined, he felt doubtful which he should rather wish to be victorious. But after the third battle had been fought and the third victory had been on the side of the Carthaginians, he inclined to fortune, and sent ambassadors to Hannibal. These, avoiding the harbours of Brundisium and Tarentum, because they were occupied by guards of Roman ships, landed at the temple of Juno Lacinia. Thence passing through Apulia, on their way to Capua, they fell in with the Roman troops stationed to protect the country, and were conveyed to Marcus Valerius Laevinus, the praetor, who lay encamped in the neighbourhood of Luceria. Here Xenophanes, who

was at the head of the embassy, fearlessly stated, that he was sent by King Philip to conclude a treaty of alliance and friendship with the Roman people, and that he had commissions to the Roman consuls, senate, and people. The praetor, highly delighted with this new alliance with a distinguished potentate, amidst the desertions of her old allies, courteously entertained these enemies as guests, and furnished them with persons to accompany them carefully to point out the roads, and inform them what places, and what passes, the Romans or the enemy occupied. Xenophanes passing through the Roman troops came into Campania, whence, by the shortest way, he entered the camp of Hannibal, and concluded a treaty of alliance and friendship with him on the following terms: That “King Philip, with as large a fleet as he could, (and it was thought he could make one of two hundred ships,) should pass over into Italy, and lay waste the sea-coast, that he should carry on the war by land and sea with all his might; when the war was concluded, that all Italy, with the city of Rome itself, should be the property of the Carthaginians and Hannibal, and that all the booty should be given up to Hannibal. That when Italy was completely subdued they should sail into Greece, and carry on war with such nations as the king pleased. That the cities on the continent and the islands which border on Macedonia, should belong to Philip, and his dominions.”

34. A treaty was concluded between the Carthaginian general and the ambassadors, upon nearly these terms; and Gisco, Bostar, and Mago were sent as ambassadors with them to receive the ratification of the king in person. They arrived at the same place, near the temple of Juno Lacinia, where the vessel lay concealed in a creek. Setting out thence, when they had got into the open sea, they were descried by the Roman fleet, which was guarding the coasts of Calabria. Publius Valerius Flaccus having sent fly-boats to pursue and bring back the ship, the king's party at first attempted to fly; but afterwards, finding that they were overmatched in swiftness, they delivered themselves up to the Romans, and were brought to the commander of the fleet. Upon being asked by him who they were, whence they came, and whither they were going, Xenophanes, having once been pretty successful, made up a fictitious story and said, “that he was sent from Philip to the Romans; that he had

succeeded in reaching Marcus Valerius, to whom alone he had safe access; that he was unable to make his way through Campania, which was beset with the troops of the enemy.” But afterwards the Carthaginian dress and manners excited suspicions of the messengers of Hannibal, and when interrogated, their speech betrayed them; then on their companions being removed to separate places, and intimidated by threats, even a letter from Hannibal to Philip was discovered, and the agreement made between the king of the Macedonians and the Carthaginian. These points having been ascertained, the best course appeared to be, to convey the prisoners and their companions as soon as possible to the senate at Rome, or to the consuls, wheresoever they might be; for this service five of the fastest sailing vessels were selected, and Lucius Valerius Antias sent in command of them, with orders to distribute the ambassadors through all the ships separately, and take particular care that they should hold no conversation or consultation with each other. About the same time Aulus Cornelius Mammula, on his return from the province of Sardinia, made a report of the state of affairs in the island; that every body contemplated war and revolt; that Quintus Mucius who succeeded him, being on his arrival affected by the unwholesomeness of the air and water, had fallen into a disorder rather lingering than dangerous, and would for a long time be incapable of sustaining the violent exertion of the war; that the army there, though strong enough for the protection of a province in a state of tranquillity, was, nevertheless, not adequate to the maintenance of the war which seemed to be about to break out. Upon which the fathers decreed, that Quintus Fulvius Flaccus should enlist five thousand foot and four hundred horse, and take care that the legion thus formed should be transported as soon as possible into Sardinia, and send invested with command whomsoever he thought fit to conduct the business of the war until Mucius had recovered. For this service Titus Manlius Torquatus was sent; he had been twice consul and censor, and had subdued the Sardinians during his consulate. Nearly about the same time a fleet sent from Carthage to Sardinia under the conduct of Hasdrubal, surnamed the Bald, having suffered from a violent tempest, was driven upon the Balearian islands, where a good deal of time was lost in refitting the ships, which were hauled

on shore, so much were they damaged, not only in their rigging but also in their hulls.

35. As the war was carried on in Italy with less vigour since the battle of Cannae, the strength of one party having been broken, and the energy of the other relaxed, the Campanians of themselves made an attempt to subjugate Cumae, at first by soliciting them to revolt from the Romans, and when that plan did not succeed, they contrived an artifice by which to entrap them. All the Campanians had a stated sacrifice at Hamae. They informed the Cumans that the Campanian senate would come there, and requested that the Cuman senate should also be present to deliberate in concert, in order that both people might have the same allies and the same enemies; they said that they would have an armed force there for their protection, that there might be no danger from the Romans or Carthaginians. The Cumans, although they suspected treachery, made no objection, concluding that thus the deception they meditated might be concealed. Meanwhile Tiberius Sempronius, the Roman consul, having purified his army at Sinuessa, where he had appointed a day for their meeting, crossed the Vulturnus, and pitched his camp in the neighbourhood of Liternum. As his troops were stationed here without any employment, he compelled them frequently to go through their exercise, that the recruits, which consisted principally of volunteer slaves, might accustom themselves to follow the standards, and know their own centuries in battle. While thus engaged, the general was particularly anxious for concord, and therefore enjoined the lieutenant-generals and the tribunes that “no disunion should be engendered among the different orders, by casting reproaches on any one on account of his former condition. That the veteran soldier should be content be placed on an equal footing with the tiro, the free-man with the volunteer slave; that all should consider those men sufficiently respectable in point of character and birth, to whom the Roman people had intrusted their arms and standards; that the measures which circumstances made it necessary to adopt, the same circumstances also made it necessary to support when adopted.” This was not more carefully prescribed by the generals than observed by the soldiers; and in a short time the minds of all were united in such perfect harmony, that the condition from

which each became a soldier was almost forgotten. While Gracchus was thus employed, ambassadors from Cumas brought him information of the embassy which had come to them from the Campanians, a few days before, and the answer they had given them; that the festival would take place in three days from that time; that not only the whole body of their senate, but that the camp and the army of the Campanians would be there. Gracchus having directed the Cumans to convey every thing out of their fields into the town, and to remain within their walls, marched himself to Cumae, on the day before that on which the Campanians were to attend the sacrifice. Hamae was three miles distant from his position. The Campanians had by this time assembled there in great numbers according to the plan concerted; and not far off Marius Alfius, Medixtuticus, which is the name of the chief magistrate of the Campanians, lay encamped in a retired spot with fourteen thousand armed men, considerably more occupied in making preparation for the sacrifice and in concerting the stratagem to be executed during it, than in fortifying his camp or any other military work. The sacrifice at Hamae lasted for three days. It was a nocturnal rite, so arranged as to be completed before midnight. Gracchus, thinking this the proper time for executing his plot, placed guards at the gates to prevent any one from carrying out intelligence of his intentions; and having compelled his men to employ the time from the tenth hour in taking refreshment and sleep, in order that they might be able to assemble on a signal given as soon as it was dark. He ordered the standards to be raised about the first watch, and marching in silence, reached Hamae at midnight; where, finding the Campanian camp in a neglected state, as might be expected during a festival, he assaulted it at every gate at once; some he butchered while stretched on the ground asleep, others as they were returning unarmed after finishing the sacrifice. In the tumultuous action of this night more than two thousand men were slain, together with the general himself, Marius Alfius, and thirty-four military standards were captured.

36. Gracchus, having made himself master of the enemy's camp with the loss of less than a hundred men, hastily returned to Cumae, fearful of an attack from Hannibal, who lay encamped above Capua on Tifata; nor did his provident anticipation of the future deceive

him; for as soon as intelligence was brought to Capua of this loss, Hannibal, concluding that he should find at Hamae this army, which consisted for the most part of recruits and slaves, extravagantly elated with its success, despoiling the vanquished and collecting booty, marched by Capua at a rapid pace, ordering those Campanians whom he met in their flight to be conducted to Capua under an escort, and the wounded to be conveyed in carriages. He found at Hamae the camp abandoned by the enemy, where there was nothing to be seen but the traces of the recent carnage, and the bodies of his allies strewed in every part. Some advised him to lead his troops immediately thence to Cumae, and assault the town. Though Hannibal desired, in no ordinary degree, to get possession of Cumae at least, as a maritime town, since he could not gain Neapolis; yet as his soldiers had brought out with them nothing besides their arms on their hasty march, he retired to his camp on Tifata. But, wearied with the entreaties of the Campanians, he returned thence to Cumae the following day, with every thing requisite for besieging the town; and having thoroughly wasted the lands of Cumae, pitched, his camp a mile from the town, in which Gracchus had stayed more because he was ashamed to abandon, in such an emergency, allies who implored his protection and that of the Roman people, than because he felt confidence in his army. Nor dared the other consul, Fabius, who was encamped at Cales, lead his troops across the Volturnus, being employed at first in taking new auspices, and afterwards with the prodigies which were reported one after another; and while expiating these, the aruspices answered that they were not easily atoned.

37. While these causes detained Fabius, Sempronius was besieged, and now works were employed in the attack. Against a very large wooden tower which was brought up to the town, the Roman consul raised up another considerably higher from the wall itself; for he had made use of the wall, which was pretty high of itself, as a platform, placing strong piles as supports. From this the besieged at first defended their walls and city, with stones, javelins, and other missiles; but lastly, when they perceived the tower advanced into contact with the wall they threw upon it a large quantity of fire, making use of blazing fire-brands; and while the armed men were throwing themselves down from the tower in great numbers, in

consequence of the flames thus occasioned, the troops sallying out of the town at two gates at once, routed the enemy, and drove them back to their camp; so that the Carthaginians that day were more like persons besieged than besiegers. As many as one thousand three hundred of the Carthaginians were slain, and fifty-nine made prisoners, having been unexpectedly overpowered, while standing careless and unconcerned near the walls and on the outposts, fearing any thing rather than a sally. Gracchus sounded a retreat, and withdrew his men within the walls, before the enemy could recover themselves from the effects of this sudden terror. The next day Hannibal, supposing that the consul, elated with his success, would engage him in a regular battle, drew up his troops in battle-array between the camp and the city; but finding that not a man was removed from the customary guard of the town, and that nothing was hazarded upon rash hopes, he returned to Tifata without accomplishing any thing. At the same time that Cumae was relieved from siege, Tiberius Sempronius, surnamed Longus, fought successfully with the Carthaginian general, Hanno, at Grumentum in Lucania. He slew above two thousand of the enemy, losing two hundred and eighty of his own men. He took as many as forty-one military standards. Hanno, driven out of the Lucanian territory, drew back among the Bruttii. Three towns belonging to the Hirpinians, which had revolted from the Romans, were regained by force by the praetor, Marcus Valerius, Vercellius and Sicilius, the authors of the revolt, were beheaded; above a thousand prisoners sold by auction; and the rest of the booty having been given up to the soldiery, the army was marched back to Luceria.

38. While these things were taking place in Lucania and Hirpinia, the five ships, which were conveying to Rome the captured ambassadors of the Macedonians and Carthaginians, after passing round the whole coast of Italy from the upper to the lower sea, were sailing by Cumae, when, it not being known whether they belonged to enemies or allies, Gracchus despatched some ships from his fleet to meet them. When it was ascertained, in the course of their mutual inquiries that the consul was at Cumae, the ships put in there, the captives were brought before the consul, and their letters placed in his hands. The consul, after he had read the letters of Philip and

Hannibal, sent them all, sealed up, to the senate by land, ordering that the ambassadors should be conveyed thither by sea. The ambassadors and the letters arriving at Rome nearly on the same day, and on examination the answers of the ambassadors corresponding with the contents of the letters, at first intense anxiety oppressed the fathers, on seeing what a formidable war with Macedonia threatened them, when with difficulty bearing up against the Punic war; yet so far were they from sinking under their calamities, that they immediately began to consider how they might divert the enemy from Italy, by commencing hostilities themselves. After ordering the prisoners to be confined in chains, and selling their attendants by public auction, they decreed, that twenty more ships should be got ready, in addition to the twenty-five ships which Publius Valerius Flaccus had been appointed to command. These being provided and launched, and augmented by the five ships which had conveyed the captive ambassadors to Rome, a fleet of fifty ships set sail from Ostia to Tarentum. Publius Valerius was ordered to put on board the soldiers of Varro, which Lucius Apustius, lieutenant-general, commanded at Tarentum; and, with this fleet of fifty ships, not only to protect the coast of Italy, but also to make inquiry respecting the Macedonian war. If the plans of Philip corresponded with his letter, and the discoveries made by his ambassadors, he was directed to acquaint the praetor, Marcus Valerius, with it, who, leaving Lucius Apustius, lieutenant-general, in command of the army, and going to Tarentum to the fleet, was to cross over to Macedonia with all speed, and endeavour to detain Philip in his own dominions. The money which had been sent into Sicily to Appius Claudius, to be repaid to Hiero, was assigned for the support of the fleet and the maintenance of the Macedonian war. This money was conveyed to Tarentum, by Lucius Apustius, lieutenant-general, and with it Hiero sent two hundred thousand pecks of wheat, and a hundred thousand of barley.

39. While the Romans were engaged in these preparations and transactions, the captured ship, which formed one of those which had been sent to Rome, made its escape on the voyage and returned to Philip; from which source it became known that the ambassadors with their letters had been made prisoners. Not knowing, therefore, what had been agreed upon between Hannibal and his ambassadors,

or what proposals they were to have brought back to him, he sent another embassy with the same instructions. The ambassadors sent to Hannibal were Heraclitus, surnamed Scotinus, Crito of Beraea, and Sositheus of Magnesia; these successfully took and brought back their commissions, but the summer had passed before the king could take any step or make any attempt. Such an influence had the capture of one vessel, together with the ambassadors, in deferring a war which threatened the Romans. Fabius crossed the Vulturnus, after having at length expiated the prodigies, and both the consuls prosecuted the war in the neighbourhood of Capua. Fabius regained by force the towns Compulteria, Trebula, and Saticula, which had revolted to the Carthaginians; and in them were captured the garrisons of Hannibal and a great number of Campanians. At Nola, as had been the case the preceding year, the senate sided with the Romans, the commons with Hannibal; and deliberations were held clandestinely on the subject of massacring the nobles and betraying the city; but to prevent their succeeding in their designs, Fabius marched his army between Capua and the camp of Hannibal on Tifata, and sat down in the Claudian camp above Suessula, whence he sent Marcus Marcellus, the proconsul, with those forces which he had under him, to Nola for its protection.

40. In Sardinia also the operations of the war, which had been intermitted from the time that Quintus Mucius, the praetor, had been seized with a serious illness, began to be conducted by Titus Manlius, the praetor. Having hauled the ships of war on shore at Carale, and armed his mariners, in order that he might prosecute the war by land, and received the army from the praetor, he made up the number of twenty-two thousand foot and twelve hundred horse. Setting out for the territory of the enemy with these forces of foot and horse, he pitched his camp not far from the camp of Hamsicora. It happened that Hampsicora was then gone among the Sardinians, called Pelliti, in order to arm their youth, whereby he might augment his forces. His son, named Hiostus, had the command of the camp, who coming to an engagement, with the presumption of youth, was routed and put to flight. In that battle as many as three thousand of the Sardinians were slain, and about eight hundred taken alive. The rest of the army at first wandered in their flight through the fields and

woods, but afterwards all fled to a city named Cornus, the capital of that district, whither there was a report that their general had fled; and the war in Sardinia would have been brought to a termination by that battle, had not the Carthaginian fleet under the command of Hasdrubal, which had been driven by a storm upon the Balearian islands, come in seasonably for inspiring a hope of renewing the war. Manlius, after hearing of the arrival of the Punic fleet, returned to Carale, which afforded Hampsicora an opportunity of forming a junction with the Carthaginian. Hasdrubal, having landed his forces and sent back his fleet to Carthage, set out under the guidance of Hampsicora, to lay waste the lands of the allies of the Romans; and he would have proceeded to Carale, had not Manlius, meeting him with his army, restrained him from this wide-spread depredation. At first their camps were pitched opposite to each other, at a small distance; afterwards skirmishes and slight encounters took place with varying success; lastly, they came down into the field and fought a regular pitched battle for four hours. The Carthaginians caused the battle to continue long doubtful, for the Sardinians were accustomed to yield easily; but at last, when the Sardinians fell and fled on all sides around them, the Carthaginians themselves were routed. But as they were turning their backs, the Roman general, wheeling round that wing with which he had driven back the Sardinians, intercepted them, after which it was rather a carnage than a battle. Two thousand of the enemy, Sardinians and Carthaginians together, were slain, about three thousand seven hundred captured, with twenty-seven military standards.

41. Above all, the general, Hasdrubal, and two other noble Carthaginians having been made prisoners, rendered the battle glorious and memorable; Mago, who was of the Barcine family, and nearly related to Hannibal, and Hanno, the author of the revolt of the Sardinians, and without doubt the instigator of this war. Nor less did the Sardinian generals render that battle distinguished by their disasters; for not only was Hiostus, son of Hampsicora, slain in the battle, but Hampsicora himself flying with a few horse, having heard of the death of his son in addition to his unfortunate state, committed suicide by night, lest the interference of any person should prevent the accomplishment of his design. To the other fugitives the city of

Cornus afforded a refuge, as it had done before; but Manlius, having assaulted it with his victorious troops, regained it in a few days. Then other cities also which had gone over to Hampsicora and the Carthaginians, surrendered themselves and gave hostages, on which having imposed a contribution of money and corn, proportioned to the means and delinquency of each, he led back his troops to Carale. There launching his ships of war, and putting the soldiers he had brought with him on board, he sailed to Rome, reported to the fathers the total subjugation of Sardinia, and handed over the contribution of money to the quaestors, of corn to the aediles, and the prisoners to the praetor Fulvius. During the same time, as Titus Otacilius the praetor, who had sailed over with a fleet of fifty ships from Lilybaeum to Africa, and laid waste the Carthaginian territory, was returning thence to Sardinia, to which place it was reported that Hasdrubal had recently crossed over from the Baleares, he fell in with his fleet on its return to Africa; and after a slight engagement in the open sea, captured seven ships with their crews. Fear dispersed the rest far and wide, not less effectually than a storm. It happened also, at the same time, that Bomilcar arrived at Locri with soldiers sent from Carthage as a reinforcement, bringing with him also elephants and provisions. In order to surprise and overpower him, Appius Claudius, having hastily led his troops to Messana, under pretext of making the circuit of the province, crossed over to Locri, the tide being favourable. Bomilcar had by this time left the place, having set out for Bruttium to join Hanno. The Locrians closed their gates against the Romans, and Appius Claudius returned to Rome without achieving any thing, by his strenuous efforts. The same summer Marcellus made frequent excursions from Nola, which he was occupying with a garrison, into the lands of the Hirpini and Caudine Samnites, and so destroyed all before him with fire and sword, that he renewed in Samnium the memory of her ancient disasters.

42. Ambassadors were therefore despatched from both nations at the same time to Hannibal, who thus addressed the Carthaginian: "Hannibal, we carried on hostilities with the Roman people, by ourselves and from our own resources, as long as our own arms and our own strength could protect us. Our confidence in these failing,

we attached ourselves to king Pyrrhus. Abandoned by him, we accepted of a peace, dictated by necessity, which we continued to observe up to the period when you arrived in Italy, through a period of almost fifty years. Your valour and good fortune, not more than your unexampled humanity and kindness displayed towards our countrymen, whom, when made prisoners, you restored to us, so attached us to you, that while you our friend were in health and safety, we not only feared not the Romans, but not even the anger of the gods, if it were lawful so to express ourselves. And yet, by Hercules, you not only being in safety and victorious, but on the spot, (when you could almost hear the shrieks of our wives and children, and see our buildings in flames,) we have suffered, during this summer, such repeated devastations, that Marcellus, and not Hannibal, would appear to have been the conqueror at Cannae; while the Romans boast that you had strength only to inflict a single blow; and having as it were left your sting, now lie torpid. For near a century we waged war with the Romans, unaided by any foreign general or army; except that for two years Pyrrhus rather augmented his own strength by the addition of our troops, than defended us by his. I will not boast of our successes, that two consuls and two consular armies were sent under the yoke by us, nor of any other joyful and glorious events which have happened to us. We can tell of the difficulties and distresses we then experienced, with less indignation than those which are now occurring. Dictators, those officers of high authority, with their masters of horse, two consuls with two consular armies, entered our borders, and, after having reconnoitred and posted reserves, led on their troops in regular array to devastate our country. Now we are the prey of a single *propraetor*, and of one little garrison, for the defence of Nola. Now they do not even confine themselves to plundering in companies, but, like marauders, range through our country from one end to the other, more unconcernedly than if they were rambling through the Roman territory. And the reason is this, you do not protect us yourself, and the whole of our youth, which, if at home, would keep us in safety, is serving under your banners. We know nothing either of you or your army, but we know that it would be easy for the man who has routed and dispersed so many Roman armies, to put down these rambling

freebooters of ours, who roam about in disorder to whatsoever quarter the hope of booty, however groundless, attracts them. They indeed will be the prey of a few Numidians, and a garrison sent to us will also dislodge that at Nola, provided you do not think those men undeserving that you should protect them as allies, whom you have esteemed worthy of your alliance.”

43. To this Hannibal replied, “that the Hirpini and Samnites did every thing at once: that they both represented their sufferings, solicited succours, and complained that they were undefended and neglected. Whereas, they ought first to have represented their sufferings, then to have solicited succours; and lastly, if those succours were not obtained, then, at length, to make complaint that assistance had been implored without effect. That he would lead his troops not into the fields of the Hirpini and Samnites, lest he too should be a burthen to them, but into the parts immediately contiguous, and belonging to the allies of the Roman people, by plundering which, he would enrich his own soldiers, and cause the enemy to retire from them through fear. With regard to the Roman war, if the battle of Trasimenus was more glorious than that at Trebia, and the battle of Cannae than that of Trasimenus, that he would eclipse the fame of the battle of Cannae by a greater and more brilliant victory.” With this answer, and with munificent presents, he dismissed the ambassadors. Having left a pretty large garrison in Tifata, he set out with the rest of his troops to go to Nola. Thither came Hanno from the Bruttii with recruits and elephants brought from Carthage. Having encamped not far from the place, every thing, upon examination, was found to be widely different from what he had heard from the ambassadors of the allies. For Marcellus was doing nothing, in such a way that he could be said to have committed himself rashly either to fortune or to the enemy. He had gone out on plundering expeditions, having previously reconnoitred, planted strong guards, and secured a retreat; the same caution was observed and the same provisions made, as if Hannibal were present. At this time, when he perceived the enemy on the approach, he kept his forces within the walls, ordered the senators of Nola to patrol the walls, and explore on all hands what was doing among the enemy. Of these Herennius Bassus and Herius Petrius, having been invited by

Hanno, who had come up to the wall, to a conference, and gone out with the permission of Marcellus, were thus addressed by him, through an interpreter. After extolling the valour and good fortune of Hannibal, and vilifying the majesty of the Roman people, which he represented as sinking into decrepitude with their strength; he said, “but though they were on an equality in these respects, as once perhaps they were, yet they who had experienced how oppressive the government of Rome was towards its allies, and how great the clemency of Hannibal, even towards all his prisoners of the Italian name, were bound to prefer the friendship and alliance of the Carthaginians to those of the Romans.” If both the consuls with their armies were at Nola, still they would no more be a match for Hannibal than they had been at Cannae, much less would one praetor with a few raw soldiers be able to defend it. It was a question which concerned themselves more than Hannibal whether he should take possession of Nola as captured or surrendered, for that he would certainly make himself master of it, as he had done with regard to Capua and Nuceria, and what difference there was between the fate of Capua and Nuceria, the Nolans themselves, situated as they were nearly midway between them, were well aware. He said he was unwilling to presage the evils which would result to the city if taken by force, but would in preference pledge himself that if they would deliver up Nola, together with Marcellus and his garrison, no other person than themselves should dictate the conditions on which they should come into the friendship and alliance of Hannibal.

44. To this Herennius Bassus replied, that, “a friendship had subsisted now for many years between the Romans and the Nolans, which neither party up to that day regretted; and even had they been disposed to change their friends upon a change of fortune, it was now too late to change; had they intended to surrender themselves to Hannibal, they should not have called a Roman garrison to their aid: that all fortunes both were now and should to the last be shared with those who had come to their protection.” This conference deprived Hannibal of the hope of gaining Nola by treachery; he therefore completely invested the city, in order that he might attack the walls in every part at once. Marcellus, when he perceived that he had come near to the walls, having drawn up his troops within the gate, sallied

forth with great impetuosity; several were knocked down and slain on the first charge: afterwards the troops running up to those who were engaged, and their forces being thus placed on an equality? the battle began to be fierce; nor would there have been many actions equally memorable, had not the combatants been separated by a shower of rain attended with a tremendous storm. On that day, after having engaged in a slight contest, and with inflamed minds, they retired, the Romans to the city, the Carthaginians to their camp. Of the Carthaginians, however, there fell from the shock of the first sally not more than thirty, of the Romans not one. The rain continued without intermission through the whole night, until the third hour of the following day, and therefore, though both parties were eager for the contest, they nevertheless kept themselves within their works for that day. On the third day Hannibal sent a portion of his troops into the lands of the Nolans to plunder. Marcellus perceiving this, immediately led out his troops and formed for battle, nor did Hannibal decline fighting. The interval between the city and the camp was about a mile. In that space, and all the country round Nola consists of level ground, the armies met. The shout which was raised on both sides, called back to the battle, which had now commenced, the nearest of those cohorts which had gone out into the fields to plunder. The Nolans too joined the Roman line. Marcellus having highly commended them, desired them to station themselves in reserve, and to carry the wounded out of the field but not take part in the battle, unless they should receive a signal from him.

45. It was a doubtful battle; the generals exerting themselves to the utmost in exhorting, and the soldiers in fighting Marcellus urged his troops to press vigorously on men who had been vanquished but three days before, who had been put to flight at Cumae only a few days ago, and who had been driven from Nola the preceding year by himself, as general, though with different troops. He said, "that all the forces of the enemy were not in the field; that they were rambling about the country in plundering parties, and that even those who were engaged, were enfeebled with Campanian luxury, and worn out with drunkenness, lust, and every kind of debauchery, which they had been indulging in through the whole winter. That the energy and vigour had left them, that the strength of mind and body had

vanished, by which the Pyrenees and the tops of the Alps had been passed. That those now engaged were the remains of those men, with scarcely strength to support their arms and limbs. That Capua had been a Cannae to Hannibal; that there his courage in battle, his military discipline, the fame he had already acquired, and his hopes of future glory, were extinguished.” While Marcellus was raising the spirits of his troops by thus inveighing against the enemy, Hannibal assailed them with still heavier reproaches. He said, “he recognised the arms and standards which he had seen and employed at Trebia and Trasimenus, and lastly at Cannae; but that he had indeed led one sort of troops into winter quarters at Capua, and brought another out. Do you, whom two consular armies could never withstand, with difficulty maintain your ground against a Roman lieutenant-general, and a single legion with a body of auxiliaries? Does Marcellus now a second time with impunity assail us with a band of raw recruits and Nolan auxiliaries? Where is that soldier of mine, who took off the head of Caius Flaminius, the consul, after dragging him from his horse? Where is the man who slew Lucius Paulus at Cannae? Is it that the steel hath lost its edge? or that your right hands are benumbed? or what other miracle is it? You who, when few, have been accustomed to conquer numbers, now scarce maintain your ground, the many against the few. Brave in speech only, you were wont to boast that you would take Rome by storm if you could find a general to lead you. Lo! here is a task of less difficulty. I would have you try your strength and courage here. Take Nola, a town situated on a plain, protected neither by river nor sea; after that, when you have enriched yourselves with the plunder and spoils of that wealthy town, I will either lead or follow you whithersoever you have a mind.”

46. Neither praises nor reproaches had any effect in confirming their courage. Driven from their ground in every quarter, while the Romans derived fresh spirits, not only from the exhortations of their general, but from the Nolans, who, by their acclamations in token of their good wishes, fed the flame of battle, the Carthaginians turned their backs, and were driven to their camp, which the Roman soldiers were eager to attack; but Marcellus led them back to Nola, amidst the great joy and congratulations even from the commons, who hitherto

had been more favourable to the Carthaginians. Of the enemy more than five thousand were slain on that day, six hundred made prisoners, with nineteen military standards and two elephants. Four elephants were killed in the battle. Of the Romans less than a thousand were killed. The next day was employed by both parties in burying their dead, under a tacit truce. Marcellus burnt the spoils of the enemy, in fulfilment of a vow to Vulcan. On the third day after, on account of some pique, I suppose, or in the hope of more advantageous service, one thousand two hundred and seventy-two horsemen, Numidians and Spaniards, deserted to Marcellus. The Romans had frequently availed themselves of their brave and faithful service in that war. After the conclusion of the war, portions of land were given to the Spaniards in Spain, to the Numidians in Africa, in consideration of their valour. Having sent Hanno back from Nola to the Bruttians with the troops with which he had come, Hannibal went himself into winter quarters in Apulia, and took up a position in the neighbourhood of Arpi. Quintus Fabius, as soon as he heard that Hannibal was set out into Apulia, conveyed corn, collected from Nola and Naples, into the camp above Suessula; and having strengthened the fortifications and left a garrison sufficient for the protection of the place during the winter, moved his camp nearer to Capua, and laid waste the Campanian lands with fire and sword; so that at length the Campanians, though not very confident in their strength, were obliged to go out of their gates and fortify a camp in the open space before the city. They had six thousand armed men, the infantry, unfit for action. In their cavalry they had more strength. They therefore harassed the enemy by attacking them with these. Among the many distinguished persons who served in the Campanian cavalry was one Cerrinus Jubellius, surnamed Taurea. Though of that extraction, he was a Roman citizen, and by far the bravest horseman of all the Campanians, insomuch that when he served under the Roman banners, there was but one man, Claudius Asellus, a Roman, who rivalled him in his reputation as a horseman. Taurea having for a long time diligently sought for this man, riding up to the squadrons of the enemy, at length having obtained silence, inquired where Claudius Asellus was, and asked why, since he had been accustomed to dispute about their merit in words, he would not

decide the matter with the sword, and if vanquished give him *spolia opima*, or if victorious take them.

47. Asellus, who was in the camp, having been informed of this, waited only to ask the consul leave to depart from the ordinary course and fight an enemy who had challenged him. By his permission, he immediately put on his arms, and riding out beyond the advanced guards called on Taurea by name, and bid him come to the encounter when he pleased. By this time the Romans had gone out in large bodies to witness the contest, and the Campanians had crowded not only the rampart of the camp, but the walls of the city to get a view of it. After a flourish of expressions of mutual defiance, they spurred on their horses with their spears pointed. Then evading each other's attacks, for they had free space to move in, they protracted the battle without a wound. Upon this the Campanian observed to the Roman, "This will be only a trial of skill between our horses and not between horsemen, unless we ride them down from the plain into this hollow way. There, as there will be no room for retiring, we shall come to close quarters." Almost quicker than the word, Claudius leaped into the hollow way. Taurea, bold in words more than in reality, said, "Never be the ass in the ditch;" an expression which from this circumstance became a common proverb among rustics. Claudius having rode up and down the way to a considerable distance, and again come up into the plain without meeting his antagonist, after reflecting in reproachful terms on the cowardice of the enemy, returned in triumph to the camp, amidst great rejoicing and congratulation. To the account of this equestrian contest, some histories add a circumstance which is certainly astonishing, how true it is, is an open matter of opinion that Claudius, when in pursuit of Taurea, who fled back to the city, rode in at one of the gates of the enemy which stood open and made his escape unhurt through another, the enemy being thunderstruck at the strangeness of the circumstance.

48. The camps were then undisturbed, the consul even moved his camp back, that the Campanians might complete their sowing, nor did he do any injury to the lands till the blades in the corn-fields were grown sufficiently high to be useful for forage. This he conveyed into the Claudian camp above Suessula, and there erected winter quarters.

He ordered Marcus Claudius, the proconsul, to retain at Nola a sufficient force for the protection of the place, and send the rest to Rome, that they might not be a burthen to their allies nor an expense to the republic. Tiberius Gracchus also, having led his legions from Cumae to Luceria in Apulia, sent Marcus Valerius, the praetor, thence to Brundisium with the troops which he had commanded at Luceria, with orders to protect the coast of the Sallentine territory, and make provisions with regard to Philip and the Macedonian war. At the close of the summer, the events of which I have described, letters arrived from Publius and Cneius Scipio, stating the magnitude and success of their operations in Spain, but that the army was in want of money, clothing, and corn, and that then crews were in want of every thing. With regard to the pay, they said, that if the treasury was low, they would adopt some plan by which they might procure it from the Spaniards, but that the other supplies must certainly be sent from Rome, for otherwise neither the army could be kept together nor the province preserved. When the letters were read, all to a man admitted that the statement was correct, and the request reasonable, but it occurred to their minds, what great forces they were maintaining by land and sea, and how large a fleet must soon be equipped if a war with Macedon should break out, that Sicily and Sardinia, which before the war had wielded a revenue, were scarcely able to maintain the troops which protected those provinces, that the expenses were supplied by a tax, that both the number of the persons who contributed this tax was diminished by the great havoc made in their armies at the Trasimenus and Cannae, and the few who survived, if they were oppressed with multiplied impositions, would perish by a calamity of a different kind. That, therefore, if the republic could not subsist by credit, it could not stand by its own resources. It was resolved, therefore, that Fulvius, the praetor, should present himself to the public assembly of the people, point out the necessities of the state, and exhort those persons who had increased their patrimonies by farming the public revenues, to furnish temporary loans for the service of that state, from which they had derived their wealth, and contract to supply what was necessary for the army in Spain, on the condition of being paid the first when there was money in the treasury. These things the praetor laid before the

assembly, and fixed a day on which he would let on contract the furnishing the army in Spain with clothes and corn, and with such other things as were necessary for the crews.

49. When the day arrived, three companies, of nineteen persons, came forward to enter into the contract; but they made two requests: one was, that they should be exempt from military service while employed in that revenue business; the second was, that the state should bear all losses of the goods they shipped, which might arise either from the attacks of the enemy or from storms. Having obtained both their requests, they entered into the contract, and the affairs of the state were conducted by private funds. This character and love of country uniformly pervaded all ranks. As all the engagements were entered into with magnanimity, so were they fulfilled with the strictest fidelity; and the supplies were furnished in the same manner as formerly, from an abundant treasury. At the time when these supplies arrived, the town of Illiturgi was being besieged by Hasdrubal, Mago, and Hamilcar the son of Bomilcar, on account of its having gone over to the Romans. Between these three camps of the enemy, the Scipios effected an entrance into the town of their allies, after a violent contest and great slaughter of their opponents, and introduced some corn, of which there was a scarcity; and after exhorting the townsmen to defend their walls with the same spirit which they had seen displayed by the Roman army fighting in their behalf, led on their troops to attack the largest of the camps, in which Hasdrubal had the command. To this camp the two other generals of the Carthaginians with their armies came, seeing that the great business was to be done there. They therefore sallied from the camp and fought. Of the enemy engaged there were sixty thousand; of the Romans about sixteen; the victory, however, was so decisive, that the Romans slew more than their own number of the enemy, and captured more than three thousand, with nearly a thousand horses and fifty-nine military standards, five elephants having been slain in the battle. They made themselves masters of the three camps on that day. The siege of Illiturgi having been raised, the Carthaginian armies were led away to the siege of Intibili; the forces having been recruited out of that province, which was, above all others, fond of war, provided there was any plunder or pay to be obtained, and at

that time had an abundance of young men. A second regular engagement took place, attended with the same fortune to both parties; in which above three thousand of the enemy were slain, more than two thousand captured, together with forty-two standards and nine elephants. Then, indeed, almost all the people of Spain came over to the Romans, and the achievements in Spain during that summer were much more important than those in Italy.

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BOOK XXIV

Translated by William A. McDevitte

B.C. 215-213

Hieronymus, king of Syracuse, whose grandfather Hiero had been a faithful ally of Rome, revolts to the Carthaginians, and for his tyranny is put to death by his subjects. Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus, the proconsul, defeats the Carthaginians under Hanno at Beneventum chiefly by the services of the slaves in his army, whom he subsequently liberated. Claudius Marcellus, the consul, besieges Syracuse. War is declared against Philip, king of Macedon, he is routed by night at Apollonia and retreats into Macedonia. This war is intrusted to Valerius the praetor. Operations of the Scipios against the Carthaginians in Spain. Syphax, king of the Numidians, is received into alliance by the Romans, and is defeated by Masinissa, king of the Massillians, who fought on the side of the Carthaginians. The Celtiberians joined the Romans, and their troops having been taken into pay, mercenary soldiers for the first time served in a Roman camp.

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1. On his return from Campania into Bruttium, Hanno, with the assistance and under the guidance of the Bruttians, made an attempt upon the Greek cities; which were the more disposed to continue in alliance with the Romans, because they perceived that the Bruttians, whom they feared and hated, had taken part with the Carthaginians. The first place attempted was Rhegium, where several days were spent without effect. Meanwhile the Locrians hastily conveyed from the country into the city, corn, wood, and other things necessary for their use, as also that no booty might be left for the enemy. The number of persons which poured out of every gate increased daily, till at length those only were left in the city whose duty it was to repair the walls and gates, and to collect weapons in the fortresses. Against this mixed multitude, composed of persons of all ages and ranks, while rambling through the country, and for the most part unarmed, Hamilcar, the Carthaginian, sent out his cavalry, who,

having been forbidden to hurt any one, only interposed their squadrons, so as to cut them off from the city when dispersed in flight. The general himself, having posted himself upon an eminence which commanded a view of the country and the city, ordered a cohort of Bruttians to approach the walls, call out the leaders of the Locrians to a conference, and promising them the friendship of Hannibal, exhort them to deliver up the city. At first the Bruttians were not believed in any thing they stated in the conference, but afterwards, when the Carthaginian appeared on the hills, and a few who had fled back to the city brought intelligence that all the rest of the multitude were in the power of the enemy, overcome with fear, they said they would consult the people. An assembly of the people was immediately called, when, as all the most fickle of the inhabitants were desirous of a change of measures and a new alliance, and those whose friends were cut off by the enemy without the city, had their minds bound as if they had given hostages, while a few rather silently approved of a constant fidelity than ventured to support the opinion they approved, the city was surrendered to the Carthaginians, with an appearance of perfect unanimity. Lucius Atilius, the captain of the garrison, together with the Roman soldiers who were with him, having been privately led down to the port, and put on board a ship, that they might be conveyed to Rhegium, Hamilcar and the Carthaginians were received into the city on condition that an alliance should be formed on equal terms; which condition, when they had surrendered, the Carthaginian had very nearly not performed, as he accused them of having sent away the Roman fraudulently, while the Locrians alleged that he had spontaneously fled. A body of cavalry went in pursuit of the fugitives, in case the tide might happen to detain them in the strait, or might carry the ships to land. The persons whom they were in pursuit of they did not overtake, but they descried some ships passing over the strait from Messina to Rhegium. These contained Roman troops sent by the praetor, Claudius, to occupy the city with a garrison. The enemy therefore immediately retired from Rhegium. At the command of Hannibal, peace was concluded with the Locrians on these terms: that “they should live free under their own laws; that the city should be open to the Carthaginians, the harbour in the power of

the Locrians. That their alliance should rest on the principle, that the Carthaginian should help the Locrian and the Locrian the Carthaginian in peace and war.”

2. Thus the Carthaginian troops were led back from the strait, while the Bruttians loudly complained that Locri and Rhegium, cities which they had fixed in their minds that they should have the plundering of, they had left untouched. Having therefore levied and armed fifteen thousand of their own youth, they set out by themselves to lay siege to Croto, which was also a Greek city, and on the coast, believing that they would obtain a great accession to their power, if they could get possession of a city upon the sea-coast, which had a port and was strongly defended by walls. This consideration annoyed them, that they neither could venture on the business without calling in the Carthaginians to their assistance, lest they should appear to have done any thing in a manner unbecoming allies, and on the other hand, lest, if the Carthaginian general should again show himself to have been rather an umpire of peace than an auxiliary in war, they should fight in vain against the liberty of Croto, as before in the affair of the Locrians. The most advisable course, therefore, appeared to be, that ambassadors should be sent to Hannibal, and that a stipulation should be obtained from him that Croto, when reduced, should be in possession of the Bruttians. Hannibal replied, that it was a question which should be determined by persons on the spot, and referred them to Hanno, from whom they could obtain no decisive answer. For they were unwilling that so celebrated and opulent a city should be plundered, and were in hopes that if the Bruttians should attack it, while the Carthaginians did not ostensibly approve or assist in the attack, the inhabitants would the more readily come over to them. The Crotonians were not united either in their measures or wishes. All the states of Italy were infected with one disease, as it were, the commons dissented from the nobles, the senate favouring the Romans, while the commons endeavoured to draw the states over to the Carthaginians. A deserter announced to the Bruttii that such a dissension prevailed in the city, that Aristomachus was the leader of the commons, and the adviser of the surrender of the city, that the city was of wide extent and thinly inhabited, that the walls in every part were in ruins, that it was only

here and there that the guards and watches were kept by senators, and that wherever the commons kept guard, there an entrance lay open. Under the direction and guidance of the deserter, the Bruttians completely invested the city, and being received into it by the commons, got possession of every part, except the citadel, on the first assault. The nobles held the citadel, which they had taken care beforehand to have ready as a refuge against such an event. In the same place Aristomachus took refuge, as though he had advised the surrender of the city to the Carthaginians, and not to the Bruttians.

3. The wall of the city of Croto in circuit extended through a space of twelve miles, before the arrival of Pyrrhus in Italy. After the devastation occasioned by that war, scarcely half the city was inhabited. The river which had flowed through the middle of the town, now ran on the outside of the parts which were occupied by buildings, and the citadel was at a distance from the inhabited parts. Six miles from this celebrated city stood the temple of Juno Lacinia, more celebrated even than the city itself, and venerated by all the surrounding states. Here was a grove fenced with a dense wood and tall fir trees, with rich pastures in its centre, in which cattle of every kind, sacred to the goddess, fed without any keeper; the flocks of every kind going out separately and returning to their folds, never being injured, either from the lying in wait of wild beasts, or the dishonesty of men. These flocks were, therefore, a source of great revenue, from which a column of solid gold was formed and consecrated; and the temple became distinguished for its wealth also, and not only for its sanctity. Some miracles are attributed to it, as is generally the case with regard to such remarkable places. Rumour says that there is an altar in the vestibule of the temple, the ashes of which are never moved by any wind. But the citadel of Croto, overhanging the sea on one side, on the other, which looks towards the land, was protected formerly by its natural situation only, but was afterwards surrounded by a wall. It was in this part that Dionysius, the tyrant of Sicily, took it by stratagem, approaching by way of some rocks which faced from it. This citadel, which was considered sufficiently secure, was now occupied by the nobles of Croto, the Bruttians, in conjunction even with their own commons, besieging them. The Bruttians, however, perceiving at length that it was

impossible to take the citadel by their own efforts, compelled by necessity, implored the aid of Hanno. He endeavoured to bring the Crotonians to surrender, under an agreement that they should allow a colony of Bruttians to settle there; so that their city, desolate and depopulated by wars, might recover its former populousness: but not a man besides Aristomachus did he move; they affirmed, that "they would die sooner than, mixing with Bruttians, be turned to the rites, manners, and laws, and soon the language also of others." Aristomachus alone, since he was neither able to persuade them to surrender, nor could obtain an opportunity for betraying the citadel as he had betrayed the city, deserted to Hanno. A short time afterwards ambassadors of Locri, entering the citadel with the permission of Hanno, persuaded them to allow themselves to be removed to Locri, and not resolve to hazard extremities. They had already obtained leave from Hannibal to do this, by ambassadors sent for this purpose. Accordingly, Croto was evacuated, and the inhabitants were conducted to the sea, where they embarked; and the whole multitude removed to Locri. In Apulia, Hannibal and the Romans did not rest even during the winter. The consul Sempronius wintered at Luceria, Hannibal not far from Arpi. Slight engagements took place between them, accordingly as either side had an opportunity or advantage; by which the Roman soldiery were improved, and became daily more guarded and more secure against stratagems.

4. In Sicily, the death of Hiero, and the transfer of the government to his grandson, Hieronymus, had completely altered all things with regard to the Romans. Hieronymus was but a boy, as yet scarcely able to bear liberty, still less sovereign power. His guardians and friends gladly observed in him a disposition which might be easily plunged into every kind of vice; which Hiero foreseeing, is said to have formed an intention, in the latter part of his long life, of leaving Syracuse free, lest the sovereignty which had been acquired and established by honourable means, should be made a sport of and fall into ruin, under the administration of a boy. This plan of his his daughters strenuously opposed, who anticipated that the boy would enjoy the name of royalty, but that the administration of all affairs would be conducted by themselves and their husbands, Andranodorus and Zoippus, for these were left the principal of his

guardians. It was not an easy task for a man in his ninetieth year, beset night and day by the winning artifices of women, to disenthral his judgment, and to consult only the good of the state in his domestic affairs. Accordingly, all he did was to leave fifteen guardians over his son, whom he entreated, on his death-bed, to preserve inviolate that alliance with the Romans, which he had himself cultivated for fifty years, and to take care that the young king should, above all things, tread in the steps of his father, and in that course of conduct in which he had been educated. Such were his injunctions. On the death of the king, the will was brought forward by the guardians, and the young king, who was now about fifteen, introduced into the public assembly, where a few persons, who had been placed in different parts on purpose to raise acclamations, expressed their approbation of the will; while all the rest were overwhelmed with apprehensions, in the destitute condition of the state, which had lost as it were its parent. The funeral of the king was then performed, which was honoured more by the love and affection of his citizens than the attentions of his kindred. Andranodorus next effected the removal of the other guardians, giving out that Hieronymus had now attained the years of manhood, and was competent to assume the government; and thus, by voluntarily resigning the guardianship which he shared with several others, united the powers of all in himself.

5. It would scarcely have been easy even for any good and moderate king, succeeding one so deeply rooted in their affections as Hiero was, to obtain the favour of the Syracusans. But Hieronymus, forsooth, as if he was desirous of exciting regret for the loss of his grandfather by his own vices, showed, immediately on his first appearance, how completely every thing was changed. For those who for so many years had seen Hiero and his son Gelon differing from the rest of the citizens neither in the fashion of their dress nor any other mark of distinction, now beheld the purple, the diadem, and armed guards, and their king sometimes proceeding from his palace in a chariot drawn by four white horses, according to the custom of the tyrant Dionysius. This costliness in equipage and appearance was accompanied by corresponding contempt of everybody, capricious airs, insulting expressions, difficulty of access, not to strangers only,

but even to his guardians also, unheard of lusts, inhuman cruelty. Terror so great took possession of every body therefore, that some of his guardians, either by a voluntary death, or by exile, anticipated the tenor of his inflictions. Three of those persons to whom alone belonged a more familiar access to the palace, Andranodorus and Zoippus, sons-in-law of Hiero, and one Thraso, were not much attended to upon other subjects, but the two former exerting themselves in favour of the Carthaginians, while Thraso argued for the Roman alliance, they sometimes engaged the attention of the young king by their zeal and earnestness. It was at this time that a conspiracy formed against the life of the tyrant was discovered by a certain servant, of the same age as Hieronymus, who from his very childhood had associated with him on entirely familiar terms. The informer was able to name one of the conspirators, Theodotus, by whom he himself had been solicited. He was immediately seized, and delivered to Andranodorus to be subjected to torture, when, without hesitation, he confessed as to himself, but concealed his accomplices. At last, when racked with every species of torture, beyond the power of humanity to bear, pretending to be overcome by his sufferings, he turned his accusation from the guilty to the innocent, and feigned that Thraso was the originator of the plot, without whose able guidance, he said, they never would have been bold enough to attempt so daring a deed, he threw the guilt upon such innocent men, near the king's person, as appeared to him to be the most worthless, while fabricating his story amid groans and agonies. The naming of Thraso gave the highest degree of credibility to the story in the mind of the tyrant. Accordingly he was immediately given up to punishment, and others were added who were equally innocent. Not one of the conspirators, though their associate in the plot was for a long time subjected to torture, either concealed himself or fled, so great was their confidence in the fortitude and fidelity of Theodotus, and so great was his firmness in concealing their secret.

6. Thus on the removal of Thraso, who formed the only bond which held together the alliance with the Romans, immediately affairs clearly indicated defection. Ambassadors were sent to Hannibal, who sent back in company with a young man of noble birth named Hannibal, Hippocrates and Epicyles, natives of

Carthage, and of Carthaginian extraction on their mother's side, but whose grandfather was an exile from Syracuse. Through their means an alliance was formed between Hannibal and the tyrant of Syracuse; and, with the consent of Hannibal, they remained with the tyrant. As soon as Appius Claudius, the praetor, whose province Sicily was, had received information of these events, he sent ambassadors to Hieronymus; who, upon stating that the object of their mission was to renew the alliance which had subsisted between the Romans and his grandfather, were heard and dismissed in an insulting manner, Hieronymus asking them sneeringly, "how they had fared at the battle of Cannae? for that the ambassadors of Hannibal stated what could hardly be credited." He said, "he wished to know the truth, in order that before he made up his mind, he might determine which he should espouse as offering the better prospect." The Romans replied, that they would return to him when he had learned to receive embassies with seriousness; and, after having cautioned, rather than requested him, not rashly to change his alliance, they withdrew. Hieronymus sent ambassadors to Carthage, to conclude a league in conformity with the alliance with Hannibal. It was settled in the compact, that after they had expelled the Romans from Sicily, (which would speedily be effected if the Carthaginians sent ships and troops,) the river Himera, which divides the island in nearly equal portions, should be the limit of the Carthaginian and Syracusan dominions. Afterwards, puffed up by the flattery of those persons who bid him be mindful, not of Hiero only, but of king Pyrrhus, his maternal grandfather, he sent another embassy, in which he expressed his opinion that equity required that the whole of Sicily should be conceded to him, and that the dominion of Italy should be acquired as the peculiar possession of the Carthaginians. This levity and inconstancy of purpose in a hot-headed youth, did not excite their surprise, nor did they reprove it, anxious only to detach him from the Romans.

7. But every thing conspired to hurry him into perdition. For having sent before him Hippocrates and Epicydes with two thousand armed men, to make an attempt upon those cities which were occupied by Roman garrisons, he himself also proceeded to Leontium with all the remaining troops, which amounted to fifteen

thousand foot and horse, when the conspirators (who all happened to be in the army) took possession of an uninhabited house, which commanded a narrow way, by which the king was accustomed to go to the forum. The rest stood here prepared and armed, waiting for the king to pass by. One of them, by name Dinomenes, as he was one of the body-guards, had the task assigned him of keeping back the crowd behind in the narrow way, upon some pretext, when the king approached the door. All was done according to the arrangement. Dinomenes having delayed the crowd, by pretending to lift up his foot and loosen a knot which was too tight, occasioned such an interval, that an attack being made upon the king, as he passed by unattended by his guards, he was pierced with several wounds before any assistance could be brought. When the shout and tumult was heard, some weapons were discharged on Dinomenes, who now openly opposed them; he escaped from them, however, with only two wounds. The body-guard, as soon as they saw the king prostrate, betook themselves to flight. Of the assassins, some proceeded to the forum to the populace, who were rejoiced at the recovery of their liberty; others to Syracuse to anticipate the measures of Andranodorus and the rest of the royal party. Affairs being in this uncertain state, Appius Claudius perceiving a war commencing in his neighbourhood, informed the senate by letter, that Sicily had become reconciled to the Carthaginians and Hannibal. For his own part, in order to frustrate the designs of the Syracusans, he collected all his forces on the boundary of the province and the kingdom. At the close of this year, Quintus Fabius, by the authority of the senate, fortified and garrisoned Puteoli, which, during the war, had begun to be frequented as an emporium. Coming thence to Rome to hold the election, he appointed the first day for it which could be employed for that purpose, and, while on his march, passed by the city and descended into the Campus Martius. On that day, the right of voting first having fallen by lot on the junior century of the Anien tribe, they appointed Titus Otacilius and Marcus Aemilius Regillus, consuls, when Quintus Fabius, having obtained silence, delivered the following speech:

8. "If we had either peace in Italy, or had war with such an enemy that the necessity to be careful was less urgent than it is, I should

consider that man as wanting in respect for your liberty, who would at all impede that zealous desire which you bring with you into the Campus Martius, of conferring honours on whom you please. But since during the present war, and with the enemy we have now to encounter, none of our generals have ever committed an error which has not been attended with most disastrous consequences to us, it behoves you to use the same circumspection in giving your suffrages for the creation of consuls, which you would exert were you going armed into the field of battle. Every man ought thus to say to himself I am nominating a consul who is to cope with the general Hannibal. In the present year, at Capua, when Jubellius Taurea, the most expert horseman of the Campanians, gave a challenge, Claudius Asellus, the most expert among the Roman horsemen, was pitted against him. Against the Gaul who at a former period gave a challenge on the bridge of the Amo, our ancestors sent Titus Manlius, a man of resolute courage and great strength. It was for the same reason, I cannot deny it, that confidence was placed in Marcus Valerius, not many years ago, when he took arms against a Gaul who challenged him to combat in a similar manner. In the same manner as we wish to have our foot and horse more powerful, but if that is impracticable, equal in strength to the enemy, so let us find out a commander who is a match for the general of the enemy. Though we should select the man as general whose abilities are greater than those of any other in the nation, yet still he is chosen at a moment's warning, his office is only annual; whereas he will have to cope with a veteran general who has continued in command without interruption, unfettered by any restrictions either of duration or of authority, which might prevent him from executing or planning every thing according as the exigencies of the war shall require. But with us the year is gone merely in making preparations, and when we are only commencing our operations. Having said enough as to what sort of persons you ought to elect as consuls, it remains that I should briefly express my opinion of those on whom the choice of the prerogative century has fallen. Marcus Aemilius Regillus is flamen of Quirinus, whom we can neither send abroad nor retain at home without neglecting the gods or the war. Otacilius is married to my sister's daughter, and has children by her, but the favours you have conferred upon me and my

ancestors, are not such as that I should prefer private relationship to the public weal. Any sailor or passenger can steer the vessel in a calm sea, but when a furious storm has arisen, and the vessel is hurried by the tempest along the troubled deep, then there is need of a man and pilot. We are not sailing on a tranquil sea, but have already well nigh sunk with repeated storms, you must therefore employ the utmost caution and foresight in determining who shall sit at the helm. Of you, Titus Otacilius, we have had experience in a business of less magnitude, and, certainly you have not given us any proof that we ought to confide to you affairs of greater moment. The fleet which you commanded this year we fitted out for three objects: to lay waste the coast of Africa, to protect the shores of Italy, but, above all, to prevent the conveyance of reinforcements with pay and provisions from Carthage to Hannibal. Now if Titus Otacilius has performed for the state, I say not all, but any one of these services, make him consul. But if, while you had the command of the fleet supplies of whatever sort were conveyed safe and untouched to Hannibal, even as though he had no enemy on the sea, if the coast of Italy has been more infested this year than that of Africa, what can you have to urge why you should be preferred before all others as the antagonist of Hannibal? Were you consul, we should give it as our opinion that a dictator should be appointed in obedience to the example of our ancestors. Nor could you feel offended that some one in the Roman nation was deemed superior to you in war. It concerns yourself more than any one else, Titus Otacilius, that there be not laid upon your shoulders a burthen under which you would fall. I earnestly exhort you, that with the same feelings which would influence you if standing armed for battle, you were called upon suddenly to elect two generals, under whose conduct and auspices you were to fight, you would this day elect your consuls, to whom your children are to swear allegiance, at whose command they are to assemble, and under whose protection and care they are to serve. The Trasimene Lake and Cannae are melancholy precedents to look back upon, but form useful warnings to guard against similar disasters. Crier, call back the younger century of the *Amen* tribe to give their votes again.”

9. Titus Otacilius, vociferating in the most furious manner, that his object was to continue in the consulship, the consul ordered the

lictors to go to him, and as he had not entered the city, but had proceeded directly without halting from his march to the Campus Martius, admonished him that the axes were in the fasces which were carried before him. The prerogative century proceeded to vote a second time, when Quintus Fabius Maximus for the fourth time, and Marcus Marcellus for the third time, were created consuls. The other centuries voted for the same persons without any variation. One praetor, likewise, Quintus Fulvius Flaccus, was re-elected; the other new ones who were chosen, were Titus Otacilius Crassus a second time, Quintus Fabius, son of the consul, who was at that time curule aedile, and Publius Cornelius Lentulus. The election of the praetors completed, a decree of the senate was passed, that Quintus Fulvius should have the city department out of the ordinary course, and that he in preference to any other should command in the city while the consuls were absent in the war. Great floods happened twice during this year, and the Tiber overflowed the fields, with great demolition of houses and destruction of men and cattle. In the fifth year of the second Punic war Quintus Fabius Maximus for the fourth time, and Marcus Claudius Marcellus for the third time, entering upon their office, drew the attention of the state upon them in a more than ordinary degree, for there had not been two such consuls now for many years. The old men observed, that thus Maximus Rullus and Publius Decius were declared consuls for conducting the Gallic war; that thus afterwards Papirius and Carvilius were appointed to that office against the Samnites, the Bruttians, and the Lucanian with the Tarentine people. Marcellus, who was with the army, was created consul in his absence; to Fabius, who was present and held the election himself, the office was continued. The critical state of affairs, the exigencies of the war, and the danger which threatened the state, prevented any one from looking narrowly into the precedent, or suspecting that the consul was actuated by an excessive love of command; on the contrary, they applauded his magnanimity in that when he knew the state was in want of a general of the greatest ability, and that he was himself confessedly such an one, he thought less of the personal odium which might arise out of the transaction, than of the good of the state.

10. On the day on which the consuls entered on their office, the

senate was assembled in the Capitol, and in the first place a decree was passed to the effect that the consuls should draw lots, and settle between themselves which should hold the election for the creation of censors, before they proceeded to join the army. Next, all those who had the command of armies were continued in their offices, and ordered to remain in their provinces; Tiberius Gracchus at Luceria, where he was with an army of volunteer slaves; Caius Terentius Varro in the Picenian, and Manius Pomponius in the Gallic territory. Of the praetors of the former year, it was settled that Quintus Mucius should have the government of Sardinia as proprætor, Marcus Valerius the command of the sea-coast near Brundisium, watchful against all the movements of Philip, king of the Macedonians. To Publius Cornelius Lentulus, the prætor, the province of Sicily was assigned. Titus Otacilius received the same fleet which he had employed the year before against the Carthaginians. Many prodigies were reported to have happened this year, which increased in proportion as they were believed by the credulous and superstitious. That crows had built a nest within the temple of Juno Sospita at Lanuvium; that a green palm-tree had taken fire in Apulia; that a pool at Mantua, formed by the overflowing of the river Mincius, had assumed the appearance of blood; that it had rained chalk at Cales, and blood at Rome in the cattle market; that a fountain under ground in the Istrian street had discharged so violent a stream of water, that rolling along with the impetuosity of a torrent, it carried away the butts and casks which were near it; that the public court in the Capitol had been struck by lightning; also the temple of Vulcan in the Campus Martius, a nut-tree in the Sabine territory, a wall and gate at Gabii. Now other miracles were published: that the spear of Mars at Praeneste moved forward of its own accord; that in Sicily an ox had spoken; that a child in the womb of its mother cried out *Io Triumphe!* in the country of the Marrucinians; at Spoleto, that a woman was transformed into a man; at Hadria, that an altar, with appearances as of men surrounding it in white clothing, was seen in the heavens. Nay, even in the city of Rome itself, after a swarm of bees had been seen in the forum, some persons roused the citizens to arms, affirming that they saw armed legions on the Janiculum; but those who were on the Janiculum at the time, declared that they had

seen no person there besides the usual cultivators of the hill. These prodigies were expiated by victims of the larger kind, according to the response of the aruspices; and a supplication was ordered to all the deities who had shrines at Rome.

11. The ceremonies which were intended to propitiate the gods being completed, the consuls took the sense of the senate on the state of the nation, the conduct of the war, what troops should be employed, and where they were severally to act. It was resolved that eighteen legions should be engaged in the war; that the consuls should take two each; that two should be employed in each of the provinces of Gaul, Sicily, and Sardinia; that Quintus Fabius, the praetor, should have the command of two in Apulia, and Tiberius Gracchus of two legions of volunteer slaves in the neighbourhood of Luceria; that one each should be left for Caius Terentius, the proconsul, for Picenum, and to Marcus Valerius for the fleet off Brundisium, and two for the protection of the city. To complete this number of legions six fresh ones were to be enlisted, which the consuls were ordered to raise as soon as possible; and also to prepare the fleet, so that, together with the ships which were stationed off the coasts of Calabria, it might amount that year to one hundred and fifty men of war. The levy completed, and the hundred new ships launched, Quintus Fabius held the election for the creation of censors, when Marcus Atilius Regulus and Publius Furius Philus were chosen. A rumour prevailing that war had broken out in Sicily, Titus Otacilius was ordered to proceed thither with his fleet; but as there was a deficiency of sailors, the consuls, in conformity with a decree of the senate, published an order that those persons who themselves or whose fathers had been rated in the censorship of Lucius Aemilius and Caius Flaminius, at from fifty to one hundred thousand *asses*, or whose property had since reached that amount, should furnish one sailor and six months' pay; from one to three hundred thousand, three sailors with a year's pay; from three hundred thousand to a million, five sailors; above one million, seven sailors; that senators should furnish eight sailors with a year's pay. The sailors furnished according to this proclamation being armed and equipped by their masters, embarked with cooked provisions for thirty days. Then first it happened that the Roman fleet was manned

at the expense of individuals.

12. These unusually great preparations alarmed the Campanians particularly, lest the Romans should commence the year's campaign with the siege of Capua. They therefore sent ambassadors to Hannibal, to implore him to bring his army to Capua, and tell him that new armies were levying at Rome for the purpose of besieging it; and that there was not any city the defection of which had excited more hostile feelings. As they announced this with so much fear, Hannibal concluded he must make haste lest the Romans should get there before him; and setting out from Arpi, took up his position in his old camp at Tifata, above Capua. Leaving his Numidians and Spaniards for the protection both of the camp and Capua, he went down thence with the rest of his troops to the lake Avernus on the pretence of performing sacrifice, but in reality to make an attempt upon Puteoli and the garrison in it. Maximus, on receiving intelligence that Hannibal had set out from Arpi, and was returning to Campania, went back to his army, pursuing his journey without intermission by night or by day. He also ordered Tiberius Gracchus to bring up his troops from Luceria to Beneventum, and Quintus Fabius the praetor, the son of the consul, to go to Luceria in the room of Gracchus. At the same time the two praetors set out for Sicily, Publius Cornelius to join his army, Otacilius to take the command of the sea-coast and the fleet; the rest also proceeded to their respective provinces, and those who were continued in command remained in the same countries as in the former year.

13. While Hannibal was at the lake Avernus, five noble youths came to him from Tarentum. They had been made prisoners partly at the lake Trasimenus, and partly at Cannae, and had been sent home by the Carthaginian with the same civility which he had shown towards all the Roman allies. They stated to him that, impressed with gratitude for his favours, they had succeeded in inducing a large portion of the Tarentine youth to prefer his alliance and friendship to that of the Romans; and that they were sent by their countrymen as ambassadors to request Hannibal to bring his forces nearer to Tarentum; that if his standards and camp were within sight of Tarentum, that city would be delivered into his hands without delay; that the commons were under the influence of the youth, and the state

of Tarentum in the hands of the commons. Hannibal after bestowing the highest commendations upon them, and loading them with immense promises, bid them return home to mature their plans, saying that he would be there in due time. With these hopes, the Tarentines were dismissed. Hannibal had himself conceived the strongest desire of getting possession of Tarentum. He saw that it was a city opulent and celebrated, on the coast, and lying conveniently over against Macedonia. And that as the Romans were in possession of Brundisium, king Philip would make for this port if he crossed over into Italy. Having completed the sacrifice for which he came, and during his stay there laid waste the territory of Cumae as far as the promontory of Misenum, he suddenly marched his troops thence to Puteoli to surprise the Roman garrison there. It consisted of six thousand men, and the place was secured not only by its natural situation, but by works also. The Carthaginian having waited there three days, and attempted the garrison in every quarter, without any success, proceeded thence to devastate the territory of Naples, influenced by resentment more than the hope of getting possession of the place. The commons of Nola, who had been long disaffected to the Romans and at enmity with their own senate, moved into the neighbouring fields on his approach; and in conformity with this movement ambassadors came to invite Hannibal to join them, bringing with them a positive assurance that the city would be surrendered to him. The consul, Marcellus, who had been called in by the nobles, anticipated their attempt. In one day he had reached Suessula from Cales, though the river Volturnus had delayed him crossing; and from thence the ensuing night introduced into Nola for the protection of the senate, six thousand foot and three hundred horse. The dilatoriness of Hannibal was in proportion to the expedition which the consul used in every thing he did in order to preoccupy Nola. Having twice already made the attempt unsuccessfully, he was slower to place confidence in the Nolans.

14. During the same time, the consul, Fabius, came to attempt Casilinum, which was occupied by a Carthaginian garrison; and, as if by concert, Hanno approached Beneventum on one side from the Bruttians, with a large body of foot and horse, while on the other side Gracchus approached it from Luceria. The latter entered the town

first. Then, hearing that Hanno had pitched his camp three miles from the city, at the river Calor, and from thence was laying waste the country, he himself marched without the walls, and pitching his camp about a mile from the enemy, harangued his soldiers. The legions he had consisted for the most part of volunteer slaves, who chose rather to earn their liberty silently by another year's service, than demand it openly. The general, however, on quitting his winter quarters, had perceived that the troops murmured, asking when the time would arrive that they should serve as free citizens. He had written to the senate, stating not so much what they wanted as what they had deserved; he said they had served him with fidelity and courage up to that day, and that they wanted nothing but liberty, to bring them up to the model of complete soldiers. Permission was given him to act in the business as he thought for the interest of the state, and, accordingly, before he engaged with the enemy, he declared that the time was now arrived for obtaining that liberty which they had so long hoped for; that on the following day he should fight a pitched battle on a level and open plain, in which the contest would be decided by valour only, without any fear of ambuscade. The man who should bring back the head of an enemy, he would instantly order to be set free; but that he would punish, in a manner suited to a slave, the man who should quit his post; that every man's fortune was in his own hands; that not he himself alone would authorize their enfranchisement, but the consul, Marcus Marcellus, and the whole body of the fathers, who, on being consulted by him on the subject, had left the matter to his disposal. He then read the letter of the consul and the decree of the senate, on which they raised a general shout of approbation, demanded to be led to battle, and vehemently urged him to give the signal forthwith. Gracchus broke up the assembly, after proclaiming the battle for the following day. The soldiers, highly delighted, particularly those whose enfranchisement was to be the reward of one day's prowess, employed the remaining time in getting ready their arms.

15. The next day, as soon as the trumpets began to sound, they were the first to assemble at the general's tent, armed and ready for action. When the sun had risen, Gracchus led out his troops to the field of battle; nor did the enemy delay to engage him. His troops

consisted of seventeen thousand infantry, principally Bruttians and Lucanians, with twelve hundred horse, among which were very few Italians, almost all the rest being Numidians and Moors. The contest was fierce and protracted. For four hours neither side had the advantage, nor did any other circumstance more impede the Romans, than that the heads of their enemies were made the price of their liberty. For when each man had gallantly slain his enemy, first, he lost time in cutting off his head, which was done with difficulty amid the crowd and confusion, and secondly, all the bravest troops ceased to be engaged in fight, as their right hands were employed in holding the heads; and thus the battle was left to be sustained by the inactive and cowardly. But when the military tribunes reported to Gracchus that the soldiers were employed not in wounding any of the enemy who were standing, but in mangling those who were prostrate, their right hands being occupied in holding the heads of men instead of their swords, he promptly ordered a signal to be given that they should throw down the heads and charge the enemy; that they had given evident and signal proofs of valour, and that the liberty of such brave men was certain. Then the fight was revived, and the cavalry also were sent out against the enemy. The Numidians engaging them with great bravery, and the contest between the cavalry being carried on with no less spirit than that between the infantry, the victory again became doubtful; when, the generals on both sides vilifying their opponents, the Roman saying, that their enemies were Bruttians and Lucanians, who had been so often vanquished and subjugated by their ancestors; the Carthaginian, that the troops opposed to them were Roman slaves, soldiers taken out of a workhouse; at last Gracchus exclaimed, that his men had no ground to hope for liberty unless the enemy were routed and put to flight that day.

16. These words at length kindled their courage so effectually, and renewing the shout, as if suddenly changed into other men, they bore down upon the enemy with such impetuosity that they could not longer be withstood. First, of the Carthaginians who stood before the standards; then the standards were thrown into disorder; and lastly the whole line was compelled to give way. They then turned their backs downright, and fled precipitately to their camp with such terror and consternation, that not a man made stand in the gates or on the

rampart; while the Romans, who pursued them so close as to form almost a part of their body commenced the battle anew, enclosed within the rampart of the enemy. Here the battle was more bloody as the combatants had less room to move, from the narrowness of the place in which they fought. The prisoners too assisted; for snatching up swords in the confusion, and forming themselves into a body, they slew the Carthaginians in the rear and prevented their flight. Thus less than two thousand men out of so large an army, and those principally cavalry, effected their escape with their commander, all the rest were slain or taken prisoners. Thirty-eight standards were taken. Of the victors about two thousand fell. All the booty except that of the prisoners was given up to the soldiery. Such cattle also as the owners should identify within thirty days was excepted. When they returned to their camp loaded with spoil, about four thousand of the volunteer slaves who had fought with less spirit, and had not joined in breaking into the enemy's camp, through fear of punishment, took possession of a hill not far from the camp. Being brought down thence the next day by a military tribune, it happened that they arrived during an assembly of the soldiers which Gracchus had called. At this assembly the proconsul, having first rewarded the veteran soldiers with military presents, according to the valour displayed, and the service rendered by each man in the engagement, then observed, with respect to the volunteer slaves, that he would rather that all should be praised by him whether deserving it or not, than that any one should be chastised on that day. I bid you, said he, all be free, and may the event be attended with advantage, happiness, and prosperity to the state and to yourselves. These words were followed by the most cordial acclamations, the soldiers sometimes embracing and congratulating one another, at other times lifting up their hands to heaven, and praying that every blessing might attend the Roman people, and Gracchus in particular; when Gracchus addressed them thus: "Before I had placed you all on an equal footing with respect to the enjoyment of liberty, I was unwilling to affix any marks by which the brave and dastardly soldier might be distinguished. But now the pledge given by the state being redeemed, lest all distinction between courage and cowardice should disappear, I shall order that the names of those persons be laid before me, who,

conscious of their dastardly conduct in the battle, have lately seceded. I shall have them cited before me, when I shall bind them by an oath, that none of them, except such as shall have the plea of sickness, will, so long as they serve, take either meat or drink in any other posture than standing. This penalty you will bear with patience when you reflect that it is impossible your cowardice could be marked with a slighter stigma.” He then gave the signal for packing up the baggage; and the soldiers, sporting and jesting as they drove and carried their booty, returned to Beneventum in so playful a mood, that they appeared to be returning, not from the field of battle, but from a feast celebrated on some remarkable holiday. All the Beneventans pouring out in crowds to meet them at the gate, embraced, congratulated, and invited the troops to entertainments. They had all prepared banquets in the courts of their houses, to which they invited the soldiers, and of which they entreated Gracchus to allow them to partake. Gracchus gave permission, with the proviso that they should feast in the public street. Each person brought every thing out before his door. The volunteers feasted with caps of liberty on their heads, or filleted with white wool; some reclining at the tables, others standing, who at once partook of the repast, and waited upon the rest. It even seemed a fitting occasion that Gracchus, on his return to Rome, should order a picture representing the festivities of that day to be executed in the temple of Liberty, which his father caused to be built on the Aventine out of money arising from fines, and which his father also dedicated.

17. While these events occurred at Beneventum, Hannibal having laid waste the territory of Naples, moved his camp to Nola. The consul, as soon as he was aware of his approach, sent for Pemponius the propraetor, with the troops he had in the camp above Suessula; and then prepared to meet the enemy and to make no delay in fighting. He sent out Caius Claudius Nero in the dead of night with the main strength of the cavalry, through the gate which was farthest removed from the enemy, with orders to make a circuit so as not to be observed, and then slowly to follow the enemy as they moved along, and as soon as he perceived the battle begun, to charge them on the rear. Whether Nero was prevented from executing these orders by mistaking the route, or from the shortness of the time, is doubtful.

Though he was absent when the battle was fought, the Romans had unquestionably the advantage; but as the cavalry did not come up in time, the plan of the battle which had been agreed upon was disconcerted and Marcellus, not daring to follow the retiring enemy, gave the signal for retreat when his soldiers were conquering More than two thousand of the enemy are said, however, to have fallen on that day; of the Romans, less than four hundred. Nero, after having fruitlessly wearied both men and horses, through the day and night, without even having seen the enemy, returned about sunset; when the consul went so far in reprimanding him as to assert, that he had been the only obstacle to their retorting on the enemy the disaster sustained at Cannae. The following day the Roman came into the field, but the Carthaginian, beaten even by his own tacit confession, kept within his camp. Giving up all hope of getting possession of Nola, a thing never attempted without loss, during the silence of the night of the third day he set out for Tarentum, which he had better hopes of having betrayed to him.

18. Nor were the Roman affairs administered with less spirit at home than in the field. The censors being freed from the care of letting out the erection of public works, from the low state of the treasury, turned their attention to the regulation of men's morals, and the chastisement of vices which sprung up during the war, in the same manner as constitutions broken down by protracted disease, generate other maladies. In the first place, they cited those persons who, after the battle of Cannae, were said to have formed a design of abandoning the commonwealth, and leaving Italy. The chief of these was Lucius Caecilius Metellus, who happened to be then quaestor. In the next place, as neither he nor the other persons concerned were able to exculpate themselves on being ordered to make their defence, they pronounced them guilty of having used words and discourse prejudicial to the state, that a conspiracy might be formed for the abandonment of Italy. After them were cited those persons who showed too much ingenuity in inventing a method of discharging the obligation of their oath, namely, such of the prisoners as concluded that the oath which they had sworn to return, would be fulfilled by their going back privately to Hannibal's camp, after setting out on their journey. Such of these and of the above-mentioned as had

horses at the public expense were deprived of them, and all were degraded from their tribes and disfranchised. Nor was the attention of the censors confined to the regulation of the senate and the equestrian order. They erased from the lists of the junior centuries the names of all who had not served during the last four years, unless they were regularly exempted, or were prevented by sickness. Those too, amounting to more than two thousand names, were numbered among the disfranchised, and were all degraded. To this more gentle stigma affixed by the censors, a severe decree of the senate was added, to the effect that all those whom the censor had stigmatized, should serve on foot, and be sent into Sicily to join the remains of the army of Cannae, a class of soldiers whose time of service was not to terminate till the enemy was driven out of Italy. The censors, in consequence of the poverty of the treasury, having abstained from receiving contracts for the repairs of the sacred edifices, the furnishing of curule horses, and similar matters, the persons who had been accustomed to attend auctions of this description, came to the censors in great numbers, and exhorted them to “transact all their business and let out the contracts in the same manner as if there were money in the treasury. That none of them would ask for money out of the treasury before the war was concluded.” Afterwards the owners of those slaves whom Tiberius Sempronius had manumitted at Beneventum, came to them, stating that they were sent for by the public bankers, to receive the price of their slaves, but that they would not accept of it till the war was concluded. This disposition on the part of the commons to sustain the impoverished treasury having manifested itself, the property of minors first, and then the portions of widows, began to be brought in; the persons who brought them being persuaded, that their deposit would no where be more secure and inviolable than under the public faith. If any thing was bought or laid in for the widows and minors, an order upon the quaestor was given for it. This liberality in individuals flowed from the city into the camp also, insomuch that no horseman or centurion would accept of his pay, and those who would accept it were reproached with the appellation of mercenary men.

19. Quintus Fabius, the consul, was encamped before Casilinum, which was occupied by a garrison of two thousand Campanians and

seven hundred of the soldiers of Hannibal. The commander was Staius Metius, who was sent there by Cneius Magius Atellanus, who was that year Medixtuticus and was arming the slaves and people without distinction, in order to assault the Roman camp, while the consul was intently occupied in the siege of Casilinum. None of these things escaped Fabius. He therefore sent to his colleague at Nola, "That another army was requisite, which might be opposed to the Campanians, while the siege of Casilinum was going on; that either he should come himself, leaving a force sufficient for the protection of Nola, or if the state of Nola required him to stay there, in consequence of its not being yet secure against the attempts of Hannibal, that he should summon Tiberius Gracchus, the proconsul, from Beneventum." On this message, Marcellus, leaving two thousand troops in garrison at Nola, came to Casilinum with the rest of his forces; and at his arrival the Campanians, who were already in motion, desisted from their operations. Thus the siege of Casilinum was commenced by the two consuls. But as the Roman soldiers received many wounds as they rashly approached the walls, and as they did not succeed satisfactorily in their attempts. Fabius gave it as his opinion that this, which was a small matter, though as difficult as more important ones, should be abandoned, and that they should retire from the place, as affairs of greater moment were pressing. Marcellus, however, succeeded in persuading him that they should not go away with their object unaccomplished, observing that as there were many objects which great generals should not attempt, so when once attempted they should not be abandoned, because the mere report in either case would have important consequences. Upon this the vineae and all kinds of military works and engines were applied; in consequence of which, the Campanians entreated Fabius to allow them to retire to Capua in safety; when a few of them having come out of the town, Marcellus took possession of the gate through which they passed, and first slew all indiscriminately who were near the gate, and then rushing in, the slaughter commenced in the town also. About fifty of the Campanians, who at first came out of the city, having fled for refuge to Fabius, arrived safe at Capua under his protection. Thus Casilinum was captured on an accidental opportunity which occurred during the conferences and delay of

those who were soliciting protection. The prisoners, both those who were Campanians and those who were Hannibal's soldiers, were sent to Rome, where they were shut up in a prison. The crowd of townsmen was distributed among the neighbouring people to be kept in custody.

20. At the same time that the consuls retired from Casilinum, their object having been accomplished, Gracchus, who was in Lucania, sent, under a prefect of the allies, some cohorts which he had levied in that country to ravage the lands of the enemy. These, as they were straggling in a careless manner, Hanno surprising, retorted upon his enemy a defeat not much less disastrous than he had himself received at Beneventum, and then hastily retired to the territory of the Bruttians, lest Gracchus should overtake him. Of the consuls, Marcellus returned to Nola, whence he had come, Fabius proceeded to Samnium to waste the lands, and recover by force the cities which had revolted. The Samnites of Caudium suffered the severest devastation; their fields were laid waste by fire for a wide extent, and both men and cattle were conveyed away as booty. The towns of Compulteria, Telesia, Compsa, Melae, Fulfulae, and Orbitanium, were taken by storm. Blandae, belonging to the Lucanians, and Aecae to the Apulians, were taken after a siege. Twenty-five thousand of the enemy were captured or slain in these towns, and three hundred and seventy deserters recovered; who, being sent to Rome by the consul, were all of them beaten with rods in the comitium, and thrown down from the rock. Such were the achievements of Fabius within the space of a few days. Ill health detained Marcellus from active operations at Nola. The town of Accua also was taken by storm, during the same period, by the praetor Quintus Fabius, whose province was the neighbourhood of Luceria; he also fortified a stationary camp at Ardonea. While the Romans were thus employed in different quarters, Hannibal had reached Tarentum, utterly destroying every thing whichsoever way he went. In the territory of Tarentum, the troops at length began to march in a peaceable manner. There nothing was violated, nor did they ever go out of the road; it was evident that this was done not from the moderation of the soldiery, or their general, but to conciliate the affections of the Tarentines. However, on advancing almost close

to the walls without perceiving any movement, which he expected would occur on the sight of his vanguard, he pitched his camp about a mile off the city. Three days before the arrival of Hannibal, Marcus Livius, who had been sent by Marcus Valerius, the *propraetor*, commanding the fleet at Brundisium, had enlisted the young nobility of Tarentum, and stationing guards at every gate, and round the walls, wherever circumstances made it necessary, had kept such a strict watch both by day and night, as to give no opportunity for making any attempt either to the enemy or doubtful allies. On this account several days were consumed there to no purpose, when Hannibal, as none of those who had come to him at the lake Avernus, either came themselves or sent any letter or message, perceiving that he had carelessly followed delusive promises, moved his camp thence. Even after this he did not offer any violence to the Tarentine territory, not quitting the hope of shaking their allegiance to the Romans, though his simulated lenity had hitherto been of no advantage to him; but as soon as he came to Salapia he collected stores of corn there from the Metapontine and Heracleian lands; for midsummer was now past, and the situation pleased him as a place for winter quarters. From hence the Moors and Numidians were detached to plunder the territory of Sallentum, and the neighbouring woods of Apulia, from which not much booty of any other sort was obtained, but principally droves of horses, four thousand of which were distributed among his horsemen to be broken.

21. The Romans, since a war by no means to be despised was springing up in Sicily, and the death of the tyrant had furnished the Syracusans with more enterprising leaders, rather than changed their attachment to the Carthaginian cause, or the state of their minds, decreed that province to Marcus Marcellus, one of their consuls. After the assassination of Hieronymus, at first a tumult had taken place among the soldiery in the territory of the Leontines. They exclaimed furiously that the manes of the king should be appeased with the blood of the conspirators. Afterwards the frequent repetition of the word liberty, which was restored to them, a word so delightful to the ear, the hopes they had conceived of largesses from the royal treasury, and of serving in future under better generals, the relation of the horrid crimes and more horrid lusts of the tyrant, effected such an

alteration in their sentiments, that they suffered to lie unburied the corpse of the king, whom a little before they regretted. As the rest of the conspirators remained behind, in order to keep the army on their side, Theodotus and Sosis, mounted on the king's horses, rode off to Syracuse with all possible speed, that they might surprise the king's party, while unacquainted with all that had occurred. But they were anticipated not only by report, than which nothing is swifter in such affairs, but also by a messenger who was one of the royal servants. In consequence, Andranodorus had occupied with strong garrisons the Insula and the citadel, and every other convenient part which he could. After sunset, when it was now growing dark, Theodotus and Sosis rode in by the Hexapylum, and displayed the royal vest stained with blood, and the ornament of the king's head; then passing through the Tycha, and calling the people at once to liberty and arms, bid them assemble in the Achradina. Some of the multitude ran out into the streets, some stood in the porches of their houses, while others looked out from the roofs and windows, and inquired what was the matter. Every part of the city was filled with lights and noises of various kinds. Assemblies of armed men were formed in the open spaces. Those who had no arms tore down from the temple of the Olympian Jupiter the spoils of the Gauls and Illyrians, which had been presented to Hiero by the Roman people, and hung up there by him; at the same time offering up prayers to Jupiter, that he would willingly, and without feeling offence, lend those consecrated weapons to those who were arming themselves in defence of their country, of the temples of their gods, and their liberty. This multitude was also joined by the watches which were stationed through the principal quarters of the city. In the island, Andranodorus, among other places, secured the public granaries by a garrison. This place, which was enclosed by a wall of stones hewn square, and built up on high, after the manner of a citadel, was occupied by a body of youth, who had been appointed to garrison it, and these sent messengers to the Achradina, to give information that the granaries and the corn were in the power of the senate.

22. At break of day the whole populace, armed and unarmed, assembled at the senate-house in the Achradina: where from the altar of Concord, which stood there, one of the nobles, named Polyaenus,

delivered a liberal and temperate address. He said, that “men who had experienced servitude and contumely, were enraged against an evil which was well known, but that the Syracusans had rather heard from their fathers than seen with their own eyes the disasters which civil discord introduces.” He said, “he commended them for the alacrity with which they had taken arms; but that he should commend them more if they should abstain from using them unless compelled by extreme necessity. At present he advised that ambassadors should be sent to Andranodorus, to charge him to submit to the direction of the senate and the people, to throw open the gates of the island, and withdraw the garrison. If he resolved to usurp the sovereignty of which he had been appointed guardian, that he would recommend that their liberty be recovered more energetically from Andranodorus than it had been from Hieronymus.” From this assembly ambassadors were despatched. The senate began now to meet, which though during the reign of Hiero it had continued to be the public council of the state, from the time of his death up to the present had never been assembled or consulted upon any subject. When the ambassadors came to Andranodorus, he was himself moved by the unanimous opinion of his countrymen, by their having possession of other parts of the city, and by the fact that the strongest part of the island was betrayed and placed in the hands of others; but his wife, Demarata, the daughter of Hiero, still swelling with the pride of royalty and female presumption, called him out from the presence of the ambassadors, and reminded him of the expression so often repeated by the tyrant Dionysius, “that a man ought only to relinquish sovereign power when dragged by the feet, and not while sitting on horseback. That it was an easy thing, at any moment one pleased, to give up possession of grandeur, but that to create and obtain them was difficult and arduous. That he should obtain from the ambassadors a little time to deliberate, and to employ it in fetching the soldiers from the Leontines; to whom, if he promised the royal treasure, every thing would be at his disposal.” This advice, suggested by a woman, Andranodorus neither entirely rejected nor immediately adopted, considering it the safer way to the attainment of power to temporize for the present. Accordingly he told the ambassadors to carry word

back, that he should act subserviently to the senate and the people. The next day, as soon as it was light, he threw open the gates of the island, and came into the forum of the Achradina; then mounting the altar of Concord, from which Polyænus had delivered his harangue the day before, he commenced a speech by soliciting pardon for his delay. "He had kept the gates closed," he said, "not as separating his own from the public interest, but from fear as to where the carnage would stop when once the sword was drawn; whether they would be satisfied with the blood of the tyrant, which was sufficient for their liberty, or whether all who were connected with the court, by consanguinity, affinity, or any offices, would, as implicated in another's guilt, be butchered. After he perceived that those who had liberated their country were desirous of preserving it when liberated, and that the counsels of all were directed towards the public good, he had not hesitated to restore to his country his own person and every thing else which had been committed to his honour and guardianship, since the person who had intrusted him with them had fallen a victim to his own madness." Then turning to the persons who had killed the tyrant, and calling on Theodotus and Sosis by name, he said, "You have performed a memorable deed, but believe me, your glory is only beginning, not yet perfected; and there still remains great danger lest the enfranchised state should be destroyed, if you do not provide for its tranquillity and harmony."

23. At the conclusion of this speech, he laid the keys of the gates and of the royal treasure at their feet; and on that day, retiring from the assembly in the highest spirits, they made supplication with their wives and children at all the temples of the gods. On the following day an assembly was held for the election of prætors. Andranodorus was created among the first; the rest consisted for the most part of the destroyers of the tyrant; two of these, Sopater and Dinomenes, they appointed in their absence. These, on hearing of what had passed at Syracuse, conveyed thither the royal treasure which was at Leontini, and put it into the hands of quaestors appointed for that purpose. The treasure also in the island and the Achradina was delivered to them, and that part of the wall which formed too strong a separation between the island and the other parts of the city, was demolished by general consent. Every thing else which was done was in conformity

with this inclination of their minds to liberty. Hippocrates and Epicydes, on hearing of the death of the tyrant, which Hippocrates had wished to conceal even by putting the messenger to death, being deserted by the soldiery, returned to Syracuse, as that appeared the safest course under present circumstances; but lest if they appeared there in common they should become objects of suspicion, and looked upon as persons who were seeking an opportunity of effecting some change, they in the first place addressed themselves to the praetors and then through them to the senate. They declared, that “they were sent by Hannibal to Hieronymus, as to a friend and ally; that they had obeyed the orders of that man whom their general wished them to obey; that they desired to return to Hannibal; but as the journey would not be safe, as armed Romans were ranging at large through the whole of Sicily, that they requested to be furnished with some escort which might convey them in safety to Locri in Italy; and that thus they would confer a great obligation upon Hannibal, with little trouble.” The request was easily obtained, for they were desirous of getting rid of these generals of the king, who were skilled in war, and at once necessitous and enterprising. But they did not exert themselves so as to effect what they desired with the requisite speed. Meanwhile these young men, who were of a military turn and accustomed to the soldiers, employed themselves in circulating charges against the senate and nobles, sometimes in the minds of the soldiers themselves, sometimes of the deserters, of which the greater part were Roman sailors, at other times of men belonging to the lowest order of the populace, insinuating, that “what they were secretly labouring and contriving to effect, was to place Syracuse under the dominion of the Romans with the pretence of a renewed alliance, and then that faction and the few promoters of the alliance would be supreme.”

24. The crowds of persons disposed to hear and credit these insinuations which flowed into Syracuse from every quarter increased daily, and afforded hopes, not only to Epicydes but to Andranodorus also, of effecting a revolution. The latter, wearied at length by the importunities of his wife, who warned him, “that now was the favourable time for seizing the government, while every thing was in confusion in consequence of liberty being recent and not

yet regularly established; while a soldiery supported by the royal pay was to be met with, and while generals sent by Hannibal and accustomed to the soldiery might forward the attempt;" he communicated his design with Themistus, who had married the daughter of Gelon, and a few days afterwards incautiously disclosed it to a certain tragic actor, named Ariston, to whom he was in the habit of committing other secrets. He was a man of reputable birth and fortune, nor did his profession disgrace them, for among the Greeks no pursuit of that kind was considered dishonourable. He therefore discovered the plot to the praetors, from a conviction that his country had a superior claim upon his fidelity. These having satisfied themselves that his statement was not false by indubitable proofs, took the advice of the elder senators, and with their sanction, having placed a guard at the doors, slew Themistus and Andranodorus as soon as they had entered the senate-house. A disturbance arising in consequence of this act, which, as none but the praetors knew the cause of it, wore an appearance of atrocity, the praetors, having at length procured silence, introduced the informer into the senate-house; and after he had in a regular manner detailed to the senate every particular, showing that the conspiracy owed its origin to the marriage of Harmonia, the daughter of Gelon, with Themistus; that the African and Spanish auxiliaries had been prepared to murder the praetors and others of the nobility; that it had been given out that their goods were to be the booty of the assassins; that already a band of mercenaries accustomed to obey the command of Andranodorus had been procured for the reoccupation of the island; and having then distinctly represented to them the several parts which the persons implicated in the transaction were performing, and having brought under their view the entire plot prepared for execution with men and arms; it seemed to the senate that they had fallen as justly as Hieronymus had. A shout was raised before the senate-house by a crowd of people variously disposed and uncertain of the facts; but as they were conducting themselves in a furious and menacing manner, the bodies of the conspirators in the vestibule of the senate-house restrained them with such alarm, that they silently followed the more discreet part of the commons to an assembly. Sopater was the person commissioned by the senate and

his colleague to explain the affair.

25. Treating them as if they stood upon their trial, he began with their past lives; and insisted that Andranodorus and Themistus were the authors of every act of iniquity and impiety which had been perpetrated since the death of Hiero. "For what," said he, "did the boy Hieronymus ever do of his own accord? What could he do who had scarce as yet arrived at puberty? His tutors and guardians had ruled, while the odium rested on another. Therefore they ought to have been put to death either before Hieronymus or with him. Nevertheless those men, deservedly marked out for death, had attempted fresh crimes after the decease of the tyrant; first openly, when, closing the gates of the island, Andranodorus declared himself heir to the throne, and kept that as proprietor which he had held only in the capacity of guardian; afterwards, when betrayed by those who were in the island and blockaded by the whole body of the citizens who held the Achradina, he endeavoured to obtain, by secret and artful means, that sovereignty which he had in vain attempted openly; whom not even benefits and honorary distinction could move, for even this conspirator against the liberty of his country was created praetor among her liberators. But that wives of royal blood had infected them with this thirst for royalty, one having married the daughter of Hiero, the other the daughter of Gelon." On hearing these words, a shout arose from every part of the assembly, that "none of these women ought to live, and that not one of the royal family should be left alive." Such is the nature of the populace; they are either cringing slaves or haughty tyrants. They know not how with moderation to spurn or to enjoy that liberty which holds the middle place; nor are there generally wanting ministers, the panders to their resentment, who incite their eager and intemperate minds to blood and carnage. Thus, on the present occasion, the praetors instantly proposed the passing of a decree, which was consented to almost before it was proposed, that all the royal family should be put to death; and persons despatched for the purpose by the praetors, put to death Demarata, the daughter of Hiero, and Harmonia, the daughter of Gelon, the wives of Andranodorus and Themistus.

26. There was a daughter of Hiero, named Heraclea, the wife of Zoippus, who, having been sent by Hieronymus as ambassador to

king Ptolemy, had become a voluntary exile. As soon as she was apprized that they were coming to her also, she fled for refuge into the chapel to the household gods, accompanied by her two virgin daughters, with dishevelled hair, and other marks of wretchedness. In addition to this, she had recourse to prayers also; she implored them “by the memory of her father, Hiero, and her brother, Gelon, that they would not suffer her, a guiltless person, to be consumed by their hatred of Hieronymus. That all that she had derived from his reign was the exile of her husband. That neither did she enjoy the same advantages as her sister while Hieronymus was alive, nor was her cause the same as hers now he was dead. What? Though her sister would have shared the throne with Andranodorus, had he succeeded in his designs, she must have been in servitude with the rest. Can any one doubt, that if information should be conveyed to Zoippus that Hieronymus had been put to death, and that Syracuse was free, he would instantly embark and return to his native land. But how are all human hopes deceived! His wife and children are struggling for their lives in his native land, now blessed with liberty! In what manner standing in the way of liberty or the laws? What danger could arise to any one from them, from a solitary, and in a manner, widowed woman and girls living in a state of orphanage? But perhaps it will be granted that no danger is to be apprehended from them, but alleged that the whole royal family is detested. If this were the case, she entreated that they would banish them far from Syracuse and Sicily, and order them to be conveyed to Alexandria, the wife to her husband, the daughters to their father.” Seeing that their ears and minds were unimpressed, and that certain of them were drawing their swords to prevent a fruitless consumption of time, she gave over entreating for herself, and began to implore them to “spare, at least, her daughters, at an age which even exasperated enemies spared.” She entreated them “that they would not, in their revenge on tyrants, themselves imitate the crimes which were odious to them.” While thus employed, they dragged her from the sanctuary and murdered her; and after that they fell upon the virgins, who were sprinkled with the blood of their mother; who, distracted alike by fear and grief, and as if seized with madness, rushed out of the chapel with such rapidity, that had there been an opening by which they might have

escaped into the street, they would have filled the city with confusion. As it was, they several times made their escape through the midst of so many armed men with their persons uninjured in the contracted space which the house afforded, and extricated themselves from their grasp, though they had to disengage themselves from so many and such strong hands; but at length enfeebled by wounds, and after covering every place with blood, they fell down lifeless. This murder, piteous as it was in itself, was rendered still more so by its happening that a short time after it a message arrived that they should not be killed, as the minds of the people were now turned to compassion. This compassion then gave rise to a feeling of anger, because so much haste had been shown in carrying the punishment into effect, and because no opportunity was left for relenting or retracing the steps of their passion. The multitude therefore gave vent to their indignation, and demanded an election to supply the places of Andranodorus and Themistus, for both of them had been praetors; an election by no means likely to be agreeable to the praetors.

27. The day was fixed for the election, when, to the surprise of all, one person from the extremity of the crowd nominated Epicydes, and then another from the same quarter nominated Hippocrates. Afterwards the voices in favour of these persons increased with the manifest approbation of the multitude. The assembly was one of a heterogeneous character, consisting not only of the commons, but a crowd of soldiers, with a large admixture even of deserters, who were desirous of innovation in every thing. The praetors, at first, concealed their feelings, and were for protracting the business; but at length, overcome by the general opinion, and apprehensive of a sedition, they declared them the praetors. These did not, however, immediately openly avow their sentiments, though they were chagrined that ambassadors had been sent to Appius Claudius to negotiate a ten days' truce, and that on obtaining this, others were sent to treat for the renewal of the old alliance. The Romans, with a fleet of a hundred ships, were then stationed at Murgantia, waiting the issue of the commotion raised at Syracuse by the death of the tyrants, and to what their recent acquisition of liberty would impel the people. Meanwhile, the Syracusan ambassadors were sent by Appius Claudius to Marcellus on his coming into Sicily, and

Marcellus having heard the conditions of peace, and being of opinion that matters might be brought to a settlement, himself also sent ambassadors to Syracuse to treat with the praetors in person on the renewal of the alliance. But now by no means the same state of quiet and tranquillity existed there. Hippocrates and Epicydes, their fears being removed, after that intelligence had arrived that a Carthaginian fleet had put in at Pachynum, complained sometimes to the mercenary soldiers, at other times to the deserters, that Syracuse was being betrayed to the Romans. And when Appius began to station his ships at the mouth of the port, in order to inspire the other party with courage, their false insinuations appeared to receive great corroboration; and on the first impulse, the populace had even run down in a disorderly manner to prevent them from disembarking.

28. While affairs were in this unsettled state, it was resolved to call an assembly; in which, when some leaned to one side and some to the other, and an insurrection being on the point of breaking out, Apollonides, one of the nobles, delivered a speech fraught with salutary advice, considering the critical state of affairs: "Never," he said, "had a state a nearer prospect of safety and annihilation. For if they would all unanimously espouse the cause either of the Romans or the Carthaginians, there could be no state whose condition would be more prosperous and happy; but if they pulled different ways, the war between the Romans and Carthaginians would not be more bloody than that which would take place between the Syracusans themselves, in which both the contending parties would have their forces, their troops, and their generals, within the same walls. Every exertion ought therefore to be made that all might think alike. Which alliance would be productive of the greater advantages, was a question of quite a secondary nature, and of less moment; though the authority of Hiero ought to be followed in preference to that of Hieronymus in the selection of allies, and a friendship of which they had had a happy experience through a space of fifty years, ought to be chosen rather than one now untried and formerly unfaithful. That it ought also to have some weight in their deliberations, that peace with the Carthaginians might be refused in such a manner as not immediately, at least, to have a war with them, while with the Romans they must forthwith have either peace or war." The less of

party spirit and warmth appeared in this speech the greater weight it had. A military council also was united with the praetors and a chosen body of senators; the commanders of companies also, and the praefects of the allies, were ordered to consult conjointly. After the question had been agitated with great warmth, at length, as there appeared to be no means of carrying on a war with the Romans, it was resolved that a treaty of peace should be formed, and that ambassadors should be sent with those from Rome to ratify the same.

29. Not many days intervened before ambassadors came from the Leontines, requesting troops to protect their frontiers; an embassy which appeared to afford a very favourable opportunity for disencumbering the city of a turbulent and disorderly rabble, and for removing their leaders to a distance. The praetor, Hippocrates, was ordered to lead the deserters thither. Many of the mercenary auxiliaries accompanying them made them number four thousand armed men. This expedition gave great delight both to those who were sent and those who sent them, for to the former an opportunity was afforded of change which they had long desired, while the latter were rejoiced because they considered that a kind of sink of the city had been drained off. But they had, as it were, only relieved a sick body for a time, that it might afterwards fall into a more aggravated disease. For Hippocrates began to ravage the adjoining parts of the Roman province, at first by stealthy excursions, but afterwards, when Appies had sent a body of troops to protect the lands of the allies, he made an attack with all his forces upon the guard posted over against him, and slew many. Marcellus, when informed of this, immediately sent ambassadors to Syracuse, who said that the faith of the treaty had been broken, and that there would never be wanting a cause for hostilities, unless Hippocrates and Epicydes were removed not only from Syracuse, but far from all Sicily. Epicydes, lest by being present he should be arraigned for the offence committed by his absent brother, or should be wanting on his own part in stirring up a war, proceeded himself also to the Leontines; and seeing that they were already sufficiently exasperated against the Romans, he endeavoured to detach them from the Syracusans also. His argument was, that the terms on which they had formed a treaty of peace with the Romans were, that whatever people had been subject to their

kings should be placed under their dominion; and that now they were not satisfied with liberty unless they could also exercise kingly power and dominion over others. The answer, therefore, he said, which they ought to send back was, that the Leontines also considered themselves entitled to liberty, either on the ground that the tyrant fell in the streets of their city, or that there the shout was first raised for liberty; and that they were the persons who, abandoning the king's generals, flocked to Syracuse. That, therefore, either that article must be expunged from the treaty, or that that term of it would not be admitted. They easily persuaded the multitude; and when the ambassadors of Syracuse complained of the slaughter of the Roman guard, and ordered that Hippocrates and Epicydes should depart either to Locri or any other place they pleased, provided they quitted Sicily, a reply was made to them in a haughty manner, "that they had neither placed themselves at the disposal of the Syracusans to make a peace for them with the Romans, nor were they bound by the treaties of other people." This answer the Syracusans laid before the Romans, declaring at the same time that "the Leontines were not under their control, and that, therefore, the Romans might make war on them without violating the treaty subsisting between them; that they would also not be wanting in the war, provided that when brought again under subjection, they should form a part of their dominion, agreeably to the conditions of the peace."

30. Marcellus marched with his entire forces against Leontini, having sent for Appius also, in order that he might attack it in another quarter; when, such was the ardour of the troops in consequence of the indignation they felt at the Roman guards being put to the sword during the negotiations for a peace, that they took the town by storm on the first assault. Hippocrates and Epicydes, perceiving that the enemy were getting possession of the walls and breaking open the gates, retired with a few others into the citadel, from which they fled unobserved during the night to Herbessus. The Syracusans, who had marched from home with eight thousand troops, were met at the river Myla by a messenger, who informed them that the city was taken. The rest which he stated was a mixture of truth and falsehood; he said that there had been an indiscriminate massacre of the soldiers and the townsmen, and that he did not think

that one person who had arrived at puberty had survived; that the town had been pillaged, and the property of the rich men given to the troops. On receiving such direful news the army halted; and while all were under violent excitement, the generals, Sosis and Dinomenes, consulted together as to the course to be taken. The scourging and beheading of two thousand deserters had given to this false statement a plausibility which excited alarm; but no violence was offered to any of the Leontine or other soldiers after the city was taken; and every man's property was restored to him, with the exception only of such as was destroyed in the first confusion which attended the capture of the city. The troops, who complained of their fellow-soldiers having been betrayed and butchered, could neither be induced to proceed to Leontini, nor wait where they were for more certain intelligence. The praetors, perceiving their minds disposed to mutiny, but concluding that their violence would not be of long continuance, if those who had led them on to such folly were removed, led the troops to Megara, whence they themselves with a few horsemen proceeded to Herbessus, under the expectation of having the city betrayed to them in the general consternation; but being disappointed in this attempt, they resolved to resort to force, and moved their camp from Megara on the following day, in order to attack Herbessus with all their forces. Hippocrates and Epicydes having formed the design of putting themselves into the hands of the soldiers, who were for the most part accustomed to them, and were now incensed at the report of the massacre of their comrades, not so much as a safe measure on the first view of it as that it was their only course, now that all hope was cut off, went out to meet the army. It happened that the troops which marched in the van were six hundred Cretans, who had been engaged in the service of Hieronymus under their command, and were under obligation to Hannibal, having been captured at the Trasimenus among the Roman auxiliaries, and dismissed by him. Hippocrates and Epicydes, recognising them by their standards and the fashion of their armour, held out olive branches, and the fillets usually worn by suppliants, and implored them to receive them into their ranks, protect them when received, and not betray them to the Syracusans, by whom they themselves would soon be delivered up to the Romans to be butchered.

31. But the Cretans with one accord called out to them to be of good courage; that they would share every fortune with them. During this conversation, the vanguard had halted, and the march was delayed; nor had the cause of the delay as yet reached the generals. After the report had spread that Hippocrates and Epicydes were there, and a voice was heard through the whole army, which showed evidently that the troops were pleased at their arrival, the praetors immediately galloped to the front, and earnestly asked "what was the meaning of that violation of discipline, which the Cretans had committed in holding conference with the enemy, and allowing them to mingle with their ranks without the authority of the praetors." They ordered Hippocrates to be seized and thrown into chains. On hearing which such a clamour was raised, first by the Cretans and then by the rest, that it was quite evident if they proceeded farther that they would have cause to fear. In this state of anxiety and perplexity, they gave orders to march back to Megara, whence they had set out, and sent messengers to Syracuse, to give information of their present condition. Hippocrates added a deception, seeing that the minds of the troops were disposed to entertain every suspicion. Having sent some Cretans to lie in wait in the roads, he read a letter he pretended had been intercepted, but which he had written himself. The address was: "The praetors of Syracuse to the consul Marcellus." After the customary wishing of health, it stated "that he had acted duly and properly in sparing none of the Leontines, but that the cause of all the mercenary troops was the same, and that Syracuse would never be tranquil while there were any foreign auxiliaries in the city or in the army. That it was therefore necessary that he should endeavour to get into his power those who were encamped at Megara, with their praetors, and by punishing them, at length restore Syracuse to liberty." After this letter had been read, they ran to seize their arms in every direction, with so great a clamour, that the praetors, in the utmost consternation, rode away to Syracuse during the confusion. The mutiny, however, was not quelled even by their flight, but an attack was made upon the Syracusan soldiers; nor would any one have escaped their violence, had not Hippocrates and Epicydes opposed the resentment of the multitude, not from pity or any humane motive, but lest they should cut off all hope of effecting

their return; and that they might have the soldiers, both as faithful supporters of their cause, and as hostages, and conciliate to themselves their relatives and friends, in the first place by so great an obligation, and in the next by reason of the pledge. Having also experienced that the populace could be excited by any cause, however groundless or trifling, they procured a soldier of the number of those who were besieged at Leontini, whom they suborned to carry a report to Syracuse, corresponding with that which had been falsely told at the Myla; and by vouching for what he stated, and relating as matters which he had seen, those things of which doubts were entertained, to kindle the resentment of the people.

32. This man not only obtained credit with the commons, but being introduced into the senate-house, produced an impression upon the senate also. Some men of no small authority openly declared, that it was very fortunate that the rapacity and cruelty of the Romans had been made apparent in the case of the Leontines; that if they had entered Syracuse, they would have committed the same or even more horrible acts, as there the temptations to rapacity would have been greater. All, therefore, advised that the gates should be closed and the city guarded, but not the same persons were objects of fear or hatred to all alike. Among the soldiers of every kind, and a great part of the people, the Roman name was hated. The praetors, and a few of the nobles, though enraged by the fictitious intelligence, rather directed their cautions against a nearer and more immediate evil. Hippocrates and Epicycles were now at the Hexapylum; and conversations were taking place, fomented by the relatives of the native soldiers who were in the army, touching the opening of the gates, and the allowing their common country to be defended from the violence of the Romans. One of the doors of the Hexapylum was now thrown open, and the troops began to be taken in at it, when the praetors interposed; and first by commands and menaces, then by advice, they endeavoured to deter them from their purpose, and last of all, every other means proving ineffectual, forgetful of their dignity, they tried to move them by prayers, imploring them not to betray their country to men heretofore the satellites of the tyrant, and now the corrupters of the army. But the ears of the excited multitude were deaf to all these arguments, and the exertions made from within to break open

the gates, were not less than those without; the gates were all broken open, and the whole army received into the Hexapylum. The praetors, with the youth of the city, fled into the Achradina; the mercenary soldiers and deserters, with all the soldiers of the late king who were at Syracuse, joined the forces of the enemy. The Achradina also was therefore taken on the first assault, and all the praetors, except such as escaped in the confusion, were put to the sword. Night put an end to the carnage. On the following day the slaves were invited to liberty, and those bound in prison were released; after which this mixed rabble created Hippocrates and Epicydes their praetors, and thus Syracuse, when for a brief period the light of liberty had shone on it, relapsed into her former state of servitude.

33. The Romans, on receiving information of these events, immediately moved their camp from Leontini to Syracuse. It happened at this time that ambassadors were sent by Appius in a quinquereme, to make their way through the harbour. A quadrireme was sent in advance, which was captured as soon as it entered the mouth of the harbour, and the ambassadors with difficulty made their escape. And now not only the laws of peace but of war also were not regarded, when the Roman army pitched their camp at Olympium, a temple of Jupiter, a mile and a half from the city. From which place also it was thought proper that ambassadors should be sent forward; these were met by Hippocrates and Epicydes with their friends without the gate, to prevent their entering the city. The Roman, who was appointed to speak, said that "he did not bring war, but aid and assistance to the Syracusans, not only to such as, escaping from the midst of the carnage, fled to the Romans for protection, but to those also, who, overpowered by fear, were submitting to a servitude more shocking, not only than exile, but than death. Nor would the Romans suffer the horrid murder of their friends to go unavenged. If, therefore, those who had taken refuge with them were allowed to return to their country with safety, the authors of the massacre delivered up, and the Syracusans reinstated in the enjoyment of their liberty and laws, there would be no necessity for arms; but if these things were not done, they would direct their arms unceasingly against those who delayed them, whoever they might be." Epicydes replied, that "if they had been commissioned with any message for

them, they would have given them an answer; and when the government of Syracuse was in the hands of those persons to whom they were come, they might visit Syracuse again. If they should commence hostilities, they would learn by actual experience that it was by no means the same thing to besiege Syracuse and Leontini.” With this he left the ambassadors and closed the gate. The siege of Syracuse then commenced by sea and land at the same time; by land on the side of the Hexapylum; by sea on the side of the Achradina, the wall of which is washed by its waves; and as the Romans felt a confidence that as they had taken Leontini by the terror they occasioned on the first assault, they should be able in some quarter to effect an entrance into a city so desert, and diffused over so large an extent of ground, they brought up to the walls every kind of engine for besieging cities.

34. And an attempt made with so much energy would have succeeded, had it not been for one person then at Syracuse. That person was Archimedes, a man of unrivalled skill in observing the heavens and the stars, but more deserving of admiration as the inventor and constructor of warlike engines and works, by means of which, with a very slight effort, he turned to ridicule what the enemy effected with great difficulty. The wall which ran along unequal eminences, most of which were high and difficult of access, some low and open to approach along level vales, he furnished with every kind of warlike engine, as seemed suitable to each particular place. Marcellus attacked from the quinqueremes the wall of the Achradina, which, as before stated, was washed by the sea. From the other ships the archers and slingers and light infantry, whose weapon is difficult to be thrown back by the unskilful, allowed scarce any person to remain upon the wall unwounded. These, as they required room for the discharge of their missiles, kept their ships at a distance from the wall. Eight more quinqueremes joined together in pairs, the oars on their inner sides being removed, so that side might be placed to side, and which forming as it were ships, were worked by means of the oars on the outer sides, carried turrets built up in stories, and other engines employed in battering walls. Against this naval armament, Archimedes placed on different parts of the walls engines of various dimensions. Against the ships which were at a distance he discharged

stones of immense weight. Those which were nearer he assailed with lighter, and therefore more numerous missiles. Lastly, in order that his own men might heap their weapons upon the enemy, without receiving any wounds themselves, he perforated the wall from the top to the bottom with a great number of loop-holes, about a cubit in diameter, through which some with arrows, others with scorpions of moderate size, assailed the enemy without being seen. Certain ships which came nearer to the walls in order to get within the range of the engines, he placed upon their sterns, raising up their prows by throwing upon them an iron grapple, attached to a strong chain, by means of a tolleno which projected from the wall, and overhung them, having a heavy counterpoise of lead which forced back the lever to the ground; then the grapple being suddenly disengaged, the ship falling as it were from the wall, was, by these means, to the utter consternation of the mariners, dashed in such a manner against the water, that even if it fell back in an erect position it took in a great quantity of water. Thus the attack by sea was foiled, and their whole efforts were directed to an attack by land with all their forces. But on this side also the place was furnished with a similar array of engines of every kind, procured at the expense of Hiero, who had given his attention to this object through a course of many years, and constructed by the unrivalled abilities of Archimedes. The nature of the place also assisted them; for the rock which formed the foundation of the wall was for the most part so steep, that not only materials discharged from engines, but such as were rolled down by their own gravity, fell upon the enemy with great force; the same cause rendered the approach to the city difficult, and the footing unsteady. Wherefore, a council being held, it was resolved, since every attempt was frustrated, to abstain from assaulting the place, and keeping up a blockade, only to cut off the provisions of the enemy by sea and land.

35. Meanwhile, Marcellus, who had set out with about a third part of the army, to recover the towns which, during the commotion, had gone over to the Carthaginians, regained Helorus and Herbessus by voluntary surrender. Megara, which he took by storm, he demolished and plundered, in order to terrify the rest, but particularly the Syracusans. Much about the same time, Himilco, who had kept his

fleet for a long time at the promontory of Pachynus, landed twenty-five thousand infantry, three thousand horse, and twelve elephants, at Heraclea, which they call Minoa. This force was much greater than that which he had before on board his fleet at Pachynus. But after Syracuse was seized by Hippocrates, he proceeded to Carthage, where, being aided by ambassadors from Hippocrates, and a letter from Hannibal, who said that now was the time to recover Sicily with the highest honour, while his own advice given in person had no small influence, he had prevailed upon the Carthaginians to transport into Sicily as large a force as possible, both of foot and horse. Immediately on his arrival he retook Heraclea, and within a few days after Agrigentum; and in the other states which sided with the Carthaginians, such confident hopes were kindled of driving the Romans out of Sicily, that at last even those who were besieged at Syracuse took courage; and thinking that half their forces would be sufficient for the defence of the city, they divided the business of the war between them in such a manner, that Epicydes superintended the defence of the city, while Hippocrates, in conjunction with Himilco, prosecuted the war against the Roman consul. The latter, having passed by night through the intervals between the posts, with ten thousand foot and five hundred horse, was pitching a camp near the city Acrillae, when Marcellus came upon them, while engaged in raising the fortifications, on his return from Agrigentum, which was already occupied by the enemy, having failed in his attempt to get there before the enemy by expeditious marching, Marcellus calculated upon any thing rather than meeting with a Syracusan army at that time and place; but still through fear of Himilco and the Carthaginians, for whom he was by no means a match with the forces he had with him, he was marching with all possible circumspection, and with his troops so arranged, as to be prepared for any thing which might occur.

36. It happened that the caution he had observed with intent to guard him against the Carthaginians, proved useful against the Sicilians. Having caught them in disorder and dispersed, employed in forming their camp, and for the most part unarmed, he cut off all their infantry. Their cavalry, having commenced a slight engagement, fled to Acrae with Hippocrates. This battle having

checked the Sicilians in their purpose of revolting from the Romans, Marcellus returned to Syracuse, and a few days after Himilco, being joined by Hippocrates, encamped on the river Anapus, about eight miles distant from that place. Nearly about the same time, fifty-five ships of war of the Carthaginians, with Bomilcar as commander of the fleet, put into the great harbour of Syracuse from the sea, and a Roman fleet of thirty quinqueremes landed the first legion at Panormus; and so intent were both the contending powers upon Sicily, that the seat of war might seem to have been removed from Italy. Himilco, who thought that the Roman legion which had been landed at Panormus, would doubtless fall a prey to him on its way to Syracuse, was mistaken in his road; for the Carthaginian marched through the inland parts of the country, while the legion, keeping along the coast, and attended by the fleet, came up with Appius Claudius, who had advanced to Pachynum with a part of his forces to meet it. Nor did the Carthaginians delay longer at Syracuse. Bomilcar, who at the same time that he did not feel sufficient confidence in his naval strength, as the Romans had a fleet more than double his number, was aware that delay which could be attended with no good effect, would only increase the scarcity of provisions among the allies by the presence of his troops, sailed out into the deep, and crossed over into Africa. Himilco, who had in vain followed Marcellus to Syracuse, to see if he could get any opportunity of engaging him before he was joined by larger forces, failing in this object, and seeing that the enemy were secured at Syracuse, both by their fortifications and the strength of their forces, to avoid wasting time in sitting by as an idle spectator of the siege of his allies, without being able to do any good, marched his troops away, in order to bring them up wherever the prospect of revolt from the Romans might invite him, and wherever by his presence he might inspire additional courage in those who espoused his interest. He first got possession of Murgantia, the Roman garrison having been betrayed by the inhabitants themselves. Here a great quantity of corn and provisions of every kind had been laid up by the Romans.

37. To this revolt the minds of other states also were stimulated; and the Roman garrisons were now either driven out of the citadels, or treacherously given up and overpowered. Enna, which stood on an

eminence lofty and of difficult ascent on all sides, was impregnable on account of its situation, and had besides in its citadel a strong garrison commanded by one who was very unlikely to be overreached by treachery, Lucius Pinarius, a man of vigorous mind, who relied more on the measures he took to prevent treachery, than on the fidelity of the Sicilians; and at that time particularly the intelligence he had received of so many cities being betrayed, and revolting, and of the massacre of the garrisons, had made him solicitous to use every precaution. Accordingly, by day and night equally, every thing was kept in readiness, and every place furnished with guards and watches, the soldiery being continually under arms and at their posts. But when the principal men in Enna, who had already entered into a covenant with Himilco to betray the garrison, found that they could get no opportunity of circumventing the Roman, they resolved to act openly. They urged, that “the city and the citadel ought to be under their control, as they had formed an alliance with the Romans on the understanding that they were to be free, and had not been delivered into their custody as slaves. That they therefore thought it just that the keys of the gates should be restored to them. That their honour formed the strongest tie upon good allies, and that the people and senate of Rome would entertain feelings of gratitude towards them if they continued in friendship with them of their own free will, and not by compulsion.” The Roman replied, that “he was placed there by his general to protect the place; that from him he had received the keys of the gates and the custody of the citadel, trusts which he held not subject to his own will, nor that of the inhabitants of Enna, but to his who committed them to him. That among the Romans, for a man to quit his post was a capital offence, and that parents had sanctioned that law by the death even of their own children. That the consul Marcellus was not far off; that they might send ambassadors to him, who possessed the right and liberty of deciding.” But they said, they would certainly not send to him, and solemnly declared, that as they could not obtain their object by argument, they would seek some means of asserting their liberty. Pinarius upon this observed, “that if they thought it too much to send to the consul, still they would, at least, grant him an assembly of the people, that it might be ascertained whether these

denunciations came from a few, or from the whole state.” An assembly of the people was proclaimed for the next day, with the general consent.

38. After this conference, he returned into the citadel, and assembling his soldiers, thus addressed them: “Soldiers, I suppose you have heard in what manner the Roman garrisons have been betrayed and cut off by the Sicilians of late. You have escaped the same treachery, first by the kindness of the gods, and secondly by your own good conduct, in unremittingly standing and watching under arms. I wish the rest of our time may be passed without suffering or committing dreadful things. This caution, which we have hitherto employed, has been directed against covert treachery, but not succeeding in this as they wished, they now publicly and openly demand back the keys of the gates; but as soon as we shall have delivered them up, Enna will be instantly in the hands of the Carthaginians, and we shall be butchered under circumstances more horrid than those with which the garrison of Murgantia were massacred. I have with difficulty procured a delay of one night for deliberation, that I might employ it in acquainting you with the danger which threatens you. At daybreak they intend holding a general assembly for the purpose of criminating me, and stirring up the people against you; to-morrow, therefore, Enna will be inundated either with your blood, or that of its own inhabitants. If they are beforehand with you, you will have no hope left, but if you anticipate their proceedings, you will have no danger. Victory will belong to that side which shall have drawn the sword first. You shall all, therefore, full armed, attentively wait the signal. I shall be in the assembly, and by talking and disputing will spin out the time till every thing shall be ready. When I shall have given the signal with my gown, then, mind me raising a shout on all sides rush upon the multitude, and fell all before you with the sword, taking care that no one survive from whom either force or fraud can be apprehended. You, mother Ceres and Proserpine, I entreat, and all ye other gods, celestial and infernal, who frequent this city and these consecrated lakes and groves, that you would lend us your friendly and propitious aid, as we adopt this measure not for the purpose of inflicting, but averting injury. I should exhort you at greater length my soldiers, if

you were about to fight with armed men, men unarmed and off their guard, you will slay to satiety. The consul's camp too is near, so that nothing can be apprehended from Himilco and the Carthaginians'."

39. Being allowed to retire immediately after this exhortation, they employed themselves in taking refreshment. The next day they stationed themselves some in one place and others in another, to block up the streets, and shut up the ways by which the townsmen might escape, the greater part of them stationing themselves upon and round the theatre, as they had been accustomed before also to be spectators of the assemblies. When the Roman praefect, having been brought into the presence of the people by the magistrates, said, that the power and authority of deciding the question appertained to the consul, and not to him, repeating for the most part what he had urged the day before, first of all a small number, and then more, desired him to give up the keys, but afterwards all with one consent demanded it, and when he hesitated and delayed, threatened him furiously, and seemed as though they would not further delay violent extremities then the praefect gave the signal agreed upon with his gown and the soldiers, who had been long anxiously waiting the signal, and in readiness, raising a shout, ran down, some of them from the higher ground, upon the rear of the assembly while others blocked up the passages leading out of the crowded theatre. The people of Enna thus shut up in the pit were put to the sword, being heaped one upon another not only in consequence of the slaughter, but also from their own efforts to escape, for some scrambling over the heads of others, and those that were unhurt falling upon the wounded, and the living upon the dead, they were accumulated together. Thence they ran in every direction throughout the city, when nothing was any where to be seen but flight and bloodshed, as though the city had been captured, for the rage of the soldiery was not less excited in putting to the sword an unarmed rabble, than it would have been had the heat of battle and an equality of danger stimulated it. Thus possession of Enna was retained, by an act which was either atrocious or unavoidable. Marcellus did not disapprove of the deed, and gave up the plunder of the place to the soldiery, concluding that the Sicilians, deterred by this example, would refrain from betraying their garrisons. As this city was situated in the heart

of Sicily, and was distinguished both on account of the remarkable strength of its natural situation, and because every part of it was rendered sacred by the traces it contained of the rape of Proserpine of old, the news of its disaster spread though the whole of Sicily in nearly one day, and as people considered that by this horrid massacre violence had been done not only to the habitations of men, but even of the gods, then indeed those who even before this event were in doubt which side they should take, revolted to the Carthaginians Hippocrates and Himilco, who had in vain brought up their troops to Enna at the invitation of the traitors, retired thence, the former to Murgantia, the latter to Agrigentum. Marcellus retrograded into the territory of Leontium, and after collecting a quantity of corn and other provisions in his camp there, left a small body of troops to protect it, and then went to carry on the siege of Syracuse. Appius Claudius having been allowed to go from thence to Rome to put up for the consulship, he appointed Titus Quintus Crispinus to command the fleet and the old camp in his room. He himself fortified his camp, and built huts for his troops at a distance of five miles from Hexapylum, at a place called Leon. These were the transactions in Sicily up to the beginning of the winter.

40. The same summer the war with king Philip, as had been before suspected, broke out. Ambassadors from Oricum came to Marcus Valerius, the praetor, who was directing his fleet around Brundisium and the neighbouring coasts of Calabria, with intelligence, that Philip had first made an attempt upon Apollonia, having approached it by sailing up the river with a hundred and twenty barks with two banks of oars; after that, not succeeding so speedily as he had hoped, that he had brought up his army secretly to Oricum by night; which city, as it was situated on a plain, and was not secured either by fortifications or by men and arms, was overpowered at the first assault. At the same time that they delivered this intelligence, they entreated him to bring them succour, and repel that decided enemy of the Romans by land or by a naval force, since they were attacked for no other cause than that they lay over against Italy. Marcus Valerius, leaving Publius Valerius lieutenant-general charged with the protection of that quarter, set sail with his fleet equipped and prepared, having put on board of ships of burthen such soldiers as

there was not room for in the men of war, and reached Oricum on the second day; and as that city was occupied by a slight garrison, which Philip had left on his departure thence, he retook it without much opposition. Here ambassadors came to him from Apollonia, stating that they were subjected to a siege because they were unwilling to revolt from the Romans, and that they would not be able any longer to resist the power of the Macedonians, unless a Roman force were sent for their protection. Having undertaken to perform what they wished, he sent two thousand chosen armed men in ships of war to the mouth of the river, under the command of Quintus Naevius Crista, praefect of the allies, a man of enterprise, and experienced in military affairs. Having landed his troops, and sent back the ships to join the rest of the fleet at Oricum, whence he had come, he marched his troops at a distance from the river, by a way not guarded at all by the king's party, and entered the city by night, so that none of the enemy perceived him. During the following day they remained quiet, to afford time for the praefect to inspect the youth of Apollonia, together with the arms and resources of the city. Having derived considerable confidence from a review and inspection of these, and at the same time discovering from scouts the supineness and negligence which prevailed among the enemy, he marched out of the city during the dead of night without any noise, and entered the camp of the enemy, which was in such a neglected and exposed state, that it was quite clear that a thousand men had passed the rampart before any one perceived them, and that had they abstained from putting them to the sword, they might have penetrated to the royal pavilion. The killing of those who were nearest the gate aroused the enemy; and in consequence, they were all seized with such alarm and dismay, that not only none of the rest attempted to take arms or endeavour to expel the enemy from the camp, but even the king himself, betaking himself to flight, in a manner half naked and just as he was when roused from his sleep, hurried away to the river and his ships in a garb scarcely decent for a private soldier, much less for a king. Thither also the rest of the multitude fled with the utmost precipitation. Little less than three thousand men were slain or made prisoners in the camp; considerably more, however, were captured than slain. The camp having been plundered, the Apollonians

removed into their city the catapults, ballistas, and other engines which had been got together for the purpose of assaulting their city, for the protection of their walls, in case at any time a similar conjuncture should arise; all the rest of the plunder which the camp afforded was given up to the Romans. Intelligence of these events having been carried to Oricum, Marcus Valerius immediately brought his fleet to the mouth of the river, that the king might not attempt to make his escape by ship. Thus Philip, having lost all hope of being able to cope with his enemies by land or sea, and having either hauled on shore or burnt his ships, made for Macedonia by land, his troops being for the most part unarmed and despoiled of their baggage. The Roman fleet, with Marcus Valerius, wintered at Oricum.

41. The same year the war was prosecuted in Spain with various success; for before the Romans crossed the Iberus, Mago and Hasdrubal had routed an immense army of Spaniards; and the farther Spain would have revolted from the Romans, had not Publius Cornelius, hastily crossing the Iberus with his army, given a seasonable stimulus to the wavering resolutions of his allies by his arrival among them. The Romans first encamped at a place called the High Camp, which is remarkable for the death of the great Hamilcar. It was a fortress strongly defended by works, and thither they had previously conveyed corn; but as the whole circumjacent country was full of enemy's troops, and the Roman army on its march had been charged by the cavalry of the enemy without being able to take revenge upon them, two thousand men, who either loitered behind or had strayed through the fields, having been slain, the Romans quitted this place to get nearer to a friendly country, and fortified a camp at the mount of Victory. To this place came Cneius Scipio with all his forces, and Hasdrubal, son of Gisgo, and a third Carthaginian general, with a complete army, all of whom took up a position opposite the Roman camp and on the other side the river. Publius Scipio, going out with some light troops to take a view of the surrounding country, was observed by the enemy; and he would have been overpowered in the open plain, had he not seized an eminence near him. Here too he was closely invested, but was rescued from the troops which environed him by the arrival of his brother. Castulo, a

city of Spain, so strong and celebrated, and so closely connected with the Carthaginians, that Hannibal had taken a wife from it, revolted to the Romans. The Carthaginians commenced the siege of Illiturgi, because there was a Roman garrison in it; and it seemed that they would carry the place, chiefly in consequence of a lack of provisions. Cneius Scipio, setting out with a legion lightly equipped, in order to bring succour to his allies and the garrison, entered the city, passing between the two camps of the enemy, and slaying a great number of them. The next day also he sallied out and fought with equal success. Above twelve thousand were slain in the two battles, more than a thousand made prisoners, and thirty-six military standards captured. In consequence of this they retired from Illiturgi. After this the siege of Bigerra, a city which was also in alliance with the Romans, was commenced by the Carthaginians; but Scipio coming up, raised the siege without experiencing any opposition.

42. The Carthaginians then removed their camp to Munda, whither the Romans speedily followed them. Here a pitched battle was fought, which lasted almost four hours; and while the Romans were carrying all before them in the most glorious manner, the signal for retreat was sounded, because the thigh of Cneius Scipio had been transfixed with a javelin. The soldiers round about him were thrown into a state of great alarm, lest the wound should be mortal. However, there was no doubt but that if they had not been prevented by the intervention of this accident, they might have taken the Carthaginian camp that day. By this time, not only the men, but the elephants, were driven quite up to the rampart; and even upon the top of it nine and thirty elephants were pierced with spears. In this battle, too, as many as twelve thousand are said to have been slain, nearly three thousand captured, with fifty-seven military standards. The Carthaginians retired thence to the city Auringis, whither the Romans followed them, in order to take advantage of their terror. Here Scipio again fought them, having been carried into the field in a small litter; the victory was decisive; but not half so many of the enemy were slain as before, because fewer survived to fight. But this family, which possessed a natural talent at renewing war and restoring its effects, in a short time recruited their army, Mago having been sent by his brother to press soldiers, and assumed courage to try the issue

of a fresh struggle. Though the soldiers were for the most part different, yet as they fought in a cause which had so often been unsuccessful within the space of a few days, they carried into the field the same state of mind as those which had been engaged before, and the issue of the battle was similar. More than eight thousand were slain, not much less than a thousand captured, with fifty-eight military standards. The greater part of the spoils had belonged to the Gauls, consisting of golden chains and bracelets in great numbers. Also two distinguished Gallic petty princes, whose names were Moenicaptus and Civismarus, fell in this battle. Eight elephants were captured and three slain. When affairs went on so prosperously in Spain, the Romans began to feel ashamed that Saguntum, on account of which the war had originated, should continue for now the eighth year in the power of the enemy. Accordingly, having expelled by force the Carthaginian garrison, they retook that town, and restored it to such of the ancient inhabitants as had survived the fury of the war. The Turditanians also, who had been the cause of the war between that people and the Carthaginians, they reduced under their power, sold them as slaves, and razed their city.

43. Such were the achievements in Spain during the consulate of Quintus Fabius and Marcus Claudius. At Rome, as soon as the new plebeian tribunes entered upon their office, Lucius Metellus, a plebeian tribune, immediately appointed a day for impleading the censors, Publius Furius and Marcus Atilius, before the people. In the preceding year, when he was quaestor, they had deprived him of his horse, removed him from his tribe, and disfranchised him, on account of the conspiracy entered into at Cannae to abandon Italy. But being aided by the other nine tribunes, they were forbidden to answer while in office, and were discharged. The death of Publius Furius prevented their completing the lustrum. Marcus Atilius abdicated his office. An assembly for the election of consuls was held by Quintus Fabius Maximus. The consuls elected were Quintus Fabius Maximus, son of the consul, and Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus a second time, both being absent. The praetors appointed were Marcus Atilius, and the two curule aediles, Publius Sempronius Tuditanus and Cneius Fulvius Centumalus, together with Marcus Aemilius Lepidus. It is recorded, that the scenic games were this

year, for the first time, celebrated for four days by the curule aediles. The aedile Tuditanus was the man who made his way through the midst of the enemy at Cannae when all the rest were paralysed with fear, in consequence of that dreadful calamity. As soon as the elections were completed, the consuls elect having been summoned to Rome, at the instance of Quintus Fabius, the consul, entered upon their office, and took the sense of the senate respecting the war, their own provinces as well as those of the praetors, and also respecting the armies to be employed, and which each of them was to command.

44. The provinces and armies were thus distributed: the prosecution of the war with Hannibal was given to the consuls, and of the armies, one which Sempronius himself had commanded, and another which the consul Fabius had commanded, each consisting of two legions. Marcus Aemilius, the praetor, who had the foreign jurisdiction, was to have Luceria as his province, with the two legions which Quintus Fabius, then consul, had commanded as praetor, his colleague, Marcus Atilius, the city praetor, undertaking the duties of his office. The province of Ariminum fell to the lot of Publius Sempronius, that of Suessula to Cneius Fulvius, with two legions each likewise; Fulvius taking with him the city legions; Tuditanus receiving his from Manius Pomponius. The following generals were continued in command, and their provinces assigned to them thus: to Marcus Claudius, so much of Sicily as lay within the limits of the kingdom of Hiero; to Lentulus, the propraetor, the old province in that island; to Titus Otacilius, the fleet; no additional troops were assigned to them. Marcus Valerius had Greece and Macedonia, with the legion and the fleet which he had there; Quintus Mucius had Sardinia, with his old army, consisting of two legions; Caius Terentius, Picenum, with one legion which he then commanded. Besides, orders were given to enlist two legions for the city, and twenty thousand men from the allies. With these leaders and these forces did they fortify the Roman empire against the many wars which had either actually broken out, or were suspected at one and the same time. After enlisting the city legions and raising troops to make up the numbers of the others, the consuls, before they quitted the city, expiated the prodigies which were reported. A wall

and a gate had been struck by lightning; and at Aricia even the temple of Jupiter had been struck by lightning. Other illusions of the eyes and ears were credited as realities. An appearance as of ships had been seen in the river at Tarracina, when there were none there. A clashing of arms was heard in the temple of Jupiter Vicilinus, in the territory of Compsa; and a river at Amiternum had flowed bloody. These prodigies having been expiated according to a decree of the pontiffs, the consuls set out, Sempronius for Lucania, Fabius for Apulia. The father of the latter came into the camp at Suessula, as his lieutenant-general; and when the son advanced to meet him, the lictors, out of respect for his dignity, went on in silence. The old man rode past eleven of the fasces, when the consul ordered the lictor nearest to him to take care and he called to him to dismount; then at length dismounting, he exclaimed, "I wished to try, my son, whether you were duly sensible that you are a consul."

45. To this camp came Dasias Altinius of Arpi privately and by night, attended by three slaves, with a promise that if he should receive a reward for it, he would engage to betray Arpi to them. Fabius having laid the matter before a council, some were of opinion that "he ought to be scourged and put to death as a deserter, as a man of unstable mind, and a common enemy to both sides; who, after the defeat at Cannae, had gone over to Hannibal and drawn Arpi into revolt, as if it were right that a man's fidelity should vary according to the fluctuations of fortune; and who now, when the Roman cause, contrary to his hopes and wishes, was as it were rising up again, would seem to aggravate his baseness by recompensing those whom he had formerly betrayed, by fresh betrayal. That a man whose custom it was to espouse one side, while his heart was on another, was unworthy of confidence as an ally, and contemptible as an enemy; that he ought to be made a third example to deserters, in addition to the betrayers of Falerii and Pyrrhus." On the other hand, Fabius, the father of the consul, observed, that, "forgetful of circumstances, men were apt to exercise a free judgment on every question in the heat of war, as in time of peace; for though in the present instance that which ought rather to form the object of their endeavours and to occupy their thoughts, is by what means it may be brought about that none of the allies may revolt from the Roman

people, yet that they never think of; but, on the contrary, they urge that an example ought to be made of any who might repent and look back upon their former alliance. But if it is allowable to forsake the Romans, and not allowable to return to them, who can doubt but that in a short time the Romans, deserted by their allies, will see every state in Italy united in leagues with the Carthaginians. Not, however, that he was of opinion that any confidence was to be reposed in Altinius, but he would invent some middle course of proceeding. Treating him neither as an enemy nor as a friend for the present, his wish was, that he should be kept during the war in some city whose fidelity could be relied on, at a short distance from the camp, in a state of easy restraint; and that when the war was concluded, they should then deliberate whether he more deserved to be punished for his former defection, or pardoned for his present return.” The opinion of Fabius was approved of. Altinius was bound in chains and given into custody, together with his companions, and a large quantity of gold which he brought with him was ordered to be kept for him. He was kept at Cales, where, during the day, he was unconfined, but attended by guards who locked him up at night. He was first missed and inquired for at his house at Arpi. but afterwards, when the report of his absence had spread through the city, a violent sensation was excited, as if they had lost their leader, and, from the apprehension of some attempt to alter the present state of things, messengers were immediately despatched to Hannibal. With this the Carthaginian was far from being displeased, both because he had long regarded the man himself with suspicion, as one of doubtful fidelity, and because he had now been lucky enough to get a pretext for possessing himself of the property of so wealthy a person. But that the world might suppose that he had yielded to resentment more than to avarice, he added cruelty to rapacity; for he summoned his wife and children to the camp, and after having made inquiry, first, respecting the flight of Altinius, and then, touching the quantity of gold and silver which was left at his house, and informed himself on all these points, he burned them alive.

46. Fabius, setting out from Suessula, first set about the siege of Arpi; and having pitched his camp about half a mile from it, he took a near view of the site and walls of the city, and resolved to attack it,

in preference, in that quarter where it was most secured by works, and where the least care was taken in guarding it. After getting all things together which could be of use in besieging a city, he selected the most efficient of the centurions out of the whole army, placing them under the command of tribunes of approved valour, and giving them six hundred soldiers, a number which was thought sufficient for the purpose. These he ordered to bring the scaling ladders to the place which he had marked out, as soon as the signal of the fourth watch had sounded. In this part there was a low and narrow gate, opening into a street which was little frequented, and which led through a deserted part of the city. He ordered them, after scaling the wall, to proceed to this gate, and break down the bars on the inside by force, and when they were in possession of that part of the city, to give a signal with a cornet, that the rest of the troops might be brought up, observing that he would have every thing prepared and ready. These orders were executed promptly, and that which seemed likely to impede their operations, served more than any thing to conceal them. A shower of rain, which came on suddenly at midnight, compelled the guards and watches to slip away from their posts and take shelter in the houses; and the noise of the shower, which was somewhat copious, at first prevented their hearing that which was made by the men in breaking open the gate. Afterwards, when it fell upon the ear more gently and uniformly, it lulled a great number of the men to sleep. After they had secured possession of the gate, they placed cornet-players in the street at equal distances, and desired them to sound, in order to call the consul. This being done according to the plan previously agreed upon, the consul ordered the troops to march, and a little before daylight entered the city through the broken gate.

47. Then at length the enemy were roused, the shower was now subsiding, and daylight coming on. Hannibal had a garrison of about five thousand armed men in the city, and the inhabitants themselves had three thousand men in arms; these the Carthaginians placed in front against the enemy, to guard against any treachery on their rear. The fight was carried on at first in the dark, and in the narrow streets, the Romans having seized not only the streets, but the houses also nearest the gate, that they might not be struck or wounded by any

thing discharged at them from above. Some of the Arpinians and Romans recognised each other, which led to conversations, in which the Romans asked them, what it was they meant? for what offence on the part of the Romans, or what service on that of the Carthaginians, they, who were Italians, made war in favour of foreigners and barbarians, against their ancient allies the Romans, and endeavoured to render Italy tributary and stipendiary to Africa? The Arpinians urged in excuse of themselves, that in ignorance of all the circumstances, they had been sold to the Carthaginians by their nobility, and that they were kept in a state of thralldom and oppression by the few. A beginning having been made, greater numbers on both sides entered into conversation; and at length the praetor of Arpi was brought by his countrymen before the consul, and after exchanging assurances in the midst of the standards and the troops, the Arpinians suddenly turned their arms against the Carthaginians, in favour of the Romans. Some Spaniards also, little less than a thousand in number, after only stipulating with the consul that the Carthaginian garrison might be allowed to march out unhurt, passed over to the consul. The gates were therefore thrown open for the Carthaginians; and being allowed to go out unmolested, in conformity with the stipulation, they joined Hannibal in Salapia. Thus was Arpi restored to the Romans, without the loss of a life, except that of one man, who was formerly a traitor, and recently a deserter. The Spaniards were ordered to receive a double allowance of provisions, and on very many occasions the republic availed itself of their brave and faithful services. While one of the consuls was in Apulia, and the other in Lucania, a hundred and twelve Campanian noblemen, having gone out of Capua, with the permission of the magistrates, under pretence of collecting booty from the enemy's lands, came into the Roman camp, which lay above Suessula. They told the soldiers, forming the vanguard, that they wished to speak with the praetor. Cneius Fulvius commanded the camp; who, on being informed of the circumstance, ordered ten of them to be brought into his presence unarmed; and after hearing their request, (and all they asked was, that when the Romans should recover Capua, their property might be restored to them,) they were all received under his protection. The other praetor, Sempronius

Tuditanus, took by force the town of Aternum; more than seven thousand were captured, with a considerable quantity of coined brass and silver. A dreadful fire happened at Rome, which continued for two nights and a day; every thing was burnt to the ground between the Salinae and the Carmental gate, with the Aequimaelium and the Jugarian street. In the temples of Fortune, Mater Matuta, and Hope, which latter stood without the gate, the fire, spreading to a wide extent, consumed much both sacred and profane.

48. The same year, the two Cornelii, Publius and Cneius, as affairs were now in a prosperous state in Spain, and they had recovered many ancient allies, and attached fresh ones to them, extended their views even to Africa. Syphax was a king of the Numidians, who had suddenly become hostile to the Carthaginians; to him they sent three centurions as ambassadors, to form a treaty of friendship and alliance with him; and to promise, that, if he persevered in pressing the war against the Carthaginians, he would render an acceptable service to the senate and people of Rome, and they would endeavour to requite the favour with large additions, and at a seasonable time. This embassy was gratifying to the barbarian; and when conversing with the ambassadors on the art of war he heard the observations of those experienced soldiers, by comparing his own practice with so regular a system of discipline, he became sensible of how many things he himself was ignorant. Then he entreated them to give the first proof of their being good and faithful allies, “by letting two of them carry back the result of their embassy to their generals, while one remained with him as his instructor in military science, observing that the Numidian nation were unacquainted with the method of carrying on war with foot forces, being useful only as mounted soldiers. That it was in this manner that their ancestors had carried on war even from the first origin of their nation, and to this they were habituated from their childhood. But that they had to contend with an enemy who relied upon the prowess of their infantry; with whom, if they wished to be placed upon an equality in respect of efficient strength, they must also furnish themselves with infantry. That his dominions abounded with a large quantity of men fit for the purpose, but that he was unacquainted with the art of arming, equipping, and marshalling them; that all his infantry were unwieldy and unmanageable, like a

rabble collected together by chance.” The ambassadors answered, that they would comply with his request for the present, on his engaging to send him back immediately, if their generals did not approve of what they had done. The name of the person who staid behind with the king was Quintus Statorius. With the two other Romans, the Numidian sent ambassadors into Spain, to receive the ratification of the alliance from the Roman generals. He gave it in charge to the same persons, forthwith to induce the Numidians, who were serving as auxiliaries among the Carthaginian troops, to go over to the other side. Statorius raised a body of infantry for the king out of the large number of young men which he found; and having formed them into companies, in close imitation of the Roman method, taught them to follow their standards and keep their ranks when being marshalled, and when performing their evolutions; and he so habituated them to military works and other military duties, that in a short time the king relied not more on his cavalry than on his infantry; and in a regular and pitched battle, fought on a level plain, he overcame his enemies, the Carthaginians. In Spain also the arrival of the king’s ambassadors was of the greatest advantage to the Romans, for at the news thereof the Numidians began rapidly to pass over. Thus the Romans and Syphax were united in friendship, which the Carthaginians hearing of, immediately sent ambassadors to Gala, who reigned in another part of Numidia, over a nation called Massylians.

49. Gala had a son named Masinissa, seventeen years of age, but a youth of such talents, that even at that time it was evident that he would render the kingdom more extensive and powerful than when he received it. The ambassadors represented that, “since Syphax had united himself with the Romans, that by their alliance he might strengthen his hands against the kings and nations of Africa, it would be better for Gala also to unite with the Carthaginians as soon as possible, before Syphax crossed over into Spain, or the Romans into Africa; that Syphax might be overpowered, while as yet he derived nothing from his league with the Romans but the name of it.” Gala, his son claiming to be intrusted with the conduct of the war, was easily prevailed upon to send an army, which, joined by the legions of the Carthaginians, totally defeated Syphax in a great battle. In this

thirty thousand men are said to have been slain. Syphax, with a few horsemen, fled from the field, and took refuge among the Maurusian Numidians, a nation dwelling at the extremity of Africa, near the ocean, and over against Gades. But the barbarians flocking to his standard from all sides, in consequence of his great renown, he speedily armed a very large force. Before he passed over with these forces into Spain, which was separated only by a narrow strait, Masinissa came up with his victorious army; and here he acquired great glory in the prosecution of the war with Syphax, in which he acted alone and unsupported by any aid from the Carthaginians. In Spain nothing worth mentioning was performed, except that the Romans drew over to their side the Celtiberian youth, by giving them the same pay which they had stipulated with the Carthaginians to pay them. They also sent above three hundred Spaniards of the greatest distinction into Italy, to bring over their countrymen, who served among the auxiliary troops of Hannibal. The only memorable circumstance of this year in Spain was, that the Romans then, for the first time, employed mercenary troops in their camp, namely, the Celtiberians.

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BOOK XXV

Translated by William A. McDevitte

B.C. 213-212

Publius Cornelius Scipio, afterwards called Africanus, elected aedile before he had attained the age required by the law. The citadel of Tarentum, in which the Roman garrison had taken refuge, betrayed to Hannibal. Games instituted in honour of Apollo, called Apollinarian. Quintus Fulvius and Appius Claudius, consuls, defeat Hanno the Carthaginian general. Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus betrayed by a Lucanian to Mago, and slain. Centenius Penula, who had been a centurion, asks the senate for the command of an army, promising to engage and vanquish Hannibal, is cut off with eight thousand men. Cneius Fulvius engages Hannibal, and is beaten, with the loss of sixteen thousand men slain, he himself escapes with only two hundred horsemen. Quintus Fulvius and Appius Claudius, consuls, lay siege to Capua. Syracuse taken by Claudius Marcellus after a siege of three years. In the tumult occasioned by taking the city, Archimedes is killed while intently occupied on some figures which he had drawn in the sand. Publius and Cornelius Scipio, after having performed many eminent services in Spain, are slain, together with nearly the whole of their armies, eight years after their arrival in that country; and the possession of that province would have been entirely lost, but for the valour and activity of Lucius Marcius, a Roman knight, who, collecting the scattered remains of the vanquished armies, utterly defeats the enemy, storming their two camps, killing thirty-seven thousand of them, and taking eighteen hundred together with an immense booty.

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1. Hannibal passed the summer during which these events occurred in Africa and Italy, in the Tarentine territory, with the hope of having the city of the Tarentines betrayed to him. Meanwhile some inconsiderable towns belonging to them, and to the Sallentines, revolted to him. At the same time, of the twelve states of the Bruttians, which had in a former year gone over to the Carthaginians,

the Consentians and Thurians returned to the protection of the Roman people. And more would have done the same, had not Titus Pomponius Veientanus, praefect of the allies, having acquired the appearance of a regular general, in consequence of several successful predatory expeditions in the Bruttian territory, got together a tumultuary band, and fought a battle with Hanno. In that battle, a great number of men, consisting, however, of a disorderly rabble of slaves and rustics, were slain or captured. The least part of the loss was, that the praefect himself was taken prisoner; for he was not only in the present instance guilty of having rashly engaged the enemy, but previously, in the capacity of farmer of the revenue, by iniquitous practices of every description, had shown himself faithless and injurious to the state, as well as the companies. Among the Lucanians, the consul, Sempronius, fought several small battles, but none worthy of being recorded, he also took several inconsiderable towns. In proportion as the war was protracted, and the sentiments no less than the circumstances of men fluctuated accordingly as events flowed prosperously or otherwise, the citizens were seized with such a passion for superstitious observances, and those for the most part introduced from foreign countries, that either the people or the gods appeared to have undergone a sudden change. And now the Roman rites were growing into disuse, not only in private, and within doors, but in public also; in the forum and Capitol there were crowds of women sacrificing, and offering up prayers to the gods, in modes unusual in that country. A low order of sacrificers and soothsayers had enslaved men's understandings, and the numbers of these were increased by the country people, whom want and terror had driven into the city, from the fields which were lain uncultivated during a protracted war, and had suffered from the incursions of the enemy, and by the profitable cheating in the ignorance of others which they carried on like an allowed and customary trade. At first, good men gave protest in private to the indignation they felt at these proceedings, but afterwards the thing came before the fathers, and formed a matter of public complaint. The aediles and triumviri, appointed for the execution of criminals, were severely reprimanded by the senate for not preventing these irregularities, but when they attempted to remove the crowd of persons thus employed from the

forum, and to overthrow the preparations for their sacred rites, they narrowly escaped personal injury. It being now evident, that the evil was too powerful to be checked by inferior magistrates, the senate commissioned Marcus Atilius, the city praetor, to rid the people of these superstitions. He called an assembly, in which he read the decree of the senate, and gave notice, that all persons who had any books of divination, or forms of prayer, or any written system of sacrificing, should lay all the aforesaid books and writings before him before the calends of April; and that no person should sacrifice in any public or consecrated place according to new or foreign rites.

2. Several of the public priests too died this year: Lucius Cornelius Lentulus, chief pontiff, Caius Papirius Maso, son of Caius, a pontiff, Publius Furius Philo, an augur, and Caius Papirius Maso, son of Lucius, a decemvir for the superintendence of sacred rites. In lieu of Lentulus, Marcus Cornelius Cethegus, in lieu of Papirius Cnaeus, Servilius Caepio, were created pontiffs. Lucius Quinctius Flaminius was created augur, and Lucius Cornelius Lentulus decemvir for the superintendence of sacred rites. The time for the election of consuls was now approaching; but as it was not thought proper to call the consuls away from the war with which they were intently occupied, Tiberius Sempronius, the consul, nominated Caius Claudius Centho as dictator to hold the election. He appointed Quintus Fulvius Flaccus as his master of the horse. On the first day on which the election could be held, the dictator appointed as consuls, Quintus Fulvius Flaccus, his master of the horse, and Appius Claudius Pulcher, who had held the government of Sicily as praetor. The praetors created were Cneius Fulvius Flaccus, Caius Claudius Nero, Marcus Junius Silanus, Publius Cornelius Sulla. The election completed, the dictator retired from his office. This year, Publius Cornelius Scipio, afterwards surnamed Africanus, held the office of curule aedile, with Marcus Cornelius Cethegus; and when the tribunes of the people opposed his pretensions to the aedileship, alleging, that no notice ought to be taken of him, because he had not attained the legal age for candidateship, he observed, "if the citizens in general are desirous of appointing me aedile, I am old enough." Upon this the people ran to their respective tribes to give their votes, with feelings so strongly disposed in his favour, that the tribunes on a

sudden abandoned their attempt. The largesses bestowed by the aediles were the following: the Roman games were sumptuously exhibited, considering the present state of their resources; they were repeated during one day, and a gallon of oil was given to each street. Lucius Villius Tapulus, and Marcus Fundanius Fundulus, the plebeian aediles, accused some matrons of misconduct before the people, and some of them they convicted and sent into exile. The plebeian games were repeated during two days, and a feast in honour of Jupiter was celebrated on occasion of the games.

3. Quintus Fulvius Flaccus, for the third time, and Appius Claudius entered upon the office of consuls. The praetors determined their provinces by lot. Publius Cornelius Sulla received both the city and the foreign jurisdiction, formerly allotted to two persons, Cneius Fulvius Flaccus, Apulia, Caius Claudius Nero, Suessula, and Marcus Junius Silanus, Tuscany. To the consuls the conduct of the war with Hannibal was decreed with two legions each, one taking the troops of Quintus Fabius, the consul of the former year, the other those of Fulvius Centumalus. Of the praetors, Fulvius Flaccus was to have the legions which were in Luceria under Aemilius the praetor, Nero Claudius those in Picenum under Caius Terentius, each raising recruits for himself to fill up the number of his troops. To Marcus Junius the city legions of the former year were assigned, to be employed against the Tuscans. Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus and Publius Sempronius Tuditanus were continued in command in their provinces of Lucania and Gaul with the armies they had, as was also Publius Lentulus in that part of Sicily which formed the ancient Roman province. Marcus Marcellus had Syracuse, and that which was the kingdom of Hiero. Titus Otacilius was continued in the command of the fleet, Marcus Valerius in that of Greece, Quintus Mucius Scaevola in that of Sardinia. The Cornelii, Publius and Cneius, were continued in the command of Spain. In addition to the armies already existing, two legions for the service of the city were levied by the consuls, and a total of twenty-three legions was made up this year. The levy of the consuls was impeded by the conduct of Marcus Posthumius Pyrgensis, almost accompanied with a serious disturbance. Posthumius was a farmer of the revenue, who, for knavery and rapacity, practised through a course of many years, had

no equal except Titus Pomponius Veientanus, who had been taken prisoner the former year by the Carthaginians under the conduct of Hanno, while carelessly ravaging the lands in Lucania. As the state had taken upon itself the risk of any loss which might arise from storms to the commodities conveyed to the armies, not only had these two men fabricated false accounts of shipwrecks, but even those which had really occurred were occasioned by their own knavery, and not by accident. Their plan was to put a few goods of little value into old and shattered vessels, which they sank in the deep, taking up the sailors in boats prepared for the purpose, and then returning falsely the cargo as many times more valuable than it was. This fraudulent practice had been pointed out to Marcus Atilius, the praetor in a former year, who had communicated it to the senate; no decree, however, had been passed censuring it, because the fathers were unwilling that any offence should be given to the order of revenue farmers while affairs were in such a state. The people were severer avengers of the fraud; and at length two tribunes of the people, Spurius and Lucius Carvilius, being moved to take some active measure, as they saw that this conduct excited universal disgust, and had become notorious, proposed that a fine of two hundred thousand asses should be imposed on Marcus Posthumius. When the day arrived for arguing the question, the people assembled in such numbers, that the area of the Capitol could scarcely contain them; and the cause having been gone through, the only hope of safety which presented itself was, that Caius Servilius Casca, a tribune of the people, a connexion and relation of Posthumius, should interpose his protest before the tribes were called to give their votes. The witnesses having been produced, the tribunes caused the people to withdraw, and the urn was brought, in order that the tribes should draw lots which should give the vote first. Meanwhile, the farmers of the revenue urged Casca to stop the proceedings for that day. The people, however, loudly opposed it; and Casca happened to be sitting on the most prominent part of the rostrum, whose mind fear and shame were jointly agitating. Seeing that no dependence was to be placed in him for protection, the farmers of the revenue, forming themselves into a wedge, rushed into the void space occasioned by the removal of the people for the purpose of causing disturbance,

wrangling at the same time with the people and the tribunes. The affair had now almost proceeded to violence, when Fulvius Flaccus, the consul, addressing the tribunes, said, "Do you not see that you are degraded to the common rank, and that an insurrection will be the result, unless you speedily dismiss the assembly of the commons."

4. The commons being dismissed, the senate was assembled, when the consuls proposed the consideration of the interruption experienced by the assembly of the commons, in consequence of the violence and audacity of the farmers of the revenue. They said, that "Marcus Furius Camillus, whose banishment was followed by the downfall of the city, had suffered himself to be condemned by his exasperated countrymen. That before him, the decemviri, according to whose laws they lived up to the present day, and afterwards many men of the first rank in the state, had submitted to have sentence passed upon them by the people. But Posthumius Pyrgensis had wrested from the Roman people their right of suffrage, had dissolved the assembly of the commons, had set at nought the authority of the tribunes, had drawn up a body of men in battle-array against the Roman people; and seized upon a post, in order to cut off the tribunes from the commons, and prevent the tribes being called to give their votes. That the only thing which had restrained the people from bloodshed and violence, was the forbearance of the magistrates in giving way for the moment to the fury and audacity of a few individuals, and suffering themselves and the Roman people to be overcome; and that no opportunity might be afforded those who were seeking an occasion of violence, in dissolving, agreeably to the wish of the defendant himself, that assembly which he was about to interrupt by force of arms." Observations of this kind having been urged with a warmth proportioned to the atrocity of the conduct which called them forth, by all the most respectable persons, and the senate having passed a decree to the effect that the violence offered was prejudicial to the state, and a precedent of pernicious tendency, immediately the Carvili, tribunes of the people, giving up the action for a fine, appointed a day on which Posthumius should be tried capitally, and ordered, that unless he gave bail, he should be apprehended by the beadle, and carried to prison. Posthumius gave bail, but did not appear. The tribunes then proposed to the commons,

and the commons resolved, that if Marcus Posthumius did not appear before the calends of May, and if on being cited on that day he did not answer, and sufficient cause were not shown why he did not, he would be adjudged an exile, his goods would be sold, and himself interdicted from water and fire. They then proceeded to indict capitally, and demand bail of each of the persons who had been the promoters of the disorder and riot. At first they threw into prison those who did not give bail, and afterwards even such as could; upon which the greater part of them went into exile, to avoid the danger to which this proceeding exposed them.

5. The knavery of the revenue farmers, and their subsequent audacious conduct to screen themselves from its effects, thus terminated. An assembly was then held for the creation of a chief pontiff. The new pontiff, Marcus Cornelius Cethegus, presided. The election was contested with the greatest obstinacy by three candidates, Quintus Fulvius Flaccus, the consul, who had been twice consul before and censor, Titus Manhus Torquatus, who had himself also been distinguished by two consulships and the censorship, and Publius Licinius Ciasus, who was about to stand for the office of curule aedile. In this contest, the last-mentioned candidate, though a young man, beat the others, who were his superiors in years, and had filled offices of honour. Before him there had not been a man for a hundred and twenty years, except Publius Cornelius Calussa, who had been created chief pontiff without having sat in the curule chair. Though the consuls found great difficulty in completing the levy, for in consequence of the scarcity of young men, it was not easy to procure enough for the two purposes of forming the new city legions, and recruiting the old ones, the senate forbade them to desist from the attempt, and ordered two triumvirates to be appointed, one of which within, the other without the fiftieth mile from the city, might ascertain the utmost number of free-born men which were to be found in the villages, and market towns, and hamlets, and enlist whom they thought strong enough to bear arms, though they had not attained the military age. That the tribunes of the people, if they thought proper, should propose to the people, that such as should take the military oath being under seventeen years, should be allowed to reckon their period of service in the same manner as if they had

enlisted at seventeen or older. The two triumvirates, created agreeably to this decree of the senate, enlisted free-born men throughout the country. At the same time a letter from Marcellus from Sicily, respecting the petition of the troops who served with Publius Lentulus, was read in the senate. These troops were the relics of the disaster at Cannae, and had been sent out of the way into Sicily, as has been mentioned before, on an understanding that they should not be brought home before the conclusion of the Carthaginian war.

6. With the permission of Lentulus, these men sent the most distinguished of the cavalry and centurions, and a select body of the legionary infantry, as ambassadors to Marcellus, to his winter quarters. Having obtained leave to speak, one of them thus addressed him: "We should have approached you, Marcus Marcellus, when consul in Italy, as soon as that decree of the senate was passed respecting us, which, though not unjust, was certainly severe, had we not hoped, that being sent into a province which was in a state of disorder in consequence of the death of its kings, to carry on an arduous war against the Sicilians and Carthaginians together, we should make atonement to the state by our blood and wounds, in the same manner as, within the memory of our fathers, those who were taken prisoners by Pyrrhus at Heraclea, made atonement by fighting against the same Pyrrhus. And yet, for what fault of ours, conscript fathers, did you then, or do you now, feel displeasure towards us; for when I look upon you, Marcus Marcellus, I seem to behold both the consuls and the whole body of the senate; and had you been our consul at Cannae, a better fate would have attended the state as well as ourselves. Permit me, I entreat you, before I complain of the hardship of our situation, to clear ourselves of the guilt with which we are charged. If it was neither by the anger of the gods, nor by fate, according to whose laws the course of human affairs is unalterably fixed, but by misconduct that we were undone at Cannae; but whose was that misconduct; the soldiers', or that of their generals? For my own part, I, as a soldier, will never say a word of my commander, particularly when I know that he received the thanks of the senate for not having despaired of the state; and who has been continued in command through every year since his flight from Cannae. We have

heard that others also who survived that disaster, who were military tribunes, solicit and fill offices of honour, and have the command of provinces. Do you then, conscript fathers, pardon yourselves and your children, while you exercise severity towards such insignificant persons as we are? It was no disgrace to a consul and other leading persons in the state, to fly when no other hope remained; and did you send your soldiers into the field as persons who must of necessity die there? At the Allia nearly the whole army fled; at the Caudine Forks the troops delivered up their arms to the enemy, without even making an effort; not to mention other disgraceful defeats of our armies. Yet, so far from any mark of infamy being sought for, which might be fixed upon these troops, the city of Rome was recovered by means of those very troops who had fled to Veii from the Allia; and the Caudine legions, which had returned to Rome without their arms, being sent back armed to Samnium, brought under the yoke that very enemy who had exulted in the disgrace which, in this instance, attached to them. But is there a man who can bring a charge of cowardice or running away against the army which fought at Cannae, where more than fifty thousand men fell; from whence the consul fled with only seventy horsemen; where not a man survived, except perchance those whom the enemy left, being wearied with killing? When the proposal to ransom the prisoners was negatived, we were the objects of general commendation, because we reserved ourselves for the service of the state; because we returned to the consul to Venusia, and exhibited an appearance of a regular army. Now we are in a worse condition than those who were taken prisoners in the time of our fathers; for they only had their arms, the nature of their service, and the place where they might pitch their tents in the camp altered; all which, however, they got restored by one service rendered to the state, and by one successful battle. Not one of them was sent away into banishment; not one was deprived of the hope of completing the period of his service; in short, an enemy was assigned to them, fighting with whom they might at once terminate their life or their disgrace. We, to whom nothing can be objected, except that it is owing to us that any Roman soldier has survived the battle of Cannae, are removed far away, not only from our country and Italy, but even from an enemy; where we may grow old in exile, where we

can have no hope or opportunity of obliterating our disgrace, of appeasing the indignation of our countrymen, or, in short, of obtaining an honourable death. We seek neither to have our ignominy terminated, nor our virtue rewarded, we only ask to be allowed to make trial of our courage, and to exercise our virtue. We seek for labour and danger that we may discharge the duty of men and soldiers. A war is carrying on in Sicily, now for the second year, with the utmost vigour on both sides. The Carthaginians are storming some cities, the Romans others, armies of infantry and horse are engaging in battle, at Syracuse the war is prosecuted by sea and by land. We hear distinctly the shout of the combatants, and the din of arms, while we ourselves lie inactive and unemployed, as if we had neither hands nor arms. The consul, Sempronius has now fought many pitched battles with the enemy with legions of slaves. They receive as the fruits of their exertion their liberty, and the rights of citizens. Let us at least be employed by you as slaves purchased for the service of this war, let us be allowed to combat with the enemy and acquire our freedom by fighting. Do you wish to make trial of our valour by sea, by land, in a pitched battle, or in the assault of towns? We ask as our portion all those enterprises which present the greatest difficulty and danger, that what ought to have been done at Cannae may be done as soon as possible, for the whole of our subsequent lives has been doomed to ignominy.”

7. At the conclusion of this speech they prostrated themselves at the knees of Marcellus. Marcellus replied, that the question was neither within his authority nor his power, that he would, however, write to the senate, and be guided in every thing he did by the judgment of the fathers. This letter was brought to the new consuls, and by them read in the senate, and, on the question being put relative to this letter, they decreed, “that the senate saw no reason why the interests of the republic should be intrusted to the hands of soldiers who had deserted their comrades, in battle, at Cannae. If Marcus Marcellus, the proconsul, thought otherwise, that he should act as he deemed consistent with the good of the republic and his own honour, with this proviso, however, that none of these men should be exempt from service, nor be presented with any military reward in consideration of valour, or be conveyed back to Italy,

while the enemy was in that country.” After this, agreeably to the decree of the senate, and the order of the people, an election was held by the city praetor, at which five commissioners were created for the purpose of repairing the walls and turrets, and two sets of triumviri, one to search for the property belonging to the temples, and to register the offerings, the other for repairing the temples of Fortune and Mother Matuta within the Carmental gate, and also that of Hope without the gate, which had been destroyed by fire the year before. Dreadful storms occurred at this time. It rained stones for two days without intermission in the Alban mount. Many places were struck by lightning; two buildings in the Capitol, the rampart in the camp above Suessula in many places, and two of the men on guard were killed. A wall and certain towers at Cannae were not only struck with lightning, but demolished. At Reate, a vast rock was seen to fly about; the sun appeared unusually red and blood-like. On account of these prodigies there was a supplication for one day, and the consuls employed themselves for several days in sacred rites; at the same time there was a sacred rite performed through nine days. An accidental circumstance which occurred at a distance, hastened the revolt of Tarentum, which had now for a long time been the object of the hopes of Hannibal and of the suspicion of the Romans. Phileas, a native of Tarentum, who had been a long time at Rome under the pretence of an embassy, being a man of a restless mind, and ill brooking that inactive state in which he considered that his powers had been for too long a time sinking into imbecility, discovered for himself a means of access to the Tarentine hostages. They were kept in the court of the temple of Liberty, and guarded with less care, because it was neither the interest of themselves nor of their state to escape from the Romans. By corrupting two of the keepers of the temple, he was enabled to hold frequent conferences with them, at which he solicited them to come into this design; and having brought them out of their place of confinement as soon as it was dark, he became the companion of their clandestine flight, and got clear away. As soon as day dawned, the news of their escape spread through the city, and a party sent in pursuit, having seized them all at Tarracina, brought them back. They were led into the Comitium, and after being scourged with rods, with the approbation of the people, were thrown

down from the rock.

8. The severity of this punishment exasperated the inhabitants of two of the most distinguished Greek states in Italy, not only publicly as communities, but privately as individuals, according as each was connected, either by relationship or friendship, with those who had been so disgracefully put to death. Of these about thirteen noble Tarentine youths formed a conspiracy, the chief of whom were Nico and Philemenus. Concluding that it would be right to confer with Hannibal before they took any step, they went to him, having been allowed to go out of the city by night on pretence of hunting. When they were now not far from the camp, all the rest hid themselves in a wood by the road side; but Nico and Philemenus, proceeding to the advanced guard, were seized, and at their own request brought before Hannibal. Having laid before him the motives of their plan, and the object they had in view, they received the highest commendation, and were loaded with promises; and that their countrymen might believe that they had gone out of the city to obtain plunder, they were desired to drive to the city some cattle of the Carthaginians which had been sent out to graze. A promise was given them that they might do this without danger or interruption. The booty of the young men attracted notice, and less astonishment was therefore felt that they should frequently repeat the attempt. At a second meeting with Hannibal they entered into a solemn engagement, that the Tarentines should be free, enjoying their own laws, and all their rights uninterfered with; that they should neither pay any tribute to the Carthaginians, nor receive a garrison against their will; that their present garrison should be delivered up to the Carthaginians. These points being agreed upon, Philemenus then began to repeat more frequently his customary practice of going out and returning to the city followed by his dogs, and furnished with the other requisites for hunting; for he was remarkable for his fondness of hunting; and generally bringing home something which he had captured or taken away from the enemy, who had purposely placed it in his way he presented it to the commander or the guards of the gates. They supposed that he preferred going and returning by night through fear of the enemy. After this practice had become so familiar, that at whatever time of the night he gave a signal, by whistling, the gate

was opened, Hannibal thought that it was now time to put the plan in execution. He was at the distance of three days' journey, and to diminish the wonder which would be felt at his keeping his camp fixed in one and the same place so long, he feigned himself ill. Even to the Romans who formed the garrison of Tarentum, his protracted inactivity had ceased to be an object of suspicion.

9. But after he determined to proceed to Tarentum, selecting from his infantry and cavalry ten thousand men, whom, from activity of body, and lightness of arms, he judged best adapted for the expedition, he began his march in the fourth watch of the night; and sending in advance about eighty Numidian horsemen, ordered them to scour the country on each side of the road, and narrowly examine every place, lest any of the rustics who might have observed his army at a distance should escape; to bring back those who were got before, and kill those whom they met, that they might appear to the neighbouring inhabitants to be a plundering party, rather than a regular army. Hannibal himself, marching at a rapid pace, pitched his camp about fifteen miles from Tarentum; and without telling his soldiers even there, what was their destination, he only called them together and admonished them to march all of them in the road, and not to suffer any one to turn aside or deviate from the line; and above all, that they would be on the watch, so as to catch the word of command, and not do any thing without the order of their leaders; that in due time he would issue his commands as to what he wished to be done. About the same hour a rumour reached Tarentum, that a few Numidian horsemen were devastating the fields, and had terrified the rustics through a wide extent of country; at which intelligence the Roman praefect took no further step than to order a division of his cavalry to go out the following day at sunrise to check the depredations of the enemy; and so far was he from directing his attention to any thing else on this account, that on the contrary, this excursion of the Numidians was a proof to him that Hannibal and his army had not moved from his camp. Early in the night Hannibal put his troops in motion, and Philemenus, with his customary burden of prey taken in hunting, was his guide. The rest of the conspirators waited the accomplishment of what had been concerted; and the agreement was, that Philemenus, while bringing in his prey through

the small gate by which he was accustomed to pass, should introduce some armed men, while Hannibal in another quarter approached the gate called Temenis, which faced the east, in that quarter which was towards the continent, near the tombs which were within the walls. When he drew near to the gate, Hannibal raised a fire according to agreement, which made a blaze; the same signal was returned by Nico, and the fires were extinguished on both sides. Hannibal led his troops on in silence to the gate. Nico suddenly fell upon the guards while asleep, slew them in their beds, and opened the gate. Hannibal then entered with his infantry, ordering his cavalry to stay behind, that they might be able to bring their assistance wherever it was required without obstruction. Philemenus also in another quarter approached the small gate by which he was accustomed to pass and re-pass. His voice, which was well known, for he said he could scarcely bear the weight of the huge beast he had gotten, and his signal, which had now become familiar, having roused the guard, the small gate was opened. Two youths carrying in a boar, Philemenus himself followed, with a huntsman, unencumbered, and while the attention of the guard was incautiously turned upon those who carried the boar, in consequence of its astonishing size, he transfixed him with a hunting spear. About thirty armed men then entering, slew the rest of the guards, and broke open the adjoining gate, when a body of troops, in regular array, instantly rushed in. Being conducted hence in silence to the forum, they joined Hannibal. The Carthaginian then sent the Tarentines, with two thousand Gauls formed into three divisions, in different directions through the city, with orders to occupy the most frequented streets. A confusion arising, the Romans were put to the sword on all hands. The townsmen were spared; but in order to insure this, he instructed the Tarentine youths, when they saw any of their friends at a distance, to bid them be quiet and silent, and be of good courage.

10. The tumult and clamour was now such as usually takes place in a captured city, but no man knew for certain what was the occasion. The Tarentines supposed that the Romans had suddenly risen to plunder the city. To the Romans it appeared, that some commotion had been set on foot by the townsmen with a treacherous design. The praefect, who was awakened at the first alarm, escaped to the port,

whence getting into a boat he was conveyed round to the citadel. The sound of a trumpet also from the theatre excited alarm; for it was a Roman trumpet, prepared by the conspirators for this very purpose; and as it was blown unskilfully by a Grecian, it could not be ascertained who gave the signal, or to whom it was given. At dawn of the day, the Romans recognised the Carthaginian and Gallic arms, which removed all doubt; and the Greeks, seeing the bodies of slain Romans spread about in all directions, perceived that the city had been taken by Hannibal. When the light had increased, so that they could discriminate with greater certainty, and the Romans who survived the carnage had taken refuge in the citadel, the tumult now beginning to subside a little, Hannibal gave orders to assemble the Tarentines without their arms. All of them attended the assembly, except those who had accompanied the Romans in their retreat to the citadel, to share every fortune with them. Here Hannibal having addressed the Tarentines in terms of kindness, and appealed to the services he had rendered to those of their countrymen whom he had captured at the Trasimenus and at Cannae, and having at the same time inveighed against the haughty domination of the Romans, desired that they would every one of them retire to their respective houses, and inscribe their names upon their doors; declaring, that he should give orders that those houses which had not the names written upon them should be plundered. That if any man should write his name upon the house of a Roman, (and the Romans occupied houses by themselves,) he should treat him as an enemy. Having dismissed the assembly, and the names inscribed upon the doors having made it easy to distinguish the house of an enemy from that of a friend, on a signal given, the troops ran in every direction to plunder the lodgings of the Romans, and a considerable booty was found.

11. The next day he led his troops to assault the citadel; but seeing that it was protected by very high rocks towards the sea, which washed the greater part of it, and formed it into a sort of peninsula, and towards the city by a wall and ditch, and consequently that it could not be taken by assault or by works; lest the design to protect the Tarentines should detain him from the prosecution of more important objects, and lest the Romans should have the power of sallying from the citadel whenever they pleased against the

Tarentines, if left without a strong protecting force, he resolved to cut off the communication between the citadel and city by a rampart; not without a hope that he might have an opportunity of fighting with the Romans, when attempting to obstruct the work; and if they should sally forth too eagerly, that by killing many of them the strength of the garrison would be so far reduced, that the Tarentines alone would be easily able to defend themselves from them. After they had begun, the Romans, suddenly throwing open the gate, rushed in upon the workmen. The guard stationed before the works allowed itself to be driven back, in order that their boldness might be increased by success, and that they might pursue them when driven back, in greater numbers, and to a greater distance. Then on a signal given, the Carthaginians, whom Hannibal kept in readiness for this purpose, sprang up on all sides; nor could the Romans sustain the attack, but were prevented from precipitate flight by the narrowness of the ground, by impediments occasioned in some places by the works already commenced, in others by the preparations for the work. Most of them were driven headlong into the ditch, and more were killed in the flight than in the battle. After this the work was commenced without any attempt to obstruct it. A large ditch was formed, within which a rampart was thrown up. He prepared also to add a wall at a small distance, and on the same side, that they might defend themselves from the Romans even without a garrison. He, however, left them a small force, at once for their protection and to assist in building the wall. The general himself, setting out with the rest of his forces, pitched his camp at the river Galaesus, five miles from the city. Returning from this position to inspect the work, which had gone on somewhat faster than he had anticipated, he conceived a hope that the citadel might even be taken by storm; for it was not protected by an elevated situation as the other parts were, but placed upon a plain, and separated from the city only by a wall and ditch. While subjected to an attack from every kind of military engine and work, a reinforcement sent from Metapontum inspired the Romans with courage to assault the works of the enemy, by a sudden attack, under cover of the night. Some of them they threw down, others they destroyed by fire, and thus there was an end to Hannibal's attempts against the citadel in that quarter. His only remaining hope was in a

siege; nor did that afford a good prospect of success, because, occupying a citadel which was placed on a peninsula and commanded the entrance of the harbour, they had the sea open to them, while the city, on the contrary, was deprived of any supplies by sea: and thus the besiegers were in greater danger of want than the besieged. Hannibal assembled the chief men of the Tarentines, and laid before them all the present difficulties. He said, "That he could neither discover any method by which a citadel so well fortified could be taken, nor could he hope for any favourable result from a siege, while the enemy was master of the sea; but that if ships could be obtained, by which the introduction of supplies might be prevented, the enemy would either immediately evacuate it, or surrender themselves." The Tarentines agreed with him; but were of opinion, that "he who gave the advice ought also to assist in carrying it into execution; for if the Carthaginian ships were brought there from Sicily, they would be able to effect it; but by what means could their own ships, shut up as they were in a confined harbour, the mouth of which was in the command of the enemy, be brought out into the open sea." "They shall be brought out," said Hannibal. "Many things which are difficult in themselves, are easily effected by contrivance. You have a city situated upon a plain; you have level and sufficiently wide roads extending in every direction. By the road which runs through the midst of the city from the harbour to the sea I will convey your ships in waggons without any great difficulty, and the sea will be ours which the enemy now commands. We will invest the citadel on one side by sea, on the other by land; nay, rather, in a short time, we will take it either abandoned by the enemy, or with the enemy in it." This speech not only inspired hopes of accomplishing the object, but excited the greatest admiration of the general. Waggons were immediately collected from every quarter and joined together; machines were employed to haul the ships on shore, and the road was prepared, in order that the waggons might run more easily, and thus the difficulty of passing be diminished. Beasts of burden and men were next collected, and the work was actively commenced. After the lapse of a few days, the fleet, equipped and ready for action, sailed round the citadel, and cast anchor just before the mouth of the harbour. Such was the state of things at Tarentum, when

Hannibal left it and returned to his winter quarters. Authors, however, are divided as to whether the defection of the Tarentines took place in the present or former year. The greater number, and those who, from their age, were more able to recollect these events, represent it to have occurred in the present year.

12. The Latin holidays detained the consuls and praetors at Rome till the fifth of the calends of May; on which day, having completed the solemnities on the mount, they proceeded to their respective provinces. Afterwards a new difficulty respecting religious matters arose out of the prophetic verses of Marcius, who had been a distinguished soothsayer; and on a search being made the year before, for books of this description, agreeably to a decree of the senate, these verses had fallen into the hands of Marcus Atilius, the city praetor, who had the management of that business, and he had immediately handed them over to the new praetor, Sulla. The importance attached to one of the two predictions of Marcius, which was brought to light after the event to which it related had occurred, and the truth of which was confirmed by the event, attached credence to the other, the time of whose fulfilment had not yet arrived. In the former prophecy, the disaster at Cannae was predicted in nearly these words: "Roman of Trojan descent, fly the river Canna, lest foreigners should compel thee to fight in the plain of Diomedes. But thou wilt not believe me until thou shalt have filled the plain with blood, and the river carries into the great sea, from the fruitful land, many thousands of your slain countrymen, and thy flesh becomes a prey for fishes, birds, and beasts inhabiting the earth. For thus hath Jupiter declared to me." Those who had served in that quarter recognised the correspondence with respect to the plains of the Argive Diomedes and the river Canna, as well as the defeat itself. The other prophecy was then read, which was more obscure, not only because future events are more uncertain than past, but also from being more perplexed in its style of composition. "Romans, if you wish to expel the enemy and the ulcer which has come from afar, I advise, that games should be vowed, which may be performed in a cheerful manner annually to Apollo; when the people shall have given a portion of money from the public coffers, that private individuals then contribute, each according to his ability. That the praetor shall preside in the

celebration of these games, who holds the supreme administration of justice to the people and commons. Let the decemviri perform sacrifice with victims after the Grecian fashion. If you do these things properly you will ever rejoice, and your affairs will be more prosperous, for that deity will destroy your enemies who now, composedly, feed upon your plains.” They took one day to explain this prophecy. The next day a decree of the senate was passed, that the decemviri should inspect the books relating to the celebration of games and sacred rites in honour of Apollo. After they had been consulted, and a report made to the senate, the fathers voted, that “games should be vowed to Apollo and celebrated; and that when the games were concluded, twelve thousand *asses* should be given to the praetor to defray the expense of sacred ceremonies, and also two victims of the larger sort.” A second decree was passed, that “the decemviri should perform sacrifice in the Grecian mode, and with the following victims: to Apollo, with a gilded ox, and two white goats gilded; to Latona, with a gilded heifer.” When the praetor was about to celebrate the games in the Circus Maximus, he issued an order, that during the celebration of the games, the people should pay a contribution, as large as was convenient, for the service of Apollo. This is the origin of the Apollinarian games, which were vowed and celebrated in order to victory, and not restoration to health, as is commonly supposed. The people viewed the spectacle in garlands; the matrons made supplications; the people in general feasted in the courts of their houses, throwing the doors open; and the day was distinguished by every description of ceremony.

13. While Hannibal was in the neighbourhood of Tarentum, and both the consuls in Samnium, though they seemed as if they were about to besiege Capua, the Campanians were experiencing famine, that calamity which is the usual attendant of a protracted siege. It was occasioned by the Roman armies’ having prevented the sowing of the lands. They therefore sent ambassadors to Hannibal, imploring him to give orders that corn should be conveyed to Capua from the neighbouring places, before both the consuls led their legions into their fields, and all the roads were blocked up by the troops of the enemy. Hannibal ordered Hanno to pass with his army from Bruttium into Campania, and to take care that the Campanians were

supplied with corn. Hanno, setting out from Bruttium with his army, and carefully avoiding the camp of the enemy and the consuls who were in Samnium, when he drew near to Beneventum, pitched his camp on an eminence three miles from the city. He next ordered that the corn which had been collected during the summer, should be brought from the neighbouring people in alliance with him, into his camp, assigning a guard to escort those supplies. He then sent a messenger to the Capuans, fixing a day when they should attend at his camp to receive the corn, bringing with them vehicles and beasts of every description, collected from every part of their country. The Campanians executed this business with their usual indolence and carelessness. Somewhat more than four hundred vehicles, with a few beasts of burden besides, were sent. After receiving a reproof from Hanno for this conduct, who told them, that not even hunger, which excited dumb animals to exertion, could stimulate them to diligence, another day was named when they were to fetch the corn after better preparation. All these transactions being reported to the Beneventans, just as they occurred, they lost no time in sending ten ambassadors to the Roman consuls, who were encamped in the neighbourhood of Bovianum. The consuls, hearing what was going on at Capua, arranged it so that one of them should lead an army into Campania; and Fulvius, to whose lot that province had fallen, setting out by night, entered the walls of Beneventum. Being now near the enemy, he obtained information that Hanno had gone out to forage with a portion of his troops; that the Campanians were supplied with corn by a quaestor; that two thousand waggons had arrived together with an undisciplined and unarmed rabble; that every thing was done in a disorderly and hurried manner; and that the form of a camp, and all military subordination, were destroyed by the intermixture of rustics out of the neighbourhood. This intelligence being sufficiently authenticated, the consul ordered his soldiers to get ready only their standards and arms against the next night, as he must attack the Carthaginian camp. They set out at the fourth watch of the night, leaving all their packages and baggage of every description at Beneventum; and arriving a little before daylight at the camp, they occasioned such a panic, that, had the camp been situated on level ground, it might doubtlessly have been taken on the first assault. The

height of its situation and the works defended it; for they could not be approached on any side except by a steep and difficult ascent. At break of day a hot engagement commenced, when the Carthaginians not only defended their rampart, but having more even ground, threw down the enemy as they attempted to ascend the steep.

14. Persevering courage, however, at length prevailed over every impediment, and they made their way up to the ditch and rampart in several parts at the same time, but with many wounds and much loss of soldiers. The consul, therefore assembling the military tribunes, said they must desist from this inconsiderate enterprise; and that it appeared to him to be the safer course, that the troops should be led back to Beneventum for that day, and then on the following day to pitch his camp close to that of the enemy, so that the Campanians could not quit it, nor Hanno return to it; and in order that that object might be attained with the greater ease, that he should send for his colleague and his army; and that they would direct their whole force on that point. This plan of the general was disconcerted, after the signal began to sound for a retreat, by the clamours of the soldiery, who despised so pusillanimous an order. Nearest to the gate of the enemy's camp was a Pelignian cohort, whose commander, Vibius Accuaeus, seizing the standard, threw it over the rampart. Then pronouncing a curse upon himself and his cohort, if the enemy got possession of that standard, he rushed forward before the rest, and crossing the ditch and rampart, burst into the camp of the enemy. The Pelignians were now fighting within the rampart, when in another quarter Valerius Flaccus, a military tribune of the third legion, taunting the Romans with cowardice for conceding to allies the honour of taking the camp. Titus Pedanius, first centurion of the first century, snatched the standard out of the hands of the standard-bearer, and cried out, "Soon shall this standard, and this centurion, be within the rampart of the enemy; let those follow who would prevent the standard's being captured by the enemy." Crossing the ditch, he was followed first by the men of his own maniples, and then by the whole legion. By this time the consul also, changing his plan on seeing them crossing the rampart, began to incite and encourage his soldiers, instead of calling them off; representing to them, how critical and perilous was the situation of the bravest cohort of their

allies and a legion of their countrymen. All, therefore, severally exerting themselves to the utmost, regardless whether the ground were even or uneven, while showers of weapons were thrown against them from all sides, the enemy opposing their arms and their persons to obstruct them, made their way and burst in. Many who were wounded, even those whose blood and strength failed them, pressed forward, that they might fall within the rampart of the enemy. The camp, therefore, was taken in an instant, as if it had been situated upon level ground, and not completely fortified. What followed was a carnage rather than a battle. The troops of both sides being huddled together within the rampart, above six thousand of the enemy were slain; above seven thousand, together with the Campanians who fetched the corn, and the whole collection of waggons and beasts of burden, were captured. There was also a great booty, which Hanno in his predatory excursions, which he had been careful to make in every quarter, had drawn together from the lands of the allies of the Romans. After throwing down the camp of the enemy, they returned thence to Beneventum; and there both the consuls (for Appius Claudius came thither a few days after) sold the booty and distributed it, making presents to those by whose exertions the camp of the enemy had been captured; above all, to Accuaeus the Pelignian, and Titus Pedanius, first centurion of the third legion. Hanno, setting off from Cominium in the territory of Cere, whither intelligence of the loss of the camp had reached him, with a small party of foragers, whom he happened to have with him, returned to Bruttium, more after the manner of a flight than a march.

15. The Campanians, when informed of the disaster which had befallen themselves and their allies, sent ambassadors to Hannibal to inform him, that “the two consuls were at Beneventum, which was a day’s march from Capua; that the war was all but at their gates and their walls; and that if he did not hasten to their assistance, Capua would fall into the power of the enemy sooner than Arpi had; that not even Tarentum itself, much less its citadel, ought to be considered of so much consequence as to induce him to deliver up to the Roman people, abandoned and undefended, Capua, which he used to place on an equal footing with Carthage.” Hannibal, promising that he would not neglect the interest of the Campanians, sent, for the

present, two thousand horse, with the ambassadors, aided by which, they might secure their lands from devastation. The Romans, meanwhile, among the other things which engaged their attention, had an eye to the citadel of Tarentum, and the garrison besieged therein. Caius Servilius, lieutenant-general, having been sent, according to the advice of the fathers, by Publius Cornelius, the praetor, to purchase corn in Etruria, made his way into the harbour of Tarentum, through the guard-ships of the enemy, with some ships of burden. At his arrival, those who before, having very slight hopes of holding out, were frequently invited by the enemy, in conferences, to pass over to them, now, on the contrary, were the persons to invite and solicit the enemy to come over to them; and now, as the soldiers who were at Metapontum had been brought to assist in guarding the citadel of Tarentum, the garrison was sufficiently powerful. In consequence of this measure, the Metapontines, being freed from the fears which had influenced them, immediately revolted to Hannibal. The people of Thurium, situated on the same coast, did the same. They were influenced not more by the defection of the Metapontines and Tarentines, with whom they were connected, being sprung from the same country, Achaia, than by resentment towards the Romans, in consequence of the recent execution of the hostages. The friends and relations of these hostages sent a letter and a message to Hanno and Mago, who were not far off among the Bruttii, to the effect, that if they brought their troops up to the walls, they would deliver the city into their hands. Marcus Atinius was in command at Thurium, with a small garrison, who they thought might easily be induced to engage rashly in a battle, not from any confidence which he reposed in his troops, of which he had very few, but in the youth of Thurium, whom he had purposely formed into centuries, and armed against emergencies of this kind. The generals, after dividing their forces between them, entered the territory of Thurium; and Hanno, with a body of infantry, proceeded towards the city in hostile array. Hanno staid behind with the cavalry, under the cover of some hills, conveniently placed for the concealment of an ambush. Atinius, having by his scouts discovered only the body of infantry, led his troops into the field, ignorant both of the domestic treachery and of the stratagem of the enemy. The engagement with the infantry was

particularly dull, a few Romans in the first rank engaging while the Thurians rather waited than helped on the issue. The Carthaginian line retreated, on purpose that they might draw the incautious enemy to the back of the hill, where their cavalry were lying in ambush; and when they had come there, the cavalry rising up on a sudden with a shout, immediately put to flight the almost undisciplined rabble of the Thurians, not firmly attached to the side on which they fought. The Romans, notwithstanding they were surrounded and hard pressed on one side by the infantry, on the other by the cavalry, yet prolonged the battle for a considerable time; but at length even they were compelled to turn their backs, and fled towards the city. There the conspirators, forming themselves into a dense body, received the multitude of their countrymen with open gates; but when they perceived that the routed Romans were hurrying towards the city, they exclaimed that the Carthaginian was close at hand, and that the enemy would enter the city mingled with them, unless they speedily closed the gates. Thus they shut out the Romans, and left them to be cut up by the enemy. Atinius, however, and a few others were taken in. After this for a short time there was a division between them, some being of opinion that they ought to defend the city, others that they ought, after all that had happened, to yield to fortune, and deliver up the city to the conquerors; but, as it generally happens, fortune and evil counsels prevailed. Having conveyed Atinius and his party to the sea and the ships, more because they wished that care should be taken of him, in consequence of the mildness and justice of his command, than from regard to the Romans, they received the Carthaginians into the city. The consuls led their legions from Beneventum into the Campanian territory, with the intention not only of destroying the corn, which was in the blade, but of laying siege to Capua; considering that they would render their consulate illustrious by the destruction of so opulent a city, and that they would wipe away the foul disgrace of the empire, from the defection of a city so near remaining unpunished for three years. Lest, however, Beneventum should be left without protection, and that in case of any sudden emergency, if Hannibal should come to Capua, in order to bring assistance to his friends, which they doubted not he would do, the cavalry might be able to sustain his attack, they ordered Tiberius

Gracchus to come from Lucania to Beneventum with his cavalry and light-armed troops and to appoint some person to take the command of the legions and stationary camp, for the defence of Lucania.

16. An unlucky prodigy occurred to Gracchus, while sacrificing, previous to his departure from Lucania. Two snakes gliding from a secret place to the entrails, after the sacrifice was completed, ate the liver; and after having been observed, suddenly vanished out of sight. The sacrifice having been repeated according to the admonition of the aruspices, and the vessel containing the entrails being watched with increased attention, it is reported that the snakes came a second, and a third time, and, after tasting the liver, went away untouched. Though the aruspices forewarned him that the portent had reference to the general, and that he ought to be on his guard against secret enemies and machinations, yet no foresight could avert the destiny which awaited him. There was a Lucanian, named Flavius, the leader of that party which adhered to the Romans when the others went over to Hannibal; he was this year in the magistracy, having been created praetor by the same party. Suddenly changing his mind, and seeking to ingratiate himself with the Carthaginians, he did not think it enough that he himself should pass over to them, or that he should induce the Lucanians to revolt with him, unless he ratified his league with the enemy with the head and blood of the general, betrayed to them, though his guest. He entered into a secret conference with Mago, who had the command in Bruttium, and receiving a solemn promise from him, that he would take the Lucanians into his friendship, without interfering with their laws, if he should betray the Roman general to the Carthaginians, he conducted Mago to a place to which he was about to bring Gracchus with a few attendants. He then directed Mago to arm his infantry and cavalry, and to occupy the retired places there, in which he might conceal a very large number of troops. After thoroughly inspecting and exploring the place on all sides, a day was agreed upon for the execution of the affair. Flavius came to the Roman general, and said, that "he had begun a business of great importance, for the completion of which, it was necessary to have the assistance of Gracchus himself. That he had persuaded the praetors of all the states which had revolted to the Carthaginians in the general defection of Italy, to return into the

friendship of the Romans, since now the Roman power too, which had almost come to ruin by the disaster at Cannae. was daily improving and increasing, while the strength of Hannibal was sinking into decay, and was almost reduced to nothing. He had told them that the Romans would be disposed to accept an atonement for their former offence; that there never was any state more easy to be entreated, or more ready to grant pardon; how often, he had observed to them, had they forgiven rebellion even in their own ancestors! These considerations," he said, "he had himself urged, but that they would rather hear the same from Gracchus himself in person, and touching his right hand, carry with them that pledge of faith. That he had agreed upon a place with those who were privy to the transaction, out of the way of observation, and at no great distance from the Roman camp; that there the business might be settled in few words, so that all the Lucanian states might be in the alliance and friendship of the Romans." Gracchus, not suspecting any treachery either from his words or the nature of the proposal, and being caught by the probability of the thing, set out from the camp with his lictors and a troop of horse, under the guidance of his host, and fell headlong into the snare. The enemy suddenly arose from their lurking-place, and Flavius joined them; which made the treachery obvious. A shower of weapons was poured from all sides on Gracchus and his troop. He immediately leaped from his horse, and ordering the rest to do the same, exhorted them, that "as fortune had left them only one course, they would render it glorious by their valour. And what is there left," said he, "to a handful of men, surrounded by a multitude, in a valley hemmed in by a wood and mountains, except death? The only question was, whether, tamely exposing themselves to be butchered like cattle, they should die unavenged; or whether, drawing the mind off from the idea of suffering and anticipation of the event, and giving full scope to fury and resentment, they should fall while doing and daring, covered with hostile blood, amid heaps of arms and bodies of their expiring foes." He desired that "all would aim at the Lucanian traitor and deserter;" adding, that "the man who should send that victim to the shades before him, would acquire the most distinguished glory, and furnish the highest consolation for his own death." While thus

speaking, he wound his cloak round his left arm, for they had not even brought their shields out with them, and then rushed upon the enemy. The exertion made in the fight was greater than could be expected from the smallness of the number. The bodies of the Romans were most exposed to the javelins, with which, as they were thrown on all sides from higher ground into a deep valley, they were transfixed. The Carthaginians seeing Gracchus now bereft of support, endeavoured to take him alive; but he having descried his Lucanian host among the enemy, rushed with such fury into their dense body that it became impossible to save his life without a great loss. Mago immediately sent his corpse to Hannibal, ordering it to be placed, with the fasces which were taken at the same time, before the tribunal of the general. This is the true account; Gracchus fell in Lucania, near the place called the Old Plains.

17. There are some who have put forth an account, stating, that when in the territory of Beneventum, near the river Calor, having gone out from his camp with his lictors and three servants, for the purpose of bathing, he was slain while naked and unarmed, and endeavouring to defend himself with the stones which the river brought down, by a party of the enemy which happened to be concealed among the osiers which grew upon the banks. Others state, that having gone out five hundred paces from the camp, at the instance of the aruspices, in order to expiate the prodigies before mentioned on unpolluted ground, he was cut off by two troops of Numidians who happened to be lying in ambush there. So different are the accounts respecting the place and manner of the death of so illustrious and distinguished a man. Various also are the accounts of the funeral of Gracchus. Some say that he was buried by his own friends in the Roman camp; others relate, and this is the more generally received account, that a funeral pile was erected by Hannibal, in the entrance of the Carthaginian camp; that the troops under arms performed evolutions, with the dances of the Spaniards, and motions of the arms and body, which were customary with the several nations; while Hannibal himself celebrated his obsequies with every mark of respect, both in word and deed. Such is the account of those who assert that the affair occurred in Lucania. If you are disposed to credit the statement of those who relate that he was

slain at the river Calor, the enemy got possession only of the head of Gracchus; which being brought to Hannibal, he immediately despatched Carthalo to convey it into the Roman camp to Cneius Cornelius, the quaestor, who buried the general in the camp, the Beneventans joining the army in the celebration.

18. The consuls having entered the Campanian territory, while devastating the country on all sides, were alarmed, and thrown into confusion, by an eruption of the townsmen and Mago with his cavalry. They called in their troops to their standards from the several quarters to which they were dispersed, but having been routed when they had scarcely formed their line, they lost above fifteen hundred men. The confidence of the Campanians, who were naturally presumptuous, became excessive in consequence of this event, and in many battles they challenged the Romans; but this one battle, which they had been incautiously and imprudently drawn into, had increased the vigilance of the consuls. Their spirits were restored, while the presumption of the other party was diminished, by one trifling occurrence; but in war nothing is so inconsiderable as not to be capable, sometimes, of producing important consequences. Titus Quinctius Crispinus was a guest of Badius, a Campanian, united with him by the greatest intimacy. Their acquaintance had increased from the circumstance of Badius having received the most liberal and kind attentions at the house of Crispinus, in a fit of illness, at Rome, before the Campanian revolt. On the present occasion, Badius, advancing in front of the guards, which were stationed before the gate, desired Crispinus to be called; and Crispinus, on being informed of this, thinking that a friendly and familiar interview was requested, and the memory of their private connexion remaining even amidst the disruption of public ties, advanced a little from the rest. When they had come within view of each other, Badius exclaimed, "I challenge you to combat, Crispinus; let us mount our horses, and making the rest withdraw, let us try which is the better soldier." In reply, Crispinus said, that "neither of them were in want of enemies to display their valour upon; for his own part, even if he should meet him in the field he would turn aside, lest he should pollute his right-hand with the blood of a guest;" and then turning round, was going away. But the Campanian, with increased

presumption, began to charge him with cowardice and effeminacy, and cast upon him reproaches which he deserved himself, calling him “an enemy who sheltered himself under the title of host, and one who pretended to spare him for whom he knew himself not to be a match. If he considered; that when public treaties were broken, the ties of private connexion were not severed with them, then Badius the Campanian openly, and in the hearing of both armies, renounced his connexion of hospitality with Titus Quinctius Crispinus the Roman. He said, that there could exist no fellowship or alliance with him and an enemy whose country and tutelary gods, both public and private, he had come to fight against. If he was a man, he would meet him.” Crispinus hesitated for a long time; but the men of his troop at length prevailed upon him not to allow the Campanian to insult him with impunity. Waiting, therefore, only to ask his generals whether they would allow him to fight, contrary to rule, with an enemy who had challenged him; having obtained their permission, he mounted his horse, and addressing Badius by name, called him out to the combat. The Campanian made no delay. They engaged with their horses excited to hostility. Crispinus transfixed Badius with his spear in the left shoulder, over his shield. He fell from his horse in consequence of the wound; and Crispinus leaped down to despatch him as he lay, on foot. But Badius, before his enemy was upon him, ran off to his friends, leaving his horse and buckler. Crispinus, decorated with the spoils, and displaying the horse and arms which he had seized together with the bloody spear, was conducted amid the loud plaudits and congratulations of the soldiery into the presence of the consuls, where he was highly commended, and was presented with gifts.

19. Hannibal, having moved his camp from the territory of Beneventum to Capua, drew out his troops in order of battle the third day after his arrival; not entertaining the least doubt but that, as the Campanians had fought successfully a few days ago when he was absent, the Romans would be still less able to withstand him and his army, which had been so often victorious. After the battle had commenced, the Roman line was distressed chiefly from the attack of the cavalry, being overwhelmed with their darts, till the signal was given to the Roman cavalry to direct their horses against the enemy; thus it was a battle of the cavalry. But at this time the Sempronian

army, commanded by Cneius Cornelius the quaestor, being descried at a distance, excited alarm in both parties equally, lest those who were approaching should be fresh enemies. As if by concert, therefore, both sounded a retreat; and the troops were withdrawn from the field to their camps, in an equal condition; a greater number, however, of the Romans fell in the first charge of the cavalry. The consuls, to divert the attention of Hannibal from Capua, departed thence on the following night in different directions, Fulvius into the territory of Cuma, Claudius into Lucania. The next day Hannibal, having received intelligence that the camp of the Romans was deserted, and that they had gone off in different directions in two divisions, doubtful at first which he should follow, commenced the pursuit of Appius; who, after leading him about whichever way he pleased, returned by another route to Capua. Hannibal, while in this quarter, had another opportunity of gaining an advantage. Marcus Centenius, surnamed Penula, was distinguished among the centurions of the first rank by the size of his person, and his courage. Having gone through his period of service, he was introduced to the senate by Publius Cornelius Sulla, when he requested of the fathers that five thousand men might be placed at his disposal. He said, that “as he was acquainted with the character of the enemy, and the nature of the country, he should speedily perform some service; and that he would employ those arts by which our generals and armies had been hitherto ensnared against the inventor of them.” This was not promised more foolishly than it was believed; as if the qualifications of a soldier and a general were the same. Instead of five, eight thousand men were given him, half Romans, half allies. He himself also got together a considerable number of volunteers, in the country, on his march; and having almost doubled his force, arrived in Lucania, where Hannibal had halted after having in vain pursued Claudius. No doubt could be entertained of the issue of a contest which was to take place between Hannibal, as general on one side, and a centurion on the other; between armies, one of which had grown old in victory, the other entirely inexperienced, and for the most part even tumultuary and half-armed. As soon as the troops came within sight of each other, and neither of them declined an engagement, the lines were formed. The battle, notwithstanding the

utter disparity of the contending parties, lasted more than two hours, the Roman troops acting with the greatest spirit as long as their general survived. But after that he had fallen, for he continually exposed himself to the weapons of the enemy, not only from regard to his former character, but through fear of the disgrace which would attach to him if he survived a disaster occasioned by his own temerity, the Roman line was immediately routed. But so completely were they prevented from flying, every way being beset by the cavalry, that scarcely a thousand men escaped out of so large an army; the rest were destroyed on all hands, in one way or other.

20. The siege of Capua was now resumed by the consuls with the utmost energy. Every thing requisite for the business was conveyed thither and got in readiness. A store of corn was collected at Casilinum; at the mouth of the Volturnus, where a town now stands, a strong post was fortified; and a garrison was stationed in Puteoli, which Fabius had formerly fortified, in order to have the command of the neighbouring sea and the river. Into these two maritime forts, the corn recently sent from Sicily, with that which Marcus Junius, the praetor, had bought up in Etruria, was conveyed from Ostia, to supply the army during the winter. But, in addition to the disaster sustained in Lucania, the army also of volunteer slaves, who had served during the life of Gracchus with the greatest fidelity, as if discharged from service by the death of their general, left their standards. Hannibal was not willing that Capua should be neglected, or his allies deserted, at so critical a juncture; but, having obtained such success from the temerity of one Roman general, his attention was fixed on the opportunity which presented itself of crushing the other general and his army. Ambassadors from Apulia reported that Cneius Fulvius, the praetor, had at first conducted his measures with caution, while engaged in besieging certain towns of Apulia, which had revolted to Hannibal; but that afterwards, in consequence of extraordinary success, both himself and his soldiers, being glutted with booty, had so given themselves up to licentiousness and indolence, that all military discipline was disregarded. Having frequently on other occasions, as well as but a few days ago, experienced what an army was good for, when conducted by an unskilful commander, he moved his camp into Apulia.

21. The Roman legions, and the praetor, Fulvius, were in the neighbourhood of Herdonia, where, receiving intelligence of the approach of the enemy, they had nearly torn up the standards and gone out to battle without the praetor's orders; nor did any thing tend more to prevent it than the assured hope they entertained that they could do so whenever they pleased, consulting only their own will. The following night, Hannibal having obtained information that the camp was in a state of tumult, and that most of the troops were in a disorderly manner urging the general to give the signal, and calling out to arms, and therefore feeling convinced that an opportunity presented itself for a successful battle, distributed three thousand light troops in the houses in the neighbourhood, and among the thorns and woods. These, on a signal being given, were to rise up from their lurking-place with one accord; and Mago, with about two thousand horse, was ordered to occupy all the roads in the direction in which he supposed their flight would be directed. Having made these preparations during the night, he led his troops into the field at break of day. Nor did Fulvius decline the challenge; not so much from any hope of success entertained by himself, as drawn by the blind impetuosity of his soldiers. Accordingly, the line itself was formed with the same want of caution with which they entered the field, agreeably to the whim of the soldiers, who came up as chance directed, and took their stations just where they pleased; which they afterwards abandoned, as fear or caprice suggested. The first legion and the left wing of the allied troops were drawn up in front. The line was extended to a great length, the tribunes remonstrating, that there was no strength in it, and that wherever the enemy made the charge they would break through it: but no salutary advice reached their minds, nor even their ears. Hannibal was now come up, a general of a totally different character, with an army neither similar in its nature, nor similarly marshalled. The consequence was, that the Romans did not so much as sustain their shout and first attack. Their general, equal to Centenius in folly and temerity, but by no means to be compared with him in courage, when he saw things going against him, and his troops in confusion, hastily mounting his horse, fled from the field with about two hundred horsemen. The rest of the troops, beaten in front, and surrounded on the flank and rear, were

slaughtered to such a degree, that out of eighteen thousand men, not more than two thousand escaped. The enemy got possession of the camp.

22. When these disastrous defeats, happening one upon another, were reported at Rome, great grief and consternation seized the city. But still, as the consuls had been hitherto successful when it was most important, they were the less affected by these disasters. Caius Lastorius and Marcus Metilius were sent as ambassadors to the consuls, with directions carefully to collect the remains of the two armies, and use every endeavour to prevent their surrendering themselves to the enemy, through fear or despair, (which was the case after the battle of Cannae,) and to search for the deserters from the army of volunteer slaves. Publius Cornelius was charged with the same business; to him also the levy was intrusted. He caused an order to be issued throughout the market and smaller towns, that search should be made for the volunteer slaves, and that they should be brought back to their standards. All these things were executed with the most vigilant care. The consul, Appius Claudius, having placed Decius Junius in command at the mouth of the Vulturnus, and Marcus Aurelius Cotta at Puteoli, with directions to send off the corn immediately to the camp, as each of the ships from Etruria and Sardinia arrived with it, returned himself to Capua, and found his colleague Quintus Fulvius at Casilinum, conveying every requisite thence, and making every preparation for the siege of Capua. Both of them then joined in besieging the city, summoning Claudius Nero, the praetor, from the Claudian camp at Suessula; who, leaving a small garrison there, marched down to Capua with all the rest of his forces. Thus there were three generals' tents erected round Capua; and three armies, applying themselves to the work in different parts, proceeded to surround the city with a ditch and rampart, erecting forts at moderate intervals. The Campanians attempting to obstruct the work, a battle was fought in several places at once; the consequence of which was, that at length the Campanians confined themselves within their gates and walls. Before, however, these works were carried quite round, ambassadors were sent to Hannibal to complain that Capua was abandoned, and almost given up to the Romans, and to implore him, that he would now, at least, bring them

assistance, when they were not only besieged, but surrounded by a rampart. A letter was sent to the consuls from Publius Cornelius, the praetor, directing that before they completely enclosed Capua with their works, they should grant permission to such of the Campanians as chose to quit Capua, and take their property with them. That those should retain their liberty, and all their possessions, who quitted it before the ides of March, but that those who quitted it after that day, as well as those who continued there, would be considered as enemies. Proclamation was made to the Campanians to this effect, but it was received with such scorn, that they spontaneously used insulting language and menaces. Hannibal had marched his legions from Herdonea to Tarentum, with the hope of getting possession of the citadel of that place, by force or stratagem. But not succeeding there, he turned his course to Brundisium, thinking that town would be betrayed to him, but, while fruitlessly spending time there also, the Campanian ambassadors came to him with complaints and entreaties. Hannibal answered them in a proud manner, that he had before raised the siege of Capua, and that now the consuls would not sustain his approach. The ambassadors, dismissed with these hopes, with difficulty effected their return to Capua, which was by this time surrounded by a double trench and rampart.

23. At the time when the circumvallation of Capua was carrying on with the greatest activity, the siege of Syracuse, which had been forwarded by intestine treachery, in addition to the efforts and bravery of the general and his army, was brought to a conclusion. For in the beginning of spring, Marcellus being in doubt whether he should direct the operations of the war against Himilco and Hippocrates at Agrigentum, or press the siege of Syracuse, though he saw that it was impossible to take the city by force, which, from its situation, both with respect to sea and land, was impregnable, nor by famine, as it was supported by an uninterrupted supply of provisions from Carthage, yet that he might leave no course untried, directed the Syracusan deserters (and there were in the Roman camp some men in this situation of the highest rank, who had been driven out of the city during the defection from the Romans, because they were averse to a change of measures) to sound the feelings of those who were of the same party in conferences, and to promise them, that if Syracuse was

delivered up, they should have their liberty, and be governed by their own laws. There was no opportunity however, of having a conference; for as many were suspected of disaffection, the attention and observation of all were exerted, lest any thing of the kind should occur unknown to them. One of the exiles, who was a servant, having been allowed to enter the city in the character of a deserter, assembled a few persons, and opened a conversation upon the subject. After this, certain persons, covering themselves with nets in a fishing smack, were in this way conveyed round to the Roman camp, and conferred with the fugitives. The same was frequently repeated by different parties, one after another; and at last they amounted to eighty. But after every thing had been concerted for betraying the city, the plot was reported to Epicycles, by one Attalus, who felt hurt that he had not been intrusted with the secret; and they were all put to death with torture. This attempt having miscarried, another hope was immediately raised. One Damippus, a Lacedaemonian, who had been sent from Syracuse to king Philip, had been taken prisoner by the Roman fleet. Epicycles was particularly anxious to ransom this man above any other; nor was Marcellus disinclined to grant it; the Romans, even at this time, being desirous of gaining the friendship of the Aetolians, with whom the Lacedaemonians were in alliance. Some persons having been sent to treat respecting his ransom, the most central and convenient place to both parties for this purpose appeared to be at the Trogilian port, near the tower called Galeagra. As they went there several times, one of the Romans, having a near view of the wall, and having determined its height, as nearly as it could be done by conjecture, from counting the stones, and by forming an estimate, in his own mind, what was the height of each stone in the face of the work; and having come to the conclusion that it was considerably lower than he himself and all the rest had supposed it, and that it was capable of being scaled with ladders of moderate size, laid the matter before Marcellus. It appeared a thing not to be neglected; but as the spot could not be approached, being on this very account guarded with extraordinary care, a favourable opportunity of doing it was sought for. This a deserter suggested, who brought intelligence that the Syracusans were celebrating the festival of Diana; that it was to last

three days, and that as there was a deficiency of other things during the siege, the feasts would be more profusely celebrated with wine, which was furnished by Epicydes to the people in general, and distributed through the tribes by persons of distinction. When Marcellus had received this intelligence, he communicated it to a few of the military tribunes; then having selected, through their means, such centurions and soldiers as had courage and energy enough for so important an enterprise, and having privately gotten together a number of scaling-ladders, he directed that a signal should be given to the rest of the troops to take their refreshment, and go to rest early, for they were to go upon an expedition that night. Then the time, as it was supposed, having arrived, when, after having feasted from the middle of the day, they would have had their fill of wine, and have begun to sleep, he ordered the soldiers of one company to proceed with the ladders, while about a thousand armed men were in silence marched to the spot in a slender column. The foremost having mounted the wall, without noise or confusion, the others followed in order; the boldness of the former inspiring even the irresolute with courage.

24. The thousand armed men had now taken a part of the city, when the rest, applying a greater number of ladders, mounted the wall on a signal given from the Hexapylos. To this place the former party had arrived in entire solitude; as the greater part of them, having feasted in the towers, were either asleep from the effects of wine, or else, half asleep, were still drinking. A few of them, however, they surprised in their beds, and put to the sword. They began then to break open a postern gate near the Hexapylos, which required great force; and a signal was given from the wall by sounding a trumpet, as had been agreed upon. After this, the attack was carried on in every quarter, not secretly, but by open force; for they had now reached Epipolæ, a place protected by numerous guards, where the business was to terrify the enemy, and not to escape their notice. In effect they were terrified; for as soon as the sound of the trumpets was heard, and the shouts of the men who had got possession of the walls and a part of the city, the guards concluded that every part was taken, and some of them fled along the wall, others leaped down from it, or were thrown down headlong by

a crowd of the terrified townsmen. A great part of the inhabitants, however, were ignorant of this disastrous event, all of them being overpowered with wine and sleep; and because, in a city of so wide extent, what was perceived in one quarter was not readily made known through the whole city. A little before day, Marcellus having entered the city with all his forces, through the Hexapylos, which was forced open roused all the townsmen; who ran to arms, in order, if possible, by their efforts, to afford succour to the city, which was now almost taken. Epicydes advanced with a body of troops at a rapid pace from the Insula, which the Syracusans themselves call Nasos, not doubting but that he should be able to drive out what he supposed a small party, which had got over the wall through the negligence of the guards. He earnestly represented to the terrified inhabitants who met him, that they were increasing the confusion, and that in their accounts they made things greater and more important than they really were. But when he perceived that every place around Epipolae was filled with armed men, after just teasing the enemy with the discharge of a few missiles, he marched back to the Achradina, not so much through fear of the number and strength of the enemy, as that some intestine treachery might show itself, taking advantage of the opportunity, and he might find the gates of the Achradina and island closed upon him in the confusion. When Marcellus, having entered the walls, beheld this city as it lay subjected to his view from the high ground on which he stood, a city the most beautiful, perhaps, of any at that time, he is said to have shed tears over it; partly from the inward satisfaction he felt at having accomplished so important an enterprise, and partly in consideration of its ancient renown. The fleets of the Athenians sunk there, and two vast armies destroyed, with two generals of the highest reputation, as well as the many wars waged with the Carthaginians with so much peril arose before his mind; the many and powerful tyrants and kings; but above all Hiero, a king who was not only fresh in his memory, but who was distinguished for the signal services he had rendered the Roman people, and more than all by the endowments which his own virtues and good fortune had conferred. All these considerations presenting themselves at once to his recollection, and reflecting, that in an instant every thing before

him would be in flames, and reduced to ashes; before he marched his troops to the Achradina, he sent before him some Syracusans, who, as was before observed, were among the Roman troops, to induce the enemy, by a persuasive address, to surrender the city.

25. The gates and walls of the Achradina were occupied principally by deserters, who had no hopes of pardon in case of capitulation. These men would neither suffer those who were sent to approach the walls, nor to address them. Marcellus, therefore, on the failure of this attempt, gave orders to retire to the Euryalus, which is an eminence at the extremity of the city, at the farthest point from the sea, and commanding the road leading into the fields and the interior of the island, and is conveniently situated for the introduction of supplies. This fort was commanded by Philodemus, an Argive, who was placed in this situation by Epicydes. Marcellus sent Sosis, one of the regicides, to him. After a long conversation, being put off for the purpose of frustrating him, he brought back word to Marcellus, that Philodemus had taken time to deliberate. This man postponing his answer day after day, till Hippocrates and Himilco should quit their present position, and come up with their legions; not doubting but that if he should receive them into the fort, the Roman army, shut up as it was within the walls, might be annihilated, Marcellus, who saw that the Euryalus would neither be delivered up to him, nor could be taken by force, pitched his camp between Neapolis and Tycha, which are names of divisions of the city, and are in themselves like cities; fearful lest if he entered populous parts of the city, he should not be able to restrain his soldiers, greedy of plunder, from running up and down after it. When three ambassadors came to him from Tycha and Neapolis with fillets and other badges of supplicants, imploring him to abstain from fire and slaughter, Marcellus, having held a council respecting these entreaties, for so they were, rather than demands, ordered his soldiers, according to the unanimous opinion of the council, not to offer violence to any free person, but told them that every thing else might be their booty. The walls of the houses forming a protection for his camp, he posted guards and parties of troops at the gates, which were exposed, as they faced the streets, lest any attack should be made upon his camp while the soldiers were dispersed in pursuit of plunder. After these arrangements, on a signal

given, the soldiers dispersed for that purpose; and though they broke open doors and every place resounded in consequence of the alarm and confusion created, they nevertheless refrained from blood. They did not desist from plunder till they had gutted the houses of all the property which had been accumulated during a long period of prosperity. Meanwhile, Philodemus also, who despaired of obtaining assistance, having received a pledge that he might return to Epicydes in safety, withdrew the garrison, and delivered up the fortress to the Romans. While the attention of all was engaged by the tumult occasioned in that part of the city which was captured, Bomilcar, taking advantage of the night, when, from the violence of the weather the Roman fleet was unable to ride at anchor in the deep, set out from the bay of Syracuse, with thirty-five ships, and sailed away into the main without interruption; leaving fifty-five ships for Epicydes and the Syracusans; and having informed the Carthaginians in what a critical situation Syracuse was placed, returned, after a few days, with a hundred ships; having, as report says, received many presents from Epicydes out of the treasure of Hiero.

26. Marcellus, by gaining possession of the Euryalus, and placing a garrison in it, was freed from one cause of anxiety; which was, lest any hostile force received into that fortress on his rear might annoy his troops, shut up and confined as they were within the walls. He next invested the Achradina, erecting three camps in convenient situations, with the hope of reducing those enclosed within it to the want of every necessary. The outposts of both sides had remained inactive for several days, when the arrival of Hippocrates and Himilco suddenly caused the Romans to be attacked aggressively on all sides; for Hippocrates, having fortified a camp at the great harbour, and given a signal to those who occupied the Achradina, attacked the old camp of the Romans, in which Crispinus had the command; and Epicydes sallied out against the outposts of Marcellus, the Carthaginian fleet coming up to that part of the shore which lay between the city and the Roman camp, so that no succour could be sent by Marcellus to Crispinus. The enemy, however, produced more tumult than conflict; for Crispinus not only drove back Hippocrates from his works, but pursued him as he fled with precipitation, while Marcellus drove Epicydes into the city; and it

was considered that enough was now done even to prevent any danger arising in future from their sudden sallies. They were visited too by a plague; a calamity extending to both sides, and one which might well divert their attention from schemes of war. For as the season of the year was autumn, and the situation naturally unwholesome, though this was much more the case without than within the city, the intolerable intensity of the heat had an effect upon the constitution of almost every man in both the camps. At first they sickened and died from the unhealthiness of the season and climate; but afterwards the disease was spread merely by attending upon, and coming in contact with, those affected; so that those who were seized with it either perished neglected and deserted, or else drew with them those who sat by them and attended them, by infecting them with the same violence of disease. Daily funerals and death were before the eye; and lamentations were heard from all sides, day and night. At last, their feelings had become so completely brutalized by being habituated to these miseries, that they not only did not follow their dead with tears and decent lamentations, but they did not even carry them out and bury them; so that the bodies of the dead lay strewed about, exposed to the view of those who were awaiting a similar fate; and thus the dead were the means of destroying the sick, and the sick those who were in health, both by fear and by the filthy state and the noisome stench of their bodies. Some preferring to die by the sword, even rushed alone upon the outposts of the enemy. The violence of the plague, however, was much greater in the Carthaginian than the Roman army; for the latter, from having been a long time before Syracuse, had become more habituated to the climate and the water. Of the army of the enemy, the Sicilians, as soon as they perceived that diseases had become very common from the unwholesomeness of the situation, dispersed to their respective cities in the neighbourhood; but the Carthaginians, who had no place to retire to, perished, together with their generals, Hippocrates and Himilco, to a man. Marcellus, on seeing the violence with which the disease was raging, had removed his troops into the city, where their debilitated frames were recruited in houses and shade. Many however, of the Roman army were cut off by this pestilence.

27. The land forces of the Carthaginians being thus destroyed, the

Sicilians, who had served under Hippocrates retired to two towns of no great size, but well secured by natural situation and fortifications; one was three miles, the other fifteen, from Syracuse. Here they collected a store of provisions from their own states, and sent for reinforcements. Meanwhile, Bomilcar, who had gone a second time to Carthage, by so stating the condition of their allies as to inspire a hope that they might not only render them effectual aid, but also that the Romans might in a manner be made prisoners in the city which they had captured, induced the Carthaginians to send with him as many ships of burden as possible, laden with every kind of provisions, and to augment the number of his ships. Setting sail, therefore, from Carthage with a hundred and thirty men of war and seven hundred transports, he had tolerably fair winds for crossing over to Sicily, but was prevented by the same wind from doubling Cape Pachynum. The news of the approach of Bomilcar, and afterwards his unexpected delay, excited alternate fear and joy in the Romans and Syracusans. Epicydes, apprehensive lest if the same wind which now detained him should continue to blow from the east for several days, the Carthaginian fleet would return to Africa, put the Achradina in the hands of the generals of the mercenary troops, and sailed to Bomilcar; whom he at length prevailed upon to try the issue of a naval battle, though he found him with his fleet stationed in the direction of Africa, and afraid of fighting, not so much because he was unequal in the strength or the number of his ships, for he had more than the Romans, as because the wind was more favourable to the Roman fleet than to his own. Marcellus also seeing that an army of Sicilians was assembling from every part of the island, and that the Carthaginian fleet was approaching with a great want of supplies, though inferior in the number of his ships, resolved to prevent Bomilcar from coming to Syracuse, lest, blocked up in the city of his enemies, he should be pressed both by sea and land. The two hostile fleets were stationed near the promontory of Pachynum, ready to engage as soon as the sea should become calm enough to admit of their sailing out into the deep. Accordingly, the east wind, which had blown violently for several days, now subsiding, Bomilcar got under sail first, his van seeming to make for the main sea, in order to double the promontory with greater ease; but seeing the Roman ships

bearing down upon him, terrified by some unexpected occurrence, it is not known what, he sailed away into the main sea; and sending messengers to Heraclea, to order the transports to return to Africa, he passed along the coast of Sicily and made for Tarentum. Epicydes, thus suddenly disappointed in such great expectations, to avoid returning to endeavour to raise the siege of a city, a great part of which was already in the hands of the enemy, sailed to Agrigentum, intending to wait the issue of the contest, rather than take any new measures when there.

28. Intelligence of these events having been carried into the camp of the Sicilians, that Epicydes had departed from Syracuse, that the island was deserted by the Carthaginians, and almost again delivered up to the Romans; after sounding the inclinations of the besieged in conferences, they sent ambassadors to Marcellus, to treat about terms of capitulation. They had not much difficulty in coming to an agreement, that all the parts of the island which had been under the dominion of their kings should be ceded to the Romans; that the rest, with their liberty and their own laws, should be preserved to the Sicilians. They then invited to a conference the persons who had been intrusted with the management of affairs by Epicydes; to whom they said, that they were sent from the army of the Sicilians, at once to Marcellus and to them, that both those who were besieged and those who were not might share the same fortune; and that neither of them might stipulate any thing for themselves separately. They were then allowed to enter, in order to converse with their relations and friends; when, laying before them the terms which they had made with Marcellus, and holding out to them a hope of safety, they induced them to join with them in an attack upon the prefects of Epicydes, Polyclitus, Philistion, and Epicydes, surnamed Sindon. Having put them to death, they summoned the multitude to an assembly; and after complaining of the famine, at which they had been accustomed to express their dissatisfaction to each other in secret, they said, that “although they were pressed by so many calamities, they had no right to accuse Fortune, because it was at their own option how long they should continue to suffer them. That the motive which the Romans had in besieging Syracuse was affection for the Syracusans, and not hatred; for when they heard that

the government was usurped by Hippocrates and Epicydes, the creatures first of Hannibal and then of Hieronymus, they took arms and began to besiege the city, in order to reduce not the city itself, but its cruel tyrants. But now that Hippocrates is slain, Epicydes shut out of Syracuse, his praefects put to death, and the Carthaginians driven from the entire possession of Sicily by sea and land, what reason can the Romans have left why they should not desire the preservation of Syracuse, in the same manner as they would if Hiero were still lining, who cultivated the friendship of Rome with unequalled fidelity? That, therefore, neither the city nor its inhabitants were in any danger, except from themselves, if they neglected an opportunity of restoring themselves to the favour of the Romans; and that no so favourable a one would ever occur as that which presented itself at the present instant, immediately upon its appearing that they were delivered from their insolent tyrants.”

29. This speech was received with the most unqualified approbation of all present. It was resolved, however, that praetors should be elected before the nomination of deputies; which being done, some of the praetors themselves were sent as deputies to Marcellus, the chief of whom thus addressed him: “Neither in the first instance did we Syracusans revolt from you, but Hieronymus, whose impiety towards you was by no means so great as towards us; nor afterwards was it any Syracusan who disturbed the peace established by the death of the tyrant, but Hippocrates and Epicydes, creatures of the tyrant; while we were overpowered, on the one hand by fear, and on the other by treachery. Nor can any one say that there ever was a time when we were in possession of our liberty, when we were not also at peace with you. In the present instance, manifestly, as soon as ever we became our own masters, by the death of those persons who held Syracuse in subjection, we lost no time in coming to deliver up our arms, to surrender ourselves, our city, and our walls, and to refuse no conditions which you shall impose upon us. To you, Marcellus, the gods have given the glory of having captured the most renowned and beautiful of the Grecian cities. Every memorable exploit which we have at any time achieved by land or sea accrues to the splendour of your triumph. Would you wish that it should be known only by fame, how great a city has been captured

by you, rather than that she should stand as a monument even to posterity; so that to every one who visits her by sea or land, she may point out at one time our trophies gained from the Athenians and Carthaginians, at another time those which you have gained from us; and that you should transmit Syracuse unimpaired to your family, to be kept under the protection and patronage of the race of the Marcelli? Let not the memory of Hieronymus have greater weight with you than that of Hiero. The latter was your friend for a much longer period than the former was your enemy. From the latter you have realized even benefits, while the frenzy of Hieronymus only brought ruin upon himself.” At the hands of the Romans all things were obtainable and secure. There was a greater disposition to war, and more danger to be apprehended among themselves; for the deserters, thinking that they were delivered up to the Romans, induced the mercenary auxiliaries to entertain the same apprehension; and hastily seizing their arms, they first put the praetors to death, and then ran through the city to massacre the Syracusans. In their rage they slew all whom chance threw in their way, and plundered every thing which presented itself; and then, lest they should have no leaders, they elected six praetors, so that three might have the command in the Achradina, and three in the island. At length, the tumult having subsided, and the mercenary troops having ascertained, by inquiry, what had been negotiated with the Romans, it began to appear, as was really the case, that their cause and that of the deserters were different.

30. The ambassadors returned from Marcellus very opportunely. They informed them that they had been influenced by groundless suspicions, and that the Romans saw no reason why they should inflict punishment upon them. Of the three praefects of the Achradina one was a Spaniard, named Mericus. To him one of the Spanish auxiliaries was designedly sent, among those who accompanied the ambassadors. Having obtained an interview with Mericus in the absence of witnesses, he first explained to him the state in which he had left Spain, from which he had lately returned: “That there every thing was in subjection to the Roman arms; that it was in his power, by doing the Romans a service, to become the first man among his countrymen, whether he might be inclined to serve with the Romans,

or to return to his country. On the other hand, if he persisted in preferring to hold out against the siege, what hope could he have, shut up as he was by sea and land?" Mericus was moved by these suggestions, and when it was resolved upon to send ambassadors to Marcellus, he sent his brother among them; who, being brought into the presence of Marcellus, apart from the rest, by means of the same Spaniard, after receiving an assurance of protection, arranged the method of carrying their object into effect, and then returned to the Achradina. Mericus then, in order to prevent any one from conceiving a suspicion of treachery, declared, that he did not like that deputies should be passing to and fro; he thought that they should neither admit nor send any; and in order that the guards might be kept more strictly, that such parts as were most exposed should be distributed among the prefects, each being made responsible for the safety of his own quarter. All approved of the distribution of the posts. The district which fell to the lot of Mericus himself extended from the fountain Arethusa to the mouth of the large harbour, of which he caused the Romans to be informed. Accordingly, Marcellus ordered a transport with armed men to be towed by a quadrireme to the Achradina during the night, and the soldiers to be landed in the vicinity of that gate which is near the fountain of Arethusa. This order having been executed at the fourth watch, and Mericus having received the soldiers when landed at the gate, according to the agreement, Marcellus assaulted the walls of the Achradina with all his forces at break of day, so that he not only engaged the attention of those who occupied the Achradina, but also bands of armed men, quitting their own posts ran to the spot from the island, in order to repel the furious attack of the Romans. During this confusion, some light ships which had been prepared beforehand, and had sailed round, landed a body of armed men at the island; these suddenly attacking the half-manned stations and the opened door of the gate at which the troops had a little before run out, got possession of the island without much opposition, abandoned as it was, in consequence of the flight and trepidation of its guards. Nor were there any who rendered less service, or showed less firmness in maintaining their posts, than the deserters; for as they did not repose much confidence even in those of their own party, they fled in the middle of the

contest. When Marcellus learnt that the island was taken, one quarter of the Achradina in the hands of his troops, and that Mericus, with the men under his command, had joined them, he sounded a retreat, lest the royal treasure, the fame of which was greater than the reality, should be plundered.

31. The impetuosity of the soldiers having been checked, time and opportunity to escape were given to the deserters in the Achradina; and the Syracusans, at length delivered from their fears, threw open the gates of the Achradina, and sent deputies to Marcellus, requesting only safety for themselves and children. Having summoned a council, to which the Syracusans were invited who were among the Roman troops, having been driven from home during the disturbances, Marcellus replied, “that the services rendered by Hiero through a period of fifty years, were not more in number than the injuries committed against the Roman people in these few years by those who had had possession of Syracuse; but that most of these injuries had justly recoiled upon their authors, and that they had inflicted much more severe punishment upon themselves for the violation of treaties, than the Roman people desired. That he was indeed now besieging Syracuse for the third year, but not that the Romans might hold that state in a condition of slavery, but that the ringleaders of the deserters might not keep it in a state of thralldom and oppression. What the Syracusans could do was exemplified, either by the conduct of those Syracusans who were among the Roman troops, or that of the Spanish general, Mericus, who had delivered up the post which he was appointed to command, or, lastly, by the late but bold measure adopted by the Syracusans themselves. That the greatest possible recompence for all the evils and dangers which he had for so long a time undergone, both by sea and land, around the walls of Syracuse, was the reflection, that he had been able to take that city.” The quaestor was then sent with a guard to the island, to receive and protect the royal treasure. The city was given up to be plundered by the soldiery, after guards had been placed at each of the houses of those who had been with the Roman troops. While many acts exhibited horrid examples of rage and rapacity, it is recorded that Archimedes, while intent on some figures which he had described in the dust, although the confusion was as great as could

possibly exist in a captured city, in which soldiers were running up and down in search of plunder, was put to death by a soldier, who did not know who he was; that Marcellus was grieved at this event, and that pains were taken about his funeral, while his relations also for whom diligent inquiry was made, derived honour and protection from his name and memory. Such, for the most part, was the manner in which Syracuse was captured. The quantity of booty was so great, that had Carthage itself, which was carrying on a contest on equal terms, been captured, it would scarcely have afforded so much. A few days before the taking of Syracuse, Titus Otacilius passed over from Lilybaeum to Utica with eighty quinqueremes, and entering the harbour before it was light, took some transports laden with corn; then landing, he laid waste a considerable portion of the country around Utica, and brought back to his ships booty of every description. He returned to Lilybaeum, the third day after he set out, with a hundred and thirty transports laden with corn and booty. The corn he sent immediately to Syracuse; and had it not been for the very seasonable arrival of this supply, a destructive famine threatened alike the victors and the vanquished.

32. Nothing very memorable had been done in Spain for about two years, the operations of the war consisting more in laying plans than in fighting; but during the same summer in which the events above recorded took place, the Roman generals, quitting their winter quarters, united their forces; then a council was summoned; and the opinions of all accorded, that since their only object hitherto had been to prevent Hasdrubal from pursuing his march into Italy, it was now time that an effort should be made to bring the war in Spain to a termination; and they thought that the twenty thousand Celtiberians, who had been induced to take arms that winter, formed a sufficient accession to their strength. There were three armies of the enemy. Hasdrubal, son of Gisgo, and Mago, who had united their forces, were about a five days' journey from the Romans. Hasdrubal, son of Hamilcar, who was the old commander in Spain, was nearer to them: he was with his army near the city Anitorgis. The Roman generals were desirous that he should be overpowered first; and they hoped that they had enough and more than enough strength for the purpose. Their only source of anxiety was, lest the other Hasdrubal and Mago,

terrified at his discomfiture, should protract the war by withdrawing into trackless forests and mountains. Thinking it, therefore, the wisest course to divide their forces and embrace the whole Spanish war, they arranged it so that Publius Cornelius should lead two-thirds of the Roman and allied troops against Mago and Hasdrubal, and that Cneius Cornelius, with the remaining third of the original army, and with the Celtiberians added to them, should carry on the war with the Barcine Hasdrubal. The two generals and their armies, setting out together, preceded by the Celtiberians, pitched their camp near the city Anitorgis, within sight of the enemy, the river only separating them. Here Cneius Scipio, with the forces above mentioned, halted, but Publius Scipio proceeded to the portion of the war assigned to him.

33. Hasdrubal perceiving that there were but few Roman troops in the camp, and that their whole dependence was on the Celtiberian auxiliaries; and having had experience of the perfidy of the barbarian nations in general, and particularly of all those nations among which he had served for so many years; as there was every facility of intercourse, for both camps were full of Spaniards, by secret conferences with the chiefs of the Celtiberians, he agreed with them, for a large consideration, to take their forces away. Nor did they conceive it to be any great crime; for the object was not that they should turn their arms against the Romans, while the reward which they were to receive to abstain from the war was large enough to remunerate them for their service in it. At the same time the mere rest from labour, the return to their homes, with the pleasure of seeing their friends and property, were pleasing to the generality. Accordingly, the multitude were prevailed upon as easily as their leaders. They had, moreover, nothing to fear from the Romans, in consequence of the smallness of their numbers, should they endeavour to detain them by force. It will indeed be the duty of all Roman generals to take care, and the instances here recorded should be considered as strong arguments, never to place so much confidence in foreign auxiliaries, as not to retain in their camps a preponderance of their own strength and of that force which is properly their own. The Celtiberians, suddenly taking up their standards, marched away, replying only to the Romans, who asked

the cause of their departure and entreated them to stay, that they were called away by a war at home. Scipio seeing that his allies could be detained neither by prayers nor force, and that he was neither a match for his enemy without them, nor could again effect a junction with his brother, no other course which promised safety offering itself, resolved to retire as far as possible, carefully using every caution not to encounter the enemy any where on level ground. On his departing, the enemy, crossing the river, pursued him almost in his footsteps.

34. During the same period an equal terror and a greater danger pressed upon Publius Scipio. Masinissa was a young man at that time an ally of the Carthaginians, whom afterwards the friendship of the Romans rendered illustrious and powerful. He not only opposed himself with his Numidian cavalry to Scipio on his approach, but afterwards harassed him incessantly day and night, so as both to cut off his stragglers, who had gone out to a distance from the camp in search of wood and forage, and riding up to the very gates of his camp, and charging into the midst of his advanced guards, to fill every quarter with the utmost confusion. By night also alarm was frequently occasioned in the gates and rampart by his sudden attacks. Nor was there any time or place at which the Romans were exempt from fear and anxiety; and driven within their rampart, and deprived of every necessary, they suffered in a manner a regular siege; and it appeared that it would have been still straiter, if Indibilis, who it was reported was approaching with seven thousand five hundred Suesetani, should form a junction with the Carthaginians. Scipio, though a wary and provident general, overpowered by difficulties, adopted the rash measure of going to meet Indibilis by night, with the intention of fighting him wherever he should meet him. Leaving, therefore, a small force in his camp, under the command of Titus Fonteius, lieutenant-general, he set out at midnight, and meeting with the enemy, came to battle with him. The troops fought in the order of march rather than of battle. The Romans, however, had the advantage, though in an irregular fight; but the Numidian cavalry, whose observation the general supposed that he had escaped, suddenly spreading themselves round his flanks, occasioned great terror. After a new contest had been entered into with the Numidians, a third enemy came up in addition to the rest, the Carthaginian

generals having come up with their rear when they were now engaged in fighting. Thus the Romans were surrounded on every side by enemies; nor could they make up their minds which they should attack first, or in what part, forming themselves into a close body, they should force their way through. The general, while fighting and encouraging his men, exposing himself wherever the strife was the hottest, was run through the right side with a lance; and when the party of the enemy, which, formed into a wedge, had charged the troops collected round the general, perceived Scipio falling lifeless from his horse, elated with joy, they ran shouting through the whole line with the news that the Roman general had fallen. These words spreading in every direction, caused the enemy to be considered as victors, and the Romans as vanquished. On the loss of the general the troops immediately began to fly from the field; but though it was not difficult to force their way through the Numidians and the other light-armed auxiliaries, yet it was scarcely possible for them to escape so large a body of cavalry, and infantry equal to horses in speed. Almost more were slain in the flight than in the battle; nor would a man have survived, had not night put a stop to the carnage, the day by this time rapidly drawing to a close.

35. After this, the Carthaginian generals, who were not slow in following up their victory, immediately after the battle, scarcely giving their soldiers necessary rest, hurry their army to Hasdrubal, son of Hamilcar; confidently hoping, that after uniting their forces with his, the war might be brought to a conclusion. On their arrival, the warmest congratulations passed between the troops and their generals, who were delighted with their recent victory; for they had not only destroyed one distinguished general and all his men, but looked forward to another victory of equal magnitude as a matter of certainty. The intelligence of this great disaster had not yet reached the Romans; but there prevailed a kind of melancholy silence and mute foreboding, such as is usually found in minds which have a presentiment of impending calamity. The general himself, besides feeling that he was deserted by his allies, and that the forces of the enemy were so much augmented, was disposed from conjecture and reasoning rather to a suspicion that some defeat had been sustained, than to any favourable hopes. "For how could Hasdrubal and Mago

bring up their troops without opposition, unless they had terminated their part of the war? How was it that his brother had not opposed his progress or followed on his rear? in order that if he could not prevent the armies and generals of the enemy from forming a junction, he might himself join his forces with his brother's." Disturbed with these cares, he believed that the only safe policy for the present was to retire as far as possible; and, accordingly, he marched a considerable distance thence in one night, the enemy not being aware of it, and on that account continuing quiet. At dawn, perceiving that their enemy had decamped, they sent the Numidians in advance, and began to pursue them as rapidly as possible. The Numidians overtook them before night, and charged; sometimes their rear, at other times their flanks. They then began to halt and defend themselves as well as they could; but Scipio exhorted them at once to fight so as not to expose themselves, and march at the same time, lest the infantry should overtake them.

36. But having made but little progress for a long time, in consequence of his making his troops sometimes advance and at others halt, and night now drawing on, Scipio recalled his troops from the battle, and collecting them, withdrew to a certain eminence, not very safe, indeed, particularly for dispirited troops, but higher than any of the surrounding places. There, at first, his infantry, drawn up around his baggage and cavalry, which were placed in their centre, had no difficulty in repelling the attacks of the charging Numidians; but afterwards, when three generals with three regular armies marched up in one entire body, and it was evident that his men would not be able to do much by arms in defending the position without fortifications, the general began to look about, and consider whether he could by any means throw a rampart around; but the hill was so bare, and the soil so rough, that neither could a bush be found for cutting a palisade, nor earth for making a mound, nor the requisites for making a trench or any other work; nor was the place naturally steep or abrupt enough to render the approach and ascent difficult to the enemy, as it rose on every side with a gentle acclivity. However, that they might raise up against them some semblance of a rampart, they placed around them the panniers tied to the burdens, building them up as it were to the usual height, and when there was a

deficiency of panniers for raising it, they presented against the enemy a heap of baggage of every kind. The Carthaginian armies coming up, very easily marched up the eminence, but were stopped by the novel appearance of the fortification, as by something miraculous, when their leaders called out from all sides, asking “what they stopped at? and why they did not tear down and demolish that mockery, which was scarcely strong enough to impede the progress of women and children; that the enemy, who were skulking behind their baggage, were, in fact, captured and in their hands.” Such were the contemptuous reproofs of their leaders. But it was not an easy task either to leap over or remove the burdens raised up against them, or to cut through the panniers, closely packed together and covered completely with baggage. When the removal of the burdens had opened a way to the troops, who were detained by them for a long time, and the same had been done in several quarters, the camp was now captured on all sides; the Romans were cut to pieces on all hands, the few by the many, the dispirited by the victorious. A great number of the men, however, having fled for refuge into the neighbouring woods, effected their escape to the camp of Publius Scipio, which Titus Fonteius commanded. Some authors relate that Cneius Scipio was slain on the eminence on the first assault of the enemy; others that he escaped with a few attendants to a castle near the camp; this, they say, was surrounded with fire, by which means the doors which they could not force were consumed; that it was thus taken, and all within, together with the general himself, put to death. Cneius Scipio was slain in the eighth year after his arrival in Spain, and on the twenty-ninth day after the death of his brother. At Rome the grief occasioned by their death was not more intense than that which was felt throughout Spain. The sorrow of the citizens, however, was partly distracted by the loss of the armies, the alienation of the province, and the public disaster, while in Spain they mourned and regretted the generals themselves, Cneius, however, the more, because he had been longer in command of them, had first engaged their affections, and first exhibited a specimen of Roman justice and forbearance.

37. When it seemed that the Roman armies were annihilated, and Spain lost, one man recovered this desperate state of affairs. There

was in the army one Lucius Marcius, the son of Septimus, a Roman knight, an enterprising youth, and possessing a mind and genius far superior to the condition in which he had been born. To his high talents had been added the discipline of Cneius Scipio, under which he had been thoroughly instructed during a course of so many years in all the qualifications of a soldier. This man, having collected the troops which had been dispersed in the flight, and drafted some from the garrisons, had formed an army not to be despised, and united it with Titus Tonteijs, the lieutenant-general of Publius Scipio. But so transcendent was the Roman knight in authority and honour among the troops, that when, after fortifying a camp on this side of the Iberus, it had been resolved that a general of the two armies should be elected in an assembly of the soldiers, relieving each other in the guard of the rampart, and in keeping the outposts until every one had given his vote, they unanimously conferred the supreme command upon Lucius Marcius. All the intervening time, which was but short, was occupied in fortifying their camp and collecting provisions, and the soldiers executed every order not only with vigour, but with feelings by no means depressed. But when intelligence was brought them that Hasdrubal, son of Gisgo, who was coming to put the finishing stroke to the war, had crossed the Iberus and was drawing near, and when they saw the signal for battle displayed by a new commander, then calling to mind whom they had had for their leaders a little while ago, relying on what leaders and what forces they used to go out to fight, they all suddenly burst into tears and beat their heads, some raising their hands to heaven and arraigning the gods, others prostrating themselves upon the ground and invoking by name each his own former commander. Nor could their lamentations be restrained, though the centurions endeavoured to animate their companies, and though Marcius himself soothed and remonstrated with them, asking them “why they had given themselves up to womanish and unavailing lamentations rather than summon up all their courage to protect themselves and the commonwealth together, and not suffer their generals to lie unavenged?” But suddenly a shout and the sound of trumpets were heard; for by this time the enemy were near the rampart. Upon this, their grief being suddenly converted into rage, they hastily ran to

arms, and, as it were, burning with fury, rushed to the gates and charged the enemy, while advancing in a careless and disorderly manner. This unexpected event instantly struck terror into the Carthaginians, who wondering whence so many enemies could have sprung up so suddenly, as the army had been almost annihilated; what could have inspired men who had been vanquished and routed with such boldness and confidence in themselves; what general could have arisen now that the two Scipios were slain; who could command the camp, and who had given the signal for battle; in consequence of these so many and so unexpected circumstances, at first, being in a state of complete uncertainty and amazement, they gave ground; but afterwards, discomfited by the violence of the charge, they turned their backs; and either there would have been a dreadful slaughter of the flying enemy, or a rash and dangerous effort on the part of the pursuers, had not Marcius promptly given the signal for retreat, and by throwing himself in the way of the front rank, and even holding some back with his own hands, repressed the infuriated troops. He then led them back to the camp, still eager for blood and slaughter. When the Carthaginians, who were at first compelled to fly with precipitation from the rampart of their enemy, saw that no one pursued them, concluding that they had stopped from fear, now on the other hand went away to their camp at an easy pace, with feelings of contempt for the enemy. There was a corresponding want of care in guarding their camp; for though the enemy were near, yet it seemed that they were but the remains of the two armies which had been cut to pieces a few days before. As in consequence of this all things were neglected in the enemy's camp, Marcius having ascertained this, addressed his mind to a measure which on the first view of it might appear rather rash than bold: it was, aggressively to assault the enemy's camp, concluding that the camp of Hasdrubal, while alone, might be carried with less difficulty than his own could be defended, if the three armies and as many generals should again unite; taking into consideration also that either if he succeeded he would retrieve their prostrate fortune, or if repulsed, still, by making the attack himself, he would rescue himself from contempt.

38. Lest, however, the suddenness of the affair, and the fear of night, should frustrate a measure which was in itself ill adapted to his

condition, he thought it right that his soldiers should be addressed and exhorted; and having called an assembly, he discoursed as follows: "Soldiers, either my veneration for our late commanders, both living and dead, or our present situation, may impress on every one the belief that this command, as it is highly honourable to me, conferred by your suffrages, so is it in its nature a heavy and anxious charge. For at a time when I should be scarcely so far master of myself as to be able to find any solace for my afflicted mind, did not fear deaden the sense of sorrow, I am compelled to take upon myself alone the task of consulting for the good of you all; a task of the greatest difficulty when under the influence of grief. And not even at that critical moment, when I ought to be considering in what manner I may be enabled to keep together for my country these remains of two armies, can I divert my mind from the affliction which incessantly preys upon me. For bitter recollection is ever present, and the Scipios ever disturb me with anxious cares by day and dreams by night, frequently rousing me from my sleep, and imploring me not to suffer themselves nor their soldiers, your companions in war, who had been victorious in this country for eight years, nor the commonwealth to remain unrevenged; enjoining me also to follow their discipline and their plans; and desiring that as there was no one more obedient to their commands while they were alive than I, so after their death I would consider that conduct as best, which I might have the strongest reason for believing they would have adopted in each case. I could wish also that you, my soldiers, should not show your respect for them by lamentations and tears, as if they were dead; (for they still live and flourish in the fame of their achievements;) but that whenever the memory of those men shall occur to you, you would go into battle as though you saw them encouraging you and giving you the signal. Nor certainly could anything else than their image presenting itself yesterday to your eyes and minds, have enabled you to fight that memorable battle, in which you proved to the enemy that the Roman name had not become extinct with the Scipios; and that the energy and valour of that people, which had not been overwhelmed by the disaster at Cannae, would, doubtlessly, emerge from the severest storms of fortune. Now since you have dared so much of your own accord, I have a mind to try how much

you will dare when authorized by your general: for yesterday, when I gave the signal for retreat while you were pursuing the routed enemy with precipitation, I did not wish to break your spirit, but to reserve it for greater glory and more advantageous opportunities; that you might afterwards, when prepared and armed, seize an occasion of attacking your enemy while off their guard, unarmed, and even buried in sleep. Nor do I entertain the hope of gaining an opportunity of this kind rashly, but from the actual state of things. Doubtless, if any one should ask even himself, by what means, though few in number and disheartened by defeat, you defended your camp against troops superior in number and victorious, you would give no other answer than that, as this was the very thing you were afraid of, you had kept every place secured by works and yourselves ready and equipped. And so it generally happens: men are least secure against that which fortune causes not to be feared; because you leave unguarded and exposed what you think is not necessary to be cared about. There is nothing whatever which the enemy fear less at the present time, than lest we, who were a little while ago besieged and assaulted, should aggressively assault their camp ourselves. Let us dare, then, to do that which it is incredible we should have the courage to attempt; it will be most easy from the very fact of its appearing most difficult. At the third watch of the night I will lead you thither in silence. I have ascertained by means of scouts that they have no regular succession of watches, no proper outposts. Our shout at their gates, when heard, and the first assault, will carry their camp. Then let that carnage be made among men, torpid with sleep, terrified at the unexpected tumult, and overpowered while lying defenceless in their beds, from which you were so grieved to be recalled yesterday. I know that the measure appears to you a daring one; but in difficult and almost desperate circumstances the boldest counsels are always the safest. For if when the critical moment has arrived, the opportunity of seizing which is of a fleeting nature, you delay ever so little, in vain do you seek for it afterwards when it has been neglected. One army is near us; two more are not far off. We have some hopes if we make an attack now; and you have already made trial of your own and their strength. If we postpone the time and cease to be despised in consequence of the fame of yesterday's

irruption, there is danger lest all the generals and all the forces should unite. Shall we be able then to withstand three generals and three armies, whom Cneius Scipio with his army unimpaired could not withstand? As our generals have perished by dividing their forces, so the enemy may be overpowered while separated and divided. There is no other mode of maintaining the war; let us, therefore, wait for nothing but the opportunity of the ensuing night. Now depart, with the favour of the gods, and refresh yourselves, that, unfatigued and vigorous, you may burst into the enemy's camp with the same spirit with which you have defended your own." This new enterprise, proposed by their new general, they received with joy; and the more daring it was the more it pleased them. The remainder of the day was spent in getting their arms in readiness and recruiting their strength, the greater part of the night was given to rest, and at the fourth watch they were in motion.

39. At a distance of six miles beyond their nearest camp lay other forces of the Carthaginians. A deep valley, thickly planted with trees, intervened. Near about the middle of this wood a Roman cohort and some cavalry were placed in concealment with Punic craft. The communication between the two armies being thus cut off, the rest of the forces were marched in silence to the nearest body of the enemy; and as there were no outposts before the gates, and no guards on the rampart, they entered quite into the camp, as though it had been their own, no one any where opposing them. The signals were then sounded and a shout raised. Some put the enemy to the sword when half asleep; others threw fire upon the huts, which were covered in with dry straw; others blocked up the gates to intercept their escape. The enemy, who were assailed at once with fire, shouting, and the sword, were in a manner bereaved of their senses, and could neither hear each other, nor take any measures for their security. Unarmed, they fell into the midst of troops of armed men: some hastened to the gates; others, as the passes were flocked up, leaped over the rampart, and as each escaped they fled directly towards the other camp, where they were cut off by the cohort and cavalry rushing forward from their concealment, and were all slain to a man. And even had any escaped from that carnage, the Romans, after taking the nearer camp, ran over to the other with such rapidity, that no one could have

arrived before them with news of the disaster. In this camp, as they were far distant from the enemy, and as some had gone off just before daylight for forage, wood, and plunder, they found every thing in a still more neglected and careless state. Their arms only were placed at the outposts, the men being unarmed, and either sitting and reclining upon the ground, or else walking up and down before the rampart and the gates. On these men, thus at their ease and unguarded, the Romans, still hot from the recent battle, and flushed with victory, commenced an attack; no effectual opposition therefore could be made to them in the gates. Within the gates, the troops having rushed together from every part of the camp at the first shout and alarm, a furious conflict arose; which would have continued for a long time, had not the bloody appearance of the Roman shields discovered to the Carthaginians the defeat of the other forces, and consequently struck them with dismay. This alarm produced a general flight; and all except those who were overtaken with the sword, rushing out precipitately wherever they could find a passage, abandoned their camp. Thus, in a night and a day, two camps of the enemy were carried, under the conduct of Lucius Marcus Claudius, who translated the annals of Acilius out of Greek into Latin, states that as many as thirty-seven thousand men were slain, one thousand eight hundred and thirty made prisoners, and a great booty obtained; among which was a silver shield of a hundred and thirty-eight pounds' weight, with an image upon it of the Barcine Hasdrubal. Valerius Antias states, that the camp Of Mago only was captured, and seven thousand of the enemy slain; and that in the other battle, when the Romans sallied out and fought with Hasdrubal, ten thousand were slain, and four thousand three hundred captured. Piso writes, that five thousand were slain in an ambuscade when Mago incautiously pursued our troops who retired. With all, the name of the general, Marcus, is mentioned with great honour, and to his real glory they add even miracles. They say, that while he was haranguing his men a stream of fire poured from his head without his perceiving it, to the great terror of the surrounding soldiers; and that a shield, called the Marcian, with an image of Hasdrubal upon it, remained in the temple up to the time of the burning of the Capitol, a monument of his victory over the Carthaginians. After this, affairs

continued for a considerable time in a tranquil state in Spain, as both parties, after giving and receiving such important defeats, hesitated to run the hazard of a general battle.

40. During these transactions in Spain, Marcellus, after the capture of Syracuse, having settled the other affairs in Sicily with so much honour and integrity as not only to add to his own renown, but also to the majesty of the Roman people, conveyed to Rome the ornaments of the city, together with the statues and pictures with which Syracuse abounded. These were certainly spoils taken from enemies, and acquired according to the laws of war; but hence was the origin of the admiration of the products of Grecian art, and to that freedom with which at present all places, both sacred and profane, are despoiled; which at last recoiled upon the Roman gods, and first upon that very temple which was so choicely adorned by Marcellus. For foreigners were in the habit of visiting the temples dedicated by Marcellus near the Capuan gate, on account of their splendid ornaments of this description, of which a very small portion can be found. Embassies from almost all the states of Sicily came to him. As their cases were different, so were also the terms granted to them. Those who had either not revolted or had returned to the alliance before the capture of Syracuse, were received and honoured as faithful allies. Those who had been induced to submit through fear after the capture of Syracuse, as vanquished, received laws from the conqueror. The Romans, however, had still remaining a war of no small magnitude at Agrigentum, headed by Epicydes and Hanno, generals in the late war, and a third new one sent by Hannibal in the room of Hippocrates, a Libyphoenician by nation, and a native of Hippo, called by his countrymen Mutines; an energetic man, and thoroughly instructed in all the arts of war under the tuition of Hannibal. To this man the Numidian auxiliaries were assigned by Epicydes and Hanno. With these he so thoroughly overran the lands of his enemies, and visited his allies with such activity, in order to retain them in their allegiance, and for the purpose of bringing them seasonable aid as each required it, that in a short time he filled all Sicily with his fame, nor was greater confidence placed in any one else by those who favoured the Carthaginian interest. Accordingly the Carthaginian and Syracusan generals, who had been hitherto

compelled to keep within the walls of Agrigentum, not more at the advice of Mutines than from the confidence they reposed in him, had the courage to go out from the walls, and pitched a camp near the river Himera. When this was announced to Marcellus, he immediately advanced and sat down at a distance of about four miles from the enemy, with the intention of waiting to see what steps they took, and what they meditated. But Mutines allowed no room or time for delay or deliberation, but crossed the river, and, charging the outposts of his enemy, created the greatest terror and confusion. The next day, in an engagement which might almost be called regular, he compelled his enemy to retire within their works. Being called away by a mutiny of the Numidians, which had broken out in the camp, and in which about three hundred of them had retired to Heraclea Minoa, he set out to appease them and bring them back; and is said to have earnestly warned the generals not to engage with the enemy during his absence. Both the generals were indignant at this conduct, but particularly Hanno, who was before disturbed at his reputation. "Is it to be borne," said he, "that a mongrel African should impose restraints upon me, a Carthaginian general, commissioned by the senate and people?" Epicydes, who wished to wait, was prevailed upon by him to agree to their crossing the river and offering battle; for, said he, if they should wait for Mutines, and the battle should terminate successfully, Mutines would certainly have the credit of it.

41. But Marcellus, highly indignant that he who had repulsed Hannibal from Nola, when rendered confident by his victory at Cannae, should succumb to enemies whom he had vanquished by sea and land, ordered his soldiers immediately to take arms and raise the standards. While marshalling his army, ten Numidians rode up rapidly from the enemy's line with information that their countrymen, first induced by the same causes which brought on the mutiny, in which three hundred of their number retired to Heraclea, and secondly, because they saw their commander, just on the approach of a battle, sent out of the way by generals who wished to detract from his glory, would not take any part in the battle. This deceitful nation made good their promise in this instance. Accordingly the spirits of the Romans were increased by the intelligence, which was speedily conveyed through the lines, that the

enemy were abandoned by the cavalry, which the Romans principally feared; while at the same time the enemy were dispirited, not only because they were deprived of the principal part of their strength, but further, because they were afraid lest they should themselves be attacked by their own cavalry. Accordingly, there was no great resistance made: the first shout and onset determined the business. The Numidians who stood quiet in the wings during the action, when they saw their party turning their backs, accompanied them in their flight only for a short time; but when they perceived that they were all making for Agrigentum with the most violent haste, they turned off to the neighbouring towns round about, through fear of a siege. Many thousand men were slain and captured, together with eight elephants. This was the last battle which Marcellus fought in Sicily, after which he returned victorious to Syracuse. The year was now about closing; the senate therefore decreed that Publius Cornelius, the praetor, should send a letter to Capua to the consuls, with directions that while Hannibal was at a distance, and nothing of any great importance was going on at Capua, one of them, if they thought fit, should come to Rome to elect new magistrates. On the receipt of the letter, the consuls arranged it between themselves, that Claudius should hold the election, and Fulvius remain at Capua. The consuls created by Claudius were Cneius Fulvius Centumalus, and Publius Sulpicius Galba, the son of Servius, who had never exercised any curule magistracy. After this Lucius Cornelius Lentulus, Marcus Cornelius Cethegus, Caius Sulpicius, and Caius Calpurnius Piso, were created praetors. Piso had the city jurisdiction; Sulpicius, Sicily; Cethegus, Apulia; Lentulus, Sardinia. The consuls were continued in command for a year longer.

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BOOK XXVI

Translated by William A. McDevitte

B.C 212-211

Hannibal encamps on the banks of the Amo, within three miles of Rome. Attended by two thousand horsemen, he advances close to the Colline gate to take a view of the walls and situation of the city. On two successive days the hostile armies are hindered from engaging by the severity of the weather. Capua taken by Quintus Fulvius and Appius Claudius, the chief nobles die, voluntarily, by poison. Quintus Fulvius having condemned the principal senators to death, at the moment they are actually tied to the stakes, receives despatches from Rome, commanding him to spare their lives, which he postpones reading until the sentence is executed. Publius Scipio, offering himself for the service, is sent to command in Spain, takes New Carthage in one day. Successes in Sicily. Treaty of friendship with the Aetolians. War with Philip, king of Macedonia, and the Acarnanians.

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1. The consuls, Cneius Fulvius Centumalus and Publius Sulpicius Galba, having entered on their office on the ides of March, assembled the senate in the Capitol, and took the opinion of the fathers on the state of the republic, the manner of conducting the war, and on what related to the provinces and the armies. Quintus Fulvius and Appius Claudius, the consuls of the former year, were continued in command; and the armies which they before had were assigned to them, it being added that they should not withdraw from Capua, which they were besieging, till they had taken it. The Romans were now solicitously intent upon this object, not from resentment so much, which was never juster against any city, as from the consideration that as this city, so celebrated and powerful, had by its defection drawn away several states, so when reduced it would bring back their minds to respect for the former supreme government. Two praetors also of the former year, Marcus Junius and Publius Sempronius, were each continued in command of the two legions

which they had under them, the former in Etruria, the latter in Gaul. Marcus Marcellus also was continued in command, that he might, as proconsul, finish the war in Sicily with the army he had there. If he wanted recruits he was to take them from the legions which Publius Cornelius, the propraetor, commanded in Sicily, provided he did not choose any soldier who was of the number of those whom the senate had refused to allow to be discharged, or to return home till the war was put an end to. To Caius Sulpicius, to whose lot Sicily had fallen, the two legions which Publius Cornelius had commanded were assigned, to be recruited from the army of Cneius Fulvius, which had been shamefully beaten, and had experienced a dreadful loss the year before in Apulia. To soldiers of this description the senate had assigned the same period of service as to those who fought at Cannae; and as an additional mark of ignominy upon both, they were not allowed to winter in towns, or to build huts for wintering within the distance of ten miles from any town. To Lucius Cornelius, in Sardinia, the two legions which Quintus Mucius had commanded were assigned; if recruits were wanted, the consuls were ordered to enlist them. To Titus Otacilius and Marcus Valerius was allotted the protection of the coasts of Sicily and Greece, with the legions and fleets which they had commanded. The Greek coast had fifty ships with one legion; the Sicilian, a hundred ships with two legions. Twenty-three legions were employed by the Romans in carrying on the war this year by land and sea.

2. In the beginning of the year, on a letter from Lucius Marcius being laid before the senate, they considered his achievements as most glorious; but the title of honour which he assumed (for though he was neither invested with the command by the order of the people, nor by the direction of the fathers, his letter ran in this form, "The propraetor to the senate") gave offence to a great many. It was considered as an injurious precedent for generals to be chosen by the armies, and for the solemn ceremony of elections, held under auspices, to be transferred to camps and provinces, and (far from the control of the laws and magistrates) to military thoughtlessness. And though some gave it as their opinion, that the sense of the senate should be taken on the matter, yet it was thought more advisable that the discussion should be postponed till after the departure of the

horsemen who brought the letter from Marcius. It was resolved, that an answer should be returned respecting the corn and clothing of the army, stating, that the senate would direct its attention to both those matters; but that the letter should not be addressed to Lucius Marcius, propraetor, lest he should consider that as already determined which was the very point they reserved for discussion. After the horsemen were dismissed, it was the first thing the consuls brought before the senate; and the opinions of all to a man coincided, that the plebeian tribunes should be instructed to consult the commons with all possible speed, as to whom they might resolve to send into Spain to take the command of that army which had been under the conduct of Cneius Scipio. The plebeian tribunes were instructed accordingly, and the question was published. But another contest had pre-engaged the minds of the people: Caius Sempronius Blaesus, having brought Cneius Fulvius to trial for the loss of the army in Apulia, harassed him with invectives in the public assemblies: "Many generals," he reiterated, "had by indiscretion and ignorance brought their armies into most perilous situations, but none, save Cneius Fulvius, had corrupted his legions by every species of excess before he betrayed them to the enemy; it might therefore with truth be said, that they were lost before they saw the enemy, and that they were defeated, not by Hannibal, but by their own general. No man, when he gave his vote, took sufficient pains in ascertaining who it was to whom he was intrusting an army. What a difference was there between this man and Tiberius Sempronius! The latter having been intrusted with an army of slaves, had in a short time brought it to pass, by discipline and authority, that not one of them in the field of battle remembered his condition and birth, but they became a protection to our allies and a terror to our enemies. They had snatched, as it were, from the very jaws of Hannibal, and restored to the Roman people, Cumae, Beneventum, and other towns. But Cneius Fulvius had infected with the vices peculiar to slaves, an army of Roman citizens, of honourable parentage and liberal education; and had thus made them insolent and turbulent among their allies, inefficient and dastardly among their enemies, unable to sustain, not only the charge, but the shout of the Carthaginians. But, by Hercules, it was no wonder that the troops did not stand their

ground in the battle, when their general was the first to fly; with him, the greater wonder was that any had fallen at their posts, and that they were not all the companions of Cneius Fulvius in his consternation and his flight. Caius Flaminius, Lucius Paullus, Lucius Posthumius, Cneius and Publius Scipio, had preferred falling in the battle to abandoning their armies when in the power of the enemy. But Cneius Fulvius was almost the only man who returned to Rome to report the annihilation of his army. It was a shameful crime that the army of Cannae should be transported into Sicily, because they fled from the field of battle, and not be allowed to return till the enemy has quitted Italy; that the same decree should have been lately passed with respect to the legions of Cneius Fulvius; while Cneius Fulvius himself has no punishment inflicted upon him for running away, in a battle brought about by his own indiscretion; that he himself should be permitted to pass his old age in stews and brothels, where he passed his youth, while his troops, whose only crime was that they resembled their general, should be sent away in a manner into banishment, and suffer an ignominious service. So unequally," he said, "was liberty shared at Rome by the rich and the poor, by the ennobled and the common people."

3. The accused shifted the blame from himself to his soldiers; he said, "that in consequence of their having in the most turbulent manner demanded battle, they were led into the field, not on the day they desired, for it was then evening, but on the following; that they were drawn up at a suitable time and on favourable ground; but either the reputation or the strength of the enemy was such, that they were unable to stand their ground. When they all fled precipitately, he himself also was carried away with the crowd, as had happened to Varro at the battle of Cannae, and to many other generals. How could he, by his sole resistance, benefit the republic, unless his death would remedy the public disasters? that he was not defeated in consequence of a failure in his provisions; that he had not, from want of caution, been drawn into a disadvantageous position; that he had not been cut off by an ambuscade in consequence of not having explored his route, but had been vanquished by open force, and by arms, in a regular engagement. He had not in his power the minds of his own troops, or those of the enemy. Courage and cowardice were the result

of each man's natural constitution." He was twice accused, and the penalty was laid at a fine. On the third accusation, at which witnesses were produced, he was not only overwhelmed with an infinity of disgraceful charges, but a great many asserted on oath, that the flight and panic commenced with the praetor, that the troops being deserted by him, and concluding that the fears of their general were not unfounded, turned their backs; when so strong a feeling of indignation was excited, that the assembly clamorously rejoined that he ought to be tried capitally. This gave rise to a new controversy; for when the tribune, who had twice prosecuted him as for a finable offence, now, on the third occasion, declared that he prosecuted him capitally; the tribunes of the commons being appealed to, said, "they would not prevent their colleague from proceeding, as he was permitted according to the custom of their ancestors, in the manner he himself preferred, whether according to the laws or to custom, until he had obtained judgment against a private individual, convicting him either of a capital or finable offence." Upon this, Sempronius said, that he charged Cneius Fulvius with the crime of treason; and requested Caius Calpurnius, the city praetor, to appoint a day for the comitia. Another ground of hope was then tried by the accused, viz. if his brother, Quintus Fulvius, could be present at his trial, who was at that time flourishing in the fame of his past achievements and in the near expectation of taking Capua. Fulvius wrote to the senate, requesting the favour in terms calculated to excite compassion, in order to save the life of his brother; but the fathers replied, that the interest of the state would not admit of his leaving Capua. Cneius Fulvius, therefore, before the day appointed for the comitia arrived, went into exile to Tarquinius, and the commons resolved that it was a legal exile.

4. Meanwhile all the strength of the war was directed against Capua. It was, however, more strictly blockaded than besieged. The slaves and populace could neither endure the famine, nor send messengers to Hannibal through guards so closely stationed. A Numidian was at length found, who, on undertaking to make his way with it, was charged with a letter; and going out by night, through the midst of the Roman camp, in order to fulfil his promise, he inspired the Campanians with confidence to try the effect of a sally from

every quarter, while they had any strength remaining. In the many encounters which followed, their cavalry were generally successful, but their infantry were beaten: however, it was by no means so joyful to conquer, as it was miserable to be worsted in any respect by a besieged and almost subdued enemy. A plan was at length adopted, by which their deficiency in strength might be compensated by stratagem. Young men were selected from all the legions, who, from the vigour and activity of their bodies, excelled in swiftness; these were supplied with bucklers shorter than those worn by horsemen, and seven javelins each, four feet in length, and pointed with steel in the same manner as the spears used by light-armed troops. The cavalry taking one of these each upon their horses, accustomed them to ride behind them, and to leap down nimbly when the signal was given. When, by daily practice, they appeared to be able to do this in an orderly manner, they advanced into the plain between the camp and the walls, against the cavalry of the Campanians, who stood there prepared for action. As soon as they came within a dart's cast, on a signal given, the light troops leaped down, when a line of infantry formed out of the body of horse suddenly rushed upon the cavalry of the enemy, and discharged their javelins one after another with great rapidity; which being thrown in great numbers upon men and horses indiscriminately, wounded a great many. The sudden and unsuspected nature of the attack, however, occasioned still greater terror; and the cavalry charging them, thus panic-struck, chased them with great slaughter as far as their gates. From that time the Roman cavalry had the superiority; and it was established that there should be velites in the legions. It is said that Quintus Navius was the person who advised the mixing of infantry with cavalry, and that he received honour from the general on that account.

5. While affairs were in this state at Capua, Hannibal was perplexed between two objects, the gaining possession of the citadel of Tarentum, and the retaining of Capua. His concern for Capua, however, prevailed, on which he saw that the attention of every body, allies and enemies, was fixed; and whose fate would be regarded as a proof of the consequences resulting from defection from the Romans. Leaving therefore, a great part of his baggage among the Bruttians, and all his heavier armed troops, he took with

him a body of infantry and cavalry, the best he could select for marching expeditiously, and bent his course into Campania. Rapidly as he marched he was followed by thirty-three elephants. He took up his position in a retired valley behind Mount Tifata, which overhung Capua. Having at his coming taken possession of fort Galatia, the garrison of which he dislodged by force, he then directed his efforts against those who were besieging Capua. Having sent forward messengers to Capua stating the time at which he would attack the Roman camp, in order that they also, having gotten themselves in readiness for a sally, might at the same time pour forth from all their gates, he occasioned the greatest possible terror; for on one side he himself attacked them suddenly, and on the other side all the Campanians sallied forth, both foot and horse, joined by the Carthaginian garrison under the command of Bostar and Hanno. The Romans, lest in so perilous an affair they should leave any part unprotected, by running together to any one place, thus divided their forces: Appius Claudius was opposed to the Campanians; Fulvius to Hannibal; Caius Nero, the *propraetor*, with the cavalry of the sixth legion, placed himself in the road leading to Suessula; and Caius Fulvius Flaccus, the lieutenant-general, with the allied cavalry, on the side opposite the river Volturnus. The battle commenced not only with the usual clamour and tumult, but in addition to the din of men, horses, and arms, a multitude of Campanians, unable to bear arms, being distributed along the walls, raised such a shout together with the clangour of brazen vessels, similar to that which is usually made in the dead of night when the moon is eclipsed, that it diverted the attention even of the combatants. Appius easily repulsed the Campanians from the rampart. On the other side Hannibal and the Carthaginians, forming a larger force, pressed hard on Fulvius. There the sixth legion gave way; being repulsed, a cohort of Spaniards with three elephants made their way up to the rampart. They had broken through the centre of the Roman line, and were in a state of anxious and perilous suspense, whether to force their way into the camp, or be cut off from their own army. When Fulvius saw the disorder of the legion, and the danger the camp was in, he exhorted Quintus Navius, and the other principal centurions, to charge the cohort of the enemy which was fighting under the rampart; he said, “that the state of

things was most critical; that either they must retire before them, in which case they would burst into the camp with less difficulty than they had experienced in breaking through a dense line of troops, or they must cut them to pieces under the rampart: nor would it require a great effort; for they were few, and cut off from their own troops, and if the line which appeared broken, now while the Romans were dispirited, should turn upon the enemy on both sides, they would become enclosed in the midst, and exposed to a twofold attack.” Navius, on hearing these words of the general, snatched the standard of the second company of spearmen from the standard-bearer, and advanced with it against the enemy, threatening that he would throw it into the midst of them unless the soldiers promptly followed him and took part in the fight. He was of gigantic stature, and his arms set him off; the standard also, raised aloft, attracted the gaze both of his countrymen and the enemy. When, however, he had reached the standards of the Spaniards, javelins were poured upon him from all sides, and almost the whole line was turned against him; but neither the number of his enemies nor the force of the weapons could repel the onset of this hero.

6. Marcus Atilius, the lieutenant-general, also caused the standard of the first company of principes of the same legion to be borne against a cohort of the Spaniards. Lucius Portius Licinus and Titus Popilius, the lieutenant-generals, who had the command of the camp, fought valiantly in defence of the rampart, and slew the elephants while in the very act of crossing it. The carcasses of these filling up the ditch, afforded a passage for the enemy as effectually as if earth had been thrown in, or a bridge erected over it; and a horrid carnage took place amid the carcasses of the elephants which lay prostrate. On the other side of the camp, the Campanians, with the Carthaginian garrison, had by this time been repulsed, and the battle was carried on immediately under the gate of Capua leading to Vulturnus. Nor did the armed men contribute so much in resisting the Romans, who endeavoured to force their way in, as the gate itself, which, being furnished with ballistas and scorpions, kept the enemy at bay by the missiles discharged from it. The ardour of the Romans was also clamped by the general, Appius Claudius, receiving a wound; he was struck by a javelin in the upper part of his breast,

beneath the left shoulder, while encouraging his men before the front line. A great number, however, of the enemy were slain before the gate, and the rest were driven in disorder into the city. When Hannibal saw the destruction of the cohort of Spaniards, and that the camp of the enemy was defended with the utmost vigour, giving up the assault, he began to withdraw his standards, making his infantry face about, but throwing out his cavalry in the rear lest the enemy should pursue them closely. The ardour of the legions to pursue the enemy was excessive, but Flaccus ordered a retreat to be sounded, considering that enough had been achieved to convince the Campanians, and Hannibal himself, how unable he was to afford them protection. Some who have undertaken to give accounts of this battle, record that eight thousand of the army of Hannibal, and three thousand Campanians, were slain; that fifteen military standards were taken from the Carthaginians, and eighteen from the Campanians. In other authors I find the battle to have been by no means so important, and that there was more of panic than fighting; that a party of Numidians and Spaniards suddenly bursting into the Roman camp with some elephants, the elephants, as they made their way through the midst of the camp, threw down their tents with a great noise, and caused the beasts of burden to break their halters and run away. That in addition to the confusion occasioned, a stratagem was employed; Hannibal having sent in some persons acquainted with the Latin language, for he had some such with him, who might command the soldiers, in the name of the consuls, to escape every one as fast as he could to the neighbouring mountains, since the camp was lost; but that the imposture was soon discovered, and frustrated with a great slaughter of the enemy; that the elephants were driven out of the camp by fire. However commenced, and however terminated, this was the last battle which was fought before the surrender of Capua. Seppius Lesius was Medixtuticus, or chief magistrate of Capua, that year, a man of obscure origin and slender fortune. It is reported that his mother, when formerly expiating a prodigy which had occurred in the family in behalf of this boy, who was an orphan, received an answer from the aruspex, stating, that “the highest office would come to him;” and that not recognising, at Capua, any ground for such a hope, exclaimed, “the state of the

Campanians must be desperate indeed, when the highest office shall come to my son.” But even this expression, in which the response was turned into ridicule, turned to be true, for those persons whose birth allowed them to aspire to high offices, refusing to accept them when the city was oppressed by sword and famine, and when all hope was lost, Lesius, who complained that Capua was deserted and betrayed by its nobles, accepted the office of chief magistrate, being the last Campanian who held it.

7. But Hannibal, when he saw that the enemy could not be drawn into another engagement, nor a passage be forced through their camp into Capua, resolved to remove his camp from that place and leave the attempt unaccomplished, fearful lest the new consuls might cut off his supplies of provision. While anxiously deliberating on the point to which he should next direct his course, an impulse suddenly entered his mind to make an attack on Rome, the very source of the war. That the opportunity of accomplishing this ever coveted object, which occurred after the battle of Cannae, had been neglected, and was generally censured by others, he himself did not deny. He thought that there was some hope that he might be able to get possession of some part of the city, in consequence of the panic and confusion which his unexpected approach would occasion, and that if Rome were in danger, either both the Roman generals, or at least one of them, would immediately leave Capua; and if they divided their forces, both generals being thus rendered weaker, would afford a favourable opportunity either to himself or the Campanians of gaining some advantage. One consideration only disquieted him, and that was, lest on his departure the Campanians should immediately surrender. By means of presents he induced a Numidian, who was ready to attempt any thing, however daring, to take charge of a letter; and, entering the Roman camp under the disguise of a deserter, to pass out privately on the other side and go to Capua. As to the letter, it was full of encouragement. It stated, that “his departure, which would be beneficial to them, would have the effect of drawing off the Roman generals and armies from the siege of Capua to the defence of Rome. That they must not allow their spirits to sink; that by a few days’ patience they would rid themselves entirely of the siege.” He then ordered the ships on the Vulturnus to be seized, and rowed up to

the fort which he had before erected for his protection. And when he was informed that there were as many as were necessary to convey his army across in one night, after providing a stock of provisions for ten days, he led his legions down to the river by night, and passed them over before daylight.

8. Fulvius Flaccus, who had discovered from deserters that this would happen, before it took place, having written to Rome to the senate to apprise them of it, men's minds were variously affected by it according to the disposition of each. As might be expected in so alarming an emergency, the senate was immediately assembled, when Publius Cornelius, surnamed Asina, was for recalling all the generals and armies from every part of Italy to protect the city, disregarding Capua and every other concern. Fabius Maximus thought that it would be highly disgraceful to retire from Capua, and allow themselves to be terrified and driven about at the nod and menaces of Hannibal. "Was it probable that he, who, though victorious at Cannae, nevertheless dared not approach the city, now, after having been repulsed from Capua, had conceived hopes of making himself master of Rome? It was not to besiege Rome, but to raise the siege of Capua that he was coming. Jupiter, the witness of treaties violated by Hannibal, and the other deities, would defend the city of Rome with that army which is now at the city." To these opposite opinions, that of Publius Valerius Flaccus, which recommended a middle course, was preferred. Regardful of both objects, he thought that a letter should be written to the generals at Capua, informing them of the force they had at the city for its protection, and stating, that as to the number of forces which Hannibal was bringing with him, or how large an army was necessary to carry on the siege of Capua, they themselves knew. If one of the generals and a part of the army could be sent to Rome, and at the same time Capua could be efficiently besieged by the remaining general and army, that then Claudius and Fulvius should settle between themselves which should continue the siege of Capua, and which should come to Rome to protect their capital from being besieged. This decree of the senate having been conveyed to Capua, Quintus Fulvius, the proconsul, who was to go to Rome, as his colleague was ill from his wound, crossed the Volturnus with a body

of troops, to the number of fifteen thousand infantry and a thousand horse, selected from the three armies. Then having ascertained that Hannibal intended to proceed along the Latin road, he sent persons before him to the towns on and near the Appian way, Setia, Cora, and Lanuvium, with directions that they should not only have provisions ready in their towns, but should bring them down to the road from the fields which lay out of the way, and that they should draw together into their towns troops for their defence, in order that each state might be under its own protection.

9. On the day he crossed the Volturnus, Hannibal pitched his camp at a small distance from the river. The next day, passing by Cales, he reached the Sidicinian territory, and having spent a day there in devastating the country, he led his troops along the Latin way through the territory of Suessa, Allifae, and Casinum. Under the walls of Casinum he remained encamped for two days, ravaging the country all around; thence passing by Interamna and Aquinum, he came into the Fregellan territory, to the river Liris, where he found the bridge broken down by the Fregellans in order to impede his progress. Fulvius also was detained at the Volturnus, in consequence of Hannibal's having burnt the ships, and the difficulty he had in procuring rafts to convey his troops across that river from the great scarcity of materials. The army having been conveyed across by rafts, the remainder of the march of Fulvius was uninterrupted, a liberal supply of provisions having been prepared for him, not only in all the towns, but also on the sides of the road; while his men, who were all activity, exhorted each other to quicken their pace, remembering that they were going to defend their country. A messenger from Fregella, who had travelled a day and a night without intermission, arriving at Rome, caused the greatest consternation; and the whole city was thrown into a state of alarm by the running up and down of persons who made vague additions to what they heard, and thus increased the confusion which the original intelligence created. The lamentations of women were not only heard from private houses, but the matrons from every quarter, rushing into the public streets, ran up and down around the shrines of the gods, sweeping the altars with their dishevelled hair, throwing themselves upon their knees and stretching their uplifted hands to heaven and the

gods, imploring them to rescue the city of Rome out of the hands of their enemies, and preserve the Roman mothers and their children from harm. The senate sat in the forum near the magistrates, in case they should wish to consult them. Some were receiving orders and departing to their own department of duty; others were offering themselves wherever there might be occasion for their aid. Troops were posted in the citadel, in the Capitol, upon the walls around the city, and also on the Alban mount, and the fort of Aesula. During this confusion, intelligence was brought that Quintus Fulvius, the proconsul, had set out from Capua with an army; when the senate decreed that Quintus Fulvius should have equal authority with the consuls, lest on entering the city his power should cease. Hannibal, having most destructively ravaged the Fregellan territory, on account of the bridge having been broken down, came into the territory of the Lavici, passing through those of Frusino, Ferentinum, and Anagnia; thence passing through Algidum he directed his course to Tusculum; but not being received within the walls, he went down to the right below Tusculum to Gabii; and marching his army down thence into the territory of the Pupinian tribe, he pitched his camp eight miles from the city. The nearer the enemy came, the greater was the number of fugitives slain by the Numidians who preceded him, and the greater the number of prisoners made of every rank and age.

10. During this confusion, Fulvius Flaccus entered the city with his troops through the Capuan gate, passed through the midst of the city, and through Carinae, to Esquiliae; and going out thence, pitched his camp between the Esquiline and Colline gates. The plebeian aediles brought a supply of provisions there. The consuls and the senate came to the camp, and a consultation was held on the state of the republic. It was resolved that the consuls should encamp in the neighbourhood of the Colline and Esquiline gates; that Caius Calpurnius, the city praetor, should have the command of the Capitol and the citadel; and that a full senate should be continually assembled in the forum, in case it should be necessary to consult them amidst such sudden emergencies. Meanwhile, Hannibal advanced his camp to the Anio, three miles from the city, and fixing his position there, he advanced with two thousand horse from the Colline gate as far as the temple of Hercules, and riding up, took as

near a view as he could of the walls and site of the city. Flaccus, indignant that he should do this so freely, and so much at his ease, sent out a party of cavalry, with orders to displace and drive back to their camp the cavalry of the enemy. After the fight had begun, the consuls ordered the Numidian deserters who were on the Aventine, to the number of twelve hundred, to march through the midst of the city to the Esquiliae, judging that no troops were better calculated to fight among the hollows, the garden walls, and tombs, or in the enclosed roads which were on all sides. But some persons, seeing them from the citadel and Capitol as they filed off on horseback down the Publician hill, cried out that the Aventine was taken. This circumstance occasioned such confusion and terror, that if the Carthaginian camp had not been without the city, the whole multitude, such was their alarm, would have rushed out. They then fled for refuge into their houses and upon the roofs, where they threw stones and weapons on their own soldiers as they passed along the streets, taking them for enemies. Nor could the tumult be repressed, or the mistake explained, as the streets were thronged with crowds of rustics and cattle, which the sudden alarm had driven into the city. The battle between the cavalry was successful, and the enemy were driven away; and as it was necessary to repress the tumults which were arising in several quarters without any cause, it was resolved that all who had been dictators, consuls, or censors, should be invested with authority till such time as the enemy had retired from the walls. During the remainder of the day and the following night, several tumults arose without any foundation, and were repressed.

11. The next day Hannibal, crossing the Anio, drew out all his forces in order of battle; nor did Flaccus and the consuls decline to fight. When the troops on both sides were drawn up to try the issue of a battle, in which Rome was to be the prize of the victors, a violent shower of rain mingled with hail created such disorder in both the lines, that the troops, scarcely able to hold their arms, retired to their camps, less through fear of the enemy than of any thing else. On the following day, likewise, a similar tempest separated the armies marshalled on the same ground; but after they had retired to their camps the weather became wonderfully serene and tranquil. The Carthaginians considered this circumstance as a Divine

interposition, and it is reported that Hannibal was heard to say, "That sometimes he wanted the will to make himself master of Rome, at other times the opportunity." Two other circumstances also, one inconsiderable, the other important, diminished his hopes. The important one was, that while he lay with his armed troops near the walls of the city, he was informed that troops had marched out of it with colours flying, as a reinforcement for Spain; that of less importance was, that he was informed by one of his prisoners, that the very ground on which his camp stood was sold at this very time, without any diminution in its price. Indeed, so great an insult and indignity did it appear to him that a purchaser should be found at Rome for the very soil which he held and possessed by right of conquest, that he immediately called a crier, and ordered that the silversmiths' shops, which at that time stood around the Roman forum, should be put up for sale. Induced by these circumstances he retired to the river Tutia, six miles from the city, whence he proceeded to the grove of Feronia, where was a temple at that time celebrated for its riches. The Capenatians and other states in the neighbourhood, by bringing here their first-fruits and other offerings according to their abilities, kept it decorated with abundance of gold and silver. Of all these offerings the temple was now despoiled. After the departure of Hannibal, vast heaps of brass were found there, as the soldiers, from a religious feeling, had thrown in pieces of uncoined brass. The spoliation of this temple is undoubted by historians; but Caelius asserts, that Hannibal, in his progress to Rome, turned out of his way to it from Eretum. According to him his route commenced with Amiternum, Caetili, and Reate. He came from Campania into Samnium, and thence into Pelignia; then passing the town Sulmio, he entered the territory of the Marrucini; thence through the Alban territory he came to that of the Marsi, from which he came to Amiternum and the village of Foruli. Nor is this diversity of opinion a proof that the traces of so great an army could be confounded in the lapse of so brief a period. That he went that way is evident. The only question is, whether he took this route to the city, or returned by it from the city into Campania?

12. With regard to Capua, Hannibal did not evince such obstinate perseverance in raising the siege of it as the Romans did in pressing

it; for quitting Lucania, he came into the Bruttian territory, and marched to the strait and Rhegium with such rapidity, that he was very near taking the place by surprise, in consequence of the suddenness of his arrival. Though the siege had been urged with undiminished vigour during his absence, yet Capua felt the return of Flaccus; and astonishment was excited that Hannibal had not returned with him. Afterwards they learnt, by conversations, that they were abandoned and deserted, and that the Carthaginians had given up all hopes of retaining Capua. In addition to this a proclamation was made by the proconsul, agreeably to a decree of the senate, and published among the enemy, that any Campanian citizen who came over before a stated day should be indemnified. No one, however, came over, as they were held together by fear more than fidelity; for the crimes they had committed during their revolt were too great to admit of pardon. As none of them passed over to the enemy, consulting their own individual interest, so no measure of safety was taken with regard to the general body. The nobility had deserted the state, nor could they be induced to meet in the senate, while the office of chief magistrate was filled by a man who had not derived honour to himself from his office, but stripped the office of its influence and authority by his own unworthiness. Now none of the nobles made their appearance even in the forum, or any public place, but shut themselves up in their houses, in daily expectation of the downfall of their city, and their own destruction together. The chief responsibility in every thing devolved upon Bostar and Hanno, the praefects of the Punic garrison, who were anxious on account of their own danger, and not that of their allies. They addressed a letter to Hannibal, in terms, not only of freedom, but severity, charging him with “delivering, not only Capua into the hands of the enemy, but with treacherously abandoning themselves also, and their troops, to every species of torture;” they told him “he had gone off to the Bruttians, in order to get out of the way, as it were, lest Capua should be taken before his eyes; while, by Hercules, the Romans, on the contrary, could not be drawn off from the siege of Capua, even by an attack upon their city. So much more constant were the Romans in their enmity than the Carthaginians in their friendship. If he would return to Capua and direct the whole operations of the war to that

point, that both themselves and the Campanians would be prepared for a sally. That they had crossed the Alps not to carry on a war with the people of Rhegium nor Tarentum. That where the Roman legions were, there the armies of the Carthaginians ought to be. Thus it was that victories had been gained at Cannae and Trasimenus; by uniting, by pitching their camp close to that of the enemy, by trying their fortune." A letter to this effect was given to some Numidians who had already engaged to render their services for a stated reward. These men came into the camp to Flaccus under pretence of being deserters, with the intention of quitting it by seizing an opportunity, and the famine, which had so long existed at Capua, afforded a pretext for desertion which no one could suspect. But a Campanian woman, the paramour of one of the deserters, unexpectedly entered the camp, and informed the Roman general that the Numidians had come over according to a preconcerted plan of treachery, and were the bearers of letters to Hannibal; that she was prepared to convict one of the party of that fact, as he had discovered it to her. On being brought forward, he at first pretended, with considerable pertinacity, that he did not know the woman; but afterwards, gradually succumbing to the force of truth, when he saw the instruments of torture called for and preparing, he confessed that it was so. The letters were produced, and a discovery was made of an additional fact, before concealed, that other Numidians were strolling about in the Roman camp, under pretence of being deserters. Above seventy of these were arrested, and, with the late deserters, scourged with rods; and after their hands had been cut off, were driven back to Capua. The sight of so severe a punishment broke the spirit of the Campanians.

13. The people, rushing in crowds to the senate-house, compelled Lesius to assemble a senate, and openly threatened the nobles, who had now for a long time absented themselves from the public deliberations, that unless they attended the meeting of the senate, they would go round to their houses and drag them all before the public by force. The fear of this procured the magistrate a full senate. Here, while the rest contended for sending ambassadors to the Roman generals, Vibius Virrius, who had been the instigator of the revolt from the Romans, on being asked his opinion, observed, that

“those persons who spoke of sending ambassadors, and of peace, and a surrender, did not bear in mind either what they would do if they had the Romans in their power, or what they themselves must expect to suffer. What! do you think,” says he, “that your surrender will be like that in which formerly we placed ourselves and every thing belonging to us at the disposal of the Romans, in order that we might obtain assistance from them against the Samnites? Have you already forgotten at what a juncture we revolted from the Romans, and what were their circumstances? Have you forgotten how at the time of the revolt we put to death, with torture and indignity, their garrison, which might have been sent out? How often, and with determined hostility, we have sallied out against them when besieging us, and assaulted their camp? How we invited Hannibal to come and cut them off? And how most recently we sent him hence to lay siege to Rome? But come, retrace on the other hand what they have done in hostility towards us, that you may learn therefrom what you have to hope for. When a foreign enemy was in Italy, and that enemy Hannibal; when the flame of war was kindled in every quarter; disregarding every other object, disregarding even Hannibal himself, they sent two consuls with two consular armies to lay siege to Capua. This is the second year, that, surrounded with lines and shut up within our walls, they consume us by famine, having suffered in like manner with ourselves the extremest dangers and the severest hardships, having frequently had their troops slain near their rampart and trenches, and at last having been almost deprived of their camp. But I pass over these matters. It has been usual, even from of old, to suffer dangers and hardships in besieging an enemy’s city. The following is a proof of their animosity and bitter hatred. Hannibal assaulted their camp with an immense force of horse and foot, and took a part of it. By so great a danger they were not in the least diverted from the siege. Crossing the Vulturnus, he laid waste the territory of Cales with fire. Such calamities inflicted upon their allies had no effect in calling them off. He ordered his troops to march in hostile array to the very city of Rome. They despised the tempest which threatened them in this case also. Crossing the Anio, he pitched his camp three miles from the city, and lastly, came up to the very walls and gates. He gave them to understand that he would take

their city from them, unless they gave up Capua. But they did not give it up. Wild beasts, impelled by headlong fury and rage, you may divert from their object to bring assistance to those belonging to them, if you attempt to approach their dens and their young. The Romans could not be diverted from Capua by the blockade of Rome, by their wives and children, whose lamentations could almost be heard from this place, by their altars, their hearths, the temples of their gods, and the sepulchres of their ancestors profaned and violated. So great was their avidity to bring us to punishment, so insatiable their thirst for drinking our blood. Nor, perhaps, without reason. We too would have done the same had the opportunity been afforded us. Since, however, the gods have thought proper to determine it otherwise, though I ought not to shrink from death, while I am free, while I am master of myself, I have it in my power, by a death not only honourable but mild, to escape the tortures and indignities which the enemy hope to inflict upon me. I will not see Appius Claudius and Quintus Fulvius in the pride and insolence of victory, nor will I be dragged in chains through Rome as a spectacle in a triumph, that afterwards in a dungeon, or tied to a stake, after my back has been lacerated with stripes, I may place my neck under a Roman axe. I will neither see my native city demolished and burnt, nor the matrons, virgins, and free-born youths of Campania dragged to constupration. Alba, from which they themselves derived their origin, they demolished from her foundations, that there might remain no trace of their rise and extraction, much less can I believe they will spare Capua, towards which they bear a more rancorous hatred than towards Carthage. For such of you, therefore, as have a mind to yield to fate, before they behold such horrors, a banquet is furnished and prepared at my house. When satiated with wine and food, the same cup which shall have been given to me shall be handed round to them. That potion will rescue our bodies from torture, our minds from insult, our eyes and ears from seeing and hearing all those cruelties and indignities which await the vanquished. There will be persons in readiness who will throw our lifeless bodies upon a large pile kindled in the court-yard of the house. This is the only free and honourable way to death. Our very enemies will admire our courage, and Hannibal will learn that those

whom he deserted and betrayed were brave allies.”

14. More of those who heard this speech of Virrius approved of the proposal contained in it, than had strength of mind to execute what they approved. The greater part of the senate being not without hopes that the Romans, whose clemency they had frequently had proof of in many wars, would be exorable by them also, decreed and sent ambassadors to surrender Capua to the Romans. About twenty-seven senators, following Vibius Virrius to his home, partook of the banquet with him; and after having, as far as they could, withdrawn their minds, by means of wine, from the perception of the impending evil, all took the poison. They then rose from the banquet, after giving each other their right hands, and taking a last embrace, mingling their tears for their own and their country's fate; some of them remained, that they might be burned upon the same pile, and the rest retired to their homes. Their veins being filled in consequence of what they had eaten, and the wine they drank, rendered the poison less efficacious in expediting death; and accordingly, though the greater part of them languished the whole of that night and part of the following day, all of them, however, breathed their last before the gates were opened to the enemy. The following day the gate of Jupiter, which faced the Roman camp, was opened by order of the proconsul, when one legion and two squadrons of allies marched in at it, under the command of Caius Fulvius, lieutenant-general. When he had taken care that all the arms and weapons to be found in Capua should be brought to him; having placed guards at all the gates to prevent any one's going or being sent out, he seized the Carthaginian garrison, and ordered the Campanian senators to go into the camp to the Roman generals. On their arrival they were all immediately thrown into chains, and ordered to lay before the quaestor an account of all the gold and silver they had. There were seventy pounds of gold, and three thousand two hundred of silver. Twenty-five of the senators were sent to Cales, to be kept in custody, and twenty-eight to Teanum; these being the persons by whose advice principally it appeared that the revolt from the Romans had taken place.

15. Fulvius and Claudius were far from being agreed as to the punishment of the Campanian senators. Claudius was disposed to

grant their prayer for pardon, but Fulvius was more inclined to severity. Appius, therefore, was for referring the entire disposal of the question to the Roman senate. He thought it right also, that the fathers should have the opportunity of asking them whether any of the Latin confederates, or of the municipal towns, had taken part in these designs, and whether they had derived any assistance from them in the war. Fulvius, on the contrary, urged that they ought by no means to run the hazard of having the minds of faithful allies harassed by doubtful accusations, and subjected to informers who never cared at all what they did or what they said. For this reason he said that he should prevent and put a stop to any such inquiry. After this conversation they separated; Appius not doubting but that his colleague, though he expressed himself so warmly, would, nevertheless, wait for a letter from Rome, in an affair of such magnitude. But Fulvius, fearing that his designs would be frustrated by that very means, dismissed his council, and commanded the military tribunes and the praefects of the allies to give notice to two thousand chosen horsemen to be in readiness at the third trumpet. Setting out for Teanum with this body of cavalry, he entered the gate at break of day, and proceeded direct to the forum; and a number of people having flocked together at the first entrance of the horsemen, he ordered the Sidicinian magistrate to be summoned; when he desired him to bring forth the Campanians whom he had in custody. These were all accordingly brought forth, scourged, and beheaded. He then proceeded at full speed to Cales; where, when he had taken his seat on the tribunal, and while the Campanians, who had been brought forth, were being bound to the stake, an express arrived from Rome, and delivered to him a letter from Caius Calpurnius, the praetor, and a decree of the senate. A murmur immediately pervaded the whole assembly, beginning at the tribunal, that the entire question respecting the Campanians was referred to the decision of the fathers, and Fulvius, suspecting this to be the case, took the letter, and without opening it put it into his bosom, and then commanded the crier to order the lictor to do his duty. Thus punishment was inflicted on those also who were at Cales. The letter was then read, together with the decree of the senate, when it was too late to prevent the business which was already executed, and which had been

accelerated by every means to prevent its being obstructed. When Fulvius was now rising from his seat, Jubellius Taurea, a Campanian making his way through the middle of the city and the crowd, called upon him by name, and when Flaccus, who wondered greatly what he could want, had resumed his seat, he said, "Order me also to be put to death, that you may be able to boast, that a much braver man than yourself has been put to death by you." Fulvius at first said, that the man could not certainly be in his senses, then, that he was restrained by a decree of the senate, even though he might wish it, when Jubellius exclaimed "Since, after the capture of my country, and the loss of my relations and friends, after having killed, with my own hand, my wife and children to prevent their suffering any indignity, I am not allowed even to die in the same manner as these my countrymen, let a rescue be sought in courage from this hated existence." So saying, he thrust a sword, which he had concealed under his garment, right through his breast, and fell lifeless at the general's feet.

16. Because not only what related to the punishment of the Campanians, but most of the other particulars of this affair, were transacted according to the judgment of Flaccus alone, some authors affirm that Appius Claudius died about the time of the surrender of Capua, and that this same Taurea neither came to Cales voluntarily nor died by his own hand, but that while he was being tied to the stake among the rest, Flaccus, who could not distinctly hear what he vociferated from the noise which was made, ordered silence, when Taurea said the things which have been before related "that he, a man of the greatest courage, was being put to death by one who was by no means his equal in respect to valour." That immediately on his saying this, the herald, by command of the proconsul, pronounced this order. "Lictor, apply the rods to this man of courage, and execute the law upon him first." Some authors also relate, that he read the decree of the senate before he beheaded them, but that as there was a clause in it, to the effect, that if he thought proper he should refer the entire question to the senate, he construed it that the decision as to what was most for the interest of the state was left to himself. He returned from Cales to Capua. Atella and Calatia surrendered themselves, and were received. Here also the principal promoters of

the revolt were punished. Thus eighty principal members of the senate were put to death, and about three hundred of the Campanian nobles thrown into prison. The rest were distributed through the several cities of the Latin confederacy, to be kept in custody, where they perished in various ways. The rest of the Campanian citizens were sold. The remaining subject of deliberation related to the city and its territory. Some were of opinion that a city so eminently powerful, so near, and so hostile, ought to be demolished. But immediate utility prevailed, for on account of the land, which was evidently superior to any in Italy from the variety and exuberance of its produce, the city was preserved that it might become a settlement of husbandmen. For the purpose of peopling the city, a number of sojourners, freed-men, dealers, and artificers, were retained, but all the land and buildings were made the property of the Roman state. It was resolved, however, that Capua should only be inhabited and peopled as a city, that there should be no body-politic, nor assembly of the senate or people, nor magistrates. For it was thought that a multitude not possessing any public council, without a ruling power, and unconnected by the participation of any common rights, would be incapable of combination. They resolved to send a praefect annually from Rome to administer justice. Thus were matters adjusted at Capua, upon a plan in every respect worthy of commendation. Punishment was inflicted upon the most guilty with rigour and despatch, the populace dispersed beyond all hope of return, no rage vented in fire and ruins upon the unoffending houses and walls. Together also with advantage, a reputation for clemency was obtained among the allies, by the preservation of a city of the greatest celebrity and opulence, the demolition of which, all Campania, and all the people dwelling in the neighbourhood of Campania, would have bewailed, while their enemies were compelled to admit the ability of the Romans to punish their faithless allies, and how little assistance could be derived from Hannibal towards the defence of those whom he had taken under his protection.

17. The Roman senate having gone through every thing which required their attention relative to Capua, decreed to Caius Nero six thousand foot and three hundred horse, whichever he should himself

choose out of those two legions which he had commanded at Capua, with an equal number of infantry, and eight hundred horse of the Latin confederacy. This army Nero embarked at Puteoli, and conveyed over into Spain. Having arrived at Tarraco with his ships, landed his troops, hauled his ships ashore, and armed his mariners to augment his numbers, he proceeded to the river Iberus, and received the army from Titus Fonteius and Lucius Marcius. He then marched towards the enemy. Hasdrubal, son of Hamilcar, was encamped at the black stones in Ausetania, a place situated between the towns Illiturgi and Mentissa. The entrance of this defile Nero seized, and Hasdrubal, to prevent his being shut up in it, sent a herald to engage that, if he were allowed to depart thence, he would convey the whole of his army out of Spain. The Roman general having received this proposition gladly, Hasdrubal requested the next day for a conference, when the Romans might draw up conditions relative to the surrender of the citadels of the towns, and the appointment of a day on which the garrisons might be withdrawn, and the Carthaginians might remove every thing belonging to them without imposition. Having obtained his point in this respect, Hasdrubal gave orders that as soon as it was dark, and during the whole of the night afterwards, the heaviest part of his force should get out of the defile by whatever way they could. The strictest care was taken that many should not go out that night, that the very fewness of their numbers might both be more adapted to elude the notice of the enemy from their silence, and to an escape through confined and rugged paths. Next day they met for the conference; but that day having been spent, on purpose, in speaking and writing about a variety of subjects, which were not to this point, the conference was put off to the next day. The addition of the following night gave him time to send still more out; nor was the business concluded the next day. Thus several days were spent in openly discussing conditions, and as many nights in privately sending the Carthaginian troops out of their camp; and after the greater part of the army had been sent out, he did not even keep to those terms which he had himself proposed; and his sincerity decreasing with his fears, they became less and less agreed. By this time nearly all the infantry had cleared the defile, when at daybreak a dense mist enveloped the whole defile and the neighbouring plains;

which Hasdrubal perceiving, sent to Nero to put off the conference to the following day, as the Carthaginians held that day sacred from the transaction of any serious business. Not even then was the cheat suspected. Hasdrubal having gained the indulgence he sought for that day also, immediately quitted his camp with his cavalry and elephants, and without creating any alarm escaped to a place of safety. About the fourth hour the mist, being dispelled by the sun, left the atmosphere clear, when the Romans saw that the camp of the enemy was deserted. Then at length Claudius, recognising the Carthaginian perfidy, and perceiving that he had been caught by trickery, immediately began to pursue the enemy as they moved off, prepared to give battle; but they declined fighting. Some skirmishes, however, took place between the rear of the Carthaginians and the advanced guard of the Romans.

18. During the time in which these events occurred, neither did those states of Spain which had revolted after the defeat that was sustained, return to the Romans, nor did any others desert them. At Rome, the attention of the senate and people, after the recovery of Capua, was not fixed in a greater degree upon Italy than upon Spain. They resolved that the army there should be augmented and a general sent. They were not, however, so clear as to the person whom they should send, as that, where two generals had fallen within the space of thirty days, he who was to supply the place of them should be selected with unusual care. Some naming one person, and others another, they at length came to the resolution that the people should assemble for the purpose of electing a proconsul for Spain, and the consuls fixed a day for the election. At first they waited in expectation that those persons who might think themselves qualified for so momentous a command would give in their names, but this expectation being disappointed, their grief was renewed for the calamity they had suffered, and then regret for the generals they had lost. The people thus afflicted, and almost at their wits' end, came down, however, to the Campus Martius on the day of the election, where, turning towards the magistrates, they looked round at the countenances of their most eminent men, who were earnestly gazing at each other, and murmured bitterly, that their affairs were in so ruinous a state, and the condition of the commonwealth so desperate,

that no one dared undertake the command in Spain. When suddenly Publius Cornelius, son of Publius who had fallen in Spain, who was about twenty-four years of age, declaring himself a candidate, took his station on an eminence from which he could be seen by all. The eyes of the whole assembly were directed towards him, and by acclamations and expressions of approbation, a prosperous and happy command were at once augured to him. Orders were then given that they should proceed to vote, when not only every century, but every individual to a man, decided that Publius Scipio should be invested with the command in Spain. But after the business had been concluded, and the ardour and impetuosity of their zeal had subsided, a sudden silence ensued, and a secret reflection on what they had done, whether their partiality had not got the better of their judgment? They chiefly regretted his youth, but some were terrified at the fortune which attended his house and his name, for while the two families to which he belonged were in mourning, he was going into a province where he must carry on his operations between the tombs of his father and his uncle.

19. Perceiving the solicitude and anxiety which people felt, after performing the business with so much ardour, he summoned an assembly, in which he discoursed in so noble and high minded a manner, on his years, the command intrusted to him, and the war which he had to carry on, as to rekindle and renew the ardour which had subsided, and inspire the people with more confident hopes than the reliance placed on human professions, or reasoning on the promising appearance of affairs, usually engenders. For Scipio was not only deserving of admiration for his real virtues, but also for his peculiar address in displaying them, to which he had been formed from his earliest years; — effecting many things with the multitude, either by feigning nocturnal visions or as with a mind divinely inspired; whether it was that he was himself, too, endued with a superstitious turn of mind, or that they might execute his commands and adopt his plans without hesitation, as if they proceeded from the responses of an oracle. With the intention of preparing men's minds for this from the beginning, he never at any time from his first assumption of the manly gown transacted any business, public or private, without first going to the Capitol, entering the temple, and

taking his seat there; where he generally passed a considerable time in secret and alone. This practice, which was adhered to through the whole of his life, occasioned in some persons a belief in a notion which generally prevailed, whether designedly or undesignedly propagated, that he was a man of divine extraction; and revived a report equally absurd and fabulous with that formerly spread respecting Alexander the Great, that he was begotten by a huge serpent, whose monstrous form was frequently observed in the bedchamber of his mother, but which, on any one's coming in, suddenly unfolding his coils, glided out of sight. The belief in these miraculous accounts was never ridiculed by him, but rather increased by his address; neither positively denying any such thing nor openly affirming it. There were also many other things, some real and others counterfeit, which exceeded in the case of this young man the usual measure of human admiration, in reliance on which the state intrusted him with an affair of so much difficulty, and with so important a command, at an age by no means ripe for it. To the forces in Spain, consisting of the remains of the old army, and those which had been conveyed over from Puteoli by Claudius Nero, ten thousand infantry and a thousand horse were added; and Marcus Junius Silanus, the proprætor, was sent to assist in the management of affairs. Thus with a fleet of thirty ships, all of which were quinqueremes, he set sail from the mouth of the Tiber, and coasting along the shore of the Tuscan Sea, the Alps, and the Gallic Gulf, and then doubling the promontory of the Pyrenees, landed his troops at Emporiae, a Greek city, which also derived its origin from Phocæa. Ordering his ships to attend him, he marched by land to Tarraco; where he held a congress of deputies from all the allies; for embassies had poured forth from every province on the news of his arrival. Here he ordered his ships to be hauled on shore, having sent back the four triremes of the Massilians which had, in compliment to him, attended him from their home. After that, he began to give answers to the embassies of the several states, which had been in suspense on account of the many vicissitudes of the war; and this with so great dignity, arising from the great confidence he had in his own talents, that no presumptuous expression ever escaped him; and in every thing he said there appeared at once the greatest majesty and

sincerity.

20. Setting out from Tarraco, he visited the states of his allies and the winter quarters of his army; and bestowed the highest commendations upon the soldiers, because, though they had received two such disastrous blows in succession, they had retained possession of the province, and not allowing the enemy to reap any advantage from their successes, had excluded them entirely from the territory on this side of the Iberus, and honourably protected their allies. Marcius he kept with him, and treated him with such respect, that it was perfectly evident there was nothing he feared less than lest any one should stand in the way of his own glory. Silanus then took the place of Nero, and the fresh troops were led into winter quarters. Scipio having in good time visited every place where his presence was necessary, and completed every thing which was to be done, returned to Tarraco. The reputation of Scipio among his enemies was not inferior to that which he enjoyed among his allies and countrymen. They felt also a kind of presentiment of what was to come, which occasioned the greater apprehension, the less they could account for their fears, which had arisen without any cause. They had retired to their winter quarters in different directions. Hasdrubal, son of Gisgo, had gone quite to the ocean and Gades; Mago into the midland parts chiefly above the forest of Castulo; Hasdrubal, son of Hamilcar, wintered in the neighbourhood of Saguntum, close upon the Iberus. At the close of the summer in which Capua was recovered and Scipio entered Spain, a Carthaginian fleet, which had been fetched from Sicily to Tarentum, to cut off the supplies of the Roman garrison in the citadel of that place, had blocked up all the approaches to the citadel from the sea; but by lying there too long, they caused a greater scarcity of provisions to their friends than to their enemies. For so much corn could not be brought in for the townsmen, along the coasts which were friendly to them, and through the ports which were kept open through the protection afforded by the Carthaginian fleet, as the fleet itself consumed, which had on board a crowd made up of every description of persons. So that the garrison of the citadel, which was small in number, could be supported from the stock they had previously laid in without importing any, while that which they imported was not sufficient for

the supply of the Tarentines and the fleet. At length the fleet was sent away with greater satisfaction than it was received. The scarcity of provisions, however, was not much relieved by it; because when the protection by sea was removed corn could not be brought in.

21. At the close of the same summer, Marcus Marcellus arriving at the city from his province of Sicily, an audience of the senate was given him by Caius Calpurnius, the praetor, in the temple of Bellona. Here, after discoursing on the services he had performed, and complaining in gentle terms, not on his own account more than that of his soldiers, that after having completely reduced the province, he had not been allowed to bring home his army, he requested that he might be allowed to enter the city in triumph; this he did not obtain. A long debate took place on the question, whether it was less consistent to deny a triumph on his return to him, in whose name, when absent, a supplication had been decreed and honours paid to the immortal gods, for successes obtained under his conduct; or, when they had ordered him to deliver over his army to a successor, which would not have been decreed unless there were still war in the province, to allow him to triumph, as if the war had been terminated, when the army, the evidence of the triumph being deserved or undeserved, were absent. As a middle course between the two opinions, it was resolved that he should enter the city in ovation. The plebeian tribunes, by direction of the senate, proposed to the people, that Marcus Marcellus should be invested with command during the day on which he should enter the city in ovation. The day before he entered the city he triumphed on the Alban mount; after which he entered the city in ovation, having a great quantity of spoils carried before him, together with a model of the capture of Syracuse. The catapultas and ballistas, and every other instrument of war were carried; likewise the rich ornaments laid up by its kings during a long continuance of peace; a quantity of wrought silver and brass, and other articles, with precious garments, and a number of celebrated statues, with which Syracuse had been adorned in such a manner as to rank among the chief Grecian cities in that respect. Eight elephants were also led as an emblem of victory over the Carthaginians. Sosis, the Syracusan, and Mericus, the Spaniard, who preceded him with golden crowns, formed not the least interesting part of the spectacle;

under the guidance of one of whom the Romans had entered Syracuse by night, while the other had betrayed to them the island and the garrison in it. To both of them the freedom of the city was given, and five hundred acres of land each. Sosis was to have his portion in the Syracusan territory, out of the lands which had belonged either to the kings or the enemies of the Roman people, together with a house at Syracuse, which had belonged to any one of those persons who had been punished according to the laws of war. Mericus and the Spaniards who had come over with him were ordered to have a city and lands assigned to them in Sicily, which had belonged to some of those who had revolted from the Romans. It was given in charge to Marcus Cornelius to assign them the city and lands wherever he thought proper. In the same country, four hundred acres of land were decreed to Belligenes, by whose means Mericus had been persuaded to come over. After the departure of Marcellus from Sicily, a Carthaginian fleet landed eight thousand infantry and three thousand Numidian cavalry. To these the Murgantian territories revolted; Hybla, Macella, and certain other towns of less note followed their defection. The Numidians also, headed by Mutines, ranging without restraint through the whole of Sicily, ravaged with fire the lands of the allies of the Romans. In addition to these unfortunate circumstances, the Roman soldiers, incensed partly because they had not been taken from the province with their general, and partly because they had been forbidden to winter in towns, discharged their duties negligently, and wanted a leader more than inclination for a mutiny. Amid these difficulties Marcus Cornelius, the praetor, sometimes by soothing, at other times by reproving them, pacified the minds of the soldiers; and reduced to obedience all the states which had revolted; out of which he gave Murgantia to those Spaniards who were entitled to a city and land, in conformity with the decree of the senate.

22. As both the consuls had Apulia for their province, and as there was now less to be apprehended from Hannibal and the Carthaginians, they were directed to draw lots for the provinces of Apulia and Macedonia. Macedonia fell to the lot of Sulpicius, who succeeded Laevinus. Fulvius having been called to Rome on account of the election, held an assembly to elect new consuls; when the

junior Veturian century, which had the right of voting first, named Titus Manlius Torquatus and Titus Otacilius. A crowd collecting round Manlius, who was present, to congratulate him, and it being certain that the people would concur in his election, he went, surrounded as he was with a multitude of persons, to the tribunal of the consul, and requested that he would listen to a few words from him; and that he would order the century which had voted to be recalled. While all present were waiting impatiently to hear what it was he was going to ask, he alleged as an excuse the weakness of his eyes; observing, that “a pilot or a general might fairly be charged with presumption who should request that the lives and fortunes of others might be intrusted to him, when in every thing which was to be done he must make use of other people’s eyes. Therefore he requested, that, if it seemed good to him, he would order the junior Veturian century to come and vote again; and to recollect, while electing consuls, the war which they had in Italy, and the present exigencies of the state. That their ears had scarcely yet ceased to ring with the noise and tumult raised by the enemy, when but a few months ago they nearly scaled the walls of Rome.” This speech was followed by the century’s shouting out, one and all, that “they would not in the least alter their vote, but would name the same persons for consuls;” when Torquatus replied, “neither shall I as consul be able to put up with your conduct, nor will you be satisfied with my government. Go back and vote again, and consider that you have a Punic war in Italy, and that the leader of your enemies is Hannibal.” Upon this the century, moved by the authority of the man and the shouts of admirers around, besought the consul to summon the elder Veturian century; for they were desirous of conferring with persons older than themselves, and to name the consuls in accordance with their advice. The elder Veturian century having been summoned, time was allowed them to confer with the others by themselves in the *ovile*. The elders said that there were three persons whom they ought to deliberate about electing, two of them having already served all the offices of honour, namely, Quintus Fabius and Marcus Marcellus; and if they wished so particularly to elect some fresh person as consul to act against the Carthaginians, that Marcus Valerius Laevinus had carried on operations against king Philip by sea and

land with signal success. Thus, three persons having been proposed to them to deliberate about, the seniors were dismissed, and the juniors proceeded to vote. They named as consuls, Marcus Claudius Marcellus, then glorious with the conquest of Sicily, and Marcus Valerius, both in their absence. All the centuries followed the recommendation of that which voted first. Let men now ridicule the admirers of antiquity. Even if there existed a republic of wise men, which the learned rather imagine than know of; for my own part I cannot persuade myself that there could possibly be a nobility of sounder judgment, and more moderate in their desire of power, or a people better moralled. Indeed that a century of juniors should have been willing to consult their elders, as to the persons to whom they should intrust a command by their vote, is rendered scarcely probable by the contempt and levity with which the parental authority is treated by children in the present age.

23. The assembly for the election of praetors was then held, at which Publius Manlius Vulso, Lucius Manlius Acidinus, Caius Laetorius, and Lucius Cincius Alimentus were elected. It happened that just as the elections were concluded, news was brought that Titus Otacilius, whom it seemed the people would have made consul in his absence, with Titus Manlius, had not the course of the elections been interrupted, had died in Sicily. The games in honour of Apollo had been performed the preceding year, and on the motion of Calpurnius, the praetor, that they should be performed this year also, the senate decreed that they should be vowed every year for the time to come. The same year several prodigies were seen and reported. At the temple of Concord, a statue of Victory, which stood on the roof, having been struck by lightning and thrown down, stuck among the figures of Victory, which were among the ornaments under the eaves, and did not fall to the ground from thence. Both from Anagnia and Fregellae it was reported that a wall and some gates had been struck by lightning. That in the forum of Sudertum streams of blood had continued flowing through a whole day; at Eretum, that there had been a shower of stones; and at Reate, that a mule had brought forth. These prodigies were expiated with victims of the larger sort, the people were commanded to offer up prayers for one day, and perform the nine days' sacred rite. Several of the public

priests died off this year, and fresh ones were appointed. In the room of Manius Aemilius Numida, decemvir for sacred rites, Marcus Aemilius Lepidus was appointed; in the room of Manius Pomponius Matho, the pontiff, Caius Livius; in the room of Spurius Carvilius Maximus, the augur, Marcus Servilius. As Titus Otacilius Crassus, a pontiff, died after the year was concluded, no person was nominated to succeed him. Caius Claudius, flamen of Jupiter, retired from his office, because he had distributed the entrails improperly.

24. During the same time Marcus Valerius Laevinus, having first sounded the intentions of the leading men by means of secret conferences, came with some light ships to a council of the Aetolians, which had been previously appointed to meet for this very purpose. Here having proudly pointed to the capture of Syracuse and Capua, as proofs of the success of the Roman arms in Sicily and Italy, he added, that "it was a custom with the Romans, handed down to them from their ancestors, to respect their allies; some of whom they had received into their state, and had admitted to the same privileges they enjoyed themselves, while others they treated so favourably that they chose rather to be allies than citizens. That the Aetolians would be honoured by them so much the more, because they were the first of the nations across the sea which had entered into friendship with them. That Philip and the Macedonians were troublesome neighbours to them, but that he had broken their strength and spirits already, and would still further reduce them to that degree, that they should not only evacuate the cities which they had violently taken from the Aetolians, but have Macedonia itself disturbed with war. And that as to the Acarnanians, whose separation from their body was a source of grief to the Aetolians, he would place them again under their ancient system of jurisdiction and dominion." These assertions and promises of the Roman general, Scopas, who was at that time praetor of the nation, and Dorymachus, a leading man among the Aetolians, confirmed on their own authority, extolling the power and greatness of the Roman people with less reserve, and with greater force of conviction. However, the hope of recovering Acarnania principally moved them. The terms, therefore, were reduced to writing, on which they should enter into alliance and friendship with the Roman people, and it was added,

that “if it were agreeable to them and they wished it, the Eleans and Lacedaemonians, with Attalus, Pleuratus, and Scerdilaedas, should be included on the same conditions.” Attalus was king of Asia; the latter, kings of the Thracians and Illyrians. The conditions were, that “the Aetolians should immediately make war on Philip by land, in which the Romans should assist, with not less than twenty quinqueremes. That the site and buildings, together with the walls and lands, of all the cities as far as Corcyra, should become the property of the Aetolians, every other kind of booty, of the Romans. That the Romans should endeavour to put the Aetolians in possession of Acarnania. If the Aetolians should make peace with Philip, they should insert a stipulation that the peace should stand good only on condition that they abstained from hostilities against the Romans, their allies, and the states subject to them. In like manner, if the Romans should form an alliance with the king, that they should provide that he should not have liberty to make war upon the Aetolians and their allies.” Such were the terms agreed upon; and copies of them having been made, they were laid up two years afterwards by the Aetolians at Olympia, and by the Romans in the Capitol, that they might be attested by these consecrated records. The delay had been occasioned by the Aetolian ambassadors’ having been detained at Rome. This, however, did not form an impediment to the war’s proceeding. Both the Aetolians immediately commenced war against Philip, and Laevinus taking, all but the citadel, Zacynthus, a small island near to Aetolia, and having one city of the same name with the island; and also taking Aeniadae and Nasus from the Acarnanians, annexed them to the Aetolians; and also considering that Philip was sufficiently engaged in war with his neighbours to prevent his thinking of Italy, the Carthaginians, and his compact with Hannibal, he retired to Corcyra.

25. To Philip intelligence of the defection of the Aetolians was brought while in winter quarters at Pella. As he was about to march an army into Greece at the beginning of the spring, he undertook a sudden expedition into the territories of Oricum and Apollonia, in order that Macedonia might not be molested by the Illyrians, and the cities bordering upon them, in consequence of the terror he would thus strike them with in turn. The Apollonians came out to oppose

him, but he drove them, terrified and dismayed, within their walls. After devastating the adjacent parts of Illyricum he turned his course into Pelagonia, with the same expedition. He then took Sintia, a town of the Dardanians, which would have afforded them a passage into Macedonia. Having with the greatest despatch performed these achievements, not forgetting the war made upon him by the Aetolians and Romans in conjunction, he marched down into Thessaly through Pelagonia, Lyncus, and Bottiaea. He trusted that people might be induced to take part with him in the war against the Aetolians, and, therefore, leaving Perseus with four thousand armed men at the gorge, which formed the entrance into Thessaly, to prevent the Aetolians from passing it, before he should be occupied with more important business, he marched his army into Macedonia, and thence into Thrace and Maedica. This nation had been accustomed to make incursions into Macedonia when they perceived the king engaged in a foreign war, and the kingdom left unprotected. Accordingly, he began to devastate the lands in the neighbourhood of Phragandae, and to lay siege to the city Jamphorina, the capital and chief fortress of Maedica. Scopas, on hearing that the king had gone into Thrace, and was engaged in a war there, armed all the Aetolian youths, and prepared to invade Acarnania. The Acarnanian nation, unequal to their enemy in point of strength, and seeing that they had lost Aeniadae and Nasus, and moreover that the Roman arms were threatening them, prepare the war rather with rage than prudence. Having sent their wives, children, and those who were above sixty years old into the neighbouring parts of Epirus, all who were between the ages of fifteen and sixty, bound each other by an oath not to return unless victorious. That no one might receive into his city or house, or admit to his table or hearth, such as should retire from the field vanquished, they drew up a form of direful execration against their countrymen who should do so; and the most solemn entreaty they could devise, to friendly states. At the same time they entreated the Epirotes to bury in one tomb such of their men as should fall in the encounter, adding this inscription over their remains: HERE LIE THE ACARNANIANS, WHO DIED WHILE FIGHTING IN DEFENCE OF THEIR COUNTRY, AGAINST THE VIOLENCE AND INJUSTICE OF THE AETOLIANS. Having

worked up their courage to the highest pitch by these means, they fixed their camp at the extreme borders of their country in the way of the enemy; and sending messengers to Philip to inform him of the critical situation in which they stood, they obliged him to suspend the war in which he was engaged, though he had gained possession of Jamphorina by surrender, and had succeeded in other respects. The ardour of the Aetolians was damped, in the first instance, by the news of the combination formed by the Acarnanians; but afterwards the intelligence of Philip's approach compelled them even to retreat into the interior of the country. Nor did Philip proceed farther than Dium, though he had marched with great expedition to prevent the Acarnanians being overpowered; and when he had received information that the Aetolians had returned out of Acarnania, he also returned to Pella.

26. Laevinus set sail from Corcyra in the beginning of the spring, and doubling the promontory Leucate, arrived at Naupactus; when he gave notice that he should go thence to Anticyra, in order that Scopas and the Aetolians might be ready there to join him. Anticyra is situated in Locris, on the left hand as you enter the Corinthian Gulf. The distance between Naupactus and this place is short both by sea and land. In about three days after, the attack upon this place commenced on both elements. The attack from the sea produced the greatest effect, because there were on board the ships engines and machines of every description, and because the Romans besieged from that quarter. In a few days, therefore, the town surrendered, and was delivered over to the Aetolians, the booty, according to compact, was given up to the Romans. Laevinus then received a letter informing him, that he had been elected consul in his absence, and that Publius Sulpicius was coming as his successor. He arrived at Rome later than he was generally expected, being detained by a lingering illness. Marcus Marcellus, having entered upon the consulship on the ides of March, assembled the senate on that day merely for form's sake. He declared, that "in the absence of his colleague he would not enter into any question relative to the state or the provinces." He said, "he well knew there were crowds of Sicilians in the neighbourhood of the city at the country-houses of those who maligned him, whom he was so far from wishing to

prevent from openly publishing, at Rome, the charges which had been circulated and got up against him by his enemies, that did they not pretend that they entertained some fear of speaking of a consul in the absence of his colleague, he would forthwith have given them a hearing of the senate. That when his colleague had arrived, he would not allow any business to be transacted before the Sicilians were brought before the senate. That Marcus Cornelius had in a manner held a levy throughout all Sicily, in order that as many as possible might come to Rome to prefer complaints against him, that the same person had filled the city with letters containing false representations that there was still war in Sicily, in order to detract from his merit." The consul, having acquired on that day the reputation of having a well-regulated mind, dismissed the senate, and it appeared that there would be almost a total suspension of every kind of business till the other consul returned to the city. The want of employment, as usual, produced expressions of discontent among the people. They complained of the length of the war, that the lands around the city were devastated wherever Hannibal had marched his hostile troops; that Italy was exhausted by levies, and that almost every year their armies were cut to pieces, that the consuls elected were both of them fond of war, men over-enterprising and impetuous, who would probably stir up war in a time of profound peace, and therefore were the less likely to allow the state to breathe in time of war.

27. A fire which broke out in several places at once in the neighbourhood of the forum, on the night before the festival of Minerva, interrupted these discourses. Seven shops, where five were afterwards erected, and the banks, which are now called the new banks, were all on fire at once. Afterwards the private dwellings caught, for there were no public halls there then, the prisons called the Quarry, the fish-market, and the royal palace. The temple of Vesta was with difficulty saved, principally by the exertions of thirteen slaves, who were redeemed at the public expense and manumitted. The fire continued for a day and a night. It was evident to every body that it was caused by human contrivance, because the flames burst forth in several places at once, and those at a distance from each other. The consul, therefore, on the recommendation of the senate, publicly notified, that whoever should make known by whose

act the conflagration was kindled, should rewarded, if a free-man, with money, if a slave, with liberty. Induced by this reward, a slave of the Campanian family, the Calavii, named Mannus, gave information that "his masters, with five noble Campanian youths, whose parents had been executed by Fulvius, were the authors of the fire, and that they would commit various other acts of the same kind if they were not seized." Upon this they were seized, as well as their slaves. At first, the informer and his evidence were disparaged, for that "he had run away from his masters the day before in consequence of a whipping, and that from an event which had happened by mere chance, he had fabricated this charge, from resentment and wantonness." But when they were charged by their accusers face to face, and the ministers of their villanies begin to be examined in the middle of the forum, they all confessed, and punishment was inflicted upon the masters and their accessory slaves. The informer received his liberty and twenty thousand *asses*. The consul Laevinus, while passing by Capua, was surrounded by a multitude of Campanians, who besought him, with tears, that they might be permitted to go to Rome to the senate, so that if they could at length be in any degree moved by compassion, they might not carry their resentment so far as to destroy them utterly, nor suffer the very name of the Campanian nation to be obliterated by Quintus Flaccus. Flaccus declared, that "he had individually no quarrel with the Campanians, but that he did entertain an enmity towards them on public grounds and because they were foes, and should continue to do so as long as he felt assured that they had the same feelings towards the Roman people; for that there was no nation or people on earth more inveterate against the Roman name. That his reason for keeping them shut up within their walls was, that if any of these got out any where they roamed through the country like wild beasts, tearing and massacring whatever fell in their way. That some of them had deserted to Hannibal, others had gone and set fire to Rome; that the consul would find the traces of the villany of the Campanians in the half-burnt forum. That the temple of Vesta, the eternal fire, and the fatal pledge for the continuance of the Roman empire deposited in the shrine, had been the objects of their attack. That in his opinion it was extremely unsafe for any Campanians to be allowed to enter

the walls of Rome.” Laevinus ordered the Campanians to follow him to Rome, after Flaccus had bound them by an oath to return to Capua on the fifth day after receiving an answer from the senate. Surrounded by this crowd, and followed also by the Sicilians and Aeolians, who came out to meet him, he went to Rome; taking with him into the city as accusers of two men who had acquired the greatest celebrity by the overthrow of two most renowned cities, those whom they had vanquished in war. Both the consuls, however, first proposed to the senate the consideration of the state of the commonwealth, and the arrangements respecting the provinces.

28. On this occasion Laevinus reported the state of Macedonia and Greece, of the Aetolians, Acarnanians, and Locrians, and the services he had himself performed there on sea and land. That “Philip, who was bringing an army against the Aetolians, had been driven back by him into Macedonia, and compelled to retire into the heart of his kingdom. That the legion might therefore be withdrawn from that quarter, and that the fleet was sufficient to keep the king out of Italy.” Thus much he said respecting himself and the province where he had commanded. The consuls jointly proposed the consideration of the provinces, when the senate decreed, that, “Italy and the war with Hannibal should form the province of one of the consuls; that the other should have the command of the fleet which Titus Otacilius had commanded, and the province of Sicily, in conjunction with Lucius Cincius, the praetor.” The two armies decreed to them were those in Etruria and Gaul, consisting of four legions. That the two city legions of the former year should be sent into Etruria and the two which Sulpicius, the consul, had commanded, into Gaul; that he should have the command of Gaul, and the legions there whom the consul, who had the province of Italy, should appoint. Caius Calpurnius, having his command continued to him for a year after the expiration of his praetorship, was sent into Etruria. To Quintus Fulvius also the province of Capua was decreed, with his command continued for a year. The army of citizens and allies was ordered to be reduced, so that, out of two, one legion should be formed consisting of five thousand foot and three hundred horse, those being discharged who had served the greatest number of campaigns. That of the allies there should be left seven thousand infantry and three

hundred horse, the same rule being observed with regard to the periods of their service in discharging the old soldiers. With Cneius Fulvius, the consul of the former year, no change was made touching his province of Apulia nor his army; only he was continued in command for a year. Publius Sulpicius, his colleague, was ordered to discharge the whole of his army excepting the marines. It was ordered also, that the army which Marcus Cornelius had commanded, should be sent out of Sicily as soon as the consul arrived in his province. The soldiers which had fought at Cannae, amounting to two legions, were assigned to Lucius Cincius, the praetor, for the occupation of Sicily. As many legions were assigned to Publius Manlius Vulso, the praetor, for Sardinia, being those which Lucius Cornelius had commanded in that province the former year. The consuls were directed so to raise legions for the service of the city, as not to enlist any one who had served in the armies of Marcus Claudius, Marcus Valerius, or Quintus Fulvius, so that the Roman legions might not exceed twenty-one that year.

29. After the senate had passed these decrees, the consuls drew lots for their provinces. Sicily and the fleet fell to the lot of Marcellus; Italy, with the war against Hannibal, to Laevinus. This result so terrified the Sicilians, who were standing in sight of the consuls waiting the determination of the lots, that their bitter lamentations and mournful cries both drew upon them the eyes of all at the time, and afterwards furnished matter for conversation. For they went round to the several senators in mourning garments, affirming, that “they would not only abandon, each of them, his native country, but all Sicily, if Marcellus should again go thither with command. That he had formerly been implacable toward them for no demerit of theirs, what would he do now, when exasperated that they had come to Rome to complain of him? That it would be better for that island to be overwhelmed with the fires of Aetna, or sunk in the sea, than to be delivered up, as it were, for execution to an enemy.” These complaints of the Sicilians, having been carried round to the houses of the nobility, and frequently canvassed in conversations, which were prompted partly by compassion for the Sicilians and partly by dislike for Marcellus, at length reached the senate also. The consuls were requested to take the sense of the senate on an exchange of

provinces. Marcellus said, that “if the Sicilians had already had an audience of the senate, his opinion perhaps might have been different, but as the case now stood, lest any one should be able to say that they were prevented by fear from freely venting their complaints respecting him, to whose power they were presently about to be subject, he was willing, if it made no difference to his colleague, to exchange provinces with him. That he deprecated a premature decision on the part of the senate, for since it would be unjust that his colleague should have the power of selecting his province without drawing lots, how much greater injustice would it be, nay, rather indignity, for his lot to be transferred to him.” Accordingly the senate, having rather shown than decreed what they wished, adjourned. An exchange of provinces was made by the consuls of themselves, fate hurrying on Marcellus to encounter Hannibal, that he might be the last of the Roman generals, who, by his fall, when the affairs of the war were most prosperous, might add to the glory of that man, from whom he derived the reputation of having been the first Roman general who defeated him.

30. After the provinces had been exchanged, the Sicilians, on being introduced into the senate, discoursed largely on the constant fidelity of king Hiero to the Roman people, converting it into a public merit. They said, “that the tyrants, Hieronymus, and, after him, Hippocrates and Epicydes, had been objects of detestation to them, both on other accounts and especially on account of then deserting the Romans to take part with Hannibal. For this cause Hieronymus was put to death by the principal young men among them, almost with the public concurrence, and a conspiracy was formed to murder Epicydes and Hippocrates, by seventy of the most distinguished of their youth; but being left without support in consequence of the delay of Marcellus, who neglected to bring up his troops to Syracuse at the time agreed upon, they were all, on an indictment that was made, put to death by the tyrants. That Marcellus, by the cruelty exercised in the sacking of Leontini, had given occasion to the tyranny of Hippocrates and Epicydes. From that time the leading men among the Syracusans never ceased going over to Marcellus, and promising him that they would deliver the city to him whenever he pleased; but that he, in the first instance, was disposed rather to take it by force, and afterwards,

finding it impossible to effect his object by sea or land, after trying every means, he preferred having Syracuse delivered to him by Sosis, a brazier, and Mericus, a Spaniard, to receiving it from the principal men of Syracuse, who had so often offered it to him voluntarily to no purpose; doubtless in order that he might with a fairer pretext butcher and plunder the most ancient allies of the Roman people. If it had not been Hieronymus who revolted to Hannibal, but the people and senate of Syracuse; if the body of the Syracusan people, and not their tyrants, Hippocrates and Epicydes, who held them in thralldom, had closed the gates against Marcellus; if they had carried on war with the Roman people with the animosity of Carthaginians, what more could Marcellus have done in hostility than he did, without levelling Syracuse with the ground? Nothing indeed was left at Syracuse except the walls and gutted houses of her city, the temples of her gods broken open and plundered; her very gods and their ornaments having been carried away. From many their possessions also were taken away, so that they were unable to support themselves and their families, even from the naked soil, the only remains of their plundered property. They entreated the conscript fathers, that they would order, if not all, at least such of their property as could be found and identified, to be restored to the owners.” After they had made these complaints, Laevinus ordered them to withdraw from the senate-house, that the senate might deliberate on their requests, when Marcellus exclaimed, “Nay, rather let them stay here, that I may reply to their charges in their presence, since we conduct your wars for you, conscript fathers, on the condition of having as our accusers those whom we have conquered with our arms. Of the two cities which have been captured this year, let Capua arraign Fulvius, and Syracuse Marcellus.”

31. The deputies having been brought back into the senate-house, the consul said: “I am not so unmindful of the dignity of the Roman people and of the office I fill as consul, conscript fathers, as to make a defence against charges brought by Greeks, had the inquiry related only to my own delinquency. But it is not so much what I have done, as what they deserved to suffer, which comes into dispute. For if they were not our enemies, there was no difference between sacking Syracuse then, and when Hiero was alive. But if, on the other hand,

they have renounced their connexion with us, attacked our ambassadors sword in hand, shut us out of their city and walls, and defended themselves against us with an army of Carthaginians, who can feel indignant that they should suffer the hostilities they have offered? I turned away from the leading men of the Syracusans, when they were desirous of delivering up the city to me, and esteemed Sosis and Mericus as more proper persons for so important an affair. Now you are not the meanest of the Syracusans, who reproach others with the meanness of their condition. But who is there among you, who has promised that he would open the gates to me, and receive my armed troops within the city? You hate and execrate those who did so; and not even here can you abstain from speaking with insult of them; so far is it from being the case that you would yourselves have done any thing of the kind. The very meanness of the condition of those persons, conscript fathers, with which these men reproach them, forms the strongest proof that I did not turn away from any man who was willing to render a service to our state. Before I began the siege of Syracuse I attempted a peace, at one time by sending ambassadors, at another time by going to confer with them; and after that they refrained not from laying violent hands on my ambassadors, nor would give me an answer when I held an interview with their chief men at their gates, then, at length, after suffering many hardships by sea and land, I took Syracuse by force of arms. Of what befell them after their city was captured they would complain with more justice to Hannibal, the Carthaginians, and those who were vanquished with them, than to the senate of the victorious people. If, conscript fathers, I had intended to conceal the fact that I had despoiled Syracuse, I should never have decorated the city of Rome with her spoils. As to what things I either took from individuals or bestowed upon them, as conqueror, I feel assured that I have acted agreeably to the laws of war, and the deserts of each. That you should confirm what I have done, conscript fathers, certainly concerns the commonwealth more than myself, since I have discharged my duty faithfully; but it is the duty of the state to take care, lest, by rescinding my acts, they should render other commanders for the time to come less zealous. And since, conscript fathers, you have heard both what the Sicilians and I had to say, in

the presence of each other, we will go out of the senate-house together, in order that in my absence the senate may deliberate more freely.” Accordingly, the Sicilians having been dismissed, he himself also went away to the Capitol to levy soldiers.

32. The other consul then proposed to the fathers the consideration of the requests of the Sicilians, when a long debate took place. A great part of the senate acquiesced in an opinion which originated with Titus Manlius Torquatus, “that the war ought to have been carried on against the tyrants, the enemies both of the Syracusans and the Roman people; that the city ought to have been recovered, not captured; and, when recovered, should have been firmly established under its ancient laws and liberty, and not distressed by war, when worn out with a wretched state of bondage. That in the contest between the tyrants and the Roman general, that most beautiful and celebrated city, formerly the granary and treasury of the Roman people, which was held up as the reward of the victor, had been destroyed; a city by whose munificence and bounty the commonwealth had been assisted and adorned on many occasions, and lastly, during this very Punic war. Should king Hiero, that most faithful friend of the Roman empire, rise from the shades, with what face could either Syracuse or Rome be shown to him, when, after beholding his half-demolished and plundered native city, he should see, on entering Rome, the spoils of his country in the vestibule, as it were, of the city, and almost in the very gates?” Although these and other similar things were said, to throw odium upon the consul and excite compassion for the Sicilians, yet the fathers, out of regard for Marcellus, passed a milder decree, to the effect, “that what Marcellus had done while prosecuting the war, and when victorious, should be confirmed. That for the time to come, the senate would look to the affairs of Syracuse, and would give it in charge to the consul Laevinus, to consult the interest of that state, so far as it could be done without detriment to the commonwealth.” Two senators having been sent to the Capitol to request the consul to return to the senate-house, and the Sicilians having been called in, the decree of the senate was read. The deputies were addressed in terms of kindness, and dismissed, when they threw themselves at the knees of the consul, Marcellus, beseeching him to pardon them for what they had

said for the purpose of exciting compassion, and procuring relief from their calamities, and to receive themselves and the city of Syracuse under his protection and patronage; after which, the consul addressed them kindly and dismissed them.

33. An audience of the senate was then granted to the Campanians. Their speech was more calculated to excite compassion, but their case less favourable, for neither could they deny that they deserved the punishment they had suffered, nor were there any tyrants to whom they could transfer their guilt. But they trusted that sufficient atonement had been made by the death of so many of their senators by poison and the hands of the executioner. They said, "that a few only of their nobles remained, being such as were not induced by the consciousness of their demerit to adopt any desperate measure respecting themselves, and had not been condemned to death through the resentment of their conquerors. That these implored the restoration of their liberty, and some portion of their goods for themselves and families, being citizens of Rome, and most of them connected with the Romans by affinity and now too near relationship, in consequence of intermarriages which had taken place for a long period." After this they were removed from the senate-house, when for a short time doubts were entertained whether it would be right or not to send for Quintus Fulvius from Capua, (for Claudius, the proconsul, died after the capture of that place,) that the question might be canvassed in the presence of the general who had been concerned, as was done in the affair between Marcellus and the Sicilians. But afterwards, when they saw in the senate Marcus Atilius, and Caius Fulvius, the brother of Flaccus, his lieutenant-generals, and Quintus Minucius, and Lucius Veturius Philo, who were also his lieutenant-generals, who had been present at every transaction; and being unwilling that Fulvius should be recalled from Capua, or the Campanians put off, Marcus Atilius Regulus, who possessed the greatest weight of any of those present who had been at Capua, being asked his opinion, thus spoke: "I believe I assisted at the council held by the consuls after the capture of Capua, when inquiry was made whether any of the Campanians had deserved well of our state; and it was found that two women had done so; Vestia Oppia, a native of Atella and an inhabitant of Capua, and Faucula

Cluvia, formerly a common woman. The former had daily offered sacrifice for the safety and success of the Roman people, and the latter had clandestinely supplied the starving prisoners with food. The sentiments of all the rest of the Campanians towards us had been the same," he said, "as those of the Carthaginians; and those who had been decapitated by Fulvius, were the most conspicuous in rank, but not in guilt. I do not see," said he, "how the senate can decide respecting the Campanians who are Roman citizens, without an order of the people. And the course adopted by our ancestors, in the case of the Satricani when they had revolted, was, that Marcus Antistius, the plebeian tribune, should first propose and the commons make an order, that the senate should have the power of pronouncing judgment upon the Satricani. I therefore give it as my opinion, that application should be made to the plebeian tribunes, that one or more of them should propose to the people a bill, by which we may be empowered to determine in the case of the Campanians." Lucius Atilius, plebeian tribune, proposed to the people, on the recommendation of the senate, a bill to the following effect: "Concerning all the Campanians, Atellanians, Calatinians, and Sabatinians, who have surrendered themselves to the proconsul Fulvius, and have placed themselves under the authority and dominion of the Roman people; also concerning what things they have surrendered, together with their persons, both lands and city, divine or human, together with their utensils and whatsoever else they have surrendered; concerning these things, Roman citizens, I ask you what it is your pleasure should be done." The commons thus ordered: "Whatsoever the senate on oath, or the majority of those present, may determine, that we will and order."

34. The senate having taken the matter into their consideration in conformity with this order of the people, first restored to Oppia and Cluvia their goods and liberty; directing, that if they wished to solicit any other rewards from the senate, they should come to Rome. Separate decrees were passed respecting each of the Campanian families, all of which it is not worth while to enumerate. The goods of some were to be confiscated; themselves, their children, and their wives were to be sold, excepting such of their daughters as had married before they came into the power of the Roman people.

Others were ordered to be thrown into chains, and their cases to be considered at a future time. They made the amount of income the ground on which they decided, whether the goods of the rest of the Campanians should be confiscated or not. They voted, that all the cattle taken except the horses, all the slaves except adult males, and every thing which did not belong to the soil, should be restored to the owners. They ordered that all the Campanians, Atellanians, Calatinians, and Sabatinians, except such as were themselves, or whose parents were, among the enemy, should be free, with a proviso, that none of them should become a Roman citizen or a Latin confederate; and that none of those who had been at Capua while the gates were shut should remain in the city or territory of Capua after a certain day. That a place should be assigned to them to inhabit beyond the Tiber, but not contiguous to it. That those who had neither been in Capua nor in any Campanian city which had revolted from the Romans during the war, should inhabit a place on this side the river Liris towards Rome; and that those who had come over to the Romans before Hannibal arrived at Capua, should be removed to a place on this side the Volturnus, with a proviso, that none of them should have either land or house within fifteen miles of the sea. That such of them as were removed to a place beyond the Tiber, should neither themselves nor their posterity acquire or possess any property any where, except in the Veientian, Sutrian, or Nepesian territories; and, except on condition, that no one should possess a greater extent of land than fifty acres. That the goods of all the senators, and such as had been magistrates at Capua, Calatia, and Atella, should be sold at Capua; but that the free persons who were decreed to be exposed to sale, should be sent to Rome and sold there. As to the images and brazen statues, which were said to have been taken from the enemy, whether sacred or profane, they referred them to the college of pontiffs. They sent the Campanians away, considerably more grieved than they were when they came, in consequence of these decrees; and now they no longer complained of the severity of Quintus Fulvius towards them, but of the malignity of the gods and their own accursed fortune.

35. After the Sicilians and Campanians were dismissed, a levy was made; and after the troops had been enlisted for the army, they then

began to consider about making up the number of rowers; but as there was neither a sufficient supply of men for that purpose, nor any money at that time in the treasury by which they might be purchased or paid, the consuls issued an edict, that private persons should furnish rowers in proportion to their income and rank, as had been done before, with pay and provisions for thirty days. So great was the murmuring and indignation of the people, on account of this edict, that a leader, rather than matter, was wanting for an insurrection. It was said, that “the consuls, after having ruined the Sicilians and Campanians, had undertaken to destroy and lacerate the Roman commons; that, drained as they had been for so many years by taxes, they had nothing left but wasted and naked lands. That the enemy had burned their houses, and the state had taken away their slaves, who were the cultivators of their lands, at one time by purchasing them at a low rate for soldiers, at another by commanding a supply of rowers. If any one had any silver or brass it was taken away from him, for the payment of rowers or for annual taxes. That no force could compel and no command oblige them to give what they had not got. That they might sell their goods and then vent their cruelty on their persons, which were all that remained to them. That they had nothing even left from which they could be redeemed.” These complaints were uttered not in secret, but publicly in the forum, and before the eyes of the consuls themselves, by an immense crowd which surrounded them; nor could the consuls appease them now by coercing nor by soothing them. Upon this they said that three days should be allowed them to consider of the matter; which interval the consuls employed in examining and planning. The following day they assembled the senate to consider of raising a supply of rowers; and after arguing at great length that the people’s refusal was fair, they brought their discourse to this point, that whether it were just or unjust, this burden must be borne by private individuals. For from what source could they procure rowers, when there was no money in the treasury? and how, without fleets, could Sicily be kept in subjection, or Philip be prevented from entering Italy, or the shores of Italy be protected?

36. In this perplexing state of affairs, when all deliberation was at a stand, and a kind of torpor had seized on men’s minds, Laevinus, the

consul, observed, that “as the magistrates were more honoured than the senators, and the senators than the people, so also ought they to be the first in taking upon themselves every thing that was burdensome and arduous. If you would enjoin any duty on an inferior, and would first submit yourself and those belonging to you to the obligation, you will find everybody else more ready to obey; nor is an expense thought heavy, when the people see every one of their principal men taking upon himself more than his proportion of it. Are we then desirous that the Roman people should have and equip a fleet? that private individuals should without repugnance furnish rowers? Let us first execute the command ourselves. Let us, senators, bring into the treasury to-morrow all our gold, silver, and coined brass, each reserving rings for himself, his wife, and children, and a bulla for his son; and he who has a wife or daughters, an ounce weight of gold for each. Let those who have sat in a curule chair have the ornaments of a horse, and a pound weight of silver, that they may have a salt-cellar and a dish for the service of the gods. Let the rest of us, senators, reserve for each father of a family, a pound weight only of silver and five thousand coined *asses*. All the rest of our gold, silver, and coined brass, let us immediately carry to the triumviri for banking affairs, no decree of the senate having been previously made; that our voluntary contributions, and our emulation in assisting the state, may excite the minds, first, of the equestrian order to emulate us, and after them of the rest of the community. This is the only course which we, your consuls, after much conversation on the subject, have been able to discover. Adopt it, then, and may the gods prosper the measure. If the state is preserved, she can easily secure the property of her individual members, but by betraying the public interests you would in vain preserve your own.” This proposition was received with such entire approbation, that thanks were spontaneously returned to the consuls. The senate was then adjourned, when every one of the members brought his gold, silver, and brass into the treasury, with such emulation excited, that they were desirous that their names should appear among the first on the public tables; so that neither the triumviri were sufficient for receiving nor the notaries for entering them. The unanimity displayed by the senate was imitated by the equestrian order, and that of the

equestrian order by the commons. Thus, without any edict, or coercion of the magistrates, the state neither wanted rowers to make up the numbers, nor money to pay them; and after every thing had been got in readiness for the war, the consuls set out for their provinces.

37. Nor was there ever any period of the war, when both the Carthaginians and the Romans, plunged alike in vicissitudes, were in a state of more anxious suspense between hope and fear. For on the side of the Romans, with respect to their provinces, their failure in Spain on the one hand, and their successes in Sicily on the other, had blended joy and sorrow; and in Italy, the loss of Tarentum was an injury and a source of grief to them, while the unexpected preservation of the citadel with the garrison was matter of joy to them. The sudden terror and panic occasioned by the siege and attack of Rome, was turned into joy by the capture of Capua, a few days after. Their affairs beyond sea also were equalized by a kind of compensation. Philip had become their enemy at a juncture somewhat unseasonable; but then the Aetolians, and Attalus, king of Asia, were added to their allies; fortune now, in a manner, promising to the Romans the empire of the east. The Carthaginians also set the loss of Capua against the capture of Tarentum; and as they considered it as glorious to them to have reached the walls of Rome without opposition, so they were chagrined at the failure of their attempt, and they felt ashamed that they had been held in such contempt, that while they lay under the walls of Rome, a Roman army was marched out for Spain at an opposite gate. With regard also to Spain itself, the greater the reason was to hope that the war there was terminated, and that the Romans were driven from the country, after the destruction of two such renowned generals and their armies, so much the greater was the indignation felt, that the victory had been rendered void and fruitless by Lucius Marcius, a general irregularly appointed. Thus fortune balancing events against each other, all was suspense and uncertainty on both sides, their hopes and their fears being as strong as though they were now first commencing the war.

38. What grieved Hannibal more than any thing was the fact, that Capua having been more perseveringly besieged by the Romans than

defended by him, had turned from him the regard of many of the states of Italy, and it was not only impossible for him to retain possession of all these by means of garrisons, unless he could make up his mind to tear his army into a number of small portions, which at that time was most inexpedient, but he could not, by withdrawing the garrisons, leave the fidelity of his allies open to the influence of hope, or subject to that of fear. His disposition, which was strongly inclined to avarice and cruelty, induced him to plunder the places he could not keep possession of, that they might be left for the enemy in a state of desolation. This resolution was equally horrid in principle and in its issue, for not only were the affections of those who suffered such harsh treatment alienated from him, but also of the other states, for the warning affected a greater number than did the calamity. Nor did the Roman consul fail to sound the inclinations of the cities, whenever any prospect of success presented itself. Dasius and Blasius were the principal men in Salapia, Dasius was the friend of Hannibal, Blasius, as far as he could do it with safety, promoted the Roman interest, and, by means of secret messengers, had given Marcellus hopes of having the place betrayed to him, but the business could not be accomplished without the assistance of Dasius. After much and long hesitation and even then more for the want of a better plan than from any hope of success, he addressed himself to Dasius; but he, being both adverse to the measure and also hostile to his rival in the government, discovered the affair to Hannibal. Both parties were summoned, and while Hannibal was transacting some business on his tribunal, intending presently to take cognizance of the case of Blasius, and the accuser and the accused were standing apart from the crowd, which was put back, Blasius solicited Dasius on the subject of surrendering the city; when he exclaimed, as if the case were now clearly proved, that he was being treated with about the betrayal of the city, even before the eyes of Hannibal. The more audacious the proceeding was, the less probable did it appear to Hannibal and those who were present. They considered that the charge was undoubtedly a matter of rivalry and animosity, and that it had been brought because it was of such a nature that, not admitting of being proved by witnesses, it could the more easily be fabricated. Accordingly the parties were dismissed. But Blasius,

notwithstanding, desisted not from his bold undertaking, till by continually harping upon the same subject, and proving how conducive such a measure would be to themselves and their country, he carried his point that the Punic garrison, consisting of five hundred Numidians, and Salapia, should be delivered up to Marcellus. Nor could it be betrayed without much bloodshed, consisting of the bravest of the cavalry in the whole Punic army. Accordingly, though the event was unexpected, and their horses were of no use to them in the city, yet hastily taking arms, during the confusion, they endeavoured to force their way out; and not being able to escape, they fell fighting to the last, not more than fifty of them falling into the hands of the enemy alive. The loss of this body of cavalry was considerably more detrimental to Hannibal than that of Salapia, for the Carthaginian was never afterwards superior in cavalry, in which he had before been most effective.

39. During this time the scarcity of provisions in the citadel of Tarentum was almost intolerable; the Roman garrison there, and Marcus Livius, the praefect of the garrison and the citadel, placing all their dependence in the supplies sent from Sicily; that these might safely pass along the coast of Italy, a fleet of about twenty ships was stationed at Rhegium. Decius Quinctius, a man of obscure birth, but who had acquired great renown as a soldier, on account of many acts of bravery, had charge of the fleet and the convoys. At first he had five ships, the largest of which were two triremes, given to him by Marcellus, but afterwards, in consequence of his spirited conduct on many occasions, three quinqueremes were added to his number, at last, by exacting from the allied states of Rhegium, Velia, and Paestum, the ships they were bound to furnish according to treaty, he made up a fleet of twenty ships, as was before stated. This fleet setting out from Rhegium, was met at Sacriportus, about fifteen miles from the city by Democrates, with an equal number of Tarentine ships. It happened that the Roman was then coming with his sails up, not expecting an approaching contest, but in the neighbourhood of Croto and Sybaris, he had supplied his ships with rowers, and had his fleet excellently equipped and armed for the size of his vessels, and it also happened, that just at the time when the enemy were in sight, the wind completely fell, so that there was sufficient time to furl their

sails, and get their rowers and soldiers in readiness for the approaching action. Rarely elsewhere have regular fleets engaged with so much spirit, for they fought for what was of greater importance than the fleets themselves. The Tarentines, in order that, having recovered their city from the Romans after the lapse of almost a century, they might also rescue their citadel, hoping also to cut off the supplies of their enemy, if by a naval battle they could deprive them of the dominion of the sea. The Romans, that, by keeping possession of the citadel, they might prove that Tarentum was lost not by the strength and valour of their enemies, but by treachery and stealth. Accordingly, the signal having been given on both sides, they charged each other with the beaks of their ships, and neither did they draw back their own, nor allow the ships of the enemy with which they were engaged to separate from them, having thrown then grappling irons, and thus the battle was carried on in such close quarters, that they fought not only with missile weapons, but in a manner foot to foot even with their swords. The prows joined together remained stationary, while the sterns were moved round by the force of their adversaries' oars. The ships were crowded together in so small a compass, that scarcely one weapon fell into the sea without taking effect. They pressed front against front like lines of troops engaging on land, and the combatants could pass from one ship to another. But the contest between two ships which had engaged each other in the van, was remarkable above the rest. In the Roman ship was Quinctius himself, in the Tarentine, Nico, surnamed Perco, who hated, and was hated by, the Romans, not only on public grounds, but also personally, for he belonged to that faction which had betrayed Tarentum to Hannibal. This man transfixed Quinctius with a spear while off his guard, and engaged at once in fighting and encouraging his men, and he immediately fell headlong with his arms over the prow. The victorious Tarentine promptly boarded the ship, which was all in confusion from the loss of the commander, and when he had driven the enemy back, and the Tarentines had got possession of the prow, the Romans, who had formed themselves into a compact body, with difficulty defending the stern, suddenly another trireme of the enemy appeared at the stern. Thus the Roman ship, enclosed between the two, was captured. Upon this a panic

spread among the rest, seeing the commander's ship captured, and flying in every direction, some were sunk in the deep and some rowed hastily to land, where, shortly after, they became a prey to the Thurians and Metapontines. Of the storeships which followed, laden with provisions, a very few fell into the hands of the enemy; the rest, shifting their sails from one side to another with the changing winds, escaped into the open sea. An affair took place at Tarentum at this time, which was attended with widely different success; for a party of four thousand men had gone out to forage, and while they were dispersed, and roaming through the country, Livius, the commander of the citadel and the Roman garrison, who was anxious to seize every opportunity of striking a blow, sent out of the citadel Caius Persius, an active officer, with two thousand soldiers, who attacked them suddenly when widely dispersed and straggling about the fields; and after slaying them for a long time on all hands, drove the few that remained of so many into the city, to which they fled in alarm and confusion, and where they rushed in at the doors of the gates, which were half-opened that the city might not be taken in the same attack. In this manner affairs were equally balanced at Tarentum, the Romans being victorious by land, and the Tarentines by sea. Both parties were equally disappointed in their hope of receiving provisions after they were within sight.

40. While these events were occurring, the consul, Laevinus, after a great part of the year had elapsed, having arrived in Sicily, where he had been expected by both the old and new allies, considered it his first and principal duty to adjust the affairs of Syracuse, which were still in a state of disorder, the peace being but recent. He then marched his legions to Agrigentum, the seat of the remaining part of the war, which was occupied by a strong garrison of Carthaginians; and here fortune favoured his attempt. Hanno was commander-in-chief of the Carthaginians, but their whole reliance was placed upon Mutines and the Numidians. Mutines, scouring the whole of Sicily, employed himself in carrying off spoil from the allies of the Romans; nor could he by force or stratagem be cut off from Agrigentum, or prevented from sallying from it whenever he pleased. The renown which he gained by this conduct, as it began now to eclipse the fame of the commander-in-chief, was at last converted into a source of

jealousy; so that even now his successes were not as acceptable as they ought to have been, on account of the person who gained them. For these reasons Hanno at last gave his commission to his own son, concluding that by taking away his command he should also deprive him of the influence he possessed with the Numidians. But the result was very different; for their former attachment to him was increased by the envy incurred by him. Nor did he brook the affront put upon him by this injurious treatment, but immediately sent secret messengers to Laevinus, to treat about delivering up Agrigentum. After an agreement had been entered into by means of these persons, and the mode of carrying it into execution concerted, the Numidians seized on a gate which leads towards the sea, having driven the guards from it, or put them to the sword, and then received into the city a party of Romans sent for that purpose; and when these troops were now marching into the heart of the city and the forum with a great noise, Hanno, concluding that it was nothing more than a disturbance and secession of the Numidians, such as had happened before, advanced to quell the mutiny; but observing at a distance that the numbers were greater than those of the Numidians, and hearing the Roman shout, which was far from being new to him, he betook himself to flight before he came within reach of their weapons. Passing out of the town at a gate in the opposite quarter, and taking Epicydes to accompany him, he reached the sea with a few attendants; and having very seasonably met with a small vessel, they abandoned to the enemy Sicily, for which they had contended for so many years, and crossed over into Africa. The remaining multitude of Carthaginians and Sicilians fled with headlong haste, but as every passage by which they could escape was blockaded up, they were cut to pieces near the gates. On gaining possession of the town, Laevinus scourged and beheaded those who took the lead in the affairs of Agrigentum. The rest, together with the booty, he sold. All the money he sent to Rome. Accounts of the sufferings of the Agrigentines spreading through all Sicily, all the states suddenly turned to the Romans. In a short time twenty towns were betrayed to them, and six taken by storm. As many as forty put themselves under their protection, by voluntary surrender. The consul having rewarded and punished the leading men of these states, according to their

several deserts, and compelled the Sicilians, now that they had at length laid aside arms, to turn their attention to the cultivation of their lands, in order that the island might by its produce not only maintain its inhabitants, but, as it had frequently done on many former occasions, add to the supplies of Rome and Italy, he returned into Italy, taking with him a disorderly multitude from Agathyrna. These were as many as four thousand men, made up of a mixed assemblage of every description of persons, exiles, bankrupts, the greater part of them felons, who had supported themselves by rapine and robbery, both when they lived in their native towns, under the restraint of the laws, and also after that a coincidence in their fortunes, brought about by causes different in each case, had congregated them at Agathyrna. These men Laevinus thought it hardly safe to leave in the island, when an unwonted tranquillity was growing up, as the materials of fresh disturbances; and besides, they were likely to be useful to the Rhegians, who were in want of a band of men habituated to robbery, for the purpose of committing depredations upon the Brutian territory. Thus, so far as related to Sicily, the war was this year terminated.

41. In Spain, in the beginning of spring, Publius Scipio, having launched his ships, and summoned the auxiliary troops of his allies to Tarraco by an edict, ordered his fleet and transports to proceed thence to the mouth of the Iberus. He also ordered his legions to quit their winter quarters, and meet at the same place; and then set out from Tarraco, with five thousand of the allies, to join the army. On his arrival at the camp he considered it right to harangue his soldiers, particularly the old ones who had survived such dreadful disasters; and therefore, calling an assembly, he thus addressed them: "Never was there a new commander before myself who could, with justice and good reason, give thanks to his soldiers before he had availed himself of their services. Fortune laid me under obligations to you before I set eyes on my province or your camp; first, on account of the respect you have shown to my father and uncle, both in their lifetime and since their death; and secondly, because by your valour you have recovered and preserved entire, for the Roman people, and me their successor, the possession of the province which had been lost in consequence of so dreadful a calamity. But since, now, by the

favour of the gods, our purpose and endeavour is not that we may remain in Spain ourselves, but that the Carthaginians may not; and not to stand on the bank of the Iberus, and hinder the enemy from crossing that river, but cross it first ourselves, and carry the war to the other side, I fear lest to some among you the enterprise should appear too important and daring, considering your late misfortunes, which are fresh in your recollection, and my years. There is no person from whose mind the memory of the defeats sustained in Spain could be obliterated with more difficulty than from mine; inasmuch as there my father and uncle were both slain within the space of thirty days, so that one death after another was accumulated on my family. But as the orphanhood and desolation of my own family depresses my mind, so both the good fortune and valour of our nation forbid me to despair of the safety of the state. It has happened to us by a kind of fatality, that in all important wars we have been victorious, after having been defeated. I pass over those wars of ancient date with Porsena, the Gauls, and Samnites. I will begin with the Punic wars. How many fleets, generals, and armies were lost in the former war? Why should I mention what has occurred in this present war? I have either been myself present at all the defeats sustained, or have felt more than any other those from which I was absent. What else are the Trebia, the Trasimenus, and Cannae, but monuments of Roman armies and consuls slain? Add to these the defection of Italy, of the greater part of Sicily and Sardinia, and the last terror and panic, the Carthaginian camp pitched between the Anio and the walls of Rome, and the victorious Hannibal seen almost in our gates. Amid this general ruin, the courage of the Roman people alone stood unabated and unshaken. When every thing lay prostrate on the ground, it was this that raised and supported the state. You, first of all, my soldiers, under the conduct and auspices of my father, opposed Hasdrubal on his way to the Alps and Italy, after the defeat of Cannae, who, had he formed a junction with his brother, the Roman name would now have been extinct. These successes formed a counterpoise to those defeats. Now, by the favour of the gods, every thing in Italy and Sicily is going on prosperously and successfully, every day affording matter of fresh joy, and presenting things in a better light. In Sicily, Syracuse and

Agrigentum have been captured, the enemy entirely expelled the island, and the province placed again under the dominion of the Romans. In Italy, Arpi has been recovered and Capua taken. Hannibal has been driven into the remotest corner of Bruttium, having fled thither all the way from Rome, in the utmost confusion; and now he asks the gods no greater boon than that he might be allowed to retire in safety, and quit the territory of his enemy. What then, my soldiers, could be more preposterous than that you, who here supported the tottering fortune of the Roman people, together with my parents, (for they may be equally associated in the honour of that epithet,) when calamities crowded one upon another in quick succession, and even the gods themselves, in a manner, took part with Hannibal, should now sink in spirits when every thing is going on happily and prosperously? Even with regard to the events which have recently occurred, I could wish that they had passed with as little grief to me as to you. At the present time the immortal gods who preside over the destinies of the Roman empire, who inspired all the centuries to order the command to be given to me, those same gods, I say, by auguries and auspices, and even by nightly visions, portend entire success and joy. My own mind also, which has hitherto been to me the truest prophet, presages that Spain will be ours; that the whole Carthaginian name will in a short time be banished from this land, and will fill both sea and land with ignominious flight. What my mind presages spontaneously, is also supported by sound reasoning. Their allies, annoyed by them, are by ambassadors imploring our protection; their three generals, having differed so far as almost to have abandoned each other, have divided their army into three parts, which they have drawn off into regions as remote as possible from each other. The same fortune now threatens them which lately afflicted us; for they are both deserted by their allies, as formerly we were by the Celtiberians, and they have divided their forces, which occasioned the ruin of my father and uncle. Neither will their intestine differences allow them to unite, nor will they be able to cope with us singly. Only do you, my soldiers, favour the name of the Scipios, favour the offspring of your generals, a scion springing up from the trunks which have been cut down. Come then, veterans, lead your new commander and your new army

across the Iberus, lead us across into a country which you have often traversed, with many a deed of valour. I will soon bring it to pass that, as you now trace in me a likeness to my father and uncle in my features, countenance, and figure, I will so restore a copy of their genius, honour, and courage, to you, that every man of you shall say that his commander, Scipio, has either returned to life, or has been born again.”

42. Having animated his troops with this harangue, and leaving Marcus Silanus with three thousand infantry and three hundred horse, for the protection of that district, he crossed the Iberus with all the rest of his troops, consisting of twenty-five thousand infantry and two thousand five hundred horse. Though certain persons there endeavoured to persuade him that, as the Carthaginian armies had retired from each other into three such distant quarters, he should attack the nearest of them; yet concluding that if he did so there was danger lest he should cause them to concentrate all their forces, and he alone should not be a match for so many, he determined for the present to make an attack upon New Carthage, a city not only possessing great wealth of its own, but also full of every kind of military store belonging to the enemy; there were their arms, their money, and the hostages from every part of Spain. It was, besides, conveniently situated, not only for a passage into Africa, but also near a port sufficiently capacious for a fleet of any magnitude, and, for aught I know, the only one on the coast of Spain which is washed by our sea. No one but Caius Laelius knew whither he was going. He was sent round with the fleet, and ordered so to regulate the sailing of his ships, that the army might come in view and the fleet enter the harbour at the same time. Both the fleet and army arrived at the same time at New Carthage, on the seventh day after leaving the Iberus. The camp was pitched over against that part of the city which looks to the north. A rampart was thrown up as a defence on the rear of it, for the front was secured by the nature of the ground. Now the situation of New Carthage is as follows: at about the middle of the coast of Spain is a bay facing for the most part the south-west, about two thousand five hundred paces in depth, and a little more in breadth. In the mouth of this bay is a small island forming a barrier towards the sea, and protecting the harbour from every wind except

the south-west. From the bottom of the bay there runs out a peninsula, which forms the eminence on which the city is built; which is washed in the east and south by the sea, and on the west is enclosed by a lake which extends a little way also towards the north, of variable depth according as the sea overflows or ebbs. An isthmus of about two hundred paces broad connects the city with the continent, on which, though it would have been a work of so little labour, the Roman general did not raise a rampart; whether his object was to make a display of his confidence to the enemy from motives of pride, or that he might have free regress when frequently advancing to the walls of the city.

43. Having completed the other requisite works, he drew up his ships in the harbour, that he might exhibit to the enemy the appearance of a blockade by sea also; he then went round the fleet, and having warned the commanders of the ships to be particularly careful in keeping the night-watches, because an enemy, when besieged, usually tried every effort and in every quarter at first, he returned into his camp; and in order to explain to his soldiers the reason why he had adopted the plan of commencing the war with the siege of a city, in preference to any other, and also by exhortations to inspire them with hopes of making themselves masters of it, he summoned them to an assembly, and thus addressed them: "Soldiers, if any one among you suppose that you have been brought here to attack a single city, that man takes a more exact account of your present labour than of its profitable result from it. For you will in truth attack the walls of a single city, but in that single city you will have made yourselves masters of all Spain. Here are the hostages of all her most distinguished kings and states; and as soon as you shall have gained possession of these, they will immediately deliver into your hands every thing which is now subject to the Carthaginians. Here is the whole of the enemy's treasure, without which they cannot carry on the war, as they are keeping mercenary troops, and which will be most serviceable to us in conciliating the affections of the barbarians. Here are their engines, their arms, their tackle, and every requisite in war; which will at once supply you, and leave the enemy destitute. Besides, we shall gain possession of a city, not only of the greatest beauty and wealth, but also most convenient as having an

excellent harbour, by means of which we may be supplied with every requisite for carrying on the war both by sea and land. Great as are the advantages we shall thus gain, we shall deprive our enemies of much greater. This is their citadel, their granary, their treasury, their magazine, their receptacle for every thing. Hence there is a direct passage into Africa; this is the only station for a fleet between the Pyrenees and Gades; this gives to Africa the command of all Spain. But as I perceive you are arrayed and marshalled, let us pass on to the assault of New Carthage, with our whole strength, and with undaunted courage." Upon this, they all with, one accord cried out that it should be done; and he led them to Carthage, and ordered that the assault should be made both by sea and land.

44. On the other side, Mago, the Carthaginian general, perceiving that a siege was being prepared for both by sea and land, himself also disposed his forces thus: he placed two thousand of the townsmen to oppose the enemy, on the side facing the Roman camp; he occupied the citadel with five hundred soldiers, and stationed five hundred on a rising ground, facing the east; the rest of his troops he ordered, intent on every thing that occurred, to hasten with assistance wherever the shout, or any sudden emergency, might call them. Then, throwing open the gate, he sent out those he had drawn up in the street leading to the camp of the enemy. The Romans, according to the direction of their general, retired a little, in order that they might be nearer to the reserved troops which were to be sent to their assistance during the engagement. At first they stood with pretty equal force, but afterwards the reserved troops, sent from time to time from the camp, not only obliged the enemy to turn their backs, but followed them up so close when flying in disorder, that had not a retreat been sounded, they seemed as though they would have rushed into the city together with the fugitives. The consternation in the field was not greater than in every part of the city; many of the outposts were abandoned in panic and flight; and the walls were deserted, as they leaped down each in the part nearest him. Scipio, who had gone out to an eminence called Mercury's hill, perceiving that the walls were abandoned by their defenders in many parts, ordered all his men to be called out of his camp and advance to take the city, and orders them to bring the scaling-ladders. The general himself, covered by

the shields of three stout young men, (for now an immense number of missiles of every description were let fly from the walls,) came up to the city, cheered them on, and gave the requisite orders; and, what was of the utmost importance in exciting the courage of his men, he appeared among them a witness and spectator of the valour or cowardice of each. Accordingly, they rushed forward, amidst wounds and weapons; nor could the walls, or the armed troops which stood upon them, repel them from eagerly mounting them. At the same time an attack was commenced by the fleet upon that part of the city which was washed by the sea. But here the alarm occasioned was greater than the force which could be employed; for while they were bringing the boats to shore, and hastily landing the ladders and the men, each man pressing forward to gain the land the shortest way, they hindered one another by their very haste and eagerness.

45. In the mean time, the Carthaginians had now filled the walls again with armed men, who were supplied with a great quantity of missiles from the immense stores which they had laid up. But neither men nor missiles, nor any thing else, so effectually defended them as the walls themselves, for very few of the ladders were equal to the height of them, and all those which were longer than the rest were proportionably weaker. Accordingly, those who were highest being unable to mount from them, and being followed, nevertheless, by others, they broke from the mere weight upon them. Some, though the ladders stood, a dizziness having come over their eyes in consequence of the height, fell to the ground. And as men and ladders were every where tumbling down, while the boldness and alacrity of the enemy were increased by the mere success, the signal for retreat was sounded, which afforded hopes to the besieged, not only of present rest after such a laborious contest, but also for the future, as it appeared their city could not be taken by scalade and siege. To raise works they considered would be attended with difficulty, and would give time to their generals to bring them assistance. Scarcely had the first tumult subsided, when Scipio ordered other fresh and unfatigued troops to take the ladders from those who were tired and wounded and assault the city with increased vigour. Having received intelligence that the tide was ebbing, and having before been informed by some fishermen of

Tarraco who used to pass through the lake, sometimes in light boats, and, when these ran aground, by wading, that it afforded an easy passage to the wall for footmen, he led some armed men thither in person. It was about mid-day, and besides that the water was being drawn off naturally, in consequence of the tide receding, a brisk north wind rising impelled the water in the lake, which was already in motion, in the same direction as the tide, and rendered it so shallow, that in some parts the water reached only to the navel, while in others it scarcely rose above the knees. Scipio, referring this discovery, which he had made by his own diligence and penetration, to the gods and to miracle, which had turned the course of the sea, withdrawn it from the lake, and opened ways never before trodden by human feet to afford a passage to the Romans, ordered them to follow Neptune as their guide, and passing through the middle of the lake, make good their way to the walls.

46. Those who renewed the assault by land experienced great difficulty; for they were baffled not only by the height of the walls, but also because they exposed the Romans, as they approached them, to the missiles of the enemy from different quarters, so that their sides were endangered more than the fronts of their bodies. But in the other quarter five hundred passed without difficulty through the lake, and then mounted the wall, for neither was it defended by any fortifications, because there they thought the city was sufficiently protected by the nature of the place and the lake, nor were there any outposts or guards stationed there, because all were engaged in bringing succour to that quarter in which the danger appeared. Having entered the city without opposition, they proceeded direct, with all possible speed, to that gate near which the contest was concentrated; and so intently occupied with this were not only the minds, but the eyes and ears of all, both of those who were engaged in fighting, and of those who were looking on and encouraging the combatants, that no one perceived that the city had been captured in their rear till the weapons fell upon their backs, and they had an enemy on both sides of them. Then, the defenders having been thrown into confusion through fear, both the walls were captured, and the gate began to be broken open both from within and from without; and presently, the doors having been broken to pieces by

blows, in order that the way might not be obstructed, the troops rushed in. A great number had also got over the walls, but these employed themselves in putting the townsmen to the sword; those which entered by the gate, forming a regular body, with officers and in ranks, advanced through the midst of the city into the forum. Scipio then perceiving that the enemy fled in two different directions, some to the eminence which lay eastward, which was occupied by a garrison of five hundred men, others to the citadel, into which Mago himself also had fled for refuge, together with almost all the troops which had been driven from the walls, sent part of his forces to storm the hill, and part he led in person against the citadel. Not only was the hill captured at the first assault, but Mago also, after making an effort to defend it, when he saw every place filled with the enemy, and that there was no hope, surrendered himself and the citadel, with the garrison. Until the citadel was surrendered, the massacre was continued in every quarter throughout the city; nor did they spare any one they met who had arrived at puberty: but after that, on a signal given, a stop was put to the carnage, and the victors turned their attention to the plunder, of which there was an immense quantity of every description.

47. Of males of free condition, as many as ten thousand were captured. Of these he allowed to depart such as were citizens of New Carthage; and restored to them their city, and all their property which the war had left them. The artisans amounted to two thousand, whom he assigned to the Roman people as their property; holding out to them a hope of speedy emancipation, provided they should address themselves strenuously to the service of the war. Of the rest of the mass of inhabitants, the young men and able-bodied slaves he assigned for the service of the fleet, to fill up the numbers of the rowers. He had also augmented his fleet with five ships which he had captured. Besides this multitude, there remained the Spanish hostages, to whom as much attention was paid as if they had been children of allies. An immense quantity of military stores was also taken; one hundred and twenty catapultae of the larger size, two hundred and eighty-one of the smaller; twenty-three ballistae of the larger size, fifty-two of the smaller; an immense number of scorpions of the larger and smaller size, and also of arms and missile weapons;

and seventy-four military standards. Of gold and silver, an immense quantity was brought to the general; there were two hundred and seventy-six golden bowls, almost all of them weighing a pound; of silver, wrought and coined, eighteen thousand three hundred pounds' weight; and of silver vessels an immense number. All these were weighed and reckoned to the quaestor, Caius Flaminius. There were twenty thousand pecks of wheat, and two hundred and seventy of barley. One hundred and thirteen ships of burden were boarded and captured in the harbour, some of them with their cargoes, consisting of corn and arms, besides brass, iron, sails, spartum, and other naval materials, of use in equipping a fleet; so that amid such large military stores which were captured, Carthage itself was of the least consideration.

48. Having ordered Caius Laelius with the marines to guard the city, Scipio led back his legions to the camp the same day in person; and as his soldiers were tired, as they had in one day gone through every kind of military labour; for they had engaged the enemy in the field, and had undergone very great fatigue and danger in taking the city; and after they had taken it had fought, and that on disadvantageous ground, with those who had fled to the citadel, he ordered them to attend to themselves. The next day, having assembled the land and naval forces, he, in the first place, ascribed praise and thanks to the immortal gods, who had not only in one day made him master of the wealthiest city in Spain, but had previously collected in it the riches of almost all Africa and Spain; so that while his enemy had nothing left, he and his army had a superabundance of every thing. He then commended in the highest terms the valour of his soldiers, because that neither the sally of the enemy, nor the height of the walls, nor the unexplored fords of the lake, nor the fort standing upon a high hill, nor the citadel, though most strongly fortified, had deterred them from surmounting and breaking through every thing. Therefore, though all credit was due to them all, he said that the man who first mounted the wall ought to be distinguished above the rest, by being honoured with a mural crown; and he desired that he who thought himself worthy of that reward would claim it. Two persons laid claim to it, Quintus Trebellius, a centurion of the fourth legion, and Sextus Digitius, a marine. Nor did these

contest so fiercely as each excited the zeal of his own body of men. Caius Laelius, admiral of the fleet, patronized the marines, and Marcus Sempronius Tuditanus, the legionary troops. As this contest began almost to assume the character of a mutiny, Scipio having notified that he should appoint three delegates, who, after making themselves acquainted with the case, and examining the witnesses, might decide which had been the first to scale the wall and enter the town, added Publius Cornelius Caudinus, a middle party, to Laelius and Sempronius, the advocates of the two parties, and ordered these three delegates to sit and determine the cause. But as the contest was now carried on with increased warmth, because those high characters, who had acted more as moderators of the zeal of both than as advocates of any particular party, were withdrawn, Caius Laelius, leaving the council, went up to the tribunal of Scipio and informed him, "that the contest was proceeding without bounds or moderation, and that they had almost come to blows. But still, though no violence should take place, that the proceedings formed a most hateful precedent, for that the honours due to valour were being sought by fraud and perjury. That on one side stood the legionary troops, on the other the marines, ready to swear by all the gods what they wished, rather than what they knew, to be true, and to involve in the guilt of perjury not only themselves and their own persons, but the military standards, the eagles, and their solemn oath of allegiance. That he laid these matters before him, in accordance with the opinion of Publius Cornelius and Marcus Sempronius." Scipio, after highly praising Laelius, summoned an assembly, and then declared, "that he had ascertained satisfactorily that Quintus Trebellius and Sextus Digitius had mounted the wall at the same time, and that he presented them both with mural crowns in consideration of their valour." He then gave presents to the rest, according to the merit and valour of each. Above all he honoured Caius Laelius, the admiral of the fleet, by the placing him upon an equality with himself, and bestowing upon him every kind of commendation, and also by presenting him with a golden crown and thirty oxen.

49. He then ordered the Spanish hostages to be summoned. What the number of these was I feel reluctant to state, because in some

authors I find that it was about three hundred, in others seven hundred and twenty-five. There is the same difference between authors with regard to the other particulars. One writes that the Punic garrison consisted of ten thousand, another of seven, a third of not more than two thousand. In some you may find that ten thousand persons were captured, in others above twenty-five thousand. I should have stated the number of scorpions captured, both of the greater and smaller size, at sixty, if I had followed the Greek author, Silenus, if Valerius Antius, of the larger at six thousand, of the smaller at thirteen, so great is the extent of falsehood. Nor are they agreed even respecting the commanders, most say that Laelius commanded the fleet, but some say Marcus Junius Silanus. Valerius Antius says, that Arines commanded the Punic garrison, and was given up to the Romans; other writers say it was Mago. They are not agreed respecting the number of the ships taken, respecting the weight of gold and silver, and of the money brought into the public treasury. If we must assent to some of their statements, the medium is nearest to the truth. However, Scipio having summoned the hostages, first bid them all keep up their spirits observing, "that they had fallen into the hands of the Roman people, who chose to bind men to them by benefits rather than by fear, and keep foreign nations attached to them by honour and friendship, rather than subject them to a gloomy servitude." Then receiving the names of the states to which they belonged, he took an account of the captives, distinguishing the number belonging to each people, and sent messengers to their homes, to desire that they would come and take back their respective friends. If ambassadors from any of the states happened to be present, he delivered their countrymen to them in person, and assigned to them the quaestor, Caius Flaminius, the charge of kindly taking care of the rest. Meanwhile, there advanced from the midst of the crowd of hostages a woman in years, the wife of Mandonius, who was the brother of Indibilis, the chieftain of the Illergetians; she threw herself weeping at the general's feet, and began to implore him to give particularly strict injunctions to their guardians with respect to the care and treatment of females. Scipio replied, that nothing certainly should be wanting; when the woman rejoined: "We do not much value such things, for what is not good

enough for such a condition? A care of a different kind disquiets me, when beholding the age of these females; for I am myself no longer exposed to the danger peculiar to females.” Around her stood the daughters of Indibilis, in the bloom of youth and beauty, with others of equal rank, all of whom looked up to her as a parent. Scipio then said: “Out of regard for that discipline which I myself and the Roman nation maintain, I should take care that nothing, which is any where held sacred, should be violated among us. In the present case, your virtue and your rank cause me to observe it more strictly; for not even in the midst of misfortunes have you forgotten the delicacy becoming matrons.” He then delivered them over to a man of tried virtue, ordering him to treat them with no less respect and modesty than the wives and mothers of guests.

50. The soldiers then brought to him a female captive, a grown-up virgin, of such exquisite beauty, that whichever way she walked she attracted the eyes of every body. Scipio, on making inquiries as to her country and parentage, heard, among other particulars, that she was betrothed to a young prince of the Celtiberians, named Allucius. He immediately, therefore, summoned from their abode her parents and lover, and having heard in the mean time that the latter was desperately enamoured of her, as soon as he arrived he addressed him in a more studied manner than her parents. “A young man myself,” said he, “I address myself to a young man, and therefore there need be the less reserve in this conversation. As soon as your intended bride, having been captured by my soldiers, was brought into my presence, and I was informed that she was endeared to you, which her beauty rendered probable, considering that I should myself wish that my affection for my intended bride, though excessive, should meet with indulgence, could I enjoy the pleasures suited to my age, (particularly in an honourable and lawful love,) and were not my mind engrossed by public affairs, I indulge as far as I can your passion. Your mistress, while under my protection, has received as much respect as under the roof of her own parents, your father-in-law and mother-in-law. She has been kept in perfect safety for you, that she might be presented to you pure, a gift worthy of me and of you. This only reward I bargain for in return for the service I have rendered you, that you would be a friend to the Roman people, and if

you believe that I am a true man, as these nations knew my father and uncle to have been heretofore, that you would feel assured that in the Roman state there are many like us, and that no nation in the world at the present time can be mentioned, with which you ought to be less disposed that you, or those belonging to you, should be at enmity, or with which you would rather be in friendship.” The young man, overcome at once with joy and modesty, clung to Scipio’s right hand, and invoked all the gods to recompense him in his behalf, since he himself was far from possessing means proportioned either to his own wishes or Scipio’s deserts. He then addressed himself to the parents and relatives of the damsel, who, on receiving her back without any reward, whom they had brought a very large weight of gold to redeem, entreated Scipio to accept it from them as a present to himself; affirming, that if he would do so, they should feel as grateful for it as they did for the restoration of their daughter inviolate. As they were so earnest in their entreaties, Scipio promised to accept it, and ordered it to be laid at his feet. Then calling Allucius to him, he said: “To the dowry which you are about to receive from your father-in-law, let these marriage presents also from me be added;” bidding him take away the gold and keep it for himself. Delighted with these presents and honours, he was dismissed to his home, where he inspired his countrymen with the deserved praises of Scipio, observing, “that a most godlike youth had come among them, who conquered every thing, not only by arms, but by kindness and generosity.” Accordingly, making a levy among his dependants, he returned to Scipio after a few days, with fourteen hundred chosen horsemen.

51. Scipio kept Laelius with him until he had disposed of the captives, hostages, and booty, in accordance with his advice; but when all these matters were satisfactorily arranged, he gave him a quinquereme; and selecting from the captives Mago, and about fifteen senators who had been made prisoners at the same time with him, put them on board, and sent him to Rome with the news of his victory. He himself employed the few days he had resolved to stay at Carthage, in exercising his naval and land forces. On the first day the legions under arms performed evolutions through a space of four miles; on the second day he ordered them to repair and clean their

arms before their tents; on the third day they engaged in imitation of a regular battle with wooden swords, throwing javelins with the points covered with balls; on the fourth day they rested; on the fifth they again performed evolutions under arms. This succession of exercise and rest they kept up as long as they staid at Carthage. The rowers and mariners, pushing out to sea when the weather was calm, made trial of the manageableness of their ships by mock sea-fights. Such exercises, both by sea and land, without the city prepared their minds and bodies for war. The city itself was all bustle with warlike preparations, artificers of every description being collected together in a public workshop. The general went round to all the works with equal attention. At one time he was employed in the dock-yard with his fleet, at another he exercised with the legions; sometimes he would devote his time to the inspection of the works, which were every day carried on with the greatest eagerness by a multitude of artificers both in the workshops, and in the armoury and docks. Having put these preparations in a train, repaired the walls in a part where they had been shattered, and placed bodies of troops to guard the city, he set out for Tarraco; and on his way thither was visited by a number of embassies, some of which he dismissed, having given them answers on his journey, others he postponed till his arrival at Tarraco; at which place he had appointed a meeting of all his new and old allies. Here ambassadors from almost all the people dwelling on this side the Iberus, and from many dwelling in the further Spain, met. The Carthaginian generals at first industriously suppressed the rumour of the capture of Carthage; but afterwards, when it became too notorious to be concealed or dissembled, they disparaged its importance by their language. They said, that “by an unexpected attack, and in a manner by stealth, in one day, one city of Spain had been snatched out of their hands; that a presumptuous youth, elated with the acquisition of this, so inconsiderable an advantage, had, by the extravagance of his joy, given it the air of an important victory; but that as soon as he should hear that three generals and three victorious armies of his enemies were approaching, the deaths which had taken place in his family would occur to his recollection.” Such was the tone in which they spoke of this affair to the people, though they were, at the same time, far from ignorant how much their

strength had been diminished, in every respect, by the loss of
Carthage.

BOOK XXVII

Translated by William A. McDevitte

Cneius Fulvius, proconsul, defeated by Hannibal and slain; the consul, Claudius Marcellus, engages him with better success. Hannibal, raising his camp, retires; Marcellus pursues, and forces him to an engagement. They fight twice; in the first battle, Hannibal gains the advantage; in the second, Marcellus. Tarentum betrayed to Fabius Maximus, the consul. Scipio engages with Hasdrubal, the son of Hamilcar, at Baetula, in Spain, and defeats him. Among other prisoners, a youth of royal race and exquisite beauty is taken; Scipio sets him free, and sends him, enriched with magnificent presents, to his uncle Masinissa. Marcellus and Quintus Crispinus, consuls, drawn into an ambuscade by Hannibal; Marcellus is slain, Crispinus escapes. Operations by Publius Sulpicius, praetor, against Philip and the Achaeans. A census held; the number of citizens found to amount to one hundred and thirty-seven thousand one hundred and eight: from which it appears how great a loss they had sustained by the number of unsuccessful battles they had of late been engaged in. Hasdrubal, who had crossed the Alps with a reinforcement for Hannibal, defeated by the consuls, Marcus Livius and Claudius Nero, and slain; with him fell fifty-six thousand men.

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1. Such was the state of affairs in Spain. In Italy, the consul Marcellus, after regaining Salapia, which was betrayed into his hands, took Maronea and Meles from the Samnites by force. As many as three thousand of the soldiers of Hannibal, which were left as a garrison, were here surprised and overpowered. The booty, and there was a considerable quantity of it, was given up to the troops. Also, two hundred and forty thousand pecks of wheat, with a hundred and ten thousand pecks of barley, were found here. The joy, however, thus occasioned, was by no means so great as a disaster sustained a few days afterwards, not far from the town Herdonea. Cneius Fulvius, the consul, was lying encamped there, in the hope of regaining Herdonea, which had revolted from the Romans after the

defeat at Cannae, his position being neither sufficiently secure from the nature of the place, nor strengthened by guards. The natural negligence of the general was now increased by the hope that their attachment to the Carthaginians was shaken when they had heard that Hannibal, after the loss of Salapia, had retired from that neighbourhood into Bruttium. Intelligence of all these circumstances being conveyed to Hannibal by secret messengers from Herdonea, at once excited an anxious desire to retain possession of a city in alliance with him, and inspired a hope of attacking the enemy when unprepared. With a lightly equipped force he hastened to Herdonea by forced marches, so as almost to anticipate the report of his approach and in order to strike greater terror into the enemy, came up with his troops in battle-array. The Roman, equal to him in courage, but inferior in strength, hastily drawing out his troops, engaged him. The fifth legion and the left wing of the allied infantry commenced the battle with spirit. But Hannibal ordered his cavalry, on a signal given, to ride round as soon as the foot forces had their eyes and thoughts occupied with the contest before them, and one half of them to attack the camp of the enemy, the other half to fall upon their rear, while busily engaged in fighting. He himself, sarcastically alluding to the similarity of the name Fulvius, as he had defeated Cneius Fulvius, the praetor, two years ago, in the same country, expressed his confidence that the issue of the battle would be similar. Nor was this expectation vain; for after many of the Romans had fallen in the close contest, and in the engagement with the infantry, notwithstanding which they still preserved their ranks and stood their ground; the alarm occasioned by the cavalry on their rear, and the enemy shout, which was heard at the same time from their camp, first put to flight the sixth legion, which being posted in the second line, was first thrown into confusion by the Numidians; and then the fifth legion, and those who were posted in the van. Some fled precipitately, others were slain in the middle space, where also Cneius Fulvius himself, with eleven military tribunes, fell. Who can state with certainty how many thousands of the Romans and their allies were slain in this battle, when I find in some accounts that thirteen, in others that not more than seven, thousand were slain? The conquerors got possession of the camp and the spoil. Finding that

Herdonea would have revolted to the Romans, and was not likely to continue faithful to him if he departed thence, he removed all its inhabitants to Metapontum and Thurium, and burnt it. He put to death the chief men who were found to have held secret conferences with Fulvius. Such of the Romans as escaped this dreadful carnage, fled half-armed, by different roads, into Samnium, to the consul Marcellus.

2. Marcellus, who was not much discouraged at this so great a disaster, sent a letter to the senate at Rome, with an account of the loss of the general and army at Herdonea; observing, however, "that he who, after the battle of Cannae, had humbled Hannibal when elated with victory, was now marching against him, and that he would cause that his present joy and exultation should not continue long." At Rome, indeed, the grief occasioned by what had occurred, and the fears entertained for the future, were excessive. The consul passing out of Samnium into Lucania, pitched his camp at Numistro, on a plain within view of Hannibal, who occupied a hill. He added also another demonstration of his confidence; for he was the first to lead out his troops to battle, nor did Hannibal decline fighting when he saw the standards carried out from the gates. However, they drew up their forces so that the right wing of the Carthaginians was extended up the hill, while the left wing of the Romans was contiguous to the town. For a long time neither side had any advantage; but the battle having continued from the third hour till night, and the first lines, which consisted, on the part of the Romans, of the first legion and the right wing of the allied infantry, on the part of Hannibal, of the Spanish soldiers, the Balearic slingers, and the elephants, which were driven into the field after the commencement of the battle, being fatigued with fighting, the first legion was relieved by the third, and the right wing of allied infantry by the left; while on the part of the enemy fresh troops took up the battle in place of those who were tired. A new and desperate conflict suddenly arose, instead of that which was so feebly maintained, their minds and bodies being unimpaired by fatigue; but night separated the combatants while the victory was undecided. The following day the Romans stood drawn up for battle from sun-rise till late in the day; but none of the enemy coming out against them, they gathered the

spoils at their leisure, and collecting the bodies of their own troops into a heap, burnt them. The following night Hannibal decamped in silence, and moved on into Apulia. As soon as daylight discovered the flight of the enemy, Marcellus, leaving his wounded under the protection of a small garrison at Numistro, in command of which he placed Lucius Furius Purpureo, a military tribune, commenced a close pursuit of Hannibal, and overtook him at Venusia. Here, during several days, parties of troops sallying from the outposts, battles took place between foot and horses promiscuously, rather irregular than important, but which for the most part were favourable to the Romans. The armies were marched thence through Apulia without any engagement worth recording; for Hannibal marched by night, seeking an opportunity for ambuscade, but Marcellus never followed him except in broad daylight, and after having explored the country.

3. In the mean time, while Flaccus was detained at Capua in selling the property of the nobles, and letting out the land which had been forfeited, all of which he let for a rent to be paid in corn, lest occasions for exercising severity toward the Campanians should be wanting, a new piece of inquiry which had been ripening in secret, was brought out in evidence. He had compelled his soldiers, withdrawn from the houses, to build for themselves huts after the military manner, near the gates and walls; at once, that the houses of the city might be let and occupied together with the land, also through fear, lest the excessive luxury of the city should enervate his troops as it had those of Hannibal. Now many of these were formed of hurdles or boards, others of reeds interwoven, all being covered with straw, as if combustable materials had been employed on purpose. A hundred and seventy Campanians, headed by the Blossii who were fathers, had formed a conspiracy to set fire to all these at a late hour of the night; but information of the conspiracy having been given by one of the slaves of the Blossii, the gates were suddenly closed by the command of the proconsul, and all the soldiers had been assembled under arms, on a signal given all who were implicated in the guilt were seized, and, after rigorous examination, were condemned and executed, informers were rewarded with liberty and ten thousand *asses* each. The people of Nuceria and Acerra, who complained that they had no where to dwell, Acerra being partly

burnt, and Nuceria demolished, Fulvius sent to Rome to the senate. Permission was given to the people of Acerra to rebuild what had been destroyed by fire. The people of Nuceria were removed to Atella, as they preferred; the people of Atella being ordered to migrate to Calatia. Among the many and important events, sometimes prosperous, sometimes adverse, which occupied men's thoughts, not even the citadel of Tarentum was forgotten. Marcus Ogulnius and Publius Aquillius went into Etruria as commissioners to buy up corn to be conveyed to Tarentum; and one thousand men out of the city troops, an equal number of Romans and allies, were sent to the same place, together with the corn, for its protection.

4. The summer was now on the close, and the time for the election of consuls drew nigh; but a letter from Marcellus, in which he stated, that it would not be for the interest of the state that he should depart a single step from Hannibal, whom he was severely pressing while retreating before him and evading an engagement, had excited anxiety, lest they must either recall the consul from the war at that time when he was most actively employed, or consuls should not be appointed for the year. The best course appeared to be to recall in preference the consul Valerius from Sicily, although he was out of Italy. A letter was sent to him by Lucius Manlius, the city praetor, by order of the senate, together with the letter of Marcus Marcellus, the consul, that he might learn from it what reason the senate had for recalling him from his province rather than his colleague. Much about this time ambassadors came to Rome from king Syphax with accounts of the successful battles which he had fought with the Carthaginians. They assured the senate that there was no people to whom the king was more hostile than the Carthaginians, and none to whom he was more friendly than the Romans. They said, that "he had before sent ambassadors into Spain, to Cneius and Publius Cornelius, the Roman generals, but that he was now desirous to solicit the friendship of the Romans, as it were, from the fountain-head itself." The senate not only returned a gracious answer to the ambassadors, but also sent as ambassadors to the king, with presents, Lucius Genucius, Publius Paetelius, and Publius Popillius. The presents they carried were a purple gown and vest, an ivory chair, and a bowl formed out of five pounds of gold. They received orders

to proceed forthwith to other petty princes of Africa carrying with them as presents for them gowns bordered with purple, and golden bowls weighing three pounds each. Marcus Atilius and Manius Acilius were also sent as ambassadors to Alexandria, to king Ptolemy and queen Cleopatra, to revive and renew the treaty of friendship with them, carrying with them as presents a gown and purple tunic, with an ivory chair for the king, and an embroidered gown and a purple vest for the queen. During the summer in which these transactions took place, many prodigies were reported from the country and cities in the neighbourhood; at Tusculum it was said that a lamb was yeaned with its dug full of milk; that the roof of the temple of Jupiter was struck with lightning and almost stripped of its entire covering. Much about the same time it was reported that the ground in front of the gate at Anagnia was struck, and that it continued burning for a day and a night without any thing to feed the fire; that at Compitum in the territory of Anagnia, the birds had deserted the nests in the trees in the grove of Diana; that snakes of amazing size had leaped up, like fishes sporting, in the sea at Taracina not far from the port; at Tarquinii, that a pig was produced with a human face; that in the territory of Capena at the grove of Feronia, four statues had sweated blood profusely for a day and a night. These prodigies were expiated with victims of the greater kind, according to a decree of the pontiffs, and a supplication was fixed to be performed for one day at Rome at all the shrines, and another in the territory of Capena at the grove of Feronia.

5. Marcus Valerius, the consul, having been summoned by letter, gave the command of the province and his army to Cincius the praetor, sent Marcus Valerius Messala, commander of the fleet, with half of the ships to Africa, at the same time to plunder the country and observe what the Carthaginians were doing, and what preparations they were making, and then set out himself with ten ships for Rome; where, having arrived in safety, he immediately convened the senate. Here he made a recital of his services. That “after hostilities had been carried on, and severe losses often sustained, both by sea and land, through a period of almost sixty years, he had completely terminated the business of the province. That there was not one Carthaginian in Sicily, nor one Sicilian absent

of those who through fear had been compelled to go into exile and live abroad; that all of them were brought back to their cities and fields, and were employed in ploughing and sowing; that the land which was deserted was now again inhabited, not only yielding its fruits to its cultivators, but forming a most certain resource for the supply of provisions to the Roman people in peace and war.” After this, Mutines and such others as had rendered any services to the Roman people were introduced into the senate, and all received honorary rewards in fulfilment of the consul’s engagement. Mutines was also made a Roman citizen, a proposition to that effect having been made to the commons by a plebeian tribune, on the authority of the senate. While these things were going on at Rome, Marcus Valerius Messala, arriving on the coast of Africa before daylight, made a sudden descent on the territory of Utica; and after ravaging it to a great extent, and taking many prisoners, together with booty of every kind, he returned to his ships and sailed over to Sicily. He returned to Lilybaeum on the thirteenth day from the time he left it. From the prisoners, on examination, the following facts were discovered, and all communicated in writing to the consul Laevinus in order, so that he might know in what state the affairs of Africa were. That “five thousand Numidians, with Masinissa, the son of Gala, a youth of extraordinary spirit, were at Carthage, and that other troops were hiring throughout all Africa, to be passed over into Spain to Hasdrubal; in order that he might, as soon as possible, pass over into Italy, with as large a force as could be collected, and form a junction with Hannibal.” That the Carthaginians considered their success dependent on this measure. That a very large fleet was also in preparation for the recovery of Sicily, which they believed would sail thither in a short time. The recital of these facts had such an effect upon the senate, that they resolved that the consul ought not to wait for the election, but that a dictator should be appointed to hold it, and that the consul should immediately return to his province. A difference of opinion delayed this, for the consul declared that he should nominate as dictator Marcus Valerius Messala, who then commanded the fleet in Sicily; but the fathers denied that a person could be appointed dictator who was not in the Roman territory, and this was limited by Italy. Marcus Lucretius, a plebeian tribune,

having taken the sense of the senate upon the question, it was decreed, "that the consul before he quitted the city, should put the question to the people, as to whom they wished to be appointed dictator, and that he should nominate whomsoever they directed. If the consul were unwilling that the praetor should put the question, and if even he were unwilling to do it, that then the tribunes should make the proposition to the commons." The consul refusing to submit to the people what lay in his own power, and forbidding the praetor to do so, the plebeian tribunes put the question, and the commons ordered that Quintus Fulvius, who was then at Capua, should be nominated dictator. But on the night preceding the day on which the assembly of the people was to be held for that purpose, the consul went off privately into Sicily; and the fathers, thus deserted, decreed that a letter should be sent to Marcus Claudius, in order that he might come to the support of the state, which had been abandoned by his colleague, and appoint him dictator whom the commons had ordered. Thus Quintus Fulvius was appointed dictator by Marcus Claudius, the consul, and in conformity with the same order of the people, Publius Licinius Crassus, chief pontiff, was appointed master of the horse by Quintus Fulvius, the dictator.

6. After the dictator had arrived at Rome, he sent Cneius Sempronius Blaesus, who had acted under him as lieutenant general at Capua, into the province of Etruria, to take the command of the army there, in the room of the praetor, Caius Calpurnius, whom he had summoned by letter to take the command of Capua and his own army. He fixed the first date he could for the election: which, however, could not be brought to a conclusion, in consequence of a dispute which arose between the tribunes and the dictator. The junior century of the Galerian tribe, to whose lot it fell to give the votes first, had named Quintus Fulvius and Quintus Fabius as consuls; and the other centuries, on being called upon to vote according to their course, would have inclined the same way, had not the plebeian tribunes, Caius and Lucius Arennius interposed. They said, "that it was hardly constitutional that a chief magistrate should be continued in office but that it was a precedent still more shocking, that the very person who held the election should be appointed. Then therefore, if the dictator should allow his own name to appear they would

interpose against the election; but if the names of any other persons besides himself were put up, they should not impede it.” The dictator defended the election by the authority of the fathers, the order of the commons, and precedents. For, “in the consulate of Cneius Servilius, when the other consul, Caius Flaminius, had fallen at Trasimenus, it was proposed to the people on the authority of the fathers, and the people had ordered, that as long as the war continued in Italy, it should be lawful for the people to elect to the consulship whomsoever they pleased, out of those persons who had been consuls, and as often as they pleased. That he had a precedent of ancient date, which was to the point, in the case of Lucius Posthumius Megellus, who, while he was interrex, had been created consul with Caius Junius Bubulcus, at an election over which he himself presided; and a precedent of recent date, in Quintus Fabius, who certainly would never have allowed himself to be re-elected, had it not been for the good of the state.” After the contest had been continued for a long time, by arguments of this kind, at length the tribunes and the dictator came to an agreement, that they should abide by what the senate should decide. The fathers were of opinion, that such was then the condition of the state, that it was necessary that its affairs should be conducted by old and experienced generals, who were skilled in the art of war; and, therefore, that no delay should take place in the election. The tribunes then withdrew their opposition, and the election was held. Quintus Fabius Maximus was declared consul for the fifth time, and Quintus Fulvius Flaccus for the fourth. The praetors were then created; Lucius Veturius Philo, Titus Quintus Crispinus, Caius Hostilius Tubulus, and Caius Aurunculeius. The magistrates for the year being appointed, Quintus Fulvius resigned the dictatorship. At the end of this summer, a Carthaginian fleet of forty ships, under the command of Hamilcar, passed over to Sardinia. At first it laid waste the territory of Olbia, and then Publius Manlius Vulso, with his army, making his appearance, it sailed round thence to the other side of the island, and devastating the territory of Caralis, returned to Africa with booty of every kind. Several Roman priests died this year, and others were substituted. Caius Servilius was appointed pontiff, in the place of Titus Otacilius Crassus. Tiberius Sempronius Longus, son of

Tiberius, was appointed as augur, in the place of Titus Otacilius Crassus; and Tiberius Sempronius Longus, son of Tiberius, was appointed decemvir for the performance of sacred rites, in the room of Tiberius Sempronius Longus, son of Caius. Marcus Marcius, king of the sacred rites, and Marcus Aemilius Papus, chief curio, died; but no priests were appointed to succeed them this year. The censors this year were Lucius Veturius Philo, and Publius Licinius Crassus chief pontiff. Licinius Crassus had neither been consul nor praetor before he was appointed censor, he stepped from the aedileship to the censorship. These censors neither chose the senate, nor transacted any public business, the death of Lucius Veturius prevented it; on this Licinius also gave up his office. The curule aediles, Lucius Veturius and Publius Licinius Varus, repeated the Roman games during one day. The plebeian aediles, Quintus Catus and Lucius Porcius Licinius, furnished brazen statues for the temple of Ceres, out of the money arising from fines, and exhibited games with great pomp and splendour, considering the circumstances of the times.

7. At the close of this year, Caius Laelius, the lieutenant general of Scipio, came to Rome on the thirty-fourth day after he set out from Tarraco, and entering the city accompanied by a train of captives, drew together a great concourse of people. The next day, on being brought into the senate, he stated that Carthage, the capital of Spain, had been captured in one day, that several cities which had revolted were regained, and that fresh ones had been received into alliance. From the prisoners, information was gained, corresponding for the most part with what was contained in the letter of Marcus Valerius Messala. What produced the greatest effect upon the fathers, was the march of Hasdrubal into Italy, which was with difficulty resisting Hannibal and his forces. Laelius also, who was brought before the general assembly, gave a particular statement of the same things. The senate decreed a supplication for one day, on account of the successes of Publius Scipio, and ordered Caius Laelius to return as soon as possible to Spain, with the ships he had brought with him. I have laid the taking of Carthage in this year, on the authority of many writers, although aware that some have stated that it was taken the following year, because it appeared to me hardly probable that Scipio should have spent an entire year in Spain in doing nothing.

Quintus Fabius Maximus for the fifth time, and Quintus Fulvius Flaccus for the fourth having entered on their offices of consuls on the ides of March, on the same day, Italy was decreed as the province of both, their command, however, was distributed to separate districts. Fabius was appointed to carry on the war at Tarentum; Fulvius in Lucania and Bruttium. Marcus Claudius was continued in command for the year. The praetors then cast lots for their provinces. Caius Hostilius Tubulus obtained the city jurisdiction; Lucius Veturius Philo the foreign, with Gaul; Titus Quinctius Crispinus, Capua; Caius Aurunculeius, Sardinia. The troops were thus distributed through the provinces: Fulvius received the two legions which Marcus Valerius Laevinus had in Sicily; Quintus Fabius, those which Caius Calpurnius had commanded in Etruria. The city troops were to succeed those in Etruria; Caius Calpurnius commanding the same province and the army. Titus Quinctius was to take the command of Capua, and the army which had served under Quintus Fulvius there. Lucius Veturius was to succeed Caius Laetorius, *propraetor*, in his province and the command of the army, which was then at Ariminum. Marcus Marcellus had the legions with which he had been successful when consul. To Marcus Valerius together with Lucius Cincius, for these also were continued in command in Sicily, the troops which had fought at Cannae were given, with orders to recruit them out of the surviving soldiers of the legions of Cneius Fulvius. These were collected and sent by the consuls into Sicily, and the same ignominious condition of service was added, under which the troops which had fought at Cannae served, and to those troops belonging to the army of Cneius Fulvius, the praetor, which had been sent thither by the senate through displeasure occasioned by a similar flight. Caius Aurunculeius was appointed to command, in Sardinia, the same legions with which Publius Manlius Vulso had occupied that province. Publius Sulpicius was continued in command for the year, with orders to hold Macedonia with the same legion and fleet. Orders were given to send thirty *quinqueremes* from Sicily to Tarentum, to the consul Fabius. With the rest of the ships, orders were given that Marcus Valerius Laevinus should either pass over himself into Africa to ravage the country, or send either Lucius Cincius or Marcus Valerius Messala. With regard to Spain, no

alteration was made, except that Scipio and Silanus were continued in command, not for the year, but until they should be recalled by the senate. In such manner were the provinces and the commands of the armies distributed for this year.

8. Amid concerns of greater importance, an old dispute was revived at the election of a chief curio, when a priest was appointed to succeed Marcus Aemilius; the patricians denying that Caius Mamilius Vitulus, who was a plebeian candidate, ought to be allowed to stand, because no one before his time had held that priesthood who was not a patrician. The tribunes, on being appealed to, referred the matter to the senate. The senate left it to the decision of the people. Thus Caius Mamilius Vitulus was the first plebeian created chief curio. Publius Licinius, chief pontiff, compelled Caius Valerius Flaccus to be inaugurated flamen of Jupiter, against his will. Caius Valerius Laetorius was created decemvir for the performance of sacred rites, in the room of Quintus Mucius Scaevola, deceased. I should willingly have passed over in silence the reason of a flamen's being compelled to be inaugurated, had he not become a good, from having been a bad character. In consequence of having spent his youth in idleness and debauchery, vices for which he had incurred the displeasure of his own brother, Lucius Flaccus, and the rest of his kinsmen, Caius Flaccus was chosen flamen by Publius Licinius, chief pontiff. As soon as his mind became occupied with the care of the sacred rites and ceremonies, he soon so completely divested himself of his former habits, that no one among all the youth was more esteemed, or enjoyed in a greater degree the approbation of the chief of the patricians, whether relations or aliens. Being raised by this generally good character to a proper confidence in himself, he claimed to be admitted into the senate; a thing intermitted for many years, on account of the worthlessness of former flamens. On entering the senate, Lucius Licinius, the praetor, led him out; on which the flamen appealed to the tribunes of the people. He demanded back the ancient privilege of his priesthood, which was given, together with the purple-bordered robe, and the curule chair, to the office of flamen. The praetor wished the question to rest not on the precedents contained in the annals, which were obsolete from their antiquity, but on the usual practice in all the cases of most

recent date; urging, that no flamen of Jupiter, in the memory of their fathers or their grandfathers, had taken up that privilege. The tribunes giving it as their opinion, that justice required, that as the obliteration of the privilege was occasioned by the negligence of the flamens, the consequences ought to fall upon the flamens themselves, and not upon the office, led the flamen into the senate, with the general approbation of the fathers, and without any opposition, even from the praetor himself; while all were of opinion that the flamen had obtained his object more from the purity of his life, than any right appertaining to the priesthood. The consuls, before they departed to their provinces, raised two legions for the city, and as many soldiers as were necessary to make up the numbers of the other armies. The consul Fulvius appointed his brother, Caius Fulvius Flaccus, lieutenant-general, to march the old city army into Etruria, and to bring to Rome the legions which were in Etruria. And the consul Fabius ordered his son, Quintus Fabius Maximus, to lead the remains of the army of Fulvius, which had been collected, amounting to three thousand three hundred and thirty-six, into Sicily to Marcus Valerius, the proconsul, and to receive from him two legions and thirty quinquaginta. The withdrawing of these legions from the island did not at all diminish the force employed for the protection of that province, either in effect or appearance; for though, in addition to two veteran legions which were most effectively reinforced, he had a great number of Numidian deserters, both horse and foot, he raised also a body of Sicilian troops, consisting of men who had served in the armies of Epicydes and the Carthaginians, and were experienced in war. Having added these foreign auxiliaries to each of the Roman legions, he preserved the appearance of two armies. With one he ordered Lucius Cinctius to protect that portion of the island which had formed the kingdom of Hiero, with the other he himself guarded the rest of the island, which was formerly divided by the boundary of the Roman and Carthaginian dominions. He divided also the fleet of seventy ships, in order that it might protect the sea-coast, through the entire extent of its shores. He himself went through the island with the cavalry of Mutines to inspect the lands, observe those which were cultivated and those which were not, and, accordingly, either praise or reprove the owners. By this diligence so large a quantity of corn

was produced, that he both sent some to Rome, and collected at Catana corn which might serve as a supply for the army, which was about to pass the summer at Tarentum.

9. But the transportation of the soldiers into Sicily, and they consisted chiefly of Latins and allies, had very nearly caused a serious commotion; from such trifling circumstances do events of great importance frequently arise. A murmuring arose among the Latins and allies at their meetings. They said, that “they had been drained by levies and contributions for ten years. That almost every year they fought with the most disastrous consequences. That some of them were slain in the field, others were carried off by disease. That a countryman of theirs who was enlisted by the Romans was more lost to them than one who was taken prisoner by the Carthaginians; for the latter was sent back to his country by the enemy without ransom, while the former was sent beyond the limits of Italy, into exile rather than military service. That the troops which fought at Cannae were growing old there, for eight years, and would die there before the enemy, who was now more than ever flourishing and vigorous would depart from Italy. If the old soldiers did not return to their country, and fresh ones were enlisted, that in a short time there would be no one left. That, therefore, they must refuse to the Roman people, before they came to utter desolation and want, what shortly their very condition would refuse. If the Romans saw their allies unanimous on this point that they would then certainly think of making peace with the Carthaginians; otherwise, Italy would never be without war while Hannibal was alive.” Thus they discoursed in their meetings. The Roman people had at that time thirty colonies. Twelve of these, for they all had embassies in Rome, told the consuls that they had not whence to furnish either men or money. The twelve were Ardea, Nepete Sutrium, Alba, Carseoli, Cora, Suessa, Cerceii, Setia, Cales Narnia, Interamna. The consuls, astonished at this new proceeding, were desirous to deter them from so hateful a measure and, considering that they could effect this better by censure and remonstrance than by mild means, said that “they had dared to say to the consuls what the consuls could not bring their minds to declare in the senate; for that this was not refusal to perform military service, but an open defection from the Roman

people. They desired, therefore, that they would return to their colonies speedily, and that, considering the subject as untouched, as they had only spoken of, but not attempted, so impious a business, they would consult with their countrymen. That they would warn them that they were not Campanians or Tarentines, but Romans; that from thence they derived their origin, and thence were sent out into colonies and lands captured from the enemy, for the purpose of increasing the population. That they owed to the Romans what children owed to parents, if they possessed any natural affection, or any gratitude towards their mother country. That they should, therefore, consider the matter afresh; for that certainly what they then so rashly meditated, was the betraying the Roman empire, and putting the victory in the hands of Hannibal.” The consuls having spent a long time in exchanging arguments of this kind, the ambassadors, who were not at all moved by what they said, declared, that “they had nothing which they could carry home, nor had their senate any thing fresh to devise, having neither men to be enlisted, nor money to be furnished for pay.” The consuls, seeing that they were inflexible, laid the matter before the senate; where the alarm excited in the minds of all was so great, that “the greater part declared it was all over with the empire; that the rest of the colonies would take the same course, and that all the allies had conspired to betray the city of Rome to Hannibal.”

10. The consuls endeavoured to encourage and console the senate, telling them that “the other colonies would maintain their allegiance, and continue in their former state of dutiful obedience, and that those very colonies who had renounced their allegiance, would be inspired with respect for the empire, if ambassadors were sent round to them to reprove and not entreat them.” The senate having given them permission to do and to act as they might conceive best for the state; after sounding the intentions of the other colonies, the consuls summoned their ambassadors, and asked them whether they had their soldiers ready according to the roll? Marcus Sextilius of Fregellae replied, in behalf of the eighteen colonies, that “they both had their soldiers ready according to the roll, and if more were wanting would furnish more, and would perform with all diligence whatever else the Roman people commanded and wished; that to do this they wanted

not means, and of inclination they had more than enough.” The consuls, having first told them that any praises bestowed by themselves alone seemed too little for their deserts, unless the whole body of the fathers should thank them in the senate-house, led them before the senate. The senate, having voted an address to them conceived in the most honourable terms, charged the consuls to take them before the assembly of the people; and, among the many other distinguished services rendered to themselves and their ancestors, to make mention also of this recent obligation conferred upon the state. Nor even at the present day, after the lapse of so many ages let their names be passed over in silence, nor let them be defrauded of the praise due to them. They were the people of Signia, Norba, Saticulum, Brundisium, Fregellae, Lucerium Venusia, Adria, Firma, Ariminum; on the other sea, Pontius Paestum, and Cosa; and in the inland parts Beneventum, Aesernia, Spoleto, Placentia, and Cremona. By the support of these colonies the empire of the Roman people then stood; and the thanks both of the senate and the people were given to them. As to the twelve other colonies which refused obedience, the fathers forbade that their names should be mentioned, that their ambassadors should either be dismissed or retained, to be addressed by the consuls. Such a tacit reproof appears most consistent with the dignity of the Roman people. While the consuls were getting in readiness all the other things which were necessary for the war, it was resolved that the vicesimary gold, which was preserved in the most sacred part of the treasury as a resource in cases of extreme exigencies should be drawn out. There were drawn out as many as four thousand pounds of gold, from which five hundred pounds each were given to the consuls, to Marcus Marcellus and Publius Sulpicius, proconsuls, and Lucius Veturius, the praetor, who had by lot obtained Gaul as his province; and in addition, one hundred pounds of gold were given to the consul Fabius, as an extraordinary grant to be carried into the citadel of Tarentum. The rest they employed in contracts, for ready money, for clothing for the army which was carrying on the war in Spain, to their own and their general glory.

11. It was resolved also, that the prodigies should be expiated before the consuls set out from the city. In the Alban mount, the

statue of Jupiter and a tree near the temple were struck by lightning; at Ostia, a grove; at Capua, a wall and the temple of Fortune; at Sinuessa, a wall and a gate. Some also asserted, that water at Alba had flowed tinged with blood. That at Rome, within the cell of Fors Fortuna, an image, which was in the crown of the goddess, had fallen spontaneously from her head into her hands. At Privernum, it was satisfactorily established that an ox spoke, and that a vulture flew down into a shop, while the forum was crowded. And that a child was born at Sinuessa, of ambiguous sex, between a male and female, such as are commonly called Androgynes, a term derived from the Greek language, which is better adapted, as for most other purposes, so for the composition of words; also that it rained milk, and that a boy was born with the head of an elephant. These prodigies were then expiated with victims of the larger kind, and a supplication at every shrine and an offering up of prayers, was proclaimed for one day. It was also decreed, that Caius Hostilius, the praetor, should vow and perform the games in honour of Apollo as they had of late years been vowed and performed. During the same time, Quintus Fulvius, the consul, held an election for the creation of censors. Marcus Cornelius Cethegus, and Publius Sempronius Tuditanus, both of whom had not yet been consuls, were created censors. The question was put to the people on the authority of the fathers, and the people ordered that these censors should let to farm the Campanian lands. The choosing of the senate was delayed by a dispute which arose between the censors about the selection of a chief of the senate. The choice belonged to Sempronius; but Cornelius contended that the custom handed down by their fathers must be followed, which was, that they should choose him as chief of the senate who was first censor of those who were then alive; this was Titus Manlius Torquatus. Sempronius rejoined, that to whom the gods had given the lot of choosing, to him the same gods had given the right of exercising his discretion freely. That he would act in this affair according to his own free will, and would choose Quintus Fabius Maximus, whom he would prove to be the first man in the Roman state, even in the judgment of Hannibal. After a long verbal dispute, his colleague giving up the point, Quintus Fabius Maximus, the consul, was chosen, by Sempronius, chief of the senate. Another

senate was then chosen, and eight names were passed over; among which was that of Lucius Caecilius Metellus, disrespected as the adviser of the abandonment of Italy, after the defeat at Cannae. In censuring those of the equestrian order, the same ground was acted upon, but there were very few to whom that disgrace belonged. All of the equestrian order belonging to the legions who had fought at Cannae, and were then in Sicily, were deprived of their horses. To this severe punishment they added another relating to time, which was, that the past campaign which they had served on horses furnished at the public expense should not be reckoned to them, but that they should serve ten campaigns on horses furnished at their own expense. They also searched for, and discovered, a great number of those who ought to have served in the cavalry; and all those who were seventeen years old at the beginning of the war and had not served, they disfranchised. They then contracted for the restoration of the seven shops, the shamle and the royal palace, situated round the forum, and which had been consumed by fire.

12. Having finished every thing which was to be done in Rome, the consuls set out for the war. Fulvius first went advance to Capua; in a few days Fabius followed. He implored his colleague in person, and Marcellus by a letter use the most vigorous measures to detain Hannibal, while he was making an attack upon Tarentum. That when that city was taken from the enemy, who had been repulsed on all sides and had no place where he might make a stand or look back up as a safe retreat, he would not then have even a pretext for remaining in Italy. He also sent a messenger to Rhegium, the praefect of the garrison, which had been placed there the consul Laevinus, against the Bruttians, and consisted eight thousand men, the greater part of whom had been brought from Agathyrna in Sicily, as has been before mentioned, and were men who had been accustomed to live by rapine. To these were added fugitives of the Bruttians natives of that country, equal to them in daring, and under an equal necessity of braving every thing. This band ordered to be marched, first, to lay waste the Bruttian territory, and then to attack the city Caulonia. After having executed the order, not only with alacrity, but avidity, and having pillaged and put to flight the cultivators of the land they attacked the city with the utmost vigour. Marcellus incited by the

letter of the consul, and because he had made up his mind that no Roman general was so good a match for Hannibal as himself, set out from his winter quarters as soon as there was plenty of forage in the fields, and met Hannibal at Canusium. The Carthaginian was then endeavouring to induce the Canusians to revolt, but as soon as he heard that Marcellus was approaching, he decamped thence. The country was open, without any covers adapted for an ambuscade; he therefore began to retire thence into woody districts. Marcellus closely pursued him, pitched his camp close to his, and when he had completed his works, led out his troops into the field. Hannibal engaged in slight skirmishes, and sent out single troops of horse and the spearmen from his infantry, not considering it necessary to hazard a general battle. He was, however, drawn on to a contest of that kind which he was avoiding. Hannibal had decamped by night, but was overtaken by Marcellus in a plain and open country. Then, while encamping, Marcellus, by attacking the workmen on all hands, prevented the completion of his works. Thus a pitched battle ensued, and all their forces were brought into action; but night coming on, they retired from an equal contest. They then hastily fortified their camps, which were a small space apart, before night. The next day, as soon as it was light, Marcellus led out his troops into the field; nor did Hannibal decline the challenge, but exhorted his soldiers at great length, desiring them “to remember Trasimenus and Cannae, and thus quell the proud spirit of their enemies.” He said, “the enemy pressed upon him, and trod upon their heels; that he did not allow them to pass unmolested, pitch their camp, or even take breath and look around them; that every day, the rising sun and the Roman troops in battle-array were to be seen together on the plains. But if in one battle he should retire from the field, not without loss of blood, he would then prosecute the war more steadily and quietly.” Fired by these exhortations, and at the same time wearied with the presumption of the enemy, who daily pressed upon them and provoked them to an engagement, they commenced the battle with spirit. The battle continued for more than two hours, when the right wing of the allies and the chosen band began to give way on the part of the Romans; which Marcellus perceiving, led the eighteenth legion to the front. While some were retiring in confusion, and others

were coming up reluctantly, the whole line was thrown into disorder, and afterwards completely routed; while their fears getting the better of their sense of shame, they turned their backs. In the battle and in the flight there fell as many as two thousand seven hundred of the citizens and allies; among which were four Roman centurions and two military tribunes, Marcus Licinius and Marcus Helvius. Four military standards were lost by the wing which first fled, and two belonging to the legion which came up in place of the retiring allies.

13. Marcellus, on his return to the camp, delivered an address to his soldiers so severe and acrimonious, that the words of their exasperated general were more painful to them than what they had suffered in the unsuccessful battle during the whole day. "I praise and thank the immortal gods," said he "that in such an affair the victorious enemy did not assail our very camp, when you were hurrying into the rampart and the gates with such consternation. There can be no doubt but you would have abandoned the camp with the same cowardice with which you gave up the battle. What panic was this? What terror? What sudden forgetfulness of who you are, and who the persons with whom you were fighting, took possession of your minds? Surely these are the same enemies in conquering and pursuing whom when conquered you spent the preceding summer; whom latterly you have been closely pursuing while they fled before you night and day; whom you have wearied by partial battles; whom yesterday you would not allow either to march or encamp. I pass over those things in which you might be allowed to glory; I will mention a circumstance which of itself ought to fill you with shame and remorse. Yesterday you separated from the enemy on equal terms. What alteration has last night, what on this day, produced? Have your forces been diminished by them, or theirs increased? I verily do not seem to be talking to my own troops, or to Roman soldiers. The bodies and the arms are the same. Had you possessed the same spirit, would the enemy have seen your backs? Would they have carried off a standard from any company or cohort? Hitherto he was wont to boast of having cut to pieces the Roman legions, but yesterday you gave him the glory, for the first time, of having put to flight an army." On this many soldiers began to call upon him to pardon them for that day, and entreat that he would now, whenever

he pleased, make trial of the courage of his soldiers. "I will indeed make trial of you," said he, "and to-morrow I will lead you into the field, that in the character of conquerors, rather than conquered men, you may obtain the pardon you seek." To the cohorts which had lost their standards, he ordered that barley should be given. The centurions of the Campanians, whose standards were lost, he left to stand without their girdles and with their swords drawn; and gave orders that all, both horse and foot, should be ready under arms on the following day. Thus the assembly was dismissed; the soldiers confessing that they had been justly and deservedly rebuked; and that there was no one in the whole Roman army who had acquitted himself like a man, except the general, to whom they were bound to make atonement, either by their death or a glorious victory. The next day they appeared in readiness, according to the order, armed and equipped. The general praised them, and gave out, that "he should lead into the first line those who had commenced the flight on the preceding day, and those cohorts which had lost their standards. He now charged them all to fight and conquer, and exert every effort, one and all, that the intelligence of yesterday's flight might not arrive at Rome before that of this day's victory." They were then ordered to refresh themselves with food, in order that, if the fight should continue longer than might be expected, their strength might not fail. After every thing had been done and said, by which the courage of the soldiers might be roused, they advanced into the field.

14. Hannibal, on receiving intelligence of this, said, "surely the enemy we have to do with can neither bear good nor bad fortune. If he is victorious, he fiercely pursues the vanquished. If conquered, he renews the contest with the victors." He then ordered the signal to be given, and led out his forces. The battle was fought on both sides with much more spirit than the day before. The Carthaginians exerting themselves to the utmost, to keep the glory they had acquired yesterday; the Romans, to remove their disgrace. On the side of the Romans, the left wing, and the cohorts which had lost their standards, fought in the first line, and the twentieth legion was drawn up on the right wing. Lucius Cornelius Lentulus and Caius Claudius Nero, lieutenant-generals, commanded the wings, Marcellus gave vigour to the centre by his presence, as an encourager

and a witness. On the part of Hannibal, the Spaniards, who were the flower of his whole army, occupied the front line. After the battle had continued doubtful for a long time, Hannibal ordered the elephants to be advanced into the front line, if by that means any confusion or panic could be created. At first, they threw the troops into confusion and broke their ranks, and treading some under foot, and dispersing others who were round them by the alarm they created, had made an opening in one part of the Roman line; and the flight would have spread more widely had not Caius Decimus Flavius, a military tribune seizing the standard of the first maniple of the spearmen ordered that maniple to follow him. He led them to the spot where the elephants, collected in a body, were creating the greatest confusion, and ordered them to discharge their javelins at them. As there was no difficulty in hitting such bulky bodies at a short distance, and where so many were crowded together, all their javelins stuck in them. But they were not all wounded, so those in whose hides the javelins stuck, as that race of animals is not to be depended on, by taking themselves to flight, drove away those also which were untouched. At that moment not only one maniple, but all the soldiers who could but overtake the body of retreating elephants, threw their javelins at them, each man exerting himself to his utmost. With so much greater impetuosity did the animals rush upon their own men, and so much greater carnage did they make amongst them than they had made amongst their enemies, in proportion as the violence with which they are impelled, and the consternation produced by them when under the influence of fear, is greater than when they are ruled by their masters seated on their backs. The Roman infantry bore their standards against the line of the enemy when thrown into disorder by the elephants which had crossed over to them, and, thus scattered and confused, led them to flight without any great opposition. Marcellus sent his cavalry after them as they fled; nor did they desist from the pursuit till they were driven in consternation to their camp. For in addition to the other causes which occasioned terror and dismay, two elephants had fallen just by the gate, and the soldiers were compelled to rush into the camp over the ditch and rampart. Here the greatest slaughter of the enemy occurred. There fell as many as eight thousand men and five elephants. Nor did

the Romans gain a bloodless victory; about seventeen hundred of the two legions, and thirteen hundred of the allies were slain; a great number of the Romans and allies were wounded. The following night Hannibal decamped. The great number of the wounded prevented Marcellus from following him, as he desired.

15. The spies who were sent to watch his movements brought word back the next day that Hannibal was making for Bruttium. Much about the same time the Hirpinians, Lucanians, and Volcentes surrendered themselves to the consul, Quintus Fulvius, delivering up the garrisons of Hannibal which they had in their cities. They were mildly received by the consul, with only a verbal reproof for their past error. To the Bruttians also similar hopes of pardon were held out, when two brothers, Vibius and Pactius, by far the most illustrious persons of that nation, came from them to solicit the same terms of surrender which had been given to the Lucanians. Quintus Fabius, the consul, took by storm Manduria, a town in the territory of Sallentum, where as many as four thousand men were made prisoners, and much booty taken besides. Proceeding thence to Tarentum, he pitched his camp in the very mouth of the harbour: of the ships which Livius had employed for protecting convoys, some he loaded with engines and implements for attacking walls, others he furnished with machines for discharging missiles, and with stones and missiles of every kind; not only those which were impelled with oars, but the storeships also, in order that some might carry the engines and ladders to the walls, while others might wound the defenders of the walls by discharging missiles from the ships at a distance. These ships were fitted up and prepared to attack the town from the open sea; and the sea was free from the Carthaginian fleet, which had crossed over to Corcyra on account of Philip's preparing to attack the Aetolians. Meanwhile, those who were attacking Caulon, in the territory of Bruttium, fearful lest they should be overpowered, had retired on the approach of Hannibal to an eminence, secure from an immediate attack. While Fabius was besieging Tarentum, he received assistance in the accomplishment of that great object by a circumstance which in the mere mention, is unimportant. Tarentum was occupied by a garrison of Bruttians, given them by Hannibal and the commander of that garrison was

desperately in love with a girl, whose brother was in the army of the consul Fabius. Being informed, by a letter from his sister, of the new acquaintance she had formed with a wealthy stranger and one so honoured among his countrymen, and conceiving a hope that the lover, by means of his sister, might be induced to any thing she pleased, he acquainted the consul with the hope he had formed. His reasoning appeared not altogether unfounded, and he was desired to go to Tarentum as a deserter and having gained the confidence of the praefect by means of his sister, he began by sounding his disposition in a covert manner, and then, having sufficiently ascertained his weakness, induced him, by the aid of female fascinations, to the betrayal of that custody of the place to which he was appointed. After the method to be pursued and the time for putting the plan into effect had been agreed upon, a soldier, who was sent out of the city by night clandestinely, through the intervals between the guards, related to the consul what had been done, and what had been agreed upon to be done. At the first watch, Fabius, on a signal given to those who were in the citadel, and those who had the custody of the harbour went himself round the harbour, and took up a position of concealment, on the side of the city which faced the east. Then the trumpets began to sound at once from the citadel, the harbour, and the ships which had been brought to the shore from the open sea, and a shout was purposely raised, accompanied with the greatest confusion, in whatever quarter there was the least danger. Meanwhile, the consul kept the men in silence. Democrates, therefore, who had formerly commanded the fleet, and happened to be in command in the quarter, seeing that all was quiet around him, while other parts of the city resounded with such a din that sometimes shout like that of a captured city was raised, and fearing loss while he hesitated, the consul should make some attack and advance his standards, led his party over to the citadel, from which the most alarming noise proceeded. Fabius, concluding that the guard was withdrawn, both from the time which had elapsed and from the silence which prevailed, for not a voice met the ear from a quarter where a little while ago the noise and bustle of men resounded, rousing and calling each other to arms, ordered the ladders to be carried to that part of the wall where the person who had contrived

the plot for betraying the city, had informed him that the Bruttian cohort kept guard. The wall was first captured in that quarter, the Bruttians aiding and receiving the Romans; and here they got over into the city: after which the nearest gate was broken open in order that the troops might enter in a large body. Then raising a shout, they proceeded to the forum, where they arrived much about daybreak, without meeting a single armed man; and drew upon themselves the attention of all the troops in every quarter, which were fighting at the citadel and at the harbour.

16. A battle was fought in the entrance of the forum, with greater impetuosity than perseverance. The Tarentines were not equal to the Romans in spirit, in their arms, in tactics, in activity or strength of body. Accordingly, having just discharged their javelins, they turned their backs almost before they had joined battle, and escaped in different directions through the streets of the city, with which they were acquainted, to their own houses and those of their friends. Two of their leaders, Nico and Democrates, fell while fighting bravely. Philomenus, who was the author of the plot for betraying the city to Hannibal, rode away from the battle at full speed. Shortly after, his horse, which was loose and straying through the city, was recognised, but his body could not be found any where. It was generally believed that he had pitched headlong from his horse into an open well. Carthalo, the praefect of the Carthaginian garrison, while coming to the consul unarmed, to put him in mind of a connexion of hospitality which subsisted between their fathers, was put to death by a soldier who met him. The rest were put to the sword on all hands, armed and unarmed indiscriminately, Carthaginians and Tarentines without distinction. Many of the Bruttians also were slain either by mistake or on account of an old grudge entertained against them, or else with a view to the report that the city was betrayed; in order that Tarentum might rather appear to have been captured by force of arms. The troops then ran off in all directions from the slaughter, to plunder the city. Thirty thousand slaves are said to have been captured; an immense quantity of silver, wrought and coined; eighty-three thousand pounds of gold; of statues and pictures so many that they almost equalled the decorations of Syracuse. But Fabius, with more magnanimity than Marcellus, abstained from

booty of that kind. When his secretary asked him what he wished to be done with the statues of their gods, which are of immense size and represented as fighting, each having his peculiar habit, he gave orders that their angry gods should be left in the possession of the Tarentines. After this, the wall which separated the city from the citadel was razed and demolished. While things were going on thus at Tarentum, Hannibal, to whom the troops engaged in the siege of Caulonia had surrendered themselves, hearing of the siege of Tarentum, marched with the greatest expedition both night and day; but hearing that the city was taken, as he was hastening to bring assistance to it, he exclaimed, "the Romans too have their Hannibal. We have lost Tarentum by the same arts by which we took it." However, that he might not appear to have turned his army in the manner of a fugitive, he encamped where he had halted, about five miles from the city. After staying there a few days, he retired to Metapontum, from which place he sent two Metapontines with letters from the principal men in the state to Fabius at Tarentum, to the effect, that they would accept of his promise that their past conduct should be unpunished, on condition of their betraying Metapontum together with the Carthaginian garrison into his hands. Fabius, who supposed that the communication they brought was genuine, appointed a day on which he would go to Metapontum, and gave the letters to the nobles, which were put into the hands of Hannibal. He, forsooth, delighted at the success of his stratagem, which showed that not even Fabius was proof against his cunning, planted an ambuscade not far from Metapontum. But when Fabius was taking the auspices, before he took his departure from Tarentum, the birds more than once refused approval. Also, on consulting the gods after sacrificing a victim, the aruspex forewarned him to be on his guard against hostile treachery and ambuscade. After the day fixed for his arrival had passed without his coming, the Metapontines were sent again to encourage him, delaying, but they were instantly seized, and, from apprehension of a severer mode of examination, disclosed the plot.

17. In the beginning of the summer during which these events occurred, after Publius Scipio had employed the whole of the winter in Spain in regaining the affections of the barbarians, partly by

presents, and partly by sending home their hostages and prisoners, Edesco, a man distinguished among the Spanish commanders, came to him. His wife and children were in the hands of the Romans; but besides this motive, he was influenced by that apparently fortuitous turn in the state of feeling which had converted the whole of Spain from the Carthaginian to the Roman cause. The same motive induced Indibilis and Mandonius, who were undoubtedly the principal men in all Spain, to desert Hasdrubal and withdraw with the whole body of their countrymen to the eminences which overhung his camp, from which they had a safe retreat along a chain of hills to the Romans. Hasdrubal, perceiving that the strength of the enemy was increasing by such large accessions, while his own was diminishing, and that events would continue to flow in the same course they had taken, unless by a bold effort he effected some alteration, resolved to come to an engagement as soon as possible. Scipio was still more eager for a battle, as well from hope which the success attending his operations had increased, as because he preferred, before the junction of the enemy's forces, to fight with one general and one army, rather than with their united troops. However, in case he should be obliged to fight with more armies than one at the same time, he had with some ingenuity augmented his forces; for seeing that there was no necessity for ships, as the whole coast of Spain was clear of Carthaginian fleets, he hauled his ships on shore at Tarraco and added his mariners to his land forces. He had plenty of arms for them, both those which had been captured at Carthage, and those which he had caused to be made after its capture, so large a number of workmen having been employed. With these forces, setting out from Tarraco at the commencement of the spring, for Laelius had now returned from Rome, without whom he wished nothing of very great importance to be attempted, Scipio marched against the enemy. Indibilis and Mandonius, with their forces, met him while on his march; passing through every place without molestation, his allies receiving him courteously, and escorting him as he passed the boundaries of each district. Indibilis, who spoke for both, addressed him by no means stupidly and imprudently like a barbarian, but with a modest gravity, rather excusing the change as necessary, than glorying that the present opportunity had been eagerly seized as the

first which had occurred. "For he well knew," he said, "that the name of a deserter was an object of execration to former allies, and of suspicion to new ones; nor did he blame the conduct of mankind in this respect, provided, however, that the cause, and not the name, occasioned the twofold hatred." He then recounted the services they had rendered the Carthaginian generals, and on the other hand their rapacity and insolence, together with the injuries of every kind committed against themselves and their countrymen. "On this account," he said, "his person only up to that time had been with them, his heart had long since been on that side where he believed that right and justice were respected. That people sought for refuge, as suppliants, even with the gods when they could not endure the oppression and injustice of men. What he had to entreat of Scipio was, that their passing over to him might neither be the occasion of a charge of fraud nor a ground for respect, but that he would estimate their services according to what sort of men he should find them to be from experience from that day." The Roman replied, that "he would do so in every particular; nor would he consider those men as deserters who did not look upon an alliance as binding where no law, divine or human, was unviolated." Their wives and children were then brought before them and restored to them; on which occasion they wept for joy. On that day they were conducted to a lodging; on the following they were received as allies, by a treaty, after which they were sent to bring up their forces. From that time they had their tents in the same camp with the Romans, until under their guidance they had reached the enemy.

18. The army of Hasdrubal, which was the nearest of the Carthaginian armies, lay near the city Baecula. Before his camp he had outposts of cavalry. On these the light-armed, those who fought before the standards and those who composed the vanguard, as they came up from their march, and before they chose the ground for their camp, commenced an attack in so contemptuous a manner, that it was perfectly evident what degree of spirit each party possessed. The cavalry were driven into their camp in disorderly flight, and the Roman standards were advanced almost within their very gates. Their minds on that day having only been excited to a contest, the Romans pitched their camp. At night Hasdrubal withdrew his forces

to an eminence, on the summit of which extended a level plain. There was a river on the rear, in front and on either side a kind of steep bank completely surrounded its extremity. Beneath this and lower down was another plain of gentle declivity, which was also surrounded by a similar ridge equally difficult of ascent. Into this lower plain Hasdrubal, the next day, when he saw the troops of the enemy drawn up before their camp, sent his Numidian cavalry and light-armed Balears. Scipio riding out to the companies and battalions, pointed out to them, that "the enemy having abandoned, beforehand, all hope of being able to withstand them on level ground, had resorted to hills: where they stood in view, relying on the strength of their position, and not on their valour and arms." But the walls of Carthage, which the Roman soldiers had scaled, were still higher. That neither hills, nor a citadel, nor even the sea itself, had formed an impediment to their arms. That the heights which the enemy had occupied would only have the effect of making it necessary for them to leap down crags and precipices in their flight, but he would even cut off that kind of retreat. He accordingly gave orders to two cohorts, that one of them should occupy the entrance of the valley down which the river ran, and that the other should block up the road which led from the city into the country, over the side of the hill. He himself led the light troops, which the day before had driven in the advanced guard of the enemy, against the light-armed troops which were stationed on the lower ridge. At first they marched through rugged ground, impeded by nothing except the road; afterwards, when they came within reach of the darts, an immense quantity of weapons of every description was showered upon them; while on their part, not only the soldiers, but a multitude of servants mingled with the troops, threw stones furnished by the place, which were spread about in every part, and for the most part convenient as missiles. But though the ascent was difficult, and they were almost overwhelmed with stones and darts, yet from their practice in approaching walls and their inflexibility of mind, the foremost succeeded in getting up. These, as soon as they got upon some level ground and could stand with firm footing, compelled the enemy, who were light-armed troops adapted for skirmishing, and could defend themselves at a distance, where an elusive kind of fight is carried on

by the discharge of missiles, but yet wanted steadiness for a close action, to fly from their position; and, killing a great many, drove them to the troops which stood above them on the higher eminence. Upon this Scipio, having ordered the victorious troops to mount up and attack the centre of the enemy, divided the rest of his forces with Laelius; whom he directed to go round the hill to the right till he could find a way of easier ascent, while he himself, making a small circuit to the left, charged the enemy in flank. In consequence of this their line was first thrown into confusion, while they endeavoured to wheel round and face about their ranks towards the shouts which resounded from every quarter around them. During this confusion Laelius also came up, and while the enemy were retreating, that they might not be exposed to wounds from behind, their front line became disjoined, and a space was left for the Roman centre to mount up; who, from the disadvantage of the ground, never could have done so had their ranks stood unbroken with the elephants stationed in front. While the troops of the enemy were being slain on all sides, Scipio, who with his left wing had charged the right of the enemy, was chiefly employed in attacking their naked flank. And now there was not even room to fly; for parties of the Roman troops had blocked up the roads on both sides, right and left, and the gate of the camp was closed by the flight of the general and principal officers; added to which was the fright of the elephants, who, when in consternation, were as much feared by them as the enemy were. There were, therefore, slain as many as eight thousand men.

19. Hasdrubal, having seized upon the treasure before he engaged, now sent the elephants in advance, and collecting as many of the flying troops as he could, directed his course along the river Tagus to the Pyrenees. Scipio, having got possession of the enemy's camp, and giving up all the booty to the soldiers, except the persons of free condition, found, on counting the prisoners, ten thousand foot and two thousand horse. Of these, all who were Spaniards he sent home without ransom; the Africans he ordered the quaestor to sell. After this, a multitude of Spaniards, consisting of those who had surrendered to him before and those whom he had captured the preceding day, crowding around, one and all saluted him as king; when Scipio, after the herald had obtained silence, declared that "in

his estimation the most honourable title was that of general, which his soldiers had conferred upon him. That the name of king, which was in other countries revered, could not be endured at Rome. That they might tacitly consider his spirit as kingly, if they thought that the highest excellence which could be attributed to the human mind, but that they must abstain from the use of the term.” Even barbarians were sensible of the greatness of mind which could from such an elevation despise a name, at the greatness of which the rest of mankind were overawed. Presents were then distributed to the petty princes and leading men of the Spaniards, and out of the great quantity of horses which were captured, he desired Indibilis to select those he liked best to the number of three hundred. While the quaestor was selling the Africans, according to the command of the general, he found among them a full-grown youth remarkably handsome; and hearing that he was of royal blood, he sent him to Scipio. On being asked by Scipio “who he was, of what country, and why at that age he was in the camp?” he replied, “that he was a Numidian, that his countrymen called him Massiva; that being left an orphan by his father, he was educated by his maternal grandfather, Gala, the king of the Numidians. That he had passed over into Spain with his uncle Masinissa, who had lately come with a body of cavalry to assist the Carthaginians. That having been prohibited by Masinissa on account of his youth, he had never before been in battle. That the day on which the battle took place with the Romans, he had clandestinely taken a horse and arms, and, without the knowledge of his uncle, gone out into the field, where his horse falling forward, he was thrown headlong, and taken prisoner by the Romans.” Scipio, having ordered that the Numidian should be taken care of, completed the business which remained to be done on the tribunal, and returning to his pavilion, asked him, when he had been called to him, whether he wished to return to Masinissa? Upon his replying, with tears of joy, that he did indeed desire it, he presented the youth with a gold ring, a vest with a broad purple border, a Spanish cloak with a gold clasp, and a horse completely caparisoned, and then dismissed him, ordering a party of horse to escort him as far as he chose.

20. A council was then held respecting the war; when some

advised that he should endeavour to overtake Hasdrubal forthwith. But thinking that hazardous, lest Mago and the other Hasdrubal should unite their forces with his, he sent a body of troops to occupy the pass of the Pyrenees, and employed the remainder of the summer in receiving the states of Spain into his alliance. A few days after the battle of Baecula, when Scipio on his return to Tarraco had now cleared the pass of Castulo, the generals, Hasdrubal, son of Gisgo, and Mago came from the farther Spain and joined Hasdrubal; a late assistance after the defeat he had sustained, though their arrival was somewhat seasonable, for counsel with respect to the further prosecution of the war. They then consulted together as to what was the feeling of the Spaniards in the quarters where their several provinces were situated, when Hasdrubal, son of Gisgo, alone gave it as his opinion, that the remotest tract of Spain which borders on the ocean and Gades, was, as yet, unacquainted with the Romans, and might therefore be somewhat friendly to the Carthaginians. Between the other Hasdrubal and Mago it was agreed, that "Scipio by his good offices had gained the affections of all, both publicly and privately; and that there would be no end of desertions till all the Spanish soldiers were removed to the remotest parts of Spain, or were marched over into Gaul. That, therefore, though the Carthaginian senate had not decreed it, Hasdrubal must, nevertheless, march into Italy, the principal seat and object of the war; and thus at the same time lead away all the Spanish soldiers out of Spain far from the name of Scipio. That the army, which had been diminished by desertions and defeats, should be recruited by Spanish soldiers. That Mago, having delivered over his army to Hasdrubal, son of Gisgo, should himself pass over to the Baleares with a large sum of money to hire auxiliaries; that Hasdrubal, son of Gisgo, should retire with the army into the remotest part of Lusitania, and avoid an encounter with the Romans. That a body of three thousand horse should be made up for Masinissa, the flower of the whole cavalry; and that he, shifting about from place to place throughout hither Spain should succour their allies and commit depredations on the towns and lands of their enemies." Having adopted these resolutions, the generals departed to put in execution what they had resolved on. Such were the transactions in Spain of this year. At Rome the

reputation of Scipio increased daily. The capture of Tarentum, though effected by artifice more than valour, was considered honourable to Fabius. The fame of Fulvius was on the wane. Marcellus was even under an ill report, not only because he had failed in his first battle, but further, because while Hannibal was going wherever he pleased throughout Italy, he had led his troops to Venusia in the midst of summer to lodge in houses. Caius Publicius Bibulus, a tribune of the people, was hostile to him. This man, ever since the time of his first battle which had failed, had in constant harangues made Claudius obnoxious and odious to the people; and now his object was to deprive him of his command. The connexions of Marcellus, however, then obtained leave that Marcellus, leaving a lieutenant-general at Venusia, should return to Rome to clear himself of the charges which his enemies were urging, and that the question of depriving him of his command should not be agitated during his absence. It happened that nearly at the same time, Marcellus, and Quintius Fulvius the consul, came to Rome, the former to exonerate himself from ignominy, the latter on account of the elections.

21. The question touching Marcellus's command was debated in the Flaminian circus, in the presence of an immense concourse of plebeians and persons of every rank. The plebeian tribune accused, not only Marcellus, but the nobility generally. "It was owing," he said, "to their dishonesty and dilatory conduct, that Hannibal occupied Italy, as though it were his province, for now ten years; that he had passed more of his life there than at Carthage. That the Roman people were enjoying the fruits of the prolonged command of Marcellus; that his army, after having been twice defeated, was now spending the summer at Venusia lodged in houses." Marcellus so completely destroyed the effect of this harangue of the tribune, by the recital of the services he had rendered, that not only the bill for depriving him of his command was thrown out, but the following day he was created consul by the votes of all the centuries with wonderful unanimity. Titus Quinctius Crispinus, who was then praetor, was joined with him as his colleague. The next day Publius Licinius Crassus Dives, then chief pontiff, Publius Licinius Varus, Sextus Julius Caesar, and Quintus Claudius Flamen were created praetors. At the very time of the election, the public were thrown into

a state of anxiety relative to the defection of Etruria. Caius Calpurnius, who held that province as *propraetor*, had written word that the Arretians had originated such a scheme. Accordingly Marcellus, consul elect, was immediately sent thither to look into the affair, and if it should appear to him of sufficient consequence, to send for his army and transfer the war from Apulia to Etruria. The Tuscans, checked by the alarm thus occasioned, desisted. To the ambassadors of Tarentum, who solicited a treaty of peace securing to them their liberty and the enjoyment of their own laws, the senate answered, that they might return when the consul Fabius came to Rome. The Roman and plebeian games were this year repeated each for one day. The curule aediles were, Lucius Cornelius Caudinus and Servius Sulpicius Galba; the plebeian aediles, Caius Servilius and Quintus Caecilius Metellus. It was asserted that Servilius was not qualified to be plebeian tribune or aedile, because it was satisfactorily established that his father, who, for ten years, was supposed to have been killed by the Boii in the neighbourhood of Mutina, when acting as *triumvir* for the distribution of lands, was alive and in the hands of the enemy.

22. In the eleventh year of the Punic war, Marcus Marcellus, for the fifth time, reckoning in the consulate in which he did not act in consequence of an informality in his creation, and Titus Quinctius Crispinus entered upon the office of consuls. To both the consuls the province of Italy was decreed, with both the consular armies of the former year; (the third was then at Venusia, being that which Marcus Marcellus had commanded.) That out of the three armies the consuls might, choose whichever two they liked, and that the third should be delivered to him to whose lot the province of Tarentum and the territory of Sallentum fell. The other provinces were thus distributed among the praetors: Publius Licinius Varus had the city jurisdiction, Publius Licinius Crassus, chief pontiff, the foreign, and wherever the senate thought proper. Sextus Julius Caesar had Sicily, and Quintus Claudius Flamen, Tarentum. Quintus Fulvius Flaccus was to continue in command for a year, and hold the province of Capua, which had been held by Titus Quinctius, with one legion. Caius Hostilius Tubulus was also continued in command, with orders to go into Etruria, in the capacity of *propraetor*, and succeed Caius

Calpurnius in the command of the two legions there. Lucius Veturius Philo was also continued in command, to hold in the capacity of proprætor the same province of Gaul with the same two legions with which he had held it as prætor. The senate decreed the same with respect to Caius Aurunculeius, who, as prætor, had held the province of Sardinia with two legions, which it did in the case of Lucius Veturius, and the question of the continuation of his command was proposed to the people. He had in addition, for the protection of the province, fifty ships which Publius Scipio had sent from Spain. To Publius Scipio and Marcus Silanus, their present province of Spain and their present armies were assigned. Of the eighty ships which he had with him, some taken from Italy and others captured at Carthage, Scipio was ordered to send fifty to Sardinia, in consequence of a report that great naval preparations were making at Carthage that year; and that the intention of the Carthaginians was to blockade the whole coasts of Italy, Sicily, and Sardinia with two hundred ships. In Sicily also the following distribution was made: to Sextus Caesar the troops of Cannæ were assigned; Marcus Valerius Laevinus, who was also continued in command, was to have the fleet of seventy ships which was at Sicily, adding to it the thirty ships which the preceding year were stationed at Tarentum. With this fleet of a hundred ships he was ordered to pass over into Africa, if he thought proper, and collect booty. Publius Sulpicius was also continued in command for a year, to hold the province of Macedonia and Greece, with the same fleet. No alteration was made with regard to the two legions which were at Rome. Permission was given to the consuls to enlist as many troops as were necessary to complete the numbers. This year the Roman empire was defended by twenty-one legions. Publius Licinius Varus, the city prætor, was also commissioned to repair the thirty old men of war which lay at Ostia, and to man twenty new ones with full complements, in order that he might defend the sea-coast in the neighbourhood of Rome with a fleet of fifty ships. Caius Calpurnius was ordered not to move his army from Arretium till his successor had arrived. Both he and Tubulus were ordered to be particularly careful, lest any new plots should be formed in that quarter.

23. The prætors set out for their provinces. The consul were

detained by religious affairs; for receiving intelligence of several prodigies, they could not easily obtain a favourable appearance from the victims. It was reported from Campania, that two temples, those of Fortune and Mars, and several sepulchres, had been struck by lightning. From Cumae, so does superstition connect the deities with the most trifling circumstances, that mice had gnawed some gold in the temple of Jupiter. That an immense swarm of bees had settled in the forum at Casinum. That at Ostia a wall and gate had been struck by lightning. At Caere, that a vulture had flown into the temple of Jupiter. That blood had flowed from a lake at Volsinii. On account of these prodigies, a supplication was performed for one day. For several days, victims of the larger kind were sacrificed without any favourable appearance, and for a long time the good will of the gods could not be obtained. The fatal event indicated by these portents pointed to the persons of the consuls, the state being unaffected. The Apollinarian games were first celebrated by Publius Cornelius Sulla, the city praetor, in the consulate of Quintus Fulvius and Appius Claudius; from that time all the city praetors in succession had performed them; but they vowed them for one year only, and fixed no day for their performance. This year a grievous pestilence attacked the city and the country; it showed itself, however, in protracted rather than fatal diseases. On account of this pestilence supplication was performed in every street throughout the city; and Publius Licinius Varus, the city praetor, was ordered to propose to the people a law to the effect, that a vow should be made to perform these games on a stated day for ever. He himself was the first who vowed them in this manner, and he celebrated them on the third day of the nones of July, a day which was henceforth kept sacred.

24. The reports respecting the people of Arretium became daily more serious, and the anxiety of the fathers increased. A letter was therefore written to Caius Hostilius, directing him not to delay taking hostages from that people; and Caius Terentius Varro was sent, with a command, to receive from him the hostages and convey them to Rome. On his arrival, Hostilius immediately ordered one legion, which was encamped before the city, to march into it; and having posted guards in suitable places, he summoned the senate into the forum and demanded hostages of them. On the senate's requesting a

delay of two days to consider the matter, he declared that they must themselves give them forthwith, or he would the next day take all the children of the senators. After this the military tribunes, the praefects of the allies, and the centurions, were ordered to keep watch at the gates, that no one might go out by night. This duty was not performed with sufficient care and attention, for seven of the principal senators, with their children, escaped before night, and before the guards were posted at the gates. The next day, as soon as it was light, the senate began to be summoned into the forum, when they were missed and their goods were sold. From the rest of the senators one hundred and twenty hostages, consisting of their own children, were taken and delivered over to Caius Terentius to be conveyed to Rome. Before the senate he made every thing more suspected than before. Considering, therefore, that there was imminent danger of a commotion in Tuscany, they ordered Caius Terentius himself to lead one of the city legions to Arretium, and to employ it for the protection of the city. It was also resolved, that Caius Hostilius, with the other army, should traverse the whole province, and use precautions, that no opportunity might be afforded to those who were desirous of altering the state of things. On his arrival at Arretium with the legion, Terentius asked the magistrates for the keys of the gates, when they declared they could not be found; but he, believing that they had been put out of the way with some bad intention rather than lost through negligence, took upon himself to have fresh locks put upon all the gates, and used diligent care to keep every thing in his own power. He earnestly cautioned Hostilius to rest his hope in this; that the Tuscans would remain quiet, if he should take care that not a step could be taken.

25. The case of the Tarentines was then warmly debated in the senate, Fabius being present, and himself defending those whom he had subdued by force of arms, while others entertained an angry feeling towards them; the greater part comparing them with the Campanians in guilt and punishment. A decree of the senate was passed conformably to the opinion of Manius Acilius, that the town should be guarded by a garrison, and that all the Tarentines should be kept within their walls; and further, that the question touching their conduct should be hereafter laid before the senate afresh when the

state of Italy should be more tranquil. The case of Marcus Livius, praefect of the citadel of Tarentum, was also debated with no less warmth; some proposing a vote of censure against the praefect on the ground that Tarentum was betrayed to the enemy through his negligence, others proposing rewards for having defended the citadel for five years, and because Tarentum had been recovered chiefly by his single efforts; while some, adopting an intermediate course, declared that it appertained to the censors, and not to the senate, to take cognizance of his case; and of this latter opinion was Fabius, who added, however, "that he admitted that the recovery of Tarentum was owing to the efforts of Livius, as his friends openly boasted in the senate, but that there would have been no necessity for its recovery, had it not been lost." One of the consuls, Titus Quinctius Crispinus, set out for Lucania, with some troops to make up the numbers, to take the command of the army which had served under Quintus Fulvius Flaccus. Marcellus was detained by a succession of religious scruples, which presented themselves to his mind. One of which was, that when in the Gallic war at Clastidium he had vowed a temple to Honour and Valour, its dedication was impeded by the pontiffs, who said, that one shrine could not with propriety be dedicated to two deities; because if it should be struck with lightning or any kind of portent should happen in it, the expiation would be attended with difficulty as it could not be ascertained to which deity sacrifice ought to be made; nor could one victim be lawfully offered to two deities, unless in particular cases. Accordingly another temple to Virtue was erected with all speed. Nevertheless, these temples were not dedicated by Marcellus himself. Then at length he set out, with the troops raised to fill up the numbers, to the army he had left the preceding year at Venusia. Crispinus, who endeavoured to reduce Locri in Bruttium by a siege, because he considered that the affair of Tarentum had added greatly to the fame of Fabius, had sent for every kind of engine and machine from Sicily; he also sent for ships from the same place to attack that part of the city which lay towards the sea. But this siege was raised by Hannibal's bringing his forces to Lacinium, and in consequence of a report, that his colleague, with whom he wished to effect a junction, had now led his army from Venusia. He therefore returned

from Bruttium into Apulia, and the consuls took up a position in two separate camps, distant from each other less than three miles, between Venusia and Bantia. Hannibal, after diverting the war from Locri, returned also into the same quarter. Here the consuls, who were both of sanguine temperament, almost daily went out and drew up their troops for action, confidently hoping, that if the enemy would hazard an engagement with two consular armies united, they might put an end to the war.

26. As Hannibal, who gained one and lost the other of the two battles which he fought the preceding year with Marcellus, would have equal grounds for hope and fear, should he encounter the same general again; so was he far from thinking himself a match for the two consuls together. Directing his attention, therefore, wholly to his own peculiar arts, he looked out for an opportunity for planting an ambuscade. Slight battles, however, were fought between the two camps with varying success. But the consuls, thinking it probable that the summer would be spun out in engagements of this kind, and being of opinion that the siege of Locri might be going on notwithstanding, wrote to Lucius Cincius to pass over to Locri with his fleet from Sicily. And that the walls might be besieged by land also, they ordered one half of the army, which formed the garrison of Tarentum, to be marched thither. Hannibal having found from certain Thurians that these things would be done, sent a body of troops to lie in ambush on the road leading from Tarentum. There, under the hill of Petelia, three thousand cavalry and two thousand foot were placed in concealment. The Romans, who proceeded without exploring their way, having fallen into the ambuscade, as many as two thousand soldiers were slain, and about twelve hundred made prisoners. The others, who were scattered in flight through the fields and forests, returned to Tarentum. There was a rising ground covered with wood situated between the Punic and Roman camps, which was occupied at first by neither party, because the Romans were unacquainted with its nature on that side which faced the enemy's camp, while Hannibal had supposed it better adapted for an ambuscade than a camp. Accordingly, he had sent thither, by night, several troops of Numidians, concealing them in the midst of the wood. Not one of them stirred from his position by day, lest their arms or themselves

should be observed from a distance. There was a general murmur in the Roman camp, that this eminence ought to be occupied and secured by a fort, lest if it should be seized by Hannibal they should have the enemy, as it were, immediately over their heads. Marcellus was moved by this consideration, and observed to his colleague, "Why not go ourselves with a few horsemen and reconnoitre? The matter being examined with our own eyes, will make our measures more certain." Crispinus consenting, they set out with two hundred and twenty horsemen, of which forty were Fregellans, the rest Tuscans. Marcus Marcellus, the consul's son, and Aulus Manlius, military tribunes, together with two prefects of the allies, Lucius Arennius and Manius Aulus, accompanied them. Some historians have recorded, that Marcellus had offered sacrifices on that day, and that in the first victim slain, the liver was found without its head; in the second, that all the usual parts were present, and that there was also an excrescence in the head. That the aruspex was not, indeed, pleased that the entrails should first have appeared mutilated and foul, and then too exuberant.

27. But the consul Marcellus was influenced by so ardent a desire of engaging with Hannibal, that he never thought their camps close enough. At that time also, as he quitted the rampart, he gave orders that the troops should be ready when occasion required, in order that if the hill, which they were going to examine, were thought convenient, they might collect their baggage and follow them. Before the camp there was a small plain; the road thence to the hill was open and exposed to view on all sides. A watchman who was stationed, not under the expectation of so important an event, but in order that they might be able to intercept any stragglers who had gone too far from the camp in search of wood or forage, gave a signal to the Numidians to rise simultaneously one and all from their concealment. Those who were to rise from the very summit of the hill, and meet the enemy, did not show themselves until those whose business it was to intercept their passage in the rear, had gone round. Then they all sprang up from every side, and, raising a shout, commenced an attack. Although the consuls were in such a position in the valley that they could neither make good their way up the hill, which was occupied by the enemy, nor retreat as they were

intercepted in the rear, yet the contest might have been continued longer had not a retreat, commenced by the Tuscans, dismayed the rest of the troops. The Fregellans, however, did not give over fighting, though deserted by the Tuscans, while the consuls, uninjured, kept up the battle by encouraging their men and fighting themselves. But when they saw both the consuls wounded, and Marcellus transfixes with a lance and falling lifeless from his horse, then they too, and but a very few survived, betook themselves to flight, together with Crispinus the consul, who had received two javelin wounds, and young Marcellus, who was himself also wounded. Aulus Manlius, a military tribune, was slain, and of the two praefects of allies, Manius Aulus was slain, Lucius Arennius made prisoner. Five of the consul's lictors fell into the enemy's hands alive, the rest were either slain or fled with the consul. Forty-three horsemen fell in the battle or in the flight, and eighteen were taken alive. An alarm had been excited in the camp, and the troops were hastening to go and succour the consuls, when they saw one of the consuls and the son of the other wounded, and the scanty remains of this unfortunate expedition returning to the camp. The death of Marcellus was an event to be deplored, as well from other circumstances which attended it, as because that in a manner unbecoming his years, for he was then more than sixty, and inconsistently with the prudence of a veteran general, he had so improvidently plunged into ruin himself, his colleague, and almost the whole commonwealth. I should launch out into too many digressions for a single event, were I to relate all the various accounts which authors give respecting the death of Marcellus. To pass over others, Lucius Caelius gives three narratives ranged under different heads; one as it is handed down by tradition; a second, written in the panegyric of his son, who was engaged in the affair; a third, which he himself vouched for, being the result of his own investigation. The accounts, however, though varying in other points, agree for the most part in the fact, that he went out of the camp for the purpose of viewing the ground; and all state that he was cut off by an ambuscade.

28. Hannibal, concluding that the enemy were greatly dismayed by one of their consuls being slain and the other wounded, that he might

not be wanting on any opportunity presenting itself, immediately transferred his camp to the eminence on which the battle had been fought. Here he found the body of Marcellus, and interred it. Crispinus, disheartened by the death of his colleague and his own wound, set out during the silence of the following night, and encamped upon the nearest mountains he could reach, in a position elevated and secured on all sides. Here the two generals exerted their sagacity, the one in effecting, the other in guarding against, a deception. Hannibal got possession of the ring of Marcellus, together with his body. Crispinus, fearing lest any artifice should be practised by the Carthaginian's employing this signet as the means of deception, had sent round messengers to the neighbouring states, informing them, that "his colleague had been slain, and that the enemy were in possession of his seal, and that they must not give credit to any letters written in the name of Marcellus." This message of the consul arrived at Salapia a little before a letter was brought from Hannibal, written in the name of Marcellus, to the effect, that "he should come to Salapia on the night which followed that day; that the soldiers in the garrison should hold themselves in readiness, in case he might want to employ them on any service." The Salapians were aware of the fraud, and concluding that an opportunity for punishing them was sought by Hannibal, from resentment, not only on account of their defection, but also because they slew his horsemen, sent his messenger, who was a deserter from the Romans, back again, in order that the soldiers might do what was thought necessary, without his being privy to it, and then placed the townsmen in parties to keep guard along the walls, and in convenient parts of the city. The guards and watches they formed with extraordinary care for that night, and on each side of the gate at which they supposed the enemy would come, they opposed to them the choicest of the troops in the garrison. About the fourth watch, Hannibal approached the city. His vanguard was composed of Roman deserters, with Roman arms. These, all of whom spoke the Latin language, when they reached the gate, called up the guards, and ordered the gate to be opened, for the consul had arrived. The guards, as if awakened at their call, began to be in a hurry and bustle, and exert themselves in opening the gate, which was closed by letting

down the portcullis; some raised this with levers, others drew it up with ropes to such a height that the men could come in without stooping. The opening was scarcely wide enough, when the deserters eagerly rushed through the gate, and after about six hundred had got in, the rope being let go by which it was suspended, the portcullis fell with a loud noise. Some of the Salapians fell upon the deserters, who were carrying their arms carelessly suspended upon their shoulders, as is customary after a march, as if among friends; others frightened away the enemy by discharging stones, pikes, and javelins from the tower adjoining the gate and from the walls. Thus Hannibal withdrew, having been caught by his own stratagem, and proceeded to raise the siege of Locri, which Cincius was carrying on with the greatest vigour, with works and engines of every kind, which were brought from Sicily. Mago, who by that time almost despaired of retaining and defending the town, derived his first gleam of hope on the death of Marcellus being reported. This was followed by a message, that Hannibal had despatched his Numidian cavalry in advance, and was himself following them with all possible speed with a body of infantry. As soon, therefore, as he was informed, by a signal displayed from the watch-towers, that the Numidians were drawing near, suddenly throwing open the gate he sallied out boldly upon the enemy, and at first, more because he had done it unexpectedly than from the equality of his strength, the contest was doubtful; but afterwards, when the Numidians came up, the Romans were so dismayed that they fled on all hands to the sea and their ships, leaving their works and the engines with which they battered the walls. Thus the siege of Locri was raised by the approach of Hannibal.

29. When Crispinus found that Hannibal had gone into Bruttium, he ordered Marcus Marcellus, a military tribune, to march the army, which his colleague had commanded, to Venusia. Having set out himself with his own legions for Capua, though scarcely able to endure the motion of the litter, from the severity of his wounds, he sent a letter to Rome stating the death of his colleague, and in how great danger he himself was. He said, "it was impossible for him to go to Rome to hold the election, both because he did not think he could bear the fatigue of the journey, and because he was anxious

about Tarentum, lest Hannibal should direct his course thither from Bruttium. That it was expedient that commissioners should be sent to him, men of sound judgment, with whom he might communicate, when he pleased, respecting the commonwealth." The reading of this letter excited great grief for the death of one of the consuls, and apprehension for the safety of the other. They therefore sent Quintus Fabius the younger to Venusia to the army; and to the consul three commissioners, Sextus Julius Caesar, Lucius Licinius Pollio, and Lucius Cincius Alimentus, though but a few days before he had returned from Sicily. These were directed to convey a message to the consul, to the effect, that if he could not himself go to Rome to hold the election, he should nominate a dictator within the Roman territory for that purpose. If the consul should have gone to Tarentum, that it was the pleasure of the senate that Marcus Claudius, the praetor, should march off his legions to that quarter in which he could protect the greatest number of the cities of the allies. The same summer Marcus Valerius crossed over from Sicily into Africa with a fleet of a hundred ships, and making a descent near the city Clupea, devastated the country to a wide extent, scarcely meeting with a single person in arms. Afterwards the troops employed in making these depredations were hastily led back to their ships, and a report had suddenly reached them that a Carthaginian fleet was drawing near. It consisted of eighty-three ships. With these the Romans fought successfully, not far from the city Clupea, and after taking eighteen and putting the rest to flight, returned to Lilybaeum with a great deal of booty gained both by land and sea. The same summer also Philip gave assistance to the suppliant Achaeans. They were harassed by Machanidas, tyrant of the Lacedaemonians, with a war in their immediate neighbourhood; and the Aetolians, having passed over an army in ships through the strait which runs between Naupactus and Patrae, called by the neighbouring people Rhion, had devastated their country. It was reported also, that Attalus, king of Asia, would pass over into Europe, because the Aetolians, in their last council, had offered to him the office of chief magistrate of their nation.

30. Philip, when marching down into Greece, for these reasons, was met at the city Lamia by the Aetolians, under the command of

Pyrrhias, who had been created praetor that year jointly with Attalus, who was absent. They had with them also auxiliaries from Attalus, and about a thousand men sent from the Roman fleet by Publius Sulpicius. Against this general and these forces, Philip fought twice successfully, and slew full a thousand of his enemies in each battle. Whence, as the Aetolians were compelled by fear to keep themselves under the walls of Lamia, Philip led back his army to Phalara. This place is situated in the Malian bay, and was formerly thickly inhabited on account of its excellent harbour, the safe anchorage in its neighbourhood, and other conveniences of sea and land. Hither came ambassadors from Ptolemy, king of Egypt, the Rhodians, Athenians, and Chians, to put a stop to hostilities between the Aetolians and Philip. The Aetolians also called in one of their neighbours as a mediator, Amynder, king of the Athamanians. But all these were less concerned for the Aetolians, whose arrogance of disposition exceeded that of any other nation of Greece, than lest Philip and his empire, which was likely to prove injurious to the cause of liberty, should be intermixed with the affairs of Greece. The deliberations concerning a peace were put off, to a council of the Achaeans, for which a place and certain day were fixed upon; for the mean time a truce of thirty days was obtained. The king, setting out thence, went through Thessaly and Boeotia to Chalcis in Euboea, to prevent Attalus, who he heard was about to come to Euboea with a fleet, from entering the harbours and approaching the coasts. Leaving a force to oppose Attalus, in case he should cross over in the mean time, he set out thence with a small body of cavalry and light-armed troops, and came to Argos. Here the superintendence of the Heraean and Nemaean games having been conferred upon him by the suffrages of the people, because the kings of the Macedonians trace their origin from that state, after completing the Heraean games, he set out directly after the celebration for Aegium, to the council of allies, fixed some time before. Here measures were proposed for putting an end to the Aetolian war, in order that neither the Romans nor Attalus might have a pretext for entering Greece; but they were all upset by the Aetolians, before the period of the truce had scarcely expired, after they heard that Attalus had arrived at Aegina, and that a Roman fleet was stationed at Naupactus. For when called into the

council of the Achaeans, where the same embassies were present which had negotiated for peace at Phalara, they at first complained of some trifling acts committed during the period of the truce, contrary to the faith of the convention; but at last they asserted, that it was impossible the war could be terminated unless the Achaeans gave back Pylus to the Messenians, unless Atintania was restored to the Romans, and Ardyaea to Scerdilaedus and Pleuratus. But Philip, conceiving it an indignity that the vanquished should presumptuously dictate terms to him the victor, said, "that he did not before either listen to proposals for peace, or agree to a truce, from any hope he entertained that the Aetolians would remain quiet, but in order that he might have all the allies as witnesses that he was desirous of peace, and that they were the occasion of this war." Thus, without effecting a peace, he dismissed the council; and leaving four thousand troops for the protection of the Achaeans, and receiving five men of war, with which, if he could have joined them to the fleet of the Carthaginians lately sent to him, and the ships which were coming from Bithynia, from king Prusias, he had resolved to challenge the Romans, who had long been masters of the sea in that quarter, to a naval battle, the king himself went back from the congress to Argos; for now the time for celebrating the Nemaean games was approaching, which he wished to be celebrated in his presence.

31. While the king was occupied with the exhibition of the games, and was indulging himself during the days devoted to festivity with more freedom than in time of war, Publius Sulpicius, setting out from Naupactus, brought his fleet to the shore, between Sicyon and Corinth, and devastated without restraint a country of the most renowned fertility. Intelligence of this proceeding called Philip away from the games. He set out hastily with his cavalry, ordering his infantry to follow him closely; and attacking the Romans as they were scattered through the fields and loaded with booty, like men who feared nothing of the kind, drove them to their ships. The Roman fleet returned to Naupactus by no means pleased with their booty. The fame of a victory gained by Philip over the Romans, of whatever magnitude, increased the celebrity of the remaining part of the games. The festival was celebrated with extraordinary mirth, the

more so as the king, in order to please the people, took the diadem off his head, and laid aside his purple robe with the other royal apparel, and placed himself, with regard to appearance, on an equality with the rest, than which nothing is more gratifying to free states. By this conduct he would have afforded the strongest hopes of the enjoyment of liberty, had he not debased and marred all by his intolerable lust; for he ranged night and day through the houses of married people with one or two companions, and in proportion as he was less conspicuous by lowering his dignity to a private level, the less restraint he felt; thus converting that empty show of liberty, which he had made to others, into a cover for the gratification of his own unbounded desires. For neither did he obtain his object in all cases by money or seductive arts, but he also employed violence in the accomplishment of his flagitious purposes; and it was dangerous both to husbands and parents to have presented any impediment to the gratification of royal lust, by an unseasonable strictness. From one man, Aratus, of the highest rank among the Achaeans, his wife, named Polycratia, was taken away and conveyed into Macedonia under the hope of a matrimonial connexion with royalty. After passing the time appointed for the celebration of the Nemaean games, and a few days more, in the commission of these profligate acts, he set out for Dymae to expel the garrison of the Aetolians, which had been invited by the Eleans, and received into the town. Cyliadas, who had the chief direction of affairs, met the king at Dymae, together with the Achaeans, who were inflamed with hatred against the Eleans, because they had disunited themselves from the rest of the Achaeans, and were incensed against the Aetolians, because they considered that they had stirred up a Roman war against them. Setting out from Dymae, and uniting their forces, they passed the river Larissus, which separates the Elean from the Dymaeon territory.

32. The first day on which they entered upon the enemy's confines, they employed in plundering. The following day they approached the city in battle-array, having sent their cavalry in advance, in order that, by riding up to the gates, they might provoke the Aetolians to make a sally, a measure to which they were naturally inclined. They were not aware that Sulpicius had passed over from Naupactus to

Cyllene with fifteen ships, and landing four thousand armed men, had entered Elis during the dead of night, that his troops might not be seen. Accordingly, when they recognised the Roman standards and arms among the Aetolians, so unexpected an event occasioned the greatest terror; and at first the king had wished to withdraw his troops; but afterwards, an engagement having taken place between the Aetolians and Trallians, a tribe of Illyrians, when he saw his men hard pressed, the king himself with his cavalry charged a Roman cohort. Here his horse being pierced with a javelin threw the king, who fell over his head; when a conflict ensued, which was desperate on both sides; the Romans making a furious attack upon the king, and the royal party protecting him. His own conduct was highly meritorious, when though on foot he was obliged to fight among horsemen. Afterwards, when the contest was unequal, many were falling and being wounded around him, he was snatched away by his soldiers, and, being placed upon another horse, fled from the field. On that day he pitched his camp five miles from the city of the Eleans, and the next day led out all his forces to a fort called Pyrgus, whither he had heard that a multitude of rustics had resorted through fear of being plundered. This unorganized and unarmed multitude he took immediately on his approach, from the first effects of alarm; and by this capture compensated for the disgrace sustained at Elis. While engaged in distributing the spoil and captives, and there were four thousand men and as many as twenty thousand head of cattle of every kind, intelligence reached him from Macedonia that one Eropus had gained possession of Lychnidus by bribing the praefect of the citadel and garrison; that he held also certain towns of the Dassaretians, and that he was endeavouring to incite the Dardanians to arms. Desisting from the Achaean war, therefore, but still leaving two thousand five hundred armed troops of every description under the generals Menippus and Polyphantas for the protection of his allies, he set out from Dymae, and passing through Achaëa, Boeotia, and Euboea, arrived on the tenth day at Demetrias in Thessaly.

33. Here he was met by other messengers with intelligence of still greater commotions; that the Dardanians, having poured into Macedonia, were in possession of Orestis, and had descended into the Argestæan plain; and that there was a general report among the

barbarians that Philip was slain. In that expedition in which he fought with the plundering party near Sicyon, being carried by the fury of his horse against a tree, he broke off the extremity of one of the horns of his helmet against a projecting branch; which being found by a certain Aetolian and carried into Aetolia to Scerdilaedus, who knew it to be the ornament of his helmet, spread the report that the king was killed. After the king had departed from Achaea, Sulpicius, going to Aegina with his fleet, formed a junction with Attalus. The Achaeans fought successfully with the Aetolians and Eleans not far from Messene. King Attalus and Publius Sulpicius wintered at Aegina. In the close of this year Titus Quinctius Crispinus, the consul, after having nominated Titus Manlius Torquatus dictator for the purpose of holding the election and celebrating the games, died of his wound. Some say that he died at Tarentum, others in Campania. The death of the two consuls, who were slain without having fought any memorable battle, a coincidence which had never occurred in any former war, had left the commonwealth in a manner orphan. The dictator, Manlius, appointed as his master of the horse Caius Servilius, then curule aedile. On the first day of its meeting the senate ordered the dictator to celebrate the great games which Marcus Aemilius, the city praetor, had celebrated in the consulship of Caius Flaminius and Cneius Servilius, and had vowed to be repeated after five years. The dictator then both performed the games and vowed them for the following lustrum. But as the two consular armies without commanders were so near the enemy, disregarding every thing else, one especial care engrossed the fathers and the people, that of creating the consuls as soon as possible; and that they might create those in preference whose valour was least in danger from Carthaginian treachery; since, through the whole period of the war, the precipitate and hot tempers of their generals had been detrimental, and this very year the consuls had fallen into a snare for which they were not prepared, in consequence of their excessive eagerness to engage the enemy, but the immortal gods, in pity to the Roman name, had spared the unoffending armies, and doomed the consuls to expiate their temerity with their own lives.

34. On the fathers' looking round to see whom they should appoint as consuls, Caius Claudius Nero appeared pre-eminently. They then

looked out for a colleague for him, and although they considered him a man of the highest talents, they also were of opinion that he was of a more forward and vehement disposition than the circumstances of the war, or the enemy, Hannibal, required, they resolved that it would be right to qualify the impetuosity of his temper by uniting with him a cool and prudent colleague. The person fixed upon was Marcus Livius, who, many years ago, was, on the expiration of his consulship, condemned in a trial before the people; a disgrace which he took so much to heart, that he retired into the country, and for many years absented himself from the city, and avoided all public assemblies. Much about the eighth year after his condemnation, Marcus Claudius Marcellus and Marcus Valerius Laevinus, the consuls, had brought him back into the city; but he appeared in a squalid dress, his hair and beard allowed to grow, and exhibiting in his countenance and attire the deep impression of the disgrace he had sustained. Lucius Veturius and Publius Licinius, the censors, compelled him to have his beard and hair trimmed, to lay aside his squalid garb, to come into the senate, and discharge other public duties. But even then he either gave his assent by a single word, or signified his vote by walking to one side of the house, till the trial of Marcus Livius Macatus, a kinsman of his, whose character was at stake, obliged him to deliver his sentiments in the senate upon his legs. On being heard in the senate on this occasion, after so long an interval, he drew the eyes of all upon him, and gave occasion to conversations to the following effect: "That the people had injuriously disgraced a man who was undeserving of it and that it had been greatly detrimental to the state that, in so important a war, it had not had the benefit of the service and counsels of such a man. That neither Quintus Fabius nor Marcus Valerius Laevinus could be given to Caius Nero as colleagues, because it was not allowed for two patricians to be elected. That the same cause precluded Titus Manlius, besides that he had refused a consulship when offered to him, and would refuse it. That they would have two most distinguished consuls if they should add Marcus Livius as a colleague to Caius Claudius." Nor did the people despise a proposal, the mention of which originated with the fathers. The only person in the state who objected to the measure was the man to whom the

honour was offered, who accused his countrymen of inconstancy, saying, "that, having withheld their pity from him when arrayed in a mourning garment and a criminal, they now forced upon him the white gown against his will; that honours and punishments were heaped upon the same person. If they esteemed him a good man, why had they thus passed a sentence of condemnation upon him as a wicked and guilty one? If they had proved him a guilty man, why should they thus trust him with a second consulate after having improperly committed to him the first?" While thus remonstrating and complaining, the fathers rebuked him, putting him in mind, that "Marcus Furius too, being recalled from exile, had reinstated his country when shaken from her very base. That we ought to soothe the anger of our country as we would that of parents, by patience and resignation." All exerting themselves to the utmost, they succeeded in uniting Marcus Livius in the consulate with Caius Claudius.

35. The third day afterwards the election of praetors was held. The praetors created were, Lucius Porcius Licinus, Caius Mamilius, Aulus Hostilius Cato, and Caius Hostilius Cato. The election completed, and the games celebrated, the dictator and master of the horse abdicated their offices. Caius Terentius Varro was sent as proprator into Etruria, in order that Caius Hostilius might quit that province and go to Tarentum to that army which Titus Quinctius, the consul, had commanded, and that Lucius Manlius might go as ambassador across the sea, and observe what was going on there; and at the same time, as the games at Olympia, which were attended by the greatest concourse of persons of any solemnity in Greece, were about to take place that summer, that if he could without danger from the enemy, he might go to that assembly, in order that any Sicilians who might be there, having been driven away by the war, or any Tarentine citizens banished by Hannibal, might return to their homes, and be informed that the Roman people would restore to them every thing which they had possessed before the war. As a year of the most dangerous character seemed to threaten them, and there were no consuls to direct the government, all men fixed their attention on the consuls elect, wishing them to draw lots for their provinces, as soon as possible, and determine beforehand what province and what enemy each should have. The senate also took measures, at the

instance of Quintus Fabius Maximus, to effect a reconciliation between them. For the enmity between them was notorious; and in the case of Livius his misfortunes rendered it more inveterate and acrimonious, as he considered that in that situation he had been treated with contempt. He was, therefore, the more inexorable, and said, "that there was no need of a reconciliation, for that they would use greater diligence and activity in every thing they did for fear lest they should give their colleague, who was an enemy, an opportunity of advancing himself at their expense." However, the authority of the senate prevailed; and, laying aside their private differences, they conducted the affairs of the state in friendship and unanimity. Their provinces were not districts bordering upon each other, as in former years, but quite separate, in the remotest confines of Italy. To one was decreed Bruttium and Lucania, to act against Hannibal; to the other Gaul, to act against Hasdrubal, who, it was reported, was now approaching the Alps; and that he to whose lot Gaul fell should choose whichever he pleased of the two armies, one of which was in Gaul, the other in Etruria, and receive the city legions in addition; and that he to whose lot Bruttium fell, should, after enlisting fresh legions for the city, take the army of whichever of the consuls of the former year he pleased. That Quintus Fulvius, proconsul, should take the army which was left by the consul, and that his command should last for a year. To Caius Hostilius, to whom they had given the province of Tarentum in exchange for Etruria, they gave Capua instead of Tarentum, with one legion which Fulvius had commanded the preceding year.

36. The anxiety respecting the approach of Hasdrubal to Italy increased daily. At first, ambassadors from the Massilians had brought word that he had passed over into Gaul and that the expectations of the Gauls were raised by his coming, as he was reported to have brought a large quantity of gold for the purpose of hiring auxiliaries. Afterwards, Sextus Antistius and Marcus Raecius, who were sent from Rome, together with these persons, as ambassadors, to look into the affair, had brought word back that they had sent persons with Massilian guides, who, through the medium of Gallic chieftains connected with them by hospitality, might bring back all ascertained particulars; that they found that Hasdrubal, who

had already collected an immense army, would cross the Alps the ensuing spring; and that the only cause which delayed him there was, that the passage of the Alps was closed by winter. Publius Aelius Paetus was created and inaugurated in the office of augur in the room of Marcus Marcellus and Cneius Cornelius Dolabella was inaugurated king of the sacred rites in the room of Marcus Marcius, who had died two years before. This same year, for the first time since Hannibal came into Italy, the lustrum was closed by the censors Publius Sempronius Tuditanus and Marcus Cornelius Cethegus. The citizens numbered in the census were one hundred and thirty-seven thousand one hundred and eight, a number considerably smaller than before the war. This year it is recorded that the Comitium was covered, and that the Roman games were repeated once by the curule aediles, Quintus Metellus and Caius Servilius; and that the plebeian games were repeated twice by Quintus Mamilius and Marcus Caecilius Metellus, plebeian aediles. The same persons also gave three statues for the temple of Ceres, and there was a feast in honour of Jupiter on occasion of the games. After this Caius Claudius Nero and Marcus Livius a second time entered upon their consulate; and as they had already, while consuls elect, drawn lots for their provinces, they ordered the praetors to draw lots for theirs. Caius Hostilius had the city jurisdiction, to which the foreign was added, in order that three praetors might go out to the provinces. Aulus Hostilius had Sardinia, Caius Mamilius, Sicily, Lucius Porcius, Gaul. The total amount of legions employed in the provinces was twenty-three, which were so distributed that the consuls might have two each; Spain, four; the three praetors in Sicily, Sardinia, and Gaul, two each; Caius Terentius, two in Etruria; Quintus Fulvius, two in Bruttium; Quintus Claudius two in the neighbourhood of Tarentum and the territory of Sallentum; Caius Hostilius Tubulus, one at Capua; and two were ordered to be enlisted for the city. For the first four legions the people elected tribunes, the consuls sent those for the rest.

37. Before the consuls set out, the nine days' sacred rite was performed, as a shower of stones had fallen from the sky at Veii. After the mention of one prodigy, others also were reported, as usual. At Minturnae, that the temple of Jupiter and the grove of Marica, and

at Atella also that a wall and gate, had been struck by lightning. The people of Minturnae added what was more alarming, that a stream of blood had flowed at their gate. At Capua, a wolf, which had entered at the gate by night, had torn a watchman. These prodigies were expiated with victims of the larger kind, and a supplication for one day was made, according to a decree of the pontiffs. The nine days' sacred rite was then performed again, because a shower of stones had been seen to fall in the armilustrum. After the people's minds had been freed from superstitious fears, they were again disturbed by intelligence that an infant had been born at Frusino as large as a child of four years old, and not so much an object of wonder from its size, as that it was born without any certain mark of distinction whether it was male or female, which was the case two years before at Sinuessa. Aruspices, called in from Etruria, declared this to be indeed a foul and ill-omened prodigy, which ought to be removed out of the Roman territory, and, being kept far from coming in contact with the earth, to be plunged into the deep. They shut it up alive in a chest, and carrying it away, threw it into the sea. The pontiffs also decreed, that thrice nine virgins should go through the city singing a hymn. While in the temple of Jupiter Stator they were learning this hymn, which was composed by the poet Livius, the temple of Juno Regina, on the Aventine, was struck by lightning; and the aruspices, on being consulted, having replied that that prodigy appertained to the matrons, and that the goddess must be appeased by a present, such of the matrons as dwelt within the city and within the tenth milestone from it, were summoned to the Capitol by an edict of the curule aediles; when they themselves chose twenty-five out of their own body, to whom they paid a contribution out of their dowries, from which a golden basin was made, as a present, and carried to the Aventine, where a sacrifice was performed by the matrons in a pure and chaste manner. Immediately a day was given out by the decemviri for another sacrifice to the same goddess, which was performed in the following order: two white heifers were led from the temple of Apollo into the city through the Carmental gate; after these, two cypress images of Juno Regina were carried; after these went seven and twenty virgins, arrayed in white vestments, and singing in honour of Juno Regina a hymn, which to the uncultivated

minds of that time might appear to have merit, but if repeated now would seem inelegant and uncouth. The train of virgins was followed by the decemvirs, crowned with laurel, and in purple-bordered robes. From the gate they proceeded by the Jugurian street into the forum: in the forum the procession stopped, and the virgins, linked together by a cord passed through their hands, moved on, beating time with their feet to the music of their voices. They then proceeded by the Tuscan street and the Velabrum, through the cattle market, up the Publician hill, and to the temple of Juno Regina; where two victims were immolated by the decemviri, and the cypress images carried into the temple.

38. After the deities were appeased in due form, the consuls made the levy with greater diligence and strictness than any one remembered it to have been made in former years; for the war was now doubly formidable, in consequence of the advance of a new enemy into Italy, while the number of the youth from which they could enlist soldiers was diminished. They therefore resolved to compel the settlers upon the sea-coast, who were said to possess an exemption from service solemnly granted, to furnish soldiers; and on their refusing to do so, appointed that they should severally lay before the senate, on a certain day, the grounds on which they claimed exemption. On the appointed day the following people came to the senate: the people of Ostia, Alsia, Antium, Anxur, Minturnae, and Sinuessa, and, on the upper sea, Sena. After each people had stated their grounds of exemption, the exemption of none was allowed, as the enemy was in Italy, except those of Antium and Ostia, and of these colonies the young men were bound by oath that they would not lodge without the walls of their colony, while the enemy was in Italy, more than thirty days. Although it was the opinion of all that the consuls ought to proceed to the war as soon as possible, (for Hasdrubal ought to be met on his descent from the Alps, lest he might seduce the Cisalpine Gauls and Etruria, which was anxiously looking forward to a revolution; while it was necessary to occupy Hannibal with a war in his own quarters, lest he should emerge from Bruttium, and advance to meet his brother;) yet Livius delayed, not having sufficient confidence in the armies destined for his provinces. He said his colleague had his option to

take which he pleased out of two excellent consular armies, and a third which Quintus Claudius commanded at Tarentum. He also made mention of recalling the volunteer slaves to their standards. The senate gave the consuls unrestricted liberty of filling up their numbers from what source they pleased, of selecting out of all the armies such as they liked, and of exchanging and removing from one province to another, as they thought conducive to the good of the state. In all these affairs the consuls acted with the most perfect harmony. The volunteer slaves were enlisted into the nineteenth and twentieth legions. Some authors state that very efficient auxiliaries were sent out of Spain also to Marcus Livius by Publius Scipio; namely, eight thousand Spaniards and Gauls, two thousand legionary soldiers, a thousand horse of Numidians and Spaniards together. That Marcus Lucretius brought these forces in ships, and that Caius Mamilius sent as many as four thousand bowmen and slingers out of Sicily.

39. A letter which was brought out of Gaul from Lucius Porcius, the praetor, increased the alarm at Rome. It stated that Hasdrubal had quitted his winter quarters, and was now crossing the Alps; that eight thousand Ligurians had been enlisted and armed, which would join him when he had crossed over into Italy, unless some general were sent into Liguria to engage them with a war. That he would himself advance as far as he thought it safe with his small forces. This letter obliged the consuls hastily to conclude the levy, and go earlier than they had determined into their provinces, with the intention that each should keep his enemy in his own province, and not allow them to form a junction or concentrate their forces. This object was much aided by an opinion possessed by Hannibal; for although he felt assured that his brother would cross over into Italy that summer, yet when he recollected what difficulties he had himself experienced through a period of five months, first in crossing the Rhone, then the Alps, contending against men, and the nature of the ground, he was far from expecting that his transit would be so easy and expeditious, and this was the cause of his moving more slowly from his winter quarters. But all things were done by Hasdrubal with less delay and trouble than he himself or any others expected. For the Arverni, and after them the other Gallic and Alpine nations in succession, not only

gave him a friendly reception, but followed him to the war; and not only had roads been formed during the passage of his brother in most of the countries through which he marched, and which were before impassable, but also as the Alps had been passable for a period of twelve years, he marched through tribes of less ferocious dispositions. For before that time, being never visited by foreigners, nor accustomed, themselves, to see a stranger in their country, they were unsociable to the whole human race. And at first, not knowing whither the Carthaginian was going, they had imagined that their own rocks and forts, and the plunder of their cattle and people, were his objects; but afterwards, the report of the Punic war with which Italy was being desolated for now ten years, had convinced them that the Alps were only a passage, and that two very powerful nations, separated from each other by a vast tract of sea and land, were contending for empire and power. These were the causes which opened the Alps to Hasdrubal. But the advantage which he gained by the celerity of his march he lost by his delay at Placentia, while he carried on a fruitless siege, rather than an assault. He had supposed that it would be easy to take by storm a town situated on a plain; and the celebrity of the colony induced him to believe that by destroying it he should strike great terror into the rest. This siege not only impeded his own progress, but had the effect of restraining Hannibal, who was just on the point of quitting his winter quarters, after hearing of his passage, which was so much quicker than he expected; for he not only revolved in his mind how tedious was the siege of towns, but also how ineffectual was his attempt upon that same colony, when returning victorious from the Trebia.

40. The consuls, on departing from the city in different directions, had drawn the attention of the public, as it were, to two wars at once, while they called to mind the disasters which Hannibal's first coming had brought upon Italy, and at the same time, tortured with anxiety, asked themselves what deities would be so propitious to the city and empire as that the commonwealth should be victorious in both quarters at once. Hitherto they had been enabled to hold out to the present time by compensating for their misfortunes by their successes. When the Roman power was laid prostrate at the Trasimenus and at Cannae in Italy, their successes in Spain had

raised it up from its fallen condition. Afterwards, when in Spain one disaster after another had in a great measure destroyed two armies, with the loss of two distinguished generals, the many successes in Italy and Sicily had, as it were, afforded a haven for the shattered state; and the mere interval of space, as one war was going on in the remotest quarter of the world, gave them time to recover their breath. Whereas now two wars were received into Italy; two generals of the highest renown were besetting the Roman city; while the whole weight of the danger and the entire burden pressed upon one point. Whichever of these generals should be first victorious, he would in a few days unite his camp with the other. The preceding year also, saddened by the deaths of two consuls, filled them with alarm. Such were the anxious feelings with which the people escorted the consuls on their departure to their provinces. It is recorded that Marcus Livius, still teeming with resentment against his countrymen, when setting out to the war, replied to Fabius, who warned him not rashly to come to an action till he had made himself acquainted with the character of his enemy, that as soon as ever he had got sight of the troops of the enemy he would engage them. When asked what was his reason for such haste, he said, "I shall either obtain the highest glory from conquering the enemy, or the greatest joy from the defeat of my countrymen, a joy which they have deserved, though it would not become me." Before the consul Claudius arrived in his province, Caius Hostilius Tubulus, attacking Hannibal with his light cohorts while marching his army through the extreme borders of the territory of Larinum into that of Sallentum, caused terrible confusion in his unmarshalled troops; he killed as many as four thousand, and captured nine military standards. Quintus Claudius, who had his camps distributed through the towns of the Sallentine territory, had quitted his winter quarters on hearing of the enemy; and Hannibal, fearing on that account lest he should have to engage with two armies at once, decamped by night, and retired from the Tarentine to the Bruttian territory. Claudius turned his army to the Sallentine territory. Hostilius, on his way to Capua, met the consul Claudius at Venusia. Here forty thousand infantry and two thousand five hundred horse were selected from both armies, with which the consul might carry on the war against Hannibal. The rest of the troops Hostilius

was directed to march to Capua to deliver them over to Quintus Fulvius, proconsul.

41. Hannibal, having drawn together his forces from all quarters, both those which he had in winter quarters, and those which he had in the garrisons of the Bruttian territory, came to Grumentum in Lucania, with the hope of regaining the towns which through fear had revolted to the Romans. To the same place the Roman consul proceeded from Venusia, exploring the way as he went, and pitched his camp about fifteen hundred paces from the enemy. The rampart of the Carthaginians seemed almost united with the walls of Grumentum, though five hundred paces intervened. Between the Carthaginian and Roman camps lay a plain; and overhanging the left wing of the Carthaginians and the right of the Romans were some naked hills, which were not objects of suspicion to either party, as they had no wood upon them, nor any hiding-places for an ambuscade. In the plain which lay between them skirmishes hardly worth mentioning took place between parties sallying from the outposts. It was evident that what the Roman aimed at was to prevent the enemy from going off, while Hannibal, who was desirous of escaping thence, came down with all his forces, and formed in order of battle. Upon this the consul, imitating the crafty character of his enemy, ordered five cohorts, with the addition of five maniples, to pass the summit by night and sit down in the valleys on the opposite side; a measure to which he was prompted the more strongly in proportion as he felt that there could exist no suspicion of an ambuscade in hills so uncovered. Of the time for rising up from their retreat and of falling upon the enemy he informed Tiberius Claudius Asellus, a military tribune, and Publius Claudius, praefect of the allies, whom he sent with them. The general himself, at break of day, drew out all his forces, both foot and horse, for battle. Shortly after, the signal for battle was given out by Hannibal, and a noise was raised in the camp, from the troops running hastily to arms; then both horse and foot eagerly rushed through the gates, and spreading themselves over the plain, hastened to the enemy. The consul perceiving them thus disordered, gave orders to Caius Aurunculeius, a military tribune of the third legion, to send out the cavalry of the legion to charge the enemy with all possible vehemence, for that the

enemy had spread themselves like cattle in such disorder throughout the whole plain, that they might be knocked down and trampled under foot before they could be formed.

42. Hannibal had not yet gone out of the camp, when he heard the shout of his troops engaged; and thus roused by the alarm, he hastily led his forces against the enemy. Already had the Roman horse spread terror through the Carthaginian van; the first legion also of the infantry and the right wing were commencing the action, while the troops of the Carthaginians, in disorder, engaged just as chance threw each in the way of horse or foot. The battle became more general by reinforcements, and the number of those who ran out to the combat. Hannibal, amid the terror and confusion, would have drawn up his troops while fighting, (which would not have been an easy task unless to a veteran general with veteran soldiers,) had not the shouts of the cohorts and maniples, running down from the hills, which was heard in their rear, created an alarm lest they should be cut off from their camp. After this they were seized with a panic, and a flight commenced in every part; but the number slain was less, because the nearness of the camp offered to the terrified troops a shorter distance to fly. For the cavalry hung upon their rear, and the cohorts, running down the declivities of the hills by an unobstructed and easy path, charged them transversely in flank. However, above eight thousand men were slain, above seven hundred made prisoners, and eight military standards taken. Of the elephants also, which had been of no use in such a sudden and irregular action, four were killed and two captured. The conquerors lost about five hundred Romans and allies. The following day the Carthaginian remained quiet. The Roman having led out his troops into the field, when he saw that no one came out to meet him, gave orders that the spoils of those of the enemy who were slain should be collected, and that the bodies of his own men should be gathered into one place and buried. After this, for several days following in succession, he came up so near the enemy's gates that he almost seemed to be carrying in his standards. But at length Hannibal at the third watch, leaving a number of fires and tents in that part of the camp which faced the enemy, and also a few Numidians who might show themselves in the rampart and the gates, decamped and proceeded towards Apulia. As soon as it

dawned, the Roman army came up to the trenches, and the Numidians, according to the plan concerted, took care to show themselves for a little time on the rampart and in the gates; and having deceived the enemy for some time, rode off at full speed, and overtook their friends on their march. The consul, when all was silence in the camp, and he could now no where see even the few who at break of day had walked up and down, sent two horsemen in advance to reconnoitre; and after he had ascertained that all was safe enough, ordered his troops to march in; and after staying there only while his men distributed themselves for plunder, sounded a retreat and led back his forces long before night. The next day he set out as soon as it was light, and following the rumour and the track of the enemy by forced marches, came up with them not far from Venusia. Here also an irregular battle took place, in which two thousand of the Carthaginians were slain. The Carthaginian quitting this place made for Metapontum, marching by night and over mountainous districts in order to avoid a battle. Thence Hanno, who commanded the garrison of that place, was sent into Bruttium with a small party to raise a fresh army. Hannibal, after adding his forces to his own, went back to Venusia by the same route by which he came, and proceeded thence to Canusium. Nero had never quitted the enemy's steps, and when he himself went to Metapontum, had sent for Quintus Fulvius into Lucania, lest that region should be left without protection.

43. Meanwhile four Gallic horsemen and two Numidians, who were sent to Hannibal with a letter from Hasdrubal, after he had retired from the siege of Placentia, having traversed nearly the whole length of Italy through the midst of enemies, while following Hannibal as he was retiring to Metapontum, were taken to Tarentum by mistaking the roads; where they were seized by some Roman foragers, who were straggling through the fields, and brought before the proprietor, Caius Claudius. At first they endeavoured to baffle him by evasive answers, but threats of applying torture being held out to them, they were compelled to confess the truth; when they fully admitted that they were the bearers of a letter from Hasdrubal to Hannibal. They were delivered into the custody of Lucius Virginius, a military tribune, together with the letter sealed as it was, to be conveyed to the consul Claudius. At the same time two troops of

Samnites were sent with them as an escort. Having made their way to the consul, the letter was read by means of an interpreter, and the captives were interrogated; when Claudius, coming to the conclusion that the predicament of the state was not such as that her generals should carry on the war, each within the limits of his own province, and with his own troops, according to the customary plans of warfare, and with an enemy marked out for him by the senate, but that some unlooked for and unexpected enterprise must be attempted, which, in its commencement, might cause no less dread among their countrymen than their enemies, but which, when accomplished, might convert their great fear into great joy, sent the letter of Hasdrubal to Rome to the senate; and at the same time informed the conscript fathers what his intentions were; and recommended that, as Hasdrubal had written to his brother that he should meet him in Umbria, they should send for the legion from Capua to Rome, enlist troops at Rome, and oppose the city forces to the enemy at Narnia. Such was his letter to the senate. Messengers were sent in advance through the territory of Larinum, Marrucia, Frentana, and Praetutia, where he was about to march his army, with orders that they should all bring down from their farms and towns to the road-side provisions ready dressed for the soldiers to eat; and that they should bring out horses and other beasts of burden, so that those who were tired might have plenty of conveyances. He then selected the choicest troops out of the whole army of the Romans and allies, to the amount of six thousand infantry and one thousand horse; and gave out that he intended to seize on the nearest town in Lucania and the Carthaginian garrison in it, and that they should all be in readiness to march. Setting out by night he turned off towards Picenum, and making his marches as long as possible, led his troops to join his colleague, having left Quintus Cadius, lieutenant-general, in command of the camp.

44. At Rome the alarm and consternation were not less than they had been two years before, when the Carthaginian camp was pitched over against the Roman walls and gates; nor could people make up their minds whether they should commend, or censure, this so bold march of the consul. It was evident that the light in which it would be viewed would depend upon its success; than which nothing can be

more unfair. They said, “that the camp was left near to the enemy, Hannibal, without a general, and with an army from which all the flower and vigour had been withdrawn; and that the consul had pretended an expedition into Lucania, when he was in reality going to Picenum and Gaul, leaving his camp secured only by the ignorance of the enemy, who were not aware that the general and part of his army were away. What would be the consequence if that should be discovered, and Hannibal should think proper either to pursue Nero with his whole army, who had gone off with only six thousand armed men, or to assault the camp, which was left as a prey for him, without strength, without command, without auspices?” The disasters already experienced in the war, the deaths of two consuls the preceding year, augmented their fears. Besides, all these events had occurred “when there was only one general and one army of the enemy in Italy; whereas now they had two Punic wars, two immense armies, and in a manner two Hannibals in Italy, inasmuch as Hasdrubal was descended from the same father, Hamilcar, was a general equally enterprising, having been trained in a Roman war during so many years in Spain, and rendered famous by a double victory, having annihilated two armies with two most renowned generals. For he could glory even more than Hannibal himself, on account of the celerity with which he had effected his passage out of Spain, and his success in stirring up the Gallic nations to arms, inasmuch as he had collected an army in those very regions in which Hannibal lost the major part of his soldiers by famine and cold, the most miserable modes of death.” Those who were experienced in the events which had occurred in Spain, added, that “he would not have to engage with Caius Nero, the general, as an unknown person, whom, when accidentally caught in a difficult defile, he had eluded and baffled like a little child, by drawing up fallacious terms of peace.” Under the dictation of fear, which always puts the worst construction upon things, they magnified all the advantages which the enemy possessed, and undervalued their own.

45. 45. When Nero had got such a distance from the enemy that his plan might be disclosed without danger, he briefly addressed his soldiers, observing, that “there never was a measure adopted by any general which was in appearance more daring than this, but in reality

more safe. That he was leading them on to certain victory. For as his colleague had not set out to prosecute the war which he conducted, until forces both of horse and foot had been assigned to him by the senate to his own satisfaction, and those greater and better equipped than if he had been going against Hannibal himself, that they would, by joining him, however small the quantity of force which they might add, completely turn the scale. That when it was only heard in the field of battle (and he would take care that it should not be heard before) that another consul and another army had arrived, it would insure the victory. That rumour decided war; and that the most inconsiderable incidents had power to excite hope and fear in the mind. That they would themselves reap almost the entire glory which would be obtained if they succeeded, for it was invariably the case that the last addition which is made is supposed to have effected the whole. That they themselves saw with what multitudes, what admiration, and what good wishes of men their march was attended.” And, by Hercules, they marched amid vows, prayers, and commendations, all the roads being lined with ranks of men and women, who had flocked there from all parts of the country. They called them the safeguards of the state, the protectors of the city and empire of Rome. They said that the safety and liberty of themselves and their children were treasured up in their arms and right hands. They prayed to all the gods and goddesses to grant them a prosperous march, a successful battle, and a speedy victory over their enemies; and that they might be bound to pay the vows which they had undertaken in their behalf; so that as now they attended them off with anxiety, go after a few days’ interval they might joyfully go out to meet them exulting in victory. Then they severally and earnestly invited them to accept, offered them, and wearied them with entreaties, to take from them in preference to another, whatever might be requisite for themselves or their cattle. They generously gave them every thing in abundance, while the soldiers vied with each other in moderation, taking care not to accept any thing beyond what was necessary for use. They did not make any delay nor quit their ranks when taking food; they continued the march day and night, scarcely giving as much to rest as was necessary to the requirements of the body. Messengers were also despatched in

advance to his colleague, to inform him of his approach, and to ask whether he wished that he should come secretly or openly, by day or night, whether they should lodge in the same or different camps. It appeared most advisable that they should come into the camp secretly by night.

46. A private signal was sent through the camp by the consul Livius, that each tribune should receive a tribune, each centurion a centurion, each horseman a horseman, each foot-soldier a foot-soldier; for it was not expedient that the camp should be enlarged, lest the enemy should discover the arrival of the other consul, while the crowding together of several persons, who would have their tents in a confined place, would be attended with less inconvenience, because the army of Claudius had brought with them on their expedition scarcely any thing except their arms. Claudius, on the very march, had augmented his numbers by volunteers; for not only veteran soldiers, who had completed their period of service, but young men also offered themselves without solicitation; and, as they vied with each other in giving in their names, he had enlisted those whose personal appearance and bodily strength seemed fit for military service. The camp of the other consul was near Sena, and Hasdrubal's position was about five hundred paces from it. Nero, therefore, when he was now drawing near, halted under cover of the mountains, in order that he might not enter the camp before night. Having entered when all was still, they were severally conducted into their tents by the men of their own description, where they were hospitably entertained with the utmost joy on the part of all. The next day a council was held, at which Lucius Porcius Licinus, the praetor, was present. He had his camp joined to that of the consuls, and before their arrival, by leading his army along the heights, sometimes occupying narrow defiles that he might intercept his passage, at other times harassing his troops while marching by attacking their flank or rear, he had baffled the enemy by all the arts of war. This man was, on the present occasion, one of the council. Many inclined to the opinion that an engagement should be deferred till Nero had recruited his soldiers, who were weary with marching and watching, and had employed a few days in acquiring a knowledge of his enemy. Nero urged, not only by persuasion, but with the most earnest

entreaties, “that they would not render rash by delay that measure of his which despatch had made safe. That Hannibal, who lay in a state of torpid inactivity in consequence of a delusion which would not continue long, had neither attacked his camp, left as it was without a leader, nor had directed his course in pursuit of him. That the army of Hasdrubal might be annihilated, and he might retire into Apulia before he stirred a step. The man who by delay gave time to the enemy both betrayed the camp to Hannibal, and opened a way to him into Gaul, so that he might effect a junction with Hasdrubal at his leisure, and when he pleased. That they ought to give the signal for battle instantly, and march out into the field, and take advantage of the delusion of their enemies present and absent, while neither those were aware that they had fewer, nor these that they had more and stronger forces to encounter.” On the breaking up of the council the signal for battle was displayed, and the troops immediately led into the field.

47. The Carthaginians were already standing before their camp in battle-array. This circumstance delayed the battle: Hasdrubal, who had advanced before the line with a few horsemen, remarked some old shields among the enemy, which he had not seen before, and some horses leaner than the rest their numbers also appeared greater than usual. Suspecting therefore, what was really the case, he hastily sounded a retreat, and sent a party to the river from which they got their water, where some of them might be intercepted, and notice taken whether there were perchance any there whose complexions were more than ordinarily sun-burnt, as from a recent march. At the same time he ordered a party to ride round the camp at a distance, and note whether the rampart was extended in any part, and also observe whether the signal sounded once or twice. Having received a report of all these particulars, the fact of the camp’s not being enlarged led him into error. There were now two camps, as there were before the other consul arrived, one belonging to Marcus Livius, the other to Lucius Porcius, and to neither of them had any addition been made to give more room for the tents. But the veteran general, who was accustomed to a Roman enemy, was much struck by their reporting that the signal sounded once in the praetor’s camp, and twice in the consul’s; there must therefore be two consuls, and

felt the most painful anxiety as to the manner in which the other had got away from Hannibal. Least of all could he suspect, what was really the case, that he had got away from Hannibal by deceiving him to such an extent, as that he knew not where the general was, and where the army whose camp stood opposite to his own. Surely, he concluded, deterred by a defeat of no ordinary kind, he has not dared to pursue him; and he began to entertain the most serious fears that he had himself come too late with assistance, now that affairs were desperate, and lest the same good fortune attended the Roman arms in Italy which they had experienced in Spain. Sometimes he imagined that his letter could not have reached him, and that, it having been intercepted, the consul had hastened to overpower him. Thus anxious and perplexed, having put out the fires, he issued a signal at the first watch to collect the baggage in silence, and gave orders to march. In the hurry and confusion occasioned by a march by night, their guides were not watched with sufficient care and attention. One of them stopped in a place of concealment which he had beforehand fixed upon in his mind, the other swam across the river Metaurus, at a ford with which he was acquainted. The troops, thus deserted by their guides, at first wandered up and down through the fields; and some of them, overpowered with sleep, and fatigued with, watching, stretched themselves on the ground here and there, leaving their standards thinly attended. Hasdrubal gave orders to march along the bank of the river until the light should discover the road; but, pursuing a circuitous and uncertain course along the turnings and windings of that tortuous river, with the intention of crossing it as soon as the first light should discover a place convenient for the purpose he made but little progress; but wasting the day in a fruitless attempt to discover a ford, for the further he went from the sea the higher he found the banks which kept the river in its course, he gave the enemy time to overtake him.

48. First Nero arrived with the whole body of his cavalry, then Porcius came up with him, with the light infantry. And while these were harassing his weary troops on every side, and charging them, and the Carthaginian, stopping his march, which resembled a flight, was desirous of encamping on an eminence, on the bank of the river, Livius came up with all his foot forces, not after the manner of troops

on march, but armed and marshalled for immediate action. When they had united all their forces, and the line was drawn out, Claudius took the direction of the battle in the right wing, Livius in the left; the management of the centre was given to the praetor. Hasdrubal, when he saw that an engagement was inevitable, giving over the fortification of a camp, placed his elephants in the front line, before the standards; on either side these he placed in the left wing the Gauls to oppose Claudius, not so much from any confidence he reposed in them, as because he believed them to be dreaded by the enemy; the right wing he took to himself against M. Livius, together with the Spaniards, in whom, as being veteran troops, he placed his greatest hopes. Behind the elephants, in the centre, the Ligurians were posted; but his line was rather long than deep. The Gauls were covered by a hill, which extended in front. That part of the line which was occupied by the Spaniards, engaged the left wing of the Romans, the whole of whose right wing, extending beyond the line of battle, was unengaged. The hill before them prevented their making an attack either in front or flank. Between Livius and Hasdrubal a furious contest arose, and the slaughter on both sides was dreadful. Here were both generals, here the major part of the Roman horse and infantry, here the Spaniards, veteran troops, and experienced in the Roman manner of fighting, and the Ligurians, a nation inured to war. The elephants were also driven to the same place which, on the first onset, disordered the van, and had made even dislodge the standards; but afterwards, the contest growing hotter, and the shout increasing, they became less submissive to their riders, and ranged to and fro between the two lines, as if not knowing to which side they belonged, like ships floating about without rudders. Claudius, when he had striven in vain to advance up the hill, repeatedly calling out to his soldiers, "To what purpose then have we performed so long a march with such expedition?" when he found it impossible to make his way to the enemy in that quarter, withdrawing several cohorts from the right wing, where he saw they would occupy an inactive station, rather than join in the fight, led them round the rear of the line, and, to the surprise not only of the enemy but his own party, charged their right flank; and such was their rapidity, that after showing themselves on their flank, they almost immediately made an

attack on their rear. Thus on all sides, in front, flank, and rear, the Spaniards and Ligurians were cut to pieces; and now the carnage had even reached the Gauls. Here the least opposition was found; for a great number of them had quitted their standards, having slunk off during the night, and laid themselves down to sleep up and down the fields, while even those who were present, being tired with marching and watching, for their bodies are most intolerant of fatigue, could scarcely carry their arms upon their shoulders. And now it was mid-day, and thirst and heat gave them over to the enemy to be killed or captured in multitudes.

49. More elephants were killed by their guides than by the enemy. They used to have with them a workman's knife, with a mallet. When these beasts began to grow furious, and attack their own party, the rider, placing this knife between the ears, just on the joint by which the neck is connected with the head, used to drive it in, striking it with all the force he could. This was found to be the most expeditious mode of putting these bulky animals to death, when they had destroyed all hope of governing them. This method was first practised by Hasdrubal, a general whose conduct both frequently on other occasions, and especially in this battle, deserved to be recorded. By encouraging the men when fighting, and sharing equally in every danger, he kept up the battle. Sometimes by entreating, at other times by rebuking, the troops, when tired and indisposed to fight from weariness and over-exertion, he rekindled their spirits. He called back the flying, and restored the battle in many places when it had been given up. At length, when fortune decidedly declared for the Romans, lest he should survive so great an army which had been collected under the influence of his name, he put spurs to his horse and rushed upon a Roman cohort, where he fell fighting, as was worthy of the son of Hamilcar and the brother of Hannibal. At no time during that war were so many of the enemy slain in one battle; so that a defeat equal to that sustained at Cannae, whether in respect of the loss of the general or the troops, was considered to have been retorted upon him. Fifty-six thousand of the enemy were slain, five thousand four hundred captured. The other booty was great, both of every other kind, and also of gold and silver. In addition to the rest, there were recovered above four thousand Roman citizens, who had

been taken by the enemy, which formed some consolation for the soldiers lost in that battle. For the victory was by no means bloodless. Much about eight thousand of the Romans and the allies were slain; and so completely were even the victors satiated with blood and slaughter, that the next day, when Livius the consul received intelligence that the Cisalpine Gauls and Ligurians, who had either not been present at the battle or had made their escape from the carnage, were marching off in one body without a certain leader without standards, without any discipline or subordination; that if one squadron of horse were sent against them they might be all destroyed, he replied, "Let some survive to bear the news of the enemy's losses and of our valour."

50. Nero set out on the night following the battle, and marching at a more rapid rate than when he came, arrived at his camp before the enemy on the sixth day. As he was not preceded by a messenger, fewer people attended him on the march; but the joy felt was so great, that they were almost insane with delight. Neither state of feeling at Rome can be well described or told, whether that in which the citizens were when in doubtful expectation of the issue, or when they received the intelligence of victory. Every day, from the time that news arrived that the consul Claudius had set out, from sun-rise to sun-set, none of the senators ever quitted the senate-house, or did the people depart from the forum. The matrons, as they had themselves no means of affording assistance, had recourse to prayers and entreaties, and going about to all the temples, wearied the gods with vows and supplications. While the city was in this state of solicitude and suspense, a vague report first arrived that two Narnian horsemen had come from the field of battle into the camp which stood as a defence in the entrance to Umbria, with intelligence that the enemy were cut to pieces. At first they rather heard than credited this news, as being too great and too joyful for the mind to take in, or obtain a firm belief. Even the very rapidity with which it had arrived formed an obstacle to its reception; for it was stated that the battle took place two days before. After this a letter was brought which had been sent by Lucius Manlius Acidinus, from his camp, on the subject of the arrival of the Narnian horsemen. This letter being conveyed through the forum to the tribunal of the praetor, drew the senators out

of the senate-house; and with such eagerness and hurry did the people crowd to the doors of the senate-house, that the messenger could not approach, but was dragged off by persons who asked him questions, and demanded vociferously that the letter should be read on the rostrum before it was read in the senate. At length they were put back and restrained by the magistrates; and thus the joy was gradually dispensed to their overpowered spirits. The letter was read first in the senate, and then in the assembly of the people. The effect was various, according to the difference in the cast of men's minds, some thinking that there were already sure grounds for rejoicing, while others would place no confidence in the news, till they listened to ambassadors, or a letter from the consuls.

51. After this, news came that the ambassadors themselves were on the point of arriving. Then, indeed, people of all ages ran to meet them, each man being eager to be the first to receive an assurance of such joyful tidings, by the evidence of his eyes and ears. One continued train extended as far as the Mulvian bridge. The ambassadors, Lucius Veturius Philo, Publius Licinius Varus, and Quintus Caecilius Metellus, made their way into the forum, surrounded by a crowd of persons of every description; when some asked the ambassadors themselves, others their attendants, what had been done; and, as soon as each had heard that the army and general of the enemy had been cut off, that the Roman legions were safe, and the consuls unhurt, he immediately imparted the joyful intelligence to others, imparting to them the joy he felt himself. Having with difficulty made their way into the senate-house, and the crowd with still more difficulty being removed, that they might not mix with the fathers, the letter was read in the senate; after which the ambassadors were brought into the general assembly. Lucius Veturius Philo, after reading the letter himself, gave a more explicit account of all that had occurred, amidst great approbation, and at last of general shouting from the assembly, while their minds could scarcely contain their joy. They then ran off in various directions, some to the different temples of the gods, to return thanks, others to their homes, to impart the joyful intelligence to their wives and children. The senate decreed a supplication for three days, because Marcus Livius and Caius Claudius, the consuls, had cut off the general and legions of the

enemy, their own army being safe. This supplication Caius Hostilius, the praetor, proclaimed in the assembly, and was celebrated both by men and women. During the whole three days all the temples were uniformly crowded, whilst the matrons, dressed in their richest robes, and accompanied by their children, just as though the war had been brought to a conclusion, and free from every apprehension, offered thanksgivings to the immortal gods. This victory produced an alteration also in the condition of the state, so that immediately from this event, just as though it had been a time of peace, men were not afraid to do business with each other, buying, selling, lending, and paying borrowed money. Caius Claudius, the consul, on his return to his camp, ordered the head of Hasdrubal, which he had carefully kept and brought with him, to be thrown before the advanced guards of the enemy, and the African prisoners to be shown to them bound just as they were. Two of these also he unbound, and bid them go to Hannibal and tell him what had occurred. Hannibal, smitten by such severe distress, at once public and domestic, is said to have declared that he recognised the destiny of Carthage; and decamping thence with the intention of drawing together into Bruttium, the remotest corner of Italy, all his auxiliaries which he could not protect when widely scattered, removed into Bruttium the whole state of the Metapontines, summoned away from their former habitations, and also such of the Lucanians as were under his authority.

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BOOK XXVIII

Translated by William A. McDevitte

Successful operations against the Carthaginians in Spain, under Silanus, Scipio's lieutenant, and L. Scipio, his brother; of Sulpicius and Attalus, against Philip, king of Macedonia. Scipio finally vanquishes the Carthaginians in Spain, and reduces that whole country; passes over into Africa, forms an alliance with Syphax, king of Numidia; represses and punishes a mutiny of a part of his army; concludes a treaty of friendship with Masinissa; returns to Rome, and is elected consul; solicits Africa for his province, which is opposed by Quintus Fabius Maximus; is appointed governor of Sicily, with permission to pass over into Africa.

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1. At the time when Spain appeared to be relieved in proportion to the degree in which the weight of the war was removed into Italy, by the passage of Hasdrubal, another war sprang up there equal in magnitude to the former. At this juncture, the Romans and Carthaginians thus occupied Spain: Hasdrubal, son of Gisco, had retired quite to the ocean and Gades; the coast of our sea, and almost the whole of that part of Spain which lies eastward, was subject to Scipio and the Romans. The new general, Hanno, who had passed over from Africa, to supply the place of the Barcine Hasdrubal, with a new army, and formed a junction with Mago, having in a short time armed a large number of men in Celtiberia, which lies in the midway between the two seas, Scipio sent Marcus Silanus against him, with no more than ten thousand infantry and five hundred horse. Silanus, by marching with all the haste he could, (though the ruggedness of the roads, and narrow defiles obstructed with thick woods, which are very frequent in Spain, impeded him,) yet being guided by deserters from Celtiberia, natives of that place, reached the enemy, anticipating not only messengers but even all rumour of his coming. From the same source he ascertained, when they were about ten thousand paces from the enemy, that they had two camps, one on each side of the road in which they were marching; that the

Celtiberians, a newly-raised army, in number above nine thousand, were on the left, and that the Carthaginian camp was stationed on the right. The latter was secured and protected by outposts, watches, and every kind of regular military guard, while the former was disorderly and neglected, as belonging to barbarians, who were raw soldiers, and were under the less apprehension, because they were in their own country. Silanus, concluding that this was the camp to be attacked first, ordered the troops to march as much as possible towards the left, lest he should be observed from any point by the Carthaginian outposts, and sending scouts in advance, pushed on towards the enemy at a rapid pace.

2. He was now about three thousand paces from the enemy, when as yet none of them had perceived him. The ground was covered with craggy places, and hills overgrown with bushes. Here in a hollow valley, and on that account unexposed to the view, he ordered his men to sit down and take refreshment. In the mean time the scouts returned, confirming the statements of the deserters. Then the Romans, collecting their baggage in the centre, took arms, and marched to battle in regular array. They were a thousand paces off when they were descried by the enemy, when suddenly all began to be in a state of hurry and confusion. At the first shout and tumult, Mago quitted the camp and rode up at full speed. As there were in the Celtiberian army four thousand targeteers and two hundred horsemen, this regular legion, as it formed the flower of his troops, he stationed in the first line; the rest, composed of light-armed, he posted in reserve. While he was leading them out of the camp thus marshalled, the Romans discharged their javelins at them before they had scarcely cleared the rampart. The Spaniards stooped down to avoid the javelins thrown at them by the enemy, and then rose up to discharge their own in turn; which the Romans having received according to their custom in close array, with their shields firmly united, they then engaged foot to foot, and began to fight with their swords. But the ruggedness of the ground, while it rendered ineffectual the agility of the Celtiberians who were accustomed to a skirmishing kind of battle, was at the same time not unfavourable to the Romans, who were accustomed to a steady kind of fight, except that the narrow passes and the bushes, which grew here and there,

broke their ranks, and they were compelled to engage one against one and two against two, as if matched together. The same circumstance which obstructed the enemy's flight, delivered them up, as it were, bound for slaughter. And now when almost all the targeteers had been slain, the light-armed and the Carthaginians, who had come up to their assistance from the other camp, having been thrown into confusion, were put to the sword. Not more than two thousand of the infantry, and all the cavalry, fled from the field with Mago before the battle was well begun. The other general, Hanno, was taken alive, together with those who came up when the battle was now decided. Almost the whole of the cavalry and the veteran infantry, following Mago in his flight, came to Hasdrubal on the tenth day in the province of Gades. The newly-raised Celtiberian troops, stealing off to the neighbouring woods, fled thence to their homes. By this very seasonable victory, a stop was put to a war which was not by any means so considerable as that to which it would have grown, had the enemy been allowed, after having prevailed upon the Celtiberians to join them, to solicit other nations also to take up arms. Scipio, therefore, having liberally bestowed the highest commendations on Silanus, and entertaining a hope that he might bring the war to a termination, if he did not impede it by a want of activity on his own part, proceeded into the remotest part of Spain against Hasdrubal. The Carthaginian, who then happened to be encamped in Baetica, in order to prevent his allies from wavering in their allegiance, retired quite to the ocean and Gades, in a manner much more resembling a flight than a march. He was afraid, however; that while he kept his forces together, he should form the principal object of attack. Before he crossed the strait to Gades he sent them into different cities, that they might both provide for their own safety by the help of walls, and for that of the town by their arms.

3. Scipio, seeing the enemy's forces thus distributed, and that to carry about his forces to each of the several cities would be rather tedious than important, marched his army back. Not to leave all that country, however, to the Carthaginians, he sent his brother, Lucius Scipio, at the head of ten thousand foot and one thousand horse, to besiege the most important city of that quarter, called by the

barbarians Orinx, and situated on the borders of the Milesians, a nation of Spain so called. The soil is fertile, and even silver is dug out of it by the inhabitants. This place served as a fort to Hasdrubal, from which he might make incursions on the inland states. Scipio encamped near the city. Before he formed his lines round it, he sent to the gates to sound the inclinations of the inhabitants, by a direct interview, and persuade them to make trial of the friendship of the Romans rather than of their power. As they answered nothing of a friendly nature, he threw a double trench and rampart round the place, dividing his army into three parts, in order that one division might assault it while the other two rested. The first of these beginning the attack, a furious and doubtful contest ensued. It was by no means easy to approach and bring the ladders to the walls, on account of the weapons which fell upon them; and even of those persons who had raised them, some were thrown down with forks made for the purpose, others were in danger of being laid hold of by iron grapples, and dragged up hanging to the wall. Scipio, seeing that the contest was equalized owing to the fewness of his party, and that the enemy, fighting from the wall, were superior to him, called off the first division and attacked them with the two others together. This so terrified the besieged, who were already fatigued with fighting with the former, that not only the townsmen forsook the walls in sudden flight, but the Carthaginian garrison, fearing that the town had been betrayed, also quitted their posts and collected themselves into a body. Upon this the inhabitants began to be alarmed, lest if the enemy broke into the town they should kill all they met indiscriminately, Carthaginian or Spaniard. They therefore suddenly threw open the gates and rushed out of the town, holding their shields before them, lest any weapons should be cast at them from a distance, and stretching out to view their bare right hands, that it might be seen they had thrown away their swords. Whether this was not observed, in consequence of the distance, or whether some deception was suspected, is not known; but an attack was made on the deserters, and they were put to death as a hostile force. Through this gate the enemy marched into the city in battle-array. The other gates were cut through and broken down with axes and sledges; and as each horseman entered, he galloped off to seize the forum, as had

been ordered. A body of veteran troops were also added to the horse to support them. The legionary troops spread themselves in every part of the city, but neither killed nor plundered any, except such as defended themselves with arms. All the Carthaginians were put under guard, with more than three hundred of the inhabitants, who had shut the gates. The rest had the town put into their hands, and their property restored. About two thousand of the enemy fell in the assault on this city, and not more than ninety of the Romans.

4. As the taking of this town was a source of great joy to those who effected it, as well as to the general and the rest of the army, so their approach to their camp also presented a splendid spectacle, on account of the immense crowd of captives they drove before them. Scipio, having bestowed high commendations upon his brother, representing the capture of Orinx as equal in importance to the capture of Carthage by himself, led his forces back into hither Spain. He could not make an attempt on Gades, or pursue the army of Hasdrubal, now dispersed through all parts of the province, in consequence of the approach of winter. He therefore dismissed the legions into winter quarters, and sent his brother Lucius Scipio with Hanno, the enemy's general, and other distinguished prisoners, to Rome, while he retired himself to Tarraco. During the same year, the Roman fleet under Marcus Valerius Laevinus, the proconsul, sailing over from Sicily into Africa, devastated to a wide extent the fields about Utica and Carthage. They carried off plunder from the remotest borders of the Carthaginian territory around the very walls of Utica. On their return to Sicily they were met by a Carthaginian fleet of seventy ships of war, of which seventeen were taken and four sunk; the rest were dispersed and compelled to fly. The Romans, victorious both by land and sea, returned to Lilybaeum with immense booty of every kind. The ships of the enemy having thus been driven from the whole sea, large supplies of corn were conveyed to Rome.

5. In the beginning of the summer in which these events occurred, Publius Sulpicius, proconsul, and king Attalus, having passed the winter at Aegina, as before observed, united their fleets, consisting of twenty-three Roman quinqueremes and thirty-five belonging to the king, and proceeded to Lemnos. Philip also, that he might be prepared for every kind of measure, whether it should be necessary

to meet the enemy on land or sea, came down to the coast of Demetrias and appointed to his army a day on which to meet him at Larissa. On the news of the king's arrival, ambassadors from his allies came to Demetrias from all sides. For the Aetolians, inspired both by their alliance with the Romans and the approach of king Attalus, were ravaging the neighbouring states; not only the Acarnanians, Boeotians, and Euboeans were very much alarmed, but the Achaeans also were kept in a state of terror, both by the hostile proceedings of the Aetolians, and also by Machanidas, tyrant of Lacedaemon, who had encamped at a short distance from the borders of the Argives. All of these stating the dangers which threatened their possessions, both by land and sea, entreated succour from the king. Philip received accounts even from his own kingdom, that things were not in a state of tranquillity; that both Scerdilaedus and Pleuratus were in motion, and that some of the Thracians, and particularly the Maedians, would certainly make incursions on the contiguous provinces of Macedonia, should the king be occupied with a distant war. The Boeotians, indeed, and the people inhabiting the inland parts of Greece, told him that the Aetolians had obstructed by a ditch and rampart the straits of Thermopylae, where the road is very narrow and confined, in order to prevent their passing to the assistance of the allied states. So many disturbances arising on all hands were sufficient to awaken an inactive general. He dismissed the ambassadors, promising to assist them all according as opportunity and circumstances allowed. For the present, he sent to Peparethus a body of troops to garrison the city, for this was the most urgent business, as information had been received thence that Attalus, crossing over to Lemnos, was devastating all the neighbouring country. He sent Polyphantas with a small detachment to Boeotia, and also Menippus, one of his guards, with one thousand targeteers (the target is not unlike the ordinary buckler) to Chalcis. Five hundred Agrianians were added, that every part of the island might be secured. He went himself to Scotussa, and ordered the Macedonian soldiers to be removed thither from Larissa. Here he heard that the Aetolians had been summoned to an assembly at Heraclea, and that king Attalus was to come and advise with them as to the conduct of the war. Determining to interrupt this meeting by

his sudden approach, he led his troops by forced marches to Heraclea, where he arrived just after the assembly had broken up. However, he destroyed the crops, which were nearly ripe, particularly those round the Aenian bay. He then marched back to Scotussa, and leaving there the main army, retired to Demetrias with the royal guards. In order to be prepared against every attempt of the enemy, he sent persons hence to Phocis, Euboea, and Peparethus, to select elevated situations, from which fires lighted upon them might be seen from a distance. He fixed a watch-tower on Tisaeum, a mountain whose summit is prodigiously high, in order that when the enemy made any attempt he might instantly receive intimation of it by means of fires lighted up at a distance. The Roman general and king Attalus then passed over from Peparethus to Nicaea, and thence sailed to Orcus, the first city of Euboea, on the left as you proceed to Chalcis and the Euripus from the bay of Demetrias. It was agreed upon between Attalus and Sulpicius, that the Romans should attack the town on the side next the sea, and the king's forces on the land side.

6. Four days after the fleet arrived, they attacked the city. That time had been employed in private conferences with Plator, whom Philip had put in command of the place. The city has two citadels, one overhanging the coasts, the other in the middle of the town, from which there is a subterraneous passage to the ocean, whose entrance next the sea is defended by a strong fortification, a tower five stories high. Here the affair commenced with a most furious contest, the tower being furnished with all kinds of weapons, and engines and machines of every kind for the purpose of the assault having been landed from the ships. While the eyes and attention of all were turned to that quarter, Plator opened one of the gates and received the Romans into the citadel next the sea, which they instantly became masters of. The inhabitants, driven thence, fled to the other citadel in the middle of the city; but there had been troops posted there to shut the gates against them; so that, being thus excluded, they were surrounded and either slain or made prisoners. Meanwhile the Macedonian garrison stood under the wall of the citadel, formed into a compact body, neither confusedly attempting a retreat, nor obstinately engaging in a contest. These men Plator, after obtaining

permission from Sulpicius, put on board ships and landed them at Demetrias in Phthiotis; he himself withdrew to Attalus. Sulpicius, elated with the success at Oreum, gained with so much ease, proceeded to Chalcis with his victorious fleet, where the issue by no means answered his expectations. The sea, which is wide on both sides, being here contracted into a narrow strait, might perhaps, at first view, exhibit the appearance of two harbours facing the two entrances of the Euripus. It would be difficult to find a station more dangerous for shipping; for not only do the winds come down with great violence from the high mountains on each side, but the strait itself of the Euripus does not ebb and flow seven times a day at stated times, as is reported, but the current changing irregularly, like the wind, now this way now that, is hurried along like a torrent rolling headlong down a steep mountain, so that no quiet is given to vessels there day or night. But not only did so perilous a station receive his ships, but the town was strong and impregnable, covered on one side by the sea, and very well fortified on the other towards the land, secured by a strong garrison, and above all, by the fidelity of the praefects and principal men, which was wavering and unsettled at Oreum. Though the business had been rashly undertaken, the Roman still acted with prudence, in so far as he speedily gave up the attempt, after he had seen all the difficulties which surrounded him, that he might not waste time, and passed his fleet over from thence to Cynus in Locris, the port of the town of Opus, which is one mile distant from the sea.

7. Philip had received notice of this from Oreum, by the signal fires; but through the treachery of Plator they were raised from the watch-tower at a later period. As he was not a match for the enemy's forces at sea, it was difficult for him to approach the island; and thus, by delay, the opportunity was lost. He moved with promptness to the assistance of Chalcis as soon as he received the signal. For although Chalcis is a city of the same island, yet it is separated from the continent by so narrow a strait, that they communicate by means of a bridge, and the approach to it is easier by land than by water. Philip therefore, going from Demetrias to Scotussa, and setting out thence at the third watch, dislodged the guard, put to flight the Aetolians who kept the pass of Thermopylae, and drove the enemy in

confusion to Heraclea, marching in one day to Elatia in Phocis, a distance of above sixty miles. Almost on the same day the town of Opus was taken and plundered by Attalus. Sulpicius had given it up to the king because Oreum had been plundered a few days before by the Roman soldiers, the royal soldiers not having shared the booty. The Roman fleet having retired thither, Attalus, who was not aware of Philip's approach, wasted time in levying contributions from the principal inhabitants, and so sudden was his coming, that had he not been descried by some Cretans, who happened to go farther from the town than usual in quest of forage, he might have been surprised. He fled hastily to the sea and his ships, without arms, and in the greatest disorder. Just as they were putting off from the land Philip arrived, and even from the shore created much alarm among the mariners. He returned thence to Opus, accusing both gods and men, because he had lost an opportunity of so great importance, almost snatched from his hands. He also reproached the Opuntians with the like anger, because they had, immediately on sight of the enemy, made almost a voluntary surrender, though they might have prolonged the siege till his arrival. Having settled affairs at Opus, he proceeded thence to Thronium. Attalus, too, at first retired from Oreum; but there receiving intelligence that Prusias, king of Bithynia, had invaded his kingdom, he withdrew his attention from the Romans and the Aetolian war, and passed over into Asia. Sulpicius also withdrew his fleet to Aegina, from whence he had set out in the beginning of spring. Philip took Thronium with as little difficulty as Attalus had at Opus. It was inhabited by foreigners, fugitives from Thebes in Phthiotis, who, on the capture of their own town by Philip, had fled to the protection of the Aetolians, and received from them a city as a settlement which had been laid waste and desolated in a former war by the same Philip. Having recovered Thronium, as has been a little before mentioned, he set out thence; and having taken Tritonos and Drymae, inconsiderable towns of Doris, he came thence to Elatia, where he had ordered the ambassadors of Ptolemy and the Rhodians to wait for him. While consulting there as to the best method of bringing the Aetolian war to a conclusion, (for these ambassadors attended the late council of the Romans and Aetolians at Heraclea,) intelligence is brought that Machanidas intended to attack the Elians

while busied in preparing for the celebration of the Olympic games. Thinking it his duty to prevent such an attempt, he dismissed the ambassadors with a gracious answer to the effect, that he had neither caused the war, nor would he be any obstacle to the restoration of peace, if it should be possible on equitable and honourable terms; then marching quickly through Boeotia he came down from Megara, and thence to Corinth, where receiving supplies of provisions, he went to Phlius and Pheneus. And now, when he had proceeded as far as Heraea, having received intelligence that Machanidas, terrified at the news of his approach, had retreated to Lacedaemon, he betook himself to Aegium, where the Achaeans were assembled in council, expecting at the same time to meet there a Carthaginian fleet, which he had sent for, in order that he might accomplish something by sea. But the Carthaginians had left a few days before, and were gone to the Oxean islands; and thence, hearing that the Romans and Attalus had left Oreum, to the harbours of the Acarnanians, for they feared that it was intended to attack them, and that they would be overpowered while within the straits of Rhium, which is the name of the entrance of the Corinthian bay.

8. Philip was grieved and vexed when he reflected, that though he proceeded with the utmost speed on all occasions, yet he had not come up in time to accomplish any one object, and that fortune had frustrated his activity by snatching away every advantage from before his eyes. In the assembly, however, concealing his chagrin, he discoursed with elated spirits, calling gods and men to witness, that “he had never been wanting at any time or place, so as not to repair instantly wherever the enemy’s arms resounded, but that it was difficult to calculate whether the war was carried on more boldly by him or more pusillanimously by the enemy. Such was the manner in which Attalus had slipped out of his hands from Opus; Sulpicius from Chalcis; and so, within these few days, Machanidas. That flight, however, was not always successful; and that that should not be esteemed a difficult war in which victory would be certain if the enemy could be brought to a regular engagement. He had already obtained one very great advantage, which was a confession on the part of the enemy themselves, that they were not a match for him; and in a short time,” he said, “he would be in possession of

undoubted victory; for that he would engage with him with a result no better than their expectations.” The allies listened to the king with great satisfaction. He then gave up to the Achaeans Heraera and Triphylia. Aliphera he restored to the Megalopolitans, they having brought satisfactory proof that it belonged to their territories. Then having received some ships from the Achaeans, three quadriremes and three biremes, he sailed to Anticyra, whence with seven quinqueremes and more than twenty barks, which he had sent to the bay of Corinth to join the Carthaginian fleet, he proceeded to Erythrae, a town of the Aetolians near Eupalium, where he made a descent. He was not unobserved by the Aetolians; for all who were either in the fields or in the neighbouring forts of Potidania and Apollonia, fled to the woods and mountains. The cattle which they could not drive off in their haste they seized and put on board. He sent Nicias, praetor of the Achaeans, to Aegium with these and the other booty; and then going to Corinth, ordered his army to march by land through Boeotia, while he himself, sailing from Cenchreae along the coast of Attica, round the promontory of Sunium, reached Chalcis, having passed almost through the midst of the enemy’s fleet. After commending in the highest terms their fidelity and bravery, as neither fear nor hope had influenced their minds, and after exhorting them to show the same fidelity in maintaining the alliance, he sailed to Oreum; and having placed such of the chief inhabitants as chose to fly, rather than surrender to the Romans, in the command of the city and the direction of affairs, he sailed over from Euboea to Demetrias, from which place he at first set out to succour his allies. After this, having laid the keels of one hundred ships of war at Cassandrea, and collected a large number of ship carpenters for the completion of that business, and as both the departure of Attalus and the seasonable assistance he had brought to his allies had tranquillized affairs in Greece, he retired into his own dominions, in order to make war upon the Dardanians.

9. Just at the close of the summer during which these operations were carried on in Greece, when Quintus Fabius, son of Maximus, ambassador from Marcus Livius the consul, brought a message to Rome to the senate, to the effect, that the consul considered that Lucius Portius with his legions formed a sufficient protection for the

province, that he might himself retire thence, and that the consular army might be withdrawn, the fathers directed that not only Livius should return to the city, but also his colleague, Caius Claudius. The only difference made between them in the decree was, that they ordered the army of Marcus Livius to be led back, and the legions of Nero to remain in their province opposed to Hannibal. The consuls agreed between themselves by letter, that as they had conducted the affairs of the commonwealth with unanimity, they should arrive at the city at the same time, though they came from different quarters. He who arrived first at Praeneste was enjoined to wait there for his colleague. It so happened that they both came to Praeneste on the same day, and thence, sending a proclamation before them, directing that there should be a full attendance of the senate at the temple of Bellona, three days after, they came up to the city, when they were met by the whole body of the inhabitants. Not only did the whole body pour around them and salute them, but each person individually, desiring to touch the victorious right hands of the consuls, some congratulated them, while others thanked them because by their services the state had been preserved. In the senate, when, having made a recital of their services according to the custom observed by all generals, they had requested, that “in consideration of the brave and successful conduct of the affairs of the commonwealth, honours should be paid to the immortal gods, and they themselves enter the city in triumph;” the fathers replied, that “they most willingly decreed those things which they requested in gratitude to the gods in the first instance, and, next to them, to the consuls.” A supplication in the name of both, and a triumph to both of them, having been decreed, lest after having carried on the war with entire unanimity they should have a separate triumph, they made the following agreement; that “since both the service had been performed in the province of Marcus Livius, and he was in possession of the command on the day on which the battle was fought, and further, that as the army of Livius had been withdrawn and had come to Rome, while Nero’s could not be withdrawn from the province, Marcus Livius should enter the city in a four-horse chariot and followed by the soldiers; Caius Claudius on horseback without soldiers.” This plan of associating the generals in the

triumph increased the glory of both, but particularly of him who had yielded to his colleague in the honours he received, as much as he surpassed him in merit. The people said, that “the general on horseback had traversed the whole length of Italy in the space of six days, and had fought a pitched battle with Hasdrubal in Gaul, on the very day on which Hannibal supposed that he was occupying a camp pitched in Apulia to oppose him. That thus one consul, acting in defence of either extremity of Italy against two leaders, had opposed against one his skill, against the other his person. That the name of Nero had been sufficient to confine Hannibal within his camp, while with regard to Hasdrubal, by what, but his arrival, had he been overwhelmed and annihilated? The other consul might move along raised aloft in a chariot, drawn if he pleased by a number of horses, but that the real triumph was his who was conveyed by one horse; and that Nero, though he should go on foot, would be immortalized, whether on account of the glory he had acquired in the war, or the contempt he had shown for it in the triumph.” Such continual expressions of the spectators attended Nero all the way to the Capitol. The money they brought into the treasury was three hundred thousand sesterces, with eighty thousand asses of brass. Marcus Livius distributed among the soldiers fifty-six asses each. Caius Claudius promised the same sum to his absent troops when he returned to the army. It was observed that more verses were written by the soldiery upon Caius Claudius in their jocular style, than upon their own consul; that the horsemen highly extolled Lucius Veturius and Quintus Caecilius, lieutenant-generals, and exhorted the commons to create them consuls for the ensuing year; that the consuls added their authority to the recommendation of the knights, relating in the public assembly the following day with what courage and fidelity their two lieutenant-generals in particular had served them.

10. When the time for the elections approached, and it was resolved that it should be held by a dictator, the consul Caius Claudius nominated as dictator his colleague Marcus Livius, who appointed Quintus Caecilius his master of the horse. Lucius Veturius and Quintus Caecilius were created consuls by Marcus Livius the dictator, the latter being then master of the horse. After this the

election of praetors was held. The persons appointed were, Caius Servilius, Marcus Caecilius Metellus, Titus Claudius Asellus, and Quintus Mamilius Turinus, who was at that time plebeian aedile. When the elections were finished, the dictator, having abdicated his office and dismissed his army, set out for his province of Etruria, according to a decree of the senate, to make inquiry what states of the Tuscans and Umbrians had formed schemes of revolt from the Romans to Hasdrubal at the time of his approach, and what states had assisted him with auxiliaries, provisions, or succours of any kind. Such were the transactions this year at home and abroad. The Roman games were thrice repeated in full by the curule aediles, Cneius Servilius Caepio and Servius Cornelius Lentulus. In the same manner the plebeian games also were once repeated entire by the plebeian aediles, Manius Pomponius Matho and Quintus Mamilius Thurinus.

In the thirteenth year of the Punic war, when Lucius Veturius Philo and Quintus Caecilius Metellus were consuls, Bruttium was assigned to both of them, as their province, to carry on the war with Hannibal. The praetors then cast lots for their provinces: Marcus Caecilius Metellus had the city jurisdiction; Quintus Mamilius, the foreign; Caius Servilius, Sicily; Tiberius Claudius, Sardinia. The armies were distributed thus: to one of the consuls was given the army which Caius Claudius the consul of the former year, to the other that which Quintus Claudius the propraetor, had commanded, consisting of two legions each. It was decreed that Marcus Livius, proconsul, who was continued in command for the year, should take the two legions of volunteer slaves from Caius Terentius the propraetor, and that Quintus Mamilius, transferring his judicial business to his colleague, should occupy Gaul with the army which Lucius Porcius, the praetor, had commanded, with orders to lay waste the lands of those Gauls who had revolted to the Carthaginians on the approach of Hasdrubal. The protection of Sicily was assigned to Caius Servilius with the two legions which fought at Cannae, in the same manner as Caius Mamilius had held it. The old army which Aulus Hostilius had commanded was conveyed out of Sardinia, and the consuls enlisted a new legion, which Tiberius Claudius might take over with him. Quintus Claudius and Caius Hostilius Tubulus

were continued in command for a year, that the former might hold Tarentum as his province, the latter, Capua. Marcus Valerius, the proconsul, to whom had been committed the protection of the sea-coast round Sicily, was ordered to deliver thirty ships to Caius Servilius, and return to the city with all the rest of the fleet.

11. In a state where the greatest anxiety prevailed, in consequence of the very critical situation in which the war stood, and where all events, prosperous or adverse, were attributed to the interposition of the gods, accounts of many prodigies were received; that the temple of Jupiter at Tarracina, and that of Mater Matuta at Satricum, had been struck by lightning. The people of Satricum were no less terrified by two snakes gliding into the temple of Jupiter by the very doors. A report was brought from Antium, that bloody ears of corn had been seen by the reapers. At Caere a pig with two heads had been littered, and a lamb yeaned which was both male and female. Intelligence was brought that two suns had been seen at Alba, and that light had suddenly appeared during night at Fregellae. An ox was reported to have spoken in the Roman territory. A copious perspiration was said to have exuded from the altar of Neptune, in the Flaminian circus; and the temples of Ceres, Safety, and Quirinus were said to have been struck by lightning. The consuls were directed to expiate these prodigies with victims of the larger sort, and to make a supplication for one day. These things were executed according to a decree of the senate. The extinction of the fire in the temple of Vesta struck more terror upon the minds of men than all the prodigies which were reported from abroad, or seen at home; and the vestal, who had the guarding of it for that night, was scourged by the command of Publius Licinius the pontiff. Although this event was not appointed by the gods as a portent, but had happened through human neglect, yet it was thought proper that it should be expiated with victims of the larger sort, and that a supplication should be made at the temple of Vesta.

Before the consuls set out for the campaign, they were cautioned by the senate to take care that the common people should be brought back into the country; for since, through the goodness of the gods, the war was removed from the city of Rome and Latium, the country might be inhabited without fear. That it was most inconsistent that

greater care should be taken in cultivating Sicily than Italy. But it was a matter by no means easy for the people, the free labourers having been cut off by war, and there being a scarcity of slaves, their cattle having been carried off as booty, and the farmhouses pulled down or burnt. A large number, however, compelled by the authority of the consuls, returned into the country. The mention of this affair had been occasioned by ambassadors of Placentia and Cremona, who complained that their lands were being invaded and laid waste by the neighbouring Gauls; that a large portion of their settlers had dispersed; that their cities were thinly inhabited, and their lands devastated and deserted. Mamilius the praetor was charged with the protection of the colonies from the enemy. The consuls, in conformity with a decree of the senate, issued an edict that all who were citizens of Cremona and Placentia should return to those colonies before a certain day; after which, in the beginning of spring, they set out for the campaign. Quintus Caecilius, the consul, received the army from Caius Nero; Lucius Veturius received his from Quintus Claudius the propraetor, filling it up with new-raised soldiers, whom he had himself enlisted. The consuls marched their army into the territory of Consentia, and devastating the country on all hands, when the troops were loaded with plunder, they were thrown into such confusion by some Bruttians and Numidian spearmen, who attacked them in a narrow defile, that not only the booty but the troops were in danger. There was more of confusion, however than fighting; and sending the booty in advance, the legions themselves also escaped into a place free from danger. Proceeding thence into Lucania, the whole of that people returned, without a contest, into subjection to the Roman people.

12. No action with Hannibal took place this year; for neither did he present himself after the public and personal calamity so recently inflicted, and the Romans did not provoke him while he remained quiet, such power did they consider that single general possessed, though every thing else around him was falling into ruin. Indeed I know not whether he was not more deserving of admiration in adversity than in prosperity; inasmuch as though he carried on a war in the territory of enemies through a period of thirteen years, at so great a distance from home, with varying success, and with, an army

not composed of his own countrymen, but made up of the offscouring of all nations, without communion of laws, customs, or language, different in their appearance, their dress, their arms, their religious ceremonies and observances, and I had almost said, their gods; yet he so effectually united them by some one bond, that no disturbance ever arose either among the soldiers themselves, or between them and their general, though he often wanted money to pay them, and provisions, as being in a hostile country, through want of which, in the former Punic war, many dreadful transactions had occurred between the generals and their soldiers. But after the destruction of Hasdrubal and his army, in which all hopes of victory had been treasured up; and after retiring from the possession of every other part of Italy by withdrawing into Bruttium, one corner of it; to whom does it not appear wonderful that no disturbance arose in the camp? For to other circumstances this also was added, that he had no hope of subsisting his army, except from the lands of Bruttium, which, though they were all cultivated, would be very insufficient for the maintenance of so large an army. Besides, many of the youth were drawn off from the cultivation of the fields, and engaged in the war; and a custom also prevailed among the people of that nation, grafted on a naturally depraved inclination, of carrying on a predatory kind of warfare. Nor did he receive any supplies from home, where they were anxious about the retention of Spain, as if every thing was going on prosperously in Italy. In Spain the state of affairs was in one respect similar, but in another widely different; similar in that the Carthaginians, having been defeated with the loss of their general, had been driven to the remotest coast of that country, even to the ocean; but different, because Spain, both from the nature of the country and the genius of its inhabitants, was better adapted not only than Italy, but than any other part of the world, for renewing a war. And accordingly, therefore, though this was the first of the provinces on the continent which the Romans entered, it was the last which was at length reduced, in the present age, under the conduct and auspices of Augustus Caesar. Here Hasdrubal, son of Gisco, the greatest and most renowned general concerned in the war, next to the Barcine family, returning from Gades, and encouraged in his hopes of reviving the war by Mago, son of Hamilcar, by means of

levies made throughout the Farther Spain, armed as many as fifty thousand foot and four thousand five hundred horse. With regard to his mounted force, authors are pretty much agreed, but some state that seventy thousand infantry were led to the city Silpia. Here the two Carthaginian generals sat down on open plains, with a determination not to avoid a battle.

13. When Scipio received an account of the collection of so large an army, he felt convinced that he would not be a match for so great a multitude with the Roman legions only, without making a show at least of the auxiliary troops of the barbarians; at the same time that he did not think it right that they should form so large a portion of his force as to occasion important consequences if they should change sides, which had brought ruin upon his father and his uncle. Therefore, sending forward Silanus to Colca, who was sovereign of twenty-eight towns, to receive from him the infantry and cavalry, which he promised to enlist during the winter, he himself set out from Tarraco; and collecting small bodies of auxiliaries from his allies, who lay near his road as he proceeded, he came to Castulo. To this place Silanus led the auxiliaries, consisting of three thousand infantry and five hundred horse. Thence he advanced to the city of Baecula, with his entire army of countrymen and allies, foot and horse, amounting to forty-five thousand. Mago and Masinissa attacked them with the whole body of their cavalry while forming their camp, and would have dispersed those engaged in the works, had not a party of horse, concealed by Scipio behind an eminence conveniently situated for the purpose, unexpectedly charged them when rushing on to the attack, and, ere the battle was well begun, routed all the most forward, both those who had advanced nearest the rampart, and those who were foremost in charging the very workmen. With the rest of the troops who came up with their standards, and in order of march, the contest lasted longer, and was for a considerable time doubtful. But when first the light cohorts from the outposts, and then the troops withdrawn from the works and ordered to take arms, came up, being more numerous than those which had been engaged, and fresh while they were fatigued, and now a large body of armed troops rushed from the camp to the battle, the Carthaginians and Numidians at once turned their backs. At first

they moved off in troops without breaking their ranks, through fear or precipitation; but afterwards, when the Romans pressed furiously upon their rear, and they were unable to bear the violence of their attack, then at length, utterly regardless of order, they fled precipitately in every direction, as suited each man's convenience. And although, in consequence of this battle, the spirits of the Romans were considerably raised, and those of the enemy depressed, yet, for several days following, the horsemen and light-armed troops never ceased from skirmishes.

14. After having made sufficient trial of their strength in these slight engagements, Hasdrubal first led out his forces for battle, and then the Romans also advanced. But both the armies stood drawn up before their ramparts; and as neither party began the attack, and the sun was now going down, the Carthaginian first, and then the Roman, led back his troops into the camp. The same occurred for several days. The Carthaginian was always the first to lead out his troops into the field, and the first to give the signal for retiring, when they were weary with standing. Neither party sallied from their posts, nor was a weapon discharged, or a word uttered. On one side the Romans occupied the centre, on the other, the Carthaginians and Africans together; the allies occupied the wings, which were composed of Spaniards on both sides. The elephants which stood before the Carthaginian line, appeared at a distance like castles. It was now commonly talked of in both camps, that they would fight in the order in which they had stood when drawn up, and that their centres, composed of Romans and Carthaginians, who were the principals in the war, would engage with equal courage and strength. When Scipio perceived that this was firmly believed, he studiously altered all his arrangements against the day on which he intended to fight. He issued orders through the camp at evening, that the men and horses should be refreshed and fed before daylight, and that the horsemen, armed themselves, should keep their horses bridled and saddled. When it was scarcely yet daylight, he sent all his cavalry, with the light troops, against the Carthaginian outposts, and then without delay advanced himself, at the head of the heavy body of the legions, having strengthened his wings with Roman soldiers, and placed the allies in the centre, contrary to the full anticipations of his

own men and of the enemy. Hasdrubal, alarmed by the shout of the cavalry, sprang out of his tent, and, perceiving a tumult before the rampart, and his own troops in a state of hurry and confusion, the standards of the legions gleaming at a distance, and the plain filled with the enemy, immediately sent out the whole body of his cavalry against the horsemen of the enemy; marching himself out of the camp, at the head of the infantry, without departing at all from the usual arrangement in forming his line. The battle between the cavalry had continued for a long time doubtful; nor could they decide it themselves, because, when repulsed, which was the case in a manner alternately, they had a safe retreat upon the line of infantry. But when the armies were not more than five hundred paces distant from each other, Scipio, sounding a retreat and opening his files, received into the midst of them the whole body of his cavalry and light-armed troops; and dividing them into two parts, placed them in reserve behind the wings. After this, when it was now time to commence the battle, he ordered the Spaniards, who formed the centre, to advance at a slow pace; he himself sent a messenger from the right wing, for that he commanded, to Silanus and Marcius to extend the wing on the left in the same manner as they should see him extend that on the right, and engage the enemy with the light-armed of the horse and foot, before the two centres could meet. The wings being thus extended, they advanced against the enemy at a rapid pace, with three cohorts of infantry, and three troops of horse, each with the addition of skirmishers, the rest following them in an oblique line. There was a depression in the centre of the line, because the battalions of the Spaniards advanced slower than the rest, and the wings had already encountered the enemy, when the veteran Carthaginians and Africans had not yet come within distance to discharge their darts; nor dared they run in different directions to the wings to assist them when fighting, lest they should expose their centre to the enemy approaching over against them. The wings were hard pressed, by a twofold attack; the cavalry, the light-armed, and the skirmishers, wheeling round, charged their flanks, while the cohorts pressed them hard in front, in order to separate the wings from the rest of the line.

15. The battle was now extremely unequal in every part, both

because an irregular band of Balearians and raw Spaniards were opposed to Roman and Latin soldiers, and further, because, as the day was now getting on, Hasdrubal's troops began to grow languid, having been dispirited by the alarm in the morning, and compelled to go out hastily into the field, without refreshing themselves with food. Scipio had designedly spun out the day, in order that the battle might take place at a late hour; for it was not until the seventh hour that the battalions of infantry charged the wings. It was considerably later before the battle reached the centres, so that the heat from the meridian sun, and the fatigue of standing under arms, together with hunger and thirst, enfeebled their bodies before they engaged the enemy. Thus they stood still, supporting themselves upon their shields. In addition to their other misfortunes, the elephants too, terrified at the tumultuous kind of attack of the cavalry, the skirmishers, and the light-armed, had transferred themselves from the wings to the centre. Fatigued therefore in mind and body, they gave ground, preserving their ranks, however, just as though the army were retreating entire at the command of their general. But when the victors, perceiving that the enemy had given way, charged them on all sides with increased vehemence on that very account, so that the shock could hardly be sustained, though Hasdrubal endeavoured to stop them and hinder them from retiring, vociferating, "that there were hills on their rear, and a safe refuge if they would retreat without precipitation;" yet, fear getting the better of their sense of shame, and all those who were nearest the enemy giving way, they immediately turned their backs, and all gave themselves up to disorderly flight. The first place they halted at was the foot of the hills, where they endeavoured to recall the soldiers to their ranks, the Romans hesitating to advance their line up the opposite steep; but afterwards, when they saw them push on briskly, renewing their flight, they were driven into their camp in extreme alarm. Nor were the Romans far from the rampart; and such was their impetuosity, that they would have taken their camp had not so violent a shower of rain suddenly poured down, while, as is usually the case, the solar rays darted with the greatest intensity between the clouds surcharged with water, that the victors with difficulty returned to their camp. Some were even deterred, by superstition, from making any further

attempts that day. Though night and the rain invited the Carthaginians to take necessary rest, yet, as their fears and the danger would not allow them to delay, as it was expected that the enemy would assault their camp as soon as it was light, they raised their rampart by stones collected from the neighbouring valleys around them on all sides, with the determination to defend themselves by works, since there was but little protection in their arms. But the desertion of their allies made it appear safer to fly than stay. Attanes, prince of the Turdetani, began this revolt; he deserted at the head of a numerous band of his countrymen. Then two fortified towns, together with their garrisons, were delivered up by their praefects to the Romans. And, lest the evil should spread more widely, now that the disposition to revolt from the Carthaginians had evinced itself in one instance, Hasdrubal decamped during the silence of the ensuing night.

16. The troops in the outposts having brought word, as soon as it was light, that the enemy had departed, Scipio, despatching his cavalry in advance, ordered the army to move forward; and so rapidly were they led, that had they directly followed the track of the fugitives, they would certainly have overtaken them; but they trusted to the report of their guides, that there was a shorter cut to the river Baetis, where they might attack them while crossing it. Hasdrubal, being precluded from passing the river, turned his course to the ocean; and they now advanced in disorder and in the manner of fugitives, so that the Roman legions were left considerably behind. The cavalry and light-armed, attacking sometimes their rear, and sometimes their flank, harassed and delayed them; and as they were obliged to halt, in consequence of these frequent annoyances, and engaged sometimes the cavalry, at other times the skirmishers and the auxiliary infantry, the legions came up. After this it was no longer a fight, but a butchering as of cattle, till the general himself, who was the first to run away, made his escape to the neighbouring hills with about six thousand men half armed; the rest were slain or made prisoners. The Carthaginians hastily fortified an irregular camp on the highest eminence, and from thence they defended themselves without difficulty, the enemy failing in his attempt to get at them, from the difficulty of the ascent. But a siege in a place bare and

affording no means of subsistence, was hardly to be supported, even for a few days; the troops therefore deserted to the enemy. At last the general himself, having procured some ships, for the sea was not at a great distance, left his army by night and effected his escape to Gades. Scipio, having heard of the flight of the general of the enemy, left ten thousand foot and one thousand cavalry for Silanus to carry on the siege of the camp, and returned to Tarraco with the rest of the troops, after a march of seventy days, during which he took cognizance of the causes of the petty princes and states, in order that rewards might be conferred according to a just estimate of their merits. After his departure, Masinissa, having held a private conference with Silanus, passed over into Africa with a few of his countrymen, in order that he might induce his nation also to acquiesce in his new designs. The cause of this sudden change was not so evident at the time, as the proof was convincing which was afforded by his subsequent fidelity, preserved to extreme old age, that he did not on this occasion act without reasonable grounds. Mago went to Gades in the ships which had been sent back by Hasdrubal. Of the rest of the troops thus abandoned by their generals, some deserted and others betook themselves to flight, and in this manner were dispersed through the neighbouring states. There was no body of them considerable either for numbers or strength. Such were, as near as possible, the circumstances under which the Carthaginians were driven out of Spain, under the conduct and auspices of Publius Scipio, in the thirteenth year from the commencement of the war, and the fifth from the time that Publius Scipio received the province and the army. Not long after, Silanus returned to Tarraco to Scipio, with information that the war was at an end.

17. Lucius Scipio was sent to Rome to convey the news of the reduction of Spain, and with him a number of distinguished captives. While everybody else extolled this achievement as an event in the highest degree joyful and glorious, yet the author of it alone, whose valour was such that he never thought he had achieved enough, and whose search for true glory was insatiable, considered the reduction of Spain as affording but a faint idea of the hopes which his aspiring mind had conceived. He now directed his view to Africa and Great Carthage, and the glorious termination of the war, as redounding to

his honour, and giving lustre to his name. Judging it therefore to be now necessary to pave the way to his object, and to conciliate the friendship of kings and nations, he resolved first to sound the disposition of Syphax, king of the Masaesylians, a nation bordering on the Moors, and lying for the most part over-against that quarter of Spain in which New Carthage is situated. The king was at the present juncture in league with the Carthaginians; and Scipio, concluding that he would not hold it as more binding and sacred than was customary with barbarians, sent Caius Laelius as envoy to him with presents. The barbarian, delighted with these, and seeing that the Roman cause was then successful in every quarter, but that the Carthaginians were unfortunate in Italy, and no longer existed in Spain, consented to accept the friendship of the Romans, but refused to give or receive a solemn ratification of it except the Roman general himself were present in person. This being the case, Laelius returned to Scipio, having received from the king merely an assurance of a safe journey. To one desirous of getting a footing in Africa, Syphax was of great importance, as he was the most powerful king in that country, had already had experience of the Carthaginians themselves in war, and the boundaries of his dominions lay very conveniently with respect to Spain, from which they are separated by a narrow strait. Scipio, therefore, considering it an object of sufficient importance to warrant his attempting it, notwithstanding the greatness of the danger which attended it, since he could not effect it otherwise, left for the protection of Spain Lucius Marcius at Tarraco, and Marcus Silanus at New Carthage, to which place he had gone on foot by long marches; and setting out himself in company with Caius Laelius, with two quinqueremes from Carthage, passed over into Africa, working the vessels with oars for the greatest part of the voyage, in consequence of the calmness of the sea, though sometimes they were assisted by a gentle breeze. It so happened, that just at that time Hasdrubal, having been driven out of Spain, had entered the harbour with seven triremes, and having cast anchor was mooring his ships. The sight of two quinqueremes, which it was the firm opinion of everybody belonged to the enemy, and might be overpowered by superior numbers before they entered the harbour, produced no other effect than a tumult and confusion among the

soldiers and sailors, who endeavoured to no purpose to get their arms and ships ready; for their sails, impelled by a somewhat brisker gale from the sea, brought the quinqueremes into the harbour before the Carthaginians weighed their anchors, and no one dared make any further stir now that they were in the king's harbour. Thus Hasdrubal, who landed first, and Scipio and Laelius, who landed soon after, proceeded to the king.

18. Syphax considered it highly honourable to him, as it really was, that generals of the two most powerful people of the age should come to him on the same day to solicit peace and friendship with him. He invited them both to become his guests; and, as it was the will of fortune that they should be under one roof, and under the protection of the same household gods, he endeavoured to bring them together to a conference, in order to put an end to the difference between them; when Scipio declared, that there was no personal enmity between the Carthaginian and himself which he might do away with by a conference, and that he could not transact any business relating to the republic with an enemy without the command of the senate. But the king being earnest in his endeavours to persuade him to come to the same entertainment, lest one of his guests should appear to be excluded, he did not withhold his assent. They supped together at the king's table, and Scipio and Hasdrubal even sat at meat on the same couch, because it was the king's pleasure. So courteous was the manner of Scipio, so naturally happy and universal was his genius, that by his conversation he gained the esteem not only of Syphax, a barbarian, and unused to Roman manners, but even of a most inveterate enemy, who openly avowed, that "he appeared to him more to be admired for the qualities he displayed on a personal interview with him, than for his exploits in war, and that he had no doubt that Syphax and his kingdom were already at the disposal of the Romans, such were the abilities that man possessed for gaining the esteem of others. That it, therefore, was incumbent upon the Carthaginians not more to inquire by what means they had lost Spain, than to consider how they might retain possession of Africa. That it was not from a desire to visit foreign countries, or to roam about delightful coasts, that so great a Roman captain, leaving a recently subdued province, and his armies, had

crossed over into Africa with only two ships, entering an enemy's territory, and committing himself to the untried honour of the king, but in pursuance of a hope he had conceived of subduing Africa. That it had been long the object of his anxious solicitude, and had drawn from him open expressions of his indignation, that Scipio was not carrying on war in Africa in the same way as Hannibal was in Italy." Scipio, having formed a league with Syphax, set out from Africa, and, after having been tossed about during his voyage by variable and generally tempestuous winds, made the port of New Carthage on the fourth day.

19. As Spain was undisturbed by a Carthaginian war, so it was evident that some of the states remained quiet more from fear, arising from a consciousness of demerit, than from sincere attachment. The most remarkable of them, both for their greatness and guilt, were Illiturgi and Castulo. Castulo had been in alliance with the Romans when in prosperity, but had revolted to the Carthaginians after the destruction of the Scipios and their armies. The Illiturgians, by betraying and putting to death those who fled thither after that calamity, had added villany to revolt. It would have been more deserved than expedient to have executed severe vengeance upon these people on his first arrival, while the affairs of Spain were in an uncertain state; but now, when all was tranquil, as the time for visiting them with punishment appeared to have arrived, he summoned Lucius Marcius from Tarraco, and sent him with a third of his forces to attack Castulo, and with the rest of the army he himself reached Illiturgi, after about five days' march. The gates were closed, and every arrangement and preparation made for repelling an attack; so completely had the consciousness of what they deserved produced the same effect as a declaration of war against them. From this circumstance Scipio commenced his exhortation to his soldiers: he said, that "by closing their gates the Spaniards had themselves shown what their deserts were by what they feared, and that therefore they ought to prosecute the war against them with much greater animosity than against the Carthaginians. For with the latter the contest was carried on for empire and glory almost without any exasperated feeling, while they had to punish the former for perfidy, cruelty, and villany. That the time had now arrived when

they should take vengeance for the horrid massacre of their fellow soldiers, and for the treachery which was prepared for themselves, had they been carried in their flight to the same place; and by the severity of the punishment inflicted in the present instance, establish it as a law for ever, that no one should consider a Roman citizen and soldier, whatever his situation, a fit object for injurious treatment.” Animated by this exhortation of their general, they distributed the scaling-ladders to men selected from each of the companies; and the army being divided into two parts, so that Laelius, as lieutenant-general, might command one, they attacked the city in two places at once; thus creating an alarm in two quarters at the same time. It was not by the exhortations of one general, nor of the several nobles who were present, that the townsmen were stimulated to a vigorous defence of the city, but by the fear which they themselves entertained; they bore in mind, and admonished each other, that the object aimed at was punishment, and not victory. That the only question for them was, where they should meet death, whether in the battle and in the field, where the indiscriminate chance of war frequently raised up the vanquished and dashed the victor to the ground; or whether, after a short interval, when the city was burnt and plundered, after suffering every horror and indignity, they should expire amid stripes and bonds before the eyes of their captive wives and children. Therefore, not only those who were of an age to bear arms, or men only, but women and children, beyond the powers of their minds and bodies, were there, supplying with weapons those who were fighting in defence of the place, and carrying stones to the walls for those who were strengthening the works; for not only was their liberty at stake, which excites the energies of the brave only, but they had before their eyes the utmost extremity of punishment, to be inflicted on all indiscriminately, and an ignominious death. Their minds were worked up to the highest pitch, both by emulation in toil and danger, and also by the mere sight of each other. Accordingly the contest was entered upon with such ardour, that the army which had subdued the whole of Spain was frequently driven back from the walls of one town, and exhibited such a want of resolution in the contest as was not very honourable to it. When Scipio perceived this, he was afraid lest, by the failure of his attempts, the courage of the

enemy should be raised and his own troops be dispirited; and thinking it incumbent upon him to exert himself in person and share the danger, reproved his soldiers for their cowardice, and ordered the scaling-ladders to be brought, threatening to mount the wall himself, since the rest hesitated. He had now advanced near the walls with no small danger, when a shout was raised from all sides by the soldiers, who were alarmed at the danger their general was exposed to, and the scaling-ladders began to be reared in several places at once. Laelius too, in another quarter, pressed on vigorously. It was then that the energy of the townsmen was subdued, and those who defended the walls being beaten off, the Romans took possession of them. The citadel also was captured during the confusion on a side where it was thought impregnable.

20. Some African deserters, who were at that time among the Roman auxiliaries, while the townsmen were occupied in defending those quarters whence danger was apprehended, and the Romans were making approaches where they could gain access, observed that the most elevated part of the town, which was protected by a very high rock, was neither fortified by any work nor furnished with defenders. Being men of light make and nimble from being well exercised, they climbed up wherever they could gain access over the irregular projections of the rock, carrying with them iron spikes. If in any part they met with a cliff too steep and smooth, they fixed spikes at moderate intervals, and having thus formed a sort of steps, and those who were foremost pulling up those who followed, and those who were behind lifting up those before them, they succeeded in gaining the summit, whence they ran down with a shout into the city, which had already been taken by the Romans. Then it became manifest indeed that it was resentment and hatred which prompted the assault upon the city. No one thought of taking any alive, nor of booty, though every thing lay exposed to plunder. They butchered all indiscriminately, armed and unarmed, male and female. Their cruel resentment extended to the slaughter of infants. They then set fire to the houses, and pulled down those which could not be consumed by fire, so bent were they upon erasing even every vestige of the city, and blotting out the memory of their enemies. Scipio marched his army thence to Castulo, which was defended, not only by Spaniards

who had assembled there, but also by the remains of the Carthaginian army, which had gone there from the various places to which they had been dispersed in their flight. But the news of the calamity of the Illiturgians had reached them before the arrival of Scipio; and in consequence of this, dismay and desperation had seized them; and as their cases were differently circumstanced, and each party was desirous of consulting its own safety independent of the other, at first secret jealousy, and then an open rupture, created a separation between the Carthaginians and Spaniards. Cerdubellus without disguise advised the latter to surrender. Himilco commanded the Carthaginian auxiliaries, which, together with the city, Cerdubellus delivered up to the Romans, having secretly obtained terms. This victory was attended with less cruelty; for not only was the guilt of this people less than the others, but their voluntary surrender had considerably mitigated resentment.

21. Marcius was then sent against the barbarians, to reduce under the authority and dominion of the Romans such of them as had not yet been subdued. Scipio returned to Carthage, to pay his vows to the gods, and to exhibit a gladiatorial show, which he had prepared on account of the death of his father and uncle. This exhibition of gladiators was not formed from that description of men which the lanistae are accustomed to procure, such as slaves, or those who sell their blood. All the service of the combatants was voluntary and gratuitous; for some were sent by the petty princes, to show an example of the natural courage of their people; others came forward to fight, in compliment to their general; others were induced to give and accept challenges, by a spirit of emulation and a desire of victory. Some decided by the sword disputes which they either could not or were unwilling to determine by argument, with an agreement that the matter in question should be given up to the victor. Nor was it confined to men of obscure rank, but comprehended persons of distinction and celebrity; such were Corbis and Orsua, cousins-german, who, having a dispute about the sovereignty of a city called Ibis, declared that they would contest it with the sword. Corbis was the elder of the two. The father of Orsua was the last sovereign, having succeeded to that dignity on the death of his elder brother. When Scipio was desirous of settling the dispute by argument and

allaying their irritation, they both declared that they had refused that to their mutual kinsmen, and that they would appeal to no other judge, whether god or man, than Mars. The elder presuming upon his strength, the younger on the prime of youth, each wished to die in the combat rather than become the subject of the other; and every effort failing to prevent their prosecuting their mad design, they exhibited to the army a most interesting spectacle, and a proof how great mischief is occasioned among men by a thirst for power. The elder, in consequence of his experience in arms and his address, easily mastered the unscientific efforts of the younger. To this show of gladiators were added funeral games, proportioned to the means possessed, and with such magnificence as the provinces and the camp afforded.

22. Meanwhile the operations of the war were carried on with unabated activity by the lieutenant-generals. Marcius, crossing the river Baetis, which the natives call Certis, received the submission of two powerful cities without a contest. There was a city called Astapa, which had always sided with the Carthaginians; nor was it that which drew upon it the resentment of the Romans so much as the fact, that its inhabitants harboured an extraordinary animosity against them, which was not called for by the necessities of the war. Their city was not so secured by nature or art as to make their dispositions so fierce, but the natural disposition of the inhabitants, which took delight in plunder, had induced them to make excursions into the neighbouring lands belonging to the allies of the Romans, and to intercept such Roman soldiers, sutlers, and merchants as they found ranging about. They had also surrounded, by means of an ambuscade, and put to the sword on disadvantageous ground, a large company which was crossing their borders, for it had proved hardly safe to go in small parties. When the troops were marched up to assault this city, the inhabitants, conscious of their guilt, and seeing that it would be dangerous to surrender to an enemy so highly incensed, and that they could not hope to keep themselves in safety by means of their walls or their arms, resolved to execute upon themselves and those belonging to them a horrid and inhuman deed. They fixed upon a place in their forum, in which they collected the most valuable of their property, and having directed their wives and children to seat

themselves upon this heap, they raised a pile of wood around it and threw on it bundles of twigs. They then ordered fifty armed youths to stand there and guard their fortunes, and the persons dearer to them than their fortunes, as long as the issue of the battle continued doubtful. If they should perceive that the battle went against them, and that it came to the point that the city must be captured, they might be assured that those whom they saw going out to engage the enemy would perish in the battle itself; but implored them by all the gods, celestial and infernal, that, mindful of their liberty, which must be terminated on that day either by an honourable death or ignominious servitude, they would leave nothing on which an exasperated enemy could wreak his fury; that they had fire and sword at their command, and it was better that friendly and faithful hands should destroy what must necessarily perish, than that enemies should insult it with haughty wantonness. To these exhortations a dreadful execration was added against any one who should be diverted from this purpose by hope or faint-heartedness. Then throwing open the gates, they rushed out at a rapid pace and with the utmost impetuosity. Nor was there any guard sufficiently strong opposed to them; for there could be nothing that was less apprehended than that they would have the courage to sally from their walls. A very few troops of horse, and the light-armed, hastily sent out of the camp for that purpose, opposed them. The battle was furious and spirited, rather than steady and regular in any degree. The horse, therefore, which had first encountered the enemy, being repulsed, created an alarm among the light-armed; and the battle would have been fought under the very rampart, had not the legions, which were their main strength, drawn out their line, though they had a very short time to form in. These too, for a short time, wavered around their standards, when the Astapans, blind with rage, rushed upon wounds and the sword with reckless daring; but afterwards the veteran soldiers, standing firm against their furious assaults, checked the violence of those that followed by the slaughter of the foremost. Soon after, the veteran troops themselves made an attempt to charge them, but seeing that not a man gave ground, and that they were inflexibly determined on dying each in his place, they extended their line, which the number of their troops enabled them to do with ease,

and, surrounding their flanks, slew them all to a man while fighting in a circle.

24. But these, however, were acts committed by exasperated enemies in the heat of battle, and executed, in conformity with the laws of war, upon men armed and most fiercely resisting; there was another more horrible carnage in the city, where a harmless and defenceless crowd of women and children were butchered by their own countrymen, who threw their bodies, most of them still alive, upon the burning pile while streams of blood damped the rising flame; and lastly, wearied with the piteous slaughter of their friends, they threw themselves, arms and all, into the midst of the flames. When the carnage was now completed the victorious Romans came up, and at the first sight of so revolting a transaction they stood for some time wrapt in wonder and amazement; but afterwards, from a rapacity natural to humanity, wishing to snatch out of the fire the gold and silver which glittered amid the heap of other materials, some were caught by the flames, others scorched by the hot blasts, as the foremost were unable to retreat, in consequence of the immense crowd which pressed upon them. In this manner was Astapa destroyed by the sword and fire, without affording any booty to the soldiers. After the rest of the people in that quarter, influenced by fear, had made submission to him, Marcius led his victorious troops to Scipio, at Carthage. Just at this same time deserters arrived from Gades, who promised to betray the town and Carthaginian garrison which occupied it, together with the commander and the fleet. Mago had halted there after his flight, and having collected some ships on the ocean, had got together a considerable number of auxiliaries from the coast of Africa, on the other side the strait, and also by means of Hanno the prefect from the neighbouring parts of Spain. After pledges had been exchanged with the deserters, Marcius and Laelius were sent thither, the former with the light cohorts, the latter with seven triremes and one quinquereme, in order that they might act in concert by land and sea.

24. In consequence of Scipio's being afflicted with a severe fit of illness, which rumour represented as more serious than it really was; for every one made some addition to the account he had received, from a desire inherent in mankind of intentionally exaggerating

reports, the whole province, and more especially the distant parts of it, were thrown into a state of ferment; and it was evident what a serious disturbance would have been excited had he really died, when an unfounded report created such violent commotions. Neither the allies kept their allegiance, nor the army their duty. Mandonius and Indibilis, who were not at all satisfied with what had occurred, for they had anticipated with certainty that they would have the dominion of Spain on the expulsion of the Carthaginians, called together their countrymen the Lacetani, and summoning the Celtiberian youth to arms, devastated in a hostile manner the territories of the Suesetani and Sedetani, allies of the Romans. Besides, a mutiny arose in the camp at Sucro. Here were eight thousand men, stationed as a guard over the nations dwelling on this side the Iberus. It was not on hearing uncertain rumours respecting the life of the general that their minds were first excited, but previously, owing to the licentiousness which naturally results from long-continued idleness, and in some degree also owing to the restraint felt in time of peace by men who had been accustomed to live freely on what they gained by plunder in an enemy's country. At first they only discoursed in private, asking what they were doing among people who were at peace with them, if there was a war in the province? if the war was terminated and the province completely subdued, why were they not conveyed back into Italy? The pay also was demanded with more insolence than was customary or consistent with military subordination, and the guards cast reproaches upon the tribunes while going round to the watches. Some too had gone out by night into the neighbouring lands, belonging to persons at peace with the Romans, to plunder; but at last they quitted their standards in the day-time and openly without furloughs. Every thing was done according to the caprice and unrestrained will of the soldiers, and nothing according to rule and military discipline, or the orders of those who were in command. The form, however, of a Roman camp was preserved solely in consequence of the hopes they entertained that the tribunes, catching the spirit of insubordination, would not be averse from taking part in the mutiny and defection, on which account they suffered them to dispense justice in their courts, went to them for the watch-word, and served in their turn on the outposts and

watches; and as they had taken away the power of command, so they preserved the appearance of obedience to orders, by spontaneously executing their own. Afterwards, when they perceived that the tribunes censured and reprobated their proceedings, endeavoured to counteract them, and publicly declared that they would not take any share in their disorderly conduct, the mutiny assumed a decided character; when, after driving the tribunes from their courts, and shortly after from the camp, the command was conferred by universal consent upon Caius Albius of Cales and Caius Atrius of Umbria, common soldiers, who were the prime movers of the sedition. These men were so far from being satisfied with the ornaments used by tribunes, that they had the audacity to lay hold even of the insignia of the highest authority, the fasces and axes, without ever reflecting that their own backs and necks were in danger from those very rods and axes which they carried before them to intimidate others. Their mistaken belief of the death of Scipio had blinded their minds, and they doubted not that, in a short time, when that event should be made generally known, all Spain would blaze with war; that during this confusion money might be exacted from the allies and the neighbouring cities plundered; and that in this unsettled state of affairs, when there was nothing which any man would not dare, their own acts would be less conspicuous.

25. As they expected that other fresh accounts would follow those which they had received, not only of the death, but even of the burial, of Scipio, and yet none arrived; and as the rumour which had been so idly originated began to die away, the first author of it began to be sought out; and each backing out in order that he might appear rather to have inconsiderately credited than to have fabricated such a report, the leaders were forsaken, and began now to dread their own ensigns of authority, and to apprehend that, instead of that empty show of command which they wore, a legitimate and rightful power would be turned against them. The mutiny being thus paralysed, and credible persons bringing in accounts, first, that Scipio was alive, and, soon after, that he was even in good health, seven military tribunes were sent by Scipio himself. At the first arrival of these their minds were violently excited; but they were soon calmed by the mild and soothing language which they addressed to such of their

acquaintance as they met with; for, going round first of all to the tents, and then entering the principia and the praetorium, wherever they observed circles of men conversing together, they addressed them, inquiring rather what it was that had occasioned their displeasure and sudden consternation, than taxing them with what had occurred. "That they had not received their pay at the appointed time," was generally complained; and "that although at the time of the horrid transaction of the Illiturgians, and after the destruction of two generals and two armies, the Roman cause had been defended and the province retained by their valour; the Illiturgians had received the punishment due to their offence, but there was no one found to reward them for their meritorious services." The tribunes replied, "that, considering the nature of their complaints, what they requested was just, and that they would lay it before the general; that they were happy that there was nothing of a more gloomy and irremediable character; that both Publius Scipio, by the favour of the gods, and the commonwealth, were in a situation to requite them." Scipio, who was accustomed to war but inexperienced in the storms of sedition, felt great anxiety on the occasion, lest the army should run into excess in transgressing, or himself in punishing. For the present he resolved to persist in the lenient line of conduct with which he had begun, and sending collectors round to the tributary states, to give the soldiers hopes of soon receiving their pay. Immediately after this a proclamation was issued that they should come to Carthage to receive their pay, whether they wished to do so in detached parties or all in a body. The sudden suppression of the rebellion among the Spaniards had the effect of tranquillizing the mutiny, which was by this time beginning to subside of itself; for Mandonius and Indibilis, relinquishing their attempt, had returned within their borders when intelligence was brought that Scipio was alive; nor did there now remain any person, whether countryman or foreigner, whom they could make their companion in their desperate enterprise. On examining every method, they had no alternative except that which afforded a retreat from wicked designs, which was not of the safest kind, namely, to commit themselves either to the just anger of the general, or to his clemency, of which they need not despair. For he had pardoned even enemies whom he had

encountered with the sword; while they reflected that their sedition had been unaccompanied with wounds or blood, and was neither in itself of an atrocious character nor merited severe punishment. So natural is it for men to be over-eloquent in extenuating their own demerit. They felt doubtful whether they should go to demand their pay in single cohorts or in one entire body; but the opinion that they should go in a body, which they regarded as the safer mode, prevailed.

26. At the same time, when they were employed in these deliberations, a council was held on their case at Carthage; when a warm debate took place as to whether they should visit with punishment the originators only of the mutiny, who were in number not more than thirty-five, or, whether atonement should be made for this defection, (for such it was rather than a mutiny,) of so dreadful a character as a precedent, by the punishment of a greater number. The opinion recommending the more lenient course, that the punishment should fall where the guilt originated, was adopted. For the multitude a reprimand was considered sufficient. On the breaking up of the council, orders were given to the army, which was in Carthage, to prepare for an expedition against Mandonius and Indibilis, and to get ready provisions for several days, in order that they might appear to have been deliberating about this. The seven tribunes who had before gone to Sucro to quell the mutiny, having been sent out to meet the army, gave in, each of them, five names of persons principally concerned in the affair, in order that proper persons might be employed to invite them to their homes, with smiles and kind words; and that, when overpowered with wine, they might be thrown into chains. They were not far distant from Carthage when the intelligence, received from persons on the road, that the whole army was going the following day with Marcus Silanus against the Lacetanians, not only freed them from all the apprehensions which, though they did not give utterance to them, sat heavy upon their minds, but occasioned the greatest transport, because they would thus have the general alone, and in their power, instead of being themselves in his. They entered the city just at sun-set, and saw the other army making every preparation for a march. Immediately on their arrival they were greeted in terms feigned for the purpose, that

their arrival was looked upon by the general as a happy and seasonable circumstance, for they had come when the other army was just on the point of setting out. After which they proceeded to refresh themselves. The authors of the mutiny, having been conveyed to their lodgings by proper persons, were apprehended by the tribunes without any disturbance, and thrown into chains. At the fourth watch the baggage belonging to the army, which, as it was pretended, was about to march, began to set out. As soon as it was light the troops marched, but were stopped at the gate, and guards were sent round to all the gates to prevent any one going out of the city. Then those who had arrived the day before, having been summoned to an assembly, ran in crowds into the forum to the tribunal of the general, with the presumptuous purpose of intimidating him by their shouts. At the same time that the general mounted the tribunal, the armed troops, which had been brought back from the gates, spread themselves around the rear of the unarmed assembly. Then all their insolence subsided; and, as they afterwards confessed, nothing terrified them so much as the unexpected vigour and hue of the general, whom they had supposed they should see in a sickly state, and his countenance, which was such as they declared that they did not remember to have ever seen it even in battle. He sat silent for a short time till he was informed that the instigators of the mutiny were brought into the forum, and that every thing was now in readiness.

27. Then, a herald having obtained silence, he thus began: “I imagined that language would never fail me in which to address my army; not that I have ever accustomed myself to speaking rather than action, but because, having been kept in a camp almost from my boyhood, I had become familiar with the dispositions of soldiers. But I am at a loss both for sentiments and expressions with which to address you, whom I know not even by what name I ought to call. Can I call you countrymen, who have revolted from your country? or soldiers, who have rejected the command and authority of your general, and violated the solemn obligation of your oath? Can I call you enemies? I recognise the persons, faces, dress, and mien of fellow countrymen; but I perceive the actions, expressions, intentions, and feelings of enemies. For what have you wished and

hoped for, but what the Ibergetians and Lacetanians did. Yet they followed Mandonius and Indibilis, men of royal rank, who were the leaders of their mad project; you conferred the auspices and command upon the Umbrian, Atrius, and the Calenian, Albius. Deny, soldiers, that you were all concerned in this measure, or that you approved of it when taken. I shall willingly believe, when you disclaim it, that it was the folly and madness of a few. For the acts which have been committed are of such a nature, that, if the whole army participated in them, they could not be expiated without atonements of tremendous magnitude. Upon these points, like wounds, I touch with reluctance; but unless touched and handled, they cannot be cured. For my own part, I believed that, after the Carthaginians were expelled from Spain, there was not a place in the whole province where, or any persons to whom, my life was obnoxious; such was the manner in which I had conducted myself, not only towards my allies, but even towards my enemies. But lo, even in my own camp, so much was I deceived in my opinion, the report of my death was not only readily believed, but anxiously waited for. Not that I wish to implicate you all in this enormity; for, be assured, if I supposed that the whole of my army desired my death, I would here immediately expire before your eyes; nor could I take any pleasure in a life which was odious to my countrymen and my soldiers. But every multitude is in its nature like the ocean; which, though in itself incapable of motion, is excited by storms and winds. So, also, in yourselves there is calm and there are storms; but the cause and origin of your fury is entirely attributable to those who led you on; you have caught your madness by contagion. Nay, even this day you do not appear to me to be aware to what a pitch of phrensy you have proceeded; what a heinous crime you have dared to commit against myself, your country, your parents, your children; against the gods, the witnesses of your oath; against the auspices under which you serve; against the laws of war, the discipline of your ancestors, and the majesty of the highest authority. With regard to myself, I say nothing. You may have believed the report of my death rather inconsiderately than eagerly. Lastly, suppose me to be such a man that it could not at all be a matter of astonishment that my army should be weary of my command, yet what had your country

deserved of you, which you betrayed by making common cause with Mandonius and Indibilis? What the Roman people, when, taking the command from the tribunes appointed by their suffrages, you conferred it on private men? When, not content even with having them for tribunes, you, a Roman army, conferred the fasces of your general upon men who never had a slave under their command? Albius and Atrius had their tents in your general's pavilion. With them the trumpet sounded, from them the word was taken, they sat upon the tribunal of Scipio, upon whom the lictor attended, for them the crowd was cleared away as they moved along, before them the fasces with the axes were carried. When showers of stones descend, lightnings are darted from the heavens, and animals give birth to monsters, you consider these things as prodigies. This is a prodigy which can be expiated by no victims, by no supplications, without the blood of those men who have dared to commit so great a crime.

28. "Now, though villany is never guided by reason, yet so far as it could exist in so nefarious a transaction, I would fain know what was your design. Formerly, a legion which was sent to garrison Rhegium, wickedly put to the sword the principal inhabitants and kept possession of that opulent city through a space of ten years; on account of which enormity the entire legion, consisting of four thousand men, were beheaded in the forum at Rome. But they, in the first place, did not put themselves under the direction of Atrius the Umbrian, scarcely superior to a scullion, whose name even was ominous, but of Decius Jubellius, a military tribune; nor did they unite themselves with Pyrrhus, or with the Samnites or Lucanians, the enemies of the Roman people. But you made common cause with Mandonius and Indibilis, and intended also to have united your arms with them. They intended to have held Rhegium as a lasting settlement, as the Campanians held Capua, which they took from its ancient Tuscan inhabitants; and as the Mamertines held Messina in Sicily, without any design of commencing without provocation a war upon the Roman people or their allies. Was it your purpose to hold Sucro as a place of abode? where, had I, your general, left you on my departure after the reduction of the province, you would have been justified in imploring the interference of gods and men, because you could not return to your wives and children. But suppose that you

banished from your minds all recollection of these, as you did of your country and myself; I would wish to track the course of a wicked design, but not of one utterly insane. While I was alive, and the rest of the army safe, with which in one day I took Carthage, with which I routed, put to flight, and expelled from Spain four generals and four armies of the Carthaginians; did you, I say, who were only eight thousand men, all of course of less worth than Albius and Atrius, to whom you subjected yourselves, hope to wrest the province of Spain out of the hands of the Roman people? I lay no stress upon my own name, I put it out of the question. Let it be supposed that I have not been injured by you in any respect beyond the ready credence of my death. What! if I were dead, was the state to expire with me? was the empire of the Roman people to fall with me? Jupiter, most good and great, would not have permitted that the existence of the city, built under the auspices and sanction of the gods to last for ever, should terminate with that of this frail and perishable body. The Roman people have survived those many and distinguished generals who were all cut off in one war; Flaminius, Paulus, Gracchus, Posthumius Albinus, Marcus Marcellus, Titus Quinctius Crispinus, Cneius Fulvius, my kinsmen the Scipios; and will survive a thousand others who may perish, some by the sword, others by disease; and would the Roman state have been buried with my single corpse? You yourselves, here in Spain, when your two generals, my father and my uncle, fell, chose Septimus Marcius as your general to oppose the Carthaginians, exulting on account of their recent victory. And thus I speak, on the supposition that Spain would have been without a leader. Would Marcus Silanus, who was sent into the province with the same power and the same command as myself, would Lucius Scipio my brother, and Caius Laelius, lieutenant-generals, have been wanting to avenge the majesty of the empire? Could the armies, the generals themselves, their dignity or their cause, be compared with one another? And even had you got the better of all these, would you bear arms in conjunction with the Carthaginians against your country, against your countrymen? Would you wish that Africa should rule Italy, and Carthage the city of Rome? If so, for what offence on the part of your country?

29. "An unjust sentence of condemnation, and a miserable and

undeserved banishment, formerly induced Coriolanus to go and fight against his country; he was restrained, however, by private duty from public parricide. What grief, what resentment instigated you? Was the delay of your pay for a few days, during the illness of your general, a reason of sufficient weight for you to declare war against your country? to revolt from the Roman people and join the Iltergetians? to leave no obligation, divine or human, unviolated? Without doubt, soldiers, you were mad; nor was the disease which seized my frame more violent than that with which your minds were affected. I shrink with horror from the relation of what men believed, what they hoped and wished. Let oblivion cover all these things if possible; if not, however it be, let them be covered in silence. I must confess my speech must have appeared to you severe and harsh, but how much more harsh, think you, must your actions be than my words! Do you think it reasonable that I should suffer all the acts which you have committed, and that you should not bear with patience even to hear them mentioned? But you shall not be reproached even with these things any further. I could wish that you might as easily forget them as I shall. Therefore, as far as relates to the general body of you, if you repent of the error you have committed, I shall have received sufficient and more than sufficient atonement for it. Albius the Calenian, and Atrius the Umbrian, with the rest of the principal movers of this impious mutiny, shall expiate with their blood the crime they have perpetrated. To yourselves, if you have returned to a sound state of mind, the sight of their punishment ought not only to be not unpleasant, but even gratifying; for there are no persons to whom the measures they have taken are more hostile and injurious than to you.” He had scarcely finished speaking, when, according to the plan preconcerted, every object of terror was at once presented to their eyes and ears. The troops, which had formed a circle round the assembly, clashed their swords against their shields; the herald’s voice was heard citing by name the persons who had been condemned in the council; the culprits were dragged naked into the midst of the assembly, and at the same time all the apparatus for punishment was brought forth. They were tied to the stake, scourged with rods, and decapitated; while those who were present were so benumbed with fear, that not only no expression of

dissatisfaction at the severity of the punishment, but not even a groan was heard. They were then all dragged out, the place was cleared, and the men cited by name took the oath of allegiance to Scipio before the military tribunes, each receiving his full demand of pay as he answered to his name. Such was the termination and result which the insurrection of the soldiers, which began at Sucro, met with.

30. During the time of these transactions, Hanno, the lieutenant-general of Mago, having been sent from Gades to the river Baetis with a small body of Africans, by tempting the Spaniards with money, armed as many as four thousand men; but afterwards, being deprived of his camp by Lucius Marcius, and losing the principal part of his troops in the confusion occasioned by its capture, and some also in the flight, for the cavalry pursued them closely while they were dispersed, he made his escape with a few attendants. During these transactions on the river Baetis, Laelius in the mean time, sailing out of the straits into the ocean, came with his fleet before Carteia, a city situated on the coast of the ocean, where the sea begins to expand itself, after being confined in a narrow strait. He had entertained hopes of having Gades betrayed to him without a contest, persons having come unsolicited into the Roman camp to make promises to that effect, as has been before mentioned. The plot was discovered before it was ripe, and all having been apprehended, were placed by Mago in the hands of Adherbal the praetor, to be conveyed to Carthage. Adherbal, having put the conspirators on board a quinquereme, sent it in advance, because it sailed slower than a trireme, and followed himself at a moderate distance with eight triremes. The quinquereme was just entering the strait, when Laelius, who had himself also sailed out of the harbour of Carteia in a quinquereme, followed by seven triremes, bore down upon Adherbal and his triremes, feeling assured that the trireme, when once caught in the rapid strait, would not be able to return against the opposing current. The Carthaginian, alarmed by the suddenness of the affair, hesitated for some little time whether he should follow the trireme, or turn his prows against the enemy. This very delay put it out of his power to decline an action, for they were now within a weapon's cast, and the enemy were bearing down upon him on all sides. The current also had rendered it impossible to manage the ships. Nor was

the action like a naval engagement, inasmuch as it was in no respect subject to the control of the will, nor afforded any opportunity for the exercise of skill or method. The nature of the strait and the tide, which solely and entirely governed the contest, carried the ships against those of their own and the enemy's party indiscriminately, though striving in a contrary direction; so that you might see one ship which was flying whirled back by an eddy and driven against the victors, and another which was engaged in pursuit, if it had fallen into an opposite current, turning itself away as if for flight. And when actually engaged, one ship while bearing down upon another with its beak directed against it, assuming an oblique position itself, received a stroke from the beak of the other; while another which lay with its side exposed to the enemy, receiving a sudden impulse, was turned round so as to present its prow. While the triremes were thus engaged in a doubtful and uncertain contest, in which every thing was governed by chance, the Roman quinquereme, whether being more manageable in consequence of its weight, or by means of more banks of oars making its way through the eddies, sunk two triremes, and swept off the oars from one side of another, while sailing by it with great violence. The rest too, had they come in its way, it would have disabled; but Adherbal, with his remaining four ships, sailed over into Africa.

31. Laelius returned victorious into Carteia; and hearing there what had occurred at Gades, that the plot had been discovered, the conspirators sent to Carthage, and that the hopes which had brought them there had been completely frustrated, he sent a message to Lucius Marcius, to the effect that, unless they wished to waste time uselessly in lying before Gades, they should return to the general; and Marcius consenting to the proposal, they both returned to Carthage a few days after. In consequence of their departure, Mago not only obtained a temporary relief from the dangers which beset him on all sides, both by sea and land, but also on hearing of the rebellion of the Ilergetians, conceived hopes of recovering Spain, and sent messengers to Carthage to the senate, who, at the same time that they represented to them in exaggerated terms both the intestine dissension in the Roman camp and the defection of their allies, might exhort them to send succours by which the empire of Spain, which

had been handed down to them by their ancestors, might be regained. Mandonius and Indibilis, retiring within their borders, remained quiet for a little time, not knowing what course to take, till they knew what was determined upon respecting the mutiny; but not distrusting that if Scipio pardoned the error of his own countrymen, they also might obtain the same. But when the severe punishment inflicted came to be generally known, concluding that their offence also would be considered as demanding a similar expiation, they again summoned their countrymen to arms; and assembling the auxiliaries which had joined them before, they crossed over into the Sedetanian territory, where they had had a fixed camp at the beginning of the revolt, with twenty thousand foot and two thousand five hundred horse.

32. Scipio having without difficulty regained the affection of his soldiers, both by his punctuality in discharging the arrears of pay to all, as well the guilty as the innocent, and particularly by the looks and language of reconciliation towards all, before he quitted Carthage summoned an assembly; and after inveighing at large against the perfidy of the petty princes who were in rebellion, declared "that the feelings with which he set out to take revenge for their villany were widely different from those with which he lately corrected the error committed by his countrymen. That on the latter occasion, he had with groans and tears, as though he were cutting his own vitals, expiated either the imprudence or the guilt of eight thousand men with the heads of thirty; but now he was going to the destruction of the Ilergetians with joyful and animated feelings: for they were neither natives of the same soil, nor united with him by any bond of society. The only connexion which did subsist between them, that of honour and friendship, they had themselves severed by their wicked conduct." When he looked at the troops which composed his army, besides that he saw that they were all either of his own country, or allies and of the Latin confederacy; he was also strongly affected by the circumstance, that there was scarcely a soldier in it who was not brought out of Italy into that country either by his uncle, Cneius Scipio, who was the first of the Roman name who had come into that province, or by his father when consul, or by himself. That they were all accustomed to the name and auspices of the Scipios; that it was his wish to take them home to their country to

receive a well-earned triumph; and that he hoped that they would support him when he put up for the consulship, as if the honour sought were to be shared in common by them all. With regard to the expedition which they were just going to undertake, that the man who considered it as a war must be forgetful of his own achievements. That, by Hercules, Mago, who had fled for safety with a few ships beyond the limits of the world into an island surrounded by the ocean, was a source of greater concern to him than the Ilergetians; for in it there was both a Carthaginian general and a Carthaginian army, whatever might be its numbers; while here were only robbers and leaders of robbers, who, though they possessed sufficient energy for ravaging the lands of their neighbours, burning their houses, and carrying off their cattle, yet would have none at all in a regular and pitched battle; and who would come to the encounter relying more on the swiftness with which they can fly than on their arms. "Accordingly," he said, "that he had thought it right to quell the Ilergetians before he quitted the province, not because he saw that any danger could arise from them, or that a war of greater importance could grow out of these proceedings; but in the first place, that a revolt of so heinous a character might not go unpunished, and in the next place, that not a single enemy might be said to be left in a province which had been subdued with such valour and success. He bid them, therefore, follow him, with the assistance of the gods, not so much to make war upon, for the contest was not with an enemy who was upon an equality with them, but to take vengeance on the basest of men."

33. After this harangue he dismissed them, with orders to get themselves in readiness in every respect for marching the next day; when, setting out, he arrived at the river Iberus in ten days. Then crossing the river, he, on the fourth day, pitched his camp within sight of the enemy. Before him was a plain enclosed on all sides by mountains. Into the valley thus formed Scipio ordered some cattle, taken chiefly from the lands of the enemy, to be driven, in order to excite the rapacity of the barbarians, and then sent some light-armed troops as a protection for them, directing Laelius to charge the enemy from a place of concealment when they were engaged in skirmishing. A mountain which projected conveniently concealed the ambuscade

of the cavalry, and the battle began without delay. The Spaniards, as soon as they saw the cattle at a distance, rushed upon them, and the light-armed troops attacked the Spaniards while occupied with their booty. At first they annoyed each other with missiles; but afterwards, having discharged their light weapons, which were calculated to provoke rather than to decide the contest, they drew their swords, and began to engage foot to foot. The fight between the infantry would have been doubtful, but that the cavalry then came up, and not only, charging them in front, trod down all before them, but some also, riding round by the foot of the hill, presented themselves on their rear, so that they might intercept the greater part of them; and consequently the carnage was greater than usually takes place in light and skirmishing engagements. The resentment of the barbarians was rather inflamed by this adverse battle, than their spirits depressed. Accordingly, that they might not appear cast down, they marched out into the field the following day as soon as it was light. The valley, which was confined, as has been before stated, would not contain all their forces. About two-thirds of their foot and all their cavalry came down to the engagement. The remainder of their infantry they stationed on the declivity of the hill. Scipio, conceiving that the confined nature of the ground would be in his favour, both because the Roman troops were better adapted for fighting in a contracted space than the Spanish, and also because the enemy had come down and formed their line on ground which would not contain all their forces, applied his mind to a new expedient. For he considered that he could not himself cover his flanks with his cavalry, and that those of the enemy which they had led out, together with their infantry, would be unable to act. Accordingly he ordered Laelius to lead the cavalry round by the hills as secretly as possible, and separate, as far as he could, the fight between the cavalry from that between the infantry. He himself drew up the whole body of his infantry against the enemy, placing four cohorts in front, because he could not extend his line further. He commenced the battle without delay, in order that the contest itself might divert the attention of the enemy, and prevent their observing the cavalry which were passing along the hills. Nor were they aware that they had come round before they heard the noise occasioned by the engagement of the cavalry in their rear. Thus

there were two battles; two lines of infantry and two bodies of horse being engaged within the space occupied by the plain lengthwise; and that because it was too narrow to admit of both descriptions of force being engaged in the same lines. When the Spanish infantry could not assist their cavalry, nor their cavalry the infantry, and the infantry, which had rashly engaged in the plain, relying on the assistance of the cavalry, were being cut to pieces, the cavalry themselves also, being surrounded and unable to stand the shock of the enemy's infantry in front, (for by this time their own infantry were completely overthrown,) nor of the cavalry in their rear, after having formed themselves into a circle and defended themselves for a long time, their horses standing still, were all slain to a man. Nor did one person, horse or foot, survive of those who were engaged in the valley. The third part, which stood upon the hill rather to view the contest in security than to take any part of it upon themselves, had both time and space to fly; among whom the princes themselves also fled, having escaped during the confusion, before the army was entirely surrounded.

34. The same day, besides other booty, the camp of the Spaniards was taken, together with about three thousand men. Of the Romans and their allies as many as one thousand two hundred fell in that battle; more than three thousand were wounded. The victory would have been less bloody had the battle taken place in a plain more extended, and affording facilities for flight. Indibilis, renouncing his purpose of carrying on war, and considering that his safest reliance in his present distress was on the tried honour and clemency of Scipio, sent his brother Mandonius to him; who, falling prostrate before his knees, ascribed his conduct to the fatal frenzy of those times, when, as it were from the effects of some pestilential contagion, not only the Ilergetians and Lacetanians, but even the Roman camp had been infected with madness. He said that his own condition, and that of his brother and the rest of his countrymen, was such, that either, if it seemed good, they would give back their lives to him from whom they had received them, or if preserved a second time, they would in return for that favour devote their lives for ever to the service of him to whom alone they were indebted for them. They before placed their reliance on their cause, when they had not yet had experience of his

clemency, but now, on the contrary, placing no reliance on their cause, all their hopes were centred in the mercy of the conqueror. It was a custom with the Romans, observed from ancient times, not to exercise any authority over others, as subject to them, in cases where they did not enter into friendship with them by a league and on equal terms, until they had surrendered all they possessed, sacred and profane; until they had received hostages, taken their arms from them, and placed garrisons in their cities. In the present instance, however, Scipio, after inveighing at great length against Mandonius, who stood before him, and Indibilis, who was absent, said “that they had justly forfeited their lives by their wicked conduct, but that they should be preserved by the kindness of himself and the Roman people. Further, that he would neither take their arms from them, (which only served as pledges to those who feared rebellion,) but would leave them the free use of them, and their minds free from fear; nor would he take vengeance on their unoffending hostages, but upon themselves, should they revolt, not inflicting punishment upon a defenceless but an armed enemy. That he gave them the liberty of choosing whether they would have the Romans favourable to them or incensed against them, for they had experienced them under both circumstances.” Thus Mandonius was allowed to depart, having only a pecuniary fine imposed upon him to furnish the means of paying the troops. Scipio himself, having sent Marcius in advance into the Farther Spain, and sent Silanus back to Tarraco, waited a few days until the Ilergetians had paid the fine imposed upon them; and then, setting out with some troops lightly equipped, overtook Marcius when he was now drawing near to the ocean.

35. The negotiation which had some time before commenced respecting Masinissa, was delayed from one cause after another; for the Numidian was desirous by all means of conferring with Scipio in person, and of touching his right hand in confirmation of their compact. This was the cause of Scipio’s undertaking at this time a journey of such a length, and into so remote a quarter. Masinissa, when at Gades, received information from Marcius of the approach of Scipio, and by pretending that his horses were injured by being pent up in the island, and that they not only caused a scarcity of every thing to the rest, but also felt it themselves; moreover that his

cavalry were beginning to lose their energy for want of employment; he prevailed upon Mago to allow him to cross over to the continent, to plunder the adjacent country of Spain. Having passed over, he sent forward three chiefs of the Numidians, to fix a time and place for the conference desiring that two might be detained by Scipio as hostages. The third being sent back to conduct Masinissa to the place to which he was directed to bring him, they came to the conference with a few attendants. The Numidian had long before been possessed with admiration of Scipio from the fame of his exploits; and his imagination had pictured to him the idea of a grand and magnificent person; but his veneration for him was still greater when he appeared before him. For besides that his person, naturally majestic in the highest degree, was rendered still more so by his flowing hair, by his dress, which was not in a precise and ornamental style, but truly masculine and soldier-like, and also by his age, for he was then in full vigour of body, to which the bloom of youth, renewed as it were after his late illness, had given additional fulness and sleekness. The Numidian, who was in a manner thunderstruck by the mere effect of the meeting, thanked him for having sent home his brother's son. He affirmed, that from that time he had sought for this opportunity, which being at length presented to him, by favour of the immortal gods, he had not allowed to pass without seizing it. That he desired to serve him and the Roman people in such a manner, as that no one foreigner should have aided the Roman interest with greater zeal than himself. Although he had long since wished it, he had not been so able to effect it in Spain, a foreign and strange country; but that it would be easy for him to do so in that country in which he had been born and educated, under the hope of succeeding to his father's throne. If, indeed, the Romans should send the same commander, Scipio, into Africa, he entertained a well-grounded hope that Carthage would continue to exist but a short time. Scipio saw and heard him with the highest delight, both because he knew that he was the first man in all the cavalry of the enemy, and because the youth himself exhibited in his manner the strongest proof of a noble spirit. After mutual pledges of faith, he set out on his return to Tarraco. Masinissa, having laid waste the adjacent lands, with the permission of the Romans, that he might not appear to have passed over into the

continent to no purpose, returned to Gades.

36. Mago, who despaired of success in Spain, of which he had entertained hopes, from the confidence inspired first by the mutiny of the soldiers, and afterwards by the defection of Indibilis, received a message from Carthage, while preparing to cross over into Africa, that the senate ordered him to carry over into Italy the fleet he had at Gades; and hiring there as many as he could of the Gallic and Ligurian youth, to form a junction with Hannibal, and not to suffer the war to flag which had been begun with so much vigour and still more success. For this object Mago not only received a supply of money from Carthage, but himself also exacted as much as he could from the inhabitants of Gades, plundering not only their treasury, but their temples, and compelling them individually to bring contributions of gold and silver, for the public service. As he sailed along the coast of Spain, he landed his troops not far from New Carthage, and after wasting the neighbouring lands, brought his fleet thence to the city. Here, keeping his troops in the ships by day, he landed them by night, and marched them to that part of the wall at which Carthage had been captured by the Romans; for he had supposed both that the garrison by which the city was occupied was not sufficiently strong for its protection, and that some of the townsmen would act on the hope of effecting a change. But messengers who came with the utmost haste and alarm from the country, brought intelligence at once of the devastation of the lands, the flight of the rustics, and the approach of the enemy. Besides, the fleet had been observed during the day, and it was evident that there was some object in choosing a station before the city. Accordingly, the troops were kept drawn up and armed within the gate which looks towards the lake and the sea. When the enemy, rushing forward in a disorderly manner, with a crowd of seamen mingled with soldiers, came up to the walls with more noise than strength; the gate being suddenly thrown open, the Romans sallied forth with a shout, and pursued the enemy, routed and put to flight at the first onset and discharge of their weapons, all the way to the shore, killing a great number of them; nor would one of them have survived the battle and the flight, had not the ships, which had been brought to the shore, afforded them a refuge in their dismay. Great alarm and confusion

also prevailed in the ships, occasioned by their drawing up the ladders, lest the enemy should force their way in together with their own men, and by cutting away their halsers and anchors that they might not lose time in weighing them. Many, too, met with a miserable death while endeavouring to swim to the ships, not knowing, in consequence of the darkness, which way to direct their course, or what to avoid. On the following day, after the fleet had fled back to the ocean whence it had come, as many as eight hundred were slain between the wall and the shore, and two thousand stand of arms were found.

37. Mago, on his return to Gades, not being allowed to enter the place, brought his fleet to shore at Cimbis, a place not far distant from Gades; whence he sent ambassadors with complaints of their having closed their gates upon a friend and ally. While they endeavoured to excuse themselves on the ground that it was done by a disorderly assembly of their people, who were exasperated against them on account of some acts of plunder which had been committed by the soldiers when they were embarking, he enticed their suffetes, which is the name of the chief magistracy among the Carthaginians, together with their quaestor, to come to a conference; when he ordered them to be lacerated with stripes and crucified. He then passed over with his fleet to the island Pityusa, distant about a hundred miles from the continent, and inhabited at that time by Carthaginians; on which account the fleet was received in a friendly manner; and not only were provisions liberally furnished, but also young men and arms were given them to reinforce their fleet. Rendered confident by these supplies, the Carthaginians crossed over to the Balearian islands, fifty miles distant. The Balearian islands are two in number; one larger than the other, and more powerful in men and arms; having also a harbour in which, as it was now the latter end of autumn, he believed he might winter conveniently. But here his fleet was opposed with as much hostility as he would have met with had the Romans inhabited that island. The only weapons they used at that time, and which they now principally employ, were slings; nor is there an individual of any other nation who possesses such a degree of excellence in the skilful use of this weapon, as the Balearians universally possess over the rest of the world. Such a

quantity of stones, therefore, was poured like the thickest hail on the fleet, when approaching the shore, that, not daring to enter the harbour, they made off for the main. They then passed over to the lesser Balearian island, which is of a fertile soil, but not equally powerful in men and arms. Here, therefore, they landed, and pitched a camp in a strong position above the harbour; and having made themselves masters of the city and country without a contest, they enlisted two thousand auxiliaries, which they sent to Carthage, and then hauled their ships on shore for the winter. After Mago had left the coast of the ocean, the people of Gades surrendered to the Romans.

38. Such were the transactions in Spain under the conduct and auspices of Publius Scipio. Scipio himself, having put Lucius Lentulus and Lucius Manlius Acidinus in charge of the province, returned to Rome with ten ships. Having obtained an audience of the senate without the city, in the temple of Bellona, he gave an account of the services he had performed in Spain; how often he had fought pitched battles, how many towns he had taken by force from the enemy, and what nations he had brought under the dominion of the Roman people. He stated that he had gone into Spain against four generals, and four victorious armies, but that he had not left a Carthaginian in that country. On account of these services he rather tried his prospect of a triumph, than pressed it pertinaciously; for it was quite clear, that no one had triumphed up to that time for services performed, when not invested with a magistracy. When the senate was dismissed he entered the city, and carried before him into the treasury fourteen thousand three hundred and forty-two pounds of silver, and a great quantity of coined silver. Lucius Veturius Philo then held the assembly for the election of consuls, when all the centuries, with the strongest marks of attachment, named Publius Scipio as consul. Publius Licinius Crassus, chief pontiff, was joined with him as his colleague. It is recorded, that this election was attended by a greater number of persons than any other during the war. People had come together from all quarters, not only to give their votes, but also for the purpose of seeing Publius Scipio. They ran in crowds, not only to his house, but also to the Capitol; where he was engaged in offering a sacrifice of a hundred oxen to Jupiter,

which he had vowed in Spain, impressed with a presentiment, that as Caius Lutatius had terminated the former Punic war, so Publius Scipio would terminate the present; and that as he had driven the Carthaginians out of every part of Spain, so he would drive them out of Italy; and dooming Africa to him as his province, as though the war in Italy were at an end. The assembly was then held for the election of praetors. Two were elected who were then plebeian aediles, namely, Spurius Lucretius and Cneius Octavius; and of private persons, Cneius Servilius Caepio and Lucius Aemilius Papus.

In the fourteenth year of the Punic war, Publius Cornelius Scipio and Publius Licinius Crassus entered on the consulship, when the provinces assigned to the consuls were, to Scipio, Sicily, without drawing lots, his colleague not opposing it, because the care of the sacred affairs required the presence of the chief pontiff in Italy; to Crassus, Bruttium. The provinces of the praetors were then put to the determination of lots, when the city jurisdiction fell to Servilius; Ariminum, for so they called Gaul, to Spurius Lucretius; Sicily to Lucius Aemilius; Sardinia to Cneius Octavius. A senate was held in the Capitol, when, on the motion of Publius Scipio, a decree was made, that he should exhibit the games which he had vowed in Spain during the mutiny of the soldiers, out of the money which he had himself brought into the treasury.

39. He then introduced into the senate the Saguntine ambassadors, the eldest of whom thus spoke: "Although there remains no degree of suffering, conscript fathers, beyond what we have endured, in order that we might keep our faith towards you to the last; yet such are the benefits which we have received both from yourselves and your generals, that we do not repent of the calamities to which we have ourselves been exposed. On our account you undertook the war, and having undertaken it, you have continued to carry it on for now the fourteenth year with such inflexible perseverance, that frequently you have both yourselves been reduced, and have brought the Carthaginians to the last extremity. At a time when you had a war of such a desperate character in Italy, and Hannibal as your antagonist, you sent your consul with an army into Spain, to collect, as it were, the remains of our wreck. Publius and Cneius Cornelius, from the time they entered the province, never ceased from adopting such

measures as were favourable to us and detrimental to our enemies. First of all, they restored to us our town; and, sending persons to collect our countrymen, who were sold and dispersed throughout all Spain, restored them from a state of slavery to freedom. When our circumstances, from being wretched in the extreme, had nearly assumed a desirable state, your generals Publius and Cneius Cornelius fell more to be lamented by ourselves even than by you. Then truly we seemed to have been dragged back from distant places to our ancient abode, to perish again, and witness the second destruction of our country. Nor did it appear that there was any need forsooth of a Carthaginian army or general to effect our destruction; but that we might be annihilated by the Turdulans, our most inveterate enemies, who had also been the cause of our former overthrow. When suddenly, to our great surprise, you sent us this Publius Scipio, in seeing whom declared consul, and in having it in our power to carry word back to our countrymen that we have seen it, for on him our hopes and safety entirely rest, we consider ourselves the most fortunate of all the Saguntines. He, when he had taken a great number of the cities of your enemies in Spain, on all occasions separated the Saguntines out of the mass of captives, and sent them back to their country; and lastly, by his arms he reduced to so low a state Turdetania, which harboured such animosity against us, that if that nation continued to flourish it was impossible that Saguntum could stand, that it not only was not an object of fear to us, but, and may I say it without incurring odium, not even to our posterity. We see the city of those persons demolished, to gratify whom Hannibal destroyed Saguntum. We receive tribute from their lands, which is not more acceptable to us from the advantage we derive from it than from revenge. In consideration of these benefits, than which we could not hope or wish for greater from the immortal gods, the senate and people of Saguntum have sent us ten ambassadors to you to return their thanks; and at the same time to offer you their congratulations on your having carried on your operations in Spain and Italy so successfully of late years, that you have subdued by your arms, and have gotten possession of Spain, not only as far as the river Iberus, but also to where the ocean forms the limit of the remotest regions of the world; while in Italy you have left

nothing to the Carthaginian except so much space as the rampart of his camp encloses. We have been desired, not only to return thanks for these blessings to Jove most good and great, the guardian deity of the capitoline citadel, but also, if you should permit us, to carry into the Capitol this present of a golden crown in token of victory. We request that you would permit us so to do; and, if you think proper, that you would, by your authority, perpetuate and ratify the advantages which your generals have conferred upon us." The senate replied to the Saguntines, "that the destruction and restoration of Saguntum would form a monument to all the nations of the world of social faith preserved on both sides. That, in restoring Saguntum, and rescuing its citizens from slavery, their generals had acted properly, regularly, and according to the wishes of the senate; and that, whatever other acts of kindness they had done to them, were in conformity with the wishes of the senate. That they gave them permission to deposit their present in the Capitol." Orders were then given to furnish the ambassadors with apartments and entertainment, and that not less than ten thousand *asses* should be given to each as a present. After this, the rest of the embassies were introduced and heard. On the request of the Saguntines that they might go and take a view of Italy as far as they could with safety, they were furnished with guides, and letters were sent to the several towns, requiring them to entertain the Spaniards kindly. The senate then took into consideration the state of public affairs, the levying troops, and the provinces.

40. It being generally reported that Africa, as a new province, was destined for Publius Scipio without casting lots; and he himself, not content with any moderate share of glory, asserting that he had been declared consul, not only for prosecuting, but for finishing the war; that that object could not be accomplished by any other means than by his transporting an army into Africa; and himself openly declaring that he would do it through the people if the senate opposed him; the design by no means pleased the principal senators; and when the rest, either through fear or a wish to ingratiate themselves with him, only murmured, Quintus Fabius Maximus, being asked his opinion, thus spoke: "I know, conscript fathers, that by many of you the question which is this day agitated is considered as already determined; and

that the man who shall deliver his sentiments on the subject of making Africa a province, as a new proposal, will speak to little purpose. But, in the first place, I cannot see how it can be considered as determined, that Africa shall be the province of the consul, that brave and active officer, when neither the senate have voted nor the people ordered that it should be constituted a province this year. In the next place, if it is determined, I think the consul is to blame, who, by pretending to consult the senate on a question already decided, insults that body, and not the senator only who delivers his sentiments in his place on the subject of deliberation. Now I am well aware, that by disapproving of this excessive eagerness to pass over into Africa, I subject myself to two imputations: one grounded on the caution inherent in my disposition, which young men may if they please call cowardice and sloth, so long as we have the consolation to reflect, that though hitherto the measures of others have always appeared on the first view of them the more plausible, mine on experience have proved the sounder. The other imputation is that of jealousy and envy towards the daily increasing glory of this most valiant consul. But if neither my past life and character, nor a dictatorship, together with five consulships, and so much glory acquired, both in peace and war, that I am more likely to loathe it than desire more, exempt me from such a suspicion, let my age at least acquit me. For what rivalry can there exist between myself and a man who is not equal in years even to my son? When I was dictator, when as yet in the possession of full vigour, and engaged in a series of affairs of the utmost magnitude, no one heard me, either in the senate or in the popular assembly, express any reluctance to have the command equally shared between myself and the master of the horse, at the time when he was maligning me; a proposition which no one ever heard mention of before. I chose to bring it about by actions rather than by words, that he who was placed on the same footing with me in the judgment of others, should soon by his own confession declare me his superior. Much less, after having passed through these honours, would I propose to myself to enter the lists of competition and rivalry with a man in the very bloom of youth. And that, forsooth, in order that Africa, if it shall have been denied to him, may be assigned as a province to me, who am now weary of

life, and not merely of active employments. I must live and die with that share of glory which I have already acquired. I prevented Hannibal from conquering, in order that he might even be conquered by you, whose powers are now in full vigour.

41. "It is but fair, Publius Cornelius, that you should pardon me, if I, who in my own case never preferred the honour of men to the interest of the state, do not place even your fame before the public good. Although, if there were either no war in Italy, or an enemy of such a description that no glory could be acquired from conquering him, the man who would retain you in Italy, though actuated by a desire to promote the public good, might appear to wish to deprive you of an opportunity of acquiring renown when he objected to your removing the war. But since Hannibal is our antagonist, who is besieging Italy for now the fourteenth year, with an army unimpaired, will you have reason to be dissatisfied, Publius Cornelius, with the glory you will acquire, if you in your consulate shall drive out of Italy an enemy who has been the cause of so many deaths and so many disasters to us, and if you should enjoy the distinction of having terminated this, as Caius Lutatius did the former Punic war? Unless either Hamilcar is a general more worthy of consideration than Hannibal, or a war in Africa of more importance, or a victory there greater and more glorious, (should it be our lot to be victorious while you are consul,) than one here. Would you rather have drawn away Hamilcar from Drepanum and Eryx than have expelled the Carthaginians and Hannibal from Italy? Although you naturally prize more highly the renown which you have acquired than that which you hope for, yet surely you would not boast more of having freed Spain from war than of having freed Italy. Hannibal is not as yet in such a state as that the man who prefers another war would not appear to have feared rather than to have despised him. Why then do you not apply yourself to this, and carry the war in a straightforward manner to the place where Hannibal is, rather than pursue that circuitous course, according to which you expect that when you shall have crossed over into Africa Hannibal will follow you thither? Do you seek to obtain the distinguished honour of having finished the Punic war? After you have defended your own possessions, for this is naturally the first

object, then proceed to attack those of others. Let there be peace in Italy before war in Africa; and let us be free from fear ourselves before we bring it upon others. If it is possible that both objects may be accomplished under your conduct and auspices, having first conquered Hannibal here, then go and lay siege to Carthage; but if one or other of these conquests must be left for the succeeding consuls, the former is both the greater and more glorious, and also the cause of the second. For now indeed, besides that the treasury is not able to maintain two different armies, one in Italy and one in Africa; besides that we have nothing left from which we may equip fleets or be able to furnish provisions, who knows not how great danger would be incurred? Publius Licinius will wage war in Italy, Publius Scipio in Africa. What if, (an omen which may all the gods avert, and which my mind shrinks back with alarm from mentioning, — but what has happened may happen again, —) what I say, if Hannibal, having gained a victory, should advance to the city? Shall we then at length send for you, our consul, out of Africa, as we formerly sent for Quintus Fulvius from Capua? What shall we say when we consider that in Africa also both parties will be liable to the chances of war? Let your own house, your father and your uncle, slain together with their armies within the space of thirty days, after that, having spent several years in the performance of the most important services, both by sea and land, they had inspired foreign nations with the highest reverence for the name of the Roman people and your family, be a warning to you. The day would fail me were I disposed to enumerate the kings and generals who have brought the most signal calamities upon themselves and their armies by rashly passing into the territories of their enemies. The Athenians, a state distinguished for prudence, leaving a war at home, sent a great fleet into Sicily at the instance of a youth equally enterprising and illustrious; but by one naval battle they reduced their flourishing republic to a state of humiliation from which she could never recover.

42. “But I am adducing foreign and too remote examples. That same Africa, and Marcus Atilius, who was a signal example of both extremes of fortune, may form a warning to us. Without doubt, Publius Cornelius, when you shall have a view of Africa from the

sea, the reduction of your province of Spain will appear to you to have been a mere matter of sport and pastime. For what similarity is there between them? After sailing along the coast of Italy and Gaul to Emporiae without any enemy to oppose you, you brought your fleet to land at a city of our allies. There landing your soldiers, you marched them through countries entirely secure from danger to Tarraco, to join the allies and friends of the Roman people. After that, from Tarraco you marched through places garrisoned by Roman troops. On the banks of the Iberus were the armies of your father and your uncle, rendered still more furious after the loss of their generals, even by the very calamity they had suffered. The general, indeed, Lucius Marcius, had been irregularly constituted and chosen for the time by the suffrages of the soldiers; but had he been adorned with noble birth and the regular gradation of preferment, he would have been equal to the most distinguished generals, from his skill in every art of war. You then laid siege to Carthage, quite at your leisure, not one of the three Punic armies coming to the defence of their allies. The rest of your achievements, nor do I wish to disparage them, are by no means to be compared with what you will have to do in a war in Africa, where there is not a single harbour open to receive our fleet, no part of the country at peace with us, no state in alliance, no king in friendship with us, no room in any part either to take up a position or to advance. Whichever way you turn your eyes, all is hostility and danger. Do you trust in the Numidians and Syphax? Let it suffice to have trusted in them once. Temerity is not always successful, and the fraudulent usually pave the way to confidence in small matters, that when an advantageous opportunity occurs, they may deceive with great gain. Your father and uncle were not cut off by the arms of their enemies till they were duped by the treachery of their Celtiberian allies; nor were you yourself exposed to so much danger from Mago and Hasdrubal, the generals of your enemies, as from Indibilis and Mandonius, whom you had received into friendship. Can you place any confidence in Numidians after having experienced a defection in your own soldiers? Syphax and Masinissa would rather that they themselves should have the rule in Africa than the Carthaginians, but that the Carthaginians should rather than any other state. At present emulation and the various causes of dispute

existing between them incite them against each other, because the fear of any foreign enemy is remote. But show them the Roman arms and a body of troops, natives of another country, and they will run together as if to extinguish a common conflagration. These same Carthaginians defended Spain in a different manner from that in which they will defend the walls of their capital, the temples of their gods, their altars, and their hearths; when their terrified wives will attend them on the way to the battle, and their little children will run to them. What, moreover, if the Carthaginians, feeling sufficiently secure in the harmony subsisting in Africa, in the attachment of the sovereigns in alliance with them, and their own fortifications, should, when they see Italy deprived of the support of yourself and your army, themselves assuming an offensive attitude, either send a fresh army out of Africa into Italy, or order Mago, who, it is certain, having passed over from the Baleares, is now sailing along the coast of Liguria and the Alps, to form a junction with Hannibal. Without doubt, we should be thrown into the same state of alarm as we were lately, when Hasdrubal passed over into Italy; that Hasdrubal, whom you, who are about to blockade, not Carthage only, but all Africa with your army, allowed to slip out of your hands into Italy. You will say that he was conquered by you. For that very reason I should be less willing, not on account of the commonwealth only, but of yourself, that, after having been defeated, he should be allowed to march into Italy. Suffer us to ascribe to your prudence all the successful events which have happened to you and the empire of the Roman people, and to impute all those of an adverse nature to the uncertain chances of war and to fortune. The more meritorious and brave you are, so much the more do your country and all Italy desire to retain you as their protector. You cannot even yourself pretend to deny, that where Hannibal is, there is the head and principal stress of the war, for you profess, that your motive in crossing over into Africa is to draw Hannibal thither. Whether, therefore, here or there, it is with Hannibal that you will have to contend. Will you then, I pray, have more power in Africa and alone, or here, with your own and your colleague's army united? Is not the great difference which this makes proved to you even by the recent precedent of Claudius and Livius, the consuls? What! will Hannibal, who has now for a

long time been unavailingly soliciting succours from home, be rendered more powerful in men and arms when occupying the remotest corner of the Bruttian territory, or when near to Carthage and supported by all Africa? What sort of policy is that of yours, to prefer fighting where your own forces will be diminished by one half, and the enemy's greatly augmented, to encountering the enemy when you will have two armies against one, and that wearied with so many battles, and so protracted and laborious a service? Consider how far this policy of yours corresponds with that of your parent. He, setting out in his consulship for Spain, returned from his province into Italy, that he might meet Hannibal on his descent from the Alps; while you are going to leave Italy when Hannibal is there, not because you consider such a course beneficial to the state, but because you think it will redound to your own honour and glory; acting in the same manner as you did when leaving your province and your army without the sanction of a law, without a decree of the senate, you, a general of the Roman people, intrusted to two ships the fortune of the commonwealth and the majesty of the empire, which were then hazarded in your person. In my estimation, conscript fathers, Publius Cornelius was elected consul for the service of the state and of us, and not to forward his own individual interest; and the armies were enlisted for the protection of the city and of Italy, and not for the consuls, like kings, to carry into whatever part of the world they please from motives of vanity."

43. Fabius having made a strong impression on a large portion of the senate, and especially those advanced in years, by this speech, which was adapted to the occasion, and also by his authority and his long-established reputation for prudence; and those who approved of the counsel of this old man being more numerous than those who commended the hot spirit of the young one; Scipio is reported thus to have spoken: "Even Quintus Fabius himself has observed, conscript fathers, in the commencement of his speech, that in the opinion he gave a feeling of jealousy might be suspected. And though I dare not myself charge so great a man with harbouring that feeling, yet, whether it is owing to a defect in his language, or to the fact, that suspicion has certainly not been removed. For he has so magnified his own honours and the fame of his exploits, in order to do away

with the imputation of envy, that it would appear I am in danger of being rivalled by every obscure person, but not by himself, because, as he enjoys an eminence above every body else, an eminence to which I do not dissemble that I also aspire, he is unwilling that I should be placed upon a level with him. He has represented himself as an old man, and as one who has gone through every gradation of honour, and me as below the age even of his son; as if he supposed that the desire of glory did not exceed the limits of human life, and as if its chief part had not respect to memory and future ages. I am confident, that it is usual with all the most exalted minds, to compare themselves, not only with the illustrious men of the present, but of every age. For my own part, I do not dissemble that I am desirous, not only to attain to the share of glory which you possess, Quintus Fabius, but, (and in saying it I mean no offence,) if I can, even to exceed it. Let not such a feeling exist in your mind towards me, nor in mine towards those who are my juniors, as that we should be unwilling that any of our countrymen should attain to the same celebrity with ourselves; for that would be a detriment, not to those only who may be the objects of our envy, but to the state, and almost to the whole human race. He mentioned what a great degree of danger I should incur, should I cross over into Africa, so that he appeared solicitous on my account, and not only for the state and the army. But whence has this concern for me so suddenly sprung? When my father and uncle were slain; when their two armies were cut up almost to a man; when Spain was lost; when four armies of the Carthaginians and four generals kept possession of every thing by terror and by arms; when a general was sought for to take the command of that war, and no one came forward besides myself, no one had the courage to declare himself a candidate; when the Roman people had conferred the command upon me, though only twenty-four years of age; why was it that no one at that time made any mention of my age, of the strength of the enemy, of the difficulty of the war, and of the recent destruction of my father and uncle? Has some greater disaster been suffered in Africa now than had at that time befallen us in Spain? Are there now larger armies in Africa, more and better generals, than were then in Spain? Was my age then more mature for conducting a war than now? Can a war with a

Carthaginian enemy be carried on with greater convenience in Spain than in Africa? After having routed and put to flight four Carthaginian armies; after having captured by force, or reduced to submission by fear, so many cities; after having entirely subdued every thing as far as the ocean, so many petty princes, so many savage nations; after having regained possession of the whole of Spain, so that no trace of war remains, it is an easy matter to make light of my services; just as easy as it would be, should I return victorious from Africa, to make light of those very circumstances which are now magnified in order that they may appear formidable, for the purpose of detaining me here. He says that there is no possibility of entering Africa; that there are no ports open. He mentions that Marcus Atilius was taken prisoner in Africa, as if Marcus Atilius had miscarried on his first access to Africa. Nor does he recollect that the ports of Africa were open to that very commander, unfortunate as he was; that he performed some brilliant services during the first year, and continued undefeated to the last, so far as related to the Carthaginian generals. You will not, therefore, in the least deter me by that example of yours. If that disaster had been sustained in the present, and not in the former war, if lately, and not forty years ago, yet why would it be less advisable for me to cross over into Africa after Regulus had been made prisoner there, than into Spain after the Scipios had been slain there? I should be reluctant to admit that the birth of Xanthippus the Lacedaemonian was more fortunate for Carthage than mine for my country. My confidence would be increased by the very circumstance, that such important consequences depended upon the valour of one man. But further, we must take warning by the Athenians, who inconsiderately crossed over into Sicily, leaving a war in their own country. Why, therefore, since you have leisure to relate Grecian tales, do you not rather set before us the instance of Agathocles, king of Syracuse, who, when Sicily was for a long time wasted by a Punic war, by passing over into this same Africa, removed the war to the country from whence it came.

44. "But what need is there of ancient and foreign examples to remind us what sort of thing it is boldly to carry terror against an enemy, and, removing the danger from oneself, to bring another into

peril? Can there be a stronger instance than Hannibal himself, or one more to the point? It makes a great difference whether you devastate the territories of another, or see your own destroyed by fire and sword. He who brings danger upon another has more spirit than he who repels it. Add to this, that the terror excited by unknown circumstances is increased on that account. When you have entered the territory of an enemy, you may have a near view of his advantages and disadvantages. Hannibal did not expect that it would come to pass that so many of the states in Italy would come over to him as did so after the defeat at Cannae. How much less would any firmness or constancy be experienced in Africa by the Carthaginians, who are themselves faithless allies, oppressive and haughty masters! Besides, we, even when deserted by our allies, stood firm in our own strength, the Roman soldiery. The Carthaginians possess no native strength. The soldiers they have are obtained by hire; — Africans and Numidians — people remarkable above all others for the inconstancy of their attachments. Provided no impediment arises here, you will hear at once that I have landed, and that Africa is blazing with war; that Hannibal is preparing for his departure from this country, and that Carthage is besieged. Expect more frequent and more joyful despatches from Africa than you received from Spain. The considerations on which I ground my anticipations are the good fortune of the Roman people, the gods, the witnesses of the treaty violated by the enemy, the kings Syphax and Masinissa; on whose fidelity I will rely in such a manner as that I may be secure from danger should they prove perfidious. Many things which are not now apparent, at this distance, the war will develope; and it is the part of a man, and a general, not to be wanting when fortune presents itself, and to bend its events to his designs. I shall, Quintus Fabius, have the opponent you assign me, Hannibal; but I shall rather draw him after me than be kept here by him. I will compel him to fight in his own country, and Carthage shall be the prize of victory rather than the half-ruined forts of the Bruttians. With regard to providing that the state sustain no injury in the mean time, while I am crossing over, while I am landing my troops in Africa, while I am advancing my camp to the walls of Carthage; be not too sure that it is not an insult to Publius Licinius, the consul, a man of consummate valour, who

did not draw lots for so distant a province merely that, as he was chief pontiff, he might not be absent from religious affairs, to say that he is unable to do that, now that the power of Hannibal is shaken, and in a manner shattered, which you Quintus Fabius, were able to effect when he was flying victorious throughout all Italy. By Hercules, even if the war would not be more speedily terminated by adopting the plan I propose, yet it were consistent with the dignity of the Roman people, and the high character they enjoy with foreign kings and nations, to appear to have had spirit not only to defend Italy, but also to carry hostilities into Africa; and that it should not be supposed and spread abroad that no Roman general dared what Hannibal had dared; that in the former Punic war, when the contest was about Sicily, Africa should have been so often attacked by our fleets and armies, and that now, when the contest is about Italy, Africa should be left undisturbed. Let Italy, which has so long been harassed, at length enjoy some repose; let Africa, in her turn, be fired and devastated. Let the Roman camp overhang the gates of Carthage rather than that we should again behold the rampart of the enemy from our walls. Let Africa be the seat of the remainder of the war. Let terror and flight, the devastation of lands, the defection of allies, and all the other calamities of war which have fallen upon us, through a period of fourteen years, be turned upon her. It is sufficient for me to have spoken on those matters which relate to the state, the war before us, and the provinces which form the subject of deliberation. My discourse would be tedious and uninteresting to you if, as Fabius has depreciated my services in Spain, I should also in like manner endeavour, on the other hand, to turn his glory into ridicule, and make the most of my own. I will do neither, conscript fathers; and if in nothing else, though a young man, I shall certainly have shown my superiority over this old man, in modesty and the government of my tongue. Such has been my life, and such the services I have performed, that I can gladly rest contented in silence with that opinion which you have spontaneously conceived of me.”

45. Scipio was heard less favourably, because, a report had been spread that, if he did not prevail with the senate to have Africa decreed to him as his province, he would immediately lay the matter before the people. Therefore, Quintus Fulvius, who had been consul

four times, and censor, requested of the consul that he would openly declare in the senate whether “he submitted to the fathers to decide respecting the provinces; and whether he intended to abide by their determination, or to put it to the people.” Scipio having replied that he would act as he thought for the interest of the state, Fulvius then rejoined: “When I asked you the question I was not ignorant of what answer you would give, or how you would act; for you plainly show that you are rather sounding than consulting the senate; and, unless we immediately decree to you the province you wish, have a bill ready (to lay before the people). Therefore,” said he, “I require of you, tribunes of the people, to support me in refusing to give my opinion, because, though my recommendation should be adopted, the consul is not disposed to abide by it.” An altercation then arose, the consul asserting that it was unfair for the tribunes to interpose so as to prevent any senator from living his opinion in his place on being asked it. The tribunes came to the determination, “that if the consul submit to the senate the question relating to the provinces, whatever the senate decree we shall consider as final, nor will we allow a bill to be proposed to the people on the subject. If he does not submit it to them, we will support any one who shall refuse to deliver his sentiments upon the matter.” The consul requested the delay of a day to confer with his colleague. The next day the decision was submitted to the senate. The provinces were assigned in this manner: to one of the consuls Sicily and thirty ships of war, which Caius Servilius had commanded the former year; he was also permitted to cross over into Africa if he conceived it to be for the advantage of the state. To the other consul Bruttium and the war with Hannibal were assigned; with either that army which Lucius Veturius or that which Quintus Caecilius commanded. The two latter were to draw lots, and settle between themselves which should act in Bruttium with the two legions which the consul gave up; and he to whose lot that province fell, was to be continued in command for a year. The other persons also, besides the consuls and praetors, who were to take the command of armies and provinces, were continued in command. It fell to the lot of Quintus Caecilius to carry on the war against Hannibal in Bruttium, together with the consul. The games of Scipio were then celebrated in the presence of a great number of persons,

and with the approbation of the spectators. The deputies, Marcus Pomponius Matho and Quintus Cadius, sent to Delphi to convey a present out of the spoils taken from Hasdrubal, carried with them a golden crown of two hundred pounds' weight, and representations of the spoils made out of a thousand pounds' weight of silver. Scipio, though he could not obtain leave to levy troops, a point which he did not urge with great eagerness, obtained leave to take with him such as volunteered their services; and also, as he declared that the fleet would not be the occasion of expense to the state, to receive what was furnished by the allies for building fresh ships. First, the states of Etruria engaged to assist the consuls to the utmost of their respective abilities. The people of Caere furnished corn, and provisions of every description, for the crews; the people of Populoni furnished iron; of Tarquinii, cloth for sails; those of Volaterrae, planks for ships, and corn; those of Arretium, thirty thousand shields, as many helmets; and of javelins, Gallic darts, and long spears, they undertook to make up to the amount of fifty thousand, an equal number of each description, together with as many axes, mattocks, bills, buckets, and mills, as should be sufficient for fifty men of war, with a hundred and twenty thousand pecks of wheat; and to contribute to the support of the decurios and rowers on the voyage. The people of Perugia, Clusium, and Rusella furnished firs for building ships, and a great quantity of corn. Scipio had firs out of the public woods. The states of Umbria, and, besides them, the people of Nursia, Reate, and Amiternum, and all those of the Sabine territory, promised soldiers. Many of the Marsians, Pelignians, and Marrucinians volunteered to serve in the fleet. The Cameritans, as they were joined with the Romans in league on equal terms, sent an armed cohort of six hundred men. Having laid the keels of thirty ships, twenty of which were quinqueremes, and ten quadriremes, he prosecuted the work with such diligence, that, on the forty-fifth day after the materials were taken from the woods, the ships, being fully equipped and armed, were launched.

46. He set out into Sicily with thirty ships of war, with about seven thousand volunteers on board. Publius Licinius came into Bruttium to the two consular armies, of which he selected for himself that which Lucius Veturius, the consul, had commanded. He allowed

Metellus to continue in the command of those legions which were before under him, concluding that he could act more easily with the troops accustomed to his command. The praetors also went to their different provinces. As there was a scarcity of money to carry on the war, the quaestors were ordered to sell a district of the Campanian territory extending from the Grecian trench to the sea, with permission to receive information as to what land belonged to a native Campanian, in order that it might be put into the possession of the Roman people. The reward fixed upon for the informer was a tenth part of the value of the lands so discovered. Cneius Servilius, the city praetor, was also charged with seeing that the Campanians dwelt where they were allowed, according to the decree of the senate, and to punish such as dwelt anywhere else. The same summer, Mago, son of Amilcar, setting out from the lesser of the Balearian islands, where he had wintered, having put on board his fleet a chosen body of young men, conveyed over into Italy twelve thousand foot, and about two thousand horse, with about thirty ships of war, and a great number of transports. By the suddenness of his arrival he took Genoa, as there were no troops employed in protecting the sea-coast. Thence he brought his fleet to shore, on the coast of the Alpine Ligurians, to see if he could create any commotion there. The Ingaunians, a tribe of the Ligurians, were at that juncture engaged in war with the Epanterians, a people inhabiting the mountains. The Carthaginian, therefore, having deposited his plunder at Savo, an Alpine town, left ten ships of war for its protection. He sent the rest to Carthage to guard the sea-coast, as it was reported that Scipio intended to pass over thither; formed an alliance with the Ingaunians, whose friendship he preferred; and commenced an attack upon the mountaineers. His army increased daily, the Gauls flocking to his standard from all sides, from the splendour of his fame. When the senate received information of these things, by a letter from Spurius Lucretius, they were filled with the most intense anxiety, lest the joy they had experienced on the destruction of Hasdrubal and his army, two years before, should be rendered vain by another war's springing up in the same quarter, equal in magnitude, but under a new leader. They therefore ordered Marcus Livius, proconsul, to march his army of volunteer slaves out

of Etruria to Ariminum, and gave in charge to Cneius Servilius to issue orders, if he thought it necessary for the safety of the state, that the city legions should be marched out under the command of any person he thought proper. Marcus Valerius Laevinus led those legions to Arretium. About the same time, as many as eighty transports of the Carthaginians were captured, near Sardinia, by Cneius Octavius, who had the government of that province. Caelius states that they were laden with corn and provisions, sent for Hannibal; Valerius, that they were conveying the plunder of Etruria, and the Ligurian mountaineers who had been captured, to Carthage. In Bruttium scarcely any thing was done this year worth recording. A pestilence had attacked both Romans and Carthaginians with equal violence; but the Carthaginian army, in addition to sickness, was distressed by famine. Hannibal passed the summer near the temple of Juno Lacinia, where he erected and dedicated an altar with an inscription engraved in Punic and Greek characters, setting forth, in pompous terms, the achievements he had performed.

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BOOK XXIX

Translated by William A. McDevitte

In Spain, Mandonius and Indibilis, reviving hostilities, are finally subdued. Scipio goes over from Syracuse to Locri; dislodges the Carthaginian general; repulses Hannibal, and recovers that city. Peace made with Philip. The Idaean Mother brought to Rome from Phrygia; received by Publius Scipio Nasica, judged by the senate the best man in the state. Scipio passes over into Africa. Syphax, having married a daughter of Hasdrubal, renounces his alliance with Scipio. Masinissa, who had been expelled his kingdom by Syphax, joins Scipio with two hundred horsemen; they defeat a large army commanded by Hanno. Hasdrubal and Syphax approach with a most numerous force. Scipio raises the siege of Utica, and fortifies a post for the winter. The consul Sempronius gets the better of Hannibal in a battle near Croton. Dispute between Marcus Livius and Claudius Nero, censors.

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1. Scipio, after his arrival in Sicily, formed his volunteers into cohorts and centuries. Of these he kept about his person three hundred young men, in the bloom of their age and the prime of their strength, unarmed, and not knowing for what purpose they were reserved, as they were not included in the centuries, nor furnished with arms. He then selected out of the number of the youth of all Sicily three hundred horsemen, of the highest birth and fortune, who were to cross over with him into Africa, appointing a day on which they were to present themselves equipped and furnished with horses and arms. This severe service, far from their native land, appeared to them likely to be attended with many hardships, and great dangers, both by sea and land; nor did that anxiety affect themselves alone, but also their parents and relations. When the appointed day arrived, they exhibited their arms and horses. Then Scipio observed, "that an intimation had been conveyed to him that certain of the Sicilian horsemen felt a strong aversion to that service, as being severe and arduous. If there were any who entertained such a feeling, that he

would rather they should then confess it to him, than, complaining afterwards, prove themselves slothful and useless soldiers to the state. He desired that they would openly avow their sentiments, for that he would hear them with kindly feeling." When one of the number took courage to declare, that if he were allowed the uncontrolled exercise of his will he certainly would not serve, Scipio replied to him thus: "Since then, young man, you have not dissembled your sentiments, I will furnish a substitute for you, to whom I request that you transfer your arms, your horse, and other appliances of war; and, taking him hence immediately to your house, train him, and take care that he is instructed in the management of his horse and arms." The youth accepted the terms joyfully, when Scipio delivered to him one of the three hundred whom he kept unarmed. The rest, seeing the horseman thus discharged without giving any offence to the general, began severally to excuse themselves and receive substitutes. Thus Roman horsemen were substituted for the three hundred Sicilian, without any expense to the state. The Sicilians had the care of instructing and training them, because the general had ordered that the man who should not do so, should serve himself. It is said that this turned out to be an admirable body of cavalry, and rendered effectual service to the state in many engagements. Afterwards, inspecting the legions, he chose out of them such soldiers as had served the greatest number of campaigns, particularly those who had acted under Marcellus; for he considered that they were formed under the best discipline, and also, from the long time in which they were engaged in the siege of Syracuse, were most skilled in the assault of towns: for his thoughts were now occupied with no small object, but the destruction of Carthage. He then distributed his army through the towns; ordered the Sicilian states to furnish corn, sparing that which had been brought from Italy; repaired his old ships, and sent Caius Laelius with them into Africa to plunder. His new ships he hauled on shore at Panormus, that they might be kept on land during the winter, as they had been hastily built of unseasoned timber.

When every thing was got in readiness for the war he came to Syracuse, which had hardly yet returned to a state of tranquillity, after the violent commotions of the war. The Greeks, demanding

restitution of their property, which had been granted to them by the senate, from certain persons of the Italian nation, who retained possession of it in the same forcible manner in which they had seized it in the war, Scipio, who deemed it of the first importance to preserve the public faith, restored their property to the Syracusans, partly by proclamation, and partly even by judgments pronounced against those who pertinaciously retained their unjust acquisitions. This measure was acceptable not only to the persons immediately concerned, but to all the states of Sicily, and so much the more energetically did they give aid in the war. During the same summer a very formidable war sprang up in Spain, at the instance of Indibilis the Hergetian, from no other cause than the contempt he conceived for the other generals, in consequence of his admiration of Scipio. He considered “that he was the only commander the Romans had left, the rest having been slain by Hannibal. That they had, therefore, no other general whom they could send into Spain after the Scipios were cut off there, and that afterwards, when the war in Italy pressed upon them with increased severity, he was recalled to oppose Hannibal. That, in addition to the fact that the Romans had the names only of generals in Spain, their old army had also been withdrawn thence. That all the troops they had there were irresolute, as consisting of an undisciplined multitude of recruits. That there would never again occur such an opportunity for the liberation of Spain. That up to that time they had been the slaves either of Carthaginians or Romans, and that not to one or the other in turns, but sometimes to both together. That the Carthaginians had been driven out by the Romans, and that the Romans might be driven out by the Spaniards, if they would unite: so that Spain, for ever freed from a foreign yoke, might return to her native customs and rites.” By these and other observations he stirred up not only his countrymen, but the Ausetanians also, a neighbouring nation, as well as other states bordering on his own and their country. Accordingly, within a few days, thirty thousand foot and about four thousand horse assembled in the Sedetanian territory, according to the orders which had been given.

2. On the other side, the Roman generals also, Lucius Lentulus and Lucius Manlius Acidinus, lest by neglecting the first beginnings of the war it should increase in violence, having united their armies, and

led their troops through the Ausetanian territory in a peaceable manner, as though it had been the territory of friends instead of enemies, came to the position of the enemy, and pitched their camp at a distance of three miles from theirs. At first an unsuccessful attempt was made, through ambassadors, to induce them to lay down their arms; then the Spanish cavalry making a sudden attack on the Roman foragers, a body of cavalry was sent to support them from the Roman outposts, when a battle between the cavalry took place with no memorable issue to either side. The next day, at sun-rise, the whole force displayed their line, armed and drawn out for battle, at the distance of about a mile from the Roman camp. The Ausetanians were in the centre, the right wing was occupied by the Ilergetians, the left by some inconsiderable states of Spain. Between the wings and the centre they had left intervals of considerable extent, through which they might send out their cavalry when occasion required. The Romans also, drawing up their army in their usual manner, imitated the enemy in respect only of leaving themselves also intervals between the legions to afford passages for their cavalry. Lentulus, however, concluding that the cavalry could be employed with advantage by those only who should be the first to send them against the enemy's line, thus broken by intervals, ordered Servius Cornelius, a military tribune, to direct the cavalry to ride at full speed into the spaces left in the enemy's line. Lentulus himself, as the battle between the infantry was somewhat unfavourable in its commencement, waited only until he had brought up from the reserve into the front line the thirteenth legion to support the twelfth legion, which had been posted in the left wing, against the Ilergetians, and which was giving ground. And when the battle was thus placed on an equal footing in that quarter, he came to Lucius Manlius, who was exhorting the troops in the foremost line, and bringing up the reserves in such places as circumstances required, and told him that all was safe in the left wing, and that Cornelius Servius, who had been sent by him for that purpose, would soon pour round the enemy a storm of cavalry. He had scarcely uttered these words, when the Roman horse, riding into the midst of the enemy, at once threw their line of infantry into disorder, and closed up the passage by which the Spanish cavalry were to advance. The

Spaniards, therefore, giving up all thoughts of fighting on horseback, dismounted and fought on foot. When the Roman generals saw that the ranks of the enemy were in confusion, that they were in a state of trepidation and dismay, their standards moving to and fro, they exhorted and implored their men to charge them while thus discomfited, and not allow them to form their line again. So desperate was their charge that the barbarians could not have withstood the shock, had not the prince Indibilis in person, together with the discounted cavalry, opposed himself to the enemy before the front rank of the infantry. There an obstinate contest continued for a considerable time; but those who fought round the king, who continued his resistance though almost expiring, and who was afterwards pinned to the earth by a javelin, having at length fallen, overwhelmed with darts, a general flight took place; and the number slain was the greater because the horsemen were prevented from remounting, and because the Romans pressed impetuously upon the discomfited troops; nor did they give over until they had deprived the enemy of their camp. On that day thirteen thousand Spaniards were slain, and about eight hundred captured. Of the Romans and allies there fell a little more than two hundred, and those principally in the left wing. Such of the Spaniards as were beaten out of their camp, or had escaped from the battle, at first dispersed themselves through the country, but afterwards returned each to his own state.

3. They were then summoned to an assembly by Mandonius, at which, after complaining bitterly of the losses they had sustained, and upbraiding the instigators of the war, they resolved that ambassadors should be sent with proposals to deliver up their arms and make a surrender. These, laying the blame on Indibilis, the instigator of the war, and the other chiefs, most of whom had fallen in the battle, and offering to deliver up their arms and surrender themselves, received for answer, that their surrender would be accepted on condition that they delivered up alive Mandonius and the rest of the persons who had fomented the war; but if they refused to comply, that armies should be marched into the territories of the Ilergetians and Ausetanians, and afterwards into those of the other states in succession. This answer given to the ambassadors, was reported to the assembly, and Mandonius and the other chiefs were

there seized and delivered up for punishment. Peace was restored to the states of Spain, which were ordered to pay double taxes that year, and furnish corn for six months, together with cloaks and gowns for the army; and hostages were taken from about thirty of the states.

The tumult occasioned by the rebellion in Spain having been thus excited and suppressed within the space of a few days, without any great disturbance, the whole terror of the war was directed against Africa. Caius Laelius having arrived at Hippo Regius by night, at break of day led his soldiers and mariners in regular array to lay waste the country. As all the inhabitants were living unguardedly, as in a time of peace, great damage was done; and messengers, flying in terror, filled Carthage with alarm, by reporting that the Roman fleet and the general, Scipio, had arrived; for there was a rumour that Scipio had already crossed over into Sicily. Not knowing accurately how many ships they had seen, or how large a body of troops was devastating the country, they, under the influence of fear, which represented them as greater than they really were, exaggerated every thing. Accordingly, at first, terror and dismay took possession of their minds, but afterwards grief, when they reflected that their circumstances had undergone so great a change; that they, who lately as conquerors had an army before the walls of Rome, and, after having laid prostrate so many armies of the enemy, had received the surrender of all the states of Italy, either by force or choice, now, the war having taken an unfavourable turn, were destined to behold the devastation of Africa and the siege of Carthage, without any thing like the resources to enable them to bear up against those calamities which the Romans possessed. To the latter the Roman commons and Latium afforded a supply of young men, which continually grew up more vigorous and more numerous, in the room of so many armies destroyed, while their own people, both those in the city and those in the country, were unfit for military service; their troops consisted of auxiliaries, procured by hire from the Africans, a faithless nation, and veering about with every gale of fortune. Now too, with regard to the kings, Syphax was alienated from them since his conference with Scipio, and Masinissa, by an open defection, had become their most determined enemy. Wherever they turned their eyes there was no hope, no aid. Neither did Mago excite any commotion on the side of

Gaul, nor join his forces with those of Hannibal; while Hannibal himself was now declining both in reputation and strength.

4. Their minds, which had fallen into these melancholy reflections in consequence of the intelligence they had just received, were brought back by their immediate fears to deliberate how to oppose the instant danger. They resolved, that troops should be hastily levied both in the city and in the country; that persons should be sent to hire auxiliaries from the Africans; that the city should be fortified, corn collected, weapons and arms prepared, and ships equipped and sent to Hippo against the Roman fleet. But now, while engaged in these matters, news at length arrived that it was Laelius, and not Scipio; that the forces which he had brought over were only what were sufficient for making predatory incursions into the country, and that the principal stress of the war still lay in Sicily. Thus they were enabled to take breath, and they began to send embassies to Syphax and the other petty princes, for the purpose of strengthening their alliances. To Philip also ambassadors were sent, to promise him two hundred talents of silver, if he would cross over into Sicily or Italy. Ambassadors were also sent into Italy to the two generals, to desire them to keep Scipio at home by terrifying the enemy in every way they could. To Mago, not only ambassadors were sent, but twenty-five men of war, six thousand infantry, eight hundred horse, and seven elephants, besides a large sum of money to be employed in hiring auxiliaries, in order that, encouraged by these aids, he might advance his army nearer to the city of Rome, and form a junction with Hannibal. Such were the preparations and plans at Carthage. While Laelius was employed in carrying off an immense quantity of booty from the country, the inhabitants of which had no arms, and which was destitute of forces, Masinissa, moved by the report of the arrival of the Roman fleet, came to him attended by a small body of horse. He complained that "Scipio had not acted with promptness in this business, in that he had not already passed his army over into Africa, while the Carthaginians were in consternation, and while Syphax was entangled in wars with the neighbouring states, and in doubt and uncertainty as to the course he should take; that if time was allowed to Syphax to adjust his own affairs according to his mind, he would not in any thing keep his faith with the Romans

inviolable.” He requested that he would exhort and stimulate Scipio not to delay. Though driven from his kingdom, he said he would join him with no despicable force of foot and horse. Nor was it right, said he that Laelius should continue in Africa, for he believed that a fleet had set sail from Carthage, with which, in the absence of Scipio, it would not be altogether safe to engage.

5. After this discourse Masinissa departed. Laelius, the next day, sailed from Hippo with his ships loaded with booty, and returning to Sicily, delivered to Scipio the injunctions of Masinissa. About the same time the ships which were sent from Carthage to Mago touched at the country between the Albingaunian Ligurians and Genoa. Mago happened to be lying here with his fleet at this time. After hearing the message of the ambassadors, directing him to collect as great a number of troops as possible, he immediately held a council of the Gauls and Ligurians, for a great number of both those nations were there. He said that he was sent to restore them to liberty, and, as they themselves might see, succours were sent him from home; but that it depended upon them with how great forces and how large an army the war for that purpose was to be carried on. That the Romans had two armies in the field, one in Gaul and another in Etruria. That he was well informed that Spurius Lucretius would form a junction with Marcus Livius, and that they on their part must arm many thousands, in order to cope with two Roman generals and two armies. The Gauls replied, that they had the strongest possible inclination to this, but as the Romans had one army within their borders, and another in the neighbouring country of Etruria, almost within sight, if it should be known that they had supported the Carthaginians with auxiliaries, those would immediately invade their territories on both sides with determined hostility. They requested that he would ask of the Gauls such aids as they could afford in a covert manner. The purposes of the Ligurians, they said, were unrestrained, because the Roman troops were at a distance from their lands and cities; that it was fair that they should arm their youth and take upon themselves a portion of the war. The Ligurians did not dissent; they only requested the space of two months to make their levies. Having dismissed the Gauls, Mago in the mean time secretly hired soldiers through their country. Provisions also of every description were sent to him

privately by the Gallic states. Marcus Livius led his army of volunteer slaves out of Etruria into Gaul, and having joined Lucretius, prepared to meet Mago in case he should move from Liguria nearer to the city; but intending, if the Carthaginian should keep himself quiet under the angle formed by the Alps, to remain himself also in the same quarter, near Ariminum, for the protection of Italy.

6. After the return of Caius Laelius from Africa, though Scipio was goaded on by the exhortations of Masinissa; and the soldiers, on seeing the booty which was taken from the enemy's country landed from the whole fleet, were inflamed with the strongest desire to cross over as soon as possible; this important object was interrupted by one of minor consideration, namely, that of regaining the town of Locri, which at the time of the general defection of Italy had itself also gone over to the Carthaginians. The hope of accomplishing this object beamed forth from a very trifling circumstance. The war was carried on in Bruttium rather in a predatory than a regular manner, the Numidians having set the example, and the Bruttians falling in with that practice, not more in consequence of their connexion with the Carthaginians, than from their natural inclination. At last the Romans also, who now took delight in plunder by a sort of infection, made excursions into the lands of their enemies so far as their leaders would permit it. Some Locrians who had gone out of the town, were surrounded by them and carried off to Rhegium. Among the number of the prisoners were certain artisans, who, as it happened, had been accustomed to work for the Carthaginians in the city of Locri for hire. They were recognised by some of the Locrian nobles, who having been driven out by the opposite faction, which had delivered up Locri to Hannibal, had retired to Rhegium; and having answered their other questions relative to what was going on at home, questions which are usually put by such as have been long absent, they gave them hopes that, if ransomed and sent back, they might be able to deliver up the citadel to them; for there they resided, and among the Carthaginians they enjoyed unlimited confidence. Accordingly, as these nobles were at once tormented with a longing for their country, and inflamed with a desire to be revenged on their enemies, they immediately ransomed the prisoners and sent them

back, after having settled the plan of operation, and agreed upon the signals which were to be given at a distance and observed by them. They then went themselves to Scipio to Syracuse, with whom some of the exiles were; and having, by relating to him the promises made by the prisoners, inspired the consul with hopes which seemed likely to be realized, Marcus Sergius and Publius Matienus, military tribunes, were sent with them, and ordered to lead three thousand soldiers from Rhegium to Locri. A letter was also written to Quintus Pleminius, the proprætor, with directions that he should assist in the business. The troops, setting out from Rhegium and carrying with them ladders to suit the alleged height of the citadel, about midnight gave a signal to those who were to betray it from the place agreed upon. The latter were ready and on the watch, and having themselves also lowered down ladders made for the purpose, and received the Romans as they climbed up in several places at once, an attack was made upon the Carthaginian sentinels, who were fast asleep, as they were not afraid of any thing of the kind before any noise was made. Their dying groans were the first sound that was heard; then, awaking from their sleep, a sudden consternation and confusion followed, the cause of the alarm being unknown. At length, one rousing another, the fact became more certain, and now every one shouted "To arms" with all his might; "that the enemy were in the citadel and the sentinels slain;" and the Romans, who were far inferior in numbers, would have been overpowered, had not a shout raised by those who were outside of the citadel rendered it uncertain whence the noise proceeded, while the terror of an alarm by night magnified all fears, however groundless. The Carthaginians, therefore, terrified and supposing that the citadel was already filled with the enemy, gave up all thoughts of opposition and fled to the other citadel; for there were two at no great distance from each other. The townsmen held the city, which lay between the two fortresses, as the prize of the victors. Slight engagements took place daily from the two citadels. Quintus Pleminius commanded the Roman, Hamilcar the Carthaginian garrison. They augmented their forces by calling in aids from the neighbouring places. At last Hannibal himself came; nor would the Romans have held out, had not the general body of the Locrians, exasperated by the pride and rapacity of the Carthaginians,

leaned towards the Romans.

7. When Scipio received intelligence that the posture of affairs at Locri had become more critical, and that Hannibal himself was approaching, lest even the garrison might be exposed to danger; for it was not an easy matter for it to retire thence; as soon as the direction of the tide in the strait had changed, he let the ships drive with the tide from Messina, having left his brother, Lucius Scipio, in command there. Hannibal also sent a messenger in advance from the river Butrotus, which is not far from the town of Locri, to desire his party to attack the Romans and Locrians at break of day in the most vigorous manner, while he on the opposite side assaulted the town, which would be unprepared for such a measure, as every one would have his attention occupied with the tumult created in the other quarter. But when, as soon as it was light, he found that the battle had commenced, he was unwilling to shut himself up in the citadel, where, by his numbers, he would crowd that confined place; nor had he brought with him scaling-ladders to enable him to mount the walls. Having, however, had the baggage thrown together in a heap, and displayed his line at a distance from the walls to intimidate the enemy, while the scaling-ladders and other requisites for an assault were preparing, he rode round the city with some Numidian horsemen, in order to observe in what quarter the attack might be best made. Having advanced towards the rampart, the person who happened to stand next him was struck by a weapon from a scorpion; and, terrified at an accident in which he had been exposed to so much danger, he retired, gave directions for sounding a retreat, and fortified a camp out of the reach of weapons. The Roman fleet from Messina came to Locri several hours before night. The troops were all landed and had entered the city before sun-set. The following day the fight began from the citadel on the part of the Carthaginians, and Hannibal, having now prepared ladders and all the other requisites for an assault, was coming up to the walls; when, throwing open the gate, the Romans suddenly sallied out upon him, Hannibal fearing nothing less than such a step. They slew as many as two hundred in the attack, having taken them by surprise. The rest Hannibal withdrew into the camp when he found the consul was there; and having despatched a messenger to those who were in the citadel, to

desire them to take measures for their own safety, he decamped by night. Those who were in the citadel also, after throwing fire upon the buildings they occupied, in order that the alarm thus occasioned might detain their enemy, went away with a speed which resembled flight, and overtook the body of their army before night.

8. Scipio, seeing that the citadel was abandoned by the enemy, and their camp deserted, called the Locrians to an assembly and rebuked them severely for their defection. He inflicted punishment on the persons principally concerned, and gave their effects to the leaders of the other party, in consideration of their extraordinary fidelity to the Romans. As to the Locrians in general, he said that he would neither grant them any thing, nor take any thing from them. They might send ambassadors to Rome, and they should experience that treatment which the senate thought proper to adopt. Of one thing, however, he said he was confident, which was, that although they had deserved ill at the hands of the Romans, they would be better off when subject to them, though incensed against them, than they had been when in the power of their friends the Carthaginians. Leaving Quintus Pleminius lieutenant-general, and the garrison which had taken the citadel to defend the city, the general himself crossed over to Messina with the forces he had brought with him. The Locrians had been treated with such insolence and cruelty by the Carthaginians since their revolt from the Romans, that they were able to endure severities of an ordinary kind not only with patience but almost willingness. But indeed, so greatly did Pleminius surpass Hamilcar, who had commanded the garrison, so greatly did the Roman soldiers in the garrison surpass the Carthaginians in villany and rapacity, that it would appear that they endeavoured to outdo each other, not in arms, but in vices. None of all those things which render the power of a superior hateful to the powerless was omitted towards the inhabitants, either by the general or his soldiers. The most shocking insults were committed against their own persons, their children, and their wives, For their rapacity did not abstain from the spoliation even of sacred things; and not only were other temples violated, but even the treasures of Proserpine, which had never been touched through all ages, excepting that they were said to have been carried away by Pyrrhus, who restored the spoils, together with a costly

offering in expiation of his sacrilege. Therefore, as on the former occasion, the royal ships, wrecked and shattered, brought nothing safe to land, except the sacred money of the goddess, which they were carrying away; so now also, that same money, by a different kind of calamity, cast a spirit of madness upon all who were contaminated by this violation of the temple, and turned them against each other with the fury of enemies, general against general, and soldier against soldier.

9. Pleminius had the chief command; that part of the soldiers which he had brought with him from Rhegium were under his own command, the rest were under the command of the tribunes. One of Pleminius's men, while running away with a silver cup which he had stolen from the house of a townsman, the owners pursuing him, happened to meet Sergius and Matienus, the military tribunes. The cup having been taken away from him at the order of the tribunes, abuse and clamour ensued, and at last a fight arose between the soldiers of Pleminius and those of the tribunes; the numbers engaged and the tumult increasing at the same time, as either party was joined by their friends who happened to come up at the time. When the soldiers of Pleminius, who had been worsted, had run to him in crowds, not without loud clamouring and indignant feelings, showing their blood and wounds, and repeating the reproaches which had been heaped upon him during the dispute, Pleminius, fired with resentment, flung himself out of his house, ordered the tribunes to be summoned and stripped, and the rods to be brought out. During the time which was consumed in stripping them, for they made resistance, and implored their men to aid them, on a sudden the soldiers, flushed with their recent victory, ran together from every quarter, as if there had been a shout to arms against enemies; and when they saw the bodies of their tribunes now mangled with rods, then indeed, suddenly inflamed with much, more ungovernable rage, without respect, not only for the dignity of their commander, but of humanity, they made an attack upon the lieutenant-general, having first mutilated the lictors in a shocking manner; they then cruelly lacerated the lieutenant-general himself, having cut him off from his party and hemmed him in, and after mutilating his nose and ears left him almost lifeless. Accounts of these occurrences arriving at

Messana, Scipio, a few days after, passing over to Locri in a ship with six banks of oars, took cognizance of the cause of Pleminius and the tribunes. Having acquitted Pleminius and left him in command of the same place, and pronounced the tribunes guilty and thrown them into chains, that they might be sent to Rome to the senate, he returned to Messana, and thence to Syracuse. Pleminius, unable to restrain his resentment, for he thought that the injury he had sustained had been treated negligently and too lightly by Scipio, and that no one could form an estimate of the punishment which ought to be inflicted in such a case, except the man who had in his own person felt its atrocity, ordered the tribunes to be dragged before him, and after lacerating them with every punishment which the human body could endure, put them to death; and not satisfied with the punishment inflicted on them while alive, cast them out unburied. The like cruelty he exercised towards the Locrian nobles, whom he heard had gone to Scipio to complain of the injuries he had done them. The horrid acts, prompted by lust and rapacity, which he had before perpetrated upon his allies, he now multiplied from resentment; thus bringing infamy and odium, not only upon himself, but upon the general also.

10. The time of the elections was now drawing near, when a letter from the consul Publius Licinius arrived at Rome, stating that “he himself and his army were afflicted with a severe sickness, nor could they have stood their ground had not the malady attacked the enemy with the same or even greater violence. Therefore, as he could not come himself to the election, he would, with the approbation of the senate, nominate Quintus Caecilius Metellus dictator, for the purpose of holding the election. That it was for the interest of the state that the army of Quintus Caecilius should be disbanded; for that it could not be made any use of under present circumstances, for Hannibal had now withdrawn his troops into winter quarters; and so violent was the malady which had infected that camp, that unless it was speedily broken up, there would not survive one man out of the whole army.” The senate left it to the consul to settle these matters, as he should deem consistent with the interest of the state and his own honour. The state was at this time suddenly occupied with a question of a religious nature, in consequence of the discovery of a

prediction in the Sibylline books, which had been inspected on account of there having been so many showers of stones this year. It ran thus: "Whensoever a foreign enemy should bring war into the land of Italy, he may be driven out of Italy and conquered, if the Idaean Mother should be brought from Pessinus to Rome." This prophecy, discovered by the decemviri, produced the greater impression upon the senate, because ambassadors also, who had carried a present to Delphi, had brought word back, that they had both obtained a favourable appearance in sacrificing to the Pythian Apollo, and that a response was delivered from the oracle, to the effect, that a much greater victory than that from the spoils of which they now brought presents, awaited the Roman people. They considered the presentiment which existed in the mind of Publius Scipio, with regard to the termination of the war, when he claimed Africa as his province, as corroborating the same anticipation. In order, therefore, that they might the more speedily put themselves in possession of victory, which was portended to them by the fates, omens, and oracles, they began to think what method could be adopted for conveying the goddess to Rome.

11. As yet the Roman people had none of the states of Asia in alliance with them. Recollecting, however, that formerly Aesculapius, on account of a sickness among the people, was fetched from Greece, which was not then united with them by any treaty; recollecting, also, that a friendship had already commenced between them and king Attalus, on account of the war which they waged in common against Philip, and that he would do whatever he could to oblige the Roman people, they resolved to send, as ambassadors to him, Marcus Valerius Laevinus, who had been twice consul, and had carried on operations in Greece; Marcus Caecilius Metellus, who had been praetor; Servius Sulpicius Galba, who had been aedile; and two who had been quaestors, Caius Tremellius Flaccus and Marcus Valerius Falto. To these five quinquereines were assigned, in order that, in a manner suitable to the dignity of the Roman people, they might visit those lands where it was important to gain respect for the Roman name. The ambassadors, on their way to Asia, having landed at Delphi, immediately approached the oracle, inquiring what hopes the deity held out to themselves and the Roman people, of

accomplishing the business for which they had been sent from home. It is said that the answer given was, "that they would obtain what they were seeking by means of king Attalus. When they had conveyed the goddess to Rome, they must take care that the best man at Rome should receive her to his hospitality." They came to Pergamus to the king, who received the ambassadors graciously, and conducted them to Pessinus in Phrygia, and putting into their hands a sacred stone, which the inhabitants said was the mother of the gods, bid them convey it to Rome. Marcus Valerius Falto, who was sent in advance, brought word that the goddess was on her way, and that the most virtuous man in the state must be sought out, who might in due form receive and entertain her. Quintus Caecilius Metellus was nominated dictator for holding the elections, by the consul in Bruttium, and his army was disbanded. Lucius Veturius Philo was made master of the horse. The elections were held by the dictator; the consuls elected were Marcus Cornelius Cethegus and Publius Sempronius Tuditanus, who was absent, being engaged in his province of Greece. The praetors were then elected: Titus Claudius Nero, Marcus Marcius Ralla, Lucius Scribonius Libo, Marcus Pomponius Matho. On the conclusion of the elections, the dictator abdicated his office. The Roman games were repeated thrice, the plebeian seven times. The curule aediles were Cneius and Lucius Cornelius Lentulus: Lucius had the province of Spain; he was elected in his absence, and was absent while he filled the office. The plebeian aediles were Titus Claudius Asellus and Marcus Junius Pennus. Marcus Marcellus this year dedicated the temple of Virtue at the Porta Capena, in the seventeenth year after it had been vowed by his father during his first consulate at Clastidium in Gaul: also Marcus Aemilius Regillus, flamen of Mars, died this year.

12. For the last two years the affairs of Greece had been neglected. Accordingly, as the Aetolians were deserted by the Romans, on whom alone they depended for assistance, Philip compelled them to sue for and agree to a peace on whatever conditions he pleased. Had he not exerted himself to the utmost in expediting this measure, he would have been overpowered, while engaged in war with the Aetolians, by Publius Sempronius, the proconsul, who had been sent to succeed Sulpicius in the command, with ten thousand infantry and

a thousand horse, together with thirty-five ships of war, a force of no small importance to bring to the assistance of allies. Ere the peace was well concluded, news was brought to the king that the Romans had arrived at Dyrrachium; that the Parthinians, and other bordering nations, were up in arms on seeing hopes of effecting a change; and that Dimallum was besieged. The Romans had turned their efforts to that quarter instead of assisting the Aetolians, for which purpose they had been sent, from resentment at the conduct of the Aetolians for making peace with the king without their sanction, contrary to the league. When Philip had received intelligence of these events, lest any greater commotion should arise in the neighbouring nations and states, he proceeded by forced marches to Apollonia, to which place Sempronius had retired, having sent Laetorius, his lieutenant-general, with a part of his forces and fifteen ships into Aetolia, to look into the state of affairs, and, if he could, dissolve the peace. Philip laid waste the lands of the Apollonians, and, advancing his troops to the tower, offered the Romans battle. But seeing that they remained quiet, only defending the walls, and not having sufficient confidence in his strength to assault the town, being desirous also of making peace with the Romans if possible, as he had with the Aetolians, or at least a truce, he withdrew into his own dominions, without further exciting their animosity by a fresh contest. During the same time the Epirots, wearied by the long continuance of the war, having first sounded the disposition of the Romans, sent ambassadors to Philip on the subject of a common peace; affirming that they were well satisfied that it might be arranged if he would come to a conference with Publius Sempronius, the Roman general. They easily prevailed on him to pass into Epirus, for neither were the king's own inclinations averse from this measure. Phoenice is a city of Epirus; here Philip first conferred with Aeropus Dardas and Philip, praetors of the Epirots, and afterwards met Publius Sempronius. Amynder, king of the Athamanians, and other magistrates of the Epirots and Acarnanians, were present at the conference. The praetor Philip spoke first, and requested at once of the king and the Roman general, that they would put an end to the war, and grant this boon to the Epirots. Publius Sempronius proposed as the conditions of the peace, that the Parthinians, and Dimallum, and Bargulum, and Eugenium,

should be under the dominion of the Romans; that Atintania, if on sending ambassadors to Rome they could prevail upon the senate to acquiesce, should be added to the dominions of the Macedonian. The peace having been agreed upon on these terms, Prusias king of Bithynia, the Achaeans, the Boeotians, the Thessalians, the Acarnanians, and the Epirots, were included in the treaty by the king; by the Romans, the Ilions, king Attalus, Pleuratus, Nabis tyrant of the Lacedaemonians, the Eleans, the Messenians, and Athenians. These conditions were committed to writing and sealed; and a truce was agreed upon for two months, to allow time for ambassadors being sent to Rome, that the people might order the peace upon these terms. All the tribes agreed in ordering it, because now that the operations of the war were removed into Africa, they were desirous to be relieved for the present from all other wars. The peace being concluded, Publius Sempronius took his departure for Rome, to attend to the duties of his consulship.

13. To Publius Sempronius and Marcus Cornelius, the consuls in the fifteenth year of the Punic war, the provinces assigned were, to Cornelius, Etruria, with the old army; to Sempronius, Bruttium, with directions to levy fresh legions. Of the praetors, to Marcus Marcius fell the city jurisdiction; to Lucius Scribonius Libo, the foreign, together with Gaul; to Marcus Pomponius Matho, Sicily; to Titus Claudius Nero, Sardinia. Publius Scipio was continued in command with the army and fleet which he had under him, as was also Publius Licinius, with directions to occupy Bruttium with two legions, so long as the consul should deem it for the advantage of the state that he should continue in the province with command. Marcus Livius and Spurius Lucretius were also continued in command, with the two legions with which they had protected Gaul against Mago; also Cneius Octavius, with orders that, after he had delivered up Sardinia and the legion to Titus Claudius, he should, with forty ships of war, protect the sea-coast within such limits as the senate should appoint. To Marcus Pomponius, the praetor in Sicily, the troops which had fought at Cannae, consisting of two legions, were assigned. It was decreed, that Titus Quinctius and Caius Tubulus, propraeors, should occupy, the former Tarentum, the latter Capua, as in the former year, each having his old army. With respect to the command in Spain, it

was submitted to the people to decide on the two proconsuls to be sent into that province. All the tribes agreed in ordering that the same persons, namely, Lucius Cornelius Lentulus and Lucius Manlius Acidinus, should, as proconsuls, hold the command of those provinces as they had the former year. The consuls set about making the levies, both to raise new legions for Bruttium, and recruit the other armies; for so were they directed by the senate.

14. Although Africa had not as yet been openly declared a province, the senate keeping it a secret, I suppose, lest the Carthaginians should get intelligence of it beforehand, nevertheless, the most sanguine hopes were entertained in the city, that the enemy would be vanquished that year in Africa, and that the termination of the Punic war was at hand. This circumstance had filled the minds of the people with superstitious notions, and they were strongly disposed to credit and propagate accounts of prodigies, and for that reason more were reported. It was said, "that two suns had been seen; that it had become light for a time during the night; that at Setia a meteor had been seen, extending from the east to the west; that at Tarracina a gate, at Anagnia a gate and the wall in many places, had been struck by lightning; that in the temple of Juno Sospita, at Lanuvium, a noise had been heard, accompanied with a tremendous crash." There was a supplication for one day for the purpose of expiating these, and the nine days' sacred rite was celebrated on account of a shower of stones. In addition to these cares, they had to deliberate about the reception of the Idaean Mother; for besides that Marcus Valerius, one of the ambassadors who had come before the rest, had brought word that she would be in Italy forthwith a recent account had arrived that she was at Tarracina. The senate was occupied with the determination of a matter of no small importance, namely, who was the most virtuous man in the state. Every one doubtless would wish for himself the victory in this contest, rather than any office of command, or any honours, which could be conferred by the suffrages either of the senate or the people. Publius Scipio, son of Cneius who had fallen in Spain, a youth not yet of the age to be quaestor, they adjudged to be the best of the good men in the whole state. Though I would willingly record it for the information of posterity, had the writers who lived in the times

nearest to those events mentioned by what virtues of his they were induced to come to this determination, yet I will not obtrude my own opinion, formed upon conjecture, relative to a matter buried in the obscurity of antiquity. Publius Cornelius was ordered to go to Ostia, attended by all the matrons, to meet the goddess; to receive her from the ship himself, and, when landed, place her in the hands of the matrons to convey her away. After the ship arrived at the mouth of the Tiber, Scipio, according to the directions given him, sailed out into the open sea, and, receiving the goddess from the priests, conveyed her to land. The chief matrons in the state received her, among whom the name of Claudia Quinta alone is worthy of remark. Her fame, which, as it is recorded, was before that time dubious, became, in consequence of her having assisted in so solemn a business, illustrious for chastity among posterity. The matrons, passing her from one to another in orderly succession, conveyed the goddess into the temple of Victory, in the Palatium, on the day before the ides of April, which was made a festival, while the whole city poured out to meet her; and, placing censers before their doors, on the way by which she was conveyed in procession, kindled frankincense, and prayed that she would enter the city of Rome willingly and propitiously. The people in crowds carried presents to the goddess in the Palatium; a lectisternium was celebrated, with games called the Megalesian.

15. When the business of recruiting the legions in the provinces was under consideration, it was suggested by certain senators that now was the time, when, by the favour of the gods, their fears were removed, to put a stop to certain things, however they might have been tolerated in perilous circumstances. The senators, being intent in expectation, subjoined, that the twelve Latin colonies which had refused to furnish soldiers to the consuls, Quintus Fabius and Quintus Fulvius, were enjoying, for now the sixth year, exemption from military service, as though it had been granted to them a mark of honour and favour; while in the mean time their good and dutiful allies, in return for their fidelity and obedience to the Roman people, had been exhausted by continual levies every year. By these words the recollection of the senate was renewed touching a matter which was now almost obliterated, and their indignation equally excited.

Accordingly, without allowing the consuls to lay any other business before the senate in priority, they decreed, “that the consuls should summon to Rome the magistrates, and ten principal inhabitants, from each of the colonies, Xepete, Sutrium, Ardea, Cales, Alba, Carseoli, Sora, Suessa, Setia, Circeii, Narnia, and Interamna; for these were the colonies implicated in this affair; and command them that each of those colonies should furnish double the greatest number of foot soldiers which they had ever provided for the Roman people since the enemy had been in Italy, and one hundred and twenty horsemen each. If any of them was unable to make up that number of horsemen, that it should be allowed to furnish three foot soldiers for every horseman deficient. That both the foot and horse soldiers should be chosen from the wealthiest of the inhabitants, and should be sent out of Italy wheresoever there was want of recruits. If any of them refused to comply, it was their pleasure that the magistrates and ambassadors of such should be detained; and that, if they requested it, they should not be allowed an audience of the senate till they had obeyed these orders. Moreover, that an annual tax should be imposed upon them, and collected after the rate of one *as* for every thousand; and that a census should be taken in those colonies, according to a formula appointed by the Roman censors, which should be the same which was employed in the case of the Roman people; and that a return should be made at Rome by sworn censors of the colonies, before they retired from their office.” The magistrates and principal men of these colonies having been summoned to Rome, when the consuls imposed upon them the contribution of men, and the management of the tax, they vied with each other in making excuses, and remonstrating against it. They said “it was impossible that so large a number of men could be raised. That they could scarcely accomplish it, if even the simple contribution only, according to the established ratio, were required of them. They entreated and besought them that they might be allowed to appear before the senate and deprecate their resolution. They had committed no crime for which they deserved to be ruined; but, even if they were to be ruined, neither their own crime nor the resentment of the Roman people could make them furnish a greater number of soldiers than they had got.” The consuls, persisting, ordered the ambassadors to remain at

Rome, and the magistrates to go home to make the levies; observing, that “unless the amount of soldiers enjoined were brought to Rome, no one would give them an audience of the senate.” All hope of appearing before the senate, and deprecating their decision, being then cut off, the levies were completed in the twelve colonies without difficulty, as the number of their youth had increased during their long exemption from service.

16. Another affair, likewise, which had been passed over in silence for an almost equally long period, was laid before the senate by Marcus Valerius Laevinus; who said, “that equity required that the monies which had been contributed by private individuals, when he and Marcus Claudius were consuls, should now at length be repaid. Nor ought any one to feel surprised that a case, where the public faith was pledged, should have engaged his attention in an especial manner; for, besides that the matter appertained, in some degree, peculiarly to the consul of that year in which the money was contributed, he was himself the author of the measure, as the treasury was drained, and the people unable to pay the taxes.” This suggestion was well received by the senate, and, bidding the consuls to propose the question, they decreed, “that this money should be paid by three instalments; that the present consuls should make the first payment immediately, and the third and fifth consuls, from that time, the two remaining.”

After this, all their other cares gave place to one alone when the sufferings of the Locrians, of which they had been ignorant up to that day, were made known by the arrival of their ambassadors. Nor was it the villany of Pleminius so much as the partiality or negligence of Scipio in that affair, which excited the resentment of the people. While the consuls were sitting in the comitium, ten ambassadors of the Locrians, covered with filth, and in mourning, and extending branches of olive, the badges of suppliants, according to the Grecian custom, prostrated themselves on the ground before the tribunal, with loud lamentations. In answer to the inquiry of the consuls, they said, “that they were Locrians, who had suffered such things at the hands of Pleminius the lieutenant-general, and the Roman soldiers, as the Roman people would not wish even the Carthaginians to experience. They requested that they would allow them to appear before the

senate, and complain of their sufferings.”

17. An audience having been granted, the eldest of them thus spoke: “I know, conscript fathers, that the importance you will attach to the complaints we make before you must depend, in a very great degree, upon your accurately knowing the manner in which Locri was betrayed to Hannibal, and placed again under your dominion after the expulsion of his garrison. Inasmuch as if the guilt of defection does not rest upon the public, and it is made apparent that our restoration to your dominion was effected, not only in concurrence with our wishes, but by our own co-operation and valour, you will be the more indignant that such atrocious and shameful injuries should have been inflicted upon good and faithful allies by your lieutenant-general and soldiers. But I think it proper that the subject of our changing sides, in both instances, should be deferred to another time, on two accounts: first, that it may be discussed in the presence of Publius Scipio, who retook Locri, and who witnessed all our acts, both good and bad; and secondly, because, whatever we are, we ought not to have suffered what we have. We cannot conceal, conscript fathers, that when we had a Carthaginian garrison in our citadel we were exposed to many sufferings, of a shocking and shameful kind, from Hamilcar, the captain of the garrison, and the Numidians and Africans. But what are they compared with what we endure this day? I request, conscript fathers, that you will hear without offence what I am reluctant to mention. All mankind are now in a state of anxious suspense, whether they are to see you or the Carthaginians lords of the world. If an estimate is to be formed of the Roman and Carthaginian governments from what we Locrians have suffered from the Carthaginians on the one hand, or on the other, from what we are suffering, at the present time especially, from your garrison; there is no one who would not wish the Carthaginians to be his masters rather than the Romans. And yet observe what are the feelings which the Locrians have entertained towards you. When we were suffering injuries of much less magnitude from the Carthaginians, we fled for protection to your general; now we are suffering more than hostile indignities from your garrison, we have carried our complaints to no others than yourselves. Conscript fathers! either you will consider

our forlorn condition or there is no other resource left us for which we can even pray to the immortal gods. Quintus Pleminius, the lieutenant-general, was sent with a body of troops to recover Locri from the Carthaginians, and was left there in command of the same as a garrison. In this your lieutenant-general there is neither any thing of a man, conscript fathers, but the figure and outward appearance, (for the extremity of our misery prompts me to speak freely,) nor of a Roman citizen, but the attire and dress, and the sound of the Latin language. He is a pest and savage monster, such as are fabled to have beset the strait by which we are separated from Sicily, for the destruction of mariners. And yet if he had been content to be the only person to vent his villany, his lust, and rapacity upon your allies, that one gulf, deep as it was, we would however have filled up by our patience. But the case is, he has made every one of your centurions and soldiers a Pleminius, so indiscriminately has he willed that licentiousness and wickedness should be practised. All plunder, spoil, beat, wound, and slay; all defile matrons, virgins, and free-born youths torn from the embraces of their parents. Our city is captured daily, plundered daily. Day and night, every place indiscriminately rings with the lamentations of women and children, seized and carried away. Any one, acquainted with our sufferings, might be astonished how it is that we are capable of bearing them, or that the authors of them are not yet satiated with inflicting such enormous cruelties. Neither am I able to go through with them, nor is it worth your while to listen to the particulars of our sufferings. I will embrace them all in a general description. I declare that there is not a house or a man at Locri exempt from injury. I say that there cannot be found any species of villany, lust, or rapacity which has not been exercised on every one capable of being the object of them. It would be difficult to determine in which case the city was visited with the more horrible calamity, whether when it was captured by an enemy, or when a sanguinary tyrant crushed it by violence and arms. Every evil, conscript fathers, which captured cities suffer, we have suffered, and do now as much as ever suffer. All the enormities which the most cruel and savage tyrants are wont to perpetrate upon their oppressed subjects, Pleminius has perpetrated upon ourselves, our children, and our wives.

18. "There is one circumstance, however, in complaining of which particularly we may be allowed to yield to our deeply-rooted sense of religion, and indulge a hope that you will listen to it; and, if it shall seem good to you, conscript fathers, free your state from the guilt of irreligious conduct. For we have seen with how great solemnity you not only worship your own deities, but entertain even those of foreign countries. We have a fane dedicated to Proserpine, of the sanctity of which temple I imagine some accounts must have reached you, during the war with Pyrrhus; who, when sailing by Locri, on his return from Sicily, among other horrid enormities which he committed against our state, on account of our fidelity towards you, plundered also the treasures of Proserpine, which had never been touched up to that day; and then, putting the money on board his ships, proceeded on his journey himself by land. What, therefore, was the result, conscript fathers? The next day his fleet was shattered by a most hideous tempest, and all the ships which carried the sacred money were thrown on our shores. That most insolent king, convinced by this so great disaster that there were gods, ordered all the money to be collected and restored to the treasures of the goddess. However, he never met with any success afterwards; but, after being driven out of Italy, he died an ignoble and dishonourable death, having incautiously entered Argos by night. Though your lieutenant-general and military tribune had heard of these, and a thousand other circumstances, which were related not for the purpose of creating increased reverence, but frequently experienced by ourselves and our ancestors, through the special interposition of the goddess, they had, nevertheless, the audacity to apply their sacrilegious hands to those hallowed treasures, and pollute themselves, their own families, and your soldiers, with the impious booty. Through whom we implore you, conscript fathers, by your honour, not to perform any thing in Italy or in Africa, until you have expiated their guilty deed, lest they should atone for the crime they have committed, not with their own blood only, but by some disaster affecting their country. Although, even now, conscript fathers, the resentment of the goddess does not tarry either towards your generals or your soldiers. Already have they several times engaged each other in pitched battles, one party headed by Pleminius, and the other by

the two military tribunes. Never did they employ their weapons with more fury against the Carthaginians than when encountering each other; and they would have afforded Hannibal an opportunity of retaking Locri, had not Scipio, whom we called in, come in time to prevent it. But, by Hercules, is it that the soldiers are impelled by frenzy, and that the influence of the goddess has not shown itself in punishing the generals themselves? Nay, herein her interposition was manifested in the most conspicuous manner. The tribunes were beaten with rods by the lieutenant-general. Then the lieutenant-general, treacherously seized by the tribunes, besides being mangled in every part of his body, had his nose and ears cut off, and was left for dead. Then, recovering from his wounds, he threw the tribunes into chains; beat them, tortured them with every species of degrading punishment, and put them to death in a cruel manner, forbidding them to be buried. Such atonements has the goddess exacted from the despoilers of her temple; nor will she cease to pursue them, with every species of vengeance, till the sacred money shall have been replaced in the treasury. Formerly, our ancestors, during a grievous war with the Crotonians, because the temple was without the town, were desirous of removing the money into it; but a voice was heard from the shrine, during the night, commanding them to hold off their hands, for the goddess would defend her own temple. As they were deterred, by religious awe, from removing the treasures thence, they were desirous of surrounding the temple with a wall. The walls were raised to a considerable height, when they suddenly fell down in ruins. But, both now, and frequently on other occasions, the goddess has either defended her own habitation and temple, or has exacted heavy expiations from those who had violated it. Our injuries she cannot avenge, nor can any but yourselves avenge them, conscript fathers. To you, and to your honour, we fly, as suppliants. It makes no difference to us whether you suffer Locri to be subject to that lieutenant-general and that garrison, or whether you deliver us up for punishment to incensed Hannibal and the Carthaginians. We do not request that you should at once believe us respecting one who is absent, and when the cause has not been heard. Let him come; let him hear our charges in person, and refute them himself. If there is any enormity one man can commit against another which he has not

committed upon us we do not refuse to suffer all the same cruelties over again, if it is possible we can endure them, and let him be acquitted of all guilt towards gods and men.”

19. When the ambassadors had thus spoken, and Quintus Fabius had asked them whether they had carried those complaints to Publius Scipio, they answered, “that deputies were sent to him, but he was occupied with the preparations for the war, and had either already crossed over into Africa, or was about to do so within a few days. That they had experienced how highly the lieutenant-general was in favour with the general, when, after hearing the cause between him and the tribunes, he threw the tribunes into chains, while he left the lieutenant-general, who was equally or more guilty, in possession of the same power as before.” The ambassadors, having been directed to withdraw from the senate-house, not only Pleminius, but even Scipio, was severely inveighed against by the principal men; but, above all, by Quintus Fabius, who endeavoured to show, “that he was born for the corruption of military discipline. It was thus,” he said, “that in Spain he almost lost more men in consequence of mutiny than the war. That, after the manner of foreigners and kings, he indulged the licentiousness of the soldiers, and then punished them with cruelty.” He then followed up his speech by a resolution equally harsh: that “it was his opinion, that Pleminius should be conveyed to Rome in chains, and in chains plead his cause; and, if the complaints of the Locrians were founded in truth, that he should be put to death in prison, and his effects confiscated. That Publius Scipio should be recalled, for having quitted his province without the permission of the senate; and that the plebeian tribunes should be applied to, to propose to the people the abrogation of his command. That the senate should reply to the Locrians, when brought before them, that the injuries which they complained of having received were neither approved of by the senate nor the people of Rome. That they should be acknowledged as worthy men, allies, and friends; that their children, their wives, and whatsoever else had been taken from them, should be restored; that the sum of money which had been taken from the treasures of Proserpine should be collected, and twice the amount placed in the treasury. That an expiatory sacred rite should be celebrated, first referring it to the college of pontiffs, to

determine what atonements should be made, to what gods, and with what victims, in consequence of the sacred treasures' having been removed and violated. That the soldiers at Locri should be all transported into Sicily, and four cohorts of the allies of the Latin confederacy taken to Locri for a garrison." The votes could not be entirely collected that day in consequence of the warm feeling excited for and against Scipio. Besides the atrocious conduct of Pleminius, and the calamities of the Locrians, much was said about the dress of the general himself, as being not only not Roman, but even unsoldierlike. It was said, that "he walked about in the gymnasium in a cloak and slippers, and that he gave his time to light books and the palaestra. That his whole staff were enjoying the delights which Syracuse afforded, with the same indolence and effeminacy. That Carthage and Hannibal had dropped out of his memory; that the whole army, corrupted by indulgence, like that at Sucro in Spain, or that now at Locri, was more to be feared by its allies than by its enemies."

20. Though these charges, partly true, and partly containing a mixture of truth and falsehood, and therefore, probably, were urged with vehemence; the opinion, however, of Quintus Metellus prevailed, who, agreeing with Maximus on other points, differed from him in the case of Scipio. "For how inconsistent would it be," said he, "that the person whom the state a little while ago selected as their general, though a very young man, for the recovery of Spain; whom, after he had taken Spain out of the hands of their enemies, they elected their consul, for the purpose of putting an end to the Punic war; whom they marked out with the most confident anticipation as the person who would draw Hannibal out of Italy, and subdue Africa; how inconsistent would it be, that this man, like another Pleminius, condemned in a manner without a hearing, should suddenly be recalled from his province! when the Locrians asserted that the wicked acts which had been committed against them were done not even in the presence of Scipio, and no other charge could be brought against him, than that he spared the lieutenant-general, either from good nature or respect. He thought it advisable, that Marcus Pomponius the praetor, to whose lot the province of Sicily had fallen, should go to his province within the next three days; that the consuls

should select out of the senate ten deputies, whomsoever they thought proper, and send them with the praetor, together with two tribunes of the people, and an aedile. That the praetor, assisted by this council, should take cognizance of the affair. If those acts of which the Locrians complained were committed at the command or with the concurrence of Scipio, that they should command him to quit the province. If Publius Scipio had already crossed over into Africa, that the tribunes of the people and the aedile, with two of the deputies, whom the praetor should judge most fit for it, should proceed into Africa; the tribunes and the aedile to bring Scipio back from thence, and the deputies to take the command of the army until a new general had come to it. But if Marcus Pomponius and the ten deputies should discover that those acts had been committed neither with the orders nor concurrence of Publius Scipio, that Scipio should then remain with the army and carry on the war as he had proposed." A decree of the senate having passed to this effect, application was made to the tribunes of the people to arrange among themselves, or determine by lot, which two should go with the praetor and the deputies. The advice of the college of pontiffs was taken on the subject of the expiations to be made, on account of the treasures in the temple of Proserpine, at Locri, having been touched, violated, and carried out of it. The tribunes of the people, who went with the praetor and ten deputies, were Marcus Claudius Marcellus and Marcus Cincius Alimentus. To these a plebeian aedile was given, whom, if Scipio, whether he was still in Sicily or had now crossed over into Africa, should refuse to obey the orders of the praetor, the tribunes might direct to apprehend him, and bring him home in right of their most sacred authority. The plan was, to go to Locri before they went to Messana.

21. With regard to Pleminius, there are two different accounts. Some relate that, having heard what measures had been adopted at Rome, as he was going into exile to Naples, he accidentally fell in with Quintus Metellus, one of the deputies, by whom he was forcibly conveyed back to Rhegium. Others say, that Scipio himself sent a lieutenant-general with thirty of the most distinguished of the cavalry to throw Quintus Pleminius into chains, and with him the principal movers of the mutiny. All these, whether by the orders of Scipio

before, or of the praetor now, were delivered over to the Rhegians to be kept in custody. The praetor and the deputies going to Locri, gave their attention first to the affair relating to religion, agreeably to their instructions; for, collecting all the sacred money, whether in the possession of Pleminius or the soldiers, they replaced it in the treasury, together with that which they had brought with them, and performed an expiatory sacred rite. The praetor then, summoning the soldiers to an assembly, ordered them to march out of the city, and pitched a camp in the plain, issuing an edict which threatened severe punishment to any soldier who either had remained behind in the city, or had carried out with him what did not belong to him. He gave permission to the Locrians to seize whatever each of them identified as his property, and demand restitution to be made of any thing which was concealed. Above all, he was resolved that the free persons should be restored to the Locrians without delay. That the man who did not restore them should be visited with no light punishment. He then held an assembly of the Locrians, and told them, that “the people and senate of Rome restored to them their liberty and their laws. That if any one was desirous of bringing charges against Pleminius, or any one else, he should follow them to Rhegium. If they were desirous of complaining, in the name of their state, of Publius Scipio, as having ordered and approved of the nefarious acts which had been committed at Locri against gods and men, that they should send deputies to Messana, where, with the assistance of his council, he would hear them.” The Locrians returned thanks to the praetor and deputies, and to the senate and people of Rome, and said that they would go and bring their charge against Pleminius. That Scipio, though he had evinced too little sympathy in the injuries inflicted on their state, was such a man as they would rather have their friend than their enemy; that they were convinced that the many and horrid acts which had been committed were done neither by the orders nor with the approval of Publius Scipio; that he had either placed too much confidence in Pleminius, or too little in them; that the natural disposition of some men was such, that they rather were unwilling that crimes should be committed, than had sufficient resolution to punish them when committed. Both the praetor and his council were relieved from a

burden of no ordinary weight in not having to take cognizance of charges against Scipio. Pleminius, and as many as thirty-two persons with him, they condemned and sent in chains to Rome. They then proceeded to Scipio, that they might carry to Rome a statement attested by their own observation relative to the facts which had been so generally talked of, concerning the dress and indolent habits of the general, and the relaxation of military discipline.

22. While they were on their way to Syracuse, Scipio prepared to clear himself, not by words but facts. He ordered all his troops to assemble there, and the fleet to be got in readiness, as though a battle had been to be fought that day with the Carthaginians, by sea and land. On the day of their arrival he entertained them hospitably, and on the next day presented to their view his land and naval forces, not only drawn up in order, but the former performing evolutions, while the fleet in the harbour itself also exhibited a mock naval fight. The praetor and the deputies were then conducted round to view the armouries, the granaries, and other preparations for the war. And so great was the admiration excited in them of each particular, and of the whole together, that they firmly believed, that under the conduct of that general, and with that army, the Carthaginians would be vanquished, or by none other. They bid him, with the blessing of the gods, cross over, and, as soon as possible, realize to the Roman people the hopes they conceived on that day when all the centuries concurred in naming him first consul. Thus they set out on their return in the highest spirits, as though they were about to carry to Rome tidings of a victory, and not of a grand preparation for war. Pleminius, and those who were implicated in the same guilt with him, when they arrived at Rome, were thrown immediately into prison. At first, when brought before the people by the tribunes, they found no place in their compassion, as their minds were previously engrossed by the sufferings of the Locrians; but afterwards, being repeatedly brought before them, and the hatred with which they were regarded subsiding, their resentment was softened. Besides, the mutilated appearance of Pleminius, and their recollections of the absent Scipio, operated in gaining them favour with the people. Pleminius, however, died in prison, before the people had come to a determination respecting him. Clodius Licinius, in the third book of

his Roman history, relates, that this Pleminius, during the celebration of the votive games, which Africanus, in his second consulate, exhibited at Rome, made an attempt, by means of certain persons whom he had corrupted by bribes, to set fire to the city in several places, that he might have an opportunity of breaking out of prison, and making his escape; and that afterwards, the wicked plot having been discovered, he was consigned to the Tullian dungeon, according to a decree of the senate. The case of Scipio was considered no where but in the senate; where all the deputies and tribunes, bestowing the highest commendations on the fleet, the army, and the general, induced the senate to vote that he should cross over into Africa as soon as possible; and that permission should be given him to select himself, out of those armies which were in Sicily, those forces which he would carry with him into Africa, and those which he would leave for the protection of the province.

23. While the Romans were thus employed, the Carthaginians, on their part, though they had passed an anxious winter, earnestly inquiring what was going on, and terrified at the arrival of every messenger, with watch-towers placed on every promontory, had gained a point of no small importance for the defence of Africa, in adding to their allies king Syphax, in reliance on whom chiefly they believed the Romans would cross over into Africa. Hasdrubal, son of Gisgo, not only formed a connexion of hospitality with the before-named king, when Scipio and Hasdrubal happened to come to him at the same time out of Spain, but mention had also been slightly made of an affinity to take place between them, by the king's marrying the daughter of Hasdrubal. Hasdrubal, who had gone for the purpose of completing this business, and fixing a time for the nuptials, for the virgin was now marriageable, perceiving that the king was inflamed with desire, for the Numidians are, beyond all the other barbarians, violently addicted to love, sent for the virgin from Carthage, and hastened the nuptials. Among the other proofs of joy felt upon the occasion, and in order that a public connexion might be added to this private one, an oath was taken in confirmation of an alliance between the Carthaginian people and the king, and faith reciprocally pledged that they would have the same friends and enemies. But Hasdrubal, recollecting both the alliance which had been entered into by the king

and Scipio, and how inconstant and changeable were the minds of the barbarians, was afraid that, if Scipio were to invade Africa, that marriage would prove but a slight bond of union, he therefore took advantage of the Numidian while under the influence of the first transports of love, and calling to his aid the caresses of the bride, prevailed upon him to send ambassadors into Sicily to Scipio, and by them to warn him “not to cross over into Africa in reliance upon his former promises. That he was united to the Carthaginians both by a marriage with a Carthaginian citizen, the daughter of Hasdrubal, whom he saw entertained at his house, and likewise by a public treaty. That his first wish was that the Romans would carry on the war with the Carthaginians at a distance from Africa, as they had hitherto done, lest he should be compelled to interfere with their disputes, and join one of the two contending parties, renouncing his alliance with the other. If Scipio should not keep away from Africa, and should advance his army to Carthage, it would be incumbent upon him to fight for the land of Africa, which gave him birth, and for the country of his spouse, for her parent, and household gods.”

24. The ambassadors, sent to Scipio by the king with these instructions, met him at Syracuse. Scipio, though disappointed in an affair which was of the greatest importance with regard to his operations in Africa, and in the sanguine expectations he had formed from it, sent the ambassadors back into Africa speedily, before their business was made known, giving them letters for the king, in which he warned him over and over again “not to violate the laws of hospitality which bound them together; the obligation of the alliance entered into with the Roman people; nor make light of justice, honour, their right hands pledged, and the gods the witnesses and arbitrators of compacts.” But, as the coming of the Numidians could not be concealed, for they lounged about the city, and had frequently appeared at the pavilion; and as, if nothing were said about the object of their visit, there was danger lest the truth, from the very circumstance of its being made a secret, should spontaneously spread the more; and, in consequence, the troops become alarmed lest they should have to wage war at once with the king and the Carthaginians, Scipio endeavoured to divert their attention from the truth by preoccupying their minds with false information; and, summoning

his soldiers to an assembly, said, "that it was not expedient to delay any longer. That the kings, their allies, urged them to cross over into Africa with all speed. That Masinissa himself had before come to Laelius, complaining that time was consumed in delays, and that now Syphax sent ambassadors, expressing his astonishment on the same account, namely, what could be the cause of such long delay; and requesting either that the army would now at length be transported into Africa, or, if the plan was changed, that he might be informed so that he might himself take measures for the safety of himself and his dominions. Therefore, as every thing was now ready and prepared, and as the business admitted of no further delay, he was resolved, after having removed the fleet to Lilybaeum, and collected here all his forces of foot and horse, with the blessing of the gods to pass over into Africa the first day the ships could sail." He sent a letter to Marcus Pomponius, directing him, if he thought proper, to come to Lilybaeum, that they might consult together as to what legions, in preference to any others, and how large a number of soldiers, they should convey into Africa; he also sent round to every part of the sea-coast, with directions that all the ships of burthen should be seized and collected at Lilybaeum. When all the soldiers and ships in Sicily were assembled at Lilybaeum, and neither the city could contain the multitude of men, nor the harbour the ships, so ardent was the desire possessed by all of passing over to Africa, that they did not appear as if going to wage war, but to reap the certain rewards of victory. Particularly those who remained of the soldiers who had fought at Cannae felt convinced that under Scipio, and no other general, they would be enabled, by exerting themselves in the cause of the state, to put an end to their ignominious service. Scipio was very far from feeling contempt for that description of soldiers, inasmuch as he knew that the defeat sustained at Cannae was not attributable to their cowardice, and that there were no soldiers in the Roman army who had served so long, or were so experienced not only in the various kinds of battles, but in assaulting towns also. The legions which had fought at Cannae were the fifth and sixth. After declaring that he would take these with him into Africa, he inspected them man by man; and leaving those whom he considered unfit for service, he substituted for them those whom he had brought from

Sicily, filling up those legions so that each might contain six thousand two hundred infantry and three hundred horse. The horse and foot of the allies, of the Latin confederacy, he also chose out of the army of Cannae.

25. There is a wide difference among historians as to the number of men transported into Africa. In some I find ten thousand infantry and two hundred horse; in others, sixteen thousand infantry and sixteen hundred horse. In others, again, I find it stated that thirty-five thousand infantry and cavalry were put on board the fleet, making the number more than one half greater. Some have not added an account of the number; among whom, as the matter is doubtful, I should rather have myself ranked. Caelius, though he abstains from specifying the number, increases the impression of their multitude indefinitely. He says, that birds fell to the ground from the shout of the soldiers, and that so great a multitude went on board the fleet, that it seemed as if there was not a man left in Italy or Sicily. Scipio took upon himself the care of seeing that the soldiers embarked orderly and without confusion. The seamen, who were made to embark first, Caius Laelius, the admiral of the fleet, kept in order on board the ships. The task of the putting on board the provisions was assigned to Marcus Pomponius, the praetor. Food for forty-five days, of which enough for fifteen was cooked, was put on board. When they were all embarked, he sent boats round with directions that the pilots and masters, with two soldiers from each ship, should assemble in the forum to receive orders. After they had assembled, he first asked them whether they had put on board water for the men and cattle, sufficient to last as many days as the corn would. When they answered that there was water on board sufficient for five and forty days' consumption, he then charged the soldiers that, conducting themselves submissively, and keeping quiet, they would not make any noise or disturb the mariners in the execution of their duties. He informed them, that he himself and Lucius Scipio in the right wing, with twenty ships of war, and Caius Laelius, admiral of the fleet, together with Marcus Porcius Cato, who was then quaestor, with the same number of ships of war in the left wing, would protect the transports. That the ships of war should carry each a single light, the transports two each. That in the ship of the commander-in-chief

there would be three lights as a distinction by night. He desired the pilots to make for Emporia, where the land is remarkably fertile; and on that account the district abounds with plenty of every thing, and the barbarous inhabitants are unwarlike, which is usually the case where the soil is rich. It was supposed that they might, therefore, be overpowered before assistance could be brought them from Carthage. After these commands were delivered, they were ordered to return to their ships, and the next day, with the blessing of the gods, on the signal being given, to set sail.

26. Many Roman fleets had set sail from Sicily, and from that very harbour. But not only during this war, nor is that surprising, (for most of the fleets went out for the purpose of getting plunder,) but even in any former war, never did a fleet on setting out exhibit so grand a spectacle. And yet, if the estimate is to be formed with reference to the magnitude of the fleet, it must be owned that two consuls with their armies had passed from thence before, and there were almost as many ships of war in those fleets as the transports with which Scipio was crossing. For, besides fifty men of war, he conveyed his army over in four hundred transports. But what made the Romans consider one war as more formidable than the other, the second than the first, was, that it was carried on in Italy, and that so many armies had been destroyed, and their commanders slain. The general, Scipio, also, who enjoyed the highest degree of renown, partly from his brave achievements, and partly from a peculiar felicity of fortune, which conducted him to the acquisition of boundless glory, attracted extraordinary regard. At the same time, the very project of passing over into the enemy's country, which had not been formed by any general before during that war, had made him an object of admiration; for he had commonly declared, that he passed over with the object of drawing Hannibal out of Italy, of removing the seat of war into Africa, and terminating it there. A crowd of persons of every description had assembled in the harbour to view the spectacle; not only the inhabitants of Lilybaeum, but all the deputies from Sicily, who had come together out of compliment to witness the departure of Scipio, and had followed Marcus Pomponius, the praetor of the province. Besides these, the legions which were to be left in Sicily had come forth to do honour to their

comrades on the occasion; and not only did the fleet form a grand sight to those who viewed it from the land, but the shore also, crowded as it was all around, afforded the same to those who were sailing away.

27. As soon as day appeared, silence having been obtained by a herald, Scipio thus spoke from the ship of the commander-in-chief: "Ye gods and goddesses who preside over the seas and lands, I pray and entreat you, that whatever things have been, are now, or shall be performed during my command, may turn out prosperously to myself, the state, and commons of Rome, to the allies and the Latin confederacy, and to all who follow my party and that of the Roman people, my command and auspices, by land, by sea, and on rivers. That you would lend your favourable aid to all those measures, and promote them happily. That you would bring these and me again to our homes, safe and unhurt; victorious over our vanquished enemies, decorated with spoils, loaded with booty, and triumphant. That you would grant us the opportunity of taking revenge upon our adversaries and foes, and put it in the power of myself and the Roman people to make the Carthaginian state feel those signal severities which they endeavoured to inflict upon our state." After these prayers, he threw the raw entrails of a victim into the sea, according to custom, and, with the sound of a trumpet, gave the signal for sailing. Setting out with a favourable wind, which blew pretty strong, they were soon borne away out of sight of the land; and in the afternoon a mist came over them, so that they could with difficulty prevent the ships from running foul of each other. The wind abated when they got into the open sea. The following night the same haziness prevailed; but when the sun rose it was dispelled, and the wind blew stronger. They were now within sight of land, and, not long after, the pilot observed to Scipio, that "Africa was not more than five miles off; that he could discern the promontory of Mercury, and that if he gave orders to direct their course thither, the whole fleet would presently be in harbour." Scipio, when the land was in sight, after praying that his seeing Africa might be for the good of the state and himself, gave orders to make for another place of landing, lower down. They were borne along by the same wind; but a mist, arising nearly about the same time as on the preceding day, hid the

land from them; and the wind fell as the mist grew more dense. Afterwards, the night coming on increased the confusion in every respect; they therefore cast anchor, lest the ships should either run foul of each other, or be driven on shore. At daybreak the wind, rising in the same quarter, dispelled the mist and discovered the whole coast of Africa. Scipio asked what was the name of the nearest promontory, and, on being told that it was called the cape of Pulcher, he observed, "the omen pleases me, direct your course to it." To this place the fleet ran down, and all the troops were landed. I have adopted the accounts given by a great many Greek and Latin authors, who state that the voyage was prosperous, and unattended with any cause of alarm or confusion. Caelius alone, except that he does not state that the ships were sunk in the waves, says that they were exposed to all the terrors of the heavens and the sea, and that at last the fleet was driven by tempest from Africa to the island Aegimurus, from which, with great difficulty, they got into the right course; and that, the ships almost foundering, the soldiers, without orders from their general, got into boats, just as if they had suffered shipwreck, and escaped to land without arms, and in the utmost disorder.

28. The troops being landed, the Romans marked out their camp on the nearest rising grounds. By this time, not only the parts bordering on the sea were filled with consternation and alarm, first in consequence of the fleet being seen, and afterwards from the bustle of landing, but they had extended to the cities also. For not only multitudes of men, mixed with crowds of women and children, had filled up all the roads in every direction, but the rustics also drove away their cattle before them, so that you would say that Africa was being suddenly deserted. In the cities, indeed, they occasioned much greater terror than they felt themselves. At Carthage, particularly, the tumult was almost as great as if it had been captured. For since the time of Marcus Atilius Regulus and Lucius Manlius, which was almost fifty years ago, the Carthaginians had seen no Roman armament, with the exception of fleets sent for plundering, from which troops had made descents upon the lands bordering on the sea, and after carrying away every thing which chance threw in their way, had always returned to their ships before their noise had collected the peasantry. For this reason the hurry and consternation in the city was,

on the present occasion, the greater. And, by Hercules, they had neither an efficient army at home, nor a general, whom they could oppose to their enemy. Hasdrubal, son of Gisgo, was by far the first man in their state in respect of birth, fame, opulence, and, at that time, also by reason of an affinity with the king. But they recollected that he had been routed in several battles and driven out of Spain by this very Scipio; and that therefore, as a general, he was no more a match for the general of the enemy than their tumultuary army was for that of the Romans. Therefore they shouted to arms, as if Scipio were coming immediately to attack the city; the gates were hastily closed, armed men placed upon the walls, guards and outposts stationed in different places, and the following night was spent in watching. The next day, five hundred horsemen, sent to the coast to reconnoitre and interrupt the enemy while landing, fell in with the advanced guards of the Romans; for by this time Scipio, having sent his fleet to Utica, had proceeded a short distance from the sea, and occupied the nearest heights. He had also placed outposts of cavalry in proper situations, and sent troops through the country to plunder.

29. These, engaging the body of Carthaginian horse, slew a few of them in the fight, and the greater part of them as they pursued them when they were flying; among whom was Hanno, their captain, a young man of distinction. Scipio not only devastated the lands in the country round him, but also took a very wealthy city of the Africans which lay nearest to him; where, besides other things which were immediately put on board the transports and sent into Sicily, eight thousand free persons and slaves were captured. But the most gratifying circumstance to the Romans was, the arrival of Masinissa just at the commencement of their operations. Some say that he came with not more than two hundred horse, but most authors say with a body of two thousand cavalry. But, as this man was by far the greatest king of his age, and rendered most essential service to the Romans, it seems worth while to digress a little, to give a full account of the great vicissitudes of fortune he experienced in the loss and recovery of his father's kingdom. While he was serving in Spain in the cause of the Carthaginians, his father, named Gala, died. The kingdom, according to the custom of the Numidians, came to Oesalces, the brother of the late king, who was very aged. Not long

after, Oesalces also dying, the elder of his two sons, named Capusa, the other being quite a boy, succeeded to his father's kingdom. But, as he occupied the throne more by right of descent than from the esteem in which he was held among his countrymen, or the power he possessed, there stood forth a person named Mezetulus, not unrelated by blood to the kings, of a family which had always been hostile to them, and had continually contested the right to the throne with those who then occupied it, with various success. This man, having roused his countrymen to arms, over whom he possessed a great influence, from the hatred felt towards the kings, openly pitched his camp, and compelled the king to come into the field and fight for the throne. Capusa, with many of his nobles, falling in the action, the whole nation of the Massylians came under the dominion and rule of Mezetulus. He abstained, however, from assuming the title of king; and, contenting himself with the modest appellation of protector, gave the name of king to the boy Lacumaces, a surviving branch of the royal stock. In the hope of an alliance with the Carthaginians, he formed a matrimonial connexion with a noble Carthaginian lady, daughter of Hannibal's sister, who had been lately married to the king Oesalces; and, sending ambassadors for that purpose, renewed an old connexion of hospitality with Syphax, taking all these measures with a view to obtain assistance against Masinissa.

30. Masinissa, hearing of the death of his uncle, and afterwards that his cousin-german was slain, passed over out of Spain into Mauritania. Bocchar was king of the Moors at that time. Applying to him as a suppliant, he succeeded, by means of the most humble entreaties, in obtaining from him four thousand Moors to escort him on his march, since he could not procure his co-operation in the war. With these, after sending a messenger before him to his own and his father's friends, he arrived on the frontiers of the kingdom, when about five hundred Numidians came to join him. Having, therefore, sent back the Moors to their king, as had been agreed, though the numbers which joined him were much less than he had anticipated, not being such as to inspire him with sufficient confidence for so great an attempt, yet, concluding that by action, and by making some effort, he should collect sufficient strength to enable him to effect something, he threw himself in the way of the young king

Lacumaces, at Thapsus, as he was going to Syphax. The troops which attended him having fled back to the town in consternation, Masinissa took it at the first assault. Of the royal party, some who surrendered themselves he received, others he slew while attempting resistance. The greater part, with the young king himself, escaped during the confusion and came to Syphax, to whom they intended to go at first. The fame of this success, in the commencement of his operations, though of no great magnitude, brought the Numidians over to the cause of Masinissa; and the veteran soldiers of Gala flocked to his standard from all quarters, from the country and the towns, inviting the youth to come and recover his paternal dominions. Mezetulus had somewhat the advantage in the number of his soldiers, for he had himself both the army with which he had conquered Capusa, and also some troops who had submitted to him after the king was slain; and the young king Lacumaces had brought him very large succours from Syphax. Mezetulus had fifteen thousand infantry, and ten thousand cavalry. With these Masinissa engaged in battle, though he had by no means so many horse or foot. The valour, however, of the veteran troops, and the skill of the general, who had been exercised in the war between the Romans and Carthaginians, prevailed. The young king, with the protector and a small body of Massylians, escaped into the territories of the Carthaginians. Masinissa thus recovered his paternal dominions; but, as he saw that there still remained a struggle considerably more arduous with Syphax, he thought it advisable to come to a reconciliation with his cousin-german. Having, therefore sent persons to give the young king hopes, that if he put himself under the protection of Masinissa, he would be held in the same honour by him as Oesalces had formerly been by Gala; and to promise Mezetulus, in addition to impunity, a faithful restitution of all his property; as both of them preferred a moderate share of fortune at home to exile, he brought them over to his side, notwithstanding the Carthaginians studiously exerted every means to prevent it.

31. It happened that Hasdrubal was with Syphax at the time these things were taking place. He told the Numidian, who considered that it could make very little difference to him whether the government of the Massylians was in the hands of Lacumaces or Masinissa, that “he

was very much mistaken if he supposed that Masinissa would be content with the same power which his father Gala or his uncle Oesalces enjoyed. That he possessed a much greater degree of spirit, and a more enterprising turn of mind, than had ever existed in any one of that race. That he had frequently, when in Spain, exhibited proofs to his allies, as well as to his enemies, of such valour as was rarely found among men. That both Syphax and the Carthaginians, unless they smothered that rising flame, would soon find themselves enveloped in a vast conflagration, when they could not help themselves. That as yet his strength was feeble, and such as might easily be broken, while he was trying to keep together a kingdom, which was not yet firmly cemented.” By continually urging and goading him on, he succeeded in inducing him to lead an army to the frontiers of the Massylians, and to pitch his camp in a country for which he had not only disputed verbally, but had fought battles with Gala, as though it had been his own by uncontested right. He alleged, that “if any one should attempt to dislodge him, which was what he most wanted, he would have an opportunity of fighting; but, if the ground were given up to him through fear, he must march into the heart of the kingdom. That the Massylians would either submit to his authority without a contest, or would be inferior to him in arms.” Syphax, impelled by these arguments, made war on Masinissa, and, in the first engagement, routed and put him to flight. Masinissa, with a few horsemen, effected his escape from the field to a mountain called by the natives Balbus. Several families, with their tents and cattle, which form their wealth, followed the king; the rest of the Massylian people submitted to Syphax. The mountain, which the exiles had seized, had plenty of grass and water; and, as it was well adapted for feeding cattle, afforded an abundant supply of food for men who live upon flesh and milk. From this place they infested all the surrounding country; at first with nightly and clandestine incursions, but afterwards with open depredations. The lands of the Carthaginians suffered the severest devastation, because there was not only a greater quantity of booty there than among the Numidians, but their plunder would be safer. And now they did it with so much boldness and defiance, that, carrying their booty down to the sea, they sold it to merchants, who brought their ships to land for that

very purpose; while a greater number of Carthaginians were slain and made prisoners, than frequently happens in a regular war. The Carthaginians complained bitterly of these occurrences to Syphax, and urged him strongly to follow up this remnant of the war, though he was himself highly incensed at them. But he considered it hardly suitable to the dignity of a king to pursue a vagabond robber through the mountains.

32. Bocchar, one of the king's generals, an enterprising and active officer, was chosen for this service. Four thousand infantry and two thousand cavalry were assigned him; and having been loaded with promises of immense rewards if he brought back the head of Masinissa, or if, which would be a source of incalculable joy, he took him alive; he unexpectedly attacked his party while dispersed and carelessly employed, and after cutting off an immense quantity of cattle and men from the troops which guarded them, drove Masinissa himself with a small body of attendants to the summit of the mountain. On this, considering the business as in a manner settled, he not only sent the booty of cattle and the prisoners he had made to the king, but also sent back a part of his forces, as being considerably more than were necessary to accomplish what remained of the war; and then pursuing Masinissa, who had come down from the top of the mountain with not more than five hundred foot and two hundred horse, shut him up in a narrow valley, both the entrances of which he blocked up. Here great slaughter was made of the Massylians. Masinissa, with not more than fifty horsemen, disengaged himself from the defile by passing through steep descents of the mountains, which were not known to his pursuers. Bocchar, however, followed close upon him, and overtaking him in the open plains near Clupea, so effectually surrounded him, that he slew every one of his attendants except four horsemen. These, together with Masinissa himself, who was wounded, he let slip, in a manner, out of his hands during the confusion. The fugitives were in sight, and a body of horse, dispersed over the whole plain, pursued the five horsemen of the enemy, some of them pushing off in an oblique direction, in order to meet them. The fugitives met with a very broad river, into which they unhesitatingly plunged their horses, as they were pressed by greater danger from behind, and carried away by the current were

borne along obliquely. Two of them having sunk in the rapid eddy in the sight of the enemy, Masinissa himself was supposed to have perished; but he with the two remaining had emerged among the bushes on the farther bank. Here Bocchar stopped his pursuit, as he neither had courage to enter the river, nor believed that he now had any one to pursue. Upon this he returned to the king, with the false account of the death of Masinissa. Messengers were despatched to Carthage to convey this most joyful event, and all Africa rang with the news of Masinissa's death; but the minds of men were variously affected by it. Masinissa, while curing his wound by the application of herbs, was supported for several days in a secret cave by what the two horsemen procured by plunder. As soon as it was cicatrized, and he thought himself able to bear the motion, with extraordinary resolution he set out to recover his kingdom; and collecting not more than forty horsemen during his progress, when he arrived among the Massylians, where he now made himself known, he produced such a sensation among them, both by reason of their former regard for him, and also from the unhopd-for joy they experienced at seeing him safe whom they supposed to have perished, that within a few days six thousand armed foot and four thousand horse came and joined him; and now he not only was in possession of his paternal dominions, but was also laying waste the lands of the states in alliance with the Carthaginians, and the frontiers of the Massylians, the dominions of Syphax. Then, having provoked Syphax to war, he took up a position between Cirta and Hippo, on the tops of mountains which were conveniently situated for all his purposes.

33. Syphax, considering this an affair of too great importance to be managed by one of his generals, sent a part of his army with his son Vermina, a youth, with orders to march his troops round and attack the enemy in the rear, while he engaged their attention in front. Vermina set out by night, as he was to fall upon the enemy unawares; but Syphax decamped in the day-time and marched openly, intending to fight a pitched battle. When it was thought that sufficient time had elapsed for those who were sent round to have reached their destination, Syphax himself, relying upon his numbers and on the ambuscade prepared on the enemy's rear, led his troops up the mountain which lay before him, by a gentle acclivity which led

towards the enemy. Masinissa, relying chiefly on the great superiority he would have over his opponents in respect of the ground, on his part also formed his troops. The battle was furious, and for a long time doubtful; Masinissa having the advantage in point of situation and the courage of his troops, and Syphax in respect of his numbers, which were much the greater of the two. His numerous troops, which were divided, some of them pressing upon the enemy in front, while others surrounded them on the rear, gave Syphax a decisive victory; and, enclosed as they were in front and rear, the enemy had not even a way to escape. Accordingly, all their troops, both horse and foot, were slain and made prisoners, except about two hundred horsemen, which Masinissa having collected round him in a compact body, and divided into three squadrons, ordered to force their way through, first naming a place where they were to meet after being separated in their flight. Masinissa himself escaped through the midst of the enemy's weapons in the quarter to which he had directed his course; two of the squadrons were unable to extricate themselves; one of them surrendered to the enemy through fear, the other, taking a more obstinate resistance, was overwhelmed with weapons and annihilated. Vermina followed Masinissa, treading almost in his steps; but he eluded him by continually turning out of one road into another, till at length he obliged him, wearied with the hopeless task, to desist from the pursuit, and arrived at the Lesser Syrtis with sixty horsemen. Here, in the country lying between the Carthaginian Emporia and the nation of the Garamantians, he passed all the time till the coming of Caius Laelius and the Roman fleet into Africa, with the proud consciousness of having made every exertion to recover his paternal dominions. These are the circumstances which incline me to the opinion, that afterwards also, when Masinissa came to Scipio, he brought with him a smallish rather than a large body of cavalry to succour him; for the large number would seem to suit only with the condition of a reigning king, while the small number corresponds with the circumstances of an exile.

34. The Carthaginians having lost a detachment of cavalry together with the commander, got together another body by means of a new levy, and gave the command of it to Hanno son of Hamilcar. They

frequently sent for Hasdrubal and Syphax by letters and messengers, and lastly even by ambassadors, ordering Hasdrubal to bring assistance to his almost besieged country, and imploring Syphax to bring relief to Carthage, nay to all Africa. At that time Scipio had his camp about five miles from the city of Utica, having removed it from the sea, where he had continued encamped for a few days near the fleet. Hanno, having received the body of horse, which was far from being strong enough, not only to attack the enemy, but even to protect the country from devastation, made it his first business to augment the number of his cavalry by pressing; and though he did not despise the men of other nations, he enlisted principally from the Numidians, who are by far the first horsemen in Africa. He had now as many as four thousand horsemen, when he took possession of a town named Salera, about fifteen miles from the Roman camp. When Scipio was told of this, he said, "What! cavalry lodging in houses during the summer! Let them be even more in number while they have such a leader." Concluding that the more dilatory they were in their operations, the more active he ought to be, he sent Masinissa forward with the cavalry, directing him to ride up to the gates of the enemy and draw them out to battle; and when their whole force had poured out and pressed upon him with such impetuosity in the contest that they could not easily be withstood, then to retire by degrees, and he would himself come up and join in the battle in time. Waiting only till he thought he had allowed sufficient time for the advanced party to draw out the enemy, he followed with the Roman cavalry, proceeding without being seen, as he was covered by some rising grounds, which lay very conveniently between him and the enemy, round the windings of the road. Masinissa, according to the plan laid down, at one time as if menacing the enemy, at another as if he had been afraid, either rode up to the gates, or else by retiring when his counterfeited fears had inspired them with courage, tempted them to pursue him with inconsiderate ardour. They had not as yet all gone out, and the general was wearying himself with various occupations, compelling some who were oppressed with sleep and wine to take arms and bridle their horses, and preventing others from running out at all the gates in scattered parties and in disorder, without keeping their ranks or following their standards. At

first, those who incautiously rushed out were overpowered by Masinissa; but then a greater number pouring out of the gate at once in a dense body, placed the contest on an equal footing; and at last the whole of their cavalry coming up and joining in the battle, they could now no longer be withstood. Masinissa, however, did not receive their charge in hasty flight, but retired slowly, until he drew them to the rising grounds which covered the Roman cavalry. The Roman cavalry then rising up, their own strength unimpaired and their horses fresh, spread themselves round Hanno and the Africans, fatigued with the fight and the pursuit, and Masinissa, suddenly turning his horses round, came back to the battle. About a thousand who formed the first line and could not easily retreat, together with Hanno their general, were surrounded and slain. The victors pursuing the rest through a space of three miles, as they fled with the most violent haste, being terrified, principally on account of the death of their leader, either took or slew as many as two thousand horsemen more. It appeared that there were not less than two hundred Carthaginian horsemen among them, some of whom were distinguished by birth and fortune.

35. It happened that the same day on which these events occurred, the ships which had carried the plunder to Sicily returned with provisions, as if divining that they came to take another cargo of booty. All the writers do not vouch for the fact that two generals of the Carthaginians bearing the same name were slain in the battles of the cavalry; fearing, I believe, lest the same circumstance related twice should lead them into error. Caelius, indeed, and Valerius, make mention of a Hanno also who was made prisoner. Scipio rewarded his officers and horsemen according to the service they had respectively rendered, but he presented Masinissa above all the rest with distinguished gifts. Leaving a strong garrison at Salera, he set out with the rest of his army; and having not only devastated the country wherever he marched, but taken some cities and towns, thus spreading the terrors of war far and wide, he returned to his camp on the seventh day after he set out, bringing with him an immense quantity of men and cattle, and booty of every description, and sent away his ships again loaded with the spoils of the enemy. Then giving up all expeditions of a minor kind, and predatory excursions,

he directed the whole force of the war to the siege of Utica, that he might make it for the time to come, if he took it, a position from which he might set out for the execution of the rest of his designs. At one and the same time his marines attacked the city from the fleet in that part which is washed by the sea, and the land forces were brought up from a rising ground which almost immediately overhung the walls. He had also brought with him engines and machines which had been conveyed from Sicily with the stores, and fresh ones were made in the armoury, in which he had for that purpose employed a number of artificers skilled in such works. The people of Utica, thus beset on all sides with so formidable a force, placed all their hopes in the Carthaginians, and the Carthaginians in the chance there was that Hasdrubal could induce Syphax to take arms. But all their movements were made too slowly for the anxiety felt by those who were in want of assistance. Hasdrubal, though he had by levies, conducted with the utmost diligence, made up as many as thirty thousand infantry and three thousand horse, yet dared not move nearer to the enemy before the arrival of Syphax. Syphax came with fifty thousand foot and ten thousand horse, and, immediately decamping from Carthage, took up a position not far from Utica and the Roman works. Their arrival produced, however, this effect, that Scipio, who had been besieging Utica for forty days, during which he had tried every expedient without effect, left the place without accomplishing his object; and as the winter was now fast approaching, fortified a camp for the winter upon a promontory, which being attached to the continent by a narrow isthmus, stretched out a considerable way into the sea. He included his naval camp also within one and the same rampart. The camp for the legions being stationed on the middle of the isthmus, the ships, which were drawn on land, and the mariners occupied the northern shore, the cavalry a valley on the south inclining towards the other shore. Such were the transactions in Africa up to the close of autumn.

36. Besides the corn collected from all parts of the surrounding country by plunder, and the provisions imported from Italy and Sicily, Cneius Octavius, propraetor, brought a vast quantity out of Sardinia from Tiberius Claudius the praetor, whose province Sardinia was; and not only were the granaries already built filled, but

new ones were erected. The army wanted clothing, and Octavius was instructed to consult with the praetor in order to ascertain if any could be procured and sent out of that province. This business was also diligently attended to. One thousand two hundred gowns and twelve thousand tunics were in a short time sent. During the summer in which these operations were carried on in Africa, Publius Sempronius, the consul, who had the province of Bruttium, fought an irregular kind of battle with Hannibal in the Crotonian territory while actually on march; they fought with their troops drawn more in order of march than of battle. The Romans were driven back, and as many as twelve hundred of the army of the consul were slain in this affair, which was more a tumult than a battle. They returned in confusion to their camp. The enemy, however, dared not assault it. But, during the silence of the following night, the consul marched away, and having sent a messenger before him to Publius Licinius, the proconsul, to bring up his legions, united his forces with his. Thus two generals and two armies returned to Hannibal. Nor did either party delay to fight, as the forces of the consul were doubled, and the Carthaginian was inspirited by recent victory. Sempronius led his legions into the front line; those of Licinius were placed in reserve. The consul, in the beginning of the battle, vowed a temple to Fortuna Primigenia if he routed the enemy that day, and he obtained the object of that vow. The Carthaginians were routed and put to flight; above four thousand armed men were slain, a little under three hundred taken alive, with forty horses and eleven military standards. Hannibal, dispirited by this adverse battle, led his troops away to Croton. At the same time, in another part of Italy, Etruria, almost the whole of which had espoused the interest of Mago, and had conceived hopes of effecting a revolution through his means, was kept in subjection by the consul Marcus Cornelius, not so much by the force of his arms as the terror of his judicial proceedings. In the trials he had instituted there, in conformity with the decree of the senate, he had shown the utmost impartiality; and many of the Tuscan nobles, who had either themselves gone, or had sent others to Mago respecting the revolt of their states, at first standing their trials, were condemned; but afterwards others, who, from a consciousness of guilt, had gone into voluntary exile, were condemned in their absence, and by thus

withdrawing left their effects only, which were liable to confiscation, as a pledge for their punishment.

37. While the consuls were thus engaged in different quarters, in the mean time, at Rome, the censors, Marcus Livius and Caius Claudius, called over the senate roll. Quintus Fabius was again chosen chief of the senate; seven were stigmatized, of whom there was not one who had sat in the curule chair. They inquired into the business relating to the repair of public edifices with diligence and the most scrupulous exactness. They set by contract the making of a road out of the ox market to the temple of Venus, with public seats on each side of it, and a temple to be built in the palatium for the great mother. They established also a new tax out of the price of salt. Salt, both at Rome, and throughout all Italy, was sold at the sixth part of an *as*. They contracted for the supply of it at Rome at the same price, at a higher price in the country towns and markets, and at different prices in different places. They felt well convinced that this tax was invented by one of the censors, out of resentment to the people because he had formerly been condemned by an unjust sentence, and that in fixing the price of salt, those tribes had been most burdened by whose means he had been condemned. Hence Livius derived the surname of Salinator. The closing of the lustrum was later than usual, because the censors sent persons through the provinces, that a report might be made of the number of Roman citizens in each of the armies. Including these, the number of persons returned in the census was two hundred and fourteen thousand. Caius Claudius Nero closed the lustrum. They then received a census of the twelve colonies, which had never been done before, the censors of the colonies themselves presenting it, in order that there might appear registers among the public records, stating the extent of their resources, both in respect of furnishing soldiers and money. The review of the knights then began to be made, and it happened that both the censors had a horse at the public expense. When they came to the Pollian tribe, in which was the name of Marcus Livius, and the herald hesitated to cite the censor himself, Nero said, "Cite Marcus Livius;" and whether it was that he was actuated by the remains of an old enmity, or that he felt a ridiculous pride in this ill-timed display of severity, he ordered Marcus Livius to sell his horse, because he

had been condemned by the sentence of the people. In like manner, when they came to the Narnian tribe, and the name of his colleague, Marcus Livius ordered Caius Claudius to sell his horse, for two reasons; one, because he had given false evidence against him; the other, because he had not been sincere in his reconciliation with him. Thus a disgraceful contest arose, in which each endeavoured to asperse the character of the other, though not without detriment to his own. On the expiration of the office, when Caius Claudius had taken the oath respecting the observance of the laws, and had gone up into the treasury, he gave the name of his colleague among the names of those whom he left disfranchised. Afterwards, Marcus Livius came into the treasury, and excepting only the Maecian tribe, which had neither condemned him nor made him consul or censor when condemned, left all the Roman people, four and thirty tribes, disfranchised, because they had both condemned him when innocent, and when condemned had made him consul and censor; and therefore could not deny that they had been guilty of a crime, either once in his condemnation, or twice at the elections. He said that the disfranchisement of Caius Claudius would be included in that of the thirty-four tribes, but that if he were in possession of a precedent for leaving the same person disfranchised twice he would have left his name particularly among the disfranchised. This contest between censors, endeavouring to brand each other, was highly improper, while the correction applied to the inconstancy of the people was suitable to the office of a censor, and worthy of the strict discipline of the times. As the censors were labouring under odium, Cneius Babius, tribune of the people, thinking this a favourable opportunity of advancing himself at their expense, summoned them both to trial before the people. This proceeding was quashed by the unanimous voice of the senate, lest in future this office of censor should become subject to the caprice of the people.

38. The same summer Clamptia in Bruttium was taken by the consul by storm. Consentia and Pandosia, with some other inconsiderable states, submitted voluntarily. As the time for the elections was now drawing near, it was thought best that Cornelius should be summoned to Rome from Etruria, as there was no war there. He elected, as consuls, Cneius Servilius Caepio and Caius

Servilius Geminus. The election of praetors was then held. The persons elected were, Publius Cornelius Lentulus, Publius Quinctilius Varus, Publius Aelius Paetus, and Publius Villius Tappulus. The last two were plebeian aediles when elected praetors. The elections finished, the consul returned into Etruria to his army. The priests who died this year, and those who were put in their places, were Tiberius Veturius Philo, flamen of Mars, elected and inaugurated in the room of Marcus Aemilius Regillus, who died the year before: in the room of Marcus Pomponius Matho, augur and decemvir, were elected Marcus Aurelius Cotta, decemvir, and Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus, augur, being then a very young man; an instance of very rare occurrence in the disposal of the priests' offices in those times. Golden four-horsed chariots were placed this year in the Capitol by the curule aediles, Caius Livius and Marcus Servilius Geminus. The Roman games were repeated during two days. During two days also the plebeian games were repeated by the aediles, Publius Aelius and Publius Villius. There was likewise a feast of Jupiter on occasion of the games.

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BOOK XXX

Translated by William A. McDevitte

Scipio, aided by Masinissa, defeats the Carthaginians, Syphax and Hasdrubal, in several battles. Syphax taken by Laelius and Masinissa. Masinissa espouses Sophonisba, the wife of Syphax, Hasdrubal's daughter; being reproved by Scipio, he sends her poison, with which she puts an end to her life. The Carthaginians, reduced to great extremity by Scipio's repeated victories, call Hannibal home from Italy; he holds a conference with Scipio on the subject of peace, and is again defeated by him in battle. The Carthaginians sue for peace, which is granted them. Masinissa reinstated in his kingdom. Scipio returns to Rome; his splendid triumph; is surnamed Africanus.

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1. Cneius Servilius and Caius Servilius Geminus, the consuls in the sixteenth year of the Punic war, having consulted the senate respecting the state, the war, and the provinces, they decreed that the consuls should arrange between themselves, or draw lots, which of them should have the province of Bruttium, to act against Hannibal, and which that of Etruria and Liguria; that the consul to whose lot Bruttium fell should receive the army from Publius Sempronius; that Publius Sempronius, who was continued in command as proconsul for a year, should succeed Publius Licinius, who was to return to Rome. In addition to the other qualifications with which he was adorned in a degree surpassed by no citizen of that time, for in him were accumulated all the perfections of nature and fortune, Licinius was also esteemed eminent in war. He was at once a man of noble family and great wealth; possessing a fine person and great bodily strength. He was considered an orator of the highest order, both in respect of judicial eloquence, and also when engaged in promoting or opposing any measure in the senate, or before the people. He was also accurately skilled in the pontifical law. In addition to all these recommendations, the consulship enabled him to acquire military glory. The senate adopted the same course in the decree with respect

to the province of Etruria and Liguria as had been observed with regard to Bruttium. Marcus Cornelius was ordered to deliver his army to the new consul, and with continued command to hold himself the province of Gaul, with those legions which the praetor Lucius Scribonius had commanded the former year. The consuls then cast lots for their provinces: Bruttium fell to the lot of Caepio, Etruria to the lot of Servilius Geminus. The provinces of the praetors were then put to the lot. Paetus Aelius obtained the city jurisdiction; Publius Lentulus, Sardinia; Publius Villius, Sicily; Quinctilius Varus, Ariminum, with two legions which had served under Lucretius Spurius. Lucretius also was continued in command that he might complete the building of the town of Genoa, which had been destroyed by Mago the Carthaginian. Publius Scipio was continued in command for a period not limited in point of time, but the object he had to achieve, namely, till the war in Africa had been brought to a termination; and a decree was passed, ordering a supplication to be made that the circumstance of his crossing over into Africa might be beneficial to the Roman people, the general himself, and his army.

2. Three thousand men were enlisted for Sicily, and lest any fleet should go thither from Africa, as all the efficient troops that province had possessed had been transported into Africa, it was resolved that the sea-coast of that island should be guarded with forty ships. Villius took with him into Sicily thirteen ships, the rest consisted of the old ones, which were repaired. Marcus Pomponius, the praetor of the former year, who was continued in command, having been placed at the head of this fleet, put on board the fresh soldiers brought from Italy. The senate assigned by a decree an equal number of ships to Cneius Octavius, who was also a praetor of the former year, with a similar privilege of command, for the protection of the coast of Sardinia. Lentulus the praetor was ordered to furnish two thousand soldiers to put on board it. The protection of the coast of Italy was assigned to Marcus Marcius, a praetor of the former year, with the same number of ships; for it was uncertain to what quarter the Carthaginians would send a fleet, though it was supposed that they would attack any quarter which was destitute of defence. The consuls, in conformity with a decree of the senate, enlisted three thousand soldiers for this fleet, and two city legions with a view to

the hazards of war. The Spains were assigned to the former generals, Lucius Lentulus and Lucius Manlius Acidinus, who were continued in command, and retained their former armies. The operations of the war on the part of the Romans this year were carried on with twenty legions in all, and one hundred and sixty ships of war. The praetors were ordered to proceed to their provinces. Directions were given to the consuls, that before they left the city they should celebrate the great games which Titus Manlius Torquatus, when dictator, had vowed to exhibit in the fifth year, if the condition of the state remained unaltered. Accounts of prodigies brought from several places excited fresh superstitious fears in the minds of men. It was believed that crows had not only torn with their beaks some gold in the Capitol, but had even eaten it. At Antium mice gnawed a golden crown. An immense quantity of locusts filled the whole country around Capua, nor could it be made appear satisfactorily whence they came. At Reate a foal was produced with five feet. At Anagnia at first scattered fires appeared in the sky, afterwards a vast meteor blazed forth. At Frusino a circle surrounded the sun with a thin line, which was itself afterwards included within the sun's disc which extended beyond it. At Arpinum the earth sank into an immense gulf, in a place where the ground was level. When one of the consuls was immolating the first victim, the head of the liver was wanting. These prodigies were expiated with victims of the larger kind. The college of pontiffs gave out to what gods sacrifice was to be made.

3. After these matters were finished, the consuls and praetors set out for their provinces. All, however, made Africa the great object of their concern, as though it had been allotted to them; whether it was because they saw that the welfare of the state and the issue of the war turned upon the operations there, or that they might oblige Scipio, on whom the whole state was then intent. Accordingly, not only from Sardinia, as has been before mentioned, but from Sicily also and Spain, clothing and corn, and from Sicily arms also, together with every kind of stores, were conveyed thither. Nor did Scipio at any time during the winter relax in any of the various military operations in which he was engaged on all sides. He continued the siege of Utica. His camp was within sight of Hasdrubal. The Carthaginians had launched their ships, and had a fleet prepared and equipped to

intercept his supplies. Amid these occupations he had not even lost sight of his endeavours to regain the friendship of Syphax, whose passion for his bride he thought might now perhaps have become satiated from unlimited enjoyment. From Syphax he received terms of peace with the Carthaginians, with proposals that the Romans should evacuate Africa, and the Carthaginians Italy, rather than any ground of hope that he would desert their cause if the war proceeded. For my part I am of opinion, and in this I am countenanced by the majority of writers, that these negotiations were carried on through messengers, rather than that Syphax himself came to the Roman camp to hold a conference, as Antias Valerius relates. At first the Roman general scarcely allowed these terms to be mentioned, but afterwards, in order that there might exist a plausible pretext for his emissaries to go frequently into the camp of the enemy, he rejected these same terms in a more qualified manner, holding out a hope that they might eventually come to an agreement by agitating the question on both sides. The winter huts of the Carthaginians, which were constructed from materials hastily collected out of the fields, were almost entirely of wood. The Numidians, particularly, lay for the most part in huts formed of interwoven reeds, and covered with mats, dispersed up and down without any regard to order; while some of them, having chosen the situations for their tents without waiting for orders, lay even without the trench and rampart. These circumstances having been reported to Scipio, gave him hopes that he might have an opportunity of burning the enemy's camp.

4. In company with the ambassadors whom he sent to Syphax, he also sent some centurions of the first rank, of tried valour and prudence, dressed as servants, in lieu of soldiers' drudges; in order that, while the ambassadors were engaged in conference, they might ramble through the camp, one in one direction and another in another, and thus observe all the approaches and outlets, the situation and form both of the camp in general and of its parts; where the Carthaginians lay, where the Numidians, and what was the distance between the camp of Hasdrubal and that of the king; and that they might at the same time acquaint themselves with their customary mode of stationing outposts and watches, and learn whether they were more open to stratagem by night or by day. During the frequent

conferences which were held, several different persons were purposely sent, in order that every circumstance might be known to a greater number. When the more frequent agitation of the matter had given to Syphax a daily increasing hope of peace, and to the Carthaginians through him, the Roman ambassadors at length declared that they were forbidden to return to their general unless a decisive answer was given, and that, therefore, if his own determination was now fixed, he should declare it, or if Hasdrubal and the Carthaginians were to be consulted, he should consult them. That it was time either that an accommodation should be settled or the war vigorously prosecuted. While Hasdrubal was consulted by Syphax, and the Carthaginians by Hasdrubal, the spies had time to inspect every thing, and Scipio to get together what was necessary for the accomplishment of his project. In consequence of the mention and prospect of a peace, neglect arose among the Carthaginians and Numidians, as is usually the case, to take precautions in the mean time that they might not suffer an attack of the enemy. At length an answer was returned; and as the Romans appeared excessively eager for peace, advantage was taken of that circumstance to add certain unreasonable conditions, which afforded Scipio a very seasonable pretext for putting an end to the truce according to his wishes; and telling the king's messenger that he would refer the matter to his council, he answered him the next day. He said, that while he alone had in vain endeavoured to restore peace, no one else had desired it. That he must, therefore, carry word back that Syphax must hope for peace on no other condition than his abandonment of the Carthaginians. Thus he put an end to the truce, in order that he might be free to execute his designs without breaking his faith; and, launching his ships, for it was now the beginning of spring, he put on board machines and engines, with the purpose of assaulting Utica from the sea. He also sent two thousand men to seize the eminence which commanded that place, and which he had before occupied, at once with the view of turning the attention of the enemy from the design he was endeavouring to effect to another object of concern, and to prevent any sally or attack which might be made from the city upon his camp, which would be left with a slight force to protect it, while he himself went against Syphax and Hasdrubal.

5. Having made these preparations, he called a council and after ordering the spies to give an account of the discoveries they had made, and requesting Masinissa, who was acquainted with every circumstance relating to the enemy, to state what he knew, lastly, he himself laid before the council the plan proposed for the following night. He gave directions to the tribunes, that when, after the breaking up of the council, the trumpets had sounded, they should immediately march the legions out of the camp. Agreeably to his commands, the standards began to be carried out about sun-set. About the first watch they formed the troops in marching order. At midnight, for it was seven miles' march, they came up at a moderate pace to the camp of the enemy. Here Scipio assigned a part of his forces, together with Masinissa and the Numidians, to Laelius, ordering them to fall upon the camp of Syphax, and throw fire upon it. Then taking each of the commanders, Masinissa and Laelius, aside, he implored them separately to make up by diligence and care for the absence of that foresight which the night rendered it impossible to exercise. He said, that he should himself attack Hasdrubal and the Carthaginian camp; but that he should not begin till he saw the fire in that of the king. Nor did this delay him long; for when the fire thrown upon the nearest huts had taken effect, immediately communicating with all those which were within the shortest distance, and those connected with them in regular succession, it spread itself throughout the whole camp. The confusion and alarm which took place, in consequence of so widely extended a fire breaking out during the night, were as great as might naturally be expected; but as they concluded that it was the effect of chance, and not produced by the enemy, or connected with the war, they rushed out in a disorderly manner, without their arms, to extinguish the flames, and fell in with armed enemies, particularly the Numidians, who on account of their knowledge of the king's camp were placed by Masinissa in convenient places at the openings of the passes. Many perished in the flames in their beds while half asleep; and many, tumbling over one another in their haste to escape, were trampled to death in the narrow passages of the gates.

6. When first the Carthaginian sentinels, and afterwards the rest, roused by the terrifying effects of a tumult by night, beheld the light

emitted from the flames, they also, labouring under the same delusion, imagined that the fire had originated from accidental causes; while the shout raised amidst the slaughter and wounds, being of a confused kind, prevented their distinguishing whether it was occasioned by the trepidation of an alarm by night. Accordingly, rushing out one and all at every gate, each man taking the nearest road, without their arms, as not suspecting any hostile attack, and carrying with them only such things as might be useful in extinguishing the flames, they fell upon the Roman troops. After all these had been slain, not only with the animosity of enemies, but also that no one might escape as a messenger, Scipio immediately attacked the gates, which were unguarded in consequence of the confusion; and, having thrown fire upon the nearest huts, at first the flames blazed forth with great fury, in several places at once, in consequence of the fire having been applied to different parts, but afterwards extending themselves along the contiguous huts, they suddenly enveloped the whole camp in one general conflagration. Men and cattle scorched with the flames blocked up the passages of the gates, first in a terrible rush to escape, and afterwards with their prostrate bodies. Those who got out of the way of the fire were cut off by the sword, and the two camps were involved in one common destruction. The two generals, however, and out of so many thousand troops only two thousand foot and five hundred horsemen, escaped, half armed, a great many of them being wounded and scorched. Forty thousand men were either slain or destroyed by the flames, and above five thousand captured. Among the captured were many Carthaginian nobles, eleven senators, with a hundred and seventy-four military standards, above two thousand seven hundred Numidian horses, and six elephants. Eight elephants were destroyed either by fire or sword, and a great quantity of arms taken. All the latter the general dedicated to Vulcan and burnt.

7. Hasdrubal, in his flight, had made for the nearest city of the Africans, accompanied by a few attendants; and hither all those who survived, following the footsteps of their general had betaken themselves. But afterwards, fearing lest he should be given up to Scipio, he quitted that city. Soon after the Romans were received there with open gates; nor was any act of hostility committed,

because the inhabitants had surrendered voluntarily. Shortly after, two other cities were captured and plundered. The booty found there, together with what had been rescued from the camps when burning, and from the flames, was given up to the soldiers. Syphax took up a position in a fortified place about eight miles off. Hasdrubal hastened to Carthage, lest the apprehensions occasioned by the recent disaster should lead to any timorous measures. So great was the consternation created there on the first receipt of the news, that it was fully anticipated that Scipio, suspending his operations against Utica, would immediately lay siege to Carthage. The suffetes, therefore, who form with them an authority similar to the consular, summoned the senate, when the three following opinions were given. The first proposed, that a decree should be passed to the effect, that ambassadors should be sent to Scipio to treat of peace; the second, that Hannibal should be recalled to defend his country from a war which threatened its annihilation; the third breathed the spirit of Roman constancy under adversity; it recommended that the losses of the army should be repaired, and that Syphax should be exhorted not to abandon the war. The latter opinion prevailed, because it was that which Hasdrubal, who was present, and all the members of the Barcine faction, preferred. After this, the levy commenced in the city and country, and ambassadors were despatched to Syphax, who was himself employing every effort to restore the war; for his wife had prevailed upon him, not, as heretofore, by caresses, powerful as they are in influencing the mind of a lover, but by prayers and appeals to his compassion, imploring him, with streaming eyes, not to betray her father and her country, nor suffer Carthage to be consumed by the same flames which had reduced the camps to ashes. In addition to this, the ambassadors informed him of a circumstance which had occurred very seasonably to raise their hopes; that they had met with four thousand Celtiberians in the neighbourhood of a city named Abba, a fine body of young men who had been enlisted by their recruiting officers in Spain; and that Hasdrubal would very soon arrive with a body of troops by no means contemptible. Accordingly, he not only returned a kind answer to the ambassadors, but also showed them a multitude of Numidian rustics, whom he had lately furnished with arms and horses; and at the same time assured them

that he would call out all the youth in his kingdom. He said, he well knew that the loss sustained had been occasioned by fire, and not by battle, and that he was inferior to his adversary in war who was overcome by force of arms. Such was the answer given to the ambassadors; and, after a few days, Hasdrubal and Syphax again united their forces. This army consisted of about thirty-five thousand fighting men.

8. Scipio, considering that Syphax and the Carthaginians could make no further efforts, gave his whole attention to the siege of Utica, and was now bringing up his engines to the walls, when he was diverted from his purpose by a report of the renewal of the war; and, leaving small forces merely to keep up the appearance of a siege by sea and land, he set out himself with the main strength of his army to meet the enemy. At first he took up his position on an eminence about five miles distant from the king's camp. The next day, coming down with his cavalry into a place called the great plains, which lay at the foot of that eminence, he spent the day in advancing up to the outposts of the enemy, and provoking them by skirmishing attacks. During the ensuing two days, irregular excursions were made by both sides alternately, but nothing worthy of notice was achieved. On the fourth day, both sides came down in battle-array. The Romans placed their principes behind the spearmen, which latter formed the front line, and the triarii they stationed in reserve; the Italian cavalry they opposed to the enemy in the right wing, the Numidians and Masinissa on the left. Syphax and Hasdrubal, placing the Numidians against the Italian cavalry, and the Carthaginians opposite to Masinissa, received the Celtiberians into the centre of their line, to face the Roman legions. Thus arranged, they then commenced the encounter. At the first charge, both the wings, the Numidians and Carthaginians, were together driven from their ground; for neither could the Numidians, who consisted principally of rustics, sustain the shock of the Roman cavalry, nor the Carthaginians, who were also raw soldiers, withstand Masinissa, who, in addition to other circumstances, was rendered formidable by his recent victory. The Celtiberian line, though stript of the support of both the wings, stood their ground; for neither did any hope of safety by flight present itself, as they were ignorant of the country, nor could they expect

pardon from Scipio, against whom, though he had deserved well both of them and their nation, they had come into Africa to fight for hire. Surrounded therefore, on all sides by the enemy, they died with obstinate resolution, falling one upon another; and, while the attention of all was turned upon them, Syphax and Hasdrubal gained a considerable space of time to effect their escape. The victors, fatigued with the slaughter, which had continued for a greater length of time than the battle, were interrupted by the night.

9. The next day Scipio sent Laelius and Masinissa, with all the Roman and Numidian cavalry, and the light infantry, to pursue Syphax and Hasdrubal. He himself, with the main strength of the army, reduced the neighbouring towns, which were all subject to the Carthaginians, some by holding out hopes to them, some by threats, and others by force. At Carthage, indeed, the consternation was extreme; and it was fully anticipated there, that Scipio, who was carrying his arms to the different places around, would, after having rapidly subdued all the neighbouring parts, suddenly attack Carthage itself. Their walls were repaired and protected with outworks; and every man individually exerted himself to the utmost in collecting from the country the requisites for holding out against a protracted siege. Mention was seldom made of peace, but not so seldom of sending deputies to recall Hannibal. The majority of them urged that the fleet, which had been equipped to intercept the convoys of the enemy, should be sent to surprise the ships stationed near Utica, which were lying in an unguarded state. It was also urged that they might perhaps overpower the naval camp, which was left under the protection of a trifling force. They chiefly inclined to the latter plan, though they thought, nevertheless, that deputies should be sent to Hannibal; for should the operations of the fleet succeed in the highest degree, the siege of Utica would be partially raised, but they had no general remaining but Hannibal, and no army but his which could defend Carthage itself. The ships were therefore launched the following day, and, at the same time, the deputies set out for Italy; and, their position stimulating them, every thing was done with the greatest expedition; each man considering, that the safety of all was betrayed in whatever degree he remitted his own individual exertions. Scipio, who drew after him an army now encumbered with

the spoils of many cities, sent his prisoners, and other booty, to his old camp at Utica, and, as his views were now fixed on Carthage, he seized on Tunes, which was abandoned in consequence of the flight of the garrison. This city is about fifteen miles distant from Carthage, being a place secured both by works, and also by its own natural position; it may be seen from Carthage, and itself affords a prospect both of that city and of the sea which washes it.

10. From this place the Romans, while diligently employed in raising a rampart, descried the fleet of the enemy, on its way to Utica from Carthage. Desisting from their work, therefore, orders for marching were given, and the troops began to move with the utmost haste, lest the ships which were turned towards the land, and occupied with the siege, and which were far from being in a condition for a naval battle, should be surprised and overpowered. For how could ships, carrying engines and machines, and either converted to the purposes of transports, or brought up to the walls so as to afford the means of mounting up, in lieu of a mound and bridges, resist a fleet, with nothing to impede its movements, furnished with every kind of naval implement, and prepared for action. Scipio, therefore, contrary to his usual practice in naval engagements, drew the ships of war, which might have been employed in defending the rest, into the rear, and formed them into a line near the land; opposing to the enemy a row of transports, four deep, to serve as a wall; and, lest these same transports should be thrown into disorder during the confusion of the battle, he bound them together by placing masts and yard-arms across them, from one vessel to the other; and, by means of strong ropes, fastened them together, as it were, by one uninterrupted bond. He also laid planks upon them, so as to form a free passage along the line, leaving spaces under these bridges of communication by which the vessels of observation might run out towards the enemy, and retreat with safety. Having hastily made these arrangements as well as the time would permit, he put on board the transports about a thousand picked men, to keep off the enemy, with a very large store of weapons, particularly missiles, that they might hold out, however long the contest lasted. Thus prepared, and on the watch, they waited the approach of the enemy. The Carthaginians, who, if they had made

haste would, on the first assault, have surprised their adversaries while every thing was in a state of confusion, from the hurry and bustle attending the preparations, were so dismayed at their losses by land, and thereby had lost so much confidence even in their strength by sea, in which they had the advantage, that, after consuming the day, in consequence of the slow rate at which they sailed, about sunset they put in to a harbour which the Africans call Ruscino. The following day, at sun-rise, they drew up their ships towards the open sea, as for a regular naval battle, and with the expectation that the Romans would come out to engage them. After they had continued stationary for some time, and saw that no movement was made on the part of the enemy, then, at length, they attacked the transports. The affair bore no resemblance to a naval fight, but rather had the appearance of ships attacking walls. The transports had considerably the advantage in respect of height; and as the Carthaginians had to throw their weapons upward, against a mark which was above them, most of them failed of taking effect; while the weapons thrown from the transports from above fell with increased force, and derived additional impetus from their very weight. The vessels of observation, and even the lighter kind of barks, which went out through the spaces left under the flooring, which formed a communication between the ships, were at first run down by the mere momentum and bulk of the ships of war; and afterwards they proved a hindrance to the troops appointed to keep the enemy off; for as they mixed with the ships of the enemy, they were frequently under the necessity of withholding their weapons for fear, by a misdirected effort, they should fall on their friends. At length, beams with iron hooks at their ends, called harpoons, began to be thrown from the Carthaginian upon the Roman ships; and, as they could not cut the harpoons themselves, nor the chains suspended by which they were thrown upon their ships, as each of the ships of war of the enemy, being pulled back, drew with it a transport, connected with it by a harpoon, you might see the fastenings by which the transports were joined together rent asunder, and in another part a series of many vessels dragged away together. In this manner chiefly were all the bridges of communication torn to pieces, and scarcely had the troops who fought in front time to leap to the second line of ships. About

six transports were towed away to Carthage, where the joy felt was greater than the occasion warranted; but their delight was increased from the reflection, that, in the midst of so many successive disasters and woes, one event, however trifling, which afforded matter of joy, had unexpectedly occurred; besides which, it was manifest that the Roman fleet would have been well nigh annihilated, had not their own commanders been wanting in diligence, and had not Scipio come up to its assistance in time.

11. It happened about the same time, that Laelius and Masinissa having arrived in Numidia after a march of about fifteen days, the Massylians, Masinissa's hereditary kingdom, placed themselves under the protection of their king with the greatest joy, as they had long wished him among them. After the commanders and garrisons of Syphax had been expelled from thence, that prince kept himself within the limits of his original dominions, but without any intention of remaining quiet. Subdued by the power of love, he was spurred on by his wife and father-in-law; and he possessed such an abundance of men and horses, that a review of the resources of his kingdom, which had flourished for so many years, was calculated to infuse spirit into a mind even less barbarous and impetuous than his. Wherefore, collecting together all who were fit for service, he distributed among them horses, armour, and weapons. He divided his horsemen into troops, and his infantry into cohorts, as he had formerly learnt from the Roman centurions. With an army not less than that which he had before, but almost entirely raw and undisciplined, he set out to meet the enemy, and pitched his camp at a short distance from them. At first a few horsemen advanced cautiously from the outposts to reconnoitre, and being compelled to retire, from a discharge of javelins, they ran back to their friends. Then skirmishing parties were sent out from both sides, and the vanquished, fired with indignation, returned to the encounter with increased numbers. This is the usual incitement of battles between cavalry, when the victors are joined by more of their party from hope, and the vanquished from resentment. Thus, on the present occasion, the action commencing with a few, at last the whole body of the cavalry on both sides poured out to join in it from the zeal excited by the contest. While the cavalry only were engaged, it was scarcely possible to withstand the numbers of the

Masaesylians, which Syphax sent out in immense bodies. But afterwards, when the Roman infantry, suddenly coming up between the troops of horse which made way for them, gave stability to their line, and checked the enemy, who were charging furiously, at first the barbarians slackened their speed, then halted, and were in a manner confounded at this novel kind of battle. At length, they not only retired before the infantry, but were unable to sustain the shock even of the cavalry, who had assumed courage from the support of the infantry. By this time the legions also were approaching; when, indeed, the Masaesylians not only dared not await their first charge, but could not bear even the sight of the standards and arms; so powerful was either the recollection of their former defeats, or their present fears.

12. It was then that Syphax, while riding up to the troops of the enemy to try if, either by shame or by exposing his own person to danger, he could stop their flight, being thrown from his horse, which was severely wounded, was overpowered, and being made prisoner, was dragged alive into the presence of Laelius; a spectacle calculated to afford peculiar satisfaction to Masinissa. Cirta was the capital of the dominions of Syphax; to which a great number of men fled. The number of the slain in this battle was not so great as the victory was important, because the cavalry only had been engaged. Not more than five thousand were slain, and less than half that number were made prisoners in an attack upon the camp, to which the multitude, dismayed at the loss of their king, had fled. Masinissa declared that nothing could be more highly gratifying to him than, having gained this victory, to go now and visit his hereditary dominions, which he had regained after having been kept out of them so long a time; but it was not proper in prosperity any more than in adversity to lose any time. That if Laelius would allow him to go before him to Cirta with the cavalry and the captive Syphax, he should overpower the enemy while all was in a state of consternation and dismay; and that Laelius might follow with the infantry at a moderate rate. Laelius assenting, he advanced to Cirta, and ordered the principal inhabitants to be called out to a conference. But as they were not aware of what had befallen their king, he was unable to prevail upon them, either by laying before them what had passed, by threats, or by persuasion,

until the king was presented to their view in chains. A general lamentation arose at this shocking exhibition, and while some deserted the walls in a panic, others, who sought to ingratiate themselves with the victor, suddenly came to an agreement to throw open the gates. Masinissa, having sent troops to keep guard near the gates, and at such parts of the wall as required it, that no one might have a passage out to escape by, galloped off to seize the palace. While entering the porch, Sophonisba, the wife of Syphax and daughter of Hasdrubal the Carthaginian, met him in the very threshold, and seeing Masinissa in the midst of the armed band, for he was distinguished both by his arms and also by his habiliments, she concluded, as was really the case, that he was the king; and, falling down at his knees, thus addressed him: "The gods, together with your own valour and good fortune, have given you the power of disposing of us as you please. But if a captive may be allowed to give utterance to the voice of supplication before him who is the sovereign arbiter of her life or death; if she may be permitted to touch his knees and his victorious right hand, I entreat and beseech, you by the majesty of royalty, which we also a short time ago possessed; by the name of the Numidian race, which was common to Syphax and yourself; by the guardian deities of this palace, (and O! may they receive you more auspiciously than they sent Syphax from it!) that you would indulge a suppliant by determining yourself whatever your inclination may suggest respecting your captive, and not suffer me to be placed at the haughty and merciless disposal of any Roman. Were I nothing more than the wife of Syphax, yet would I rather make trial of the honour of a Numidian, one born in Africa, the same country which gave me birth than of a foreigner and an alien. You know what a Carthaginian, what the daughter of Hasdrubal, has to fear from a Roman. If you cannot effect it by any other means, I beg and beseech you that you will by my death rescue me from the power of the Romans." She was remarkably beautiful, and in the full bloom of youth. Accordingly, while she pressed his right hand, and only implored him to pledge himself that she should not be delivered up to any Roman, her language assuming the character of amorous blandishment rather than entreaty, the heart of the conqueror not only melted with compassion, but, as the

Numidians are an excessively amorous race, he became the slave of his captive; and giving his right hand as a pledge for the performance of her request, withdrew into the palace. He then set upon reflecting in what manner he could make good his promise; and not being able to hit upon any expedient, his passion suggested to him an inconsiderate and barefaced alternative. He ordered that preparations should be instantly made for celebrating the nuptials that very day; in order that he might not leave it at all open to Laelius, or Scipio himself, to adopt any measure respecting her as a captive who had become the wife of Masinissa. After the nuptials were concluded, Laelius came up: and so far was he from dissembling his disapprobation of the proceeding, that at first he would even have had her dragged from the marriage bed and sent with Syphax and the rest of the captives to Scipio: but afterwards, having been prevailed upon by the entreaties of Masinissa, who begged of him to leave it to Scipio to decide which of the two kings should have his fortunes graced by the accession of Sophonisba he sent away Syphax and the prisoners; and, aided by Masinissa, employed himself in reducing the rest of the cities of Numidia, which were occupied by the king's garrisons.

13. When it was announced that Syphax was being brought into the camp, the whole multitude poured out, as if to behold a triumphal pageant. The king himself walked first in chains, and a number of Numidian nobles followed. On this occasion every one strove to the utmost to increase the splendour of their victory, by magnifying the greatness of Syphax and the renown of his nation. "That was the king," they said, "to whose dignity the two most powerful nations in the world the Roman and the Carthaginian, had paid so much deference, that their own general, Scipio, leaving his province of Spain and his army, sailed into Africa with only two quinqueremes to solicit his friendship; while Hasdrubal, the Carthaginian general, not only visited him in his dominions, but gave him his daughter in marriage. That he had in his power two commanders, one a Roman and the other a Carthaginian, at the same time. That as both the contending parties sought the favour of the immortal gods by the immolation of victims, so had they both equally solicited his friendship. That he had lately possessed such great power, that after

expelling Masinissa from his kingdom, he reduced him to such a state, that his life was protected by a report of his death, and by concealment, while he supported himself in the woods on prey after the manner of wild beasts.” Thus signaled by the observations of the surrounding multitude, the king was brought into the pavilion before Scipio, who was moved by the former condition of the man compared with his present, and particularly by the recollection of their relation of hospitality, his right hand pledged, and the public and private connexion which had been formed between them. These same considerations inspired Syphax also with confidence in addressing the conqueror; for when Scipio asked what had been his object in not only renouncing his alliance with the Romans, but in making war against them without provocation, he fully admitted “that he had indeed done wrong, and acted like a madman; but not at that time only when he took up arms against the Roman people; that was the consummation of his frenzy, not its commencement. Then it was that he is mad; then it was that he banished from his mind all regard for private friendship and public treaties, when he received a Carthaginian wife into his house. It was by the flames kindled by those nuptial torches that his palace had been consumed. That fury and pest had by every kind of fascination engrossed his affections and obscured his reason; nor had she rested till she had with her own hands clad him with impious arms against his guest and friend. Yet ruined and fallen as he was, he derived some consolation in his misfortunes when he saw that that same pest and fury had been transferred to the dwelling and household gods of the man who was of all others his greatest enemy. That Masinissa was neither more prudent nor more firm than Syphax; but even more incautious by reason of his youth. Doubtless he had shown greater folly and want of self-control in marrying her than he himself had.”

14. These words, dictated not merely by the hatred naturally felt towards an enemy, but also by the anguish of jealousy, on seeing the object of his affections in the possession of his rival, affected the mind of Scipio with no ordinary degree of anxiety. His accusations against Masinissa derived credibility from the fact of the nuptials having, been celebrated in the most violent hurry, almost amid the clash of arms, without consulting or waiting for Laelius, and with

such precipitate haste, that on the very day on which he saw the captive enemy he united himself with her in matrimony, and performed the nuptial rite in the presence of the household gods of his enemy. This conduct appeared the more heinous to Scipio, because when a very young man in Spain he had not allowed himself to be influenced by the beauty of any captive. While ruminating on these circumstances, Laelius and Masinissa came up. Without making any distinction between them he received them both with a cheerful countenance, and having bestowed upon them the highest commendations before a full assembly of his officers, he took Masinissa aside and thus addressed him: "I suppose, Masinissa, that it was because you saw in me some good qualities that you at first came to me when in Spain, for the purpose of forming a friendship with me, and that afterwards in Africa you committed yourself and all your hopes to my protection. But of all those virtues, on account of which I seemed to you worthy of your regard, there is not one in which I gloried so much as temperance and the control of my passions. I could wish that you also, Masinissa, had added this to your other distinguished qualities. There is not, believe me, there is not so much danger to be apprehended by persons at our time of life from armed foes, as from the pleasures which surround us on all sides. The man who by temperance has curbed and subdued his appetite for them, has acquired for himself much greater honour and a much more important victory than we now enjoy in the conquest of Syphax. I have mentioned with delight, and I remember with pleasure, the instances of fortitude and courage which you displayed in my absence. As to other matters, I would rather that you should reflect upon them in private, than that you should be put to the blush by my reciting them. Syphax was subdued and captured under the auspices of the Roman people; therefore he himself, his wife his kingdom, his territories, his towns and their inhabitants, in short, every thing which belonged to him, is the booty of the Roman people, and it was proper that the king himself and his consort, even though she had not been a citizen of Carthage, even though we did not see her father commanding the armies of our enemies, should be sent to Rome, and that the senate and people of Rome should judge and determine respecting her who is said to have alienated from us a

king in alliance with us, and to have precipitated him into war with us. Subdue your passions. Beware how you deform many good qualities by one vice, and mar the credit of so many meritorious deeds by a degree of guilt more than proportioned to the value of its object.”

15. While Masinissa heard these observations, he not only became suffused with blushes, but burst into tears; and after declaring that he would submit to the discretion of the general, and imploring him that, as far as circumstances would permit, he would consider the obligation he had rashly imposed upon himself, for he had promised that he would not deliver her into the power of any one, he retired in confusion from the pavilion into his own tent. There, dismissing his attendants, he spent a considerable time amid frequent sighs and groans, which could be distinctly heard by those who stood around the tent. At last, heaving a deep groan, he called one of his servants in whom he confided, in whose custody poison was kept, according to the custom of kings, as a remedy against the unforeseen events of fortune, and ordered him to mix some in a cup and carry it to Sophonisba; at the same time informing her that Masinissa would gladly have fulfilled the first obligation which as a husband he owed to her his wife; but since those who had the power of doing so had deprived him of the exercise of that right, he now performed his second promise, that she should not come alive into the power of the Romans. That, mindful of her father the general, of her country, and of the two kings to whom she had been married, she would take such measures as she herself thought proper. When the servant came to Sophonisba bearing this message and the poison, she said, “I accept this nuptial present; nor is it an unwelcome one, if my husband can render me no better service. Tell him, however, that I should have died with greater satisfaction had I not married so near upon my death.” The spirit with which she spoke was equalled by the firmness with which she took and drained the chalice, without exhibiting any symptom of perturbation. When Scipio was informed of this event, fearful lest the high-spirited young man should in the distempered state of his mind adopt some desperate resolution, he immediately sent for him, and at one time endeavoured to solace him, at another gently rebuked him for expiating one act of temerity with another,

and rendering the affair more tragical than was necessary. The next day, in order to divert his mind from his present affliction, he ascended his tribunal and ordered an assembly to be summoned, in which having first saluted Masinissa with the title of king, and distinguished him with the highest encomiums, he presented him with a golden goblet, a curule chair, an ivory sceptre, an embroidered gown, and a triumphal vest. He increased the honour by observing, that among the Romans there was nothing more magnificent than a triumph; and that those who triumphed were not arrayed with more splendid ornaments than those with which the Roman people considered Masinissa alone, of all foreigners, worthy. He then bestowed the highest commendations upon Laelius also, and presented him with a golden crown, and gave presents to the other military characters proportioned to their respective merits. By these honours the king's mind was soothed, and encouraged to hope that he would speedily become master of all Numidia, now that Syphax was removed.

16. Scipio, having sent Caius Laelius with Syphax and the rest of the prisoners to Rome, with whom went also ambassadors from Masinissa, led his troops back again to Tunes, and completed the fortifications which he had before begun. The Carthaginians, who had experienced not only a short-lived but almost groundless joy, from their attack upon the fleet, which, under existing circumstances, was tolerably successful, were so dismayed at the account of the capture of Syphax, in whom they reposed almost greater confidence than in Hasdrubal and his army, that now listening no longer to any who advocated war, they sent thirty of their principal elders as deputies to solicit peace. With them the council of elders is held in the highest reverence, and has supreme power even to control the senate itself. When they came into the Roman camp and entered the pavilion, they prostrated themselves after the manner of those who pay profound adoration to kings, adopting the custom, I suppose, from the country from which they derived their origin. Their language corresponded with such abject humiliation, for they did not endeavour to deny their guilt, but charged Hannibal and the favourers of his violent measures with being the originators of it. They implored pardon for their state, which had been now twice brought to

the brink of ruin by the temerity of its citizens, and would again owe its safety to the indulgence of its enemies. They said, the object the Roman people aimed at in the subjugation of their enemies was dominion, and not their destruction; that he might enjoin what he pleased upon them, as being prepared submissively to obey. Scipio replied, "that he had come into Africa with the hope, and that hope had been increased by the success he had experienced in his operations, that he should carry home victory and not terms of peace. Still, though he had victory in a manner within his grasp, he would not refuse all accommodation, that all the nations of the world may know that the Roman people both undertake and conclude wars with justice." The terms of peace which he prescribed were these: "That they should restore the prisoners, deserters, and fugitives; withdraw their armies from Italy and Gaul; give up all claim to Spain; retire from all the islands between Italy and Africa; deliver up all their ships of war except twenty, and furnish five hundred thousand pecks of wheat, and three hundred thousand of barley." Authors are not agreed as to the sum of money he demanded. In some I find five thousand talents; in others five thousand pounds' weight of silver; in others, that double pay for the troops was required. "Three days," he said, "shall be allowed to deliberate whether you accept of peace on these terms. If you do accept it, make a truce within me, and send deputies to Rome to the senate." The Carthaginians being thus dismissed, as they thought it proper to accept of any conditions of peace, for their only object was to gain time for Hannibal to cross over into Africa, sent some ambassadors to Scipio to conclude a truce, and others to Rome to solicit peace; the latter taking with them a few prisoners, deserters, and fugitives, in order to facilitate the attainment of peace.

17. Laelius with Syphax and the principal Numidian prisoners arrived at Rome several days before, and laying before the senate all the transactions which had occurred in Africa in order, the greatest joy was felt for the present, and the most sanguine anticipations formed of the future. The sense of the senate being then taken upon the subject, they resolved that the king should be sent to Alba to be kept in custody, and that Laelius should be detained until the arrival of the Carthaginian ambassadors. A supplication for four days was

decreed. The senate breaking up and an assembly of the people being then called, Publius Aelius the praetor accompanied by Caius Laelius, mounted the rostrum. There, on hearing that the armies of the Carthaginians had been routed, that a king of the greatest renown had been vanquished and made prisoner, that all Numidia had been overrun with brilliant success, the people were unable to refrain from expressing their delight, but manifested their transports by shouts and all the other means usually resorted to by the multitude. The praetor, therefore, immediately issued orders that the keepers should open all the temples throughout the city, and that the people should be allowed during the whole day to go round and make their adoration to the gods, and return their thanks. The next day he brought the ambassadors of Masinissa before the senate. They in the first place congratulated the senate on the successes of Scipio in Africa, and then thanked them, not only for having saluted him with the title of king, but for having made him one, by reinstating him in his paternal dominions, where, now that Syphax was removed, he would reign, if it was the pleasure of the senate, without fear or opposition. Next, for having bestowed upon him the highest commendations in the assembly, and decorated him with the most magnificent presents, of which Masinissa had endeavoured, and would in future endeavour, to render himself worthy. They requested that the senate would by a decree confirm the title of king with the other favours and benefits conferred by Scipio, and, if it were not troublesome, they said, that Masinissa further Requested that they would send home the Numidian captives who were detained at Rome; for that this boon would procure him the esteem and honour of his countrymen. On these points the senate replied to the ambassadors, “that they reciprocated the congratulations of the king on the successes in Africa. That Scipio was considered to have acted properly and regularly in saluting him with the title of king, and that the senate applauded and approved of every thing else he had done which was gratifying to Masinissa.” They appointed by a decree what presents the ambassadors should carry to the king; they were, two purple cloaks, each having a golden clasp, and each accompanied with vests and broad purple borders, two horses arrayed with trappings, two suits of equestrian armour with coats of mail, together with tents and

other military apparatus such as those usually provided for a consul. These the praetor was directed to send for the king. The ambassadors were severally presented with not less than five thousand *asses*, their attendants with one thousand. Two suits of apparel were presented to each of the ambassadors, and one to each of their attendants and to the Numidians, who were discharged from custody and given back to the king. In addition to these, dwellings, reserved by the state for such purposes, grounds, and entertainment, were assigned to the ambassadors.

18. The same summer during which these decrees were passed at Rome, and these transactions took place in Africa, Publius Quinctilius Varus, the praetor, and Marcus Cornelius, the proconsul, fought a pitched battle with Mago the Carthaginian in the territories of the Insubrian Gauls. The legions of the praetor were in the first line; Cornelius kept his in reserve, riding forward into the front himself, and the praetor and proconsul, leading on the two wings, exhorted the soldiers to attack the enemy with the utmost vigour. Finding they produced no impression upon the enemy, Quinctilius said to Cornelius: "The battle, as you perceive, does not proceed with spirit, the enemy, having succeeded in their resistance beyond expectation, have become callous to fear, and there is danger lest it should be converted into boldness. We must stir up a tempest of cavalry if we wish to disorder and drive them from their ground; therefore, either do you sustain the fight in front, and I will lead the cavalry into the action; or else, I will act in the front line and you send out the cavalry of the four legions against the enemy." The proconsul offering to take whichever part of the service the praetor pleased, Quinctilius the praetor, with his son, surnamed Marcus, a spirited youth, went off to the cavalry, and desiring them to mount, instantly led them to the charge. The confusion occasioned by these was increased by a shout raised by the legions; nor would the line of the enemy have stood unbroken, had not Mago, as soon as he saw the cavalry in motion, immediately brought into the action his elephants, which he kept in readiness. The horses were so terrified at the snorting, the smell, and appearance of these animals, that the aid of the cavalry was rendered ineffectual. As the Roman horseman had the advantage in point of efficiency in a close fight, when he could

use his javelin and sword hand to hand, so the Numidians had the advantage when throwing their darts from a distance upon enemies borne away from them by their terrified horses. At the same time the twelfth legion, though a great number of them were slain, maintained their ground through shame rather than a reliance on their strength; but they would not have continued to do so longer, had not the thirteenth legion, brought up into the front line from the reserve, taken up the doubtful conflict. Mago, also, bringing up the Gauls from his reserve, opposed them to the fresh legion. The Gauls being routed without any great effort, the spearmen of the eleventh legion formed themselves into a circular body and charged the elephants, which were now disordering the line of infantry; and as scarcely one of the javelins which they threw upon them failed of taking effect, as they were close together, they turned them all upon the line of their own party. Four of them fell overpowered with wounds. It was then that the front line of the enemy gave ground, the whole body of the Roman infantry at the same time rushing forward to increase the panic and confusion, on seeing the elephants turn their backs. As long as Mago stood in front, the troops stepped back slowly, preserving their ranks and not relaxing their ardour in fighting; but when they saw him falling, from a wound in his thigh, which was transfixed, and carried off the field almost lifeless, in an instant they all betook themselves to flight. As many as five thousand of the enemy were slain, and twenty-two military standards captured on that day. Nor did the Romans obtain a bloodless victory. Two thousand three hundred of the army of the praetor, by far the greater part of whom belonged to the twelfth legion, were lost. Two military tribunes, Marcus Cosconius and Marcus Maenius, of the same legion; and of the thirteenth legion also, which joined in the action at its close, Cneius Helvius, a military tribune, fell in restoring the fight; and about twenty-two distinguished horsemen, together with several centurions, were trampled upon and killed by the elephants. The contest would have continued longer, had not the enemy conceded the victory, in consequence of the wound of their general.

19. Mago, setting out during the silence of the succeeding night, and marching as far at a time as his wounds would allow him, reached the sea-coast in the territory of the Ingaunian Ligurians. Here

ambassadors from Carthage, who had put into the Gallic bay a few days before, came to him with directions to cross over into Africa with all speed; informing him that his brother Hannibal, for to him also they said ambassadors had gone with similar directions, would do the same, for the affairs of the Carthaginians were not in a condition to admit of their occupying Gaul and Italy with armies. Mago, not only influenced by the command of the senate and the danger which threatened his country, but fearful also lest the victorious enemy should be upon him if he delayed, and lest the Ligurians themselves, seeing that the Carthaginians were leaving Italy, should pass over to those under whose power they were likely soon to be placed; at the same time hoping that his wound would be less irritated by the motion of sailing than marching, and that he would have greater facilities for the cure of it, put his troops on board and set sail. But he had scarcely cleared Sardinia when he died of his wound. Several also of his ships, which had been dispersed in the main sea, were captured by the Roman fleet which lay near Sardinia. Such were the transactions by sea and land in that part of Italy which is adjacent to the Alps. The consul, Caius Servilius, without having performed any memorable achievement in Etruria, his province, and in Gaul, for he had advanced thither also, but having rescued from slavery, which they had endured for now the sixteenth year, his father, Caius Servilius, and his uncle, Caius Lutatius, who had been taken by the Boians at the village of Tanetum, returned to Rome with his father on one side of him and his uncle on the other, distinguished, by family, rather than by public, honours. It was proposed to the people, that Caius Servilius should be indemnified for having filled the offices of plebeian tribune and plebeian aedile contrary to what was established by the laws, while his father, who had sat in the curule chair, was still alive, he being ignorant of that circumstance. This proposition having been carried, he returned to his province. The towns Consentia, Uffugum, Vergae, Besidiae, Hetriculum, Sypheum, Argentanum, Clampetia, and many other inconsiderable states, perceiving that the Carthaginian cause was declining, went over to Cneius Servilius the consul in Bruttium. The same consul fought a battle with Hannibal, in the territory of Croto. The accounts of this battle are not clear. Valerius Antias states that

five thousand men were slain. But this is an event of such magnitude, that either it must be an impudent fiction, or negligently omitted. It is certain that nothing further was done by Hannibal in Italy; for ambassadors from Carthage, recalling him into Africa, came to him, as it happened, at the same time that they came to Mago.

20. It is said that when Hannibal heard the message of the ambassadors he gnashed with his teeth, groaned, and scarcely refrained from shedding tears. After they had delivered the commands with which they were charged, he said: "Those who have for a long time been endeavouring to drag me home, by forbidding the sending of supplies and money to me, now recall me, not indirectly, but openly. Hannibal, therefore, hath been conquered, not by the Roman people, who have been so often slain and routed, but by the Carthaginian senate, through envy and detraction; nor will Publius Scipio exult and glory in this unseemly return so much as Hanno, who has crushed our family, since he could not effect it by any other means, by the ruins of Carthage." Already had his mind entertained a presentiment of this event, and he had accordingly prepared ships beforehand. Having, therefore, sent a crowd of useless soldiers under pretence of garrisons into the towns in the Bruttian territory, a few of which continued their adherence to him, more through fear than attachment, he transported the strength of his army into Africa. Many natives of Italy who, refusing to follow him into Africa had retired to the shrine of Juno Lacinia, which had never been violated up to that day, were barbarously massacred in the very temple. It is related, that rarely any person leaving his country to go into exile exhibited deeper sorrow than Hannibal did on departing from the land of his enemies; that he frequently looked back upon the shores of Italy, and, arraigning both gods and men, cursed himself and his own head that he did not lead his troops, while reeking with blood from the victory at Cannae, to Rome. Scipio, who since his appointment to the office of consul had not looked at the Carthaginian enemy in Italy, had dared, he said, to go and attack Carthage, while he, after slaying a hundred thousand fighting men at Trasimenus and Cannae, had suffered his strength to wear away around Casilinum, Cumae, and Nola. Amid these reproaches and complaints he was borne away from his long occupation of Italy.

21. At the same time intelligence was brought to Rome that both Mago and Hannibal had taken their departure. But the delight occasioned by this twofold source of joy was diminished by the reflection that their commanders had wanted either spirit or strength sufficient to detain them, for they had been charged by the senate to do so; and also in consequence of the anxiety they felt for the issue of a contest, in which the whole weight of the war rested on the efforts of one general and his army. About the same time ambassadors from Saguntum arrived, bringing with them some Carthaginians who had crossed over into Spain for the purpose of hiring auxiliaries, having seized them and the money they had with them. They laid down in the vestibule of the senate-house two hundred and fifty pounds' weight of gold, and eight hundred of silver. After the men had been received and thrown into prison, and the gold and silver returned, the ambassadors were thanked, and received, besides, presents and ships to convey them back into Spain. Some of the older senators then observed, that men were less powerfully affected by prosperity than adversity. That they themselves remembered what terror and consternation had been occasioned by the passage of Hannibal into Italy; what disasters and what lamentations had followed that event. When the camp of the enemy was seen from their walls, what vows were poured forth by each and all! How often, extending their hands to heaven, exclamations were heard in their assemblies. Oh! will that day ever arrive when we shall behold Italy cleared of her enemies and enjoying the blessings of peace! The gods, they said, had at length, in the sixteenth year, granted that favour and yet there was no one who proposed that thanks should be returned to them for it. That if men received a present blessing so ungratefully, they would not be very mindful of it when it was past. In consequence of this a general shout was raised from every part of the senate-house, that Publius Aelius the praetor, should lay the matter before the senate, and a decree was passed, that a supplication should be performed at all the shrines for the space of five days, and that a hundred and twenty victims of the larger sort should be immolated. Laelius and the ambassadors of Masinissa having been by this time dismissed, and intelligence having arrived that ambassadors of the Carthaginians, who were

coming to the senate to treat about peace, had been seen at Puteoli, and would proceed thence by land, it was resolved, that Caius Laelius should be recalled, that the negotiations respecting the peace might take place in his presence. Quintus Fulvius Gillo, a lieutenant-general of Scipio, conducted the Carthaginians to Rome; and as they were forbidden to enter the city, they were lodged in a country-house belonging to the state, and admitted to an audience of the senate at the temple of Bellona.

22. They addressed the senate in nearly the same terms as they had employed before Scipio; laying the whole blame of the war upon Hannibal, and exculpating their state. They declared, that he had not only crossed the Alps, but the Iberus also, without the sanction of the senate; and that he had made war not only on the Romans, but previously on the Saguntines also, on his own individual responsibility. That, if the question were viewed in its proper light, it would be found that the league between the senate and people of Carthage and the Romans remained unbroken up to that day. Accordingly, all they had in charge to solicit was, that they might be allowed to continue in the enjoyment of that peace which was last entered into with the consul Caius Lutatius. When the praetor, according to the custom handed down from their ancestors, had given the fathers permission to ask the ambassadors any questions they might be pleased to put, and the older members who had been present at the making of the treaties had put some one question and others another, the ambassadors declared that they were not old enough to recollect, for they were nearly all of them young men. Upon this every part of the senate-house resounded with exclamations, that with Carthaginian knavery men had been chosen to solicit a renewal of the old peace who did not recollect its terms.

23. After this, the ambassadors having been removed out of the senate-house, the senators began to be asked their opinions. Marcus Livius recommended, that Caius Servilius, the consul nearest home, should be sent for, that he might be present at the proceedings relative to the peace; for as it was impossible that any subject of deliberation could occur of greater importance than the present, he did not see how it could be discussed, consistently with the dignity of the Roman people, in the absence of one or both of the consuls.

Quintus Metellus, who three years before had been consul, and had filled the office of dictator, said that, since Publius Scipio, by destroying the armies and by devastating the lands of the enemy, had reduced them to such a state that they were compelled as supplicants to sue for peace; and as no one could estimate with more truth the intentions with which it was solicited, than he who was prosecuting the war before the gates of Carthage; the peace should be rejected or adopted on the advice of none other than Scipio. Marcus Valerius Laevinus, who had been twice consul, endeavoured to show that those who had come were spies, and not ambassadors; that they ought to be ordered to depart from Italy; that guards should be sent with them to their very ships, and that Scipio should be written to not to relax in prosecuting the war. Laelius and Fulvius added, that Scipio had grounded his hopes of effecting a peace on Hannibal and Mago not being recalled from Italy. He considered that the Carthaginians would practise every species of dissimulation, in expectation of the arrival of those generals and their armies, and then, forgetful of all treaties, however recent, and all gods, would proceed with the war. For these reasons they were the more disposed to adopt the opinion of Laevinus. The ambassadors were dismissed without having accomplished the peace, and almost without an answer.

24. About the same time Cneius Servilius, the consul, not doubting but that he should enjoy the glory of having restored Italy to a state of peace, pursued Hannibal, whom he considered had fled before him, and crossed over into Sicily, with the intention of proceeding thence into Africa. As soon as this became known at Rome, at first the fathers gave it as their opinion, that the praetor should inform the consul by letter that the senate thought it proper that he should return into Italy; but afterwards, the praetor declaiming that he would not heed his letter, Publius Sulpicius, who was created dictator for this very purpose, recalled the consul to Italy, in virtue of his superior authority. The remainder of the year he employed in conjunction with Marcus Servilius, his master of the horse, in going round to the cities of Italy, which had been alienated from the Romans during the war, and in taking cognizance of the cases of each. During the time of the truce, Lentulus the praetor sent over into Africa, from

Sardinia, a hundred transports with stores, under a convoy of twenty ships of war, without meeting with any injury either from the enemy or storms. The same good fortune did not attend Cneius Octavius, while crossing over from Sicily with two hundred transports and thirty men of war. Having experienced a prosperous voyage until he arrived almost within sight of Africa, at first the wind dropped, but afterwards changing to the south-west, it dispersed his ships in every direction. He himself with the ships of war, having struggled through the opposing billows by the extraordinary exertions of his rowers, made the promontory of Apollo. The greater part of the transports were driven to Aegimurus, an island filling the mouth of the bay on which Carthage stands, and about thirty miles from the city; the rest were driven on shore directly opposite the city, near the warm baths. The whole occurrence was within sight of Carthage, and, accordingly, the people ran in crowds to the forum, from every part of the city. The magistrates summoned the senate, and the people were yelling in the vestibule of the senate-house, lest so great a booty should escape from their hands and their sight. Though some urged as an objection the obligation imposed upon them by having solicited peace, and others the restraint occasioned by the existence of a truce, the period of which had not yet expired, it was agreed in an assembly, made up almost of a mixture of the senate and people, that Hasdrubal should cross over to Aegimurus with fifty ships, and, proceeding thence, pick up the Roman ships scattered along the coasts and in the different ports. First the transports from Aegimurus, and then those from the baths, abandoned by the crews, were towed to Carthage.

25. The ambassadors had not as yet returned from Rome, nor was it known whether the Roman senate had pronounced in favour of peace or war; nor as yet had the period of the truce expired. Scipio, therefore, considering that the malignity of their offence was heightened by the fact, that, though they had solicited peace and a truce, they had cut off all hopes of the former and violated the latter, immediately despatched Lucius Baebius, Lucius Sergius, and Lucius Fabius, as ambassadors to Carthage. These, having narrowly escaped violence from the assembled multitude, and perceiving that they would be exposed to similar danger on their return, requested of the

magistrates, by whose aid they had been protected from violence, to send ships to escort them. Two triremes were assigned them, which, when they had come to the river Bagradas, whence the Roman camp could be seen, returned to Carthage. The Carthaginian fleet was stationed at Utica, and from this three quadriremes were despatched, which suddenly attacked the Roman quinquereme from the main sea, while doubling the promontory, either owing to a message sent from Carthage that this should be done, or that Hasdrubal, who commanded the fleet, perpetrated the atrocity without public connivance. But neither could they strike it with their beaks from the rapidity with which it evaded them, nor could the fighting men board the higher from lower vessels. The quinquereme was gallantly defended as long as their weapons lasted; but these failing, and there being now nothing which could save them but the nearness of the land, and the multitude which had poured out from the camp upon the shore, they communicated a rapid motion to the vessel by means of their oars, and running her against the shore with all the force they could, they escaped themselves without injury, and only lost the vessel. Thus when the truce had been unequivocally violated by repeated acts of villany, Laelius and Fulvius arrived from Rome with the Carthaginian ambassadors. Scipio told them, that although the Carthaginians had not only broken their faith pledged in the truce, but had also violated the laws of nations in the persons of his ambassadors, yet he would not in their case do any thing unworthy of the maxims of the Roman people or his own principles; after saying which, he dismissed the ambassadors and prepared for war. When Hannibal was now drawing near land, one of the sailors, who was ordered to climb the mast to see what part of the country they were making, said the prow pointed toward a demolished sepulchre, when Hannibal, recognising the inauspicious omen, ordered the pilot to steer by that place, and putting in his fleet at Leptis, landed his forces there.

26. Such were the transactions in Africa this year. Those which followed extended themselves into that year in which Marcus Servilius Geminus, who was then master of the horse and Tiberius Claudius Nero were consuls. However, at the close of the former year, deputies from the allied states in Greece having arrived with

complaints that their lands had been devastated by the king's garrisons, and that their ambassadors, who had gone into Macedonia to demand restitution had not been admitted into the presence of Philip; and having also brought information that four thousand men were said to have been conveyed over into Africa, under the conduct of Sopater, to assist the Carthaginians, and that a considerable quantity of money had been sent with them; the senate resolved that ambassadors should be sent to the king to inform him that the fathers considered that these acts were contrary to the treaty. The persons sent were Caius Terentius Varro, Caius Mamilius, and Marcus Aurelius. Three quinqueremes were assigned to them. This year was rendered remarkable by a most extensive fire, by which the buildings on the Publician hill were burned to the ground, and by the greatness of the floods. But still provisions were cheap, not only because, as it was a time of peace, supplies could be obtained from every part of Italy, but also because Marcus Valerius Falto and Marcus Fabius Buteo, the curule aediles, distributed to the people, so much for each street, at the rate of four *asses* a bushel, a great quantity of corn which had been sent out of Spain. The same year died Quintus Fabius Maximus at an advanced age, if, indeed, it be true that he was augur sixty-two years, which some historians relate. He was a man unquestionably worthy of the high surname which he bore, even had it begun with him. He surpassed the honours of his father, and equalled those of his grandfather. His grandfather, Rullus, was distinguished by a greater number of victories and more important battles; but one antagonist like Hannibal is sufficient to counterbalance them all. He was esteemed rather cautious than spirited; and though it may be questioned whether he was naturally dilatory, or whether he adopted that kind of conduct because it was peculiarly suited to the war which he was carrying on, yet nothing can be more clear than that he was that one man who by his delay retrieved our affairs, as Ennius says. Quintus Fabius Maximus, his son, was consecrated augur in his room. In the room of the same, for he held two priesthoods, Servius Sulpicius Galba was consecrated pontiff. The Roman games were repeated for one day, the plebeian were thrice repeated entire by the aediles, Marcus Sextius Sabinus and Cneius Tremellius Flaccus. Both these were elected praetors, and

with them Caius Livius Salinator and Caius Aurelius Cotta. The difference in the accounts of historians renders it uncertain whether Caius Servilius the consul presided in the elections this year, or Publius Sulpicius, nominated dictator by him, because business detained him in Etruria; being engaged, according to a decree of the senate, in making inquisitions respecting the conspiracies of the principal inhabitants.

27. In the beginning of the following year, Marcus Servilius and Tiberius Claudius, having assembled the senate, consulted them respecting the provinces. As both were desirous of having Africa, they wished Italy and Africa to be disposed of by lots; but, principally in consequence of the exertions of Quintus Metellus, Africa was neither assigned to any one nor withheld. The consuls were ordered to make application to the tribunes of the people, to the effect, that, if they thought proper, they should put it to the people to decide whom they wished to conduct the war in Africa. All the tribes nominated Publius Scipio. Nevertheless, the consuls put the province of Africa to the lot, for so the senate had decreed. Africa fell to the lot of Tiberius Claudius, who was to cross over into Africa with a fleet of fifty ships, all quinqueremes, and have an equal command with Scipio. Marcus Servilius obtained Etruria. Caius Servilius was continued in command in the same province, in case the senate resolved that the consul should remain at the city. Of the praetors, Marcus Sextus obtained Gaul; which province, together with two legions, Publius Quinctilius Varus was to deliver to him; Caius Livius obtained Bruttium, with the two legions which Publius Sempronius, the proconsul, had commanded the former year; Cneius Tremellius had Sicily, and was to receive the province and two legions from Publius Villius Tappulus, a praetor of the former year; Villius, as proprætor, was to protect the coast of Sicily with twenty men of war, and a thousand soldiers; and Marcus Pomponius was to convey thence to Rome one thousand five hundred soldiers, with the remaining twenty ships. The city jurisdiction fell to Caius Aurelius Cotta; and the rest of the praetors were continued in command of the respective provinces and armies which they then had. Not more than sixteen legions were employed this year in the defence of the empire. And, that they might have the gods favourably disposed towards

them in all their undertakings and proceedings, it was ordered that the consuls, before they set out to the war, should celebrate those games, and sacrifice those victims of the larger sort, which, in the consulate of Marcus Claudius Marcellus and Titus Quinctius, Titus Manlius, the dictator, had vowed, provided the commonwealth should continue in the same state for the next five years. The games were exhibited in the circus during four days, and the victims sacrificed to those deities to whom they had been vowed.

28. Meanwhile, hope and anxiety daily and simultaneously increased; nor could the minds of men be brought to any fixed conclusion, whether it was a fit subject for rejoicing, that Hannibal had now at length, after the sixteenth year, departed from Italy, and left the Romans in the unmolested possession of it, or whether they had not greater cause to fear, from his having transported his army in safety into Africa. They said that the scene of action certainly was changed, but not the danger. That Quintus Fabius, lately deceased, who had foretold how arduous the contest would be, was used to predict, not without good reason, that Hannibal would prove a more formidable enemy in his own country than he had been in a foreign one; and that Scipio would have to encounter not Syphax, a king of undisciplined barbarians, whose armies Statorius, a man little better than a soldier's drudge, was used to lead; nor his father-in-law, Hasdrubal, that most fugacious general; nor tumultuary armies hastily collected out of a crowd of half-armed rustics, but Hannibal, born in a manner in the pavilion of his father, that bravest of generals, nurtured and educated in the midst of arms, who served as a soldier formerly, when a boy, and became a general when he had scarcely attained the age of manhood; who, having grown old in victory, had filled Spain, Gaul, and Italy, from the Alps to the strait, with monuments of his vast achievements; who commanded troops who had served as long as he had himself; troops hardened by the endurance of every species of suffering, such as it is scarcely credible that men could have supported; stained a thousand times with Roman blood, and bearing with them the spoils not only of soldiers but of generals. That many would meet the eyes of Scipio in battle who had with their own hands slain Roman praetors, generals, and consuls; many decorated with crowns, in reward for having scaled walls and

crossed ramparts; many who had traversed the captured camps and cities of the Romans. That the magistrates of the Roman people had not then so many fasces as Hannibal could have carried before him, having taken them from generals whom he had slain. While their minds were harassed by these apprehensions, their anxiety and fears were further increased from the circumstance, that, whereas they had been accustomed to carry on war for several years, in different parts of Italy, and within their view, with languid hopes, and without the prospect of bringing it to a speedy termination, Scipio and Hannibal had stimulated the minds of all, as generals prepared for a final contest. Even those persons whose confidence in Scipio and hopes of victory were great, were affected with anxiety, increasing in proportion as they saw their completion approaching. The state of feeling among the Carthaginians was much the same; for, when they turned their eyes on Hannibal, and the greatness of his achievements, they repented having solicited peace; but when again they reflected that they had been twice defeated in a pitched battle, that Syphax had been made prisoner, that they had been driven out of Spain and Italy, and that all this had been effected by the valour and conduct of Scipio alone, they regarded him with horror, as a general marked out by destiny, and born, for their destruction.

29. Hannibal had by this time arrived at Adrumetum; from which place, after employing a few days there in refreshing his soldiers, who had suffered from the motion by sea, he proceeded by forced marches to Zama, roused by the alarming statements of messengers, who brought word, that all the country around Carthage was filled with armed troops. Zama is distant from Carthage a five days' journey. Some spies, whom he sent out from this place, being intercepted by the Roman guard, and brought before Scipio, he directed that they should be handed over to the military tribunes, and after having been desired fearlessly to survey every thing, to be conducted through the camp wherever they chose; then, asking them whether they had examined every thing to their satisfaction, he assigned them an escort, and sent them back to Hannibal. Hannibal received none of the circumstances which were reported to him with feelings of joy; for they brought word that, as it happened, Masinissa had joined the enemy that very day, with six thousand infantry and

four thousand horse; but he was principally dispirited by the confidence of his enemy, which, doubtless, was not conceived without some ground. Accordingly, though he himself was the originator of the war, and by his coming had upset the truce which had been entered into, and cut off all hopes of a treaty, yet concluding that more favourable terms might be obtained if he solicited peace while his strength was unimpaired, than when vanquished, he sent a message to Scipio, requesting permission to confer with him. I have no means of affirming whether he did this on his own spontaneous suggestion, or by the advice of his state. Valerius Antias says, that after having been beaten by Scipio in a battle, in which twelve thousand armed men were slain, and one thousand seven hundred made prisoners, he came himself with ten other deputies into the camp to Scipio. However, as Scipio did not decline the proposal for a conference, both the generals, by concert, brought their camps forward in order to facilitate their meeting by shortening the distance. Scipio took up his position not far from the city Naragara, in a situation convenient not only for other purposes, but also because there was a watering place within a dart's throw. Hannibal took possession of an eminence four miles thence, safe and convenient in every respect, except that he had a long way to go for water. Here, in the intermediate space, a place was chosen, open to view from all sides, that there might be no opportunity for treachery.

30. Their armed attendants having retired to an equal distance, they met, each attended by one interpreter, being the greatest generals not only of their own times, but of any to be found in the records of the times preceding them, and equal to any of the kings or generals of any nation whatever. When they came within sight of each other they remained silent for a short time, thunderstruck, as it were, with mutual admiration. At length Hannibal thus began: "Since fate hath so ordained it, that I, who was the first to wage war upon the Romans, and who have so often had victory almost within my reach, should voluntarily come to sue for peace, I rejoice that it is you, above all others, from whom it is my lot to solicit it. To you, also, amid the many distinguished events of your life, it will not be esteemed one of the least glorious, that Hannibal, to whom the gods had so often granted victory over the Roman generals, should have

yielded to you; and that you should have put an end to this war, which has been rendered remarkable by your calamities before it was by ours. In this also fortune would seem to have exhibited a disposition to sport with events, for it was when your father was consul that I first took up arms; he was the first Roman general with whom I engaged in a pitched battle; and it is to his son that I now come unarmed to solicit peace. It were indeed most to have been desired, that the gods should have put such dispositions into the minds of our fathers, that you should have been content with the empire of Italy, and we with that of Africa: nor, indeed, even to you, are Sicily and Sardinia of sufficient value to compensate you for the loss of so many fleets, so many armies, so many and such distinguished generals. But what is past may be more easily censured than retrieved. In our attempts to acquire the possessions of others we have been compelled to fight for our own; and not only have you had a war in Italy, and we also in Africa, but you have beheld the standards and arms of your enemies almost in your gates and on your walls, and we now, from the walls of Carthage, distinctly hear the din of a Roman camp. What, therefore, we should most earnestly deprecate, and you should most devoutly wish for, is now the case: peace is proposed at a time when you have the advantage. We who negotiate it are the persons whom it most concerns to obtain it, and we are persons whose arrangements, be they what they will, our states will ratify. All we want is a disposition not averse from peaceful counsels. As far as relates to myself, time, (for I am returning to that country an old man which I left a boy,) and prosperity, and adversity, have so schooled me, that I am more inclined to follow reason than fortune. But I fear your youth and uninterrupted good fortune, both of which are apt to inspire a degree of confidence ill comporting with pacific counsels. Rarely does that man consider the uncertainty of events whom fortune hath never deceived. What I was at Trasimenus, and at Cannae, that you are this day. Invested with command when you had scarcely yet attained the military age, though all your enterprises were of the boldest description, in no instance has fortune deserted you. Avenging the death of your father and uncle, you have derived from the calamity of your house the high honour of distinguished valour and filial duty.

You have recovered Spain, which had been lost, after driving thence four Carthaginian armies. When elected consul, though all others wanted courage to defend Italy, you crossed over into Africa; where having cut to pieces two armies, having at once captured and burnt two camps in the same hour; having made prisoner Syphax, a most powerful king, and seized so many towns of his dominions and so many of ours, you have dragged me from Italy, the possession of which I had firmly held for now sixteen years. Your mind, I say, may possibly be more disposed to conquest than peace. I know the spirits of your country aim rather at great than useful objects. On me, too, a similar fortune once shone. But if with prosperity the gods would also bestow upon us sound judgment, we should not only consider those things which have happened, but those also which may occur. Even if you should forget all others, I am myself a sufficient instance of every vicissitude of fortune. For me, whom a little while ago you saw advancing my standards to the walls of Rome, after pitching my camp between the Anio and your city, you now behold here, bereft of my two brothers, men of consummate bravery, and most renowned generals, standing before the walls of my native city, which is all but besieged, and deprecating, in behalf of my own city, those severities with which I terrified yours. In all cases, the most prosperous fortune is least to be depended upon. While your affairs are in a favourable and ours in a dubious state, you would derive honour and splendour from granting peace; while to us who solicit it, it would be considered as necessary rather than honourable. A certain peace is better and safer than a victory in prospect; the former is at your own disposal, the latter depends upon the gods. Do not place at the hazard of a single hour the successes of so many years. When you consider your own strength, then also place before your view the power of fortune, and the fluctuating nature of war. On both sides there will be arms, on both sides human bodies. In nothing less than in war do events correspond (with men's calculations). Should you be victorious in a battle, you will not add so much to that renown which you now have it in your power to acquire by granting peace, as you will detract from it should any adverse event befall you. The chance of a single hour may at once overturn the honours you have acquired and those you anticipate. Every thing is at your own disposal in adjusting a

peace; but, in the other case, you must be content with that fortune which the gods shall impose upon you. Formerly, in this same country, Marcus Atilius would have formed one among the few instances of good fortune and valour, if, when victorious, he had granted a peace to our fathers when they requested it; but by not setting any bounds to his success, and not checking good fortune, which was elating him, he fell with a degree of ignominy proportioned to his elevation. It is indeed the right of him who grants, and not of him who solicits it, to dictate the terms of peace; but perhaps we may not be unworthy to impose upon ourselves the fine. We do not refuse that all those possessions on account of which the war was begun should be yours; Sicily, Sardinia, Spain, with all the islands lying in any part of the sea, between Africa and Italy. Let us Carthaginians, confined within the shores of Africa, behold you, since such is the pleasure of the gods, extending your empire over foreign nations, both by sea and land. I cannot deny that you have reason to suspect the Carthaginian faith, in consequence of their insincerity lately in soliciting a peace and while awaiting the decision. The sincerity with which a peace will be observed, depends much, Scipio, on the person by whom it is sought. Your senate, as I hear, refused to grant a peace in some measure because the deputies were deficient in respectability. It is I, Hannibal, who now solicit peace; who would neither ask for it unless I believed it expedient, nor will I fail to observe it for the same reason of expedience on account of which I have solicited it. And in the same manner as I, because the war was commenced by me, brought it to pass that no one regretted it till the gods began to regard me with displeasure; so will I also exert myself that no one may regret the peace procured by my means.”

31. In answer to these things the Roman general spoke nearly to the following effect: “I was aware that it was in consequence of the expectation of your arrival, that the Carthaginians violated the existing faith of the truce and broke off all hope of a peace. Nor, indeed, do you conceal the fact; inasmuch as you artfully withdraw from the former conditions of peace every concession except what relates to those things which have for a long time been in our own power. But as it is your object, that your countrymen should be sensible how great a burden they are relieved from by your means, so

it is incumbent upon me to endeavour that they may not receive, as the reward of their perfidy, the concessions which they formerly stipulated, by expunging them now from the conditions of the peace. Though you do not deserve to be allowed the same conditions as before, you now request even to be benefited by your treachery. Neither did our fathers first make war respecting Sicily, nor did we respecting Spain. In the former case the danger which threatened our allies the Mamertines, and in the present the destruction of Saguntum, girded us with just and pious arms. That you were the aggressors, both you yourselves confess, and the gods are witnesses, who determined the issue of the former war, and who are now determining and will determine the issue of the present according to right and justice. As to myself, I am not forgetful of the instability of human affairs, but consider the influence of fortune, and am well aware that all our measures are liable to a thousand casualties. But as I should acknowledge that my conduct would savour of insolence and oppression, if I rejected you on your coming in person to solicit peace, before I crossed over into Africa, you voluntarily retiring from Italy, and after you had embarked your troops; so now, when I have dragged you into Africa almost by manual force, notwithstanding your resistance and evasions, I am not bound to treat you with any respect. Wherefore, if in addition to those stipulations on which it was considered that a peace would at that time have been agreed upon, and what they are you are informed, a compensation is proposed for having seized our ships, together with their stores, during a truce, and for the violence offered to our ambassadors, I shall then have matter to lay before my council. But if these things also appear oppressive, prepare for war, since you could not brook the conditions of peace.” Thus, without effecting an accommodation, when they had returned from the conference to their armies, they informed them that words had been bandied to no purpose, that the question must be decided by arms, and that they must accept that fortune which the gods assigned them.

32. When they had arrived at their camps, they both issued orders that their soldiers should get their arms in readiness, and prepare their minds for the final contest; in which, if fortune should favour them, they would continue victorious, not for a single day, but for

ever. "Before to-morrow night," they said, "they would know whether Rome or Carthage should give laws to the world; and that neither Africa nor Italy, but the whole world, would be the prize of victory. That the dangers which threatened those who had the misfortune to be defeated, were proportioned to the rewards of the victors." For the Romans had not any place of refuge in an unknown and foreign land, and immediate destruction seemed to await Carthage, if the troops which formed her last reliance were defeated. To this important contest, the day following, two generals, by far the most renowned of any, and belonging to two of the most powerful nations in the world, advanced, either to crown or overthrow, on that day, the many honours they had previously acquired. Their minds, therefore, were agitated with the opposite feelings of hope and fear; and while they contemplated at one time their own troops, at another those of their enemy, estimating their powers more by sight than by reason, they saw in them at once the grounds for joy and grief. Those circumstances which did not occur to the troops themselves spontaneously, their generals suggested by their admonitions and exhortations. The Carthaginian recounted his achievements in the land of Italy during sixteen years the many Roman generals and armies annihilated, reminding each individually of the honours he had acquired as he came to any soldier who had obtained distinction in any of his battles. Scipio referred to Spain, the recent battles in Africa and the enemy's own confession, that they could not through fear but solicit peace, nor could they, through their inveterate perfidy, abide by it. In addition to this he gave what turn he pleased to his conference with Hannibal, which was held in private, and was therefore open to misrepresentation. He augured success that the gods had exhibited the same omens to them on going out to battle on the present occasion, as they had to their fathers when they fought at the islands Aegates. He told them that the termination of the war, and their hardships, had arrived; that they had within their grasp the spoils of Carthage, and the power of returning home to their country, their parents, their children, their wives, and their household gods. He delivered these observations with a body so erect, and with a countenance so full of exultation, that one would have supposed that he had already conquered. He then drew up his troops, posting the

hastati in front, the principes behind them, and closing his rear line with the triarii.

33. He did not draw up his cohorts in close order, but each before their respective standards; placing the companies at some distance from each other, so as to leave a space through which the elephants of the enemy passing might not at all break their ranks. Laelius, whom he had employed before as lieutenant-general, but this year as quaestor, by special appointment, according to a decree of the senate, he posted with the Italian cavalry in the left wing, Masinissa and the Numidians in the right. The open spaces between the companies of those in the van he filled with velites, which then formed the Roman light-armed troops, with an injunction, that on the charge of the elephants they should either retire behind the files, which extended in a right line, or, running to the right and left and placing themselves by the side of those in the van, afford a passage by which the elephants might rush in between weapons on both sides. Hannibal, in order to terrify the enemy, drew up his elephants in front, and he had eighty of them, being more than he had ever had in any battle; behind these his Ligurian and Gallic auxiliaries, with Balearians and Moors intermixed. In the second line he placed the Carthaginians, Africans, and a legion of Macedonians; then, leaving a moderate interval, he formed a reserve of Italian troops, consisting principally of Bruttians, more of whom had followed him on his departure from Italy by compulsion and necessity than by choice. His cavalry also he placed in the wings, the Carthaginian occupying the right, the Numidian the left. Various were the means of exhortation employed in an army consisting of a mixture of so many different kinds of men; men differing in language, customs laws, arms, dress, and appearance, and in the motives for serving. To the auxiliaries, the prospect both of their present pay, and many times more from the spoils, was held out. The Gauls were stimulated by their peculiar and inherent animosity against the Romans. To the Ligurians the hope was held out of enjoying the fertile plains of Italy, and quitting their rugged mountains, if victorious. The Moors and Numidians were terrified with subjection to the government of Masinissa, which he would exercise with despotic severity. Different grounds of hope and fear were represented to different persons. The view of the Carthaginians

was directed to the walls of their city, their household gods, the sepulchres of their ancestors, their children and parents, and their trembling wives; they were told, that either the destruction of their city and slavery or the empire of the world awaited them; that there was nothing intermediate which they could hope for or fear. While the general was thus busily employed among the Carthaginians, and the captains of the respective nations among their countrymen, most of them employing interpreters among troops intermixed with those of different nations, the trumpets and cornets of the Romans sounded; and such a clamour arose, that the elephants, especially those in the left wing, turned round upon their own party, the Moors and Numidians. Masinissa had no difficulty in increasing the alarm of the terrified enemy, and deprived them of the aid of their cavalry in that wing. A few, however, of the beasts which were driven against the enemy, and were not turned back through fear, made great havoc among the ranks of the velites, though not without receiving many wounds themselves; for when the velites, retiring to the companies, had made way for the elephants, that they might not be trampled down, they discharged their darts at them, exposed as they were to wounds on both sides, those in the van also keeping up a continual discharge of javelins; until, driven out of the Roman line by the weapons which fell upon them from all quarters, these elephants also put to flight even the cavalry of the Carthaginians posted in their right wing. Laelius, when he saw the enemy in disorder, struck additional terror into them in their confusion.

34. The Carthaginian line was deprived of the cavalry on both sides, when the infantry, who were now not a match for the Romans in confidence or strength, engaged. In addition to this there was one circumstance, trifling in itself, but at the same time producing important consequences in the action. On the part of the Romans the shout was uniform, and on that account louder and more terrific; while the voices of the enemy, consisting as they did of many nations of different languages, were dissonant. The Romans used the stationary kind of fight, pressing upon the enemy with their own weight and that of their arms; but on the other side there was more of skirmishing and rapid movement than force. Accordingly, on the first charge, the Romans immediately drove back the line of their

opponents; then pushing them with their elbows and the bosses of their shields, and pressing forward into the places from which they had pushed them, they advanced a considerable space, as though there had been no one to resist them, those who formed the rear urging forward those in front when they perceived the line of the enemy giving way; which circumstance itself gave great additional force in repelling them. On the side of the enemy, the second line, consisting of the Africans and Carthaginians, were so far from supporting the first line when giving ground, that, on the contrary, they even retired, lest their enemy, by slaying those who made a firm resistance, should penetrate to themselves also. Accordingly, the auxiliaries suddenly turned their backs, and facing about upon their own party, fled, some of them into the second line, while others slew those who did not receive them into their ranks, since before they did not support them, and now refused to receive them. And now there were, in a manner, two contests going on together, the Carthaginians being compelled to fight at once with the enemy and with their own party. Not even then, however, did they receive into their line the terrified and exasperated troops; but, closing their ranks, drove them out of the scene of action to the wings and the surrounding plain, lest they should mingle these soldiers, terrified with defeat and wounds, with that part of their line which was firm and fresh. But such a heap of men and arms had filled the space in which the auxiliaries a little while ago had stood, that it was almost more difficult to pass through it than through a close line of troops. The spearmen, therefore, who formed the front line, pursuing the enemy as each could find a way through the heap of arms and men, and streams of blood, threw into complete disorder the battalions and companies. The standards also of the principes had begun to waver when they saw the line before them driven from their ground. Scipio, perceiving this, promptly ordered the signal to be given for the spearmen to retreat, and, having taken his wounded into the rear, brought the principes and triarii to the wings, in order that the line of spearmen in the centre might be more strong and secure. Thus a fresh and renewed battle commenced, inasmuch as they had penetrated to their real antagonists, men equal to them in the nature of their arms, in their experience in war, in the fame of their achievements, and the

greatness of their hopes and fears. But the Romans were superior both in numbers and courage, for they had now routed both the cavalry and the elephants, and having already defeated the front line, were fighting against the second.

35. Laelius and Masinissa, who had pursued the routed cavalry through a considerable space, returning very opportunely, charged the rear of the enemy's line. This attack of the cavalry at length routed them. Many of them, being surrounded, were slain in the field; and many, dispersed in flight through the open plain around, were slain on all hands, as the cavalry were in possession of every part. Of the Carthaginians and their allies, above twenty thousand were slain on that day; about an equal number were captured, with a hundred and thirty-three military standards, and eleven elephants. Of the victors as many as two thousand fell. Hannibal, slipping off during the confusion, with a few horsemen came to Adrumetum, not quitting the field till he had tried every expedient both in the battle and before the engagement; having, according to the admission of Scipio, and every one skilled in military science, acquired the fame of having marshalled his troops on that day with singular judgment. He placed his elephants in the front, in order that their desultory attack, and insupportable violence, might prevent the Romans from following their standards, and preserving their ranks, on which they placed their principal dependence. Then he posted his auxiliaries before the line of Carthaginians, in order that men who were made up of the refuse of all nations and who were not bound by honour but by gain, might not have any retreat open to them in case they fled; at the same time that the first ardour and impetuosity might be exhausted upon them, and, if they could render no other service, that the weapons of the enemy might be blunted in wounding them. Next he placed the Carthaginian and African soldiers, on whom he placed all his hopes, in order that, being equal to the enemy in every other respect, they might have the advantage of them, inasmuch as, being fresh and unimpaired in strength themselves, they would fight with those who were fatigued and wounded. The Italians he removed into the rear, separating them also by an intervening space, as he knew not, with certainty, whether they were friends or enemies. Hannibal, after performing this as it were his last work of valour, fled to

Adrumetum, whence, having been summoned to Carthage, he returned thither in the six and thirtieth year after he had left it when a boy; and confessed in the senate-house that he was defeated, not only in the battle, but in the war, and that there was no hope of safety in any thing but in obtaining peace.

36. Immediately after the battle, Scipio, having taken and plundered the enemy's camp, returned to the sea and his ships, with an immense booty, news having reached him that Publius Lentulus had arrived at Utica with fifty men of war, and a hundred transports laden with every kind of stores. Concluding that he ought to bring before Carthage every thing which could increase the consternation already existing there, after sending Laelius to Rome to report his victory, he ordered Cneius Octavius to conduct the legions thither by land; and, setting out himself from Utica with the fresh fleet of Lentulus, added to his former one, made for the harbour of Carthage. When he had arrived within a short distance, he was met by a Carthaginian ship decked with fillets and branches of olive. There were ten deputies, the leading men in the state, sent at the instance of Hannibal to solicit peace; to whom, when they had come up to the stern of the general's ship, holding out the badges of suppliants, entreating and imploring the protection and compassion of Scipio, the only answer given was, that they must come to Tunes, to which place he would move his camp. After taking a view of the site of Carthage, not so much for the sake of acquainting himself with it for any present object, as to dispirit the enemy, he returned to Utica, having recalled Octavius to the same place. As they were proceeding thence to Tunes, they received intelligence that Vermina, the son of Syphax, with a greater number of horse than foot, was coming to the assistance of the Carthaginians. A part of his infantry, with all the cavalry, having attacked them on their march on the first day of the Saturnalia, routed the Numidians with little opposition; and as every way by which they could escape in flight was blocked up, for the cavalry surrounded them on all sides, fifteen thousand men were slain, twelve hundred were taken alive, with fifteen hundred Numidian horses, and seventy-two military standards. The prince himself fled from the field with a few attendants during the confusion. The camp was then pitched near Tunes in the same place

as before, and thirty ambassadors came to Scipio from Carthage. These behaved in a manner even more calculated to excite compassion than the former, in proportion as their situation was more pressing; but from the recollection of their recent perfidy, they were heard with considerably less pity. In the council, though all were impelled by just resentment to demolish Carthage, yet, when they reflected upon the magnitude of the undertaking, and the length of time which would be consumed in the siege of so well fortified and strong a city, while Scipio himself was uneasy in consequence of the expectation of a successor, who would come in for the glory of having terminated the war, though it was accomplished already by the exertions and danger of another, the minds of all were inclined to peace.

37. The next day the ambassadors being called in again, and with many rebukes for their perfidy, warned that, instructed by so many disasters, they would at length believe in the existence of the gods, and the obligation of an oath, these conditions of the peace were stated to them: "That they should enjoy their liberty and live under their own laws; that they should possess such cities and territories as they had enjoyed before the war, and with the same boundaries, and that the Romans should on that day desist from devastation. That they should restore to the Romans all deserters and fugitives, giving up all their ships of war except ten triremes, with such tamed elephants as they had, and that they should not tame any more. That they should not carry on war in or out of Africa without the permission of the Roman people. That they should make restitution to Masinissa, and form a league with him. That they should furnish corn, and pay for the auxiliaries until the ambassadors had returned from Rome. That they should pay ten thousand talents of silver, in equal annual instalments distributed over fifty years. That they should give a hundred hostages, according to the pleasure of Scipio, not younger than fourteen nor older than thirty. That he would grant them a truce on condition that the transports, together with their cargoes, which had been seized during the former truce, were restored. Otherwise they would have no truce, nor any hope of a peace." When the ambassadors who were ordered to bear these conditions home reported them in an assembly, and Gisgo had stood

forth to dissuade them from the terms, and was being listened to by the multitude, who were at once indisposed for peace and unfit for war, Hannibal, indignant that such language should be held and listened to at such a juncture, laid hold of Gisgo with his own hand, and dragged him from his elevated position. This unusual sight in a free state having raised a murmur among the people, the soldier, disconcerted at the liberties which the citizens took, thus addressed them: "Having left you when nine years old, I have returned after a lapse of thirty-six years. I flatter myself I am well acquainted with the qualifications of a soldier, having been instructed in them from my childhood, sometimes by my own situation, and sometimes by that of my country. The privileges, the laws, and customs of the city and the forum you ought to teach me." Having thus apologized for his indiscretion, he discoursed largely concerning the peace, showing how inoppressive the terms were, and how necessary it was. The greatest difficulty was, that of the ships which had been seized during the truce nothing was to be found except the ships themselves: nor was it easy to collect the property, because those who were charged with having it were opposed to the peace. It was resolved that the ships should be restored, and that the men at least should be looked up; and as to whatever else was missing, that it should be left to Scipio to put a value upon it, and that the Carthaginians should make compensation accordingly in money. There are those who say that Hannibal went from the field of battle to the sea-coast; whence he immediately sailed in a ship, which he had ready for the purpose, to king Antiochus; and that when Scipio demanded above every thing that Hannibal should be given up to him, answer was made that Hannibal was not in Africa.

38. After the ambassadors returned to Scipio, the quaestors were ordered to give in an account, made out from the public registers, of the public property which had been in the ships; and the owners to make a return of the private property. For the amount of the value twenty-five thousand pounds of silver were required to be paid down; and a truce for three months was granted to the Carthaginians. It was added, that during the time of the truce they should not send ambassadors any where else than to Rome; and that, whatever ambassadors came to Carthage, they should not dismiss them before

informing the Roman general who they were, and what they sought. With the Carthaginian ambassadors, Lucius Veturius Philo, Marcus Marcius Ralla, and Lucius Scipio, brother of the general, were sent to Rome. At the time in which these events took place, the supplies sent from Sicily and Sardinia produced such cheapness of provisions, that the merchant gave up the corn to the mariners for their freight. At Rome alarm was excited at the first intelligence of the renewal of hostilities by the Carthaginians; and Tiberius Claudius was directed to conduct the fleet with speed into Sicily, and cross over from that place into Africa. The other consul, Marcus Servilius, was directed to stay at the city until the state of affairs in Africa was ascertained. Tiberius Claudius, the consul, proceeded slowly with every thing connected with the equipment and sailing of the fleet, because the senate had decided that it should be left to Scipio, rather than to the consul, to determine the conditions on which the peace should be granted. The accounts also of prodigies which arrived just at the time of the news of the revival of the war, had occasioned great alarm. At Cumae the orb of the sun seemed diminished, and a shower of stones fell; and in the territory of Veliternum the earth sank in great chasms, and trees were swallowed up in the cavities. At Aricia the forum and the shops around it, at Frusino a wall in several places, and a gate, were struck by lightning; and in the Palatium a shower of stones fell. The latter prodigy, according to the custom handed down by tradition, was expiated by a nine days' sacred rite; the rest with victims of the larger sort. Amid these events an unusually great rising of the waters was converted into a prodigy; for the Tiber overflowed its banks to such a degree, that as the circus was under water, the Apollinarian games were got up near the temple of Venus Erycina, without the Colline gate. However, the weather suddenly clearing up on the very day of the celebration, the procession, which had begun to move at the Colline gate, was recalled and transferred to the circus, on its being known that the water had retired thence. The joy of the people and the attraction of the games were increased by the restoration of this solemn spectacle to its proper scene.

39. The consul Claudius, having set out at length from the city, was placed in the most imminent danger by a violent tempest, which overtook him between the ports of Cosa and Laurentum. Having

reached Populonii, where he waited till the remainder of the tempest had spent itself, he crossed over to the island Ilva. From Ilva he went to Corsica, and from Corsica to Sardinia. Here, while sailing round the Montes Insani, a tempest much more violent in itself, and in a more dangerous situation, dispersed his fleet. Many of his ships were shattered and stripped of their rigging, and some were wrecked. His fleet thus weatherbeaten and shattered arrived at Carales, where the winter came on while the ships were drawn on shore and refitted. The year having elapsed, and no one proposing to continue him in command, Tiberius Claudius brought back his fleet to Rome in a private capacity. Marcus Servilius set out for his province, having nominated Caius Servilius Geminus as dictator, that he might not be recalled to the city to hold the elections. The dictator appointed Publius Aelius Paetus master of the horse. It frequently happened, that the elections could not be held on account of bad weather, though the days were fixed for them; and, therefore, as the magistrates of the former year retired from their offices on the day before the ides of March, and fresh ones were not appointed to succeed them, the state was without curule magistrates. Lucius Manlius Torquatus, a pontiff, died this year. Caius Sulpicius Galba was elected in his room. The Roman games were thrice repeated by the curule aediles, Lucius Licinius Lucullus and Quintus Fulvius. Some scribes and runners belonging to the aediles were found, on the testimony of an informer, to have privately conveyed money out of the treasury, and were condemned, not without disgrace to the aedile Lucullus. Publius Aelius Tubero and Lucius Laetorius, plebeian aediles, on account of some informality in their creation, abdicated their office, after having celebrated the games, and the banquet on occasion of the games, in honour of Jupiter, and after having placed in the Capitol three statues made out of silver paid as fines. The dictator and master of the horse celebrated the games in honour of Ceres, in conformity with a decree of the senate.

40. The Roman, together with the Carthaginian ambassadors, having arrived at Rome from Africa, the senate was assembled at the temple of Bellona; when Lucius Veturius Philo stated, to the great joy of the senate, that a battle had been fought with Hannibal, which was decisive of the fate of the Carthaginians, and that a period was at

length put to that calamitous war. He added what formed a small accession to their successes, that Vermina, the son of Syphax, had been vanquished. He was then ordered to go forth to the public assembly, and impart the joyful tidings to the people. Then, a thanksgiving having been appointed, all the temples in the city were thrown open, and supplications for three days were decreed. The ambassadors of the Carthaginians, and those of king Philip, for they also had arrived, requesting an audience of the senate, answer was made by the dictator, by order of the fathers, that the new consuls would give them an audience. The elections were then held. The consuls elected were Cneius Cornelius Lentulus and Publius Aelius Paetus. The praetors elected were Marcus Junius Pennus, to whose lot the city jurisdiction fell, Marcus Valerius Falto, who received Bruttium, Marcus Fabius Buteo, who received Sardinia, and Publius Aelius Tubero, who received Sicily. It was the pleasure of the senate that nothing should be done respecting the provinces of the consuls, till the ambassadors of king Philip and the Carthaginians had been heard; for they foresaw the termination of one war and the commencement of another. Cneius Lentulus, the consul, was inflamed with a strong desire to have the province of Africa, looking forward to an easy victory if there was still war, or, if it was on the point of being concluded, to the glory of having it terminated in his consulate. He therefore refused to allow any business to be transacted before the province of Africa was assigned him; his colleague, who was a moderate and prudent man, giving up his claim to it, for he clearly saw that a contest with Scipio for that honour would be not only unjust but unequal. Quintus Minucius Thermus, and Manius Acilius Glabrio, tribunes of the people, said that Cneius Cornelius was endeavouring to effect the same object which had been attempted in vain by the consul Tiberius Claudius the former year. That, by the direction of the senate, it had been proposed to the people to decide whom they wished to have the command in Africa, and all the thirty-five tribes had concurred in assigning that command to Publius Scipio. After many discussions, both in the senate and popular assembly, it was at length determined to leave it to the senate. The fathers, therefore, on oath, for so it had been agreed, voted, that as to the provinces, the consuls should settle between

themselves, or determine by lots, which of them should have Italy, and which a fleet of fifty ships. That he to whose lot the fleet fell should sail to Sicily, and if peace could not be concluded with the Carthaginians, that he should cross over into Africa. That the consul should act by sea, and Scipio by land, with the same right of command as heretofore. If an agreement should be come to, as to the terms of the peace, that then the plebeian tribunes should consult the commons as to whether they ordered the consul or Publius Scipio to grant the peace; and if the victorious army was to be brought home out of Africa, whom they ordered to bring it. That if they ordered that the peace should be granted by Publius Scipio, and that the army should be brought home likewise by him, then the consul should not pass out of Sicily into Africa. That the other consul, to whose lot Italy fell, should receive two legions from Marcus Sextius the praetor.

41. Publius Scipio was continued in command in the province of Africa, with the armies which he then had. To the praetor Marcus Valerius Falto the two legions in Bruttium, which Caius Livius had commanded the preceding year, were assigned. Publius Aelius, the praetor, was to receive two legions in Sicily from Cneius Tremellius. To Marcus Fabius was assigned one legion, which Publius Lentulus, propraetor, had commanded, to be employed in Sardinia; Marcus Servilius, the consul of the former year, was continued in command in Etruria, with his own two legions likewise. As to Spain, it appeared that Lucius Cornelius Lentulus and Lucius Manlius Acidinus had been there for now several years. It was resolved, therefore, that the consuls should make application to the plebeian tribunes to take the opinion of the people, if they thought proper, as to whom they ordered to have command in Spain; that the person so ordered should form one legion of Roman soldiers out of the two armies, and also fifteen cohorts of the allies of the Latin confederacy, with which he should occupy the province. That Lucius Cornelius Lentulus and Lucius Manlius Acidinus should convey the old soldiers into Italy. To Cornelius, the consul, was assigned a fleet of fifty ships formed out of the two fleets, one of which was under Cneius Octavius in Africa, the other employed in protecting the coast of Sicily, under Publius Villius. He was to select such ships as he

pleased. That Publius Scipio should still have the forty ships of war which he before had, or if he wished that Cneius Octavius should command it, as he had commanded a fleet there before, that Octavius should be continued in command for a year as *propraetor*; but if he appointed Laelius to the command of it, Octavius should retire to Rome, and bring with him the ships which the consul did not want. To Marcus Fabius also ten men of war were assigned for Sardinia. The consuls were directed to enlist two city legions, so that the operations of the state might be carried on this year with fourteen legions, and one hundred men of war.

42. Then the business relating to the ambassadors of Philip and the Carthaginians was considered. It was resolved that the Macedonians should be brought before the senate first. Their address comprehended a variety of subjects, being employed partly in clearing themselves from the charges relative to the depredations committed against the allies, which the deputies sent to the king from Rome had brought against them; and partly in preferring accusations themselves against the allies of the Roman people, but particularly against Marcus Aurelius, whom they inveighed against with much greater acrimony; for they said that, being one of the three ambassadors sent to them, he had staid behind, and levying soldiers, had assailed them with hostilities contrary to the league, and frequently fought pitched battles with their prefects; and partly in preferring a request that the Macedonians and their general, Sopater, who had served in the army of Hannibal for hire, and having been made prisoners were kept in bondage, should be restored to them. In opposition to these things Marcus Furius, who had been sent from Macedonia for the express purpose by Aurelius, thus argued: he said, “that Aurelius, having been left behind, lest the allies of the Roman people, wearied by devastations and injuries, should revolt to the king, had not gone beyond the boundaries of the allies; but had taken measures to prevent plundering parties from crossing over into their lands with impunity. That Sopater was one of those who wore purple, and was related to the king; that he had been lately sent into Africa with four thousand Macedonians and a sum of money to assist Hannibal and the Carthaginians.” The Macedonians, on being interrogated on these points, proceeded to answer in a subtle and

evasive manner; but without waiting for the conclusion of their reply they were told, “that the king was seeking occasion for war, and that if he persisted he would soon obtain his object. That the treaty had been doubly violated by him, both by offering insults to the allies of the Roman people, by assaulting them with hostilities and arms, and also by aiding their enemies with auxiliaries and money. That Publius Scipio was deemed to have acted properly and regularly in keeping in chains, as enemies, those who had been made prisoners while bearing arms against the Romans; and that Marcus Aurelius had consulted the interest of the state, and the senate were thankful to him for it, in protecting the allies of the Roman people by arms, since he could not do it by the obligation of the treaty.” The Macedonian ambassadors having been dismissed with this unpleasant answer, the Carthaginian ambassadors were called. On observing their ages and dignified appearance, for they were by far the first men of the state, all promptly declared their conviction, that now they were sincere in their desire to effect a peace. Hasdrubal, however, surnamed by his countrymen Haedus, who had invariably recommended peace, and was opposed to the Barcine faction, was regarded with greater interest than the rest. On these accounts the greater weight was attached to him when transferring the blame of the war from the state at large to the cupidity of a few. After a speech of varied character, in which he sometimes refuted the charges which had been brought, at other times admitted some, lest by impudently denying what was manifestly true their forgiveness might be the more difficult; and then, even admonishing the conscript fathers to be guided by the rules of decorum and moderation in their prosperity, he said, that if the Carthaginians had listened to himself and Hanno, and had been disposed to make a proper use of circumstances, they would themselves have dictated terms of peace, instead of begging it as they now did. That it rarely happened that good fortune and a sound judgment were bestowed upon men at the same time. That the Roman people were therefore invincible, because when successful they forgot not the maxims of wisdom and prudence; and indeed it would have been matter of astonishment did they act otherwise. That those persons to whom success was a new and uncommon thing, proceeded to a pitch of madness in their ungoverned transports in

consequence of their not being accustomed to it. That to the Roman people the joy arising from victory was a matter of common occurrence, and was now almost become old-fashioned. That they had extended their empire more by sparing the vanquished than by conquering. The language employed by the others was of a nature more calculated to excite compassion; they represented from what a height of power the Carthaginian affairs had fallen. That nothing, besides the walls of Carthage, remained to those who a little time ago held almost the whole world in subjection by their arms; that, shut up within these, they could see nothing any where on sea or land which owned their authority. That they would retain possession of their city itself and their household gods only, in case the Roman people should refrain from venting their indignation upon these, which is all that remains for them to do. When it was manifest that the fathers were moved by compassion, it is said that one of the senators, violently incensed at the perfidy of the Carthaginians, immediately asked with a loud voice, by what gods they would swear in striking the league, since they had broken their faith with those by whom they swore in striking the former one? By those same, replied Hasdrubal, who have shown such determined hostility to the violators of treaties.

43. The minds of all being disposed to peace, Cneius Lentulus, whose province the fleet was, protested against the decree of the senate. Upon this, Manius Acilius and Quintus Minucius, tribunes of the people, put the question to the people, whether they willed and ordered that the senate should decree that peace should be made with the Carthaginians? whom they ordered to grant that peace, and whom to conduct the army out of Africa? All the tribes ordered respecting the peace according as the question had been put. That Publius Scipio should grant the peace, and that he also should conduct the army home. Agreeably to this order, the senate decreed that Publius Scipio, acting according to the opinion of the ten deputies, should make peace with the Carthaginian people on what terms he pleased. The Carthaginians then returned thanks to the senate, and requested that they might be allowed to enter the city and converse with their countrymen who had been made prisoners and were in custody of the state; observing, that some of them were their relations and friends,

and men of rank, and some, persons to whom they were charged with messages from their relations. Having obtained these requests, they again asked permission to ransom such of them as they pleased; when they were desired to give in their names. Having given in a list of about two hundred, a decree of the senate was passed to the effect, that the Carthaginian ambassadors should be allowed to take away into Africa to Publius Cornelius Scipio two hundred of the Carthaginian prisoners, selecting whom they pleased; and that they should convey to him a message, that if the peace were concluded, he should restore them to the Carthaginians without ransom. The heralds being; ordered to go into Africa to strike the league, at their own desire the senate passed a decree that they should take with them flint stones of their own, and vervain of their own; that the Roman praetor should command them to strike the league, and that they should demand of him herbs. The description of herb usually given to the heralds is taken from the Capitol. Thus the Carthaginians, being allowed to depart from Rome, when they had gone into Africa to Scipio concluded the peace on the terms before mentioned. They delivered up their men-of-war, their elephants, deserters, fugitives, and four thousand prisoners, among whom was Quintus Terentius Culleo, a senator. The ships he ordered to be taken out into the main and burnt. Some say there were five hundred of every description of those which are worked with oars, and that the sudden sight of these, when burning, occasioned as deep a sensation of grief to the Carthaginians as if Carthage had been in flames. The measures adopted respecting the deserters were more severe than those respecting the fugitives. Those who were of the Latin confederacy were decapitated; the Romans were crucified.

44. The last peace with the Carthaginians was made forty years before this, in the consulate of Quintus Lutatius and Aulus Manlius. The war commenced twenty-three years afterwards, in the consulate of Publius Cornelius and Tiberius Sempronius. It was concluded in the seventeenth year, in the consulate of Cneius Cornelius and Publius Aelius Paetus. It is related that Scipio frequently said afterwards, that first the ambition of Tiberius Claudius, and afterwards of Cneius Cornelius, were the causes which prevented his terminating the war by the destruction of Carthage. The

Carthaginians, finding difficulty in raising the first sum of money to be paid, as their finances were exhausted by a protracted war, and in consequence great lamentation and grief arising in the senate-house, it is said that Hannibal was observed laughing; and when Hasdrubal Haedus rebuked him for laughing amid the public grief, when he himself was the occasion of the tears which were shed, he said: "If, as the expression of the countenance is discerned by the sight, so the inward feelings of the mind could be distinguished, it would clearly appear to you that that laughter which you censure came from a heart not elated with joy, but frantic with misfortunes. And yet it is not so ill-timed as those absurd and inconsistent tears of yours. Then you ought to have wept, when our arms were taken from us, our ships burnt, and we were forbidden to engage in foreign wars, for that was the wound by which we fell. Nor is it just that you should suppose that the measures which the Romans have adopted towards you have been dictated by animosity. No great state can remain at rest long together. If it has no enemy abroad it finds one at home, in the same manner as over-robust bodies seem secure from external causes, but are encumbered with their own strength. So far, forsooth, we are affected with the public calamities as they reach our private affairs; nor is there any circumstance attending them which is felt more acutely than the loss of money. Accordingly, when the spoils were torn down from vanquished Carthage, when you beheld her left unarmed and defenceless amid so many armed nations of Africa, none heaved a sigh. Now, because a tribute is to be levied from private property, you lament with one accord, as though at the funeral of the state. How much do I dread lest you should soon be made sensible that you have shed tears this day for the lightest of your misfortunes!" Such were the sentiments which Hannibal delivered to the Carthaginians. Scipio, having summoned an assembly, presented Masinissa, in addition to his paternal dominions, with the town of Cirta, and the other cities and territories which had passed from the kingdom of Syphax into the possession of the Romans. He ordered Cneius Octavius to conduct the fleet to Sicily and deliver it to Cneius Cornelius the consul, and directed the Carthaginian ambassadors to go to Rome, that the arrangements he had made, with the advice of the ten deputies, might be ratified by

the sanction of the fathers and the order of the people.

45. Peace having been established by sea and land, he embarked his troops and crossed over to Lilybaeum in Sicily; whence, having sent a great part of his soldiers by ships, he himself proceeded through Italy, which was rejoicing, not less on account of the peace than the victory; while not only the inhabitants of the cities poured out to show him honour, but crowds of rustics thronged the roads. He arrived at Rome and entered the city in a triumph of unparalleled splendour. He brought into the treasury one hundred and twenty-three thousand pounds of silver. He distributed to each of his soldiers four hundred asses out of the spoils. By the death of Syphax, which took place but a short time before at Tibur, whither he had been removed from Alba, a diminution was occasioned in the interest of the pageant rather than in the glory of him who triumphed. His death, however, was attended with circumstances which produced a strong sensation, for he was buried at the public expense. Polybius, an author by no means to be despised, asserts that this king was led in the triumph. Quintus Terentius Culleo followed Scipio in his triumph with a cap of liberty on his head, and during the remainder of his life treated him with the respect due to him as the author of his freedom. I have not been able to ascertain whether the partiality of the soldiers or the favour of the people fixed upon him the surname of Africanus, or whether in the same manner as Felix was applied to Sulla, and Magnus to Pompey, in the memory of our fathers, it originated in the flattery of his friends. He was, doubtless, the first general who was distinguished by a name derived from the nation which he had conquered. Afterwards, in imitation of his example, some, by no means his equals in his victories, affixed splendid inscriptions on their statues and gave honourable surnames to their families.

BOOK XXXI

Translated by William A. McDevitte

Renewal of the war with Philip, king of Macedon. Successes of Publius Sulpicius, consul, who had the conduct of that war. The Abydenians, besieged by Philip, put themselves to death, together with their wives and children. Lucius Furius, praetor, defeats the Insubrian Gauls who had revolted; and Hamilcar, who stirred up the insurrection, is slain, with thirty-five thousand men. Further operations of Sulpicius, Attalus, and the Rhodians against Philip.

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1. It is delightful even to me to have come to the end of the Punic war, as if I myself had borne a share of the toil and danger. For though it by no means becomes a person, who has ventured to promise an entire history of all the Roman affairs, to be fatigued by any particular parts of so extensive a work; yet when I reflect that sixty-three years (for so many there are from the first Punic war to the end of the second) have occupied as many of my volumes, as the four hundred and eighty-seven years, from the building of the city to the consulate of Appius Claudius, who first made war on the Carthaginians, I plainly perceive that, like those who, tempted by the shallows near the shore, walk into the sea, the farther I advance, I am carried, as it were, into a greater depth and abyss; and that my work almost increases on my hands which seemed to be diminished by the completion of each of its earlier portions. The peace with Carthage was quickly followed by a war with Macedonia: a war, not to be compared to the former, indeed, either in danger, or in the abilities of the commander, or the valour of the soldiers; but almost more remarkable with regard to the renown of their former kings, the ancient fame of that nation, and the vast extent of their empire, in which they had formerly comprehended a large part of Europe, and the greater part of Asia. The contest with Philip, which had begun about ten years before, had been intermitted for the three last years; the Aetolians having been the occasion both of the war and the peace. The entreaties of the Athenians whom, having ravaged their

lands, Philip had driven into their city, excited the Romans to a renewal of the war, left, as they were, disengaged by the Carthaginian peace, and incensed against him as well for his treacherous negotiation of peace with the Aetolians and the other allies in that region, as on account of the auxiliaries sent by him with money into Africa to Hannibal and the Carthaginians.

2. About the same time, ambassadors arrived both from king Attalus, and from the Rhodians, with information that the Macedonian was tampering with the states of Asia. To these embassies an answer was given, that the senate would give attention to the affairs of Asia. The determination with regard to the making war on him, was left open to the consuls, who were then in their provinces. In the mean time, three ambassadors were sent to Ptolemy, king of Egypt, namely, Caius Claudius Nero, Marcus Aemilius Lepidus, and Publius Sempronius Tuditanus, to announce their conquest of Hannibal and the Carthaginians; to give thanks to the king for his faithful adherence to his engagements in the time of their distress, when even the nearest allies of the Romans abandoned them; and to request that if, compelled by ill treatment, they should undertake a war with Philip, he would preserve his former disposition towards the Roman people. In Gaul, about this time, the consul, Publius Aelius, having heard that, before his arrival, the Boians had made inroads on the territories of the allies, levied two occasional legions on account of this disturbance; and adding to them four cohorts from his own army, ordered Caius Oppius, the praefect, to march with this tumultuary band through Umbria, (which is called the Sappinian district,) and to invade the territories of the Boians. He himself led his own troops thither openly, over the intervening mountains. Oppius, on entering the same, for some time committed depredations with tolerable success and safety. But afterwards, having pitched on a place near a fort called Mutilus, convenient enough for cutting down the corn, (for the crops were now ripe,) and setting out without having reconnoitred around, and without establishing armed posts of sufficient strength to protect those who were unarmed and intent on their work, he was suddenly surrounded, together with his foragers, by an unexpected invasion of the Gauls. On this, panic and flight seized even on those who were furnished

with weapons. Seven thousand men, dispersed through the corn fields, were put to the sword, among whom was the commander himself, Caius Oppius. The rest were driven by terror into the camp; from whence, in consequence of a resolution of the soldiers, they set out on the following night, without any particular commander; and, leaving behind a great part of their baggage, made their way, through woods almost impassable, to the consul, who returned to Rome without having performed any thing in his province worth notice, except that he ravaged the lands of the Boians, and made a treaty with the Ingaunian Ligurians.

3. The first time he assembled the senate, it was unanimously ordered that he should propose no other business before that which related to Philip and the complaints of the allies. It was immediately taken into consideration, and a numerous senate decreed, that Publius Aelius, consul, should send such person as he might think proper, vested with command, to receive the fleet which Cneius Octavius was bringing home from Sicily, and pass over to Macedonia. Accordingly Marcus Valerius Laevinus, propraetor, was sent; and, receiving thirty-eight ships from Cneius Octavius, near Vibo, he sailed to Macedonia, where, when Marcus Aurelius, the ambassador, had come to him and informed him what numerous forces and what large fleets the king had prepared, and how he was arousing the inhabitants to arms, partly by visiting them himself and partly by ambassadors, not only through all the cities of the continent, but even in the islands, (Laevinus was convinced) that the war ought to be undertaken by the Romans with greater vigour; lest, if they were dilatory, Philip might attempt that which had been formerly undertaken by Pyrrhus, who possessed not such large dominions. He therefore desired Aurelius to convey this intelligence by letter to the consuls and to the senate.

4. Towards the end of this year the senate, taking into consideration the lands to be given to the veteran soldiers, who, under the conduct and auspices of Publius Scipio, had finished the war in Africa, decreed that Marcus Tunius, praetor of the city, should, if he thought proper, appoint ten commissioners to survey, and distribute among them, that part of the Samnite and Apulian lands which was the property of the Roman people. For this purpose

were appointed, Publius Servilius, Quintus Caecilius Metellus, Caius and Marcus Servilius, both surnamed Geminus, Lucius and Aulus Hostilius Cato, Publius Villius Tappulus, Marcus Fulvius Flaccus, Publius Aelius Paetus, and Quintus Flaminius. At the same time, Publius Aelius presiding at the election of consuls, Publius Sulpicius Galba and Caius Aurelius Cotta were elected. Then were chosen praetors, Quintus Minucius Rufus, Lucius Furius Purpureo, Quintus Fulvius Gillo, Cneius Sergius Plancus. The Roman stage-games were exhibited, in a sumptuous and elegant manner, by the curule aediles, Lucius Valerius Flaccus, and Lucius Quintus Flaminius, and repeated for two days; and a vast quantity of corn, which Scipio had sent from Africa, was distributed by them to the people, with strict impartiality and general satisfaction, at the rate of four *asses* a peck. The plebeian games were thrice repeated entire by the plebeian aediles, Lucius Apustius Fullo, and Quintus Minucius Rufus; the latter of whom was, from the aedileship, elected praetor. There was also a feast of Jove on occasion of the games.

5. In the year five hundred and fifty-two from the building of the city, Publius Sulpicius Galba and Caius Aurelius being consuls, within a few months after the conclusion of the peace with the Carthaginians, the war was entered upon against king Philip. This was the first business introduced by the consul, Publius Sulpicius, on the ides of March, the day on which, in those times, the consulship commenced; and the senate decreed, that the consul should perform sacrifices with the greater victims, to such gods as they should judge proper, with prayers to this purpose, — that “the business which the senate and people of Rome had then under deliberation, concerning the state, and the entering on a new war, might issue prosperously and happily to the Roman people, the allies, and the Latin confederacy;” and that, after the sacrifices and prayers, they should consult the senate on the state of public affairs, and the provinces. At this time, very opportunely for exciting their minds to war, the letters were brought from Marcus Aurelius, the ambassador, and Marcus Valerius Laevinus, proprætor. A fresh embassy, likewise, arrived from the Athenians, to acquaint them that the king was approaching their frontiers, and that in a short time, not only their lands, but their city also, must fall into his hands, unless they received aid from the

Romans. When the consuls had made their report, that the sacrifices had been duly performed, and that the gods had accepted their prayers; that the aruspices had declared that the entrails showed good omens, and that enlargement of territory, victory, and triumph were portended; the letters of Valerius and Aurelius were read, and audience given to the ambassadors of the Athenians. After which, a decree of the senate was passed, that thanks should be given to their allies, because, though long solicited, they had not, even when in fear of a siege, renounced their fidelity. With regard to sending assistance to them, they resolved, that an answer should be given as soon as the consuls should have cast lots for the provinces; and when the consul to whose lot Macedonia fell should have proposed to the people, that war should be declared against Philip, king of the Macedonians.

6. The province of Macedonia fell by lot to Publius Sulpicius; and he proposed to the people to declare, “that they chose and ordered, that on account of the injuries and hostilities committed against the allies of the Roman people, war should be proclaimed against king Philip, and the Macedonians under his government.” The province of Italy fell to the lot of the other consul, Aurelius. The praetors then cast lots: to Cneius Sergius Plancus fell the city jurisdiction; to Quintus Fulvius Gillo, Sicily; to Quintus Minucius Rufus, Bruttium; and to Lucius Furius Purpureo, Gaul. At the first meeting of the people, the proposal concerning the Macedonian war was rejected by almost all the tribes. This was done partly spontaneously, as the people were wearied by the length and severity of the late war, and disgusted with toils and dangers; and partly by Quintus Baebius, tribune of the people, who, pursuing the old practice of criminating the patricians, charged them with multiplying wars one after another, so that the people could never enjoy peace. This proceeding the patricians with difficulty brooked, and the tribune was severely reprehended in the senate; where each severally urged the consul to call a new assembly, for passing the proposal; to rebuke the backwardness of the people; and to prove to them how much loss and disgrace the delay of this war would occasion.

7. The consul, having assembled the people in the field of Mars, before he dismissed the centuries to the vote, required their attention, and addressed them thus: “Citizens, you seem to me not to

understand that the question before you is not whether you choose to have peace or war: for Philip, having already commenced hostilities with a formidable force, both on land and sea, allows you not that option. The question is, Whether you must transport your legions to Macedonia, or admit the enemy into Italy? How important the difference is, if you never experienced it before, you certainly did in the late Punic war. For who entertains a doubt, but if, when the Saguntines were besieged, and implored our protection, we had assisted them with vigour, as our fathers did the Mamertines, we should have averted the whole weight of the war upon Spain; which, by our dilatory proceedings, we suffered to our extreme loss to fall upon Italy? Nor does it admit a doubt, that we confined this same Philip in Macedonia, (after he had entered into an engagement with Hannibal by ambassadors and letters, to cross over into Italy,) by sending Laevinus with a fleet to make war aggressively upon him. And what we did at that time, when we had Hannibal to contend with in Italy, do we hesitate to do now, after Hannibal has been expelled Italy, and the Carthaginians subdued? Suppose that we allow the king to experience the same inactivity on our part, while he is taking Athens, as we suffered Hannibal to experience while he was taking Saguntum: it will not be in the fifth month, as Hannibal came from Saguntum, but on the fifth day after he sets sail from Corinth, that he will arrive in Italy. Perhaps you may not consider Philip as equal to Hannibal; or the Macedonians to the Carthaginians: certainly, however, you will allow him equal to Pyrrhus. Equal, do I say? what a vast superiority has the one man over the other, the one nation over the other! Epirus ever was, and is at this day, deemed but an inconsiderable accession to the kingdom of Macedonia. Philip has the entire Peloponnesus under his dominion; even Argos itself, not more celebrated for its ancient glory than for the death of Pyrrhus. Now compare our situation. How much more nourishing was Italy, how much greater its strength, with so many commanders, so many armies unimpaired, which the Punic war afterwards consumed, when Pyrrhus attacked and shook it, and advanced victorious almost to the Roman capital! and not the Tarentines only, and the inhabitants of that tract of Italy which they call the greater Greece, whom you may suppose to have been led by the similarity of language and name, but

the Lucanian, the Bruttian, and the Samnite revolted from us. Do you believe that these would continue quiet and faithful, if Philip should come over to Italy? They subsequently continued faithful, forsooth, during the Punic war! Be assured those states will never fail to revolt from us, except when there is no one to whom they can go over. If you had been annoyed at passing into Africa, you would this day have had Hannibal and the Carthaginians to contend with in Italy. Let Macedonia, rather than Italy, be the seat of war. Let the cities and lands of the enemy be wasted with fire and sword. We have already found by experience, that our arms are more powerful and more successful abroad than at home. Go to the vote with the blessing of the gods; and what the senate have voted, do you ratify by your order. This resolution is recommended to you, not only by your consul, but even by the immortal gods themselves; who, when I offered sacrifice, and prayed that the issue of this war might be happy and prosperous to me and to the senate, to you and the allies and Latin confederates, to our fleets and armies, portended all joyful and prosperous results.”

8. After this speech of Sulpicius, being sent to give their votes, they declared for the war as he had proposed. On which, in pursuance of a decree of the senate, a supplication for three days was proclaimed by the consuls; and prayers were offered to the gods at all the shrines, that the war which the people had ordered against Philip might turn out well and happily. The consul Sulpicius inquiring of the heralds, whether they would direct the declaration of the war against king Philip to be made to himself in person, or whether it would be sufficient to publish it in the nearest garrison, within the frontiers of his kingdom, they answered, that they would do rightly whichever course they should adopt. The consul received authority from the senate to send any person whom he thought proper, not being a senator, as ambassador, to denounce war against the king. They then arranged for the armies of the consuls and praetors. The consuls were ordered to levy two legions, and to disband the veteran troops. Sulpicius, to whom the management of this new and highly important war had been decreed, was allowed permission to carry with him as many volunteers as he could procure out of the army which Publius Scipio had brought home from Africa; but he was not

empowered to take with him any veteran soldier against his will. They ordered that the consul should give to the praetors, Lucius Furius Purpureo and Quintus Minucius Rufus, five thousand of the allies of the Latin confederacy; with which forces they should hold, one, the province of Gaul, the other, Bruttium. Quintus Fulvius Gillo was ordered, in like manner, to select out of the army which Publius Aelius, late consul, had commanded, such as had been the shortest time in the service, until he also made up five thousand of the allies and Latin confederates; that this was to be the protection of the province of Sicily. To Marcus Valerius Falto, who, during the former year, had held the province of Campania, as praetor, the command was continued for a year; in order that he might go over, as proprætor, to Sardinia, and choose out of the army there five thousand of the allies of the Latin confederacy, who had served the fewest campaigns. The consuls were at the same time ordered to levy two legions for the city, which might be sent wherever occasions should require; as there were many states in Italy infected with an attachment to the Carthaginians, which they had formed during the war, and, in consequence, swelling with resentment. The state was to employ during that year six Roman legions.

9. In the midst of the preparations for war, ambassadors came from king Ptolemy, who delivered a message; that “the Athenians had petitioned the king for aid against Philip; but that although they were their common allies, yet the king would not, except with the sanction of the Roman people, send either fleet or army into Greece, for the purpose of defending or attacking any person. That he would either remain quiet in his kingdom, if the Romans were at leisure to protect their allies; or, if more agreeable to them to be at rest, would himself send such aid as might easily secure Athens against Philip.” Thanks were returned to the king by the senate, and this answer: that “it was the intention of the Roman people to protect their allies; that if they should have occasion for any assistance towards carrying on the war, they would acquaint the king; and that they were fully sensible, that the resources of his kingdom were the sure and faithful support of their own state.” Presents were then, by order of the senate, sent to the ambassadors, of five thousand *asses* to each. While the consuls were engaged in the levy, and preparing what was necessary for the

war, the people, prone to religious observances, especially at the beginning of new wars, after supplications had been already performed, and prayers offered up at all the shrines, lest any thing should be omitted that had ever been practised, ordered, that the consul who was to have the province of Macedonia should vow games and a present to Jove. Licinius, the chief pontiff, occasioned some delay to this public vow, alleging, that "it ought not to be fulfilled from promiscuous funds. For as the sum to be named should not be applied to the uses of the war, it should be immediately set apart, and not to be intermixed with other money; and that, unless this were done, the vow could not be properly performed." Although the objection and the author of it were influential, yet the consul was ordered to consult the college of pontiffs, whether a vow could be undertaken at an indeterminate expense? The pontiffs determined, that it could; and that it would be even more in order to do it in that way. The consul, therefore, repeating after the chief pontiff, made the vow in the same words in which those made for five years of safety used to be expressed; only that he engaged to perform the games, and make the offerings, at such expense as the senate should direct by their vote, at the time when the vow was performed. Before this, the great games so often vowed, were constantly rated at a certain expense: these first at an unspecified amount.

10. While every one's attention was turned to the Macedonian war, and at a time when people apprehended nothing less, a sudden account was brought of an inroad of the Gauls. The Insubrians, Caenomanians, and Boians, having been joined by the Salyans, Ilvatians, and other Ligurian states, and putting themselves under the command of Hamilcar, a Carthaginian, who, having been in the army of Hasdrubal, had remained in those parts, had fallen upon Placentia; and, after plundering the city, and, in their rage, burning a great part of it, leaving scarcely two thousand men among the flames and ruins, passed the Po, and advanced to plunder Cremona. The news of the calamity which had fallen on a city in their neighbourhood, having reached thither, the inhabitants had time to shut their gates, and place guards on the walls, that they might, at least, be besieged before they were taken, and send messengers to the Roman praetor. Lucius Furius Purpureo, who had then the command of the province, had, in

pursuance of the decree of the senate, disbanded the army, excepting five thousand of the allies and Latin confederacy; and had remained, with these troops, in the nearest district of the province about Ariminum. He immediately informed the senate, by letter, in what confusion the province was. That, “of the two colonies which had escaped in the dreadful storm of the Punic war, one was taken and sacked by the present enemy, and the other besieged. Nor was his army capable of affording sufficient protection to the distressed colonists, unless he chose to expose five thousand allies to be slaughtered by forty thousand invaders (for so many there were in arms); and by such a loss, on his side, to augment the courage of the enemy, already elated on having destroyed one Roman colony.”

11. This letter having been read they decreed, that the consul Aurelius should order the army which he had appointed to assemble on a certain day in Etruria, to attend him on the same day at Ariminum; and should either go in person, if the public business would permit, to suppress the tumult of the Gauls, or write to the praetor Lucius Furius, that, as soon as the legions from Etruria came to him, he should send five thousand of the allies to guard that place in the mean time, and should himself proceed to relieve the colony from the siege. They also determined, that ambassadors should be sent to Carthage, and also into Numidia, to Masinissa: to Carthage, to announce that “their countryman, Hamilcar, having been left in Gaul, (either with a part of the army formerly commanded by Hasdrubal, or with that of Mago — they did not with certainty know which,) was waging war, contrary to the treaty. That he had excited the armies of the Gauls and Ligurians to arms against the Roman people. That, if they wished for peace, they must recall him, and give him up to the Roman people.” They were ordered at the same time to tell them, that “all the deserters had not been sent back; that a great part of them were said to appear openly in Carthage, who ought to be sought after, and surrendered according to the treaty.” Such was the message to the Carthaginians. To Masinissa they were charged with congratulations, on his “having not only recovered the kingdom of his father, but enlarged it by the acquisition of the most flourishing parts of Syphax’s territories.” They were ordered also to acquaint him, that “a war had been undertaken against Philip, because he had

given aid to the Carthaginians, while, by the injuries which he offered to the allies of the Roman people, he had obliged them to send fleets and armies into Greece, while Italy was blazing with war; and that by thus making them separate their forces, had been the principal cause of their being so late passing over into Africa; and to request him to send to that war supplies of Numidian horsemen.” Ample presents were given them to be carried to the king; vases of gold and silver, a purple robe, and a tunic adorned with palms of purple, an ivory sceptre, and a robe of state, with a curule chair. They were also directed to assure him, that if he deemed any thing further requisite to confirm and enlarge his kingdom, the Roman people, in return for his good services, would exert their utmost zeal to effect it. At this time, too, ambassadors from Vermina, son of Syphax, came to the senate apologizing for his mistaken conduct, on account of his youth and want of judgment, and throwing all the blame on the deceitful policy of the Carthaginians: adding, “that as Masinissa had from an enemy become a friend to the Romans, so Vermina would also use his best endeavours that he should not be outdone in offices of friendship to the Roman people either by Masinissa, or by any other; and requesting that he might receive from the senate the title of king, friend, and ally.” The answer given to these ambassadors was, that “not only his father Syphax, from a friend and ally, had on a sudden, without any reason, become an enemy to the Roman people, but that he himself had made his first essay of manhood in bearing arms against them. He must, therefore, sue to the Roman people for peace, before he could expect to be acknowledged king, ally, and friend; that it was the practice of that people to bestow the honour of such title, in return for great services performed by kings towards them; that the Roman ambassadors would soon be in Africa, to whom the senate would give instructions to regulate conditions of peace with Vermina, if he would leave the terms of it entirely to the will of the Roman people; and that, if he wished that any thing should be added, left out, or altered, he must make a second application to the senate.” The ambassadors sent to Africa on those affairs, were Caius Terentius Varro, Publius Lucretius, and Cneius Octavius, each of whom had a quinquereme assigned him.

12. A letter was then read in the senate, from Quintus Minucius,

the praetor, who held the province of Bruttium, that “the money had been privately carried off by night out of the treasury of Proserpine at Locri; and that there were no traces to those to whom the charge applied.” The senate was highly incensed at finding that the practice of sacrilege continued, and that even the fate of Pleminius, an example so recent and so conspicuous both of the guilt and of the punishment, did not deter men from it. They ordered the consul, Cneius Aurelius, to signify to the praetor in Bruttium, that “it was the pleasure of the senate, that an inquiry be made concerning the robbery of the treasury, according to the method used by Marcus Pomponius, praetor, three years before; that the money which could be discovered should be restored, that what was not found should be made up, and that if he thought proper, atonements should be made for the purpose of expiating the violation of the temple, in the manner formerly prescribed by the pontiffs.” At the same time, also, prodigies were announced as having happened in many places. It was said, that in Lucania the sky had been seen in a blaze; that at Privernum, in clear weather, the sun had been of a red colour during a whole day; that at Lanuvium, in the temple of Juno Sospita, a very loud noise had been heard in the night. Besides, monstrous births of animals were related to have occurred in many places: in the country of the Sabines, an infant was born whose sex was doubtful; and another was found, sixteen years old, of doubtful sex. At Frusino a lamb was born with a swine’s head; at Sinuessa, a pig with a human head; and in Lucania, in the land belonging to the state, a foal with five feet. All these were considered as horrid and abominable, and as if nature were straying to strange productions. Above all, the people were particularly shocked at the hermaphrodites, which were ordered to be immediately thrown into the sea, as had been lately done with a production of the same monstrous kind, in the consulate of Caius Claudius and Marcus Livius. Notwithstanding they ordered the decemvirs to inspect the books in regard of that prodigy; and the decemvirs, from the books, directed the same religious ceremonies which had been performed on an occasion of the same kind. They ordered, besides, a hymn to be sung through the city by thrice nine virgins, and an offering to be made to imperial Juno. The consul, Caius Aurelius, took care that all these matters were performed

according to the direction of the decemvirs. The hymn was composed by Publius Licinius Tegula, as a similar one had been, in the memory of their fathers, by Livius.

13. All religious scruples were fully removed by expiations; at Locri, too, the affair of the sacrilege had been thoroughly investigated by Quintus Minucius, and the money replaced in the treasury out of the effects of the guilty. When the consuls wished to set out to their provinces, a number of private persons, to whom the third payment became due that year, of the money which they had lent to the public in the consulate of Marcus Valerius and Marcus Claudius, applied to the senate. The consuls, however, declared that the treasury being scarcely sufficient for the exigencies of a new war, in which a great fleet and great armies must be employed, there were no means of paying them at present. The senate could not stand against them when they complained, that “if the state intended to use, for the purpose of the Macedonian war, the money which had been lent for the Punic war, as one war constantly arose after another, what would be the issue, but that, in return for their generosity, their property would be confiscated as for some crime?” The demands of the private creditors being equitable, and the state being in no capacity of discharging the debt, they decreed a middle course between equity and convenience; resolving that “whereas many of them mentioned that lands were frequently exposed to sale, and that they themselves wished to become purchasers, they should, therefore, have liberty to purchase any belonging to the public, and which lay within fifty miles of the city. That the consuls should make a valuation of these, and impose on each acre one *as*, as an acknowledgment that the land was the property of the public, in order that, when the people should become able to pay, if any one chose rather to have the money than the land, he might restore it.” The private creditors accepted the terms with joy; and that land was called Trientius and Tabulius, because it was given in lieu of the third part of their money.

14. Publius Sulpicius, after making his vows in the Capitol, set out robed from the city with his lictors, and arrived at Brundisium; where, having formed into legions the veteran soldiers of the African army who were willing to follow him, and chosen his ships out of the

fleet of the late consul, Cornelius, he crossed and arrived in Macedonia the day after he had set sail from Brundisium. There he was met by ambassadors from the Athenians, entreating him to relieve them from the siege. Immediately, Caius Claudius Centho was despatched to Athens, with twenty ships of war, and a thousand of land forces. For it was not the king himself who carried on the siege of Athens; he was at that time besieging Abydus, after having tried his strength in naval contests against Attalus, and against the Rhodians, without success in either engagement. But, besides the natural presumptuousness of his temper, he acquired confidence from a treaty which he had formed with Antiochus, king of Syria, in which they had divided the wealth of Egypt between them; on which, on hearing of the death of Ptolemy, they were both intent. The Athenians now had entangled themselves in a war with Philip on too trifling an occasion, and at a time when they retained nothing of their former condition but their pride. During the celebration of the mysteries, two young men of Acarnania, who were not initiated, unapprized of its being an offence against religion, entered the temple of Ceres along with the rest of the crowd: their discourse readily betrayed them, by their asking some absurd questions; whereupon, being carried before the presidents of the temple, although it was evident that they went in through mistake, yet they were put to death, as if for a heinous crime. The Acarnanian nation made complaint to Philip of this barbarous and hostile act, and prevailed on him to grant them some aid of Macedonian soldiers, and to allow them to make war on the Athenians. At first this army, after ravaging the lands of Attica with fire and sword, retired to Acarnania with booty of all kinds. This was the first provocation to hostilities. The Athenians afterwards, on their side, entered into a regular war, and proclaimed it by order of the state. For king Attalus and the Rhodians, having come to Aegina in pursuit of Philip, who was retiring to Macedonia, the king crossed over to Piraeus, for the purpose of renewing and confirming his alliance with the Athenians. On entering the city, the whole inhabitants received him, pouring forth with their wives and children to meet him; the priests, with their emblems of religion; and in a manner the gods themselves, called forth from their abodes.

15. Immediately the people were summoned to an assembly, that the king might treat with them in person on such subjects as he chose; but afterwards it was judged more suitable to his dignity to explain his sentiments in writing, than, being present, to be forced to blush, either at the recital of his favours to the state, or at the immoderate applause of the multitude, which would overwhelm his modesty with acclamations and other signs of approbation. In the letter which he sent, and which was read to the assembly, was contained first, a recapitulation of his acts of kindness to the state, as his ally; then, of the actions which he had performed against Philip; and lastly, an exhortation to “enter immediately on the war; while they had himself, the Rhodians, and the Romans also to assist them;” not omitting to warn them that “if they were backward now, they would hereafter wish in vain for the opportunity which they neglected.” They then gave audience to the ambassadors of the Rhodians, to whom they were under a recent obligation for having retaken, and sent home, four of their ships of war, which had been lately seized by the Macedonians. War was determined upon against Philip with universal consent. Unbounded honours were conferred on king Attalus, and then on the Rhodians. At that time, mention was made of adding a tribe, which they were to call Attalus, to the ten ancient tribes; the Rhodian state was presented with a golden crown, as an acknowledgment of its bravery, and the freedom of the city was given to the inhabitants, in like manner as the Rhodians had formerly given it to the Athenians. After this, king Attalus returned to his fleet at Aegina. From Aegina, the Rhodians sailed to Cia, and thence to Rhodes, through the islands, all of which they brought to join in the alliance, except Andros, Paros, and Cythnus, which were held by Macedonian garrisons. Attalus, having sent messengers to Aetolia, and expecting ambassadors from thence, was detained at Aegina for some time in a state of inaction; failing also in his endeavours to excite the Aetolians to arms, for they were rejoiced at having made peace with Philip on any terms. Had Attalus and the Rhodians pressed Philip vigorously, they might have acquired the illustrious title of the deliverers of Greece, but by suffering him to pass over again into Hellespontus, and to strengthen himself by seizing the advantageous posts in Greece, they increased the difficulties of the

war, and yielded up to the Romans the glory of having conducted and finished it.

16. Philip acted with a spirit more becoming a king; for, though he had found himself unequal to the forces of Attalus and the Rhodians, yet he was not dismayed, even by the Roman war with which he was threatened. Sending Philocles, one of his generals, with two thousand foot and two hundred horse, to ravage the lands of the Athenians, he gave the command of his fleet to Heraclides, to make for Maronea, and marched thither himself by land, with two thousand foot lightly equipped, and two hundred horse. Maronea he took at the first assault; and afterwards, with a good deal of trouble, got possession of Aenus, which was at last betrayed to him by Ganymede, the lieutenant of Ptolemy. He then seized on other forts, Cypselus, Doriscos, and Serrheus; and, advancing from thence to the Chersonesus, received Elaeus and Alopeconnesus, which were surrendered by the inhabitants. Callipolis also, and Madytos, were given up to him, with several forts of but little consequence. The people of Abydus shut their gates against him, not admitting the ambassadors. This siege detained Philip a long time; and it might have been relieved, had not Attalus and the Rhodians been dilatory. The king sent only three hundred men for a garrison, and the Rhodians one quadrireme from their fleet, although it was lying idle at Tenedos: and afterwards, when the besieged could with difficulty hold out any longer, Attalus, going over in person, did nothing more than show them some hope of relief being near, giving no assistance to these his allies either by land or sea.

17. At first the people of Abydus, by means of engines placed along the walls, not only prevented the approaches by land, but annoyed the enemy's ships in their station. Afterwards a part of the wall being thrown down, and the assailants having penetrated by mines to an inner wall, which had been hastily raised to oppose their entrance, they sent ambassadors to the king about the conditions of the surrender of the city. They demanded permission to send away the Rhodian quadrireme, with the crew, and the troops of Attalus in the garrison; and that they themselves might depart from the city, each with one suit of apparel. When Philip's answer afforded no hopes of accommodation, unless they surrendered at discretion, this

repudiation of their embassy so exasperated them, at once through indignation and despair, that, seized with the same kind of fury which had possessed the Saguntines, they ordered all the matrons to be shut up in the temple of Diana, and the free-born youths and virgins, and even the infants with their nurses, in the place of exercise; the gold and silver to be carried into the forum; their valuable garments to be put on board the Rhodian ship, and another from Cyzicum, which lay in the harbour; the priests and victims to be brought, and altars to be erected in the midst. There they appointed a select number, who, as soon as they should see the army of their friends cut off in defending the breach, were instantly to slay their wives and children; to throw into the sea the gold, silver, and apparel that was on board the ships, and to set fire to the buildings, public and private: and to the performance of this deed they were bound by an oath, the priests repeating before them the verses of execration. Those who were of an age capable of fighting then swore that they would not leave their ranks alive unless victorious. These, regardless of the gods, (by whom they had sworn,) maintained their ground with such obstinacy, that although the night would soon have put a stop to the fight, yet the king, terrified by their fury, first desisted from the fight. The chief inhabitants, to whom the more shocking part of the plan had been given in charge, seeing that few survived the battle, and that these were exhausted by fatigue and wounds, sent the priests (having their heads bound with the fillets of suppliants) at the dawn of the next day to surrender the city to Philip.

18. Before the surrender, one of the Roman ambassadors, who had been sent to Alexandria, Marcus Aemilius, being the youngest of them, on the joint resolution of the three, on hearing of the present siege, came to Philip, and complained of his having made war on Attalus and the Rhodians; and particularly that he was then besieging Abydus; and on Philip's saying that he had been forced into the war by Attalus and the Rhodians commencing hostilities against him,—“Did the people of Abydus, too,” said he, “commence hostilities against you?” To him, who was unaccustomed to hear truth, this language seemed too arrogant to be used to a king, and he answered, — “Your youth, the beauty of your form, and, above all, the name of Roman, render you too presumptuous. However, my first desire is,

that you would observe the treaties, and continue in peace with me; but if you begin an attack, I am, on my part, determined to prove that the kingdom and name of the Macedonians is not less formidable in war than that of the Romans.” Having dismissed the ambassador in this manner, Philip got possession of the gold and silver which had been thrown together in a heap, but lost his booty with respect to prisoners: for such violent frenzy had seized the multitude, that, on a sudden, taking up a persuasion that those who had fallen in the battle had been treacherously sacrificed, and upbraiding one another with perjury, especially the priests, who would surrender alive to the enemy those persons whom they themselves had devoted, they all at once ran different ways to put their wives and children to death; and then they put an end to their own lives by every possible method. The king, astonished at their madness, restrained the violence of his soldiers, and said, “that he would allow the people of Abydus three days to die in;” and, during this space, the vanquished perpetrated more deeds of cruelty on themselves than the enraged conquerors would have committed; nor did any one of them come into his hands alive, except such as chains, or some other insuperable restraint, forbade to die. Philip, leaving a garrison in Abydus, returned to his kingdom; and, just when he had been encouraged by the destruction of the people of Abydus to proceed in the war against Rome, as Hannibal had been by the destruction of Saguntum, he was met by couriers, with intelligence that the consul was already in Epirus, and had drawn his land forces to Apollonia, and his fleet to Corcyra, into winter quarters.

19. In the mean time, the ambassadors who had been sent into Africa, on the affair of Hamilcar, the leader of the Gallic army, received from the Carthaginians this answer: that “it was not in their power to do more than to inflict on him the punishment of exile, and to confiscate his effects; that they had delivered up all the deserters and fugitives, whom, on a diligent inquiry, they had been able to discover, and would send ambassadors to Rome, to satisfy the senate on that head.” They sent two hundred thousand measures of wheat to Rome, and the same quantity to the army in Macedonia. From thence the ambassadors proceeded into Numidia, to the king; delivered to Masinissa the presents and the message according to their

instructions, and out of two thousand Numidian horsemen, which he offered, accepted one thousand. Masinissa superintended in person the embarkation of these, and sent them, with two hundred thousand measures of wheat, and the same quantity of barley, into Macedonia. Their third commission was with Vermina. He advanced to meet them as far as the utmost limits of his kingdom, and left it to themselves to prescribe such conditions of peace as they thought proper, declaring, that "he should consider any peace with the Roman people as just and advantageous." The terms were then settled, and he was ordered to send ambassadors to Rome to procure a ratification of the treaty.

20. About the same time, Lucius Cornelius Lentulus, proconsul, came home from Spain; and having laid before the senate an account of his brave and successful conduct, during the course of many years, demanded that he might be allowed to enter the city in triumph. The senate gave their opinion that "his services were, indeed, deserving of a triumph; but that they had no precedent left them by their ancestors of any person enjoying a triumph, who had not performed the service either of dictator, consul, or praetor; that he had held the province of Spain in quality of proconsul, and not of consul, or praetor." They determined, however, that he might enter the city in ovation. Against this, Tiberius Sempronius Longus, tribune of the people, protested, alleging, that such proceedings would be no more in accordance with the custom of their ancestors, or with any precedent, than the other; but, overcome at length by the unanimous desire of the senate, the tribune withdrew his opposition, and Lucius Lentulus entered the city in ovation. He carried to the treasury forty-four thousand pounds weight of silver, and two thousand four hundred pounds weight of gold. To each of the soldiers he distributed, of the spoil, one hundred and twenty *asses*.[]

21. The consular army had, by this time, been conducted from Arretium to Ariminum, and the five thousand Latin confederates had crossed from Gaul into Etruria. Lucius Furius, therefore, advanced from Ariminum, by forced marches, against the Gauls, who were then besieging Cremona, and pitched his camp at the distance of one mile and a half from the enemy. Furius had an opportunity of performing a splendid exploit, had he, without halting, led his troops

directly to attack their camp; scattered hither and thither, they were wandering through the country; and the guard, which they had left, was not sufficiently strong; but he was apprehensive that his men were too much fatigued by their hasty march. The Gauls, recalled from the fields by the shouts of their party, returned to the camp without seizing the booty within their reach, and, next day, marched out to offer battle. The Roman did not decline the combat, but had scarcely time to draw up his forces, so rapidly did the enemy advance to the fight. The right brigade (for he had the troops of the allies divided into brigades) was placed in the first line, the two Roman legions in reserve. Marcus Furius was at the head of the right brigade, Marcus Caecilius of the legions, and Lucius Valerius Flaccus of the cavalry; these were all lieutenant-generals. Two other lieutenant-generals, Cneius Laetorius and Publius Titinnius, the praetor kept near himself, that, with their assistance, he might observe and take proper measures against all sudden attempts of the enemy. At first, the Gauls, bending their whole force to one point, were in hopes of being able to overwhelm, and trample under foot, the right brigade, which was in the van; but not succeeding, they endeavoured to turn round the flanks, and to surround their enemy's line, which, considering the multitude of their forces, and the small number of the others, seemed easy to be done. On observing this, the praetor, in order to extend his own line, brought up the two legions from the reserve, and placed them on the right and left of the brigade which was engaged in the van; vowing a temple to Jupiter, if he should rout the enemy on that day. To Lucius Valerius he gave orders, to make the horsemen of the two legions on one flank, and the cavalry of the allies on the other, charge the wings of the enemy, and not suffer them to come round to his rear. At the same time, observing that the centre of the line of the Gauls was weakened, from having extended the wings, he directed his men to make an attack there in close order, and to break through their ranks. The wings were routed by the cavalry, and, at the same time, the centre by the foot; and suddenly, being worsted in all parts with great slaughter, the Gauls turned their backs, and fled to their camp in hurry and confusion. The cavalry pursued them as they fled; and the legions, coming up in a short time after, assaulted the camp, from whence

there did not escape so many as six thousand men. There were slain and taken above thirty-five thousand, with seventy standards, and above two hundred Gallic waggons laden with much booty. Hamilcar, the Carthaginian general, fell in that battle, and three distinguished generals of the Gauls. The prisoners taken at Placentia, to the number of two thousand freemen, were restored to the colony.

22. This was an important victory, and caused great joy at Rome. On receipt of the praetor's letter, a supplication for three days was decreed. In that battle, there fell of the Romans and allies two thousand, most of them in the right brigade, against which, in the first onset, the most violent efforts of the enemy had been directed. Although the praetor had brought the war almost to a conclusion, yet the consul, Cneius Aurelius, having finished the business which was necessary to be done at Rome, set out for Gaul, and received the victorious army from the praetor. The other consul, arriving in his province towards the end of autumn, passed the winter in the neighbourhood of Apollonia. Caius Claudius, and the Roman triremes which had been sent to Athens from the fleet that was laid up at Corcyra, as was mentioned above, arriving at Piraeus, greatly revived the hopes of their allies, who were beginning to give way to despair. For not only did those inroads by land cease, which used to be made from Corinth through Megara, but the ships of the pirates from Chalcis, who had been accustomed to infest both the Athenian sea and coast, were afraid not only to venture round the promontory of Sunium, but even to trust themselves out of the straits of the Euripus. In addition to these came three quadriremes from Rhodes, the Athenians having three open ships, which they had equipped for the protection of their lands on the coast. While Claudius thought, that if he were able with his fleet to give security to the Athenians it was as much as could be expected at present, a fortunate opportunity was thrown in his way of accomplishing a much more important enterprise.

23. Some exiles driven from Chalcis, by ill treatment received from the king's party, brought intelligence, that the place might be taken without even a contest; for that both the Macedonians, being under no immediate apprehension from an enemy, were straying idly about the country; and that the townsmen, depending on the Macedonian

garrison, neglected the guard of the city. Claudius, on this authority, set out and though he arrived at Sunium early enough to have sailed forward to the entrance of the strait of Euboea, yet fearing that, on doubling the promontory, he might be descried by the enemy, he lay by with the fleet until night. As soon as it grew dark he began to move, and, favoured by a calm, arrived at Chalcis a little before day; and then, approaching the city, on a side where it was thinly inhabited, with a small party of soldiers, and by means of scaling ladders, he got possession of the nearest tower, and the wall on each side; the guards being asleep in some places, and in others no one being on the watch. Thence they advanced to the more populous parts of the town, and having slain the sentinels, and broke open a gate, they gave an entrance to the main body of the troops. These immediately spread themselves throughout the whole city, and increased the tumult by setting fire to the buildings round the forum, by which means both the granaries belonging to the king, and his armoury, with a vast store of machines and engines, were reduced to ashes. Then commenced a general slaughter of those who fled, as well as of those who made resistance; and after having either put to the sword or driven out every one who was of an age fit to bear arms, (Sopater also, the Acarnanian, who commanded the garrison, being slain,) they first collected all the spoils in the forum, and then carried it on board the ships. The prison, too, was forced open by the Rhodians, and those prisoners whom Philip had shut up there, as in the safest custody, were set at liberty. They next pulled down and mutilated the statues of the king; and then, on a signal being given for a retreat, re-embarked and returned to Piraeus, from whence they had set out. If there had been so large a force of Roman soldiers that Chalcis might have been retained and the protection of Athens not neglected, Chalcis and Euripus might have been taken from the king; — a most important advantage at the commencement of the war. For as the pass of Thermopylae is the principal barrier of Greece by land, so is the strait of the Euripus by sea.

24. Philip was then at Demetrias, and as soon as the news arrived there of the calamity which had befallen the city of his allies, although it was too late to carry assistance to those who were already ruined, yet anxious to accomplish what was next to assistance,

revenge, he set out instantly with five thousand foot lightly equipped, and three hundred horse. With a speed almost equal to that of racing, he hastened to Chalcis, not doubting but that he should be able to surprise the Romans. Being disappointed in this expectation, and having arrived, with no other result than a melancholy view of the smoking ruins of that friendly city, (so few being left, that they were scarcely sufficient to bury those who had fallen in the conflict,) with the same rapid haste which he had used in coming, he crossed the Euripus by the bridge, and led his troops through Boeotia to Athens, in hopes that a similar issue would correspond to a similar attempt. And it would have corresponded, had not a scout, (one of those whom the Greeks call day-runners,[] because they run through a journey of great length in one day,) descrying from his post of observation the king's army in its march, set out at midnight and arrived before them at Athens. The same sleep, and the same negligence, prevailed there which had proved the ruin of Chalcis a few days before. Roused, however, by the alarming intelligence, the praetor of the Athenians, and Dioxippus, commander of a cohort of mercenary auxiliaries, called the soldiers together in the forum, and ordered the trumpets to sound an alarm from the citadel, that all might be informed of the approach of the enemy. On which the people ran from all quarters to the gates, and afterwards to the walls. In a few hours after, and still some time before day, Philip approached the city, and observing a great number of lights, and hearing the noise of the men hurrying to and fro, as usual on such an alarm, he halted his troops, and ordered them to sit down and take some rest; resolving to use open force, since his stratagem had not succeeded. Accordingly he advanced on the side of Dipylos. This gate, being situated in the principal approach of the city, is somewhat larger and wider than the rest. Both within and without the streets are wide, so that the townsmen could form their troops from the forum to the gate, while on the outside a road of about a mile in length, leading to the school of the academy, afforded open room to the foot and horse of the enemy. The Athenians, who had formed their troops within the gate, marched out with Attalus's garrison, and the cohort of Dioxippus, along that road. Which, when Philip observed, thinking that he had the enemy in his power, and was now about to

sate himself with their long wished for destruction, (being more incensed against them than any of the Grecian states,) he exhorted his men to keep their eyes on him during the fight, and to take notice, that wherever the king was, there the standards and the army ought to be. He then spurred on his horse against the enemy, animated not only with resentment, but with a desire of gaining honour, for he reckoned it a glorious thing to be beheld fighting from the walls, which were filled with an immense multitude, for the purpose of witnessing the engagement. Advancing far before the line, and with a small body of horse, rushing into the midst of the enemy, he inspired his men with great ardour, and the Athenians equally with terror. Having wounded many with his own hand, both in close fight and with missive weapons, and driven them back within the gate, he still pursued them closely; and having made greater slaughter among them while embarrassed in the narrow pass, rash as the attempt was, he yet had an unmolested retreat, because those who were in the towers withheld their weapons lest they should hit their friends, who were mingled in confusion among their enemies. The Athenians, after this, confining their troops within the walls, Philip sounded a retreat, and pitched his camp at Cynosarges, a temple of Hercules, and a school surrounded by a grove. But Cynosarges, and Lycaeam, and whatever was sacred or pleasant in the neighbourhood of the city, he burned to the ground, and levelled not only the houses, but sepulchres, nor was any thing either in divine or human possession preserved amidst the violence of his rage.

25. Next day, the gates having at first been shut, and afterwards suddenly thrown open, in consequence of a body of Attalus's troops from Aegina, and the Romans from Piraeus, having entered the city, the king removed his camp to the distance of about three miles. From thence he proceeded to Eleusis, in hopes of surprising the temple, and a fort which overlooks and surrounds it; but, finding that the watches had not been neglected, and that the fleet was coming from Piraeus to support them, he laid aside the design, and led his troops, first to Megara, and then to Corinth; where, on hearing that the council of the Achaeans was then sitting at Argos, he went and joined the assembly, unexpected by the Achaeans. They were at the time consulting about a war against Nabis, tyrant of the

Lacedaemonians; who, on the command being transferred from Philopoemen to Cycliades, a general by no means his equal, perceiving that the confederates of the Achaeans were falling off, had renewed the war, was ravaging the territories of his neighbours, and had become formidable even to the cities. While they were deliberating what number of men should be raised out of each of the states to oppose this enemy, Philip promised that he would relieve them of that care, as far as concerned Nabis and the Lacedaemonians; and that he would not only secure the lands of their allies from devastation, but transfer the whole terror of the war on Laconia itself, by leading his army thither instantly. This discourse being received with general approbation, he added,— “It is but reasonable, however, that while I am employed in protecting your property by my arms, my own should not be deprived of protection; therefore, if you think proper, provide such a number of troops as will be sufficient to secure Orcus, Chalcis, and Corinth; that my affairs being in a state of safety behind me, I may without anxiety make war on Nabis and the Lacedaemonians.” The Achaeans were not ignorant of the tendency of this so kind promise, and of his proffered assistance against the Lacedaemonians; that his purpose was to draw the Achaean youth out of Peloponnesus as hostages, in order to implicate the nation in a war with the Romans. Cycliades, the Achaean praetor, thinking that it was irrelevant to develop the matter by argument, said nothing more than that it was not allowable, according to the laws of the Achaeans, to take any matters into consideration except those on which they had been called together: and the decree for levying an army against Nabis being passed, he dismissed the assembly, after having presided in it with much resolution and public spirit, and until that day having been reckoned among the partisans of the king. Philip, disappointed in a high expectation, after having collected a few voluntary soldiers, returned to Corinth, and from thence into the territories of Athens.

26. In those days in which Philip was in Achaia, Philocles, one of the king’s generals, marching from Euboea with two thousand Thracians and Macedonians, in order to lay waste the territories of the Athenians, crossed the forest of Cithaeron opposite to Eleusis. Despatching half of his troops, make depredations in all parts of the

country, he himself lay concealed with the remainder in a place convenient for an ambush; in order that, if any attack should be made from the fort at Eleusis on his men employed in plundering, he might suddenly fall upon the enemy unawares, and while they were in disorder. His stratagem did not escape discovery: wherefore calling back the soldiers, who had gone different ways in pursuit of booty, and drawing them up in order, he advanced to assault the fort at Eleusis; but being repulsed from thence with many wounds, he formed a junction with Philip on his return from Achaia. The storming of this fort was also attempted by the king in person: but the Roman ships coming from Piraeus, and a body of forces thrown into the fort, compelled him to relinquish the design. On this the king, dividing his army, sent Philocles with one part to Athens, and went himself with the other to Piraeus; that, while his general, by advancing to the walls and threatening an assault, might keep the Athenians within the city, he might be able to make himself master of the harbour, when left with only a slight garrison. But he found the attack of Piraeus no less difficult than that of Eleusis, the same persons for the most part acting in its defence. He therefore hastily led his troops to Athens, and being repulsed by a sudden sally of both foot and horse, who engaged him in the narrow ground, enclosed by the half-ruined wall, which, with two arms, joins Piraeus to Athens, he desisted from the assault of the city, and, dividing his forces again with Philocles, set out to complete the devastation of the country. As, in his former ravages, he had employed himself in levelling the sepulchres round the city, so now, not to leave any thing unviolated, he ordered the temples of the gods, of which they had one consecrated in every village, to be demolished and burned. The country of Attica afforded ample matter for the exercise of this barbarous rage: being highly embellished with works of that kind, having plenty of indigenous marble, and abounding with artists of exquisite ingenuity. Nor was he satisfied with merely destroying the temples themselves, and overthrowing the images, but he ordered even the stones to be broken, lest, remaining whole, they should give stateliness to the ruins; and then, his rage not being satiated, but no object remaining on which it could be exercised, he retired from the country of the enemy into Boeotia, without having performed in

Greece any thing else worth mention.

27. The consul, Sulpicius, who was at that time encamped; on the river Apsus, between Apollonia and Dyrrachium, having ordered Lucius Apustius, lieutenant-general, thither, sent him with part of the forces to lay waste the enemy's territory. Apustius, after ravaging the frontiers of Macedonia, and having, at the first assault, taken the forts of Corragos, Gerrunios, and Orgessos, came to Antipatria, a city situated in a narrow gorge; where, at first inviting the leading men to a conference, he endeavoured to entice them to commit themselves to the good faith of the Romans; but finding that from confidence in the size, fortifications, and situation of their city, they paid no regard to his discourse, he attacked the place by force of arms, and took it by assault: then, putting all the young men to death, and giving up the entire spoil to his soldiers, he razed the walls and burned the city. This proceeding spread such terror, that Codrion, a strong and well-fortified town, surrendered to the Romans without a struggle. Leaving a garrison there, he took Ilion by force, a name better known than the town, on account of that of the same name in Asia. As the lieutenant-general was returning to the consul with a great quantity of spoil, Athenagoras, one of the king's generals, falling on his extreme rear, in its passage over a river, threw the hindmost into disorder. On hearing the shouting and tumult, Apustius rode back in full speed, ordered the troops to face about, and drew them up in order, arranging the baggage in the centre. The king's troops could not support the onset of the Roman soldiers, many of them were slain, and more made prisoners. The lieutenant-general, having brought back the army without loss to the consul, was despatched immediately to the fleet.

28. The war commencing thus brilliantly with this successful expedition, several petty kings and princes, neighbours of the Macedonians, came to the Roman camp: Pleuratus, son of Scerdilaedus, and Amynder, king of the Athamanians; and from the Dardanians, Bato, son of Longarus. This Longarus had, in his own quarrel, supported a war against Demetrius, father of Philip. To their offers of aid, the consul answered, that he would make use of the assistance of the Dardanians, and of Pleuratus, when he should lead his troops into Macedonia. To Amynder he allotted the part of

exciting the Aetolians to war. To the ambassadors of Attalus, (for they also had come at the same time,) he gave directions that the king should wait at Aegina, where he wintered, for the arrival of the Roman fleet; and when joined by that, he should, as before, harass Philip with attacks by sea. To the Rhodians, also, an embassy was sent, to engage them to contribute their share towards carrying on the war. Nor was Philip, who had by this time arrived in Macedonia, remiss in his preparations for the campaign. He sent his son Perseus, then very young, with part of his forces to block up the pass near Pelagonia, appointing persons out of the number of his friends to direct his inexperienced age. Sciathus and Peparethus, no inconsiderable cities, he demolished, lest they should become a prey and prize to the enemy's fleet; despatching at the same time ambassadors to the Aetolians, lest that restless nation might change sides on the arrival of the Romans.

29. The assembly of the Aetolians, which they call Panaetolium, was to meet on a certain day. In order to be present at this, the king's ambassadors hastened their journey, and Lucius Furius Purpureo also arrived, deputed by the consul. Ambassadors from the Athenians, likewise, came to this assembly. The Macedonians were first heard, as with them the latest treaty had been made; and they declared, that as no change of circumstances had occurred, they had nothing new to introduce: for the same reasons which had induced them to make peace with Philip, after experiencing the unprofitableness of an alliance with the Romans, should engage them to preserve it now that it was established. "Do you rather choose," said one of the ambassadors, "to imitate the inconsistency, or levity, shall I call it, of the Romans, who ordered this answer to be given to your ambassadors at Rome: 'Why, Aetolians, do you apply to us, when, without our approbation, you have made peace with Philip?' Yet these same people now require that you should, in conjunction with them, wage war against Philip. Formerly, too, they pretended that they took arms on your account, and in your defence against Philip: now they do not allow you to continue at peace with him. To assist Messana, they first embarked for Sicily; and a second time, that they might redeem Syracuse to freedom when oppressed by the Carthaginians. Both Messana and Syracuse, and all Sicily, they hold

in their own possession, and have reduced it into a tributary province under their axes and rods. You imagine, perhaps, that in the same manner as you hold an assembly at Naupactus, according to your own laws, under magistrates created by yourselves, at liberty to choose allies and enemies, and to have peace or war at your own option, so the assembly of the states of Sicily is summoned, to Syracuse, or Messana, or Lilybaeum. No, a Roman praetor presides at the meeting; summoned by his command they assemble; they behold him, attended by his lictors seated on a lofty throne, issuing his haughty edicts. His rods are ready for their backs, his axes for their necks, and every year they are allotted a different master. Neither ought they nor can they, wonder at this, when they see all the cities of Italy bending under the same yoke, — Rhegium, Tarentum Capua, not to mention those in their own neighbourhood, out of the ruins of which their city of Rome grew into power. Capua indeed subsists, the grave and monument of the Campanian people, that entire people having been either cut off or driven into banishment; the mutilated carcass of a city, without senate, without commons, without magistrates; a sort of prodigy, the leaving which to be inhabited, showed more cruelty than if it had been utterly destroyed. If foreigners who are separated from us to a greater distance by their language, manners, and laws, than by the distance by sea and land, are allowed to get footing here, it is madness to hope that any thing will continue in its present state. Does the sovereignty of Philip seem in any degree incompatible with your freedom, who, at a time when he was justly incensed against you, demanded nothing more of you than peace; and at present requires no more than the observance of the peace which he agreed to? Accustom foreign legions to these countries, and receive the yoke; too late, and in vain, will you look for Philip as an ally, when you shall have the Roman as a master. Trifling causes occasionally unite and disunite the Aetolians, Acarnanians, and Macedonians, men speaking the same language. With foreigners, with barbarians, all Greeks have, and ever will have, eternal war: because they are enemies by nature, which is always the same, and not from causes which change with the times. My discourse shall conclude with the same argument with which it began. Three years since, the same persons, assembled in this same

place, determined on peace with the same Philip, contrary to the inclinations of the same Romans, who now wish that the peace should be broken, after it has been adjusted and ratified. In the subject of your deliberation, fortune has made no change; why you should make any, I do not see.”

30. Next, after the Macedonians, with the consent and at the desire of the Romans, the Athenians were introduced; who, having suffered grievously, could, with the greater justice, inveigh against the cruelty and inhumanity of the king. They represented, in a deplorable light, the miserable devastation and spoliation of their fields; adding, that “they did not complain on account of having, from an enemy, suffered hostile treatment; for there were certain rights of war, according to which, as it was just to act, so it was just to endure. Their crops being burned, their houses demolished, their men and cattle carried off as spoil, were to be considered rather as misfortunes to the sufferer than as ill-treatment. But of this they had good reason to complain, that he who called the Romans foreigners and barbarians, had himself so atrociously violated all rights, both divine and human, as, in his former inroad, to have waged an impious war against the infernal gods, in the latter, against those above. That the sepulchres and monuments of all within their country had been demolished, the graves laid open, and the bones left unprotected by the soil. There had been several temples, which, in former times, when their ancestors dwelt in the country in their separate districts, had been consecrated in each of their little forts and villages, and which, even after they were incorporated into one city, they did not neglect or forsake. That around all these temples Philip had scattered his destructive flames, and left the images of the gods lying scorched and mutilated among the prostrated pillars of their fanes. Such as he had rendered the country of Attica, formerly opulent and adorned, such, if he were suffered, would he render Aetolia and the whole of Greece. That the mutilation of their own city, also, would have been similar, if the Romans had not come to its relief: for he had shown the same wicked rage against the gods who are the guardians of the city, and Minerva who presides over the citadel; the same against the temple of Ceres at Eleusis; the same against Jupiter and Minerva at Piraeus. In a word, having been repelled by force of arms not only

from their temples, but even from their walls, he had vented his fury on those sacred edifices which were protected by religion alone. They therefore entreated and besought the Aetolians, that, compassionating the Athenians, and with the immortal gods for their leaders, and, under them, the Romans, who, next to the gods, possessed the greatest power they would take part in the war."

31. The Roman ambassador then replied: "The Macedonians first, and afterwards the Athenians, have obliged me to change entirely the method of my discourse. For, on the one hand, the Macedonians, by aggressively introducing charges against the Romans, when I had come prepared to make complaint of the injuries committed by Philip against so many cities in alliance with us, have obliged me to think of defence rather than accusation; and, on the other hand, what have the Athenians, after relating his inhuman and impious crimes against the gods both celestial and infernal, left for me, or any one else, which I can further urge against him. You are to suppose, that the same complaints are made by the Cicianians, Abydenians, Aeneans, Maronites, Thasians, Parians, Samians, Larissenians, Messenians, on the side of Achaia; and complaints, still heavier and more grievous, by those whom he had it more in his power to injure. For as to those proceedings which he censures in us, if they are not deserving of honour, I will admit that they cannot be defended at all. He has objected to us, Rhegium, and Capua, and Syracuse. As to Rhegium, during the war with Pyrrhus, a legion which, at the earnest request of the Rhegians themselves, we had sent thither as a garrison, wickedly possessed themselves of the city which they had been sent to defend. Did we then approve of that deed? or did we exert the force of our arms against that guilty legion, until we reduced them under our power; and then, after making them give satisfaction to the allies, by their stripes and the loss of their heads, restore to the Rhegians their city, their lands, and all their effects, together with their liberty and laws? To the Syracusans, when oppressed, and that by foreign tyrants, which was a still greater indignity, we lent assistance; and after enduring great fatigues in carrying on the siege of so strong a city, both by land and sea, for almost three years, (although the Syracusans themselves chose to continue in slavery to the tyrants rather than be taken to us,) yet, becoming masters of the place, and

by exertion of the same force setting it at liberty, we restored it to the inhabitants. At the same time, we do not deny that Sicily is our province, and that the states which sided with the Carthaginians, and, in conjunction with them, waged war against us, pay us tribute and taxes; on the contrary, we wish that you and all nations should know, that the condition of each is such as it has deserved at our hands: and ought we to repent of the punishment inflicted on the Campanians, of which even they themselves cannot complain? These men, after we had on their account carried on war against the Samnites for near seventy years, with great loss on our side; had united them to ourselves, first by treaty, and then by intermarriages, and the relationships arising thence; and lastly, by the right of citizenship; yet, in the time of our adversity, were the first of all the states of Italy which revolted to Hannibal, after basely putting our garrison to death, and afterwards, through resentment at being besieged by us, sent Hannibal to attack Rome. If neither their city nor one man of them had been left remaining, who could take offence, or consider them as treated with more severity than they had deserved? From consciousness of guilt, greater numbers of them perished by their own hands, than by the punishments inflicted by us. And while from the rest we took away the town and the lands, still we left them a place to dwell in, we suffered the city which partook not of the guilt to stand uninjured; so that he who should see it this day would find no trace of its having been besieged or taken. But why do I speak of Capua, when even to vanquished Carthage we granted peace and liberty? The greatest danger is, that, by our too great readiness to pardon the conquered, we may encourage others to try the fortune of war against us. Let so much suffice in our defence, and against Philip, whose domestic crimes, whose parricides and murders of his relations and friends, and whose lust, more disgraceful to human nature, if possible, than his cruelty, you, as being nearer to Macedonia, are better acquainted with. As to what concerns yourselves, Aetolians, we entered into a war with Philip on your account: you made peace with him without consulting us. Perhaps you will say, that while we were occupied in the Punic war, you were constrained by fear to accept terms of pacification, from him who at that time possessed superior power; and that on our side, pressed by

more urgent affairs we suspended our operations in a war which you had laid aside. At present, as we, having, by the favour of the gods brought the Punic war to a conclusion, have fallen on Macedonia with the whole weight of our power, so you have an opportunity offered you of regaining a place in our friendship and alliance, unless you choose to perish with Philip, rather than to conquer with the Romans.”

32. When these things had been said by the ambassador the minds of all leaning towards the Romans, Damocritus, praetor of the Aetolians, (who, it was reported, had received money from the king,) assenting in no degree to one party or the other, said, — that “in consultations of great and critical importance, nothing was so injurious as haste. That repentance, indeed, generally followed, and that quickly but yet too late and unavailing; because designs carried on with precipitation could not be recalled, nor matters brought back to their original state. The time, however, for determining the point under consideration, which, for his part, he thought should not be too early, might yet immediately be fixed in this manner. As it had been provided by the laws, that no determination should be made concerning peace or war, except in the Panaetolic or Pylaic councils; let them immediately pass a decree, that the praetor, when he chooses to treat respecting war and peace, may have full authority to summon a council, and that whatever shall be then debated and decreed, shall be, to all intents and purposes, legal and valid, as if it had been transacted in the Panaetolic or Pylaic assembly.” And thus dismissing the ambassadors, with the matter undetermined, he said, that therein he had acted most prudently for the interest of the state; for the Aetolians would have it in their power to join in alliance with whichever of the parties should be more successful in the war. Such were the proceedings in the council of the Aetolians.

33. Meanwhile Philip was making vigorous preparations for carrying on the war both by sea and land. His naval forces he drew together at Demetrias in Thessaly; supposing that Attalus, and the Roman fleet, would move from Aegina in the beginning of the spring. He gave the command of the fleet and of the sea-coast to Heraclides, to whom he had formerly intrusted it. The equipment of the land forces he took care of in person; considering that he had

deprived the Romans of two powerful auxiliaries, the Aetolians on the one side and the Dardanians on the other, by making his son Perseus block up the pass at Pelagonia. The consul was employed, not in preparations, but in the operations of war. He led his army through the country of the Dassaretians, conveying the corn untouched which he had brought from his winter quarters, for the fields afforded supplies sufficient for the consumption of the troops. The towns and villages surrendered to him, some through inclination, others through fear; some were taken by assault, others were found deserted, the barbarians flying to the neighbouring mountains. He fixed a standing camp at Lycus near the river Bevus, and from thence sent to bring in corn from the magazines of the Dassaretians. Philip saw the whole country filled with consternation, and not knowing the designs of the consul, he sent a party of horse to discover whither he was directing his course. The same state of uncertainty possessed the consul; he knew that the king had moved from his winter quarters, but in what direction he had proceeded he knew not: he also had sent horsemen to gain intelligence. These two parties, having set out from opposite quarters, after wandering a long time among the Dassaretians, through unknown roads, fell at length into the same track. Neither doubted, as soon as the noise of men and horses was heard at a distance, that the enemy was approaching, therefore, before they came within sight of each other, they got their arms in readiness, nor, when they saw their foe, was there any delay in engaging. As they happened to be nearly equal in number and valour, being picked men on both sides, they fought during several hours with vigour, until fatigue, both of men and horses, put an end to the fight, without deciding the victory. Of the Macedonians there fell forty horsemen; of the Romans thirty-five. Still, however, neither did the one party carry back to the king, nor the other to the consul, any certain information in what quarter the camp of his enemy lay. But this was soon made known to them by deserters, whom their recklessness of disposition supplies in all wars in sufficient number to discover the affairs of the contending parties.

34. Philip, judging that he should make some progress towards conciliating the affections of his men, and induce them to face danger more readily on his account, if he bestowed some pains on the burial

of the horsemen who fell in that expedition, ordered them to be conveyed into the camp, in order that all might be spectators of the honours paid them at their funeral. Nothing is so uncertain, or so difficult to form a judgment of, as the minds of the multitude. That which seems calculated to increase their alacrity, in exertions of every sort, often creates in them fear and inactivity. Accordingly, those who, being always accustomed to fight with Greeks and Illyrians, had only seen wounds made with javelins and arrows, seldom even by lances, came to behold bodies dismembered by the Spanish sword, some with their arms lopped off, with the shoulder or the neck entirely cut through, heads severed from the trunk, and the bowels laid open, with other frightful exhibitions of wounds: they therefore perceived, with horror, against what weapons and what men they were to fight. Even the king himself was seized with apprehensions, having never yet engaged the Romans in a regular battle. Wherefore, recalling his son, and the guard posted at the pass of Pelagonia, in order to strengthen his army by the addition of those troops, he thereby opened a passage into Macedonia for Pleuratus and the Dardanians. Then, taking deserters for guides, he marched towards the enemy with twenty thousand foot and four thousand horse, and at the distance of somewhat more than a thousand paces from the Roman camp, and near Ithacus, he fortified a hill with a trench and rampart. From this place, taking a view of the Roman station in the valley beneath, he is said to have been struck with admiration, both at the general appearance of the camp, and the regular disposition of each particular part; then with the disposition of the tents, and the intervals of the passages; and to have declared, that, certainly, that could not be regarded by any as the camp of barbarians. For two days, the consul and the king, each waiting for the other's making some attempt, kept their troops within the ramparts. On the third day, the Roman led out all his forces, and offered battle.

35. But the king, not daring to risk so hastily a general engagement, sent four hundred Trallians, who are a tribe of the Illyrians, as we have said in another place, and three hundred Cretans; adding to this body of infantry an equal number of horse, under the command of Athenagoras, one of his nobles honoured with

the purple, to make an attack on the enemy's cavalry. When these troops arrived within a little more than five hundred paces, the Romans sent out the light infantry, and two cohorts of horse, that both cavalry and infantry might be equal in number to the Macedonians. The king's troops expected that the method of fighting would be such as they had been accustomed to; that the horsemen, pursuing and retreating alternately, would at one time use their weapons, at another time turn their backs; that the agility of the Illyrians would be serviceable for excursions and sudden attacks, and that the Cretans might discharge their arrows against the enemy, as they advanced eagerly to the charge. But the onset of the Romans, which was not more vigorous than persevering, entirely disconcerted this method of fighting: for the light infantry, as if they were fighting with their whole line of battle, after discharging their javelins, carried on a close fight with their swords; and the horsemen, when they had once made a charge, stopping their horses, fought, some on horseback, while others dismounted and intermixed themselves with the foot. By this means neither were the king's cavalry, who were unaccustomed to a steady fight, a match for the others; nor were the infantry, who were only skirmishing and irregular troops, and were besides but half covered with the kind of harness which they used, at all equal to the Roman infantry, who carried a sword and buckler, and were furnished with proper armour, both to defend themselves and to annoy the enemy: nor did they sustain the combat, but fled to their camp, trusting entirely to their speed for safety.

36. After an interval of one day, the king, resolving to make an attack with all his forces of cavalry and light-armed infantry, had, during the night, placed in ambush, in a convenient place between the two camps, a body of targeteers, whom they call Peltastae, and given orders to Athenagoras and the cavalry, if they found they had the advantage in the open fight, to pursue their success; if otherwise, that they should retreat leisurely, and by that means draw on the enemy to the place where the ambush lay. The cavalry accordingly did retreat; but the officers of the body of targeteers, by bringing forward their men before the time, and not waiting for the signal, as they ought, lost an opportunity of performing considerable service. The Romans, having gained the victory in open fight, and also

escaped the danger of the ambuscade, retired to their camp. Next day the consul marched out with all his forces, and offered battle, placing his elephants in the front of the foremost battalions. Of this resource the Romans then for the first time availed themselves; having a number of them which had been taken in the Punic war. Finding that the enemy kept himself quiet behind his intrenchments, he advanced close up to them, upbraiding him with cowardice; and as, notwithstanding, no opportunity of an engagement was afforded, the consul, considering how dangerous foraging must be while the camps lay so near each other, where the cavalry were ready at any moment to attack the soldiers, when dispersed through the country, removed his camp to a place called Ortholophus, distant about eight miles, where by reason of the intervening distance he could forage with more safety. While the Romans were collecting corn in the adjacent fields, the king kept his men within the trenches, in order to increase both the negligence and confidence of the enemy. But, when he saw them scattered, he set out with all his cavalry, and the auxiliary Cretans, and marching with such speed that the swiftest footmen could, by running, but just keep up with the horse, he planted his standards between the camp of the Romans and their foragers. Then, dividing the forces, he sent one part of them in quest of the marauders, with orders to leave not one alive; with the other, he himself halted, and placed guards on the roads through which the enemy seemed likely to fly back to their camp. And now carnage and flight prevailed in all directions, and no intelligence of the misfortune had yet reached the Roman camp, because those who fled towards the camp fell in with the guards, which the king had stationed to intercept them, and greater numbers were slain by those who were placed in the roads, than by those who had been sent out to attack them. At length, a few effected their escape, through the midst of the enemy's posts, but were so filled with terror, that they excited a general consternation in the camp, rather than brought intelligible information.

37. The consul, ordering the cavalry to carry aid to those who were in danger, in the best manner they could, drew out the legions from the camp, and led them drawn up in a square towards the enemy. The cavalry, taking different ways through the fields, missed the road,

being deceived by the various shouts raised in several quarters. Some of them met with the enemy, and battles began in many places at once. The hottest part of the action was at the station where the king commanded; for the guard there was, in numbers both of horse and foot, almost a complete army; and, as they were posted on the middle road, the greatest number of the Romans fell in with them. The Macedonians had also the advantage in this, that the king himself was present to encourage them; and the Cretan auxiliaries, fighting in good order, and in a state of preparation, against troops disordered and irregular, wounded many at a distance, where no such danger was apprehended. If they had acted with prudence in the pursuit, they would have secured an advantage of great importance, not only in regard to the glory of the present contest, but to the general interest of the war; but, greedy of slaughter, and following with too much eagerness, they fell in with the advanced cohorts of the Romans under the military tribunes. The horsemen who were flying, as soon as they saw the ensigns of their friends, faced about against the enemy, now in disorder; so that in a moment's time the fortune of the battle was changed, those now turning their backs who had lately been the pursuers. Many were slain in close fight, many in the pursuit; nor was it by the sword alone that they perished; several, being driven into morasses, were, together with their horses, swallowed up in the deep mud. The king himself was in danger; for his horse falling, in consequence of a wound, threw him headlong to the ground, and he very narrowly escaped being overpowered while prostrate. He owed his safety to a trooper, who instantly leaped down and mounted the affrighted king on his horse; himself, as he could not on foot keep up with the flying horsemen, was slain by the enemy, who had collected about the place where Philip fell. The king, in his desperate flight, rode about among the morasses, some of which were easily passed, and others not; at length, when most men despaired of his ever escaping in safety, he arrived in safety at his camp. Two hundred Macedonian horsemen perished in that action; about one hundred were taken: eighty horses, richly caparisoned, were led off the field; at the same time the spoils of arms were also carried off.

38. There were some who found fault with the king, as guilty of

rashness on that day; and with the consul, for want of energy. For Philip, they say, on his part, ought to have avoided coming to action, knowing that in a few days the enemy, having exhausted all the adjacent country, must be reduced to the extremity of want; and that the consul, after having routed the Macedonian cavalry and light infantry, and nearly taken the king himself, ought to have led on his troops directly to the enemy's camp, where, dismayed as they were, they would have made no stand, and that he might have finished the war in a moment's time. This, like most other matters, was easier to be talked about than to be done. For, if the king had brought the whole of his infantry into the engagement, then, indeed, during the tumult, and while, vanquished and struck with dismay, they fled from the field into their intrenchments, (and even continued their flight from thence on seeing the victorious enemy mounting the ramparts,) the king might have been deprived of his camp. But as some forces of infantry had remained in the camp, fresh and free from fatigue, with outposts before the gates, and guard properly disposed, what would he have done but imitated the rashness of which the king had just now been guilty, by pursuing the routed horse? On the other side, the king's first plan of an attack on the foragers, while dispersed through the fields, would not have been a subject of censure, could he have satisfied himself with a moderate degree of success: and it is the less surprising that he should have made a trial of fortune, as there was a report, that Pleuratus and the Dardanians had set out from home with very numerous forces, and had already passed into Macedonia; so that if he should be surrounded on all sides by these forces, there was reason to think that the Roman might put an end to the war without stirring from his seat. Philip, however, considered, that after his cavalry had been defeated in two engagements, he could with much less safety continue in the same post; accordingly, wishing to remove from thence, and, at the same time, to keep the enemy in ignorance of his design, he sent a herald to the consul a little before sun-set, to demand a truce for the purpose of burying the horsemen; and thus imposing on him, he began his march in silence, about the second watch, leaving a number of fires in all parts of his camp.

39. The consul was now taking refreshment, when he was told that

the herald had arrived, and on what business; he gave him no other answer, than that he should be admitted to an audience early the next morning: by which means Philip gained what he wanted — the length of that night, and part of the following day, during which he might get the start on his march. He directed his route towards the mountains, a road which he knew the Romans with their heavy baggage would not attempt. The consul, having, at the first light, dismissed the herald with a grant of a truce, in a short time after discovered that the enemy had gone off; but not knowing what course to take in pursuit of them, he remained in the same camp for several days, which he employed in collecting forage. He then marched to Stubera, and brought thither, from Pelagonia, the corn that was in the fields. From thence he advanced to Pluvina, not having yet discovered to what quarter the Macedonian had bent his course. Philip, having at first fixed his camp at Bryanium, marched thence through cross-roads, and gave a sudden alarm to the enemy. The Romans, on this, removed from Pluvina, and pitched their camp near the river Osphagus. The king also sat down at a small distance, forming his intrenchment on the bank of a river which the inhabitants call Erigonus. Having there received certain information that the Romans intended to proceed to Eordaea, he marched away before them, in order to take possession of the defiles, and prevent the enemy from making their way, where the roads are confined in narrow straits. There, with great haste, he fortified some places with a rampart, others with a trench, others with stones heaped up instead of walls, others with trees laid across, according as the situation required, or as materials lay convenient; and thus a road, in its own nature difficult, he rendered, as he imagined, impregnable by the works which he drew across every pass. The adjoining ground, being mostly covered with woods, was exceedingly incommodious to the phalanx of the Macedonians, which is of no manner of use, except when they extend their very long spears before their shields, forming as it were a palisade; to perform which, they require an open plain. The Thracians, too, were embarrassed by their lances, which also are of a great length, and were entangled among the branches that stood in their way on every side. The body of Cretans alone was not unserviceable; and yet even these, though, in case of an attack made

on them, they could to good purpose discharge their arrows against the horses or riders, where they were open to a wound, yet against the Roman shields they could do nothing, because they had neither strength sufficient to pierce through them, nor was there any part exposed at which they could aim. Perceiving, therefore, that kind of weapon to be useless, they annoyed the enemy with stones, which lay in plenty in all parts of the valley: the strokes made by these on their shields, with greater noise than injury, for a short time retarded the advance of the Romans; but quickly disregarding these missiles also, some, closing their shields in form of a tortoise, forced their way through the enemy in front; others having, by a short circuit, gained the summit of the hill, dislodged the dismayed Macedonians from their guards and posts, and even slew the greater part of them, their retreat being embarrassed by the difficulties of the ground.

40. Thus, with less opposition than they had expected to meet, the defiles were passed, and they came to Eordaea; then, having laid waste the whole country, the consul withdrew into Elimea. From thence he made an irruption into Orestis, and attacked the city Celetrum, situated in a peninsula: a lake surrounds the walls; and there is but one entrance from the main land along a narrow isthmus. Relying on their situation, the townsmen at first shut the gates, and refused to submit; but afterwards, when they saw the troops in motion, and advancing in the tortoise method, and the isthmus covered by the enemy marching in, they surrendered in terror rather than hazard a struggle. From Celetrum he advanced into the country of the Dassaretians, took the city Pelium by storm, carried off the slaves with the rest of the spoil, and discharging the freemen without ransom, restored the city to them, after placing a strong garrison in it, for it was very conveniently situated for making inroads into Macedonia. Having thus traversed the enemy's country, the consul led back his forces into those parts which were already reduced to obedience near Apollonia, from whence the campaign had commenced. Philip's attention had been drawn to other quarters by the Aetolians, Athamanians, and Dardanians: so many were the wars that started up on different sides of him. Against the Dardanians, who were now retiring out of Macedonia, he sent Athenagoras with the light infantry and the greater part of the cavalry, and ordered him to

hang on their rear as they retreated; and, by cutting off their hindmost troops, make them more cautious for the future of leading out their armies from home. As to the Aetolians, Damocritus, their praetor, the same who at Naupactum had persuaded them to defer passing a decree concerning the war, had in the next meeting roused them to arms, after the report of the battle between the cavalry at Ortholophus; the irruption of the Dardanians and of Pleuratus, with the Illyrians, into Macedonia; of the arrival of the Roman fleet, too, at Oreus; and that Macedonia, besides being beset on all sides by so many nations, was in danger of being invested by sea also.

41. These reasons had brought back Damocritus and the Aetolians to the interest of the Romans. Marching out, therefore, in conjunction with Amynder, king of the Athamanians, they laid siege to Cercinium. The inhabitants here had shut their gates, whether of their own choice or by compulsion is unknown, as they had a garrison of the king's troops. However, in a few days Cercinium was taken and burned; and after great slaughter had been made, those who survived, both freemen and slaves, were carried off amongst other spoil. This caused such terror, as made all those who dwelt round the lake Baebius abandon their cities and fly to the mountains: and the Aetolians, in the absence of booty, turned away from thence, and proceeded into Perrhaebia. There they took Cyretiae by storm and sacked it unmercifully. The inhabitants of Mallaea, making a voluntary submission, were received into alliance. From Perrhaebia, Amynder advised to march to Gomphi, because that city lies close to Athamania, and there was reason to think that it might be reduced without any great difficulty. But the Aetolians, for the sake of plunder, directed their march to the rich plains of Thessaly. Amynder following, though he did not approve either of their careless method of carrying on their depredations, or of their pitching their camp in any place which chance presented, without choice, and without taking any care to fortify it. Therefore, lest their rashness and negligence might be the cause of some misfortune to himself and his troops, when he saw them forming their camp in low grounds, under the city Phecadus, he took possession, with his own troops, of an eminence about five hundred paces distant, which could be rendered secure by a slight fortification. The Aetolians seemed to have

forgotten that they were in an enemy's country, excepting that they continued to plunder, some straggling about half-armed, others spending whole days and nights alike in drinking and sleeping in the camp, neglecting even to fix guards, when Philip unexpectedly came upon them. His approach being announced by those who had fled out of the fields in a fright, Damocritus and the rest of the officers were thrown into great confusion. It happened to be mid-day, and when most of the men after a hearty meal lay fast asleep. Their officers roused them, however, as fast as possible; ordered them to take arms; despatched some to recall those who were straggling through the fields in search of plunder; and so violent was their hurry, that many of the horsemen went out without their swords, and but few of them put on their corslets. After marching out in this precipitate manner, (the whole horse and foot scarcely making up six hundred,) they met the king's cavalry, superior in number, in spirit, and in arms. They were, therefore, routed at the first charge; and having scarcely attempted resistance, returned to the camp in shameful flight. Several were slain; and some taken, having been cut off from the main body of the fugitives.

42. Philip, when his troops had advanced almost to the rampart, ordered a retreat to be sounded, because both men and horses were fatigued, not so much by the action, as at once by the length of their march, and the extraordinary celerity with which they had made it. He therefore despatched the horsemen by troops, and the companies of light infantry in turn, to procure water and take refreshment. The rest he kept on guard, under arms, waiting for the main body of the infantry, which had marched with less expedition, on account of the weight of their armour. As soon as these arrived, they also were ordered to fix their standards, and, laying down their arms before them, to take food in haste; sending two, or at most three, out of each company, to provide water. In the mean time the cavalry and light infantry stood in order, and ready, in case the enemy should make any movement. The Aetolians, as if resolved to defend their fortifications, (the multitude which had been scattered about the fields having, by this time, returned to the camp,) posted bodies of armed men at the gates, and on the rampart, and from this safe situation looked with a degree of confidence on the enemy, as long as

they continued quiet. But, as soon as the troops of the Macedonians began to move, and to advance to the rampart, in order of battle, and ready for an assault, they all quickly abandoned their posts, and fled through the opposite part of the camp, to the eminence where the Athamanians were stationed. During their flight in this confusion, many of the Aetolians were slain, and many made prisoners. Philip doubted not that, had there been daylight enough remaining, he should have been able to make himself master of the camp of the Athamanians also; but the day having been spent in the fight, and in plundering the camp afterwards, he sat down under the eminence, in the adjacent plain, determined to attack the enemy at the first dawn of the following day. But the Aetolians, under the same apprehensions which had made them desert their camp, dispersed, and fled during the following night. Amynder was of the greatest service; for, by his directions, the Athamanians, who were acquainted with the roads, conducted them into Aetolia, whilst the Macedonians pursued them over the highest mountains, through unknown paths. In this disorderly flight, a few, missing their way, fell into the hands of the Macedonian horsemen, whom Philip, at the earliest dawn, on seeing the eminence abandoned, had sent to harass the marching body of the enemy.

43. About the same time also Athenagoras, one of the king's generals, overtaking the Dardanians in their retreat homeward, at first threw their rear into disorder; but these unexpectedly facing about, and forming their line, the fight became like a regular engagement. When the Dardanians began again to advance, the Macedonian cavalry and light infantry harassed those who had no troops of that kind to aid them, and were, besides, burdened with unwieldy arms. The ground, too, favoured the assailants: very few were slain, but many wounded; none were taken, because they rarely quit their ranks, but both fight and retreat in a close body. Thus Philip, having checked the proceedings of those two nations by these well-timed expeditions, gained reparation for the damages sustained from the operations of the Romans; the enterprise being as spirited as the issue was successful. An occurrence which accidentally happened to him lessened the number of his enemies on the side of Aetolia. Scopas, a man of considerable influence in his own country, having been sent

from Alexandria by king Ptolemy, with a great sum of gold, hired and carried away to Egypt six thousand foot and four hundred horse; nor would he have suffered one of the young Aetolians to remain at home, had not Damocritus, (it is not easy to say, whether out of zeal for the good of the nation, or out of opposition to Scopas, for not having secured his interest by presents,) by sometimes reminding them of the war which threatened them, at other times, of the solitary condition in which they would be, detained some of them at home by severe reproaches. Such were the actions of the Romans, and of Philip, during that summer.

44. In the beginning of the same summer, the fleet under Lucius Apustius, lieutenant-general, setting sail from Corcyra, and passing by Malea, formed a junction with king Attalus, off Scyllaeum, which lies in the district of Hermione. The Athenian state, which had for a long time, through fear, restrained their animosity against Philip within some bounds, in the expectation of approaching aid afforded them, gave full scope to it all. There are never wanting in that city orators, who are ready on every occasion to inflame the people; a kind of men, who, in all free states, and more particularly in that of Athens, where eloquence flourishes in the highest degree, are maintained by the favour of the multitude. These immediately proposed a decree, and the commons passed it, that "all the statues and images of Philip, with their inscriptions, and likewise those of all his ancestors, male and female, should be taken down and destroyed; that the festal days, solemnities, and priests, which had been instituted in honour of him or of his predecessors, should all be abolished; and that even the ground where any such statue had been set up, and inscribed to his honour, should be held abominable." And it was resolved, that, "for the future, nothing which ought to be erected or dedicated in a place of purity should be there erected; and that the public priests, as often as they should pray for the people of Athens, for their allies, armies, and fleets, so often should they utter curses and execrations against Philip, his offspring, his kingdom, his forces by sea and land, and the whole race and name of the Macedonians." It was added to the decree, that, "if any person in future should make any proposal tending to throw disgrace and ignominy on Philip, the people of Athens would ratify it in its fullest

extent: if, on the contrary, any one should, by word or deed, endeavour to lessen his ignominy, or to do him honour, that whoever slew him who should have so said or done, should be justified in so doing." Lastly, a clause was annexed, that "all the decrees, formerly passed against the Pisistratidae, should be in full force against Philip." Thus the Athenians waged war against Philip with writings and with words, in which alone their power consisted.

45. Attalus and the Romans, having, from Hermione, proceeded first to Piraeus, and staid there a few days, after being loaded with decrees of the Athenians, (in which the honours paid to their allies were as extravagant as the expressions of their resentment against their enemy had been,) sailed from Piraeus to Andros, and, coming to an anchor in the harbour called Gaureleos, sent persons to sound the inclinations of the townsmen, whether they chose voluntarily to surrender their city, rather than run the hazard of an assault. On their answering, that they were not at their own disposal, but that the citadel was occupied by the king's troops, Attalus and the Roman lieutenant-general, landing their forces, with every thing requisite for attacking towns, made their approaches to the city on different sides. The Roman standards and arms, which they had never seen before, together with the spirit of the soldiers, so briskly approaching the walls, were particularly terrifying to the Greeks. A retreat was immediately made into the citadel, and the enemy took possession of the city. After holding out for two days in the citadel, relying more on the strength of the place than on their arms, on the third both they and the garrison surrendered the city and citadel, on condition of their being transported to Delium in Boeotia, and being each of them allowed a single suit of apparel. The island was yielded up by the Romans to king Attalus; the spoil, and the ornaments of the city, they themselves carried off. Attalus, desirous that the island, of which he had got possession, might not be quite deserted, persuaded almost all the Macedonians, and several of the Andrians, to remain there: and, in some time after, those who, according to the capitulation, had been transported to Delium, were induced to return from thence by the promises made them by the king, in which they were disposed the more readily to confide, by the ardent affection which they felt for their native country. From Andros they passed over to Cythnus; there

they spent several days, to no purpose, in assaulting the city; when, at length, finding it scarcely worth the trouble, they departed. At Prasiae, a place on the main land of Attica, twenty barks of the Issaeans joined the Roman fleet. These were sent to ravage the lands of the Carystians, the rest of the fleet lying at Geraestus, a noted harbour in Euboea, until the Issaeans returned from Carystus: on which, setting sail all together, and steering their course through the open sea, until they passed by Scyrus, they arrived at the island of Icus. Being detained there for a few days by a violent northerly wind, as soon as the weather was fair, they passed over to Sciathus, a city which had been lately plundered and desolated by Philip. The soldiers, spreading themselves over the country, brought back to the ships corn and what other kinds of provisions could be of use to them. Plunder there was none, nor had the Greeks deserved to be plundered. Directing their course thence to Cassandrea, they first came to Mendis, a village on the coast of that state; and, intending from thence to double the promontory, and bring round the fleet to the very walls of the city, a violent tempest arising, they were near being buried in the waves. However, after being dispersed, and a great part of the ships having lost their rigging, they escaped on shore. This storm at sea was an omen of the kind of success which they were to meet on land; for, after collecting their vessels together, and landing their forces, having made an assault on the city, they were repulsed with many wounds, there being a strong garrison of the king's troops in the place. Being thus obliged to retreat without accomplishing their design, they passed over to Canastrum in Pallene, and from thence, doubling the promontory of Torona, conducted the fleet to Acanthus. There they first laid waste the country, then stormed the city itself, and plundered it. They proceeded no farther, for their ships were now heavily laden with booty, but went back to Sciathus, and from Sciathus to Euboea, whence they had first set out.

46. Leaving the fleet there, they entered the Malian bay with ten light ships, in order to confer with the Aetolians on the method of conducting the war. Sipyrrhicas, the Aetolian, was at the head of the embassy that came to Heraclea, to hold a consultation with the king and the Roman lieutenant-general. They demanded of Attalus, that,

in pursuance of the treaty, he should supply them with one thousand soldiers, which number he had engaged for on condition of their taking part in the war against Philip. This was refused to the Aetolians, because on their part they had formerly showed themselves unwilling to march out to ravage Macedonia, at a time when Philip, being employed near Pergamus in destroying by fire every thing sacred and profane, they might have compelled him to retire from thence, in order to preserve his own territories. Thus, instead of aid, the Aetolians were dismissed with hopes, the Romans making them large promises. Apustius with Attalus returned to the ships, where they began to concert measures for the siege of Oreus. This city was well secured by fortifications; and also, as an attempt had formerly been made on it, by a strong garrison. After the taking of Andros, twenty Rhodian ships, all decked vessels, had formed a junction with them, under the command of Agesimbrotus. This squadron they sent to the station off Zelasium, a promontory of Isthmia, very conveniently situate beyond Demetrias, in order that, if the ships of the Macedonians should attempt any movement, they might act as a defensive force. Heraclides, the king's admiral, kept his fleet there, rather with a view of laying hold of any advantage which the negligence of the enemy might afford him, than with a design of attempting any thing by open force. The Romans and king Attalus carried on their attacks against Oreus on different sides; the Romans against the citadel next to the sea, the king's troops against the lower part of the town, lying between the two citadels, where the city is also divided by a wall. As their posts were different, so were their methods of attack: the Romans made their approaches by means of covered galleries, applying also the ram to the walls; the king's troops, by throwing in weapons with the balista, catapulta, and every other kind of engine, and stones also of immense weight. They formed mines, too, and made use of every expedient, which, on trial, had been found useful in the former siege. On the other side, not only did more Macedonians protect the town and the citadels, than on the former occasion, but they exerted themselves with greater spirit, in consequence of the reprimands which they had received from the king for the misconduct they had committed, and also from remembrance both of his threats and promises with regard to the

future. Thus, when time was being consumed there, contrary to their expectation, and there was more hope from a siege and works than from a sudden assault, the lieutenant-general thought that in the mean time some other business might be accomplished; wherefore, leaving such a number of men as seemed sufficient to finish the works, he passed over to the nearest part of the continent, and, arriving unexpectedly, made himself master of Larissa, except the citadel, — not that celebrated city in Thessaly, but another, which they call Cremaste. Attalus also surprised Aegeleos, where nothing was less apprehended than such an enterprise during the siege of another city. The works at Oreus had now begun to take effect, while the garrison within were almost spent with unremitted toil, (keeping watch both by day and night,) and also with wounds. Part of the wall, being loosened by the strokes of the ram, had fallen down in many places; and the Romans, during the night, broke into the citadel through the breach which lay over the harbour. Attalus, likewise, at the first light, on a signal given from the citadel by the Romans, himself also assaulted the city, where great part of the walls had been levelled; on which the garrison and townsmen fled into the other citadel, and a surrender was made two days after. The city fell to the king, the prisoners to the Romans.

47. The autumnal equinox now approached, and the Euboean gulf, called Coela, is reckoned dangerous by mariners. Choosing, therefore, to remove thence before the winter storms came on, they returned to Piraeus, from whence they had set out for the campaign. Apustius, leaving there thirty ships, sailed by Malea to Corcyra. The king was delayed during the celebration of the mysteries of Ceres, that he might assist at the solemnities, immediately after which he also retired into Asia, sending home Agesimbrotus and the Rhodians. Such, during that summer, were the proceedings, by sea and land, of the Roman consul and lieutenant-general, aided by Attalus and the Rhodians, against Philip and his allies. The other consul, Caius Aurelius, on coming into his province and finding the war there already brought to a conclusion, did not dissemble his resentment against the praetor, for having proceeded to action in his absence; wherefore, sending him away to Etruria, he led on the legions into the enemy's country, and, by laying it waste, carried on the war with

more spoil than glory. Lucius Furius, finding nothing in Etruria that could give him employment, and at the same time intent on obtaining a triumph for his success against the Gauls, which he considered would be more easily accomplished in the absence of the consul, who envied and was enraged against him, came to Rome unexpectedly, and called a meeting of the senate in the temple of Bellona; where, after making a recital of the services which he had performed, he demanded to be allowed to enter the city in triumph.

48. With a great part of the senate he prevailed, owing to private interest and the importance of his services. The elder part refused him a triumph, both “because the army, with which he had acted, belonged to another; and because he had left his province through an ambitious desire of snatching that opportunity of procuring a triumph, — but that he had taken this course without any precedent.” The senators of consular rank particularly insisted, that “he ought to have waited for the consul; for that he might, by pitching his camp near the city, and thereby securing the colony without coming to an engagement, have protracted the affair until his arrival; and that, what the praetor had not done, the senate ought to do; they should wait for the consul. After hearing the business discussed by the consul and praetor in their presence, they would be able, more correctly, to form judgment on the case.” Great part were of opinion, that the senate ought to consider nothing but the service performed, and whether he had performed it while in office, and under his own auspices. For, “when of two colonies, which had been opposed, as barriers, to restrain the tumultuous inroads of the Gauls, one had been already sacked and burned, the flames being ready to spread (as if from an adjoining house) to the other colony, which lay so near, what ought the praetor to have done? For if it was improper to enter on any action without the consul, then the senate had acted wrong in giving the army to the praetor; because, if they chose that the business should be performed, not under the praetor’s auspices, but the consul’s, they might have limited the decree in such a manner, that not the praetor, but the consul, should manage it; or else the consul had acted wrong, who, after ordering the army to remove from Etruria into Gaul, did not meet it at Ariminum, in order to be present at operations, which were not allowed to be performed

without him. But the exigencies of war do not wait for the delays and procrastinations of commanders; and battles must be sometimes fought, not because commanders choose it, but because the enemy compels it. The fight itself, and the issue of the fight, is what ought to be regarded now. The enemy were routed and slain, their camp taken and plundered, the colony relieved from a siege, the prisoners taken from the other colony recovered and restored to their friends, and an end put to the war in one battle. And not only men rejoiced at this victory, but the immortal gods also had supplications paid to them, for the space of three days, on account of the business of the state having been wisely and successfully, not rashly and unfortunately, conducted by Lucius Furius, praetor. Besides, the Gallic wars were, by some fatality, destined to the Furian family.”

49. By means of discourses of this kind, made by him and his friends, the interest of the praetor, who was present, prevailed over the dignity of the absent consul, and the majority decreed a triumph to Lucius Furius. Lucius Furius, praetor, during his office, triumphed over the Gauls. He carried into the treasury three hundred and twenty thousand *asses*,[] and one hundred and seventy thousand pounds’ weight of silver. There were neither any prisoners led before his chariot, nor spoils carried before him, nor did any soldiers follow him. It appeared that every thing, except the victory, belonged to the consul. The games which Publius Scipio had vowed when consul in Africa, were then celebrated, in a magnificent manner and with respect to the lands for his soldiers, it was decreed, that whatever number of years each of them had served in Spain or in Africa, he should, for every year, receive two acres; and that ten commissioners should distribute that land. Three commissioners were then appointed to fill up the number of colonists at Venusia, because the strength of that colony had been reduced in the war with Hannibal: Caius Terentius Varro, Titus Quintius Flamininus, Publius Cornelius, son of Cneius Scipio, enrolled the colonists for Venusia. During the same year, Caius Cornelius Cethegus, who in the capacity of proconsul commanded in Spain, routed a numerous army of the enemy in the territory of Sedeta; in which battle, it is said, that fifteen thousand Spaniards were slain, and seventy-eight military standards taken. The consul Caius Aurelius, on returning from his province to

Rome to hold the elections, made heavy complaints, not on the subject on which they had supposed he would, that the senate had not waited for his coming, nor allowed him an opportunity of arguing the matter with the praetor; but, that “the senate had decreed a triumph in such a manner, without hearing the report of any one of those who had taken part in the war, except the person who was to enjoy the triumph: that their ancestors had made it a rule that the lieutenant-generals, the military tribunes, the centurions, and even the soldiers, should be present at the triumph, in order that the Roman people might ascertain the reality of his exploits, to whom so high an honour was paid.” Now, of that army which fought with the Gauls, had any one soldier, or even a soldier’s servant, been present, of whom the senate could inquire how much of truth or falsehood was in the praetor’s narrative? He then appointed a day for the elections, at which were chosen consuls, Lucius Cornelius Lentulus and Publius Villius Tappulus. The praetors were then appointed, Lucius Quintus Flamininus, Lucius Valerius Flaccus, Lucius Villius Tappulus, and Cneius Baebius Tamphilus.

50. During that year provisions were remarkably cheap. The curule aediles, Marcus Claudius Marcellus and Sextus Aelius Paetus, distributed among the people a vast quantity of corn, brought from Africa, at the rate of two *asses* a peck. They also celebrated the Roman games in a magnificent manner, repeating them a second day; and erected in the treasury five brazen statues out of the money paid as fines. The plebeian games were thrice repeated entire, by the aediles, Lucius Terentius Massa, and Cneius Baebius Tamphilus, who was elected praetor. There were also funeral games exhibited that year in the forum, for the space of four days, on occasion of the death of Marcus Valerius Laevinus, by his sons Publius and Marcus, who gave also a show of gladiators, in which twenty-five pairs fought. Marcus Aurelius Cotta, one of the decemviri of the sacred books, died, and Manius Acilius Glabrio was substituted in his room. It happened that both the curule aediles, who had been created at the elections, were persons who could not immediately undertake the office: for Caius Cornelius Cethegus was elected in his absence, when he was occupying Spain as his province; and Caius Valerius Flaccus, who was present, being flamen Dialis, could not take the

oath of observing the laws; and no person was allowed to hold any office longer than five days without taking the oath. Flaccus petitioned to be excused from complying with the law, on which the senate decreed, that if the aedile produced a person approved of by the consuls, who would take the oath for him, the consuls, if they thought proper, should make application to the tribunes, that it might be proposed to the people. Lucius Valerius Flaccus, praetor elect, was produced to swear for his brother. The tribunes proposed to the commons, and the commons ordered that this should be as if the aedile himself had sworn. With regard to the other aedile, likewise, an order of the commons was made. On the tribunes putting the question, what two persons they chose should go and take the command of the armies in Spain, in order that Caius Cornelius, curule aedile, might come home to execute his office, and that Lucius Manlius Acidinus might, after many years, retire from the province; the commons ordered Cneius Cornelius Lentulus and Lucius Stertinius, proconsuls, to command in Spain.

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BOOK XXXII

Translated by William A. McDevitte

Successes of Titus Quinctius Flamininus against Philip; and of his brother Lucius with the fleet, assisted by Attalus and the Rhodians. Treaty of friendship with the Achaeans. Conspiracy of the slaves discovered and suppressed. The number of the praetors augmented to six. Defeat of the Insubrian Gauls by Cornelius Cethegus. Treaty of friendship with Nabis, tyrant of Lacedaemon. Capture of several cities in Macedonia.

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1. The consuls and praetors, having entered upon office on the ides of March, cast lots for the provinces. Italy fell to Lucius Cornelius Lentulus, Macedonia to Publius Villius. Of the praetors, the city jurisdiction fell to Lucius Quinctius, Ariminum to Cneius Baebius, Sicily to Lucius Valerius, Sardinia to Lucius Villius. The consul Lentulus was ordered to levy new legions; Villius, to receive the army from Publius Sulpicius; and, to complete its number, power was given him to raise as many men as he thought proper. To the praetor Baebius were decreed the legions which Caius Aurelius, late consul, had commanded, with directions that he should keep them in their present situation, until the consul should come with the new army to supply their place; and that, on his arriving in Gaul, all the soldiers who had served out their time should be sent home, except five thousand of the allies, which would be sufficient to protect the province round Ariminum. The command was continued to the praetors of the former year; to Cneius Sergius, that he might superintend the distribution of land to the soldiers who had served for many years in Spain, Sicily, and Sardinia; to Quintus Minucius, that he might finish the inquiries concerning the conspiracies in Bruttium, which, while praetor, he had managed with care and fidelity. That he should also send to Locri, to suffer punishment, those who had been convicted of sacrilege, and who were then in chains at Rome; and that he should take care, that whatever had been carried away from the temple of Proserpine should be replaced with

expiations. The Latin festival was repeated in pursuance of a decree of the pontiffs, because ambassadors from Ardea had complained to the senate, that during the said solemnity they had not been supplied with meat as usual on the Alban mount. From Suessa an account was brought, that two of the gates, and the wall between them, had been struck with lightning. Messengers from Formiae related, that the temple of Jupiter had also been struck by lightning; from Ostia, likewise, news came of the like accident having happened to the temple of Jupiter there; it was said, too, that the temples of Apollo and Sancus, at Veliternum, were struck in like manner; and that in the temple of Hercules, hair had grown (on the statue). A letter was received from Quintus Minucius, propraetor, from Bruttium, that a foal had been born with five feet, and three chickens with three feet each. Afterwards a letter was brought from Macedonia, from Publius Sulpicius, proconsul, in which, among other matters, it was mentioned, that a laurel tree had sprung up on the poop of a ship of war. On occasion of the former prodigies, the senate had voted, that the consuls should offer sacrifices with the greater victims to such gods as they thought proper. On account of the last prodigy, alone, the aruspices were called before the senate, and, in pursuance of their answer, the people were ordered by proclamation to perform a supplication for one day, and worship was solemnized at all the shrines.

2. This year, the Carthaginians brought to Rome the first payment of the silver imposed on them as a tribute; and the quaestors having reported, that it was not of the proper standard, and that, on the assay, it wanted a fourth part, they made up the deficiency with money borrowed at Rome. On their requesting that the senate would be pleased to order their hostages to be restored to them, a hundred were given up, and hopes were held out with relation to the rest, if they remained in fidelity (to the treaty). They then further requested, that the remaining hostages might be removed from Norba, where they were ill accommodated, to some other place, and they were permitted to remove to Signia and Ferentinum. The request of the people of Gades was likewise complied with: that a governor should not be sent to their city; being contrary to what had been agreed with them by Lucius Marcius Septimus, when they came under the protection

of the Roman people. Deputies from Narnia, complaining that they had not their due number of settlers, and that several who were not of their community, had crept in among them, and were conducting themselves as colonists, Lucius Cornelius, the consul, was ordered to appoint three commissioners to adjust those matters. The three appointed were, Publius and Sextus Aelius, both surnamed Paetus, and Caius Cornelius Lentulus. The favour granted to the Narnians, of filling up their number of colonists, was refused to the people of Cossa, who applied for it.

3. The consuls, having finished the business that was to be done at Rome, set out for their provinces. Publius Villius, on coming into Macedonia, found the soldiers in a violent mutiny, which had been previously excited, and not sufficiently repressed at the commencement. They were the two thousand who, after Hannibal had been vanquished, had been transported from Africa to Sicily, and then, in about a year after, into Macedonia, as volunteers; they denied, however, that this was done with their consent, affirming, that “they had been put on board the ships, by the tribunes, contrary to their remonstrances; but, in what manner soever they had become engaged in that service, whether it had been voluntarily undertaken or imposed on them, the time of it was now expired, and it was reasonable that some end should be put to their warfare. For many years they had not seen Italy, but had grown old under arms in Sicily, Africa, and Macedonia; they were now, in short, worn out with labour and fatigue, and were exhausted of their blood by the many wounds they had received.” The consul told them, that “the grounds on which they demanded their discharge, appeared to him to be reasonable, if the demand had been made in a moderate manner; but that neither that, nor any other ground, was a justifying cause of mutiny. Wherefore, if they were contented to adhere to their standards, and obey orders, he would write to the senate concerning their release; and that what they desired would more easily be obtained by moderation than by turbulence.”

4. At this time, Philip was pushing on the siege of Thaumaci, with the utmost vigour, by means of mounds and engines, and was ready to bring up the ram to the walls, when he was obliged to relinquish the undertaking by the sudden arrival of the Aetolians, who, under

the command of Archidamus, having made their way into the town between the posts of the Macedonians, never ceased, day or night, making continual sallies, sometimes against the guards, sometimes against the works of the besiegers. They were at the same time favoured by the very nature of the place: for Thaumaci stands near the road from Thermopylae, and the Malian bay as you go through Lamia, on a lofty eminence, hanging immediately over the narrow pass which the Thessalians call Caela.[] After passing through the craggy grounds of Thessaly, the roads are rendered intricate by the windings of the valleys, and on the near approach to the city, such an immense plain opens at once to view, like a vast sea, that the eye can scarcely reach the bounds of the expanse beneath. From this surprising prospect it was called Thaumaci.[] The city itself is secured, not only by the height of its situation, but by its standing on a rock, the stone of which had been cut away on all sides. These difficulties, and the prize not appearing sufficient to recompense so much toil and danger, caused Philip to desist from the attempt. The winter also was approaching; he therefore retired from thence, and led back his troops into winter quarters, in Macedonia.

5. There, whilst others, glad of any interval of rest, consigned both body and mind to repose, Philip, in proportion as the season of the year had relieved him from the incessant fatigues of marching and fighting, found his care and anxiety increase the more, when he turned his thoughts towards the general issue of the war. He dreaded, not only his enemies, who pressed him hard by land and sea, but also the dispositions, sometimes of his allies, at others of his own subjects, lest the former might be induced, by hopes of friendship with the Romans, to revolt, and the Macedonians themselves be seized with a desire of innovation. Wherefore, he despatched ambassadors to the Achaeans, both to require their oath, (for it had been made an article of their agreement that they should take an oath prescribed by Philip every year,) and at the same time to restore to them Orchomenes, Heraea, and Triphylia. To the Eleans he delivered up Aliphera; which city, they insisted, had never belonged to Triphylia, but ought to be restored to them, having been one of those that were incorporated by the council of the Arcadians for the founding of Megalopolis. These measures had the effect of

strengthening his connexion with the Achaeans. The affections of the Macedonians he conciliated by his treatment of Heraclides: for, finding that his having countenanced this man had been the cause to him of the utmost unpopularity, he charged him with a number of crimes, and threw him into chains, to the great joy of the people. It was now, if at any time, that he made preparations for the war with especial energy. He exercised both the Macedonian and mercenary troops in arms, and in the beginning of spring sent Athenagoras, with all the foreign auxiliaries and what light-armed troops there were, through Epirus into Chaonia, to seize the pass at Antigonia, which the Greeks called Stena. He followed, in a few days, with the heavy troops: and having viewed every situation in the country, he judged that the most advantageous post for fortifying himself was on the river Aous. This river runs in a narrow vale, between two mountains, one of which the natives call Aeropus, and the other Asnaus, affording a passage of very little breadth along the bank. He ordered Athenagoras, with the light infantry, to take possession of Asnaus, and to fortify it. His own camp he pitched on Aeropus. Those places where the rocks were steep, were defended by guards of a few soldiers only; the less secure he strengthened, some with trenches, some with ramparts, and others with towers. A great number of engines, also, were disposed in proper places, that, by means of weapons thrown from these, they might keep the enemy at a distance. The royal pavilion was pitched on the outside of the rampart, on the most conspicuous eminence, in order, by this show of confidence, to dishearten the foe, and raise the hopes of his own men.

6. The consul having received intelligence from Charopus of Epirus, on what pass the king had taken his position with his army, as soon as the spring began to open, left Corcyra, where he had passed the winter, and, sailing over to the continent, led on his army against the enemy. When he came within about five miles of the king's camp, leaving the legions in a strong post, he went forward in person with some light troops, to view the nature of the country; and, on the day following, held a council, in order to determine whether he should attempt a passage through the defiles occupied by the enemy, notwithstanding the great labour and danger which the proposal involved, or lead round his forces by the same road through

which Sulpicius had penetrated into Macedonia the year before. The deliberations on this question had lasted several days, when news arrived, that Titus Quinctius had been elected consul; that he had obtained, by lot, Macedonia as his province; and that, hastening his journey, he had already come over to Corcyra. Valerius Antias says, that Villius marched into the defile, and that, as he could not proceed straight forward, because every pass was occupied by the king, he followed the course of a valley, through the middle of which the river Aous flows, and having hastily constructed a bridge, passed over to the bank where the king's camp was, and fought a battle with him; that the king was routed and driven out of his camp; that twelve thousand of the enemy were killed, and two thousand two hundred taken, together with a hundred and thirty-two military standards, and two hundred and thirty horses. He adds, that, during the battle, a temple was vowed to Jupiter in case of success. The other historians, both Greek and Latin, (all those at least whose accounts I have read,) affirm that nothing memorable was done by Villius, and that Titus Quinctius, the consul who succeeded him, received from him a war which had yet to be commenced.

7. During the time of these transactions in Macedonia, the other consul, Lucius Lentulus, who had stayed at Rome, held an assembly for the election of censors. Out of many illustrious men who stood candidates, were chosen Publius Cornelius Scipio Africanus and Publius Aelius Paetus. These, acting together in perfect harmony, read the list of the senate, without passing a censure on any one member; they also let to farm the port-duties at Capua, and at Puteoli, and of the fort situate where the city now stands; enrolling for this latter place three hundred colonists, that being the number fixed by the senate; they also sold the lands of Capua, which lie at the foot of Mount Tifata. About the same time, Lucius Manlius Acidinus, on his return from Spain, was hindered from entering the city in ovation by Marcus Portius Laeca, plebeian tribune, notwithstanding he had obtained permission of the senate: coming, then, into the city in a private character, he conveyed to the treasury one thousand two hundred pounds' weight of silver, and about thirty pounds' weight of gold. During this year, Cneius Baebius Tamphilus, who had succeeded to the government of the province of Gaul, in the room of

Caius Aurelius, consul of the year preceding, having, without proper caution, entered the territories of the Insubrian Gauls, was surprised with almost the whole of his army. He lost above six thousand six hundred men, — so great a loss was received from a war which had now ceased to be an object of apprehension. This event called away the consul, Lucius Lentulus, from the city; who, arriving in the province, which was filled with confusion, and taking the command of the army, which he found dispirited by its defeat, severely reprimanded the praetor, and ordered him to quit the province and return to Rome. Neither did the consul himself perform any considerable service, being called home to preside at the elections, which were obstructed by Marcus Fulvius and Manius Curius, plebeian tribunes, who wished to hinder Titus Quinctius Flaminius from standing candidate for the consulship, after passing through the office of quaestor. They alleged, that “the aedileship and praetorship were now held in contempt, and that the nobility did not make their way to the consulship through the regular gradations of offices, thus affording a trial of themselves; but, passing over the intermediate steps, pushed at once from the lowest to the highest.” From a dispute in the Field of Mars, the affair was brought before the senate, where it was voted, “that when a person sued for any post, which by the laws he was permitted to hold, the people had the right of choosing whoever they thought proper.” To this decision of the senate the tribunes submitted, and thereupon Sextus Aelius Paetus and Titus Quinctius Flaminius were elected consuls. Then was held the election of praetors. The persons chosen were, Lucius Cornelius Merula, Marcus Claudius Marcellus, Marcus Porcius Cato, and Caius Helvius, who had been plebeian aediles. By these the plebeian games were repeated, and, on occasion of the games, a feast of Jupiter was celebrated. The curule aediles, also, Caius Valerius Flaccus, who was flamen of Jupiter, and Caius Cornelius Cethegus, celebrated the Roman games with great magnificence. Servius and Caius Sulpicius Galba, pontiffs, died this year; in their room were substituted Marcus Aemilius Lepidus and Cneius Cornelius Scipio, as pontiffs.

8. The new consuls, Sextus Aelius Paetus and Titus Quinctius Flaminius, on assuming the administration, convened the senate in the Capitol, and the fathers decreed, that “the consuls should settle

between themselves or cast lots for the provinces, Macedonia and Italy. That he to whom Macedonia fell should enlist, as a supplement to the legions, three thousand Roman footmen and three hundred horse, and also five thousand footmen and five hundred horsemen belonging to the Latin confederacy." The army assigned to the other consul was to consist entirely of newly-raised men. Lucius Lentulus, consul of the preceding year, was continued in command, and was ordered not to depart from the province, nor to remove the old army, until the consul should arrive with the new legions. The consuls cast lots for the provinces, and Italy fell to Aelius, Macedonia to Quintius. Of the praetors, the lots gave to Lucius Cornelius Merula the city jurisdiction; to Marcus Claudius, Sicily; to Marcus Porcius, Sardinia; and to Caius Helvius, Gaul. The levying of troops was then begun, for besides the consular armies, the praetors had been ordered also to enlist men: for Marcellus, in Sicily, four thousand foot and three hundred horse of the Latin confederates; for Cato, in Sardinia, three thousand foot and two hundred horse of the same class of soldiers; with directions, that both these praetors, on their arrival in their provinces, should disband the veterans, both foot and horse. The consuls then introduced to the senate ambassadors from king Attalus. These, after representing that their king gave every assistance to the Roman arms on land and sea, with his fleet and all his forces, and had up to that day executed with zeal and obedience every order of the consuls, added, that "they feared it would not be in his power to continue so to do by reason of king Antiochus, for that Antiochus had invaded the kingdom of Attalus, when destitute of protective forces by sea and land. That Attalus, therefore, entreated the conscript fathers, if they chose to employ his army and navy in the Macedonian war, then to send a body of forces to protect his territories; or if that were not agreeable, to allow him to go home to defend his own possessions, with his fleet and troops." The following answer was ordered to be given to the ambassadors: that "it was a cause of gratitude to the senate that Attalus had assisted the Roman commanders with his fleet and other forces. That they would neither send succours to Attalus, against Antiochus, the ally and friend of the Roman people; nor would they detain the auxiliary troops longer than would be convenient to the king. That it was ever a constant rule

with the Roman people, to use the aid of others so far only as was agreeable to the will of those who gave it; and even to leave the commencement and the termination of that aid at the discretion of those who desired that the Romans should be benefited by their help. That they would send ambassadors to Antiochus, to represent to him, that Attalus, with his fleet and army, were, at the present, employed by the Roman people against Philip, their common enemy; and that Antiochus would do that which was gratifying to the senate if he abstained from the kingdom of Attalus and desisted from the war; for that it was much to be wished, that kings who were allies and friends to the Roman people should maintain friendship between themselves also.”

9. When the consul Titus Quinctius had finished the levies, in making which he chose principally such as had served in Spain or Africa, that is, soldiers of approved courage, and when hastening to set forward to his province, he was delayed by reports of prodigies, and the expiations of them. There had been struck by lightning the public road at Veii, a temple of Jupiter at Lanuvium, a temple of Hercules at Ardea, with a wall and towers at Capua, also the edifice which is called Alba. At Arretium, the sky appeared as on fire; at Velitrae, the earth, to the extent of three acres, sunk down so as to form a vast chasm. From Suessa Aurunca, an account was brought of a lamb born with two heads; from Sinuess, of a swine with a human head. On occasion of these ill omens, a supplication of one day's continuance was performed; the consuls gave their attention to divine services, and, as soon as the gods were appeased, set out for their provinces. Aelius, accompanied by Caius Helvius, praetor, went into Gaul, where he put under the command of the praetor the army which he received from Lucius Lentulus, and which he ought to have disbanded, intending to carry on his own operations with the new troops, which he had brought with him; but he effected nothing worth recording. The other consul, Titus Quinctius, setting sail from Brundisium earlier than had been usual with former consuls, reached Corcyra, with, eight thousand foot and eight hundred horse. From this place, he passed over, in a quinquereme, to the nearest part of Epirus, and proceeded, by long journeys, to the Roman camp. Here, having dismissed Villius, and waiting a few days, until the forces

from Corcyra should come up and join him, he held a council, to determine whether he should endeavour to force his way straight forward through the camp of the enemy; or whether, without attempting an enterprise of so great difficulty and danger, he should not rather take a circuitous and safe road, so as to penetrate into Macedonia by the country of the Dassaretians and Lycus. The latter plan would have been adopted, had he not feared that, in removing to a greater distance from the sea, the enemy might slip out of his hands; and that if the king should resolve to secure himself in the woods and wilds, as he had done before, the summer might be spun out without any thing being effected. It was therefore determined, be the event what it might, to attack the enemy in their present post, disadvantageous as it was. But they more easily resolved on this measure, than devised any safe or certain method of accomplishing it.

10. Forty days were passed in view of the enemy, without making any kind of effort. Hence Philip conceived hopes of bringing about a treaty of peace, through the mediation of the people of Epirus; and a council, which was held for the purpose, having appointed Pausanias, the praetor, and Alexander, the master of the horse, as negotiators, they brought the consul and the king to a conference, on the banks of the river Aous, where the channel was narrowest. The sum of the consul's demands was, that the king should withdraw his troops from the territories of the several states; that, to those whose lands and cities he had plundered, he should restore such of their effects as could be found; and that the value of the rest should be estimated by a fair arbitration. Philip answered, that "the cases of the several states differed widely from each other. That such as he himself had seized on, he would set at liberty; but he would not divest himself of the hereditary and just possessions which had been conveyed down to him from his ancestors. If those states, with whom hostilities had been carried on, complained of any losses in the war, he was ready to submit the matter to the arbitration of any state with whom both parties were at peace." To this the consul replied, that "the business required neither judge nor arbitrator: for to whom was it not evident that every injurious consequence of the war was to be imputed to him who first took up arms. And in this case Philip, unprovoked by any,

had first commenced hostilities against all.” When they next began to treat of those nations which were to be set at liberty, the consul named, first, the Thessalians: on which the king, fired with indignation, exclaimed, “What harsher terms, Titus Quinctius, could you impose on me if I were vanquished?” With these words he retired hastily from the conference, and they were with difficulty restrained by the river which separated them from assaulting each other with missile weapons. On the following day many skirmishes took place between parties sallying from the outposts, in a plain sufficiently wide for the purpose. Afterwards the king’s troops drew back into narrow and rocky places, whither the Romans, keenly eager for fighting, penetrated also. These had in their favour order and military discipline, while their arms were of a kind well calculated for protecting their persons. In favour of the enemy were the advantage of ground, and their balistas and catapultas disposed on almost every rock as on walls. After many wounds given and received on both sides, and numbers being slain, as in a regular engagement, darkness put an end to the fight.

11. While matters were in this state, a herdsman, sent by Charopus, prince of the Epirots, was brought to the consul. He said, that “being accustomed to feed his herd in the forest, then occupied by the king’s camp, he knew every winding and path in the neighbouring mountains; and that if the consul thought proper to send some troops with him, he would lead them by a road, neither dangerous nor difficult, to a spot over the enemy’s head.” When the consul heard these things, he sent to Charopus to inquire if he considered that confidence might be placed in the rustic in so important a matter. Charopus ordered an answer to be returned, that he should give just so much credit to this man’s account, as should still leave every thing rather in his own power than in that of the other. Though the consul rather wished than dared to give the intelligence full belief, and though his mind was possessed by mingled emotions of joy and fear, yet being moved by the confidence due to Charopus, he resolved to put to trial the prospect that was held out to him. In order to prevent all suspicion of the matter, during the two following days he carried on attacks against the enemy without intermission, drawing out troops against them in every quarter, and sending up fresh men to

relieve the wearied. Then, selecting four thousand foot and three hundred horse, he put them under the command of a military tribune, with directions to advance the horse as far as the nature of the ground allowed; and when they came to places impassable to cavalry, then to post them in some plain; that the infantry should proceed by the road which the guide would show, and that when, according to his promise, they arrived on the height over the enemy's head, then they should give a signal by smoke, but raise no shout, until the tribune should have reason to think that, in consequence of the signal received from him, the battle was begun. He ordered that the march should take place by night, (the moon shining through the whole of it,) and employ the day in taking food and rest. The most liberal promises were made to the guide, provided he fulfilled his engagement; he bound him, nevertheless, and delivered him to the tribune. Having thus sent off this detachment, the Roman general exerted himself only the more vigorously in every part to make himself master of the posts of the enemy.

12. On the third day, the Roman party made the signal by smoke, to notify that they had gained possession of the eminence to which they had been directed; and then the consul, dividing his forces into three parts, marched up with the main strength of his army, through a valley in the middle, and made the wings on right and left advance to the camp of the enemy. Nor did these advance to meet him with less alacrity. The Roman soldiers, in the ardour of their courage, long maintained the fight on the outside of their works, for they had no small superiority in bravery, in skill, and in the nature of their arms; but when the king's troops, after many of them were wounded and slain, retreated into places secured either by intrenchments or situation, the danger reverted on the Romans, who pushed forward, inconsiderately, into disadvantageous grounds and defiles, out of which a retreat was difficult. Nor would they have extricated themselves without suffering for their rashness, had not the Macedonians, first, by a shout heard in their rear, and then by an attack begun on that quarter, been utterly dismayed and confounded at the unforeseen danger. Some betook themselves to a hasty flight: some, keeping their stand, rather because they could find no way for flight than that they possessed spirit to support the engagement, were

cut off by the Romans, who pressed them hard both on front and rear. Their whole army might have been destroyed, had the victors continued their pursuit of the fugitives; but the cavalry were obstructed by the narrowness of the passes and the ruggedness of the ground; and the infantry, by the weight of their armour. The king at first fled with precipitation, and without looking behind him; but afterwards, when he had proceeded as far as five miles, he began, from recollecting the unevenness of the road, to suspect, (what was really the case,) that the enemy could not follow him; and halting, he despatched his attendants through all the hills and valleys to collect the stragglers together. His loss was not more than two thousand men. The rest of his army, coming to one spot, as if they had followed some signal, marched off, in a compact body, towards Thessaly. The Romans, after having pursued the enemy as far as they could with safety, killing such as they overtook, and despoiling the slain, seized and plundered the king's camp; which, even when it had no defenders, was difficult of access. The following night they were lodged within their own trenches.

13. Next day, the consul pursued the enemy through the same defiles through which the river winds its way among the valleys. The king came on the first day to the camp of Pyrrhus, a place so called in Triphylia, a district of Melotis; and on the following day he reached Mount Lingos, an immense march for his army, but his fear impelled him. This ridge of mountains belongs to Epirus, and stretches along between Macedonia and Thessaly; the side next to Thessaly faces the east, that next to Macedonia the north. These hills are thickly clad with woods, and on their summits have open plains and perennial streams. Here Philip remained encamped for several days, being unable to determine whether he should continue his retreat until he arrived in his own dominions, or whether he might venture back into Thessaly. At length, his decision leaned to leading down his army into Thessaly; and, going by the shortest roads to Tricca, he made hasty excursions from thence to all the cities within his reach. The inhabitants who were able to accompany him he summoned from their habitations, and burned the towns, allowing the owners to take with them such of their effects as they were able to carry; the rest became the prey of the soldiers; nor was there any kind of cruelty

which they could have suffered from an enemy, that they did not suffer from these their confederates. These acts were painful to Philip even while he executed them; but as the country was soon to become the property of the foe, he wished to rescue out of it at least the persons of his allies. In this manner were ravaged the towns of Phacium, Iresiae, Euhydrium, Eretria, and Palaepharsalus. On his coming to Pherae, the gates were shut against him, and as it would necessarily occasion a considerable delay if he attempted to take it by force, and as he could not spare time, he dropped the design, and crossed over the mountains into Macedonia; for he had received intelligence, that the Aetolians too were marching towards him. These, on hearing of the battle fought on the banks of the river of Aous, first laid waste the nearest tracts round Sperchia, and Long Come, as they call it, and then, passing over into Thessaly, got possession of Cymine and Angeae at the first assault. From Metropolis they were repulsed by the inhabitants, who, while a part of their army was plundering the country, assembled in a body to defend the city. Afterwards, making an attempt on Callithera, they were attacked by the townsmen in a like manner; but withstood their onset with more steadiness, drove back into the town the party which had sallied, and content with that success, as they had no prospect whatever of taking the place by storm, retired. They then took by assault and sacked the towns of Theuma and Calathas. Acharrae they gained by surrender. Xyniae, through similar apprehensions, was abandoned by the inhabitants. These having forsaken their homes, and going together in a body, fell in with a party which was being marched to Thaumacus for the purpose of protecting their foragers; all of whom, an irregular and unarmed multitude, incapable of any resistance, were put to the sword by the troops. The deserted town of Xyniae was plundered. The Aetolians then took Cyphara, a fort conveniently situated on the confines of Dolopia. All this the Aetolians performed within the space of a few days.

14. Nor did Amynander and the Athamanians, when they heard of the victory obtained by the Romans, continue inactive. Amynander, having little confidence in his own troops, requested a slight auxiliary force from the consul; and then advancing towards Gomphi, he stormed on his march a place called Pheca, situate

between that town and the narrow pass which separates Thessaly from Athamania. He then attacked Gomphi, and though the inhabitants defended it for several days with the utmost vigour, yet, as soon as he had raised the scaling ladders to the walls, the same apprehension (which had operated on others) at length compelled them to surrender. This capture of Gomphi spread the greatest consternation among the Thessalians: their fortresses of Argenta, Pherinus, Thimarus, Lisinae, Stimon, and Lampsus surrendered, one after another, with several other garrisons equally inconsiderable. While the Athamanians and Aetolians, delivered from fear of the Macedonians, converted to their own profit the fruits of another's victory; and Thessaly, ravaged by three armies at once, knew not which to believe its foe or its friend; the consul marched on, through the pass which the enemy's flight had left open, into the country of Epirus. Though he well knew which party the Epirots, excepting their prince Charopus, were disposed to favour, yet as he saw that, even from the motive of atoning for past behaviour, they obeyed his orders with diligence, he regulated his treatment of them by the standard of their present rather than of their former temper, and by this readiness to pardon conciliated their affection for the future. Then, sending orders to Corcyra for the transport ships to come into the Ambrician bay, he advanced by moderate marches, and on the fourth day pitched his camp on Mount Cercetius. Hither he ordered Amynder to come with his auxiliary troops; not so much as being in want of his forces, as that he might avail himself of them as his guides into Thessaly. With the same purpose, many volunteers of the Epirots also were admitted into the corps of auxiliaries.

15. Of the cities of Thessaly, the first which he attacked was Phaloria. The garrison here consisted of two thousand Macedonians, who at first resisted with the utmost vigour so far as their arms and fortifications could protect them. The assault was carried on without intermission or relaxation either by day or by night, because the consul thought that it would have a powerful effect on the spirits of the rest of the Thessalians, if the first who made trial of the Roman strength were unable to withstand it; and this at the same time subdued the obstinacy of the Macedonians. On the reduction of Phaloria, deputies came from Metropolis and Piera, surrendering

those cities. To them, on their petition, pardon was granted: Phaloria was sacked, and burned. He then proceeded to Aeginium; but finding this place so circumstanced, that, even with a moderate garrison, it was safe, after discharging a few weapons against the nearest advanced guard he directed his march towards the territory of Gomphi; and thence descended into the plains of Thessaly. His army was now in want of every thing, because he had spared the lands of the Epirots; he therefore despatched messengers to learn whether the transports had reached Leucas and the Ambracian bay; sending the cohorts, in turn, to Ambracia for corn. Now, the road from Gomphi to Ambracia, although difficult and embarrassed, is very short; so that in a few days, provisions having been conveyed from the sea, his camp was filled with an abundant supply of all necessities. He then marched to Atrax, which is about ten miles from Larissa, on the river Peneus. The inhabitants came originally from Perrhaebia. The Thessalians, here, were not in the least alarmed at the first coming of the Romans; and Philip, although he durst not himself advance into Thessaly, yet, keeping his stationary camp in the vale of Tempe, whenever any place was attempted by the enemy, he sent up reinforcements as occasion required.

16. About the time that Quinctius first pitched his camp opposite to Philip's, at the entrance of Epirus, Lucius, the consul's brother, whom the senate had commissioned both to the naval command and to the government of the coast, sailed over with two quinqueremes to Corcyra; and when he learned that the fleet had departed thence, thinking that no delay ought to be incurred, he followed, and overtook it at the island of Zama. Here he dismissed Lucius Apustius, in whose room he had been appointed, and then proceeded to Malea, but at a slow rate, being obliged, for the most part, to tow the vessels which accompanied him with provisions. From Malea, after ordering the rest to follow with all possible expedition, himself, with three light quinqueremes, hastened forward to the Piraeus, and took under his command the ships left there by Lucius Apustius, lieutenant-general, for the protection of Athens. At the same time, two fleets set sail from Asia; one of twenty-four quinqueremes, under king Attalus; the other belonging to the Rhodians, consisting of twenty decked ships, and commanded by Agesimbrotus. These fleets,

joining near the island of Andros, sailed for Euboea, which was separated from them only by a narrow strait. They first ravaged the lands belonging to Carystus; but, judging that city too strong, in consequence of a reinforcement hastily sent from Chalcis, they bent their course to Eretria. Lucius Quinctius also, on hearing of the arrival of king Attalus, came thither with the ships which had lain at the Piraeus; having left orders, that his own ships should, as they arrived, follow him to Euboea. The siege of Eretria was now pushed forward with the utmost vigour; for the three combined fleets carried machines and engines, of all sorts, for the demolition of towns, and the adjacent country offered abundance of timber for the construction of new works. At the beginning the townsmen defended their walls with a good degree of spirit; afterwards, when they felt the effects of fatigue, a great many being likewise wounded, and a part of the wall demolished by the enemy's works, they became disposed to capitulate. But they had a garrison of Macedonians, of whom they stood in no less dread than of the Romans; and Philocles, the king's general, sent frequent messages from Chalcis, that he would bring them succour in due time, if they could hold out the siege. The hope of this, in conjunction with their fears, obliged them to protract the time longer than was consistent either with their wishes or their strength. However, having learned soon after that Philocles had been repulsed in the attempt, and forced to fly back, in disorder, to Chalcis, they instantly sent deputies to Attalus, to beg pardon and protection. While intent on the prospect of peace, they executed with less energy the duties of war, and kept armed guards in that quarter only where the breach had been made in the wall, neglecting all the rest; Quinctius made an assault by night on the side where it was least apprehended, and carried the town by scalade. The whole multitude of the townsmen, with their wives and children, fled into the citadel, but soon after surrendered themselves prisoners. The quantity of money, of gold and silver, taken was not great. Of statues and pictures, the works of ancient artists, and other ornaments of that kind, a greater number was found than was proportionate either to the size of the city, or its opulence in other particulars.

17. The design on Carystus was then resumed, and the fleets sailed thither; on which the whole body of the inhabitants, before the troops

were disembarked, deserted the city and fled into the citadel, whence they sent deputies to beg protection from the Roman general. To the townspeople life and liberty were immediately granted; and it was ordered, that the Macedonians should pay a ransom of three hundred drachmas[] a head, deliver up their arms, and quit the country. After being ransomed for the said amount, they were transported, unarmed, to Boeotia. The combined fleets having, in the space of a few days, taken these two important cities of Euboea, sailed round Sunium, a promontory of Attica, and steered their course to Cenchreae, the grand mart of the Corinthians. In the mean time, the consul found the siege of Atrax more tedious and severe than had been universally expected, and the enemy resisted in the way which they had least anticipated. He had supposed that the whole of the trouble would be in demolishing the wall, and that if he could once open a passage for his soldiers into the city, the consequence would then be, the flight and slaughter of the enemy, as usually happens on the capture of towns. But when, on a breach being made in the wall by the rams, and when the soldiers, by mounting over the ruins, had entered the place, this proved only the beginning, as it were, of an unusual and fresh labour. For the Macedonians in garrison, who were both chosen men and many in number, supposing that they would be entitled to extraordinary honour if they should maintain the defence of the city by means of arms and courage, rather than by the help of walls, formed themselves in a compact body, strengthening their line by an uncommon number of files in depth. These, when they saw the Romans entering by the breaches, drove them back, so that they were entangled among the rubbish, and with difficulty could effect a retreat. This gave the consul great uneasiness; for he considered such a disgrace, not merely as it retarded the reduction of a single city, but as likely to affect materially the whole process of the war, which in general depends much on the influence of events in themselves unimportant. Having therefore cleared the ground, which was heaped up with the rubbish of the half-ruined wall, he brought up a tower of extraordinary height, consisting of many stories, and which carried a great number of soldiers. He likewise sent up the cohorts in strong bodies one after another, to force their way, if possible, through the wedge of the Macedonians, which is called a phalanx. But in such a

confined space, (for the wall was thrown down to no great extent,) the enemy had the advantage, both in the kind of weapons which they used, and in the manner of fighting. When the Macedonians, in close array, stretched out before them their long spears against the target fence which was formed by the close position of their antagonists' shields, and when the Romans, after discharging their javelins without effect, drew their swords, these could neither press on to a closer combat, nor cut off the heads of the spears; and if they did cut or break off any, the shaft, being sharp at the part where it was broken, filled up its place among the points of those which were unbroken, in a kind of palisade. Besides this, the parts of the wall still standing rendered both the flanks of the Macedonians secure, who were not obliged, either in retreating or in advancing to an attack, to pass through a long space, which generally occasions disorder in the ranks. An accidental circumstance also helped to confirm their courage: for as the tower was moved along a bank of not sufficiently solid soil, one of the wheels sinking into a rut, made the tower lean in such a manner that it appeared to the enemy as if falling, and threw the soldiers posted on it into consternation and affright.

18. As none of his attempts met any success, the consul was very unwilling to allow such a comparison to be exhibited between the two classes of soldiery and their respective weapons; at the same time, he could neither see any prospect of reducing the place speedily, nor any means of subsisting in winter, at such a distance from the sea, and in regions desolated by the calamities of war. He therefore raised the siege; and as, along the whole coast of Acarnania and Aetolia, there was no port capable of containing all the transports that brought supplies to the army, nor any place which afforded lodgings to the legions, he pitched on Anticyra, in Phocis on the Corinthian gulf, as most commodiously situated for his purpose. There the legions would be at no great distance from Thessaly, and the places belonging to the enemy; while they would have in front Peloponnesus, separated from them by a narrow sea; on their rear, Aetolia and Acarnania; and on their sides, Locris and Boeotia. Phanotea in Phocis he took without resistance at the first assault. The siege of Anticyra gave him not much delay. Then Ambrysus and

Hyampolis were taken. Daulis, being situated on a lofty eminence, could not be reduced either by scalade or works: he therefore provoked the garrison, by missile weapons, to make sallies from out the town. Then by flying at one time, pursuing at another, and engaging in slight skirmishes, he led them into such a degree of carelessness, and such a contempt of him, that at length the Romans, mixing with them as they ran back, entered by the gates, and stormed the town. Six other fortresses in Phocis, of little consequence, came into his hands, through fear rather than by force of arms. Elatia shut its gates, and the inhabitants seemed determined not to admit within their walls either the army or the general of the Romans, unless compelled by force.

19. While the consul was employed in the siege of Elatia, a prospect opened to him of effecting a business of much more importance; namely, of drawing away the Achaeans from their alliance with Philip to that of the Romans. Cycliades, the head of the faction that favoured the interest of Philip, they had now banished; and Aristaenus, who wished for a union between his countrymen and the Romans, was praetor. The Roman fleet, with Attalus and the Rhodians, lay at Cenchreae, and were preparing to lay siege to Corinth with their whole combined force. The consul therefore judged it prudent, that, before they entered on that affair, ambassadors should be sent to the Achaean state, with assurances, that if they came over from the king to the side of the Romans, the latter would consign Corinth to them, and annex it to the old confederacy of their nation. Accordingly, by the consul's direction, ambassadors were sent to the Achaeans, by his brother Lucius Quinctius, by Attalus, and by the Rhodians and Athenians — a general assembly being summoned to meet at Sicyon to give them audience. Now, the state of feeling of the Achaeans was by no means uniform. Nabis the Lacedaemonian, their constant and inveterate enemy, was the object of their dread; they dreaded the arms of the Romans; they were under obligations to the Macedonians, for services both of ancient and recent date; but the king himself, on account of his perfidy and cruelty, they looked upon with jealous fear, and not judging from the behaviour which he then assumed for the time, they knew that, on the conclusion of the war, they should

find him a more tyrannical master. So that every one of them was not only at a loss what opinion he should support in the senate of his own particular state, or in the general diets of the nation; but, even when they deliberated within themselves, they could not, with any certainty, determine what they ought to wish, or what to prefer. Such was the unsettled state of mind of the members of the assembly, when the ambassadors were introduced and liberty of speaking afforded them. The Roman ambassador, Lucius Calpurnius, spoke first; next the ambassadors of king Attalus; after them those of the Rhodians; and then Philip's. The Athenians were heard the last, that they might refute the discourses of the Macedonians. These inveighed against the king with the greatest acrimony of any, for no others had suffered from him so many and so severe hardships. So great a number of speeches of the ambassadors succeeding each other took up the whole of the day; and about sun-set the council was adjourned.

20. Next day the council was convened again; and when the magistrates, according to the custom of the Greeks, gave leave, by their herald, to any person who chose to offer advice, not one stood forth; but they sat a long time, looking on each other in silence. It was no wonder that men, revolving in their minds matters of such contradictory natures, and who found themselves puzzled and confounded, should be involved in additional perplexity by the speeches continued through the whole preceding day; in which the difficulties, on all sides, were brought into view, and stated in their full force. At length Aristaenus, the praetor of the Achaeans, not to dismiss the council without any business being introduced, said:—"Achaeans, where are now those violent disputes, in which, at your feasts and meetings, whenever mention was made of Philip and the Romans, you scarcely refrained from blows? Now, in a general assembly, summoned on that single business, when you have heard the arguments of the ambassadors on both sides, when the magistrates demand your opinions, when the herald calls you to declare your sentiments, you are struck dumb. Although your concern for the common safety be insufficient for determining the matter, cannot the party zeal which has attached you to one side or the other extort a word from any one of you? especially when none is

so obtuse as not to perceive, that the time for declaring and recommending what each either wishes or thinks most advisable, must be at the present moment; that is, before we make any decree. When a decree shall have been once passed, every man even such as previously may have disapproved the measure, must then support it as good and salutary." These persuasions of the praetor, so far from prevailing on any one person to declare his opinion, did not excite, in all that numerous assembly, collected out of so many states, so much as a murmur or a whisper.

21. Then the praetor, Aristaenus, again spoke as follows:—"Chiefs of Achaea, you are not more at a loss for advice, than you are for words; but every one is unwilling to promote the interest of the public at a risk of danger to himself. Were I in a private character, perhaps I too should be silent; but, as praetor, it is my duty to declare, that I see evidently, either that an audience of the council ought not to have been accorded to the ambassadors, or that they ought not to be dismissed from it without an answer. Yet how can I give them an answer, unless by a decree of yours? And, since not one of you who have been called to this assembly either chooses or dares to make known his sentiments, let us examine (as if they were opinions proposed to our consideration) the speeches of the ambassadors delivered yesterday; supposing the speakers not to have required what was useful to themselves, but to have recommended what they thought most conducive to our advantage. The Romans, the Rhodians and Attalus, request an alliance and friendship with us; and they demand to be assisted by us in the war in which they are now engaged against Philip. Philip reminds us of our league with him, and of the obligation of our oath; he requires only, that we declare ourselves on his side; and says, he will be satisfied if we do not intermeddle in the operations of the war. Does not the reason occur to the mind of any one of you why those, who are not yet our allies, require more than he who is? This arises not from modesty in Philip, nor from the want of it in the Romans. It is fortune, which, while it bestows confidence to requisitions on one side, precludes it on the other. We see nothing belonging to Philip but his ambassador: the Roman fleet lies at Cenchreae, exhibiting to our view the spoils of the cities of Euboea. We behold the consul and his legions, at the

distance of a small tract of sea, overrunning Phocis and Locris. You were surprised at Philip's ambassador, Cleomedon, showing such diffidence yesterday in his application to us to take arms on the side of the king against the Romans. But if we, in pursuance of the same treaty and oath, the sacredness of which he inculcated on us, were to ask of him, that Philip should protect us, both from Nabis and his Lacedaemonians, and also from the Romans, he would be utterly unable to find, not only a force with which to protect us, but even an answer to return. As much so in truth as was Philip himself, who endeavoured, by promises of waging war against Nabis, to draw away our youth into Euboea; but finding that we would neither decree such assistance to him, nor choose to be embroiled in a war with Rome, forgot that alliance on which he now lays such stress, and left us to Nabis and the Lacedaemonians to be spoiled and plundered. Besides, to me the arguments of Cleomedon appeared utterly inconsistent. He made light of the war with the Romans; and asserted, that the issue of it would be similar to that of the former, which they waged against Philip. If such the case, why does he, at a distance, solicit our assistance; rather than come hither in person, and defend us, his old allies, both from Nabis and from the Romans? Us, do I say? Why, on this showing, has he suffered Eretria and Carystus to be taken? Why so many cities of Thessaly? Why Locris and Phocis? Why does he at present suffer Elatia to be besieged? Did he, either through compulsion, or fear, or choice, quit the straits of Epirus, and those impregnable fastnesses on the river Aous; and why, abandoning the pass which he was occupying, did he retire altogether into his own kingdom? If of his own will he gave up so many allies to the ravages of the enemy, what objection can he make to these allies consulting for their own safety? If through fear, he ought to pardon the like fear in us. If he retired defeated by force of arms, let me ask you, Cleomedon, shall we, Achaeans, be able to withstand the Roman arms, which you, Macedonians, have not withstood? Are we to give credit to your assertion, that the Romans do not employ, in the present war, greater forces or greater strength than they did in the former, rather than regard the facts themselves? In the first instance, they aided the Aetolians with a fleet; they sent not to the war either a consul as commander, or a consular army. The maritime

cities of Philip's allies were in terror and confusion; but the inland places were so secure against the Roman arms, that Philip ravaged the country of the Aetolians, while they in vain implored succour from those arms. Whereas, in the present case, the Romans, after bringing to a final conclusion the Punic war, which they had supported for sixteen years in the bowels, as it were, of Italy, sent not auxiliaries to the Aetolians in their quarrels, but, being themselves principals, made a hostile invasion on Macedonia with land and sea forces at once. Their third consul is now pushing forward the war with the utmost vigour. Sulpicius, engaging the king within the territory of Macedonia itself, has overthrown and put him to flight; and afterwards despoiled the most opulent part of his kingdom. Then, again, when he was in possession of the strait of Epirus, where, from the nature of the ground, his fortifications, and the strength of his army, he thought himself secure, Quintius drove him out of his camp; pursued him, as he fled into Thessaly; and, almost in the view of Philip himself, stormed the royal garrisons and the cities of his allies. Supposing that there were no truth in what the Athenian ambassadors mentioned yesterday, respecting the cruelty, avarice, and lust of the king; supposing the crimes committed, in the country of Attica, against the gods, celestial and infernal, concerned us not all; that we had less to complain of than what the people of Cius and Abydos, who are far distant from us, have endured: let us then, if you please, forget even our own wounds; let the murders and ravages committed at Messana, and in the heart of Peloponnesus, the killing of his host Garitenes at Cyparissia, almost in the very midst of a feast, in contempt of laws divine and human; the murder of the two Aratuses of Sicyon, father and son, though he was wont to call the unfortunate old man his parent; his carrying away the son's wife into Macedonia for the gratification of his vicious appetites, and all his violations of virgins and matrons; — let all these, I say, be consigned to oblivion. Let us suppose our business were not with Philip, through dread of whose cruelty you are all thus struck dumb; for what other cause could keep you silent, when you have been summoned to a council? Let us imagine that we are treating with Antigonus, a prince of the greatest mildness and equity, to whose kindness we have all been highly indebted; would he require us to

perform what at the time was impossible? Peloponnesus is a peninsula, united to the continent by the narrow passage of an isthmus particularly exposed and open to the attacks of naval armaments. Now, if a hundred decked ships, and fifty lighter open ones, and thirty Issean barks, shall begin to lay waste our coasts, and attack the cities which stand exposed, almost on the very shore, shall we then retreat into the inland towns, as if we were not afflicted with an intestine war, though in truth it is rankling in our very bowels? When Nabis and the Lacedaemonians by land, and the Roman fleet by sea, shall press us, whence must I implore the support due from the king's alliance, whence the succours of the Macedonians? Shall we ourselves, with our own arms, defend, against the Roman forces, the cities that will be attacked? Truly, in the former war, we defended Dymae excellently well! The calamities of others afford us abundant examples; let us not seek how we may render ourselves an example to others. Do not, because the Romans voluntarily desire your friendship, condemn that which you ought to have prayed for, nay, laboured with all your might to obtain. But, it is insinuated, that they are impelled by fear, in a country to which they are strangers; and that, wishing to shelter themselves under your assistance, they have recourse to your alliance in the hope of being admitted into your harbours, and of there finding supplies of provisions. Now, at sea they are absolute masters; and instantly reduce to subjection every place at which they land. What they request, they have power to enforce. Because they wish to treat you with tenderness they do not allow you to take steps that must lead you to ruin. Cleomedon lately pointed out, as the middle and safest way, to remain inactive, and abstain from taking up arms But that is not a middle way; it is no way at all. For, besides the necessity of either embracing or rejecting the Roman alliance, what other consequence can ensue from such conduct, than that, while we show no steady attachment to either side, as if we waited the event with design to adapt our counsels to fortune, we shall become the prey of the conqueror? Contemn not then, when it is spontaneously offered to your acceptance, what you ought to have solicited with your warmest prayers. The free option between the two, which you have this day, you will not always have. The same opportunity will not last long, nor will it frequently recur.

You have long wished to deliver yourselves out of the hands of Philip, although you have not dared to make the attempt. Those have now crossed the sea, with large fleets and armies, who are able to rescue you to a state of freedom, without any trouble or danger to yourselves. If you reject such persons as allies, you can scarcely be of sane mind; but you must unavoidably have to deal with them, either as allies or as enemies.”

22. This speech of the praetor was followed by a general murmur; some declaring their approbation, and others vehemently rebuking those who did so. And now, not only individuals, but whole states were engaged in altercation among themselves; and at length among the magistrates, called Demiurgi, who are ten in number, the dispute was taken up with as much warmth as among the multitude. Five of them declared, that they would propose the question concerning an alliance with Rome, and would take the votes on it; while five insisted, that it had been provided by law that neither the magistrates should have power to propose nor the council to pass any decree injurious to the alliance with Philip. This day, also, was spent in contention, and there remained now but one day more of the regular time of sitting; for, according to the rule, the decree must be passed on the third day: and as that approached, the zeal of the parties was kindled into such a flame, that scarcely did parents refrain from offering violence to their own sons. There was present a man of Pallene, named Rhisiasus, whose son, Memnon, was a demiurgus, and was of that party which opposed the reading of the decree and taking the votes. This man, for a long time, entreated his son to allow the Achaeans to take proper measures for their common safety, and not, by his obstinacy, to bring ruin on the whole nation; but, finding that his entreaties had no effect, he swore that he would treat him, not as a son, but as an enemy, and would put him to death with his own hand. By these threats he forced him, next day, to join the party that voted for the question being proposed. These, having now become the majority, proposed the question accordingly, while almost every one of the states, openly approving the measure, showed plainly on which side they would vote. Whereupon the Dymaeans, Megalopolitans, with several of the Argives, rose up, and withdrew from the council; which step excited neither wonder nor

disapprobation. For when, in the memory of their grandfathers, the Megalopolitans had been expelled their country by the Lacedaemonians, Antigonus had reinstated them in their native residence; and, at a later period, when Dymae was taken and sacked by the Roman troops, Philip ordered that the inhabitants, wherever they were in servitude, should be ransomed, and not only restored them to their liberty, but their country. As to the Argives, besides believing that the royal family of Macedonia derived its origin from them, the greater part were attached to Philip by personal acts of kindness and familiar friendship. For these reasons, when the council appeared disposed to order an alliance to be concluded with Rome, they withdrew; and their secession was readily excused, in consideration of the many and recent obligations by which they were bound to the king of Macedon.

23. The rest of the Achaean states, on their opinions being demanded, ratified, by an immediate decree, the alliance with Attalus and the Rhodians. That with the Romans, as it could not be perfected without an order from the people, they deferred until such time as ambassadors could be sent to Rome. For the present, it was resolved, that three ambassadors should be sent to Lucius Quinctius; and that the whole force of the Achaeans should be brought up to Corinth, which city Quinctius, after taking Cenchreae, was then besieging. The Achaeans accordingly pitched their camp opposite to the gate that leads to Sicyon. The Romans made their approaches on the side of the city which faces Cenchreae; Attalus having drawn his army across the isthmus, towards Lechaem, the port on the opposite sea. At first, they did not push forward their operations with any great degree of vigour, because they had hopes of a dissension breaking out between the townsmen and the king's troops. But afterwards, learning that they all were of one mind; that the Macedonians exerted themselves as if in defence of their common country; and that the Corinthians submitted to the orders of Androsthenes, commander of the garrison, as if he were their countryman, and elected by their own suffrages; the assailants had no other hopes but in force, arms, and their works. They therefore brought up their mounds to the walls, though by very difficult approaches. On that side where the Romans attacked, their ram had demolished a considerable part of the wall;

and the Macedonians having run together to defend the place thus stripped of its works, a furious conflict ensued between themselves and the Romans. At first, by reason of the enemy's superiority in number, the Romans were quickly repulsed; but being joined by the auxiliary troops of Attalus and the Achaeans, they restored the fight to an equality; so that there was no doubt that they would easily drive the Macedonians and Greeks from their ground. But there were in the town a great multitude of Italian deserters; some of whom, having been in Hannibal's army, had, through fear of being punished by the Romans, followed Philip; others, having been sailors, had lately quitted the fleets, and gone over, in hopes of more honourable employment: despair of safety, therefore, in case of the Romans getting the better, inflamed these to a degree which might rather be called madness than courage. Opposite to Sicyon is the promontory of Juno Acraea, as she is called, stretching out into the main, the passage to Corinth being about seven miles. To this place Philocles, one of the king's generals, led, through Boeotia, fifteen hundred soldiers; and there were barks from Corinth ready to take these troops on board, and carry them over to Lechaeum. Attalus, on this, advised to burn the works, and raise the siege immediately; Quinctius was for persisting more obstinately in the attempt. However, when he saw the king's troops posted at the gates, and that the sallies of the besieged could not easily be withstood, he came over to the opinion of Attalus. Thus, their design proving fruitless, they dismissed the Achaeans, and returned to their ships. Attalus steered to Piraeus, the Romans to Corcyra.

24. While the naval forces were thus employed, the consul, having encamped before Elatia, in Phocis, first endeavoured, by conferring with the principal inhabitants, to bring them over, and by their means to effect his purpose; but on their answering that they had nothing in their power, because the king's troops were more numerous and stronger than the townsmen, he assaulted the city on all sides at once with arms and engines. A battering-ram having been brought up, shattered a part of the wall that reached from one tower to another, and this falling with a prodigious noise and crash, left much of the town exposed. On this a Roman cohort made an assault through the breach, while at the same time the townsmen, quitting their several

posts, ran together from all parts to the place, which was endangered by the attack of the enemy. At the same time others of the Romans climbed over the ruins of the wall, and brought up scaling-ladders to the parts that were standing. As the conflict attracted the eyes and attention of the enemy to one particular spot, the walls were scaled in several places, by which means the soldiers easily entered the town. The noise and tumult which ensued so terrified the enemy, that quitting the place, which they had crowded together to defend, they all fled in panic to the citadel, accompanied by the unarmed multitude. The consul having thus become master of the town, gave it up to be plundered, and then sent messengers into the citadel, offering the king's troops their lives, on condition of their laying down their arms, and departing. To the Elatians he offered their liberty; which terms being agreed to, in a few days after he got possession of the citadel.

25. In consequence of Philocles, the king's general, coming into Achaia, not only Corinth was delivered from the siege, but the city of Argos was betrayed into his hands by some of the principal inhabitants, after they had first sounded the minds of the populace. They had a custom, that, on the first day of assembly, their praetors, for the omen's sake, should pronounce the names, Jupiter, Apollo, and Hercules; in addition to which, a rule had been made, that, along with these they should join the name of king Philip. After the conclusion of the alliance with the Romans, the herald did not make that addition; on which a murmur spread through the multitude, who would add the name of Philip, and insisting that the respect, due by law, should be paid as before; until at length the name was given out amidst universal approbation. On the encouragement afforded by this favourable disposition, Philocles was invited, who seized in the night a strong post called Larissa, seated on a hill which overhangs the city, and in which he placed a garrison. At the dawn of day, however, and as he was proceeding in order of battle to the forum, at the foot of the hill he was met by a line of troops, drawn up to oppose him. This was a body of Achaeans, lately posted there, consisting of about five hundred young men, selected out of all the states. Their commander was Aenesidemus, of Dymae. The king's general sent a person to recommend to them to evacuate the city, because they were

not a match for the townsmen alone, who held the same sentiments as the Macedonians; much less when these were joined by the Macedonians, whom even the Romans had not withstood at Corinth. This at first had no effect, either on the commander, or his men: and when they, soon after, perceived the Argives also in arms, coming, in a great body, from the opposite side, perceiving that their destruction was inevitable, they yet seemed determined to run every hazard, if their leader would persevere. But Aenesidemus, unwilling that the flower of the Achaean youth should be lost, together with the city, made terms with Philocles, that they should have liberty to retire, while himself remained armed with a few of his dependents, in the position which he had occupied. To a person sent by Philocles to inquire what he meant, he only answered, standing with his shield held out before him, that he meant to die in arms in defence of the city intrusted to his charge. Philocles then ordered some Thracians to throw their javelins at him and his attendants; and they were all put to death. Thus, notwithstanding the alliance concluded by the Achaeans with the Romans, two of their cities, and those of the greatest consequence, Argos and Corinth, were still in the hands of Philip. Such were the services performed during that summer by the land and sea forces of Rome employed in Greece.

26. In Gaul, the consul Sextus Aelius did nothing worth mention, though he had two armies in the province: one, which he had retained under their standards, although it ought to have been disbanded; and of this, which had served under Lucius Cornelius, proconsul, he had given the command to Caius Helvius, the praetor: the other he had brought with him into the province. He spent nearly the whole summer in compelling the people of Cremona and Placentia to return to their colonies, from whence they had been driven to various places by the calamities of war. While Gaul, beyond expectation, remained quiet through the whole year, an insurrection of the slaves was very near taking place in the neighbourhood of the city. The hostages, given by the Carthaginians, were kept in custody at Setia: as they were the children of the principal families, they were attended by a great multitude of slaves; to this number many were added, in consequence of the late African war, and by the Setians themselves having bought, from among the spoil, several of those which had

been captured. Having conspired together, they sent some of their number to engage in the cause the slaves of the country round Setia, and then those at Norba and Circeii. When every thing was fully prepared, they determined, during the games which were soon to be solemnized at the first-mentioned place, to attack the people while intent on the show, and when Setia had been taken in the midst of the slaughter and unexpected turmoil, then to seize on Norba and Circeii. Information of this atrocious plot was brought to Rome, to Lucius Cornelius Merula, the city praetor. Two slaves came to him before daylight, and disclosed to him in order the whole proceedings and intentions of the conspirators. The praetor, ordering them to be guarded in his own house, summoned a meeting of the senate; and having laid before them the information of the discoverers, he was ordered to go himself to the spot, and examine into and crush the conspiracy. Setting out, accordingly, with five lieutenant-generals, he compelled such as he found in the country to take the military oath, to arm, and follow him. Having by this tumultuary kind of levy armed about two thousand men, while all were ignorant of his destination, he came to Setia. There the leaders of the conspiracy were instantly apprehended; on which, the remainder fled from the city; but parties were sent through the country to search them out. The services of the two who made the discovery, and of one free person employed, were highly meritorious. The senate ordered a present to the latter of a hundred thousand *asses*;[] to the slaves, twenty-five thousand *asses*[] each, and their freedom. The price was paid to their owners out of the treasury. Not long after, intelligence was received, that other slaves, belonging to the remains of the conspiracy, had formed a design of seizing Praeneste. The praetor, Lucius Cornelius, went thither, and inflicted punishment on near five hundred persons concerned in that wicked scheme. The public were under apprehensions that the Carthaginian hostages and prisoners fomented these plots: watches were, therefore, kept at Rome in all the streets, which the inferior magistrates were ordered to go round and inspect; while the triumvirs of the prison, called the Quarry, were to keep a stricter guard than usual. Circular letters were also sent by the praetor to all the Latin states, directing that the hostages should be confined within doors, and not at any time allowed the liberty of

going into public; and that the prisoners should be kept bound with fetters, of not less than ten pounds weight, and confined in no other place of custody than the common jail.

27. In this year, ambassadors from king Attalus made an offering, in the Capitol, of a golden crown of two hundred and fifty-six pounds' weight, and returned thanks to the senate, because Antiochus, influenced by the authority of the Romans, had withdrawn his troops out of the territories of Attalus. During the same summer, two hundred horsemen, ten elephants, and two hundred thousand pecks of wheat, arrived from king Masinissa for the army in Greece. From Sicily also, and Sardinia, large supplies of provisions were sent, with clothing for the troops. Sicily was then governed by Marcus Marcellus, Sardinia by Marcus Porcius Cato, a man of acknowledged integrity and purity of conduct, but deemed too severe in punishing usury. He drove the usurers entirely out of the island; and restricted or abolished the contributions, usually paid by the allies, for maintaining the dignity of the praetors. The consul, Sextus Aelius, coming home from Gaul to Rome to hold the elections, elected consuls, Caius Cornelius Cethegus and Quintus Minucius Rufus. Two days after was held the election of praetors; and this year, for the first time, six praetors were appointed, in consequence of the increase of the provinces, and the extension of the bounds of the empire. The persons elected were, Lucius Manlius Vulso, Caius Sempronius Tuditanus, Marcus Sergius Silus, Marcus Helvius, Marcus Minucius Rufus, and Lucius Atilius. Of these Sempronius and Helvius were, at the time, plebeian aediles. The curule aediles were Quintus Minucius Thermus and Tiberius Sempronius Longus. The Roman games were four times repeated during this year.

28. On Caius Cornelius and Quintus Minucius becoming consuls, the first business of all was the arrangement of the provinces of the consuls and praetors. Those of the praetors were the first settled, because that could be transacted by the lots. The city jurisdiction fell to Sergius; the foreign to Minucius; Atilius obtained Sardinia; Manlius, Sicily; Sempronius, the Hither Spain; and Helvius, the Farther. When the consuls were preparing to cast lots for Italy and Macedonia, Lucius Oppius and Quintus Fulvius, plebeian tribunes,

stood in their way, alleging, that "Macedonia was a very distant province, and that the principal cause which had hitherto retarded the progress of the war, was, that when it was scarcely entered upon, and just at the commencement of operations, the former consul was always recalled. This was the fourth year since the declaration of war against Macedonia. The greater part of one year Sulpicius spent in seeking the king and his army; Villius, on the point of engaging the enemy, was recalled without any thing having been done. Quinctius was detained at Rome, for the greater part of his year, by business respecting religion; nevertheless, he had so conducted affairs, that had he come earlier into the province, or had the cold season been at a greater distance, he might have put an end to hostilities. He was then just going into winter quarters; but, it was stated that he had brought the war into such a state, that if he were not prevented by a intercessor, he seemed likely to complete it in the course of the ensuing summer." By such arguments the tribunes so far prevailed, that the consuls declared that they would abide by the directions of the senate, if the tribunes would agree to do the same. Both parties having, accordingly, left the consultation perfectly free, a decree was passed, appointing the two consuls to the government of the province of Italy. Titus Quinctius was continued in command, until a successor should accede by a decree of the senate. To each, two legions were decreed; and they were ordered, with these, to carry on the war with the Cisalpine Gauls, who had revolted from the Romans. A reinforcement of five thousand foot and three hundred horse was ordered to be sent into Macedonia to Quinctius, together with three thousand seamen. Lucius Quinctius Flaminius was continued in the command of the fleet. To each of the praetors for the two Spains were granted eight thousand foot, of the allies and Latins, and four hundred horse; so that they might discharge the veteran troops in their provinces. They were further directed to fix the bounds which should divide the hither from the farther province. Two additional lieutenant-generals were sent to the army in Macedonia, Publius Sulpicius and Publius Villius, who had been consuls in that province.

29. It was thought necessary, that before the consuls and praetors went abroad, some prodigies should be expiated. For the temples of

Vulcan and Summanus,[] at Rome, and a wall and a gate at Fregellae, had been struck by lightning. At Frusino, light had shone forth during the night. At Asculum, a lamb had been born with two heads and five feet. At Formiae, two wolves entering the town had torn several persons who fell in their way; and, at Rome, a wolf had made its way, not only into the city, but into the Capitol. Caius Acilius, plebeian tribune, caused an order to be passed, that five colonies should be led out to the sea-coast; two to the mouths of the rivers Volturnus and Lirernus; one to Puteoli and one to the fort of Salernum. To these was added Buxentum. To each colony three hundred families were ordered to be sent. The commissioners appointed to conduct them thither, and who were to hold the office for three years, were Marcus Servilius Geminus, Quintus Minucius Thermus, and Tiberius Sempronius Longus. As soon as the levies, and such other business, religious and civil, as required their personal attendance, was finished, both the consuls set out for Gaul. Cornelius took the direct road towards the Insubrians, who were then in arms, and had been joined by the Caenomanians. Quintus Minucius turned his route to the left side of Italy, and leading away his army to the lower sea, to Genoa, opened the campaign with an invasion of Liguria. Two towns, Clastidium and Litubium, both belonging to the Ligurians, and two states of the same nation, Celela and Cerdicum, surrendered to him. And now, all the states on this side of the Po, except the Boians among the Gauls and the Ilvatians among the Ligurians, were reduced to submission: no less, it is said, than fifteen towns and twenty thousand men surrendered themselves. He then led his legions into the territory of the Boians.

30. The Boian army had, not very long before, crossed the Po and joined the Insubrians and Caenomanians; for, having heard that the consuls intended to act with their forces united, they wished to increase their own strength by this junction. But when information reached them that one of the consuls was ravaging the country of the Boians, a dispute instantly arose. The Boians demanded, that all, in conjunction, should carry succour to those who were attacked; while the Insubrians positively refused to leave their country defenceless. In consequence of this dissension, the armies separated; the Boians went to defend their own territory, and the Insubrians, with the

Caenomanians, encamped on the banks of the river Mincius. About five miles below this spot, the consul Cornelius pitched his camp close to the same river. Sending emissaries hence into the villages of the Caenomanians, and to Brixia, the capital of their tribe, he learned with certainty that their young men had taken arms without the approbation of the elders; and that the Caenomanians had not joined in the revolt of the Insubrians by any public authority. On which he invited to him the principal of the natives, and endeavoured to contrive and concert with them that the Caenomanians should separate from the Insubrians; and either march away and return home, or come over to the side of the Romans. This he was not able to effect; but so far, he received solemn assurances that, in case of a battle, they would either stand inactive, or, should any occasion offer, would even assist the Romans. The Insubrians knew not that such an agreement had been concluded, but they harboured in their minds some kind of suspicion, that the fidelity of their confederates was wavering. Wherefore, in forming their troops for battle, not daring to intrust either wing to them, lest, if they should treacherously give ground, they might cause a total defeat, they placed them in reserve behind the line. At the beginning of the fight, the consul vowed a temple to Juno Sospita, provided the enemy should, on that day, be routed and driven from the field; on which the soldiers raised a shout, declaring, that they would insure to their commander the completion of his vow, and at the same time an attack was made on the enemy. The Insubrians did not stand even the first onset. Some writers affirm, that the Caenomanians, falling on their rear during the heat of the engagement, caused as much disorder there as prevailed in their front: and that, thus assailed on both sides, thirty-five thousand of them were slain, five thousand seven hundred taken prisoners, among whom was Hamilcar, a Carthaginian general, who had been the cause of the war; and that a hundred and thirty military standards and above two hundred waggons were taken. On this, the towns of the Gauls, which had joined in the revolt of the Insubrians, surrendered to the Romans.

31. The other consul, Minucius, had at first traversed the territories of the Boians, with wide-spread ravaging parties; but afterwards, when that people left the Insubrians, and came home to defend their

own property, he kept his men within their camp, expecting to come to a regular engagement with the enemy. Nor would the Boians have declined a battle, if their spirits had not been depressed by hearing of the defeat of the Insubrians. Upon this, deserting their commander and their camp, they dispersed themselves through the several towns, each wishing to take care of his own effects. Thus they changed the enemy's method of carrying on the war: for, no longer hoping to decide the matter by a single battle, he began again to lay waste the lands, burn the houses, and storm the villages. At this time, Clastidium was burned, and the legions were led thence against the Ilvatic Ligurians, who alone refused to submit. That state, also, on learning that the Insubrians had been defeated in battle, and the Boians so terrified that they had not dared to try the fortune of an engagement, made a submission. Letters from the consuls, containing accounts of their successes, came from Gaul to Rome at the same time. Marcus Sergius, city praetor, read them in the senate, and afterwards, by direction of the fathers, in an assembly of the people; on which a supplication, of four days' continuance, was decreed.

32. It was by this time winter; and while Titus Quinctius, after the reduction of Elatia, had his winter quarters distributed in Phocis and Locris, a violent dissension broke out at Opus. One faction invited to their assistance the Aetolians who were nearest at hand; the other, the Romans. The Aetolians arrived first; but the other party, which was the more powerful, refused them admittance, and, despatching a courier to the Roman general, held the city until his arrival. The citadel was possessed by a garrison belonging to the king, and they could not be prevailed on to retire from thence, either by the threats of the people of Opus, or by the authority of the Roman consul's commands. What prevented their being immediately attacked was, the arrival of an envoy from the king, to solicit the appointing of a time and place for a conference. This was granted to the king with great reluctance; not that Quinctius did not wish to see war concluded under his own auspices, partly by arms, and partly by negotiation: for he knew not, yet, whether one of the new consuls would be sent out as his successor, or whether he should be continued in the command; a point which he had charged his friends

and relations to labour for with all their might. But he thought that a conference would answer this purpose; that it would put it in his power to give matters a turn towards war, in case he remained in the province, or towards peace, if he were to be removed. They chose for the meeting a part of the sea-shore, in the Malian gulf, near Nicaea. Thither Philip came from Demetrias, with five barks and one ship of war: he was accompanied by some principal Macedonians, and an Achaean exile, name Cycliades, a man of considerable note. With the Roman general, were king Amynder, Dionysidorus, ambassador from king Attalus, Agesimbrotus, commander of the Rhodian fleet, Phaeneas, praetor of the Aetolians, and two Achaeans, Aristaenus and Xenophon. Attended by these, the Roman general advanced to the brink of the shore, when the king had come forward to the prow of his vessel, as it lay at anchor; and said, "If you will come on the shore, we shall mutually speak and hear with more convenience." This the king refused; and on Quinctius asking him, "Whom do you fear?" With the haughty spirit of royalty, he replied, "Fear I have none, but of the immortal gods; but I have no confidence in the faith of those whom I see about you, and least of all in the Aetolians." "That danger," said the Roman, "is equal to all in common who confer with an enemy, if no confidence subsists." "But, Titus Quinctius," replied the king, "if treachery be intended, the prizes of perfidy are not equal, namely, Philip and Phaeneas. For it will not be so difficult for the Aetolians to find another praetor, as for the Macedonians to find another king in my place." — Silence then ensued.

33. The Roman expected that he who solicited the conference should open it; and the king thought that he who was to prescribe, not he who received, terms of peace, ought to begin the conference. At length the Roman said, that "his discourse should be very simple; for he would only mention those articles, without which there could be no conditions of peace. These were, that the king should withdraw his garrisons from all the cities of Greece. That he should deliver up to the allies of the Roman people the prisoners and deserters; should restore to the Romans those places in Illyricum of which he had possessed himself by force, since the peace concluded in Epirus; and to Ptolemy, king of Egypt, the cities which he had seized since the

death of Ptolemy Philopater.” These were the terms which he required, on behalf of himself and the Roman people: but it was proper that the demands of the allies, also, should be heard. The ambassador of king Attalus demanded “restitution of the ships and prisoners taken in the sea-fight at Cius; and that Nicephorium, and the temple of Venus, which Philip had pillaged and defaced, should be restored as though they had not been injured.” The Rhodians laid claim to Peraea, a tract on the continent, lying opposite to their island, which from early times had been under their jurisdiction; and they required that “the garrisons should be withdrawn from Tassus, Bargylii, and Euroma, and from Sestus and Abydos on the Hellespont; that Perinthus should be restored to the Byzantians, in right of their ancient title, and that all the sea-port towns and harbours of Asia should be free.” The Achaeans demanded the restoration of Corinth and Argos. Phaeneas nearly repeated the demands made by the Romans, that the troops should withdraw out of Greece, and the Aetolians be put in possession of the cities which had formerly been under their dominion. He was followed by Alexander, a man of eminence among the Aetolians, and, considering his country, not uneloquent. He said, that “he had long kept silence, not because he expected that any business would be effected in that conference, but because he was unwilling to interrupt any of the allies in their discourse.” He asserted, that “Philip was neither treating for peace with sincerity; and that he had never waged war with true courage, at any time: that in negotiating, he was insidious and fraudulent; while in war he never fought on equal ground, nor engaged in regular battles; but, skulking about, burned and pillaged towns, and, when worsted, destroyed the prizes of victory. But not in that manner did the ancient kings of Macedon behave; they decided the fate of the war in the field, and spared the towns as far as they were able, in order to possess the more opulent empire. For what sort of conduct was it, to destroy the objects for the possession of which the contest was waged, and thereby leave nothing to himself but fighting? Philip had, in the last year, desolated more cities of his allies in Thessaly, than all the enemies that Thessaly ever had. On the Aetolians themselves he had made greater depredations, when he was in alliance with them, than since he

became their enemy. He had seized on Lysimachia, after dislodging the praetor and garrison of the Aetolians. Cius also, a city belonging to their government, he razed from the foundation. With the same injustice he held possession of Thebes in Phthiotis, of Echinus, Larissa, and Pharsalus.”

34. Philip, provoked by this discourse of Alexander, pushed his ship nearer to the land, that he might be the better heard, and began to speak with much violence, particularly against the Aetolians. But Phaeneas, interrupting him, said that “the business depended not upon words; he must either conquer in war, or submit to his superiors.” “That, indeed, is evident,” said Philip, “even to the blind,” reflecting on Phaeneas, who had a disorder in his eyes: for he was naturally fonder of such pleasantries than became a king; and even in the midst of serious business, did not sufficiently restrain himself from ridicule. He then began to express great indignation at the “Aetolians assuming as much importance as the Romans, and insisting on his evacuating Greece; people who could not even tell what were its boundaries. For, of Aetolia itself, a large proportion, consisting of the Agraeans, Apodeotians, and Amphilochians, was no part of Greece. Have they just ground of complaint against me for not refraining from war with their allies, when themselves, from the earliest period, follow, as an established rule, the practice of suffering their young men to carry arms against those allies, withholding only the public authority of the state; while very frequently contending armies have Aetolian auxiliaries on both sides? I did not seize on Cius by force, but assisted my friend and ally, Prusias, who was besieging it, and Lysimachia I rescued from the Thracians. But since necessity diverted my attention from the guarding of it to this present war, the Thracians have possession of it. So much for the Aetolians. To Attalus and the Rhodians I in justice owe nothing; for not to me, but to themselves, is the commencement of hostilities to be attributed. However, out of respect to the Romans, I will restore Peraea to the Rhodians, and to Attalus his ships, and such prisoners as can be found. As to what concerns Nicephorium, and the temple of Venus, what other answer can I make to those who require their restoration, than that I will take on myself the trouble and expense of replanting them — the only way in which woods and groves which

have been cut down can be restored, — since it is thought fit that, between kings, such kinds of demands should be made and answered.” The last part of his speech was directed to the Achaeans, wherein he enumerated, first, the kindnesses of Antigonus; then, his own towards their nation, desiring them to consider the decrees themselves had passed concerning him, which comprehended every kind of honour, divine and human; and to these he added their late decree, by which they had confirmed the resolution of deserting him. He inveighed bitterly against their perfidy, but told them, that nevertheless he would give them back Argos. “With regard to Corinth, he would consult with the Roman general; and would, at the same time, inquire from him, whether he thought it right, that he (Philip) should evacuate only those cities which, being captured by himself, were held by the right of war; or those, also, which he had received from his ancestors.”

35. The Achaeans and Aetolians were preparing to answer, but, as the sun was near setting, the conference was adjourned to the next day; and Philip returned to his station whence he came, the Romans and allies to their camp. On the following day, Quinctius repaired to Nicaea, which was the place agreed on, at the appointed time; but neither Philip, nor any messenger from him, came for several hours. At length, when they began to despair of his coming, his ships suddenly appeared. He said, that “the terms enjoined were so severe and humiliating, that, not knowing what to determine, he had spent the day in deliberation.” But the general opinion was, that he had purposely delayed the business until late, that the Achaeans and Aetolians might not have time to answer him: and this opinion he himself confirmed, by desiring that time might not be consumed in altercation, and, to bring the affair to some conclusion, that the others should retire, and leave him to converse with the Roman general. For some time this was not admitted, lest the allies should appear to be excluded from the conference. Afterwards, on his persisting in his desire, the Roman general, with the consent of all, taking with him Appius Claudius, a military tribune, advanced to the brink of the coast, and the rest retired. The king, with the two persons whom he had brought the day before, came on shore, where they conversed a considerable time in private. What account of their proceedings

Philip gave to his people is not well known: what Quinctius told the allies was, that "Philip was willing to cede to the Romans the whole coast of Illyricum, and to give up the deserters and prisoners, if there were any. That he consented to restore to Attalus his ships, and the seamen taken with them; and to the Rhodians the tract which they call Peraea. That he refused to evacuate Iassus and Bargylii. To the Aetolians he was ready to restore Pharsalus and Larissa; Thebes he would not restore: and that he would give back to the Achaeans the possession, not only of Argos, but of Corinth also." This arrangement pleased none of the parties; neither those to whom the concessions were to be made, nor those to whom they were refused; "for on that plan," they said, "more would be lost than gained; nor could the grounds of contention ever be removed, but by his withdrawing his forces from every part of Greece."

36. These expressions, delivered with eagerness and vehemence by every one in the assembly, reached the ears of Philip, though he stood at a distance. He therefore requested of Quinctius, that the whole business might be deferred until the next day; and then he would, positively, either prevail on the allies, or suffer himself to be prevailed on by them. The shore at Thronium was appointed for their meeting, and there they assembled early. Philip began with entreating Quinctius, and all who were present, not to harbour such sentiments as must embarrass a negotiation of peace; and then desired time, while he could send ambassadors to Rome, to the senate, declaring, that "he would either obtain a peace on the terms mentioned, or would accept whatever terms the senate should prescribe." None by any means approved of this; they said, he only sought a delay, and leisure to collect his strength. But Quinctius observed, "that such an objection would have been well founded, if it were then summer and a season fit for action; as matters stood, and the winter being just at hand, nothing would be lost by allowing him time to send ambassadors. For, without the authority of the senate, no agreement which they might conclude with the king would be valid; and besides, they would by this means have an opportunity, while the winter itself would necessarily cause a suspension of arms, to learn the authoritative decision of the senate." The other chiefs of the allies came over to this opinion: and a cessation of hostilities for two

months being granted, they resolved that each of their states should send an ambassador with the necessary information to the senate, and in order that it should not be deceived by the misrepresentations of Philip. To the above agreement for a truce, was added an article, that all the king's troops should be immediately withdrawn from Phocis and Locris. With the ambassadors of the allies, Quinctius sent Amynder, king of Athamania; and, to add a degree of splendour to the embassy, a deputation from himself, composed of Quintus Fabius, the son of his wife's sister, Quintus Fulvius, and Appius Claudius.

37. On their arrival at Rome, the ambassadors of the allies were admitted to audience before those of the king. Their discourse, in general, was filled up with invectives against Philip. What produced the greatest effect on the minds of the senate was, that, by pointing out the relative situations of the lands and seas in that part of the world, they made it manifest to every one, that if the king held Demetrias in Thessaly, Chalcis in Euboea, and Corinth in Achaia, Greece could not be free; and they added, that Philip himself, with not more insolence than truth, used to call these the fetters of Greece. The king's ambassadors were then introduced, and when they were beginning a long harangue, a short question cut short their discourse: — Whether he was willing to yield up the three above-mentioned cities? They answered, that they had received no specific instructions on that head: on which they were dismissed, the negotiation being left unsettled. Full authority was given to Quinctius to determine every thing relative to war and peace. As this demonstrated clearly that the senate were not weary of the war, so he, who was more earnestly desirous of conquest than of peace, never afterwards consented to a conference with Philip; and even gave him notice that he would not admit any embassy from him, unless it came with information that he was retiring from the whole of Greece.

38. Philip now perceived that he must decide the matter in the field, and collect his strength about him from all quarters. Being particularly uneasy in respect to the cities of Achaia, a country so distant from him, and also of Argos, even more, indeed, than of Corinth, he resolved, as the most advisable method, to put the former into the hands of Nabis, tyrant of Lacedaemon, in trust, as it were, on

the terms, that if he should prove successful in the war, Nabis should re-deliver it to him; if any misfortune should happen, he should keep it himself. Accordingly, he wrote to Philocles, who had the command in Corinth and Argos, to have a meeting with the tyrant. Philocles, besides coming with a valuable present, added to that pledge of future friendship between the king and the tyrant, that it was Philip's wish to unite his daughters in marriage to the sons of Nabis. The tyrant, at first, refused to receive the city on any other conditions than that of being invited to its protection by a decree of the Argives themselves: but afterwards, hearing that in a full assembly they had treated the name of the tyrant not only with scorn, but even with abhorrence, he thought he had now a sufficient excuse for plundering them, and he accordingly desired Philocles to give him possession of the place as soon as he pleased. Nabis was admitted into the city in the night, without the privity of any of the inhabitants, and, at the first light, seized on the higher parts of it, and shut the gates. A few of the principal people having made their escape, during the first confusion, the properties of all who were absent were seized as booty: those who were present were stripped of their gold and silver, and loaded with exorbitant contributions. Such as paid these readily were discharged, without personal insult and laceration of their bodies; but such as were suspected of hiding or reserving any of their effects, were mangled and tortured like slaves. He then summoned an assembly, in which he promulgated two measures; one for an abolition of debts, the other for a distribution of the land, in shares, to each man — two fire-brands in the hands of those who were desirous of revolution, for inflaming the populace against the higher ranks.

39. The tyrant, when he had the city of Argos in his power, never considering from whom or on what conditions he had received it, sent ambassadors to Elatia, to Quinctius, and to Attalus, in his winter quarters at Aegina, to tell them, that "he was in possession of Argos; and that if Quinctius would come hither, and consult with him, he had no doubt but that every thing might be adjusted between them." Quinctius, in order that he might deprive Philip of that stronghold, along with the rest, consented to come; accordingly, sending a message to Attalus, to leave Aegina, and meet him at Sicyon, he set sail from Anticyra with ten quinqueres, which his brother, Lucius

Quinctius, happened to have brought a little before from his winter station at Corcyra, and passed over to Sicyon. Attalus was there before him, who, representing that the tyrant ought to come to the Roman general, not the general to the tyrant, brought Quinctius over to his opinion, which was, that he should not enter the city of Argos. Not far from it, however, was a place called Mycenica; and there the parties agreed to meet. Quinctius came, with his brother and a few military tribunes; Attalus, with his royal retinue; and Nicostratus the praetor of the Achaeans, with a few of the auxiliary officers: and they there found Nabis waiting with his whole army. He advanced, armed, and attended by his armed guards, almost to the middle of the interjacent plain; Quinctius unarmed, with his brother and two military tribunes; the king was accompanied by one of his nobles, and the praetor of the Achaeans, unarmed likewise. The tyrant, when he saw the king and the Roman general unarmed, opened the conference, with apologizing for having come to the meeting armed himself, and surrounded with armed men. "He had no apprehensions," he said, "from them; but only from the Argive exiles." When they then began to treat of the conditions of their friendship, the Roman made two demands: one, that the war with the Achaeans should be put an end to; the other, that he should send him aid against Philip. He promised the aid required; but, instead of a peace with the Achaeans, a cessation of hostilities was obtained, to last until the war with Philip should be concluded.

40. A debate concerning the Argives, also, was set on foot by king Attalus, who charged Nabis with holding their city by force, which was put into his hands by the treachery of Philocles; while Nabis insisted, that he had been invited by the Argives themselves to afford them protection. The king required a general assembly of the Argives to be convened, that the truth of that matter might be known. To this the tyrant did not object; but the king alleged, that the Lacedaemonian troops ought to be withdrawn from the city, in order to render the assembly free; and that the people should be left at liberty to declare their real sentiments. The tyrant refused to withdraw them, and the debate produced no effect. To the Roman general, six hundred Cretans were given by Nabis, who agreed with the praetor of the Achaeans to a cessation of arms for four months,

and thus they departed from the conference. Quinctius proceeded to Corinth, advancing to the gates with the cohort of Cretans, in order that it might be evident to Philocles, the governor of the city, that the tyrant had deserted the cause of Philip. Philocles himself came out to confer with the Roman general; and, on the latter exhorting him to change sides immediately, and surrender the city he answered in such a manner as showed an inclination rather to defer than to refuse the matter. From Corinth, Quinctius sailed over to Anticyra, and sent his brother thence, to sound the disposition of the people of Acarnania. Attalus went from Argos to Sicyon. Here, on one side, the state added new honours to those formerly paid to the king; and, on the other, the king, besides having on a former occasion, redeemed for them, at a vast expense, a piece of land sacred to Apollo, unwilling to pass by the city of his friends and allies without a token of munificence, made them a present of ten talents of silver,[] and ten thousand bushels of corn, and then returned to Cenchreae to his fleet. Nabis, leaving a strong garrison at Argos, returned to Lacedaemon; and, as he himself had pillaged the men, he sent his wife to Argos to pillage the women. She invited the females to her house, sometimes singly, and sometimes several together, who were united by family connexion; and partly by fair speeches, partly by threats, stripped them, not only of their gold, but, at last, even of their garments, and every article of female attire.

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BOOK XXXIII

Translated by William A. McDevitte

Titus Quinctius Flamininus, proconsul, gains a decisive victory over Philip at Cynoscephalae. Caius Sempronius Tuditanus, praetor, cut off by the Celtiberians. Death of Attalus, at Pergamus. Peace granted to Philip, and liberty to Greece. Lucius Furius Purpureo and Marcus Claudius Marcellus, consuls, subdue the Boian and Insubrian Gauls. Triumph of Marcellus. Hannibal, alarmed at an embassy from Rome concerning him, flies to Antiochus, king of Syria, who was preparing to make war on the Romans.

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1. Such were the occurrences of the winter. In the beginning of spring, Quinctius, having summoned Attalus to Elatia, and being anxious to bring under his authority the nation of the Boeotians, who had until then been wavering in their dispositions, marched through Phocis, and pitched his camp at the distance of five miles from Thebes, the capital of Boeotia. Next day, attended by one company of soldiers, and by Attalus, together with the ambassadors, who had come to him in great numbers from all quarters, he proceeded towards the city, having ordered the spearmen of two legions, being two thousand men, to follow him at the distance of a mile. About midway, Antiphilus, praetor of the Boeotians, met him: the rest of the people stood on the walls, watching the arrival of the king and the Roman general. Few arms and few soldiers appeared around them — the hollow roads, and the valleys concealing from view the spearmen, who followed at a distance. When Quinctius drew near the city, he slackened his pace, as if with intention to salute the multitude, who came out to meet him; but the real motive of his delaying was, that the spearmen might come up. The townsmen pushed forward, in a crowd, before the lictors, not perceiving the band of soldiers who were following them close, until they arrived at the general's quarters. Then, supposing the city betrayed and taken, through the treachery of Antiphilus, their praetor, they were all struck with astonishment and dismay. It was now evident that no

room was left to the Boeotians for a free discussion of measures in the assembly, which was summoned for the following day. However, they concealed their grief, which it would have been both vain and unsafe to have discovered.

2. When the assembly met, Attalus first rose to speak, and he began his discourse with a recital of the kindnesses conferred by his ancestors and himself on the Greeks in general, and on the Boeotians in particular. But, being now too old and infirm to bear the exertion of speaking in public, he lost his voice and fell; and for some time, while they were carrying him to his apartments, (for he was deprived of the use of one half of his limbs,) the proceedings of the assembly were for a short time suspended. Then Aristaenus spoke on the part of the Achaeans, and was listened to with the greater attention, because he recommended to the Boeotians no other measures than those which he had recommended to the Achaeans. A few words were added by Quinctius, extolling the good faith rather than the arms and power of the Romans. A resolution was then proposed, by Dicaearchus of Plataea, for forming a treaty of friendship with the Roman people, which was read; and no one daring to offer any opposition, it was received and passed by the suffrages of all the states of Boeotia. When the assembly broke up, Quinctius made no longer stay at Thebes than the sudden accident to Attalus made necessary. When it appeared that the force of the disorder had not brought the king's life into any immediate danger, but had only occasioned a weakness in his limbs, he left him there, to use the necessary means for recovery, and returned to Elatia, from whence he had come. Having now brought the Boeotians, as formerly the Achaeans, to join in the confederacy, while all places were left behind him in a state of tranquillity and safety, he bent his whole attention towards Philip, and the remaining business of the war.

3. Philip, on his part, as his ambassadors had brought no hopes of peace from Rome, resolved, as soon as spring began, to levy soldiers through every town in his dominions: but he found a great scarcity of young men; for successive wars, through several generations, had very much exhausted the Macedonians, and, even in the course of his own reign great numbers had fallen, in the naval engagements with the Rhodians and Attalus, and in those on land with the Romans.

Mere youths, therefore, from the age of sixteen, were enlisted; and even those who had served out their time, provided they had any remains of strength, were recalled to their standards. Having, by these means, filled up the numbers of his army about the vernal equinox, he drew together all his forces to Dius: he encamped them there in a fixed post; and, exercising the soldiers every day, waited for the enemy. About the same time Quinctius left Elatia, and came by Thronium and Scarphea to Thermopylae. There he held an assembly of the Aetolians, which had been summoned to meet at Heraclea, to determine with what number of auxiliaries they should follow the Roman general to the war. On the third day, having learned the determination of the allies, he proceeded from Heraclea to Xyniae; and, pitching his camp on the confines between the Aenians and Thessalians, waited for the Aetolian auxiliaries. The Aetolians occasioned no delay. Six hundred foot and four hundred horse, under the command of Phaeneas, speedily joined him; and then Quinctius, to show plainly what he had waited for, immediately decamped. On passing into the country of Phthiotis, he was joined by five hundred Cretans of Gortynium, whose commander was Cydantes, with three hundred Apollonians, armed nearly in the same manner; and not long after, by Amynder, with one thousand two hundred Athamanian foot.

4. Philip, being informed of the departure of the Romans from Elatia, and considering that, on the approaching contest, his kingdom was at hazard, thought it advisable to make an encouraging speech to his soldiers; in which, after he had expatiated on many topics often alluded to before, respecting the virtues of their ancestors, and the military fame of the Macedonians, he touched particularly on those considerations which at the time threw the greatest damp on their spirits, and on those by which they might be animated to some degree of confidence. To the defeat thrice suffered at the narrow passes near the river Aous, by the phalanx of the Macedonians, he opposed the repulse given by main force to the Romans at Atrax: and even with respect to the former case, when they had not maintained possession of the pass leading into Epirus, he said, “the first fault was to be imputed to those who had been negligent in keeping the guards; and the second, to the light infantry and mercenaries in the time of

the engagement; but that, as to the phalanx of the Macedonians, it had stood firm on that occasion; and would for ever remain invincible, on equal ground, and in regular fight.” This body consisted of sixteen thousand men, the prime strength of the army, and of the kingdom. Besides these, he had two thousand targeteers, called Peltastae; of Thracians, and Illyrians of the tribe called Trallians, the like number of two thousand; and of hired auxiliaries, collected out of various nations, about one thousand; and two thousand horse. With this force the king waited for the enemy. The Romans had nearly an equal number; in cavalry alone they had a superiority, by the addition of the Aetolians.

5. Quinctius, having decamped to Thebes in Phthiotis, and having received encouragement to hope that the city would be betrayed to him by Timon, a leading man in the state, came up close to the walls with only a small number of cavalry and some light infantry. So entirely were his expectations disappointed, that he was not only obliged to maintain a fight with the enemy who sallied out against him, but would have incurred a fearful conflict had not both infantry and cavalry been called out hastily from the camp, and come up in time. Not meeting with that success which he had too inconsiderately expected, he desisted from any further attempt to take the city at present. He had received certain information of the king being in Thessaly; but as he had not yet discovered into what part of it he had come, he sent his soldiers round the country, with orders to cut timber and prepare palisades. Both Macedonians and Greeks had palisades; but the latter had not adopted the most convenient mode of using them, either with respect to carriage, or for the purpose of strengthening their fortifications. They cut trees both too large and too full of branches for a soldier to carry easily along with his arms: and after they had fenced their camp with a line of these, the demolition of their palisade was no difficult matter; for the trunks of large trees appearing to view, with great intervals between them, and the numerous and strong shoots affording the hand a good hold, two, or at most three young men, uniting their efforts, used to pull out one tree, which, being removed, a breach was opened as wide as a gate, and there was nothing at hand with which it could be stopped up. But the Romans cut light stakes, mostly of one fork, with three, or at the

most four branches; so that a soldier, with his arms slung at his back, can conveniently carry several of them together; and then they stick them down so closely, and interweave the branches in such a manner, that it cannot be seen to what main stem any branch belongs; besides which, the boughs are so sharp, and wrought so intimately with each other, as to leave no room for a hand to be thrust between; consequently an enemy cannot lay hold of any thing capable of being dragged out, or, if that could be done, could he draw out the branches thus intertwined, and which mutually bind each other. And even if, by accident, one should be pulled out, it leaves but a small opening, which is very easily filled up.

6. Next day Quintius, causing his men to carry palisades with them, that they might be ready to encamp on any spot, marched forward a short way, and took post about six miles from Pherae; whence he sent scouts to discover in what part of Thessaly the king was, and what appeared to be his intention. Philip was then near Larissa, and as soon as he learnt that the Roman general had removed from Thebes, being equally impatient for a decisive engagement, he proceeded towards the enemy, and pitched his camp about four miles from Pherae. On the day following, some light troops went out from both camps, to seize on certain hills, which over looked the city. When, nearly at equal distance from summit which was intended to be seized, they came within sight of each other, they halted; and sending messengers to their respective camps for directions, how they were to proceed on this unexpected meeting with the enemy, waited their return in quiet. For that day, they were recalled to their camps, without having commenced any engagement. On the following day, there was a battle between the cavalry, near the same hills, in which the Aetolians bore no small part; and in which the king's troops were defeated, and driven into their camp. Both parties were greatly impeded in the action, by the ground being thickly planted with trees; by the gardens, of which there were many in a place so near the city; and by the roads being enclosed between walls, and in some places shut up. The commanders, therefore, were equally desirous of removing out of that quarter; and, as if by a preconcerted scheme, they both directed their route to Scotussa: Philip with the hope of getting a supply of corn there; the Roman

intending to get before the enemy and destroy the crops. The armies marched the whole day without having sight of each other in any place, the view being intercepted by a continued range of hills between them. The Romans encamped at Eretria, in Phthiotis; Philip, on the river Onchestus. But though Philip lay at Melambius, in the territory of Scotussa, and Quinctius near Thetidium, in Pharsalia, neither party knew with any certainty where his antagonist was. On the third day, there first fell a violent rain, which was succeeded by darkness equal to that of night, and this confined the Romans to their camp, through fear of an ambuscade.

7. Philip, intent on hastening his march, and in no degree deterred by the clouds, which after the rain lowered over the face of the country, ordered his troops to march: and yet so thick a fog had obscured the day, that neither the standard-bearers could see the road, nor the soldiers the standards; so that all, led blindly by the shouts of uncertain guides, fell into disorder, like men wandering by night. When they had passed over the hills called Cynoscephalae, where they set a strong guard of foot and horse, they pitched their camp. Although the Roman general staid at Thetidium, yet he detached troops of horse and one thousand foot, to find out where the enemy lay; warning them, however, to beware of ambuscades, which the darkness of the day would cover, even in an open country. When these arrived at the hills, where the enemy's guard was posted, struck with mutual fear, both parties stood, as if deprived of the power of motion. They then sent back messengers to their respective commanders; and when the first surprise subsided, they proceeded to action without more delay. The fight was begun by small advanced parties; and afterwards the numbers of the combatants were increased by reinforcements of men, who supported those who gave way. In this contest the Romans, being far inferior to their adversaries, sent message after message to the general, that they were being overpowered; on which he hastily sent five hundred horse and two thousand foot, mostly Aetolians, under the command of two military tribunes, who relieved them, and restored the fight. The Macedonians, distressed in turn by this change of fortune, sent to beg succour from their king; but as, on account of the general darkness from the fog, he had expected nothing less, on that day, than a battle,

and had therefore sent a great number of men, of every kind, to forage, he was, for a considerable time, in great perplexity, and unable to form a resolution. Subsequently, as the messengers still continued to urge him, and the covering of clouds was now removed from the tops of the mountains, and the Macedonian party was in view, having been driven up to the highest summit, and trusting for safety rather to the nature of the ground than to their arms, he thought it necessary, at all events, to hazard the whole, in order to prevent the loss of a part, for want of support; and, accordingly, he sent up Athenagoras, general of the mercenary soldiers, with all the auxiliaries, except the Thracians, joined by the Macedonian and Thessalian cavalry. On their arrival, the Romans were forced from the top of the hill, and did not face about until they came to the level plain. The principal support which saved them from being driven down in disorderly flight, was the Aetolian horsemen. The Aetolians were then by far the best cavalry in Greece; in infantry, they were surpassed by some of their neighbours.

8. This affair was represented as more successful than the advantage gained in the battle could warrant; for people came, one after another, and calling out that the Romans were flying in a panic; so that, though reluctant and hesitating declaring it a rash proceeding, and that he liked not either place or the time, yet he was prevailed upon to draw out his whole force to battle. The Roman general did the same, induced by necessity, rather than by the favourableness of the occasion. Leaving the right wing as a reserve, having the elephants posted in front, he, with the left, and all the right infantry, advanced against the enemy; at the same time reminding his men, that “they were going to fight the same Macedonians whom they had fought in the passes of Epirus, fenced, as they were, with mountains and rivers, and whom, after conquering the natural difficulties of the ground, they had dislodged and vanquished; the same, whom they had before defeated under the command of Publius Sulpicius, when they opposed their passage to Eordaea. That the kingdom of Macedonia had been hitherto supported by its reputation, not by real strength; and that even that reputation had, at length, vanished.” Quinctius soon reached his troops, who stood in the bottom of the valley; and they, on the arrival of their general and the army,

renewed the fight, and, making a vigorous onset, compelled the enemy again to turn their backs. Philip, with the targeteers, and the right wing of infantry, (the main strength of the Macedonian army, called by them the phalanx,) advanced at a quick pace, having ordered Nicanor, one of his courtiers, to bring up the rest of his forces with all speed. At first, on reaching the top of the hill, from a few arms and bodies lying there, he perceived that there had been an engagement on the spot, and that the Romans had been repulsed from it. When he likewise saw the fight now going on close to the enemy's works, he was elated with excessive delight; but presently, observing his men flying back, and that the panic was on the other side, he was much embarrassed, and hesitated for some time, whether he should cause his troops to retire into the camp. Then, as the enemy approached, he was sensible that his party, besides the losses which they suffered as they fled, must be entirely lost, if not speedily succoured; and as, by this time, even a retreat would be unsafe, he found himself compelled to put all to hazard, before he was joined by the other division of his forces. He placed the cavalry and light infantry that had been engaged, on the right wing; and ordered the targeteers, and the phalanx of Macedonians, to lay aside their spears, which their great length rendered unserviceable, and to manage the business with their swords: at the same time, that his line might not be easily broken, he lessened the extent of the front one half, and doubled the files within so that it might be deeper than it was broad. He ordered them also to close their files, so that man might join with man and arms with arms.

9. Quinctius, having received among the standards and ranks those who had been engaged with the enemy, gave the signal by sound of trumpet. It is said, that such a shout was raised, as was seldom heard at the beginning of any battle; for it happened, that both armies shouted at once; not only the troops then engaged, but also the reserves, and those who were just then coming into the field. The king, fighting from the higher ground, had the better on the right wing, by means chiefly of the advantage of situation. On the left, all was disorder and confusion; particularly when that division of the phalanx, which had marched in the rear, was coming up. The centre stood intent on the fight as on a spectacle which in no way concerned

them. The phalanx, just arrived (a column rather than a line of battle, and fitter for a march than for a fight,) had scarcely mounted the top of the hill: before these could form, Quinctius, though he saw his men in the left wing giving way, charged the enemy furiously, first driving on the elephants against them, for he judged that one part being routed would draw the rest after. The affair was no longer doubtful. The Macedonians, repelled by the first shock of the elephants, instantly turned their backs; and the rest, as had been foreseen, followed them in their retreat. Then, one of the military tribunes, forming his design in the instant, took with him twenty companies of men; left that part of the army which was evidently victorious; and making a small circuit, fell on the rear of the enemy's right wing. Any army whatever, thus charged from the rear, must have been thrown into confusion. But to that confusion which under such circumstances would be common to all armies, there was in this case an additional cause. The phalanx of the Macedonians, being heavy, could not readily face about; nor would they have been suffered to do it by their adversaries in front, who, although they gave way to them a little before, on this new occasion pressed them vigorously. Besides, they lay under another inconvenience in respect of the ground; for, by pursuing the retreating enemy down the face of the hill, they had left the top to the party who came round on their rear. Thus attacked on both sides, they were exposed for some time to great slaughter, and then betook themselves to flight, most of them throwing away their arms.

10. Philip, with a small party of horse and foot, ascended a hill somewhat higher than the rest, to take a view of the situation of his troops on the left. Then, when he saw them flying in confusion, and all the hills around glittering with Roman standards and arms, he withdrew from the field. Quinctius, as he was pressing on the retreating enemy, observed the Macedonians suddenly raising up their spears, and not knowing what they meant thereby, he ordered the troops to halt. Then, on being told that this was the practice of the Macedonians when surrendering themselves prisoners, he was disposed to spare the vanquished; but the troops, not being apprized, either of the enemy having ceased fighting, or of the general's intention, made a charge on them, and the foremost having been cut

down, the rest dispersed themselves and fled. Philip hastened in disorderly flight to Tempè, and there halted one day at Gonni, to pick up any who might have survived the battle. The victorious Romans rushed into the Macedonian camp with hopes of spoil, but found it, for the most part, plundered already by the Aetolians. Eight thousand of the enemy were killed on that day, five thousand taken. Of the victors, about seven hundred fell. If any credit is to be attached to Valerius Antias, who on every occasion exaggerates numbers enormously, the killed of the enemy on that day amounted to forty thousand; the prisoners taken, (in which article the deviation from truth is less extravagant,) to five thousand seven hundred, with two hundred and forty-nine military standards. Claudius also asserts that thirty-two thousand of the enemy were slain, and four thousand three hundred taken. We have not given entire credit, even to the smallest of those numbers, but have followed Polybius, a safe authority with respect to all the Roman affairs, but especially those which were transacted in Greece.

11. Philip having collected, after the flight, such as, having been scattered by the various chances of the battle, had followed his steps, and having sent people to Larissa to burn the records of the kingdom, lest they should fall into the hands of the enemy, retired into Macedonia. Quinctius set up to sale a part of the prisoners and booty, and part he bestowed on the soldiers; and then proceeded to Larissa, without having yet received any certain intelligence to what quarter Philip had betaken himself, or what were his designs. To this place came a herald from the king, apparently to obtain a truce, until those who had fallen in battle should be removed and buried, but in reality to request permission to send ambassadors. Both were obtained from the Roman general; who, besides, added this message to the king, "not to be too much dejected." This expression gave much offence, particularly to the Aetolians, who were become very assuming, and who complained, that "the general was quite altered by success. Before the battle, he was accustomed to transact all business, whether great or small, in concert with the allies; but they had, now, no share in any of his counsels; he conducted all affairs entirely by his own judgment; and was even seeking an occasion of ingratiating himself personally with Philip, in order that, after the Aetolians had

laboured through all hardships and difficulties of the war, the Roman might assume to himself all the merit and all the fruits of a peace." Certain it is, that he had treated them with less respect than formerly, but they did not know why they were thus slighted. They imagined that he was actuated by an expectation of presents from the king, though he was of a spirit incapable of yielding to any such passion of the mind; but he was, with good reason, displeased at the Aetolians, on account of their insatiable greediness for plunder, and of their arrogance in assuming to themselves the honour of the victory — a claim so ill founded, as to offend the ears of all. Besides, he foresaw that, if Philip were removed out of the way, and the strength of the kingdom of Macedonia entirely broken, the Aetolians would necessarily be regarded as the masters of Greece. For these reasons, he intentionally did many things to lessen their importance and reputation in the judgment of the other states.

12. A truce for fifteen days was granted to the Macedonians, and a conference with the king himself appointed. Before the day arrived on which this was to be held, the Roman general called a council of the allies, and desired their opinions respecting the terms of peace, proper to be prescribed. Amynder, king of Athamania, delivered his opinion in a few words; that "the conditions of peace ought to be adjusted in such a manner, as that Greece might have sufficient power, even without the interference of the Romans, to maintain the peace, and also its own liberty." The address of the Aetolians was more harsh; for after a few introductory observations on the justice and propriety of the Roman general's conduct, in communicating his plans of peace to those who had acted with him as allies in the war, they insisted, "that he was utterly mistaken, if he supposed that he could leave the peace with the Romans, or the liberty of Greece, on a permanent footing, unless Philip was either put to death or banished from his kingdom; both which he could easily accomplish, if he chose to pursue his present success." Quinctius, in reply, said, that "the Aetolians, in giving such advice, attended not either to the maxims of the Roman policy, or to the consistency of their own conduct. For, in all the former councils and conferences, wherein the conditions of peace were discussed, they never once urged the pushing of the war to the utter ruin of the Macedonian: and, as to the

Romans, besides that they had, from the earliest periods, observed the maxim of sparing the vanquished, they had lately given a signal proof of their clemency in the peace granted to Hannibal and the Carthaginians. But, not to insist on the case of the Carthaginians, how often had the confederates met Philip himself in conference, yet that it had never been urged that he should resign his kingdom: and, because he had been defeated in battle, was that a reason that their animosity should become implacable? Against an armed foe, men ought to engage with hostile resentment; towards the vanquished, the loftiest spirit was ever the most merciful. The kings of Macedonia were thought to be dangerous to the liberty of Greece. Suppose that kingdom and nation extirpated, the Thracians, Illyrians, and in time the Gauls, (nations unsubjugated and savage,) would pour themselves into Macedonia first, and then into Greece. That they should not, by removing inconveniences which lay nearest, open a passage to others greater and more grievous." Here he was interrupted by Phaeneas, praetor of the Aetolians, who solemnly declared, that "if Philip escaped now, he would soon raise a new and more dangerous war." On which Quinctius said,— "Cease wrangling, when you ought to deliberate. The king shall be bound down by such conditions as will not leave it in his power to raise a war."

13. The convention was then adjourned; and next day, the king came to the pass at the entrance of Tempè, the place appointed for a conference; and the third day following was fixed for introducing him to a full assembly of the Romans and allies. On this occasion Philip, with great prudence, intentionally avoided the mention of any of those conditions, without which peace could not be obtained, rather than suffer them to be extorted after discussion; and declared, that he was ready to comply with all the articles which, in the former conference, were either prescribed by the Romans or demanded by the allies; and to leave all other matters to the determination of the senate. Although he seemed to have hereby precluded every objection, even from the most inveterate of his enemies, yet, all the rest remaining silent, Phaeneas, the Aetolian, said to him,— "What! Philip, do you at last restore to us Pharsalus and Larissa, with Cremaste, Echinus, and Thebes in Phthiotis?" On Philip answering,

that “he would give no obstruction to their retaking the possession of them,” a dispute arose between the Roman general and the Aetolians about Thebes; for Quinctius affirmed, that it became the property of the Roman people by the laws of war; because when, before the commencement of hostilities, he marched his army thither, and invited the inhabitants to friendship, they, although at full liberty to renounce the king’s party, yet preferred an alliance with Philip to one with Rome. Phaeneas alleged, that, in consideration of their being confederates in the war, it was reasonable, that whatever the Aetolians possessed before it began, should be restored; and that, besides, there was, in the first treaty, a provisional clause of that purport, by which the spoils of war, of every kind that could be carried or driven, were to belong to the Romans; and that the lands and captured cities should fall to the Aetolians. “Yourselves,” replied Quinctius, “annulled the conditions of that treaty, at the time when ye deserted us, and made peace with Philip; but supposing it still remained in force, yet that clause could affect only captured cities. Now, the states of Thessaly submitted to us by a voluntary act of their own.” — These words were heard by their allies with universal approbation; but to the Aetolians they were both highly displeasing at the present, and proved afterwards the cause of a war, and of many great disasters attending it. The terms settled with Philip were, that he should give his son Demetrius, and some of his friends, as hostages; should pay two hundred talents[] and send ambassadors to Rome, respecting the other articles: for which purpose there should be a cessation of arms for four months. An engagement was entered into, that, in case the senate should refuse to conclude a treaty, his money and hostages should be returned to Philip. It is said, that one of the principal reasons which made the Roman general wish to expedite the conclusion of a peace, was, that he had received certain information of Antiochus intending to commence hostilities, and to pass over into Europe.

14. About the same time, and, as some writers say, on the same day, the Achaeans defeated Androstenes, the king’s commander, in a general engagement near Corinth. Philip, intending to use this city as a citadel, to awe the states of Greece, had invited the principal inhabitants to a conference, under pretence of agreeing with them as

to the number of horsemen which the Corinthians could supply towards the war, and these he detained as hostages. Besides the force already there, consisting of five hundred Macedonians and eight hundred auxiliaries of various kinds, he had sent thither one thousand Macedonians, one thousand two hundred Illyrians, and of Thracians and Cretans (for these served in both the opposite armies) eight hundred. To these were added Botians, Thessalians, and Acarnanians, to the amount of one thousand, all carrying bucklers; with as many of the young Corinthians themselves, as filled up the number of six thousand men under arms, — a force which inspired Androstenes with a confident wish to decide the matter in the field. Nicostratus, praetor of the Achaeans, was at Sicyon, with two thousand foot and one hundred horse; but seeing himself so inferior, both in the number and kind of troops, he did not go outside the walls: the king's forces, in various excursions, were ravaging the lands of Pellene, Phliasus, and Cleone. At last, reproaching the enemy with cowardice, they passed over into the territory of Sicyon, and, sailing round Achaia, laid waste the whole coast. As the enemy, while thus employed, spread themselves about too widely and too carelessly, (the usual consequence of too much confidence,) Nicostratus conceived hopes of attacking them by surprise. He therefore sent secret directions to all the neighbouring states, as to what day, and what number from each state, should assemble in arms at Apelaureus, a place in the territory of Stymphalia. All being in readiness at the time appointed, he marched thence immediately; and, without the knowledge of any one as to what he was contemplating, came by night through the territory of the Phliasians to Cleone. He had with him five thousand foot, of whom * * * * * [] were light-armed, and three hundred horse; with this force he waited there, having despatched scouts to watch on what quarter the enemy should make their irregular inroads.

15. Androstenes, utterly ignorant of all these proceedings, set out from Corinth, and encamped on the Nemea, a river running between the confines of Corinth and Sicyon. Here, dismissing one half of his troops, he divided the remainder into three parts, and ordered all the cavalry of each part to march in separate divisions, and ravage, at the same time, the territories of Pellene, Sicyon, and Phlius.

Accordingly, the three divisions set out by different roads. As soon as Nicostratus received intelligence of this at Cleone, he instantly sent forward a numerous detachment of mercenaries, to seize a pass at the entrance into the territory of Corinth; and he himself quickly followed, with his troops in two columns, the cavalry proceeding before the head of each, as advanced guards. In one column marched the mercenary soldiers and light infantry; in the other, the shield-bearers of the Achaeans and other states, who composed the principal strength of the army. Both infantry and cavalry were now within a small distance of the camp, and some of the Thracians had attacked parties of the enemy, who were straggling and scattered over the country, when the sudden alarm reached their tents. The commander was thrown into the utmost perplexity; for, having never had a sight of the Achaeans, except occasionally on the hills before Sicyon, when they did not venture to come down into the plains, he had never imagined that they would come so far as Cleone. He ordered the stragglers to be recalled by sound of trumpet; commanded the soldiers to take arms with all haste; and, marching out of the gate at the head of thin battalions, drew up his line on the bank of the river. His other troops, having scarcely had time to be collected and formed, did not withstand the enemy's first onset; the Macedonians had surrounded their standards in by far the greatest numbers, and now kept the prospect of victory a long time doubtful. At length, being left exposed by the flight of the rest, and pressed by two bodies of the enemy on different sides, by the light infantry on their flank, and by the shield-bearers and targeteers in front, and seeing victory declare against them, they at first gave ground; soon after, being vigorously pushed, they turned their backs; and most of them, throwing away their arms and having lost all hope of defending their camp, made the best of their way to Corinth. Nicostratus sent the mercenaries in pursuit of these; and the auxiliary Thracians against the party employed in ravaging the lands of Sicyon: occasioned great carnage in both instances, greater almost than occurred in the battle itself. Of those who had been ravaging Pellene and Phlius, some, returning to their camp, ignorant of all that had happened, and without any regular order, fell in with the advanced guards of the enemy, where they expected their own. Others, from the bustle which

they perceived, suspecting what was really the case, fled and dispersed themselves in such a manner, that, as they wandered up and down, they were cut off by the very peasants. There fell, on that day, one thousand five hundred: three hundred were made prisoners. All Achaia was thus relieved from their great alarm.

16. Before the battle at Cynoscephalae, Lucius Quinctius had invited to Corcyra some chiefs of the Acarnanians, the only state in Greece which had continued to maintain its alliance with the Macedonians; and there made some kind of scheme for a change of measures. Two causes, principally, had retained them in friendship with the king: one was a principle of honour, natural to that nation; the other, their fear and hatred of the Aetolians. A general assembly was summoned to meet at Leucas; but neither did all the states of Acarnania come thither, nor were those who did attend agreed in opinion. However, the magistrates and leading men prevailed so far, as to get a decree passed, thus privately, for joining in alliance with the Romans. This gave great offence to those who had not been present; and, in this ferment of the nation, Androcles and Echedemus, two men of distinction among the Acarnanians, being commissioned by Philip, had influence enough in the assembly, not only to obtain the repeal of the decree for an alliance with Rome, but also the condemnation, on a charge of treason, of Archesilaus and Bianor, both men of the first rank in Acarnania, who had been the advisers of that measure; and to deprive Zeuxidas, the praetor, of his office, for having put it to the vote. The persons condemned took a course apparently desperate, but successful in the issue: for, while their friends advised them to yield to the necessity of the occasion, and withdraw to Corcyra, to the Romans, they resolved to present themselves to the multitude; and either, by that act, to mollify their resentment, or endure whatever might befall them. When they had introduced themselves into a full assembly, at first, a murmur arose, expressive of surprise; but presently silence took place, partly from respect to their former dignity, partly from commiseration of their present situation. Having been also permitted the liberty of speaking, at first they addressed the assembly in a suppliant manner; but, in the progress of their discourse, when they came to refute the charges made against them, they spoke with that degree of confidence which

innocence inspires. At last, they even ventured to utter some complaints, and to charge the proceedings against them with injustice and cruelty; and this had such an effect on the minds of all present, that, with one consent, they annulled all the decrees passed against them. Nevertheless, they came to a resolution, to renounce the friendship of the Romans, and return to the alliance with Philip.

17. These decrees were passed at Leucas, the capital of Acarnania, the place where all the states usually met in council. As soon, therefore, as the news of this sudden change reached the lieutenant-general Flamininus, in Corcyra, he instantly set sail with the fleet for Leucas; and coming to an anchor at a place called Heraeus, advanced thence towards the walls with every kind of machine used in the attacking of cities; supposing that the first appearance of danger might bend the minds of the inhabitants to submission. But seeing no prospect of effecting any thing, except by force, he began to erect towers and sheds, and to bring up the battering-rams to the walls. The whole of Acarnania, being situated between Aetolia and Epirus, faces towards the west and the Sicilian sea. Leucadia, now an island, separated from Acarnania by a shallow strait which was dug by the hand, was then a peninsula, united on its eastern side to Acarnania by a narrow isthmus: this isthmus was about five hundred paces in length, and in breadth not above one hundred and twenty. At the entrance of this narrow neck stands Leucas, stretching up part of a hill which faces the east and Acarnania: the lower part of the town is level, lying along the sea, which divides Leucadia from Acarnania. Thus it lies open to attacks, both from the sea and from the land; for the channel is more like a marsh than a sea, and all the adjacent ground is solid enough to render the construction of works easy. In many places, therefore, at once the walls fell down, either undermined, or demolished by the ram. But the spirit of the besieged was as invincible as the town itself was favourably situated for the besiegers: night and day they employed themselves busily in repairing the shattered parts of the wall; and, stopping up the breaches that were made, fought the enemy with great spirit, and showed a wish to defend the walls by their arms rather than themselves by the walls. And they would certainly have protracted the siege to a length unexpected by the Romans, had not some exiles

of Italian birth, who resided in Leucas, admitted a band of soldiers into the citadel: notwithstanding which, when those troops ran down from the higher ground with great tumult and uproar, the Leucadians, drawing up in a body in the forum, withstood them for a considerable time in regular fight. Meanwhile the walls were scaled in many places; and the besiegers, climbing over the rubbish, entered the town through the breaches. And now the lieutenant-general himself surrounded the combatants with a powerful force. Being thus hemmed in, many were slain, the rest laid down their arms and surrendered to the conqueror. In a few days after, on hearing of the battle at Cynoscephalae, all the states of Acarnania made their submission to the lieutenant-general.

18. About this time, fortune, depressing the same party in every quarter at once, the Rhodians, in order to recover from Phillip the tract on the continent called Peraea, which had been in possession of their ancestors, sent thither their praetor, Pausistratus, with eight hundred Achaean foot, and about one thousand nine hundred men, made up of auxiliaries of various nations. These were Gauls, Nisuetans, Pisuetans, Tamians Areans from Africa, and Laodiceans from Asia. With this force Pausistratus seized by surprise Tendeba, in the territory of Stratonice, a place exceedingly convenient for his purpose, without the knowledge of the king's troops who had held it. A reinforcement of one thousand Achaean foot and one hundred horse, called out for the same expedition, came up at the very time, under a commander called Theoxenus. Dinocrates, the king's general, with design to recover the fort, marched his army first to Tendeba, and then to another fort called Astragon, which also stood in the territory of Stratonice. Then, calling in all the garrisons, which were scattered in many different places, and the Thessalian auxiliaries from Stratonice itself, he led them on to Alabanda, where the enemy lay. The Rhodians were no way averse from a battle, and the camps being pitched near each other both parties immediately came into the field. Dinocrates placed five hundred Macedonians on his right wing, and the Agrians on his left; the centre he formed of the troops which he had drawn together out of the garrisons of the forts; these were mostly Carians; and he covered the flanks with the cavalry, and the Cretan and Thracian auxiliaries. The Rhodians had

on the right wing the Achaeans; on the left mercenary soldiers; and in the centre a chosen band of infantry, a body of auxiliaries composed of troops of various nations. The cavalry and what light infantry they had, were posted on the wings. During that day both armies remained on the banks of a rivulet, which ran between them, and, after discharging a few javelins, they retired into their camps. Next day, being drawn up in the same order, they fought a more important battle than could have been expected, considering the numbers engaged; for there were not more than three thousand infantry on each side, and about one hundred horse: but they were not only on an equality with respect to numbers, and the kind of arms which they used, but they also fought with equal spirit and equal hopes. First, the Achaeans crossing the rivulet, made an attack on the Agrians; then the whole line passed the river, almost at full speed. The fight continued doubtful a long time: the Achaeans, one thousand in number, drove back the four hundred from their position. Then the left wing giving way, all exerted themselves against the right. On the Macedonians no impression could be made, so long as their phalanx preserved its order, each man clinging as it were to another: but when, in consequence of their flank being left exposed, they endeavoured to turn their spears against the enemy, who were advancing upon that side, they immediately broke their ranks. This first caused disorder among themselves; they then turned their backs, and at last, throwing away their arms, and flying with precipitation, made the best of their way to Bargylii. To the same place Dinocrates also made his escape. The Rhodians continued the pursuit as long as the day lasted, and then retired to their camp. There is every reason to believe, that, if the victors had proceeded with speed to Stratonice, that city would have been gained without a contest; but the opportunity for effecting this was neglected, and the time wasted in taking possession of the forts and villages in Peraea. In the mean time, the courage of the troops in garrison at Stratonice revived; and shortly after, Dinocrates, with the troops which had escaped from the battle, came into the town, which, after that, was besieged and assaulted without effect; nor could it be reduced until a long time after that, when Antiochus took it. Such were the events that took place in Thessaly, in Achaia, and in Asia, all about the same time.

19. Philip was informed that the Dardanians, in contempt of the power of his kingdom, shaken as at that time it was, had passed the frontiers, and were spreading devastation through the upper parts of Macedonia: on which, though he was hard pressed in almost every quarter of the globe, fortune on all occasions defeating his measures and those of his friends, yet, thinking it more intolerable than death to be expelled from the possession of Macedonia, he made hasty levies through the cities of his dominions; and, with six thousand foot and five hundred horse, defeated the enemy by a surprise near Stobi in Paeonia. Great numbers were killed in the fight, and greater numbers of those who were scattered about in quest of plunder. As to such as found a road open for flight, without having even tried the chance of an engagement, they hastened back to their own country. After this enterprise executed with a degree of success beyond what he met in the rest of his attempts, and which raised the drooping courage of his people, he retired to Thessalonica. Seasonable as was the termination of the Punic war, in extricating the Romans from the danger of a quarrel with Philip, the recent triumph over Philip happened still more opportunely, when Antiochus, in Syria, was already making preparations for hostilities. For besides that it was easier to wage war against them separately than if both had combined their forces together, Spain had a little before this time, risen in arms in great commotion Antiochus, though he had in the preceding summer reduced under his power all the states in Coele-Syria belonging to Ptolemy, and retired into winter quarters at Antioch, yet allowed himself no relaxation from the exertions of the summer. For resolving to exert the whole strength of his kingdom, he collected a most powerful force, both naval and military; and in the beginning of spring, sending forward by land his two sons, Ardues and Mithridates, at the head of the army, with orders to wait for him at Sardis, he himself set out by sea with a fleet of one hundred decked ships, besides two hundred lighter vessels, barks and fly-boats, designing to attempt the reduction of all the cities under the dominion of Ptolemy along the whole coast of Caria and Cilicia; and, at the same time, to aid Philip with an army and ships, for as yet that war had not been brought to a conclusion.

20. The Rhodians, out of a faithful attachment to the Roman

people, and an affection for the whole race of the Greeks have performed many honourable exploits, both on land and sea: but never was their gallantry more eminently conspicuous than on this occasion, when, nowise dismayed at the formidable magnitude of the impending war, they sent ambassadors to tell the king, that he should not double the tribute of Cheledoniae, which is a promontory of Cilicia, rendered famous by an ancient treaty between the Athenians and the king of Persia; that if he did not confine his fleet and army to that boundary, they would meet him there and oppose not out of any ill will, but because they would not suffice to join Philip and obstruct the Romans, who were resisting liberty to Greece. At this time Antiochus was pushing the siege of Coracesium with his works; for, after he had possession of Zephyrium, Solae, Aphrodisias, and Corycus; and doubling Anemurium, another promontory of Cilicia, had taken Selinus; when all these, and the other fortresses on that coast, had, either through fear or inclination, submitted without resistance, Coracesium shut its gates, and gave him a delay which he did not expect. Here an audience was given to the ambassadors of the Rhodians, and although the purport of their embassy was such as might kindle passion in the breast of a king, yet he stifled his resentment, and answered, that “he would send ambassadors to Rhodes, and would give them instructions to renew the old treaties, made by him and his predecessors, with that state; and to assure them, that they need not be alarmed at his approach; that it would involve no injury or fraud either to them or their allies; for that he was not about to violate the friendship subsisting between himself and the Romans, both his own late embassy to that people, and the senate’s answers and decrees, so honourable to him, were a sufficient evidence.” Just at that time his ambassadors happened to have returned from Rome, where they had been heard and dismissed with courtesy, as the juncture required; the event of the war with Philip being yet uncertain. While the king’s ambassadors were haranguing to the above purpose, in an assembly of the people at Rhodes, a courier arrived with an account of the battle at Cynoscephalae having finally decided the fate of the war. Having received this intelligence, the Rhodians, now freed from all apprehensions of danger from Philip, resolved to oppose Antiochus with their fleet. Nor did they

neglect another object that required their attention; the protection of the freedom of the cities in alliance with Ptolemy, which were threatened with war by Antiochus. For, some they assisted with men, others by forewarning them of the enemy's designs; by which means they enabled the Cauneans, Mindians, Halicarnassians, and Samians to preserve their liberty. It were needless to attempt enumerating all the transactions as they occurred in that quarter, when I am scarcely equal to the task of recounting those which immediately concern the war in which Rome was engaged.

21. At this time king Attalus, having fallen sick at Thebes, had been carried thence to Pergamus, died at the age of seventy-one after he had reigned forty-four years. To this man fortune had given nothing which could inspire hopes of a throne except riches. By a prudent, and, at the same time, a splendid use of these, he begat, in himself first, and then in others, an opinion, that he was not undeserving of a crown. Afterwards, having in one battle utterly defeated the Gauls, which nation was then the more terrible to Asia, as having but lately made its appearance there, he assumed the title of king, and ever after exhibited a spirit equal to the dignity of that name. He governed his subjects with the most perfect justice, and observed an unvarying fidelity towards his allies; gentle and bountiful to his friends; affectionate to his wife and four sons, who survived him; and he left his government established on such solid and firm foundations, that the possession of it descended to the third generation. While this was the posture of affairs in Asia, Greece, and Macedonia, the war with Philip being scarcely ended, and the peace certainly not yet perfected, a desperate insurrection took place in the Farther Spain. Marcus Helvius was governor of that province. He informed the senate by letter, that "two chieftains, Colca and Luscinius, were in arms; that Colca was joined by seventeen towns, and Luscinius by the powerful cities of Carmo and Bardo; and that the people of the whole sea-coast, who had not yet manifested their disposition, were ready to rise on the first motion of their neighbours." On this letter being read by Marcus Sergius, city praetor, the senate decreed, that, as soon as the election of praetors should be finished, the one to whose lot the government of Spain fell should, without delay, consult the senate respecting the commotions

in that province.

22. About the same time the consuls came home to Rome, and, on their holding a meeting of the senate in the temple of Bellona, and demanding a triumph, in consideration of their successes in the war, Caius Atinius Labeo, and Caius Ursanius, plebeian tribunes, insisted that “the consuls should propose their claims of a triumph separately, for they would not suffer the question to be put on both jointly, lest equal honours might be conferred where the merits were unequal.” Minucius urged, that they had both been appointed to the government of one province, Italy; and that, through the course of their administration, his colleague and himself had been united in sentiments and in counsels; to which Cornelius added, that, when the Boians were passing the Po, to assist the Insubrians and Caenomanians against him, they were forced to return to defend their own country, from his colleague ravaging their towns and lands. In reply the tribunes acknowledged, that the services performed in the war by Cornelius were so great, that “no more doubt could be entertained respecting his triumph than respecting the ascribing of glory to the immortal gods.” Nevertheless they insisted, that “neither he nor any other member of the community should possess such power and influence as to be able, after obtaining the honour that was due to himself, to bestow the same distinction on a colleague, who immodestly demanded what he had not deserved. The exploits of Quintus Minucius in Liguria were trifling skirmishes, scarcely deserving mention; and in Gaul he had lost great numbers of soldiers.” They mentioned even military tribunes, Titus Juvencius and Cneius Labeo, of the fourth legion, the plebeian tribune’s brother, who had fallen in unsuccessful conflict, together with many other brave men, both citizens and allies: and they asserted, that “pretended surrenders of a few towns and villages, fabricated for the occasion, had been made, without any pledge of fidelity being taken.” These altercations between the consuls and tribunes lasted two days: at last the consuls, overcome by the obstinacy of the tribunes, proposed their claims separately.

23. To Cneius Cornelius a triumph was unanimously decreed: and the inhabitants of Placentia and Cremona added to the applause bestowed on the consul, by returning him thanks, and mentioning, to

his honour, that they had been delivered by him from a siege; and that very many of them, when in the hands of the enemy, had been rescued from captivity. Quintus Minucius just tried how the proposal of his claim would be received, and finding the whole senate averse from it, declared, that by the authority of his office of consul, and pursuant to the example of many illustrious men, he would triumph on the Alban mount. Caius Cornelius, being yet in office, triumphed over the Insubrian and Caenomanian Gauls. He produced a great number of military standards, and earned in the procession abundance of Gallic spoils in captured chariots. Many Gauls of distinction were led before his chariot, and along with them, some writers say, Hamilcar, the Carthaginian general. But what, more than all, attracted the eyes of the public, was a crowd of Cremonian and Placentian colonists, with caps of liberty on their heads, following his chariot. He carried in his triumph two hundred and thirty-seven thousand five hundred *asses*,[] and of silver denarii, stamped with a chariot, seventy-nine thousand.[] He distributed to each of his soldiers seventy *asses*,[] to a horseman and a centurion double that sum. Quintus Minucius, consul, triumphed on the Alban mount, over the Ligurian and Boian Gauls. Although this triumph was less respectable, in regard to the place and the fame of his exploits, and because all knew the expense was not issued from the treasury; yet, in regard of the number of standards, chariots, and spoils, it was nearly equal to the other. The amount of the money also was nearly equal. Two hundred and fifty-four thousand *asses*[] were conveyed to the treasury, and of silver denarii, stamped with a chariot, fifty-three thousand two hundred.[] He likewise gave to the soldiers, horsemen, and centurions, severally, the same sums that his colleague had given.

24. After the triumph, the election of consuls came on. The persons chosen were Lucius Furius Purpureo and Marcus Claudius Marcellus. Next day, the following were elected praetors; Quintus Fabius Buteo, Tiberius Sempronius Longus, Quintus Minucius Thermus, Manius Acilius Glabrio, Lucius Apustius Fullo, and Caius Laelius. Toward the close of this year, a letter came from Titus Quinctius, with information that he had fought a pitched battle with Philip in Thessaly, and that the army of the enemy had been routed

and put to flight. This letter was read by Sergius, the praetor, first in the senate, and then, by the direction of the fathers, in a general assembly; and supplications of five days' continuance were decreed on account of those successes. Soon after arrived the ambassadors, both from Titus Quinctius and from the king. The Macedonians were conducted out of the city to the Villa Publica, where lodgings and every other accommodation were provided for them, and an audience of the senate was given them in the temple of Bellona. Not many words passed; for the Macedonians declared, that whatever terms the senate should prescribe, the king was ready to comply with them. It was decreed, that, conformably to ancient practice, ten ambassadors should be appointed, and that, in council with them, the general, Titus Quinctius, should grant terms of peace to Philip; and a clause was added, that, in the number of these ambassadors, should be Publius Sulpicius and Publius Villius, who in their consulship had held the province of Macedonia. On the same day the inhabitants of Oossa having presented a petition, praying that the number of their colonists might be enlarged; an order was accordingly passed, that one thousand should be added to the list, with a provision, that no persons should be admitted into that number who, at any time since the consulate of Publius Cornelius and Tiberius Sempronius, had been partisans of the enemy.

25. This year the Roman games were exhibited in the circus, and on the stage, by the curule aediles, Publius Cornelius Scipio and Cneius Manlius Vulso, with an unusual degree of splendour, and were beheld with the greater delight, in consequence of the late successes in war. They were thrice repeated entire, and the plebeian games seven times. These were exhibited by Manius Acilius Glabrio and Caius Laelius, who also, out of the money arising from fines, erected three brazen statues, to Ceres, Liber, and Libera. Lucius Furius and Marcus Claudius Marcellus, having entered on the consulship, when the distribution of the provinces came to be agitated, and the senate appeared disposed to vote Italy the province of both, exerted themselves to get that of Macedonia put to the lot along with Italy. Marcellus, who of the two was the more eager for that province, by assertions that the peace was merely a feigned and delusive one, and that, if the army were withdrawn thence, the king

would renew the war, caused some perplexity in the minds of the senate. The consuls would probably have carried the point, had not Quintus Marcius Rex and Caius Antinius Labeo, plebeian tribunes, declared, that they would enter their protest, unless they were allowed, before any further proceeding, to take the sense of the people, whether it was their will and order that peace be concluded with Philip. This question was put to the people in the Capitol, and every one of the thirty-five tribes voted on the affirmative side. The public found the greater reason to rejoice at the ratification of the peace with Macedonia, as melancholy news was brought from Spain; and a letter was made public, announcing that “the proconsul, Caius Sempronius Tuditanus, had been defeated in battle in the Hither Spain; that his army had been utterly routed and dispersed, and several men of distinction slain in the fight. That Tuditanus, having been grievously wounded, and carried out of the field, expired soon after.” Italy was decreed the province of both consuls, in which they were to employ the same legions which the preceding consuls had; and they were to raise four new legions, two for the city, and two to be in readiness to be sent whithersoever the senate should direct. Titus Quinctius Flaminius was ordered to continue in the government of his province, with the army of two legions, then on the spot. The former prolongation of his command was deemed sufficient.

26. The praetors then cast lots for their provinces. Lucius Apustius Fullo obtained the city jurisdiction; Manius Acilius Glabrio, that between natives and foreigners; Quintus Fabius Buteo, Farther Spain; Quintus Minucius Thermus, Hither Spain; Caius Laelius, Sicily; Tiberius Sempronius Longus, Sardinia. To Quintus Fabius Buteo and Quintus Minucius, to whom the government of the two Spains had fallen, it was decreed, that the consuls, out of the four legions raised by them, should give one each whichever they thought fit, together with four thousand foot and three hundred horse of the allies and Latin confederates; and those praetors were ordered to repair to their provinces at the earliest possible time. This war in Spain broke out in the fifth year after the former had been ended, together with the Punic war. The Spaniards now, for the first time, had taken arms in their own name, unconnected with any

Carthaginian army or general. Before the consuls stirred from the city, however, they were ordered, as usual, to expiate the reported prodigies. Publius Villius, a Roman knight, on the road to Sabinia, had been killed by lightning, together with his horse. The temple of Feronia, in the Capenatian district, had been struck by lightning. At the temple of Moneta, the shafts of two spears had taken fire and burned. A wolf, coming in through the Esquiline gate, and running through the most frequented part of the city, down into the forum, passed thence through the Tuscan and Maelian streets; and scarcely receiving a stroke, made its escape out of the Capenian gate. These prodigies were expiated with victims of the larger kinds.

27. About the same time Cneius Cornelius Lentulus, who had held the government of Hither Spain before Sempronius Tuditanus, entered the city in ovation, pursuant to a decree of the senate, and carried in the procession one thousand five hundred and fifteen pounds' weight of gold, twenty thousand of silver; and in coin, thirty-four thousand five hundred and fifty denarii.[] Lucius Stretinius, from the Farther Spain, without making any pretensions to a triumph, carried into the treasury fifty thousand pounds' weight of silver; and out of the spoils taken, built two arches in the cattle-market, at the fronts of the temple of Fortune and Mother Matuta, and one in the great Circus; and on these arches placed gilded statues. These were the principal occurrences during the winter. At this time Quinctius was in winter quarters at Elatia. Among many requests, made to him by the allies, was that of the Boeotians, namely, that their countrymen, who had served in the army with Philip, might be restored to them. With this Quinctius readily complied; not because he thought them very deserving, but that, as king Antiochus was already suspected, he judged it advisable to conciliate every state in favour of the Roman interest. It quickly appeared how very little gratitude existed among the Boeotians; for they not only sent persons to give thanks to Philip for the restoration of their fellows, as if that favour had been conferred on them by him, and not by Quinctius and the Romans; but, at the next election, raised to the office of Boeotarch a man named Brachyllas, for no other reason than because he had been commander of the Boeotians serving in the army of Philip; passing by Zeuxippus, Pisistratus, and

the others, who had promoted the alliance with Rome. These men were both offended at the present and alarmed about the future consequences: for if such things were done when a Roman army lay almost at their gates, what would become of them when the Romans should have gone away to Italy, and Philip, from a situation so near, should support his own associates, and vent his resentment on those who had been of the opposite party?

28. It was resolved, while they had the Roman army near at hand, to take off Brachyllas, who was the principal leader of the faction which favoured the king; and they chose an opportunity for the deed, when, after having been at a public feast, he was returning to his house inebriated, and accompanied by some of his debauched companions, who, for the sake of merriment, had been admitted to the crowded entertainment. He was surrounded and assassinated by six men, of whom three were Italians and three Aetolians. His companions fled, crying out for help; and a great uproar ensued among the people, who ran up and down, through all parts of the city, with lights; but the assassins made their escape through the nearest gate. At the first dawn, a full assembly was called together in the theatre, by the voice of a crier, as if in consequence of a previous appointment. Many openly clamoured that Brachyllas was killed by those detestable wretches who accompanied him; but their private conjectures pointed to Zeuxippus, as author of the murder. It was resolved, however, that those who had been in company with him should be seized and examined in their presence. While they were under examination, Zeuxippus, with his usual composure, came into the assembly, for the purpose of averting the charge from himself; yet said, that people were mistaken in supposing that so daring a murder was the act of such effeminate wretches as those who were charged with it, urging many plausible arguments to the same purpose. By which behaviour he led several to believe, that, if he were conscious of guilt, he would never have presented himself before the multitude, or, without being challenged by any, have made any mention of the murder. Others were convinced that he intended, by thus unblushingly exposing himself to the charge, to throw off all suspicion from himself. Soon after, those men who were innocent were put to the torture; and, taking the universal opinion as having

the effect of evidence, they named Zeuxippus and Pisistratus; but they produced no proof to show that they knew any thing of the matter. Zeuxippus, however, accompanied by a man named Stratonidas, fled by night to Tanagra; alarmed by his own conscience rather than by the assertion of men who were privy to no one circumstance of the affair. Pisistratus, despising the informers, remained at Thebes. A slave of Zeuxippus had carried messages backwards and forwards, and had been intrusted with the management of the whole business. From this man Pisistratus dreaded a discovery; and by that very dread forced him, against his will, to make one. He sent a letter to Zeuxippus, desiring him to "put out of the way the slave who was privy to their crime; for he did not believe him as well qualified for the concealment of the fact as he was for the perpetration of it." He ordered the bearer of this letter to deliver it to Zeuxippus as soon as possible; but he, not finding an opportunity of meeting him, put it into the hands of the very slave in question, whom he believed to be the most faithful to his master of any; and added, that it came from Pisistratus respecting a matter of the utmost consequence to Zeuxippus. Struck by consciousness of guilt, the slave after promising to deliver the letter, immediately opened it; and, on reading the contents, fled in a fright to Thebes and laid the information before the magistrate. Zeuxippus, alarmed by the flight of his slave, withdrew to Athens, where he thought he might live in exile with greater safety. Pisistratus, after being examined several times by torture, was put to death.

29. This murder exasperated the Thebans, and all the Boeotians, to the most rancorous animosity against the Romans, for they considered that Zeuxippus, one of the first men of the nation, had not been party to such a crime without the instigation of the Roman general. To recommence a war, they had neither strength nor a leader; but they had recourse to private massacres, as being next to war, and cut off many of the soldiers, some as they came to lodge in their houses, others as they wandered about their winter quarters, or were on leave of absence for various purposes. Some were killed on the roads by parties lying in wait in lurking-places; others were seduced and carried away to inns, which were left uninhabited, and there put to death. At last they committed these crimes, not merely

out of hatred, but likewise from a desire of booty; for the soldiers on furlough generally carried money in their purses for the purpose of trading. At first a few at a time, afterwards greater numbers used to be missed, until all Boeotia became notorious for those practices, and a soldier went beyond the bounds of the camp with more timidity than into an enemy's country. Quinctius then sent deputies round the states, to make inquiry concerning the murders committed. The greatest number of murders were found to have been committed about the lake called Copais; there the bodies were dug out of the mud, and drawn up out of the marsh, having had earthen jars or stones tied to them, so as to be dragged to the bottom by the weight. Many deeds of this sort were discovered to have been perpetrated at Acrphia and Coronea. Quinctius at first insisted that the persons guilty should be given up to him, and that, for five hundred soldiers, (for so many had been cut off,) the Botians should pay five hundred talents.[] Neither of these requisitions being complied with, and the states only making verbal apologies, declaring, that none of those acts had been authorized by the public; Quinctius first sent ambassadors to Athens and Achaia, to satisfy the allies, that the war which he was about to make on the Botians was conformable to justice and piety; and then, ordering Publius Claudius to march with one-half of the troops to Acrphia, he himself, with the remainder, invested Coronea; and these two bodies' marching by different roads from Elatia, laid waste all the country through which they passed. The Botians, dismayed by these losses, while every place was filled with fugitives, and while the terror became universal, sent ambassadors to the camp; and as these were refused admittance, the Achaeans and Athenians came to their assistance. The Achaeans had the greater influence as intercessors; inasmuch as they were resolved, in case they could not procure peace for the Botians, to join them in the war. Through the mediation of the Achaeans, however, the Botians obtained admission and an audience of the Roman general; who, ordering them to deliver up the guilty, and to pay thirty talents[] as a fine, granted them peace, and raised the siege.

30. A few days after this, the ten ambassadors arrived from Rome, in pursuance of whose counsel, peace was granted to Philip on the following conditions: "That all the Grecian states, as well those in

Asia as those in Europe, should enjoy liberty, and their own laws: That from such of them as had been in the possession of Philip, he should withdraw his garrisons, particularly from the following places in Asia; Euromus, Pedasi, Bargylli, Iassus, Myrina, Abydus; and from Thasus and Perinthus, for it was determined that these likewise should be free: That with respect to the freedom of Cius, Quinctius should write to Prusias, king of Bithynia, the resolutions of the senate, and of the ten ambassadors: That Philip should return to the Romans the prisoners and deserters, and deliver up all his decked ships, excepting five and the royal galley, — of a size almost unmanageable, being moved by sixteen banks of oars: That he should not keep more than five hundred soldiers, nor any elephant: That he should not wage war beyond the bounds of Macedonia without permission from the senate: That he should pay to the Roman people one thousand talents:[] one half at present, the other by instalments, within ten years.” Valerius Antias writes, that there was imposed on him an annual tribute of four thousand pounds’ weight of silver, for ten years, and an immediate payment of twenty thousand pounds’ weight. The same author says that an article was expressly inserted, that he should not make war on Eumenes, Attalus’s son, who had lately come to the throne. For the performance of these conditions hostages were received, among whom was Demetrius, Philip’s son. Valerius Antias adds, that the island of Aegina, and the elephants, were given as a present to Attalus, who was absent; to the Rhodians, Stratonice, and other cities of Caria which had been in the possession of Philip; and to the Athenians, the islands of Paros, Imbros, Delos, and Scyros.

31. While all the other states of Greece expressed their approbation of these terms of peace, the Aetolians alone, in private murmurs, made severe strictures on the determination of the ten ambassadors. They said, “it consisted merely of an empty piece of writing varnished over with a fallacious appearance of liberty. For why should some cities be put into the hands of the Romans without being named, while others were particularized, and ordered to be enfranchised without such consignment; unless the intent was, that those in Asia, which, from their distant situation, were more secure from danger, should be free; but those in Greece, not being even

mentioned by name, should be made their property: Corinth, Chalcis, and Oreum; with Eretria, and Demetrias." Nor was this charge entirely without foundation: for there was some hesitation with respect to Corinth, Chalcis, and Demetrias; because, in the decree of the senate in pursuance of which the ten ambassadors had been sent from Rome, all Greece and Asia, except these three, were expressly ordered to be set at liberty; but, with regard to these, ambassadors were instructed, that, whatever measures the exigencies of the state might render expedient, they should determine to pursue in conformity to the public good and their own honour. King Antiochus was one of whom they did not doubt that, so soon as he was satisfied that his forces were adequate, he would cross over into Europe; and they were unwilling to let these cities, the possession of which would be so advantageous to him, lie open to his occupation. Quinctius, with the ten ambassadors, sailed from Elatia to Anticyra, and thence to Corinth. Here the plans they had laid down respecting the liberation of Greece were discussed for about three days in a council of the ten ambassadors. Quinctius frequently urged, that "every part of Greece ought to be set at liberty, if they wished to refute the cavils of the Aetolians; if they wished, that sincere affection and respect for the Roman nation should be universally entertained; or if they wished to convince the world that they had crossed the sea with the design of liberating Greece, and not of transferring the sovereignty of it from Philip to themselves." The Macedonians alleged nothing in opposition to the arguments made use of in favour of the freedom of the cities; but "they thought it safer for those cities themselves that they should remain, for a time, under the protection of Roman garrisons, than be obliged to receive Antiochus for a master in the room of Philip." Their final determination was, that "Corinth be restored to the Achaeans, but that a Roman garrison should continue in the citadel; and that Chalcis and Demetrias be retained, until their apprehensions respecting Antiochus should cease."

32. The stated solemnity of the Isthmian games was at hand. These have ever been attended by very numerous meetings, as well on account of the universal fondness entertained by this nation for exhibitions of skill in arts of every kind, as well as of contests in strength and swiftness of foot; as also, because of the convenience of

the locality, which furnishes commercial advantages of all kinds by its two opposite seas, and by which it had obtained the character of a rendezvous for all the population of Asia and Greece. But on this occasion, all were led thither not only for their ordinary purposes, but by an eager curiosity to learn what was thenceforward to be the state of Greece, and what their own condition; while many at the same time not only formed opinions within themselves but uttered their conjectures in conversation. Scarcely any supposed that the Romans, victorious as they were, would withdraw from the whole of Greece. They took their seats, as spectators; and a herald, preceded by a trumpeter, according to custom, advanced into the centre of the theatre, where notice of the commencement of the games is usually made, in a solemn form of words. Silence being commanded by sound of trumpet, he uttered aloud the following proclamation: THE SENATE AND PEOPLE OF ROME, AND TITUS QUINCTIUS, THEIR GENERAL, HAVING SUBDUED KING PHILIP AND THE MACEDONIANS, DO HEREBY ORDER, THAT THE FOLLOWING STATES BE FREE, INDEPENDENT, AND RULED BY THEIR OWN LAWS: THE CORINTHIANS, PHOCIANS, AND ALL THE LOCRIANS; THE ISLAND OF EUBOEIA, AND THE MAGNESIANS; THE THESSALIANS, PERRHÆBIANS, AND THE ACHÆANS OF PHTHIOTIS. He then read a list of all the states which had been under subjection to king Philip. The joy occasioned by hearing these words of the herald was so great, that the people's minds were unable to conceive the matter at once. Scarcely could they believe that they had heard them; and they looked at each other, marvelling as at the empty illusion of a dream. Each inquired of his neighbours about what immediately concerned himself, altogether distrusting the evidence of his own ears. As everyone desired not only to hear, but to see the messenger of liberty, the herald was called out again; and he again repeated the proclamation. When they were thus assured of the reality of the joyful tidings, they raised such a shout, and clapping of hands, and repeated them so often, as clearly to show that of all blessings none is more grateful to the multitude than liberty. The games were then proceeded through with hurry; for neither the thoughts nor eyes of any attended to the exhibitions, so entirely had the single passion of

joy pre-occupied their minds, as to exclude the sense of all other pleasures.

33. But, when the games were finished, every one eagerly passed towards the Roman general; so that by the crowd rushing to one spot, all wishing to come near him, and to touch his right hand, and throwing garlands and ribands, he was in some degree of danger. He was then about thirty-three years of age; and besides the vigour of youth, the grateful sensations excited by so eminent a harvest of glory, increased his strength. Nor was the general exultation exhausted in the presence of all the assembly, but, through the space of many days, was continually revived by sentiments and expressions of gratitude. "There was a nation in the world," they said, "which, at its own expense, with its own labour, and at its own risk, waged wars for the liberty of others. And this was performed, not merely for contiguous states, or near neighbours, or for countries that made parts of the same continent; but they even crossed the seas for the purpose, that no unlawful power should subsist on the face of the whole earth; but that justice, right, and law should every where have sovereign sway. By one sentence, pronounced by a herald all the cities of Greece and Asia had been set at liberty. To have conceived hopes of this, argued a daring spirit; to have carried it into effect, was a proof of the most consummate bravery and good fortune."

34. Quinctius and the ten ambassadors then gave audience to the embassies of the several kings, nations, and states. First of all, the ambassadors of king Antiochus were called. Their proceedings, here, were nearly the same as at Rome; a mere display of words unsupported by facts. But the answer given them was not ambiguous as formerly, during the uncertainty of affairs, and while Philip was unsubdued; for the king was required in express terms to evacuate the cities of Asia, which had been in possession either of Philip or Ptolemy; not to meddle with the free cities, or ever take arms against them, and to be in a state of peace and equality with all the cities of Greece wherever they might be. Above all it was insisted on, that he should neither come himself into Europe, nor transport an army thither. The king's ambassadors being dismissed, a general convention of the nations and states was immediately held; and the business was despatched with the greater expedition, because the

resolutions of the ten ambassadors mentioned the several states by name. To the people of Orestis, a district of Macedonia, in consideration of their having been the first who came over from the side of the king, their own laws were granted. The Magnesians, Perrhaebians, and Dolopians were likewise declared free. To the nation of the Thessalians, besides the enjoyment of liberty, the Achaean part of Phthiotis was granted, excepting Phthiotian Thebes and Pharsalus. The Aetolians, demanding that Pharsalus and Leucas should be restored to them in conformity to the treaty, were referred to the senate: but the council united to these, by authority of a decree, Phocis and Locris, places which had formerly been annexed to them. Corinth, Triphylia, and Heraea, another city of Peloponnesus, were restored to the Achaeans. The ten ambassadors were inclined to give Oreum and Eretria to king Eumenes, son of Attalus; but Quinctius dissenting, the matter came under the determination of the senate, and the senate declared those cities free; adding to them Carystus. Lycus and Parthinia, Illyrian states, each of which had been under subjection to Philip, were given to Pleuratus. Amynder was ordered to retain possession of the forts, which he had taken from Philip during the war.

35. When the convention broke up, the ten ambassadors, dividing the business among them, set out by different routes to give liberty to the several cities within their respective districts. Publius Lentulus went to Bargylii; Lucius Stertinius, to Hephaestia, Thasus, and the cities of Thrace; Publius Villius and Lucius Terentius to king Antiochus; and Cneius Cornelius to Philip. The last of these, after executing his commission with respect to smaller matters, asked Philip, whether he was disposed to listen to advice, not only useful but highly salutary. To which the king answered that he was, and would give him thanks besides, if he mentioned any thing conducive to his advantage. He then earnestly recommended to him, since he had obtained peace with the Romans, to send ambassadors to Rome to solicit their alliance and friendship; lest, in case of Antiochus pursuing any hostile measure, he might be suspected of having lain in wait and seized the opportunity of the times for reviving hostilities. This meeting with Philip was at Tempè in Thessaly; and on his answering that he would send ambassadors without delay,

Cornelius proceeded to Thermopylae, where all the states of Greece are accustomed to meet in general assembly on certain stated days. This is called the Pylaic assembly. Here he admonished the Aetolians, in particular, constantly and firmly to cultivate the friendship of the Roman people; but some of the principal of these interrupted him with complaints, that the disposition of the Romans towards their nation was not the same since the victory, that it had been during the war; while others censured them with greater boldness, and in a reproachful manner asserted, that “without the aid of the Aetolians, the Romans could neither have conquered Philip, nor even have made good their passage into Greece.” To such discourses the Roman forbore giving an answer, lest the matter might end in an altercation, and only said, that if they sent ambassadors to Rome, every thing that was reasonable would be granted to them. Accordingly, they passed a decree for such mission, agreeably to his direction. — In this manner was the war with Philip concluded.

36. While these transactions passed in Greece, Macedonia, and Asia, a conspiracy among the slaves had well nigh made Etruria an hostile province. To examine into and suppress this, Manius Acilius the praetor, whose province was the administration of justice between natives and foreigners, was sent at the head of one of the two city legions. A number of them, who were by this time formed in a body, he reduced by force of arms, killing and taking many. Some, who had been the ringleaders of the conspiracy, he scourged with rods and then crucified; some he returned to their masters. The consuls repaired to their provinces. Just as Marcellus entered the frontiers of the Boians, and while his men were fatigued with marching the whole length of the day, and as he was pitching his camp on a rising ground, Corolam, a chieftain of the Boians, attacked him with a very numerous force, and slew three thousand of his men: several persons of distinction fell in that tumultuary engagement; amongst others, Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus and Marcus Junius Silanus, praefects of the allies; and Aulus Ogulnius and Publius Claudius, military tribunes in the second legion. The Romans, not withstanding, had courage enough to finish the fortification of their camp, and to defend it, in spite of an assault made on it by the enemy, elated by their success in the field. Marcellus remained for

some time in the same post, until he could tend the wounded, and revive the spirits of his men after such a disheartening blow. The Boians, a nation remarkably impatient of delay, and quickly disgusted at a state of inaction, separated, and withdrew to their several forts and villages. Marcellus then, suddenly crossing the Po, led his legions into the territory of Comum, where the Insubrians, after rousing the people of the country to arms, lay encamped. The fierce Boian Gauls attacked him on his march, and they first onset was so vigorous, as to make a considerable impression on his van. On perceiving which, and fearing lest, if his men once gave way, they would be dislodged, he brought up a cohort of Marsians against the enemy, and ordered every troop of the Latin cavalry to charge them. The first and second charges of these having checked the enemy in their furious attack, the other troops in the Roman line, resuming courage, advanced briskly on the foe. The Gauls no longer maintained the contest, but turned their backs and fled in confusion. Valerius Antias relates, that in that battle above forty thousand men were killed, five hundred and seven military standards taken, with four hundred and thirty-two chariots, and a great number of gold chains, one of which, of great weight, Claudius says, was deposited as an offering to Jupiter, in his temple in the Capitol. The camp of the Gauls was taken and plundered the same day; and the town of Comum was reduced in a few days after. In a little time, twenty-eight forts came over to the consul. There is a doubt among writers, whether the consul led his legions first against the Boians, or against the Insubrians; so as to determine, whether the successful battle obliterated the disgrace of the defeat, or whether the victory obtained at Comum was tarnished by the disaster incurred among the Boii.

37. Soon after those matters had passed with such variety of fortune, Lucius Furius Purpureo, the other consul, came into the country of the Boians, through the Sappinian tribe. He proceeded almost to the fort of Mutilus, when, beginning to apprehend that he might be enclosed between the Boians and Ligurians, he marched back by the road by which he came; and, making a long circuit, through an open and therefore safe country, arrived at the camp of his colleague. After this junction of their forces, they overran the territory of the Boians, spreading devastation as far as the city of

Felsina. This city, with the other fortresses, and almost all the Boians, excepting only the young men who kept arms in their hands for the sake of plunder, and had at that time withdrawn into remote woods, made submission. The army was then led away against the Ligurians. The Boians thought that the Romans, as they were supposed to be at a great distance, would be the more careless in keeping their army together, and thereby afford an opportunity of attacking them unawares: with this expectation, they followed them by secret paths through the forests. They did not overtake them: and therefore, passing the Po suddenly in ships, they ravaged all the country of the Laevans and Libuans; whence, as they were returning with the spoil of the country, they fell in with the Roman army on the borders of Liguria. A battle was begun with more speed, and with greater fury, than if the parties had met with their minds prepared, and at an appointed time and place. On this occasion it appeared to what degree of violence anger can stimulate men; for the Romans fought with such a desire of slaughter, rather than of victory, that they scarcely left one of the enemy to carry the news of their defeat. On account of these successes, when the letters of the consuls were brought to Rome, a supplication for three days was decreed. Soon after, Marcellus came to Rome, and had a triumph decreed him by an unanimous vote of the senate. He triumphed, while in office, over the Insubrians and Comans. The prospect of a triumph over the Boians he left to his colleague, because his own arms had been unfortunate in that country; those of his colleague, successful. Large quantities of spoils, taken from the enemy, were carried in the procession in captured chariots, and many military standards; also, three hundred and twenty thousand *asses* of brass,[] two hundred and thirty-four thousand of silver denarii,[] stamped with a chariot. Eighty *asses*[] were bestowed on each foot soldier, and thrice that value on each horseman and centurion.

38. During that year, king Antiochus, after having spent the winter at Ephesus, took measures for reducing, under his dominion, all the cities of Asia, which had formerly been members of the empire. As to the rest, being either situated in plains, or having neither walls, arms, nor men in whom they could confide, he supposed they would, without difficulty, receive the yoke. But Smyrna and Lampsacus

openly asserted their independence: yet there was a danger that if what they claimed were conceded to these, the rest of the cities in Aetolia and Ionia would follow the example of Smyrna; and those on the Hellespont that of Lampsacus. Wherefore he sent an army from Ephesus to invest Smyrna; and ordered the troops, which were at Abydos, to leave there only a small garrison, and to go and lay siege to Lampsacus. Nor did he only alarm them by an exhibition of force. By sending ambassadors, to make gentle remonstrances, and reprove the rashness and obstinacy of their conduct, he endeavoured to give them hopes that they might soon obtain the object of their wishes; but not until it should appear clearly, both to themselves and to all the world, that they had gained their liberty through the kindness of the king, and not by any violent efforts of their own. In answer to which, they said, that "Antiochus ought neither to be surprised nor displeased, if they did not very patiently suffer the establishment of their liberty to be deferred to a distant period." He himself, with his fleet, set sail from Ephesus in the beginning of spring, and steered towards the Hellespont. His army he transported to Madytus, a city in the Chersonese, and there joined his land and sea forces together. The inhabitants having shut their gates, he surrounded the walls with his troops; and when he was just bringing up his machines to the walls, a capitulation was entered into. This diffused such fear through the inhabitants of Sestus and the other cities of the Chersonese, as induced them to submit. He then came, with the whole of his united forces, by land and sea, to Lysimachia; which finding deserted, and almost buried in ruins, (for the Thracians had, a few years before, taken, sacked, and burned it,) he conceived a wish to rebuild a city so celebrated, and so commodiously situated. Accordingly, extending his care to every object at once, he set about repairing the walls and houses, ransomed some of the Lysimachians who were in captivity, sought out and brought home others, who had fled and dispersed themselves through the Chersonese and Hellespontus, enrolled new colonists, whom he invited by prospects of advantages, and used every means to repeople it fully. At the same time, that all fear of the Thracians might be removed, he went, in person, with one half of the land forces, to lay waste the nearest provinces of Thrace; leaving the other half, and all the crews of the ships, employed in the repairs of

the city.

39. About this time Lucius Cornelius, who had been commissioned by the senate to accommodate the differences between the kings Antiochus and Ptolemy, stopped at Selymbria; and, of the ten ambassadors, Publius Lentulus from Bargylia, and Publius Villius and Lucius Terentius from Thasus, came to Lysimachia. Hither came, likewise, Lucius Cornelius from Selymbria, and a few days after Antiochus from Thrace. His first meeting with the ambassadors, and an invitation which he afterwards gave them, were friendly and hospitable; but when the business intrusted to them and the present state of Asia, came to be treated of, the minds of both parties were exasperated. The Romans did not scruple to declare, that every one of his proceedings, from the time when he set sail from Syria, was displeasing to the senate; and they required restitution to be made, to Ptolemy, of all the cities which had been under his dominion. "For, as to what related to the cities which had been in the possession of Philip, and which Antiochus, taking advantage of a season when Philip's attention was turned to the war with Rome, had seized into his own hands, it would surely be an intolerable hardship, if the Romans were to have undergone such toils and dangers, on land and sea, for so many years, and Antiochus to appropriate to himself the prizes of the war. But, though his coming into Asia might be passed over unnoticed by the Romans, as a matter not pertaining to them, yet when he proceeded so far as to pass over into Europe with all his land and naval forces, how much was this short of open war with the Romans? Doubtless, had he even passed into Italy, he would deny that intention. But the Romans would not wait to give him an opportunity of doing so."

40. To this the king replied, that "he wondered how it was, that the Romans were in the habit of diligently inquiring what ought to be done by king Antiochus; but never considered how far they themselves ought to advance on land or sea. Asia was no concernment of the Romans, in any shape; nor had they any more right to inquire what Antiochus did in Asia, than Antiochus had to inquire what the Roman people did in Italy. With respect to Ptolemy, from whom they complained that cities had been taken, there was a friendly connexion subsisting between him and Ptolemy, and he was

taking measures to effect speedily a connexion of affinity also; neither had he sought to acquire any spoils from the misfortunes of Philip, nor had he come into Europe against the Romans, *but to recover the cities and lands of the Chersonese, which, having been the property of Lysimachus,*[¹] he considered as part of his own dominion; because, when Lysimachus was subdued, all things belonging to him became, by the right of conquest, the property of Seleucus. That, at times, when his predecessors were occupied by cares of different kinds, Ptolemy first, and afterwards Philip, usurping the rights of others, possessed themselves of several of these places, but who could doubt that the Chersonese and the nearest parts of Thrace belonged to Lysimachus? To restore these to their ancient state, was the intent of his coming, and to build Lysimachia anew, (it having been destroyed by an inroad of the Thracians,) in order that his son, Seleucus, might have it for the seat of his empire.”

41. These disputes had been carried on for several days, when a rumour reached them, but without any sufficiently certain authority, that Ptolemy was dead; which prevented the conferences coming to any issue: for both parties made a secret of their having heard it; and Lucius Cornelius, who was charged with the embassy to the two kings, Antiochus and Ptolemy, requested to be allowed a short space of time, in which he could have a meeting with the latter; because he wished to arrive in Egypt before any change of measures should take place in consequence of the new succession to the crown: while Antiochus believed that Egypt would be his own, if at that time he should take possession of it. Wherefore, having dismissed the Romans, and left his son Seleucus, with the land forces, to finish the rebuilding of Lysimachia, as he had intended to do, he sailed, with his whole fleet, to Ephesus; sent ambassadors to Quinctius to treat with him about an alliance, assuring him that the king would attempt no innovations, and then, coasting along the shore of Asia, proceeded to Lycia. Having learned at Patarae that Ptolemy was living, he dropped the design of sailing to Egypt, but nevertheless steered towards Cyprus; and, when he had passed the promontory of Chelidonium, was detained some little time in Pamphylia, near the river Eurymedon, by a mutiny among his rowers. When he had sailed

thence as far as the headlands, as they are called, of Sarus, such a dreadful storm arose as almost buried him and his whole fleet in the deep. Many ships were broken to pieces, and many cast on shore; many swallowed so entirely in the sea, that not one man of their crews escaped to land. Great numbers of his men perished on this occasion; not only persons of mean rank, rowers and soldiers, but even of his particular friends in high stations. When he had collected the relics of the general wreck, being in no capacity of making an attempt on Cyprus, he returned to Seleucia, with a far less numerous force than he had set out with. Here he ordered the ships to be hauled ashore, for the winter was now at hand, and proceeded to Antioch, where he intended to pass the winter. — In this posture stood the affairs of the kings.

42. At Rome, in this year, for the first time, were created offices called *triumviri epulones*;[] these were Caius Licinius Lucullus, who, as tribune, had proposed the law for their creation, Publius Manlius, and Publius Porcius Laeca. These triumvirs, as well as the pontiffs, were allowed by law the privilege of wearing the purple-bordered gown. The body of the pontiffs had this year a warm dispute with the city quaestors, Quintus Fabius Labeo and Lucius Aurelius. Money was wanted; an order having been passed for making the last payment to private persons of that which had been raised for the support of the war; and the quaestors demanded it from the augurs and pontiffs, because they had not contributed their share while the war subsisted. The priests in vain appealed to the tribunes; and the contribution was exacted for every year in which they had not paid. During the same year two pontiffs died, and others were substituted in their room: Marcus Marcellus, the consul, in the room of Caius Sempronius Tuditanus, who had been a praetor in Spain; and Lucius Valerius, in the room of Marcus Cornelius Cethegus. An augur also, Quintus Fabius Maximus, died very young, before he had attained to any public office; but no augur was appointed in his place during that year. The consular election was then held by the consul Marcellus. The persons chosen were, Lucius Valerius Flaccus and Marcus Porcius Cato. Then were elected praetors, Caius Fabricius Luscinius, Caius Atinius Labeo, Cneius Manlius Vulso, Appius Claudius Nero, Publius Manlius, and Publius Porcius Laeca. The curule aediles,

Marcus Fulvius Nobilior and Caius Flaminius, made a distribution to the people of one million pecks of wheat, at the price of two asses. This corn the Sicilians had brought to Rome, out of respect to Caius Flaminius and his father; and he gave share of the credit to his colleague. The Roman games were solemnized with magnificence, and exhibited thrice entire. The plebeian aediles, Cneius Domitius Aenobarbus and Caius Scribonius, chief curio, brought many farmers of the public pastures to trial before the people. Three of these were convicted; and out of the money accruing from fines imposed on them, they built a temple of Faunus in the island. The plebeian games were exhibited for two days, and there was a feast on occasion of the games.

43. Lucius Valerius Flaccus and Marcus Porcius, on the ides of March, the day of their entering into office, consulted the senate respecting the provinces; who resolved, that “whereas the war in Spain was grown so formidable, as to require a consular army and commander; it was their opinion, therefore, that the consuls should either settle between themselves, or cast lots, for Hither Spain and Italy as their provinces. That he to whom Spain fell should carry with him two legions, five thousand of the Latin confederates, and five hundred horse; together with a fleet of twenty ships of war. That the other consul should raise two legions; for these would be sufficient to maintain tranquillity in the province of Gaul, as the spirits of the Insubrians and Boians had been broken the year before.” The lots gave Spain to Cato, and Italy to Valerius. The praetors then cast lots for their provinces: to Caius Fabricius Luscinius fell the city jurisdiction; Caius Atinius Labeo obtained the foreign; Cneius Manlius Vulso, Sicily; Appius Claudius Nero, Farther Spain; Publius Porcius Laeca, Pisa, in order that he might be at the back of the Ligurians; and Publius Manlius was sent into Hither Spain, as an assistant to the consul. Quinctius was continued in command for the year, as apprehensions were entertained, not only of Antiochus and the Aetolians, but likewise of Nabis, tyrant of Lacedaemon; and it was ordered that he should have two legions, for which, if there was any necessity for a further supply, the consuls were ordered to raise recruits, and send them into Macedonia. Appius Claudius was permitted to raise, in addition to the legion which Quintius Fabius

had commanded, two thousand foot and two hundred horse. The like number of new-raised foot and horse was assigned to Publius Manlius for Hither Spain; and the legion was given to him which had been under the command of Minucius, the praetor. To Publius Porcius Laeca, for Etruria, near Pisa, were decreed two thousand foot and five hundred horse, out of the army in Gaul. Sempronius Longus was continued in command in Sardinia.

44. The provinces being thus distributed, the consuls, before their departure from the city, were ordered, in accordance with a decree of the pontiffs, to proclaim a sacred spring, which Aulus Cornelius Mammula, praetor, had vowed in pursuance of a vote of the senate, and an order of the people, in the consulate of Cneius Servilius and Caius Flaminius. It was celebrated twenty-one years after the vow had been made. About the same time, Caius Claudius Pulcher, son of Appius, was chosen and inaugurated into the office of augur, in the room of Quintus Fabius Maximus, who died the year before. While people, in general, wondered that, though Spain had arisen in arms, they were neglecting the war, a letter was brought from Quintus Minucius, announcing "that he had fought a pitched battle with the Spanish generals, Budar and Besasis, near the town of Tura, and had gained the victory: that twelve thousand of the enemy were slain; their general, Budar, taken; and the rest routed and dispersed." After the reading of this letter less alarm prevailed with respect to Spain, where a very formidable war had been apprehended. The whole anxiety of the public was directed towards king Antiochus, especially after the arrival of the ten ambassadors. These, after relating the proceedings with Philip, and the conditions on which peace had been granted him, gave information, that "there still subsisted a war of no less magnitude to be waged with Antiochus; that he had come over into Europe with a very numerous fleet and a powerful army; that, had not a delusive prospect of an opportunity of invading Egypt, raised by a more delusive rumour, diverted him to another quarter, all Greece would have quickly been involved in the flames of war. Nor would even the Aetolians remain quiet, a race as well restless by nature as full of anger against the Romans. That, besides, there was another evil, of a most dangerous nature, lurking in the bowels of Greece: Nabis, tyrant at present of Lacedaemon, but who would soon

if suffered, become tyrant of all Greece, equalling in avarice and cruelty all the tyrants most remarkable in history. For, if he were allowed to keep possession of Argos, which served as a citadel commanding the Peloponnesus, when the Roman armies should be brought home to Italy, Greece would have been in vain delivered out of bondage to Philip; because, instead of that king, who, supposing no other difference, resided at a distance, she would have for a master, a tyrant, close to her side.”

45. On this intelligence being received from men of such respectable authority, and who had, besides, examined into all the matters which were reported, the senate, although they deemed the business relating to Antiochus the more important, yet, as the king had, for some reason or other, gone home into Syria, they thought that the affair respecting the tyrant ought to be more promptly attended to. After debating, for a long time, whether they should judge the grounds which they had at present sufficient whereon a declaration of war should be decreed, or whether they should empower Titus Quinctius to act, in the case respecting Nabis the Lacedaemonian, in such manner as he should judge conducive to the public interest; they left it in his hands. For they thought the business of such a nature, that whether expedited or delayed, it could not very materially affect the general interest of the Roman people. It was deemed more important to endeavour to discover what line of conduct Hannibal and the Carthaginians would pursue, in case of a war breaking out with Antiochus. Persons of the faction which opposed Hannibal wrote continually to their several friends, among the principal men in Rome, that “messages and letters were sent by Hannibal to Antiochus, and that envoys came secretly from the king to him. That, as some wild beasts can never be tamed, so the disposition of this man was irreclaimable and implacable. That he sometimes complained, that the state was debilitated by ease and indolence, and lulled by sloth into a lethargy, from which nothing could rouse it but the sound of arms.” These accounts were deemed probable, when people recollected the former war, which had not more been carried on than at first set on foot by the efforts of that single man. Besides, he had by a recent act provoked the resentment of many men in power.

46. The order of judges possessed, at that time, absolute power in Carthage; and this was owing chiefly to their holding the office during life. The property, character, and life of every man was in their disposal. He who incurred the displeasure of one of that order, found an enemy in every one of them; nor were accusers wanting in a court where the justices were disposed to condemn. While they were in possession of this despotism, (for they did not exercise their exorbitant power constitutionally,) Hannibal was elected praetor and he summoned the quaestor before him. The quaestor disregarded the summons, for he was of the opposite faction; and besides, as the practice was that, after the quaestorship men were advanced into the order of judges, the most powerful of all, he already assumed a spirit suited to the powers which he was shortly to possess. Hannibal, highly offended Hereat, sent an officer to apprehend the quaestor; and, bringing him forth into an assembly of the people, he made heavy charges not against him alone, but on the whole order of judges; in consequence of whose arrogance and power neither the magistracy nor the laws availed any thing. Then perceiving that his discourse was with willing ears attended to, and that the conduct of those men was incompatible with the freedom of the lowest classes, he proposed a law, and procured it to be enacted, that the "judges should be elected annually; and that no person should hold the office two years successively." But, whatever degree of favour he acquired among the commons by this proceeding, he roused, in a great part of the nobility, an equal degree of resentment. To this he added another act, which, while it was for the advantage of the people, provoked personal enmity against himself. The public revenues were partly wasted through neglect, partly embezzled, and divided among some leading men and magistrates; insomuch, that there was not money sufficient for the regular annual payment of the tribute to the Romans, so that private persons seemed to be threatened with a heavy tax.

47. When Hannibal had informed himself of the amount of the revenues arising from taxes and port duties, for what purposes they were issued from the treasury, what proportion of them was consumed by the ordinary expenses of the state, and how much was alienated by embezzlement; he asserted in an assembly of the people,

that if payment were enforced of the residuary funds, the taxes might be remitted to the subjects; and that the state would still be rich enough to pay the tribute to the Romans: which assertion he proved to be true. But now those persons who, for several years past, had maintained themselves by plundering the public, were greatly enraged; as if this were ravishing from them their own property, and not as dragging out of their hands their ill-gotten spoil. Accordingly, they instigated the Romans against Hannibal, who were seeking a pretext for indulging their hatred against him. A strenuous opposition was, however, for a long time made to this by Scipio Africanus, who thought it highly unbecoming the dignity of the Roman people to make themselves a party in the animosities and charges against Hannibal; to interpose the public authority among factions of the Carthaginians, not deeming it sufficient to have conquered that commander in the field, but to become as it were his prosecutors[] in a judicial process, and preferring an action against him. Yet at length the point was carried, that an embassy should be sent to Carthage to represent to the senate there, that Hannibal, in concert with king Antiochus, was forming plans for kindling a war. Three ambassadors were sent, Caius Servilius, Marcus Claudius Marcellus, and Quintus Terentius Culleo. These, when they had arrived at Carthage, by the advice of Hannibal's enemies, ordered, that any who inquired the cause of their coming should be told, that they came to determine the disputes subsisting between the Carthaginians and Masinissa, king of Numidia; and this was generally believed. But Hannibal was not ignorant that he was the sole object aimed at by the Romans; and that, though they had granted peace to the Carthaginians, their war against him, individually, remained irreconcilable. He therefore determined to give way to fortune and the times; and having already made every preparation for flight, he showed himself that day in the forum, in order to guard against suspicion; and, as soon as it grew dark, went in his common dress to one of the gates, with his two attendants, who knew nothing of his intention.

48. Finding horses in readiness at a spot where he had ordered, he traversed by night a district which the Africans denominated Byzacium, and arrived, in the morning of the following day, at a castle of his own between Acholla and Thapsus. There a ship, ready

fitted out and furnished with rowers, took him on board. In this manner did Hannibal leave Africa, lamenting the misfortunes of his country oftener than his own. He sailed over, the same day, to the island of Cercina, where he found in the port a number of merchant ships, belonging to the Phoenicians, with their cargoes; and on landing was surrounded by a concourse of people, who came to pay their respects to him; on which he gave orders that, in answer to any inquiries, it should be said that he had been sent as ambassador to Tyre. Fearing, however, lest some of these ships might sail in the night to Thapsus or Adrumetum, and carry information of his having been seen at Cercina, he ordered a sacrifice to be prepared, and the masters of the ships, with the merchants, to be invited to the entertainment, and that the sails and yards should be collected out of the ships to form a shade on shore for the company at supper, as it happened to be the middle of summer. The feast of the day was as sumptuous, and well attended, as the time and circumstances allowed; and the entertainment was prolonged, with plenty of wine, until late in the night. As soon as Hannibal saw an opportunity of escaping the notice of those who were in the harbour, he set sail. The rest were fast asleep, nor was it early, next day, when they arose from their sleep, full of the illness of intoxication; and then, when it was too late, they set about replacing the sails in the ships, and fitting up the rigging, which employed several hours. At Carthage, those who were accustomed to visit Hannibal met in a crowd, at the porch of his house; and when it was publicly known that he was not to be found, the whole multitude assembled in the forum, eager to gain intelligence of the man who was considered as the first in the state. Some surmised that he had fled, as the case was; others, that he had been put to death through the treachery of the Romans; and there was visible in the expression of their countenances, that variety which might naturally be expected in a state divided into factions, whereof each supported a different interest. At length intelligence was brought, that he had been seen at Cercina.

49. The Roman ambassadors represented to the council, that “proof had been laid before the senate at Rome, that formerly king Philip had been moved, principally by the instigation of Hannibal, to make war on the Roman people; and that lately, Hannibal had, besides,

sent letters and messages to king Antiochus, that he had entered into plans for driving Carthage to revolt, and that he had now gone no whither but to king Antiochus. That he was a man who would never be content, until he had excited war in every part of the globe. That such conduct ought not to be suffered to pass with impunity, if the Carthaginians wished to convince the Roman people that none of those things were done with their consent, or with the approbation of the state.” The Carthaginians answered, that they were ready to do whatever the Romans required them.

Hannibal, after a prosperous voyage, arrived at Tyre; where, as a man illustrated by every description of honours, he was received by those founders of Carthage, as if in a second native country, and here he staid a few days. He then sailed to Antioch; where, hearing that the king had already left the place, he procured an interview with his son, who was celebrating the solemnity of the games at Daphne, and who treated him with much kindness; after which, he set sail without delay. At Ephesus, he overtook the king, who was still hesitating in his mind, and undetermined respecting a war with Rome: but the arrival of Hannibal proved an incentive of no small efficacy to the prosecution of that design. At the same time, the inclinations of the Aetolians also were alienated from the Roman alliance in consequence of the senate having referred to Quinctius their ambassadors, who demanded Pharsalus and Leucas, and some other cities, in conformity with the first treaty.

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BOOK XXXIV

Translated by William A. McDevitte

The Oppian law, respecting the dress of the women, after much debate, repealed, notwithstanding it was strenuously supported by Marcus Porcius Cato, the consul. The consul's successes in Spain. Titus Quinctius Flaminius finishes the war with the Lacedaemonians and the tyrant Nabis; makes peace with them, and restores liberty to Argos. Separate seats at the public games, for the first time, appointed for the senator. Colonies sent forth. Marcus Porcius Cato triumphs on account of his successes in Spain. Further successes in Spain against the Boians and Insubrian Gauls. Titus Quinctius Flaminius, having subdued Philip, king of Macedonia, and Nabis, the Lacedaemonian tyrant, and restored all Greece to freedom, triumphs for three days. Carthaginian ambassadors bring intelligence of the hostile designs of Antiochus and Hannibal.

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1. Amid the serious concerns of important wars, either scarcely brought to a close or impending, an incident intervened, trivial indeed to be mentioned, but which, through the zeal of the parties concerned, issued in a violent contest. Marcus Fundanius and Lucius Valerius, plebeian tribunes, proposed to the people the repealing of the Oppian law. This law, which had been introduced by Caius Oppias, plebeian tribune, in the consulate of Quintus Fabius and Tiberius Sempronius, during the heat of the Punic war, enacted that "no woman should possess more than half an ounce of gold, or wear a garment of various colours, or ride in a carriage drawn by horses, in a city, or any town, or any place nearer thereto than one mile; except on occasion of some public religious solemnity." Marcus and Publius Junius Brutus, plebeian tribunes, supported the Oppian law, and declared, that they would never suffer it to be repealed; while many of the nobility stood forth to argue for and against the motion proposed. The Capitol was filled with crowds, who favoured or opposed the law; nor could the matrons be kept at home, either by advice or shame, nor even by the commands of their husbands; but

beset every street and pass in the city, beseeching the men as they went down to the forum, that in the present flourishing state of the commonwealth, when the private fortune of all was daily increasing they would suffer the women to have their former ornaments of dress restored. This throng of women increased daily, for they arrived even from the country towns and villages; and they had at length the boldness to come up to the consuls, praetors, and magistrates, to urge their request. One of the consuls, however, they found especially inexorable — Marcus Porcius Cato, who, in support of the law proposed to be repealed, spoke to this effect: —

2. “If, Romans, every individual among us had made it a rule to maintain the prerogative and authority of a husband with respect to his own wife, we should have less trouble with the whole sex. But now, our privileges, overpowered at home by female contumacy, are, even here in the forum, spurned and trodden under foot; and because we are unable to withstand each separately, we now dread their collective body. I was accustomed to think it a fabulous and fictitious tale, that, in a certain island, the whole race of males was utterly extirpated by a conspiracy of the women. But the utmost danger may be apprehended equally from either sex, if you suffer cabals, assemblies, and secret consultations to be held: scarcely, indeed, can I determine, in my own mind, whether the act itself, or the precedent that it affords, is of more pernicious tendency. The latter of these more particularly concerns us consuls, and the other magistrates: the former, yourselves, my fellow-citizens. For, whether the measure proposed to your consideration be profitable to the state or not, is to be determined by you, who are about to go to the vote. As to the outrageous behaviour of these women, whether it be merely an act of their own, or owing to your instigations, Marcus Fundanius and Lucius Valerius, it unquestionably implies culpable conduct in magistrates. I know not whether it reflects greater disgrace on you, tribunes, or on the consuls: on you certainly, if you have, on the present occasion, brought these women hither for the purpose of raising tribunitian seditions; on us, if we suffer laws to be imposed on us by a secession of women, as was done formerly by that of the common people. It was not without painful emotions of shame, that I, just now, made my way into the forum through the midst of a band

of women. Had I not been restrained by respect for the modesty and dignity of some individuals among them, rather than of the whole number, and been unwilling that they should be seen rebuked by a consul, I should have said to them, 'What sort of practice is this, of running out into public, besetting the streets, and addressing other women's husbands? Could not each have made the same request to her husband at home? Are your blandishments more seducing in public than in private; and with other women's husbands, than with your own? Although if the modesty of matrons confined them within the limits of their own rights, it did not become you, even at home, to concern yourselves about what laws might be passed or repealed here.' Our ancestors thought it not proper that women should perform any, even private business, without a director; but that they should be ever under the control of parents, brothers, or husbands. We, it seems, suffer them, now, to interfere in the management of state affairs, and to introduce themselves into the forum, into general assemblies, and into assemblies of election. For, what are they doing, at this moment, in your streets and lanes? What, but arguing, some in support of the motion of the plebeian tribunes; others, for the repeal of the law? Will you give the reins to their intractable nature, and their uncontrolled passions, and then expect that themselves should set bounds to their licentiousness, when you have failed to do so? This is the smallest of the injunctions laid on them by usage or the laws, all which women bear with impatience: they long for liberty; or rather, to speak the truth, for unbounded freedom in every particular. For what will they not attempt, if they now come off victorious?

3. "Recollect all the institutions respecting the sex, by which our forefathers restrained their undue freedom, and by which they subjected them to their husbands; and yet, even with the help of all these restrictions, you can scarcely keep them within bounds. If, then, you suffer them to throw these off one by one, to tear them all asunder, and, at last, to be set on an equal footing with yourselves, can you imagine that they will be any longer tolerable by you? The moment they have arrived at an equality with you, they will have become your superiors. But, forsooth, they only object to any new law being made against them: they mean to deprecate, not justice, but severity. Nay, their wish is, that a law which you have admitted,

established by your suffrages, and confirmed by the practice and experience of so many years to be beneficial, should now be repealed; that is, that, by abolishing one law, you should weaken all the rest. No law perfectly suits the convenience of every member of the community: the only consideration is, whether, upon the whole, it be profitable to the greater part. If because a law proves obnoxious to a private individual, that circumstance should destroy and sweep it away, to what purpose is it for the community to enact general laws, which those, with reference to whom they were passed, could presently repeal? I should like, however, to hear what this important affair is which has induced the matrons thus to run out into public in this excited manner, scarcely restraining from pushing into the forum and the assembly of the people. Is it to solicit that their parents, their husbands, children, and brothers may be ransomed from captivity under Hannibal? By no means: and far be ever from the commonwealth so unfortunate a situation. Yet, even when such was the case, you refused this to their prayers. But it is not duty, nor solicitude for their friends; it is religion that has collected them together. They are about to receive the Idaean Mother, coming out of Phrygia from Pessinus! What motive, that even common decency will allow to be mentioned, is pretended for this female insurrection? Why, say they, that we may shine in gold and purple; that, both on festal and common days, we may ride through the city in our chariots, triumphing over vanquished and abrogated law, after having captured and wrested from you your suffrages; and that there may be no bounds to our expenses and our luxury.

4. "Often have you heard me complain of the profuse expenses of the women — often of those of the men; and that not only of men in private stations, but of the magistrates: and that the state was endangered by two opposite vices, luxury and avarice; those pests, which have been the ruin of all great empires. These I dread the more, as the circumstances of the commonwealth grow daily more prosperous and happy; as the empire increases; as we have now passed over into Greece and Asia, places abounding with every kind of temptation that can inflame the passions; and as we have begun to handle even royal treasures: so much the more do I fear that these matters will bring us into captivity, rather than we them. Believe me,

those statues from Syracuse were brought into this city with hostile effect. I already hear too many commending and admiring the decorations of Athens and Corinth, and ridiculing the earthen images of our Roman gods that stand on the fronts of their temples. For my part I prefer these gods, — propitious as they are, and I hope will continue to be, if we allow them to remain in their own mansions. In the memory of our fathers, Pyrrhus, by his ambassador Cineas, made trial of the dispositions, not only of our men, but of our women also, by offers of presents: at that time the Oppian law, for restraining female luxury, had not been made; and yet not one woman accepted a present. What, think you, was the reason? That for which our ancestors made no provision by law on this subject: there was no luxury existing which needed to be restrained. As diseases must necessarily be known before their remedies, so passions come into being before the laws which prescribe limits to them. What called forth the Licinian law, restricting estates to five hundred acres, but the unbounded desire for enlarging estates? What the Cincian law, concerning gifts and presents, but that the plebeians[] had become vassals and tributaries to the senate? It is not therefore in any degree surprising, that no want of the Oppian law, or of any other, to limit the expenses of the women, was felt at that time, when they refused to receive gold and purple that was thrown in their way, and offered to their acceptance. If Cineas were now to go round the city with his presents, he would find numbers of women standing in the public streets to receive them. There are some passions, the causes or motives of which I can no way account for. For that that should not be lawful for you which is permitted to another, may perhaps naturally excite some degree of shame or indignation; yet, when the dress of all is alike, why should any one of you fear, lest she should not be an object of observation? Of all kinds of shame, the worst, surely, is the being ashamed of frugality or of poverty; but the law relieves you with regard to both; since that which you have not it is unlawful for you to possess. This equalization, says the rich matron, is the very thing that I cannot endure. Why do not I make a figure, distinguished with gold and purple? Why is the poverty of others concealed under this cover of a law, so that it should be thought that, if the law permitted, they would have such things as they are not now

able to procure? Romans, do you wish to excite among your wives an emulation of this sort, that the rich should wish to have what no other can have; and that the poor, lest they should be despised as such should extend their expenses beyond their means? Be assured, that when a woman once begins to be ashamed of what she ought not to be ashamed of, she will not be ashamed of what she ought. She who can, will purchase out of her own purse; she who cannot, will ask her husband. Unhappy is the husband, both he who complies with the request, and he who does not; for what he will not give himself, he will see given by another. Now, they openly solicit favours from other women's husbands; and, what is more, solicit a law and votes. From some they obtain them; although, with regard to yourself, your property, or your children, they would be inexorable. So soon as the law shall cease to limit the expenses of your wife, you yourself will never be able to do so. Do not suppose that the matter will hereafter be in the same state in which it was before the law was made on the subject. It is safer that a wicked man should even never be accused, than that he should be acquitted; and luxury, if it had never been meddled with, would be more tolerable than it will be, now, like a wild beast, irritated by having been chained, and then let loose. My opinion is, that the Oppian law ought, on no account, to be repealed. Whatever determination you may come to, I pray all the gods to prosper it."

5. After him the plebeian tribunes, who had declared their intention of protesting, added a few words to the same purport. Then Lucius Valerius spoke thus in support of the measure which he himself had introduced:—"If private persons only had stood forth to argue for and against the proposition which we have submitted to your consideration, I for my part, thinking enough to have been said on both sides, would have waited in silence for your determination. But since a person of most respectable judgment, the consul, Marcus Porcius, has reprobated our motion, not only by the influence of his opinion, which, had he said nothing, would carry very great weight, but also in a long and careful discourse, it becomes necessary to say a few words in answer. He has spent more words in rebuking the matrons, than in arguing against the measure proposed; and even went so far as to mention a doubt, whether the matrons had

committed the conduct which he censured in them spontaneously or at our instigation. I shall defend the measure, not ourselves: for the consul threw out those insinuations against us, rather for argument's sake than as a serious charge. He has made use of the terms cabal and sedition; and, sometimes, secession of the women: because the matrons had requested of you, in the public streets, that, in this time of peace, when the commonwealth is flourishing and happy, you would repeal a law that was made against them during a war, and in times of distress. I know that these and other similar strong expressions, for the purpose of exaggeration, are easily found; and, mild as Marcus Cato is in his disposition, yet in his speeches he is not only vehement, but sometimes even austere. What new thing, let me ask, have the matrons done in coming out into public in a body on an occasion which nearly concerns themselves? Have they never before appeared in public? I will turn over your own Antiquities,[] and quote them against you. Hear, now how often they have done the same, and always to the advantage of the public. In the earliest period of our history, even in the reign of Romulus, when the Capitol had been taken by the Sabines, and a pitched battle was fought in the forum, was not the fight stopped by the interposition of the matrons between the two armies? When, after the expulsion of the kings, the legions of the Volscians, under the command of Marcius Coriolanus, were encamped at the fifth stone, did not the matrons turn away that army, which would have overwhelmed this city? Again, when Rome was taken by the Gauls, whence was the city ransomed? Did not the matrons, by unanimous agreement, bring their gold into the public treasury? In the late war, not to go back to remote antiquity, when there was a want of money, did not the funds of the widows supply the treasury? And when even new gods were invited hither to the relief of our distressed affairs, did not the matrons go out in a body to the sea-shore to receive the Idaean Mother? The cases, you will say, are dissimilar. It is not my purpose to produce similar instances; it is sufficient that I clear these women of having done any thing new. Now, what nobody wondered at their doing in cases which concerned all in common, both men and women, can we wonder at their doing in a case peculiarly affecting themselves? But what have they done? We have proud ears, truly, if, though masters disdain not the prayers

of slaves, we are offended at being asked a favour by honourable women.

6. "I come now to the question in debate, with respect to which the consul's argument is twofold: for, first, he is displeased at the thought of any law whatever being repealed; and then, particularly, of that law which was made to restrain female luxury. His former argument, in support of the laws in general, appeared highly becoming of a consul; and that on the latter, against luxury, was quite conformable to the rigid strictness of his morals. There is, therefore, a danger lest, unless I shall show what, on each subject, was inconclusive, you may probably be led away by error. For while I acknowledge, that of those laws which are instituted, not for any particular time, but for eternity, on account of their perpetual utility, not one ought to be repealed; unless either experience evince it to be useless, or some state of the public affairs render it so; I see, at the same time, that those laws which particular seasons have required, are mortal, (if I may use the term,) and changeable with the times. Those made in peace are generally repealed by war; those made in war, by peace; as in the management of a ship, some implements are useful in good weather, others in bad. As these two kinds are thus distinct in their nature, of which kind does that law appear to be which we now propose to repeal? Is it an ancient law of the kings, coeval with the city itself? Or, what is next to that, was it written in the twelve tables by the decemvirs, appointed to form a code of laws? Is it one, without which our ancestors thought that the honour of the female sex could not be preserved? and, therefore, have we also reason to fear, that, together with it, we should repeal the modesty and chastity of our females? Now, is there a man among you who does not know that this is a new law, passed not more than twenty years ago, in the consulate of Quintus Fabius and Tiberius Sempronius? And as, without it, our matrons sustained, for such a number of years, the most virtuous characters, what danger is there of their abandoning themselves to luxury on its being repealed? For, if that law had been passed for the purpose of setting a limit to the passions of the sex, there would be reason to fear lest the repeal of it might operate as an incitement to them. But the real reason of its being passed, the time itself will show Hannibal was then in Italy,

victorious at Cannae: he already held possession of Tarentum, of Arpi, of Capua, and seemed ready to bring up his army to the city of Rome. Our allies had deserted us. We had neither soldiers to fill up the legions, nor seamen to man the fleet, nor money in the treasury. Slaves, who were to be employed as soldiers, were purchased on condition of their price being paid to the owners at the end of the war. The farmers of the revenues had declared, that they would contract to supply corn and other matters, which the exigencies of the war required, to be paid for at the same time. We gave up our slaves to the oar, in numbers proportioned to our properties, and paid them out of our own incomes. All our gold and silver, in imitation of the example given by the senators, we dedicated to the use of the public. Widows and minors lodged their money in the treasury. It was provided by law that we should not keep in our houses more than a certain quantity of wrought gold or silver, or more than a certain sum of coined silver or brass. At such a time as this, were the matrons so eagerly engaged in luxury and dress, that the Oppian law was requisite to repress such practices; when the senate, because the sacrifice of Ceres had been omitted, in consequence of all the matrons being in mourning, ordered the mourning to end in thirty days? Who does not clearly see, that the poverty and distress of the state, requiring that every private person's money should be converted to the use of the public, enacted that law, with intent that it should remain in force so long only as the cause of enacting the law should remain? For if all the decrees of the senate and orders of the people, which were then made to answer the necessities of the times, are to be of perpetual obligation, why do we refund their money to private persons? Why do we contract for public works for ready money? Why are not slaves brought to serve in the army? Why do not we, private subjects, supply rowers as we did then?

7. "Shall, then, every other class of people, every individual, feel the improvement in the condition of the state; and shall our wives alone reap none of the fruits of the public peace and tranquillity? Shall we men have the use of purple, wearing the purple-bordered gown in magistracies and priests' offices? Shall our children wear gowns bordered with purple? Shall we allow the privilege of wearing the toga praetexta to the magistrates of the colonies and borough

towns, and to the very lowest of them here at Rome, the superintendents of the streets; and not only of wearing such an ornament of distinction while alive, but of being buried with it when dead; and shall we interdict the use of purple to women alone? And when you, the husband, may wear purple in your great coat, will you not suffer your wife to have a purple mantle? Shall your horse be more splendidly caparisoned than your wife is clothed? But with respect to purple, which will be worn out and consumed, I can see an unjust, indeed, but still a sort of reason, for parsimony; but with respect to gold, in which, excepting the price of the workmanship, there is no waste, what objection can there be? It rather serves as a reserve fund for both public and private exigencies, as you have already experienced. He says there will be no emulation between individuals, when no one is possessed of it. But, in truth, it will be a source of grief and indignation to all, when they see those ornaments allowed to the wives of the Latin confederates of which they themselves have been deprived; when they see those riding through the city in their carriages, and decorated with gold and purple, while they are obliged to follow on foot, as if the seat of empire were in the country of the others, not in their own. This would hurt the feelings even of men, and what do you think must be its effect on those of weak women, whom even trifles can disturb? Neither offices of state, nor of the priesthood, nor triumphs, nor badges of distinction, nor military presents, nor spoils, can fall to their share. Elegance of appearance, and ornaments, and dress, these are the women's badges of distinction; in these they delight and glory; these our ancestors called the women's world. What else do they lay aside when in mourning, except their gold and purple? And what else do they resume when the mourning is over? How do they distinguish themselves on occasion of public thanksgivings and supplications, but by adding unusual splendour of dress? But then, (it may be said,) if you repeal the Oppian law, should you choose to prohibit any of those particulars which the law at present prohibits, you will not have it in your power; your daughters, wives, and even the sisters of some, will be less under control. The bondage of women is never shaken off without the loss of their friends; and they themselves look with horror on that freedom which is purchased with the condition of the

widow or the orphan. Their wish is, that their dress should be under your regulation, not under that of the law; and it ought to be your wish to hold them in control and guardianship, not in bondage; and to prefer the title of father or husband to that of master. The consul just now made use of some invidious terms, calling it a female sedition and secession; because, I suppose, there is danger of their seizing the sacred mount, as formerly the angry plebeians did; or the Aventine. Their feeble nature must submit to whatever you think proper to enjoin; and, the greater power you possess, the more moderate ought you to be in the exercise of your authority.”

8. Although all these considerations had been urged against the motion and in its favour, the women next day poured out into public in much greater numbers, and in a body beset the doors of the tribunes who had protested against the measure of their colleagues; nor did they retire until this intervention was withdrawn. There was then no further doubt but that every one of the tribes would vote for the repeal of the law. Thus was this law annulled, in the twentieth year after it had been made. The consul Marcus Porcius, as soon as the Oppian law was abolished, sailed immediately, with twenty-five ships of war, of which five belonged to the allies, to the port of Luna, where he ordered the troops to assemble; and having sent an edict along the sea-coast, to collect ships of every description, at his departure from Luna he left orders that they should follow him to the harbour of Pyrenaeus, as he intended to proceed thence against the enemy with his collective fleet. They accordingly, after sailing by the Ligurian mountains and the Gallic bay, congregated together on the day appointed. From thence they went to Rhoda, and forcibly dislodged a garrison of Spaniards that were in that fortress. From Rhoda they proceeded with a favourable wind to Emporiae, and there landed all the forces, excepting the crews of the ships.

9. At that time, as at present, Emporiae consisted of two towns, separated by a wall. One was inhabited by Greeks from Phocaea, whence the Massilians also derive their origin; the other by Spaniards. The Greek town, being open towards the sea, had but a small extent of wall, not above four hundred paces in circuit; but the Spanish town, being farther back from the sea, had a wall three thousand paces in circumference. A third kind of inhabitants was

added by the deified Caesar settling a Roman colony there, after the final defeat of the sons of Pompey. At present they are all incorporated in one mass; the Spaniards first, and, at length, the Greeks; having been adopted into the Roman citizenship. Whoever had, at that period, observed the Greeks exposed on one side to the open sea, and on the other to the Spaniards, a fierce and warlike race, would have wondered by what cause they were preserved. Deficient in strength, they guarded against danger by regular discipline; of which, among even more powerful people, the best preservative is fear. That part of the wall which faced the country, they kept strongly fortified, having but one gate, at which some one of the magistrates was continually on guard. During the night, a third part of the citizens kept watch on the walls, posting their watches, and going their rounds, not merely from the force of custom, or in compliance with the law, but with as much vigilance as if an enemy were at their gates. They never admitted any Spaniard into the city, nor did they go outside the walls without precaution. The passage to the sea was open to every one: but, through the gate, next to the Spanish town, none ever passed, but in a large body; these were generally the third division, which had watched on the walls the preceding night. The cause of their going out was this: the Spaniards, ignorant of maritime affairs, were fond of trafficking with them, and glad of an opportunity of purchasing, for their own use, the foreign goods, which the others imported in their ships; and, at the same time, of finding a market for the produce of their lands. The desire of this mutual intercourse caused the Spanish town to be freely open to the Greeks. They were thus the more protected as being sheltered under the friendship of the Romans, which they cultivated with as much cordial zeal, though not possessed of equal resources, as the Massilians. On this account they received the consul, and his army, with kindness and cordiality. Cato staid there a few days, until he could learn what force the enemy had, and where they lay; and, not to be idle during even that short delay, he spent the whole time in exercising his men. It happened to be the season of the year when the Spaniards had the corn in their barns. He therefore ordered the purveyors not to purchase any corn, and sent them home to Rome, saying, that the war would maintain itself. Then, setting out from

Emporiae, he laid waste the lands of the enemy with fire and sword, spreading terror and flight through the whole country.

10. At the same time, as Marcus Helvius was going home from Farther Spain, with an escort of six thousand men, given him by the praetor, Appius Claudius, the Celtiberians, with a very numerous force, met him near the city of Illiturgi. Valerius says, that they had twenty thousand effective men; that twelve thousand of them were killed, the town of Illiturgi taken, and all the adult males put to the sword. Helvius, soon after, arrived at the camp of Cato; and as the region was now free from enemies, he sent back the escort to Farther Spain, and proceeded to Rome, where, on account of his successful services, he entered the city with an ovation. He carried into the treasury, of silver bullion, fourteen thousand pounds' weight; of coined, seventeen thousand and twenty-three denarii;[] and Oscan[] denarii, one hundred and twenty thousand four hundred and thirty-eight.[] The reason for which the senate refused him a triumph was, because he fought under the auspices, and in the province, of another. He had returned, moreover, two years after the expiration of his office, because after he had resigned the government of the province to Quintus Minucius, he was detained there during the succeeding year, by a severe and tedious sickness he therefore entered the city in ovation, only two months before his successor, Quintus Minucius, enjoyed a triumph. The latter also brought into the treasury thirty-four thousand eight hundred pounds' weight of silver, seventy-eight thousand denarii,[] and of Oscan denarii two hundred and seventy-eight thousand.[]

11. Meanwhile, in Spain, the consul lay encamped at a small distance from Emporiae. Thither came three ambassadors from Bilistages, chieftain of the Ilergetians, one of whom was his son, representing, that "their fortresses were besieged and that they had no hopes of being able to hold out, unless the Roman troops came to their assistance. Three thousand men," they said, "would be sufficient;" and they added, that, "if such a force came to their aid, the enemy would not keep their ground." To this the consul answered, that "he was truly concerned for their danger and their fears; but that he had by no means so great an amount of forces, as that, while there lay in his neighbourhood such a powerful force of

the enemy, with whom he daily expected a general engagement, he could safely diminish his strength by dividing his troops." The ambassadors, on hearing this, threw themselves at the consul's feet, and with tears conjured him "not to forsake them at such a perilous juncture. For, if rejected by the Romans, to whom could they apply? They had no other allies, no other hope on earth. They might have escaped the present hazard, if they had consented to forfeit their faith, and to conspire with the rest; but no menaces, no appearances of danger, had been able to shake their constancy, because they hoped to find in the Romans abundant succour and support. If there was no further prospect of this, if it was refused them by the consul, they called gods and men to witness, that reluctantly and under compulsion they must change sides, to avoid such sufferings as the Saguntines had undergone; and that they would perish together with the other states of Spain, rather than alone."

12. They were thus dismissed on that day without any positive answer. During the following night, the consul's thoughts were greatly perplexed and divided. He was unwilling to abandon these allies, yet equally so to diminish his army, which might either oblige him to decline a battle, or occasion danger in an engagement. He was firmly resolved, however, not to lessen his forces, lest he should in the mean time suffer some disgrace from the enemy; and therefore he judged it expedient, instead of real succour, to hold out hopes to the allies. For he considered that, in many cases, but especially in war, mere appearances have had all the effect of realities; and that a person, under a firm persuasion that he can command resources, virtually has them; that by that very confidence he was insured in his hopes and efforts. Next day he told the ambassadors, that "although he was afraid to lend a part of his forces to others, and so to weaken his own, yet that he was giving more attention to their circumstances and danger than to his own." He then gave orders to the third part of the soldiers of every cohort, to make haste and prepare victuals, which they were to carry with them on board ships, and that the vessels should be got in readiness against the third day. He desired two of the ambassadors to carry an account of these proceedings to Bilistages and the Ilergetians; but, by kind treatment and presents, he prevailed on the chieftain's son to remain with him. The

ambassadors did not leave the place until they saw the troops embarked on board the ships; then reporting this at home as a matter of certainty, they spread, not only among their own people, but likewise among the enemy, a confident assurance of the approach of Roman succours.

13. The consul, when a specious appearance had been sufficiently exhibited, ordered the soldiers to be recalled from the ships; and, as the season of the year now approached when it would be proper to enter on action, he pitched a winter camp at the distance of three miles from Emporiae. From this post he frequently led out his troops to ravage the enemy's country; sometimes to one quarter, sometimes to another, as opportunity offered, leaving only a small guard in the camp. They generally began their march in the night, that they might proceed as far as possible from the camp, and surprise the enemy unawares; and this practice disciplined the new-raised soldiers, and great numbers of the enemy were cut off; so that they no longer dared to venture beyond the walls of their forts. When he had made himself thoroughly acquainted with the temper of the enemy, and of his own men, he ordered the tribunes and the praefects, with all the horsemen and centurions, to be called together, and addressed them thus: "The time is arrived, which you have often wished for, when you might have an opportunity of displaying your valour. Hitherto you have waged war rather as marauders than as regular troops; you shall now meet your enemies hand to hand, in regular fight. Henceforward you will have it in your power, instead of pillaging country places, to exhaust the treasures of cities. Our fathers, at a time when the Carthaginians had in Spain both commanders and armies, and had themselves neither commander nor soldiers there, nevertheless insisted on its being an article of treaty, that the river Iberus should be the boundary of their empire. Now, when two praetors of the Romans, when a consul, and three armies are employed in Spain, and, for near ten years past, no Carthaginian has been in either of its provinces, yet we have lost that empire on the hither side of the Iberus. This it is your duty to recover by your valour and arms; and to compel this nation, which is in a state rather of giddy insurrection than of steady warfare, to receive again the yoke which it has shaken off." After thus generally exhorting them, he gave notice, that he

intended to march by night to the enemy's camp; and then dismissed them to take refreshment.

14. At midnight, after having given his attention to the auspices, he began his march, that he might take possession of such ground as he chose, before the enemy should observe him. Having led his troops beyond their camp, he formed them in order of battle, and at the first light sent three cohorts close to their very ramparts. The barbarians, surprised at the Romans appearing on their rear, ran hastily to arms. In the mean time, the consul observed to his men, "Soldiers, you have no room for hope, but in your own courage; and I have, purposely, taken care that it should be so. The enemy are between us and our camp; behind us is an enemy's country. What is most honourable, is likewise safest; namely, to place all our hopes in our own valour." He then ordered the cohorts to retreat, in order to draw out the barbarians by the appearance of flight. Every thing happened as he had expected. The enemy, thinking that the Romans retired through fear, rushed out of the gate, and filled the whole space between their own camp and the line of their adversaries. While they were hastily marshalling their troops, the consul, who had all his in readiness, and in regular array, attacked them when in disorder. He caused the cavalry from both wings to advance first to the charge: but those on the right were immediately repulsed, and, retiring in disorder, spread confusion among the infantry also. On seeing this, the consul ordered two chosen cohorts to march round the right flank of the enemy, and show themselves on their rear, before the two lines of infantry could close. The alarm which this gave the enemy, which had been thrown to a disadvantage by the cowardice of the Roman horse, restored the fight to an equality. But such a panic had taken possession of both the cavalry and infantry of the right wing, that the consul laid hold of several with his own hand, and turned them about with their faces to the enemy. As long as the fight was carried on with missile weapons, success was doubtful; and on the right wing, where the disorder and flight had first began, the Romans with difficulty kept their ground. On their left wing, the barbarians were both hard pressed in front; and looked back, with timidity, at the cohorts that threatened their rear. But when, after discharging their iron darts and large javelins, they drew their swords, the battle, in a

manner, began anew. They were no longer wounded by random blows from a distance, but, closing foot to foot, placed all their hope in courage and strength.

15. When the consul's men were now spent with fatigue, he reanimated their courage by bringing up into the fight some subsidiary cohorts from the second line. These formed a new front, and being fresh themselves, and with fresh weapons attacking the wearied enemy in the form of a wedge, by a furious onset they first forced their way through them; and then, when they were once broken, scattered them and put them to flight. They returned towards their camp across the fields with all the speed they could make. When Cato saw the rout become general, he rode back to the second legion, which had been posted in reserve, and ordered the standards to be borne before it, and that it should advance in quick motion, and attack the camp of the enemy. If any of them, through too much eagerness, pushed forward beyond his rank, he himself rode up and struck them with his javelin, and also ordered the tribunes and centurions to chastise them. By this time the camp of the enemy was attacked, though the Romans were kept off from the works by stones, poles, and weapons of every sort. But, on the arrival of the fresh legion, the assailants assumed new courage, and the enemy fought with redoubled fury in defence of their rampart. The consul attentively examined every place himself, that he might break in at that quarter where he saw the weakest resistance. At a gate on the left, he observed that the guard was thin, and thither he led the first-rank men and spearmen of the second legion. The party posted at the gate were not able to withstand their assault; while the rest, seeing the enemy within the rampart, abandoned the defence of the camp, and threw away their standards and arms. Great numbers were killed at the gates, being stopped in the narrow passages by the throng of their own men; and the soldiers of the second legion cut off the hindmost, while the rest were plundering the camp. According to the account of Valerius Antias, there were above forty thousand of the enemy killed on that day. Cato himself, who was certainly no disparager of his own merits, says that a great many were killed, but he specifies no number.

16. The conduct of Cato on that day is judged deserving of

commendation in three particulars. First, in leading round his army so far from his camp and fleet, as to fight the battle in the very middle of the enemy, that his men might look for no safety but in their courage. Secondly, in throwing the cohorts on the enemy's rear. Thirdly, in ordering the second legion, when all the rest were disordered by the eagerness of their pursuit, to advance at a full pace to the gate of the camp, in compact and regular order under their standards. He delayed not to improve his victory; but having sounded a retreat, and brought back his men laden with spoil, he allowed them a few hours of the night for rest; and then led them out to ravage the country. They spread their depredations the wider, as the enemy were dispersed in their flight; and this circumstance, no less than the defeat of the preceding day, obliged the Spaniards of Emporiae, and those of their neighbourhood, to make a submission. Many also, belonging to other states, who had made their escape to Emporiae, surrendered; all of whom the consul received with kindness, and after refreshing them with victuals and wine, dismissed to their several homes. He quickly decamped thence, and wherever the army proceeded on its march, he was met by ambassadors, surrendering their respective states; so that, by the time when he arrived at Tarraco, all Spain on this side of the Ebro was in a state of perfect subjection; and the Roman prisoners, and those of their allies and the Latin confederates, who by various chances had fallen into the hands of the enemies in Spain, were brought back by the barbarians, as an offering to the consul. A rumour afterwards spread abroad, that Cato intended to lead his army into Turditanian; and it was given out, with equal falsehood, that he meant to proceed to the remote inhabitants of the mountains. On this groundless, unauthenticated report, seven forts of the Bergistans revolted; but the Roman, marching thither, reduced them to subjection without any battle worthy of narration. Not very long after, when the consul returned to Tarraco, and before he removed to any other place, the same persons revolted again. They were again subdued; but, on this second reduction, met not the same mild treatment; they were all sold by auction, that they might not any oftener disturb the peace.

17. In the mean time, the praetor, Publius Manlius, having received the army from Quintius Minucius, whom he had succeeded, and

joined to it the old army of Appius Claudius Nero, from Farther Spain, marched into Turditanian. Of all the Spaniards, the Turditanians are reckoned the least warlike; nevertheless, relying on their great numbers, they went to oppose the march of the Romans. The cavalry, having been sent forward, at once broke their line; and with the infantry there was hardly any conflict. The veteran soldiers, well acquainted with the enemy and their manner of fighting, effectually decided the battle. This engagement, however, did not terminate the war. The Turdulans hired ten thousand Celtiberians, and prepared to carry on the war with foreign troops. The consul, meanwhile, alarmed at the rebellion of the Bergistans, and suspecting that the other states would act in like manner when occasion offered, took away their arms from all the Spaniards on this side of the Iberus; which proceeding affected them so deeply, that many laid violent hands on themselves; this fierce race considering that, without arms, life was of no value. When this was reported to the consul, he summoned before him the senators of every one of the states, to whom he spoke thus: "It is not more our interest than it is your own, that you should not rebel; since your insurrections have, hitherto, always drawn more misfortune on the Spaniards than labour on the Roman armies. To prevent such things happening in future, I know but one method, which is, to put it out of your power to rebel. I wish to effect this in the gentlest way, and that you would assist me therein with your advice. I will follow none with greater pleasure than what yourselves shall offer." They all remaining silent, he told them that he would give them a few days' time to consider the matter. When, on being called together, even in the second meeting, they uttered not a word, in one day he razed the walls of all their fortresses; and marching against those who had not yet submitted, he received in every country, as he passed through, the submission of all the neighbouring states. Segestica alone, an important and opulent city, he reduced by works and engines.

18. Cato had greater difficulties to surmount, in subduing the enemy, than had those commanders who came first into Spain; for this reason, that the Spaniards, through disgust at the Carthaginian government, came over to their side; whereas he had the task of enforcing their submission to slavery, in a manner, after they had

been in full enjoyment of liberty. Besides, he found the whole province in a state of commotion; insomuch, that some were in arms, and others were compelled to join in the revolt by being besieged, nor would they have been able to hold out any longer if they had not received timely succour. But so vigorous was the spirit and capacity of the consul, that there was no kind of business, whether great or small, which he did not himself attend to and perform; and he not only planned and ordered, but generally executed in person such measures as were expedient; nor did he practise a more strict and rigorous discipline over any one than over himself. In spare diet, watching, and labour, he vied with the meanest of his soldiers; nor, excepting the honour of his post, and the command, had he any peculiar distinction above the rest of the army.

19. The Celtiberians, summoned forth by the enemy for hire, as above mentioned, rendered the war in Turditanian more difficult to the praetor, Publius Manlius. The consul, therefore, in compliance with a letter from the praetor, led his legions thither. The Celtiberians and Turditanians were lying in separate camps at the approach of the Romans, who began immediately to skirmish with the Turditanians, making attacks on their advanced guards; and they constantly came off victorious from every engagement, however rashly undertaken. The consul ordered some military tribunes to enter into a conference with the Celtiberians, and to offer them their choice of three proposals: first, to come over, if they wished it, to the Romans, and receive double the pay for which they had agreed with the Turditanians: the second, to depart to their own homes, on receiving assurance, under the sanction of the public faith, that it should not operate to their injury that they had joined the enemies of the Romans: the third was, that, if they were absolutely determined on war, they should appoint a day and place to decide the matter with him by arms. The Celtiberians desired a day's time for consideration; and an assembly was held, but in great confusion, from the Turditanians mingling in it, so that no resolution could be come to. Although it was uncertain whether there was to be war or peace with the Celtiberians, the Romans, nevertheless, just as though the latter were determined on, brought provisions from the lands and forts of the enemy, and soon ventured to go within their fortifications, relying

on private truces, as they would on a common intercourse established by authority. When the consul found that he could not entice the enemy to a battle, he first led out a number of cohorts, lightly accoutred, in regular order, to ravage a part of the country which was yet unhurt; then hearing that all the baggage of the Celtiberians was deposited at Saguntia, he proceeded thither to attack that town, but was unable, notwithstanding, to provoke them to stir. Paying, therefore, his own troops and those of Minucius, he left the bulk of his army in the praetor's camp, and, with seven cohorts, returned to the Iberus.

20. With that small force he took several towns. The Sidetonians, Ausetanians, and Suessetanians came over to his side. The Lacetanians, a remote and wild nation, still remained in arms; partly through their natural ferocity, and partly through consciousness of guilt, in having laid waste, by sudden incursions, the country of the allies, while the consul and his army were employed in the war with the Turditanians. He therefore marched to attack their capital, not only with the Roman cohorts, but also with the troops of the allies, who were justly incensed against them. The town was stretched out into considerable length, but had not proportionable breadth. At the distance of about four hundred paces from it he halted, and leaving there a party composed of chosen cohorts, he charged them not to stir from that spot until he himself should come to them; and then he led round the rest of the men to the farther side of the town. The greater part of his auxiliary troops were Suessetanians, and these he ordered to advance and assault the wall. The Lacetanians, knowing their arms and standards, and remembering how often they had themselves, with impunity, committed every kind of outrage and insult in their territory, how often defeated and routed them in pitched battles, hastily threw open a gate, and all, in one body, rushed out against them. The Suessetanians scarcely stood their shout, much less their onset; and the consul, on seeing this happen, just as he had foreseen, galloped back under the enemy's wall to his cohorts, brought them up quickly to that part of the city where all was silence and solitude, in consequence of the Lacetanians having sallied out on the Suessetanians, and took possession of every part of it before the Lacetanians returned; who, having nothing now left but their arms,

soon surrendered themselves also.

21. The conqueror marched thence, without delay, to the fort of Vergium. This was, almost entirely, a receptacle of robbers and plunderers, and thence incursions were made on the peaceable parts of the province. One of the principal inhabitants deserted out of the place to the consul, and endeavoured to excuse himself and his countrymen; alleging, that “the management of affairs was not in their hands; for the robbers, having gained admittance, had reduced the fort entirely under their own power.” The consul ordered him to return home, and pretend some plausible reason for having been absent; and then, “when he should see him advancing to the walls, and the robbers intent on defending the city, to seize the citadel with such men as favoured his party.” This was executed according to his directions. The double alarm, from the Romans scaling the walls in front, and the citadel being seized on their rear, at once entirely confounded the barbarians. The consul, having taken possession of the place, ordered, that those who had secured the citadel should, with their relations, be set at liberty, and enjoy their property, the rest of the natives he commanded the quaestor to sell; and he put the robbers to death. Having restored quiet in the province, he settled the iron and silver mines on such a footing, that they produced a large revenue; and, in consequence of the regulations then made, the province daily increased in riches. On account of these services performed in Spain, the senate decreed a supplication for three days.

22. During this summer, the other consul, Lucius Valerius Flaccus, fought a pitched battle with a body of the Boians in Gaul, near the forest of Litanae, and gained a complete victory. Eight thousand of the Gauls are said to have been slain; the rest, desisting from further opposition, retired quietly to their several villages and lands. During the remainder of the summer, the consul kept his army near the Po, at Placentia and Cremona, and repaired the buildings in these cities which had been demolished in the war. While the affairs of Italy and Spain were in this posture, Titus Quinctius had spent the winter in Greece, in such a manner, that excepting the Aetolians, who neither had gained rewards of victory adequate to their hopes, nor were capable of being long contented with a state of quiet, all Greece, being in full enjoyment of the blessings of peace and liberty, were

highly pleased with their present state; and they admired not more the Roman general's bravery in arms, than his temperance, justice, and moderation in victory. And now a decree of the senate was brought to him, containing a denunciation of war against Nabis the Lacedaemonian. On reading it, Quinctius summoned a convention of deputies from all the allied states, to be held, on a certain day, at Corinth. Whither when many persons of the first rank came together, from all quarters, forming a very full assembly, from which even the Aetolians were not absent, he addressed them in this manner:—"The Romans and Greeks, in the war which they waged against Philip, were united in affections and councils, and they had each no less their separate reasons for entering into it. For he had violated friendship with the Romans; first by aiding our enemies, the Carthaginians; and then by attacking our allies here: and, towards you, his conduct was such, that even if we had been willing to forget our own injuries, those offered by him to you would have constituted a sufficient occasion of war. But the business to be considered this day has relation wholly to yourselves: for the subject which I propose to your consideration is, whether you choose to suffer Argos, which, as you know, has been seized by Nabis, to remain under his dominion; or whether you judge it reasonable, that a city of such high reputation and antiquity, seated in the centre of Greece, should be restored to liberty, and placed in the same state with the rest of the cities of Peloponnesus and of Greece. This question, as you see, merely respects yourselves; it concerns not the Romans in any decree, excepting so far as the one city being left in subjection to tyranny hinders their glory, in having liberated Greece, from being full and complete. If, however, you are not moved by regard for that city, nor by the example, nor by the danger of the contagion of that evil spreading wider, we, for our parts, shall rest content. On this subject I desire your opinions, resolved to abide by whatever the majority of you shall determine."

23. After the address of the Roman general, the several deputies proceeded to give their opinions. The ambassador of the Athenians extolled, to the utmost of his power, and expressed the greatest gratitude for the kindness of the Romans towards Greece, "in having, when applied to for assistance, brought them succours against Philip;

and now, without being applied to, voluntarily offering assistance against the tyrant Nabis.” He at the same time severely censured the conduct of some, who, in their discourses, “depreciated those kindnesses, and propagated evil surmises of the future, when it would better become them rather to return thanks for the past.” It was evident that this was pointed at the Aetolians: wherefore Alexander, deputy of that nation, having first inveighed against the Athenians, who, having formerly been the most strenuous supporters of liberty, now betrayed the general cause, for the sake of recommending themselves by flattery. He then complained that “the Achaeans, formerly soldiers of Philip, and lately, on the decline of his fortune, deserters from him, had regained possession of Corinth, and were so acting as that they might acquire Argos; while the Aetolians, who had first opposed their arms to Philip, who had always been allies of the Romans, and who had stipulated by treaty, that, on the Macedonian being conquered, the lands and cities should be theirs, were defrauded of Echinus and Pharsalus.” He charged the Romans with insincerity, because, “while they put forth empty professions of establishing liberty, they held possession of Demetrias and Chalcis by their garrisons; though, when Philip hesitated to withdraw his garrisons from those places, they always urged against him that the Grecians would never be free while Demetrias, Chalcis, and Corinth were in the hands of the others. And, lastly, that they named Argos and Nabis merely as a pretext for remaining in Greece, and keeping their armies there. Let them carry away their legions to Italy; and the Aetolians were ready to undertake, either that Nabis should voluntarily withdraw his forces from Argos, on terms; or they would compel him by force of arms to comply with the unanimous judgment of Greece.”

24. This arrogant speech called up, first, Aristaenus, praetor of the Achaeans, who said:— “Forbid it, Jupiter, supremely good and great, and imperial Juno, the tutelar deity of Argos, that that city should be staked as a prize between the Lacedaemonian tyrant and the Aetolian plunderers, under such unhappy circumstances, that its being retaken by you should be productive of more calamitous consequences than its capture by him. Titus Quinctius, the sea lying between us, does not secure us from those robbers; what then will become of us,

should they procure themselves a stronghold in the centre of Peloponnesus? They have nothing Grecian but the language, as they have nothing human but the shape. They live under customs and rites more brutally savage than any barbarians, nay, than wild beasts themselves. Wherefore, Romans, we beseech you, not only to recover Argos from Nabis, but also to establish the affairs of Greece on such a footing, as to leave these countries adequately secured from the robberies of the Aetolians.” The rest concurring in these censures on the Aetolians, the Roman general said, that “he had himself intended to have answered them, but that he perceived all so highly incensed against those people, that the general resentment required rather to be appeased than irritated. Satisfied, therefore, with the sentiments entertained of the Romans, and of the Aetolians, he would simply put this question: What was the general opinion concerning war with Nabis, in case of his refusing to restore Argos to the Achaeans?” When all had pronounced for war, he recommended to them, to send in their shares of auxiliary troops, each state in proportion to its ability. He even sent an ambassador to the Aetolians; rather to make them disclose their sentiments, which was the actual result, than with any hope of obtaining their concurrence. He gave orders to the military tribunes, to bring up the army from Elatia. To the ambassadors of Antiochus, who, at this time, proposed to treat of an alliance, he answered, that “he could say nothing on the subject in the absence of the ten ambassadors. They must go to Rome, and apply to the senate.”

25. As soon as the troops arrived from Elatia, Quinctius set out to lead them towards Argos. When near Cleonae he was met by the praetor, Aristaenus, with ten thousand Achaean foot and one thousand horse; and having joined forces, they pitched their camp at a small distance from thence. Next day they marched down into the plains of Argos, and fixed their post about four miles from that city. The commander of the Lacedaemonian garrison was Pythagoras, the tyrant’s son-in-law, and his wife’s brother; who, on the approach of the Romans, posted strong guards in both the citadels, for Argos has two, and in every other place that was commodious for defence, or exposed to danger. But, while thus employed, he could by no means dissemble the dread inspired by the approach of the Romans; and, to

the alarm from abroad, was added an insurrection within. There was an Argive, named Damocles, a youth of more spirit than prudence, who held conversations, with proper persons, on a design of expelling the garrison; at first, with the precaution of imposing an oath, but afterwards, through his eager desire to add strength to the conspiracy, he estimated people's sincerity with too little caution. While he was in conference with his accomplices, an officer, sent by the commander of the garrison, summoned him to appear before him, and he perceived that his design was betrayed; on which, exhorting the conspirators, who were present, to take arms with him, rather than be tortured to death, he went on with a few companions towards the forum, crying out to all who wished the preservation of the state, to follow him as the vindicator and author of their liberty. He could prevail on none to join him; for they saw no prospect of any attainable advantage, and much less any sufficiently powerful support. While he exclaimed in this manner, the Lacedaemonians surrounded him and his party, and put them to death. Many others were afterwards seized, the greater part of whom were executed, and the remaining few thrown into prison. During the following night, great numbers, letting themselves down from the walls by ropes, came over to the Romans.

26. As these men affirmed, that if the Roman army had been at the gates, this commotion would not have ended without effect; and that, if the camp was brought nearer, the Argives would not remain inactive; Quinctius sent some horsemen and infantry, lightly accoutred, who, meeting at the Cylarabis, a place of exercise, less than three hundred paces from the city, a party of Lacedaemonians, who sallied out of a gate, engaged them, and, without much difficulty, drove them back into the town; and the Roman general encamped on the very spot where the battle had been fought. There he passed one day, on the look-out if any new commotion might arise; but perceiving that the inhabitants were quite depressed by fear, he called a council concerning the besieging of Argos. All the deputies of Greece, except Aristaenus, were of one opinion, that, as that city was the sole object of the war, with it the war should commence. This was by no means agreeable to Quinctius; but he listened, with evident marks of approbation, to Aristaenus, arguing in

opposition to the joint opinion of all the rest; while he himself added, that “as the war was undertaken in favour of the Argives, against the tyrant, what could be less proper than to leave the enemy in quiet, and lay siege to Argos? For his part, he was resolved to point his arms against the main object of the war, Lacedaemon and the tyrant.” He then dismissed the meeting, and sent out light-armed cohorts to collect forage. Whatever was ripe in the adjacent country, they reaped, and brought together; and what was green they trod down and destroyed, that the enemy might not subsequently get it. He then proceeded over Mount Parthenius, and, passing by Tegaea, encamped on the third day at Caryae; where he waited for the auxiliary troops of the allies, before he entered the enemy’s territory. Fifteen hundred Macedonians came from Philip, and four hundred horsemen of the Thessalians; and now the Roman general had no occasion to wait for more auxiliaries, having abundance; but he was obliged to stop for supplies of provisions, which he had ordered the neighbouring cities to furnish. He was joined also by a powerful naval force; Lucius Quinctius had already come from Leucas, with forty ships; eighteen ships of war had arrived from the Rhodians; and king Eumenes was cruising among the Cyclades, with ten decked ships, thirty barks, and smaller vessels of various sorts. Of the Lacedaemonians themselves, also, a great many, who had been driven from home by the cruelty of the tyrants, came into the Roman camp, in hopes of being reinstated in their country; for the number was very great of those who had been banished by the several despots, during many generations since they first got Lacedaemon into their power. The principal person among the exiles was Agesipolis, to whom the sovereignty of Lacedaemon belonged in right of his birth; but who had been driven out when an infant by Lycurgus, after the death of Cleomenes, who was the first tyrant of Lacedaemon.

27. Although Nabis was enclosed between such powerful armaments on land and sea, and, on a comparative view of his own and his enemy’s strength, could scarcely conceive any degree of hope; yet he did not desist from the war, but brought, from Crete, a thousand chosen young men of that country in addition to a thousand whom he had before; he had, besides, under arms, three thousand

mercenary soldiers, and ten thousand of his countrymen, with the peasants, who belonged to the fortresses. He fortified the city with a ditch and rampart; and lest any intestine commotion should arise, curbed the people's spirits by fear, punishing them with extreme severity, as he could not hope for good wishes towards a tyrant. As he had his suspicions respecting some of the citizens, he drew out all his forces to a field called Dromos, (the course,) and ordered the Lacedaemonians to be called to an assembly without their arms. He then formed a line of armed men round the place where they were assembled, observing briefly, "that he ought to be excused, if, at such a juncture, he feared and guarded against every thing that might happen; and that, if the present state of affairs subjected any to suspicion, it was their advantage to be prevented from attempting any design, rather than to be punished for attempting it: he therefore intended," he said, "to keep certain persons in custody, until the storm, which then threatened, should have passed over; and would discharge them as soon as the enemy should have been driven away, from whom the danger would be less, when proper precaution was taken against internal treachery." He then ordered the names of about eighty of the principal young men to be called over, and as each answered to his name, he put them in custody. On the night following, they were all put to death. Some of the Helotes, a race of rustics, who have been feudal vassals even from the earliest times, being charged with an intention to desert, they were driven with stripes through all the streets, and put to death. The terror which this excited so confounded the multitude, as to deter them from all attempts to effect a revolution. He kept his forces within the fortifications, knowing that he was not a match for the enemy in the field; and, besides, he was afraid to leave the city, while all men's minds were in a state of such suspense and uncertainty.

28. Quinctius, when all his preparations were now sufficiently made, decamped; and, on the second day, came to Sellasia, on the river Oenus, on the spot where it is said Antigonus, king of Macedonia, fought a pitched battle with Cleomenes, tyrant of Lacedaemon. Being told that the ascent from thence was difficult, and the passes narrow, he made a short circuit by the mountains, sending forward a party to make a road, and came, by a tolerably

broad and open passage, to the river Eurotas, where it flows almost immediately under the walls of the city. Here, the tyrant's auxiliary troops attacked the Romans, while they were forming their camp, together with Quinctius himself, (who, with a division of cavalry and light troops, had advanced beyond the rest,) and threw them into a state of alarm and confusion; not expecting any thing of the kind, as no one had opposed them throughout their whole march, and they had passed, as it were, through a friendly territory. The disorder lasted a considerable time the infantry calling for aid on the cavalry, and the cavalry on the infantry, each having but little confidence in himself. At length, the foremost ranks of the legions came up; and no sooner had the cohorts of the vanguard taken part in the fight, than those who had lately been an object of dread were driven back in terror into the city. The Romans, retiring so far from the wall as to be out of the reach of weapons, stood there for some time in battle-array; and then, none of the enemy coming out against them, retired to their camp. Next day Quinctius led on his army in regular order along the bank of the river, passed the city, to the foot of the mountain of Menelaus, the legionary cohorts marching in front, and the cavalry and light infantry bringing up the rear. Nabis kept his mercenary troops, on whom he placed his whole reliance, in readiness, and drawn up in a body, within the walls, intending to attack the rear of the enemy; and, as soon as the last of their troops passed by, these rushed out of the town, from several places at once, with as great fury as the day before. The rear was commanded by Appius Claudius, who having beforehand prepared his men to expect such an event, that it might not come upon them unawares, instantly made his troops face about, and presented an entire front to the enemy. A regular engagement, therefore, took place, as if two complete lines had encountered, and it lasted a considerable time; but at length Nabis's troops betook themselves to flight, which would have been attended with less dismay and danger, if they had not been closely pressed by the Achaeans, who were well acquainted with the ground. These made dreadful havoc, and dispersing them entirely, obliged the greater part to throw away their arms. Quinctius encamped near Amyclae; and afterwards, when he had utterly laid waste all the pleasant and thickly inhabited country round the city,

not one of the enemy venturing out of the gates, he removed his camp to the river Eurotas. From thence he ravaged the valley lying under Taygetus, and the country reaching as far as the sea.

29. About the same time, Lucius Quinctius got possession of the towns on the sea-coast; of some, by their voluntary surrender; of others, by fear or force. Then, learning that the Lacedaemonians made Gythium the repository of all their naval stores, and that the Roman camp was at no great distance from the sea, he resolved to attack that town with his whole force. It was, at that time, a place of considerable strength; well furnished with great numbers of native inhabitants and settlers from other parts, and with every kind of warlike stores. Very seasonably for Quinctius, when commencing an enterprise of no easy nature, king Eumenes and the Rhodian fleet came to his assistance. The vast multitude of seamen, collected out of the three fleets, finished in a few days all the works requisite for the siege of a city so strongly fortified, both on the land side and on that next the sea. Covered galleries were soon brought up; the wall was undermined, and, at the same time, shaken with battering rams. By the frequent shocks given with these, one of the towers was thrown down, and, by its fall, the adjoining wall on each side was laid flat. The Romans, on this, attempted to force in, both on the side next the port, to which the approach was more level than to the rest, hoping to divert the enemy's attention from the more open passage, and, at the same time, to enter the breach caused by the falling of the wall. They were near effecting their design of penetrating into the town, when the assault was suspended by the prospect which was held out of the surrender of the city. This however, was subsequently dissipated. Dexagoridas and Gorgopas commanded there, with equal authority. Dexagoridas had sent to the Roman general a message that he would give up the city; and, after the time and the mode of proceeding had been agreed on, he was slain as a traitor by Gorgopas, and the defence of the city was maintained with redoubled vigour by this single commander. The further prosecution of the siege would have been much more difficult, had not Titus Quinctius arrived with a body of four thousand chosen men. He showed his army in order of battle, on the brow of a hill at a small distance from the city; and, on the other side, Lucius Quinctius plied the enemy

hard with his engines, both on the quarter of the sea, and of the land; on which Gorgopas was compelled to adopt that proceeding, which, in the case of another, he had punished with death. After stipulating for liberty to carry away the soldiers whom he had there as a garrison, he surrendered the city to Quinctius. Previous to the surrender of Gythium, Pythagoras, who had been left as commander at Argos, having intrusted the defence of the city to Timocrates of Pellene, with a thousand mercenary soldiers and two thousand Argives, came to Lacedaemon and joined Nabis.

30. Although Nabis had been greatly alarmed at the first arrival of the Roman fleet, and the surrender of the towns on the sea-coast, yet, as long as Gythium was held by his troops he had quieted his apprehensions with that scanty hope; but when he heard that Gythium, too, was given up to the Romans, and saw that he had no room for any kind of hope on the land, where every place round was in the hands of the enemy, and that he was totally excluded from the sea, he considered that he must yield to fortune. He first sent a messenger into the Roman camp, to learn whether permission would be given to send ambassadors. This being consented to, Pythagoras came to the general, with no other commission than to propose a conference between that commander and the tyrant. A council was summoned on the proposal, and every one present agreeing in opinion that a conference should be granted, a time and place were appointed. They came, with moderate escorts, to some hills in the interjacent ground; and leaving their cohorts there, in posts open to the view of both parties, they went down to the place of meeting; Nabis attended by a select party of his body-guards; Quinctius by his brother, king Eumenes, Sosilaus, the Rhodian, Aristaenus, praetor of the Achaeans, and a few military tribunes.

31. Then the tyrant, having the choice given him either to speak first or to listen, began thus: "Titus Quinctius, and you who are present, if I could collect from my own reflections the reason of your having either declared or actually made war against me, I should have waited in silence the issue of my destiny. But in the present state of things, I could not repress my desire of knowing, before I am ruined, the cause for which my ruin is resolved on. And in truth, if you were such men as the Carthaginians are represented to be, —

men who considered the obligation of faith, pledged in alliances, as in no degree sacred, I should not wonder if you were the less scrupulous with respect to your conduct towards me. But, instead of that, when I look at you, I perceive that you are Romans: men who allow treaties to be the most solemn of religious acts, and faith, pledged therein, the strongest of human ties. Then, when I look back at myself, I am confident I am one who, as a member of the community, am, in common with the rest of the Lacedaemonians, included in a treaty subsisting with you, of very ancient date; and likewise have, lately, during the war with Philip, concluded anew, in my own name, a personal friendship and alliance with you. But it appears I have violated and cancelled that treaty, by holding possession of the city of Argos. In what manner shall I defend this? By the consideration of the fact, or of the time. The consideration of the fact furnishes me with a twofold defence: for, in the first place, in consequence of an invitation from the inhabitants themselves, and of their voluntary act of surrender, I accepted the possession of that city, and did not seize it by force. In the next place, I accepted it, when the city was in league with Philip, not in alliance with you. Then the consideration of the time acquits me, inasmuch as when I was in actual possession of Argos, the alliance was entered into between you and me, and you stipulated that I should send you aid against Philip, not that I should withdraw my garrison from that city. In this dispute, therefore, so far as it relates to Argos, I have unquestionably the advantage, both from the equity of the proceeding, as I gained possession of a city which belonged not to you, but to your enemy; and as I gained it by its own voluntary act, and not by forcible compulsion; and also from your own acknowledgment; since, in the articles of our alliance, you left Argos to me. But then, the name of tyrant, and my conduct, are strong objections against me: that I call forth slaves to a state of freedom; that I carry out the indigent part of the populace, and give them settlements in lands. With respect to the title by which I am styled, I can answer thus: That, let me be what I may, I am the same now that I was at the time when you yourself, Titus Quinctius, concluded an alliance with me. I remember, that I was then styled king by you; now, I see, I am called tyrant. If, therefore, I had since altered the style of my office, I might have an

account to render of my fickleness: as you choose to alter it, that account should be rendered by you. As to what relates to the augmenting the number of the populace, by giving liberty to slaves, and the distribution of lands to the needy; on this head, too, I might defend myself by a reference to time: These measures, of what complexion soever they are, I had practised before you formed friendship with me, and received my aid in the war against Philip. But, if I did these same things, at this moment, I would not say to you, how did I thereby injure you, or violate the friendship subsisting between us? but that, in so doing, I acted agreeably to the practice and institutions of my ancestors. Do not estimate what is done at Lacedaemon by the standard of your own laws and constitution. There is no necessity for comparing particular institutions: you are guided in your choice of a horseman, by the quantity of his property; in your choice of a foot soldier, by the quantity of his property; and your plan is, that a few should abound in wealth, and that the body of the people should be in subjection to them. Our lawgiver did not choose that the administration of government should be in the hands of a few, such as you call a senate; or that this or that order of citizens should have a superiority over the rest: but he considered that, by equalizing the property and dignity of all, he should multiply the number of those who were to bear arms for their country. I acknowledge that I have enlarged on these matters, beyond what consists with the conciseness customary with my countrymen, and that the sum of the whole might be comprised in few words: that, since I first commenced a friendship with you, I have given you no just cause to repent it."

32. The Roman general answered: "We never contracted any friendship or alliance with you, but with Pelops, the right and lawful king of Lacedaemon: whose authority, while the Carthaginian, Gallic, and other wars, succeeding one another, kept us constantly employed, the tyrants, who after him held Lacedaemon under forced subjection, usurped into their own hands, as did you also during the late war with Macedonia. For what could be less fitting, than that we, who were waging war against Philip, in favour of the liberty of Greece, should contract friendship with a tyrant, and a tyrant the most cruel and violent towards his subjects that ever existed? But,

even supposing that you had not either seized or held Argos by iniquitous means, it would be incumbent on us, when we are giving liberty to all Greece, to reinstate Lacedaemon also in its ancient freedom, and the enjoyment of its own laws, which you just now spoke of, as if you were a rival of Lycurgus. Shall we take pains to make Philip's garrisons evacuate Tassus and Bargylii; and shall we leave Lacedaemon and Argos, those two most illustrious cities, formerly the lights of Greece, under your feet, that their continuance in bondage may tarnish our title of deliverers of Greece? But the Argives took part with Philip: we excuse you from taking any concern in that cause, so that you need not be angry with them on our behalf. We have received sufficient proof, that the guilt of that proceeding is chargeable on two only, or, at most, three persons, and not on the state; just, indeed, as in the case of the invitation given to you and to your army, and your reception into the citadel, not one step was taken by public authority. We know, that the Thessalians, Phocians, and Locrians, with unanimous consent, joined in espousing the cause of Philip; yet we have given liberty to them in common with the rest of Greece. How then can you suppose we shall conduct ourselves towards the Argives, who are acquitted of having publicly authorized misconduct? You said, that your inviting slaves to liberty, and the distribution of lands among the indigent, were objected to you as crimes; and crimes, surely, they are, of no small magnitude. But what are they in comparison with those atrocious deeds, that are daily perpetrated by you and your adherents, in continual succession? Show us a free assembly of the people, either at Argos or Lacedaemon, if you wish to hear a true recital of the crimes of the most abandoned tyranny. To omit all other instances of older date, what a massacre did your son-in-law, Pythagoras, make at Argos almost before my eyes! What another did you yourself perpetrate, when I was nearly within the confines of the Lacedaemonians! Now, give orders, that the persons whom you took out of the midst of an assembly, and committed to prison, after declaring, in the hearing of all your countrymen, that you would keep them in custody, be produced in their chains, that their wretched parents may know that those are alive, for whom, under a false impression, they are mourning. Well, but you say, though all these things were so,

Romans, how do they concern you? Can you say this to the deliverers of Greece; to people who crossed the sea, and have maintained a war on sea and land, to effect its deliverance? Still you tell us, you have not directly violated the alliance, or the friendship established between us. How many instances must I produce of your having done so? But I will not go into long detail; I will bring the matter to a short issue. By what acts is friendship violated? Most effectually by these two: by treating our friends as foes; and by uniting yourself with our enemies. Each of these has been done by you. For Messene, which had been united to us in friendship, by one and the same bond of alliance with Lacedaemon, you, while professing yourself our ally, reduced to subjection by force of arms, though you knew it was in alliance with us; and you contracted with Philip, our professed enemy, not only an alliance, but even an affinity, through the intervention of his general, Philocles: and waging actual war against us, with your piratical ships, you made the sea round Malea unsafe, and you captured and slew more Roman citizens almost than Philip himself; and to our ships conveying provisions to our armies the coast of Macedonia itself was less dangerous, than the promontory of Malea. Cease, therefore, to vaunt your good faith, and the obligations of treaties; and, dropping a popular style of discourse, speak as a tyrant, and as an enemy."

33. Aristaenus then began, at first to advise, and afterwards even to beseech Nabis, while it was yet in his power, and he had the opportunity, to consider what was best for himself and his interests. He then mentioned the names of several tyrants in the neighbouring states who had resigned their authority, and restored liberty to their people, and afterwards spent among their fellow citizens not only a secure but an honoured old age. These observations having been reciprocally made and listened to, the approach of night broke up the conference. Next day Nabis said, that he was willing to cede Argos, and withdraw his garrison, since such was the desire of the Romans, and to deliver up the prisoners and deserters; and if they demanded any thing further, he requested that they would set it down in writing, that he might deliberate on it with his friends. Thus the tyrant gained time for consultation; and Quinctius also, on his part, called a council, to which he summoned the chiefs of the allies. The greatest

part were of opinion, that “they ought to persevere in the war, and that the tyrant should be altogether got rid of; otherwise the liberty of Greece would never be secure. That it would have been much better never to have entered on the war than to drop it after it was begun; for this would be a kind of approbation of his tyrannical usurpation, and which would establish him more firmly, as giving the countenance of the Roman people to his ill-acquired authority, and that he would quickly spirit up many in other states to plot against the liberty of their countrymen.” The wishes of the general himself tended rather to peace; for he saw that, as the enemy was shut up in the town, nothing remained but a siege, and that must be very tedious. For it was not Gythium that they must besiege, though even that place had been gained by capitulation, not by assault; but Lacedaemon, a city most powerful in men and arms. The only hope which they could have formed was, that, on the first approach of their army, dissensions and insurrections might have been raised within: but, though the standards had been seen to advance almost to the gates, not one person had stirred. To this he added, that “Villius the ambassador, returning from Antiochus, brought intelligence, that the peace was an unsound one; and that the king had come over into Europe with a much more powerful armament by sea and land than before. Now, if the army should be engaged in the siege of Lacedaemon, with what other forces could the war be maintained against a king of his great power and strength?” These arguments he urged openly; but beneath all this there lay a concealed anxiety lest one of the new consuls should be appointed to the province of Greece; and then the honour of terminating the war, in which he had proceeded so far, must be yielded to a successor.

34. Finding that he could not, by opposition, make any alteration in the sentiments of the allies, by pretending to go over to their opinion, he led them all into a concurrence in his plan. “Be it so,” said he, “and may success attend us: let us lay siege to Lacedaemon, since that is your choice. However, as a business so slow in its progress, as you know the besieging of cities to be, very often wears out the patience of the besiegers sooner than that of the besieged, you ought at once to make up your minds to this, that we must pass the winter under the walls of Lacedaemon. If this delay involved only toil and

danger, I would recommend to you to prepare your minds and bodies to support these. But, in the present case, vast expenses also will be requisite for the construction of works, for machines and engines, sufficient for the siege of so great a city, and for procuring stores of provisions for the winter to serve you and us: therefore, to prevent your being suddenly disconcerted, or shamefully deserting an enterprise which you had engaged in, I think it will be necessary for you to write home to your respective states, and learn what degree of spirit and of strength each possesses. Of auxiliary troops I have a sufficient number, and to spare; but the more numerous we are, the more numerous will be our wants. The country of the enemy has nothing left but the naked soil. Besides, the winter is at hand, which will render it difficult to convey what we may stand in need of from distant places.” This speech first turned their thoughts to the domestic evils prevailing in their several states; the indolence of those who remained at home; the envy and misrepresentations to which those who were serving abroad were liable; that a state of freedom was a difficult one in which to procure unanimity; the want of public funds, and people’s backwardness to contribute out of their private property. Their inclinations being thus suddenly changed, they gave full power to the general, to do whatever he judged conducive to the general interest of the Roman people and their allies.

35. Then Quinctius, consulting only his lieutenant-generals and military tribunes, drew up the following conditions on which peace should be made with the tyrant: “That there should be a suspension of arms for six months, between Nabis on one part, and the Romans, king Eumenes, and the Rhodians on the other. That Titus Quinctius and Nabis should immediately send ambassadors to Rome, in order that the peace might be ratified by authority of the senate. That, whatever day a written copy of these conditions should be delivered to Nabis, on that day should the armistice commence; and, within ten days after, his garrisons should be withdrawn from Argos, and all other towns in the territory of the Argives; all which towns should be entirely evacuated, restored to freedom, and delivered to the Romans. That no slave, whether belonging to the king, the public, or a private person, be removed out of any of them; and if any had been removed

before, that they be faithfully restored to their owners. That he should return the ships, which he had taken from the maritime states; and should not have any other than two barks; and these to be navigated with no more than sixteen oars. That he should restore to all the states in alliance with the Roman people, the prisoners and deserters in his hands; and to the Messenians, all the effects that could be discovered, and which their possessors could own. That he should, likewise, restore to the exiled Lacedaemonians their children, and their wives, who chose to follow their husbands; provided that no woman should be obliged, against her will, to go with her husband into exile. That such of the mercenary soldiers of Nabis as had deserted him, and gone either to their own countries or to the Romans, should have all their effects faithfully returned to them. That he should hold possession of no city in the island of Crete; and that such as were then in his possession should be given up to the Romans. That he should not form any alliance, or wage war, with any of the Cretan states, or with any other. That he should withdraw all his garrisons from those cities, which he should give up, and which had put themselves, and their country, under the dominion and protection of the Roman people; and should take care that, in future, he should restrain both himself and his subjects from molesting them. That he should not build any town or fort in his own, or any other territory. That, to secure the performance of these conditions, he should give five hostages, such as the Roman general should choose, and among them his own son: and should pay, at present, one hundred talents of silver; and fifty talents, annually, for eight years.”

36. These articles were put into writing, and sent into Lacedaemon, the camp having been removed, and brought nearer to the town. The tyrant saw nothing in them that gave him much satisfaction, excepting that, beyond his hopes, no mention had been made of bringing back the exiles. But what mortified him most of all, was, the depriving him of his shipping, and of the maritime towns: for the sea had been a source of great profit to him; his piratical vessels having continually infested the whole coast from the promontory of Malea. Besides, he found in the young men of those towns recruits for his army, who made by far the best of his soldiers. Though he discussed

those conditions in private with his confidential friends, yet, as the ministers in the courts of kings, faithless in other respects, are particularly so with respect to the concealing of secrets, rumour soon made them all public. The public, in general, expressed not so great a disapprobation of the whole of the terms, as did individuals, of the articles particularly affecting themselves. Those who had the wives of the exiles in marriage, or had possessed themselves of any of their property, were provoked, as if they were to lose what was their own, and not to make restitution of what belonged to others. The slaves, who had been set at liberty by the tyrant, perceived plainly, not only that their enfranchisement would be annulled, but that their servitude would be much more severe than it had been before, when they should be again put under the power of their incensed masters. The mercenary soldiers were dissatisfied, because, in consequence of a peace, their pay would cease; and they knew also, that they could not return among their own countrymen, who detested not tyrants more than they did their abettors.

37. They at first spoke of these matters, in their circles, with murmurs of discontent; and afterwards, suddenly ran to arms. From which tumultuous proceeding, the tyrant perceived that the passions of the multitude were of themselves sufficiently inflamed, and immediately ordered a general assembly to be summoned. Here he explained to them the terms which the Romans strove to impose, to which he falsely added others, more severe and humiliating. While, on the mention of each particular, sometimes the whole assembly, sometimes different parties, raised a shout of disapprobation, he asked them, "What answer they wished him to give; or what they would have him do?" On which all, as it were with one voice, cried out, "To give no answer, to continue the war;" and they began, as is common with a multitude, every one to encourage the rest, to keep up their spirits, and cherish good hopes, observing, that "fortune favours the brave." Animated by these expressions, the tyrant assured them, that Antiochus, and the Aetolians, would come to their assistance; and that he had, in the mean time, resources abundantly sufficient for the maintenance of a siege. The very mention of peace had vanished from the minds of all, and unable to contain themselves longer in quiet, they ran out in parties against the advanced guards of

the enemy. The sally of these few skirmishers, and the weapons which they threw, immediately removed all doubt from the Romans that the war was to continue. During the four following days, several slight encounters took place, at first without any decisive result; but, on the fifth day after, in a kind of regular engagement, the Lacedaemonians were beaten back into the town, in such a panic, that several Roman soldiers, pressing close on the rear of the fugitives, entered the city through open spaces, not secured with a wall, of which, at that time, there were several.

38. Then Quinctius, having, by this repulse, effectually checked the sallies of the enemy, and being fully convinced that he had now no alternative, but must besiege the city, sent persons to bring up all the marine forces from Gythium; and, in the mean time, rode himself, with some military tribunes, round the walls, to take a view of the situation of the place. In former times, Sparta had no wall; of late, the tyrants had built walls in the places where the ground was open and level; but the higher places, and those more difficult of access, they secured by placing guards of soldiers instead of fortifications. When he had sufficiently examined every circumstance, having resolved on making a general assault, he surrounded the city with all his forces, the number of which, Romans and allies, horse and foot, naval and land forces, all together, amounted to fifty thousand men. Some brought scaling-ladders, some fire-brands, some other matters, wherewith they might not only assail the enemy, but strike terror. The orders were, that on raising the shout, all should advance at once, in order that the Lacedaemonians, being alarmed at the same time in every quarter, might be at a loss where, first, to make head, or whither to bring aid. The main force of his army he formed in three divisions, and ordered one to attack on the side of the Phoebeum, another on that of the Dictynneum, and the third near a place called Heptagoniae, all which are open places without walls. Though surrounded on all sides by such a violent alarm, the tyrant, at first, attentive to every sudden shout and hasty message, either ran up himself, or sent others, wherever the greatest danger pressed; but, afterwards, he was so stunned by the horror and confusion that prevailed all around, as to become incapable either of giving proper directions, or of hearing what was said, and to lose, not only his

judgment, but almost his reason.

39. For some time the Lacedaemonians maintained their ground against the Romans, in the narrow passes; and three armies, on each side, fought, at one time, in different places. Afterwards, when the heat of the contest increased, the contest was, by no means, an equal one: for the Lacedaemonians fought with missile arms, against which the Roman soldiers, by means of their large shields, easily defended themselves, and many of their blows either missed, or were very weak; for, the narrowness of the place causing them to be closely crowded together, they neither had room to discharge their weapons with a previous run, which gives great force to them, nor clear and steady footing while they made their throw. Of those, therefore, discharged against the front of the Romans, none pierced their bodies, few even their shields; but several were wounded by those who surrounded them from higher places. And presently, when they advanced a little, they were hurt unawares, both with javelins, and tiles also thrown from the tops of the houses. On this they raised their shields over their heads; and joining them so close together as to leave no room for injury from such random casts, or even for the insertion of a javelin, by a hand within reach, they pressed forward under cover of this tortoise fence. For some time the narrow streets, being thronged with a multitude of their own soldiers, and also of the enemy, considerably retarded the progress of the Romans; but when once, by gradually pushing back the enemy, they gained the wider streets of the city, the impetuosity of their attack could no longer be withstood. While the Lacedaemonians, having turned their backs, fled precipitately to the higher places, Nabis, being utterly confounded, as if the town were already taken, began to look about for a way to make his escape. Pythagoras, while in other respects he displayed the spirit and conduct of a general, was now the sole means of saving the city from being taken. For he ordered the buildings nearest to the wall to be set on fire; and these being instantly in a blaze, those who, on another occasion, would have brought help to extinguish the fire, now helping to increase it, the roofs tumbled on the Romans; and not only fragments of the tiles, but also the half-burned timber, reached the soldiers: the flames spread wide, and the smoke caused a degree of terror even greater than the danger. In

consequence, the Romans who were without the city, and were just then making the principal attack, retired from the wall; and those who were within, fearing lest the fire, rising behind them, should put it out of their power to rejoin the rest of the army, began to retreat. Whereupon Quinctius, seeing how matters stood, ordered a general retreat to be sounded. — Thus, being at length recalled from a city which they had nearly taken, they returned to their camp.

40. Quinctius, conceiving greater hopes from the fears of the enemy than from the immediate effect of his operations, kept them in a continual alarm during the three succeeding days; sometimes harassing them with assaults, sometimes enclosing several places with works, so as to leave no passage open for flight. These menaces had such an effect on the tyrant that he again sent Pythagoras to solicit peace. Quinctius, at first, rejected him with disdain, ordering him to quit the camp; but afterwards, on his suppliant entreaties, and throwing himself at his feet, he admitted him to an audience. The purport of his discourse, at first, was, an offer of implicit submission to the will of the Romans; but this availed nothing, being considered as nugatory and indecisive. The business was, at length, brought to this issue, that a truce should be made on the conditions delivered in writing a few days before, and the money and hostages were accordingly received. While the tyrant was kept shut up by the siege, the Argives, receiving frequent accounts, one after another, that Lacedaemon was on the point of being taken, and having themselves resumed courage on the departure of Pythagoras, with the strongest part of his garrison, looked now with contempt on the small number remaining in the citadel; and, being headed by a person named Archippus, drove the garrison out. They gave Timocrates, of Pellene, leave to retire, with solemn assurance of sparing his life, in consideration of the mildness which he had shown in his government. In the midst of this rejoicing, Quinctius arrived, after having granted peace to the tyrant, dismissed Eumenes and the Rhodians from Lacedaemon, and sent back his brother, Lucius Quinctius, to the fleet.

41. The Nemaean games, the most celebrated of all the festivals, and their most splendid public spectacle, had been omitted, at the regular time, on account of the disasters of the war: the state now, in

the fulness of their joy, ordered them to be celebrated on the arrival of the Roman general and his army; and appointed the general, himself, president of the games. There were many circumstances which heightened their happiness: their countrymen, whom Pythagoras, lately, and, before that, Nabis, had carried away, were brought home from Lacedaemon; those who on the discovery of the conspiracy by Pythagoras, and when the massacre was already begun, had fled from home, now returned; they saw their liberty restored, after a long interval, and beheld, in their city, the Romans, the authors of its restoration, whose only view, in making war on the tyrant, was the support of their interest. The freedom of the Argives was, also, solemnly announced, by the voice of a herald, on the very day of the Nemaean games. Whatever pleasure the Achaeans felt on Argos being reinstated in the general council of Achaia, it was, in a great measure, alloyed by Lacedaemon being left in slavery, and the tyrant close at their side. As to the Aetolians, they loudly railed at that measure in every meeting. They remarked, that “the war with Philip was not ended until he evacuated all the cities of Greece. But Lacedaemon was left to the tyrant, while the lawful king, who had been, at the time, in the Roman camp, and others, the noblest of the citizens, must live in exile: so that the Roman nation was become a partisan of Nabis in his tyranny.” Quinctius led back his army to Elatia, whence he had set out to the Spartan war. Some writers say, that the tyrant’s method of carrying on hostilities was not by sallies from the city, but that he encamped in the face of the Romans; and that, after he had declined fighting a long time, waiting for succours from the Aetolians, he was forced to come to an engagement, by an attack which the Romans made on his foragers, when, being defeated in that battle, and beaten out of his camp, he sued for peace, after fifteen thousand of his men had been killed, and more than four thousand made prisoners.

42. Nearly at the same time, arrived at Rome a letter from Titus Quinctius, with an account of his proceedings at Lacedaemon; and another, out of Spain, from Marcus Porcius, the consul; whereupon the senate decreed a supplication, for three days, in the name of each. The other consul, Lucius Valerius, as his province had remained quiet since the defeat of the Boians at the wood of Litana, came

home to Rome to hold the elections. Publius Cornelius Scipio Africanus, a second time, and Tiberius Sempronius Longus, were elected consuls. The fathers of these two had been consuls in the first year of the second Punic war. The election of praetors was then held, and the choice fell on Publius Cornelius Scipio, two Cneius Corneliiuses, Merenda and Blasio, Cneius Domitius Aenobarbus, Sextus Digitius, and Titus Juvencius Thalna. As soon as the elections were finished, the consul returned to his province. The inhabitants of Ferentinum, this year, laid claim to a privilege unheard of before; that Latins, giving in their names for a Roman colony, should be deemed citizens of Rome. Some colonists, who had given in their names for Puteoli, Salernum, and Buxentum, assumed, on that ground, the character of Roman citizens; but the senate determined that they were not.

43. In the beginning of the year, wherein Publius Scipio Africanus, a second time, and Tiberius Sempronius Longus were consuls, two ambassadors from the tyrant Nabis came to Rome. The senate gave them audience in the temple of Apollo, outside the city. They entreated that a peace might be concluded on the terms settled with Quinctius, and obtained their request. When the question was put concerning the provinces, the majority of the senate were of opinion, that as the wars in Spain and Macedonia were at an end, Italy should be the province of both the consuls; but Scipio contended that one consul was sufficient for Italy, and that Macedonia ought to be decreed to the other; that “there was every reason to apprehend a dangerous war with Antiochus, for he had already, of his own accord, come into Europe; and how did they suppose he would act in future, when he should be encouraged to a war, on one hand, by the Aetolians, avowed enemies of their state, and stimulated, on the other, by Hannibal, a general famous for his victories over the Romans?” While the consular provinces were in dispute, the praetors cast lots for theirs. The city jurisdiction fell to Cneius Domitius; the foreign, to Titus Juvencius: Farther Spain, to Publius Cornelius; Hither Spain, to Sextus Digitius; Sicily, to Cneius Cornelius Blasio; Sardinia, to Cneius Cornelius Merenda. It was resolved, that no new army should be sent into Macedonia, but that the one which was there should be brought home to Italy by Quinctius, and disbanded;

that the army which was in Spain, under Marcus Porcius Cato, should likewise be disbanded; that Italy should be the province of both the consuls, and that they should raise two city legions; so that, after the disbanding of the armies, mentioned in the resolution of the senate, there should be in all eight Roman legions.

44. A sacred spring had been celebrated, in the preceding year, during the consulate of Marcus Porcius and Lucius Valerius; but Publius Licinius, one of the pontiffs, having made a report, first, to the college of pontiffs, and afterwards, under the sanction of the college, to the senate, that it had not been duly performed, they resolved, that it should be celebrated anew, under the direction of the pontiffs; and that the great games, vowed together with it, should be exhibited at the same expense which was customary; that the sacred spring should be deemed to comprehend all the cattle born between the calends of March and the day preceding the calends of May, in the year of the consulate of Publius Cornelius Scipio and Tiberius Sempronius Longus. Then followed the election of censors. Sextus Aelius Paetus, and Caius Cornelius Cethegus, being created censors, named as prince of the senate the consul Publius Scipio, whom the former censors likewise had appointed. They passed by only three senators in the whole, none of whom had enjoyed the honour of a curule office. They obtained, on another account, the highest degree of credit with that body; for, at the celebration of the Roman games, they ordered the curule aediles to set apart places for the senators, distinct from those of the people, whereas, hitherto, all the spectators used to sit promiscuously. Of the knights, also, very few were deprived of their horses; nor was severity shown towards any rank of men. The gallery of the temple of Liberty, and the Villa Publica, were repaired and enlarged by the same censors. The sacred spring, and the votive games, were celebrated, pursuant to the vow of Servius Sulpicius Galba, when consul. While every one's thoughts were engaged by the shows then exhibited, Quintus Pleminius, who, for the many crimes against gods and men committed by him at Locri, had been thrown into prison, procured men who were to set fire by night to several parts of the city at once, in order that, while the town was thrown into consternation by this nocturnal disturbance, the prison might be broken open. But this plot was

disclosed by some of the accomplices, and the affair was laid before the senate. Pleminius was thrown into a lower dungeon, and there put to death.

45. In this year colonies of Roman citizens were settled at Puteoli, Vulturnum, and Liternum; three hundred men in each place. Colonies of Roman citizens were likewise established at Salernum and Buxentum. The lands allotted to them had formerly belonged to the Campanians. Tiberius Sempronius Longus, who was then consul, Marcus Servilius, and Quintus Minucius Thermus, were the triumviri who settled the colony. Other commissioners also, Decius Junius Brutus, Marcus Baebius Tamphilus, and Marcus Helvius, led a colony of Roman citizens to Sipontum, into a district which had belonged to the Arpinians. To Tempesa, likewise, and to Croto, colonies of Roman citizens were led out. The lands of Tempesa had been taken from the Bruttians, who had formerly expelled the Greeks from them. Croto was possessed by Greeks. In ordering these establishments, there were named, for Croto, — Cneius Octavius, Lucius Aemilius Paullus, and Caius Pletorius; for Tempesa, — Lucius Cornelius Merula, and Caius Saloni. Several prodigies were observed at Rome that year, and others reported, from other places. In the forum, comitium, and Capitol, drops of blood were seen, and several showers of earth fell, and the head of Vulcan was surrounded with a blaze of fire. It was reported that a stream of milk ran in the river at Interamna; that, in some reputable families at Ariminum, children were born without eyes and nose; and one, in the territory of Picenum, that had neither hands nor feet. These prodigies were expiated according to an order of the pontiffs; and the nine days' festival was celebrated, because the Hadrians had sent intelligence that a shower of stones had fallen in their fields.

46. In Gaul, Lucius Valerius Flaccus, proconsul, in a pitched battle near Mediolanum, completely overthrew the Insubrian Gauls, and the Boians; who, under the command of Dorulacus, had crossed the Po, to rouse the Insubrians to arms. Ten thousand of the enemy were slain. About this time his colleague, Marcus Porcius Cato, triumphed over Spain. He carried in the procession twenty-five thousand pounds' weight of unwrought silver, one hundred and three thousand silver denarii,[] five hundred and forty of Oscan silver,[] and one

thousand four hundred pounds' weight of gold. Out of the booty, he distributed to each of his soldiers two hundred and seventy *asses*;[] and three times that amount to each horseman. Tiberius Sempronius, consul, proceeding to his province, led his legions, first, into the territory of the Boians. At this time Boiorix their chieftain, with his two brothers, after having drawn out the whole nation into the field to renew the war, pitched his camp in the open country, that it might be evident that he was prepared to fight in case the enemy should pass the frontiers. When the consul understood what a numerous force and what a degree of resolution the enemy had, he sent an express to his colleague, requesting him, "if he thought proper, to hasten to join him;" adding, that "he would act on the defensive, and defer engaging in battle, until his arrival." The same reason which made the consul wish to decline an action, induced the Gauls, whose spirits were raised by the backwardness of their antagonists, to bring it on as soon as possible, that they might finish the affair before the two consuls should unite their forces. However, during two days, they did nothing more than stand in readiness for battle, if any should come out against them. On the third, they advanced furiously to the rampart, and assaulted the camp on every side at once. The consul immediately ordered his men to take arms, and kept them quiet, under arms, for some time; both to add to the foolish confidence of the enemy, and to arrange his troops at the gates, through which each party was to sally out. The two legions were ordered to march by the two principal gates; but, in the very pass of the gates, the Gauls opposed them in such close bodies as to stop up the way. The fight was maintained a long time in these narrow passes; nor were their hands or swords much employed in the business, but pushing with their shields and bodies, they pressed against each other, the Romans struggling to force their standards beyond the gates, the Gauls, to break into the camp, or, at least, to hinder the Romans from issuing forth. However, neither party could make the least impression on the other, until Quintus Victorius, a first centurion, and Caius Atinius, a military tribune, the former of the second, the latter of the fourth legion, had taken a course often tried in desperate conflicts; snatching the standards from the officers who carried them, and throwing them among the enemy. In the struggle to recover the standards, the men

of the second legion first made their way out of the gate.

47. These were now fighting on the outside of the rampart, the fourth legion still entangled in the gate, when a new alarm arose on the opposite side of the camp. The Gauls had broke in by the Quaestorian gate, and had slain the quaestor, Lucius Postumius, surnamed Tympanus, with Marcus Atinius and Publius Sempronius, praefects of the allies, who made an obstinate resistance; and also, near two hundred soldiers. The camp in that part had been taken, when a cohort of those who are called Extraordinaries, having been sent by the consul to defend the Quaestorian gate, killed some who had got within the rampart, drove out the rest, and opposed others who were attempting to break in. About the same time, the fourth legion, and two cohorts of Extraordinaries, burst out of the gate; and thus there were three battles, in different places, round the camp; while the various kinds of shouts raised by them, called off the attention of the combatants from their own immediate conflict to the uncertain casualties which threatened their friends. The battle was maintained until mid-day with equal strength, and with nearly equal hopes. At length, the fatigue and heat so far got the better of the soft relaxed bodies of the Gauls, who are incapable of enduring thirst, as to make most of them give up the fight; and the few who stood their ground, were attacked by the Romans, routed, and driven to their camp. The consul then gave the signal for retreat, on which the greater part retired; but some, eager to continue the fight, and hoping to get possession of the camp, pressed forward to the rampart, on which the Gauls, despising their small number, rushed out in a body. The Romans were then routed in turn, and compelled, by their own fear and dismay, to retreat to their camp, which they had refused to do at the command of their general. Thus now flight and now victory alternated on both sides. The Gauls, however, had eleven thousand killed, the Romans but five thousand. The Gauls retreated into the heart of their country, and the consul led his legions to Placentia. Some writers say, that Scipio, after joining his forces to those of his colleague, overran and plundered the country of the Boians and Ligurians, as far as the woods and marshes suffered him to proceed; others, that, without having effected any thing material, he returned to Rome to hold the elections.

48. Titus Quinctius passed the entire winter season of this year at Elatia, where he had established the winter quarters of his army, in adjusting political arrangements, and reversing the measures which had been introduced in the several states under the arbitrary domination of Philip and his deputies, who crushed the rights and liberties of others, in order to augment the power of those who formed a faction in their favour. Early in the spring he came to Corinth, where he had summoned a general convention. Ambassadors having attended from every one of the states, so as to form a numerous assembly, he addressed them in a long speech, in which, beginning from the first commencement of friendship between the Romans and the nation of the Greeks, he enumerated the proceedings of the commanders who had been in Macedonia before him, and likewise his own. His whole narration was heard with the warmest approbation, except when he came to make mention of Nabis; and then they expressed their opinion, that it was utterly inconsistent with the character of the deliverer of Greece to have left seated, in the centre of one of its most respectable states, a tyrant, who was not only insupportable to his own country, but a terror to all the states in his neighbourhood. Whereupon Quinctius, not unacquainted with this tendency of their feelings, freely acknowledged, that “if the business could have been accomplished without the entire destruction of Lacedaemon, no mention of peace with the tyrant ought ever to have been listened to; but that, when it was not possible to crush him otherwise than by the utter ruin of this most important city, it was judged more eligible to leave the tyrant in a state of debility, stripped of almost every kind of power to do injury to any, than to suffer the city, which must have perished in the very process of its delivery being effectuated, to sink under remedies too violent for it to support.”

49. To the recital of matters past, he subjoined, that “his intention was to depart shortly for Italy, and to carry with him all his troops; that they should hear, within ten days, of the garrisons having evacuated Demetrias; and that Chalcis, the citadel of Corinth, should be before their own eyes evacuated to the Achaeans: that all the world might know whose habit it was to deceive, that of the Romans or the Aetolians, who had spread insinuations, that the cause of

liberty had been unwisely intrusted to the Romans, and that they had only received as their masters the Romans in exchange for the Macedonians. But they were men who never scrupled what they either said or did. The rest of the nations he advised to form their estimate of friends from deeds, not from words; and to satisfy themselves whom they ought to trust, and against whom they ought to be on their guard; to use their liberty with moderation: for, when regulated by prudence, it was productive of happiness both to individuals and to states; but, when pushed to excess, it became not only obnoxious to others, but to the possessors of it themselves an unbridled and headstrong impulse. He recommended, that those at the head of affairs, and all the several ranks of men in each particular state, should cultivate harmony between themselves; and that all should direct their views to the general interest of the whole. For, while they acted in concert, no king or tyrant would be sufficiently powerful against them: but discord and dissension gave every advantage to those who might plot against them; as the party worsted in a domestic dispute generally join themselves with foreigners, rather than submit to a countryman of their own. He then exhorted them, as the arms of others had procured their liberty, and the good faith of foreigners had restored it to them, to apply now their own diligent care to the watching and guarding of it; that the Roman people might perceive that those on whom they had bestowed liberty were deserving of it, and that their kindness had not been ill placed.”

50. On hearing these admonitions, such as parental tenderness might dictate, every one present shed tears of joy; and they affected his feelings to such a degree as to interrupt his discourse. For some time a confused noise prevailed, from those who were expressing their approbation of his words, and charging each other to treasure up those expressions in their minds and hearts, as if they had been uttered by an oracle. Then silence ensuing, he requested of them to make diligent search for such Roman citizens as were in servitude among them, and to send them into Thessaly to him, within two months; observing, that “it would not be honourable to themselves, that, in a land restored to liberty, its deliverers should remain in servitude.” To this all exclaimed with acclamations that they returned him thanks on this account in addition to others, that they had been

reminded of the discharge of a duty so indispensably incumbent on their gratitude. There was a vast number of these who had been made prisoners in the Punic war, and sold by Hannibal when their countrymen refused to ransom them. That they were very numerous, is proved by what Polybius says, that this business cost the Achaeans one hundred talents,[] though they had fixed the price to be paid for each captive, to the owner, so low as five hundred denarii.[] For, at that rate, there were one thousand two hundred in Achaia. Calculate now, in proportion to this, how many were probably in all Greece.

51. Before the convention broke up, they saw the garrison march down from the citadel of Corinth, proceed forward to the gate, and depart. The general followed them, accompanied by the whole assembly, who, with loud acclamations, blessed him as their preserver and deliverer. At length, taking leave of these, and dismissing them, he returned to Elatia by the same road through which he came. He thence sent Appius Claudius, lieutenant-general, with all the troops, ordering him to march through Thessaly and Epirus, and to wait for him at Oricum, whence he intended to embark the army for Italy. He also wrote to his brother, Lucius Quinctius, lieutenant-general, and commander of the fleet, to collect thither transport ships from all the coasts of Greece. He himself proceeded to Chalcis; and, after sending away the garrisons, not only from that city, but likewise from Oreum and Eretria, he held there a congress of the Euboean states, whom he reminded of the condition in which he had found their affairs, and of that in which he was leaving them; and then dismissed the assembly. He then proceeded to Demetrias, and removed the garrison. Accompanied by all the citizens, as at Corinth and Chalcis, he pursued his route into Thessaly, where the states were not only to be set at liberty, but also to be reduced from a state of utter anarchy and confusion into some tolerable order; for they had been thrown into confusion, not only through the faults of the times, and the violence and licentiousness of royalty, but also through the restless disposition of the nation, who, from the earliest times, even to our days, have never conducted any election, or assembly, or council, without dissensions and tumult. He chose both senators and judges, with regard, principally, to their property, and made that party the most powerful in the state to whom it was most

important that all things should be tranquil and secure.

52. When he had completed these regulations in Thessaly, he went on, through Epirus, to Oricum, whence he intended to take his passage. From Oricum all the troops were transported to Brundisium. From this place to the city, they passed the whole length of Italy, in a manner, like a triumph; the captured effects which they brought with them forming a train as large as that of the troops themselves. When they arrived at Rome, the senate assembled outside the city, to receive from Quinctius a recital of his services; and, with high satisfaction, a well-merited triumph was decreed him. His triumph lasted three days. On the first day were carried in procession, armour, weapons, brazen and marble statues of which he had taken greater numbers from Philip than from the states of Greece. On the second, gold and silver wrought, unwrought, and coined. Of unwrought silver, there were eighteen thousand pounds' weight; and of wrought, two hundred and seventy thousand; consisting of many vessels of various sorts, most of them engraved, and several of exquisite workmanship; also a great many others made of brass; and besides these, ten shields of silver. The coined silver amounted to eighty-four thousand of the Attic coin, called Tetradrachmus, containing each of silver about the weight of four denarii.[] Of gold there were three thousand seven hundred and fourteen pounds, and one shield wholly of gold: and of the gold coin called Philippics, fourteen thousand five hundred and fourteen.[] On the third day were carried golden crowns, presented by the several states, in number one hundred and fourteen; then the victims. Before his chariot went many illustrious persons, captives and hostages, among whom were Demetrius, son of king Philip, and Armenes, a Lacedaemonian, son of the tyrant Nabis. Then Quinctius himself rode into the city, followed by a numerous body of soldiers, as the whole army had been brought home from the province. Among these he distributed two hundred and fifty *asses*[] to each footman, double to a centurion, triple to a horseman. Those who had been redeemed from captivity added to the grandeur of the procession, walking after him with their heads shaven.

53. In the latter part of this year Quintus Aelius Tubero, plebeian tribune, in pursuance of a decree of the senate, proposed to the

people, and the people ordered, that “two Latin colonies should be settled, one in Bruttium, the other in the territory of Thurium.” For making these settlements commissioners were appointed, who were to hold the office for three years; for Bruttium, Quintus Naevius, Marcus Minucius Rufus, and Marcus Furius Crassipes; and for the district of Thurium, Cneius Manlius, Quintus Aelius, and Lucius Apustius. The assemblies of election to these two appointments were held in the Capitol by Cneius Domitius, city praetor. Several temples were dedicated this year: one of Juno Sospita, in the herb market, vowed and contracted for four years before, in the time of the Gallic war, by Cneius Cornelius, consul; and the same person, now censor, performed the dedication. Another of Faunus, the building of which had been agreed for two years before, and a fund formed for it out of fines estreated by the aediles, Caius Scribonius and Cneius Domitius; the latter of whom, now city praetor, dedicated it. Quintus Marcius Ralla, constituted commissioner for the purpose, dedicated the temple of Fortuna Primigenia, on the Quirinal Hill. Publius Sempronius Sophus had vowed this temple ten years before, in the Punic war; and, being afterwards censor, had employed persons to build it. Caius Servilius, duumvir, also dedicated a temple of Jupiter, in the island. This had been vowed in the Gallic war, six years before, by Lucius Furius Purpureo, who afterwards, when consul, contracted for the building. — Such were the transactions of that year.

54. Publius Scipio came home from his province of Gaul to choose new consuls. The consular comitia were accordingly held, in which Lucius Cornelius Merula and Quintus Minucius Thermus were chosen. Next day were chosen praetors, Lucius Cornelius Scipio, Marcus Fulvius Nobilior, Caius Scribonius, Marcus Valerius Messala, Lucius Porcius Licinus, and Caius Flaminius. The curule aediles of this year, Caius Atilius Serranus and Lucius Scribonius, first exhibited the Megalesian theatrical games. At the Roman games, celebrated by these aediles, the senators, for the first time, sat separate from the people, which, as every innovation usually does, gave occasion to various observations. Some considered this as “an honour, shown at length to that most respectable body, and which ought to have been done long before;” while others contended, that

“every addition made to the grandeur of the senate was a diminution of the dignity of the people; and that all such distinctions as set the orders of the state at a distance from each other, were equally subversive of liberty and concord. During five hundred and fifty-eight years,” they asserted, “all the spectators had sat promiscuously: what reason then had now occurred, on a sudden, that should make the senators disdain to have the commons intermixed with them in the theatre, or make the rich disdain the poor man as a fellow-spectator? It was an unprecedented gratification of pride and overbearing vanity, never even desired, and never instituted, by the senate of any other nation.” It is said, that even Africanus himself at last became sorry for having proposed that matter in his consulship: so difficult is it to bring people to approve of any alteration of ancient customs; they are always naturally disposed to adhere to old practices, except those which experience evidently condemns.

55. In the beginning of the year, which was the consulate of Lucius Cornelius and Quintus Minucius, such frequent reports of earthquakes were brought, that people grew weary, not only of the matter itself, but of the religious rites enjoined in consequence; for neither could the senate be convened, nor the business of the public be transacted, the consuls were so constantly employed in sacrifices and expiations. At last, the decemvirs were ordered to consult the books; and, in pursuance of their answer, a supplication was performed during three days. People offered prayers at all the shrines, with garlands on their heads; and an order was published, that all the persons belonging to one family should pay their worship together; and the consuls, by direction of the senate, published an edict, that, on any day whereon religious rites should be ordered, in consequence of the report of an earthquake, no person should report another earthquake on that day. Then the consuls first, and afterwards the praetors, cast lots for their provinces. Cornelius obtained Gaul; Minucius, Liguria; Caius Scribonius, the city jurisdiction; Marcus Valerius, the foreign; Lucius Cornelius, Sicily; Lucius Porcius, Sardinia; Caius Flaminius, Hither Spain; and Marcus Fulvius, Farther Spain.

56. While the consuls supposed that, for that year, they should have no employment of a military kind, a letter was brought from Marcus

Cincius, who was commander at Pisae, announcing, that “twenty thousand armed Ligurians, in consequence of a conspiracy of that whole nation, formed in the meetings of their several districts, had first wasted the lands of Luna, and then, passing through the territory of Pisae, had overrun the whole sea-coast.” In consequence of this intelligence, the consul Minucius, whose province Liguria was, by direction of the senate, mounted the rostrum, and published orders, that “the two legions, enlisted the year before, should, on the tenth day from that, attend him at Arretium;” and mentioned his intention of levying two legions for the city in their stead. He likewise gave notice to the magistrates and ambassadors of such of the allies, and of the Latin confederates, as were bound to furnish soldiers, to attend him in the Capitol. Of these he wrote out a list, amounting to fifteen thousand foot and five hundred horse, proportioning the contingent of each state to the number of its young men, and ordered those present to go directly from the spot to the gate of the city; and, in order to expedite the business, to proceed to raise the men. To Fulvius and Flaminius were assigned, to each three thousand Roman foot, and a reinforcement of one hundred horse, with five thousand foot of the Latin allies, and two hundred horse; and orders were given to those praetors, to disband the old troops immediately on their arrival in their provinces. Although great numbers of the soldiers belonging to the city legions had made application to the plebeian tribunes, to take cognizance of the cases of such men as claimed exemption from the service, on account either of having served out their time, or of bad health; yet a letter from Tiberius Sempronius banished all thoughts of such proceeding; for in this it was announced that “fifteen thousand of the Ligurians had come into the lands of Placentia, and wasted them with fire and sword, to the very walls of that city and the bank of the Po; and that the Boian nation were looking out for an occasion to rebel.” In consequence of this information, the senate passed a vote, that “there was a Gallic tumult subsisting, and that it would be improper for the plebeian tribunes to take cognizance of the claims of the soldiers, so as to prevent their attending, pursuant to the proclamation;” and they added an order, that the Latin confederates, who had served in the army of Publius Cornelius and Tiberius Sempronius, and had been

discharged by those consuls, should re-assemble, on whatever day and in whatever place of Etruria the consul Lucius Cornelius should appoint; and that the consul Lucius Cornelius, on his way to his province, should enlist, arm, and carry with him all such persons as he should think fit, in the several towns and countries through which he was to pass, and should have authority to discharge such of them, and at such times, as he might judge proper.

57. After the consuls had finished the levies, and were gone to their provinces, Titus Quinctius demanded, that “the senate should receive an account of the regulations which he in concert with the ten ambassadors, had settled; and, if they thought proper, ratify them by their authority.” He told them, that “they would accomplish this the more easily, if they were first to give audience to the ambassadors, who had come from all parts of Greece, and a great part of Asia, and to those from the two kings.” These embassies were introduced to the senate by the city praetor, Caius Scribonius, and all received kind answers. As the discussion of the affair with Antiochus required too much time, it was referred to the ten ambassadors, some of whom had conferred with the king in Asia, or at Lysimachia. Directions were given to Titus Quinctius, that, in conjunction with these, he should listen to the representations of the king’s ambassadors, and should give them such answer as comported with the dignity and interest of the Roman people. At the head of the embassy were Menippus and Hegesianax; the former of whom said, that “he could not conceive what intricacy there was in the business of their embassy, as they came simply to ask friendship, and conclude an alliance. Now, there were three kinds of treaties, by which kings and states formed friendships with each other: one, when terms were dictated to a people vanquished in war; for after all their possessions have been surrendered to him who has proved superior in war, he has the sole power of judging and determining what portion of them the vanquished shall hold, and of what they shall be deprived. The second, when parties, equally matched in war, conclude a treaty of peace and friendship on terms of equality; for then demands are proposed and restitution made, reciprocally, in a convention; and if, in consequence of the war, confusion has arisen with respect to any parts of their properties, the matter is adjusted on the footing either

of ancient right or of the mutual convenience of the parties. The third kind was, when parties who had never been foes, met to form a friendly union by a social treaty: these neither dictate nor receive terms, for that is the case between a victor and a party vanquished. As Antiochus came under this last description, he wondered, he said, that the Romans should think it becoming to dictate terms to him; as to which of the cities of Asia they chose should be free and independent, which should be tributary, and which of them the king's troops and the king himself should be prohibited to enter. That a peace of this kind might be ratified with Philip, who was their enemy, but not a treaty of alliance with Antiochus, their friend."

58. To this Quinctius answered: "Since you choose to deal methodically, and enumerate the several modes of contracting alliances, I also will lay down two conditions, without which you may tell your king, that there are no means of contracting any friendship with the Roman people. One, that, he does not choose that we should concern ourselves in the affairs of the cities in Asia, he must himself keep entirely out of Europe. The other, that if he does not confine himself within the limits of Asia, but passes over into Europe, the Romans will think themselves at full liberty to maintain the friendships which they have already formed with the states of Asia, and also to contract new ones." On this Hegesianax exclaimed, that "this proposition was unworthy to be listened to, as its tendency was to exclude Antiochus from the cities of Thrace and the Chersonese, — places which his great-grandfather, Seleucus, had acquired with great honour, after vanquishing Lysimachus in war and killing him in battle, and had left to his successors; and part of which, after they had been seized by the Thracians, Antiochus had, with equal honour, recovered by force of arms; as well as others which had been deserted, — as Lysimachia, for instance, he had repeopled, by calling home the inhabitants; — and several, which had been destroyed by fire, and buried in ruins, he had rebuilt at a vast expense. What kind of resemblance was there, then, in the cases of Antiochus being ejected from possessions so acquired and so recovered; and of the Romans refraining from intermeddling with Asia, which had never been theirs? Antiochus wished to obtain the friendship of the Romans; but so that its acquisition would be to his

honour, and not to his shame.” In reply to this, Quinctius said,—“Since we are deliberating on what would be honourable, and which, indeed with a people who held the first rank among the nations of the world, and with so great a king, ought to be the sole, or at least the primary object of regard; tell me, I pray you, which do you think more honourable, to wish to give liberty to all the Grecian cities in every part of the world; or to make them slaves and vassals? Since Antiochus thinks it conducive to his glory, to reduce to slavery those cities, which his great-grandfather held by the right of arms, but which his grandfather or father never occupied as their property while the Roman people, having undertaken the patronage of the liberty of the Greeks, deem it incumbent on their faith and constancy not to abandon it. As they have delivered Greece from Philip, so they have it in contemplation to deliver, from Antiochus, all the states of Asia which are of the Grecian race. For colonies were not sent into Aeolia and Ionia to be enslaved to kings; but with design to increase the population, and to propagate that ancient race in every part of the globe.”

59. When Hegesianax hesitated, and could not deny, that the cause of liberty carried a more honourable semblance than that of slavery, Publius Sulpicius, who was the eldest of the ten ambassadors, said,—“Let us cut the matter short. Choose one of the two conditions clearly propounded just now by Quinctius; or deem it superfluous to negotiate about an alliance.” But Menippus replied, “We neither will, nor can, accede to any proposition by which the dominions of Antiochus would be diminished.” Next day, Quinctius brought into the senate-house all the ambassadors of Greece and Asia, in order that they might learn the dispositions entertained by the Roman people, and by Antiochus, towards the Grecian states. He then acquainted them with his own demands, and those of the king; and desired them to “assure their respective states, that the same disinterested zeal and courage, which the Roman people had displayed in defence of their liberty against the encroachments of Philip, they would, likewise, exert against those of Antiochus, if he should refuse to retire out of Europe.” On this, Menippus earnestly besought Quinctius and the senate, “not to be hasty in forming their determination, which, in its effects, might disturb the peace of the

whole world; to take time to themselves, and allow the king time for consideration; that, when informed of the conditions proposed, he would consider them, and either obtain some relaxation in the terms, or accede to them for the sake of peace.” Accordingly, the business was deferred entire; and a resolution passed, that the same ambassadors should be sent to the king who had attended him at Lysimachia, — Publius Sulpicius, Publius Villius, and Publius Aelius.

60. Scarcely had these begun their journey, when ambassadors from Carthage brought information, that Antiochus was evidently preparing for war, and that Hannibal was employed in his service; which gave reason to fear, that a Punic war might break out at the same time. Hannibal, on leaving his own country, had gone to Antiochus, as was mentioned before, and was held by the king in high estimation, not so much for his other qualifications, as because, to a person who had long been revolving schemes for a war with Rome, there could not be any fitter participator of his counsels on such a subject. His opinion was always one and the same, that the war should be carried on in Italy: because “Italy would supply a foreign enemy both with men and provisions; but, if it were left in quiet, and the Roman people were allowed to employ the strength and forces of Italy, in making war beyond the limits of that country, no king or nation would be able to cope with them.” He demanded, for himself, one hundred decked ships, ten thousand foot, and one thousand horse. “With this force,” he said, “he would first repair to Africa; and he had confident hopes, that he should be able to prevail on the Carthaginians to revive hostilities. If they should hesitate, he would raise a war against the Romans in some part of Italy. That the king ought to cross over into Europe with all the rest of his force, and keep his army in some part of Greece; not to pass over immediately into Italy, but to be in readiness to do so; which would sufficiently conduce to the imposing character and the reported magnitude of the war.”

61. When he had brought the king to agree in his opinion, he judged it necessary to predispose the minds of his countrymen to the same; but he durst not send a letter, lest it might, by some accident, be intercepted, and his plans by that means, be discovered. He had

found at Ephesus a Tyrian called Aristo, and in several less important commissions, had discovered him to possess a good degree of ingenuity. This man he now loaded with presents and promises of rewards which were confirmed by the king himself, and sent him to Carthage with messages. He told him the names of the persons whom it was necessary that he should see, and furnished him with secret tokens, by which they would know, with certainty, that the messages came from him. On this Aristo's appearing at Carthage, the reason of his coming was not discovered by Hannibal's friends sooner than by his enemies. At first, the subject was bruited about in their circles and at their tables; and at last some persons declared in the senate that "the banishment of Hannibal answered no purpose, if while resident in another country, he was still able to propagate designs for changing the administration, and disturbing the quiet of the state by his intrigues. That a Tyrian stranger, named Aristo, had come with a commission from Hannibal and king Antiochus; that certain men daily held secret conferences with him, and were concocting that in private, the consequences of which would soon break out, to the ruin of the public." This produced a general outcry, that "Aristo ought to be summoned, and examined respecting the reason of his coming; and if he did not disclose it, to be sent to Rome, with ambassadors accompanying him: that they had already suffered enough of punishment in atonement of the headstrong rashness of one individual; that the faults of private citizens should be at their own risk, and the state should be preserved free, not only from guilt, but even from the suspicion of it." Aristo, being summoned, contended for his innocence; and urged, as his strongest defence, that he had brought no letter to any person whatever: but he gave no satisfactory reason for his coming, and was chiefly embarrassed by the fact which they urged, that he had conversed solely with men of the Barcine faction. A warm debate ensued; some earnestly pressing, that he should be immediately seized as a spy, and kept in custody; while others insisted, that there were not sufficient grounds for such violent measures; that "putting strangers into confinement, without reason, was a step that afforded a bad precedent; for that the same would happen to the Carthaginians at Tyre, and other marts, where they frequently traded." The question was adjourned on that day. Aristo

practised on the Carthaginians a Carthaginian artifice; for having early in the evening hung up a written tablet, in the most frequented place of the city, over the tribunal where the magistrates daily sat, he went on board his ship at the third watch, and fled. Next day, when the suffetes had taken their seats to administer justice, the tablet was observed, taken down, and read. Its contents were, that “Aristo came not with a private commission to any person, but with a public one to the elders;” by this name they called the senate. The imputation being thus thrown on the state, less pains were taken in searching into the suspicions harboured of a few individuals: however, it was determined, that ambassadors should be sent to Rome, to represent the affair to the consuls and the senate, and, at the same time, to complain of the injuries received from Masinissa.

62. When Masinissa observed that the Carthaginians were looked on with jealousy by others, and were full of dissensions among themselves; the nobles being suspected by the senate, on account of their conferences with Aristo, and the senate by the people, in consequence of the information given by the same Aristo, he thought that, at such a conjuncture, he might successfully encroach on their rights; and accordingly he laid waste their country along the sea-coast, and compelled several cities, which were tributary to the Carthaginians, to pay their taxes to him. This tract they call Emporia; it forms the shore of the lesser Syrtis, and has a fertile soil; one of its cities is Leptis, which paid a tribute to the Carthaginians of a talent a day. At this time, Masinissa not only ravaged that whole tract, but, with respect to a considerable part of it, disputed the right of possession with the Carthaginians; and when he learned that they were sending to Rome, both to justify their conduct, and, at the same time, to make complaints of him, he likewise sent ambassadors to Rome, to load them with suspicions, and to discuss the right to the taxes. The Carthaginians were heard first, and their account of the Tyrian stranger gave the senate no small uneasiness, as they dreaded being involved in war with Antiochus and the Carthaginians at the same time. What contributed chiefly to strengthen a suspicion of evil designs, was, that though they had resolved to seize Aristo, and send him to Rome, they had not placed a guard either on himself or his ship. Then began the controversy with the king’s ambassadors, on

the claims of the territory in dispute. The Carthaginians supported their cause by a boundary claim, urging that "It must belong to them, as being within the limits which Scipio, after conquering the country, had fixed as the boundaries which should be under Carthaginian rule; and also, by the acknowledgment of the king, who, when he was going in pursuit of Aphir, a fugitive from his kingdom, then hovering about Cyrene, with a party of Numidians, had solicited as a favour a passage through that very district, as being confessedly a part of the Carthaginian dominions." The Numidians insisted, "that they were guilty of misrepresentation with respect to the limits fixed by Scipio; and if a person chose to recur to the real origin of their property, what title had the Carthaginians to call any land in Africa their own: foreigners and strangers, to whom had been granted precariously, for the purpose of building a city, as much ground as they could encompass with the cuttings of a bull's hide? Whatever acquisitions they had made beyond Byrsa, their original settlement, they held by fraud and violence; for, in relation to the land in question, so far were they from being able to prove uninterrupted possession, from the time when it was first acquired, that they cannot even prove that they ever possessed it for any considerable time. As occasions offered, sometimes they, sometimes the kings of Numidia, had held the dominion of it; and the possession of it had always been held by the party which had the greatest armed force. They requested the senate to suffer the matter to remain on the same footing on which it stood before the Carthaginians became enemies to the Romans, or the king of Numidia their friend and ally; and not to interfere, so as to hinder whichever party was able, from keeping possession." — The senate resolved to tell the ambassadors of both parties, that they would send persons into Africa to determine the present controversy between the people of Carthage and the king. They accordingly sent Publius Scipio Africanus, Caius Cornelius Cethegus, and Marcus Minucius Rufus; who, after viewing the ground, and hearing what could be said on both sides, left every thing in suspense, their opinions inclining neither to one side nor the other. Whether they acted in this manner from their own judgment, or because they had been so instructed, is by no means so certain as it is, that as affairs were circumstanced, it was highly expedient to leave the dispute

undecided: for, had the case been otherwise, Scipio alone, either from his own knowledge of the business, or the influence which he possessed, and to which he had a just claim on both parties, could, with a nod, have ended the controversy.

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BOOK XXXV

Translated by William A. McDevitte

Publius Scipio Africanus sent as ambassador to Antiochus; has a conversation with Hannibal at Ephesus. Preparations of the Romans for war with Antiochus. Nabis, the tyrant of Lacedaemon, instigated by the Aetolians, makes war on the Achaeans; is put to death by a party of the Aetolians. The Aetolians, violating the treaty of friendship with the Romans, invite Antiochus, who comes, with a small force, into Greece, and, in conjunction with them, takes several towns, and the whole island of Euboea. The Achaeans declare war against Antiochus and the Aetolians.

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1. In the beginning of the same year, Sextus Digitius, praetor in the Hither Spain, fought with those states which, after the departure of Marcus Cato, had, in great numbers, recommenced hostilities, numerous battles, but none deserving of particular mention; and all so unfavourable to him, that he scarcely delivered to his successor half the number of men that he had received. In consequence of this, every state in Spain would certainly have resumed new courage, had not the other praetor, Publius Cornelius Scipio, son of Cneius, been successful in several engagements on the other side of the Iberus; and, by these means, diffused such a general terror, that no less than fifty towns came over to his side. These exploits Scipio performed in his praetorship. Afterwards, when propraeor, as the Lusitanians, after ravaging the farther Province, were returning home, with an immense booty, he attacked them on their march, and continued the engagement from the third hour of the day to the eighth, before any advantage was gained on either side. He was inferior to the enemy in number of men, but he had the advantage of them in other respects: with his troops formed in a compact body he attacked a long train, encumbered with multitudes of cattle; and with his soldiers fresh, engaged men, fatigued by a long march; for the enemy had set out at the third watch, and besides travelling the remainder of the night, had continued their route to the third hour of the day; nor had they been

allowed any rest, as the battle immediately succeeded the toil of the march. Wherefore, though at the beginning they retained some vigour of body and spirits, and, at first, threw the Romans into disorder, yet, after some time, the fight became equal. In this critical situation the propraetor made a vow to celebrate games in honour of Jupiter, in case he should defeat and cut off the enemy. The Romans then made a more vigorous push, and the Lusitanians gave way, and, in a little time, turned their backs. As the victors pursued them briskly, no less than twelve thousand of them were slain, and five hundred and forty taken prisoners, most of whom were horsemen. There were taken, besides, a hundred and thirty-four military standards. Of the Roman army, but seventy-three men were lost. The battle was fought at a small distance from the city of Ilipa. Thither Publius Cornelius led back his victorious army, amply enriched with spoil; all which was exposed to view under the walls of the town, and permission given to the owners to claim their effects. The remainder was put into the hands of the quaestor to be sold, and the money produced by the sale was distributed among the soldiers.

2. At the time when these occurrences happened in Spain, Caius Flaminius, the praetor, had not yet set out from Rome: therefore these events, as well prosperous as adverse, were reported by himself and his friends in the strongest representations; and he laboured to persuade the senate, that, as a very formidable war had blazed out in his province, and he was likely to receive from Sextus Digitius a very small remnant of an army, and that, too, terrified and disheartened they ought to decree one of the city legions to him, in order that, when he should have united to it the soldiers levied by himself, pursuant to the decree of the senate, he might select from the whole number six thousand five hundred foot and three hundred horse. He said, that “with such a legion as that, (for very little confidence could be placed on the troops of Sextus Digitius,) he would conduct the war.” But the elder part of the senate insisted, that “decrees of the senate were not to be passed in consequence of rumours fabricated by private persons for the gratification of magistrates; and that no intelligence should be deemed authentic except it were either written by the praetors, from their provinces, or brought by their deputies. If there was a tumultuous commotion in

Spain, they advised a vote, that tumultuary soldiers should be levied by the praetor in some other country than Italy.” The senate’s intention was that such description of men should be raised in Spain. Valerius Antias says, that Caius Flaminius sailed to Sicily for the purpose of levying troops, and that, on his voyage thence to Spain, being driven by a storm to Africa, he enlisted there many stragglers who had belonged to the army of Publius Africanus; and that, to the levies made in those two provinces, he added a third in Spain.

3. In Italy the war, commenced by the Ligurians, grew daily more formidable. They now invested Pisae, with an army of forty thousand men; for multitudes flocked to them continually, led by the reports of the war and the expectation of booty. The consul, Minucius, came to Arretium, on the day which he had fixed for the assembling of the troops. Thence he led them, in order of battle, towards Pisae; and though the enemy had removed their camp to the other side of the river, at a distance of no more than three miles from the place, the consul marched into the city, which evidently owed its preservation to his coming. Next day he also encamped on the other side of the river, about a mile from the enemy; and by slight skirmishes protected the lands of the allies from their depredations. He did not think it prudent to hazard a general engagement, because his troops were raw, composed of many different kinds of men, and not yet so well known among themselves that they could rely on one another. The Ligurians depended so much on their numbers, that they not only came out and offered battle, willing to risk every thing on the issue of it; but, from their superfluity of men, they sent out many parties along the frontiers to plunder; and whenever a large quantity of cattle, and other prey, was collected, there was an escort always in readiness to convey it to their forts and towns.

4. While the operations remained at a stand at Pisae, the other consul, Lucius Cornelius Merula, led his army through the extreme borders of the Ligurians, into the territory of the Boians, where the mode of proceeding was quite the reverse of that which took place in the war of Liguria. The consul took the field; the enemy refused to fight; and the Romans, when no one would come out against them, went out in parties to plunder, while the Boians chose to let their country be laid waste with impunity rather than venture an

engagement in defence of it. When all places were completely ravaged with fire and sword, the consul quitted the enemy's lands, and marched towards Mutina, in a careless manner, as through a pacific population. The Boians, when they learned that the enemy had withdrawn beyond their frontiers, followed him as secretly as possible, watching an opportunity for an ambuscade; and, having gone by his camp in the night, took possession of a defile through which the Romans were to pass. But as they were not able to effect this with sufficient secrecy, the consul, who usually began his march late in the night, now waited until day, lest, in the disorderly fight likely to ensue, darkness might increase the confusion; and though he did not stir before it was light, yet he sent forward a troop of horse to explore the country. When intelligence was brought by them of the number and situation of the enemy, he ordered the baggage to be heaped together in the centre, and the veterans to throw up a rampart round it; and then, with the rest of the army in order of battle, he advanced towards the enemy. The Gauls did the same, when they found that their stratagem was detected, and that they were to engage in a fair and regular battle, where success must depend on valour alone.

5. The battle began about the second hour. The left brigade of the allies, and the Extraordinaries, fought in the first line, and were commanded by two lieutenant-generals of consular dignity, Marcus Marcellus and Tiberius Sempronius, who had been consul the year before. The present consul was sometimes employed in the front of the line, sometimes in keeping back the legions in reserve, that they might not, through eagerness for fighting, come up to the attack until the signal was given. He ordered the two Minucii, Quintus and Publius, military tribunes, to lead off the cavalry on the legions into open ground, at some distance from the line; and "when he should give them the signal, to charge the enemy through the clear space." While he was thus employed, a message came from Tiberius Sempronius Longus, that the Extraordinaries could not support the onset of the Gauls; that great numbers had already fallen; and that partly through weariness, partly through fear, the ardour of the survivors was much abated. He recommended it therefore to the consul, if he thought proper, to send up one or other of the two

legions, before the army suffered disgrace. The second legion was accordingly sent, and the Extraordinaries were ordered to retire. By the legion coming up, with its men fresh, and the ranks complete in their numbers, the fight was renewed with vigour. The left wing was withdrawn out of the action, and the right took its place in the van. The intense heat of the sun discomposed the Gauls, whose bodies were very ill qualified to endure it: nevertheless, keeping their ranks close, and leaning sometimes on each other, sometimes on their bucklers, they withstood the attack of the Romans; which, when the consul observed, in order to break their ranks, he ordered Caius Livius Salinator, commander of the allied cavalry, to charge them at full speed, and the legionary cavalry to remain in reserve. This tempest of cavalry first confused and disordered, and at length entirely broke the line of the Gauls; yet it did not make them fly. That was prevented by their officers, who, when they quitted their posts, struck them on the back with their spears, and compelled them to return to their ranks: but the allied cavalry, riding in among them, did not suffer them to recover their order. The consul exhorted his soldiers to “continue their efforts a little longer, for victory was within their reach; to press the enemy, while they saw them disordered and dismayed; for, if they were suffered to recover their ranks, they would enter on a fresh battle with doubtful success.” He ordered the standard-bearers to advance with the standards, and then, all exerting themselves at once, they at length forced the enemy to give way. As soon as they turned their backs, and fled precipitately on every side, the legionary cavalry was sent in pursuit of them. On that day, fourteen thousand of the Boians were slain; one thousand and ninety-two taken — as were seven hundred and twenty-one horsemen, and three of their commanders, with two hundred and twelve military standards, and sixty-three chariots. Nor did the Romans gain the victory without loss of blood: of themselves, or their allies, were lost above five thousand men, twenty-three centurions, four prefects of the allies, and two military tribunes of the second legion, Marcus Genucius and Marcus Marcius.

6. Letters from both the consuls arrived at Rome nearly at the same time. That of Lucius Cornelius gave an account of the battle fought with the Boians at Mutina; that of Quintus Minucius, from

Pisae, mentioned, that “the holding of the elections had fallen to his lot, but that affairs in Liguria were in so uncertain a position, that he could not depart thence without bringing ruin on the allies, and material injury on the commonwealth. He therefore advised that, if the senate thought proper, they should direct his colleague (as his war was decided) to return to Rome for the elections. He said if Cornelius should object to this, because that employment had not fallen to his lot, he would certainly do whatever the senate should order; but he begged them to consider again and again whether it would not be more to the advantage of the republic, that an interregnum should take place, than that the province should be left by him in such a state.” The senate gave directions to Caius Scribonius to send two deputies of senatorian rank to the consul, Lucius Cornelius, to communicate to him the letter sent by his colleague to the senate, and to acquaint him, that if he did not come to Rome to elect new magistrates, the senate were resolved, rather than Quintus Minucius should be called away from a war, in which no progress had been made, to suffer an interregnum to take place. The deputies sent brought back his answer, that he would come to Rome, to elect new magistrates. The letter of Lucius Cornelius, which contained an account of the battle with the Boians, occasioned a debate in the senate; for Marcus Claudius, lieutenant-general, in private letters to many of the senators, had written, “that they might thank the fortune of the Roman people, and the bravery of the soldiers, that the affair had been successful. That the conduct of the consul had been the cause of a great many men being lost, and of the enemy’s army, for the annihilation of which an opportunity had been offered, having made its escape. That what made the loss of men the greater was, the reinforcements, necessary to support them when distressed, coming up too late from the reserve; and that, what enabled the enemy to slip out of their hands was, the signal being given too tardily to the legionary cavalry, and their not being allowed to pursue the fugitives.” It was agreed, that no resolution should be hastily passed on the subject; and the discussion was accordingly adjourned to a fuller meeting.

7. Another concern also pressed upon them, namely, that the public was heavily distressed by usurious practices; and although

avarice had been restricted by many laws respecting usury, yet a fraudulent course had been adopted — that of transferring the securities to subjects of some of the allied states, who were not bound by those laws, by which means usurers overwhelmed their debtors by unlimited interest. On considering of the best method for putting a stop to this evil the senate decreed, that a certain day should be fixed on for it, the next approaching festival of the infernal deities; and that any of the allies who should from that day lend money to the Roman citizens, should register the transaction; and that all proceedings respecting such money, lent after that day, should be regulated by the laws of whichever of the two states the debtor should choose. In some time after, when the great amount of debt, contracted through this kind of fraud, was discovered by means of the registries, Marcus Sempronius, plebeian tribune, by direction of the senate, proposed to the people, and the people ordered, that the laws relative to money lent between Roman citizens and subjects of any of the allied states, or Latin confederacy, should be the same as those between Roman citizens. Such were the transactions in Italy, civil and military. In Spain the war was far from being so formidable as the exaggerations of report had represented it. In Hither Spain, Caius Flaminius took the town of Ilucia, in the country of the Oretanians, and then marched his army into winter quarters. Several engagements took place during the winter, but none deserving of particular mention, directed against incursions of robbers rather than of the enemy; and yet with various success, and not without the loss of some men. More important services were performed by Marcus Fulvius. He fought a pitched battle near the town of Toletum, against the Vaccaeans, Vectonians, and Celtiberians; routed and dispersed their combined forces, and took prisoner their king, Hilermus.

8. While this passed in Spain, the day of election was drawing near. Lucius Cornelius, therefore, the consul, left Marcus Claudius, lieutenant-general, in command of the army and came to Rome. After representing in the senate the services which he had performed, and the present state of the province, he expostulated with the conscript fathers on their not having ordered a thanksgiving to the immortal gods when so great a war was so happily terminated by one successful battle; and then demanded, that they would at the same

time decree a supplication and a triumph. But, before the question was put, Quintus Metellus, who had been consul and dictator, said, that, "letters had been brought at the same time from the consul, Lucius Cornelius, to the senate, and from Marcus Marcellus, to a great part of the senators; which letters contradicted each other, and for that reason the consideration of the business had been adjourned, in order that it might be debated when the writers of those letters should be present. He had expected, therefore, that the consul, who knew that the lieutenant-general had written something to his disadvantage, would, when he himself was obliged to come, have brought him with him to Rome; especially, as the command of the army would, with more propriety, have been committed to Tiberius Sempronius, who already possessed authority, than to the lieutenant-general. As the case stood at present, it appeared as if the latter was kept out of the way designedly, lest he might assert in person the same things which he had written in his letters; and, face to face, either substantiate his charges, or, if he had alleged any thing untrue, be convicted of misrepresentation, until the truth should be clearly discovered. For this reason he was of opinion, that the senate should not, at present, assent to either of the decrees demanded by the consul." When he, however, persisted with undiminished energy in putting the question, that a thanksgiving should be ordered, and himself allowed to ride into the city in triumph; the plebeian tribunes, Marcus and Caius Titinius, declared, that they would enter their protest, if the senate passed any decree on the subject.

9. In the preceding year, Sextus Aelius Paetus and Caius Cornelius Cethegus were created censors. Cornelius now closed the lustrum. The number of citizens rated was a hundred and forty-three thousand seven hundred and four. Extraordinary quantities of rain fell in this year, and the Tiber overflowed the lower parts of the city; and some buildings near the Flumentan gate were even laid in ruins. The Coelimontan gate was struck by lightning, as was the wall on each side of it, in several places. At Aricia, Lanuvium, and on the Aventine, showers of stones fell. From Capua, a report was brought that a very large swarm of wasps flew into the forum, and settled on the temple of Mars; that they had been carefully collected, and burnt. On account of these prodigies, the decemvirs were ordered to consult

the books; the nine days' festival was celebrated, a supplication proclaimed, and the city purified. At the same time, Marcus Porcius Cato dedicated a chapel to Maiden Victory, near the temple of Victory, two years after he had vowed it. During this year, a Latin colony was established in the Thurian territory by commissioners appointed for the purpose, Cneius Manlius Vulso, Lucius Apustius Fullo, and Quintus Aelius Tubero, who had proposed the order for its settlement. There went out thither three thousand foot and three hundred horsemen; a very small number in proportion to the extent of the land. Thirty acres might have been given to each footman, and sixty to a horseman, but, by the advice of Apustius, a third part was reserved, that they might afterwards, when they should judge proper, send out thither a new colony. The footmen received twenty acres each, the horsemen forty.

10. The year was now near a close, and with regard to the election of consuls, emulation was more fiercely kindled than was ever known before. The candidates, both patrician and plebeian, were many and powerful: Publius Cornelius Scipio, son to Cneius, and who had lately come home from Spain, having performed great exploits; Lucius Quinctius Flaminius, who had commanded the fleet in Greece; and Cneius Manlius Vulso; these were the patricians. Then there were, of plebeian rank, Caius Laelius, Cneius Domitius, Caius Livius Salinator, and Manius Acilius. The eyes of all men were turned on Quinctius and Cornelius; for, being both patricians, they sued for one place; and they were both of them recommended by high and recent renown in war. Above every thing else, the brothers of the candidates, the two most illustrious generals of the age, increased the violence of the struggle. Scipio's fame was the more splendid, and in proportion to its greater splendour, the more obnoxious to envy. That of Quinctius was the most recent, as he had triumphed in the course of that very same year. Besides, the former had now for almost ten years been continually in people's sight; which circumstance, by the mere effect of satiety, causes great characters to be less revered. He had been a second time consul after the final defeat of Hannibal, and also censor. All Quinctius's claims to the favour of the public were fresh and new; since his triumph, he had neither asked nor received anything from the people; "he

solicited," he said, "in favour of his own brother, not of a half-brother; in favour of his lieutenant-general, and partner in the administration of the war; his brother having conducted the operations by sea, while he did the same on land." By these arguments he carried his point. His brother was preferred to the brother of Africanus, though supported by the whole Cornelian family, and while one of the same family presided at the election, and notwithstanding the very honourable testimony given by the senate, in his favour, when it adjudged him to be the best man in the state: and as such, appointed him to receive the Idaean Mother into the city, when she was brought from Pessinus. Lucius Quinctius and Cneius Domitius Ahenobarbus were elected consuls; so that, not even with respect to the plebeian consul, could Africanus prevail; for he employed his interest in favour of Caius Laelius. Next day were elected praetors, Lucius Scribonius Libo, Marcus Fulvius Centumalus, Aulus Atilius Serranus, Marcus Baebius Tamphilus, Lucius Valerius Tappus, and Quintus Saloniuss Sarra. The aedileship of this year was highly distinguished, namely, that of Marcus Aemilius Lepidus and Lucius Aemilius Paulus. They prosecuted to conviction many of the farmers of the public pastures, and with the money accruing from the fines, placed gilded shields in the upper part of the temple of Jupiter. They built one colonnade, on the outside of the gate Tergemina, to which they added a wharf on the Tiber: and another, reaching from the Frontinal gate to the altar of Mars, to serve as a passage into the field of Mars.

11. For a long time, nothing worth recording had occurred in Liguria; but, towards the end of this year, the Roman affairs there were twice brought into great peril; for the consul's camp, being assaulted, was with difficulty preserved; and a short time after, as the Roman army was marching through a defile, the Ligurians seized on the opening through which they were to pass. The consul, when he found that passage stopped up, faced about, resolved to return: but the entrance behind, also, was occupied by a party of the enemy, and the disaster of Caudium not only occurred to the memory of the Romans, but was in a manner represented to their eyes. The consul had, among his auxiliary troops, about eight hundred Numidian horsemen, whose commanding officer undertook to force a passage

with his troops, on whichever side the consul should choose. He only desired to be told on which part the greater number of villages lay, for on them he meant to make an attack; and the first thing he intended doing was, to set fire to the houses, in order that the alarm, which this should occasion, might induce the Ligurians to quit their posts in the defile, and hasten to different quarters to carry assistance to their friends. The consul highly commended him, and gave him assurance of ample rewards. The Numidians mounted their horses, and began to ride up to the advanced posts of the enemy, but without making any attack. Nothing could appear, on the first view, more contemptible. Both men and horses were of a small size and thin make, the riders unaccoutred and unarmed, excepting that they carried javelins in their hands; and the horses without bridles, and awkward in their gait, running with their necks stiff and their heads stretched out. The contempt, conceived from their appearance, they took pains to increase; sometimes falling from their horses, and making themselves objects of derision and ridicule. The consequence was, that the enemy, who at first had been alert, and ready on their posts, in case of an attack, now, for the most part, laid aside their arms, and sitting down amused themselves with looking at them. The Numidians often rode up, then galloped back, but still contrived to get nearer to the pass, as if they were unable to manage their horses, and were carried away against their will. At last, setting spurs to them, they broke out through the midst of the enemy's posts, and getting into the open country, set fire to all the houses near the road. They then set fire to the nearest village, while they ravaged all around with fire and sword. At first the sight of the smoke, then the shouts of the affrighted inhabitants, at last the old people and children, who fled for shelter, created great disorder in the camp. In consequence of which the whole of their army, without plan, and without command, ran off, each to take care of his own; the camp was in a moment deserted; and the consul delivered from the blockade, made good his march to the place whither he intended to go.

12. But neither the Boians nor the Spaniards, with whom they had been at war during that year, were such bitter and inveterate foes to the Romans as the nation of the Aetolians. These, after the departure

of the Roman armies from Greece, had, for some time, entertained hopes that Antiochus would come and take possession of Europe, without opposition; and that neither Philip nor Nabis would continue quiet. But seeing no active measures begun, in any quarter, they resolved, lest their designs might be damped by delay, to create some agitation and disturbance; and, with this view, they summoned a general assembly at Naupactum. Here Thoas, their praetor, after complaining of the injurious behaviour of the Romans, and the present state of Aetolia, and asserting, that “of all the nations and states of Greece, they had been most unhonoured, after the victory which they themselves had been the means of obtaining,” moved, that ambassadors should be sent to each of the kings; not only to sound their dispositions, but, by such incentives as suited the temper of each, to urge them to a war with Rome. Damocritus was sent to Nabis, Nicander to Philip, and Dicaearchus, the praetor’s brother, to Antiochus. To the Lacedaemonian tyrant Damocritus represented, that, “by the maritime cities being taken from him, his government was left enervated; for from them he had drawn his soldiers, as well as his ships and seamen. He was now pent up almost within the walls of his capital, while he saw the Achaeans domineering over the whole Peloponnesus. Never would he have another opportunity of recovering his rights, if he suffered the one that now offered to pass by. There was no Roman army in Greece, nor would the Romans deem Gythium, or the other towns on the coast of Laconia, sufficient cause for transporting their legions a second time into that country.” These arguments were used for the purpose of provoking the passions of Nabis; in order that when Antiochus should come into Greece, the other, conscious of having infringed the treaty of amity with Rome, by injuries offered to its allies, might unite himself with him. Nicander excited Philip, by arguments somewhat similar; and he had more copious matter for discourse, as the king had been degraded from a more elevated state than the tyrant, and more possessions also had been taken from him. In addition to this, he introduced the ancient renown of the Macedonian kings, and the whole world pervaded by the victorious marches of that nation. “The plan which he proposed,” he said, “was free from any danger, either in the commencement or in the issue. For he did not advise that

Philip should stir until Antiochus should have come into Greece with an army; and, considering that, without the aid of Antiochus, he had maintained a war so long against the combined forces of the Romans and Aetolians, with what possible force could the Romans withstand him, when joined by Antiochus, and supported by the aid of the Aetolians, who, on the former occasion, were more dangerous enemies than the Romans?" He added the circumstance of Hannibal being general; "a man born a foe to the Romans, who had slain greater numbers, both of their commanders and soldiers, than were left surviving." Such were the representations of Nicander to Philip. Dicaearchus addressed other arguments to Antiochus. In the first place, he told him, that "the spoils of Philip belonged to the Romans, but the victory over him to the Aetolians; that none other than the Aetolians had afforded to the Romans admittance into Greece, and that the same people supplied them with the strength which enabled them to conquer." He next set forth the numerous forces, both horse and foot, which they were willing to furnish to Antiochus, for the purpose of the war; what quarters they would assign to his land armament, what harbours for his naval forces. He then asserted whatever falsehoods he pleased, respecting Philip and Nabis; that "both were ready to recommence hostilities, and would greedily lay hold on the first opportunity of recovering what they had lost in war." Thus did the Aetolians labour, in every part of the world, to stir up war against the Romans. The kings, however, either took no steps in it or took them too late.

13. Nabis immediately despatched emissaries through all the towns on the coast, to sow dissensions among the inhabitants: some of the men in power he brought over to his party by presents; others, who more firmly adhered to the alliance with Rome, he put to death. The charge of protecting all the Lacedaemonians on the coast, had been committed by Titus Quinctius to the Achaeans; they therefore instantly sent ambassadors to the tyrant, to remind him of his treaty with the Romans, and to warn him against violating a peace which he had so earnestly sued for. They also sent succours to Gythium which he had already besieged, and ambassadors to Rome to make known these transactions. King Antiochus having, this winter, solemnized the nuptials of his daughter with Ptolemy king of Egypt, at Raphia, in

Phoenicia, returned thence to Antioch, and came, towards the end of the season, through Cilicia, after passing Mount Taurus, to the city of Ephesus. Early in the spring, he sent his son Antiochus thence into Syria, to guard the remote frontiers of his dominions, lest during his absence, any commotion might arise behind him; and then he marched himself, with all his land forces, to attack the Pisidians, inhabiting the country near Sida. At this time, Publius Sulpicius and Publius Villius, the Roman ambassadors, who were sent to Antiochus, as above mentioned, having received orders to wait on Eumenes, first came to Elaea, and thence went up to Pergamus, for the palace of Eumenes was there. Eumenes was very desirous of a war against Antiochus, for he thought that, if peace continued, a king so much superior in power would be a troublesome neighbour; but that, in case of hostilities, he would prove no more a match for the Romans than Philip had been; and that, either he would be entirely removed out of the way, or, should peace be granted to him, after a defeat he (Eumenes) might reasonably expect, that a great deal of what should be taken from Antiochus would fall to his own share; so that, in future, he might be very well able to defend himself against him, without any aid from the Romans; and even if any misfortune were to happen, it would be better for him, in conjunction with the Romans, to undergo any turn of fortune, than, standing alone, either suffer himself to be ruled by Antiochus, or, on refusal, be compelled to submission by force of arms. Therefore, with all his influence, and every argument which he could devise, he urged the Romans to a war.

14. Sulpicius, falling sick, staid at Pergamus. Villius, on hearing that the king was carrying on war in Pisidia, went on to Ephesus, and, during a few days that he halted in that city, took pains to procure frequent interviews with Hannibal, who happened to be there at the time, in order to sound his intentions, if possible, and to remove his apprehensions of danger threatening him from the Romans. No other business, indeed, of any kind was brought forward at these meetings; yet they accidentally produced an important consequence, as effectually as if it had been intentionally sought; the lowering Hannibal in the esteem of the king, and rendering him more obnoxious to suspicion in every matter. Claudius, following the

history written in Greek by Acilius, says, that Publius Africanus was employed in this embassy, and that it was he who conversed with Hannibal at Ephesus. He even relates one of their conversations, in which Scipio asked Hannibal, "whom he thought the greatest captain?" and that he answered, "Alexander, king of Macedonia; because, with a small band, he defeated armies whose numbers were beyond reckoning; and because he had overrun the remotest regions, the merely visiting of which was a thing above human aspiration." Scipio then asked, "to whom he gave the second place?" and he replied, "To Pyrrhus; for he first taught the method of encamping; and besides, no one ever showed more exquisite judgment, in choosing his ground, and disposing his posts; while he also possessed the art of conciliating mankind to himself to such a degree, that the nations of Italy wished him, though a foreign prince, to hold the sovereignty among them, rather than the Roman people, who had so long possessed the dominion of that part of the world." On his proceeding to ask, "whom he esteemed the third?" Hannibal replied, "Myself, beyond doubt." On this Scipio laughed, and added, "What would you have said if you had conquered me?" "Then," replied the other, "I would have placed Hannibal, not only before Alexander and Pyrrhus, but before all other commanders." This answer, turned with Punic dexterity, and conveying an unexpected kind of flattery, was highly grateful to Scipio, as it set him apart from the crowd of commanders, as one of incomparable eminence.

15. From Ephesus, Villius proceeded to Apamea, whither Antiochus, on hearing of the coming of the Roman delegates, came to meet him. In this congress, at Apamea, the debates were similar to those which passed at Rome, between Quinctius and the king's ambassadors. The news arriving of the death of Antiochus, the king's son, who, as just now mentioned, had been sent into Syria, broke off the conference. There was great mourning in the court, and excessive regret for this young man; for he had given such indications of his character as afforded evident proof that, had a longer life been allotted him, he would have displayed the talents of a great and just prince. The more he was beloved and esteemed by all, the more was his death a subject of suspicion, namely, that his father, thinking that his heir trod too closely on the heels of his own old age, had him

taken off by poison, by some eunuchs, who recommend themselves to kings by the perpetration of such foul deeds. People mentioned also, as another motive for that clandestine act of villany, that, as he had given Lysimachia to his son Seleucus, he had no establishment of the like kind, which he could give to Antiochus, for the purpose of banishing him also to a distance, under pretext of doing him honour. Nevertheless, an appearance of deep mourning was maintained in the court for several days; and the Roman ambassador, lest his presence at that inauspicious time might be troublesome, retired to Pergamus. The king, dropping the prosecution of the war which he had begun, went back to Ephesus; and there, keeping himself shut up in the palace, under colour of grief, held secret consultations with a person called Minio, who was his principal favourite. Minio was utterly ignorant of the state of all foreign nations; and, accordingly, estimating the strength of the king from his successes in Syria or Asia, he was confident that Antiochus had not only superiority from the merits of his cause, and that the demands of the Romans were highly unreasonable; but also, that he would prove the more powerful in war. As the king wished to avoid further debate with the envoys, either because he had found no advantage to result from the former conference, or because he was too much discomposed by recent grief, Minio undertook to say whatever was requisite for his interest, and persuaded him to invite for that purpose the ambassadors from Pergamus.

16. By this time Sulpicius had recovered his health; both himself and Villius, therefore, came to Ephesus. Minio apologized for the king not being present, and the business was entered upon. Then Minio, in a studied speech, said, "I find, Romans, that you profess very specious intentions, (the liberating of the Grecian states,) but your actions do not accord with your words. You lay down one rule for Antiochus, and follow another yourselves. For, how are the inhabitants of Smyrna and Lampsacus better entitled to the character of Greeks, than the Neapolitans, Rhegians, and Tarentines, from whom you exact tribute, and ships, in pursuance of a treaty? Why do you send yearly to Syracuse, and other Grecian cities of Sicily, a praetor, vested with sovereign power, and attended by his rods and axes? You can, certainly, allege no other reason than this, that,

having conquered them in war, you imposed these terms on them. Admit, then, on the part of Antiochus, the same reason with respect to Smyrna and Lampsacus, and the cities belonging to Ionia and Aeolia. Conquered by his ancestors, they were subjected to tribute and taxes, and he only reclaims an ancient right. I would have you answer him on these heads, if you mean a fair discussion, and do not merely seek a pretence for war.” Sulpicius answered, “Antiochus has acted with some modesty in choosing that, since no other arguments could be produced in his favour, any other person should utter these rather than himself. For, what similarity is there in the cases of those states which you have brought into comparison? From the Rhegians, Neapolitans, and Tarentines we require what they owe us by treaty, in virtue of a right invariably exercised, in one uniform course, since they first came under our power; a right always asserted, and never intermitted. Now, can you assert, that, as these states have, neither of themselves, nor through any other, ever refused conforming to the treaty, so the Asiatic states, since they once came under the power of Antiochus’s ancestors, have been held in uninterrupted possession by your reigning kings; and that some of them have not been subject to the dominion of Philip, some to that of Ptolemy; and that others have not, for many years, maintained themselves in a state of independence, no one calling it in question? For, if the circumstance of their having been once subject to a foreigner, when crushed under the severity of the times, conveys a right to enforce that subjection again after a lapse of so many generations, what can be said of our having delivered Greece from Philip, but that nothing was accomplished by us; and that his successors may reclaim Corinth, Chalcis, Demetrias, and the whole nation of Thessaly? But why do I plead the cause of those states, which it would be fitter that both we and the king should hear pleaded by themselves?”

17. He then desired, that the deputies of those states should be called, for they had been prepared beforehand, and kept in readiness by Eumenes, who reckoned, that every share of strength that should be taken away from Antiochus, would become an accession to his own kingdom. Many of them were introduced; and, while each enforced his own complaints, and sometimes demands, and blended together the reasonable with the unreasonable, they changed the

debate into a mere altercation. The ambassadors, therefore, without conceding or carrying any one point, returned to Rome just as they had come, leaving every thing in an undecided state. On their departure the king held a council, on the subject of a war with Rome, in which each spoke more violently than his predecessor; for every one thought, that the more bitterly he inveighed against the Romans, the greater share of favour he might expect to obtain. One animadverted upon the insolence of their demands, in which they presume to impose terms on Antiochus, the greatest king in Asia, as they would on the vanquished Nabis. "Although to Nabis they left absolute power over his own country, and its capital, Lacedaemon, yet it seems to them a matter for indignation, that Smyrna and Lampsacus should yield obedience to Antiochus." — Others said, that "to so great a monarch, those cities were but a trivial ground of war, scarcely worth mention; but, that the beginning of unjust impositions was always made in the case of matters of little consequence; unless, indeed, it could be supposed, that the Persians, when they demanded earth and water from the Lacedaemonians, stood in need of a scrap of the land or a draught of the water. The proceedings of the Romans, respecting the two cities, were meant as a trial of the same sort. The rest of the states, when they saw that two had shaken off the yoke, would go over to the party of that nation which professed the patronage of liberty. If freedom was not actually preferable to servitude, yet the hope of bettering their circumstances by a change, was more flattering to every one than any present situation."

18. There was, in the council, an Acarnanian named Alexander, who had formerly been a friend of Philip, but had lately left him, to follow the more opulent court of Antiochus. And as being well skilled in the affairs of Greece, and not unacquainted with the Romans, he was admitted by the king into such a degree of intimacy, that he shared even in his secret councils. As if the question to be considered were not, whether there should be war or not, but where and in what manner it should be carried on, he affirmed, that "he saw an assured prospect of victory, provided the king would pass into Europe and choose some part of Greece for the seat of war. In the first place, the Aetolians, who lived in the centre of Greece, would be

found in arms, ready to take the lead in the most perilous operations. Then, in the two extremities of Greece, Nabis, on the side of Peloponnesus, would put every thing in motion, to recover the city of Argos, and the maritime cities, from which he had been expelled by the Romans, and pent up within the walls of Lacedaemon: while, on the side of Macedonia, Philip would be ready for the field the moment he heard the alarm sounded. He knew," he said, "his spirit, he knew his temper; he knew that, (as in the case with wild beasts, confined by bars or chains,) for a long time past, he had been revolving the fiercest resentments in his breast. He remembered, also, how often, during the war, that prince had prayed to all the gods to grant him Antiochus as an assistant; and, if that prayer were now heard with favour, he would not hesitate an instant to resume his arms. It was only requisite that there should be no delay, no procrastination; for success depended chiefly on securing beforehand commodious posts and proper allies: besides, Hannibal ought to be sent immediately into Africa, in order to distract the attention of the Romans."

19. Hannibal was not called to this consultation, having income suspected by the king, and not having subsequently been held in any honour, on account of his conferences with Villius, and he had not since shown him any mark of regard. This affront, at first, he bore in silence; but afterwards thought it better to take some proper opportunity to inquire the reason of the king's suddenly withdrawing his favour, and to clear himself of blame. Without any preface, he asked the cause of the king's displeasure; and having heard it, said, "Antiochus, when I was yet an infant, my father, Hamilcar, at a time when he was offering sacrifice, brought me up to the altars, and made me take an oath, that I never would be a friend to the Roman people. Under the obligation of this oath, I carried arms against them for thirty-six years; this oath, on peace being made, drove me out of my country, and brought me an exile to your court; and this oath shall guide me, should you disappoint my hopes, until I traverse every quarter of the globe, where I can understand that there are resources, to find out enemies to the Romans. If, therefore, your courtiers have conceived the idea of ingratiating themselves with you by insinuating suspicions of me, let them seek some means of advancing their

reputation otherwise than at my expense. I hate, and am hated by, the Romans. That I speak the truth in this, my father, Hamilcar, and the gods are witnesses. Whenever, therefore, you shall employ your thoughts on a plan of waging war with Rome, consider Hannibal as one of your firmest friends. If circumstances force you to adopt peaceful measures, on such a subject employ some one else with whom to deliberate.” This discourse not only affected the king much, but even reconciled him to Hannibal. They departed from the council with the resolution that the war should be undertaken.

20. At Rome, people in their conversations anticipated, indeed, Antiochus as an enemy, but they had hitherto prepared nothing for such a war but their expectations. Italy was decreed the province of both the consuls, who received directions to settle between themselves, or draw lots, which of them should preside at the elections of the year; and it was ordered, that he who should be disengaged from that business, should hold himself in readiness, in case there should be occasion, to lead the legions any where out of that country. To the said consul, permission was given to levy two new legions, and twenty thousand foot, and nine hundred horse, among the allies and Latin confederates. To the other consul were decreed the two legions which had been commanded by Lucius Cornelius, consul of the preceding year; and from the same army, a body of allies and Latins, amounting to fifteen thousand foot and five hundred horse. Quintus Minucius was continued in command, with the forces which he then had in Liguria; as a supplement to which, four thousand Roman foot and five hundred horse were ordered to be enlisted, and five thousand foot and two hundred and fifty horse to be demanded from the allies. The duty of departing from Italy, whithersoever the senate should order, fell to Cneius Domitius; Gaul, and the holding the elections, to Lucius Quinctius. The praetors then cast lots for their provinces: to Marcus Fulvius Centumalus fell the city jurisdiction; to Lucius Scribonius Libo, the foreign; Lucius Valerius Tappus obtained Sicily; Quintus Salonius Sarra, Sardinia; Marcus Baebius Tamphilus, Hither Spain; and Marcus Atilius Serranus, Farther Spain. But the provinces of the two last were changed, first by a decree of the senate, which was afterwards confirmed by an order of the people. The fleet and Macedonia were

assigned to Atilius; Bruttium to Baebius. Flaminius and Fulvius were continued in command in both the Hither and Farther Spain. To Baebius Tamphilus, for the business of Bruttium, were decreed the two legions which had served in the city the year before; and he was ordered to demand from the allies, for the same service, fifteen thousand foot and five hundred horse. Atilius was ordered to build thirty ships of five banks of oars: to bring out, from the docks, any old ones that were fit for service, and to raise seamen. An order was also given to the consul, to supply him with two thousand of the allied and Latin footmen, and a thousand Roman. The destination of these two praetors, and their two armaments, one on land and the other on sea, was declared to be intended against Nabis, who was now carrying on open hostilities against the allies of the Roman people. But it was thought proper to wait the return of the ambassadors sent to Antiochus, and the senate ordered the consul Cneius Domitius not to leave the city until they arrived.

21. The praetors, Fulvius and Scribonius, whose province was the administration of justice at Rome, were charged to provide a hundred quinquereines, besides the fleet which Atilius was to command. Before the consul and praetors set out for their provinces, a supplication was performed on account of some prodigies. A report was brought from Picenum, that a goat had produced six kids at a birth. It was said that a boy was born at Arretium who had but one hand; that, at Amiternum, a shower of earth fell; a gate and wall at Formiae were struck by lightning; and, what was more alarming than all, an ox, belonging to the consul, Cneius Domitius, spoke these words,— “Rome, take care of thyself.” To expiate the other prodigies, a supplication was performed; the ox was ordered by the aruspices to be carefully preserved and fed. The Tiber, pouring into the city with more destructive violence than last year, swept away two bridges, and many buildings, particularly about the Flumentan gate. A huge rock, loosened from its seat, either by the rains, or by an earthquake so slight that no other effect of it was perceived, tumbled down from the Capitol into the Jugarian street, and buried many people under it. In the country, many parts of which were overflowed, much cattle was carried away, and a great destruction of farm houses took place. Previous to the arrival of the consul, Lucius

Quinctius, in his province Quintus Minucius fought a pitched battle with the Ligurians, in the territory of Pisae, slew nine thousand of the enemy, and putting the rest to flight, drove them within their works, which were assaulted and defended in an obstinate contest until night came on. During the night, the Ligurians stole away unobserved; and, at the first dawn, the Romans took possession of their deserted camp, where the quantity of booty found was the less, because the enemy frequently sent home the spoil taken in the country. Minucius, after this, allowed them no respite. From the territory of Pisae he marched into that of the Ligurians, and, with fire and sword, utterly destroyed their forts and towns, where the Roman soldiers were abundantly enriched with the spoils of Etruria which the ravagers had sent home.

22. About this time, the ambassadors, who had been sent to the kings, returned to Rome. As they brought no information of such a nature as called for any immediate declaration of war, (except against the Lacedaemonian tyrant, whom the Achaean ambassadors also represented as invading the sea-coast of Laconia, in breach of treaty,) Atilius, the praetor, was sent with the fleet to Greece, for the protection of the allies. It was resolved, that, as there was nothing to be apprehended from Antiochus at present, both the consuls should go to their provinces; and, accordingly, Domitius marched into the country of the Boians, by the shorter road, through Ariminum, and Quinctius through Liguria. The two armies of the consuls, proceeding by these different routes, spread devastation wide over the enemy's country. In consequence of which, first a few of their horsemen, with their commanders, then their whole senate, and at last all who possessed either property or dignity, to the number of one thousand five hundred, came over and joined the consuls. In both Spains, likewise, success attended the Roman arms during this year. For, in one, Caius Flaminius, after a siege, took Litabrum, a strong and opulent city, and made prisoner Corribilo, a powerful chieftain; and, in the other, Marcus Fulvius, the proconsul, fought two successful battles, with two armies of the enemy. He captured Vescelia and Holo, two towns belonging to the Spaniards, with many of their forts, and others spontaneously revolted to him. Then, advancing into the territory of Oretum, and having, there also, taken

two cities, Nolibæ and Cusibis, he proceeded to the river Tagus. Here stood Toletum, a small city, but strong from its situation. While he was besieging this place, a numerous army of Vectonians came to relieve the Toletans, but he overthrew them in a general engagement, and having defeated the Vectonians, took Toletum by means of his works.

23. At this juncture the wars in which they were actually engaged, caused not so great anxiety in the minds of the senate, as the expectation of one with Antiochus, which had not yet commenced. For although, through their ambassadors, they had, from time to time, made careful inquiries into every particular, yet rumours, rashly propagated without authentic foundation, intermixed many falsehoods with the truth. Among the rest, a report was spread, that Antiochus intended, as soon as he should come into Aetolia, to send a fleet immediately into Sicily. The senate, therefore, though they had already despatched the prætor, Atilius, with a squadron to Greece, yet, considering that not only a military force, but also the influence of reputation, would be necessary towards securing the attachment of the allies, they sent into Greece, in quality of ambassadors, Titus Quinctius, Caius Octavius, Cneius Servilius, and Publius Villius; at the same time ordering, in their decree, that Marcus Baebius should lead forward his legions from Bruttium to Tarentum and Brundisium, so that, if occasion required, he might transport them thence into Macedonia. They also ordered, that Marcus Fulvius, the prætor, should send a fleet of thirty ships to protect the coast of Sicily; and that, whoever had the direction of that fleet, should be invested with supreme authority. To this commission was appointed Lucius Oppius Salinator, who had been plebeian ædile the year before. They likewise determined, that the same prætor should write to his colleague, Lucius Valerius, that “there was reason to apprehend that the ships of king Antiochus would pass over from Aetolia to Sicily; for which reason the senate judged it proper, that, in addition to the army which he then had, he should enlist tumultuary soldiers, to the number of twelve thousand foot and four hundred horse, with which he might be able to defend that coast of his province which lay next to Greece.” This enlistment the prætor carried on, not only from Sicily, but from the circumjacent

islands; and strengthened all the towns on the coast which lay opposite to Greece with garrisons. To the rumours already current, the arrival of Attalus, the brother of Eumenes, added confirmation, for he brought intelligence that king Antiochus had crossed the Hellespont with his army, and that the Aetolians were putting themselves into such a posture, that by the time of his arrival they would be in arms. Thanks were given to Eumenes, in his absence, and to Attalus, who was present; and there were decreed to him free lodgings and every accommodation; that he should be presented with two horses, two suits of horsemen's armour, vases of silver to a hundred pounds' weight, and of gold to twenty pounds.

24. As one messenger after another brought intelligence that the war was on the point of breaking out, it was judged expedient that consuls should be elected as soon as possible. Wherefore the senate passed a decree, that the praetor, Marcus Fulvius, should instantly despatch a letter to the consul, informing him, that it was the will of the senate that he should leave the command of the province and army to his lieutenant-generals, and return to Rome; and that, when on the road, he should send on before him an edict appointing the assemblies for the election of consuls. The consul complied with the letter; and having sent forward the edict, arrived at Rome. There was, this year also, a warm competition, three patricians suing for one place: Publius Cornelius Scipio, son to Cneius, who had suffered a disappointment the year before, Lucius Cornelius Scipio, and Cneius Manlius Vulso. The consulship was conferred on Publius Scipio, that it might appear that the honour had only been delayed, and not refused to a person of such character. The plebeian colleague, joined with him, was Manius Acilius Glabrio. Next day were created praetors, Lucius Aemilius Paulus, Marcus Aemilius Lepidus, Marcus Junius Brutus, Aulus Cornelius Mammula, Caius Livius, and Lucius Oppius; the two last, both of them, surnamed Salinator. This was the same Oppius who had conducted the fleet of thirty ships to Sicily. While the new magistrates were settling the distribution of their provinces, orders were despatched to Marcus Baebius to pass over, with all his forces, from Brundisium to Epirus, and to keep the army stationed near Apollonia; and Marcus Fulvius, city praetor, was commissioned to build fifty new quinqueremes.

25. Such were the precautions taken by the Roman people to guard against every attempt of Antiochus. At this time, Nabis did not procrastinate hostilities, but, with his utmost force, carried on the siege of Gythium; and, being incensed against the Achaeans, for having sent succours to the besieged, he ravaged their lands. The Achaeans would not venture to engage in war, until their ambassadors should come back from Rome, and acquaint them with the sentiments of the senate: but as soon as these returned, they summoned a council at Sicyon, and also sent deputies to Titus Quinctius to ask his advice. In the council, all the members were inclined to vote for an immediate declaration of war; but a letter from Titus Quinctius, in which he recommended waiting for the Roman praetor and fleet, caused some hesitation. While some of the principal members persisted in their first opinion, and others argued that they ought to follow the counsel of the person to whom they of themselves had applied for advice, the generality waited to hear the sentiments of Philopoemen. He was praetor of Achaia at the time, and surpassed all his contemporaries both in wisdom and influence. He first observed, that “it was a wise rule, established among the Achaeans, that their praetor, when he proposed a question concerning war, should not himself declare an opinion:” and then he desired them to “fix their determination among themselves as soon as possible;” assuring them, that “their praetor would faithfully and carefully carry their decrees into execution; and would use his best endeavours, that, as far as depended on human prudence, they should not repent either of peace or war.” These words had more influence in inciting them to war, than if, by openly arguing in favour of it, he had betrayed an eager desire for the management of it. War was therefore unanimously resolved on: the time and mode of conducting it were left to the praetor without restriction. Philopoemen’s own judgment, indeed, besides it being the opinion of Quinctius, pointed it out as best to wait for the Roman fleet, which might succour Gythium by sea; but fearing that the business would not endure delay, and that not only Gythium, but the party which had been sent to protect the city, would fall into the hands of the enemy, he drew out the ships of the Achaeans.

26. The tyrant also, with the view of cutting off any supplies that

might be brought to the besieged by sea, had fitted out a small squadron, consisting of only three ships of war, with some barks and cutters, as his former fleet had been given up to the Romans, according to the treaty. In order to try the activity of these vessels, as they were then new, and, at the same time, to have every thing in fit condition for a battle, he put out to sea every day, and exercised both the rowers and marines in mock-fights; for he thought that all his hopes of succeeding in the siege depended on the circumstance of his cutting off all supplies by sea. The praetor of the Achaeans, in respect of skill for conducting operations on land, was equal to any of the most celebrated commanders both in capacity and experience, yet with naval affairs he was quite unacquainted. Being an inhabitant of Arcadia, an inland country, he was ignorant even of all foreign affairs, excepting that he had once served in Crete as commander of a body of auxiliaries. There was an old ship of four banks of oars, which had been taken eighty years before, as it was conveying Nicaea, the wife of Craterus, from Naupactum to Corinth. Led by the reputation of this ship, for it had formerly been reckoned a very famous vessel when in the king's fleet, he ordered it, though now quite rotten, and falling asunder through age, to be brought out from Aegium. The fleet sailed with this ship at its head, Tiso of Patrae, the commander, being on board it, when the ships of the Lacedaemonians from Gythium came within view. At the first shock, against a new and firm vessel, that old one, which before admitted the water through every joint, was shattered to pieces, and the whole crew were made prisoners. On the loss of the commander's ship, the rest of the fleet fled as fast as each could by means of its oars. Philopoemen himself made his escape in a light advice-boat, nor did he stop his flight until he arrived at Patrae. This untoward event did not in the least damp the spirit of a man so well versed in military affairs, and who had experienced so many vicissitudes of fortune. On the contrary, as he had failed of success in the naval line, in which he had no experience, he even conceived, thence, the greater hopes of succeeding in another, wherein he had acquired knowledge; and he affirmed, that he would quickly put an end to the tyrant's rejoicing.

27. Nabis, being both elated by this adventure, and entertaining a confident hope that he had not now any danger to apprehend from the

sea, resolved to shut up the passages on the land also, by parties stationed in proper posts. With this view, he drew off a third part of his forces from the siege of Gythium, and encamped them at Pleiae, a place which commands both Leucæ and Acriæ, on the road by which the enemy's army seemed likely to advance. While his quarters were here, and very few of his men had tents, (the generality of them having formed huts of reeds interwoven, and which they covered with leaves of trees, to serve merely as a shelter,) Philopoemen, before he came within sight, resolved to surprise him by an attack of such a kind as he did not expect. He drew together some small ships in a remote creek, on the coast of the territory of Argos, and embarked on board them a body of light-armed soldiers, mostly targeteers, furnished with slings, javelins, and other light kinds of weapons. He then coasted along the shore, until he came to a promontory near Nabis's post. Here he landed; and made his way, by night, through paths with which he was well acquainted, to Pleiae, and while the sentinels were fast asleep, as being in no immediate apprehension, he set fire to the huts in every part of the camp. Great numbers perished in the flames before they could discover the enemy's arrival, and those who did discover it could give no assistance; so that nearly the whole was destroyed by fire and sword. From both these means of destruction, however, a very small number made their escape, and fled to the principal camp before Gythium. The enemy having been thus smitten with disaster, Philopoemen forthwith led on his forces to ravage the district of Tripolis, a part of the Lacedæmonian territory, lying next to the frontiers of the Megalopolitans, and carrying off thence a vast number of men and cattle, withdrew before the tyrant could send a force from Gythium to protect the country. He then collected his whole force at Tegea, to which place he summoned a council of the Achæans and their allies; at which were present, also deputies from the Epirots and Acarnanians. Here it was resolved, that as the minds of his men were now sufficiently recovered from the shame of the disgrace suffered at sea, and those of the enemy dispirited, he should march directly to Lacedæmon; for he considered that by this measure alone could the enemy be drawn off from the siege of Gythium. On entering the enemy's country, he encamped the first day at Caryæ; and, on that

very day, Gythium was taken. Ignorant of that event, Philopoemen advanced to the Barbosthenes, a mountain ten miles from Lacedaemon. On the other side, Nabis, after taking possession of Gythium, set out, at the head of a body of light troops, marched hastily by Lacedaemon, and seized on a place called the Camp of Pyrrhus, which post he did not doubt that the Achaeans intended to occupy. From thence he proceeded to meet the enemy. From the length of their train in consequence of the narrowness of the road, they spread over a space of almost five miles. The line was closed by the cavalry and the greatest part of the auxiliaries, because Philopoemen expected that the tyrant would attack him in the rear with his mercenary troops, in whom he placed his principal confidence. Two unforeseen circumstances at once filled him with uneasiness: one, the post at which he aimed being pre-occupied; the other, the enemy having met him in front, where, as the road lay through very uneven ground, he did not see how the battalions could advance without the support of the light troops.

28. Philopoemen was possessed of an admirable degree of skill and experience, in conducting a march, and choosing his station; having made these points his principal study, not only in times of war, but likewise during peace. Whenever he was making a journey to any place and came to a defile where the passage was difficult, it was his practice, first, to examine the nature of the ground on every side. When journeying alone, he meditated within himself; if he had company, he asked them, "If an enemy should appear in that place, what course ought he to adopt, if they should attack him in front; what, if on this flank, or on that; what, if on the rear; for he might happen to meet them while his men were formed with a regular front, or when they were in the loose order of march, fit only for the road." He would proceed to examine, either in his own mind, or by asking questions, "What ground he himself would choose; what number of soldiers, or what kind of arms (which was a very material point) he ought to employ; where he should deposit the baggage, where the soldiers' necessities, where the unarmed multitude; with what number and what kind of troops he should guard them, and whether it would be better to prosecute his march as intended, or to return back by the way he came; what spot, also, he should choose for his

camp; how large a space he should enclose within the lines; where he could be conveniently supplied with water; where a sufficiency of forage and wood could be had; which would be his safest road on decamping next day, and in what form the army should march?" In such studies and inquiries he had, from his early years, so frequently exercised his thoughts, that, on any thing of the kind occurring, no expedient that could be devised was new to him. On this occasion, he first ordered the army to halt; then sent forward to the van the auxiliary Cretans, and the horsemen called Tarentines, each leading two spare horses; and, ordering the rest of the cavalry to follow, he seized on a rock which stood over a rivulet, from which he might be supplied with water. Here he collected together all the baggage with all the suttlers and followers of the army, placing a guard of soldiers round them; and then he fortified his camp, as the nature of the place required. The pitching of tents in such rugged and uneven ground was a difficult task. The enemy were distant not more than five hundred paces. Both drew water from the same rivulet, under escorts of light troops; but, before any skirmish took place, as usual between men encamped so near to each other, night came on. It was evident, however, that they must, unavoidably, fight next day at the rivulet, in support of the watering parties. Wherefore, during the night, Philopoemen concealed, in a valley remote from the view of the enemy, as great a number of targeteers as the place was capable of hiding.

29. At break of day, the Cretan light infantry and the Tarentine horse began an engagement on the bank of the rivulet. Telemnastus, a Cretan, commanded his countrymen; Lycortas of Megalopolis, the cavalry. The enemies' watering party also was guarded by Cretan auxiliaries and Tarentine horsemen. The fight was, for a considerable time, doubtful, as the troops on both sides were of the same kind and armed alike; but as the contest advanced, the tyrant's auxiliaries gained an advantage, both by their superiority of numbers, and because Philopoemen had given directions to his officers, that, after maintaining the contest for a short time they should betake themselves to flight, and draw the enemy on to the place of the ambuscade. The latter, pursuing the runaways, in disorderly haste, through the valley, were most of them wounded and slain, before

they discovered their concealed foe. The targeteers had posted themselves in such order, as far as the breadth of the valley allowed, that they easily gave a passage to their flying friends, through openings in their ranks; then starting up themselves, hale, fresh, and in regular order, they briskly attacked the enemy, whose ranks were broken, who were scattered in confusion, and were, besides, exhausted with fatigue and wounds. The victory was no longer doubtful; the tyrant's troops instantly turned their backs, and flying with much more precipitation than they had pursued, were driven into their camp. Great numbers were killed and taken in the pursuit; and the consternation would have spread through the camp also, had not Philopoemen ordered a retreat to be sounded; for he dreaded the ground (which was rough and dangerous to advance on without caution) more than he did the enemy. Judging, both from the issue of the battle and from the disposition of the enemy's leader, in what apprehension he then was, he sent to him one of the auxiliary soldiers in the character of a deserter, to assure him positively, that the Achaeans had resolved to advance, next day, to the river Eurotas, which runs almost close to the walls, in order to intercept his way, so that the tyrant could have no retreat to the city when he required it, and to prevent any provisions being brought thence to the camp; and that they intended, at the same time, to try whether any could be prevailed on to desert his cause. Although the deserter did not gain entire credit, yet he afforded to one, who was full of apprehensions, a plausible pretext for leaving his camp. On the day following, he ordered Pythagoras, with the auxiliaries and cavalry, to mount guard before the rampart; and then, marching out himself with the main body of the army, as if intending to offer battle, he ordered them to return with all haste to the city.

30. When Philopoemen saw their army marching precipitately through a narrow and steep road, he sent all his cavalry, together with the Cretan auxiliaries, against the guard of the enemy, stationed in the front of their camp. These, seeing their adversaries approach, and perceiving that their friends had abandoned them, at first attempted to retreat within their works; but afterwards, when the whole force of the Achaeans advanced in order of battle, they were seized with fear, lest, together with the camp itself, they might be

taken; they resolved, therefore, to follow the body of their army, which, by this time, had proceeded to a considerable distance in advance. Immediately, the targeteers of the Achaeans assailed and plundered the camp, and the rest set out in pursuit of the enemy. The road was such, that a body of men, even when undisturbed by any fear of a foe, could not, without difficulty, make its way through it. But when an attack was made on their rear, and the shouts of terror, raised by the affrighted troops behind, reached to the van, they threw down their arms, and fled, each for himself, in different directions, into the woods which lay on each side of the road. In an instant of time, the way was stopped up with heaps of weapons, particularly spears, which, falling mostly with their points towards the pursuers, formed a kind of palisade across the road. Philopoemen ordered the auxiliaries to push forward, whenever they could, in pursuit of the enemy, who would find it a difficult matter, the horsemen particularly, to continue their flight; while he himself led away the heavy troops through more open ground to the river Eurotas. There he pitched his camp a little before sun-set, and waited for the light troops which he had sent in chase of the enemy. These arrived at the first watch, and brought intelligence, that Nabis, with a few attendants, had made his way into the city, and that the rest of his army, unarmed and dispersed, were straggling through all parts of the woods; whereupon, he ordered them to refresh themselves, while he himself chose out a party of men, who, having come earlier into camp, were by this time, both recruited by food and a little rest; and, ordering them to carry nothing with them but their swords, he marched them out directly, and posted them in the roads which led from two of the gates, one towards Pherae, the other towards the Barbosthenes: for he supposed, that through these the flying enemy would make their retreat. Nor was he mistaken in that opinion; for the Lacedaemonians, as long as any light remained, retreated through the centre of the woods in the most retired paths. As soon as it grew dusk, and they saw lights in the enemy's camp, they kept themselves in paths concealed from view; but having passed it by, they then thought that all was safe, and came down into the open roads, where they were intercepted by the parties lying in wait; and there such numbers of them were killed and taken, that of the whole army

scarcely a fourth part effected their escape. As the tyrant was now pent up within the city, Philopoemen employed the greatest part of thirty succeeding days in ravaging the lands of the Lacedaemonians; and then, after greatly reducing, and almost annihilating the strength of the tyrant, he returned home, while the Achaeans extolled him as equal in the glory of his services to the Roman general, and indeed, so far as regarded the war with Lacedaemon, even deemed him superior.

31. While the Achaeans and the tyrant were carrying on the war in this manner, the Roman ambassadors made a circuit through the cities of the allies; being anxious lest the Aetolians might seduce some of them to join the party of Antiochus. They took but little pains, in their applications to the Achaeans; because, knowing their animosity against Nabis, they thought that they might be safely relied on with regard to other matters. They went first to Athens, thence to Chalcis, thence to Thessaly; and, after addressing the Thessalians, in a full assembly, they directed their route to Demetrias, to which place a council of the Magnetians was summoned. There a more studied address required to be delivered; for a great many of the leading men were disaffected to the Romans, and entirely devoted to the interests of Antiochus and the Aetolians; because, at the time when accounts were received that Philip's son, who was a hostage, would be restored to him, and the tribute imposed on him remitted, among other groundless reports it had been given out, that the Romans also intended to restore Demetrias to him. Rather than that should take place, Eurylochus, a deputy of the Magnetians, and others of that faction, wished for a total change of measures to be effected by the coming of Antiochus and the Aetolians. In opposition to those, it was necessary to reason in such a manner, that, in dispelling their mistaken fear, the ambassadors should not, by cutting off his hopes at once, give any disgust to Philip, to whom more importance attached, in all respects, than to the Magnetians. They only observed to the assembly, that, "as Greece in general was under an obligation to the Romans for their kindness in restoring its liberty, so was their state in particular. For there had not only been a garrison of Macedonians in their capital, but a palace had been built in it, that they might have a master continually before their eyes. But all that had been done

would be of no effect, if the Aetolians should bring thither Antiochus, and settle him in the abode of Philip, so that a new and unknown king should be set over them, in the place of an old one, with whom they had been long acquainted.” Their chief magistrate is styled Magnetarch. This office was then held by Eurylochus, who assuming confidence from this powerful station, openly declared that he and the Magnetians saw no reason to dissemble their having heard the common report about the restoration of Demetrias to Philip; to prevent which, the Magnetians were bound to attempt and to hazard every thing; and, in the eagerness of discourse, he was carried to such an inconsiderate length, as to throw out, that, “at that very time Demetrias was only free in appearance; and that, in reality, all things were at the nod of the Romans.” Immediately after this expression there was a general murmur of dissent in the assembly; some of whom showed their approbation, others expressed indignation at his presumption, in uttering it. As to Quinctius, he was so inflamed with anger, that, raising his hands towards heaven, he invoked the gods to witness the ungrateful and perfidious disposition of the Magnetians. This struck terror into the whole assembly; and one of the deputies, named Zeno, who had acquired a great degree of influence, by his judicious course of conduct in life, and by having been always an avowed supporter of the interests of the Romans, with tears besought Quinctius, and the other ambassadors, “not to impute to the state the madness of an individual. Every man,” he said, “was answerable for his own absurdities. As to the Magnetians, they were indebted to Titus Quinctius and the Roman people, not only for liberty, but for every thing that mankind hold valuable or sacred. By their kindness, they were in the enjoyment of every blessing, for which they could ever petition the immortal gods; and, if struck with phrensy they would sooner vent their fury on their own persons, than violate the friendship with Rome.”

32. His entreaties were seconded by the prayers of the whole assembly; on which Eurylochus retired hastily from the council, and passing to the gate through private streets fled away into Aetolia. As to the Aetolians, they now gave plainer indications of their intention to revolt every day; and it happened, that at this very time Thoas, one of their leading men, whom they had sent to Antiochus, returned, and

brought back with him an ambassador from the king, named Menippus. These two, before the council met to give them audience, filled every one's ears with pompous accounts of the naval and land forces that were coming; "a vast army," they said, "of horse and foot was on its march from India; and, besides, that they were bringing such a quantity of gold and silver, as was sufficient to purchase the Romans themselves;" which latter circumstance they knew would influence the multitude more than any thing else. It was easy to foresee what effects these reports would produce in the council; for the Roman ambassadors received information of the arrival of those men, and of all their proceedings. And although the matter had almost come to a rupture, yet Quinctius thought it advisable, that some ambassadors of the allies should be present in that council, who might remind the Aetolians of their alliance with Rome, and who might have the courage to speak with freedom in opposition to the king's ambassador. The Athenians seemed to be the best qualified for this purpose, by reason of the high reputation of their state, and also from their long-standing alliance with the Aetolians. Quinctius, therefore, requested of them to send ambassadors to the Panaetolic council. At the first meeting, Thoas made a report of the business of his embassy. After him, Menippus was introduced, who said, that "it would have been best for all the Greeks, residing both in Greece and Asia, if Antiochus could have taken a part in their affairs, while the power of Philip was yet unbroken; for then every one would have had what of right belonged to him, and the whole would not have come under the dominion and absolute disposal of the Romans. But even as matters stand at present," said he, "provided you have constancy enough to carry into effect the measures which you have adopted, Antiochus will be able, with the assistance of the gods and the alliance of the Aetolians, to reinstate the affairs of Greece in their former rank of dignity, notwithstanding the low condition to which they have been reduced. But this dignity consists in a state of freedom which stands by its own resources, and is not dependent on the will of another." The Athenians, who were permitted to deliver their sentiments next after the king's ambassadors, omitting all mention of Antiochus, reminded the Aetolians of their alliance with Rome, and the benefits conferred by Titus Quinctius on the whole

body of Greece; and admonished them, “not inconsiderately to break off that connexion by the undue precipitation of their counsels; that passionate and adventurous schemes, however flattering at first view, prove difficult in the execution, and disastrous in the issue; that as the Roman ambassadors, and among them Titus Quinctius, were within a small distance, it would be better, while all hostilities were as yet uncommenced, to discuss, in conference, any matters in dispute, than to rouse Europe and Asia to a dreadful war.”

33. The multitude, ever fond of novelty, warmly espoused the cause of Antiochus, and gave their opinion, that the Romans should not even be admitted into the council; but, by the influence chiefly of the elder members, a vote was passed, that the council should give audience to the Romans. On being acquainted, by the Athenians, with this determination, Quinctius thought it desirable to go into Aetolia; for he thought that, “either he should be able to effect some change in their designs; or that it would be manifest to all mankind, that the blame of the war would lie on the Aetolians, and that the Romans would be warranted in taking arms by justice, and, in a manner, by necessity.” On arriving there, Quinctius, in his discourse to the council, began with the first formation of the alliance between the Romans and the Aetolians, and enumerated how many times the faith of the treaty had been violated by them. He then enlarged a little on the rights of the states concerned in the dispute, and added, that, “notwithstanding, if they thought that they had any reasonable demand to make, it would surely be infinitely better to send ambassadors to Rome, whether they chose to argue the case or to make a request to the senate, than that the Roman people should enter the lists with Antiochus, while the Aetolians acted as marshals of the field; not without great disturbance to the affairs of the world, and to the utter ruin of Greece.” That “no people would feel the fatal consequences of such a war sooner than the first promoters of it.” This prediction of the Roman was disregarded. Thoas, and others of the same faction, were then heard with general approbation; and they prevailed so far, that, without adjourning the meeting, or waiting for the absence of the Romans, a decree was passed that Antiochus should be invited to vindicate the liberty of Greece, and decide the dispute between the Aetolians and the Romans. To the insolence of

this decree, their praetor, Damocritus, added a personal affront: for on Quinctius asking him for a copy of the decree, without any respect to the dignity of the person to whom he spoke, he told him, that “he had, at present, more pressing business to despatch; but he would shortly give him the decree, and an answer, in Italy, from his camp on the banks of the Tiber.” Such was the degree of madness which possessed, at that time, both the nation of the Aetolians and their magistrates.

34. Quinctius and the ambassadors returned to Corinth. The Aetolians, that they might appear to intend taking every step through Antiochus, and none directly of themselves, and, sitting inactive, to be waiting for the arrival of the king, though they did not, after the departure of the Romans, hold a council of the whole nation, yet endeavoured, by their Apocleti, (a more confidential council, composed of persons selected from the rest,) to devise schemes for setting Greece in commotion. It was well known to them all, that in the several states the principal people, particularly those of the best characters, were disposed to maintain the Roman alliance, and well pleased with the present state of affairs; but that the populace, and especially such as were not content with their position, wished for a general revolution. The Aetolians, at one day’s sitting, formed a scheme, the very conception of which argued not only boldness, but impudence, — that of making themselves masters of Demetrias, Chalcis, and Lacedaemon. One of their principal men was sent to each of these places; Thoas to Chalcis, Alexamenus to Lacedaemon, Diodes to Demetrias. This last was assisted by the exile Eurylochus, whose flight, and the cause of it, have been mentioned above, because there was no other prospect of his restoration to his country. Eurylochus, by letter, instructed his friends and relations, and those of his own faction, to order his wife and children to assume a mourning dress: and, holding the badges of supplicants, to go into a full assembly, and to beseech each individual, and the whole body, not to suffer a man, who was innocent and uncondemned, to grow old in exile. The simple-minded were moved by compassion; the ill-disposed and seditious, by the hope of seeing all things thrown into confusion, in consequence of the tumults which the Aetolians would excite; and every one voted for his being recalled. These preparatory

measures being effected, Diocles, at that time general of the horse, with all the cavalry, set out under pretext of escorting to his home the exile, who was his guest. Having, during that day and the following night, marched an extraordinary length of way, and arrived within six miles of the city at the first dawn, he chose out three troops, at the head of which he went on before the rest of the cavalry, whom he ordered to follow. When he came near the gate he made all his men dismount, and lead their horses by the reins, without keeping their ranks, but like travellers on a journey, in order that they might appear to be the retinue of the general, rather than a military force. Here he left one troop at the gate, lest the cavalry, who were coming up, might be shut out; and then, holding Eurylochus by the hand, conducted him to his house through the middle of the city and the forum, and through crowds who met and congratulated him. In a little time the city was filled with horsemen, and convenient posts were seized; and then parties were sent to the houses of persons of the opposite faction, to put them to death. In this manner Demetrias fell into the hands of the Aetolians.

35. At Lacedaemon, the city was not to be attempted by force, but the tyrant to be entrapped by stratagem. For though he had been stripped of the maritime towns by the Romans, and afterwards shut up within the walls of his city by the Achaeans, they supposed that whoever took the first opportunity of killing him would engross the whole thanks of the Lacedaemonians. The pretence which they had for sending to him, was, that he had long solicited assistance from them, since, by their advice, he had renewed the war. A thousand foot were put under the command of Alexamenus, with thirty horsemen, chosen from among the youth. These received a charge from Damocritus, the praetor, in the select council of the nation, mentioned above, “not to suppose that they were sent to a war with the Achaeans; or even on other business, which any one might ascertain to himself from his own conjectures. Whatever sudden enterprise circumstances might direct Alexamenus to undertake, that (however unexpected, rash, or daring) they were to hold themselves in readiness to execute with implicit obedience; and should understand that to be the matter, for the sole purpose of effecting which they had been sent abroad.” With these men, thus pre-

instructed, Alexamenus came to the tyrant, and, immediately on approaching him, filled him with hopes; telling him, that “Antiochus had already come over into Europe; that he would shortly be in Greece, and would cover the lands and seas with men and arms; that the Romans would find that they had not Philip to deal with: that the numbers of the horsemen, footmen, and ships, could not be reckoned; and that the train of elephants, by their mere appearance, would effectually daunt the enemy: that the Aetolians were prepared to come to Lacedaemon with their entire force, whenever occasion required; but that they wished to show the king, on his arrival, a numerous body of troops: that Nabis himself, likewise, ought to take care not to suffer his soldiers to be enervated by inaction, and dwelling in houses; but to lead them out, and make them perform their evolutions under arms, which, while it exercised their bodies, would also rouse their courage; that the labour would become lighter by practice, and might even be rendered not unpleasing by the affability and kindness of their commander.” Thenceforward, the troops used frequently to be drawn out under the walls of the city, in a plain near the river Eurotas. The tyrant’s life-guards were generally posted in the centre. He himself, attended by three horsemen at the most, of whom Alexamenus was commonly one, rode about in front, and went to view both wings to their extremities. On the right wing were the Aetolians; both those who had been before in his army as auxiliaries, and the thousand who came with Alexamenus. Alexamenus made it his custom to ride about with Nabis through a few of the ranks, offering such advice as seemed most suitable; then to join his own troops in the right wing; and presently after, as if having given the orders which the occasion might require, to return to the tyrant. But, on the day which he had fixed for the perpetration of the deed of death, after accompanying the tyrant for a little time, he withdrew to his own soldiers, and addressed the horsemen, sent from home with him, in these words: “Young men, that deed is now to be dared and done which you were ordered to execute valiantly under my guidance. Have your courage and your hands ready, that none may fail to second me in whatever he sees me attempt. If any one shall hesitate, and prefer any scheme of his own to mine, let him rest assured that there is no return to his home for him.” Horror

seized them all, and they well remembered the charge which they had received at setting out. The tyrant was now coming from the left wing. Alexamenus ordered his horsemen to rest their lances, and keep their eyes fixed on him; and in the mean time he himself recollected his spirits, which had been discomposed by the meditation of such a desperate attempt. As soon as the tyrant came near, he charged him; and driving his spear through his horse, brought the rider to the ground. The horsemen aimed their lances at him as he lay, and after many ineffectual strokes against his coat of mail, their points at length penetrated his body, so that, before relief could be sent from the centre, he expired.

36. Alexamenus, with all the Aetolians, hastened away, to seize on the palace. Nabis's life-guards were at first struck with horror, the act being perpetrated before their eyes; then, when they observed the Aetolian troops leaving the place, they gathered round the tyrant's body, where it was left, forming, instead of guardians of his life or avengers of his death, a mere group of spectators. Nor would any one have stirred, if Alexamenus had immediately called the people to an assembly, and, with his arms laid aside, there made a speech suitable to the occasion, and afterwards kept a good number of Aetolians in arms, without violence being offered to any one. Instead of which, by a fatality which ought to attend all designs founded in treachery, every step was taken that could tend to hasten the destruction of those who had committed it. The commander, shut up in the palace, wasted a day and a night in searching out the tyrant's treasures; and the Aetolians, as if they had stormed the city, of which they wished to be thought the deliverers, betook themselves to plunder. The insolence of their behaviour, and at the same time contempt of their numbers, gave the Lacedaemonians courage to assemble in a body, when some said, that they ought to drive out the Aetolians, and resume their liberty, which had been ravished from them at the very time when it seemed to be restored; others, that, for the sake of appearance, they ought to associate with them some one of the royal family, as the director of their efforts. There was a very young boy of that family, named Laconicus, who had been educated with the tyrant's children; him they mounted on a horse, and taking arms, slew all the Aetolians whom they met straggling through the city.

They then assaulted the palace, where they killed Alexamenus, who, with a small party, attempted resistance. Others of the Aetolians, who had collected together round the Chalciaecon, that is, the brazen temple of Minerva, were cut to pieces. A few, throwing away their arms, fled, some to Tegea, others to Megalopolis, where they were seized by the magistrates, and sold as slaves. Philopoemen, as soon as he heard of the murder of the tyrant, went to Lacedaemon, where, finding all in confusion and consternation, he called together the principal inhabitants, to whom he addressed a discourse, (such as ought to have been made by Alexamenus,) and united the Lacedaemonians to the confederacy of the Achaeans. To this they were the more easily persuaded, because, at that very juncture, Aulus Atilius happened to arrive at Gythium with twenty-four quinqueremes.

37. Meanwhile, Thoas, in his attempt on Chalcis, had by no means the same good fortune as Eurylochus had in getting possession of Demetrias; although, (by the intervention of Euthymidas, a man of considerable consequence, who, after the arrival of Titus Quinctius and the ambassadors, had been banished by those who adhered to the Roman alliance; and also of Herodorus, who was a merchant of Cios, and who, by means of his wealth, possessed a powerful influence at Chalcis,) he had engaged a party, composed of Euthymidas's faction, to betray the city into his hands. Euthymidas went from Athens, where he had fixed his residence, first to Thebes, and thence to Salganea; Herodorus to Thronium. At a small distance, on the Malian bay, Thoas had two thousand foot and two hundred horse, with as many as thirty light transport ships. With these vessels, carrying six hundred footmen, Herodorus was ordered to sail to the island of Atalanta, that, as soon as he should perceive the land forces approaching Aulus and the Euripus, he might pass over from thence to Chalcis; to which place Thoas himself led the rest of his forces, marching mostly by night, and with all possible expedition.

38. Mictio and Xenoclide, who were now, since the banishment of Euthymidas, in possession of the supreme power, either of themselves suspected the matter, or received some information of it, and were at first so greatly terrified, that they saw no prospect of safety but in flight; but afterwards, when their fright subsided, and

they considered that, by such a step, they would betray and desert not only their country, but the Roman alliance, they applied their minds to the following plan. It happened that, at that very time, there was a solemn anniversary festival, celebrated at Eretria, in honour of Diana Amarynthis, which was always attended by great numbers, not only of the natives, but also of the Carystians: thither they sent envoys to beseech the Eretrians and Carystians, "as having been born in the same isle, to compassionate their situation; and, at the same time, to show their regard to the friendship of Rome: not to suffer Chalcis to become the property of the Aetolians; that if they should possess Chalcis they would obtain possession of all Euboea: and to remind them, that they had found the Macedonians grievous masters, but that the Aetolians would be much more intolerable." The consideration of the Romans chiefly influenced those states, as they had lately experienced both their bravery in war, and their justice and liberality in success. Both states, therefore, armed, and sent the main strength of their young men. To these the people of Chalcis intrusted the defence of the walls, and they themselves, with their whole force, crossed the Euripus, and encamped at Salganea. From that place they despatched, first a herald, and afterwards ambassadors, to ask the Aetolians, for what word or act of theirs, friends and allies came thus to invade them. Thoas, commander of the Aetolians, answered, that "he came not to attack them, but to deliver them from the Romans; that they were fettered at present with a brighter chain indeed, but a much heavier one, than when they had a Macedonian garrison in their citadel." The men of Chalcis replied that "they were neither under bondage to any one, nor in need of the protection of any." The ambassadors then withdrew from the meeting, and returned to their countrymen. Thoas and the Aetolians (who had no other hopes than in a sudden surprise, and were by no means in a capacity to undertake a regular war, and the siege of a city so well secured against any attack from the land or the sea) returned home. Euthymidas, on hearing that his countrymen were encamped at Salganea, and that the Aetolians had retired, went back from Thebes to Athens. Herodorus, after waiting several days at Atalanta, attentively watching for the concerted signal in vain, sent an advice-boat to learn the cause of the delay; and, understanding that the

enterprise was abandoned by his associates, returned to Thronium from whence he had come.

39. Quinctius, having been informed of these proceedings, came with the fleet from Corinth, and met Eumenes in the Euripus of Chalcis. It was agreed between them, that king Eumenes should leave there five hundred of his soldiers, for the purpose of a garrison, and should go himself to Athens. Quinctius proceeded to Demetrias, as he had purposed from the first, hoping that the relief of Chalcis would prove a strong inducement to the Magnetians to renew the alliance with Rome. And, in order that such of them as favoured his views might have some support at hand, he wrote to Eunomus, praetor of the Thessalians, to arm the youth; sending Villius forward to Demetrias, to sound the inclinations of the people: but not with a view to take any step in the business, unless a considerable number of them were disposed to revive the former treaty of amity. Villius, in a ship of five banks of oars, came to the mouth of the harbour, and the whole multitude of the Magnetians hastened out thither. Villius then asked, whether they chose that he should consider himself as having come to friends, or to enemies? Eurylochus, the Magnetarch, answered, that “he had come to friends; but desired him not to enter the harbour, but to suffer the Magnetians to live in freedom and harmony; and not to attempt, under the show of friendly converse, to seduce the minds of the populace.” Then followed an altercation, not a conference, the Roman upbraiding the Magnetians with ingratitude, and forewarning them of the calamities impending over them; the multitude, on the other side, clamorously reproaching him, and reviling, sometimes the senate, sometimes Quinctius. Villius, therefore, unable to effect any part of his business, went back to Quinctius, who despatched orders to the Thessalian praetor, to lead his troops home, while himself returned with his ships to Corinth.

40. The affairs of Greece, blended with those of Rome, have carried me away, as it were, out of my course: not that they were in themselves deserving of a recital, but because they constituted the causes of the war with Antiochus. After the consular election, for thence I digressed, the consuls, Lucius Quinctius and Cneius Domitius, repaired to their provinces; Quinctius to Liguria, Domitius against the Boians. The Boians kept themselves quiet; nay, the

senators, with their children, and the commanding officers of the cavalry, with their troops, amounting in all to one thousand five hundred, surrendered to the consul. The other consul laid waste the country of the Ligurians to a wide extent, and took some forts: in which expeditions he not only acquired booty of all sorts, together with many prisoners, but he also recovered several of his countrymen, and of the allies, who had been in the hands of the enemy. In this year a colony was settled at Vibo, in pursuance of a decree of the senate and an order of the people; three thousand seven hundred footmen, and three hundred horsemen, went out thither, conducted by the commissioners Quintus Naevius, Marcus Minucius, and Marcus Furius Crassipes. Fifteen acres of ground were assigned to each footman, double that quantity to a horseman. This land had been last in possession of the Bruttians, who had taken it from the Greeks. About this time two dreadful causes of alarm happened at Rome, one of which continued long, but was less active than the other. An earthquake lasted through thirty-eight days; during all which time there was a total cessation of business, amidst anxiety and fears. On account of this event, a supplication was performed of three days' continuance. The other was not a mere fright, but attended with the actual loss of many lives. In consequence of a fire breaking out in the cattle-market, the conflagration, among the houses near to the Tiber, continued through all that day and the following night, and all the shops, with wares of very great value, were reduced to ashes.

41. The year was now almost at an end, while the rumours of impending hostility, and, consequently, the anxiety of the senate, daily increased. They therefore set about adjusting the provinces of the magistrates elect, in order that they might be all the more intent on duty. They decreed, that those of the consuls should be Italy, and whatever other place the senate should vote, for every one knew that a war against Antiochus was now a settled point. That he, to whose lot the latter province fell, should have under his command, — of Roman citizens, four thousand foot and three hundred horse; and of the Latin confederates, six thousand foot and four hundred horse. The consul, Lucius Quinctius, was ordered to levy these troops, that no delay might be occasioned, but that the new consul might be able

to proceed immediately to any place which the senate should appoint. Concerning the provinces of the praetors, also, it was decreed, that the first lot should comprehend the two jurisdictions, both that between natives, and that between them and foreigners; the second should be Bruttium; the third, the fleet, to sail wherever the senate should direct; the fourth, Sicily; the fifth, Sardinia; the sixth, Farther Spain. An order was also given to the consul Lucius Quinctius, to levy two new legions of Roman citizens, and of the allies and Latins twenty thousand foot and eight hundred horse. This army they assigned to the praetor to whom should fall the province of Bruttium. Two temples were dedicated this year to Jupiter in the Capitol; one of which had been vowed by Lucius Furius Purpureo, when praetor during the Gallic war; the other by the same, when consul. Quintus Marcius Ralla, duumvir, dedicated both. Many severe sentences were passed this year on usurers, who were prosecuted, as private persons, by the curule aediles, Marcus Tuccius and Publius Junius Brutus. Out of the fines imposed on those who were convicted, gilded chariots, with four horses, were placed in the recess of Jupiter's temple in the Capitol, over the canopy of the shrine, and also twelve gilded bucklers. The same aediles built a portico on the outside of the Triple Gate, in the Carpenters' Square.

42. While the Romans were busily employed in preparing for a new war, Antiochus, on his part, was not idle. Three cities detained him some time, Smyrna, Alexandria in Troas, and Lampsacus, which hitherto he had not been able either to reduce by force, or to persuade into a treaty of amity; and he was unwilling, on going into Europe, to leave these behind (as enemies). A deliberation also respecting Hannibal occasioned him further delay. First, the open ships, which the king was to have sent with him to Africa, were slowly prepared, and afterwards a consultation was set on foot whether he ought to be sent at all, chiefly by Thoas the Aetolian; who, after setting all Greece in commotion, came with the account of Demetrias being in the hands of his countrymen; and as he had, by false representations concerning the king, and multiplying, in his assertions, the numbers of his forces, exalted the expectations of many in Greece; so now, by the same artifices, he puffed up the hopes of the king; telling him, that "every one was inviting him with their prayers, and that there

would be a general rush to the shore, from which the people could catch a view of the royal fleet.” He even had the audacity to attempt altering the king’s judgment respecting Hannibal when it was nearly settled. For he alleged, that “the fleet ought not to be weakened by sending away any part of it, but that if ships must be sent no person was less fit for the command than Hannibal, for he was an exile and a Carthaginian, to whom his own circumstances or his disposition might daily suggest a thousand new schemes. Then as to his military fame, by which, as by a dowry, he was recommended to notice, it was too splendid for an officer acting under a king. The king ought to be the grand object of view; the king ought to appear the sole leader, the sole commander. If Hannibal should lose a fleet or an army the amount of the damage would be the same as if the loss were incurred by any other general; but should success be obtained, all the honour would be ascribed to Hannibal, and not to Antiochus. Besides, if the war should prove so fortunate as to terminate finally in the defeat of the Romans, could it be expected that Hannibal would live under a king; subject, in short, to an individual; he who could scarcely bear subjection to his own country? That he had not so conducted himself from early youth, having embraced the empire of the globe in his hopes and aspirations, that in his old age he would be likely to endure a master. The king wanted not Hannibal as a general: as an attendant and a counsellor in the business of the war, he might properly employ him. A moderate use of such abilities would be neither unprofitable nor dangerous; but if advantages of the highest nature were sought through him, they, probably, would be the destruction both of the giver and the receiver.”

43. There are no dispositions more prone to envy than those of persons whose mental qualifications are inferior to their birth and rank in life; because they are indignant both at the merit and the possessions of another. The design of the expedition, to be commanded by Hannibal, the only one thought of that could be of use, in the beginning of the war, was immediately laid aside. The king, highly flattered by the defection of Demetrias from the Romans to the Aetolians, resolved to delay no longer his departure into Greece. Before the fleet weighed anchor he went up from the shore to Ilium, to offer sacrifice to Minerva. Immediately on his return he set

sail with forty decked ships and sixty open ones, followed by two hundred transports, laden with provisions and warlike stores. He first touched at the island of Imbrus; thence he passed over to Sciathus; whence, after collecting the ships which had been separated during the voyage, he proceeded to Pteleum, the nearest part of the continent. Here, Eurylochus the Magnetarch, and other principal Magnetians from Demetrias, met him. Being greatly gratified by their numerous appearance, he carried his fleet the next day into the harbour of their city. At a small distance from the town he landed his forces, which consisted of ten thousand foot, five hundred horse, and six elephants; a force scarcely sufficient to take possession of Greece alone, much less to sustain a war with Rome. The Aetolians, as soon as they were informed of Antiochus's arrival at Demetrias, convened a general council, and passed a decree, inviting him into their country. The king had already left Demetrias, (for he knew that such a decree was to be passed,) and had advanced as far as Phalara on the Malian bay. Here the decree was presented to him, and then he proceeded to Lamia, where he was received by the populace with marks of the warmest attachment, with clapping of hands and shouting, and other signs by which the extravagant joy of the vulgar is testified.

44. When he came into the council he was introduced by Phaeneas, the praetor, and other persons of eminence, who, with difficulty, made way for him through the crowd. Then, silence being ordered, the king addressed himself to the assembly. He began with accounting for his having come with a force so much smaller than every one had hoped and expected. "That," he said, "ought to be deemed the strongest proof of the warmth of his good-will towards them; because, though he was not sufficiently prepared in any particular, and though the season was yet too early for sailing, he had, without hesitation, complied with the call of their ambassadors, and had believed that when the Aetolians should see him among them they would be satisfied that in him, even if he were unattended, they might be sure of every kind of support. But he would also abundantly fulfil the hopes of those, whose expectations seemed at present to be disappointed. For as soon as the season of the year rendered navigation safe, he would cover all Greece with arms, men,

and horses, and all its coasts with fleets. He would spare neither expense, nor labour, nor danger, until he should remove the Roman yoke from their necks, and render Greece really free, and the Aetolians the first among its states. That, together with the armies, stores of all kinds were to come from Asia. For the present the Aetolians ought to take care that his men might be properly supplied with corn, and other accommodations, at reasonable rates.”

45. Having addressed them to this purport, and with universal approbation, the king withdrew. After his departure a warm debate ensued between two of the Aetolian chiefs, Phaeneas and Thoas. Phaeneas declared his opinion, that it would be better to employ Antiochus, as a mediator of peace, and an umpire respecting the matters in dispute with the Roman people, than as leader in a war. That “his presence and his dignified station would impress the Romans with awe, more powerfully than his arms. That in many cases men, for the sake of avoiding war, voluntarily remit pretensions, which force and arms would never compel them to forego.” Thoas, on the other hand, insisted, that “Phaeneas’s motive was not a love of peace, but a wish to embarrass their preparations for war, with the view that, through the tediousness of the proceedings, the king’s vigour might be relaxed and the Romans gain time to put themselves in readiness. That they had abundant proof from experience, after so many embassies sent to Rome, and so many conferences with Quinctius in person, that nothing reasonable could ever be obtained from the Romans in the way of negotiation; and that they would not, until every hope of that sort was out of sight, have implored the aid of Antiochus. That as he had appeared among them sooner than any had expected, they ought not to sink into indolence, but rather to petition the king, that since he had come in person, which was the great point of all, to support the rights of Greece, he would also send for his fleets and armies. For the king, at the head of an army, might obtain something, but without that could have very little influence with the Romans, either in the cause of the Aetolians, or even in his own.” This opinion was adopted, and the council voted, that the title of general should be conferred on the king. They also nominated thirty distinguished men with whom he might deliberate on any business which he might think proper. — The

council was then broken up, and all went home to their respective states.

46. Next day the king held a consultation with their select council, respecting the place from whence his operations should commence. They judged it best to make the first trial on Chalcis, which had lately been attempted in vain by the Aetolians; and they thought that the business required rather expedition than any great exertion or preparation. Accordingly the king, with a thousand foot, who had followed him from Demetrias, took his route through Phocis; and the Aetolian chiefs, going by another road, met at Cheronaea a small number of their young men whom they had called to arms, and thence, in ten decked ships, proceeded after him. Antiochus pitched his camp at Salganea, while himself, with the Aetolian chiefs, crossed the Euripus in the ships. When he had advanced a little way from the harbour, the magistrates and other chief men of Chalcis came out before their gate. A small number from each side met to confer together. The Aetolians warmly recommended to the others, “without violating the friendship subsisting between them and the Romans, to receive the king also as a friend and ally; for that he had crossed into Europe not for the purpose of making war, but of vindicating the liberty of Greece; and of vindicating it in reality, not in words and pretence merely, as the Romans had done. Nothing could be more advantageous to the states of Greece than to embrace the alliance of both, as they would then be always secure against ill-treatment from either, under the guarantee and protection of the other. If they refuse to receive the king, they ought to consider what they would have immediately to suffer; the aid of the Romans being far distant, and Antiochus, whom with their own strength they could not possibly resist, in character of an enemy at their gates.” To this Mictio, one of the Chalcian deputies, answered that “he wondered who those people were, for the vindicating of whose liberty Antiochus had left his own kingdom, and come over into Europe. For his part he knew not any state in Greece which either contained a garrison, or paid tribute to the Romans, or was bound by a disadvantageous treaty, and obliged to submit to terms which it did not like. The people of Chalcis, therefore, stood not in need, either of any assertor of their liberty, which they already enjoyed, or of any

armed protector, since, through the kindness of the Roman people, they were in possession of both liberty and peace. They did not slight the friendship of the king, nor that of the Aetolians themselves. The first instance of friendship, therefore, that they could give, would be to quit the island and go home; for, as to themselves, they were fully determined not only not to admit them within their walls, but not even to agree to any alliance, but with the approbation of the Romans.”

47. When an account of this conference was brought to the king, at the ships where he had staid, he resolved for the present to return to Demetrias; for he had not come to them with a sufficient number of men to attempt any thing by force. At Demetrias he held another consultation with the Aetolians, to determine what was next to be done, as their first effort had proved fruitless. It was agreed that they should make trial of the Botians, Achaeans, and Amynder, king of the Athamanians. The Boeotianan nation they believed to have been disaffected to the Romans, ever since the death of Brachyllas, and the consequences which followed it. Philopoemen, chief of the Achaeans, they supposed to hate, and be hated by, Quinctius, in consequence of a rivalry for fame in the war of Laconia. Amynder had married Apama, daughter of a Megalopolitan, called Alexander, who, pretending to be descended from Alexander the Great, had given the names of Philip and Alexander to his two sons, and that of Apama to his daughter; and when she was raised to distinction, by her marriage to the king, Philip, the elder of her brothers had followed her into Athamania. This man, who happened to be naturally vain, then Aetolians and Antiochus persuaded to hope (as he was really of the royal family) for the sovereignty of Macedonia, on condition of his prevailing on Amynder and the Athamanians to join Antiochus; and these empty promises produced the intended effect, not only on Philip but likewise on Amynder.

48. In Achaia, the ambassadors of Antiochus and the Aetolians were admitted to an audience of the council at Aegium, in the presence of Titus Quinctius. The ambassador of Antiochus was heard prior to the Aetolians. He, with all that pomp and parade which is common among those who are maintained by the wealth of kings, covered, as far as the empty sound of words could go, both lands and

seas (with forces). He said, that “an innumerable body of cavalry was coming over the Hellespont into Europe; some of them cased in coats of mail, whom they call Cataphracti; others discharging arrows on horseback; and, what rendered it impossible to guard against them, shooting with the surest aim even when their backs were turned, and their horses in full retreat. To this army of cavalry, sufficient to crush the forces of all Europe, collected into one body,” he added another of infantry of many times its number; and to terrify them, repeated the names of nations scarcely ever heard of before: talking of Dahans, Medes, Elymaeans, and Cadusians. “As to the naval forces, no harbours in Greece were capable of containing them; the right squadron was composed of Sidonians and Tyrians; the left of Aradians and Sidetians, from Pamphylia. — nations which none others had ever equalled, either in courage, or skill in sea affairs. Then, as to money, and other requisites for the support of war, it was needless for him to speak. They themselves knew, that the kingdoms of Asia had always abounded in gold. The Romans, therefore, had not now to deal with Philip, or with Hannibal; the one a principal member of a commonwealth, the other confined merely to the limits of the kingdom of Macedonia; but with the great monarch of all Asia, and part of Europe. Nevertheless, though he had come from the remotest bounds of the East to give freedom to Greece, he did not demand any thing from the Achaeans, that could injure the fidelity of their engagements with the Romans, their former friends and allies. For he did not require them to take arms on his side against them; but only, that they should not join themselves to either party. That, as became common friends, they should wish for peace to both parties, and not intermeddle in the war.” Archidamus, ambassador of the Aetolians, made nearly the same request: that, as was their easiest and safest way, they should stand neuter; and, as mere spectators of the war, wait for the decision of the fortunes of others, without any hazard to their own interests. He afterwards was betrayed, by the intemperance of language, into invectives, sometimes against the Romans in general, sometimes against Quinctius himself in particular; charging them with ingratitude, and upbraiding them, as being indebted to the valour of the Aetolians, not only for the victory over Philip, but even for their preservation; for, “by their exertions,

both Quinctius himself and his army had been saved. What duty of a commander had he ever discharged? He used to see him, indeed, in the field, taking auspices; sacrificing, and offering vows, like an insignificant soothsaying priest; while he himself was, in his defence, exposing his person to the weapons of the enemy.”

49. To this Quinctius replied, that “Archidamus had calculated his discourse for the numerous auditors, rather than for the persons to whom it was particularly addressed. For the Achaeans very well knew, that the bold spirit of the Aetolians consisted entirely in words, not in deeds; and was more displayed in their councils and assemblies than in the field. He had therefore been indifferent concerning the sentiments of the Achaeans, to whom he and his countrymen were conscious that they were thoroughly known; and studied to recommend himself to the king’s ambassadors, and, through them, to their absent master. But, if any person had been hitherto ignorant of the cause which had united Antiochus and the Aetolians, it was easy to discover it from the language of their ambassadors. By the false representations made by both parties, and boasts of strength which neither possessed, they mutually puffed up each other; and were themselves puffed up with vain expectations: one party talking of Philip being vanquished by them, the Romans being protected by their valour, and the rest of what you have just heard; and that you, and the other states and nations, would follow their party. The king, on the other side, boasting of clouds of horsemen and footmen, and covering the seas with his fleets. The king,” he added, “was exceedingly like a supper that I remember at the house of my host at Chalcis, who is both a man of worth, and an excellent conductor of a feast. Having been kindly entertained by him at midsummer, when we wondered how he could, at that time of the year, procure such plenty and variety of game, he, not being so vain-glorious as these men, told us, with a pleasant smile, that the variety was owing to the dressing, and that what appeared to be the flesh of many different wild animals, was entirely of tame swine. This may be aptly applied to the forces of the king, which were so ostentatiously displayed a while ago; that those various kinds of armour, and multitudinous names of nations, never heard of before, Dahans, and Medes, and Caducians, and Elymaeans, are nothing

more than Syrians, a race possessed of such grovelling souls, as to be much fitter for slaves than for soldiers. I wish, Achaeans, that I could exhibit to your view the rapid excursions of this mighty monarch from Demetrias; first, to Lamia, to the council of the Aetolians; then to Chalcis. You should behold, in the royal camp, about the number of two small legions, and these incomplete. You should see the king, now, in a manner begging corn from the Aetolians, to be measured out to his soldiers; then, striving to borrow money at interest to pay them; again, standing at the gates of Chalcis, and presently, on being refused admittance, returning thence into Aetolia, without having effected any thing, except indeed the taking a peep at Aulis and the Euripus. Both Antiochus had done wrong in trusting to the Aetolians, and the Aetolians in trusting to the king's vain boastings. For which reason, you ought the less to be deceived by them, and rather to confide in the tried and approved fidelity of the Romans. For, with respect to your not interfering in the war, which they recommend as your best course, nothing, in fact, can be more contrary to your interest: for then, without gaining thanks or esteem, you will become the prize of the conqueror."

50. He was thought to have replied to both by no means unsuitably; and there was no difficulty in bringing an audience, prepossessed in his favour, to give their approbation to his discourse. In fact, there was no debate or doubt started, but all concurred in voting, that the nation of the Achaeans would regard, as their friends or foes, those who were judged to be such by the Roman people, and in ordering war to be declared against both Antiochus and the Aetolians. They also, by the direction of Quinctius, sent immediate succours of five hundred men to Chalcis, and five hundred to the Piraeus; for affairs at Athens were in a state not far from a civil war, in consequence of the endeavours, used by some, to seduce the venal populace, by hopes of largesses, to take part with Antiochus. But at length Quinctius was called thither by those who were of the Roman party; and Apollodorus, the principal adviser of a revolt, being publicly charged therewith by one Leon, was condemned and driven into exile. Thus, from the Achaeans also, the embassy returned to the king with a discouraging answer. The Boeotians made no definitive reply; they only said, that "when Antiochus should come into Boeotia, they

would then deliberate on the measures proper to be pursued.” When Antiochus heard, that both the Achaeans and king Eumenes had sent reinforcements to Chalcis, he resolved to act with the utmost expedition, that his troops might get the start of them, and, if possible, intercept the others as they came; and he sent thither Menippus with about three thousand soldiers, and Polyxenidas with the whole fleet. In a few days after, he marched himself, at the head of six thousand of his own soldiers, and a smaller number of Aetolians, as many as could be collected in haste, out of those who were at Lamia. The five hundred Achaeans, and a small party sent by king Eumenes, being guided by Xenoclide, of Chalcis, (the roads being yet open,) crossed the Euripus, and arrived at Chalcis in safety. The Roman soldiers, who were likewise about five hundred, came, after Menippus had fixed his camp under Salganea, at Hermaeus, the place of passage from Boeotia to the island of Euboea. They had with them Mictio, who had been sent from Chalcis to Quinctius, deputed to solicit that very reinforcement; and when he perceived that the passes were blocked up by the enemy, he quitted the road to Aulis, and turned away to Delium, with intent to pass over thence to Euboea.

51. Delium is a temple of Apollo, standing over the sea five miles distant from Tanagra; and the passage thence, to the nearest part of Euboea, is less than four miles. As they were in this sacred building and grove, sanctified with all that religious awe and those privileges which belong to temples, called by the Greeks asylums, (war not being yet either proclaimed, or so far commenced as that they had heard of swords being drawn, or blood shed any where,) the soldiers in perfect tranquillity, amused themselves, some with viewing the temple and groves; others with walking about unarmed, on the strand; and a great part had gone different ways in quest of wood and forage; when, on a sudden, Menippus attacked them in that scattered condition, slew many, and took fifty of them prisoners. Very few made their escape, among whom was Mictio, who was received on board a small trading vessel. Though this event caused much grief to Quinctius and the Romans, on account of the loss of their men, yet it seemed to add much to the justification of their cause in making war on Antiochus. Antiochus, when arrived with his army so near as

Aulis, sent again to Chalcis a deputation, composed partly of his own people, and partly of Aetolians, to treat on the same grounds as before, but with heavier denunciations of vengeance: and, notwithstanding all the efforts of Mictio and Xenocrides to the contrary, he easily gained his object, that the gates should be opened to him. Those who adhered to the Roman interest, on the approach of the king, withdrew from the city. The soldiers of the Achaeans, and Eumenes, held Salganea; and the few Romans, who had escaped, raised, for the security of the place, a little fort on the Euripus. Menippus laid siege to Salganea, and the king himself to the fort. The Achaeans and Eumenes' soldiers first surrendered, on the terms of being allowed to retire in safety. The Romans defended the Euripus with more obstinacy. But even these, when they were completely invested both by land and sea, and saw the machines and engines prepared for an assault, sustained the siege no longer. The king, having thus got possession of the capital of Euboea, the other cities of the island did not even refuse to obey his authority; and he seemed to himself to have signalized the commencement of the war by an important acquisition, in having brought under his power so great an island, and so many cities conveniently situated.

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BOOK XXXVI

Translated by William A. McDevitte

Manius Acilius Glabrio, the consul, aided by king Philip, defeats Antiochus at Thermopylae, and drives him out of Greece; reduces the Aetolians to sue for peace. Publius Cornelius Scipio Nasica reduces the Boian Gauls to submission. Sea-fight between the Roman fleet and that of Antiochus, in which the Romans are victorious.

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1. Publius Cornelius Scipio, son of Cneius, and Manius Acilius Glabrio, the consuls, on their assuming the administration, were ordered by the senate, before they settled any thing respecting their provinces, to perform sacrifices, with victims of the greater kinds, at all the shrines, where the Lectisternium was usually celebrated for the greater part of the year; and to offer prayers, that the business which the state had in contemplation, concerning a new war, might terminate prosperously and happily for the senate and people of Rome. At every one of those sacrifices, appearances were favourable, and the propitious omens were found in the first victims. Accordingly, the auspices gave this answer: — That, by this war, the boundaries of the Roman empire would be enlarged; and that victory and triumph were portended. When this answer was reported, the senate, having their minds now freed from superstitious fears, ordered this question to be proposed to the people; “Was it their will, and did they order, that war should be undertaken against king Antiochus, and all who should join his party?” And that if that order passed, then the consuls were, if they thought proper, to lay the business entire before the senate. Publius Cornelius got the order passed; and then the senate decreed, that the consuls should cast lots for the provinces of Italy and Greece; that he to whose lot Greece fell, should, in addition to the number of soldiers enlisted and raised from the allies by Quinctius for that province, pursuant to a decree of the senate, take under his command that army, which, in the preceding year, Marcus Baebius, praetor, had, by order of the senate, carried over to Macedonia. Permission was also granted him, to

receive succours from the allies, out of Italy, if circumstances should so require, provided their number did not exceed five thousand. It was resolved, that Lucius Quinctius, consul of the former year, should be commissioned as a lieutenant-general in that war. The other consul, to whom Italy fell, was ordered to carry on the war with the Boians, with whichever he should choose of the two armies commanded by the consuls of the last year; and to send the other to Rome; and these were ordered to be the city legions, and ready to march to whatever place the senate should direct.

2. Things being thus adjusted in the senate, excepting the assignment of his particular province to each of the magistrates, the consuls were ordered to cast lots. Greece fell to Acilius, Italy to Cornelius. The lot of each being now determined, the senate passed a decree, that “inasmuch as the Roman people had, at that time, ordered war to be declared against king Antiochus, and those who were under his government, the consuls should command a supplication to be performed, on account of that business; and that Manius Acilius, the consul, should vow the great games to Jupiter, and offerings at all the shrines.” This vow was made by the consul in these words, which were dictated by Publius Licinius, chief pontiff: “If the war, which the people has ordered to be undertaken against king Antiochus, shall be concluded agreeably to the wishes of the senate and people of Rome, then, O Jupiter, the Roman people will, through ten successive days, exhibit the great games in honour of thee, and offerings shall be presented at all the shrines, of such value as the senate shall direct. Whatever magistrate shall celebrate those games, and at whatever time and place, let the celebration be deemed proper, and the offerings rightly and duly made.” The two consuls then proclaimed a supplication for two days. When the consuls had determined their provinces by lot, the praetors, likewise, immediately cast lots for theirs. The two civil jurisdictions fell to Marcus Junius Brutus; Bruttium, to Aulus Cornelius Mammula; Sicily, to Marcus Aemilius Lepidus; Sardinia, to Lucius Oppius Salinator; the fleet, to Caius Livius Salinator; and Farther Spain, to Lucius Aemilius Paullus. The troops for these were settled thus: — to Aulus Cornelius were assigned the new soldiers, raised last year by Lucius Quinctius, the consul, pursuant to the senate’s decree; and he was ordered to

defend the whole coast near Tarentum and Brundisium. Lucius Aemilius Paullus was directed to take with him into Farther Spain, (to fill up the numbers of the army, which he was to receive from Marcus Fulvius, *propraetor*,) three thousand new-raised foot and three hundred horse, of whom two-thirds should be Latin allies, and the other third Roman citizens. An equal reinforcement was sent to Hither Spain to Caius Flaminius, who was continued in command. Marcus Aemilius Lepidus was ordered to receive both the province and army from Lucius Valerius, whom he was to succeed; and, if he thought proper, to retain Lucius Valerius, as *propraetor*, in the province, which he was to divide with him in such a manner, that one division should reach from Agrigentum to Pachynum, and the other from Pachynum to Tyndarium, and the sea-coasts whereof Lucius Valerius was to protect with a fleet of twenty ships of war. The same praetor received a charge to levy two-tenths of corn, and to take care that it should be carried to the coast, and thence conveyed into Greece. Lucius Oppius was likewise commanded to levy a second tenth in Sardinia; but it was resolved that it should be transported, not into Greece, but to Rome. Caius Livius, the praetor, whose lot was the command of the fleet, was ordered to sail, at the earliest time possible, to Greece with thirty ships, which were ready, and to receive the other fleet from Atilius. The praetor, Marcus Junius, was commissioned to refit and arm the old ships which were in the dock-yards; and, for this fleet, to enlist the sons of freemen as crews.

3. Commissaries were sent into Africa, three to Carthage, and a like number to Numidia, to procure corn to be carried into Greece; for which the Roman people were to pay the value. And so attentive was the state to the making of every preparation and provision necessary for the carrying on of this war, that the consul, Publius Cornelius, published an edict, that “no senator, nor any who had the privilege of giving an opinion in the senate, nor any of the inferior magistrates, should go so far from the city of Rome as that they could not return the same day; and that five senators should not be absent from the city at the same time.” A dispute which arose with the maritime colonies, for some time retarded Caius Livius, the praetor, when actively engaged in fitting out the fleet. For, when they were impressed for manning the ships, they appealed to the tribunes

of the people, by whom the cause was referred to the senate. The senate, without one dissenting voice, resolved, that those colonies were not entitled to exemption from the sea-service. The colonies which disputed with the praetor on the subject of exemption were, Ostia, Fregenae, Castrumnovum, Pyrgi, Antium, Tarracina, Minturnae, and Sinuessa. The consul, Manius Acilius, then, by direction of the senate, consulted the college of heralds, "whether a declaration of war should be made to Antiochus in person, or whether it would be sufficient to declare it at some garrison town; whether they directed a separate declaration against the Aetolians, and whether their alliance and friendship ought not to be renounced before war was declared." The heralds answered, that "they had given their judgment before, when they were consulted respecting Philip, that it was of no consequence whether the declaration were made to himself in person, or at one of his garrisons. That, in their opinion, friendship had been already renounced; because, after their ambassadors had so often demanded restitution, the Aetolians had not thought proper to make either restitution or apology. That these, by their own act, had made a declaration of war against themselves, when they seized, by force, Demetrias, a city in alliance with Rome; when they laid siege to Chalcis by land and sea; and brought king Antiochus into Europe, to make war on the Romans." Every preparatory measure being now completed, the consul, Manius Acilius, issued an edict, that the "soldiers enlisted, or raised from among the allies by Titus Quinctius, and who were under orders to go with him to his province; as, likewise, the military tribunes of the first and third legions, should assemble at Brundisium, on the ides of May.[]" He himself, on the fifth before the nones of May,[] set out from the city in his military robe of command. At the same time the praetors, likewise, departed for their respective provinces.

4. A little before this time, ambassadors came to Rome from the two kings, Philip of Macedonia and Ptolemy of Egypt, offering aid of men, money, and corn towards the support of the war. From Ptolemy was brought a thousand pounds' weight of gold, and twenty thousand pounds' weight of silver. None of this was accepted. Thanks were returned to the kings. Both of them offered to come, with their whole force, into Aetolia. Ptolemy was excused from that trouble; and

Philip's ambassadors were answered, that the senate and people of Rome would consider it as a kindness if he should lend his assistance to the consul, Manius Acilius. Ambassadors came, likewise from the Carthaginians, and from king Masinissa. The Carthaginians made an offer of sending a thousand pecks[] of wheat, and five hundred thousand of barley to the army, and half that quantity to Rome; which they requested the Romans to accept from them as a present. They also offered to fit out a fleet at their own expense, and to give in, immediately, the whole amount of the annual tribute-money which they were bound to pay for many years to come. The ambassadors of Masinissa promised, that their king should send five hundred thousand pecks of wheat, and three hundred thousand of barley, to the army in Greece, and three hundred thousand of wheat, and two hundred and fifty thousand of barley, to Rome; also five hundred horse, and twenty elephants, to the consul Acilius. The answer given to both, with regard to the corn, was, that the Roman people would make use of it, provided they would receive payment for the same. With regard to the fleet offered by the Carthaginians, no more was accepted than such ships as they owed by treaty; and, as to the money, they were told, that none would be taken before the regular days of payment.

5. While these things were occurring at Rome, Antiochus, during the winter season at Chalcis, endeavoured to bring over several of the states by ambassadors sent among them; while many of their own accord sent deputies to him; as the Epirots, by the general voice of the nation, and the Eleans from Peloponnesus. The Eleans requested aid against the Achaeans; for they supposed, that, since the war had been declared against Antiochus contrary to their judgment, the Achaeans would first turn their arms against them. One thousand foot were sent to them, under the command of Euphanes, a Cretan. The embassy of the Epirots showed no mark whatever of a liberal or candid disposition. They wished to ingratiate themselves with the king; but, at the same time, to avoid giving cause of displeasure to the Romans. They requested him, "not hastily to make them a party in the dispute, exposed, as they were, opposite to Italy, and in the front of Greece, where they must necessarily undergo the first assaults of the Romans. If he himself, with his land and sea forces,

could take charge of Epirus, the inhabitants would eagerly receive him in all their ports and cities. But if circumstances allowed him not to do that, then they earnestly entreated him not to subject them, naked and defenceless, to the arms of the Romans.” Their intention in sending him this message evidently was, that if he declined going into Epirus, which they rather supposed would be the case, they were not implicated with relation to the Roman armies, while they sufficiently recommended themselves to the king by their willingness to receive him on his coming; and that, on the other hand, if he should come, even then they would have hopes of being pardoned by the Romans, for having yielded to the strength of a prince who was present among them, without waiting for succour from them, who were so far distant. To this so evasive embassy, as he did not readily think of a proper answer, he replied, that he would send ambassadors to them to confer upon such matters as were of common concernment both to him and them.

6. Antiochus went himself into Boeotia, holding out ostensibly those causes of resentment against the Romans which I have already mentioned, — the death of Brachyllas, and the attack made by Quinctius on Coronea, on account of the massacre of the Roman soldiers; while the real ones were, that the former excellent policy of that nation, with respect both to public and private concerns, had, for several generations, been on the decline; and that great numbers were in such circumstances, that they could not long subsist without some change in affairs. Through multitudes of the principal Boeotians, who every where flocked out to meet him, he arrived at Thebes. There, notwithstanding that he had (both at Delium, by the attack made on the Roman troops, and also at Chalcis) already commenced hostilities, by enterprises of neither a trifling nor of a dubious nature, yet, in a general council of the nation, he delivered a speech of the same import with that which he delivered in the first conference at Chalcis, and that used by his ambassadors in the council of the Achaeans; that “what he required of them was, to form a league of friendship with him, not to declare war against the Romans.” But not a man among them was ignorant of his meaning. However, a decree, disguised under a slight covering of words, was passed in his favour against the Romans. After securing this nation also on his side, he

returned to Chalcis; and, having despatched letters, summoning the chief Aetolians to meet him at Demetrias, that he might deliberate with them on the general plan of operations, he came thither with his ships on the day appointed for the council. Amynder, likewise, was called from Athamania to the consultation; and Hannibal the Carthaginian, who, for a long time before, had not been asked to attend, was present at this assembly. The subject of their deliberation was in reference to the Thessalian nation; and every one present was of opinion, that their concurrence ought to be sought. The only points on which opinions differed were, that some thought the attempt ought to be made immediately; while others judged it better to defer it for the winter season, which was then about half spent, until the beginning of spring. Some advised to send ambassadors only; others, that the king should go at the head of all his forces, and if they hesitated, terrify them into compliance.

7. Although the present debate turned chiefly on these points, Hannibal, being called on by name to give his opinion, led the king, and those who were present, into the consideration of the general conduct of the war, by a speech to this effect:— “If I had been employed in your councils since we came first into Greece, when you were consulting about Euboea, the Achaeans, and Boeotians, I would have offered the same advice which I shall offer you this day, when your thoughts are employed about the Thessalians. My opinion is, that, above all things, Philip and the Macedonians should by some means or other be brought into a participation in this war. For, as to Euboea, as well as the Boeotians and Thessalians, who can doubt that, having no strength of their own, they will ever court the power that is present; and will make use of the same fear, which governs their councils, as an argument for obtaining pardon? That, as soon as they shall see a Roman army in Greece, they will turn away to that government to which they have been accustomed? Nor are they to blame, if, when the Romans were at so great a distance, they did not choose to try your force, and that of your army, who were on the spot. How much more advisable, therefore, and more advantageous would it be, to unite Philip to us, than these; as, if he once embarks in the cause, he will have no room for retreat, and as he will bring with him such a force, as will not only be an accession to a power at war

with Rome, but was able, lately, of itself, to withstand the Romans! With such an ally, (I wish to speak without offence,) how could I harbour a doubt about the issue; when I should see the very persons through whom the Romans prevailed against Philip, now ready to act against them? The Aetolians, who, as all agree, conquered Philip, will fight in conjunction with Philip against the Romans. Amynder and the Athamanian nation, who, next to the Aetolians, performed the greatest services in that war, will stand on our side. Philip, at the time when you remained inactive, sustained the whole burden of the war. Now, you and he, two of the greatest kings, will, with the force of Asia and Europe, wage war against one state; which, to say nothing of my own fortune with them, either prosperous or adverse, was certainly, in the memory of our fathers, unequal to a dispute with a single king of Epirus; what then, I say, must it be in competition with you two? But it may be asked. What circumstances induce me to believe that Philip may be brought to a union with us? First, common utility, which is the strongest cement of union; and next, you, Aetolians, are yourselves my informants. For Thoas, your ambassador, among the other arguments which he used to urge, for the purpose of drawing Antiochus into Greece, always above all things insisted upon this, — that Philip expressed extreme indignation that the conditions of servitude had been imposed on him under the appearance of conditions of peace: comparing the king's anger to that of a wild beast chained, or shut up, and wishing to break the bars that confined it. Now, if his temper of mind is such, let us loose his chains; let us break these bars, that he may vent, upon the common foe, this anger so long pent up. But should our embassy fail of producing any effect on him, let us then take care, that if we cannot unite him to ourselves, he may not be united to our enemies. Your son, Seleucus, is at Lysimachia; and if, with the army which he has there, he shall pass through Thrace, and once begin to make depredations on the nearest parts of Macedonia, he will effectually divert Philip from carrying aid to the Romans, to the protection, in the first place, of his own dominions. Such is my opinion respecting Philip. With regard to the general plan of the war, you have, from the beginning, been acquainted with my sentiments: and if my advice had been listened to, the Romans would not now hear that Chalcis in

Euboea was taken, and a fort on the Euripus reduced, but that Etruria, and the whole coast of Liguria and Cisalpine Gaul, were in a blaze of war; and, what is to them the greatest cause of alarm, that Hannibal was in Italy. Even as matters stand at present, I recommend it to you, to call home all your land and sea forces; let storeships with provisions follow the fleet; for, as we are here too few for the exigencies of the war, so are we too many for the scanty supplies of necessaries. When you shall have collected together the whole of your force, you will divide the fleet, and keep one division stationed at Corcyra, that the Romans may not have a clear and safe passage; and the other you will send to that part of the coast of Italy which is opposite Sardinia and Africa; while you yourselves, with all the land forces, will proceed to the territory of Bullium. In this position you will hold the command of all Greece; you will give the Romans reason to think, that you intend to sail over to Italy; and you will be in readiness so to do, if occasion require. This is my advice; and though I may not be the most skilful in every kind of warfare, yet surely I must have learned, in a long series of both good and bad fortune, how to wage war against the Romans. For the execution of the measures which I have advised, I promise you my most faithful and zealous endeavours. Whatever plan you shall consider the best, may the gods grant it their approbation.”

8. Such, nearly, was the counsel given by Hannibal, which the hearers rather commended at the time, than actually executed. For not one article of it was carried into effect, except the sending Polyxenidas to bring over the fleet and army from Asia. Ambassadors were sent to Larissa, to the diet of the Thessalians. The Aetolians and Amynder appointed a day for the assembling of their troops at Pherae, and the king with his forces came thither immediately. While he waited there for Amynder and the Aetolians, he sent Philip, the Megalopolitan, with two thousand men, to collect the bones of the Macedonians round Cynoscephalae, where the final battle had been fought with king Philip; being advised to this, either in order to gain favour with the Macedonians and draw their displeasure on the king for having left his soldiers unburied, or having of himself, through the spirit of vain-glory incident to kings, conceived such a design, — splendid indeed in appearance, but really

insignificant. There is a mount there formed of the bones which had been scattered about, and were then collected into one heap. Although this step procured him no thanks from the Macedonians, yet it excited the heaviest displeasure of Philip; in consequence of which, he who had hitherto intended to regulate his counsels by the fortune of events, now sent instantly a message to the propraetor, Marcus Baebius, that "Antiochus had made an irruption into Thessaly; that, if he thought proper, he should move out of his winter quarters, and that he himself would advance to meet him, that they might consider together what was proper to be done."

9. While Antiochus lay encamped near Pherae, where the Aetolians and Amynder had joined him, ambassadors came to him from Larissa, desiring to know on account of what acts or words of theirs he had made war on the Thessalians; at the same time requesting him to withdraw his army; and that if there seemed to him any necessity for it he would discuss it with them by commissioners. In the mean time, they sent five hundred soldiers, under the command of Hippolochus, to Pherae, as a reinforcement; but these, being debarred of access by the king's troops, who blocked up all the roads, retired to Scotussa. The king answered the Larissan ambassadors in mild terms, that "he came into their country, not with a design of making war, but of protecting and establishing the liberty of the Thessalians." He sent a person to make a similar declaration to the people of Pherae; who, without giving him any answer, sent to the king, in the capacity of ambassador, Pausanias, the first magistrate of their state. He offered remonstrances of a similar kind with those which had been urged in behalf of the people of Chalcis, at the first conference, on the strait of the Euripus, as the cases were similar, and urged some with a greater degree of boldness; on which the king desired that they would consider seriously before they adopted a resolution, which, while they were overcautious and provident of futurity, would give them immediate cause of repentance, and then dismissed him. When the Pheraeans were acquainted with the result of this embassy, without the smallest hesitation they determined to endure whatever the fortune of war might bring on them, rather than violate their engagements with the Romans. They accordingly exerted their utmost efforts to provide for

the defence of their city; while the king, on his part, resolved to assail the walls on every side at once; and considering, what was evidently the case, that it depended on the fate of this city, the first which he had besieged, whether he should for the future be despised or dreaded by the whole nation of the Thessalians, he put in practice every where all possible means of striking them with terror. The first fury of the assault they supported with great firmness; but in some time, great numbers of their men being either slain or wounded, their resolution began to fail. Having soon been so reanimated by the rebukes of their leaders, as to resolve on persevering in their resistance, and having abandoned the exterior circle of the wall, as their numbers now began to fail, they withdrew to the interior part of the city, round which had been raised a fortification of less extent. At last, being overcome by distress, and fearing that if they were taken by storm they might meet no mercy from the conqueror, they capitulated. The king then lost no time; but while the alarm was fresh, sent four thousand men against Scotussa, which surrendered without delay, observing the recent example of those in Pherae; who, at length compelled by sufferings, had done that which at first they had obstinately refused. Together with the town, Hippolochus and the Larissan garrison were yielded to him, all of whom were dismissed uninjured by the king; who hoped that such behaviour would operate powerfully towards conciliating the esteem of the Larissans.

10. Having accomplished all this within the space of ten days after his arrival at Pherae, he marched with his whole force to Cranon, which he took immediately on his arrival. He then took Cypaera and Metropolis, and the forts which lay around them; and now every town in all that tract was in his power, except Atrax and Gyrton. He next resolved to lay siege to Larissa, for he thought that (either through dread inspired by the storming of the other towns, or in consideration of his kindness in dismissing the troops of their garrison, or being led by the example of so many cities surrendering themselves) they would not continue longer in their obstinacy. Having ordered the elephants to advance in front of the battalions, for the purpose of striking terror, he approached the city with his army in order of battle, on which the minds of a great number of the

Larissans became irresolute and perplexed, between their fears of the enemy at their gates, and their respect for their distant allies. Meantime, Amynder, with the Athamanian troops, seized on Pellinaeus; while Menippus, with three thousand Aetolian foot and two hundred horse, marched into Perrhaebia, where he took Mallaëa and Cyretiaë by assault, and ravaged the lands of Tripolis. After executing these enterprises with despatch, they returned to the king at Larissa just when he was holding a council on the method of proceeding with regard to that place. On this occasion there were opposite opinions: for some thought that force should be applied; that there was no time to be lost, but that the walls should be immediately attacked with works and machines on all sides at once; especially as the city stood in a plain, the entrances open, and the approaches every where level. While others represented at one time the strength of the city, greater beyond comparison than that of Phœræ; at another, the approach of the winter season, unfit for any operation of war, much more so for besieging and assaulting cities. While the king's judgment was in suspense between hope and fear, his courage was raised by ambassadors happening to arrive just at the time from Pharsalus, to make surrender of their city. In the mean time Marcus Bæbius had a meeting with Philip in Dassaretia; and, in conformity to their joint opinion, sent Appius Claudius to reinforce Larissa, who, making long marches through Macedonia, arrived at that summit of the mountains which overhang Gonni. The town of Gonni is twenty miles distant from Larissa, standing at the opening of the valley called Tempe. Here, by laying out his camp more widely than his numbers required, and kindling more fires than were necessary, he imposed on the enemy the opinion which he wished, that the whole Roman army was there, and king Philip along with them. Antiochus, therefore, pretending the near approach of winter as his motive, staid but one day longer, then withdrew from Larissa, and returned to Demetrias. The Aetolians and Athamanians retired to their respective countries. Appius, although he saw that, by the siege being raised, the purpose of his commission was fulfilled, yet resolved to go down to Larissa, to strengthen the resolution of the allies against future contingencies. Thus the Larissans enjoyed a twofold happiness, both because the enemy had departed from their country, and because they

saw a Roman garrison within their city.

11. Antiochus went from Demetrias to Chalcis, where he became captivated with a young woman, daughter of Cleoptolemus. When he had plied her father, who was unwilling to connect himself with a condition in life involving such serious consequences, first by messages, and afterwards by personal importunities, and had at length gained his consent; he celebrated his nuptials in the same manner as if it were a time of profound peace. Forgetting the two important undertakings in which he was at once engaged, — the war with Rome, and the liberating of Greece, — he banished every thought of business from his mind, and spent the remainder of winter in feasting and the pleasures connected with wine; and then in sleep, produced rather by fatigue than by satiety with these things. The same spirit of dissipation seized all his officers who commanded in the several winter quarters, particularly those stationed in Boeotia, and even the common men abandoned themselves to the same indulgences; not one of whom ever put on his armour, or kept watch or guard, or did any part of the duty or business of a soldier. When, therefore, in the beginning of spring, the king came through Phocis to Chaeronea, where he had appointed the general assembly of all the troops, he perceived at once that the soldiers had spent the winter under discipline no more rigid than that of their commander. He ordered Alexander, an Acarnanian and Menippus, a Macedonian, to lead his forces thence to Stratum, in Aetolia; and he himself, after offering sacrifice to Apollo at Delphi, proceeded to Naupactum. After holding a council of the chiefs of Aetolia, he went by the road which leads by Chalcis and Lysimachia to Stratum, to meet his army, which was coming along the Malian bay. Here Mnasiloehus, a man of distinction among the Acarnanians, being bribed by many presents, not only laboured himself to dispose that nation in favour of the king, but had brought to a concurrence in the design their praetor, Clytus, who was at that time invested with the highest authority. This latter, finding that the people of Leucas, the capital of Acarnania, could not be easily seduced to defection, because they were afraid of the Roman fleets, one under Atilius, and another at Cephallenia, practised an artifice against them. He observed in the council, that the inland parts of Acarnania should be guarded from danger, and that all

who were able to bear arms ought to march out to Medio and Thurium, to prevent those places from being seized by Antiochus, or the Aetolians; on which there were some who said, that there were no necessity for all the people to be called out in that hasty manner, for a body of five hundred men would be sufficient for the purpose. Having got this number of soldiers at his disposal, he placed three hundred in garrison at Medio, and two hundred at Thurium, with the design that they should fall into the hands of the king, and serve hereafter as hostages.

12. At this time, ambassadors from the king came to Medio, whose proposal being heard, the assembly began to consider what answer should be returned to the king; when some advised to adhere to the alliance with Rome, and others, not to reject the friendship of the king; but Clitus offered an opinion, which seemed to take a middle course between the other two, and which was therefore adopted. It was, that ambassadors should be sent to the king, to request of him to allow the people of Medio to deliberate on a subject of such great importance in a general assembly of the Acarnanians. Mnasilochus, and some others of his faction, were studiously included in this embassy; who, sending private messengers to desire the king to bring up his army, wasted time on purpose; so that the ambassadors had scarcely set out, when Antiochus appeared in the territory, and presently at the gates of the city; and, while those who were not concerned in the plot were all in hurry and confusion, and hastily called the young men to arms, he was conducted into the place by Clitus and Mnasilochus. One party of the citizens now joined him through inclination, and those who were of different sentiments were compelled by fear to attend him. He then calmed their apprehensions by a discourse full of mildness; and in the hope of experiencing his clemency, which was reported abroad, several of the states of Acarnania went over to his side. From Medio he went to Thurium, whither he had sent on before him the same Mnasilochus, and his colleagues in the embassy. But the detection of the treachery practised at Medio rendered the Thurians more cautious, but not more timid. They answered him explicitly, that they would form no new alliance without the approbation of the Romans: they then shut their gates, and posted soldiers on the walls. Most seasonably for

confirming the resolution of the Acarnanians, Cneius Octavius, being sent by Quinctius, and having received a party of men and a few ships from Aulus Postumius, whom Atilius had appointed his lieutenant to command at Cephallenia, arrived at Leucas, and filled the allies with hope; assuring them, that the consul Manius Acilius had already crossed the sea with his legions, and that the Roman camp was in Thessaly. As the season of the year, which was by this time favourable for sailing, strengthened the credibility of this report, the king, after placing a garrison in Medio and borne other towns of Acarnania, retired from Thurium and returned through the cities of Aetolia and Phocis to Chalcis.

13. About the same time, Marcus Baebius and king Philip, after the meeting which they had in the winter in Dassaretia, when they sent Appius Claudius into Thessaly to raise the siege of Larissa, had returned to winter quarters, the season not being sufficiently advanced for entering on action; but now in the beginning of spring, they united their forces, and marched into Thessaly. Antiochus was then in Acarnania. As soon as they entered that country, Philip laid siege to Mallaëa, in the territory of Perrhaëbia, and Baebius, to Phacium. This town of Phacium he took almost at the first attempt, and then reduced Phaestus with the same rapidity. After this, he retired to Atrax; and from thence having seized on Cyretiae and Eritium, and placed garrisons in the places which he had reduced, he again joined Philip, who was carrying on the siege of Mallaëa. On the arrival of the Roman army, the garrison, either awed by its strength, or hoping for pardon, surrendered themselves, and the combined forces marched, in one body, to recover the towns which had been seized by the Athamanians. These were Aeginium, Ericinum, Gomphi, Silana, Tricca, Meliboea, and Phaloria. Then they invested Pellinaeum, where Philip of Megalopolis was in garrison, with five hundred foot and forty horse; but before they made an assault, they sent messengers to warn Philip not to expose himself to the last extremities; to which he answered, with much confidence, that he could intrust himself either to the Romans or the Thessalians, but never would put himself in the power of the Macedonian. When it appeared that recourse must be had to force, and that Limnaea might be attacked at the same time; it was agreed,

that the king should go against Limnaea, while Baebius staid to carry on the siege of Pellinaeum.

14. It happened that, just at this time, the consul, Manius Acilius, having crossed the sea with twenty thousand foot, two thousand horse, and fifteen elephants, ordered some military tribunes, chosen for the purpose, to lead the infantry to Larissa, and he himself with the cavalry came to Limnaea, to Philip. Immediately on the consul's arrival a surrender was made without hesitation, and the king's garrison, together with the Athamanians, were delivered up. From Limnaea the consul went to Pellinaeum. Here the Athamanians surrendered first, and afterwards Philip of Megalopolis. King Philip, happening to meet the latter as he was coming out from the town, ordered his attendants, in derision, to salute him with the title of king; and he himself, coming up to him, with a sneer, highly unbecoming his own exalted station, addressed him as Brother. Having been brought before the consul he was ordered to be kept in confinement, and soon after was sent to Rome in chains. All the rest of the Athamanians, together with the soldiers of king Antiochus, who had been in garrison in the towns which surrendered about that time, were delivered over to Philip. They amounted to three thousand men. The consul went thence to Larissa, in order to hold a consultation on the general plan of operations; and on his way was met by ambassadors from Pieria and Metropolis, with the surrender of those cities. Philip treated the captured, particularly the Athamanians, with great kindness, in order that through them he might conciliate their countrymen; and having hence conceived hopes of getting Athamania into his possession, he first sent forward the prisoners to their respective states, and then marched his army thither. These also, making mention of the king's clemency and generosity towards them, exerted a powerful influence on the minds of their fellow-countrymen; and Amynder, who, by his presence, had retained many in obedience, through the respect paid to his dignity, began now to dread that he might be delivered up to Philip, who had been long his professed enemy, or to the Romans, who were justly incensed against him for his late defection. He, therefore, with his wife and children, quitted the kingdom, and retired to Ambracia. Thus all Athamania came under the authority and dominion of

Philip. The consul delayed a few days at Larissa, for the purpose chiefly of refreshing the horses, which, by the voyage first, and marching afterwards, had been much harassed and fatigued; and when he had renewed the vigour of his army by a moderate share of rest, he marched to Cranon. On his way, Pharsalus, Scotussa, and Pherae were surrendered to him, together with the garrisons placed in them by Antiochus. He asked these men whether any of them chose to remain with him; and one thousand having declared themselves willing, he gave them to Philip; the rest he sent back, unarmed, to Demetrias. After this he took Proerna, and the forts adjacent; and then began to march forwards toward the Malian bay. When he drew near to the pass on which Thaumaci is situated, all the young men of that place, having taken arms and quitted the town, placed themselves in ambush in the woods and roads, and thence, from the higher grounds, made attacks on the Roman troops as they marched. The consul first sent people to talk with them from a short distance, and deter them from such a mad proceeding; but, finding that they persisted in their undertaking, he sent round a tribune, with two companies of soldiers, to cut off the retreat of the men in arms, and took possession of the defenceless city. The shouting on the capture of the city having been heard from behind, a great slaughter was made of those who had been in ambuscade, and who fled homewards from all parts of the woods. From Thaumaci the consul came, on the second day, to the river Spercheus; and, sending out parties, laid waste the country of the Hypataeans.

15. During these transactions, Antiochus was at Chalcis; and now, perceiving that he had gained nothing from Greece agreeable, except winter quarters and a disgraceful marriage at Chalcis, he warmly blamed Thoas, and the fallacious promises of the Aetolians; while he admired Hannibal, not only as a prudent man, but as the predictor of all those events which were then transpiring. However, that he might not still further defeat his inconsiderate enterprise by his own inactivity, he sent requisitions to the Aetolians, to arm all their young men, and assemble in a body at Lamia. He himself also immediately led thither about ten thousand foot (the number having been filled up out of the troops which had come after him from Asia) and five hundred horse. Their assembly on this occasion was far less

numerous than ever before, none attending but the chiefs with a few of their vassals. These affirmed that they had, with the utmost diligence, tried every method to bring into the field as great a number as possible out of their respective states, but that they had not prevailed either by argument, persuasion, or authority, against those who declined the service. Being disappointed thus on all sides, both by his own people, who delayed in Asia, and by his allies, who did not fulfil those engagements by which they had prevailed on him to comply with their invitation, the king retired beyond the pass of Thermopylae. A range of mountains here divides Greece in the same manner as Italy is divided by the ridge of the Apennines. Outside the strait of Thermopylae, towards the north, lie Epirus, Perrhaebia, Magnesia, Thessaly, the Achaean Phthiotis, and the Malian bay; on the inside, towards the south, the greater part of Aetolia, Acarnania, Phocis, Locris, Boeotia, and the adjacent island of Euboea, the territory of Attica, which stretches out like a promontory into the sea, and, behind that, the Peloponnesus. This range of mountains, which extends from Leucas and the sea on the west, through Aetolia to the opposite sea on the east, is so closely covered with thickets and craggy rocks, that, not to speak of an army, even persons lightly equipped for travelling can with difficulty find paths through which they can pass. The hills at the eastern extremity are called Oeta, and the highest of them Callidromus; in a valley, at the foot of which, reaching to the Malian bay, is a passage not broader than sixty paces. This is the only military road by which an army can be led, even if it should not be opposed. The place is therefore called Pylae, the gate; and by some, on account of a warm spring, rising just at the entrance of it, Thermopylae. It is rendered famous by the memorable battle of the Lacedaemonians against the Persians, and by their still more glorious death.

16. With a very inferior portion of spirit, Antiochus now pitched his camp within the enclosures of this pass, the difficulties of which he increased by raising fortifications; and when he had completely strengthened every part with a double rampart and trench, and, wherever it seemed requisite, with a wall formed of the stones which lay scattered about in abundance, being very confident that the Roman army would never attempt to force a passage there, he sent

away one half of the four thousand Aetolians, the number that had joined him, to garrison Heraclea, which stood opposite the entrance of the defile, and the other half to Hypata; for he concluded, that the consul would undoubtedly attack Heraclea, and he received accounts from many hands, that all the districts round Hypata were being laid waste. The consul, after ravaging the lands of Hypata first, and then those of Heraclea, in both which places the Aetolian detachments proved useless, encamped opposite to the king, in the very entrance of the pass, near the warm springs; both parties of the Aetolians shutting themselves up in Heraclea. Antiochus, who, before he saw the enemy, thought every spot perfectly well fortified, and secured by guards, now began to apprehend, that the Romans might discover some paths among the hills above, through which they could make their way; for he had heard that the Lacedaemonians formerly had been surrounded in that manner by the Persians, and Philip, lately, by the Romans themselves. He therefore despatched a messenger to the Aetolians at Heraclea, desiring them to afford him so much assistance, at least in the war, as to seize and secure the tops of the hills, so that the Romans might not be able to pass them at any part. When this message was received, a dissension arose among the Aetolians: some insisted that they ought to obey the king's orders, and go; others, that they ought to lie still at Heraclea, and wait the issue, whatever it might be; for if the king should be defeated by the consul, their forces would be fresh, and in readiness to carry succour to their own states in the neighbourhood; and if he were victorious, they could pursue the Romans, while scattered in their flight. Each party not only adhered positively to its own plan, but even carried it into execution; two thousand lay still at Heraclea; and two thousand, divided into three parties, took possession of the summits called Callidromus, Rhoduntia, and Tichiuns.

17. When the consul saw that the heights were possessed by the Aetolians, he sent against those posts two men of consular rank, who acted as lieutenant-generals, with two thousand chosen troops; — Lucius Valerius Flaccus against Rhoduntia and Tichiuns, and Marcus Porcius Cato against Callidromus. Then, before he led on his forces against the enemy, he called them to an assembly, and thus briefly addressed them: “Soldiers, I see that the greater part of you who were

present, of all ranks, are men who served in this same province, under the conduct and auspices of Titus Quinctius. Now, in the Macedonian war, the pass at the river Aous was much more difficult than this before us. For this is only a gate, a single passage, formed as it were by nature; every other in the whole tract, between the two seas, being impassable. In the former case, there were stronger fortifications, and placed in more advantageous situations. The enemy's army was both more numerous, and composed of very superior men; for they were Macedonians, Thracians, and Illyrians, — all nations of the fiercest spirit; your present opponents are Syrians, and Asiatic Greeks, the most unsteady of men, and born for slavery. The commander, there, was a king of extraordinary warlike abilities, improved by practice from his early youth, in wars against his neighbours, the Thracians and Illyrians, and all the adjoining nations. But this man is one who (to say nothing of his former life) after coming over from Asia into Europe to make war on the Roman people, has, during the whole length of the winter, accomplished no more memorable exploit, than the taking a wife, for passion's sake, out of a private house, and a family obscure even among its neighbours; and now as a newly married man, surfeited as it were with nuptial feasts, comes out to fight. His chief reliance and strength was in the Aetolians, — a nation of all others the most faithless and ungrateful, as you have formerly experienced, and as Antiochus now experiences; for they neither joined him with numbers, nor could they be kept in the camp; and, besides, they are now in a state of dissension among themselves. Although they requested permission to defend Hypata and Heraclea, yet they defended neither; but one half of them fled to the tops of the mountains, while the others shut themselves up in Heraclea. The king himself, plainly confessing that, so far from daring to meet us in battle on the level plain, he durst not even encamp in open ground, has abandoned all that tract in front, which he boasted of having taken from us and Philip, and has hid himself behind the rocks; not even appearing in the opening of the pass, as it is said the Lacedaemonians did formerly, but drawing back his camp completely within it. What difference is there, as a demonstration of fear, between this and his shutting himself up within the walls of a city to stand a siege? But neither shall the straits

protect Antiochus, nor the hills which they have seized, the Aetolians. Sufficient care and precaution have been used on every quarter, that you shall have nothing to contend with in the fight but the enemy himself. On your parts, you have to consider, that you are not fighting merely for the liberty of Greece; although, were that all, it would be an achievement highly meritorious to deliver that country now from Antiochus and the Aetolians, which you formerly delivered from Philip; and that the wealth in the king's camp will not be the whole prize of your labour; but that the great collection of stores, daily expected from Ephesus, will likewise become your prey; and also, that you will open a way for the Roman power into Asia and Syria, and all the most opulent realms to the extremity of the East. What then must be the consequence, but that, from Gades to the Red Sea, we shall have no limit but the ocean, which encircles in its embrace the whole orb of the earth; and that all mankind shall regard the Roman name with a degree of veneration next to that which they pay to the divinities? For the attainment of prizes of such magnitude, prepare a spirit adequate to the occasion, that, to-morrow, with the aid of the gods, we may decide the matter in the field."

18. After this discourse he dismissed the soldiers, who, before they went to their repast, got ready their armour and weapons. At the first dawn, the signal of battle being displayed, the consul formed his troops with a narrow front, adapted to the nature and the straitness of the ground. When the king saw the enemy's standards in motion, he likewise drew out his forces. He placed in the van, before the rampart, a part of his light infantry; and behind them, as a support, close to the fortifications, the main strength of his Macedonians, whom they call Sarissophori. On the left wing of these, at the foot of the mountain, he posted a body of javelin-bearers, archers, and slingers; that from the higher ground they might annoy the naked flank of the enemy: and on the right of the Macedonians, to the extremity of the works, where the deep morasses and quicksands, stretching thence to the sea, render the place impassable, the elephants with their usual guard; in the rear of them, the cavalry; and then, with a moderate interval between, the rest of his forces as a second line. The Macedonians, posted before the rampart, for some time easily withstood the efforts which the Romans made every

where to force a passage; for they received great assistance from those who poured down from the higher ground a shower of leaden balls from their slings, and of arrows, and javelins, all together. But afterwards, the enemy pressing on with greater and now irresistible force, they were obliged to give ground, and, filing off from the rear, retire within the fortification. Here, by extending their spears before them, they formed as it were a second rampart, for the rampart itself was of such a moderate height that, while it afforded to its defenders a higher situation, they at the same time, by the length of their spears, had the enemy within reach underneath. Many, inconsiderately approaching the work, were run through the body; and they must either have abandoned the attempt and retreated, or have lost very great numbers, had not Marcus Porcius come from the summit of Callidromus, whence he had dislodged the Aetolians, after killing the greater part of them. These he had surprised, quite unprepared, and mostly asleep, and now he appeared on the hill which overlooked the camp.

19. Flaccus had not met the same good fortune at Tichiuns and Rhoduntia; having failed in his attempts to approach those fastnesses. The Macedonians, and others, in the king's camp, as long as, on account of the distance, they could distinguish nothing more than a body of men in motion, thought they were the Aetolians, who, on seeing the fight, were coming to their aid. But when, on a nearer view, they knew the standards and arms, and thence discovered their mistake, they were all instantly seized with such a panic, that they threw down their arms and fled. Both the fortifications retarded the pursuers, and the narrowness of the valley through which the troops had to pass; and, above all, the circumstance that the elephants were on the rear of the enemy. These the infantry could with difficulty pass, and the cavalry could by no means do so, their horses being so frightened, that they threw one another into greater confusion than when in battle. The plundering of the camp also caused a considerable delay. But, notwithstanding all this, the Romans pursued the enemy that day as far as Scarpheia, killing and taking on the way great numbers both of men and horses, and also killing such of the elephants as they could not capture; and then they returned to their camp. This had been attacked, during the time of the action, by

the Aetolians who were occupying Heraclea as a garrison, but the enterprise, which certainly showed no want of boldness, was not attended with any success. The consul, at the third watch of the following night, sent forward his cavalry in pursuit of the enemy; and, as soon as day appeared, set out at the head of the legions. The king had got far before him, as he did not halt in his precipitate flight until he came to Elatia. There having collected the survivors of the battle and the retreat, he, with a very small body of half-armed men, betook himself to Chalcis. The Roman cavalry did not overtake the king himself at Elatia; but they cut off a great part of his soldiers, who either halted through weariness, or wandered out of the way through mistake, as they fled without guides through unknown roads; so that, out of the whole army, not one escaped except five hundred, who kept close about the king; and even of the ten thousand men, whom, on the authority of Polybius, we have mentioned as brought over by the king from Asia, a very trifling number got off. But what shall we say if we are to believe Valerius Antias, who records that there were in the king's army sixty thousand men, of whom forty thousand fell, and above five thousand were taken, with two hundred and thirty military standards? Of the Romans were slain in the action itself a hundred and fifty; and of the party that defended themselves against the assault of the Aetolians, not more than fifty.

20. As the consul was leading his army through Phocis and Boeotia, the revolted states, conscious of their defection, and dreading lest they should be exposed as enemies to the ravages of the soldiers, presented themselves at the gates of their cities, with the badges of suppliants; but the army proceeded, during the whole time, just as if they were in the country of friends, without offering violence of any sort, until they reached the territory of Coronea. Here a statue of king Antiochus, standing in the temple of Minerva Itonia, kindled their indignation, and permission was given to the soldiers to plunder the lands adjacent to the edifice. But the reflection quickly occurred, that, as the statue had been erected by a general vote of all the Boeotian states, it was unreasonable to resent it on the single district of Coronea. The soldiers were therefore immediately recalled, and the depredations stopped. The Boeotians were only reprimanded for their ungrateful behaviour to the Romans in return

for such great obligations, so recently conferred. At the very time of the battle, ten ships belonging to the king, with their commander Isidorus, lay at anchor near Thronium, in the Malian bay. To them Alexander of Acarnania, being grievously wounded, made his escape, and gave an account of the unfortunate issue of the battle; on which the fleet, alarmed at the immediate danger, sailed away in haste to Cenaeus in Euboea. There Alexander died, and was buried. Three other ships, which came from Asia to the same port, on hearing the disaster which had befallen the army, returned to Ephesus. Isidorus sailed over from Cenaeus to Demetrias, supposing that the king might perhaps have directed his flight thither. About this time Aulus Atilius, commander of the Roman fleet, intercepted a large convoy of provisions going to the king, just as they had passed the strait at the island of Andros: some of the ships he sunk, and took many others. Those who were in the rear turned their course to Asia. Atilius, with the captured vessels in his train, sailed back to Piraeus, from whence he had set out, and distributed a vast quantity of corn among the Athenians and the other allies in that quarter.

21. Antiochus, quitting Chalcis before the arrival of the consul, sailed first to Tenus, and thence passed over to Ephesus. When the consul came to Chalcis, the gates were open to receive him: for Aristoteles, who commanded for the king, on hearing of his approach, had withdrawn from the city. The rest of the cities of Euboea also submitted without opposition; and peace being restored all over the island within the space of a few days, without inflicting punishment on any city, the army, which had acquired much higher praise for moderation after victory, than even for the victory itself, was led back to Thermopylae. From this place, the consul despatched Marcus Cato to Rome, that through him the senate and people might learn what had been achieved from unquestionable authority. He set sail from Creusa, a sea-port belonging to the Thespians, seated at the bottom of the Corinthian Gulf, and steered to Patrae, in Achaia. From Patrae, he coasted along the shores of Aetolia and Acarnania, as far as Corcyra, and thence he passed over to Hydruntum, in Italy. Proceeding hence, with rapid expedition, by land, he arrived on the fifth day at Rome. Having come into the city before day, he went on directly from the gate to Marcus Junius, the praetor, who, at the first

dawn, assembled the senate. Here, Lucius Cornelius Scipio, who had been despatched by the consul several days before Cato, and on his arrival had heard that the latter had outstripped him, and was then in the senate, came in, just as he was giving a recital of the transactions. The two lieutenant-generals were then, by order of the senate, conducted to the assembly of the people, where they gave the same account, as in the senate, of the services performed in Aetolia. Hereupon a supplication of three days' continuance was decreed, and that the praetor should offer sacrifice to such of the gods as his judgment should direct, with forty victims of the larger kinds. About the same time, Marcus Fulvius Nobilior, who, two years before, had gone into Farther Spain, in the office of praetor, entered the city in ovation. He carried in the procession a hundred and thirty thousand silver denarii,[] and besides the coin, twelve thousand pounds' weight of silver, and a hundred and twenty-seven pounds' weight of gold.

22. The consul Manius Acilius sent on, from Thermopylae, a message to the Aetolians in Heraclea, admonishing them, "then at least, after the experience which they had of the emptiness of the king's professions, to return to their senses; and, by surrendering Heraclea, to endeavour to procure from the senate a pardon for their past madness, or error: that other Grecian states also had, during the present war, revolted from the Romans, to whom they were under the highest obligations; but that, inasmuch as, after the flight of the king, in reliance upon whom they had departed from their duty, they had not added obstinacy to their misbehaviour, they were re-admitted into friendship. In like manner, although the Aetolians had not followed in the steps of the king, but had invited him, and had been principals in the war, not auxiliaries; nevertheless, if they could bring themselves to repentance they might still insure their safety." As their answer to these suggestions showed nothing like a pacific disposition, and it was evident that the business must be determined by force of arms, and that, notwithstanding the defeat of the king, the war of Aetolia was as far from a conclusion as ever, Acilius removed his camp from Thermopylae to Heraclea; and on the same day rode on horseback entirely round the walls, in order to acquaint himself with the localities of the city. Heraclea is situated at the foot of

Mount Oeta; the town itself is in the plain, but has a citadel overlooking it, which stands on an eminence of considerable height, terminated on all sides by precipices. Having examined every part which he wished to see, the consul determined to make the attack in four places at once. On the side next the river Asopus, where is also the Gymnasium, he gave the direction of the works and the assault to Lucius Valerius. He assigned to Tiberius Sempronius Longus the attack of a part of the suburbs, which was as thickly inhabited as the city itself. He appointed Marcus Baebius to act on the side opposite the Malian bay, a part where the access was far from easy; and Appius Claudius on the side next to another rivulet, called Melas; opposite to the temple of Diana. By the vigorous emulation of these the towers, rams, and other machines used in the besieging of towns, were all completed within a few days. The lands round Heraclea, naturally marshy, and abounding with tall trees, furnished timber in abundance for every kind of work; and then, as the Aetolians had fled into the city, the deserted suburbs supplied not only beams and boards, but also bricks and mortar, and stones of every size for all their various occasions.

23. The Romans carried on the assault upon this city by means of works more than by their arms; the Aetolians, on the contrary, maintained their defence by dint of arms. For when the walls were shaken by the ram they did not, as is usual, intercept and turn aside the strokes by the help of nooses formed on ropes, but sallied out in large armed bodies, with parties carrying fire, which they threw into the works. They had likewise arched passages through the parapet, for the purpose of making sallies; and when they built up the wall anew, in the room of any part that was demolished, they left a great number of these, that they might rush out upon the enemy from many places at once. In several days at the beginning, while their strength was unimpaired, they carried on this practice in numerous parties, and with much spirit, but afterwards in smaller numbers and more languidly. For though they had a multiplicity of difficulties to struggle with, what above all things utterly consumed their vigour was the want of sleep, as the Romans, having plenty of men, relieved each other regularly in their posts; while among the Aetolians, their numbers being small, the same persons had their strength consumed

by unremitting labour night and day. During a space of twenty-four days, without any time being unemployed in the conflict, their toil was kept up against the attacks carried on by the enemy in four different quarters at once. When the consul, from computing the time, and from the reports of deserters, judged that the Aetolians were thoroughly fatigued, he adopted the following plan: — At midnight he gave the signal of retreat, and drawing off all his men at once from the assault, kept them quiet in the camp until the third hour of the next day. The attacks were then renewed, and continued until midnight, when they ceased, until the third hour of the day following. The Aetolians imagined that the Romans suspended the attack from the same cause by which they felt themselves distressed, — excessive fatigue. As soon, therefore, as the signal of retreat was given to the Romans, as if themselves were thereby recalled from duty, every one gladly retired from his post, nor did they again appear in arms on the walls before the third hour of the day.

24. The consul having put a stop to the assault at midnight, renewed it on three of the sides, at the fourth watch, with the utmost vigour; ordering Tiberius Sempronius, on the fourth, to keep his party alert, and ready to obey his signal; for he concluded assuredly, that in the tumult by night the enemy would all run to those quarters whence the shouting was heard. Of the Aetolians, such as had gone to rest, with difficulty roused their bodies from sleep, exhausted as they were with fatigue and watching; and such as were still awake, ran in the dark to the places where they heard the noise of fighting. Meanwhile the Romans endeavoured some to climb over the ruins of the walls, through the breaches; others, to scale the walls with ladders; while the Aetolians hastened in all directions to defend the parts attacked. In one quarter, where the buildings stood outside the city, there was neither attack nor defence. A party stood ready, waiting for the signal to make an attack, but there was none within to oppose them. The day now began to dawn, and the consul gave the signal; on which the party, without any opposition, made their way into the town; some through parts that had been battered, others scaling the walls where they were entire. As soon as the Aetolians heard them raise the shout, which denoted the place being taken, they every where forsook their posts, and fled into the citadel. The victors

sacked the city; the consul having given permission, not for the sake of gratifying resentment or animosity, but that the soldiers, after having been restrained from plunder in so many cities captured from the enemy, might at last, in some one place, enjoy the fruits of victory. About mid-day he recalled the troops, and dividing them into two parts, ordered one to be led round by the foot of the mountain to a rock, which was of equal height with the citadel, and seemed as if it had been broken off from it, leaving a hollow between; but the summits of these eminences are so nearly contiguous that weapons may be thrown into the citadel from the top of the other. With the other half of the troops the consul intended to march, up from the city to the citadel, and waited to receive a signal from those who were to mount the rock on the farther side. The Aetolians in the citadel could not support the shout of the party which had seized the rock, and the consequent attack of the Romans from the city; for their courage was now broken, and the place was by no means in a condition to hold out a siege of any continuance; the women, children, and great numbers of other helpless people, being crowded together in a fort, which was scarce capable of containing, much less of affording protection to such a multitude. On the first assault, therefore, they laid down their arms and submitted. Among the rest was delivered up Damocritus, chief magistrate of the Aetolians, who at the beginning of the war, when Titus Quinctius asked for a copy of the decree passed by the Aetolians for inviting Antiochus, told him, that, "in Italy, when the Aetolians were encamped there, it should be delivered to him." On account of this presumptuous insolence of his, his surrender was a matter of greater satisfaction to the victors.

25. At the same time, while the Romans were employed in the reduction of Heraclea, Philip, by concert, besieged Lamia. He had an interview with the consul, as he was returning from Boeotia, at Thermopylae, whither he came to congratulate him and the Roman people on their successes, and to apologize for his not having taken an active part in the war, being prevented by sickness; and then they went from thence, by different routes, to lay siege to the two cities at once. The distance between these places is about seven miles; and as Lamia stands on high ground, and has an open prospect, particularly towards the region of Mount Oeta, the distance seems very short, and

every thing that passes can be seen from thence. The Romans and Macedonians, with all the emulation of competitors for a prize, employed the utmost exertions, both night and day, either in the works or in fighting; but the Macedonians encountered greater difficulty on this account, that the Romans made their approaches by mounds, covered galleries, and other works, which were all above ground; whereas the Macedonians worked under ground by mines, and, in that stony soil, often met a flinty rock, which iron could not penetrate. The king, seeing that his undertaking succeeded but ill, endeavoured, by conversations with the principal inhabitants, to prevail on the townspeople to surrender the place; for he was fully persuaded, that if Heraclea should be taken first, the Lamians would then choose to surrender to the Romans rather than to him; and that the consul would take to himself the merit of relieving them from a siege. Nor was he mistaken in that opinion; for no sooner was Heraclea reduced, than a message came to him to desist from the assault; because "it was more reasonable that the Roman soldiers, who had fought the Aetolians in the field, should reap the fruits of the victory." Thus was Lamia relieved, and the misfortune of a neighbouring city proved the means of its escaping a like disaster.

26. A few days before the capture of Heraclea, the Aetolians, having assembled a council at Hypata, sent ambassadors to Antiochus, among whom was Thoas, the same who had been sent on the former occasion. Their instructions were in the first place, to request the king again to assemble his land and marine forces and cross over into Greece; and, in the next place, if any circumstance should detain him, then to send them supplies of men and money. They were to remind him, that "it concerned his dignity and his honour, not to abandon his allies; and it likewise concerned the safety of his kingdom, not to leave the Romans at full leisure, after ruining the nation of the Aetolians, to carry their whole force into Asia." What they said was true, and therefore made the deeper impression on the king; in consequence of which, he immediately supplied the ambassadors with the money requisite for the exigencies of the war, and assured them, that he would send them succours both of troops and ships. One of the ambassadors, namely, Thoas, he kept with him, by no means against his will, as he hoped that, being

present, he might induce the performance of the king's promises.

27. But the loss of Heraclea entirely broke the spirits of the Aetolians; insomuch that, within a few days after they had sent ambassadors into Asia for the purpose of renewing the war, and inviting the king, they threw aside all warlike designs, and despatched deputies to the consul to sue for peace. When these began to speak, the consul, interrupting them, said, that he had other business to attend to at present; and, ordering them to return to Hypata, granted them a truce for ten days, sending with them Lucius Valerius Flaccus, to whom, he desired, whatever business they intended to have proposed to himself might be communicated, with any other that they thought proper. On their arrival at Hypata, the chiefs of the Aetolians held a consultation, at which Flaccus was present, on the method to be used in treating with the consul. They showed an inclination to begin with addressing themselves wholly to the ancient treaties, and the services which they had performed to the Roman people; on which Flaccus desired them to "speak no more of treaties, which they themselves had violated and annulled." He told them, that "they might expect more advantage from an acknowledgment of their fault, and entreaty. For their hopes of safety rested not on the merits of their cause, but on the clemency of the Roman people. That, if they acted in a suppliant manner, he would himself be a solicitor in their favour, both with the consul and with the senate at Rome; for thither also they must send ambassadors." This appeared to all the only way to safety: "to submit themselves entirely to the faith of the Romans. For, in that case, the latter would be ashamed to do injury to suppliants; while themselves would, nevertheless, retain the power of consulting their own interest, should fortune offer any thing more advantageous."

28. When they came into the consul's presence, Phaeneas, who was at the head of the embassy, made a long speech, designed to mitigate the wrath of the conqueror by various considerations; and he concluded with saying, that "the Aetolians surrendered themselves, and all belonging to them, to the faith of the Roman people." The consul, on hearing this, said, "Aetolians, consider well whether you will yield on these terms:" and then Phaeneas produced the decree, in which the conditions were expressly mentioned. "Since then," said

the consul, "you submit in this manner, I demand that, without delay, you deliver up to me Dicaearchus your countryman, Menetas the Epirot," who had, with an armed force, entered Naupactum, and compelled the inhabitants to defection; "and also Amynder, with the Athamanian chiefs, by whose advice you revolted from us." Phaeneas, almost interrupting the Roman while he was speaking, answered,— "We surrendered ourselves, not into slavery, but to your faith; and I take it for granted, that, from not being sufficiently acquainted with us, you fall into the mistake of commanding what is inconsistent with the practice of the Greeks." "Nor in truth," replied the consul, "do I much concern myself, at present, what the Aetolians may think conformable to the practice of the Greeks; while I, conformably to the practice of the Romans, exercise authority over men, who just now surrendered themselves by a decree of their own, and were, before that, conquered by my arms. Wherefore, unless my commands are quickly complied with, I order that you be put in chains." At the same time he ordered chains to be brought forth, and the lictors to surround the ambassadors. This effectually subdued the arrogance of Phaeneas and the other Aetolians; and, at length, they became sensible of their situation. Phaeneas then said, that "as to himself and his countrymen there present, they knew that his commands must be obeyed: but it was necessary that a council of the Aetolians should meet, to pass decrees accordingly; and that, for that purpose, he requested a suspension of arms for ten days." At the intercession of Flaccus on behalf of the Aetolians, this was granted, and they returned to Hypata. When Phaeneas related here, in the select council, called Apocleti, the orders which they had received, and the treatment which they had narrowly escaped; although the chiefs bemoaned their condition, nevertheless they were of opinion, that the conqueror must be obeyed, and that the Aetolians should be summoned, from all their towns, to a general assembly.

29. But when the assembled multitude heard the same account, their minds were so highly exasperated, both by the harshness of the order and the indignity offered, that, even if they had been in a pacific temper before, the violent impulse of anger which they then felt would have been sufficient to rouse them to war. Their rage was increased also by the difficulty of executing what was enjoined on

them; for, “how was it possible for them, for instance, to deliver up king Amynder?” It happened, also, that a favourable prospect seemed to open to them; for Nicander, returning from king Antiochus at that juncture, filled the minds of the people with unfounded assurances, that immense preparations for war were going on both by land and sea. This man, after finishing the business of his embassy, set out on his return to Aetolia; and on the twelfth day after he embarked, reached Phalara, on the Malian bay. Having conveyed thence to Lamia the money that he had brought, he, with a few light troops, directed, in the evening, his course toward Hypata, by known paths, through the country which lay between the Roman and Macedonian camps. Here he fell in with an advanced guard of the Macedonians, and was conducted to the king, whose dinner guests had not yet separated. Philip, being told of his coming, received him as a guest, not an enemy; desired him to take a seat, and join the entertainment; and afterwards, when he dismissed the rest, detained him alone, and told him, that he had nothing to fear for himself. He censured severely the conduct of the Aetolians, in bringing, first the Romans, and afterwards Antiochus, into Greece; designs which originated in a want of judgment, and always recoiled on their own heads. But “he would forget,” he said, “all past transactions, which it was easier to blame than to amend; nor would he act in such a manner as to appear to insult their misfortunes. On the other hand, it would become the Aetolians to lay aside, at length, their animosity towards him; and it would become Nicander himself, in his private capacity, to remember that day, on which he had been preserved by him.” Having then appointed persons to escort him to a place of safety, Nicander arrived at Hypata, while his countrymen were consulting about the peace with Rome.

30. Manius Acilius having sold, or given to the soldiers, the booty found near Heraclea, and having learned that the counsels adopted at Hypata were not of a pacific nature, but that the Aetolians had hastily assembled at Naupactum, with intention to make a stand there against the whole brunt of the war, sent forward Appius Claudius, with four thousand men, to seize the heights of the mountains, where the passes were difficult; and he himself, ascending Mount Oeta, offered sacrifices to Hercules, in the spot called Pyra,[] because there

the mortal part of the demi-god was burned. He then set out with the main body of the army, and marched all the rest of the way with tolerable ease and expedition. But when they came to Corax, a very high mountain between Callipolis and Naupactum, great numbers of the beasts of burden, together with their loads, tumbled down the precipices, and many of the men were hurt. This clearly showed with how negligent an enemy they had to do, who had not secured so difficult a pass by a guard, and so blocked up the passage; for, even as the case was, the army suffered considerably. Hence he marched down to Naupactum; and having erected a fort against the citadel, he invested the other parts of the city, dividing his forces according to the situation of the walls. Nor was the siege likely to prove less difficult and laborious than that of Heraclea.

31. At the same time, the Achaeans laid siege to Messene, in Peloponnesus, because it refused to become a member of their body: for the two states of Messene and Elis were unconnected with the Achaean confederacy, and sympathized with the Aetolians. However, the Eleans, after Antiochus had been driven out of Greece, answered the deputies, sent by the Achaeans, with more moderation: that “when the king’s troops were removed, they would consider what part they should take.” But the Messenians had dismissed the deputies without an answer, and prepared for war. Alarmed, afterwards, at their own situation, when they saw the enemy ravaging their country without control, and pitching their camp close to their city, they sent deputies to Chalcis, to Titus Quinctius, the author of their liberty, to acquaint him, that “the Messenians were willing, both to open their gates, and surrender their city, to the Romans, but not to the Achaeans.” On hearing this Quinctius immediately set out, and despatched from Megalopolis a messenger to Diophanes, praetor of the Achaeans, requiring him to draw off his army instantly from Messene, and to come to him. Diophanes obeyed the order; raising the siege, he hastened forward himself before the army, and met Quinctius near Andania, a small town between Megalopolis and Messene. When he began to explain the reasons for commencing the siege, Quinctius, gently reproving him for undertaking a business of that importance without consulting him, ordered him to disband his forces, and not to disturb a peace which had been established

advantageously to all. He commanded the Messenians to recall the exiles, and to unite themselves to the confederacy of the Achaeans; and if there were any particulars to which they chose to object, or any precautions which they judged requisite for the future, they might apply to him at Corinth. He then gave directions to Diophanes, to convene immediately a general council of the Achaeans, that he might settle some business with them.

32. In this assembly he complained of their having acquired possession of the island of Zacynthus by unfair means, and demanded that it should be restored to the Romans. Zacynthus had formerly belonged to Philip, king of Macedonia, and he had made it over to Amynder, on condition of his giving him leave to march an army through Athamania, into the upper part of Aetolia, on that expedition wherein he compelled the Aetolians with dejected spirits to sue for peace. Amynder gave the government of the island to Philip, the Megalopolitan; and afterwards, during the war in which he united himself with Antiochus against the Romans, having called out Philip to the duties of the campaign, he sent, as his successor, Hierocles, of Agrigentum. This man, after the flight of Antiochus from Thermopylae, and the expulsion of Amynder from Athamania by Philip, sent emissaries of his own accord to Diophanes, praetor of the Achaeans; and having bargained for a sum of money, delivered over the island to the Achaeans. This acquisition, made during the war, the Romans claimed as their own; for they said, that “it was not for Diophanes and the Achaeans that the consul Manius Acilius, and the Roman legions, fought at Thermopylae.” Diophanes, in answer, sometimes apologized for himself and his nation; sometimes insisted on the justice of the proceeding. But several of the Achaeans testified that they had, from the beginning, disapproved of that business, and they now blamed the obstinacy of the praetor. Pursuant to their advice, a decree was made, that the affair should be left entirely to the disposal of Titus Quinctius. As Quinctius was severe to such as made opposition, so, when complied with, he was easily appeased. Laying aside, therefore, every thing stern in his voice and looks, he said,— “If, Achaeans, I thought the possession of that island advantageous to you, I would be the first to advise the senate and people of Rome to

permit you to hold it. But as I see that a tortoise, when collected within its natural covering, is safe against blows of any kind, and whenever it thrusts out any of its limbs, it feels whatever it has thus uncovered, weak and liable to every injury: so you, in like manner, Achaeans, being enclosed on all sides by the sea, can easily unite among yourselves, and maintain by that union all that is comprehended within the limits of Peloponnesus; but whenever, through ambition of enlarging your possessions, you overstep these limits, then all that you hold beyond them is naked, and exposed to every attack.” The whole assembly declaring their assent, and Diophanes not daring to give further opposition, Zacynthus was ceded to the Romans.

33. When the consul was on his march to Naupactum, king Philip proposed, that, if it was agreeable to him, he would, in the mean time, retake those cities that had revolted from their alliance with Rome. Having obtained permission so to do, he, about this time, marched his army to Demetrias, being well aware that great distraction prevailed there; for the garrison, being destitute of all hope of succour since they were abandoned by Antiochus, and having no reliance on the Aetolians, daily and nightly expected the arrival of Philip or the Romans, whom they had most reason to dread, as these were most justly incensed against them. There was, in the place, an irregular multitude of the king’s soldiers, a few of whom had been at first left there as a garrison, but the greater part had fled thither after the defeat of his army, most of them without arms, and without either strength or courage sufficient to sustain a siege. Wherefore on Philip’s sending on messengers, to offer them hopes of pardon being obtainable, they answered, that their gates were open for the king. On his first entrance, several of the chiefs left the city; Eurylochus killed himself. The soldiers of Antiochus, in conformity to a stipulation, were escorted, through Macedonia and Thrace, by a body of Macedonians, and conducted to Lysimachia. There were, also, a few ships at Demetrias, under the command of Isidorus, which, together with their commander, were dismissed. Philip then reduced Dolopia, Aperantia, and several cities of Perrhaebia.

34. While Philip was thus employed, Titus Quinctius, after

receiving from the Achaean council the cession of Zacynthus, crossed over to Naupactum, which had stood a siege of near two months, but was now reduced to a desperate condition; and it was supposed, that if it should be taken by storm, the whole nation of the Aetolians would be sunk thereby in utter destruction. But, although he was deservedly incensed against the Aetolians, from the recollection that they alone had attempted to depreciate his merits, when he was giving liberty to Greece; and had been in no degree influenced by his advice, when he endeavoured, by forewarning them of the events, which had since occurred, to deter them from their mad undertaking: nevertheless, thinking it particularly his business to take care that none of the states of Greece which had been liberated by himself should be entirely subverted, he first walked about near the walls, that he might be easily known by the Aetolians. He was quickly distinguished by the first advanced guards, and the news spread from rank to rank that Quinctius was there. On this, the people from all sides ran to the walls, and eagerly stretching out their hands, all in one joint cry besought Quinctius by name, to assist and save them. Although he was much affected by these entreaties, yet for that time he made signs with his hands, that they were to expect no assistance from him. However, when he met the consul he accosted him thus:— “Manius Acilius, are you unapprized of what is passing; or do you know it, and think it immaterial to the interest of the commonwealth?” This inflamed the consul with curiosity, and he replied, “But explain what is your meaning.” Quinctius then said,— “Do you not see that, since the defeat of Antiochus, you have been wasting time in besieging two cities, though the year of your command is near expiring; but that Philip, who never faced the enemy, or even saw their standards, has annexed to his dominions such a number, not only of cities, but of nations, — Athamania, Perrhaebia, Aperantia, Dolopia? But, surely, we are not so deeply interested in diminishing the strength and resources of the Aetolians, as in hindering those of Philip from being augmented beyond measure; and in you, and your soldiers, not having yet gained, to reward your victory, as many towns as Philip has gained Grecian states.”

35. The consul assented to these remarks, but a feeling of shame

suggested itself to him — if he should abandon the siege with his purpose unaccomplished. At length the matter was left entirely to the management of Quinctius. He went again to that part of the wall whence the Aetolians had called to him a little before; and on their entreating him now, with still greater earnestness, to take compassion on the nation of the Aetolians, he desired that some of them might come out to him. Accordingly, Phaeneas himself, with some others of the principal men, instantly came and threw themselves at his feet. He then said,— “Your condition causes me to restrain my resentment and my reproofs. The events which I foretold have come to pass, and you have not even this reflection left you, that they have fallen upon you undeservedly. Nevertheless, since fate has, in some manner, destined me to the office of cherishing the interests of Greece, I will not cease to show kindness even to the unthankful. Send intercessors to the consul, and let them petition him for a suspension of hostilities, for so long a time as will allow you to send ambassadors to Rome, to surrender yourselves to the will of the senate. I will intercede, and plead in your favour with the consul.” They did as Quinctius directed; nor did the consul reject their application. He granted them a truce for a certain time, until the embassy might bring a reply from Rome; and then, raising the siege, he sent his army into Phocis. The consul, with Titus Quinctius, crossed over thence to Aegium, to confer with the council of the Achaeans about the Eleans, and also the restoration of the Lacedaemonian exiles. But neither was carried into execution, because the Achaeans chose to reserve to themselves the merit of effecting the latter; and the Eleans preferred being united to the Achaean confederacy by a voluntary act of their own, rather than through the mediation of the Romans. Ambassadors came hither to the consul from the Epirots, who, it was well known, had not with honest fidelity maintained the alliance. Although they had not furnished Antiochus with any soldiers, yet they were charged with having assisted him with money; and they themselves did not disavow having sent ambassadors to him. They requested that they might be permitted to continue on the former footing of friendship. To which the consul answered, that “he did not yet know whether he was to consider them as friends or foes. The senate must be the judge of that matter. He would therefore take no step in the business, but

leave it to be determined at Rome; and for that purpose he granted them a truce of ninety days." When the Epirots, who were sent to Rome, addressed the senate, they rather enumerated hostile acts which they had not committed, than cleared themselves of those laid to their charge; and they received such an answer that they seemed rather to have obtained pardon than proved their innocence. About the same time ambassadors from king Philip were introduced to the senate, and presented his congratulations on their late successes. They asked leave to sacrifice in the Capitol, and to deposit an offering of gold in the temple of Jupiter supremely good and great. This was granted by the senate, and they presented a golden crown of a hundred pounds' weight. The senate not only answered the ambassadors with kindness, but gave them Demetrius, Philip's son, who was at Rome as an hostage, to be conducted home to his father. — Such was the conclusion of the war waged in Greece by the consul Manius Acilius against Antiochus.

36. The other consul, Publius Cornelius Scipio, who had obtained by lot the province of Gaul, before he set out to the war which was to be waged against the Boians, demanded of the senate, by a decree, to order him money for the exhibition of games, which, when acting as *propraetor* in Spain, he had vowed at a critical time of a battle. His demand was deemed unprecedented and unreasonable, and they therefore voted, that "whatever games he had vowed, on his own single judgment, without consulting the senate, he should celebrate out of the spoils, if he had reserved any for the purpose; otherwise, at his own expense." Accordingly, Publius Cornelius exhibited those games through the space of ten days. About this time the temple of the great Idaean Mother was dedicated; which deity, on her being brought from Asia, in the consulate of Publius Cornelius Scipio, afterwards surnamed *Africanus*, and Publius Lucinius, the above-mentioned Publius Cornelius had conducted from the sea-side to the Palatine. In pursuance of a decree of the senate, Marcus Livius and Caius Claudius, censors, in the consulate of Marcus Cornelius and Publius Sempronius, had contracted for the erection of the goddess's temple; and thirteen years after it had been so contracted for, it was dedicated by Marcus Junius Brutus, and games were celebrated on occasion of its dedication: in which, according to the account of

Valerius Antias, dramatic entertainments were, for the first time, introduced into the Megalesian games. Likewise, Caius Licinius Lucullus, being appointed duumvir, dedicated the temple of Youth in the great circus. This temple had been vowed sixteen years before by Marcus Livius, consul, on the day wherein he cut off Hasdrubal and his army; and the same person, when censor, in the consulate of Marcus Cornelius and Publius Sempronius, had contracted for the building of it. Games were also exhibited on occasion of this consecration, and every thing was performed with the greater degree of religious zeal, on account of the impending war with Antiochus.

37. At the beginning of the year in which those transactions passed, after Manius Acilius had gone to open the campaign, and while the other consul, Publius Cornelius, yet remained in Rome, two tame oxen, it is said, climbed up by ladders on the tiles of a house in the Carina. The aruspices ordered them to be burned alive, and their ashes to be thrown into the Tiber. It was reported, that several showers of stones had fallen at Tarracina and Amiternum; that, at Minturnae, the temple of Jupiter, and the shops round the forum, were struck by lightning; that, at Vulturnum, in the mouth of the river, two ships were struck by lightning, and burnt to ashes. On occasion of these prodigies, the decemvirs, being ordered by a decree of the senate to consult the Sibylline books, declared, that “a fast ought to be instituted in honour of Ceres, and the same observed every fifth year; that the nine days’ worship ought to be solemnized, and a supplication for one day; and that they should observe the supplication, with garlands on their heads; also that the consul Publius Cornelius should sacrifice to such deities, and with such victims, as the decemvirs should direct.” When he had used every means to avert the wrath of the gods, by duly fulfilling vows and expiating prodigies, the consul went to his province; and, ordering the proconsul Cneius Domitius to disband his army, and go home to Rome, he marched his own legions into the territory of the Boians.

38. Nearly at the same time, the Ligurians, having collected an army under the sanction of their devoting law, made an unexpected attack, in the night, on the camp of the proconsul Quintus Minucius. Minucius kept his troops, until daylight, drawn up within the rampart, and watchful to prevent the enemy from scaling any part of

the fortifications At the first light, he made a sally by two gates at once: but the Ligurians did not, as he had expected, give way to his first onset; on the contrary, they maintained a dubious contest for more than two hours. At last, as other and still other troops came out from the camp, and fresh men took the place of those who were wearied in the fight, the Ligurians, who besides other hardships, felt a great loss of strength from the want of sleep, betook themselves to flight. Above four thousand of the enemy were killed; the Romans and allies lost not quite three hundred. About two months after this, the consul Publius Cornelius fought a pitched battle with the army of the Boians with extraordinary success. Valerius Antias affirms, that twenty-eight thousand of the enemy were slain, and three thousand four hundred taken, with a hundred and twenty-four military standards, one thousand two hundred and thirty horses, and two hundred and forty-seven waggons; and that of the conquerors there fell one thousand four hundred and eighty-four. Though we may not entirely credit this writer with respect to the numbers, as in such exaggeration no writer is more extravagant, yet it is certain that the victory on this occasion was very complete; because the enemy's camp was taken, while, immediately after the battle, the Boians surrendered themselves; and because a supplication was decreed by the senate on account of it, and victims of the greater kinds were sacrificed. About the same time Marcus Fulvius Nobilior entered the city in ovation, returning from Farther Spain. He carried with him twelve thousand pounds of silver, one hundred and thirty thousand silver denarii, and one hundred and twenty-seven pounds of gold.[]

39. The consul, Publius Cornelius, having received hostages from the Boians, punished them so far as to appropriate almost one-half of their lands for the use of the Roman people, and into which they might afterwards, if they chose, send colonies. Then returning home in full confidence of a triumph, he dismissed his troops, and ordered them to attend on the day of his triumph at Rome. The next day after his arrival, he held a meeting of the senate, in the temple of Bellona, when he detailed to them the services he had performed, and demanded to ride through the city in triumph. Publius Sempronius Blaesus, tribune of the people, advised, that "the honour of a triumph should not be refused to Scipio, but postponed. Wars of the

Ligurians,” he said, “were always united with wars of the Gauls; for these nations, lying so near, sent mutual assistance to each other. If Publius Scipio, after subduing the Boians in battle, had either gone himself, with his victorious army, into the country of the Ligurians, or sent a part of his forces to Quintus Minucius, who was detained there, now the third year, by a war which was still undecided, that with the Ligurians might have been brought to an end: instead of which, he had, in order to procure a full attendance on his triumph, brought home the troops, who might have performed most material services to the state; and might do so still, if the senate thought proper, by deferring this token of victory, to redeem that which had been omitted through eager haste for a triumph. If they would order the consul to return with his legions into his province, and to give his assistance towards subduing the Ligurians, (for, unless these were reduced under the dominion and jurisdiction of the Roman people, neither would the Boians ever remain quiet,) there must be either peace or war with both. When the Ligurians should be subdued, Publius Cornelius, in quality of proconsul, might triumph, a few months later, after the precedent of many, who did not attain that honour until the expiration of their office.”

40. To this the consul answered, that “neither had the province of Liguria fallen to his lot, nor had he waged war with the Ligurians, nor did he demand a triumph over them. He confidently hoped, that in a short time Quintus Minucius, after completing their reduction, would demand and obtain a well-deserved triumph. For his part, he demanded a triumph over the Boian Gauls, whom he had conquered in battle and had driven out of their camp; of whose whole nation he had received an absolute submission within two days after the fight; and from whom he had brought home hostages to secure peace in future. But there was another circumstance, of much greater magnitude: he had slain in battle so great a number of Gauls, that no commander, before him, ever met in the field so many thousands, at least of the Boians. Out of fifty thousand men, more than one-half were killed, and many thousands made prisoners; so that the Boians had now remaining only old men and boys. Could it, then, be a matter of surprise to any one, that a victorious army, which had not left one enemy in the province, should come to Rome to attend the

triumph of their consul? And if the senate should choose to employ the services of these troops in another province also, which of the two kinds of treatment could it be supposed would make them enter on a new course of danger and another laborious enterprise with the greater alacrity; the paying them the reward of their former toils and dangers without defalcation; or, the sending them away, with the prospect, instead of the reality, when they had once been disappointed in their first expectation? As to what concerned himself personally, he had acquired a stock of glory sufficient for his whole life, on that day, when the senate adjudged him to be the best man (in the state), and commissioned him to give a reception to the Idaean Mother. With this inscription (though neither consulship nor triumph were added) the statue of Publius Scipio Nasica would be sufficiently honoured and dignified.” The unanimous senate not only gave their vote for the triumph, but by their influence prevailed on the tribune to desist from his protest. Publius Cornelius, the consul, triumphed over the Boians. In this procession he carried, on Gallic waggons, arms, standards, and spoils of all sorts; the brazen utensils of the Gauls; and, together with the prisoners of distinction, he led a train of captured horses. He deposited in the treasury a thousand four hundred and seventy golden chains; and besides these, two hundred and forty-five pounds’ weight of gold; two thousand three hundred and forty pounds’ weight of silver, some unwrought, and some formed in vessels of the Gallic fashion, not without beauty; and two hundred and thirty-four thousand denarii.[1] To the soldiers who followed his chariot, he distributed three hundred and twenty-five *asses*[2] each, double to a centurion, triple to a horseman. Next day, he summoned an assembly, and after expatiating on his own services, and the ill-treatment shown him by the tribune who wanted to entangle him in a way which did not belong to him, in order to defraud him of the fruits of his success, he absolved the soldiers of their oath and discharged them.

41. While this passed in Italy, Antiochus was at Ephesus divested of all concern respecting the war with Rome, as supposing that the Romans had no intention of coming into Asia; which state of security was occasioned by the erroneous opinions or the flattering representations of the greater part of his friends. Hannibal alone,

whose judgment was, at that time, the most highly respected by the king, declared, that “he rather wondered the Romans were not already in Asia than entertained a doubt of their coming. The passage was easier from Greece to Asia, than from Italy to Greece, and Antiochus constituted a much more important object than the Aetolians. For the Roman arms were not less powerful on sea than on land. Their fleet had long been at Malea, and he had heard that a reinforcement of ships and a new commander had lately come from Italy, with intent to enter on action. He therefore advised Antiochus not to form to himself vain hopes of peace. He must necessarily in a short time maintain a contest with the Romans both by sea and land, in Asia, and for Asia itself; and must either wrest the power from those who grasped at the empire of the world, or lose his own dominions.” He seemed to be the only person who could foresee, and honestly foretell, what was to happen. The king, therefore, with the ships which were equipped and in readiness, sailed to the Chersonesus, in order to strengthen the places there with garrisons, lest the Romans should happen to come by land. He left orders with Polyxenidas to fit out the rest of the fleet, and put to sea; and sent out advice-boats among the islands to procure intelligence of every thing that was passing.

42. When Caius Livius, commander of the Roman fleet, sailed with fifty decked ships from Rome, he went to Neapolis, where he had appointed the rendezvous of the undecked ships, which were due by treaty from the allies on that coast; and thence he proceeded to Sicily, where, as he sailed through the strait beyond Messina, he was joined by six Carthaginian ships, sent to his assistance; and then, having collected the vessels due from the Rhegians, Locrians, and other allies, who were bound by the same conditions, he purified the fleet at Lacinium, and put forth into the open sea. On his arrival at Corcyra, which was the first Grecian country where he touched, inquiring about the state of the war, (for all matters in Greece were not yet entirely settled,) and about the Roman fleet, he was told, that the consul and the king were posted at the pass of Thermopylae, and that the fleet lay at Piraeus: on which, judging expedition necessary on every account, he sailed directly forward to Peloponnesus. Having on his passage ravaged Samos and Zacynthus, because they favoured

the party of the Aetolians, he bent his course to Malea; and, meeting very favourable weather, arrived in a few days at Piraeus, where he joined the old fleet. At Scyllaeum he was met by king Eumenes, with three ships, who had long hesitated at Aegina whether he should go home to defend his own kingdom, on hearing that Antiochus was preparing both marine and land forces at Ephesus; or whether he should unite himself inseparably to the Romans, on whose destiny his own depended. Aulus Atilius, having delivered to his successor twenty-five decked ships, sailed from Piraeus for Rome. Livius, with eighty-one beaked ships, besides many others of inferior rates, some of which were open and furnished with beaks, others without beaks, fit for advice-boats, crossed over to Delos.

43. At this time, the consul Acilius was engaged in the siege of Naupactum. Livius was detained several days at Delos by contrary winds, for that tract among the Cyclades, which are separated in some places by larger straits, in others by smaller, is extremely subject to storms. Polyxenidas, receiving intelligence from his scout-ships, which were stationed in various places, that the Roman fleet lay at Delos, sent off an express to the king, who, quitting the business in which he was employed in Hellespontus, and taking with him all the ships of war, returned to Ephesus with all possible speed, and instantly called a council to determine whether he should risk an engagement at sea. Polyxenidas affirmed, that no delay should be incurred; "it was particularly requisite so to do, before the fleet of Eumenes and the Rhodian ships should join the Romans; in which case, even, they would scarcely be inferior in number, and in every other particular would have a great superiority, by reason of the agility of their vessels, and a variety of auxiliary circumstances. For the Roman ships, being unskilfully constructed, were slow in their motions; and, besides that, as they were coming to an enemy's coast, they would be heavily laden with provisions; whereas their own, leaving none but friends in all the countries round, would have nothing on board but men and arms. Moreover that their knowledge of the sea, of the adjacent lands, and of the winds, would be greatly in their favour; of all which the Romans being ignorant, would find themselves much distressed." In advising this plan he influenced all, especially as the same person who gave the advice was also to carry

it into execution. Two days only were passed in making preparations; and on the third, setting sail with a hundred ships, of which seventy had decks, and the rest were open, but all of the smaller rates, they steered their course to Phocaea. The king, as he did not intend to be present in the naval combat, on hearing that the Roman fleet was approaching, withdrew to Magnesia, near Sipylus, to collect his land forces, while his ships proceeded to Cyssus, a port of Erythraea, where it was supposed they might with more convenience wait for the enemy. The Romans, as soon as the north wind, which had held for several days, ceased, sailed from Delos to Phanae, a port in Chios, opposite the Aegæan sea. They afterwards brought round the fleet to the city of Chios, and having taken in provisions there, sailed over to Phocaea. Eumenes, who had gone to join his fleet at Elaea, returned a few days after, with twenty-four decked ships, and a greater number of open ones, to Phocaea, where were the Romans, who were fitting and preparing themselves for a sea-fight. Then setting sail with a hundred and five decked ships, and about fifty open ones, they were for some time driven forcibly towards the land, by a north wind blowing across its course. The ships were thereby obliged to go, for the most part, singly, one after another, in a thin line; afterwards, when the violence of the wind abated, they endeavoured to stretch over to the harbour of Corycus, beyond Cyssus.

44. When intelligence was brought to Polyxenidas that the enemy were approaching, he rejoiced at an opportunity of engaging them, and drew out the left squadron towards the open sea, at the same time ordering the commanders of the ships to extend the right division towards the land; and then advanced to the fight, with his fleet in a regular line of battle. The Roman commander, on seeing this, furled his sails, lowered his masts, and, at the same time adjusting his rigging, waited for the ships which were coming up. There were now about thirty in the line; and in order that his left squadron might form a front in like direction, he hoisted his top-sails, and stretched out into the deep, ordering the others to push forward, between him and the land, against the right squadron of the enemy. Eumenes brought up the rear; who, as soon as he saw the bustle of taking down the rigging begin, likewise brought up his ships with all possible speed.

All their ships were by this time in sight; two Carthaginian vessels, however, which advanced before the Romans, came across three belonging to the king. As the numbers were unequal, two of the king's ships fell upon one, and, in the first place, swept away the oars from both its sides; the armed mariners then boarded, and killing some of its defenders and throwing others into the sea, took the ship. The one which had engaged in an equal contest, on seeing her companion taken, before she could be surrounded by the three, fled back to the fleet. Livius, fired with indignation, bore down with the praetorian ship against the enemy. The two which had overpowered the Carthaginian ship, in hopes of the same success against this one, advanced to the attack, on which he ordered the rowers on both sides to plunge their oars in the water, in order to hold the ship steady, and to throw grappling-irons into the enemy's vessels as they came up. Having, by these means, rendered the business something like a fight on land, he desired his men to bear in mind the courage of Romans, and not to regard the slaves of a king as men. Accordingly, this single ship now defeated and captured the two, with more ease than the two had before taken one. By this time the entire fleets were engaged and intermixed with each other. Eumenes, who had come up last, and after the battle was begun, when he saw the left squadron of the enemy thrown into disorder by Livius, directed his own attack against their right, where the contest was yet equal.

45. In a short time a flight commenced, in the first instance, with the left squadron: for Polyxenidas, perceiving that he was evidently overmatched with respect to the bravery of the men, hoisted his top-sails, and betook himself to flight; and, quickly after, those who had engaged with Eumenes near the land did the same. The Romans and Eumenes pursued with much perseverance, as long as the rowers were able to hold out, and they had any prospect of annoying the rear of the enemy; but finding that the latter, by reason of the lightness and fleetness of their ships, baffled every effort that could be made by theirs, loaded as they were with provisions, they at length desisted, having taken thirteen ships together with the soldiers and rowers, and sunk ten. Of the Roman fleet, only the one Carthaginian ship, which, at the beginning of the action, had been attacked by two, was lost. Polyxenidas continued his flight, until he got into the harbour of

Ephesus. The Romans staid, during the remainder of that day, in the port from which the king's fleet had sailed out, and on the day following proceeded in the pursuit. In the midst of their course they were met by twenty-five Rhodian decked ships, under Pausistratus, the commander of the fleet, and in conjunction with these followed the runaways to Ephesus, where they stood for some time, in order of battle, before the mouth of the harbour. Having thus extorted from the enemy a full confession of their being defeated, and having sent home the Rhodians and Eumenes, the Romans steered their course to Chios. When they had passed Phaenicus, a port of Erythraea, they cast anchor for the night; and proceeding next day to the island, came up to the city itself. After halting here a few days for the purpose chiefly of refreshing the rowers, they sailed over to Phocaea. Here they left four quinque remes for the defence of the city, and proceeded to Cannae, where, as the winter now approached, the ships were hauled on shore, and surrounded with a trench and rampart. At the close of the year, the elections were held at Rome, in which were chosen consuls, Lucius Cornelius Scipio and Caius Laelius, from whom all men expected the conclusion of the war with Antiochus. Next day were elected praetors, Marcus Tuccius, Lucius Aurunculeius, Cneius Fulvius, Lucius Aemilius, Publius Junius, and Caius Atinius Labeo.

BOOK XXXVII

Translated by William A. McDevitte

Lucius Cornelius Scipio the consul, having as lieutenant Publius Scipio Africanus, (who had declared that he would be his brother's lieutenant if the province of Greece was decreed to him, when that province appeared likely to be assigned to Caius Lælius, who had great influence in the senate,) set out to wage war against Antiochus, and was the first Roman general that ever passed over into Asia. Æmilius Regillus, with the assistance of the Rhodians, fought successfully against the royal fleet of Antiochus at Myonnesus. The son of Africanus, having been taken by Antiochus, was sent back to his father. Manius Acilius Glabrio triumphed over Antiochus, whom he had driven out of Greece, and over the Ætolians. Antiochus being subsequently conquered by Lucius Cornelius Scipio, with the aid of Eumenes, son of Attalus, and king of Pergamus, peace was granted to him on these terms — that he should evacuate all the provinces on this side Mount Taurus. The kingdom of Eumenes, through whose assistance Antiochus had been conquered, was enlarged. Some states were granted to the Rhodians too, who also had assisted them. The colony of Bononia was founded. Æmilius Regillus, who had conquered the admirals of Antiochus in a naval engagement, triumphed. Lucius Cornelius Scipio, who had brought the war with Antiochus to a conclusion, was called Asiaticus, attaining to an equality with his brother by this surname.

1 Lucius Cornelius Scipio and Caius Lælius being consuls, no business, after the duties of religion, was transacted in the senate prior to that of the Ætolians. Not only their ambassadors were urgent, because they had a truce of a short period, but they were aided by Titus Quinctius also, who had then returned to Rome from Greece. The Ætolians, as being persons to whom there was more hope in the mercy of the senate than in their cause, acted suppliantly, weighing their by-gone services against their recent misconduct. But when present, they were importuned by questions of the senators, wringing

from them an acknowledgment of their guilt rather than replies, and when ordered to depart from the senate, they caused a great contest. Resentment had more power in their case than compassion; for the senate were incensed against them not merely as enemies, but as an uncivilized and unsocial race. After it had been contested several days, it was at last resolved, that peace should neither be granted nor refused. Two conditions were offered them, either that they should yield to the senate unconditional power over them, or pay one thousand talents, and have the same friends and enemies. To them, desirous to elicit in what things they should give to the senate unconditional power over them, no positive answer is given; but being thus dismissed, without having concluded a peace, they were ordered to quit the city that very day, and Italy within fifteen days. They then began to debate concerning the provinces for the consuls. Both of these wished for Greece. Lælius had a powerful interest in the senate; and when the senate had ordered that the consuls should either cast lots for the provinces, or settle them between themselves, he observed, that they would act with more propriety in leaving that matter to the wisdom of the senators, than to the decision of lot. To this Scipio, an answer being given that he would take advice how he ought to act, having spoken to his brother alone, and having been desired by him to leave it unhesitatingly to the senate, answered his colleague that he would do what he recommended. When this plan, either original or supported by precedents of a record now lost by antiquity, being referred to the senate, had aroused them by the expectation of a contest, Publius Scipio Africanus said, that “if they decreed that province to his brother, Lucius Scipio, he would go along with him, as his lieutenant-general.” This proposal being received with universal approbation, put an end to all dispute. The senate were well pleased to make the trial, whether king Antiochus should have more effectual aid in the vanquished Hannibal, or the Roman consul and legions in his conqueror Africanus; and they almost all voted Greece to Scipio, and Italy to Lælius. The prætors then cast lots for their provinces: Lucius Aurunculeius obtained the city jurisdiction; Cneius Fulvius, the foreign; Lucius Æmilius Regillus, the fleet; Publius Junius Brutus, the Tuscans; Marcus Tuccius, Apulia and Bruttium; and Caius Atinius, Sicily.

2 Then to the consul to whom the province of Greece had been decreed, in addition to the army which he was about to receive from M. Acilius, (but they were two legions,) three thousand Roman foot and one hundred horse, and of the Latin confederates five thousand foot and two hundred horse, are added as a reinforcement; and it was further ordered, that if, when he arrived in his province, he would judge it conducive to the public interest, he should be at liberty to carry over the army into Asia. To the other consul was decreed an army entirely new; two Roman legions, and of the Latin confederates fifteen thousand foot and six hundred horse. Quintius Minucius was ordered to remove his forces out of Liguria (for he had written, that the province was completely subdued, and that the whole nation of the Ligurians had surrendered) into the country of the Boians, and to give up the command to Publius Cornelius, proconsul. The two city legions, enlisted the year before, about to be brought home from the country in which Cornelius had fined the conquered Boians, were assigned to Marcus Tuccius, prætor, together with fifteen thousand foot and six hundred horse, of the Latin confederates, to occupy Apulia and Bruttium. Orders were given to Aulus Cornelius, a prætor of the preceding year, who occupied Bruttium with an army, that if the consul judged it proper, he should transport his legions into Ætolia, and give them to Manius Acilius, provided the latter was inclined to remain there; but if Acilius wished to come to Rome, that then Aulus Cornelius should stay in Ætolia with that army. It was resolved that Caius Atinius Labeo should receive from Marcus Æmilius the province of Sicily, and the army there; and should, if he deemed it proper, enlist in the province itself two thousand foot and one hundred horse, for a reinforcement. Publius Junius Brutus was ordered to raise a new army for Tuscany, consisting of one Roman legion, and ten thousand foot of the allies and Latin nation, and four hundred horse. Lucius Æmilius, whose province was the sea, was ordered to receive from Marcus Junius, prætor of the former year, twenty ships of war, with their crews, and himself to enlist one thousand marines and two thousand foot soldiers, with which ships and soldiers he was to sail to Asia, and receive the command of the fleet from Caius Livius. To the governors of the two Spains and Sardinia, their command is prolonged for a year, and the same armies

were decreed them. Sicily and Sardinia were, this year, assessed in two-tenths of their corn. All the corn from Sicily was ordered to be carried into Ætolia, to the army there; of that to be collected from Sardinia, one-half to Rome, and the other half into Ætolia, for the same use as the corn from Sicily.

3 It was judged proper, that, previous to the departure of the consuls for their provinces, the prodigies should be expiated under the direction of the pontiffs. The temple of Juno Lucina, at Rome, was struck by lightning in such a manner, that the summit and the folding-doors were much damaged. At Puteoli, the wall and a gate were struck by lightning in several parts, and two men killed. It was clearly proved, that, at Nursia, in the midst of a calm, a tempest suddenly burst forth; and there also two freemen were killed. The Tusculans reported, that a shower of earth fell in their country; and the Reatines, that a mule brought forth, young in theirs. These prodigies were expiated, and the Latin festival was celebrated a second time, because the flesh-meat, which ought to be given to the Laurentians, had not been given them. There was also a supplication made on account of those religious fears; the decemvirs gave directions from the books, to which of the gods it should be performed. Ten free-born youths, and ten virgins, all of whom had their fathers and mothers living, were employed in that ceremony; and the decemvirs sacrificed sucklings by night. Publius Cornelius Scipio Africanus, before he left the city, erected an arch on the Capitol, facing the road by which we ascend to it, with seven gilded statues and two horses, and placed two marble cisterns in the front of the arch. During that period, forty-three of the principal Ætolians, among whom were Damocritus and his brother, were brought to Rome by two cohorts, sent by Manius Acilius, and were thrown into the prison called Lautumiæ, or the quarry. Lucius Cornelius the consul ordered the cohorts after that to return to the army. Ambassadors came from Ptolemy and Cleopatra, king and queen of Egypt, congratulating the Romans because the consul Manius Acilius had driven king Antiochus out of Greece, and advising that they should carry over their army into Asia. For “all places, not only in Asia, but also in Syria, were filled with consternation; and the king and queen of Egypt would be prepared to do those things which the

senate should direct." Thanks were returned to the king and queen, and presents were ordered to be made to the ambassadors, four thousand *asses* to each.

4 The consul Lucius Cornelius, having finished what was necessary to be done at Rome, gave public notice, in an assembly of the people, that the soldiers, whom he himself had enlisted for a reinforcement, and those who were in Bruttium with Aulus Cornelius, proprætor, should all meet him at Brundisium on the ides of July. He likewise appointed three lieutenants-general, Sextus Digitius, Lucius Apustius, and Caius Fabricius Luscinus; who were to bring together ships from all parts of the sea-coast to Brundisium; and now, every thing being ready, he set out from the city in his military robe of state. About five thousand volunteers of the Romans and allies, who had served out their campaigns, under the command of Publius Africanus, attended the consul at his departure, and gave in their names. At the time in which the consul set out to the war during the celebration of the Apollinarian games, on the fifth day before the ides of July, though the sky was serene, the light was obscured in the middle of the day, when the moon passed beneath the orb of the sun. L. Æmilius Regillus, to whom the sea had fallen as his province, set out at the same time. To Lucius Aurunculeius this business was assigned by the senate, that he should build thirty quinqueremes and twenty triremes, because there was a report that Antiochus, since the engagement at sea, was fitting out a much larger fleet. The Ætolians, after the ambassadors brought back word from Rome that there was no hope of peace, although their whole sea-coast, which was opposite to Peloponnesus, was ravaged by the Achæans, regarding the danger more than their losses, seized on Mount Corax, in order to shut up the pass against the Romans; for they had no doubt that they would return in the beginning of spring to the siege of Naupactum. It appeared better to Acilius, who knew that this was expected, to attempt a thing that was not anticipated, and to lay siege to Lamia; for the garrison had been reduced by Philip almost to a state of desperation; and being then off their guard, because they feared no such attempt, might be surprised by himself. Marching from Elatia, he formed his first encampment in the enemy's country, on the banks of the river Sperchius, and decamping

thence in the night, he at break of day attacked the town with a line of troops that encircled it.

5 As is usual in an unexpected affair, great consternation and tumult ensued; yet the besieged, with greater resolution than any one could suppose them capable of under such a sudden alarm, when the men fought, and the women brought weapons of every kind, and stones, to the walls, defended the city for that day, although the scaling ladders were raised against the walls. About mid-day, Acilius, the signal for retreat being given, drew off his men to their camp. After their bodies were refreshed by food and rest, before he dismissed the meeting in the Prætorium, he gave them notice, “to be ready and under arms before day; and that they were not to return to their tents until the city should be taken.” Next day, at the same hour as before, having began the assault in a greater number of places, as not only the strength, but also the weapons, and above all, the courage of the garrison began to fail, he took the town in the space of a few hours. One half of the spoil found there was sold in parcels; the other was divided among the soldiers; and a council was held to determine what he should next undertake. No one approved of going against Naupactum, while the pass at Corax was occupied by the Ætolians. That, however, the summer campaign might not be an idle one, and that the Ætolians might not through his supineness possess the peace that they could not obtain from the senate, Acilius resolved to besiege Amphissa; his army was led thither from Heraclea by Cæta. Having encamped under the walls, he proceeded to attack the town, not by general assault, as at Lamia, but by regular approaches. The ram was brought up to the walls in many places at once; and though these were shaken by it, yet the townsmen never attempted to provide or contrive any sort of defence against such a description of mechanism. All their hope was in arms and courage. By frequent sallies they much annoyed not only the advanced guards of the Romans, but even those who were employed at the works and machines.

6 However, the wall was broken down in many places, when word was brought, that his successor, having landed his army at Apollonia, was coming through Epirus and Thessaly. The consul came with

thirteen thousand foot and five hundred horse. He had already arrived at the Malian bay; and after that, to his messengers sent forward to Hypata, to order a surrender of the city, this response was given, that they would do nothing except by the common consent of the Ætolians: that the siege of Hypata might not detain him while Amphissa was not yet recovered, having sent forward his brother Africanus, he leads his forces to Amphissa. A little before their arrival, the towns-people having abandoned the city, for it was now, for the most part, stripped of its walls; all, armed and unarmed, retired into the citadel, which they deemed an impregnable fortress. The consul pitched his camp at the distance of about six miles from the town; and thither came ambassadors from the Athenians, addressing, first, Publius Scipio, who preceded the main body as before mentioned, and afterwards the consul, with earnest supplications in favour of the Ætolians. They received a milder answer from Africanus, who, wishing for an honourable pretext for relinquishing the Ætolian war, was directing his views towards Asia and king Antiochus, and had recommended to the Athenians to persuade, not only the Romans, but the Ætolians likewise, to prefer peace to war. By the advice of the Athenians a numerous embassy of the Ætolians came speedily from Hypata, and the discourse of Africanus, whom they addressed first, augmented their hopes of peace; for he mentioned, that “many nations and states, first in Spain, and afterwards in Africa, had thrown themselves on his protection; and that, in all of them, he had left greater monuments of clemency and kindness than of military prowess.” The business seemed to be concluded, when the consul, on being applied to, repeated the very same answer with which they had been driven off by the senate. When the Ætolians were thunderstruck at this, as if they had never heard it before, (for they now perceived that no progress was made either from the Athenian embassy or the favourable reply of Africanus,) they said that they wished to consult their countrymen on the affair.

7 They then returned to Hypata, nor were their plans cleared of difficulties. For they had no means of paying the thousand talents; and, in case of an unconditional submission, they dreaded lest cruelty should be inflicted on their persons. They, therefore, ordered the

same ambassadors to return to the consul and Africanus, and to request, that if they meant in reality to grant them peace, and not merely to amuse them with a prospect of it, frustrating the hopes of the wretched, they would either remit some part of the money required to be paid, or order that the unconditional submission should not extend to their persons. Nothing was accomplished whereby the consul might change his resolution; and that embassy, also, was dismissed without effect. The Athenian ambassadors accompanied them. And Echedemus, their principal in the embassy, recalled to hope the Ætolians, dejected by so many repulses, and deploring with unavailing lamentations the hard fate of their nation — by advising them to request a suspension of arms for six months, in order that they might send an embassy to Rome. He urged that “the delay could add nothing to their present calamities, which were already severe in the extreme; but that, if time intervened, their present calamities might be alleviated by many chances. Agreeably to this advice of Echedemus, the same ambassadors were sent again; who, making their first application to Publius Scipio, obtained, through him, from the consul, a suspension of arms for the time they desired: and the siege of Amphissa being raised, Manius Acilius, the army being delivered to the consul, left the province; and the consul returned from Amphissa into Thessaly, with intention of leading his troops into Asia through Macedonia and Thrace. Here Africanus said to his brother, Lucius Scipio, “I also, Lucius Scipio, approve of the route which you adopt. But the whole matter rests on the inclinations of Philip; for if he be faithful to our government, he will afford us a passage, and provisions and all things which support and aid an army on a long march. But if he should fail in this, you will find no safety in any part of Thrace. In my opinion, therefore, the king’s disposition ought in the first place to be discovered. He will be best tested if the person who shall be sent will come suddenly upon him, doing nothing by a preconcerted plan.” Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus, a young man, the most active of all the youths at that time, being selected for this purpose, by means of relays of horses, and travelling with almost incredible expedition, made good the journey from Amphissa, whence he had been despatched, to Pella, on the third day. The king was sitting at a banquet, and was far gone in his cups: that

very relaxation of mind removed all suspicion of any intention of changing his measures. His guest was kindly entertained for the present; and next day he saw provisions in abundance already prepared for the army, bridges made over rivers, and roads fortified where the passage was difficult. As he was bringing back this intelligence, with the same speed which he had used in coming, he met the consul at Thaumaci. From this the army rejoicing, marched with more certain and greater hopes into Macedon, where all things were prepared. On their arrival, the king received them with royal magnificence, and accompanied them on their march. Much pleasantry and good humour appeared in him, which recommended him much to Africanus, a man who, as he was unparalleled in other respects, was not averse to courteousness unaccompanied by luxury. Passing from this not only through Macedon, but also through Thrace, they arrived at the Hellespont, Philip escorting them and making every preparation.

8 Antiochus, after the sea-fight at Corycus, when he had the whole winter disengaged to carry on his preparations by land and water, was chiefly intent on the refitting of his ships, lest he should be entirely excluded from the sea. It occurred to him that he had been defeated when the Rhodian fleet was absent; if this fleet were present in an engagement, (and the Rhodians would certainly not be guilty of being late a second time,) he required a vast number of ships to equal the fleet of the enemy, in the strength of their crews and size of their vessels. For this reason, he sent Hannibal into Syria, to bring in the Phœnician navy, and gave orders to Polyxenidas, that, the more unsuccessfully affairs had been managed before, the more diligently he should now repair the ships which he had, and procure others. He himself passed the winter in Phrygia, calling in auxiliaries from every quarter. He had even sent for that purpose to Gallogræcia. The people of that country were then more warlike than at present, retaining the Gallic spirit, as the generation which had emigrated thither was not yet extinct. He had left his son Seleucus with an army in Æolia, to keep in obedience the maritime cities, which on one side Eumenes from Pergamus, on the other, the Romans from Phocæa and Erythræ, were soliciting to revolt. The Roman fleet, as mentioned before, wintered at Canæ; thither, about the middle of the

season, came king Eumenes, with two thousand foot and one hundred horse. He, when he affirmed that vast quantities of spoil might be brought off from the enemy's country round Thyatira; by his persuasions, prevailed on Livius to send with him five thousand soldiers. Those that were sent within a few days carried off an immense booty.

9 Meanwhile a sedition broke out at Phocæa, in consequence of some endeavouring to bring over the multitude to the party of Antiochus. The winter quarters of the ships were burdensome: the tribute was burdensome, because five hundred gowns with five hundred tunics were exacted from them: the scarcity of corn was also galling, on account of which the ships also and garrison of Rome evacuated the place. The faction which laboured in their assemblies to draw the commonalty over to Antiochus, was now freed from all apprehension: the senate, and higher ranks, were of opinion that they should persevere in the alliance with Rome. But the advisers of a revolt had greater influence with the multitude. The Rhodians, the earlier in proportion to their having been too late in the former summer, sent in the vernal equinox, as commander of their fleet, with thirty-six ships, the same Pausistratus. At this time Livius, with thirty ships and seven quadriremes, which king Eumenes had brought with him, was on his passage from Canæ to the Hellespont, in order to prepare every thing necessary for the transportation of the army, which he expected to come by land. He first brought his fleet into the harbour called the Achæan; whence he went up to Ilium, and having offered sacrifice to Minerva, gave a kind reception to the embassies from the states in the neighbourhood, from Elæus, Dardanum, and Rhetæum, surrendering their respective states to him. Then he sailed to the entrance of the Hellespont; and, leaving ten ships stationed opposite to Abydos, he crossed over to Europe with the rest of the fleet, to attack Sestos. As the troops were advancing up to the walls, first of all inspired priests of Cybele, in their solemn dress, met them before the gate. These said, that, "by order of the mother of the gods, they, the immediate servants of the goddess, were come to pray the Roman commander to spare the walls and the city." None of them was injured; and, presently, the whole senate and the magistrates came out to surrender the place. The fleet then sailed over to Abydos;

where when, their minds being sounded by conferences, no peaceable answer was given, they prepared themselves for a siege.

10 While these transactions are carried on at the Hellespont, Polyxenidas, the commander of the king's fleet, (but he was an exile from Rhodes,) having heard that the ships of his countrymen had sailed from home, and that Pausistratus, who commanded them, had, in a public speech, uttered several haughty and contemptuous expressions respecting him, and having conceived a particular jealousy against him, considered nothing else, night or day, than that by his acts he should refute his boastful words. He sent a person, who was known to him, to say, that "if it were allowed, he would be of great service to Pausistratus, and to his native country; and that he might be restored by Pausistratus to his country." When Pausistratus, in surprise, asked by what means such things could be effected; and pledged his faith to the other, at his request, that he would either concur in the execution of the design, or bury it in silence; the emissary then told him, that "Polyxenidas would deliver into his hands, either the whole of the king's fleet or the greater part of it; and as a reward, he stipulated for nothing more, than a return to his native country." The importance of the business had this effect, that he neither believed nor despised his proposition. He sailed to Panormus, in the Samian territory, and stopped there in order to examine thoroughly the business which was proposed to him. Messengers passed rapidly from both parties, nor was confidence inspired into Pausistratus until, in the presence of his messenger, Polyxenidas wrote, with his own hand, an engagement that he would perform all that he had promised, and sent the tablets sealed with his own seal. By such a pledge as this, he thought that the traitor was completely engaged to him. For, "that he who lived under a king would never act so absurdly as to give evidence of guilt against himself, attested by his own signature." The method of conducting the pretended plot was then settled: Polyxenidas said that "he would neglect every kind of preparation; that he would not keep any considerable numbers on board, either of rowers or mariners; that he would haul up on land some of the ships, under pretence of refitting them; would send away others into the neighbouring ports, and keep a few at sea before the harbour of Ephesus; which, if circumstances made it necessary to

come out, he would expose to a battle.” The negligence which Pausistratus heard that Polyxenidas was about to use in his fleet, he himself immediately practised. Part of his ships he sent to Halicarnassus to bring provisions, another part to the city of Samos, while he himself waited at Panormus, that he might be ready when he should receive the signal of attack from the traitor. Polyxenidas encouraged his mistake by counterfeiting neglect; hauled up some ships, and, as if he intended to haul up others, put the docks in repair; he did not call the rowers from their winter quarters to Ephesus, but assembled them secretly at Magnesia.

11 By chance one of Antiochus’s soldiers, when he had come to Samos on account of private business, being seized as a spy, is brought to Panormus to the admiral. This man, it is uncertain whether through fear or treachery towards his countrymen, disclosed all things to him, inquiring what was going on at Ephesus: that the fleet lay in harbour, fully equipped and ready for sea; that all the rowers had been sent to Magnesia (at Sipylus); that very few of the ships had been hauled on land; that the docks were shut, and that never was the business of the fleet conducted with greater diligence. But the mind of Pausistratus, prepossessed by misplaced confidence and vain hopes, caused these things not to be attended to as true. Polyxenidas, having fully adjusted all his measures, having called in the rowers from Magnesia, and launched hastily the ships that were in dock, by night, after wasting the day not so much in preparation as because he was unwilling that the fleet should be seen going to sea, set sail after sun-set with seventy decked ships, and, the wind being contrary, put into the harbour of Pygelia before daylight. Where when he had rested during the day, for the same reason as before, he passed over, in the night to the nearest part of the Samian territory. From this place, having ordered a certain Nicander, a chief pirate, to sail with five decked ships to Palinurus, and thence to lead his armed men by the shortest road through the fields towards Panormus, and so to come behind the enemy; he himself, in the mean time, with his fleet in two divisions, in order that it might command the mouth of the harbour on both sides, proceeded to Panormus. Pausistratus was at first confused for a little, as the thing was unexpected; but afterwards, being an old soldier, having quickly regained his

courage, and judging that the enemy would be more easily repelled by land than by sea, he marched his armed forces in two bodies to the promontories, which, by their heads projecting into the deep, formed the harbour; under the impression that he could easily repel the enemy by weapons on both sides, from the two promontories. When the sight of Nicander on the land had disconcerted this undertaking, having suddenly changed his design, he ordered all to go on board the ships. Then truly a great confusion arose among soldiers and sailors alike, and a sort of flight to the ships took place, when they perceived themselves surrounded by land and sea at the same time. Pausistratus supposed that the only way of safety was to force through the narrow entrance of the port, and push out into the open sea; and after that he saw his men embarked, ordering the rest to follow, he himself the first, with ship urged vigorously by the oars, pressed to the mouth of the harbour. Just as his ship was clearing the entrance, Polyxenidas, with three quinqueremes, surrounded it. The vessel, shattered by their beaks, sunk; the crew were overwhelmed with weapons, and, among them, Pausistratus, fighting gallantly, was slain. Of the rest of the ships, some were taken outside of the harbour, some within, and others by Nicander, while they were putting off from the shore. Only five Rhodian and two Coan ships effected an escape, a passage being made for them through the thick of the enemy, by the terror of shining flames; for they carried before them, on two poles projecting from their prows, a great quantity of fire contained in iron vessels. The galleys of Erythræ, after meeting not far from Samos the Rhodian ships, then flying, which they were coming to succour, bore away to the Romans in the direction of the Hellespont. About the same time, Seleucus got possession of Phocæa by treachery, one gate being opened by the sentinels. Cyme, with the other cities on that coast, revolted to him through fear.

¹² Whilst these events are taking place in Æolis, after Abydos, which was defended by a garrison of the king's troops, had sustained a siege of several days, all parties then grew weary of the struggle, and the magistrates, with the permission of Philotas, the commander of the garrison, began to treat with Livius, concerning the terms on which they should surrender the city. Because they could not agree whether the king's troops should march out with their arms, or

without them, this question protracted the matter. When the intelligence of the destruction of the Rhodians interrupted them, treating of these things, the matter was dropped. For Livius, fearing lest Polyxenidas, elated by his recent success in such an important enterprise, might surprise the fleet which lay at Canæ, instantly abandoned the siege of Abydos and the guard of the Hellespont, and drew out the ships that were in dock at Canæ, and Eumenes came to Elæa. Livius, with the whole fleet, to which he had joined two triremes of Mitylene, sailed to Phocæa; but, having learned that this place was held, by a strong garrison of the king's troops, and that the camp of Seleucus was not far distant, he ravaged the sea-coast, hastily conveying on board the booty, which consisted chiefly of men, and waiting only until Eumenes, with his fleet, came up, he endeavours to reach Samos. Among the Rhodians, the news of their misfortune excited, at first, both consternation, and the greatest grief, at the same time. For, besides the loss of their ships and soldiers, they had lost the flower and strength of their youth; many young men of distinction having been induced, among other motives, by the character of Pausistratus, which was deservedly very high among his countrymen. Afterwards, because they had been circumvented by treachery, and by a countryman of their own, above all men, their grief was changed into anger. They sent out ten ships immediately, and, in a few days, ten more, Eudamus being commander of all; who, though far inferior to Pausistratus in warlike qualifications, they supposed would be a more cautious leader, as he was not of so high a spirit. The Romans, and king Eumenes, put in their fleet, first, at Erythræ; and, having staid there one night, they, on next day, reached Corycus, a promontory in Teios. When they intended to pass over hence, to the nearest part of the Samian territory; not waiting for the rising of the sun, from which the pilots could learn the state of the weather, they exposed themselves to the varying storm. About the middle of the passage, the wind changing from north-east to north, they began to be tossed about on the sea, stormy with billows.

¹³ Polyxenidas, taking it for granted that the enemy would go to Samos to join the Rhodian fleet, set sail from Ephesus, and stopped first at Myonnesus, from whence he crossed over to the island which they call Macris; in order that, when the enemy's fleet should sail by,

he might be able to attack, with advantage, either any ships that straggled from the main body, or might attack the rear of the fleet itself. After that he saw the fleet dispersed by the storm, first of all he thought this a good opportunity to attack it; but, in a little time, the wind increasing and raising a heavy sea, because he could not possibly come up with them, he steered to the island of Æthalia, that, from thence, he might next day fall on the ships, as they made for Samos, from the main sea. A small number of Roman vessels, just as it grew dark, got into a desert harbour on the Samian coast; the rest, after being tossed about all night, ran into the same harbour. Then when it was learned from the country people, that the enemy's fleet lay at Æthalia, a consultation was held whether they should attack them immediately, or wait for that of the Rhodian fleet. The attack being deferred, for so they resolved, they sailed away to Corycus, whence they had come. Polyxenidas also, having kept his station for some time, without effecting any thing, returned to Ephesus. On this the Roman ships, the sea being clear of the enemy, sailed to Samos. The Rhodian fleet came to the same place after a few days. And that it might appear that they were only waiting for this, they immediately sailed away to Ephesus, that they should either decide it in a naval contest, or, in case the enemy should decline a battle, to extort from them a confession of fear, which would have the best effect on the minds of the states of Asia. They lay opposite the entrance of the harbour, with the fleet formed in a line abreast of it, but none came out against them; the fleet being divided, one part lay at anchor before the mouth of the harbour, the other landed a body of soldiers. Andronicus, a Macedonian, who was in garrison at Ephesus, then made a sally against them, driving off great booty from the widely-deserted country; when they came near the walls, he stripped them of the greatest part of their plunder, and drove them down to the shore and their ships. On the day following, the Romans, having laid an ambuscade about the middle of the way, marched in a body to the city, in order to entice the Macedonians out of the gates. Then, when that same fear had deterred any one from coming out, the Romans returned to their ships. And the enemy avoiding a contest by land or sea, the fleet sailed back to Samos, whence it came. The prætor then detached two Rhodian triremes, and two belonging to the Italian

allies, under the command of Epicrates, a Rhodian, to guard the strait of Cephallenia. Hybristas, a Lacedæmonian, at the head of a band of young Cephallenians, infested it with piracies; and the passage was shut against the convoys from Italy.

14 Epicrates met, at Piræus, Lucius Æmilius Regillus, who was on his way to take the command of the fleet. On hearing of the defeat of the Rhodians, as he had only two quinqueremes, he carried back with him to Asia Epicrates and his four ships. Some undecked vessels of the Athenians followed him. He crossed the Ægean Sea to Chios. To which place came, in the middle of the night, Timasicrates, a Rhodian, with two quadriremes from Samos, and, being presented to Æmilius, he told him that he was despatched for the purpose of convoying him in safety, because the king's ships, by frequent excursions from the Hellespont and Abydos, rendered the sea on that coast dangerous to transports. Two Rhodian quadriremes met Æmilius on his passage from Chios to Samos, being sent by Livius to attend him, and king Eumenes with two quinqueremes met him. Æmilius, after he arrived at Samos, as soon as he had received the command of the fleet from Livius, and duly performed the usual sacrifices, called a council. Here, Caius Livius, whose opinion was first asked, said, that "no one could give advice with more sincerity than he, who recommended to another what himself would do in the same case. That he had intended to sail with the whole fleet to Ephesus; to take with him ships of burden, heavily laden with ballast, and to sink them in the entrance of the harbour. That the narrow passage might be shut up with less difficulty on this account, because the mouth of the port was like a river, long and narrow, and full of shoals. By this expedient he was about to cut off the enemy's communication with the sea, and render their fleet useless."

15 This plan was not approved by any of the council. King Eumenes asked, "What then? when, by sinking the ships, they should have barred the pass to the sea, their own fleet being at liberty, would they depart from the place to bear aid to the allies, and strike terror into their enemies? or whether, with no less ardour, they would block up the port with their whole force? For, if they should withdraw, who could doubt that the enemy would weigh up the masses that were

sunk, and open the port with less labour than it had cost to shut it? But if, after all, they were to remain there, what advantage would accrue from the harbour being closed? Nay, on the contrary, the enemy enjoying a safe haven, and an opulent city, furnished, at the same time, with every thing from Asia, would pass the summer at their ease, while the Romans, exposed in the open sea to winds and waves, and in want of every accommodation, must continue on guard, without intermission; and would be themselves tied down, and hindered from doing any thing that ought to be done, rather than to keep the enemy shut up.” Eudamus, commander of the Rhodian fleet, rather showed his disapprobation of the plan proposed, than proposed himself what he thought should be done. Epicrates, the Rhodian, advised, “not to think of Ephesus for the present, but that a part of the fleet should be sent to Lycia, and that Patara, the metropolis of that nation, should be brought into a treaty of alliance. This would conduce to two important purposes: first, the Rhodians, owing to peace being established in the countries opposite to their island, could apply the whole of their strength to the care of the war against Antiochus; and then the fleet which the enemy were fitting out in Lycia, would be blocked up, and prevented from joining Polyxenidas.” This plan influenced the most. Nevertheless, it was determined that Regillus should sail, with the entire fleet, to the harbour of Ephesus, to strike terror into the enemy.

16 Caius Livius was sent to Lycia, with two Roman quinqueremes, four Rhodian quadriremes, and two open vessels of Smyrna; being ordered to proceed, first, to Rhodes, and to communicate all his designs to the government there. The states which he passed in his way, Miletus, Myndus, Halicarnassus, Cnidus, and Cous, diligently executed his orders. When he came to Rhodes, he explained, to the persons in authority, the business on which he was sent, and, at the same time, desired their opinion. All approving his design, and three quadriremes being added to that fleet which he had, he set sail for Patara. The wind being favourable at first, carried them very near the city, and they were in hopes of effecting something by surprise. After that, the wind veering, the sea had begun to roll in heavy waves, they persevered at their oars until they reached the land; but there was no safe anchorage there, nor could they ride in the road, as the sea was

rough, and night was coming on. They, therefore, sailed past the city, to the port of Phœnicus, which was not quite two miles distant, and which afforded shelter from the violence of the waves, but high cliffs overlooked it, which the towns-people, joined by the king's troops which were in garrison, immediately seized. Livius, though the landing-places were rugged and difficult, sent against them a party of the auxiliaries, composed of Issæans, and light infantry of Smyrna. These (whilst they were skirmishing with missile weapons, and in slight attacks on the few who were there at first, rather than engaging in battle) supported the contest sufficiently well. After that greater numbers flocked thither from the city, and at length, the whole multitude pouring out, fear seized Livius, not only that the auxiliaries might be cut off, but that the ships would be in danger from the land. In consequence he led out to the engagement, not only the soldiers, but the marines, and even the crowd of rowers, armed with such weapons as each could find. After all, however, the fight was doubtful; and, besides a considerable number of soldiers, Lucius Apustius fell in this disorderly combat. At last, the Lycians were routed, and driven within their gates; and the Romans, with a bloody victory, returned to their ships. They then proceeded to the gulf of Telmissus, which washes Caria on one side, and Lycia on the other, where all thoughts of any further attempt on Patara were laid aside, the Rhodians were sent home, and Livius, sailing along the coast of Asia, crossed over to Greece, that he might have a meeting with the Scipios, who were at that time in Thessaly, and then take his passage to Italy.

17 Æmilius, although he himself had been driven off from Ephesus by a storm, and had returned to Samos without effecting any thing, after he knew that the expedition to Lycia was dropped, and that Livius had gone to Italy, having thought it disgraceful that Patara should be attacked in vain, resolved to go thither and attack the city with his utmost force. Having sailed past Miletus, and the rest of the coast of the allies, he made a descent in the bay of Bargyllæ, with the design of reducing Jassus. A garrison of the king's troops held the city, and the Romans made hostile depredations on all the country round. He then sent persons to confer with the magistrates and principal inhabitants, and sound their dispositions. After they

answered that nothing was in their power, he advanced to lay siege to the city. There were, with the Romans, some exiles from Jassus, who, in a body, earnestly importuned the Rhodians “not to suffer an unoffending city, which was as well a neighbouring one as also connected with them in consanguinity, to be ruined. They themselves were banished for no other cause than their faithful attachment to the Romans; and those who remained in the place were held in subjection by the same force by which they had been expelled. The wish of the people of Jassus was one, to escape from a state of slavery under the king.” The Rhodians, moved by their entreaties, and calling in the assistance of king Eumenes, by representing, at the same time, their own connexions with them, and also the unfortunate condition of the city, which was kept in bondage by the king’s garrison, prevailed on Æmilius to drop the siege. Departing hence, and coasting along the shore of Asia, the other places being at peace, they arrived at Loryma, a port opposite to Rhodes. Here, at headquarters, a private conversation arises first among the tribunes of the soldiers, and afterwards reached the ears of Æmilius, that the fleet was going off to a distance from Ephesus, from the war which concerned themselves; so that the enemy, being left behind, without control, might safely make whatever attempts they pleased against so many states of the allies, in their neighbourhood. These remarks moved Æmilius; and calling the Rhodians to him, he asked them, whether the whole fleet could lie in the harbour of Patara: when they answered that it could not, furnished with an excuse for laying aside the design, he sailed back to Samos.

18 In the mean time Seleucus, son of Antiochus, who had kept his army in Ætolia, through the whole of the winter employed, partly, in succouring his allies, partly, in ravaging the lands of those whom he could not seduce to his side, resolved to make an incursion on the territory of king Eumenes, while he, at a great distance from home, was assisting the Romans and Rhodians, in attacks on the maritime parts of Lycia. He advanced with hostile standards, first, to Elæa; afterwards, the design of besieging it being given up, having wasted the country in a hostile manner, he led his army to lay siege to Pergamus, the capital and principal fortress of the kingdom. Attalus, at first, posting advanced guards outside the city, and sending out

parties of cavalry and light infantry, harassed rather than withstood the enemy. But, after some time, having discovered, in slight skirmishes, that he was not a match for the enemy in any respect, he drew back his men within the fortifications, and then the city began to be besieged. About this time, Antiochus, leaving Apamea with a vast army compounded of various nations, encamped first at Sardis, and afterwards took post at a small distance from the camp of Seleucus, at the head of the river Caicus. The most formidable part of his force was a body of four thousand Gauls, procured for hire: these, with a few others intermixed, he detached, with orders to waste utterly the country about Pergamus. When news of these transactions arrived at Samos, Eumenes being thus recalled by a war in his own dominions, sailed with his fleet to Elæa; and finding there, in readiness, some light troops of horse and foot, he took them for an escort, and proceeded directly to Pergamus, before the enemy could be apprized of his arrival, or could put themselves in motion. Then again skirmishes began to take place in the sallies, Eumenes undoubtedly shrinking from the risk of a decisive engagement. In a few days after the combined fleet of the Romans and Rhodians came from Samos to Elæa, to support the king. When information was brought to Antiochus that these had landed troops at Elæa, and that so many fleets were assembled in one harbour, and at the same time heard that the consul, with his army, was already in Macedonia, and that the things that were necessary for the passage of the Hellespont were being prepared, he judged that now was the time for negotiation, before he should be pressed on sea and land at once; and with this view he chose for his camp a rising ground opposite to Elæa. Leaving there all the infantry, with his cavalry, amounting to six thousand, he went down into the plains, which lay under the walls of the town, having despatched a herald to Æmilius, to acquaint him that he wished to treat of peace.

19 Æmilius sent to Pergamus for Eumenes, and desiring the Rhodians to be present, held a council on the message. The Rhodians were not averse to a pacification; but Eumenes affirmed that “it was not honourable to treat of peace at that time, nor could an end be put to the thing.” “For,” said he, “how can we, shut up as we are, within our walls, and besieged, with honour accept terms of peace? Or to

whom shall that treaty be valid, which we shall conclude, without the presence of the consul, without a vote of the senate, and without an order of the Roman people? For, let me ask, supposing the matter concluded by you, would you immediately go home to Italy, and carry away your fleet and army, or would you wait to know the consul's determination on the case; what the senate should decree, or the people order? It remains therefore that you must stay in Asia, that your troops being led back again into winter quarters, the war being given over, must exhaust the allies in furnishing provisions; and then, if it seem fit to those who have the power of determining, we must begin the whole war anew, which we are able, with the aid of the gods, to finish before winter, if no relaxation from our present vigorous movements is made by delay." This opinion prevailed; and the answer given to Antiochus was, that they could not treat of peace before the arrival of the consul. Antiochus, peace being tried for in vain, ravaged, first, the territory of Elæa, then that of Pergamus; and, leaving there his son Seleucus, marched in a hostile manner to Adramyttium, whence he proceeded to a rich tract of country called the Plain of Thebes, a city celebrated in one of Homer's poems; and in no other place in Asia did the king's soldiers find such a plenty of booty. At the same time, Æmilius and Eumenes also, sailing round with the fleet, came to Adramyttium, to protect the city.

20 By chance, at this time, one thousand foot with one hundred horse came to Elæa from Achaia, Diophanes being commander of all these forces; whom, on their landing, persons, sent by Eumenes to meet them, conducted by night to Pergamus. Veterans they all were, well skilled in war; and their commander was a disciple of Philopœmen, the most consummate general among the Greeks in that age. They set apart two days to give rest to the men and horses, and, at the same time, to view the posts of the enemy, and to learn at what places, and what times, they advanced and retired. The king's troops generally approached to the foot of the hill on which the town stands; so that the plundering in the rear was unimpeded, as not a man ever sallied out, even to throw darts from a distance, against their guards. After that they were once driven in, and with fear confined themselves within the walls, a contempt for them arises among the king's troops, and consequently negligence. The greater

number did not keep their horses either saddled or bridled; while few remained under arms, and in the ranks; the rest, slipping away, had scattered themselves every where over the entire plain, some diverting themselves with youthful sports and amusements, others eating in the shade, and some even stretched on the ground asleep. Diophanes, having observed all these particulars from the lofty city of Pergamus, ordered his men to take arms, and to be ready at a particular gate. He himself went to Attalus, and told him that he intended to attack the out-posts of the enemy. Attalus giving his consent with reluctance, as he saw that one hundred horse must fight against six hundred, one thousand foot against four thousand, Diophanes then marched out of the gate, and took post at a small distance from the enemy's guard, waiting his opportunity. Both the people in Pergamus thought that it was madness rather than daring, and the enemy, after observing his party for a short time, as soon as they saw no movement among them, did not change their usual negligence, ridiculing moreover the smallness of their number. Diophanes for a long time kept his men quiet, as if they had been brought out merely for the purpose of looking about them; but as soon as he perceived that the enemy had quitted their ranks, ordering the infantry to follow as fast as they could, he himself, with his own troop, led the way at the head of the cavalry, and pushing on, with all possible speed, made a sudden charge on the enemy's party, while a shout was raised by every horseman and footman at once. Not only were the men so attacked terrified, but the horses also; and when they broke their collars, they caused great confusion and tumult throughout. A few of the horses, indeed, stood unaffrighted; but even these the troopers could not easily saddle, or bridle, or mount; for the Achæans struck much greater terror than would be supposed from so small a party of horse. But now the infantry, in due order and preparation, assailed the enemy, dispersed through their own negligence, and almost half asleep; and slaughter and flight ensued in every part of the plain. Diophanes pursued the runaways as far as he could with safety, and then returned into garrison, after acquiring very great honour for the Achæan nation; for not only the men, but also the women, had been spectators from the walls of Pergamus.

21 Next day the enemy's guard, in more regular and orderly

condition, pitched their camp five hundred paces farther from the city, and the Achæans marched out at nearly the same time as before, and to the same place. During many hours, both parties intently awaited the assault, as if it were about to take place immediately. When it was not far from sun-set, the usual time of their returning to the main camp, the king's troops, forming in close order, began to retire in a body, arranged for a march rather than for a battle. Diophanes did not stir until they were out of sight; and then he rushed on their rear-guard with the same vehemence as before, and again excited such dismay and confusion, that, though the hindmost were put to the sword, not one of them halted to fight; they were driven into their camp in confusion, and scarcely observing any order in their march. These daring exertions of the Achæans obliged Seleucus to decamp, and quit the territory of Pergamus. Antiochus, having learned that the Romans and Eumenes were come to protect Adramyttium, made no attempt on that city, but ravaged the country adjoining. He afterwards reduced Peræa, a colony of Mityleneans; Cotton, Corylenus, Aphrodisias, and Crene, were all taken at the first assault. He then returned through Thyatira to Sardis. Seleucus, remaining on the sea-coast, was a terror to one party, a protection to the other. The Roman fleet, with Eumenes and the Rhodians, retired, first to Mitylene, and then to Elæa, whence they had set out. On their way to Phocæa, they put in at an island called Bachius; it is near the city of Phocæa; and when they had plundered the temples and statues, which they had before spared, (for the island was surpassingly adorned with them,) they then passed over to the city. When they, having divided the quarters among themselves, assaulted it, and saw that it could not be taken by arms and scaling-ladders, without regular works; after that a reinforcement of three thousand soldiers, sent by Antiochus, had got into the city, they immediately broke up the siege, and the fleet retired to the island, without having effected any thing more than the devastation of the enemy's country in the neighbourhood.

22 It was then resolved that Eumenes should return home, and make every necessary preparation for the passage of the consul and his army over the Hellespont; and that the Roman and Rhodian fleets should sail back to Samos, and remain stationed there, that

Polyxenidas might not make any movement from Ephesus. The king returned to Elæa, the Romans and Rhodians to Samos. There, Marcus Æmilius, brother of the prætor, died. After his obsequies were performed, the Rhodians sailed, with thirteen of their own ships, one Coan, and one Cnidian quinquereme, to Rhodes, in order that they might take up a position there, against a fleet which was reported to be coming from Syria. Two days before the arrival of Eudamus and the fleet from Samos, another fleet of thirteen ships, under the command of Pamphilidas, had been sent out against the same Syrian fleet; and taking with them four ships, which had been left to protect Caria, they relieved from blockade Dædala, and several other fortresses of Peræa, which the king's troops were besieging. It was determined that Eudamus should put to sea directly, and an addition of six undecked ships was made to his fleet. He accordingly set sail; and using all possible expedition, overtook the first squadron at a port called Magiste, from whence they proceeded in one body to Phaselis, resolving to wait there for the enemy.

23 Phaselis stands on the confines of Lycia and Pamphylia; it projects far into the sea, and is the first land seen by persons coming from Cilicia to Rhodes, and from hence ships can be seen at a great distance. For this reason, chiefly, this place was made choice of, that they may lie in the way of the enemy's fleet. But in consequence of the unwholesomeness of the place, and of the season of the year, (for it was now the middle of summer,) and of the unusual stench, diseases began to spread with violence, particularly among the rowers, an event which they did not foresee. And having left the place from fear of this pestilence, when they were sailing by the Pamphylian bay, their fleet putting into port at the river Eurymedon, they hear from the people of Aspendus, that the enemy are now at Sida. The king's fleet had been the slower in its passage, the season of the Etesiaë being opposed to them, for this is the periodical time for the north-west winds. The Rhodians had thirty-two quadriremes and four triremes. In the king's fleet were thirty-seven ships of the larger rates; among which were three of seven, and four of six banks of oars; and besides these, ten triremes. They discovered too, from some watch-tower, that the Rhodians were at hand. Both fleets, at the dawn of the next day, moved out of port, as if resolved to come to an

immediate engagement; and, as soon as the Rhodians passed the promontory that stretches into the deep from Sida, they descried the enemy, and were observed by them. On the king's side, Hannibal had the command of the left squadron, which stretched away seaward; Apollonius, one of the nobles, had the command of the right, and they had their ships already formed in a line a-head. The Rhodians approached in a long line. First was the admiral's ship, with Eudamus in it; Chariclitus brought up the rear; and Pamphilidas commanded the centre division. When Eudamus saw the enemy's line formed and ready for battle, he pushed out towards the main, ordering the ships that followed to form, regularly, as they came up, in line of battle. This caused confusion at first; for he had not stretched out to the main far enough for the line of all the ships to form in the direction of the land, and he himself hurrying on with precipitation, with only five ships, engaged with Hannibal; the rest, having received orders to form their line, did not come up. The rear division had no room left for it next to the land; and, while they were in disorder, the fight was already begun on the right against Hannibal.

24 But the goodness of their ships, and the expertness of their men in nautical business, quickly freed the Rhodians from all embarrassment. They pushed out hastily towards the main, and each made room next the land for the one immediately behind; and when any made a stroke with its beak against a ship of the enemy, it either shattered its prow, or swept off its oars; or passing by it in the clear space between the vessels, made an attack on its stern. One of the king's seven-banked ships being sunk with one stroke, by a Rhodian vessel of much smaller size, discouraged them very much. Therefore the right wing of the enemy was now undoubtedly verging to flight. Hannibal, in the open sea, by means chiefly of his superior number of ships, pressed hard on Eudamus, who surpassed him in every other respect: and he would have surrounded him were it not that, on the signal being given from the admiral's fleet, (by which it is usual to collect together the fleet when dispersed,) all the ships which had conquered on the right wing came speedily to bear aid to their own party. This made Hannibal himself, with all his division, betake themselves to flight; while the Rhodians could not pursue, because

their rowers being most of them sick, were therefore the sooner wearied. When they were recruiting their strength with food on the sea where they brought to, Eudamus, observing the enemy towing, by means of their open vessels, several damaged and crippled ships, and seeing little more than twenty that were going off uninjured, commanded silence from the castle of the commander's ship, and then called out, "Arise, and feast your eyes with an extraordinary sight." They all started up, and perceiving the disorderly flight of the enemy, cried out, almost with one voice, that they ought to pursue. Eudamus's ship was bulged in many places; he therefore ordered Pamphilidas and Chariclitus to pursue as far as they should think it safe. They, accordingly, pursued for a considerable time: but after that Hannibal made in close to the land, fearing to be wind-bound on an enemy's coast, they steered back to Eudamus, and with difficulty towed to Phaselis a captured seven-banked ship, which had been damaged in the beginning of the engagement. They then sailed home to Rhodes, not so much exulting in their victory as blaming one another because the entire fleet had not been taken or sunk, when it could have been done. Hannibal, disheartened by the loss of this one battle, did not even then dare to sail past the coast of Lycia, though he wished to join the king's main fleet as soon as possible. And that this action might not be unimpeded, the Rhodians sent Chariclitus with twenty ships of war to Patara and the harbour of Megiste. They then ordered Eudamus, with seven of the largest vessels belonging to the fleet which he had commanded, to rejoin the Romans at Samos, and to endeavour by every argument, and by all his influence, to prevail on the Romans to besiege Patara.

25 Now first of all the intelligence of the victory, and subsequently the arrival of the Rhodians, caused great joy to the Romans, and it appeared to them that if that anxiety was taken away from the Rhodians, they would when at leisure render the seas of that country safe. But the march of Antiochus from Sardis did not allow them to quit the guard of Ionia and Æolia, lest the maritime cities should be crushed by his arms. However, they sent Pamphilidas, with four decked ships, to join the fleet which was at Patara. Antiochus not only collected aids from the states that lay around, but also sent to Prusias, king of Bithynia, ambassadors and letters, in which he

inveighed against the pressing of the Romans into Asia. "They were coming," he said, "to abolish all kingly governments; so that there should be no empire in any part of the world, save that of Rome. Philip and Nabis were subdued: he was the third object of attack. Thus the conflagration would spread, without interruption, from one to another, as each lay nearest to the one last ruined, until it enveloped them all. From him there was but one step to Bithynia, now that Eumenes had submitted to voluntary servitude." Though Prusias was greatly affected by these observations, his mind was relieved from all such doubts by a letter from Scipio, the consul, and still more so by one from his brother Africanus, who, besides urging the invariable practice of the Roman people of augmenting, by every honourable addition, the grandeur of kings in alliance with them, by instances taken from his own family, induced Prusias to earn their friendship. "The petty chieftains in Spain," he said, "who had been received into alliance, he had left kings. Masinissa he had not only re-established in his father's kingdom, but had put him in possession of that of Syphax, by whom he had been formerly dethroned: so that he was, at the present, not only by far the most powerful of all the kings in Africa, but equal, both in dignity and strength, to any monarch in any part of the world. Philip and Nabis, avowed enemies, were conquered in war by Titus Quintius; nevertheless, they were left in possession of their kingdoms. Philip even had the tributes remitted to him last year, and his son, who was a hostage, restored. Through the indulgence of the Roman commanders, he had also got possession of several states beyond the boundaries of Macedonia. As to Nabis, he might have remained in the same honourable rank, had not first his own madness, and afterwards the treachery of the Ætolians, brought him to ruin." The king's resolution was especially confirmed after that Caius Livius, who had commanded the fleet as prætor, came to him as ambassador from Rome, and informed him how much better hope the Romans had of success than Antiochus; and how much more sacred and lasting an alliance with them would be.

26 Antiochus, after he lost the hope of an alliance with Prusias, went from Sardis to Ephesus, to review the fleet which was fitted out, and lay there ready, for several months; rather because he saw it

impossible, with his land forces, to make any stand against the Roman army and its commanders, the two Scipios, than that his naval force by itself had ever been tried by him successfully, or afforded at this juncture any great or well-grounded confidence. Yet there was an incentive to hope on the present occasion; for he had heard that a large portion of the Rhodian fleet was at Patara, and that king Eumenes had gone to the Hellespont, with all his ships, to meet the consul. Besides, the destruction of the Rhodian fleet at Samos, on an opportunity prepared by treachery, inspired some degree of confidence. Relying on these things, he sent Polyxenidas with orders to try, at all events, the fortune of a naval engagement; while he himself marched his land forces to Notium. This town, which belongs to Colophon, stands close to the sea, and is distant about two miles from Old Colophon. He wished to get this city into his power, because it was so near to Ephesus that nothing could be done there, on sea or land, that was not open to the view of the Colophonians, and, through them, instantly made known to the Romans; and he had no doubt that the latter, having heard of the siege, would bring their fleet from Samos to the relief of an ally, which would give Polyxenidas an opportunity of coming to action. He therefore began to lay regular siege to the city, making his approaches at the same time on the two sides next the sea; in both places he joined his engines and mounds to the wall, and brought up the rams under covered galleries. By which dangers the Colophonians being terrified, sent envoys to Lucius Æmilius, at Samos, imploring the protection of the prætor and people of Rome. His lying so long inactive at Samos offended Æmilius, thinking nothing more improbable than that Polyxenidas, whom he had twice challenged in vain to fight, should ever offer him battle; and he considered it as dishonourable, that the fleet of Eumenes should assist the consul in conveying the legions into Asia, that he should be fettered by bearing to the besieged Colophon an assistance destined to have an uncertain end. Eudamus, the Rhodian, (who had before prevailed upon him to stay at Samos, when he wished to go to the Hellespont,) with all the other officers, pressed him to comply, representing “how much more eligible it would be, either to relieve confederates from a siege, or to vanquish that fleet which he had vanquished before, and to take from

the enemy the entire possession of the sea, than, deserting his allies, and delivering Asia to Antiochus by land and sea, to depart from his own part of the war to the Hellespont, when the fleet of Eumenes was sufficient for that station.”

27 They accordingly, having set sail from Samos in quest of provisions, their stock being consumed, were preparing to pass over to Chios. Samos served as a granary to the Romans, and thither all the store-ships sent from Rome directed their course. When they had sailed round from the city to the back of the island, which looks northward towards Chios and Erythræ, and were preparing to cross over, the prætor is informed by a letter, that a vast quantity of corn had arrived at Chios, from Italy; but that the vessels laden with wine were detained by storms. At the same time accounts were received, that the people of Teos had furnished large supplies of provisions to the king’s fleet, and had promised five thousand vessels of wine. On this the prætor immediately changed his course, and steered away to Teos, resolved either to make use of the provisions prepared for the enemy, with the consent of the inhabitants, or to treat them as foes. When they had turned their prows to the land, about fifteen vessels appeared in sight near Myonnesus, which the prætor at first supposed to belong to the king’s fleet, and hastened to pursue. It appeared afterwards, that they were piratical cutters and galleys. They, having ravaged the sea-coast of Chios, returning with booty of every kind, betook themselves to flight when they saw the fleet on the open sea. They had much the advantage in swiftness, their galleys being lighter and constructed for the purpose, and were nearer the land; therefore before the fleet could overtake them, they made their escape to Myonnesus. And the prætor, unacquainted with the place, followed in expectation of forcing their ships from it out of the harbour. Myonnesus is a promontory between Teos and Samos. It consists of a hill rising from a pretty large base to a sharp top, in the shape of an obelisk. From the land it has access by a narrow path towards the sea, cliffs undermined by the waves terminate it, so that in some places the superimpendent rocks project beyond the vessels that lie at anchor. The ships not daring to approach lest they should be exposed to the weapons of the pirates, who stood above on the cliffs, wasted the day to no purpose. At length, after they had desisted from this

useless undertaking a little before night, they the next day reached Teos. Here the prætor, after mooring in the port at the back of the city, which the inhabitants call Geræsticum, sent out the soldiers to ravage the land about the city.

28 The Teians, as these ravages passed under their eyes, sent deputies to the Roman commander, carrying fillets, and other badges of suppliants. And when they were exculpating their state from every hostile act or word against the Romans, he strongly charged them with “having assisted the enemy’s fleet with provisions, and with having promised a quantity of wine to Polyxenidas.” He further told them, that “if they would furnish the same supplies to the Roman fleet, he would recall his troops from plundering; otherwise, he would treat them as enemies.” When the deputies carried back this distressing answer, the people were summoned to an assembly by the magistrates, to consult on what they should do. It happened that Polyxenidas, who had sailed with the king’s fleet from Colophon, after he heard that the Romans had left Samos and pursued the pirates to Myonnesus, and that they were laying waste the lands of the Teians, and that their fleet lay in the harbour of Geræsticus, cast anchor, in a retired harbour of an island called by the sailors Macris, opposite to Myonnesus. Then from his neighbouring position, exploring what his enemies were doing, at first he was in great hopes of vanquishing the Roman fleet here, in like manner as he had vanquished the Rhodian at Samos, by besetting the narrow entrance at the mouth of the port. Nor is the nature of the place unlike: by the promontories advancing towards each other, the harbour is enclosed in such a manner, that two ships can scarcely go out together. Polyxenidas intended to seize this narrow pass in the night; and, while ten ships stood at each of the promontories, to attack, from the right and left, both sides of the enemy’s fleet sailing out, having landed his armed men from the fleet, as he had done at Panormus, to overpower the Romans on land and sea at once. And this design would not have been formed by him in vain, had it not appeared to the Romans better for receiving the provisions, when the Teians had promised to execute their commands, that the fleet should pass into that harbour, which is before the city. It is said, also, that Eudamus, the Rhodian, had pointed out the fault of the outer harbour, when two

ships broke their oars locked together in the narrow entrance. Among other motives, this too induced the prætor to remove his fleet, because there was danger from the land, as Antiochus kept his camp not far from it.

29 When the fleet was brought round to the city, all being ignorant of the approach of the enemy, both soldiers and sailors went on shore to divide the provisions, and the wine particularly, among the ships; when, about mid-day, a peasant happened to be brought before the prætor, who told him, that the enemy's fleet was lying at the island of Macris these two days; and that, a little while ago, some of them were observed to be in motion, as if preparing to sail. Greatly alarmed at this unexpected event, the prætor ordered the trumpets to sound, to call in such as might have straggled into the country, and sent the tribunes into the city, to hasten the soldiers and sailors on board. The confusion was not less than if the place were on fire, or taken by an enemy; some running to call out the men; others hurrying to the ships, while the orders of the officers were confounded by irregular shouts, amid which the trumpets raised their din, until at length the crowd collected at the ships. Here scarcely could each know his own ship, or make his way through the tumult; and the disorder would probably have been productive of much mischief, on land and sea had not Æmilius, in the commander's ship, sailed out first into the main; where, receiving those following, he put each into its own place, so as to form a line abreast: and Eudamus, with the Rhodian fleet, waited at the shore, that the men might be embarked without confusion, and that every ship might leave the harbour as soon as it was ready. By these means, the foremost division formed under the eye of the prætor, while the rear was brought up by the Rhodians; and then the whole line, in as regular order as if within sight of the foe, advanced into the open sea. They were between Myonnesus and the promontory of Corycus, when they first got sight of the enemy. The king's fleet, which was coming in a long line, with only two vessels abreast, then formed themselves in order of battle, stretching out their left division so far, as that it might enclose the right of the Romans. When Eudamus, who commanded in the rear, perceived that the Romans could not form an equal front, but were just on the point of being surrounded,

he pushed up his ships. They were Rhodians, by far the fastest sailers of any of the fleet; and having filled up the deficiency in the extent of the line, he opposed his own ship to the commander's, on board of which was Polyxenidas.

³⁰ Now the entire fleets in every part were engaged in action. On the side of the Romans eighty ships were fighting, of which twenty-two were Rhodian. The enemy's fleet consisted of eighty-nine ships, and they had of the largest rates, three of six, and two of seven banks. In the strength of the vessels, and valour of the soldiers, the Romans had greatly the advantage of the king's party, as had the Rhodians in the activity of their vessels, the skill of the pilots, and the dexterity of the rowers. However, those which carried fire before them were the greatest terror to the enemy: and what was the sole cause of their preservation when they were surrounded at Panormus, proved here the principal means of victory. For when the king's ships, through fear of the fire, had turned aside, in order to avoid at the same time encountering the enemy's prow with their own, they could not strike their antagonist with the beaks, but exposed the side of their ships to his strokes; and if any did venture an encounter, it was immediately overspread with the fire that was poured in; while the men were more alarmed at the fire than the battle. However, the bravery of the soldiers, as is generally the case, chiefly availed in deciding the battle. For the Romans, having broke through the centre of the enemy's line, tacked about and fell upon the rear of the division which was engaged with the Rhodians; and, in an instant of time, both Antiochus's centre division, and the ships on the left, were surrounded and sunk. The squadron on the right, which was still entire, was terrified rather by the disaster of their friends, than by any immediate danger threatening themselves; but, when they saw the others surrounded, and Polyxenidas's ship deserting its associates, and sailing away, having quickly hoisted their topsails, they betook themselves to flight, (and they steering for Ephesus had a favourable wind,) having lost forty-two ships in that battle; of which thirteen struck, and fell into the hands of the Romans; the rest were burned or sunk. Two Roman ships were shattered, and several were much damaged. One Rhodian vessel was taken by an extraordinary casualty; for, on its striking a Sidonian ship with its beak, its anchor,

thrown out by the force of the shock, caught fast hold of the other's prow with its fluke, as if it were a grappling-iron thrown in. Great confusion ensuing thereon, when the Rhodians, who wished to disengage themselves from the enemy, pulled back, its cable being dragged forcibly, and at the same time entangled with the oars, swept off one side of them. The very ship, which, when struck, had grappled with it, took the Rhodian galley in its weakened state. The naval battle at Myonnesus was fought principally in this manner.

³¹ By which Antiochus being terrified, because, as he was driven from the possession of the sea, he despaired of being able to defend his distant possessions, ordered the garrison to be withdrawn from Lysimachia, which plan was ill devised, as the event subsequently proved, lest it should be there cut off by the Romans. As it was easy for him, not only to defend Lysimachia from the first attack of the Romans, but to protract the siege through the whole winter; and by thus prolonging the time, to reduce the besiegers to the extremity of want; and in the mean time try the hope of peace, as opportunities should present themselves. But, after the defeat at sea, he not only gave up Lysimachia, but even raised the siege of Colophon, and retired to Sardis. Here, bending all his thoughts to one single object, that of meeting the enemy in the field, he sent into Cappadocia, to Ariarathes, to request assistance, and to every other place within his power, to collect forces. Æmilius Regillus, after his victory at sea, proceeded to Ephesus, having drawn up his ships before the harbour, when he had extorted from the enemy a final acknowledgment of their having surrendered the dominion of the sea, sailed to Chios, to which he had directed his course from Samos, before the sea-fight. As soon as he had refitted the ships that had been damaged in the battle, he sent off Lucius Æmilius Scaurus, with thirty others, to the Hellespont, to transport the army; and decorating the Rhodian vessels with naval spoils, and allowing them a part of the booty, he ordered them to return home. The Rhodians energetically took the lead, and proceeded to assist in transporting the consul's forces, and when they had completed that service also, then at length returned to Rhodes. The Roman fleet sailed from Chios to Phocæa. This city stands at the bottom of a bay, and is of an oblong shape. The wall encompasses a space of two miles and a half in length, and then contracts on both

sides into a very narrow wedge-like form, which place they call Lampter (or the light-house). The breadth here extends one thousand two hundred paces; and a tongue of land stretching out about a mile into the sea, divides the bay nearly in the middle, as if with a line; where it is connected with the main land by a narrow isthmus, it has two very safe harbours, turned to each side. The one that fronts the south they call Naustathmos, (the station for ships,) from the circumstance of its being capable of containing a vast number of ships; the other is close to Lampter.

³² When the Roman fleet had taken possession of these very safe harbours, the prætor thought proper, before he attempted the fortifications, either by escalade or works, that persons should be sent to sound the disposition of the magistrates and principal people in the place: when he saw them obstinate, he determined to attack the city in two places at the same time. One part was thinly occupied by private dwellings, temples of the gods occupying a great deal of the ground. In that part first, having brought up the battering-ram, he began to shake the wall and towers; and when the multitude within ran thither to defend that spot, the battering-rams were applied in the other quarter, and the walls were now knocked down in both places. On the fall of which, when some of the Roman soldiers were making an assault over the scattered masses of ruins, others attempted to scale walls; the townsmen made such an obstinate resistance, as plainly showed that they had a firmer dependence on their arms and courage, than on their fortifications. The prætor, compelled by the danger of the soldiers, sounded a retreat, that he might not expose them incautious to his opponents, maddened with despair and rage. The fighting being ended, the besieged did not, even then, think of rest; but all hastened from every quarter, to strengthen the walls, and to raise new ones in the place of those that had been demolished. While they were busily employed in this manner, Quintus Antonius, being sent by the prætor, came to them, who, after having blamed their obstinacy, assured them that “the Romans were more anxious than they were themselves that the battle should not be carried on to the destruction of the city. If they would desist from their madness, Æmilius would allow them to capitulate on the same terms on which they had formerly surrendered to Caius Livius.” When they heard

this, having taken five days' time to deliberate, and having in the mean time tried the hope of aid from Antiochus, after that the ambassadors sent to the king had brought back word that there was no aid in him, they opened their gates, stipulating that they should suffer nothing hostile. When the troops were marching into the city, and the prætor had proclaimed that it was his pleasure that the surrendered townsmen should be spared, there arose an universal clamour, "that it was shameful that the Phocæans, who had never been faithful to any alliance, and had always been bitter in enmity, should escape with impunity." After which words, as if a signal had been given by the prætor, they ran, in parties, every way, to plunder the city. Æmilius, at first, began to resist, and call them back, saying, that "towns taken by storm, and not such as surrendered, were plundered; and that, even with regard to the former, the determination lay with the commander, not with the soldiers." But rage and avarice were too strong for his authority; wherefore, despatching heralds through all parts of the city, he ordered, that all persons of free condition should come to him in the forum, that they should not be injured: and in all things which were in his power, the promise of the prætor was observed. He restored to them their city, their lands, and their laws; and, as the winter now approached, he chose the harbour of Phocæa for his fleet to pass the winter in.

³³ About the same time it was announced to the consul, as he was marching along the frontiers of the Ænians and Maronites, that the king's fleet was conquered at Myonnesus, and that Lysimachia was evacuated by its garrison. This latter event gave much more satisfaction than even the success at sea; especially after they came thither, and were hospitably received in the city, filled with provisions of all sorts, as if provided for the arrival of the army; when, in besieging the city, they had anticipated extreme want and hardship. There they made a halt for a few days, that the baggage and sick might overtake them, who, overcome by diseases, or the length of the way, had been left behind in all the forts of Thrace. When all had joined, they began again their march through the Chersonese, and arrived at the Hellespont; where every thing requisite for their passage having been previously got ready, by the care of king Eumenes, they crossed over, without confusion, as if to friendly

shores, no one opposing, and the ships putting in at several different places. This raised to a high degree the spirits of the Romans, who saw the passage into Asia left open to them; which thing they supposed would cost them a severe struggle. They afterwards remained encamped a considerable time at the Hellespont, because it happened to be a period too holy for marching, during which the sacred shields are moved. The same festival had separated Publius Scipio from the army, as the religious ceremony was more incumbent on him, because he was one of the Salian priests; and he himself was a source of delay, till he overtook the rest of the army.

³⁴ In the mean time an ambassador came from Antiochus to the camp, — Heraclides, a Byzantian, having mandates concerning peace. The delay and tardiness of the Romans gave him great hope that this might be attained; for he had imagined, that as soon as they set foot in Asia, they would advance in a rapid march against the king. He resolved, however, not to address himself to the consul until he had first applied to Publius Scipio, and instructions to that effect were given him by the king. In him he had the greatest hope, besides that his greatness of soul, and the fulness of his glory, tended very much to make him inclined to peace, and it was known to all nations what sort of a conqueror he had been, both in Spain and afterwards in Africa; and also because his son was then a prisoner with Antiochus. Where, and when, and by what accident he became a prisoner, is, like very many other things, not ascertained among writers. Some say, that in the beginning of the war, as he was going from Chalcis to Oreum, he was intercepted by some of the king's ships; others, that after the army came into Asia, he was sent with a troop of Fregellans to Antiochus's camp, to gain intelligence; that on the cavalry sallying out against him, he retreated, and having fallen from his horse in the confusion, he was together with two horsemen, overpowered, and thus conducted to the king. This however is fully ascertained, that if peace had still subsisted with the Romans, and likewise a personal friendship between the king and the Scipios, the young man could not have been treated and courted with greater kindness than he was. When the ambassador, for these reasons, had waited the arrival of Publius Scipio, as soon as he came he applied to the consul, and requested that he should hear his instructions.

35 A full council being assembled, audience was given to the ambassador, who said, that, “though many embassies about peace had already been sent backwards and forwards, without producing any effect, yet he conceived strong hopes of obtaining it, because the former ambassadors had obtained nothing. For the objects of contention in those discussions were Smyrna and Lampsacus, Alexandria in the Troad, and Lysimachia in Europe. Of these, the king had already ceded Lysimachia, that they might not say that he possessed any thing in Europe; and those cities which lay in Asia, he was now ready to deliver up as well as any others, which the Romans might wish to render independent of the king’s government, because they belonged to their party. The king was also willing to pay to the Roman people half the expense of the war.” These were the conditions of peace. The rest of his discourse was, “that, mindful of human affairs, they should use with moderation their own good fortune, and not press too severely on the misfortune of others; that they should limit their empire by Europe; that single acquisitions could be made with more ease than that necessary for holding them collectively. But if they would wish to take away some part of Asia, provided that they would define it by indisputable limits, the king, for the sake of peace and harmony, would willingly suffer his own moderate temper to be overcome by the insatiableness of the Romans.” These concessions, which appeared to the ambassador of great moment towards obtaining a peace, the Romans deemed trifling. They thought it just, that “the king should defray the whole expense occasioned by the war, because it was through his fault that it was begun. And that, not only Ionia and Æolia ought to be evacuated by the king’s troops, but as all Greece had been set free, so all the cities of that nation in Asia should also be free. That this could be effected in no other way, than by Antiochus relinquishing the possession of that part of Asia on the hither side of Mount Taurus.”

36 The ambassador, after he came to the conclusion that he could obtain no reasonable terms in the council, tried to influence the mind of Publius Scipio in private (for such were his orders). First of all he told him that the king would restore him his son without a ransom; and then, as ignorant of the disposition of Scipio as he was of the Roman manners, he promised an immense weight of gold, and,

excepting the title of king, an absolute partnership in the sovereignty, if through his means he should obtain a peace. To which Scipio answered, "I am the less surprised that you are ignorant of the Romans in general, and of me, to whom you have been sent, when I see that you are unacquainted with the situation even of the person from whom you come. You ought to have kept Lysimachia to prevent our entering the Chersonese, or to have opposed us at the Hellespont to hinder our passing into Asia, if you meant to ask peace from us as from people solicitous about the issue of war. But after leaving the passage into Asia open, and receiving not only a bridle, but also a yoke, what negotiation on an equality has been left you, when you must submit to orders? I shall consider my son as a very great gift from the munificence of the king; I pray to the gods that my circumstances may never require others, my mind certainly never will require any. For such an act of generosity to me he shall find me grateful, if for a personal favour he will accept a personal return of gratitude. In my public capacity, I will neither accept from him nor give him any thing. All that I can give at present is sincere advice. Go then, and desire him in my name, to cease hostilities, and to refuse no terms of peace." These words had no effect on the king, who thought that the chance of war would be comparatively safe, since terms were dictated to him already as if he were totally vanquished. Laying aside, therefore, for the present, all farther mention of peace, he turned his whole attention to the preparations for war.

³⁷ The consul having made every preparation for the execution of his designs, when he had quitted the post where he lay, marched first to Dardanus, and then to Rhœteum; from both states the people came out in crowds to meet him. He then advanced to Troy, and having pitched his camp in the plain which is under the walls, when he had gone up to the city and into the citadel, he offered sacrifices to Minerva, the guardian of the citadel; the Trojans, by every act and expression of respect, showing themselves proud of the Romans being descended from them, and the Romans expressing their delight in their origin. The army marching thence, arrived, on the sixth encampment, at the source of the Caicus. To this place also king Eumenes came. He at first endeavoured to bring back his fleet from

the Hellespont to Elæa, for the winter; subsequently, when by adverse winds he could not, for several days, pass the promontory of Lectos, that he might not be absent at the commencement of operations, he landed and came, with a small body of men, by the shortest road to the Roman camp. From the camp he was sent home to Pergamus, to hasten supplies of provisions; and when the corn was delivered to the persons whom the consul had ordered to receive it, he returned to the same camp. The plan was, provisions for several days being prepared, to march hence against the enemy, before the winter should prevent them. The king's camp was near Thyatira; and Antiochus, hearing there that Publius Scipio had fallen sick and was conveyed to Elæa, sent ambassadors to conduct his son to him. As this present was highly grateful to the mind of the father, so was the satisfaction which it gave no less salutary to his body. At length, being sated with the embraces of his son, he said to the ambassadors, "Tell the king that I return him thanks; that at present I can make him no other requital than my advice; which is, not to come to an engagement, until he shall have heard that I have rejoined the army." Although sixty-two thousand foot, and more than twelve thousand horse, inspired the king at times with hopes in the result of a battle; yet, moved by the advice of so great a man as Scipio, in whom, when he considered the uncertainty of the events of war, he placed safety in any reverse of fortune, he retired, and having crossed the Phrygian river, pitched his camp near Magnesia, which is at Sipylus. And lest, if he wished to prolong the time, the Romans might attack his works, he drew round it a fosse six cubits deep and twelve broad, and on the outside surrounded the fosse with a double rampart: on the inside bank, he raised a wall flanked with towers at small distances, by which the enemy could easily be prevented from crossing the fosse.

38 The consul, thinking that the king was still in the neighbourhood of Thyatira, came down by continued marches on the fifth day into the Hyrcanian plains. Then when he heard that the other had departed, he followed his track, and pitched his camp on the hither side of the Phrygian river, at the distance of four miles from the enemy. Here, a body of about one thousand horse, (the greatest part of whom were Gallogræcians, the rest Dahans, and archers on horseback, of other nations intermixed,) passing the river with great

tumult, made an attack on the advanced Roman guards. First of all they threw into confusion those unprepared; then, when the contest continued longer, and the number of the Romans increased, as succours were easily sent from the neighbouring camp, the king's troops, becoming weary and unable to withstand superior numbers, endeavoured to retreat; but, before they could reach the river, very many were killed on the bank, by the enemy pressing on their rear. For two days after there was quiet, neither party passing the river. On the third, the Romans passed it with their whole force, and encamped at the distance of about two miles and a half from the enemy. While they were employed in measuring and fortifying the camp, a body of the king's troops, consisting of three thousand chosen horse and foot, approached with great rapidity and violence. The party on guard, though much inferior in number, (being only two thousand,) without calling off any of the soldiers from the fortifying of the camp, sustained the combat with equal success at first, and, in the progress of the contest, repulsed the enemy, killing a hundred, and taking about the same number. During the four ensuing days, both armies stood in order of battle, before their respective camps. On the fifth, the Romans advanced into the middle of the plain, but Antiochus did not stir; so that his rear was not so far as a thousand feet from his rampart.

39 The consul, after perceiving that he declined the contest, called a council next day, and asked their opinion, "how he ought to act if Antiochus would not give him an opportunity of engaging. For the winter was at hand, and he must either keep the soldiers in camp; or, if they chose to retire to winter quarters, defer the business of the war until summer." The Romans never despised any enemy so much. The assembly on every side called on him to lead on immediately, and make use of the present ardour of the troops; who, as if the business were not to fight against so many thousands, but to slaughter an equal number of cattle, were ready to force their way, through trenches and ramparts, into the camp, if the enemy would not come out to battle. Cneius Domitius was sent to discover the nature of the ground, and on what side the enemies' rampart could be approached; after he returned with a full account of every particular, it was resolved that the camp should next day be moved nearer to the

enemy. On the third day, the standards were carried forward into the middle of the plain, and the soldiers began to form line. Antiochus, thinking that he could hesitate no longer, lest, by declining a battle, he should damp the courage of his men, and add to the confidence of the enemy, drew out his forces in person, advancing only so far from the enemy's camp as to make it apparent that he was willing to come to an engagement. The Roman line was nearly uniform throughout with respect to both men and armour. There were two Roman legions, and two brigades of allies and Latins, each containing five thousand four hundred men. The Romans formed the centre, the Latins the wings. The spearmen composed the first line, the first-rank men the second, and the veterans closed the rear. Beyond this, which formed as it were the regular line of battle, the consul formed on the right of it, and in one continued line, the auxiliary troops of Eumenes, intermixed with Achæan targeteers, making about three thousand foot; beyond these he posted somewhat less than three thousand horse, of which, eight hundred belonged to Eumenes; all the rest of the cavalry were Roman: and in the extremity of the line he placed bodies of Trallians and Cretans, equal in number, who were composed of five hundred men each. His left wing did not appear to require such supports, because a river and steep banks flanked it. However, four troops of horse were posted there. This was the whole amount of the Roman force, besides two thousand Macedonians and Thracians, who had, as volunteers, accompanied the army. These were left to guard the camp. They placed sixteen elephants behind the veterans, in reserve. For besides that they were not supposed capable of withstanding the great number of the king's elephants, which were no less than fifty-four, the African elephants are not able to cope with an equal number of Indians, either because they are inferior to them in size, (in which the Indian have much the advantage,) or in unyielding courage.

40 The king's line was more chequered with troops of many nations, dissimilar both in their persons and armour. There was a body of sixteen thousand men armed after the manner of the Macedonians, which were called a phalanx. This formed the centre, and was divided in front into ten parts. These parts were separated by two elephants placed between each two; the line of soldiers was

thirty-two ranks deep from point to rear. This was the main strength of the king's army, and it exhibited a formidable sight, both in the other particulars of its appearance, and in the elephants towering so high among the soldiers. They were of huge bulk, and the caparisons of their foreheads and crests, and the towers fixed on their backs, with four armed men standing on each tower, besides the managers of the beasts, gave them a terrific appearance. On the right side of the phalanx, he placed five hundred Gallogræcian horsemen. To these he joined three thousand horsemen clad in complete armour, whom they call Cataphracti, or mailed. To these were added a brigade of near a thousand horse, which they called Agema. They were Medes, all picked men, with a mixture of horsemen from many other nations in that part of the world. Adjoining these, a body of sixteen elephants was placed in reserve. On the same side, a little farther on towards the wing, was the royal cohort; these were called *Argyraspides*], from the kind of armour which they wore. Next to these stood one thousand two hundred Dahan bowmen on horseback; then, three thousand light infantry, part Cretans and part Trallians, the number of each being equal; adjoining these, were two thousand five hundred Mysian archers. Four thousand Cyrtæan slingers and Elymæan archers mixed together covered the flank of the wing. Next to the left flank of the phalanx, stood one thousand five hundred Gallogræcian horse, and two thousand Cappadocians, (which were sent by king Ariarathes,) wearing the same kind of armour; then, auxiliaries of all kinds mixed together, two thousand seven hundred; then, three thousand mailed horsemen; then, one thousand other horsemen, being a royal cohort, equipped with lighter coverings for themselves and their horses, but, in other respects, not unlike the rest; they were mostly Syrians, with a mixture of Phrygians and Lydians. In the front of this body of cavalry were the chariots armed with scythes, and a kind of camels called dromedaries. These were ridden by Arabian archers, who carried thin swords four cubits long, that they might be able to reach the enemy from so great a height. Then followed another multitude, like that in the right wing, — first, Tarentines; then, two thousand five hundred Gallogræcian horsemen; then, one thousand new Cretans, and one thousand five hundred Carians and Cilicians, armed in the same manner; then, an equal number of

Trallians, with three thousand targeteers (these were Pisidians, Pamphylians, and Lycians); then came brigades of Cyrtæans and Elymæans, equal to the auxiliaries placed on the right wing, and sixteen elephants, separated by a small interval. The king himself was in the right wing; the command of the left he gave to his son Seleucus, and Antipater, the son of his brother; the centre was intrusted to three, Minio, Zeuxis, and Philip, the master of the elephants.

⁴¹ A morning mist, which as the day advanced rose up in clouds, spread a general darkness; and the moisture issuing from it, and coming from the southward, wetted every thing, This circumstance, which was scarcely any inconvenience to the Romans, was very disadvantageous to the king's troops. For the indistinctness of the light did not take away from the Romans the view of all parts of their line, since it was of moderate length; and the moisture tended but little to blunt their swords and javelins, as they were almost all heavy-armed troops. The king's soldiers, as the line was so extensive, could not even see their wings from the centre, much less could those at the extremities see one another; and then, the moisture relaxed the strings of their bows, their slings, and the thongs of their javelins. Besides, the armed chariots, by means of which Antiochus had trusted utterly to disorder the enemy's line, turned the terror of their operations on their owners. The manner in which they were armed was this: from the yoke, on both sides of the pole, they had lances ten cubits long, projecting like horns, to transfix any thing that came in their way. At each extremity of the yoke, two scythe-blades projected, one on a line with the yoke, the other on its lower side, pointing to the ground; the former to cut through any thing that might come within its reach on the side, the other to catch such as fell, or endeavoured to go under it. At each extremity of the axle of the wheels, two scythe-blades were fastened in the same manner. The king, as we mentioned before, had placed the chariots so armed in the front, because if they were placed in the rear, or between the ranks, they must be driven through their own soldiers. Which when Eumenes saw, not being ignorant of the method of opposing them, and knowing that aid of that sort might be rendered as dangerous to one side as the other, if an opponent should cast terror into the

horses, rather than attack them in a regular battle, ordered the Cretan bowmen, and slingers, and javelin-bearers, with some troops of horse, not in a body, but scattering themselves as widely as possible, to rush forwards, and pour weapons on them from all sides at once. This storm, as it were, partly by the wounds made by the missile weapons thrown from every quarter, and partly by the discordant shouts raised, so terrified the horses, that immediately, as if unbridled, they galloped about at random. The light infantry, the lightly-accoutred slingers, and the active Cretans, quickly evaded their encounter. The horsemen, following them, increased the tumult and the terror of the horses and camels, which were likewise affrighted, the clamour being multiplied and increased by the rest of the crowd of bystanders. By these means, the chariots were driven out of the ground between the two lines. When this fruitless mimicry of war was over, both parties gave the signal, and advanced to a regular engagement.

42 But that futile affair was soon the cause of real loss. For the auxiliaries in reserve, which were posted next, being terrified at the turn and disorder of the chariots, betook themselves to flight, leaving all exposed as far as the post of the mailed horsemen; to whom when the Roman cavalry, after dispersing the reserves, approached, they did not sustain their first onset. Some fled, and others, being delayed by the weight of their coverings and armour, were put to the sword. The whole left wing then gave way, and the auxiliaries, posted between the cavalry and the phalanx, being thrown into confusion, the terror spread even to the centre. Here the ranks were broken, and by the flying soldiers rushing in between them, the use of their long spears, called by the Macedonians sarissas, was hindered. The Roman legions advanced and discharged their javelins among them in disorder. Even the elephants, standing in the way, did not deter the Roman soldiers, who had learned by experience in the African wars, both to evade the onset of the animal, and, getting at one side of it, either to ply it with darts, or, if they could come near enough, to wound its sinews with their swords. The front of the centre was now almost crushed, and the reserve, being surrounded, was attacked on the rear, when the Romans perceived their troops in another quarter flying, and heard shouts of dismay almost close to their camp. For

Antiochus, who commanded the right wing, having observed that the enemy, through confidence in the river, had placed no reserve there, except four troops of horse, and that these, keeping close to the infantry, left an open space on the bank of the river, made a charge on them, with a body of auxiliaries and mailed horsemen. He not only attacked them in front, but having surrounded the wing in the direction of the river, pressed them in flank also; until the routed cavalry first, and then the infantry that were next them, fled with precipitation to the camp.

⁴³ Marcus Æmilius, a military tribune, son of Marcus Lepidus, who, in a few years after, became chief pontiff, had the charge of the camp. He, when he saw the troops flying, went out, with his whole guard, to meet them. He ordered them, first, to halt, and then to return to the fight; at the same time upbraiding them with cowardice and disgraceful flight. He then proceeded to threats, — that if they did not obey his orders, they would rush blindly on their own destruction. At last he gave orders to his own men to kill the foremost of the runaways, and with sword-wounds to drive the crowd of fugitives back against the enemy. The greater fear now overcame the less. Compelled by the danger on either side, they first halted, and then returned to the encounter, and Æmilius, with his guard, consisting of two thousand men of distinguished valour, gave a vigorous check to the furious pursuit of Antiochus. At the same time, Attalus, the brother of Eumenes, came up in good time with two hundred horse from the right wing, by which the left of the enemy had been routed, at the beginning of the engagement, as soon as he observed the flight of his friends on the left, and the tumult near the camp. When Antiochus saw those men renewing the fight, whom, but just before, he had seen running away, and another large body advancing from the camp, with a third from the line, he turned his horse to flight. The Romans, thus victorious in both wings, advanced over heaps of slain, (which had been raised principally in the centre, where the strength of the bravest men and the armour by its weight had prevented flight,) to plunder the camp. The horsemen of Eumenes first, and then the rest of the cavalry, pursued the enemy through all parts of the plain, and killed the hindmost as they overtook them. But the fugitives suffered more severe loss by the

chariots, elephants, and camels intermixed, and by their own disorderly crowd; for, after they once broke their ranks, they rushed, as if blind, one upon another, and were trodden to death by the trampling of the beasts. In the camp also there was great slaughter committed, rather greater than even in the field; for the flight of the first generally tended to the camp. The guard, through confidence in the great number of these, defended their works with the more obstinacy. The Romans having been stopped at the gates and rampart, which they had expected to take at the first rush, when they did at length break through, actuated by rage, made the more dreadful carnage.

44 Up to fifty thousand foot and three thousand horse are said to have been killed that day; one thousand four hundred taken, with fifteen elephants and their drivers. Of the Romans, many were wounded, but no more than three hundred foot and twenty-four horsemen killed; and of the troops of Eumenes, twenty-five. That day the victors, after plundering the enemy's camp, returned with great store of booty to their own. On the day following, they stripped the bodies of the slain, and collected the prisoners. Ambassadors came from Thyatira and Magnesia, near Sipylus, with a surrender of those cities. Antiochus fled, with very few attendants; but greater numbers collecting about him on the road, he arrived at Sardis, with a tolerable body of soldiers, about the middle of the night. Then when he heard that his son Seleucus and several of his friends had gone on to Apamea, he likewise at the fourth watch set out for Apamea with his wife and daughter, having committed to Zeno the command of the city, and having placed Timon over Lydia; which being disregarded, ambassadors are sent to the consul, by the unanimous voice of the citizens and soldiers who were in the garrison.

45 About this time deputies came from Tralles, from Magnesia on the Masander, and from Ephesus, to surrender those cities. Polyxenidas had quitted Ephesus, as soon as he heard of the battle; and, sailing with the fleet as far as Patara, in Lycia, where, through fear of the Rhodian fleet stationed at Megiste, he landed, and, with a small retinue, pursued his journey, by land, into Syria. The several states of Asia placed themselves under the protection of the consul and the dominion of the Roman people. He was now at Sardis,

whither Publius Scipio came from Elæa, as soon as he was able to endure the fatigue of travelling. Shortly after, a herald from Antiochus solicited through Publius Scipio, and obtained from the consul, permission for the king to send ambassadors. In a few days' time, Zeuxis, who had been governor of Lydia, and Antipater, the king's nephew, arrived. These, having first had a meeting with Eumenes, whom they expected to find most averse to peace, on account of old disputes, and seeing him better disposed than they or the king could have hoped, addressed themselves then to Publius Scipio, and through him to the consul: and a numerously attended council being granted to them at their request to declare their commission, Zeuxis said, "we have not any thing to propose ourselves, but rather to inquire from you, Romans, by what atonements we can expiate the error of our king, and obtain pardon and peace from our conquerors. You have ever pardoned, with the greatest magnanimity, vanquished kings and nations. With how much greater and more placable spirit ought you to act now, after your late victory, which has made you masters of the whole world! You ought now, like deities laying aside all disputes with mortal beings, to protect and spare the human race." It had been determined, before the ambassadors came, what answer should be given them; and it was agreed that Africanus should deliver it. He is said to have spoken thus: "Of those things that are in the gift of the immortal gods, we, Romans, possess as much as the gods have been pleased to bestow. In every state of fortune we have had, and have, the same spirit for this, under the sway of our reason: prosperity has never elated, nor adversity depressed it. Of the truth of this, (to omit other instances,) I might produce your friend Hannibal as a convincing proof: but I can appeal to yourselves. We now conquerors offer to you conquered the same conditions which we offered to you when on an equal footing, at the time that you made proposals of peace, after we crossed the Hellespont, before we beheld the king's camp or army, when the chance of war was equal and the issue uncertain. Resign all pretensions in Europe, and cede that part of Asia which lies on this side of Mount Taurus. Then, towards the expenses of the war, ye shall pay fifteen thousand talents of Eubœa; five hundred immediately, two thousand five hundred when the senate and people

of Rome shall have ratified the peace, and one thousand annually for twelve years after. It likewise pleases us, that four hundred talents be paid to Eumenes, and the quantity of corn remaining unpaid, of what was due to his father. When we shall have settled these articles, it will be a sort of pledge, that we may consider it certain that you will perform them, if you give twenty hostages such as we shall choose. But it never will be clear to us that the Roman people will enjoy peace where Hannibal shall be. Him, therefore, we demand, above all. Ye shall also deliver up Thoas, the Ætolian, the fomenter of the Ætolian war, who armed you against us by the assurances of their support, and them by assurances of yours; and, together with him, Mnesilochus, the Acarnanian, and Philo, and Eubulidas, of Chalcis. The king will now make peace under worse circumstances on his side, because he makes it later than he might have done. If he now causes any delay, let him consider, that it is more difficult to pull down the majesty of kings from the highest to the middle stage, than it is to precipitate it from the middle to the lowest.” The ambassadors were sent by the king with these instructions, that they should accede to any terms of peace. It was resolved, therefore, that ambassadors should be sent to Rome. The consul distributed his army in winter quarters at Magnesia, on the Mæander, Tralles, and Ephesus. A few days after, the king brought the hostages to Ephesus to the consul; the ambassadors also, who were to go to Rome, arrived. Eumenes set out for Rome at the same time with the king’s ambassadors, and they were followed by embassies from all the states of Asia.

⁴⁶ Whilst these things are being transacted in Asia, two proconsuls arrived almost together at Rome, from their provinces, with hopes of triumphing: Quintus Minucius, from Liguria, and Manius Acilius, from Ætolia. After hearing their services, the senate refused a triumph to Minucius, but, with great unanimity, decreed one to Acilius, and he rode through the city in triumph over king Antiochus and the Ætolians. In the procession were carried, two hundred and thirty military ensigns; of unwrought silver, three thousand pounds’ weight; of coin, one hundred and thirteen thousand Attic tetradrachms; and two hundred and forty-eight thousand cistophoruses; of chased silver vessels, a great number, and of great weight. He bore, also, the king’s silver, furniture, and splendid

wardrobe; golden crowns, presents from the allied states, forty-five; with spoils of all kinds. He led thirty-six prisoners of distinction, generals of the Ætolian and royal armies. Damocritus, the Ætolian general, a few days before, when he had escaped out of prison in the night, being overtaken by the guards on the bank of the Tiber, stabbed himself with a sword before he was seized. Nothing was wanted but the soldiers, to follow the general's chariot; in every other respect the triumph was magnificent, both in the grandeur of the procession and the fame of his achievements. Sad intelligence from Spain diminished the joy of this triumph, viz. that in an unsuccessful battle in the territory of the Bastitani, under the command of Lucius Æmilius, the proconsul, at the town of Lycon, there fell six thousand of the Roman army against the Lusitanians; and that the rest, being driven in a panic within their rampart, found it difficult to defend the camp, and had retreated, by forced marches, as if flying, into a friendly country. Such were the accounts from Spain. Lucius Aurunculeius, the prætor, introduced to the senate the deputies of Placentia and Cremona, in Cisalpine Gaul. When they complained of the want of colonists, some having been carried off by the casualties of war, others by sickness, and several having left the colonies, through disgust at the vicinity of the Gauls; on this, the senate decreed, that "Caius Lælius, the consul, if he thought proper, should enrol six thousand families, to be distributed among these colonies, and that Lucius Aurunculeius, the prætor, should appoint commissioners to conduct the colonists." Accordingly, Marcus Atilius Serranus, Lucius Valerius Flaccus, son of Publius, and Lucius Valerius Tappo, son of Caius, were nominated to that office.

47 Not long after, as the time of the consular elections drew nigh, the consul, Caius Lælius, came home to Rome from Gaul. He not only enrolled the colonists, according to a decree of the senate, passed in his absence, as a supplement to Cremona and Placentia, but proposed, — and, on his recommendation, the senate voted, — that two new colonies should be established in the lands which had belonged to the Boians. At the same time arrived a letter from the prætor, Lucius Æmilius, containing intelligence of the sea-fight that took place at Myonesus, and of Lucius Scipio the consul having transported his army into Asia. A supplication for one day was

decreed, on account of the naval victory, and another, for the second day, in order that, as the Roman army had then for the first time pitched a camp in Asia, this circumstance might turn out prosperous and happy. The consul was ordered to sacrifice twenty of the greater victims on occasion of each supplication. The election of consuls was then held with a warm contest. Marcus Æmilius Lepidus sought the office under general censure, for having, in order to sue for the office, left his province of Sicily without having asked the senate for permission to do so. Marcus Fulvius Nobilior, Cneius Manlius Vulso, and Marcus Valerius Messala, were his competitors for the office. Fulvius alone was elected consul, since the rest could not make up the number of centuries; and the next day, rejecting Lepidus, (for Messala had declined,) he declared Cneius Manlius his colleague. Then were chosen prætors, two of the name of Quintus Fabius, Labeo and Pictor, (the latter of whom had in that year been inaugurated flamen quirinalis,) Marcus Sempronius Tuditanus, Spurius Posthumius Albinus, Lucius Plautius Hypsæus, and Lucius Bæbius Dives.

⁴⁸ Valerius Antias says, that at the time when Marcus Fulvius Nobilior and Cneius Manlius Vulso were consuls, a rumour prevailed strongly at Rome, and was received as almost certain, that the consul, Lucius Scipio, and with him Publius Africanus, had been invited by the king to a conference, under pretence of restoring young Scipio, and were both seized, and that when the leaders were thus made prisoners, the enemy's army was immediately led up to the Roman camp, that this was stormed, and the forces entirely cut off; that in consequence of this, the Ætolians had taken courage and refused to obey orders; and that several of their principal men had gone into Macedonia, Dardania, and Thrace, to hire auxiliaries; that Aulus Tarentius Varro, and Marcus Claudius Lepidus, had been sent by Aulus Cornelius, proprætor, from Ætolia, to carry this intelligence to Rome. To this story Valerius annexed that the Ætolian ambassadors were asked in the senate this question among others, from whom they had heard that the Roman generals were made prisoners by king Antiochus in Asia, and the army cut off; and that the Ætolians answered, that they had been informed of it by their own ambassadors, who were with the consul. As I have no other authority

for this report, it has neither been confirmed in my opinion, nor has it been overlooked as groundless.

49 When the Ætolian ambassadors were brought to an audience of the senate, although their cause and their circumstances required, that they, by an ample confession, should suppliantly seek pardon for what was either their misfortune or their fault, yet having begun with enumerating their services to the Roman people, and talking reproachfully of their own valour in the war with Philip, they offended the ears of the senators by the insolence of their discourse. By calling up old and forgotten matters, they brought the affair to this, that the memory of many more injuries than services done by that nation occurred to the minds of the senate; and that they, who needed compassion, provoked anger and hatred. They were asked by one senator whether they yielded the disposal of themselves to the Roman people; then, by another, whether they would have the same allies and enemies as the Roman people: when they gave no answer, they were ordered to withdraw from the senate-house. The whole senate then, almost with one voice, cried out, that “the Ætolians were still entirely devoted to Antiochus; and that on that solitary hope their spirits depended. Wherefore the war ought to be carried on against such decided enemies, and their haughty spirits tamed.” Another circumstance inflamed the resentment of the senate, because that, in the very moment in which they were soliciting peace from the Romans, they were making war on Dolopia and Athamania. A decree of the senate was passed, on the motion of Manius Acilius, who had defeated Antiochus and the Ætolians, that “the Ætolian ambassadors should be ordered to leave the city that day, and quit Italy within fifteen days.” Aulus Terentius Varro was appointed to escort them on the road; and a threatening notice was given to them, that, “if any embassy from the Ætolians should thenceforth come to Rome, unless with the permission of the general who might be in command of that province, and with a Roman deputy, all such would be treated as enemies.” — In this manner were the Ætolians dismissed.

50 The consuls then consulted the senate concerning the provinces; and it was resolved that they should cast lots for Ætolia and Asia. To him who should obtain by lot Asia, was assigned the army which

Lucius Scipio then had; and, as a reinforcement, four thousand Roman foot and two hundred horse, and of the allies and Latins eight thousand foot and four hundred horse: with which force he was to carry on the war with Antiochus. To the other consul was decreed the army in *Ætolia*; and he was allowed to raise, for a reinforcement, the same number of natives and allies as his colleague. The same consul was likewise ordered to equip and take with him the ships that had been fitted out the year before; and not only to wage war with the *Ætolians*, but also to pass over into the island of *Cephalenia*. Instructions were given to the same consul, that if he could do it to the advantage of the republic, he should come home to Rome to hold the elections; for, besides that the annual magistrates were to be replaced, it was resolved that censors also should be created; and if any particular business should detain him, he was then to acquaint the senate, that he could not attend at the time of the elections. *Ætolia* fell by lot to Marcus Fulvius; Asia, to Cneius Manlius. The prætors then cast lots, and Spurius Postumius Albinus obtained the city and foreign jurisdiction; Marcus Sempronius Tuditanus, Sicily; Quintus Fabius Pictor, the priest of Romulus, Sardinia; Quintus Fabius Labeo, the fleet; Lucius Plautius Hypsæus, Hither Spain; Lucius Bæbius Dives, Farther Spain. One legion, and the squadron which was then in Sicily, were decreed for that province; and it was ordered that the new prætor should levy on the Sicilians two tenths of the corn; one of which he was to send into Asia, the other into *Ætolia*. It was also ordered, that the same impost should be collected in Sardinia, and the corn sent to the same armies as the Sicilian corn. A reinforcement was given to Lucius Bæbius, for Spain, one thousand Roman foot and fifty horse, with six thousand Latin foot and two hundred horse. To Plautius Hypsæus, for the Hither Spain, were assigned one thousand Roman foot, and two thousand Latins, with two hundred horse; so that with these supplies the two Spains should have each a legion. In the case of the magistrates of the preceding year, the command was prolonged to Caius Lælius for a year, with his present army, and to Publius Junius, the proprætor in Etruria, with the army which, was then in the province, and Marcus Tuccius, the proprætor in Bruttium and Apulia.

51 Before the prætors went into their provinces, a dispute arose

between Publius Licinius, chief pontiff, and Quintus Fabius Pictor, priest of Romulus; such as had happened in the recollection of their fathers, between Lucius Metellus and Postumius Albinus. Metellus, who was chief pontiff at the time, had detained, for the performance of the business of religion, Albinus, the consul, who was setting out with his colleague, Caius Lutatius, to the fleet at Sicily; and now Publius Licinius detained the prætor Fabius from going to Sardinia. The matter was agitated in stormy debates, both in the senate and before the commons: authoritative commands were issued on both sides, pledges were seized, fines imposed, the tribunes applied to, and appeals made to the people. At last religion prevailed, so that the flamen obeyed the order of the pontiff; and the fines were remitted by order of the people. The senate by their authority prevented the prætor when attempting to abdicate the magistracy through anger at the loss of his province, and decreed that he should dispense justice among foreigners. The levies being finished in a few days, (for the soldiers to be enlisted were not many,) the consuls and prætors repaired to their provinces. Then a report of the transactions in Asia spread vaguely without an author; and in a few days after, certain information, and a letter from the general, arrived at Rome; which occasioned joy, not so much from recent fear, (for they had ceased to fear him who was conquered in Ætolia,) as from former fame; because by them commencing this war he was considered as a very formidable enemy, both on account of his own strength and because he had Hannibal to direct the business of the war. The senate determined that no change should be made in their sending the consul into Asia, and that no diminution of his forces should take place through apprehension of a war with the Gauls.

52 In a short time after, Marcus Aurelius Cotta, deputy from Lucius Scipio, with ambassadors from king Antiochus and king Eumenes, and the Rhodian delegates, arrived at Rome. Cotta, first in the senate, and then by their order in the assembly of the people, stated the services which were performed in Asia. Then a supplication for three days was decreed, and forty victims of the greater kinds ordered to be sacrificed. Then audience was given first to Eumenes. He, when he had briefly returned thanks to the senate, "because they had relieved him and his brother from a siege, and

protected his kingdom from the unjust attacks of Antiochus” and had congratulated them “because they had carried on affairs successfully by sea and land, and because they had utterly routed, driven out of his camp, and expelled king Antiochus, first from Europe, and then from all Asia on this side of Mount Taurus;” then said “he preferred that they should learn his own deserts from their generals and deputies, rather than from his mouth.” All being pleased with his discourse, and desiring him to tell frankly, bashfulness being for the present laid aside, “what recompence he thought proper to be given by the senate and people of Rome;” assuring him that “the senate were inclined to act with greater zeal and more abundant liberality, if possible, according to his deserts.” To this the king answered, “if the choice of rewards were offered him by others, if only permission to consult the Roman senate were given to him, he would have availed himself of the advice of that most noble body, lest he might appear to have been either immoderate in his desires or shameless in his requests. But now, when they themselves were the donors, it was much more proper that their munificence towards him and his brothers should be regulated by their own judgment.” The senate were not discouraged by this answer from desiring him to speak; and when there had been a long contest of kindness on one side, and reserve on the other, whilst they deferred to one another with a politeness not more mutual than insuperable, Eumenes departed from the senate-house. The senate persisted in their resolution so far as to say, “that it was absurd that the king should not know with what hopes or request he came. That he himself best knew what would be suitable to his own dominions. He was much better acquainted with Asia than were the senate. That he ought to be called back and compelled to state what were his wishes and sentiments.”

53 The king, being brought back by the prætor into the senate-house, and desired to speak freely, began thus: “Conscript fathers. I should have persevered in being silent, but that I knew you would presently call in the Rhodian ambassadors, and that when they had been heard, the necessity of speaking would be imposed on me. And this my speech will be the more difficult on this account, because their demands will be of such a nature, that they will appear not only to make no demands which may be contrary to my interests, but not

even to request any thing which may be intimately connected with themselves. For they will plead the cause of the Grecian states, and allege that they ought to be set free; which point being gained, to whom is it doubtful that they will alienate from us not only those states which shall be liberated, but likewise our ancient tributaries; and that after having bound them under so great an obligation, they will keep them under the denomination of allies, in reality subject to their government and entirely at their disposal? And, if it pleases the gods, while they will aspire to this so great power, they will pretend that this is no way connected with them; they will only say, that it is becoming you and conformable to your past conduct. You must be cautious, therefore, lest this speech deceive you; and lest by an unfair distribution, you not only depress some of your allies too much, while you exalt others beyond measure, but also put those who bore arms against you in a better state than your allies and friends. As to what regards myself in other cases, I should prefer to appear to any one to have yielded within the limit of my right, rather than to have struggled too obstinately in maintaining it; but in a contest of friendship and good-will towards you, and of the respect to be paid to you, I cannot with any patience bear to be outdone. This was the principal inheritance that I received from my father; who, of all the inhabitants of Asia and Greece, was the first who embraced your friendship; and this he maintained with constant and invariable fidelity to the last hour of his life. Nor did he display merely a faithful and kind inclination towards you, but was actively engaged in all the wars which you waged in Greece, whether on land or sea; he aided you with all kinds of provisions in such a manner, that not one of your allies could vie with him in any respect; and finally, while he was exhorting the Bœotians to an alliance with you, having fainted in the middle of his discourse, he shortly expired. In his steps have I trodden; and though I could not surpass the warmth of his wishes, and his zeal in courting your friendship — for these could not be exceeded — yet fortune, the times, Antiochus, and the war waged in Asia, afforded me occasions of surpassing him in real acts and merits, and valuable services. Antiochus, king of Asia, and of a part of Europe, offered me his daughter in marriage; offered to restore immediately the states that had revolted from us, and gave

great hopes of enlarging my dominions, if I would have carried on war in conjunction with him against you. I will not boast on this account, because I was guilty of no trespass against you; but I will rather mention those instances of conduct which are worthy of the very early friendship between our house and you. I assisted your commanders with forces by land and sea, so that not one of your allies can stand in competition with me. I supplied them with provisions by land and sea. I was present in all the naval engagements which are fought in many places; and I never was sparing of my labour and danger. I underwent a siege, the most dreadful suffering that can occur in war, being shut up in Pergamus, in the utmost danger both of my kingdom and of my life. Afterwards when liberated from the siege, although in one part Antiochus, in another Seleucus, were encamped about the citadel of my kingdom, having deserted my own affairs, I went with my whole fleet to the Hellespont, to meet your consul Lucius Scipio, to assist in transporting his army. From the time that the army came over into Asia, I never quitted the consul; no Roman soldier was more regular in his attendance in your camp, than I and my brothers. No expedition, no cavalry action, was undertaken without me. In the field I took that post, and I maintained that ground, in which the consul wished me to be. I do not intend, conscript fathers, to say who in that war can be compared to me in services towards you. I would not hesitate to compare myself to any of those nations or kings whom you hold in great honour. Masinissa was your enemy before he became your ally; nor did he repair to you with his auxiliaries when his kingdom was safe; but dethroned, exiled, and stripped of all his forces, he fled for refuge to your camp with one troop of horse. Nevertheless, because he faithfully and diligently adhered to your cause in Africa, against Syphax and the Carthaginians, you not only restored him to the throne of his father, but by adding to his domain the most opulent part of the kingdom of Syphax, rendered him the most potent of all the kings in Africa. What reward then, and what honour are we worthy of at your hands, who have never been foes, but always allies? My father, myself, my brothers, have carried arms in your cause by sea and land, not only in Asia, but in countries remote from our home; in Peloponnesus, in Bœotia, in Ætolia, during

the wars with Philip, and Antiochus, and the Ætolians. Some one may say, what therefore do you demand? Conscript fathers, since I must obey you when you desire me to explain my wishes: if you have removed Antiochus beyond the mountains of Taurus with the intention of holding those countries yourselves, I wish for no other people to settle near me, no other neighbours than you; nor could I hope that my kingdom would be rendered safer or firmer by any other event. But if your purpose is to retire hence, and withdraw your armies, I may venture to affirm, that not one of your allies is more deserving than I am of possessing what you have acquired. But then it will be a glorious act to liberate states that are in slavery. I agree that it will, provided they have committed nothing hostile against you. But if they took part with Antiochus, is it not much more becoming your wisdom and equity, to consult the interest of your well-deserving friends than that of your enemies?"

⁵⁴ The king's speech was pleasing to the senate, and it was very evident that they would do all things liberally, and with a desire to serve him. As one of the Rhodian ambassadors was absent, an embassy from Smyrna was next introduced, which was briefly disposed of. When the Smyrnæans were highly complimented because they had resolved to endure the last extremities rather than surrender to the king, the Rhodians were next introduced. The chief of their embassy, after stating the commencement of their friendship with the Roman people and merits of the Rhodians, first in the war with Philip, and afterwards in that with Antiochus, said: "Conscript fathers, there is nothing in the whole course of our affairs that gives us more trouble and uneasiness than that we should have a debate with Eumenes; with whom alone, of all the kings in the world, each of us as individuals has a private tie of hospitality, and, what weighs more with us, our state has a public one. But, conscript fathers, it is not our own inclinations that disunite us, but the nature of circumstances which exercise an all-powerful influence, so that we, being free ourselves, plead the cause of other men's freedom; while kings wish to have all things subservient and subject to their command. Yet, be that as it may, our respect towards the king is an obstacle to us, rather than that the debate is intricate, or likely to give you perplexity in your deliberations. For if no honour could be

otherwise paid to the king, your friend and ally, who has merited highly in this very war, and concerning whose reward the consideration is, unless you should deliver free states into his power, the deliberation would be a difficult one, lest you should either send away a king, your friend, without due honour, or depart from your own institutions, and sully now, by the servitude of so many states, the glory which you have acquired in the war with Philip. But from this necessity of diminishing either your gratitude towards your friend, or your own glory, fortune completely frees you. For, through the bounty of the gods, your victory is not more glorious than it is rich, so that it can easily acquit you of that just as a debt. Lycaonia, both the Phrygias, with Pisidia, the Chersonese, and the adjoining parts of Europe, are all in your power; and any one of these, given to the king, can double his dominions; but if they were all conferred upon him, they would set him on a level with the greatest of kings. You have it, therefore, in your power to enrich your allies with the prizes of the war; and, not to depart from your usual line of policy, and to remember what motive you assigned as your cause of war, formerly against Philip, latterly against Antiochus; what you performed on the conquest of Philip; what is now desired and expected from you, not so much because you have done it before, as because it becomes you to do it. For different persons look on different circumstances as specious and plausible motives for taking up arms. Some go to war to get possession of land, some of villages, some of towns, some of ports, and some of the sea-coast. Such things you never coveted, when you had them not; and you cannot covet them now, when the whole world is under your dominion. You ever fought for your dignity and glory, in the sight of the whole human race, which long since has learned to respect your name and empire next to that of the immortal gods. And to procure and acquire these was an arduous task. I know not whether it may be more difficult to retain them. You have undertaken to defend from the slavery of kings the liberty of a nation the most ancient and most highly distinguished, both by the fame of its exploits, and by universal praise for politeness and learning; it becomes you to make this patronage of an entire nation, received under your care and protection, perpetual. The cities standing on the original soil, are not

more Grecian than their colonies, which formerly migrated thence into Asia; nor has change of country changed either their race or manners. Every state among us has ventured to contend in a respectful contest, in every good quality and virtue, with its parents and founders. Most of you have visited the cities in Greece, and those in Asia. We are surpassed in no other circumstance than that we are too far distant from you. We hear that the inhabitants of Marseilles (who, if nature, implanted, as it were, in their bosoms, could be overcome by the genius of the soil, would ere this have been rendered savage, by the many barbarous tribes surrounding them) are deservedly held in as high honour and esteem by you as if they were inhabitants of the very centre of Greece. For they have preserved, not only the sound of the language, the mode of dress, and the habit; but, above all, the manners, the laws, and a mind pure and untainted by contagion from their neighbours. The boundary of your empire, at present, is Mount Taurus. Nothing within that line ought to be thought remote. To whatever extent your arms have reached, let justice, emanating from Rome, spread. Let barbarians, with whom the commands of masters have always served instead of laws, have kings, in which government they delight; the Greeks endure their own fortune; they have a spirit like your own. They too, in former times, grasped at empire by their internal strength. They now pray that empire may remain to eternity where it is at present. They consider it sufficient that their liberty should be defended by your arms, since they are unable to protect it by their own. But it is objected, that some of their states sided with Antiochus. So did others, before, with Philip; so did the Tarentines with Pyrrhus. Not to enumerate other nations, Carthage enjoys liberty and its own laws. Consider, conscript fathers, how much you owe to this example, set by yourselves. You will surely make up your mind to refuse to the ambition of Eumenes, what you refused to your own most just resentment. With what brave and faithful exertions we, Rhodians, have assisted you, both in this late war, and in all the wars that you have waged in that part of the world, we leave to your own judgment. We now, in peace, offer you such advice, that if you conform to it, all the world will judge that you used your victory with more honour to yourselves, than that with which you gained it." Their arguments

seemed well adapted to the Roman grandeur.

55 After the Rhodians, the ambassadors of Antiochus were called. These, after the common practice of petitioners for pardon, acknowledged the king's error, and besought the conscript fathers to deliberate, mindful rather of their own mercy than of the misconduct of the king, who had suffered enough and more than enough of punishment; in fine, to ratify, by their authority, the peace granted by their general, Lucius Scipio, with the conditions on which he had given it. The senate voted, that the peace should be observed; and the people, a few days after, ordered it. The treaty was concluded in the Capitol with Antipater, chief of the embassy, and son of the brother of king Antiochus. Then the other embassies from Asia were heard, to all of whom was returned the same answer, that "the senate, in conformity with the usage of their ancestors, would send ten ambassadors to examine and adjust the affairs of Asia. That the general plan was to be this: that the places on this side of Mount Taurus, which had been within the limits of the realm of Antiochus, should be assigned to Eumenes, excepting Lycia and Caria, as far as the river Mæander; and that these last-mentioned should become the property of the Rhodians. That the other states of Asia, which had been tributary to Attalus, should likewise pay tribute to Eumenes; and such as had been tributary to Antiochus, should be free and independent." They appointed ten ambassadors, Quintus Minucius Rufus, Lucius Furius Purpureo, Quintus Minucius Thermus, Appius Claudius Nero, Cneius Cornelius Merula, Marcus Junius Brutus, Lucius Aurunculeius, Lucius Æmilius Paulus, Publius Cornelius Lentulus, and Publius Ælius Tubero.

56 To these full instructions were given to decide whatever required an examination of the place. Concerning the general plan the senate voted: that "all Lycaonia, both the Phrygias, and Mysia, the royal forests, and Lydia, and Ionia, excepting those towns which had been free on the day whereon the battle was fought with Antiochus, and excepting by name Magnesia at Sipylus; then the city of Caria, called also Hydrela, and the territory of Hydrela, stretching towards Phrygia, and the forts and villages on the river Mæander, and likewise the towns, excepting such as had been free before the war, and excepting by name, Telmissus, and the fort of Telmissium,

and the lands which had belonged to Ptolemy of Telmissus; all these which are written above, were ordered to be given to king Eumenes. Lycia was given to the Rhodians, excepting the same Telmissus, and the fort of Telmissium, with the lands which had belonged to Ptolemy of Telmissus; these were withheld both from Eumenes and the Rhodians. To the latter was given also that part of Caria which lies beyond the river Mæander nearest to the island of Rhodes, with its towns, villages, forts, and lands, extending to Pisidia, excepting those towns which had been in a state of freedom on the day before that of the battle with Antiochus." The Rhodians, after returning thanks for these favours, mentioned the city of Soli in Cilicia, "the inhabitants of which," they said, "as well as themselves, derived their origin from Argos; and, in consequence of this relation, a brotherly affection subsisted between the two states. They, therefore, requested the senate, as an extraordinary favour, to exempt that city from subjection to the king." The ambassadors of Antiochus were called in, and the matter was proposed to them, but their consent could not be obtained; Antipater appealing to the treaty, in opposition to which, not only Soli, but Cilicia was sought by the Rhodians, and they were passing the summits of Taurus. The Rhodians being summoned again before the senate, the fathers, after they had stated how earnestly the king's ambassador opposed the measure, added that "if the Rhodians were of opinion that the affair particularly affected the dignity of their state, the senate would try by all means to overcome the obstinacy of the ambassadors." Hereupon the Rhodians, with greater warmth than before, returned thanks, and declared, that they would rather give way to the arrogance of Antipater, than afford any reason for disturbing the peace. So no change was made with respect to Soli.

57 During the time in which these things were transacted, deputies from Marseilles announced that Lucius Bæbius, the prætor, on his way into his province of Spain, had been surrounded by the Ligurians; that a great part of his retinue being slain, he himself, wounded, had made his escape, without his lictors, and with but few attendants, to Marseilles, and in three days after expired. The senate, on hearing of this misfortune, decreed, that Publius Junius Brutus, who was the proprætor in Etruria, having delivered the province and army to whichever of the lieutenants he should think proper,

should go himself into Farther Spain, which was to be his province. This decree of the senate and a letter was sent by the prætor, Spurius Posthumius, into Etruria; and Publius Junius, the proprætor, set out for Spain, in which province, long before a successor could arrive, Lucius Æmilius Paulus, who afterwards with great glory conquered king Perseus, though he had carried on matters unsuccessfully the year before, having raised an army by a hasty levy, fought a pitched battle with the Lusitanians. The enemy were routed, and put to flight; eighteen thousand were killed, three thousand three hundred taken, and their camp stormed. The fame of this victory made matters more tranquil in Spain. In the same year, on the third day before the calends of January, Lucius Valerius Flaccus, Marcus Atilius Serranus, and Lucius Valerius Tappo, triumvirs, settled a Latin colony at Bononia, according to a decree of the senate. Three thousand men were led to that place. Seventy acres were given to each horseman, fifty to each of the other colonists. The land had been taken from the Boian Gauls, who had formerly expelled the Tuscans.

58 In the same year, many distinguished men strove for the censorship; and this business, as if it furnished in itself insufficient grounds for dispute, gave rise to another contest of a much more violent nature. The candidates were, Titus Quintius Flamininus, Publius Cornelius Scipio, son of Cneius, Lucius Valerius Flaccus, Marcus Porcius Cato, Marcus Claudius Marcellus, and Manius Acilius Glabrio, who had defeated Antiochus and the Ætolians at Thermopylæ. The favour of the people inclined to the last in particular, because he had given many largesses, by which he had bound a great number of men to him. When so many nobles could ill brook that a man of no family should be so much preferred to them, Publius Sempronius Gracchus and Caius Sempronius Rutilus, tribunes of the people, commenced a prosecution against him, on a charge, that he had neither exhibited in his triumph, nor lodged in the treasury, a large part of the royal treasure, and of the booty taken in the camp of Antiochus. The depositions of the lieutenants-general and military tribunes were at variance. Beyond all the other witnesses, Marcus Cato was remarkable, whose authority, acquired by the uniform tenor of his life, the fact of his being a candidate

diminished. He, when a witness, affirmed, that he had not observed, in the triumph, the gold and silver vessels which, on the taking of the camp, he had seen among the other spoils of the king. At last Glabrio declared, that he declined the election, chiefly to throw odium on Cato; since he, a candidate of an origin as humble as his own, by an abominable perjury, attacked that which men of noble birth bore with silent indignation. A fine of one hundred thousand *asses* was proposed to the people against him. Twice there was a contest on the subject. On the third hearing, as the accused had declined the election, and the people were unwilling to vote about the fine, the tribunes also dropped the business. The censors elected were, Titus Quintius Flamininus and Marcus Claudius Marcellus.

59 At the same time, when an audience of the senate, in the temple of Apollo outside the city, was granted to Lucius Æmilius Regillus, who, with the fleet, had defeated the admiral of king Antiochus; after hearing the recital of his services, with what great fleets of the enemy he had engaged, how many of their ships he had sunk or taken, a naval triumph was voted him by the unanimous consent of the fathers. He triumphed on the calends of February. In this procession were carried forty-nine golden crowns; the quantity of money was by no means so great considering the appearance of the triumph over the king, being only thirty-four thousand seven hundred Attic tetradrachms, and one hundred and thirty-two thousand three hundred cistophoruses. Supplications were then performed, by order of the senate, in consideration of the successful services to the state, achieved in Spain by Lucius Æmilius Paulus. Not long after, Lucius Scipio arrived in the city; and, that he might not be inferior to his brother in point of a surname, he chose to be called Asiaticus. He spoke largely of his services both before the senate and a general assembly. There were some who judged that the war was greater by fame than by real difficulty; for it was terminated entirely by one memorable engagement; and that the glory of that victory had been stripped of its bloom at Thermopylæ. But, to any person judging impartially, it must appear, that the light at Thermopylæ was with the Ætolians, rather than with the king. For with how small a portion of his own strength did Antiochus engage in that battle! whereas, in the other, in Asia, the strength of the whole Asiatic continent stood

combined; for he had collected auxiliaries of all nations from the most remote quarters of the east. Justly, therefore, were the greatest possible honours paid to the immortal gods, for having rendered a most important victory easy in the acquisition; and a triumph was decreed to the commander. He triumphed in the intercalary month, the day before the calends of March; which triumph was greater in the display to the eye than that of Africanus his brother, yet if we recall to our memory the circumstances, and estimate the dangers and difficulty, it was no more to be compared to it, than if you would contrast one general with the other, Antiochus with Hannibal. He carried, in his triumph, military standards, two hundred and thirty-four; models of towns, one hundred and thirty-four; elephants' teeth, one thousand two hundred and thirty; crowns of gold, two hundred and twenty-four: pounds-weight of silver, one hundred and thirty-seven thousand four hundred and twenty; Attic tetradrachms, two hundred and twenty-four thousand; cistophoruses, three hundred and thirty-one thousand and seventy; gold pieces, called Philippians, one hundred and forty thousand; silver vases, all engraved, to the amount of one thousand four hundred and twenty-four pounds' weight; of golden vases, one thousand and twenty-four pounds' weight; and of the king's generals, governors, and officers at court, thirty-two were led before his chariot. Twenty-five denariuses were given to each of his soldiers, double that sum to a centurion, triple it to a horseman; and after the triumph, their pay and allowance of corn were doubled. He had already doubled them after the battle in Asia. He triumphed about a year after the expiration of his consulship.

⁶⁰ Cneius Manlius, the consul, arrived in Asia, and Quintus Fabius Labeo, the prætor, reached the fleet, nearly at the same time. The consul did not want reasons for war against the Gauls; the sea was subjected to the Romans since the conquest of Antiochus. It appeared best to Quintus Fabius, considering to what thing in particular he should apply himself, lest he might seem to have had a province in which there was no employment, to sail over to the island of Crete. The Cydonians were engaged in war against the Gortynians and Gnessians; and a great number of Roman and Italian captives were said to be in slavery in different parts of the island. Having sailed with the fleet from Ephesus, as soon as he touched the shore of Crete,

he despatched orders to all the states to cease from hostilities, and to search each of them for the captives in its own cities and territory, and bring them to him; also, to send ambassadors to him, to treat of matters belonging alike to the Romans and Cretans. These orders had little influence on the Cretans. Excepting the Gortynians, none of them restored the captives. Valerius Antias relates, that as many as four thousand captives were restored out of the whole island, because the Cretans feared his threats of war; and that this was deemed a sufficient reason for Fabius obtaining from the senate a naval triumph, although he performed no other exploit. From Crete Fabius returned to Ephesus: having despatched three ships from the latter place to the coast of Thrace, he ordered the garrisons of Antiochus to be withdrawn from Ænos and Maronea, that these cities might be left at liberty.

BOOK XXXVIII

Translated by William A. McDevitte

Marcus Fulvius the consul besieged Ambracia, in Epirus, and received its surrender; he reduced Cephallenia, and granted peace to the Ætolians, on their complete subjection. Cneius Manlius the consul, his colleague, conquered the Gallogræcians, including the Tolistoboi, Tectosagi, and Trocmi who, under the command of Brennus, had crossed over into Asia, since they were the only refractory nation on this side of Mount Taurus. Their origin is related, and likewise the manner in which they became masters of the territories which they now hold. An instance, also, of virtue and chastity in a woman is recorded: for when the wife of Ortiagon, king of the Gallogræcians, was a captive, she slew a centurion who was sentinel over her, because he offered her violence. The lustrum was closed by the censors. Two hundred and fifty-eight thousand three hundred and twenty-eight citizens were rated. A treaty of amity was entered into with Ariarathes, king of Cappadocia. Cneius Manlius, although the ten ambassadors by whose advice he had written the terms of the treaty with Antiochus, opposed him, pleaded his cause in person in the senate, and triumphed over the Gallogræcians. Scipio Africanus, a day of trial being appointed him, as some say, by Quintus Petillius, tribune of the people, as others say, by Nævius, on the charge of having fraudulently deprived the treasury of the plunder taken from Antiochus, when the day of trial came on, was summoned to the rostrum, and said, "On this day, Romans, I conquered Carthage;" and, followed by the people, ascended the Capitol. Subsequently, that he might not receive any further annoyance from the injuries done him by the tribunes, he retired into voluntary exile at Linternum: it is uncertain whether he died there or at Rome, for monuments were erected to his memory in both places. Lucius Scipio Asiaticus, brother of Africanus, was accused and condemned on the same charge of embezzlement as his brother: when he was being led to prison, Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus, tribune of the commons, who had been previously on unfriendly

terms with the Scipios, vetoed it; and in return for that kindness, received in marriage the daughter of Africanus. When the quæstors were sent to take public possession of the property of Lucius Scipio, not only was no trace of the king's money apparent in it, but not even so much was raised thereby as the amount in which he was fined. He would not receive the countless sum collected by his relations and friends: the mere necessities of life were purchased back.

1 While the war is being carried on in Asia, matters were not even then tranquil among the Ætolians, a commencement of these disturbances having originated with the nation of the Athamanians. At that period, since the expulsion of Amynder, Athamania was kept in subjection by royal garrisons, under governors appointed by Philip, who by their haughty and overbearing exercise of power, had made the people regret the loss of Amynder. The hope of recovering the kingdom was presented to Amynder, then an exile in Ætolia, by the letters of his partisans, who informed him of the state of Athamania: and messengers were sent to Argithea, (for that was the chief city of Athamania,) to inform the principal men, that, if they were sufficiently assured of the inclinations of their countrymen, he, having obtained succours from the Ætolians, would come, into Athamania with a chosen body of Ætolians, who constituted the council of that nation, and their prætor, Nicander. And, when he found that they were prepared for every thing, he gave them notice, immediately after, of the day on which he would enter Athamania at the head of an army. At first there were four conspirators against the Macedonian garrison; then each of these took as associates six assistants for the execution of the business; but, afterwards, distrusting their small number, which was rather calculated for the concealment than for the execution of the design, they took in a number of associates, equal to the former. Being thus increased to fifty-two, they divided themselves into four parties, one of which repaired to Heraclea, another to Tetraphylia, where the royal treasure used to be kept, a third to Theudoria, and the fourth to Argithea. It was agreed that they should at first appear in the forum publicly, without any bustle, as if they had come about their own ordinary concerns; and then, on a certain day, raise the whole populace, so as

to dislodge the Macedonian garrisons from the citadels. When the day came, and Amynder with a thousand Ætolians was on the frontiers, by the preconcerted plan the Macedonian garrisons were driven from the four places at once, and letters were despatched to all the other cities, calling on them to rescue themselves from the exorbitant tyranny of Philip, and to reinstate their hereditary and lawful prince. Accordingly, the Macedonians were, every where, expelled. The town of Theium, (in consequence of the letters being intercepted by Teno, commander of the garrison, and owing to the citadel being occupied by the king's troops,) stood a siege of a few days, and then surrendered to Amynder, who had now all Athamania in his power, except the fort of Athenæum, on the borders of Macedonia.

2 When Philip heard of the defection of Athamania, he out at the head of six thousand men, and proceeded, with the utmost speed, to Gomphi. Having left the greater part of his force, as they would not have been equal to such long marches, he went forward, with two thousand, to Athenæum, the only place which had been retained by his troops. Then, having made attempts on the nearest places, when he clearly perceived that all the rest of the country was hostile to him, he retreated to Gomphi, and returned with the whole of his army into Athamania. He then sent Zeno, at the head of one thousand foot, with orders to seize on Ethopia, which stands advantageously for commanding Argithea; and, as soon as he understood that this post was in possession of his party, he himself encamped near the temple of Acræan Jupiter. Here he was detained one whole day, by a tremendous storm; and on the next, proceeded to lead them towards Argithea. On the troops commencing their march the Athamanians immediately appeared hastening to the hills which overlooked the road. On the sight of whom, the foremost battalions halted, while fear and confusion spread through the whole army, and every one began to consider what might have been the consequence, if the troops had gone down into the valleys commanded by those cliffs. This confusion compelled the king, who wished, if his men would follow him, to push on rapidly through the defile, to call back the foremost, and return by the same road by which he came. The Athamanians at first followed at a distance, without making any

attempt: after the Ætolians joined them, they left these to harass the rear, and extended themselves on both flanks. Some of them, by taking a shorter way, through known paths, seized the passes; and such terror was struck into the Macedonians, that they repassed the river in a manner more like a hasty flight than a regular march, leaving behind many of their men and arms. Here was the end of the pursuit, and the Macedonians, in safety, returned to Gomphi, and from Gomphi into Macedonia. The Athamanians and Ætolians ran together, from all sides, to Ethiopia, to crush Zeno and his thousand Macedonians. The Macedonians, distrusting their position, removed from Ethiopia, to a hill which was higher and steeper on all sides; from which the Athamanians, having found access in several places, dislodged them; and while they were dispersed, and unable to find the road for flight, through impassable and unknown rocks, slew part of them and made part prisoners. Great numbers, in their panic, tumbled down the precipices; very few, with Zeno, effected their escape to the king. Afterwards, permission to bury their dead was given to them during the truce.

3 Amynder, on recovering possession of his kingdom, sent ambassadors, both to the senate at Rome and to the Scipios in Asia, who, since the grand battle with Antiochus, stayed at Ephesus. He requested a treaty of amity, and apologized for having had recourse to the Ætolians, for the recovery of his hereditary dominions. He made many charges against Philip. The Ætolians from Athamania proceeded into Amphilochia, and, with the consent of the greater part of the inhabitants, reduced that nation under their power and dominion. After the recovery of Amphilochia, for it had formerly belonged to the Ætolians, they passed on, with hopes of equal success, into Aperantia. That also, for the most part, surrendered to the Ætolians without a contest. The Dolopians had never been subject to the Ætolians, but they were to Philip. These, at first, ran to arms; but when they were informed of the Amphilochians taking part with the Ætolians, of Philip's flight from Athamania, and the destruction of his detachment, they also revolted from Philip to the Ætolians. Whilst the Ætolians believed that they were now secured against the Macedonians on all sides, by these nations surrounding them, the report is brought to them that Antiochus was conquered in

Asia by the Romans. Not very long after, their ambassadors came home from Rome, without the prospect of peace, announcing that the consul Fulvius, with his army, had already crossed the sea. Dismayed at these accounts, they send the chief men of the state to Rome to try the last hope, having previously solicited embassies from Rhodes and Athens, that, through the influence of those states, their petitions, lately rejected, might meet with a more favourable reception from the senate: they took no kind of precaution to avert the war, before it was almost within sight. Marcus Fulvius, having brought over his army to Apollonia, was, at this time, consulting with the Epirot chiefs where he should commence his operations. It was the opinion of the Epirots that he should attack Ambracia, which had lately united itself to Ætolia; alleging, that, “in case the Ætolians should come to its relief, there were open plains around it, to fight in; or that if they should avoid a battle there would be no great difficulty in the siege, for there were at hand abundant materials for raising mounds and other works, while the Arachthus, a navigable river, well adapted to convey every thing requisite, flowed by the walls; besides, the summer was just approaching, the fittest season for the enterprise.” By these arguments they persuaded him to march on through Epirus.

4 To the consul, on his arrival at Ambracia, the siege appeared to be a work of no small difficulty. Ambracia stands at the foot of a rocky hill, called by the natives Perranthe: the city, where the wall faces the plain and the river, looks towards the west; the citadel, which is seated on the hill, towards the east. The river Arachthus, which rises in Athamania, falls here into a gulf of the sea, called the Ambracian, from the name of the adjacent city. Besides that the river defended it on one side and the hills on the other, it was also surrounded by a strong wall, extending in circuit somewhat more than three miles. Fulvius formed two camps at a short distance from each other, and one fort on the high ground opposite to the citadel; all which he intended to join together by a rampart and trench, in such a manner that there should be no exit from the city for the besieged, nor entrance for the introduction of assistance from without. The Ætolians, on the report of the siege of Ambracia, were by this time assembled at Stratus, in obedience to an edict of their prætor, Nicander. At first they intended to have marched hence, with

their whole force, to raise the siege; afterwards, when they heard that the place was already, in a great measure, surrounded with works, and that the Epirots were encamped on level ground, on the other side of the river, they resolved to divide their forces. Eupolemus, with one thousand light troops, marching to Ambracia, made his way into the city, though the works were joined to each other. Nicander's first plan was to have attacked the camp of the Epirots in the night, with the rest of the troops, as assistance could not be easily received from the Romans, because the river ran between them. Afterward, judging it too dangerous an undertaking, lest the Romans should by any means discover it, and his retreat become unsafe, he was deterred from this design, and marched away to ravage the country of Acarnania.

5 The consul having now finished the intrenchments with which it was necessary to surround the city, and likewise the works which he was preparing to bring forward to the walls, attacked the city in five different places; three attacks, at equal distances from each other, he directed against the quarter which they called Pyrrheum, as the approach was easier from the plain; one opposite to the temple of Æsculapius, and one against the citadel. He broke down the walls with battering-rams, and tore down the battlements with poles armed with scythes. At first, terror and dismay seized the townsmen, at the formidable appearance of the works, and the shocks given to the walls, which were attended with a dreadful noise: afterwards, when they beheld them contrary to their hopes standing, having again resumed courage, they, by means of cranes, threw down upon the battering-rams weighty masses of lead, or stone, or beams of timber; dragging the armed poles, with iron grapples, within the walls, they broke off the hooks; besides, by sallies, both by night against the watch-guards of the engines, and by day against the advanced posts, they kept the besiegers in a state of continual alarm. While affairs at Ambracia were in this state, the Ætolians had returned from ravaging Acarnania, to Stratus. Their prætor, Nicander, having conceived hopes of raising the siege by a bold effort, sent a person called Nicodamus, with five hundred Ætolians, into Ambracia, and appointed a certain night, and even the time of the night, on which, from within the city, they were to assault the works of the enemy,

opposite to the Pyrrheum, while he himself should alarm the Roman camp. He supposed that, in consequence of the alarm on both sides, and night increasing the terror, something memorable might be achieved. And Nicodamus, in the dead of the night, (when he had escaped the notice of some of the parties on watch, and broken through others by his determined onset,) having passed the intrenchment, penetrated into the city; and gave the besieged considerable hope and courage for any enterprise; and as soon as the appointed time arrived, according to the plan preconcerted, he made a sudden assault on the works. This undertaking was more formidable in the attempt than in the effect, because no attack was made from without; for the prætor of the Ætolians had either been deterred by fear, or had judged it more advisable to carry succours to Amphilochia, which had been lately reduced; which Perseus, the son of Philip, who was sent to recover Dolopia and Amphilochia, was besieging with the greatest vigour.

6 The works of the Romans against the Pyrrheum were carried on in three different places, as has been mentioned before, all which works the Ætolians assaulted at once, but not with similar weapons or similar force. Some advanced with burning torches, others carrying tow and pitch, and fire-darts, their entire line being illuminated by the blaze. At the first assault they cut off many of the men on guard. Afterwards, when the shout and uproar reached the camp, and the signal was given by the consul, the troops took arms and poured out of all the gates to succour their friends. In one place the contest was carried on with fire and sword; from the other two, the Ætolians retired with disappointment, after essaying rather than supporting a fight. The whole brunt of the battle fell on the one quarter with great fury. Here the two commanders, Eupolemus and Nicodamus, in their different posts, encouraged their men and animated them with hope amounting almost to certainty, that Nicander would, according to his agreement, come up speedily and attack the enemy's rear. This expectation for some time supported their courage in the fight. But at last, as they did not receive the concerted signal from their friends, and saw the number of their enemies continually increasing, they pressed on with less energy, as if deserted; finally, having abandoned the attempt, their retreat now

becoming almost impracticable, they were driven in flight into the city, after having burned a part of the works, however, and killed a much greater number than they lost themselves. If the affair had been conducted according to the plan concerted, there was no reason to doubt but that one part at least of the works might have been stormed with great havoc of the Romans; The Ambracians and the Ætolians, who were within, not only renounced the enterprise of that night, but supposing themselves betrayed by their friends, became much less spirited. None of them any longer sallied out, as before, against the enemy's stations, but posted on the walls and towers, fought without danger.

7 Perseus, on hearing of the approach of the Ætolians, having raised the siege of the city in which he was employed, and having ravaged the country, quitted Amphilochia, and returned into Macedon. The devastation of their sea-coast called away the Ætolians from this region. Pleuratus, king of the Illyrians, entered the Corinthian gulf with sixty barks, and having formed a junction with the ships of the Achæans lying at Patræ, wasted the maritime parts of Ætolia. Against these one thousand Ætolians were sent, who, by taking short routes, met the fleet wherever it, while sailing around the indentations of the coast, attempted a landing. The Romans at Ambracia, by the battering of their rams in many places at once, laid open a great part of the city; but nevertheless were unable to penetrate into the heart of it. For instead of the wall knocked down a new one was raised with proportionate speed, while the armed men standing on the ruins, formed a kind of bulwark. The consul, therefore, when he made no progress by open force, resolved to form a secret mine, covering the ground first with his machines. And for a long time his workmen, though employed both night and day, not only in digging under the ground but also in carrying away the earth, escaped the observation of the enemy. A heap of it, however, rising suddenly, gave the townsmen intimation of their work, and terrified lest, the wall being undermined, a passage should be opened into the city, they determined to draw a trench within, opposite to the work that was covered with machines. In which when they reached such a depth as the bottom of the mine could well be, then keeping profound silence, having applied their ears to several different places,

they endeavoured to catch the sound of the miners; which being heard, they opened a way directly towards them. Nor did it require much exertion, for they came in a short time to an open space where the wall was supported with props by the enemy. The works joining here, as the passage was open from the trench to the mine, the parties began to fight in the dark under ground, first of all with the tools which they had used in the works, but afterwards armed men came quickly up. Subsequently the contest became less spirited; as the besieged stopped the passage, sometimes by stretching strong hair-cloths across it, sometimes by hastily placing doors in the way of their antagonists. A new engine, requiring no great labour, was invented against those who were in the mine. The besieged bored a hole in the bottom of a cask, by which a moderate-sized pipe could be inserted, and made an iron pipe and iron head for the cask, which was perforated in many places. They placed this cask, filled with small feathers, with its mouth turned towards the mine. Through, the holes in the head of the cask projected those very long spears, which they call sarissas, to keep off the enemy. They kindled a small spark of fire, placed among the feathers, by blowing with a smith's bellows, inserted into the end of the pipe. After that the smoke arising from this, not only in great quantities, but also more offensive from the nauseous stench proceeding from the burnt feathers, had filled the mine, scarcely any one could stay within.

8 Whilst affairs at Ambracia were in this state, Phæneas and Damoteles came to the consul, as ambassadors from the Ætolians, invested with full powers by a decree of the general assembly of that nation. For when their prætor saw on one side Ambracia besieged; on another, the sea-coast infested by the enemy's ships; on a third, Amphilochia and Dolopia ravaged by the Macedonians, and that the Ætolians were incapable of meeting the three enemies at once, having summoned a council, he consulted the chiefs on what was to be done. The opinions of all tended to one point: "that peace should be solicited on equal terms if possible; if not, on any terms that could be borne. That the war was undertaken in reliance on Antiochus. Since Antiochus was vanquished by land and sea, and driven beyond the mountains of Taurus, almost out of the world, what hope remained of their being able to support it? That Phæneas and

Damoteles, since the emergency was so great, should do whatever they might judge to tend to the interest of the Ætolians and their own honour. For what counsel, what option had been left them by fortune?" Ambassadors were despatched with instructions, to beseech the consul to "have mercy on the city, and to take compassion on a nation once acknowledged as an ally; and driven to madness, they would not say by ill treatment, but undoubtedly by their sufferings." That the Ætolians "had not in Antiochus' war deserved a larger share of punishment than they had of reward in that against Philip. That neither then was compensation liberally made them, nor ought punishment now to be inflicted on them in an immoderate degree." To this the consul answered, that "the Ætolians had sued for peace often, rather than ever with sincere intentions. Let them in soliciting peace imitate Antiochus, whom they had drawn into the war. He had ceded, not the few cities whose liberty was the ground of the dispute, but an opulent kingdom, all Asia on this side Mount Taurus. That he (the consul) would not listen to the Ætolians, treating concerning peace, unless they laid down their arms. That, in the first place, their arms and all their horses must be delivered up; and in the next place, one thousand talents of silver must be paid to the Roman people; half of which sum must be laid down immediately, if they wished for peace. To these articles he would add when concluding the treaty, that they must have the same allies and the same enemies as the Roman people."

9 To which demands the ambassadors having made no reply, both because they were severe, and because they knew the spirit of their country to be unbroken and changeable, returned home, that they might again and again, while the thing was undecided, consult the prætor and chiefs as to what was to be done. They were received with clamour and reproaches, and were asked "how long would they protract the matter, though commanded to bring with them a peace of some kind or other?" But as they were going back to Ambracia, they were caught in an ambuscade, laid near the road by the Acarnanians, with whom they were at war, and carried to Thyrium to be confined. The delay arising from this incident interrupted the negotiations. When the ambassadors of the Athenians and Rhodians, who had come to intercede for them, were now with the consul, Amynander

also, king of Athamania, having obtained a safe-conduct, had come into the Roman camp, being more concerned for the city of Ambracia, where he had spent the greatest part of his exile, than for the nation of the Ætolians. When the consul was informed by them of the accident which had befallen the ambassadors, he ordered them to be brought from Thyrium; and on their arrival they began to treat concerning peace. Arynander, as that was his principal object, laboured assiduously to persuade the Ambracians to capitulate. When he made but little progress in this, while he was coming under the walls and conferring with their chiefs, he at last, with the consul's permission, went into the city; where, partly by arguments, partly by entreaties, he prevailed on them to surrender themselves to the Romans. Caius Valerius, the son of Lævinus, who was the first that had made a treaty of alliance with that nation, the brother of the consul, born of the same mother, eminently aided the Ætolians. The Ambracians, having first stipulated that they might send away the auxiliary Ætolians in safety, opened their gates. Then the Ætolians stipulated that "they should pay five hundred Euboic talents, two hundred of this sum at present, and three hundred at six equal annual payments; that they should deliver up to the Romans the prisoners and deserters; that they should not subject any city to their jurisdiction, which, since the first coming of Titus Quintius into Greece, had either been taken by the arms of the Romans, or voluntarily entered into alliance with them: and that the island of Cephallenia should be excluded from the treaty." Although these terms were more moderate than they themselves had expected, yet the Ætolians begged permission to lay them before the council, which request was granted. A short discussion about the cities engaged the council. Since they had been for some time under their laws, they bore with pain that they should be torn off, as it were, from their body. However, they unanimously voted that the terms of peace should be accepted. The Ambracians presented the consul with a golden crown of one hundred and fifty pounds' weight. The brazen and marble statues and paintings, with which Ambracia was more richly decorated than any other city in that country, since it was the royal residence of Pyrrhus, were all removed and carried away; but nothing else was injured or even touched.

10 The consul, marching into the interior parts of Ætolia, encamped at Amphilochian Argos, twenty-two miles from Ambracia. Here, at length, the Ætolian ambassadors arrived, the consul in the mean time wondered at the cause of their delay. Then, after he heard that the council of the Ætolians had approved of the terms of peace, having ordered them to go to Rome to the senate, and having permitted the Athenian and Rhodian mediators to go with them, and appointed his brother, Caius Valerius, to accompany them, he himself passed over to Cephallenia. The ambassadors found the ears and minds of all the principal people at Rome prepossessed by charges made against them by Philip, who, by complaining both by ambassadors and by letters, that Dolopia, Amphilochia, and Athamania had been forcibly taken from him, that his garrison, and at last even his son Perseus, had been driven out of Amphilochia, had turned away the senate from their entreaties. The Athenians and Rhodians were, nevertheless, heard with attention. An Athenian ambassador, Leon, son of Icesias, is said to have even affected them much by his eloquence. Making use of a common simile, and comparing the multitude of the Ætolians to a calm sea, when it comes to be ruffled by the winds, he said, that “as long as they faithfully adhered to the alliance with Rome, they rested in the calm state natural to nations; but that when Thoas and Dicæarchus began to blow from Asia, Menetas and Damocrites from Europe, then was raised that storm which dashed them on Antiochus as on a rock.”

11 The Ætolians, after being a long time buffeted about, at length prevailed to have articles of peace concluded. They were these:—“Let the Ætolian nation, without fraud or deceit, maintain the empire and majesty of the Roman people; let them not suffer to pass through their territories, nor, in any manner whatever, aid or assist any army that shall march against the allies and friends of the Romans; let them have the same enemies as the Roman people; let them bear arms against them, and take a share in their wars; let them deliver up the deserters, fugitives, and prisoners, to the Romans and their allies, excepting such as were prisoners before, who having returned home, were afterwards captured; and also such as, at the time of their being taken, were enemies to Rome, while the Ætolians were in the Roman army. Let such of the others as can be found be delivered up. without

reserve, to the magistrates of Corcyra, within one hundred days; and such as cannot now be found, as soon as they shall be discovered. Let them give forty hostages at the discretion of the Roman consul, none younger than twelve years nor older than forty; let neither the prætor, nor the general of the horse, nor the public secretary, be a hostage; nor any person who has before been a hostage in the hands of the Romans. Let Cephallenia be excluded from these articles." With respect to the sum of money which they were to pay, and the mode of payment, no alteration was made in the arrangement which had been made by the consul. If they chose to give gold instead of silver, it was agreed that they might do so, provided that one piece of gold should be deemed equivalent to ten of silver of the same weight. "Whatever cities, whatever lands, whatever men have been formerly under the jurisdiction of the Ætolians, and have, either in the consulate of Titus Quintius and Publius Ælius, or since their consulate, been subdued by the arms of the Roman people, or have made a voluntary submission to them, the Ætolians are not to reclaim. The Ænians, with their city and lands, are to belong to the Acarnanians." On these conditions was the treaty concluded with the Ætolians.

12 Not only in the same summer, but almost at the very time in which these acts were performed by Marcus Fulvius the consul in Ætolia, the other consul, Cneius Manlius, carried on war in Gallogræcia; the progress of which I shall now relate. In the beginning of spring the consul came to Ephesus, and having received the command of the army from Lucius Scipio, and reviewed the troops, he made an harangue to the soldiers; in which, having praised their bravery in having completely conquered Antiochus in a single battle, he encouraged them to undertake a new war against the Gauls, who had supported Antiochus with auxiliaries, and were, besides, of such untractable tempers, that Antiochus was to no purpose removed beyond the range of Mount Taurus, unless the power of the Gauls was broken; he then spoke briefly of himself, in terms neither ill-grounded nor extravagant. The delighted soldiers heard the consul with frequent bursts of applause, considering the Gauls as having been a part of the strength of Antiochus; and that, since that king had been vanquished, there would be no power in the forces of the Gauls,

by themselves. The consul judged that Eumenes was absent at an unseasonable time, (he was then at Rome,) as he was well acquainted with the nature of the country and of the inhabitants, and as it was his interest that the power of the Gauls should be broken. He therefore sends for his brother Attalus, from Pergamus, and having exhorted him to undertake the war in conjunction with him, he sends him, away to make preparations, after promising his own exertions and those of his countrymen. A few days after, Attalus with one thousand foot and two hundred horse, having ordered his brother Athenæus to follow with the rest of the troops, and committed the care of Pergamus to persons whom he knew to be faithful to his brother and to his government, met the consul, who had marched from Ephesus to Magnesia. The consul, after highly commending the young prince, having advanced with all his forces, encamped on the bank of the Mæander, for as that river could not be forded, it was necessary to collect shipping for carrying over the army.

13 Having passed the Mæander, they came to Hiera Come. In this place there is a magnificent temple, and oracle of Apollo; the priests are said to deliver their responses in verses by no means inelegant. Hence, in two days' march they reached the river Harpasus; whither came ambassadors from Alabandæ, entreating the consul, either by his authority or his arms, to compel a fort, which had lately revolted from it, to return to its former allegiance. To the same place came Athenæus the brother of Eumenes, and Attalus, with Leusus, a Cretan, and Corragos, a Macedonian commander. They brought with them one thousand foot and three hundred horse, composed of various nations. The consul, having sent a military tribune with a small party, took the fort by assault, and restored it to the Alabandians. He himself, not deviating from his route, pitched his camp at Antioch on the Mæander. The source of this river is in Celænæ, which city was formerly the metropolis of Phrygia. The inhabitants afterwards removed to a spot not far distant from Old Celænæ, and the name of Apama was given to their new city, from Apama the sister of king Seleucus. The river Marsyas also, rising at a little distance from the head of the Mæander, falls into the latter river, and report so has it, that at Celænæ Marsyas contended with Apollo in the music of the pipe. The Mæander, springing up in the

highest part of the citadel of Celænæ, runs down through the middle of the city, then through Caria, afterwards through Ionia, and empties itself into a bay which lies between Priene and Miletus. Seleucus, son of Antiochus, came into the consul's camp at Antioch, to furnish corn for the troops, in conformity with the treaty with Scipio. Here a small dispute arose, concerning the auxiliary troops of Attalus; for Seleucus affirmed, that Antiochus engaged to supply corn to the Roman soldiers only. This difference was terminated by the firmness of the consul, who gave orders to a tribune despatched by him, that the Roman soldiers should receive none, until the auxiliaries under Attalus should have received their share. From hence the army advanced to Gordiutichos, as they call it: from which place it marched, in three days, to Tabæ. This city stands on the confines of Pisidia, in that part which verges to the Pamphylian sea. Whilst the strength of that country was unimpaired, it produced valiant warriors: and even on this occasion, their horsemen, sallying out on the Roman troops, caused by their first onset no small confusion; then, as soon as it appeared that they were not equal to them either in numbers or bravery, being driven back to the city, they begged pardon for their transgressions, and offered to surrender the city. They were ordered to pay twenty-five talents of silver, and ten thousand bushels of wheat; and on these terms their surrender was accepted.

¹⁴ On the third day after their leaving this place, the army reached the river Chaus, and proceeding thence, took the city of Eriza at the first assault. They then came to Thabusios, a fort standing on the bank of the river Indus, to which an elephant's guide thrown from the animal had given its name. They were now not far from Cibyra, yet no embassy appeared from Moagetes, the tyrant of that state; a man faithless and tyrannical in every respect. The consul, in order to sound his intentions, sent forward Caius Helvius, with four thousand foot and five hundred horse. Ambassadors met this body on their entrance into his territories, declaring, that the king was ready to execute their commands. They entreated Helvius to enter their confines in a friendly manner, and to restrain his soldiers from plundering the land; and they brought with them in lieu of a golden crown fifteen talents. Helvius, having promised to keep their lands safe from plunderers, ordered the ambassadors to go on to the consul.

And when they delivered the same message to him, the consul said, "We Romans have not any sign of the tyrant's good will towards us, and we are agreed that he is such a person that we ought rather to think of punishing him than of contracting friendship with him." Struck with astonishment at such a reception, the ambassadors requested nothing more than that he should receive the present, and give permission to the tyrant to come to him, and an opportunity to speak and excuse himself. By the permission of the consul, the tyrant came next day into the camp. His dress and retinue were scarcely equal to the style of a private person of moderate fortune; while his discourse was humble and incoherent, depreciating his own wealth and complaining of the poverty of the cities under his sway. He had under his dominion, (beside Cibyra,) Syleum, and the city called Alimne. Out of these he promised (in such a manner as if he were diffident that he could strip himself and his subjects of so much) to raise twenty-five talents. "Truly," said the consul, "this trifling cannot be borne. It is not enough for you that you did not blush, though absent, when you were imposing on us by your ambassadors; but even when present you persist in the same effrontery. Is it that twenty-five talents would exhaust your dominions? If within three days you do not pay down five hundred talents, expect the devastation of your lands and the siege of your city." Although terrified by this menace, he persisted obstinately in his plea of poverty; gradually by illiberal advances, (sometimes cavilling, sometimes recurring to prayers and counterfeit tears,) he was brought to agree to the payment of one hundred talents, to which, were added ten thousand bushels of corn. All this was done within six days.

15 From Cibyra the army was led through the territory of the Sindensians, and, after crossing the river Caularis, encamped. Next day they marched along the side of the lake of Caralitis, and passed the night at Mandropolis. As they advanced to the next city, Lagos, the inhabitants fled through fear. The place being deserted, yet filled with abundance of every thing, was pillaged by the soldiers. From this they marched to the sources of the river Lysis, and on the next day to the river Cobulatus. At this time the Termessians were besieging the citadel of the Isiondensians, after having taken the city. The besieged, when they had no other hope of aid, sent ambassadors

to the consul, imploring succour; adding, that, “being shut up in the citadel, with their wives and children, they were in daily expectation of suffering death, either by the sword or famine.” An occasion for turning aside to Pamphylia was thereby offered to the consul, who was very desirous of it. By his approach he raised the siege of Isionda. He granted peace to Termessus on receiving fifty talents of silver; and, likewise, to the Aspendians and other states of Pamphylia. Returning from Pamphylia he pitched his camp, the first day, at the river Taurus, and the second at Come Xyline, as they call it. Departing from which, he proceeded, by uninterrupted marches, to the city of Cormasa. The next city was Darsa, which he found abandoned by the inhabitants through fear, but filled with abundance of every thing useful. Ambassadors from Lysinoe, with the surrender of that state, met him while marching along the marshes. He then came into the Sagalassenian territory, rich and abounding in every kind of production. The inhabitants are Pisidians, the best soldiers, by far, of any in that part of the world. This circumstance, as well as the fertility of their soil, the multitude of their people, and the situation of their city, preeminently fortified, gave them boldness. The consul sent a party to ravage the country, because no embassy attended him on the frontiers. Then, at length, their obstinacy was overcome, as soon as they saw their property carried off and driven away. After sending ambassadors, and agreeing to pay fifty talents, with twenty thousand bushels of wheat and twenty thousand of barley, they obtained peace. The consul then marched to the source of the Obrima, and encamped at a village called Come Acaridos. Hither Seleucus came, next day, from Apamea. Then when the consul had sent the sick and the useless baggage to Apamea, having received guides from Seleucus, he marched that day into the plain of Metropolis, and advanced on the day following to Diniaë in Phrygia, and thence to Synnas; all the towns on every side being deserted by the inhabitants through fear. And now, bringing along his army encumbered with the spoil of those cities, after scarcely completing in a whole day a march of five miles, he arrived at a town called Old Beudi. Next day he encamped at Anabura; on the following, at the source of the Alander, and on the third at Abassus, where he halted for several days, because he arrived at the borders of the

Tolistoboians.

16 These Gauls, in a very numerous body, induced either by scarcity of land or hopes of plunder, and thinking that no nation through which they were to pass would be a match for them in arms, made their way under the command of Brennus into Dardania. There a dissension arose, and about twenty thousand men under the chieftains Leonorius and Lutarius, a secession being made from Brennus, turned their route to Thrace. Then when, fighting with such as resisted them, and imposing a tribute on such as sued for peace, they had arrived at Byzantium, they held possession for a long time of the cities in that quarter, laying the coast of the Propontis under contribution. Then a desire of passing over into Asia seized them, hearing in the neighbourhood how great the fertility of that continent was; and, having taken Lysimachia by treachery, and possessed themselves of the whole Chersonesus by force of arms, they went down to the Hellespont. When they there beheld Asia separated from them by a narrow strait, their wishes to pass into it were much more highly inflamed, and they despatched envoys to Antipater, governor of that coast, to treat of a passage. And when, business being protracted to a greater length than they expected, a new quarrel broke out between their chieftains, Leonorius, with the greater part of the people, went back to Byzantium, whence they came: Lutarius takes two decked ships and three barks from some Macedonians, sent by Antipater, under the pretext of an embassy, to act as spies. By carrying over in these galleys detachment after detachment, day and night, he transported all his troops within a few days. Not long after, Leonorius, with the assistance of Nicomedes, king of Bithynia, passed over from Byzantium. The Gauls then re-united their forces, and assisted Nicomedes in a war which he was carrying on against Zybœta, who held possession of a part of Bithynia. By their assistance chiefly Zybœta was subdued, and the whole of Bithynia reduced under the dominion of Nicomedes. Then leaving Bithynia, they advanced into Asia; and although, of their twenty thousand men, not more than ten thousand carried arms, yet such a degree of terror did they strike into all the natives, dwelling on this side of Taurus, that those which they visited, and those which they did not visit, the most remote as well as the nearest, submitted to their authority. At

length as there were three tribes of them, the Tolistoboians, the Trocmians, and the Tectosagians, they made a division of Asia into three provinces, according to which it was made tributary to each of their states. The coast of the Hellespont was assigned to the Trocmians; the Tolistoboians obtained of the allotment Æolia and Ionia; the Tectosagians received the inland parts of Asia. They levied tribute throughout every part of Asia on this side Mount Taurus; but chose their own residence on the banks of the river Halys; and so great was the terror of their name, their numbers, too, increasing by a rapid population, that at last even the kings of Syria did not refuse to pay them tribute. The first of all the inhabitants of Asia who refused, was Attalus, the father of king Eumenes; and beyond the expectation of all, fortune favoured his bold resolution, and he defeated them in a pitched battle; yet he did not so effectually break their spirits, as to make them give up their pretensions to empire. Their power continued the same until the war between Antiochus and the Romans; and, even then, after Antiochus was expelled the country, they still entertained a hope, that, as they lived remote from the sea, the Roman army would not come so far.

17 As the troops were about to act against this enemy, so terrible to all in that part of the world, the consul, in an assembly, addressed the soldiers for the most part to this effect: "It does not escape me, that, of all the nations inhabiting Asia, the Gauls are pre-eminent for military fame. A fierce nation, after overrunning the face of the earth with its arms, has fixed its abode in the midst of a race of men the gentlest in the world. Their tall persons, their long red hair, their vast shields, and swords of enormous length; their songs also, when they are advancing to action, their yells and dances, and the horrid clashing of their armour, while they brandish their shields in a peculiar manner, practised in their original country; all these circumstances are preconcerted to inspire terror. But let Greeks, and Phrygians, and Carians, to whom these things are unusual and strange, be frightened by such acts: to the Romans, accustomed to Gallic tumults, even these vain efforts to strike terror are known. Once our ancestors fled from them, but it was long ago, when they first met them at the Allia. Ever since that time, for, now, two hundred years, the Romans drive them before them in dismay, and

kill them like cattle; there have, indeed, been more triumphs celebrated over the Gauls, than over almost all the rest of the world. It is now well known by experience, that if you sustain their first onset, which they make with fiery eagerness and blind fury, their limbs are unnerved with sweat and fatigue; their arms flag; and, though you should not employ a weapon on them, the sun, dust, and thirst prostrate their enervated bodies and minds when their fury has ceased. We have tried them, not only with our legions against theirs, but in single combat, man to man. Titus Manlius and Marcus Valerius have demonstrated how far Roman valour surpasses Gallic fury. Marcus Manlius, singly, thrust back the Gauls who were mounting the Capitol in a body. Our forefathers had to deal with genuine Gauls, born in their own lands; but they are now degenerate, a mongrel race, and, in reality, what they are named, Gallogræcians; just as is the case of vegetables and cattle, the seeds are not so efficacious in preserving their original constitution, as the properties of the soil and climate under which they are reared, are in changing it. The Macedonians who settled at Alexandria in Egypt, or in Seleucia, or Babylonia, or in any other of their colonies scattered over the world, have sunk into Syrians, Parthians, or Egyptians. Marseilles, owing to its situation in the midst of Gauls, has contracted somewhat of the disposition of its adjoining neighbours. What of the hardy, rugged discipline of Sparta hath remained to the Tarentines? Every thing is produced in higher perfection in its own native soil; whatever is planted in a foreign land, by a gradual change in its nature, degenerates into that by which it is nurtured. Therefore you, victorious, will slay the conquered Phrygians, though laden with Gallic armour, as you slew them in the ranks of Antiochus. I am more apprehensive of our gaining but little honour from the victory, than of the struggle being a severe one. King Attalus often routed and put them to flight. Do you think that brutes only, when taken, retain at first their natural ferocity, and subsequently grow tame, after being long fed by the hands of men; and that nature does not exert the same power in softening the savage disposition of men. Do you believe these to be of the same kind that their fathers and grandfathers were? Exiles from home through scarcity of land, they marched along the craggy coast of Illyricum, then traversed Pæonia and Thrace, in a

continual struggle against the fiercest nations, and took possession of these countries. A land which could glut them with plenty of every thing, received them hardened and infuriated by so many evils. By the very great fertility of the soil, the very great mildness of the climate, and the gentle dispositions of the neighbouring nations, all that fierceness with which they came has been quite mollified. You, by Hercules, who are the sons of Mars, ought to guard against the seductions of Asia, and shun them from the very first; so great is the power of those foreign pleasures in extinguishing the vigour of the mind, so strong the contagion from the relaxed discipline and manners of the people about you. One thing has happened fortunately; that though they will not bring against you a degree of strength by any means equal to what they formerly possessed, yet they still retain a character among the Greeks equal to what they had at their first coming; consequently you, when victors, will acquire the same warlike renown, as if you had conquered the Gauls still acting up to their ancient standard of courage.”

18 Having then dismissed the assembly, and having despatched ambassadors to Eposognatus, (who alone of all the petty princes had remained in friendship with Eumenes, and refused to assist Antiochus against the Romans,) he proceeded on his march. He came the first day to the river Alander, and the next to a village called Tyscos. When ambassadors of the Oroandensians had come to that place, seeking amity, two hundred talents were levied on them; and on their requesting that they might bear this announcement home, permission to do so was given. The consul then led the army to Plitendos; then the Roman camp was pitched at Alyatti. The persons sent to Eposognatus returned to him here, and with them ambassadors from that chieftain, who entreated him not to make war on the Tolistoboians, for that Eposognatus himself would go among that people and persuade them to submit. This request of the prince was complied with. The army then began to march through the country called Axylos: which derives its name from the nature of the place; for it not only does not produce timber, but not even brambles, or any species of fire-wood. The inhabitants, instead of wood, use cow dung. While the Romans were encamped at Cuballum, a fort of Gallogræcia, the enemy’s cavalry appeared with great tumult. They

not only disordered by their sudden charge the advanced guards of the Romans, but killed several of the men; and when this alarm was spread to the camp, the Roman cavalry, pouring out hastily by all the gates, routed and dispersed the Gauls, and killed many as they fled. The consul, now perceiving that he had reached the enemy's country, marched henceforth exploring his route and carefully bringing up his rear. When by continued marches he had arrived at the river Sangarius, he set about constructing a bridge, because no where was there a passage by a ford. The Sangarius, running from the mountain of Adoreus, through Phrygia, joins the river Thymbris at the confines of Bithynia. After doubling its quantity of water by this junction, it proceeds in a more copious stream through Bithynia, and empties itself into the Euxine Sea. Yet it is not so remarkable for the size of its current, as for the vast quantity of fish which it supplies to the people in its vicinity. When the bridge was finished, and the army had passed the river, as they were marching along the bank, the Gallic priests of the Great Mother, coming from Pessinus with the symbols of their office, met them; who, in inspired rhymes, foretold that the goddess would grant the Romans a safe passage, success in the war, and the empire over that country. When the consul had said that he embraced the omen, he pitched his camp on that very spot. On the following day he arrived at Gordium. This is not a large town, but a mart more frequented and noted than an inland town generally is. It has three seas nearly at equal distances from it, that at the Hellespont, that at Sinope, and that at the shore of the opposite coast, in which the maritime Cilicians dwell. It is also contiguous to the borders of many and great nations, the commerce of which has been centred by mutual convenience principally in this place. The Romans found the town deserted owing to the flight of the inhabitants, yet at the same time filled with plenty of every thing. While they halted here, ambassadors came from Eposognatus, with information that "he had applied to the petty princes of the Gauls, and had been unable to bring them to reason; that they were removing in crowds from the villages and lands in the open country; and, with their wives and children, carrying and driving whatever could be carried or driven, were going to Mount Olympus, that there they might defend themselves by their arms and the nature of the ground."

19 Deputies from the Oroandensians afterwards brought more particular intelligence; that “the state of the Tolistoboians had seized Mount Olympus, but that the Tectosagians, taking a different route, were gone to another mountain called Magaba; and that the Trocmians, leaving their wives and children in charge with the Tectosagians, had resolved to carry their armed force to the assistance of the Tolistoboians.” The chieftains of the three states were at that time, Ortiagon, Combolomarus, and Gaulotus; and this was their reason in particular for choosing this mode of warfare, because as they had possession of the highest mountains in that part of the world, and had conveyed thither stores of every kind, sufficient for their consumption during the time, although long, they thought that they would weary out the enemy by the tediousness of the enterprise: “for neither would they dare to climb over places so steep and uneven; and if they should attempt it, they could be prevented and driven down, even by a small band; nor would they, sitting in inactivity at the foot of the frosty mountains, endure cold and hunger.” Although the height of their posts was in itself a strong defence, yet they drew, besides, a trench and other fortifications round the summits which they occupied. The least part of their care was employed in providing a stock of missile weapons; for they trusted that the rocky ground itself would furnish stones in abundance.

20 The consul, as he had foreseen that the fight would not be hand to hand, but at a distance, in the attack of the enemy’s post, had prepared an immense quantity of javelins, light infantry, spears, arrows, balls of lead, and small stones, fit to be thrown with slings. Furnished with this stock of missile weapons, he marched towards Mount Olympus, and encamped within five miles of it. On the next day, as he was advancing with four hundred horse, and Attalus, to examine the nature of the mountain and situation of the camp of the Gauls; a party of the enemy’s cavalry, double in number to his, sallying from the camp, forced him to take to flight. A few of his soldiers were killed in the flight, and several wounded. On the third day, marching to explore the ground at the head of all his cavalry, as none of the enemy advanced beyond their fortifications, he rode round the mountain with safety, and saw that on the south side the

hills were composed of earth, and rose to a certain height, with a gentle slope, but that on the north there was nothing but steep and almost perpendicular cliffs; and that there were but three practicable ways, almost all the others being impassable; one at the middle of the mountain, where the ground was earthy, and two others, both very difficult, one on the south-east, and the other on the north-west. After taking a full view of all these places, he pitched his camp that day close to the foot of the mountain. On the day following, after that, offering sacrifice, he had received favourable auspices with the first victims, he proceeds to lead his army, in three divisions, against the enemy. He himself, with the greatest part of the forces, marched up where the mountain afforded the easiest ascent. He ordered his brother, Lucius Manlius, to ascend on the south-east side, as far as the ground allowed him to do so with safety; but if any dangerous and steep precipices should lie in his way, then not to contend with the unfavourable nature of the place, or attempt to conquer insuperable obstacles, but by a slope across the mountain to incline towards him, and join the body under his command; and he directed Caius Helvius, with the third division, to march round leisurely, by the foot of the mountain, and to climb the hill on the north-east. The auxiliary troops of Attalus he distributed equally among the three divisions, ordering the young prince to accompany him. The cavalry and elephants he left in the plain, at the foot of the hills; orders were given to the prefects to watch attentively every thing that should happen, and to be expeditious in bringing succour wherever circumstances should require it.

21 The Gauls, (thoroughly satisfied that the ground on their two flanks was impassable,) in order to secure, by arms, the ascent on the side which was situated towards the south, sent about four thousand soldiers to keep possession of a hill which hung over the road, at the distance of near a mile from their camp; hoping that they might stop the enemies' progress by this as by a fortress. Which when the Romans saw, they prepared for battle. The light infantry marched a little in advance of the line, supported by draughts from Attalus's troops, composed of the Cretan archers and slingers, the Trallians and Thracians. The battalions of infantry, as the ground was steep, marched at a slow pace, holding their shields before them, merely to

ward off missile weapons, as they did not seem likely to fight in a close engagement. The fight commenced with the missile weapons, at the proper interval, and was at first equal. as the situation aided the Gauls, the variety and abundance of weapons, the Romans. But, as the contest advanced, there was no longer any equality: their shields, long, but too narrow for the breadth of their bodies, and besides being flat, ill protected the Gauls. Nor had they now any other weapons except their swords, which they had no opportunity of using, as the enemy did not come to close action. They used stones, and these not of a proper size, as they had not previously laid them up, but whatever came to the hand of each in his haste and confusion, as persons unaccustomed generally do, aiding the blow neither by skill nor strength. Incautiously exposing themselves, they were transfixd on all sides by arrows, leaden balls, and darts; nor did they know what to do, their minds being paralysed by rage and fear; and they were engaged in a kind of fight for which they were least of all qualified. For, as in a close encounter, where they can receive and give wounds in turn, rage inflames their courage; so when they are wounded at a distance, with light weapons from unknown hands, and have no object on which they can rush in their blind fury, they rush forward at random, like wounded wild beasts, often upon their own party. Their wounds were more conspicuous because they always fight naked, and their bodies are large and white, since they are never stripped except in battle; thus more blood was poured from their large persons, and the cuts appeared the more shocking, while the whiteness of their skins offered a stronger contrast to the black blood. But they were not much moved by open wounds. Sometimes they even cut off the skin, when the wound was more broad than deep, thinking that in this condition they fought with the greater glory. But when the point of an arrow or a ball, sinking deep in the flesh, tormented them, with a wound small in appearance, and the weapon did not come forth although they used every effort to extract it, then they fell into fits of phrensy and shame, at being destroyed by so small a hurt; and dashing themselves on the ground, they lay scattered over the place. Some rushing against the enemy were overwhelmed with darts; and when any of them came near, they were slain by the swords of the light infantry. A soldier of this description

carries a shield three feet long, and, in his right hand, javelins, which he throws at a distance. He is begirt with a Spanish sword, and when he must fight in close encounter, having shifted his spears into his left hand, he draws it. There were few of the Gauls now left; and these, seeing themselves overpowered by the light infantry, and the battalions of the legions advancing, fled in confusion to the camp, now full of tumult and dismay, as the women, children, and others unfit to bear arms, were all crowded together there. The hills, thus abandoned by the enemy, were seized by the victorious Romans.

22 At this juncture, Lucius Manlius and Caius Helvius, having marched up as high as the sloping hills allowed them to do, after they came to insuperable steepes, turned towards that side of the mountain which alone had a practicable ascent; and began, as if by concert, to follow the consul's party at a moderate distance; being driven by necessity to adopt the plan, now, which would have been the best at the beginning. For in such disadvantageous ground reserves have often been of the utmost use; for instance, should the first line happen to be repulsed, the second may both cover their retreat, and, being fresh, succeed to their place in the fight. The consul, as soon as the vanguard of the legions reached the hills taken by the light infantry, ordered the troops to halt and take breath; at the same time he showed them the bodies of the Gauls spread about the hills, asking them, "Since the light troops had fought such a battle, what might be expected from the legions, from a regular army, and from the spirit of the bravest soldiers? They ought certainly to take the camp into which the enemy had been driven in confusion by the light infantry." He then orders the light infantry to go forward, who, while the army halted, had not spent their time in idleness, but in gathering weapons about the hills, that there might be a sufficient supply of missiles. They now approached the camp. The Gauls, lest their fortifications might not give them sufficient protection, had posted themselves, in arms, on the outside of the rampart. Then being overwhelmed with weapons of every description, since in proportion as they were more numerous and crowded together, the less likely were the weapons to fall between them without effect, they were driven in an instant within their trenches, leaving only strong guards at the entrances of the gates. Against the crowd that fled into the

camp a vast quantity of missile weapons was discharged, and the shouts, intermixed with lamentations of the women and children, showed that great numbers were wounded. The first line of the legions hurled their javelins against those who were posted to guard the gate; these, however, were not wounded, but most of them, having their shields pierced through, were entangled and fastened together, nor did they longer withstand the attack.

23 The gates being now open, a flight of the Gauls in every direction from the camp took place before the victors could burst in. They rushed on blindly through passable and impassable places; no craggy cliffs, nor even perpendicular rocks, stopped them; they feared nothing but the enemy. Great numbers, therefore, falling down precipices of vast height, were either maimed or killed. The consul, taking possession of the camp, restrained the soldiers from plunder and booty; he orders every one to pursue with his utmost speed, to press on the enemy, and to increase their panic while they were in dismay. The other party, under Lucius Manlius, now came up. These he did not suffer to enter the camp, but sent them forward in the pursuit, and followed shortly in person, after committing the guard of the prisoners to some military tribunes: for he thought that the war would be finished, if in that consternation the greatest possible number should be slain or taken prisoners. After the consul's departure, Caius Helvius arrived, with the third division: he was not able to prevent their sacking the camp; and, by a most unjust dispensation, the booty fell into the hands of men who had not had any concern in the action. The cavalry stood for a long time ignorant of the fight, and of the success of their army. At last, they also, as far as they could ascend the hills on horseback, pursuing the Gauls, (who were now dispersed round the foot of the mountain,) either killed or made prisoners of them. The number of the slain could not easily be ascertained because the flight and slaughter were widely extended through all the windings of the mountains; and a great number fell from impassable cliffs into cavities of prodigious depth; others were killed in the woods and thickets. Claudius, who mentions two battles on Mount Olympus, asserts, that forty-thousand fell in them; yet Valerius Antias, who is generally addicted to great exaggeration on the point of numbers, says, not more than ten

thousand. The number of prisoners undoubtedly amounted to forty thousand, because the Gauls had dragged along with them a crowd of people of all descriptions and of all ages, like men removing to another country, rather than going out to war. The consul, having burnt the arms of the enemy collected in one heap, then ordered all to bring together the rest of the booty, and either sold that portion which was to be applied to the use of the public, or distributed the remainder among the soldiers, taking care that the shares should be as just as possible. They were all praised in a public assembly, and presented with gifts each according to his merit; Attalus was distinguished above all, with the general approbation of the rest. For not only were the courage and activity of that young prince conspicuous in undergoing dangers and fatigue, but also the modesty of his deportment.

24 The war with the Tectosagians remained still in its original state. The consul, marching against them, arrived, on the third day, at Ancyra, a city remarkable in those parts, from which the enemy were but a little more than ten miles distant. While his camp lay there, a memorable action was performed by a female. Among many other captives, the wife of the Gallic chieftain Ortiagon, a woman of exquisite beauty, was strictly guarded, and a centurion, possessing the lust and avarice usual among military men, commanded this guard. He, first, endeavoured to learn her sentiments; but, finding that she abhorred the thought of voluntary prostitution, he offered violence to her person, which by the decree of fortune was his slave. Afterwards, in order to soothe her indignation at the insult, he gives the lady hope of a return to her friends; and not even that gratuitously, like a lover. He stipulated for a certain weight of gold, but, being unwilling to have any of his countrymen privy to it, he gave her leave to send any one of the prisoners, whom she chose, as a messenger to her friends. He appointed a spot near the river, to which two of this woman's friends, and not more, were to come with the gold in the night following, to receive her. It happened that among the prisoners under the same guard was a servant of the lady; the centurion, as soon as it grew dark, conveyed this messenger beyond the advanced posts. Her friends came to the place at the appointed time, likewise the centurion with his prisoner. Here, on

their producing the gold, which mounted to an Attic talent, for he had stipulated for that sum the lady in her own language ordered them to draw their swords, and kill the centurion, while he was weighing the gold. She herself, bearing wrapped up in her garment the head of the slain centurion, detached from the trunk, reached her husband Ortiagon, who had fled home from Olympus. And before she would embrace him, she threw down the centurion's head at his feet; and on his asking, with astonishment, whose head it was, and what was the meaning of such a proceeding, so unaccountable in a female, she acknowledged to her husband the injury committed on her person, and the vengeance she had taken for the forcible violation of her chastity. She maintained to the last, as it is said, by the purity and strictness of the rest of her life, the glory of this achievement, so honourable to her sex.

25 Envoys from the Tectosagians met the consul at Ancyra, entreating him not to decamp until he had held a conference with their kings; that any conditions of peace were in their opinion preferable to war. The time fixed was the next day, and the place that which seemed the most central between the camp of the Gauls and Ancyra. The consul came thither at the appointed hour, with a guard of five hundred horse, but seeing none of the Gauls there, returned into his camp: after which the same envoys came again, with an apology, that their kings could not come, since religious feelings deterred them; but that the principal men of the nation would attend, and that the business might be as well transacted by them. To which the consul answered, that he would send Attalus on his part. To this meeting both parties came. When Attalus had brought with him as an escort three hundred horse, the terms of peace were proposed. As there could not be a conclusion to the affair in the absence of the leaders, it was agreed, that the consul and the kings should meet in the same place on the following day. The delay of the Gauls had the following objects: first, to waste time, that they might remove their effects, which they were unwilling to risk, and also their wives and children, to the other side of the river Halys; and, secondly, because they were framing a plot against the consul, who took no precautions against treachery in the conference. They chose for this purpose, out of all their number, one thousand horsemen of approved intrepidity;

and their treachery would have taken effect, had not fortune exerted herself in favour of the law of nations, in violation of which their plan was laid. The Roman parties, who went out for forage and wood, were led towards that quarter where the conference was to be held; for the tribunes judged that to be the safest course, as they would have the consul's escort, and himself, as a guard opposed to the enemy. However, they posted another guard of their own, of six hundred horse, nearer to the camp. The consul, being assured by Attalus that the kings would come, and that the business might be concluded, having set out from his camp with the same attendants as before, when he had advanced about five miles, and was not far from the place appointed, he saw, on a sudden, the Gauls coming on with hostile fury, and with their horses at full gallop. He halted, and ordering his horsemen to make ready their arms, and recall their courage, received the enemy's first charge with firmness, nor gave way. At length, when their numbers were overpowering him, he began to retreat leisurely, without disturbing the order of the troops, but at last, when there was more danger in delay than protection in keeping their ranks, they all fled in hurry and disorder. Then truly the Gauls pressed hard on them, dispersed, and killed several; and a great part of them would have been cut off, had not the six hundred horse, the guard of the foragers, come up to meet them. These, on hearing, at a distance, the shout of dismay raised by their friends, made ready their weapons and horses, and, being quite fresh, renewed the fight after it was almost over. The fortune of the battle, therefore, was instantly reversed, and dismay recoiled from the conquered on the conquerors. At the first charge the Gauls were routed; at the same time the foragers from the fields ran together towards the spot, and an enemy was on every side of the Gauls in such a manner that they could not have an easy or safe retreat, especially as the Romans pursued on fresh horses, while theirs were fatigued. Few therefore escaped; yet not one was taken; by far the greater part paid their lives as a forfeit for having violated the faith of a conference. The whole army of the Romans, with minds burning with rage, marched up, next day, close to the enemy.

26 The consul, that no particular should escape his knowledge, spent two days in examining the nature of the mountain with his own

eyes. On the third day, after taking the auspices, and then offering sacrifice, he formed his troops in four divisions, that he might lead two up the middle of the mountain, and direct the other two, one on each side, against the wings of the Gauls. The main strength of the enemy, the Tectosagians and Trocmians, amounting to fifty thousand men, formed the centre of their line. They dismounted their cavalry, in number ten thousand men, because horsemen could not act among the uneven rocks, and placed them on the right wing. The Cappadocians of Ariarathes, with the auxiliary troops of Morzes, on the left, made up almost four thousand. The consul, having placed his light troops in the van, as he had done before at Mount Olympus, took care that they should have ready at hand the same abundance of weapons of every sort. When they approached the enemy, all circumstances, on both sides, were the same as in the former battle, excepting their spirits; those of the victors being elated by their success, and those of the Gauls depressed; because, though they themselves had not been defeated, yet they considered as their own, the overthrow of people of their own race. The battle, therefore, commencing under similar circumstances, had the same issue. The cloud, as it were, of light weapons that were thrown, overwhelmed the army of the Gauls; and, as none of them dared to charge forward from their ranks, for fear of exposing all parts of their bodies to the blows, so while they stood still, the closer they were together the more wounds they received, as the assailants directed their weapons as if at a mark. The consul now judged, that if he should once show the standards of the legions to them already disordered, they would instantly turn about and fly; receiving, therefore, the light infantry, and the rest of the auxiliaries, between the ranks, he ordered the line to advance.

27 The Gauls, discouraged by the memory of the defeat of the Tolistoboians, and carrying weapons sticking in their flesh, fatigued also by long standing and wounds, were not able to support even the first shout and onset of the Romans. Their flight was directed towards their camp; only a few of them entered the trenches; the greater part, passing by, on the right and left, fled whichever way each man's giddy haste carried him. The conquerors, following them to the camp, cut off their rear; but then, through greediness for booty, they

stopped in the camp, and not one of them continued the pursuit. The Gauls in the wings stood some time longer, because the Romans reached them at a later period. But they did not endure even the first discharge of weapons. The consul, as he could not draw off the men who had got into the camp for plunder, sent forward those, who had been in the wings, to pursue the enemy. They, accordingly, followed them a considerable way; yet, in the pursuit, for there was no fight, they killed not more than eight thousand men: the rest crossed the river Halys. A great part of the Romans lodged that night in the enemy's camp; the consul led back the rest to his own. Next day, he took a review of the prisoners, and of the booty, the quantity of which was as great as a nation most greedy of rapine could amass, after holding possession, by force of arms, of all the country on this side Mount Taurus, during a space of many years. The Gauls, after this scattered and confused flight, re-assembled in one place, a great part of them being wounded or unarmed, and as all were destitute of every kind of property, they sent deputies to the consul, to supplicate for peace. Manlius ordered them to attend him at Ephesus; and, being in haste to quit those cold regions, in the vicinity of Mount Taurus, as it was now the middle of autumn, he led back his victorious army into winter quarters on the sea-coast.

28 During the time of those transactions in Asia, affairs were tranquil in the other provinces. At Rome, the censors, Titus Quintius Flamininus and Marcus Claudius Marcellus, read over the roll of the senate; Publius Scipio Africanus was, a third time, declared prince of the senate, and only four members were struck out, none of whom had held any curule office. In their review of the knights, also, their censorship was very mild. They contracted for the erection of a building in the Æquimælium, on the capitoline mount, and for paving, with flint, a road from the gate Capena to the temple of Mars. The Campanians consulted the senate respecting the place where they should have their census; and an order was passed that they should be rated at Rome. Extraordinary quantities of rain fell this year; twelve times the Tiber overflowed the field of Mars and the lower parts of the city. The war with the Gauls in Asia having been brought to a conclusion by the consul Cneius Manlius, the other consul, Marcus Fulvius, as the Ætolians were now completely

reduced, passed over to Cephallenia, and sent messengers round the states of the island, to inquire whether they chose to submit to the Romans, or to try the fortune of war. Fear prevailed so strongly on them all, that they did not refuse to surrender. They gave the number of hostages demanded, which was proportioned to the abilities of a weak people, the Nesians, Cranians, Pallenians, and Samæans, giving twenty each. An unhopèd-for peace had now shone on Cephallenia, when one state, the Samæans, suddenly revolted, from some motive not yet ascertained. They said, that as their city was commodiously situated, they were afraid that the Romans would compel them to remove from it. But whether, they conceived this in their own minds, and, under the impulse of a groundless fear, disturbed the general quiet, or whether, such a project had been mentioned in conversation among the Romans, and reported to them, nothing is ascertained, unless that after having given hostages they suddenly shut their gates, and would not relinquish their design, even for the prayers of their friends, whom the consul sent to the walls, to try how far they might be influenced by compassion for their parents and countrymen. When no pacific answer was given, the city began to be besieged. The consul had all the apparatus, engines and machines, which had been brought over from Ambracia; and the soldiers executed with great diligence the works necessary to be formed. The rams were therefore brought forward in two places, and began to batter the walls.

29 The townsmen omitted nothing by which the works or the motions of the besiegers could be obstructed. But they resisted in two ways in particular; one of which was to raise constantly, instead of the part of the wall knocked down, a new wall of equal strength on the inside; and the other was to make sudden sallies, at one time against the enemy's works, at another against his advanced guards; and in those attacks, they generally got the better. The only plan that was invented to confine them within the walls, though ineffectual, deserves to be recorded. One hundred slingers were brought from Ægium, Patras, and Dymæ. These men, according to the customary practice of that nation, were exercised from their childhood in throwing with a sling, into the open sea, the round pebbles, with which, mixed with sand, the shores were generally strewn; therefore

they cast weapons of that sort to a greater distance, with surer aim, and more powerful effect, than even the Balearian slingers. Besides, their sling does not consist merely of a single strap, like the Balearic and that of other nations, but the thong of the sling is three-fold, and made firm by several seams, that the bullet may not, by the yielding of the strap in the act of throwing, be let fly at random, but after sticking fast while whirled about, it may be discharged as if sent from the string of a bow. Being accustomed to drive their bullets through circular marks of small circumference, placed at a great distance, they not only hit the enemy's heads, but any part of their face that they aimed at. These slings checked the Samæans from sallying either so frequently or so boldly; insomuch that they would, sometimes, from the walls, beseech the Achæans to retire for a while, and be quiet spectators of their fight with the Roman guards. Same supported a siege of four months. When some of their small number were daily killed or wounded, and the survivors were, through continual fatigues, greatly reduced both in strength and spirits, the Romans, one night scaling the wall of the citadel, which they call Cyatides, (for the city sloping towards the sea verges towards the west,) made their way into the forum. The Samæans, on discovering that a part of the city was taken, fled, with their wives and children, into the greater citadel; but submitting next day, they were all sold as slaves, their city being plundered.

³⁰ As soon as he had settled the affairs of Cephallenia, the consul, leaving a garrison in Same, sailed over to Peloponnesus, where the Ægians and Lacedæmonians, chiefly, solicited his presence for a long time. From the first institution of the Achæan council, the assemblies of the nation had been held at Ægium, whether that was conceded to the dignity of the city, or the commodiousness of its situation. This usage Philopœmen first attempted to subvert in that year, and determined to introduce an ordinance, that these should be held in rotation in every one of the cities, which were members of the Achæan union; and a little before the arrival of the consul, when the Demiurguses, who are the chief magistrates in the states, summoned the representatives to Ægium, Philopœmen, then prætor, by proclamation, appointed their meeting at Argos. To which place when it was apparent that all would come, the consul likewise,

though he favoured the cause of the Ægians, went to Argos, but, after there had been a debate, and he saw the scale turning against the Ægians, he desisted from his undertaking. The Lacedæmonians then drew his attention to their disputes. The exiles especially kept that state in alarm: of whom great numbers resided in the maritime forts on the coast of Laconia, all which had been taken from the Lacedæmonians. At this the Lacedæmonians were deeply chagrined, and in order that they might have some where a free access to the sea, if they should have occasion to send ambassadors to Rome, or any other place, and at the same time possess some mart and repository for foreign merchandise, for their necessary demands, attacked in the night a maritime village called Las, and seized it by surprise. The inhabitants, and the exiles residing in the place, were terrified, at first, by the sudden assault; but afterwards collecting in a body before day, after a slight contest, they drove back the Lacedæmonians. A general alarm, nevertheless, spread over the whole coast, and all the forts and villages, with the exiles whose homes were there, united in sending a common embassy to the Achæans.

³¹ The prætor, Philopœmen, — (who, from the beginning, had ever been a friend to the cause of the exiles, and had always advised the Achæans to reduce the power and influence of the Lacedæmonians,) — gave an audience of the council to the ambassadors while making their complaints. There, on a motion made by him, a decree was passed, that, “whereas Titus Quintius and the Romans had committed their forts and villages, on the coast of Laconia, to the protection and guardianship of the Achæans; and whereas the Lacedæmonians, according to the treaty, ought to leave them unmolested; notwithstanding which, the village of Las has been attacked by them and bloodshed committed therein; therefore, unless the authors and abettors of this outrage were delivered up to the Achæans, the treaty would be considered as violated.” To demand those persons, ambassadors were instantly despatched to Lacedæmon. This authoritative injunction appeared to the Lacedæmonians so haughty and insolent, that if their state had been in its ancient condition, they would undoubtedly have taken to arms. But they were principally alarmed by apprehensions, lest, if by

obeying the first mandates they once received the yoke, Philopœmen should put the exiles in possession of Lacedæmon, a design which he had been a long time planning. Maddened therefore with anger, they put to death thirty men of the faction which had held some correspondence with Philopœmen and the exiles, and passed a decree, that the alliance with the Achæans should be renounced, and that ambassadors should be sent immediately to Cephallenia, to surrender Lacedæmon to the consul Marcus Fulvius and the Romans, and beseech him to come into Peloponnesus, and to receive Lacedæmon under the protection and dominion of the Roman people.

³² When the Achæan ambassadors returned with an account of these proceedings, war was declared against the Lacedæmonians, by a unanimous vote of all the states of the confederacy; but the winter prevented its being commenced immediately. However, the confines of the Lacedæmonians were laid waste by small expeditions, more like freebooting than a regular war, made not only by land, but also by ships at sea. This commotion brought the consul into Peloponnesus, and, by his order, a council being summoned at Elis, the Lacedæmonians were called on to plead their own cause. There were not only violent debates then, but even altercation. To which, the consul, although his answer had been indecisive in other respects, since he encouraged both parties through a very eager desire to please, put an end, by one decisive order, that they should desist from hostilities, until they sent ambassadors to Rome, to the senate. An embassy was despatched by both parties to Rome. The Lacedæmonian exiles intrusted their cause and embassy to the Achæans. Diophanes and Lycortas, both of them Megalopolitans, were at the head of the Achæan embassy, who, being at variance in their own republic, there also delivered speeches by no means in unison. Diophanes was for leaving the determination of every point to the senate — that they would best decide the controversies between the Achæans and Lacedæmonians; while Lycortas, according to the instructions of Philopœmen, required, that the senate should permit the Achæans to execute their own decrees, made conformable to the treaty, and their own laws; and that they should concede to them, unfringed, the liberty which they themselves had bestowed. The Achæan nation was, at that time, in high esteem with

the Romans; yet it was resolved, that no alteration should be made respecting the Lacedæmonians; but the answer given was so confused, that, while the Achæans understood it as full permission given to them in relation to Lacedæmon, the Lacedæmonians construed it, that unlimited power was not conceded to them.

33 The Achæans used this power in an immoderate and tyrannical manner. Philopœmen is continued in office, and he, in the beginning of spring, collecting an army, encamped in the territory of the Lacedæmonians, and thence sent ambassadors to insist on their delivering up the authors of the insurrection; promising, that if they complied, their state should remain in peace, and that those persons should not suffer any punishment, without having pleaded their cause. There was silence among the rest through fear; but the persons demanded by name, declared that they would voluntarily go, if their faith was pledged by the ambassadors, that violence would not be resorted to, until their cause were heard. Several other men, of illustrious characters, went along with them, both as supporters of those private individuals, and because they thought their cause concerned the public interest. The Achæans had never before brought the Lacedæmonian exiles into the country, because they knew that nothing would disgust the people so much; but now, the vanguard of almost their whole army was composed of them. When the Lacedæmonians came to the gate of the camp, these men met them in a body, and, first, began to provoke them with insulting language; a wrangle then ensuing, and their passions being inflamed, the most furious of the exiles made an attack on the Lacedæmonians. While these appealed to the gods, and the faith of the ambassadors; and while the ambassadors and the prætor were driving back the crowd, and protecting the Lacedæmonians, and were keeping back some who were already binding them in chains, — the multitude was increasing, owing to a tumult having been excited. The Achæans, at first, ran thither to view the spectacle; but then the exiles, with loud clamours, complained of the sufferings that they had undergone, implored assistance, and at the same time insisted, that they would never have such an opportunity if they neglected this; that the treaties, solemnly ratified in the Capitol, at Olympia, and in the citadel of Athens, had been rendered void by these men; and that

before they should be bound by a new treaty, the guilty ought to be punished. The multitude being inflamed by these expressions, at the voice of one who called out that they should fall on, attacked them with stones; and seventeen persons, who, during the disturbance, had been put in chains, were killed. The next day, sixty-three, whom the prætor had protected from violence, not because he wished them safe, but because he was unwilling that they should perish without a defence, being taken into custody, and brought before an enraged multitude, after addressing a few words to such prejudiced ears, were all condemned and executed.

34 After this fear had been inspired, orders were sent to the Lacedæmonians, first, that they should demolish their walls; then, that all the foreign auxiliaries, who had served for pay under the tyrants, should quit the Laconian territories; then, that the slaves, whom the tyrants had set free, who amounted to a great multitude, should depart before a certain day; that the Achæans should be authorized to seize, sell, and carry away those who might remain in the country. That they should abrogate the laws and customs of Lycurgus, and adopt the laws and institutions of the Achæans; that thus all would become one body, and concord would be established among them. They obeyed none of these injunctions more willingly than that of demolishing the walls, nor suffered any with more reluctance than the restoration of the exiles. A decree for their restoration was made at Tegea, in a general council of the Achæans; where, an account being brought, that the foreign auxiliaries had been sent away, and that the newly-registered Lacedæmonians (so they called the slaves who were enfranchised by the tyrants) had left the city and dispersed through the country, it was resolved, that, before the army was disbanded, the prætor should go with some light troops, and, seizing that description of people, sell them as spoil. Great numbers were accordingly seized, and sold; and with that money a portico at Megalopolis, which the Lacedæmonians had demolished, was rebuilt, with the approbation of the Achæans. The lands of Belbinis, of which the Lacedæmonian tyrants had unjustly kept possession, were also restored to that state, according to an old decree of the Achæans, made in the reign of Philip, son of Amyntas. The state of Lacedæmon having, by these means, lost the sinews of

its strength, remained long in subjection to the Achæans; but nothing hurt it so materially as the abolition of the discipline of Lycurgus, in the practice of which they had continued during seven hundred years.

35 After the sitting of the council, wherein the debate between the Achæans and Lacedæmonians was held in presence of the consul, as the year was expiring, Marcus Fulvius, having gone home to Rome to hold the elections, appointed Marcus Valerius Messala and Caius Livius Salinator consuls, after having, this year, procured the rejection of his enemy, Marcus Æmilius Lepidus. Then Quintus Marcius Philippus, Marcus Claudius Marcellus, Caius Stertinius, Caius Atinius, Publius Claudius Pulcher, and Lucius Manlius Acidinus, were elected prætors. When the elections were finished, it was resolved, that the consul, Marcus Fulvius, should return into his province to the army; and to him and his colleague, Cneius Manlius, their command was prolonged for a year. In this year, in pursuance of directions from the decemvirs, a statue of Hercules was set up in his temple, and a gilded chariot with six horses were placed in the Capitol, by Publius Cornelius. The inscription mentioned, that Publius Cornelius, the consul, made the offering. Also twelve gilded shields, out of money raised by fines on corn merchants, for raising the market by hoarding the grain, were dedicated by the curule ædiles, Publius Claudius Pulcher and Servius Sulpicius Galba; and Quintus Fulvius Flaccus, the plebeian ædile, having convicted one malefactor, (for the ædiles prosecuted separately,) dedicated two gilded statues. His colleague, Aulus Cæcilius, did not convict any one. The Roman games were exhibited thrice; the plebeian, five times altogether. Marcus Valerius Messala, and Caius Livius Salinator, after entering into office on the ides of March, consulted the senate concerning the state of the commonwealth, the provinces, and the armies. With respect to Ætolia and Asia no alteration was made. With regard to the consuls, to the one Pisæ, with the Ligurians, is decreed as his province; to the other, Gaul. They were ordered to cast lots for these, or to settle the matter between themselves, to enrol new armies, two legions for each; and to levy off the allies of the Latin name, fifteen thousand foot, and one thousand two hundred horse. Liguria fell, by lot, to Messala; Gaul, to Salinator. The prætors then cast lots, and the city jurisdiction fell to

Marcus Claudius; the foreign, to Publius Claudius. Quintus Marcius obtained, by lot, Sicily; Caius Stertinius, Sardinia; Lucius Manlius, Hither Spain; Caius Atinius, Farther Spain.

³⁶ Respecting the armies, they passed the following resolutions — that the legions which had served under Caius Lælius, should be removed out of Gaul into Bruttium, to Marcus Tuccius, the proprætor; that the army which was in Sicily should be disbanded, and that Marcus Sempronius, the proprætor, should bring back to Rome the fleet that was there. For the Spains were decreed the legions then in those provinces, one for each, with orders, that each of the two prætors should levy from among the allies, as a reinforcement, three thousand foot and two hundred horse, and bring them with them. Before the new magistrates set out for their provinces, a supplication, of three days' continuance, was ordered by the college of decemvirs to be performed in every street, on account of a darkness having overspread the light of day, between the third and fourth hours; and the nine days' solemnity was proclaimed, because there had been a shower of stones on the Aventine. The Campanians, as the censors obliged them, pursuant to the decree of the senate, made last year, to pass the general survey at Rome, (for before that, it had not been fixed where they should be surveyed,) petitioned that they might be allowed to take in marriage women who were citizens of Rome, and that any who had, heretofore, married such, might retain them; and, likewise, that children born of such marriages, before that day, might be legitimate, and entitled to inherit; both which requests were obtained. Caius Valerius Tappus, a tribune of the commons, proposed an order of the people concerning the citizens of the free towns of Formiæ, Fundi, and Arpinum, that they should be invested with the right of voting, for hitherto they had had the rights of citizenship without the privilege of voting. When four tribunes of the commons were protesting against the bill, because it was not made under the direction of the senate, on being informed, that the power of imparting the privilege of voting to any person they should choose belonged to the people, and not to the senate, they desisted from their opposition. An order was passed, that the Formians and Fundans should vote in the Æmilian tribe, and the Arpinians in the Cornelian; and in these tribes they were then, for the

first time, rated in the census, in pursuance of the order of the people proposed by Valerius. Marcus Claudius Marcellus, the censor, having got the better of Titus Quintius in the lots, closed the lustrum. Two hundred and fifty-eight thousand three hundred and eight citizens were rated. When the lustrum was finished, the consuls set out for their provinces.

³⁷ During the winter wherein these acts were performed at Rome, embassies from all the nations and states which dwelt on this side of Mount Taurus, came together on all sides to Cneius Manlius, at first consul, and afterwards proconsul, passing the winter in Asia; and although the conquest of Antiochus was more splendid and glorious to the Romans than that of the Gauls, yet the latter gave greater joy to the allies than the former. Subjection to the king had been more tolerable to them than the savage nature of those wild barbarians, and the daily alarm, with the uncertainty of the direction in which the storm would, as it were, drift them in their desolating path. Therefore since to them liberty was given by the expulsion of Antiochus, and permanent peace by the conquest of the Gauls, they brought, not only congratulations, but also golden crowns, in proportion to the ability of each. Ambassadors also came from Antiochus, and from the Gauls themselves, that the conditions of peace might be dictated to them; and from Ariarathes, king of Cappadocia, to solicit pardon, and make atonement, by money, for his crime in assisting Antiochus with troops. Six hundred talents of silver are levied off him. Answer was made to the Gauls, that when king Eumenes arrived, he would settle the conditions. The embassies of the several states were dismissed with kind answers, much happier than when they arrived. The ambassadors of Antiochus were ordered to bring the money and the corn, (according to the treaty concluded with Lucius Scipio,) into Pamphylia, whither the consul intended to go with his forces. In the beginning of the next spring, after purifying the army, he began his march, and on the eighth day arrived at Apamea. Having halted there during three days, he, on the third day after his departure from that place, arrived in Pamphylia, to which place he had ordered the king's ambassadors to bring together the money and corn. Two thousand five hundred talents of silver, being received by him, were conveyed to Apamea; the corn was distributed among the army. Thence he

marched to Perga, the only place in the country still held by a garrison of the king's troops. On his approach, the governor of the town met him, and requested thirty days' time, that he might consult Antiochus about the surrender of the city. The time being granted, on the appointed day the garrison evacuated the city. From Perga, he detached his brother, Lucius Manlius, with four thousand men, to Oroanda, to exact from that town the remainder of the money which they had promised; and, having ordered the ambassadors of Antiochus to follow, he led back his army to Apamea, because he heard that king Eumenes, and the ten ambassadors from Rome, were arrived at Ephesus.

38 Then, with the concurrence of the ten ambassadors, a treaty was concluded with Antiochus, in nearly the following words: "Let there be friendship between king Antiochus and the Roman people, on the following terms and conditions — Let not the king suffer any army, intended to act against the Roman people, or their allies, to pass through the territories of his own realm, or of any state under his dominion, nor supply it with provisions, or with any other assistance. Let the Romans and their allies observe the same conduct toward Antiochus, and those under his government. Let there not be to Antiochus the right of carrying on war with the inhabitants of the islands, or of passing over into Europe. Let him evacuate the cities, lands, villages, and forts on this side of Mount Taurus, as far as the river Halys; and from the foot of Mount Taurus to the summit, where it verges upon Lycaonia. Let him not remove any arms out of those towns, lands, or forts which he may evacuate; if he hath removed any, let him honourably replace what he ought to make good, and in the place that he ought. Let him not receive any soldier, or other person, from the kingdom of Eumenes. If any natives of those cities, which are hereby separated from his kingdom, are now with Antiochus, or within the bounds of his realms, let them all return to Apamea, before a certain day. Let such of the natives of Antiochus's kingdom, as are now with the Romans and their allies, have liberty to depart or to stay. Let him deliver to the Romans and their allies, all their slaves, whether fugitives or taken in war, likewise whatever free-born person may be a prisoner or deserter. Let him give up all his elephants, and not procure others. Let him also surrender his

ships of war, and their stores; let him not keep more than ten light trading vessels, none of which are to be worked with more than thirty oars, nor a galley of one tier of oars, for the purpose of an offensive war; let him not ail on this side of the promontories, Calycadnus and Sarpedon, except in a ship which will carry money, tribute, ambassadors, or hostages. Let there not be to king Antiochus the right of hiring soldiers out of those nations which are under the dominion of the Roman people, nor of receiving volunteers. Whatever houses and buildings, within the limits of Antiochus's kingdom, belong to the Rhodians and their allies, let them belong to the Rhodians and allies on the same footing as they did before the war. If any sums of money are due to them, let them have a right to enforce payment; likewise, if any of their property has been taken away, let them have a right to search for, discover, and reclaim it. If any persons, to whom Antiochus hath given the cities which ought to be surrendered, still hold them, let him remove the garrisons, and take care that they may be properly surrendered. Let him pay, within twelve years, by equal annual payments, twelve thousand Attic talents of silver, the talent to weigh not less than eighty Roman pounds; and five hundred and forty thousand pecks of wheat. He shall pay to king Eumenes, within five years, three hundred and fifty talents; and, for the corn due, the sum which arises from his own valuation, one hundred and twenty seven talents. Let him deliver to the Romans twenty hostages, and change them every third year; none of which are to be younger than eighteen, or older than forty-five years. If any of the allies of the Roman people shall make war on Antiochus, let him have liberty to repel force by force, provided he does not keep possession of any city, either by right of arms, or by admitting it into a treaty of amity. Let them decide the controversies among themselves by equity and arbitration; or, if it shall be the choice of both parties, by arms." A clause was added to this treaty also, about delivering up Hannibal the Carthaginian, Thoas the Ætolian, Mnasimachus the Acarnanian, and the Chalcidians Eubalidas and Philo; and another, that if it should afterwards please the parties that any thing should be added, cancelled, or altered, that it might be done without invalidating the treaty.

39 The consul swore to the observance of this treaty. Quintus

Minucius Thermus and Lucius Manlius, who happened to return just at that time from Oroanda, went to require the oath of the king. At the same time he wrote to Quintus Fabius Labeo, commander of the fleet, to sail, without delay, to Patara, to break up and burn the king's ships that lay there. Sailing, accordingly, from Ephesus, he broke up or burned fifty decked ships; and, in the same voyage, took Telmessus, the inhabitants being terrified by his sudden appearance. Then having ordered those who were left at Ephesus to follow him, he passed onward from Lycia, through the islands to Greece. At Athens, after waiting a few days, until the ships from Ephesus came to Piræus, he then brought home the whole fleet to Italy. Cneius Manlius, when he had, among other matters to be given up by Antiochus, received his elephants, and given them all as a present to Eumenes, then examined the causes of the several states, since many had been thrown into confusion amid the violent changes. King Ariarathes, the half of the money levied on him being remitted, through the kind offices of Eumenes, to whom he had betrothed, during that time, his daughter, was received into friendship. The ten ambassadors, after examining the causes of the respective states, made different arrangements, in different cases. They gave independence to those which had been tributary to king Antiochus and had sided with the Romans; and they ordered all such as had taken part with Antiochus, or had been tributary to king Attalus, to pay tribute to Eumenes. Besides they granted independence to the Colophonians, who live in Notium, the Cymæans, and Milaseniens, all of whom they specified by name. To the Clazomenians they gave, besides their independence, the island of Drymusa. To the Milesians they restored what was called the sacred lands. They added to the territory of the Trojans, Rhœteum and Gergithus, not so much in consideration of any recent merits of theirs, as out of respect to their own origin. The same motive was the reason of their liberating Dardanum. They gifted the Chians, also the Smyrnæans and Erythræans, with lands, in consideration of the singular fidelity which they displayed during the war, and treated them with every distinguished honour. To the Phocæans, the territory which they had enjoyed before the war was restored; and permission was given them to use their ancient laws. They confirmed to the Rhodians the grants

which were mentioned in the former decree. Lycia and Caria were assigned to them as far as the river Mæander, excepting Telmessus. To king Eumenes they gave, in Europe, the Chersonese and Lysimachia, with the forts, towns, and lands thereof, with the same frontier as Antiochus had held them; and, in Asia, both the Phrygias, the one on the Hellespont, and the other called the Greater, and restored to him Mysia, which had been taken by king Prusias, and also gave to him Lycaonia, and Milyas, and Lydia, and, by express mention, the cities of Tralles, and Ephesus, and Telmessus. When a dispute had arisen between Eumenes and Antiochus's ambassadors, concerning Pamphylia, because part of it lay on the hither side, and part on the further side of Taurus, the matter was referred wholly to the senate.

40 When these treaties and grants were concluded, Manlius, with the ten ambassadors, and all his army, marched to the Hellespont, and dictated to the chiefs of the Gauls, whom he had summoned thither, terms on which they should maintain peace with Eumenes; and warned them to put an end to the practice of straggling in arms, and to confine themselves within the bounds of their own territories. Then, having collected ships from all parts of the coast, and Eumenes's fleet also being brought thither from Elæa by Athenæus, that king's brother, he transported all his forces into Europe. Then leading slowly through the Chersonese, by short marches, the army heavily encumbered with booty of every sort, he halted at Lysimachia; in order that he might enter Thrace, the march through which they in general dreaded, with the beasts of burden as fresh and vigorous as possible. On the day in which he set out from Lysimachia, he came to the river which they call Melas, and thence, next day, to Cypsela. The road, about ten miles from Cypsela, proved to be obstructed by woods, narrow and broken. On account of these difficulties he divided the army into two parts; and, ordering one to advance in front, and the other at a considerable distance, to cover the rear, he placed between them the baggage; it was composed of waggons with the public money, and other booty of great value. As he was marching in this order through the defile, a body of Thracians, not more in number than ten thousand, composed of four states, the Astians, Cænians, Maduatians, and Corelians, posted

themselves on both sides of the road at the narrowest part. There was an opinion that this was not done without the treacherous connivance of Philip, king of Macedonia; that he knew that the Romans would return by no other route than that through Thrace, and what an immense sum they would carry with them. The general himself was in the van, anxious about the disadvantages of the ground. The Thracians did not stir until the troops passed by; but, when they saw that the foremost division had got clear of the narrow pass, and that the rear division was not yet drawing near, they rushed upon the encumbrances and the baggage, and after killing the guards, some rifled the waggons, while others led off the horses under their loads. After their shouts reached those on the rear, who were then just entering the pass, and afterwards those in the van, the Romans ran together from both extremities to the centre, and an irregular sort of fight commenced, in many different places at once. The booty itself exposed the Thracians to slaughter, as they were encumbered with burdens, and most of them had thrown away their arms, that they might have their hands disengaged for plundering; the disadvantageous nature of the ground militated against the Romans, as the barbarians attacked them through well-known paths, and sometimes lurked in the ravines. The loads too, and the waggons, lying incommodiously for one party or the other, as chance directed, were great obstructions to their movements; and here the plunderer, there the defender of the booty, fell. The fortune of the fight was variable, according as the ground was favourable or unfavourable to this party or that, and according to the spirit of the combatants, and their numbers, for some had come in contact with a stronger party than themselves, others with a weaker. On both sides, however, great numbers fell. The night was now approaching, when the Thracians retired from the fight, not for the purpose of avoiding wounds or death, but because they had got enough of booty.

41 The first division of the Romans encamped beyond the pass, in open ground, round the temple of Bendis; the second division remained in the middle of the defile, surrounded by a double rampart, to guard the baggage. Next day, having carefully examined the ground before they put themselves in motion, they rejoined the first. In that battle, although part of the baggage was lost, while a great

part of the attendants and many of the soldiers perished, (since the fight was carried on through almost the whole extent of the defile,) yet the heaviest loss sustained was in the death of Quintus Minucius Thermus, a brave and gallant officer. The army arrived that day at the Hebrus, and thence passed through the country of the Ænians, by the temple of Apollo, whom the natives call Zerynthius. Another defile, as rugged and uneven as the former, awaits them around Tempyra (this is the name of the place); but, as there were no woods near, it afforded no cover for an ambuscade. Hither assembled the Thrausians, (who are also a Thracian tribe,) with the same hope of plunder; but because the bare valleys had this effect, that they were visible at a distance besetting the defile, there was less terror and tumult among the Romans; for, although they were obliged to fight on disadvantageous ground, yet it was in a regular battle, in an open field, and a fair encounter. Advancing in close order, with the war-shout, and falling on the enemy, they soon drove them off the ground, and put them to flight. Afterwards the rout and massacre began to take place, for the narrow passes actually impeded them. The victorious Romans encamped at a village of the Maronites, called Sare. Next day, after marching through an open country, the plain of Priate received them, where they halted three days, to receive supplies of corn, partly from the country of the Maronites, who made a voluntary contribution, and partly from their own ships, which attended them with stores of every kind. From this post there was one day's march to Apollonia, whence they proceeded through the territory of Abdera to Neapolis. All this march through the Grecian colonies was performed in security. The rest of their march through the midst of the Thracians, though not harassed, was full of apprehension, by day and night, until they arrived in Macedon. This same army, when it proceeded by the same route under Scipio, had found the Thracians more peaceable, but for no other reason, than because it had then less booty, which was the object of their attack: although Claudius writes, that even on that occasion, a body of fifteen thousand Thracians opposed Mutines, the Numidian, who had advanced to reconnoitre the country. That the Numidians were four hundred horsemen, and a few elephants. That the son of Mutines, with a hundred and fifty chosen horsemen, broke through the middle

of the enemy; and that the same individual, presently, when Mutines, placing his elephants in the centre, and the horse on the wings, had begun to engage the enemy, cast terror into them by an attack on their rear; and that owing to this, the enemy, routed by the storm, as it were, of cavalry, did not come near the main body of infantry. Cneius Manlius conducted his army through Macedon into Thessaly; and, having proceeded, through Epirus to Apollonia, passed the winter there, as the sea in the winter was not as yet considered so little formidable that he might venture on the passage.

⁴² It was almost at the expiration of the year, that the consul, Marcus Valerius, came from Liguria to Rome to elect new magistrates, although he had not performed in his province any memorable act that could afford a reasonable excuse for coming later than usual to the elections. The assembly for choosing the consuls was held on the twelfth day before the calends of March. Marcus Æmilius Lepidus and Caius Flaminius were elected consuls. The following day, Appius Claudius Pulcher, Servius Sulpicius Galba, Quintus Terentius Culleo, Lucius Terentius Massa, Quintus Fulvius Flaccus, and Marcus Furius Crassipes were elected prætors. When the elections were concluded, the consul asked the senate what were the provinces that they wished should be given to the prætors: they decreed two for the administration of justice in Rome; two out of Italy — Sicily and Sardinia; and two in Italy — Tarentum and Gaul: the prætors were ordered to cast lots immediately, before they entered on their office. Servius Sulpicius received by lot the city jurisdiction; Quintus Terentius, the foreign; Lucius Terentius obtained Sicily; Quintus Fulvius, Sardinia; Appius Claudius, Tarentum; and Marcus Furius, Gaul. In that year, Lucius Minucius Myrtilus and Lucius Manlius, as they were charged with having beaten the Carthaginian ambassadors, were, by order of Marcus Claudius, city prætor, delivered up by heralds to the ambassadors, and carried to Carthage. Reports prevailed of a great war, growing too every day more formidable, in Liguria. The senate, therefore, decreed Liguria as the province of both the new consuls, on the day that they made their motion in the senate concerning the republic and the provinces. To this vote the consul, Lepidus, objected, asserting that “it would be highly indecorous to shut up the consuls among the

valleys of Liguria, while Marcus Fulvius and Cneius Manlius reigned, a second year, one in Europe, another in Asia, as if substituted in the room of Philip and Antiochus. If it was resolved to keep armies in those countries, it was more fitting that consuls, rather than private persons, should have the command of them. That they made their circuits with all the terrors of war, among nations against whom war had not been declared, trafficking peace for money. If it was necessary to hold these provinces with armies, in the same manner as Lucius Scipio, consul, had succeeded Manius Acilius, consul; and as Marcus Fulvius and Cneius Manlius succeeded Lucius Scipio; so ought Caius Livius and Marcus Valerius, the consuls, to have succeeded Fulvius and Manlius. But, unquestionably, at this time, after the Ætolian war had been concluded, Asia taken from Antiochus, and the Gauls subdued, — either the consuls ought to be sent to the consular armies, or the legions ought be brought home, and restored to the commonwealth.” The senate, although they heard these words, persisted in their vote, that Liguria should be the province of both the consuls; but they ordered, that Manlius and Fulvius should leave their provinces, withdraw the troops, and come home to Rome.

43 There was a quarrel between Marcus Fulvius and the consul Æmilius; and in addition to other motives, Æmilius thought, that he had been made consul two years later, by the opposition of Marcus Fulvius. In order, therefore, to exasperate the minds of the public against him, he introduced to the senate ambassadors from Ambracia, whom he had secretly instructed in the charges they were to make against him. These complained, that “war had been made on them when they were in a state of peace, after they had executed the commands of former consuls, and were ready to show the same obedience to Marcus Fulvius; that first their lands were ravaged; and that, the terror of rapine and carnage was then cast into the city, that by that fear they might be compelled to shut their gates. They were then besieged and assaulted, and all the horrors of war were inflicted on them, murders, burnings, the sacking and demolishing of their city. Their wives and children were dragged away into slavery; their goods taken from them; and, what shocked them more than all, their temples were despoiled of their ornaments, and the images of their

gods, nay, the gods themselves were torn from their mansions, and carried away; so that the Ambracians had nothing left to adore, to which they could address their prayers and supplications, but naked walls and pillars.” While they were making these complaints, the consul, as had been agreed, by asking questions leading to further charges, drew them on, as if against their inclinations, to the mention of other matters. The senators being moved by these accusations, the other consul, Caius Flaminius, took up the cause of Marcus Fulvius: and he said that “the Ambracians had set out in an old course, now long out of use. In this manner Marcus Marcellus had been accused by the Syracusans; and Quintus Fulvius by the Campanians. Why might not the senate as well allow Titus Quintius to be accused by king Philip; Manius Acilius and Lucius Scipio, by Antiochus; Cneius Manlius, by the Gauls; and Fulvius himself, by the Ætolians and the states of Cephallenia? Do you think, conscript fathers, either that I in behalf of Marcus Fulvius, or that Marcus Fulvius himself, will deny the besieging and taking Ambracia, the removing thence the statues and ornaments, and the other proceedings, which are usual on the capture of cities? He is about to demand a triumph from you for those very services, and to carry before his chariot those statues, the removal of which is charged as criminal, together with the other spoils of that city, and hang them up on the pillars of his house. There is no kind of pretence for their separating themselves from the Ætolians; the cause of the Ambracians and of the Ætolians is the same. Let, therefore, my colleague either vent his malice in some other case; or, if he is determined to proceed in this, let him detain his Ambracians until Fulvius comes home. I will not suffer any determination, concerning either the Ambracians or Ætolians, to pass in the absence of Marcus Fulvius.”

44 When Æmilius inveighed against the artful malignity of his adversary as being notorious to all, and affirmed, that he would spin out the time by affecting delays, so as not to return to Rome while an adversary was consul; two days were wasted in this dispute, and it was apparent that while Flaminius was present, no decision of the cause could be procured. The opportunity was eagerly caught at by Æmilius, when Flaminius, happening to fall sick, was absent, and on his proposing the motion the senate decreed, that, “all their effects

should be restored to the Ambracians, that they should enjoy liberty, and the benefit of their own laws, and should levy what duties they might think proper on goods conveyed by land or sea, provided that the Romans and the allies of the Latin nation should be exempted therefrom. That with respect to the statues, and other ornaments, which they complained were carried away from their sacred buildings, their order was, that immediately on the return of Marcus Fulvius to Rome, the business should be laid before the college of pontiffs, and that whatever they might think proper should be done.” Nor was the consul content with this; but afterwards, in a badly attended meeting, he procured a clause to be added to the decree, “that it did not appear that Ambracia was taken by force.” A supplication of three days’ continuance was then performed for the health of the people, because a grievous pestilence was desolating the city and country. The Latin festival was afterwards celebrated, when the consuls, being relieved from these religious duties, and having finished their levies, (for both of them chose to employ new soldiers,) set out for their provinces, where they disbanded all the old troops.

Shortly after the departure of the consuls, Cneius Manlius, the proconsul, arrived at Rome; and, when an audience of the senate was granted to him in the temple of Bellona, by Servius Sulpicius, the prætor, after enumerating the services which he had performed, he demanded that, in consideration thereof, public thanks should be offered to the immortal gods, and permission be granted to himself, to ride through the city in triumph; the greater number of the ten ambassadors, who had been in the province along with him, opposed the grant, and particularly Lucius Furius Purpureo, and Lucius Æmilius Paulus.

45 They alleged that “they had been appointed ambassadors in conjunction with Manlius, to make peace with Antiochus, and to conclude the terms of the treaty which had been entered on with Lucius Scipio. That Cneius Manlius laboured to the utmost of his power, to confound this peace, and to seize Antiochus by treachery, if he should put his person in the consul’s power; but that he (Antiochus) having discovered the treacherous designs of the consul, though frequently tempted by proposals of a conference, had not only

avoided the meeting, but even the sight of him. That Manlius, desiring to cross Mount Taurus, was with difficulty restrained by the entreaties of all the ambassadors, who besought him not to brave the curse denounced in the Sibylline verses against such as should pass those fatal limits. Nevertheless, he marched his army thither, and encamped almost on the very summit where the waters take opposite directions. As he could find no sort of pretence for hostilities, the king's subjects being perfectly quiet, he led his army round to the Gallogræcians, against which nation war was waged, without any decree of the senate, or order of the people. Which did ever any general before presume to do in like manner, on his own judgment? The latest wars were those with Antiochus, with Philip, and with Hannibal and the Carthaginians; concerning all these the senate had passed its decrees, the people their orders; several embassies were previously sent; restitution demanded; and, finally, heralds were sent to proclaim war. Now, Cneius Manlius," said they, "has any one of these proceedings been observed in the present case, that we should consider it a war of the Roman people, and not a predatory expedition of your own contrivance? But, were you even content with this? Did you lead your army against those whom you had chosen to consider as enemies, by the direct course; or did you ramble through every deflection of the roads, when you stopped at every division of the way, in order that, to whatever side Eumenes's brother, Attalus, should turn his route, you the consul, as an auxiliary in his pay, might follow with a Roman army? Did you not traverse every recess and corner of Pisidia, Lycaonia, and Phrygia; levying contributions from the tyrants and peasants in those remote regions? For, what had you to do with the Oroandians, what with other states equally inoffensive?

"But, in what manner did you conduct this war, on the merit of which you ask a triumph? Did you fight on equal ground, and at the time of your own choosing? Indeed you with propriety require that thanks be returned to the immortal gods; first, because they did not ordain that the army should undergo the penalty deserved by the temerity of its commander, in commencing a war in accordance with no law of nations; and next, because they gave us, for antagonists, brutes, and not men.

46 “Do not suppose that the name only of the Gallogræcians is a mixed one: their bodies, and their minds, have undergone a similar process, and have been corrupted by the mixture. Had they been such Gauls as those whom we have a thousand times encountered in Italy, with various success, would any one of us, considering the conduct of our commander, have returned to tell the story? Two battles were fought; twice he sustained the disadvantages of position, and, at the bottom of a valley, almost placed his army under the feet of the enemy; so that they were able to overwhelm us, even though they did not cast their weapons from the higher ground, but merely threw themselves on us without arms. What, then, was the consequence? Great is the fortune of the Roman people; great and terrible its name! By the recent downfall of Hannibal, Philip, and Antiochus, the Gauls were, in a manner, thunderstruck. Bulky as their bodies were, they were dismayed, and put to flight, by slings and arrows; not a sword was stained in battle during the Gallic war. Like flocks of birds, they flew away at the very sound of our missiles. But, indeed, when we, the same army, were on our return, and happened to fall in with a party of Thracian robbers, (as if fortune meant to teach us what the issue would have been, if we had met an enemy,) we were beaten, routed, and stripped of our baggage. Among many other brave soldiers fell Quintus Minucius Thermus, whose death was a much greater loss, than if Cneius Manlius, to whose rashness the misfortune had happened, had perished. An army, carrying home the spoils of king Antiochus, was dispersed in three places, and with the vanguard in one place, the rear in another, and the baggage in a third, hid itself for a night among bushes, in the dens of wild beasts. Is a triumph demanded for such exploits as these? Although no disaster and disgrace had been suffered in Thrace, over what enemies would you triumph? Over those, I suppose, whom the Roman senate or people had assigned to you as your enemies. On these grounds, indeed, a triumph was granted to Lucius Scipio; to Manius Acilius, over king Antiochus; to Titus Quintius, over king Philip; and to Publius Africanus, over Hannibal, the Carthaginians, and Syphax. Now, after the senate had voted a declaration of war, the following unimportant matters were inquired into: — To whom the declaration ought to be made; whether to the kings in person, or whether making

it at some of their garrisons were sufficient? Do you wish, then, that all these rites should be disregarded and profaned? That the laws of the heralds be abrogated? That there should be no heralds? Let religion (the gods pardon the expression) be thrown aside; let forgetfulness of the gods occupy your minds. Do you, also, judge it fit that the senate should not be consulted concerning war? That the people should not be asked, whether they choose and order war to be made on the Gauls? On a late occasion, the consuls, certainly, wished for the provinces of Greece and Asia; yet, when you persisted in assigning Liguria as their province, they obeyed your commands. They will, therefore, if the war should be successfully carried on, justly demand a triumph from you, conscript fathers, under whose authority they carried it on.”

⁴⁷ Such were the arguments of Furius and Æmilius. We have heard that Maullius replied in nearly the following manner: “Conscript fathers, formerly the tribunes of the people were accustomed to oppose generals demanding a triumph. I am thankful to the present tribunes because they have conceded so much either to me, or to the greatness of my services, as not only to show, by their silence, their approbation of my pretensions to that honour, but likewise their readiness, if there were occasion, to make a motion to that purpose. I have, since it is the pleasure of the gods, as my opponents some of the ten ambassadors, the actual council which our ancestors assigned to generals for the purpose of arranging their conquests and gracing their victories. Lucius Furius and Lucius Æmilius forbid me to mount the triumphal chariot, and pluck from my head the crown of glory, the persons whom, if the tribunes had opposed triumph, I should have cited as witnesses to bear testimony to my services. Conscript fathers, I envy no man’s honours; but, on a late occasion, you yourselves deterred by your authority the tribunes of the people, brave and active men, from impeding the triumph of Quintus Fabius Labeo. Fabius enjoyed a triumph; and yet his adversaries alleged, not that he had carried on an unjust war, but that he had not seen the enemy at all. Whereas I, who fought so many pitched battles with one hundred thousand of your fiercest enemies; who killed or made prisoners more than forty thousand; who stormed two of their camps; who left all the countries on this side of the

summits of Taurus in greater tranquillity than is the country of Italy; am not only defrauded of a triumph, but obliged to plead my cause before you, conscript fathers, whilst my own council of ambassadors accuse me. Conscript fathers, their charge, as you perceive, is twofold: for they assert, that I ought not to have waged war with the Gauls; and besides, that the war was carried on rashly and imprudently. The Gauls were not enemies; but, you committed hostilities against them, when peaceable and obedient to your orders. I am not about to require from you, conscript fathers, that you may attribute to the Gauls who inhabit Asia, those characteristics which you are well aware belong to the Gallic race in general, savage fierceness and most inveterate hatred to the name of Rome. Excluding the infamous and odious character of the whole nation, judge of these Gauls by themselves. I wish king Eumenes, I wish all the states of Asia were present, and that you heard their complaints, rather than my charges against them. Send ambassadors round all the cities of Asia, and ask whether they were relieved from more grievous servitude by the removal of Antiochus beyond the summits of Taurus, or by the conquest of the Gauls. Let them tell you how often their territories were ravaged, how often their property and their people were carried off as prey; while they had scarcely ever an opportunity of ransoming any prisoners, they heard of nothing but human victims slain, and their children offered up in sacrifice. Be assured that your allies paid tribute to these Gauls; and, though delivered now by you from the yoke of Antiochus, must still have continued to pay it, if I had been inactive. The farther Antiochus was removed, the more tyrannically would the Gauls have domineered in Asia; and all the countries on this side of Taurus you would have annexed to their empire, not to your own.

48 “But, allowing all this to be so; the Gauls formerly sacked Delphi, the common oracle to which all mankind resort, and the central point of the globe of the earth; yet the Roman people did not, on that account, proclaim or wage war against them. I really thought, that there was some distinction to be made between that period when Greece and Asia were not yet under your jurisdiction and dominion, and the present, when you have made Mount Taurus the boundary of the Roman empire; when you grant liberty and independence to the

states of that country; when you augment the territories of some; amerce others in a part of their lands; impose tribute; add to, diminish, give, and take away kingdoms, and deem it your business to take care that they may enjoy peace both on land and sea. Is it not the case that you would not have thought Asia liberated unless Antiochus withdrew his garrisons, which lay quiet in their citadels: if the armies of the Gauls roamed about without control, would the grants which you made to king Eumenes be secure, or the liberty of the states entire? But why do I reason thus? as if I had not found the Gauls enemies, but made them such! I appeal to you, Lucius Scipio, whose bravery and good fortune alike I suppliantly sought, and not in vain, from the immortal gods, when I succeeded you in the command; and to you, Publius Scipio, who held, both with your brother the consul, and with the army, the commission of a lieutenant-general and the dignity of a colleague; did you ascertain that legions of the Gauls were in the army of Antiochus? Did you see them in his line of battle, posted in both wings; for there was his main strength? Did you fight with them as declared enemies? Did you kill them? Did you carry off their spoils? Yet the senate had decreed, and the people ordered, war against Antiochus, not against the Gauls. But as I judge, they had at the same time decreed and ordered that war should be with all those who should be reckoned among his troops; so that, excepting Antiochus, with whom Scipio had negotiated a peace, and with whom, specifying him by name, you had directed a treaty to be concluded, every one who had borne arms on the side of Antiochus against us, were our enemies. And although the Gauls had been conspicuous in that cause, and several petty princes and tyrants also; nevertheless, I made peace with the rest, after compelling them to atone for their transgressions, as the dignity of your empire required. I made trial, at the same time, of the temper of the Gauls, whether they could be reclaimed from their natural ferocity; but, perceiving them untractable and implacable, I then judged it necessary to chastise them by force of arms.

49 "Now, since the charge respecting the undertaking of the war has been fully refuted, I must account for my conduct in the prosecution of it. In which, indeed, I should perfectly confide in the merits of my cause, though I were pleading, not before a Roman, but

before a Carthaginian senate, by whom their commanders are said to be crucified, if they act on wrong plans, even with success. But in such a state as this, which, in the commencement and progress of every undertaking, makes application to the gods on this account, because it subjects to no malicious cavilling those plans of which the gods have approved; and which, in the established form, when it decrees a supplication or triumph, uses these words,— ‘For having conducted the business of the public successfully and fortunately;’ if I should be unwilling, if I should think it presumptuous and arrogant to boast of my own bravery, and if I should demand, in consideration of my own good fortune, and that of my army, in having vanquished so great a nation, without any loss of men, that thanks should be given to the immortal gods, and that I should ascend the Capitol in triumph, from whence I took my departure, with vows duly offered; — would you refuse this to me, and the immortal gods? Yes; for I fought on unfavourable ground. Tell me, then, on what more favourable ground could I have fought, when the enemy had seized on a mountain, and kept themselves in a strong post; surely, if I wished to conquer them, I must go where they were. What if they had a town on the same spot, and kept within the walls: surely they must be attacked. Did Manlius Acilius fight with Antiochus, at Thermopylæ on favourable ground? Did not Titus Quintius dislodge Philip when he was posted in the same manner, on the tops of mountains, over the river Anio*? Truly I cannot yet discover what sort of an enemy they may represent to themselves, or in what light they may wish them to appear to you. If as being degenerate and softened by the pleasures of Asia, what danger was there in advancing against them even on unfavourable ground? If formidable, both for fierceness of courage and strength of body, do you refuse a triumph to victories so honourable? Conscript fathers, envy is blind, and only capable of depreciating merit, and poisoning its honours and rewards. Pardon me, I beseech you, conscript fathers, on these conditions, if it be the case that the necessary reply to the accusation, and not my desire of boasting of my exploits, hath made my speech too long. Whether could I, in my march through Thrace, create open glades out of narrow defiles, and level plains out of steep precipices, and fields out of woods, and insure that the Thracian plunderers

should not lurk any where in those concealments which they were acquainted with; that none of our packages should be snatched away, none of our loaded horses, out of so large a train, led off; that no one should be wounded; and that the brave and active Lucius Minucius should not die of his wound? On this mischance, by which we unfortunately lost so valuable a citizen, those men declaim profusely. That the enemy attacked us in a dangerous pass, where every advantage of ground was against us; that our two divisions, the front and the rear, surrounded by a combined movement the army of the barbarians, while they were employed about our baggage; that they killed and took prisoners many thousands on that day; and, in a few days after, many more; — do they imagine that you would not ascertain this, even if they passed it over in silence, when the whole army can testify the truth of what I assert? If I had never drawn a sword in Asia, if I had never seen an enemy there, yet, by the two battles fought in Thrace, I had merited a triumph, as proconsul. But I have said enough, and shall only request, and, I should hope, obtain, your pardon, conscript fathers, for having troubled you longer than I could have wished to do.”

50 The accusations that day would have been more powerful than the defence, had they not prolonged the debate to a late hour; for the senate adjourned in a mood likely to refuse the triumph. Next day the relations and friends of Cneius Manlius exerted their utmost efforts in his behalf; and the opinion of the elder senators prevailed, who asserted, that there was no instance on record of a commander who had subdued the enemy, completed the business of his province, and brought home his army, entering the city as a private citizen, without honours, and without the chariot and laurel. This feeling of shame overcame their prejudices against him, and a great majority voted for his triumph. A greater contest which was set on foot against a greater and more illustrious personage, suppressed all mention and memory of this struggle. The two Petillii, as Valerius Antias writes, instituted a prosecution against Publius Scipio Africanus. Men construed this according to their different dispositions; some did not blame the plebeian tribunes, but the public in general, that could suffer such a process to be carried on. They observed, that “the two greatest states in the world proved, nearly at the same time, ungrateful to their chief

commanders; but Rome the more ungrateful of the two, because Carthage was subdued when she sent the vanquished Hannibal into exile; whereas Rome, when victorious, was for banishing the conqueror Africanus." Others asserted, that "no one citizen ought to stand so high above the rest, as not to be made answerable to the laws for his conduct: for nothing contributed so much towards the equalization of liberty, as that the most powerful might be brought to trial. For how could any charge, especially the administration of government, be safely intrusted to any man, if he were not liable to be called to an account? That force was not unjustly used against him who could not bear an equality of rights." These subjects were discussed in conversation, until the day of trial came. Never was either any other person, or Scipio himself, when consul or censor, escorted to the forum by a more numerous multitude of all kinds, than he was on that day when he appeared to answer the charge against him. When ordered to make his defence, without taking any notice of the facts laid to his charge, he delivered so magnificent a speech concerning his exploits, that it was universally agreed, that no man had been ever praised either to more advantage or with more truth. For his achievements were described with the same ardent spirit and powerful genius with which they had been performed; and his auditors felt no disgust, because his acts were mentioned to meet the peril, and not for ostentation.

⁵¹ The plebeian tribunes, in order to procure credit to their present accusations, introduced the old imputations of his luxurious style of living in his winter quarters at Syracuse, and the tumult raised by Pleminius at Locri. They then brought forward against him the charge of receiving money, grounded on suspicion, not on proof. They alleged, that "his son, being taken prisoner, was restored without ransom; and that, in every other instance, Scipio was courted by Antiochus, as if peace and war with Rome were at his sole disposal. He had acted towards the consul, in his province, as dictator, not as lieutenant-general; nor had he gone thither with any other view than that this might appear to Greece and Asia, and all the kings and nations eastward, which had been long since the settled conviction of Spain, Gaul, Sicily, and Africa, that he alone was the head and pillar of the Roman empire; that a state which was mistress

of the world, lay sheltered under the shade of Scipio; and that his nods were equivalent to decrees of the senate, and orders of the people.” They attack by envy, as much as they can, him out of the reach of dishonour. The pleading having lasted till night, the trial was adjourned to another day. When that came, the tribunes took their seat in the rostrum at the dawn of day. The accused being summoned, came, with a numerous train of friends and dependents, through the middle of the assembly, to the rostrum; and, silence being made, he said,— “Tribunes of the people, and you, Romans, on the anniversary of this day I fought a pitched battle in Africa, with Hannibal and the Carthaginians, with good fortune and success. As, therefore, it is but decent that a stop be put, for this day, to litigation and wrangling, I will immediately go to the Capitol, there to return my acknowledgments to Jupiter the supremely good and great, to Juno, Minerva, and the other deities presiding over the Capitol and citadel, and will give them thanks for having, on this day, and at many other times, endowed me both with the will and ability to perform extraordinary services to the commonwealth. Such of you also, Romans, as it suits, come with me and beseech the gods that you may have commanders like myself; since, from my seventeenth year to old age, you have always anticipated my years with honours, and I, your honours with services.” Accordingly, he went up from the rostrum to the Capitol; and, at the same time, the whole assembly turned about and followed him; insomuch, that at last even the clerks and messengers left the tribunes, not one remaining, except the slaves who attended them, and the crier, who was in the habit of summoning the accused from the rostrum. Scipio, attended by the whole body of the Roman people, went round all the temples of the gods, not only in the Capitol, but throughout the whole city. This day was almost more famous owing to the favour of the Romans towards him, and their high estimation of his real greatness, than that on which he rode through Rome in triumph over king Syphax and the Carthaginians.

52 It was, however, the last day that shone with lustre on Publius Scipio. For, as he could foresee nothing but the prosecutions of envy, and continual disputes with the tribunes, the trial being adjourned to a future day, he retired to the territory of Liternum, with a fixed

determination not to attend the trial. His spirit was by nature too lofty, and habituated to such an elevated course of fortune, that he did not know how to act the part of an accused person, or stoop to the humble deportment of men pleading their cause. When the day came, and he began to be summoned in his absence, Lucius Scipio pleaded in his excuse that sickness was the reason of his absence. Which excuse the tribunes, who were the prosecutors, would not admit, but insisted that he did not come to plead his cause, owing to the same arrogance with which he had left the trial, the tribunes of the people, and the general assembly; and followed by the very men whom he had robbed of the right of passing sentence on him, together with their freedom of suffrage, had exhibited a triumph over the Roman people, and made a secession, the same day, from the tribunes to the Capitol. "You have therefore," said they, "the due reward of that thoughtless conduct. You are, yourselves, forsaken by him under whose lead and direction you forsook us. And so much is our spirit daily on the decline, that although, seventeen years ago, when he was at the head of an army and fleet, we had resolution enough to send plebeian tribunes and an ædile into Sicily to take him into custody, and bring him home to Rome; yet we dare not now send to compel him, though a private citizen, to come from his country-seat to stand his trial." The tribunes of the commons, being appealed to by Lucius Scipio, came to the following determination: that "since the excuse of sickness was pleaded" it was their judgment that this excuse should be admitted, and that the day of trial should be adjourned by their colleagues."

53 Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus was, at that time, a plebeian tribune, and between him and Publius Scipio there was an enmity subsisting. When he had forbidden his name to be subscribed to the determination of his colleague, and every one expected from him a sentence more severe, he pronounced his judgment thus: that "Inasmuch as Lucius Scipio had pleaded sickness in excuse for his brother, that plea appeared to him to be sufficient: that he would not suffer Publius Scipio to be accused until he should return to Rome: and even then, if he appealed to him, he would support him in refusing to abide a trial: that Publius Scipio, by his great achievements, by the honours received from the Roman people, by

the joint consent of gods and men, had risen to such a height of dignity, that were he to stand as a criminal, under the rostrum, and afford a hearing to the insults of young men, it would reflect more disgrace on the Romans than on him." To his decree he added the language of indignation: "Shall Scipio, the celebrated conqueror of Africa, stand at the feet of you, tribunes? Was it for this he defeated and routed, in Spain, four of the most distinguished generals of the Carthaginians, and their four armies? Was it for this he took Syphax prisoner, conquered Hannibal, made Carthage tributary to you, and removed Antiochus beyond Mount Taurus (for Lucius Scipio received his brother Africanus as his associate in this glory); that he should crouch under two Petillii? that you should gain the palm of victory over Publius Africanus? Will men of illustrious characters never, through their own merits, or through honours conferred by you, arrive at a safe and inviolable sanctuary, where their old age may repose, if not revered, at least secure from injury?" Both his decree and additional discourse made a deep impression, not only on the rest of the assembly, but even on the prosecutors; who said that they would consider further what might be consistent with their rights and duties. Afterwards, as soon as the assembly of the people broke up, the senate met, and at that meeting the warmest thanks were bestowed by the whole body, especially by the consular and elder members, on Tiberius Gracchus, for having consulted the public good in preference to private animosity; and the Petillii were assailed with severe insults, because they had endeavoured to become distinguished by exciting odium against another, and were seeking spoils from a triumph over Africanus. After that there was silence concerning Africanus. He passed the remainder of his life at Liternum, without a wish to revisit the city; and it is said that when he was dying he ordered his body to be buried in the country, in that very place, and his monument to be erected there, that even his obsequies might not be performed in his ungrateful country. He was a man of eminent merit; but more conspicuous in the affairs of war than in those of peace. The former part of his life was more illustrious than the latter, because in his early years wars were constantly carried on by him; with old age his exploits faded away, as occasions did not occur to call forth the exercise of his talents.

What was his second consulship to his first, even if you should add to it the censorship? What, compared with it, was his commission in Asia, rendered useless by want of health, and clouded by the misfortune of his son, and the necessity to which it subjected him after his return, of either undergoing a trial, or withdrawing himself from that and his country together. However, he enjoyed alone the distinguished honour of putting an end to the Carthaginian war, which was by far the most difficult and dangerous war in which the Roman state was ever engaged.

⁵⁴ The death of Africanus increased the courage of his enemies, the chief of whom was Marcus Porcius Cato, who, even during his life, was accustomed to sneer at his splendid character. The Petillii are supposed, both to have commenced the prosecution against Africanus at his instigation while he was alive, and on his death to have proposed a bill against him. The motion for the order was made in these words: "Romans, is it your will and order, with respect to the money taken, carried off, and collected from king Antiochus, and those under his government, and with respect to such part thereof as has not been accounted for to the public, that Servius Sulpicius, the city prætor, shall ask the senate which of the present prætors they will appoint to hold an inquiry concerning those matters?" Quintus and Lucius Mummius at first objected to this motion: they thought it proper that, according to the practice always hitherto observed, the senate should make the inquiry concerning such money as had not been brought into the public treasury. The Petillii represented the great influence, the sovereign power which the Scipios possessed in the senate. Lucius Furius Purpureo, a senator of consular rank, who had been one of the ten ambassadors in Asia, was of opinion that the inquiry ought to be carried to a wider extent; not only as to the money taken from Antiochus, but to what had been taken from other kings and nations, attacking his enemy Cneius Manlius. Lucius Scipio, who, it was evident, was arguing rather in favour of himself than against the order, stood forward to oppose it. He complained heavily of such a motion being brought on after the death of his brother, Publius Africanus, the bravest and most illustrious of men. For "it had not been deemed sufficient that Publius Africanus was not eulogized from the rostrum after his death, unless he should be also

the subject of accusation. The Carthaginians had been content with the banishment of Hannibal, but the Roman people would not be satisfied even with the death of Publius Scipio, unless, after he was laid in his grave, his character were mangled, and his brother also sacrificed, another victim to envy." Marcus Cato supported the motion in a speech on the money of king Antiochus, which is still extant; and, by his influence, deterred the Mummii, the two tribunes, from their opposition to the order. On their withdrawing their intended protest, every one of the tribes voted in favour of the motion.

55 Servius Sulpicius then putting the question to the senate, whom they would appoint, according to the Petillian order of the people, to hold the inquiry, they appointed Quintus Terentius Culleo. Before this prætor, so warmly attached to the Cornelian family, (that those writers, who say that Publius Scipio died and was buried at Rome, for that too is asserted, have left on record, that he walked at his funeral before the bier with a cap of liberty on his head, as he had done before at his triumph; and that, at the Capuan gate, he gave wine and honey to those who attended the obsequies, to show his gratitude for having been recovered by Scipio, among other captives, out of the hands of the enemy in Africa,) or so great an enemy to that family, that on account of his known animosity, he was selected in particular by the faction that supported the proceedings against the Scipios, to hold the inquiry; however that may be, before this prætor, whether too favourable or too much the contrary, Lucius Scipio was immediately arraigned. At the same time charges were presented and received against his lieutenants-general, the two Hostilius Catos, Aulus and Lucius; and his quæstor, Caius Furius Aculeo: and (that all things might appear infected with the contagion of peculation) against his two secretaries and crier, Lucius Hostilius. The secretaries and the crier were acquitted before Scipio was tried. Scipio and Aulus Hostilius, his lieutenant-general, and Caius Furius, were convicted on the following charges, that, "as bribes, for granting more favourable terms of peace to Antiochus, Scipio had received, over and above what he brought into the treasury, six thousand pounds' weight of gold, and four hundred and eighty of silver; Aulus Hostilius, eighty pounds of gold, and four hundred and three of

silver; and Furius, the quæstor, one hundred and thirty of gold, and two hundred of silver.” These sums of gold and silver I find mentioned by Antias. As to what regards Lucius Scipio, I suspect some mistake of the transcriber, rather than a falsehood of the historian, respecting the amount of the gold and silver. For it is more probable that the weight of silver was greater than that of gold, and that the fine was laid at four millions, than at twenty-four millions of sesterces, the more on this account, as they record that an account of that sum was demanded from Publius Scipio himself, in the senate; and that when he had desired his brother Lucius to bring the book of his accounts, he tore it to pieces in the view of the senate, at the same time expressing indignation at being called to account for four millions after he had brought two hundred millions into the treasury. From the same confidence of spirit, when the quæstors would not venture to bring money out of the coffers contrary to law, he demanded the keys of the treasury, declaring that he would open it as he had caused it to be shut.

56 Many other things are at variance respecting the latter part, particularly, of Scipio’s life, that is to say, his trial death, funeral, and sepulchre, so that I cannot determine which tradition or which writings I ought to credit. Writers do not agree as to his accuser; some affirming that Marcus Nævius, others that the Petillii, instituted the prosecution; neither are they agreed as to the time when it was carried on; nor the year in which he died; nor the place; nor where he was buried. Some assert, that he died and was buried at Rome; others, at Liternum; and in both places memorials and statues of him are shown. For at Liternum there was a monument, and on it stood his statue, which we in person lately saw cast down by a storm. At Rome likewise, on a monument of the Scipios outside the Capuan gate, are three statues, two of which are said to be those of Publius and Lucius Scipio, and the third that of the poet Quintus Ennius. Nor do these differences exist between historians only; the speeches attributed to Publius Scipio and Tiberius Gracchus, if they really are theirs, differ widely from one another. The title of Publius Scipio’s speech bears the name of Marcus Nævius, the tribune of the commons; the speech itself does not furnish the name of the prosecutor; it only calls him sometimes a knave, sometimes a trifler.

Even the speech of Gracchus makes no mention of the Petillii accusing Africanus, or of the prosecution carried on against him. An entirely different story must be framed consistent with the speech of Gracchus; and those writers must be followed who affirm, that, at the time when Lucius Scipio was impeached, and convicted of having taken money from the king, Africanus was a lieutenant-general in Etruria; whence, on hearing of this misfortune, throwing up his commission, he hastened to Rome; and when he came straight from the gate to the forum, because he was told that his brother was being led into confinement, he drove away the officer from his person; and, on the tribunes attempting to detain him, laid violent hands on them, showing more affection towards his brother than regard for the laws. Of these acts, Gracchus himself complained, saying, that the tribunitian power was annulled by a private person; and at last, when he promises support to Lucius Scipio, he adds, that the precedent would be more tolerable, if both the tribunitian authority and the state appeared to be overpowered by a tribune of the commons, than if by a private citizen. But he loaded him with reproaches for this signal instance of intemperate violence, in such a manner, that while he charged him with having degenerated so far from himself, he gave to him his long-established praises for moderation, self-control, with many-fold increase, so as to make ample amends for the present reprehension. For he said, that the people were formerly severely rebuked by Scipio, because they wished to make him perpetual consul and dictator; that he hindered statues from being erected to him in the comitium, in the rostrum, in the senate-house, in the Capitol, in the chapel of Jupiter's temple, and that he prevented, a decree being passed, that his image, in a triumphal habit, should be brought in procession out of the temple of Jupiter the supremely good and great. Such particulars as these, which even an enemy acknowledged while censuring him, even if inserted in a professed panegyric, would demonstrate an uncommon greatness of mind, in limiting his honours conformably to his position as a citizen.

57 It is universally agreed, that the younger of Scipio's two daughters was married to this Gracchus; for the elder was undoubtedly disposed of by her father, to Publius Cornelius Nasica. But it is not so certain, whether she was both betrothed and married

after her father's death, or whether the accounts are true, that Gracchus, when Lucius Scipio was being led to prison, and no other of the tribunes interfered to protect him, swore, that "the same enmity which he had entertained against the Scipios still subsisted; and that he did not perform any act for the sake of gaining their favour. But that, having seen Publius Africanus leading the kings and generals of enemies to prison, he would never suffer his brother to be led to the same place." They add, that the senators, happening to sup that day in the Capitol, rose up together, and requested of Africanus, before the company departed, to betroth his daughter to Gracchus: that the contract was accordingly executed in due form, in the presence of this assembly; and that Scipio, on his return home, told his wife Æmilia that he had concluded a match for her younger daughter. That she, feeling her female pride hurt, expressing some resentment on not having been consulted in the disposal of their common child, added, that, even were he giving her to Tiberius Gracchus, her mother ought not to be kept in ignorance of his intention; to which Scipio, rejoiced at her judgment concurring so entirely with his own, replied, that she was betrothed to that very man. These circumstances respecting so great a captain, though they might vary, both in traditionary and written relation, ought to be stated.

58 On the proceedings being finished by the prætor Quintus Terentius, Hostilius and Furius, being condemned, gave securities the same day to the city quæstors. Scipio, when he insisted that all the money received by him was in the treasury, and that he had not in his possession any thing whatever belonging to the public, was ordered to prison. Publius Scipio Nasica then appealed to the tribunes, and made a speech fraught with just encomiums, not only on the Cornelian family in general, but on his own branch of it in particular. "His father," he said, "and the father of Publius Africanus and Lucius Scipio, who was now ordered to prison, were Cneius and Publius Scipio, men of the most illustrious characters; that when, through a long course of years, they had highly enhanced the reputation of the Roman name in the land of Spain, against many commanders and many armies of the Carthaginians and Spaniards,

not only by their military exploits, but also by exhibiting to the nations of that country brilliant examples of Roman moderation and fidelity, both, at last, fell in the service of the Roman people. Although it ought to be sufficient to their descendants to support the glory derived from them, yet Publius Africanus so far surpassed his father's renown, as to occasion a belief that he was not sprung from the human race, but was of divine extraction. As to Lucius Scipio, concerning whom the question then was, to pass over his exploits in Spain and in Africa, (while he was lieutenant-general to his brother,) on his being elected consul, was by the senate considered so worthy, that the province of Asia and the war with Antiochus were assigned him, without leaving it to the decision of the lots; and by his brother, that, after two consulships, the censorship, and a triumph, he attended him into Asia in quality of lieutenant-general. There, that the great and splendid character of the lieutenant might not eclipse the fame of the consul, it so happened, that, on the day when Lucius Scipio conquered Antiochus in a pitched battle at Magnesia, Publius Scipio was absent at the distance of several days' journey, being sick at Elæa. The army of the enemy, on that occasion, was not inferior to that of Hannibal, when the battle was fought with him in Africa; and the same Hannibal, who was commander-in-chief in the Carthaginian war, was among many other generals of the king. The war indeed was so conducted, that no one could throw blame even on fortune. A ground of accusation is sought for in the peace; it is said that it was sold. The ten ambassadors, in pursuance of whose counsel the peace was concluded, are at the same time included in this charge. Some of the ten ambassadors had even stood forth as accusers of Cneius Manlius, yet their charges were so far from gaining credit that they did not produce even a delay of his triumph.

59 "But truly, in the case of Scipio, the articles of the peace are suspected as being too favourable to Antiochus. For his entire kingdom has been left to him: although conquered, he retains possession of every thing that belonged to him before the war; and though, he had an immense quantity of gold and silver, none of it has been applied to the use of the public: all has been converted to private purposes. Now, was there not a quantity of gold and silver carried before the eyes of the public in the triumph of Lucius Scipio,

so great that an equal quantity was not carried in ten of the former triumphs, even if it was amassed together? Why need I speak of the extent of the kingdom of Antiochus, or that he held all Asia, and the adjoining parts of Europe? Every body knows what a large portion of the surface of the earth that is, which stretches from Mount Taurus quite to the Ægean Sea; what a number, not only of cities, but of nations, it comprehends; and that this tract, as far as the summit of Mount Taurus, more than thirty days' journey in length and ten in breadth, from one sea to the other, — has been taken from Antiochus, who is thereby removed to the most distant corner of the world? Now if peace had been granted him without any pecuniary consideration, could more have been taken from him? Macedon was left to Philip after he was conquered; Lacedæmon to Nabis; yet the grounds of an accusation were never sought against Quinctius on that account. The reason was, that he had not Africanus for a brother, whose high renown ought to have been serviceable to Lucius Scipio; but envy of his merit had done him injury. A quantity of gold and silver was mentioned in the senate to have been conveyed to the house of Lucius Scipio, greater than could be raised from the sale of his whole property. Where, then, was all this royal treasure; where the value of so many estates received? Surely in a house, which extravagance never exhausted, this new accumulation of wealth ought to appear. But what cannot be levied out of his effects, the enemies of Lucius Scipio will exact from his person, and from his very flesh, by vexatious persecution and insult; carried to such a degree that a man of his illustrious character would be shut up in a prison, among midnight thieves and robbers, and forced to breathe his last in a dungeon and in darkness, and his naked corpse thrown before the prison door. Such proceedings will reflect more disgrace on the city of Rome, than they will on the Cornelian family."

⁶⁰ In answer to this, the prætor, Terentius, read the Petillian order of the people, the decree of the senate, and the judgment pronounced against Lucius Scipio; and declared that unless the money adjudged were paid into the public treasury, he had no other step to take, than to order the person convicted to be taken into custody, and carried to prison. The tribunes retired to confer together, and in a short time after, Caius Fannius, according to his own opinion and that of all his

colleagues, except Gracchus, declared that the tribunes would not interfere with the prætor to hinder his making use of his power. Tiberius Gracchus thus decreed: "that he would not protest against the prætor's levying the sum adjudged out of the effects of Lucius Scipio; but that Lucius Scipio, who had subdued the most powerful king in the world, had extended the empire of the Roman people to the utmost limits of the earth, had bound under obligations to the Roman people king Eumenes, the Rhodians, and so many other states of Asia, and had led in triumph so many generals of the enemies, and imprisoned them, should himself lie in prison among the enemies of the Roman people, and in chains, he never would suffer; and therefore he ordered him to be discharged." This decision was heard with such approbation, and the people beheld with so much pleasure the liberation of Scipio, that it could hardly appear that the sentence had been passed in the same community. The prætor then sent the quæstors to take possession of Lucius Scipio's property, for the use of the public. And not only did no trace appear of money received from the king, but not even so much was made up from the sale as the sum in which he was fined. So large a contribution was made for Lucius Scipio by his relations, friends, and clients, that, if he had accepted it, he would have been much richer than before this misfortune: but he received nothing. Such things as were necessary for his family occasions, were bought back at the sale by his nearest relations. And the public hatred which had been pointed against the Scipios, reverted on the prætor, his advisers, and the accusers.

BOOK XXXIX

Translated by William A. McDevitte

Marcus Æmilius, the consul, having subdued the Ligurians, made a road from Placentia as far as Ariminum, and connected it with the Flaminian way. The commencement of luxury, introduced by the Asiatic army, is related. All the Ligurians who dwell on the hither side of the Apennines were subdued. The Bacchanalia, a Grecian sacred ceremony, held at night, a hot-bed of every vice, after having become a conspiracy including great numbers, were discovered by one of the consuls and suppressed, while many of those concerned were punished. Lucius Quinctius Flamininus, the brother of Titus, was expelled the senate, by the censors Lucius Valerius Flaccus and Marcus Porcius Cato, who was most distinguished in the arts of war and peace, for the following reason: because when, as consul, he had held the province of Gaul, he slew with his own hand a certain Gaul, at the request of Philip, a Carthaginian, his noble minion; or, as some have stated, because he had beheaded a condemned criminal at the request of a courtesan of Placentia, with whom he was desperately in love. The speech of Marcus Cato against him is still extant. Scipio died at Liternum. And, as if fortune destined for the same period the death of the two most distinguished men of the day, Hannibal committed suicide by taking poison, when he was on the point of being given up to the Romans by Prusias, king of Bithynia, to whom he had fled for refuge on the defeat of Antiochus: the Romans had sent Titus Quinctius Flamininus to demand Hannibal. Philopœmen likewise, the general of the Achæans, a most distinguished man, after having fallen into the hands of the Messenians in war, was put to death by poison. Colonies are planted at Potentia, Pisaurus, Modena, and Parma. This book contains in addition the success over the Celtiberians, and the commencement and cause of the Macedonian war; the origin of which proceeded from the following source: Philip was dissatisfied that his kingdom was being diminished by the Romans, and because he was compelled to withdraw his garrisons from Thrace and other places.

1 While these things are done at Rome, (if they were truly transacted in this year,) both the consuls were employed in the war with the Ligurians. This enemy seemed born for the purpose of preserving military discipline among the Romans, during the intervals between important wars; nor was any province better calculated to form a soldier to active valour. For Asia, from the enticing pleasures of its cities, the abundance of every production both of land and sea, the unwarlike temper of the enemy, and the wealth of its princes, made Roman armies rich, rather than brave. Under the command of Cneius Manlius, particularly, the troops were kept in a state of idleness and licentiousness. Therefore, in Thrace, a passage somewhat more difficult, and a more vigorous enemy, checked them with severe loss. Whereas in Liguria there was every circumstance that could invigorate the courage of soldiers; the country mountainous and rugged, so that even the taking possession of unoccupied posts, and much more the dislodging of an enemy from those already in possession, was attended with much labour; the roads hilly, narrow, and exposed to ambuscades; the enemy light, active, and energetic in their motions, so as to allow no season or place to be quiet or secure; the necessary attack on the strong forts with much toil and danger; and the country so poor as to constrain the soldier to a sparing mode of living, while it afforded but a small share of booty. Accordingly, no sutler followed the army, no long train of baggage horses extended its line of march, nothing was to be seen but arms, and men having all their hopes in their arms. Nor was either subject or cause for hostilities with them ever wanting; because on account of their poverty at home they made frequent incursions on the territories of their neighbours; they did not, however, fight a battle which could decide the entire war.

2 The consul, Caius Flaminius, after several successful battles against the Frinian Ligurians in their own country, received the submission of that tribe, and ordered them to deliver up their arms; as they did not give them up honourably, and were reprov'd for their behaviour, who abandoned their villages, and fled to the mountain called Auginus, whither the consul immediately followed them. A part of the enemy again betook themselves to flight; and, running

with precipitate haste, the greatest part without arms, over pathless tracts and rocky precipices, they escaped to places where an enemy could not follow them. Thus they got away beyond the Apennine; the rest, who remained in the camp, were surrounded and reduced by assault. The legions were then led over the Apennine; then the enemy, assisted by the height of the mountain, which they had occupied at first, stood on their defence; but, in a little time, submitted. Their arms were then sought for with greater care and all taken from them. The war was then transferred to the Apuan tribe of Ligurians, who had made so many incursions into the territory of Pisa and Bononia, that it could not be cultivated. These being entirely subdued, the consul restored peace to the neighbourhood. And, as he had effected the security of the province from the war, he made a road from Bononia to Anetium, that he might not keep the soldiers in a state of idleness. The other consul, Marcus Æmilius, ravaged with fire and sword the lands of the Ligurians, together with their villages that stood in the plains, while the inhabitants remained posted on two mountains, Ballista and Suismontium. He then attacked those who were on the mountains, harassed them for some time in skirmishes, and, at last, compelled them to come to an engagement, and utterly defeated them in a regular battle: in which he vowed a temple to Diana. Having now reduced all on this side of the Apennine, he marched against those on the other side of that mountain; among whom were the Brinian tribe, which had not been attacked by Flaminius: Æmilius subdued them all, stripped them of their arms, and obliged the multitude to come down from the mountains into the plains. The Ligurians being brought to a state of peace, he led his army into the Gallic territory, and drew a road from Placentia to Ariminum, to meet that made by Flaminius. During the last engagement, when he fought a pitched battle with the Ligurians, he vowed a temple to Imperial Juno. Such were the transactions of this year in Liguria.

3 In Gaul, the prætor, Marcus Furius, seeking a pretext for war in the midst of peace, deprived, the unoffending Cænomanians of their arms. The Cænomanians complained of this to the senate at Rome, and were by them referred to the consul Æmilius, whom the senate authorized to examine into and determine the cause; after a warm

contest with the prætor they gained their cause. The prætor was ordered to restore their arms to the Cænomanians, and quit the province.

The senate afterwards gave audience to envoys of the Latin confederation, who had come, in great numbers, from all parts of Latium. On their complaint that a great multitude of their citizens had been removed to Rome, and had been assessed there in the survey; a commission was given to Quintus Terentius Culleo, the prætor, to make inquiry after such persons; and on the allies proving that those persons themselves, or their fathers, had been assessed in the surveys of their states in the censorship of Caius Claudius and Marcus Livius, or at some time subsequent to their censorship, he was ordered to compel all such to return to the several states wherein they had been so rated. In consequence of this inquiry, twelve thousand Latins returned home; as the multitude of foreigners even then burdened the city.

4 Before the consuls came home to Rome, Marcus Fulvius, the proconsul, returned from Ætolia. He, when he had as usual recited to the senate, in the temple of Apollo, the services which he had performed in Ætolia and Cephallenia, then requested of the fathers, that, in consideration of his having conducted the business of the public with good fortune and success, they would think proper to order public thanks to be offered to the immortal gods, and to decree a triumph to him. Marcus Abutius, a tribune of the commons, gave notice, that, if any thing were determined on that subject before the arrival of Marcus Æmilius, he would enter his protest: for “the consul intended to oppose that measure; and, at his setting out for his province, had given him a charge to keep the discussion of it open until he should come home. That Fulvius would suffer a loss of nothing but time; for, notwithstanding the presence of the consul, the senate would determine according to their own wishes.” Fulvius replied, that, “even if the quarrel subsisting between him and Marcus Æmilius was unknown to the world, or with what overbearing, and, in some measure, tyrannical rancour, that man prosecuted his enmity; yet it was insufferable, that the absence of the consul should both obstruct the worship of the immortal gods, and delay a triumph

merited and due; that a commander, after performing signal services, and his victorious army with its booty and prisoners, should remain outside the gates, until a consul, who purposely delayed abroad, should be pleased to return to Rome. But, in the present case, when the animosity between him and the consul was most notorious, what fair dealing could any one expect from a man who procured clandestinely, in a thin house, and lodged in the treasury, a decree of the senate, that “it did not appear that Ambracia was taken by force:” a town which was attacked with mounds and engines; where, after the works were burned, others were constructed anew; where a fight was carried on around the walls for fifteen days, both above and under ground; where, from the first dawn, when the soldiers mounted the walls, a battle, for a long time doubtful, lasted until night; and where more than three thousand of the enemy were killed? Then, again, what a malicious misrepresentation did he make to the pontiffs, of the temples of the immortal gods being plundered in a captured city! If it were allowable that Rome should be decorated with the ornaments of Syracuse, and other conquered places, then the laws of war must lose their force in the case of Ambracia alone, among conquered towns. For his part, he besought the conscript fathers, and requested the tribunes, not to suffer him to become a subject of derision to a most haughty enemy.”

5 All around were in his favour; and some entreated the tribune to desist, while others sharply reproved his conduct. The speech of his colleague, Tiberius Gracchus, moved him most, that, “for a man in office to prosecute even his own quarrels, was an example of no good tendency; but, that a tribune of the people should take upon himself to be a solicitor in the quarrel of another, was infamous, and highly unworthy of the power and sacred laws of the order to which he belonged. That men ought to love or hate others, approve or disapprove of measures, according to the dictates of their own judgment; but that a tribune ought not to depend on the look or nod of another man, veer about at the movements of another’s will, and make himself a tool to his displeasure; nor remember a private charge, committed to him by Marcus Æmilius, and forget that the tribuneship was a public charge, intrusted to him by the Roman people, for the protection and liberty of private citizens, not to

aggrandize the arbitrary power of a consul. His colleague did not seem to consider that this circumstance would be committed to record and posterity: that, of two plebeian tribunes of the same college, one sacrificed his own resentment to the public good, the other prosecuted the resentment of another man which was merely intrusted to him." When the tribune, overcome by these severe rebukes, had withdrawn from the meeting, a triumph was voted to Marcus Fulvius, on the motion of Servius Sulpicius, the prætor. When he returned thanks to the conscript fathers, he then mentioned, that, "on the day of his taking Ambracia, he had vowed to celebrate the great games in honour of Jupiter the supremely good and great; that a contribution for that purpose had been made to him by the several states, amounting to one hundred and ten pounds' weight of gold; and he requested them to order that sum to be set apart, out of the money which he was to deposit in the treasury, after being borne in triumph." The senate ordered the college of pontiffs to be consulted, whether it were necessary that the whole of that sum should be expended on the games: when the pontiffs had answered, that it mattered little to religion what was the expense of the games, the senate gave permission to Fulvius to expend as much as he thought proper, provided he did not exceed eighty thousand sesterces. He, at first, intended to celebrate his triumph in the month of January; but, hearing that the consul Æmilius, in consequence of a letter from the tribune Abutius, concerning his waving his protest, was coming in person to Rome, to hinder his triumph, but had been obliged, by sickness to halt on the road, he hastened the time of the celebration, lest he should have more contests about it than he had met in the war. He triumphed over the Ætolians and Cephallenia on the tenth day before the calends of January. There were carried before his chariot, golden crowns to the amount of one hundred and twelve pounds' weight; of silver, eighty-three thousand pounds; of gold, two hundred and forty-three thousand; of Attic tetradrachms, one hundred and eighteen thousand; of the coin called Philippeans, twelve thousand four hundred and twenty-two; brazen statues, two hundred and eighty-five; marble statues, two hundred and thirty; arms, weapons, and other spoils in great quantities: besides these, catapultas, ballistas, and engines of every kind; and in the procession

were led twenty-seven commanders, either Ætolian and Cephallenian, or belonging to king Antiochus, and left with them. Before he rode into the city, in the Flaminian circus, he presented great numbers of tribunes, præfects, horsemen, centurions, both Romans and allies, with military gifts; to each of the soldiers he distributed out of the booty twenty-five denariuses, double to a centurion, triple to a horseman.

6 The time of the election of consuls now approached; and as Marcus Æmilius, to whose lot that business had fallen, could not attend, Caius Flaminius came home to Rome. Spurius Posthumius Albinus and Quintus Marcus Philippus were elected consuls by him. Then were chosen as prætors, — Titus Mænius, Publius Cornelius Sulla, Caius Calpurnius Piso, Marcus Licinius Lucullus, Caius Aurelius Scaurus, and Lucius Quintius Crispinus. At the close of the year, after the magistrates were appointed, on the third day before the nones of March, Cneius Manlius Vulso triumphed over the Gauls inhabiting Asia. The reason of his deferring his triumph so long was, to avoid standing a trial under the Petillian law, during the prætorship of Quintus Terentius Culleo; and the being involved in the ill consequences of the sentence passed on another, that by which Lucius Scipio was condemned; especially as the judges would be more disposed to severity against him than against Scipio, for this reason, because fame had reported, that he, Scipio's successor, had, by tolerating every description of licentiousness, ruined military discipline, so strictly preserved by his predecessor. Nor were the facts, which were reported to have happened in the province far from the eyes of spectators, the only things that disgraced his character; but still more so, those circumstances which were every day beheld in his soldiers; for by this army returning from Asia was the origin of foreign luxury imported into the city. These men first brought to Rome gilded couches, rich tapestry, with hangings and other works of the loom; and, what were then deemed magnificent furniture, single-footed tables and buffets. At entertainments, likewise, were introduced female players on the harp and timbrel, with buffoons for the diversion of the guests. Their meats also began to be prepared with greater care and cost; while the cook, whom the ancients considered as the meanest of their slaves both in estimation and use,

became highly valuable, and what was considered as a servile office began to be considered an art. Nevertheless, those introductions which were then looked on as remarkable were scarcely even the seeds of the future luxury.

7 Cneius Manlius carried in the triumph two hundred golden crowns of twelve pounds' weight; two hundred and twenty thousand pounds' weight of silver; two thousand two hundred and three of gold; one hundred and twenty-seven thousand Attic tetradrachms; two hundred and fifty thousand cistophoruses; sixteen thousand three hundred and twenty golden Philippeans; together with abundance of Gallic arms and spoils in chariots. Fifty-two generals of the enemy were led before his car. He distributed to each of his soldiers forty-two denariuses, and double that sum to a centurion; to the foot-soldiers double pay, to the horsemen triple. Great numbers of all ranks, whom he had distinguished by gifts, accompanied him. The verses thrown out by the soldiers were of such a kind, that it was quite evident that they were sung to a commander who had been indulgent to them, and courted their affections. It was indeed evident that the triumph was celebrated with a greater degree of favour by the troops, than by the citizens. The friends of Manlius, however, were able to acquire for him the regard of the people also; through whose efforts a decree of the senate was passed, ordering, that "such part of the soldiers' pay, contributed to the public funds by the people, as was not yet repaid, should be discharged out of that which had been carried in the procession to the treasury." Accordingly the city prætors, with care and fidelity, paid twenty-five denariuses and a half instead of each thousand asses. About this time two military tribunes arrived from the two Spains with letters from Caius Atinius and Lucius Manlius, who governed those provinces. From these letters it appeared, that the Celtiberians and Lusitanians were in arms, and ravaging the territories of the allies; the senate, however, deferred all consideration of that business until the new magistrates should come into office. This year, during the celebration of the Roman games which Publius Cornelius Cethegus and Aulus Postumius Albinus exhibited, a pole in the circus, being loosely set in the ground, fell on the statue of Pollentia, and threw it down. The senate moved by such a religious circumstance, voted that one day

should be added to the celebration of the games, that two statues should be set up instead of the one, and that one of them, a new statue, should be gilded. The plebeian games were likewise repeated for one day, by the ædiles Caius Sempronius Blæsus and Marcus Furius Luscus.

8 The following year diverted Spurius Postumius Albinus and Quintus Marcius Philippus, from the care of armies, and wars, and provinces, to the punishing of an intestine conspiracy. The prætors cast lots for their provinces, Titus Mænius obtained the city jurisdiction; Marcus Licinius Lucullus, that between citizens and foreigners; Caius Aurelius Scaurus, Sardinia; Publius Cornelius Sulla, Sicily; Lucius Quintius Crispinus, Hither Spain; Caius Calpurnius Piso, Farther Spain. The making inquisition concerning clandestine meetings was decreed to both the consuls. A Greek of mean condition came, first, into Etruria, not with one of the many trades which his nation, of all others the most skilful in the cultivation of the mind and body, has introduced among us, but a low operator in sacrifices, and a soothsayer; nor was he one who, by open religious rites, and by publicly professing his calling and teaching, imbued the minds of his followers with terror, but a priest of secret and nocturnal rites. These mysterious rites were, at first, imparted to a few, but afterwards communicated to great numbers, both men and women. To their religious performances were added the pleasures of wine and feasting, to allure a greater number of proselytes. When wine, lascivious discourse, night, and the intercourse of the sexes had extinguished every sentiment of modesty, then debaucheries of every kind began to be practised, as every person found at hand that sort of enjoyment to which he was disposed by the passion predominant in his nature. Nor were they confined to one species of vice — the promiscuous intercourse of free-born men and women; but from this store-house of villany proceeded false witnesses, counterfeit seals, false evidences, and pretended discoveries. From the same place, too, proceeded poison and secret murders, so that in some cases, even the bodies could not be found for burial. Many of their audacious deeds were brought about by treachery, but most of them by force; it served to conceal the violence, that, on account of the loud shouting, and the noise of drums and cymbals, none of the cries uttered by the persons

suffering violation or murder could be heard abroad.

9 The infection of this mischief, like that from the contagion of disease, spread from Etruria to Rome; where, the size of the city affording greater room for such evils, and more means of concealment, cloaked it at first; but information of it was at length brought to the consul, Postumius, principally in the following manner. Publius Æbutius, whose father had held equestrian rank in the army, was left an orphan, and his guardians dying, he was educated under the eye of his mother Duronia, and his stepfather Titus Sempronius Rutilus. Duronia was entirely devoted to her husband; and Sempronius, having managed the guardianship in such a manner that he could not give an account of the property, wished that his ward should be either made away with, or bound to compliance with his will by some strong tie. The Bacchanalian rites were the only way to effect the ruin of the youth. His mother told him, that, “during his sickness, she had made a vow for him, that if he should recover, she would initiate him among the Bacchanalians; that being, through the kindness of the gods, bound by this vow, she wished now to fulfil it; that it was necessary he should preserve chastity for ten days, and on the tenth, after he should have supped and washed himself, she would conduct him into the place of worship.” There was a freedwoman called Hispala Fecenia, a noted courtesan, but deserving of a better lot than the mode of life to which she had been accustomed when very young, and a slave, and by which she had maintained herself since her manumission. As they lived in the same neighbourhood, an intimacy subsisted between her and Æbutius, which was far from being injurious either to the young man’s character or property; for he had been loved and wooed by her unsolicited; and as his friends supplied his wants illiberally, he was supported by the generosity of this woman; nay, to such a length did she go under the influence of her affection, that, on the death of her patron, because she was under the protection of no one, having petitioned the tribunes and prætors for a guardian, when she was making her will, she constituted Æbutius her sole heir.

10 As such pledges of mutual love subsisted, and as neither kept any thing secret from the other, the young man, jokingly bid her not be surprised if he separated himself from her for a few nights; as, “on

account of a religious duty, to a vow made for his health, he intended to be initiated among the Bacchanalians." On hearing this, the woman, greatly alarmed, cried out, "May the gods will more favourably!" affirming that "it would be better, both for him and her, to lose their lives than that he should do such a thing:" she then imprecated curses, vengeance, and destruction, on the head of those who advised him to such a step. The young man, surprised both at her expressions and at the violence of her alarm, bid her refrain from curses, for "it was his mother who ordered him to do so, with the approbation of his stepfather." "Then," said she, "your stepfather (for perhaps it is not allowable to censure your mother) is in haste to destroy, by that act, your chastity, your character, your hopes, and your life." To him, now surprised by such language, and inquiring what was the matter, she said, (after imploring the favour and pardon of the gods and goddesses, if, compelled by her regard for him, she disclosed what ought not to be revealed,) that "when in service, she had gone into that place of worship, as an attendant on her mistress; but that, since she had obtained her liberty, she had never once gone near it: that she knew it to be the receptacle of all kinds of debaucheries; that it was well known that, for two years past, no one older than twenty had been initiated there. When any person was introduced he was delivered as a victim to the priests, who led him away to a place resounding with shouts, the sound of music, and the beating of cymbals and drums, lest his cries, while suffering violation, should be heard abroad." She then entreated and besought him to put an end to that matter in some way or other; and not to plunge himself into a situation, where he must first, suffer, and afterwards commit, every thing that was abominable. Nor did she quit him until the young man gave her his promise to keep himself clear of those rites.

11 When he came home, and his mother made mention of such things pertaining to the ceremony as were to be performed on this day, and on the several following days, he told her that he would not perform any of them, nor did he intend to be initiated. His stepfather was present at this discourse. Immediately the woman observed, that "he could not deprive himself of the company of Hispala for ten nights; that he was so fascinated by the caresses and baneful

influence of that serpent, that he retained no respect for his mother or stepfather, or even the gods themselves.” His mother on one side and his stepfather on the other loading him with reproaches, drove him out of the house, assisted by four slaves. The youth on this repaired to his aunt Æbutia, told her the reason of his being turned out by his mother, and the next day, by her advice, gave information of the affair to the consul Postumius, without any witnesses of the interview. The consul dismissed him, with an order to come again on the third day following. In the mean time, he inquired of his mother-in-law Sulpicia, a woman of respectable character, “whether she knew an old matron called Æbutia, who lived on the Aventine hill?” When she had answered that “she knew her well, and that Æbutia was a woman of virtue, and of the ancient purity of morals”; he said that he required a conference with her, and that a messenger should be sent for her to come. Æbutia, on receiving the message, came to Sulpicia’s house, and the consul, soon after, coming in, as if by accident, introduced a conversation about Æbutius, her brother’s son. The tears of the woman burst forth, and she began to lament the unhappy lot of the youth: “who, after being robbed of his property by persons whom it least of all became, was then residing with her, being driven out of doors by his mother, because, being a good youth, (may the gods be propitious to him,)” he refused to be initiated in ceremonies devoted to lewdness, as report goes.

12 The consul, thinking that he had made sufficient inquiries concerning Æbutius, and that his testimony was unquestionable, having dismissed Æbutia, requested his mother-in-law to send again to the Aventine, and bring from that quarter Hispala, a freedwoman, not unknown in that neighbourhood; for there were some queries which he wished to make of her. Hispala being alarmed because she was sent for by a woman of such high rank and respectable character, and being ignorant of the cause, after that she saw the lictors in the porch, the multitude attending on the consul and the consul himself, was very near fainting. The consul led her into a retired part of the house, and, in the presence of his mother-in-law, told her, that “she need not be uneasy, if she could resolve to speak the truth. She might receive a promise of protection either from Sulpicia, a matron of such dignified character, or from himself. That she ought to tell him,

what was accustomed to be done at the Bacchanalia, in the nocturnal orgies in the grove of Stimula. When the woman heard this, such terror and trembling of all her limbs seized her, that for a long time she was unable to speak; but recovering, at length she said, that “when she was very young, and a slave, she had been initiated, together with her mistress; but for several years past, since she had obtained her liberty, she knew nothing of what was done there.” The consul commended her so far, as not having denied that she was initiated, but charged her to explain all the rest with the same sincerity; and told her, affirming that she knew nothing further, that “there would not be the same tenderness or pardon extended to her, if she should be convicted by another person, and one who had made a voluntary confession; that there was such a person, who had heard the whole from her, and had given him a full account of it.”

13 The woman, now thinking without a doubt that it must certainly be Æbutius who had discovered the secret, threw herself at Sulpicia’s feet, and at first began to beseech her, “not to let the private conversation of a freedwoman with her lover be turned not only into a serious business, but even capital charge;” declaring that “she had spoken of such things merely to frighten him, and not because she knew any thing of the kind.” On this Postumius, growing angry, said, “she seemed to imagine that then too she was wrangling with her gallant Æbutius, and not that she was speaking in the house of a most respectable matron, and to a consul.” Sulpicia raised her, terrified, from the ground, and while she encouraged her to speak out, at the same time pacified her son-in-law’s anger. At length she took courage, and, having censured severely the perfidy of Æbutius, because he had made such a return for the extraordinary kindness shown to him in that very instance, she declared that “she stood in great dread of the gods, whose secret mysteries she was to divulge; and in much greater dread of the men implicated, who would tear her asunder with their hands if she became an informer. Therefore, she entreated this favour of Sulpicia, and likewise of the consul, that they would send her away to some place out of Italy, where she might pass the remainder of her life in safety.” The consul desired her to be of good spirits, and said that it should be his care that she might live securely in Rome.

Hispala then gave a full account of the origin of the mysteries. "At first," she said, "those rites were performed by women. No man used to be admitted. They had three stated days in the year on which persons were initiated among the Bacchanalians, in the day-time. The matrons used to be appointed priestesses, in rotation. Paculla Minia, a Campanian, when priestess, made an alteration in every particular, as if by the direction of the gods. For she first introduced men, who were her own sons, Minucius and Herrenius, both surnamed Cerrinius; changed the time of celebration, from day to night; and, instead of three days in the year, appointed five days of initiation, in each month. From the time that the rites were thus made common, and men were intermixed with women, and the licentious freedom of the night was added, there was nothing wicked, nothing flagitious, that had not been practised among them. There were more frequent pollution of men, with each other, than with women. If any were less patient in submitting to dishonour, or more averse to the commission of vice, they were sacrificed as victims. To think nothing unlawful, was the grand maxim of their religion. The men, as if bereft of reason, uttered predictions, with frantic contortions of their bodies; the women, in the habit of Bacchantes, with their hair dishevelled, and carrying blazing torches, ran down to the Tiber; where, dipping their torches in the water, they drew them up again with the flame unextinguished, being composed of native sulphur and charcoal. They said that those men were carried off by the gods, whom the machines laid hold of and dragged from their view into secret caves. These were such as refused to take the oath of the society, or to associate in their crimes, or to submit to defilement. Their number was exceedingly great now, almost a second state in themselves, and among them were many men and women of noble families. During the last two years it had been a rule, that no person above the age of twenty should be initiated; for they sought for people of such age as made them more liable to suffer deception and personal abuse."

¹⁴ When she had completed her information, she again fell at the consuls knees, and repeated the same entreaties, that he might send her out of the country. The consul requests his mother-in-law to clear some part of the house, into which Hispala might remove; accordingly, an apartment was assigned her in the upper part of it, of

which the stairs, opening into the street, were stopped up, and the entrance made from the inner court. Thither all Fecenia's effects were immediately removed, and her domestics sent for. Æbutius, also, was ordered to remove to the house of one of the consul's clients.

When both the informers were by these means in his power, Postumius represented the affair to the senate, laying before them the whole circumstance, in due order; the information given to him at first, and the discoveries gained by his inquiries afterwards. Great consternation seized on the senators; not only on the public account, lest such conspiracies and nightly meetings might be productive of secret treachery and mischief, but, likewise, on account of their own particular families, lest some of their relations might be involved in this infamous affair. The senate voted, however, that thanks should be given to the consul because he had investigated the matter with singular diligence, and without exciting any alarm. They then commit to the consuls the holding an inquiry, out of the common course, concerning the Bacchanals and their nocturnal orgies. They order them to take care that the informers, Æbutius and Fecenia, might suffer no injury on that account; and to invite other informers in the matter, by offering rewards. They ordered that the officials in those rites, whether men or women, should be sought for, not only at Rome, but also throughout all the market towns and places of assembly, and be delivered over to the power of the consuls; and also that proclamation should be made in the city of Rome, and published through all Italy, that "no persons initiated in the Bacchanalian rites should presume to come together or assemble on account of those rites, or to perform any such kind of worship;" and above all, that search should be made for those who had assembled or conspired for personal abuse, or for any other flagitious practices. The senate passed these decrees. The consuls directed the curule ædiles to make strict inquiry after all the priests of those mysteries, and to keep such as they could apprehend in custody until their trial; they at the same time charged the plebeian ædiles to take care that no religious ceremonies should be performed in private. To the capital triumvirs the task was assigned to post watches in proper places of the city, and to use vigilance in preventing any meetings by night. In order

likewise to guard against fires, five assistants were joined to the triumvirs, so that each might have the charge of the buildings in his own separate district, on this side the Tiber.

15 After despatching these officers to their several employments, the consuls mounted the rostrum; and, having summoned an assembly of the people, one of the consuls, when he had finished the solemn form of prayer which the magistrates are accustomed to pronounce before they address the people, proceeded thus: "Romans, to no former assembly was this solemn supplication to the gods more suitable or even more necessary: as it serves to remind you, that these are the deities whom your forefathers pointed out as the objects of your worship, veneration, and prayers: and not those which infatuated men's minds with corrupt and foreign modes of religion, and drove them, as if goaded by the furies, to every lust and every vice. I am at a loss to know what I should conceal, or how far I ought to speak out; for I dread lest, if I leave you ignorant of any particular, I should give room for carelessness, or if I disclose the whole, that I should too much awaken your fears. Whatever I shall say, be assured that it is less than the magnitude and atrociousness of the affair would justify: exertions will be used by us that it may be sufficient to set us properly on our guard. That the Bacchanalian rites have subsisted for some time past in every country in Italy, and are at present performed in many parts of this city also, I am sure you must have been informed, not only by report, but by the nightly noises and horrid yells that resound through the whole city; but still you are ignorant of the nature of that business. Part of you think it is some kind of worship of the gods; others, some excusable sport and amusement, and that, whatever it may be, it concerns but a few. As regards the number, if I tell you that they are many thousands, that you would be immediately terrified to excess is a necessary consequence; unless I further acquaint you who and what sort of persons they are. First, then, a great part of them are women, and this was the source of the evil; the rest are males, but nearly resembling women; actors and pathics in the vilest lewdness; night revellers, driven frantic by wine, noise of instruments, and clamours. The conspiracy, as yet, has no strength; but it has abundant means of acquiring strength, for they are becoming more numerous every day.

Your ancestors would not allow that you should ever assemble casually, without some good reason; that is, either when the standard was erected on the Janiculum, and the army led out on occasion of elections; or when the tribunes proclaimed a meeting of the commons, or some of the magistrates summoned you to it. And they judged it necessary, that wherever a multitude was, there should be a lawful governor of that multitude present. Of what kind do you suppose are the meetings of these people? In the first place, held in the night, and in the next, composed promiscuously of men and women. If you knew at what ages the males are initiated, you would feel not only pity but also shame for them. Romans, can you think youths initiated, under such oaths as theirs, are fit to be made soldiers? That arms should be intrusted with wretches brought out of that temple of obscenity? Shall these, contaminated with their own foul debaucheries and those of others, be champions for the chastity of your wives and children?

¹⁶ “But the mischief were less, if they were only effeminated by their practices; of that the disgrace would chiefly affect themselves; if they refrained their hands from outrage, and their thoughts from fraud. But never was there in the state an evil of so great magnitude, or one that extended to so many persons or so many acts of wickedness. Whatever deeds of villany have, during late years, been committed through lust; whatever, through fraud; whatever, through violence; they have all, be assured, proceeded from that association alone. They have not yet perpetrated all the crimes for which they combined. The impious assembly at present confines itself to outrages on private citizens; because it has not yet acquired force sufficient to crush the commonwealth: but the evil increases and spreads daily; it is already too great for the private ranks of life to contain it, and aims Us views at the body of the state. Unless you take timely precautions, Romans, their nightly assembly may become as large as this, held in open day, and legally summoned by a consul. Now they one by one dread you collected together in the assembly; presently, when you shall have separated and retired to your several dwellings, in town and country, they will again come together, and will hold a consultation on the means of their own safety, and, at the same time, of your destruction. Thus united, they will cause terror to

every one of you. Each of you, therefore, ought to pray that his kindred may have behaved with wisdom and prudence; and if lust, if madness, has dragged any of them into that abyss, to consider such a person as the relation of those with whom he has conspired for every disgraceful and reckless act, and not as one of your own. I am not secure, lest some, even of yourselves, may have erred through mistake; for nothing is more deceptive in appearance than false religion. When the authority of the gods is held out as a pretext to cover vice, fear enters our minds, lest, in punishing the crimes of men, we may violate some divine right connected therewith. Numberless decisions of the pontiffs, decrees of the senate, and even answers of the aruspices, free you from religious scruples of this character. How often in the ages of our fathers was it given in charge to the magistrates, to prohibit the performance of any foreign religious rites; to banish strolling sacrificers and soothsayers from the forum, the circus, and the city; to search for, and burn, books of divination; and to abolish every mode of sacrificing that was not conformable to the Roman practice! For they, completely versed in every divine and human law, maintained, that nothing tended so strongly to the subversion of religion as sacrifice, when we offered it not after the institutions of our forefathers, but after foreign customs. Thus much I thought necessary to mention to you beforehand, that no vain scruple might disturb your minds when you should see us demolishing the places resorted to by the Bacchanalians, and dispersing their impious assemblies. We shall do all these things with the favour and approbation of the gods; who, because they were indignant that their divinity was dishonoured by those people's lusts and crimes, have drawn forth their proceedings from hidden darkness into the open light; and who have directed them to be exposed, not that they may escape with impunity, but in order that they may be punished and suppressed. The senate have committed to me and my colleague, an inquisition extraordinary concerning that affair. What is requisite to be done by ourselves, in person, we will do with energy. The charge of posting watches through the city, during the night, we have committed to the inferior magistrates; and, for your parts, it is incumbent on you to execute vigorously whatever duties are assigned you, and in the several places where each will be placed, to perform

whatever orders you shall receive, and to use your best endeavours that no danger or tumult may arise from the treachery of the party involved in the guilt."

17 They then ordered the decrees of the senate to be read, and published a reward for any discoverer who should bring any of the guilty before them, or give information against any of the absent, adding, that "if any person accused should fly", they would limit a certain day upon which, if he did not answer when summoned, he would be condemned in his absence; and if any one should be charged who was out of Italy, they would allow him a longer time, if he should wish to come and make his defence." They then issued an edict, that "no person whatever should presume to buy or sell any thing for the purpose of leaving the country; or to receive or conceal, or by any means aid the fugitives." On the assembly being dismissed, great terror spread throughout the city; nor was it confined merely within the walls, or to the Roman territory, for every where throughout the whole of Italy alarm began to be felt, when the letters from the guest-friends were received, concerning the decree of the senate, and what passed in the assembly, and the edict of the consuls. During the night, which succeeded the day in which the affair was made public, great numbers, attempting to fly, were seized, and brought back by the triumvirs, who had posted guards at all the gates; and informations were lodged against many, some of whom, both men and women, put themselves to death. Above seven thousand men and women are said to have taken the oath of the association. But it appeared that the heads of the conspiracy were the two Catinii, Marcus and Caius, Roman plebeians; Lucius Opiturnius, a Faliscian; and Minius Cerrinius, a Campanian: that from these proceeded all their criminal practices, and that these, were the chief priests and founders of the sect. Care was taken that they should be apprehended as soon as possible. They were brought before the consuls, and, confessing their guilt, caused no delay to the ends of justice.

18 But so great were the numbers that fled from the city, that because the lawsuits and property of many persons were going to ruin, the prætors, Titus Mænius and Marcus Licinius, were obliged, under the direction of the senate, to adjourn their courts for thirty

days, until the inquiries should be finished by the consuls. The same deserted state of the law-courts, since the persons, against whom charges were brought, did not appear to answer, nor could be found in Rome, necessitated the consuls to make a circuit of the country towns, and there to make their inquisitions and hold the trials. Those who, as it appeared, had been only initiated, and had made after the priest, and in the most solemn form, the prescribed imprecations, in which the accursed conspiracy for the perpetration of every crime and lust was contained, but who had not themselves committed, or compelled others to commit, any of those acts to which they were bound by the oath, — all such they left in prison. But those who had forcibly committed personal defilements or murders, or were stained with the guilt of false evidence, counterfeit seals, forged wills, or other frauds, all these they punished with death. A greater number were executed than thrown into prison; indeed, the multitude of men and women who suffered in both ways, was very considerable. The consuls delivered the women, who were condemned, to their relations, or to those under whose guardianship they were, that they might inflict the punishment in private; but if there did not appear any proper person of the kind to execute the sentence, the punishment was inflicted in public. A charge was then given to demolish all the places where the Bacchanalians had held their meetings; first, in Rome, and then throughout all Italy; excepting those wherein should be found some ancient altar, or consecrated statue. With regard to the future, the senate passed a decree, “that no Bacchanalian rites should be celebrated in Rome or in Italy:” and ordering that, “in case any person should believe some such kind of worship incumbent on him, and necessary; and that he could not, without offence to religion, and incurring guilt, omit it, he should represent this to the city prætor, and the prætor should lay the business before the senate. If permission were granted by the senate, when not less than one hundred members were present, then he might perform those rites, provided that no more than five persons should be present at the sacrifice, and that they should have no common stock of money, nor any president of the ceremonies, nor priest.”

19 Another decree connected with this was then made, on a motion

of the consul, Quintus Marcius, that “the business respecting the persons who had served the consuls as informers should be proposed to the senate in its original form, when Spurius Postumius should have finished his inquiries, and returned to Rome.” They voted that Minius Cerrinius, the Campanian, should be sent to Ardea, to be kept in custody there; and that a caution should be given to the magistrates of that city, to guard him with more than ordinary care, so as to prevent not only his escaping, but his having an opportunity of committing suicide. Spurius Postumius some time after came to Rome, and on his proposing the question, concerning the reward to be given to Publius Æbutius and Hispala Fecenia, because the Bacchanalian ceremonies were discovered by their exertions, the senate passed a vote, that “the city quæstors should give to each of them, out of the public treasury, one hundred thousand *asses*; and that the consuls should desire the plebeian tribunes to propose to the commons as soon as convenient, that the campaigns of Publius Æbutius should be considered as served, that he should not become a soldier against his wishes, nor should any censor assign him a horse at the public charge.” They voted also, that “Hispala Fecenia should enjoy the privileges of alienating her property by gift or deed; of marrying out of her rank, and of choosing a guardian, as if a husband had conferred them by will; that she should be at liberty to wed a man of honourable birth, and that there should be no disgrace or ignominy to him who should marry her; and that the consuls and prætors then in office, and their successors, should take care that no injury should be offered to that woman, and that she might live in safety. That the senate wished, and thought proper, that all these things should be so ordered.” — All these particulars were proposed to the commons, and executed, according to the vote of the senate; and full permission was given to the consuls to determine respecting the impunity and rewards of the other informers.

20 Quintus Marcius, having completed the inquiries in his district, prepared at length to proceed into the province of Liguria, for the service of which he received a supply of three thousand Roman foot and one hundred and fifty horse, with five thousand Latin foot and two hundred horse. The same province, and the same numbers of horse and foot, had been voted to his colleague, and they received the

armies which, during the preceding year, the consuls, Caius Flaminius and Marcus Æmilius, had commanded. They were also ordered, by a decree of the senate, to raise two new legions, and they demanded from the allies and Latins twenty thousand foot and one thousand three hundred horse; besides, they levied three thousand Roman foot and two hundred horse. It was resolved that all this army, except the legions, should be led to reinforce the army in Spain. The consuls, therefore, while they themselves were engaged in the inquisitions, appointed Titus Mænius to hold the levy. When the trials were finished, Quintus Marcius first marched against the Apuan Ligurians. While he pursued these into very remote fastnesses, which had always served them as lurking-places and receptacles, he was surrounded in a disadvantageous position, a narrow defile which the enemy had previously seized. Here four thousand soldiers fell, and three standards of the second legion, with eleven ensigns of the Latin allies, were taken; abundance of arms were likewise lost, which were thrown away by the men in every direction, because they impeded their flight through the woody paths. The Ligurians ceased to pursue, sooner than the Romans to fly. As soon as the consul had effected his escape out of the enemy's territories, he disbanded the troops, in the country of their friends, in order that the greatness of the loss sustained might not appear. But he could not obliterate all memorial of his misconduct; for the pass, from which the Ligurians put him to flight, has been called the Marcian pass.

21 A little before this intelligence from the war in Liguria was made public, a letter from Spain was read to them, which brought joy mingled with grief. Caius Atinius, who, two years before, had gone to that province in quality of prætor, fought in the territory of Asta a pitched battle with the Lusitanians. About six thousand of the enemy were killed, the rest routed, driven from the field, and their camp taken. He then led his legions to attack the town of Asta, which he took with little more trouble than he met at the camp; but, having been wounded whilst he was approaching the walls too incautiously, he died in a few days from the effects of the wound. When the letter was read, acquainting them with the proprætor's death, the senate

voted, that a courier should be sent to overtake the prætor, Caius Calpurnius, at the port of Luna, and inform him, that the senate thought proper that he should hasten his journey lest the province should be without a governor. The person who was sent reached Luna on the fourth day, but Calpurnius had set out some days before. In Hither Spain, Lucius Manlius Acidinus, who had come into that province at the same time when Caius Atinius came into his, fought a battle with the Celtiberians. They quitted the field, the victory being undecided with the exception of this, that the Celtiberians removed their camp from that quarter on the following night: permission was thus afforded to the Romans to bury their dead, and collect the spoils. In a few days after, the Celtiberians, having gathered a large army, attacked the Romans, near the town of Calaguris. Nothing is recorded respecting the cause that rendered them weaker after their numbers were increased, but they were defeated in the battle; twelve thousand of their men were killed, more than two thousand taken, and the Roman army got possession of their camp, and had not a successor, by his arrival, checked the career of the conqueror, the Celtiberians would have been completely subdued. Both the new prætors drew off their armies into winter quarters.

22 During the time in which this intelligence was announced from Spain, the games called Taurilia were celebrated, during two days, on a religious account. Then Marcus Fulvius exhibited games, which he had vowed in the Ætolian war, and which lasted ten days. Many artists, out of respect to him, came from Greece on the occasion; and now, for the first time, the Romans had an opportunity of seeing contests of wrestlers; they were also presented with a hunt of lions and panthers; the games were celebrated with almost the variety and abundance of the present age. The nine days' solemnity succeeded, because showers of stones had fallen, for three days, in Picenum; and fires from heaven were said to have arisen in various places, and singed the clothes of many persons by slight flashes. By order of the pontiffs, a supplication, of one day's continuance, was added because the temple of Ops, in the Capitol, was struck by lightning. The consuls sacrificed victims of the larger kinds, and purified the city. At the same time, an account was brought from Umbria, of a hermaphrodite, twelve years old, being found there. The consuls

wishing to get rid of the prodigy, as it was a fearful omen, ordered that it should be removed instantly out of the Roman territory, and put to death. During this year, a body of Transalpine Gauls came into Venetia, without committing depredation or hostility, and pitched on a spot for building a town, not far from that where Aquileia now stands. Ambassadors were sent from Rome, over the Alps, on this business, and to them an answer was given that “they had not emigrated by the authority of their state, nor did their countrymen know what they were doing in Italy.” About this time Lucius Scipio celebrated games, which he said he had vowed during the war with Antiochus; they lasted ten days, and the money was contributed for the purpose by the kings and states of Asia. Valerius Antias asserts, that, after his condemnation, and the sale of his effects, he was sent as ambassador into Asia, to adjust disputes between the kings Antiochus and Eumenes; that there the money was contributed for him, and actors collected through Asia: and that after his embassy, the subject of those games (of which he had made no mention after the war, in which he asserted that they had been vowed) was at length introduced in the senate-house.

23 As the year was now drawing to a conclusion, Quintus Marcius, then abroad, was soon to go out of office. Spurius Postumius, after having conducted the inquisitions with the utmost care and propriety, held the elections. Appius Claudius Pulcher and Marcus Sempronius Tuditanus were chosen consuls. Next day, Publius Cornelius Cethegus, Aulus Postumius Albinus, Caius Afranius Stellio, Caius Atilius Serranus Lucius Postumius Tempsanus, and Marcus Claudius Marcellus were elected prætors. Towards the close of the year, because the consul Spurius Postumius reported that in travelling along the coasts of Italy, for the purpose of holding the inquisitions, he had found two colonies deserted, Sipontum on the upper sea, and Buxentum on the lower; in pursuance of a decree of the senate, Lucius Scribonus Libo, Marcus Tuccius, and Cneius Bebius Tamphilus, were appointed commissioners for conducting colonies thither, by Titus Mænius, city prætor. The war with king Perseus and the Macedonians, which was impending, has not derived its origin from what most persons imagine, nor from Perseus himself. The preliminary steps were taken by Philip, and, if he had lived some

time longer, he would himself have carried on that war. When the conditions of peace were imposed on him, when he was vanquished, one particular chagrined him more than all the rest; this was because the liberty of wreaking his vengeance on such of the Macedonians as had revolted from him in the course of the war, was taken from him by the senate; although, because Quintius had left that point undetermined, when he was adjusting the articles of pacification, he had not despaired of the possibility of obtaining it. Afterwards, on the defeat of Antiochus at Thermopylæ, the armies being separated at the time when the consul Acilius carried on the siege of Heraclea, and Philip besieged Lamia, because he was ordered to retire from the walls of Lamia, as soon as Heraclea was taken, and the town was surrendered to the Romans, he was grievously offended with this circumstance. The consul, indeed, in some measure, soothed his resentment; for, when he was hastening to Naupactum, where the Ætolians had re-assembled after their flight, he gave Philip permission to make war on Amynder and Athamania; and to annex to his dominions the cities which the Ætolians had taken from the Thessalians. Without much difficulty, he expelled Amynder from Athamania, and got possession of several cities. He also reduced under his dominion the city of Demetrias, a place of great strength, and convenient in every respect; with the whole of the Magnesian state. Afterwards, finding that several cities in Thrace, through an abuse of the liberty which they had lately acquired, and to which they had not been accustomed, were distracted by dissensions among their leading men, he, by uniting himself to the parties that were worsted in their disputes with their countrymen, made himself master of them all.

24 By these means the king's wrath against the Romans was appeased for the present; but he never abandoned the project of collecting such a force during peace, as would enable him to maintain a war, whenever the fortunate occasion should be offered. He augmented the revenues of his kingdom, not only out of the produce of the lands and the port duties, but also he worked the mines, both the old ones which had been neglected, and new ones which he opened in many places. Then, (in order to restore the former degree of population, which had been diminished by the

calamities of war,) he not only caused an increase in the offspring of that generation, by compelling every one to marry and rear children; but he transplanted a great multitude of Thracians into Macedonia, and, during a long suspension of arms, he employed the utmost assiduity in augmenting, by every possible means, the strength of his kingdom. Causes afterward occurred, which served to revive his animosity against the Romans. Complaints made by the Thessalians and Perrhæbians, of his holding possession of their towns, and, by ambassadors from king Eumenes, of his having forcibly seized the cities of Thrace, and transplanted great numbers of their people into Macedonia, had been received in such a manner as plainly evinced that they were not thought unworthy of attention. What made the greatest impression on the senate, was, their having been informed, that Philip aimed at the possession of Ænus and Maronea; as to the Thessalians, they regarded them less. Ambassadors came, likewise, from the Athamanians, complaining not of the loss of a part of their territory, nor of encroachment on their frontier, — but that all Athamania had been brought under the dominion and jurisdiction of the king. Exiles from Maronea also appeared, who had been expelled by the king's troops, for having supported the cause of liberty; who reported, that not only Maronea, but Ænus too, was held in subjection by him. Ambassadors came from Philip to defend his conduct, who asserted, that, nothing had been done without permission from the Roman commanders. That “the states of the Thessalians, Perrhæbians, and Magnesians, and the nation of the Athamanians, with Amynder, had all been engaged in the same cause with the Ætolians. That after the expulsion of king Antiochus, the consul, being himself busy in reducing the towns of Ætolia, had named Philip to subdue those states, and they remained subject to him in consequence of their being conquered by his arms.” The senate, too, that they might not make any decision concerning the king in his absence, sent Quintus Cascilius Metellus, Marcus Bæbius Tamphilus, and Tiberius Sempronius, ambassadors to adjust those disputes. Previous to their arrival, a convention of all those states who had disputes with the king, was summoned to meet at Tempe in Thessaly.

25 When all were seated there, (the Roman ambassadors in the

character of arbitrators, the Thessalians, Perrhæbians, and Athamanians professedly as accusers, and Philip as defendant, to hear the accusations brought against him,) those who were the heads of the embassies, according to their several tempers, their favour, or their hatred towards the king, spoke, some with acrimony, others with mildness. Philippopolis, Trica, Phaloria, Eurymenæ, and the other towns in their neighbourhood, became the subject of dispute. The point in controversy was, whether these towns were the property of the Thessalians, when they were forcibly taken from them, and held by the Ætolians, (for from these it was acknowledged that Philip had received them,) or whether they were originally belonging to the Ætolians: Acilius having granted them to the king, on the condition that “they had been the property of the Ætolians; and if they had sided with the Ætolians of their own free will, and not compelled by violence and arms.” The question in regard to the towns of the Perrhæbians and Magnesians turned on the same points; for the Ætolians, by holding possession of them occasionally, had confused the rights of all. To these particulars, which were matter of discussion, the complaints of the Thessalians were added, that “if these towns were now restored to them, they would come into their hands in a state of desolation, and depopulated; for besides the loss of inhabitants through the casualties of war, Philip had carried away five hundred of their young men of the first rank into Macedonia, and abused their labour by employing them in servile offices; and had taken pains to render useless whatever he should be compelled to restore to the Thessalians. That Thebes in Phthiotis was the only seaport they had, which formerly produced much profit and advantage to the inhabitants of Thessaly; but that Philip, having collected there a number of ships of burthen, made them steer their course past Thebes to Demetrias, and turned thither the whole commerce by sea. That he did not now scruple to offer violence, even to ambassadors, who, by the law of nations, are every where held inviolable, but had laid an ambush for theirs who were going to Titus Quintius, that the Thessalians were in consequence seized with such dread, that not one of them, even in their own states, or in the general assemblies of the nation, ventured to open his lips. For the Romans, the defenders of their liberty, were far distant; and a severe master close at their side,

debaring them from using the kindness of the Romans. If speech were not free, what else could be said to be so: at present, through confidence in the protection of the ambassadors, they uttered their groans rather than words; but, unless the Romans would take some precautions that both the fears of the Greeks bordering on Macedonia and the arrogance of Philip should be abated, his having been conquered, and their being set at liberty, would prove utterly fruitless. Like a restive, unmanageable horse, he required to be checked with a strong bridle.” These bitter expressions were used by the last speakers among them; those who spoke before having endeavoured by mildness to mitigate his resentment; requesting of him “that he should pardon persons pleading in defence of their liberty; that he should, laying aside the harshness of a master, generally display himself an ally and friend; that he should imitate the Roman people, who wished to unite their allies to them by the ties of affection, rather than of fear.” When the Thessalians had finished, the Perrhæbians pleaded that Gonnocondylos, to which Philip had given the name of Olympias, belonged to Perrhæbia, and ought to be restored to them; and the same demand was made with respect to Malœa, and Ericinium. The Athamanians claimed a restoration of liberty, and the forts Athenæus and Pœtneus.

26 Philip began his discourse also with complaints, that he might maintain the appearance of an accuser rather than of a defendant. He complained that “the Thessalians had taken by force of arms, Menelais in Dolopia, a town belonging to his dominions; likewise, Petra in Pieria was taken by the same Thessalians and the Perrhæbians; that they had reduced under their government Xyniæ, which unquestionably belonged to Ætolia; and that Parachelois, which was under Athamania, was, without any just claim, subjected to the jurisdiction of the Thessalians. As to the charges brought against him, concerning an ambush laid for ambassadors, and of sea-ports being frequented or deserted, the one was quite ridiculous, (as if he were to account for what harbours merchants or sailors should frequent,) and the other the constant tenor of his conduct rejected with scorn. During a number of years, ambassadors had never ceased carrying complaints against him, sometimes to the Roman generals,

at others to Rome to the senate. Which of them had ever been injured, even in words? They said, indeed, that an ambush was once laid for some who were going to Quintius, but they are silent in regard to consequences. Such were the accusations of men searching for false imputations, because they had no truth on their side.” He said, that “the Thessalians, insolently and wantonly, abused the indulgence of the Roman people, too greedily drinking, as it were, strong draughts of liberty after a long thirst; and thus, in the manner of slaves lately set free, made trial of their voices and tongues, and prided themselves in invectives and railings against their masters.” Then, hurried on by passion, he added, that “his sun had not set yet;” which expression, not only the Thessalians, but the Romans also, took as a menace to themselves; and when a murmur of displeasure followed his words, and was at length hushed, he replied to the ambassadors of the Perrhæbians and Athamanians, “that the cases of the cities of which they had spoken were the same. The consul Acilius and the Romans gave them to him, when they were the property of enemies. If the donors chose to resume what they had given, he knew he must submit, but in that case they would, for the gratification of inconstant and unprofitable allies, do injury to a more useful and more faithful friend. For no favour produced less permanent gratitude than the gift of liberty, especially among people who were ready to corrupt it by using it badly.” After examining the merits of the cause, the ambassadors pronounced their judgment, that “the Macedonian garrisons should be withdrawn from the cities in question, and that the kingdom of Macedonia should be limited by its ancient boundaries. That with regard to the injuries which both parties complained of being done to them, it would be requisite to institute some compact for the attainment of justice, in order to decide the controversies between those states and the Macedonians.”

27 The king being grievously offended, the ambassadors proceeded thence to Thessalonica, to give a hearing to the business concerning the cities of Thrace. Here the ambassadors of Eumenes said, that “if the Romans wished that Ænus and Maronea should be independent, the king felt ashamed to say more, than to recommend it to them to leave those people free in fact, and not in words; nor to suffer their kindness to be intercepted by another. But if they had not so much

concern for the states situated in Thrace, it was much more reasonable that Eumenes should possess, as the rewards of war, the places which had been under the dominion of Antiochus, than Philip; and that, either on account of his father Attalus's deserts in the war, waged by the Roman people against Philip himself, or on account of his own, because he had shared all the toils and dangers on land and sea, during the war with Antiochus. Besides, he had the previous judgment of the ten ambassadors to that purpose; who, when they granted the Chersonesus and Lysimachia, surely yielded at the same time Ænus and Maronea; which, even from the proximity of situation, were but a sort of appendage to the larger gift. For, as to Philip, by what merits towards the Roman people, or what right of dominion, had he put garrisons into those places, which were at so great a distance from the borders of Macedonia? They then desired that the Romans would order the Maronites to be called, from whom they would receive more positive information of the condition of those cities." The Maronite ambassadors being called in, declared, that "not in one spot of the city, as in other garrisoned towns, but in every quarter of it, there was a party of the king's troops, and that Maronea was full of Macedonians; in consequence of which, the favourites of the king domineered over the rest; they alone had liberty of speaking, either in the senate or assemblies of the people. All posts of eminence they assumed to themselves, or conferred on whom they thought proper. That the most deserving persons, who had a regard for liberty and for the laws, were either expelled their country, and in exile, or remained in silence, dishonoured and subjected to men of the worst description." They added also a few words respecting their right to the frontier places, affirming, that "Quintus Fabius Labeo, when he was in that country, had fixed as a boundary line to Philip, the old royal road leading to Paroreia, in Thrace, which in no place leads towards the sea; and that Philip afterwards drew a new one in another direction, in order to include the cities and lands of the Maronites."

28 Philip, in his reply to these charges, took quite another course than when lately answering the Thessalians and Perrhæbians, and said:— "My dispute is not now with the Maronites, or with Eumenes, but with you yourselves, Romans, from whom I have long

ago seen that I can obtain no justice. The cities of Macedonia, which had revolted from me during a suspension of arms, I thought should in justice be restored to me; not that they would have made any great accession to my dominions, because the towns are small in themselves, and besides, are situated on the extremities of the frontiers; but because the example was of great consequence towards retaining the rest of the Macedonians in their allegiance. This was refused me. In the Ætolian war, I was ordered by the consul, Manius Acilius, to lay siege to Lamia, and when I had there undergone a long course of fatigue in fighting and constructing works, and was on the point of mounting the walls, the consul recalled me from the city when almost in my possession, and compelled me to draw off my troops from it. As some consolation for this hard treatment, I received permission to seize on some forts, rather than cities, of Thessaly, Perrhæbia, and Athamania. These also you yourselves, Quintus Cæcilius, have taken from me a few days ago. The ambassadors of Eumenes, just now, took for granted, it seems, that Eumenes would with more justice than I possess whatever belonged to Antiochus. I judge the matter to be widely different. For Eumenes could not have remained on his throne, unless the Romans had engaged in the war, and not unless they had conquered. Therefore he has received a favour from you, not you from him; whereas, so far were any part of my dominions from being in danger, that, when Antiochus voluntarily offered to purchase my alliance, with three thousand talents and fifty decked ships, guaranteeing to me all the cities of Greece of which I had heretofore been in possession, I rejected that offer. I avowed myself his enemy, even before Manius Acilius brought over an army into Greece. In conjunction with that consul, I supported whatever share of the war he gave me in charge. To the succeeding consul, Lucius Scipio, when he proposed leading his army by land to the Hellespont, I not only gave a passage through my dominions, but also made roads for him, built bridges, supplied him with provisions, and escorted him, not only through Macedon, but likewise through Thrace; where, besides other business, I had to procure peace from the barbarians. In requital of this zeal, not to call it merit, towards you, whether would it be proper in you, Romans, to enlarge and increase my dominions by acts of generosity, or to ravish

from me what I possessed, either in my own right or through your kindness. The cities of Macedon, which you acknowledge to have belonged to my kingdom, are not restored. Eumenes comes to plunder me as he would Antiochus, and, if you choose to believe him, covers his most shameless chicanery under the decree of the ten ambassadors, by which principally he can be refuted and convicted. For is it not expressly and plainly set down in that writing, that the Chersonese and Lysimachia are granted to Eumenes; and where are Ænus, Maronea, and the cities of Thrace annexed to it in writing? That which he did not dare even to ask from them, shall he obtain from you, as if under their grant? It is a matter of importance in what light you choose to consider me. If you are resolved to persecute me as an enemy and foe, proceed to act as you have begun: but, if you have any consideration for me as a king in friendship and alliance with you, I must entreat you not to judge me deserving of such injurious treatment.”

29 The king’s discourse made a considerable impression on the ambassadors; they therefore left the matter in suspense, by this indecisive resolution, that “if the cities in question were granted to Eumenes by the decree of the ten ambassadors, they would make no alteration. If Philip subdued them in war, he should, by the laws of war, hold them as the prize of victory. If neither were the case, then their judgment was, that the decision should be referred to the senate; and in order that all things might remain in their original state, the garrisons in those cities should be withdrawn.” These causes, principally, alienated the regard of Philip from the Romans, so that the war naturally seems not set on foot by his son Perseus for any fresh causes, but rather for these causes, bequeathed by the father to the son. At Rome there was hitherto no suspicion of a war with Macedonia. Lucius Manlius, the proconsul, had by this time come home from Spain. On his demanding a triumph from the senate assembled in the temple of Bellona, the greatness of his exploits justified the demand, but precedent opposed it; for it was a rule, established by ancient practice, that no commander, who had not brought home his troops, should triumph, unless he had delivered up the province to his successor, in a state of thorough subjection and tranquillity. An honour of a middling grade was conferred on

Manlius, namely, that he should enter the city in ovation. He carried in the procession fifty-two golden crowns, one hundred and twenty-two pounds' weight of gold, with sixteen thousand three hundred pounds of silver; and announced in the senate, that his quæstor, Quintus Fabius, was bringing ten thousand pounds' weight of silver, and eighty of gold, and that he would carry it likewise to the treasury. During that year there was a formidable insurrection of the slaves in Apulia. Lucius Postumius, prætor, governed the province of Tarentum, and conducted with much severity inquiries into a conspiracy of peasants, who had infested the roads and public pastures with robberies. Of these, he passed sentence on no less than seven thousand; many of whom made their escape, and on many punishment was inflicted. The consuls, after being long detained in the city by the levies, set out at length for their provinces.

³⁰ This year, Caius Calpurnius and Lucius Quintus, the two prætors in Spain, drew their troops out of winter quarters, at the commencement of spring, and making a junction of them in Bæturia, for they were resolved to proceed in the operations of the campaign with united zeal and harmony, advanced into Carpetania, where the enemy's camp lay. At a small distance from the towns of Hippo and Toletum, a fight began between the foraging parties, to whom when reinforcements came from both armies from the camps, the entire armies were by degrees drawn out into the field. In this irregular kind of battle, the advantage of the ground and the manner of fighting were in favour of the enemy. The two Roman armies were routed, and driven into their camp; but the enemy did not pursue the dismayed Romans. The Roman prætors, lest their camp should be attacked next day, giving the signal in silence, led away their army in the dead of the following night. At the first dawn, the Spaniards came up to the rampart in battle array, and entered the camp which, beyond their expectation, was deserted, and made prey of whatever had in the hurry and confusion been first left behind; and then, returning to their own station, remained, for a few days, at rest within their camp. Of the Romans and allies, there were killed in the battle and the pursuit, five thousand men, out of whose spoils the enemy furnished themselves with arms. They then advanced to the river Tagus. All the intermediate time the Roman prætors employed in collecting aid

from the allied Spanish states, and reviving the spirits of their men after the dismay occasioned by their defeat. When their strength appeared adequate, and the soldiers too called for their enemy, to blot out in vengeance their former disgrace, they pitched their camp at the distance of twelve miles from the river Tagus; but decamping thence at the third watch, and marching with their army in a square, reached the bank of the river at break of day. The enemy's camp was on a hill at the other side of the river. They immediately led their army across the river where it was fordable in two places, Calpurnius having the command of the right, Quintius of the left. The enemy continued motionless, since they were surprised at the sudden arrival of the Romans, and busy in consultations, when they might have excited confusion among the troops during their hurry in passing the river. In the mean time the Romans brought over all their baggage, and threw it together in a heap, and seeing the enemy, at length, begin to move, and having no time for fortifying a camp, they formed their line of battle. In the centre were placed the fifth legion, serving under Calpurnius, and the eighth, under Quintius, which composed the principal strength of their army. All the way to the enemy's camp they had an open plain, free from all danger of ambush.

³¹ When the Spaniards saw the two bodies of Romans, on their side of the river, they rushed suddenly out of the camp, and advanced to battle at full speed, that they might fall upon them before they should unite and put themselves in order. The fight, in the beginning, was urged with great fury; the Spaniards being elated by their late success, and the Roman soldiery inflamed to rage, by a discomfiture to which they were unaccustomed. The centre, consisting of two legions of the greatest bravery, fought with the utmost vigour. The enemy, seeing that they could not be forced from their ground by any other means, resolved to make their attack in form of a wedge; and this body, becoming continually more numerous and more compact, pressed hard on them. When the prætor, Calpurnius, perceived that his line was distressed in this part, he hastily despatched two lieutenants-general, Titus Quintilius Varus and Lucius Juventius Thalna, to animate the courage of the two legions, who were ordered to say, that "all hopes of victory, and of retaining possession of Spain, depended entirely on them. If they should give ground, not a

man in that whole army would ever see Italy, no, nor even the farther bank of the Tagus." He himself, at the head of the cavalry of the two legions, making a small circuit, charged the flank of the wedge, which was pressing upon his centre. Quintius, likewise, with his cavalry, charged the enemy on the other flank; but the horsemen of Calpurnius fought with far greater spirit, while the prætor himself exceeded all others. He was the first that struck down one of the enemy, and he pushed in among the troops in the centre, in such a manner that it was hard to distinguish to which side he belonged. Thus the horse were animated by the extraordinary valour of the prætor, and the infantry by that of the horse. Shame, because they saw the prætor in the midst of the enemy's weapons, inspired the foremost centurions. They all, therefore, earnestly pressed the standard-bearers, urging them to carry forward the ensigns, and the soldiers to follow with speed. All set up the shout anew, and made an attack as violent as if it were made from the higher ground. Like a flood, therefore, they broke and bore down the enemy in dismay, nor could they be resisted, pouring in one after another. The cavalry pursued the fugitives to their camp, and mixing with the crowd of the runaways, penetrated within the rampart. Here the fight was renewed by the troops left to guard the camp, and the Roman horsemen were obliged to dismount. While they were engaged, the fifth legion came up, and afterwards the rest of the troops joined them with all the speed they could. The Spaniards were cut to pieces in all parts of the camp; not more than four thousand men made their escape. Of these about three thousand, who kept their arms, took possession of a mountain in the neighbourhood, and one thousand, who were in general but half armed, dispersed through the country. This army of the enemy had contained thirty-five thousand men, of whom that very small number survived the battle. One hundred and thirty-three standards were taken. Of the Romans and allies, a few more than six hundred fell; and of the provincial auxiliaries, about one hundred and fifty. The loss of five military tribunes, and a few Roman horsemen, served principally to give the victory the appearance of being a bloody one. The army lodged in the enemy's camp, as they had not had time to fortify one of their own. Next day the cavalry was praised by Calpurnius in an assembly, and presented with trappings;

and he declared publicly, that through their bravery, principally, the enemy had been defeated, and their camp stormed and taken. Quinctius, the other prætor, presented his cavalry also with chains and clasps. A great many centurions also, of both the armies, received gratuities, especially those who were in the centre.

³² The consuls, as soon as they had finished the levies, and other business which required to be done at Rome, led the army into their province, Liguria. Sempronius marched from Pisæ against the Apuan Ligurians, and by ravaging their lands, and by burning their villages and forts, he opened that difficult country, as far as the river Macra and the harbour of Luna. The enemy took possession of a mountain which had been the ancient retreat of their forefathers; but the difficulty of access being overcome, they were dislodged by force. Appius Claudius, against the Ingaunian tribe, rivalled in several successful battles the good fortune and bravery of his colleague. He also stormed six of their towns, in which he made many thousand prisoners, beheading forty-three of the chief promoters of the war. The time of the elections now drew near; but Claudius came home to Rome sooner than Sempronius, to whom the business of presiding at the elections had been allotted, because his brother, Publius Claudius, stood candidate for the consulship. His competitors, of patrician rank, were Lucius Æmilius, Quintus Fabius Labeo, and Servius Sulpicius Galba, who had been candidates before, and now renewed their suit, for an honour which was the more justly due to them, owing to their repulses, as it had been refused before. Besides, as it was not lawful that more than one patrician should be appointed, there was a closer contest between the four candidates. The plebeian candidates likewise were men in high esteem. Lucius Porcius, Quintus Terentius Culleo, and Cneius Bæbius Tamphilus; these two had been disappointed, but had cherished hopes of attaining the honour at some future time. Claudius was the only new candidate. Quintus Fabius Labeo and Lucius Porcius Licinus were marked out by public opinion as the successful persons; but Claudius, the consul, unattended by his lictors, canvassed with his brother through all parts of the forum, notwithstanding the loud remonstrances of his opponents and the greater part of the senate, who insisted that “he ought to remember that he was consul of the Roman people, rather

than the brother of Publius Claudius. Why should he not rather sit on his tribunal, content himself with presiding, and remain a silent spectator of the business." Yet he could not be restrained from a display of his immoderate zeal. The election was, also, several times interrupted by contentions between the plebeian tribunes; some of whom struggled hard in opposition to the consul, and others in support of the cause which he favoured. At last, Appius conquered all opposition, so as to set aside Fabius, and bring in his brother. Thus was Publius Claudius Pulcher elected consul, beyond his own, and indeed the general expectation. Lucius Porcius Licinus carried his election also, because the contest among the plebeian candidates was conducted with a decent degree of warmth, and not with the violence of Claudius. Then was held the election of prætors. Caius Decimius Flavus, Publius Sempronius Longus, Publius Cornelius Cethegus, Quintus Nævius Matho, Caius Sempronius Blæsus, and Aulus Terentius Varro, were made prætors. Such were the occurrences at home and abroad of this year, during the consulate of Appius Claudius and Marcus Sempronius.

33 In the beginning of the following year, Publius Claudius and Lucius Porcius, the consuls, when Quintus Cæcilius, Marcus Bæbius, and Tiberius Sempronius, who had been sent to adjust the matters in dispute between the kings, Philip and Eumenes, and the states of the Thessalians, had given an account of their embassy, introduced to the senate ambassadors from those kings and states. On this occasion, the same arguments were repeated by all parties, which had been urged before the ambassadors in Greece. The senate then decreed that a new embassy, the principal man of which was Appius Claudius, should be sent into Macedonia and Greece, to know whether the several states had been restored to the Rhodians, Thessalians, and Perrhæbians. Instructions were given to the same, that the garrisons should be withdrawn, from Ænus and Maronea, and that all the sea-coast of Thrace should be made free and independent of Philip and the Macedonians. They were ordered also to go to Peloponnesus, from which the former ambassadors had departed, leaving affairs in a more unsettled state than they would have been if they had not come thither. For besides other matters, they were even sent away without an answer by the Achæan council,

nor was an audience of that body granted to them at their request. When Quintus Cæcilius made a heavy complaint on this subject, and at the same time the Lacedæmonians deplored the demolition of their walls, the carrying off their poor people into Achaia, the selling of them there, and the depriving them of the laws of Lycurgus, by which the nation had been supported unto that time, the Achaians laboured principally to excuse their having refused a meeting of the council by quoting a law which enacted, that a council should not be summoned, except on business of peace or war, or when ambassadors should come from the senate with letters or written instructions. That this kind of excuse should not be made in future, the senate observed to them, that they ought to take care that Roman ambassadors should at all times have an opportunity of applying to their council, in like manner as an audience of the senate was always given to them, at any time when they wished it.

³⁴ After those embassies were dismissed, Philip, being informed that he must yield up the states, and evacuate the towns in question, was highly enraged against all, yet vented his fury on the Maronites in particular. He gave a charge to Onomastus, who had the command of the sea-coast, to put to death the leaders of the opposite party. This man, through the agency of a person called Cassander, a partisan of the king's, who had resided a long time in Maronea, having introduced Thracians by night, put the inhabitants to the sword, as if the city had been taken by storm. When the Roman ambassadors complained of his acting with such cruelty towards the innocent Maronites, and with such presumption towards the Roman people, in killing, as enemies, those very persons to whom the senate had adjudged the restoration of liberty, he denied that "any of those matters concerned him, or any one belonging to him; that they had quarrelled among themselves, and fought, because some wished to bring over their state to his side, others to that of Eumenes. That they might easily ascertain this; and they had only to ask the Maronites themselves." For he was confident, that while they were all under the impression of terror, since the late massacre, not one of them would dare to utter a word against him. Appius said, that "a case so clear ought not to be examined into as if it were doubtful. But if he wished to remove the guilt from himself, let him send Onomastus and

Cassander, the actors in that business, to Rome, that the senate might examine them.” At first, these words so entirely disconcerted the king, that neither his colour nor his looks remained unchanged; then, after some time, having collected his thoughts, he replied, that “he would send Cassander, who had been in Maronea, if it was their desire: but as to Onomastus, how could that matter affect him, who, so far from being in Maronea, was not even near it?” He was more careful of Onomastus, as a more valued friend, yet he dreaded him much more lest he might make discoveries; because he had, in person, conversed with him on the subject, and he had made him an agent and accomplice in many similar acts. Cassander is supposed to have been taken off, that the truth might not be divulged, by poison administered by persons sent to escort him through Epirus to the sea-coast.

35 The ambassadors departed from the conference with Philip in such a manner that they made it manifest that none of these acts pleased them; and Philip, with a full resolution to have recourse again to arms. Because his strength was as yet insufficient for that purpose, he resolved, in order to procure delay, to send his younger son Demetrius to Rome, to clear him from the above-named charges; and at the same time to deprecate the wrath of the senate. Philip had strong expectations that the young man himself, because he had, while a hostage at Rome, exhibited proofs of a princely disposition, would have a good deal of influence now. Meanwhile, under the pretence of carrying succour to the Byzantians, but in reality with design to strike terror into the chieftains of the Thracians, he marched into their country, utterly defeated them in an engagement, in which he took their commander, Amadocus, prisoner, and then returned to Macedonia, having first despatched emissaries to induce the barbarians, living near the Danube, to make an irruption into Italy. The arrival of the Roman ambassadors, who had been ordered to go from Macedonia into Achaia, was expected in Peloponnesus; and in order that the Achæans might settle their plans of conduct towards them beforehand, their prætor, Lycortas, summoned a general council. Here the affair of the Lacedæmonians was taken into consideration. It was observed that “from enemies, they were turned accusers; and there was reason to fear lest they should prove more

formidable, after having been conquered, than when at war: for in it the Achæans had the Romans as allies in their cause; now the same Romans were more favourable to the Lacedæmonians than to the Achæans. Even Areus and Alcibiades, both restored from exile through the kindness of the Achæans, had undertaken an embassy to Rome, in prejudice to a nation to which they were so much obliged; and had used language so severe, that they seemed to have been banished from their country, instead of being restored to it." A general clamour arose, requiring him to put the question on each of them by name; and as every thing was directed by passion, not by reason, they were condemned to die. In a few days after this the Roman ambassadors arrived, and a council was summoned to meet them at Clitor, in Arcadia.

³⁶ Before they transacted any business, alarm was excited in the Achæans, accompanied by the reflection, how unlikely the dispute was to receive impartial judgment, when they saw in company with the ambassadors Areus and Alcibiades, whom in their last council they had condemned to death; yet none of them dared to utter a word. Appius acquainted them that the senate was much displeased at those matters, of which the Lacedæmonians made complaint before them; "first, the massacre that took place at Compasium of those who, in obedience to the summons of Philopœmen, came to stand a trial; then after such barbarity had been exercised towards men, that their cruelty might be felt in every part, the having demolished the wall of that famous city, having abrogated its laws of the greatest antiquity, and abolished the discipline of Lycurgus, so famed throughout the world." After Appius had spoken to this effect, Lycortas, both because he was prætor and because he was of the faction of Philopœmen, the adviser of all that was done at Lacedæmon, answered him thus: "Appius Claudius, our speech before you is attended with more difficulties than we had lately before the senate at Rome; for then we had to answer the accusations of the Lacedæmonians, but now we stand accused by yourselves, before whom our cause is to be heard. But to this disadvantage of situation we submit with this hope, that you will hear us with the temper of a judge, laying aside the character of an advocate, in which you just now appeared. I at least, though the matters of which the

Lacedæmonians complained formerly in this place, before Quintus Cæcilius, and afterwards at Rome, have been just recapitulated by you, yet shall consider myself as answering for them, not to you, but before you. You charge us with the murder of those men, who being called out by the prætor, Philopœmen, to trial, were put to death. This I think a charge of such a nature, that it ought not to be advanced against us, either by you, Romans, or by any in your presence. Why so? Because it was written in the treaty with you, that the Lacedæmonians should not intermeddle with the cities on the coast. At the time when they, taking up arms, seized by assault in the night those towns with which they had been forbidden to interfere; if Titus Quintius, if a Roman army had been in Peloponnesus, as formerly, the captured and oppressed inhabitants would surely have fled to them for relief. As you were at a great distance, to whom else would they fly but to us, your allies, whom they had seen at a former time bringing aid to Gythium; whom they had seen in conjunction with you, besieging Lacedæmon on their account? In your stead, therefore, we undertook a just and rightful war. And when other men approve of this step, and even the Lacedæmonians cannot censure it; the gods themselves, also, by giving us the victory, have shown their approbation of it; how then can acts done under the laws of war come under civil disquisition? Of these acts, however, the greatest part nowise affect us. The summoning to trial men, who had excited the populace to arms, who had stormed and plundered the towns on the coast, who had murdered the principal inhabitants, was our act; but the putting them to death when they were coming into the camp was yours, Areus and Alcibiades, who now, since it is the will of the gods, arraign us, and not ours. The Lacedæmonian exiles (in the number of whom, these two men then were) were then in our camp, and believing that they were the objects of attack because they had chosen the maritime towns for their residence, made an assault on those by whose means they had been banished, and who they perceived with indignation would not suffer them even to grow old in exile with safety. Lacedæmonians therefore, not Achæans, slew Lacedæmonians; nor is it of any consequence to dispute, whether they were slain justly or unjustly.

discipline of Lycurgus, with the demolition of the walls, are unquestionably your acts: now how can both these charges be brought forward by the same persons, since the walls of Lacedæmon were built, not by Lycurgus, but a few years ago, for the purpose of subverting the discipline of Lycurgus? The tyrants erected them lately as a fortress and defence for themselves, not for the state; and if Lycurgus should rise this day from the dead, he would rejoice at their ruins, and would say that he now acknowledged his country, and ancient Sparta. You ought not to have waited for Philopœmen, or the Achæans; you should have removed and razed, with your own hands, every vestige of tyranny; for these were the foul scars of slavery. And as during almost eight hundred years, while ye were without walls, ye were free, and for some time even chiefs of Greece; so, after being bound with walls, as with fetters, you were slaves for one hundred years. As to what concerns the abrogating their laws, I conceive that the tyrants took away the ancient laws of Lacedæmon, and that we did not deprive them of their own laws which they did not possess, but gave them ours; nor did we neglect the interests of their state, when we made it a member of our council, and incorporated it with ourselves, so that the whole Peloponnesus should form one body and one council. If we were living under laws different from what we imposed on them, in that case I think they might complain of being treated unfairly, and consequently be displeased. I know, Appius Claudius, that the kind of discourse which I have hitherto used is not proper either for allies, addressing their allies, or for an independent nation; but, in truth, for slaves pleading before their masters. For if the herald's proclamation, in which you ordered the Achæans, first of all the states of Greece, to be free, was any thing more than empty sound; if the treaty be valid, if the alliance and friendship be maintained on equal terms, why do not I inquire what you Romans did, on the taking of Capua, as well as you demand what we, the Achæans, did towards the Lacedæmonians, when we conquered them in war? Some persons were killed, suppose, by us. What! did not you behead the Campanian senators? We demolished their walls: you not only destroyed the walls, but you took the city and the lands. But you say, the treaty is on equal terms only in appearance, but, in reality, the Achæans possess a precarious

state of freedom, while the Romans enjoy supreme power. I am sensible of it, Appius; and if I ought not, I do not remonstrate; but, I beseech you, let the difference between the Romans and Achæans be as great as it may, not to place people, who are foes to both, on an equal footing with us, your allies, or even on a better. For, as to setting them on an equality, that we ourselves have done, when we gave them our own laws, when we made them members of the Achæan council. Vanquished, — they are not content with what satisfies their conquerors; foes, — they demand more than allies enjoy. What we have ratified by our oaths, what we have consecrated as inviolable to eternal remembrance, by records engraved in stone, they want to abolish, and to load us with perjury. Romans, for you we have high respect; and, if such is your wish, dread also; but we more respect and dread the the immortal gods.” He was heard with general approbation, and all declared that he had spoken as became the dignity of his office; so that it was easily seen, that the Romans could not support their ascendancy by acting gently. Appius then said, that “he earnestly recommended it to the Achæans to conciliate friendship, while it was in their power to act voluntarily; lest they might presently do so unwillingly and by compulsion.” These words were heard by all with grief, but inspired them with fear of refusing compliance. They only requested the Romans “to make such alterations respecting the Lacedæmonians as they should judge proper, and not involve the Achæans in the guilt of annulling what they had sanctioned with their oaths.” Nothing more was done, only the sentence lately passed on Areus and Alcibiades was reversed.

38 In the beginning of this year, when the business of assigning the provinces to the consuls and prætors was taken under consideration at Rome, Liguria was decreed to the consuls, because there was no war any where else. As to the prætors, Caius Decimius Flavus obtained, by lot, the city jurisdiction; Publius Cornelius Cethegus, that between citizens and foreigners; Caius Sempronius Blæsus, Sicily; Quintus Nævius Matho, Sardinia; he had also the charge of making inquisition concerning poisons; Aulus Terentius Varro, Hither Spain; and Publius Sempronius Longus, Farther Spain. From the two latter provinces deputies arrived about this time, — Lucius Juvencius Thalna and Titus Quintilius Varus; who, having informed

the senate how formidable the war was that was finished by them in Spain, requested that, in consideration of such happy success, a thanksgiving should be performed to the immortal gods, and permission granted to the prætors to bring home the armies. The senate decreed a thanksgiving for two days, and ordered that the question respecting the armies should lie over, and be proposed when they would be deliberating concerning the armies for the consuls and prætors. A few days after this, they voted to the consuls, for Liguria, two legions each, which Appius Claudius and Marcus Sempronius had commanded. With regard to the armies in Spain, there was a warm contention between the new prætors and the friends of the absent ones, Calpurnius and Quintius. On each side were plebeian tribunes, and, on each, a consul. The former threatened, if the senate voted for bringing home the armies, to protest against their decree; the latter, that, if such a protest were made, they would not suffer any other business to proceed. At last, the interest of the absent prætors was overpowered, and a decree of the senate passed, that “the prætors should enlist four thousand Roman foot, and four hundred horse; with five thousand foot, and five hundred horse, of the Latin confederates; whom they should carry with them into Spain. That, when they should have divided these between the legions, they should discharge whatever number should then be in each legion, above five thousand foot and three hundred horse, dismissing those first who had served out their number of campaigns, afterwards the others according to their bravery displayed under Calpurnius and Quintius.”

39 After this dispute was ended, another immediately arose, in consequence of the death of a prætor, Caius Decimius. There stood candidates for his place, Cneius Sicinius and Lucius Pupius, who had been ædiles the year before; Caius Valerius, the flamen of Jupiter, and Quintus Fulvius Flaccus, who, though he did not appear in the white gown, because he was curule ædile elect, yet pressed his suit with more warmth than any of them. The contest lay between him and the priest of Jupiter. Fulvius at the beginning seemed to have an equal chance with the flamen, and afterwards surpassed him; on which, some of the plebeian tribunes insisted that no account should be taken of him, because one person could neither hold nor

administer two offices, especially curule ones, at the same time; while others of them thought it proper that he ought to be exempted from the laws, in order that the people might have the power of electing prætor the person whom they wished. The consul, Lucius Porcius, was, from the beginning, inclined to refuse admitting him a candidate; and afterwards, wishing to have the countenance of the senate in so doing, he called the members together, and told them that “he desired their judgment in the case where a curule ædile elect, without any colour of law, and setting a precedent insufferable in a free state, stood candidate for the prætorship; for his part, unless they determined otherwise, he intended to hold the election according to law.” The senate voted, that the consul, Lucius Porcius, should recommend to Quintus Fulvius, not to obstruct the elections for substituting a prætor in the room of Caius Decimius from proceeding according to law. When the consul, in pursuance of this decree, applied to him on the subject, he answered, that “he would do nothing unworthy of himself,” by which indeterminate answer he left room for people to interpret his intention agreeably to their wish, and that he meant to submit to the direction of the senate. But, in the assembly, he urged his pretensions with more eagerness than ever: alleging as a charge, that the kindness of the Roman people was being wrested from him, and an odium excited against him on account of his suing for a second post of honour; as if it were not manifest that, when elected præter, he must instantly abdicate the ædileship. The consul, seeing the candidate’s obstinacy increase, and the public favour incline to him more and more, dissolved the assembly, and summoned a meeting of the senate; where, in a full house, they passed a vote, that “inasmuch as the directions of the senate had produced no effect on Flaccus, the affair concerning him should be laid before the people.” A general assembly being summoned, when the consul made a full representation of the matter, Fulvius, not even then swerving from his determination, returned thanks to the Roman people “for the great zeal which they had shown in their desire to make him prætor, as often as opportunity had been given them of declaring their sentiments;” and assured them that “it was his resolution not to disappoint such instances of the attachment of his countrymen.” This determined declaration increased the ardour

of people for his cause to such a degree, that he would undoubtedly have been chosen prætor, if the consul had admitted him to stand. The tribunes maintained a violent altercation, both with their colleagues and with the consul, until, at length, the senate passed a decree, that “whereas the obstinacy of Quintus Flaccus, and the ill-judged party zeal of many among the people, had prevented the assembly for filling the place of a prætor, from being held according to law. The senate therefore gave their judgment, that the present number of prætors was sufficient, that Publius Cornelius should hold both jurisdictions in the city, and celebrate the games of Apollo.”

40 No sooner was this election stopped by the prudence and firmness of the senate, than another ensued, in which the contest was still greater; since it was concerning a more important subject, and between competitors more numerous and more powerful. The censorship was the object of contention of the following candidates, Lucius Valerius Flaccus, Publius Scipio, Lucius Scipio, Cneius Manlius Vulso, and Lucius Furius Purpureo, patricians; Marcus Porcius Cato, Marcus Fulvius Nobilior, Tiberius Sempronius Longus, Marcus Sempronius Tuditanus, plebeians. But Marcus Porcius far surpassed all of them, both plebeians and patricians of the highest ranks. So great powers of mind and energy of intellect were in this man, that no matter how lowly the position in which he was born, he appeared capable of attaining to the highest rank. No one qualification for the management of business, either public or private, was wanting to him. He was equally skilled in affairs relating to town and country. Some have been advanced to the highest honours by their knowledge of the law, others by their eloquence, some by military renown; but this man’s genius was so versatile, and so well adapted to all things, that in whatever way engaged, it might be said, that nature formed him for that alone. In war, he was most courageous, distinguishing himself highly in many remarkable battles; and, when he arrived at the highest posts, was likewise a most consummate commander. Then, in peace, if consulted on a point of law, he was the wisest counsellor; if a cause was to be pleaded, the most eloquent advocate. Nor was he one of those whose oratory was striking only during their own lives, without leaving after them any monument of it. On the contrary, his eloquence still

lives, and will long live, consecrated to memory by writings of every kind. His orations are many, spoken for himself, for others, and against others; for he harassed his enemies, not only by supporting prosecutions against them, but by maintaining causes in opposition to them. Enmities in abundance gave him plenty of employment, and he never permitted them to lie dormant; nor was it easy to tell whether the nobility laboured harder to keep him down, or he to oppress the nobility. His temper, no doubt, was austere, his language bitter and unboundedly free, but his mind was never conquered by his passions, his integrity was inflexible, and he looked with contempt on popularity and riches. In spare diet, in enduring toil and danger, his body and mind were like iron; so that even old age, which brings all things to dissolution, did not break his vigour. In his eighty-sixth year he stood a trial, pleaded his own cause, and published his speech; and in his ninetieth year, he brought Servius Galba to trial, before the people.

⁴¹ On this occasion, when he was a candidate for censorship, as in all his previous career, the nobility endeavoured to crush him. All the candidates, likewise, except Lucius Flaccus, who had been his colleague in the consulship, combined to disappoint him of the office, not merely with a view to their own success, in preference to him, or because they felt indignant at the idea of seeing a man of no family censor, but because from one who had received offence from most of them, and who wished to retaliate, they anticipated a severe censorship, that would endanger the reputations of many. For, even while soliciting, he uttered frequent menaces, and upbraided them with using their interest against him, because they dreaded an impartial and courageous execution of the duty of censor; at the same time, giving his interest to Lucius Valerius. He said, that “he was the only colleague, in conjunction with whom he could correct modern profligacy, and re-establish the ancient morals.” People were so inflamed by such discourses, that, in spite of the opposition made by the nobility, they not only made Marcus Porcius censor, but gave him for his colleague Lucius Valerius Flaccus. Immediately after the election of censors, the consuls and prætors went abroad to their provinces, except Quintus Nævius, who was detained from going to Sardinia, for no less than four months, by inquisitions concerning

poisonings, a great part of which he held out of the city, in the corporate towns and villages; for that method was judged the more eligible. If we are to credit Valerius Antias, he condemned about two thousand men, Lucius Postumius, the prætor, to whose lot the province of Tarentum had fallen, punished numerous conspiracies of the peasants, and, with great care, finished the remainder of the inquiries concerning the Bacchanalians. Many of these, who had not appeared on being summoned, or had deserted their bail, were then lurking in that part of Italy; some of them he sentenced to punishment, and others he sent under a guard to the senate at Rome, where they were all committed to prison by Publius Cornelius.

42 In Farther Spain, the Lusitanians being weakened by the late war, matters remained quiet. In Hither Spain, Aulus Terentius took the town of Corbia, in Suessetania, by engines and regular works, and sold the prisoners, after which the troops had rest in their winter quarters in that province also. The former prætors, Caius Calpurnius Piso and Lucius Quintius, came home to Rome; a triumph was voted to both by the senate with great unanimity. Caius Calpurnius triumphed first, over the Lusitanians and Celtiberians. He carried in procession eighty-three golden crowns, and twelve thousand pounds' weight of silver. In a few days after, Lucius Quintius Crispinus triumphed over the same Lusitanians and Celtiberians, bearing in his triumph the same quantity of gold and silver. The censors, Marcus Porcius and Lucius Valerius, while anxious curiosity was blended with fear, made their survey of the senate; they expelled seven from the senate, one of them a man of consular rank, highly distinguished by nobility of birth and honourable employments, — Lucius Quintus Flaminius. It is mentioned, as a practice instituted in the memory of our forefathers, that the censors should annex marks of censure to the names of such as they degraded from the senate. There are severe speeches of Cato, against those whom he either expelled the senate, or degraded from the equestrian rank, but by far the most so is that against Lucius Quintus. Had he spoken, in the character of prosecutor, previous to the censure, and not in that of censor after it, not even his brother Titus, if he were his colleague, could have suffered Quintus to remain in the senate. Among other charges, he objected to him, that he had, by hopes of extraordinary presents,

prevailed on Philip, a Carthaginian and a catamite, to accompany him into his province of Gaul; that this youth, in order to enhance the merit of his complaisance to the consul, used frequently, in wanton squabbling, to upbraid him for having quitted Rome just before the show of gladiators. It happened, that while they were at a feast and heated with wine, a message was brought into the place of entertainment, that a Boian, of high rank, had come as a deserter with his children, and wished to see the consul, that he might, in person, receive his assurance of protection. He was accordingly introduced into the tent, and began to address him through an interpreter: but while he was speaking, Quintius said to his catamite, "Since you left the show of gladiators, have you a mind to see this Gaul dying?" When he had assented, but scarcely in earnest, the consul, drawing a sword that hung over his head, first struck the Gaul as he was speaking, and then, when he was running out, and imploring the protection of the Roman people, and of those present, ran him through the side.

⁴³ Valerius Antias, as he was one who never read Cato's speech, and only gave credit to a tale published without authority, tells the story in another manner, but similar to this in lust and cruelty. He writes, that, at Placentia, the consul invited to an entertainment a woman of ill fame, with whom he was desperately enamoured. There, displaying his importance to this courtesan, he told her, among other matters, with what severity he had conducted the inquisitions, and how many he had then in prison under sentence of death, whom he intended to behead. Then she, being next him on the couch, said, that having never seen an executioner perform his office, she was very desirous of seeing such a thing; on which, the indulgent lover ordered one of those wretches to be dragged to the spot, and there cut off his head. The deed of death, whether committed as the censor or as Valerius reports it, was barbarous and inhuman; that in the midst of feasting and cups, when it is customary to offer libations to the gods, and to pray for happiness, a human victim should be butchered, and the table stained with his blood, and this for the entertainment of an acknowledged wanton. In the latter part of Cato's speech, he proposes to Quintius, that if he denied this fact, and the others of which he accused him, he should give security to abide a

legal trial; but if he confessed them, could he suppose, he asked him, that any one would be sorry for his disgrace; the disgrace of him who, in the midst of a feast, being intoxicated with wine and lust, had sported with the blood of a human being.

44 In the review of the knights, Lucius Scipio Asiaticus was degraded. In fixing the rates of taxation, also, the censor's conduct was harsh and severe to all ranks of men. People were ordered to give account upon oath, of women's dress, and ornaments, and carriages exceeding in value fifteen thousand asses; and it was further ordered, that slaves, younger than twenty years, which, since the last survey, had been sold for ten thousand asses or more, should be estimated at ten times their value; and that, on all these articles, a tax should be laid of three denariuses for each thousand asses. The censors took away water which belonged to the public running or carried into any private building or field; and they demolished within thirty days all buildings or sheds, in possession of private persons, that projected into public ground. They then engaged contractors for executing national works, with the money decreed for that purpose, — for paving cisterns with stone, for cleansing the sewers where it was requisite, and forming new ones on the Aventine, and in other quarters where hitherto there had been none. Then, dividing their tasks, Flaccus built a mole at Nepthunia, on the coast, and made a road through the Formian mountains. Cato purchased for the use of the people two halls, the Mænian and Titian, in the Lautumiae, and four shops, and built there a court of justice, which was called the Porcian. They farmed out the several branches of the revenue at the highest prices, and bargained with the contractors for the performance of the public services on the lowest terms. When the senate, overcome by the prayers and lamentations of the publicans, ordered those bargains to be revoked, and new agreements to be made; the censors, by an edict, excluded from competition the persons who had eluded the former contracts, and farmed out all the same branches at prices very little reduced. This was a remarkable censorship, and the origin of many deadly feuds: it rendered Marcus Porcius, to whom all the harshness was attributed, uneasy during the remainder of his life. This year, two colonies were established, Potentia in Picenum, and Pisaurum in the Gallic territory. Six acres

were given to each settler. The same commissioners had the ordering of both colonies, and the division of the lands, Quintus Fabius Labeo, Marcus Fulvius Flaccus, and Quintus Fulvius Nobilior. The consuls of that year performed nothing memorable at home or abroad.

⁴⁵ They elected to serve as consuls for the ensuing year, Marcus Claudius Marcellus and Quintus Fabius Labeo. These, on the ides of March, the first day of their assuming the administration, proposed to the senate to determine their provinces, and those of the prætors. The prætors appointed were, Caius Valerius, flamen of Jupiter, who had been candidate the year before, Spurius Posthumius Albinus, Publius Cornelius Sisenna, Lucius Pupius, Lucius Julius, and Cneius Sicinius. Liguria was ordered to be the province of the consuls, and the armies were assigned to them, which Publius Claudius and Marcus Porcius had commanded. The two Spains, without being put to the lot, were reserved for the prætors who held them the year before, and also their own armies. The prætors were ordered to regulate their casting lots, in such a manner, that the flamen of Jupiter should have one or other of the judicial employments at Rome. The foreign jurisdiction fell to his lot, that between citizens to Cornelius Sisenna. Sicily was assigned to Spurius Posthumius, Apulia to Lucius Pupius, Gaul to Lucius Julius, Sardinia to Cneius Sicinius. Lucius Julius was ordered to hasten to his province, because some transalpine Gauls, as was mentioned before, having made their way through the forests into Italy, by an unknown road, were building a town in the country which now forms the district of Aquileia. Orders were given to the prætor to prevent their doing so, as far as might lie in his power without appealing to arms; and, if it should be necessary to stop them by force, to give information to the consuls, one of whom was, in that case, directed to march his legions against those Gauls. Towards the close of the preceding year, an assembly had been held for the purpose of electing an augur, in the room of Cneius Cornelius deceased, when Spurius Posthumius Albinus was chosen.

⁴⁶ In the beginning of this year, Publius Licinius Crassus, chief pontiff, died, in whose room was appointed Marcus Sempronius Tuditanus, and Caius Servilius Geminus was raised to the place of chief pontiff. On occasion of the funeral of Publius Licinius a largess

of flesh was distributed to the people, and one hundred and twenty pair of gladiators fought. The funeral games lasted three days; and, after the games, a public feast was given. During the feast, and while the couches were spread over the forum, a storm came on with violent gusts of wind, and compelled most of the people to pitch tents in that place. The same, on the weather clearing up, in a short time after, were removed. It was rumoured about, that they had fulfilled a prophecy which soothsayers had pronounced, among the decrees of the fates, that, inevitably, tents would be pitched in the forum. As soon as they were relieved from those religious fears, they were struck with new ones, by showers of blood falling for two days, in the area of Vulcan's temple, and a supplication was ordered by the decemvirs for the sake of expiating the prodigy. Before the consuls set out for their provinces, they introduced the embassies from the countries beyond the sea to an audience of the senate; and at no time was there in Rome such a number of people from those regions. For, as soon as a report spread through the nations which border on Macedon, that accusations and complaints against Philip were listened to by the Romans with some degree of attention, and that it had been of advantage to many to complain; — all these states and nations, and even individuals, on their own accounts, (for he was a troublesome neighbour to every one,) flocked to Rome, with hopes of obtaining either redress of their injuries, or, at least, the consolation of expressing their griefs. An embassy came also from king Eumenes, with his brother Athenæus, to complain of the garrisons not being withdrawn by Philip out of Thrace; and, likewise, of his sending succours into Bithynia, to Prusias, who was at war with Eumenes.

⁴⁷ Demetrius, who was then very young, had to answer all these representations; and it was no easy matter to retain in memory, either all the charges which were brought against his father, or what was proper to be said in reply. For the charges were not only numerous, but most of them exceedingly frivolous; of disputes about boundaries, of men forced away and cattle driven off; of justice, either capriciously administered or refused; of property adjudged either by force or influence. When the senate perceived that Demetrius could not explain any of those matters distinctly, and that

they could not gain satisfactory information from him, and when, at the same time, the youth, through inexperience and bashfulness, was much embarrassed, they ordered that he should be asked whether he had received from his father any written instructions on those points; and on his answering that he had, it appeared to them better and more proper to receive the answers of the king himself, on each particular head; so they immediately called for the scroll, but afterwards gave him leave to read it to them in person. Here were his apologies on each subject, compressed into a narrow compass; informing them that, in some cases, he had acted in conformity to the determinations of the ambassadors; in others, that the fault of not conforming to them, lay not in him, but actually in the persons themselves who accused him. He had interspersed, also, complaints concerning the injustice of the decrees, and the partiality with which the discussion was carried on in presence of Cæcilius, and of the insults that were offered him, in a most unworthy and unmerited manner by all. The senate inferred from these marks that his mind was irritated; nevertheless, on the young man apologizing for some things, and undertaking that others should be performed in the manner most agreeable to the senate, they ordered the answer to be given him, that “in no instance had his father acted with more propriety, or given more pleasure to the senate, than in his choosing, whatever the nature of those transactions might be, to send his excuses for them to the Romans, by his son Demetrius. That the senate could leave unnoticed, forget, and put up with, many past matters, and believe also that they might place confidence in Demetrius; for though they restored his person to his father, they still had his mind as a hostage, and were convinced that, as far as he could, without infringing on his duty to his father, he was a friend to the Roman people. That, to do him honour, they would send ambassadors into Macedon, in order that, if any thing which ought to have been done was left undone, it might then be effected, but still without requiring an atonement for former omissions. That they wished Philip also to be sensible, that it was owing to the kind offices of his son Demetrius, that the treaty between him and the Roman people remained inviolate.”

48 These declarations, which were made with the intention of adding to the dignity of his character, proved to the young man the

cause of immediate envy, and of not far distant ruin. The Lacedæmonians were next introduced, when many insignificant disputes were agitated. Those which might be deemed important were — whether the persons whom the Achæans had condemned, should be reinstated or not; whether they slew with justice or the reverse those whom they put to death; the question was debated also whether the Lacedæmonians should continue in the Achæans' council, or, as had formerly been the case, that single state in Peloponnesus should have separate independence. It was determined that the condemned should be reinstated, and the sentences passed reversed; that Lacedæmon should continue in the Achæan council, and that this decree should be committed to writing, and signed by the Lacedæmonians and Achæans. Quintus Marcius was sent ambassador into Macedon, with orders, likewise, to take a view of the affairs of the allies in Peloponnesus; for there also disturbances still subsisted, in consequence of the old quarrels, and Messene had revolted from the Achæan confederacy. But if I were to trace out the cause and progress of this war, I should deviate from the resolution by which I determined not to treat of foreign events, further than they are connected with the affairs of Rome.

⁴⁹ One event deserves to be mentioned: that, notwithstanding the Achæans had a superiority in the war, Philopœmen, their prætor, was taken prisoner on his march to secure Corone, which the enemy meant to attack, being, with a small party of horse, surprised in a dangerous defile. It is said that he might have effected his own escape, by the aid of some Thracians and Cretans who were with him, but the shame of deserting his horsemen, the most distinguished youths in the nation, selected by himself a short time before, detained him there. Whilst he is procuring for these an opportunity of getting clear of the narrow defile, by closing the rear in person, and sustaining the assaults of the enemy, his horse fell. By the shock of his fall, and the weight of the horse, which fell upon him, he was very nearly killed on the spot; for he was now seventy years old, and his strength had been greatly impaired by a tedious illness, from which he was but just recovered. Lying thus on the ground, the enemy pouring on, secured him. Out of respect to his character, however, and from regard to his merit, they raised him up, when they

recognised him, with as much care as if he had been their own commander, and revived him, and carried him out of that remote valley into the road, and they scarcely believed their own senses, on account of the unexpected joy; however, some of them sent on messages to Messene, that the war was at an end, for they were bringing Philopœmen prisoner. At first it seemed so incredible, that the messenger was deemed either a liar or a madman. Afterwards, when numbers came, one after another, all asserting the same, credence was at length given to the matter; and, before they well knew whether he was come near the city, all, freemen and slaves, with even women and children, poured out to enjoy the sight; insomuch that the multitude quite closed up the gate, whilst each person seemed unlikely to consider the thing as certain unless he should obtain certain belief by his own eye-sight. Those who conducted Philopœmen, with difficulty removing those in their way, were able to enter the gate, but the dense crowd completely blocked up the street; and, as the greatest part of these were excluded from the sight, they suddenly filled a theatre which was contiguous to the street, and all with one voice insisted that he should be brought thither for the public view. The magistrates and leading men, fearing that compassion for so great a man, on seeing him, would cause some disturbance; as many would be moved by respect for his former dignity, when they compared it with his present condition, and many by the recollection of his transcendent merits, placed him where he could be seen at a distance. And quickly after hurried him away out of the sight of the people, who were told by the prætor, Dinocrates, that there were some subjects intimately connected with the decision of the war, on which the magistrates wished to interrogate him. Having carried him thence to the senate-house, and called the council together, they began a consultation on the measures to be pursued.

50 The evening came on while they were still at a loss, not only about other matters, but even about the place where he might be kept with proper security during the following night. They were quite confounded at the greatness of his former fortune and merit; and they neither dared to undertake the guarding of him at their houses, nor thought it safe to trust the custody of him to any individual. At last some persons reminded them of a public treasury under ground,

enclosed with hewn stone; into this place he was put down, in chains, and a huge stone, with which it is generally covered, was placed over it, with the help of a machine. After having thus determined to trust to the place, rather than to any man, for his safe keeping, they waited with impatience for the dawn. On the following day, the whole populace, mindful of his former services to the state, declared their opinion, that they ought to spare him, and to seek through his means some remedies for their present misfortunes. But the authors of the revolt, in whose hands was the management of affairs, consulting in secret, unanimously resolved to put him to death; but whether they should do it speedily, or defer it, was for some time a matter of doubt. The party that were more eager for his immediate execution, at length prevailed, and a person was sent to him with poison. They relate, that on receiving the cup, he only asked if Lycortas, the other commander of the Achæans, and the horsemen had escaped; and being told that they were safe, he said, "It is well," and then intrepidly drinking the contents of the cup, expired shortly after. The actors of this piece of cruelty, however, did not long rejoice at his death; for Messene being conquered in war, delivered up the guilty individuals to the Achæans, when they positively demanded them. The bones of Philopœmen were restored, and his funeral was attended by the whole Achæan council, every human honour being heaped on him to such a degree, that they did not withhold divine ones. So much is conceded to this man by historians, both Greek and Latin, that several of them have recorded, as a circumstance remarkably distinguishing this year, that three illustrious commanders died in it, Philopœmen, Hannibal, and Publius Scipio. To such an extent have they placed him on an equal footing with the most consummate generals of the two most powerful nations.

51 Titus Quintius Flaminius came ambassador to king Prusias, who had incurred the jealousy of the Romans, by entertaining Hannibal after the flight of Antiochus, and by making war on Eumenes. At the court of Prusias, either because, among other discourse, he reproached him with his giving protection to a person, who, of all men living, was the most inveterate enemy to the Roman nation, who had incited, first his own country, and afterwards, when its power was reduced, king Antiochus, to make war on Rome; or

because Prusias himself, with the design of gratifying Flamininus and the Roman people, conceived the design of killing Hannibal, or delivering him into their hands; immediately after the first conference with Flamininus, a party of soldiers was sent to guard Hannibal's house. The Carthaginian had always foreseen some such end of his life; for he knew the implacable hatred which the Romans bore him, and placed little confidence in the faith of kings. Besides, he had experienced the fickle temper of Prusias, and had, for some time, dreaded the arrival of Flamininus, as an event fatal to him. Encircled by enemies on every side, in order to have always some path open for flight, he had made seven passages from his house, of which some were concealed, lest they might be invested by a guard. But the imperious government of kings suffers nothing to remain secret which they choose to discover. They surrounded the circuit of the entire house with guards in such a manner, that no one could escape from it. Hannibal, on being told that some of the king's soldiers were in the porch, endeavoured to escape through a back door, which was the most private, and from which the passage was most secret; but, perceiving that to be guarded by a body of soldiers, and every avenue round to be blocked up by the guards that were posted, he called for poison, which he had long kept in readiness to meet such an event, and said, "Let us release the Romans from their long anxiety, since they think it too long to wait for the death of an old man. Flamininus will gain no very great or memorable victory over one unarmed and betrayed. What an alteration has taken place in the behaviour of the Roman people, this day affords abundant proof. Their fathers gave warning to Pyrrhus, their armed foe, then heading an army against them in Italy, to beware of poison. The present generation have sent an ambassador, of consular rank, to persuade Prusias villanously to murder his guest." Then imprecating curses on the head of Prusias, and on his kingdom, and calling on the gods who presided over hospitality, and were witnesses of his breach of faith, he drank off the contents of the cup. This was the end of the life of Hannibal.

52 Both Polybius and Rutilius say, that Scipio died in this year; but I do not agree either with them, or Valerius. Not with them, because I find that in the censorship of Marcus Porcius and Lucius Valerius,

the censor himself, Lucius Valerius, was chosen prince of the senate, although Africanus had occupied that place for the three preceding lustrums; and, if he were alive, unless he had been displaced from the senate, which disgrace no one has recorded, another prince would not have been chosen in his room. The authority of Antias is refuted by the plebeian tribunate of Marcus Nævius, against whom there is extant a speech signed by Publius Africanus. Now, this Marcus Nævius, in the register of the magistrates, appears to have been plebeian tribune in the consulate of Publius Claudius and Lucius Porcius; but he entered on the tribuneship in the consulate of Appius Claudius and Marcus Sempronius, on the fourth day before the ides of December, from which time to the ides of March, when Publius Claudius and Lucius Porcius became consuls, there are three months. Thus it appears that he was living in the tribunate of Marcus Nævius, and might have been prosecuted by him; but that he died before the censorship of Lucius Valerius and Marcus Porcius. The deaths of the three most illustrious men of their respective nations have a similarity, not only in respect to the concurrence of the times, but in this circumstance also, that no one of them met a death suitable to the splendour of his life. In the first place, neither of them died or was buried in his native soil. Hannibal and Philopœmen were taken off by poison; Hannibal breathed his last in exile, betrayed by his host; Philopœmen in captivity, in a prison, and in chains. Scipio, though neither banished nor condemned, yet under prosecution, and summoned as an absent criminal to a trial, at which he did not appear, passed sentence of voluntary exile, not only on himself while alive, but likewise on his body after death.

53 During these transactions in Peloponnesus, from which my narration digressed, the return of Demetrius with the ambassadors into Macedonia, affected people's minds in various manners. The generality of the Macedonians, whom the apprehension of an impending war with the Romans had struck with terror, looked with the highest esteem on Demetrius, as the promoter of peace; and, at the same time, with confident hope, destined for him the throne, after the demise of his father. They argued, that "although he was younger than Perseus, yet he was born of a wife, and the other of a concubine; that the latter, born of a mother who prostituted her person, had no

likeness to any particular father, whereas the former had a striking resemblance of Philip. Besides it was probable that the Romans would place him on the throne of his father, as Perseus had no pretensions to their favour." Such was the conversation of people, in general. Fear tortured Perseus, lest his age alone might not sufficiently secure his interest, his brother having the advantage of him in every other particular; while Philip himself, believing that it would scarcely rest with his decision which of them he should leave heir to his dominions, began to think that his younger son encroached on him more than he could wish. He was sometimes displeased at the numerous attendance of the Macedonians round Demetrius, and chagrined at perceiving that there was a second court during his own life-time. The young prince no doubt came home much elevated in his own estimation, elated with the honours paid him by the senate, and their having conceded to him, what they had refused to his father; insomuch that every mention of the Romans, whatever degree of respect it procured him from the rest of the Macedonians, created an equal degree of envy, not only in the breast of his brother, but also in that of his father; especially after the Roman ambassadors arrived, and the king was obliged to evacuate Thrace, to withdraw his garrisons, and to perform the other articles, either according to the decisions of the former ambassadors or the late regulations made by the senate. But all this he did with great reluctance, and even with anguish of mind, the more on this account, because he saw his son more frequently in company with them than with himself; nevertheless, to avoid giving any pretence for an immediate commencement of hostilities, he acted submissively towards the Romans. Thinking it necessary to turn away their thoughts from a suspicion of any such designs, he led an army into the heart of Thrace, against the Odrysians, Dantheletians, and Bessians. He took the city of Philoppopolis, after it was deserted by the inhabitants, who fled with their families to the tops of the nearest mountains; and, by wasting the country, reduced the barbarians living in the plains to submission. Then leaving a garrison in Philoppopolis, which, was soon after expelled by the Odrysians, he began to build a town in Deuriopus. This is a district of Pæonia, near the river Erigonus, which, flowing from Illyricum through Pæonia, falls into the river

Axius. Not far from the old city of Stobæ he built his new one, which he ordered to be called Perseis, that this honour might be conferred on his eldest son.

⁵⁴ While these things passed in Macedonia, the consuls went to their provinces. Marcellus sent forward an express to Lucius Porcius, the proconsul, to lead up the legions to the new town of the Gauls; they surrendered themselves to the consul on his arrival. There were of these twelve thousand fighting men, most of whom had arms, which they had forced from the inhabitants: all which, to their great mortification, were taken from them, as was every thing else which they had either acquired by plundering in the country, or had brought along with them. They sent ambassadors to Rome to complain of those proceedings, who being introduced to an audience of the senate, by the prætor Caius Valerius, represented that “in consequence of a redundancy of people in Gaul they had been compelled by the want of land, and indeed of every thing, to cross the Alps in quest of a settlement: that they had settled in those lands which they found waste and uncultivated without doing injury to any. They had likewise begun to build a town, which was a proof that they did not come to ravage either city or lands. That some time ago, Marcus Claudius sent them a message, that unless they surrendered to him he would march against them, and that preferring a certain, though not very honourable peace, to the uncertainties of war, they had thrown themselves on the protection of Rome before they submitted to its power. That in a short time after, being ordered to quit the country, they had intended to remove without murmuring to whatever part of the world they were able; and that, notwithstanding, their arms, and finally all the property which they had brought with them, or driven before them, were taken from them. They therefore besought the senate and people of Rome not to treat harmless people, who had surrendered themselves, with greater severity than they would enemies.” To this discourse the senate ordered the following answer to be given: That “neither had they acted properly in coming into Italy, and attempting to build a town in the territory of others, without permission from any Roman magistrate commanding in that province; nor did the senate approve of people who had surrendered being stripped of their property. They

would therefore send to the consuls ambassadors, who would order all their effects to be restored, provided they returned to the place whence they came; and who would also proceed to the other side of the Alps, and give warning to the Gallic states to keep their people at home. That the Alps, an almost impassable barrier, lay between the two countries, and whoever should pass in future, should meet no better fate than those who first proved them to be passable.” The ambassadors sent were Lucius Furius Purpureo, Quintus Minucius, Publius Manlius Acidinus. The Gauls, on the restoration of such property as they were in possession of, without wronging any man, withdrew out of Italy.

55 The transalpine states answered the Roman ambassadors in terms of kindness. Their elders even found fault with the excessive lenity of the Roman people, in “suffering men to depart with impunity, who, without an order of their nation, left their home, attempted to seize on lands belonging to the Roman empire, and to build a town in a territory which belonged to others. They ought,” they said, “to have paid a heavy penalty for their inconsiderate conduct; and as to the restoration of their effects, they expressed a fear, lest, in consequence of this too great forbearance, others might be encouraged to attempts of a like nature.” They not only entertained the ambassadors, but conferred considerable presents on them. The consul, Marcus Claudius, when he had sent the Gauls out of his province, began to prepare for a war with the Istrians, and wrote to the senate for permission to lead the legions into their country. That measure pleased the senate. They formed an intention of establishing a colony at Aquileia; nor were they able to decide whether it should consist of Latins or Roman citizens; at last however they passed a vote in favour of a Latin settlement. The commissioners appointed for the purpose were, Publius Scipio Nasica, Caius Flaminius, and Lucius Manlius Acidinus. In the same year, colonies of Roman citizens were led out to Mutina and Parma. Two thousand men were settled in each colony, on lands which lately belonged to the Boians, and formerly to the Tuscans; they received at Parma eight acres, at Mutina five each. These colonists were conducted by Marcus Æmilius Lepidus, Titus Æbutius Carus, and Lucius Quintius Crispinus. The colony of Saturnia, also consisting of

Roman citizens, was settled on the lands of Caletra, by Quintus Fabius Labeo, Caius Afranius Stellio, and Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus. Ten acres were assigned to each man.

56 In the same year Aulus Terentius Varro, the proprætor, fought some successful battles with the Celtiberians, not far from the river Iberus, in the territory of Auseta, reducing several towns, which they had fortified in that quarter. The Farther Spain was quiet during the whole year, because Publius Sempronius, the proprætor, was seized with a lingering disorder, and the Lusitanians, when no one attacked them, very opportunely kept quiet. In Liguria nothing extraordinary was performed by Quintus Fabius, the consul. Marcus Marcellus being recalled out of Istria to attend the elections, disbanded his army, and came home to Rome. He elected Cneius Bæbius Tamphilus and Lucius Æmilius Paulus consuls. This latter had been curule ædile, along with Marcus Æmilius Lepidus, from the time of whose consulate this was the fifth year; and this very Lepidus had been made consul after two repulses. Then Quintus Fulvius Flaccus, Marcus Valerius Lævinus, Publius Manlius a second time, Marcus Ogulnius Gallus, Lucius Cæcilius Denter, and Caius Terentius Istra, were elected prætors. Towards the close of the year, a supplication was performed on occasion of prodigies, for people were persuaded that it had rained blood for two days in the court of the temple of Concord; and an account was received, that near the coast of Sicily a new island, which had never been there before, rose out of the sea. Valerius, of Antium, asserts that Hannibal died in this year, and that besides Titus Quintius Flamininus, whose name was celebrated in this business, Lucius Scipio Asiaticus, and Publius Scipio Nasica, were sent ambassadors to Prusias on that occasion.

BOOK XL

Translated by William A. McDevitte

When Philip had ordered the children of those whom he had put to death, to be sought after as hostages, Theoxena, fearing the king's passion for her own children and those of her sister, who were still quite young, brought forward swords and a cup in which there was poison, and persuaded them to escape, by putting an end to their existence, the mockery that awaited them; after administering which advice, she in company with her husband plunged headlong from the ship into the sea. The quarrels between Perseus and Demetrius, the sons of Philip, king of Macedon, are related; and how that Demetrius was first assailed by accusations invented through his brother's guile, and among the rest, an impeachment for parricide and aspiring to the throne, and at last, since he was the friend of the Roman people, cut off by poison; and the kingdom of Macedon, on the death of Philip, fell to Perseus. It contains likewise the exploits successfully achieved by very many commanders in Liguria, and against the Celtiberians in Spain. Under the Janiculum, in the field of L. Petillius, the secretary, the books of Numa Pompilius were found by the labourers of the field, enclosed in a stone chest, written in both Latin and Greek characters; in which, when the prætor, to whom they had been brought, had read very many things calculated to overthrow the present system of religion, he swore to the senate that their being read and preserved would be detrimental to the state. And by a decree of the senate they were burned in the Comitium. The colony of Aquilia was planted. Philip, worn out by the pangs of conscience, because, influenced by the false information of his other son Perseus, he had by poison removed from life's scene his son Demetrius, both resolved on the punishment of Perseus and desired to leave his friend Antigonus, rather than him, as his successor. But, whilst forming this project, he was hurried off by death. Perseus received the kingdom.

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1 At the commencement of the next year, the consuls and prætors

determined the provinces by lot. For the consuls there was no province to be decreed, except Liguria. The city jurisdiction fell to Marcus Ogulnius Gallus; that among foreigners, to Marcus Valerius; of the Spains, the Hither, to Marcus Fulvius Flaccus; the Farther, to Publius Manlius; Sicily, to Lucius Ctecilius Denter; and Sardinia, to Caius Terentius Istra. The consuls were ordered to hold levies, for Quintus Fabius had written from Liguria, that the Apuani seemed inclined to a renewal of hostilities, and that it was to be feared that they would make an irruption into the district of Pisæ. From the Spains, also, they received intelligence that the Hither province was in arms; that the war still continued with the Celtiberians: that, in the Farther province, because the prætor had been for a long time indisposed, military discipline was relaxed by intemperance and inactivity. For these reasons it was decreed that new armies should be raised; four legions for Liguria, that each might contain five thousand two hundred foot, and three hundred horse, and to these same were added, fifteen thousand foot and eight hundred horse of the Latin allies. These were to complete the two consular armies. They were ordered, also, to enrol seven thousand foot and four hundred horse, of the allies and Latins, and to send them into Gaul to Marcus Marcellus, whose command was prolonged on the expiration of his consulship. There were ordered to be levied, of Roman citizens, four thousand infantry and two hundred cavalry, and of the allies, seven thousand infantry with three hundred cavalry, which should be also led into both Spains. And to Quintus Fabius Labeo, with the army which he had in Liguria, was the command prolonged for a year.

2 The spring of this year was remarkable for storms. On the day before the feast of Pales, a tremendous hurricane arose about mid-day, and made havoc in many places, both sacred and common. It threw down the brazen statues in the Capitol; tore away a gate from the temple of Luna, which is on the Aventine, and fastened it to the back parts of the temple of Ceres; overturned other statues in the Circus Maximus, together with the pillars on which they stood; tore off several cupolas from the roofs of temples, and scattered them in an unseemly manner. This storm was converted into a prodigy, and the aruspices ordered it to be attended to. At the same time expiation

was made, because it had been reported that a three-footed mule was born at Reate, and that the temple of Apollo, at Formiæ and at Caieta, was struck with lightning. On account of these prodigies, a sacrifice of twenty larger victims was offered, and there was a supplication of one day's continuance. About the same time information was obtained from a letter of Aulus Terentius, the proprætor, that Publius Sempronius, after being sick for more than a year, had died in the Farther province: on this account the prætors were ordered to set out sooner for Spain. The foreign embassies were then brought before the senate; and first, those of the kings Eumenes and Pharnaces, and of the Rhodians, complaining of the sufferings of the inhabitants of Sinope. There came also, about the same time, the ambassadors of Philip, the Achæans, and Lacedæmonians. Answers were given to these, after Marcius, who had been sent to inspect the affairs of Greece and Macedonia, had first received an audience. To the Asiatic kings and the Rhodians, they answered, that the senate would send ambassadors to examine into those matters.

3 Marcius had increased their anxiety respecting Philip; for, he acknowledged that the latter had acquiesced with the will of the senate in such a manner, as to render it very evident, that he would conform to it no longer than necessity obliged him; nor was it difficult to see, that he intended to renew hostilities, and that every thing which he then said and did had a tendency that way. Now, in the first place, he removed almost the whole body of the citizens, with their families, from the maritime cities, into Emathia, which is its modern name, it was formerly called Pæonia; he gave up those cities to be inhabited by Thracians, and other barbarians, thinking that this kind of people would prove more faithful to him in case of a war with Rome. This proceeding caused great discontent over all Macedonia; and of those who, with their wives and children, left their dwellings, few concealed their grief in silence; and, their hatred overcoming their fear, imprecations against the king were heard, as they proceeded along in groups. His mind, rendered savage by these things, entertained suspicions of all men, places, and seasons; at last he began to confess openly, that he had nothing sufficiently safe without seizing and confining the sons of those whom he had destroyed, and sending them out of the world at different times.

4 This cruelty, horrible in itself, the calamities of one particular family rendered still more so. Philip had, many years before, put to death Herodicus, a Thessalian of distinction; and afterwards his sons-in-law. His daughters were left widows, having each a little son. The names of the women were Theoxena and Archo. Theoxena, though courted by many, rejected every offer of marriage. Archo married a certain Poris, by far the first of the Ænean nation; and, after bearing him many children, died, leaving them all quite young. Theoxena then, in order that her sister's children might be educated under her own inspection, married Poris, and as if she herself had borne them all, treated her own and her sister's sons with the same affectionate care. When she heard of the king's order for seizing the children of the persons who had been put to death, supposing that they were destined to afford sport not only to the king's lust, but to that of his guards, she formed in her mind a horrid project, and had the hardiness to declare, that she would kill them all with her own hand, rather than they should come into the power of Philip. Poris, abhorring the mention of such a dreadful deed, told her that he would carry them away to Athens, to some faithful friends, and would himself accompany them in their flight. They all went from Thessalonica to Ænea, to a stated sacrifice, which they offer yearly, with great solemnity, in honour of Æneas, the founder of the nation. Having spent the day there, in the anniversary feast, about the third watch, when all were asleep, they embarked in a vessel ready prepared by Poris, as if intending to return to Thessalonica; but their design was to cross over to Eubœa. However, daylight surprised them at a small distance from the land, struggling in vain against a contrary wind, and the king's officers, who commanded the garrison of the port, despatched an armed bark to bring back their ship, with a strict injunction not to return without it. When they were now drawing nigh, Poris was intently occupied in animating the rowers and sailors, and, at times, raising his hands towards heaven, supplicated the gods to assist him. Meanwhile, the woman, with desperate fury recurring to the shocking design which she had long premeditated, dissolves some poison, and produces swords; then, placing the cup in their view, and unsheathing the swords, she says, "Death is our only refuge. These paths lead thither, by whichever of

them each one's inclination leads them to adopt, let them escape the tyranny of the king. Come then, dear youths, let those of you who are the elder, first take the sword; or, if a slower death is your choice, drain the cup." At the same time the enemy was fast approaching, and she, who urged them to despatch themselves, was urgent; the young men, having put an end to their lives some by the one and some by the other fatal expedient, were thrown expiring into the sea. Then, embracing her husband and companion in death, she plunged into the deep. The king's officers then took possession of the ship, deserted by its owners.

5 The barbarity connected with this deed added fresh fuel to the flame of public resentment kindled against the king, insomuch that most people uttered imprecations on himself and his children; which curses being in a short time heard by all the gods, caused him to vent his cruelty on his own blood relations. For Perseus, when he perceived that the popularity and high reputation of his brother Demetrius among the Macedonian people, and interest among the Romans, increased more and more every day, and that no hope was left him of obtaining the crown save by the instrumentality of some wicked device, bent all his thoughts to that one object. But not thinking himself alone strong enough even for the dastardly project, which he meditated in his effeminate mind, he began to tamper with each of his father's friends by dark suggestions. At first, several of these showed an appearance of rejecting with scorn any such overtures, because they entertained higher expectations from Demetrius. Afterwards Philip's animosity to the Romans increased every day, which Perseus fomented; but Demetrius, with all his might, opposed. Foreseeing the fatal doom of the youth, who heeded not a brother's guile, and thinking that they must lend their assistance to the accomplishment of what was likely to take place, and cherish the hopes of the more powerful, they united themselves to Perseus. They defer the execution of other measures till their proper season; for the present, it seems good that the king should by every strenuous exertion be inflamed against the Romans, and urged to form resolutions for war, to which he had already of his own accord turned his attention. At the same time, in order that Demetrius might be a greater object of suspicion every day, they used deliberately to

prolong the conversations even to the use of insulting language towards the Romans; thereupon, when some depreciating their manners and institutions, some their military achievements, some the appearance of the city itself, unadorned either by public or private structures; others spoke scornfully of some particular individuals among their principal men. On these occasions, the young prince unwary, both out of affection for the Roman nation, and opposition to his brother, by maintaining their cause in all things, rendered himself an object of suspicion to his father, and a fit subject for their accusations. His father therefore kept him a stranger to all his designs respecting the Romans; he was entirely devoted to Perseus, and held with him, daily and nightly, deliberations on that subject. The envoys had returned whom he happened to have sent to the Bastarnians, to solicit aid, and brought with them from thence young men of distinction, and some of royal extraction; one of whom promised his sister in marriage to Philip's son, and the connexion with that nation raised the king's spirits. Hereupon Perseus said, "What does that avail? There is by no means as much protection afforded by foreign aid, as there is danger arising from domestic treachery. I am unwilling to call him traitor, but a spy we certainly have in our bosom, and although the Romans have restored to us his body, since he was a hostage at Rome, yet they still possess his heart. The faces of almost all the Macedonians are turned towards him, and they think they are to have no other king but him whom the Romans would give them." By such discourses the old man's mind, distempered in itself, was stimulated to passion, and these imputations he received deeper in his mind, than appeared from his countenance.

6 It happened to be the time of the purification of the army; which ceremony is thus performed: — The head and fore part of a dog cut through the middle is laid at the right side of the way, and the hinder part with the entrails at the left. Between the parts of the victim, thus divided, the forces are led under arms. In the front of the van, are carried the remarkable suits of armour of all the kings of Macedon, from the remotest origin; next follows the king himself, with his children; then the royal cohort and body guards, and the remaining body of the Macedonians close the rear. The two young sons of the king attend by his side; Perseus being now in his thirtieth year,

Demetrius five years younger; the former in the full strength of manhood, the latter in its bloom; the mature offspring of a fortunate parent, if his mind had been influenced by reason. The custom was, that when the purificatory sacrifice was finished, the army should perform their evolutions, and the two lines divided on both sides should engage in a mock fight. The young princes were appointed commanders in this mock engagement; but it was not the mere representation of a battle, for they engaged as if they were fighting for the throne: many wounds were given with stakes, nor was any thing but the steel wanting to give it the form of a regular battle. The party which was under the command of Demetrius, was far superior. While Perseus was vexed thereat, his considerate friends rejoiced; and said, that that very circumstance would afford grounds for impeaching the youth.

7 Each of the princes gave an entertainment that day to his comrades, who had exercised under his command. Perseus being invited to supper by Demetrius, refused; kind hospitality and youthful merriment led both to excess in wine. Thereupon mention was made of the mock engagement, and numerous remarks were thrown out against the antagonists in such a manner as not to spare even the leaders themselves. To learn these expressions, a spy was sent from among the guests of Perseus; but not conducting himself with sufficient caution, he was detected by some young men who happened to come out of the banqueting-room, and severely beaten. Demetrius, knowing nothing of this matter, said, "Why do we not go to my brother, join with him in merriment, and by our frankness and gaiety assuage his resentment, if any, arising from the engagement, as yet remains?" All with one accord cried out that they would attend him, except those who were afraid of the immediate revenge of the spy that had been beaten by them. When Demetrius pressed these also, they concealed swords under their clothes, with which they might defend themselves if any violence should be offered. In the case of domestic discord, nothing that is concealed can remain so. Both houses were full of spies and traitors. An informer ran on before to Perseus, and told him, that four young men, armed with swords, were coming with Demetrius. Though the reason was evident, (for he had heard that his guest had been beaten by them,)

yet, for the purpose of blackening the matter, he ordered his gate to be locked, and from the upper part of the house and the windows facing the street, he drives away the revellers, as if they were come to murder him, from the entrance to the gate. Demetrius flushed with wine, having for a little exclaimed loudly at his being shut out, returns home to his own feast entirely ignorant of the meaning of the whole proceeding.

8 Next day, Perseus, as soon as an opportunity of seeing his father was afforded him, entered the palace, and with looks expressive of disquietude stood silent in the presence of his sire but at some distance. Of whom when his father inquired “if all was well, and what was the cause of that sadness?” he answers, “Know that it is by the sufferance of another that your son survives. We are now attacked by my brother with no secret treachery; he came by night to my house, with armed men to take away my life, and it was by shut doors, and the protection afforded by the walls, that I was saved from his fury.” When he had inspired into his father a horror mixed with wonder, he adds, “If you can listen to me, I shall cause you to understand the affair as an evident truth.” But Philip replied that he would hear him, and ordered Demetrius to be instantly summoned. He then sent for two friends of advanced age, Lysimachus and Onomastus, (who never interfered in the juvenile disputes of the brothers, and were of late rare visitors in the palace,) that he might have their assistance in counsel. While his friends are coming he walked about by himself, secretly revolving many things in his mind; his son still standing at a distance. On being told that they had arrived, he retired with his two friends, and the same number of his life-guards, into an inner apartment; he permitted each of his sons to bring in three persons unarmed. Here, having taken his seat, he says, “I, the most unhappy of fathers, sit here as judge between my two sons, the accuser and the accused of the crime of fratricide; about to find, in my nearest of relations, the foul stain either of falsehood or a commission of crime. For a long time, indeed, I have apprehended an impending storm, after I perceived your mutual looks, which showed no sign of brotherly affection, and after I had overheard some expressions. But I sometimes cherished the hope that your passions would subside, and that your suspicions could be removed; that even

enemies lay down their arms and form a treaty, and that the private disputes of many have been ended; and I trusted that the remembrance of your fraternal relationship would at some time or other occur to you, and of the simplicity and intimacy that subsisted between you in your boyish days; and finally, of my instructions, which, I fear, I have fruitlessly poured into deaf ears. How often have I, in your hearing, mentioned, with abhorrence, examples of the disagreements of brothers, and recounted the dreadful consequences of them, by which themselves, their offspring, their houses, and their kingdoms, have been utterly ruined. I have represented, on the other hand, more laudable examples; also the social intercourse between the two kings of the Lacedæmonians, beneficial to themselves and to their country for many ages; and that this same state, after the custom of each one arbitrarily seizing on absolute power prevailed, was quite overturned. Then, that these brothers, Eumenes and Attalus, raised their dominions (from so small circumstances, that they were almost ashamed of the title of king), to an equality with mine, or with those of Antiochus, or indeed of any monarch of this age, and by nothing else than by brotherly concord. Nor did I decline showing you examples even from among the Romans that I had either seen or heard; as of Titus and Lucius Quintius, who carried on the war against me; the two Scipios, Publius and Lucius, who vanquished Antiochus; and their father and uncle, the lasting harmony of whose life even death could not dissolve. But neither could the wickedness of the former, attended by an issue suitable to their crimes, deter you from your foolish quarrels; nor could the sound judgment and good fortune of the latter bend you to wisdom. While I am alive and in health, you have both in your hopes and wicked desires laid hold on my inheritance. You wish me to live just so long as that, surviving one, I should, by my death, make the other king without a competitor. You cannot endure to have either brother or father. You have no sense of affection, no religion, your insatiable passion for regal sway alone has supplied the place of all other feelings. Come, then, pollute your father's ears, contend with mutual accusations, as you soon will with the sword; speak openly either whatever truth you can, or are pleased to invent. My ears are now opened, which henceforward will be shut against all secret charges of one against

the other.” When with furious passion he had uttered these words, tears gushed from the whole assembly and a sorrowful silence long prevailed.

9 At length Perseus spoke to this effect: “I ought then, it seems, to have opened my gate in the night, and admitted those armed revellers, and held out my throat to their swords; since nothing less than the perpetration of the deed can gain belief, and since I, who have been assailed by secret treachery am accosted in the same language as a robber and an assassin might expect. It is not without reason, that those people say that you have but one son, Demetrius; and that I am supposititious, and born of a concubine; for if I held in your breast the rank of a son, or the affection due to one, you would wreak your anger not on me, who complain of discovered treachery, but on him who was the author of it; nor would my life be so worthless in your eyes, that you should neither be moved by the danger which I have already undergone, nor by that to which I must be exposed in future, if punishment be not inflicted on the assassins. If, therefore, it be our doom to die secretly let us be silent, only offering prayers to the gods that the wickedness commenced with me may terminate in me, and that you be not aimed at through my side. But if, as nature itself suggests to those encompassed with perils in a desert place, to implore assistance even from men whom they had never seen, so I, on seeing a sword drawn against me, may be allowed to raise my voice. I beseech you then, by your own person, by the name of father, (and you long know which of us reveres that title most,) that you may hear me in the same manner as you would if, roused by cries and lamentations by night, you had come up, when I was crying for help, and in the dead of night had found Demetrius, with armed men, in the porch of my house. What I should, at that time, and in that case, have exclaimed with terror, I now, next day, lay before you in form of a complaint. Brother, it is long since you and I lived together on the terms of mutual hospitality; you certainly wish to be king; this my expectation, my age, opposes, the law of nations opposes, the ancient practice of Macedon opposes, and moreover the judgment of my father opposes. These you can surmount by no other means than by shedding my blood. You are making every scheme and every attempt. Hitherto, either my care or

fortune has prevented the fratricide you intended to commit. Yesterday, on occasion of the purification, the military exercise and mock representation of a fight, you almost rendered it a bloody battle; nor was I saved from death by any other means than by suffering myself and my party to be overcome. Pretending brotherly sport, you wanted to drag me from a hostile fight to your house to supper. Father, do you think that I, to whom they came in arms, that they might drink with me, would have supped there with unarmed guests. Do you think that I would have been in no danger from their swords by night, when they almost killed me with stakes, of which you were a spectator. Why, Demetrius, did you come at that time of night; why an enemy come to a person provoked; why with young men in arms? I did not venture to trust myself with you as a guest, and shall I admit you as a reveller, coming with armed men? Father, if the gate had been open, you would be preparing my funeral at this moment, in which you are hearing my complaint. I do not, as an accuser, urge any thing for the purpose of accusation; nor by collecting doubtful circumstances, in a train of artful arguments. For what can he say? Does he deny that he came to my gate with a large party, or that there were armed men with him? Send for the persons, whom I will name; they who dared to do this, might dare to do any thing; nevertheless, they will not dare to deny it. If I brought before you any who had been caught within my doors in arms, you would consider this an evident proof; consider those who confess in the same light as if actually caught in the fact.

10 “Curse now thirst for dominion. Call up the furies, the avengers of the wrongs of brothers; but, father, let not your curses be indiscriminating. Separate and distinguish the assassin, and him by treachery assailed, and charge the guilty head. Let him, who intended to kill a brother, feel the wrath of the gods, of his father; and let him, who was to have perished by a brother’s wickedness, find refuge in his father’s compassion and justice. For where else shall I seek refuge, who cannot find safety in the solemn purification of your army, in the exercise of the troops, in my own house, in a feast, nor in the night, which nature’s bounty granted to mankind for a season of repose. If I go to my brother, according to his invitation, I must die. If I admit my brother to a party of pleasure within my own gates,

I must die. Neither by going, nor by staying, do I escape secret treachery. Whither then shall I betake me? Father, I have courted nothing save the gods and thee. I have not the Romans, to whom I may fly. They seek my destruction, because I grieve at the injuries which they have done you; because I resent your being deprived of so many cities, so many nations, and, lately, of the coast of Thrace. They have no hope that Macedonia will ever be their property, while either you or I am safe. If a brother's wickedness shall have carried off me, and old age thee, or if even this should not be waited for, they know that both the king and kingdom of Macedonia will become theirs. If the Romans had left you any thing beyond the limits of Macedon, I would suppose that even that had been left me as a shelter. But I have protection enough in the Macedonians. You were an eye-witness yesterday of the attack made on me by the soldiers. What did they want, but the steel? And what they wanted, in the day, my brother's guests took to themselves in the night. Why need I mention the greater part of the nobles, who have placed all their hopes of honour and fortune in the Romans, and in him who is all-powerful with the Romans? Nor, in truth, do they prefer him merely to me, his elder brother, but, they want little of preferring him to yourself, his king and father. For, he is the person out of regard to whom the senate remitted to you the intended punishment, who now screens you from the Roman arms; who thinks it fit that your advanced age should be under obligation to, and dependent on, his youth. Him the Romans, him the cities freed from thy jurisdiction, and him the Macedonians, rejoicing at the peace with Rome, defend; but for me, father, what hope or protection have I any where except in thee?

11 "What do you suppose to be the intention of the letter lately sent to you by Titus Quintius, in which he not only says, that you acted wisely for your own interest in sending Demetrius to Rome, but also advises you to send him back again, with a greater number of ambassadors, and nobles of Macedonia? Titus Quintius is now his counsellor, and master, in every thing. Having renounced you his father, he has substituted him in your place. There in preference to all other places their secret plans are concocted. When he desires you to send greater numbers, and the chief men of Macedon they are

seeking assistants in their schemes. For those who go from this place unchanged and uncorrupted, and impressed with the idea that they had Philip as their king, return from thence tainted — infected by Roman blandishments. Demetrius alone is every thing to them. They give him the title of king already, even in his father's life-time. If I express my indignation at these things, you must forthwith understand that the crime of thirsting for dominion has been laid to my charge; not only by others, father, but even by you. But this charge, if made against both, I do not admit; for whom do I remove from his place, that I may succeed in his room? My father alone is before me; and that he may long be so, I entreat the gods. I his survivor, (and may I be so only on these terms, if, by my desert, he shall wish me to be so,) shall receive the inheritance of his kingdom, provided my father shall bequeath it to me. He covets rule, and covets it with criminal passion, since he hastily overleaps the order of age, of nature, of the Macedonian custom, and of the laws of nations. An elder brother stands in his way, to whom by right, and by the wish of his father, the kingdom belongs. Let him be carried off: I shall not be the first that acquired a kingdom by spilling a brother's blood. My father, being old, and forlorn from being bereaved of his son, will rather fear for himself, than revenge his son's death. The Romans will rejoice, they will approve, they will defend the deed. Father, these prospects are uncertain, but they are not groundless. For the matter stands thus: you can repel from me the fatal danger, by inflicting punishment on those who have taken up arms to kill me; if success attend the daring deed, you the very same shall not be able to avenge my death."

12 When Perseus concluded his speech, the eyes of all present were turned to Demetrius, as if he were going to reply immediately. Then, when it was evident to all that, bathed in tears, he was unable to speak, silence for a long time reigned: at length necessity itself, inasmuch as they called on him to speak, overcame his grief, and he began thus: "Father, all the aids which heretofore have been the privilege of the accused, my accuser has preoccupied. By his tears, counterfeited for the purpose of working another's ruin, he has caused my unfeigned tears to be suspected by you. Although, ever since I returned from Rome, he, by holding secret consultations with

his confederates, labours night and day to insnare me, yet nevertheless he represents me in the character, not only of a conspirator, but of an open assassin and murderer. He terrifies you with his danger, in order to hasten, through your means, the ruin of an innocent brother. He asserts, that he has a place of refuge no where in the world, that I may have no remaining hope even in thee. Circumvented, destitute, and helpless as I am, he loads me with odium arising from foreign favour, which proves detrimental rather than advantageous. Then how, accuser-like, has he blended that which was the crime of this night with other invectives against my conduct, that he might, by representing the tenor of the rest of my life, throw a colour of guilt both on the late transaction, the true nature of which you shall soon understand; and that he might support the other groundless insinuations respecting my views, wishes, and designs, by this latter, fictitious, fabricated story. He had, at the same time, this design, that his accusation might appear to be sudden and by no means premeditated, as if occasioned by sudden fright and disturbance of this night. But, Perseus, if I were a traitor against my father and his government; if I had formed plans with the Romans, or with other enemies of my father, the tale of last night ought not to have been waited for; I ought to have been long ago brought to answer for my treason. And if the former charge apart from the latter were unfounded, and tended to discover your hatred towards me, rather than my guilt, it ought on the present day also to be either omitted or postponed to some future period; in order that it might clearly appear, whether I plotted against you; or you, with indeed a strange and singular kind of hatred, against me. However, I will, as well as I am able in my present unforeseen perturbation of mind, distinguish those matters which you have confounded; and I will unveil the plot of the preceding evening, whether mine or yours. Perseus wishes it to be believed, that I had formed a design to take his life, with the view, forsooth, that having removed the elder brother, on whom by the law of nations, by the custom of Macedonia, and likewise by your judgment, as he says, the kingdom was to devolve, I, the younger, should succeed in the room of him whom I had slain. What, then, can be the meaning of that other part of his speech, where he says that the Romans were courted by me,

and from my reliance on them that I conceived hopes of the crown? For, if I believed that the Romans possessed such influence, that they could appoint whomsoever they pleased king of Macedon, and if I had such confidence in my interest with them, what need was there of fratricide? Could it be my wish to wear a diadem stained with a brother's blood, or to become execrable and odious in the eyes of those very people, with whom whatever interest I may happen to have, has been procured by zeal, or at least affected integrity of conduct? unless you believe that Titus Quintius, by whose power and advice you allege I am at present governed, though he lives in such cordial affection with his own brother, would recommend to me to murder mine? He has united for me, not only the favour of the Romans, but the opinions of the Macedonians, and the concurring sentiments almost of all the gods and men, by reason of all which he cannot believe that he would prove equal to me in the competition. Yet the same man accuses me of having (though I was inferior to him in every mode of proceeding) had recourse to an act of wickedness as my last resource. Do you wish that the formula of the judicial inquiry should be to this effect, that whichever feared lest the other should seem more worthy of the throne, shall be deemed guilty of designing his brother's destruction?

13 "But let us examine the process of this accusation, in whatever manner it has been fabricated. He has arraigned me of attempting his life, by several methods; and all these modes of attack he has crowded into the space of one day. I intended to kill him by day when we engaged after the purification, and, if it seems good to the gods, even on the day of purification. I intended, when I invited him to supper, to take him off by poison of course. I intended, when some armed persons followed me to join his party in their conviviality, to kill him with the sword. You see what sort of opportunities were chosen for this murder; those of sport, feasting, and revelling. What? on what sort of a day! On the day in which the army was purified; in which, after the royal armour of all the former kings of Macedon was carried in procession between the divided victim, when we two only rode along with you, father, at your sides, and the body of the Macedonian troops followed. Now, even supposing that I had formerly been guilty of some crime requiring expiation, could I, after

being purified and expiated in this sacred solemnity, at the very time especially when I was looking at the victim laid on each side of our road, revolved in my mind fratricide, poisons and swords prepared against the feast? With what other sacred rites could I afterwards atone for the guilt of a mind, contaminated with every kind of villany? But whilst his understanding, blinded by a desire for accusing, wishes to render every thing an object of suspicion, it confounds one thing with another. For if I intended to take you off by poison at supper, what could be more incongruous with my design, than to provoke you to rage by an obstinate contest and engagement, that you might have reason to refuse, as you did, my invitation to supper? But when, in your anger, you had refused, whether ought I to have taken pains to pacify you, that I might find another opportunity, since I had got the poison ready, or to pass over, as it were, from that design to another, namely, that of killing you with the sword, and on that same day, under pretence of feasting with you? If I thought that you declined supping with me, through fear for your life, how could I suppose that you would not, through the same fear, have declined drinking with me also.

14 “Father, I have no cause to blush, that on a festival day, among companions of my own age, I should have indulged too freely in wine; and I wish you would also inquire with what cheerfulness and mirth yesterday’s entertainment, at my house, was rendered festive, that joy also (perhaps a blamable one) increasing it, our party not having been worsted in the fight. This my present misfortune, and my fears, have effectual dissipated the fumes of the liquor; but, if these had not intervened, we, the conspirators, would have been now lying fast asleep. If, Perseus, I designed to storm your house, and after the house had been taken to kill the owner, ought I not to have refrained from wine for that one day, and to have kept my soldiers sober? And that I should not be the only one to defend my cause with excessive candour, my brother himself also, not in the least inclined to malice or suspicion, says, I know nothing more, I charge them with nothing more, than that they came in arms to drink with me. If I should ask, From what source have you become acquainted with that very circumstance? you must necessarily acknowledge, either that my house was full of your spies; or that my companions took arms so

openly, as that every one could see them. Lest he should seem either on a prior occasion to have made any investigation, or now to adduce arguments for the purpose of convicting, he desired you to inquire of the persons whom he would name, whether they had swords, in order that, as it were, in a doubtful case, when you had investigated into that which they themselves confessed, they might be deemed convicted. Why do you not rather desire inquiry to be made after this, whether they carried swords for the purpose of killing you; whether by my direction and knowledge? this you wish to be believed, and not that which they confess, and what is, indeed, notorious, they say they carried them for the purpose of defending themselves. Whether they acted right or wrong, let them account for their own conduct. My cause, which is no way affected by this act, do not blend with it. Explain whether we intended to attack you openly, or secretly. If openly, why had we not all swords? why had no one a sword except those who had beaten your spy? If privately, what was the arrangement of our plan? Were four to remain, in order to fall on you in your sleep, when the banquet broke up, and I your guest had departed? How would they have escaped detection, as being strangers, and belonging to me; and, above all, being liable to suspicion, because they had been in a quarrel a little before? But how were they to have escaped after having killed you? Could your house have been taken and stormed by two swords?

15 “Why not rather, having dropped that fable of last night, recur to what really grieves you, what kindles your envy? Say, — Why, Demetrius, is mention made any where of your mounting the throne? Why do you appear, to some, a more worthy successor to your father’s dignity than I? Why do you disturb with doubt and anxiety my hopes, which would be certain if you were not in being? These are the thoughts of Perseus, though he does not express them; these make that man my enemy, these create my accuser; these fill your house, these your kingdom, with accusations and suspicions. But, father, as I ought not now either to hope for the crown, or perhaps ever to contend for it, because I am the younger brother, and because you wish that I should yield to the elder; so neither ought I at any former time, or at the present, to act in such a manner as to appear undeserving of you my father, and of all. For I should attain that by

my own vices, not by yielding to him on whose side is law both human and divine, not by moderation. You upbraid me with the Romans; and what ought to be deemed an honour, you convert into a crime. I did not request, that I should either be delivered a hostage to the Romans, or sent as an ambassador to Rome. Being commissioned by you, I did not refuse to go. On both occasions, I conducted myself in such a manner, as to be no disgrace to you, to your kingdom, or to the Macedonian nation. You, therefore, father, have been the cause of my friendship with the Romans. As long as peace shall subsist between you and them, so long will I also continue in friendship with them; but, if war should arise, I, the same who have been there a hostage, and no unprofitable ambassador in my father's behalf, will be their most determined enemy. Nor do I, this day, require that the favour of the Romans should be any advantage to me; I only entreat that it be not detrimental. It neither commenced in war, nor is it reserved for war. I have been a pledge of peace; and, to procure a continuance of peace, I was sent ambassador. Let neither be esteemed an honour or a crime. Father, if I have been guilty of any undutiful behaviour towards you, or any criminal behaviour towards my brother, I beg to be freed from no punishment. If I be innocent, let me not, I beseech you, be destroyed by envy when I cannot by crime. My brother's accusation, this day, is not the first that he has brought against me; but it is the first made openly, and owing to no offence given him by me. If my father were angry with me, it would become you, the elder brother, to intercede for the younger, you to obtain pardon for his youth, and you for his error; but in the very person from whom I ought to receive protection, in him I meet my ruin. From a feast and revelry I have been hurried, almost half asleep, to plead my cause on a charge of fratricide. Without advocates, without patrons, I am compelled to plead my own cause. If I were to speak for another, I would have taken time to study and compose a speech; though, what else would I endanger than that of my reputation for abilities. But, before I knew why I had been summoned, I heard you, in a paroxysm of passion, ordering me to account for my conduct, and my brother accusing me. He employed against me a speech long before prepared and studied; I had only the time in which the accusations were recited, for hearing what were the

impeachments. During that short space whether should I listen to my accuser, or study a defence? Thunder-struck by the sudden and unthought-of calamity, I was scarcely capable of understanding what was alleged against me, much less of being sufficiently aware what defence I should make. What hope indeed could I have, if I had not my father as judge, with whom, though I am outstripped by an elder brother in affection, yet surely, when accused, I ought not to be outstripped in his compassion. For my prayer is, that you would save me, for my sake, and for your own; he demands, that, for his security, you should put me to death. What do you think will he do, when you shall have delivered the kingdom into his hands, who even now thinks it reasonable that he should be gratified with my blood?" While he was uttering these words, tears interrupted his breath and voice at the same time. Philip, having sent them away, and conferred a short time with his friends, declared, that "he could not from a single hour's discussion give a formulary judgment on the cause between them, but by a scrutiny into the conduct and manners of both, and a close observation of their words and actions, on occasions great and small." That it appeared clearly to all, that the charge relating to the preceding night was effectually refuted; but that Demetrius' favour with the Romans had been an object of suspicion, as being too great. These, as it were, the seeds of the Macedonian war which was to be waged with Perseus, in particular, were sown, when Philip was still alive.

¹⁶ Both the consuls set out into Liguria, which at that time was the only consular province. A supplication for one day was decreed because prosperity had attended their affairs in that quarter. About two thousand Ligurians came to the extreme borders of the Gallic province, where Marcellus lay encamped, requesting him to receive their submission. Marcellus, having ordered the Ligurians to wait in the same place, consulted the senate through the medium of a letter. The senate ordered Marcus Ogulnius, prætor, to write back to Marcellus, that "it would have been more proper for the consuls, whose province it was, than for them, to decide what might tend to the interest of the republic; that in this case too it was their pleasure, if he should receive the surrender of the Ligurians, that their arms should not be taken from them admitted to a surrender, and that the

senate thought proper that the Ligurians should be sent to the consul. The prætors arrived at the same time in Spain; Publius Manlius in the Farther province, which he had governed in his former prætorship, and Quintus Fulvius Flaccus in the Hither one, and he received the command of the army from Terentius; for the Farther province, by the death of the proprætor, Publius Sempronius, had been without a governor. The Celtiberians attacked Fulvius Flaccus while besieging a town of the Spaniards, called Urbicua. Many severe actions were fought there, and many of the Roman soldiers killed and wounded. They were vanquished by Fulvius' perseverance, because he could by no force be diverted from the siege; the Celtiberians, wearied out with so many battles, retired. The city, having lost their assistance, was within a few days taken and sacked; the prætor bestowed the booty on the soldiers. Fulvius having taken this town, and Publius Manlius having only gathered together his army, which had been scattered, without having achieved any other memorable action, led their armies into winter quarters. These were the transactions of that summer in Spain. Terentius, who had come home from that province, entered the city in ovation. He carried in the procession nine thousand three hundred and twenty pounds' weight of silver, eighty pounds' weight of gold, and two golden crowns of the weight of sixty-seven pounds.

17 In the same year the Romans were arbitrators on the spot in a dispute, subsisting between the people of Carthage and king Masinissa, about a tract of ground. This ground Gala, father of Masinissa, had taken from the Carthaginians. Syphax had expelled Gala, and afterwards, from respect to Hasdrubal, his father-in-law, had made a present of it to the Carthaginians. In this year, Masinissa had expelled the Carthaginians. This matter was debated before the Romans with no less mental ardour than they had contended for it with the sword, even in the field of battle. The Carthaginians claimed the ground first, as having been the property of their ancestors; and next, because it had come to them from Syphax. Masinissa urged, that "he had retaken possession of it as part of his father's kingdom, and held it under the law of nations; and that he had the advantage, both in the merits of his cause and in the present possession. That, in this discussion, he had no other fear, than lest the moderation of the

Romans might operate to his loss, whilst they dreaded the appearance of any partiality to a king who was their friend and ally, in prejudice to the common enemy of him and them.” The deputies did not alter the right of possession, but referred the cause entire to the senate at Rome. There was nothing done afterwards in Liguria. The inhabitants, at first, retired into pathless forests; and afterwards, disbanding their army, separated in every direction among the villages and forts. The consuls, too, wished to disband their forces, and consulted the senators on this matter. They ordered that one of them should discharge his troops, and come to Rome to elect magistrates for the year; and that the other, with his legions, should pass the winter at Pisæ. A report prevailed, that the transalpine Gauls were arming their young men, and it was not known on what quarter of Italy that multitude would pour itself. The consuls settled the matter between them, — that Cneius Bæbius should go home to the elections, because his brother, Marcus Bæbius, was a candidate for the consulship.

18 The assembly for the election of consuls was held, and Publius Cornelius Cethegus and Marcus Bæbius Tamphilus were chosen. The prætors were afterwards elected, Quintus Fabius Maximus, Quintus Fabius Buteo, Tiberius Claudius Nero, Quintus Petillius Spurius, Marcus Pinarius Posca, and Lucius Duronius. When the magistrates entered into office, the provinces fell to these by lot in the following order: to the consuls, Liguria; to the prætors, Quintus Petillius, the city, and Quintus Fabius Maximus, the foreign jurisdiction; to Quintus Fabius Buteo, Gaul; to Tiberius Claudius Nero, Sicily; to Marcus Pinarius, Sardinia; and to Lucius Duronius, Apulia, to which was annexed Istria also, because information was received at Tarentum and Brundisium, that the lands bordering on the sea were infested by robberies committed by foreign piratical ships. The Massilians made the same complaint, with regard to the ships of the Ligurians. The armies were then voted, to the consuls four Roman legions (each consisting of five thousand two hundred foot and three hundred horse); and fifteen thousand foot and eight hundred horse of the allies and Latins. In the Spains, the old prætors were continued in command, with the armies which they then had; and as an augmentation, there were voted for them, three thousand

Roman citizens with two hundred horse, and six thousand foot and three hundred horse of the Latin confederates. Nor was the business of the fleet neglected. The consuls were ordered to constitute duumvirs for conducting that department; by whom, twenty ships which they had launched were to be manned with Roman citizens who had been in servitude; with this proviso only, that free-born officers should command them. The duty of guarding the coast was so arranged between the duumvirs, each of whom had the command of ten ships, that the promontory of Minerva formed the point of division between them: one was to defend the part on the right, as far as Marseilles; the other, that on the left, extending to the town of Barium.

19 Many horrid prodigies were seen at Rome this year, and reported from abroad. It rained blood in the courts of the temples of Vulcan and Concord, and the priests reported that spears moved, and that the image of Juno Sospita at Lanuvium shed tears. There was a pestilence in the country, in the market towns and market-places: and so violent was it in the city, that Libitina could scarcely supply the requisites for burying the dead. These prodigies, and the mortality, alarmed the senate so much, that they ordered the consuls to sacrifice to such gods as they thought proper, victims of the larger kinds, and likewise the decemvirs to consult the books. Pursuant to their direction, a supplication for one day was proclaimed, to be performed at every shrine in Rome. On the authority of these same, both the senate voted, and the consuls announced, that there should be a supplication and holidays for three days throughout the whole of Italy. The pestilence raged with so great fury, that when, in consequence of the revolt of the Corsicans, and a war raised in Sardinia by the Iliensians, it seemed good, that, from among the Latin allies, eight thousand foot and three hundred horse should be raised, whom Marcus Pinarius the prætor should convey with him into Sardinia; — the consuls returned a representation, that so great a number of men had died, and so many were sick, in every place that the number of soldiers could not be made up. The prætor was ordered to take from Cneius Bæbius, proconsul, who was in winter quarters at Pisæ, as many soldiers as would make up the deficiency, and transport them from thence to Sardinia. To Lucius Duronius the

prætor, to whose lot Apulia had fallen, was given in addition the charge of making inquiry concerning the Bacchanalians; for some remaining seeds of the evils, formerly excited by those people, had shown themselves there the year before. The inquiries were rather commenced under the prætor, Lucius Pupius, than brought to any issue; the senate therefore ordered the new prætor to cut up that evil by the roots, lest it might spread again more extensively. The consuls, also, by direction of the senate, proposed to the people certain laws concerning canvassing for elections.

20 They next introduced the embassies to audience. And first, those of the kings, Eumenes and Ariarathes the Cappadocian; and Pharnaces of Pontus. No further answer was given to these, than that the senate would send persons to examine, and decide their disputes. Ambassadors from the Lacedæmonian exiles, and from the Achæans, were next brought in. Hopes were given to the exiles, that the senate would write to the Achæans that they should be restored. The Achæans gave an account, to the satisfaction of the senate, of the recovery of Messene, and the settlement of affairs there. From Philip, king of Macedonia, came two ambassadors also, — Philocles and Appelles; not on any business with the senate, but rather to pry into and inquire concerning the correspondence with the Romans, of which Perseus had accused Demetrius, and, particularly, into that with Titus Quintius, concerning the kingdom, to the prejudice of his brother. The king had employed these men, believing them unbiassed and inclined in favour of neither party; but they were accomplices and agents of Perseus, in his treacherous designs against his brother. Demetrius, ignorant of all except the villanous scheme of his brother which had lately broke out, at first neither utterly despaired, nor yet entertained much hope of being reconciled with his father; but afterwards he trusted less and less every day to Philip's affection, having observed that an audience with him was prevented by his brother. Wherefore, not to increase the suspicions lie laboured under, he used extreme circumspection in all his words and actions, and carefully avoided all mention of, and communication with, the Romans; to such a degree as to wish that they should not write, as he knew that his father's mind was principally exasperated by charges of this nature.

21 Philip, lest his troops should be enervated by inactivity, and at the same time, to avert all suspicion of his harbouring any design of a war with Rome, ordered his army to assemble at Stobi, in Pæonia; and thence he led it on into Mædica. He had been seized with an earnest desire of ascending to the summit of Mount Hæmus, for he gave credit to a vulgar opinion, that from thence could be seen at once the Pontic and Adriatic Seas, the river Danube, and the Alps; and he thought that the having a view of all those places, would be of no small consequence towards forming his plans of a war with Rome. On inquiry, from people acquainted with the country, respecting the ascent to Mount Hæmus, when it was ascertained from them all, that there was no way by which an army could go up it, but that there was access for a small party, lightly accoutred, that he might soothe with familiar discourse his younger son, whom he had determined not to take with him, he first asked his opinion, “whether, as the difficulty of the journey was represented to be so great, he ought to persist in his design, or not?” He added, that, if he should resolve to proceed, he could not forget the caution of Antigonus, respecting undertakings of that kind; who being tossed about by a violent storm, when he had all his family in the same ship with him, was said to have advised his sons to remember, and hand down to their children, this maxim: “never to have the hardihood to rush into danger themselves, and their whole family together.” He would therefore attend to this warning, and not expose his two sons at once to the chance of those perils, which were represented to lie in his way; and as he meant to take his elder son with him, he would send back the younger into Macedon, as a reserve to his hopes, and as guardian of the kingdom.” It did not escape Demetrius that he was sent out of the way, that he might not be present at their deliberations, when, in view of those places, they should consult which were the shortest roads to the Adriatic Sea and to Italy, and what was the general plan to be pursued in the war. He was obliged however not only to obey his father on the occasion, but to express his approbation of the measure, lest a reluctant obedience might beget suspicion. In order that his journey into Macedonia might be safe, Didas, one of the king’s general officers and governor of Pæonia, was ordered to escort him with a small party of men. Perseus

took this man, as well as most of his father's friends, into the conspiracy to ruin his brother, from the time that it became plain to every one, from the tendency of the king's feelings, to which of the two the inheritance of the throne should come; and Perseus charged him on this occasion, to insinuate himself by every kind of obsequiousness into the most familiar communication with Demetrius, so as to draw from him all his secrets, and to pry into his hidden thoughts. The prince, therefore, set out with a guard more dangerous to him than if he had gone alone.

22 Philip marched first into Mædica, then crossing the deserts that lie between Mædica and Hæmus, at length, at his seventh encampment, he reached the foot of the mountain. There he halted one day, to make choice of those who were to accompany him, and on the next proceeded on his journey. At first, while they ascended the lower parts of the hills, the fatigue was moderate; but as they advanced upwards, they found the ground more thickly covered with woods, and many places impassable. They then came to a part of the way so shaded by the thickness of the trees, and the branches so interwoven with each other, that the sky could scarcely be seen; but when they drew near to the top, what is rarely seen in other places, the whole tract was covered with so thick a fog, that they were impeded no less than if they were journeying by night. At last, on the third day, they arrived at the summit. On coming down they did not discountenance the vulgar opinion, more, I suppose, lest the folly of the journey should be exposed to derision, than that it was there possible to see those seas, and mountains, and rivers, so widely distant from each other. They were all greatly fatigued by the difficulty of the way; and chiefly the king himself, in proportion as he was less fitted for exertion, owing to his advanced age. After sacrificing to Jupiter and the sun, on two altars which he consecrated on the spot, he descended in two days, though the ascent had cost him three: for he was particularly afraid of the night cold, which even at the rising of the dog-star was like the cold of winter. After struggling with numerous hardships during those days, he found his camp in a condition not more pleasing, for as it lay in a country enclosed on all sides by deserts, there was extreme want. He halted therefore but one day, to refresh those whom he had taken with him,

and then hastened away into the country of the Dentheletians, with a rapid march close resembling flight. These were allies, but the Macedonians, on account of their own necessities, plundered their country, as if it belonged to an enemy; for they first pillaged the country houses, and afterwards ravaged several villages, overwhelming the king with shame, when he heard the cries of his allies, calling in vain on the gods who witnessed their league, and on himself by name. Having carried off corn from hence, he marched back into Mædica, and laid siege to a town called Petra. He pitched his camp in a plain, and sent his son Perseus with a small party to attack the city from the higher ground. The townsmen, when danger pressed them on all sides, gave hostages, and for the present surrendered themselves; but as soon as the army retired, regardless of the hostages, they deserted the city, and fled into fastnesses and mountains. Philip returned to Macedon, after having exhausted his troops by every kind of fatigue, without effecting any purpose, and with his suspicions of his son augmented through the treachery of the governor Didas.

23 This man being sent, as before mentioned, to escort Demetrius, had, by flattering discourses, and even expressing his own indignation at the treatment shown him, imposed on the open temper of the youth, who was too much off his guard, and justly incensed against his relations; and by a voluntary offer of his assistance in all his measures, and giving a solemn assurance of fidelity, he elicited his secrets. Demetrius was meditating flight to Rome; and the governor of Pæonia appeared to him to have been sent by the kindness of the gods to aid him in his design; — through whose province he supposed he might make his escape. This scheme was immediately betrayed to his brother, and, by his direction, discovered to his father. A letter was brought the king while he was besieging Petra; and in consequence of it, Herodotus, who was the most intimate friend of Demetrius, was taken into custody, and an order was given that Demetrius himself should be guarded, without his perceiving it. These occurrences, added to what had passed before, made the king's arrival in Macedon a sad one. The present charges had an effect on him; yet he resolved to wait the return of those whom he had sent to Rome, to procure intelligence of every

particular. After he had passed several months under this uneasiness and anxiety, the ambassadors, who had preconcerted before they left Macedon, what information they should bring home from Rome, at last arrived; who, in addition to other grounds of accusation, produced to the king a forged letter, sealed with a counterfeit seal of Titus Quintius. In this letter was a kind of interceding apology, that if the young prince, misled by the ambition of reigning, had offered some propositions to him on the subject, yet he was sure that “Demetrius would never attempt any thing against his relations; and that he himself was not such an individual as to appear capable of giving an undutiful advice.” This letter confirmed the charges made by Perseus: Herodotus was, therefore, immediately put to the rack, which he endured a long time, and died under the torture, without giving information of any sort.

24 Perseus now brought before his father a second formal accusation against Demetrius. His preparations for flight through Pæonia were alleged against him, and his having bribed certain persons to accompany him on the journey; but the forged letter of Titus Quintius pressed hardest on him. There was, however, no severe sentence pronounced openly, in order that he might be put to death in secrecy, which they considered a preferable course: nor was this done through regard for himself, but lest the inflicting punishment on him might unmask designs against the Romans. The king himself having occasion to go from Thessalonica to Demetrias, sent Demetrius, with the same attendant Didas, to Astræum in Pæonia, and Perseus to Amphipolis, to receive hostages from the Thracians, and is said, on parting with Didas, to have given him directions to put his son to death. A sacrifice was either intended or counterfeited by Didas, and Demetrius, being invited to be present at the solemnity, came from Astræum to Heraclea. It is said that poison was administered to him in that supper. The moment he had swallowed the draught, he was conscious of its deadly properties; and being quickly after seized with violent pains, left the banquet, and retired to a chamber, where he continued for some time in agony, complaining of the cruelty of his father, inveighing against the fratricide of Perseus, and the villany of Didas. Then one Thyrsis of Stubera, and one Alexander of Berœa, were sent in, who, covering

his head and mouth with blankets, suffocated him. In this manner perished that innocent youth, since in his case his enemies were not even content with a common kind of murder.

25 While these matters were passing in Macedon, Lucius Æmilius Paullus, being, on the expiration of his consulate, continued in command, led his army at the commencement of spring into the country of the Ingaunian Ligurians. He had no sooner pitched his camp in the enemy's territory, than ambassadors came to him under pretext of suing for peace, but in reality as spies. When Paullus declared that he would enter into no treaty whatever, unless they first surrendered; to this they did not object, but said that it would require time to procure the consent of such a rude kind of people. When, for that purpose, a suspension of arms for ten days was granted, then they further requested that his men might not go beyond the mountains for wood or forage, for that was the part of their lands which they had under tillage. After they obtained this request, they collected all their forces behind those mountains, which they had prevented the Romans from approaching; and on a sudden, with a vast multitude, assaulted every gate of his camp at once. During that whole day, they prosecuted the attack with such vigour, that Paullus had not time to march out of the camp, nor room to draw out his troops: crowding together at the gates, they defended their camp by blocking up the passage, rather than by fighting. When the enemy had retired a little before sun-set, the general despatched two horsemen to Pisæ, to Cneius Bæbius, proconsul, with a letter, requesting him to come with all speed to his relief, as he was besieged in the midst of a truce. Bæbius had given up his army to Marcus Pinarius, the prætor, who was going into Sardinia, but he informed the senate by letter that Lucius Æmilius was besieged by the Ligurians, and also wrote to Marcus Claudius Marcellus, whose province lay the nearest, that, if he thought proper, he should march his army out of Gaul into Liguria, and relieve Lucius Æmilius from the blockade. These succours would have come too late. The Ligurians returned next day to the attack of the camp. Æmilius, although he was aware that they would come, and although he could have drawn out his army to meet them, yet kept his men within the lines, in order that he might protract the business until such time as

Bæbius should come with his army from Pisæ.

26 Bæbius's letter caused a great alarm at Rome, and it was increased by this circumstance, that, in a few days after Marcellus coming to Rome, having given up the command of the army to Fabius, banished all hope of a possibility of the forces, then in Gaul, being removed into Liguria; for hostilities had commenced with the Istrians, who obstructed the settlement of the colony of Aquileia; and, as Fabius had led his army thither, he could not quit that country now that the war was begun. There was but one hope of relief, and even that too slow for the exigency of the time, — this was, that the consuls might hasten their march into that province, and the senators earnestly pressed them to do so. The consuls declared that they would not set out until the levies were completed, and that no indolence in them, but the violence of the epidemic sickness, was the cause of their being so long in finishing the levy. However, they could not withstand the united wishes of the whole senate, in urging them to depart in the military habit, and to proclaim a day to the troops which they had enlisted, on which they should assemble at Pisæ. Authority was given them to enlist hasty levies on their march, wherever they should go, and take them with them. Orders were likewise issued to the prætors, Quintus Petillius and Quintus Fabius, that Petillius should raise two tumultuary legions of Roman citizens, and compel every person under fifty years of age to enlist; and that Fabius should demand from the Latin allies, fifteen thousand foot and eight hundred horse. Two commanders were appointed to the fleet, Caius Matienus and Caius Lucretius, and ships were put in readiness for them. An order was given Matienus, whose station was at the Gallic bay, to steer his squadron, with all expedition, to the coast of Liguria, and to try if he could be of any service to Lucius Æmilius and his army.

27 Æmilius, when no aid appeared in any quarter, believing that his couriers had been intercepted, resolved to wait no longer, but to make a trial of fortune by himself; and for this purpose, before the coming of the enemy, who now made their attacks with less briskness and vigour, he drew up his troops at the four gates, that, on a signal being given, might sally out from all sides at once. To four independent cohorts of auxiliaries, he added two others, and gave the

command to Marcus Valerius, lieutenant-general, with orders to make his sally by the prætorian gate. At the right gate of the first cohort he formed the spearmen of the first legion, placing the first-rank men of the same legion in reserve: Marcus Servilius and Lucius Sulpicius, military tribunes, had the command of these. The third legion was drawn up opposite to the left gate of the first cohort, with this difference only, that here the first-rank men were posted in front, and the spearmen in reserve. Sextus Julius Cæsar and Lucius Aurelius Cotta, military tribunes, had the command of this legion. Quintus Fulvius Flaccus, lieutenant-general, with the right wing of the allies, was posted at the quæstorian gate: and two cohorts, with the veterans of the two legions, were ordered to stay within to guard the camp. The general himself went round by all the gates, haranguing the troops, and excited the wrath of the soldiers by all the incentives that he could use; at one time declaiming against the treachery of the enemy, who after suing for peace, and obtaining a truce, had come during the very time of that truce, in violation of the law of nations, to attack his camp; at another, setting before them what a shame it was that a Roman army should be besieged by Ligurians, people more properly styled robbers than a regular enemy. "With what face," continued he, "if you make your way hence by the assistance of others, and not by your own valour, will any of you meet, I do not say those soldiers that conquered Hannibal, or Philip, or Antiochus, the greatest kings and generals of the present age, but those who often drove those very Ligurians before them, flying like cattle through pathless forests, and put them to the sword? What the Spaniards, the Gauls, the Macedonians, or Carthaginians, never dared to attempt, a Ligurian enemy dares: he marches up to the trenches of a Roman camp, unexpectedly besieges and assaults it; although, formerly, we, searching carefully the recesses of the forests, were with difficulty able to find them lurking in their hiding-places." This was answered by a general clamour, "that it was no fault of the soldiers, as no one had given them the order to sally forth. Let him but give the order, and he should soon be convinced, that both the Romans and the Ligurians were the same that ever they were."

28 There were two camps of the Ligurians on the hither side of the

mountains, from which, on the former days, they had marched forward at sun-rise, all in order and regular array. On this day they did not take arms until they had made a full meal of food and wine; and then they came out in loose order, and regardless of their ranks, as they expected with certainty, that the enemy would not venture out beyond the rampart. As they were approaching in this disorderly manner, the shout being raised by every one in the camp at once, even by the sutlers and servants, the Romans rushed out by all the gates at the same time. This event was so entirely unexpected by the Ligurians, that they were confounded no less than if they had been caught in an ambush. For a short time, some appearance of a fight was maintained, and then followed a hasty flight, and a general slaughter of the fugitives. When the signal was given to the cavalry to mount their horses, and not to suffer any to escape, they were all driven in a confused flight to their camps, and soon beaten out of them also. Above fifteen thousand of the Ligurians were killed, and two thousand five hundred taken. In three days after, the whole state of the Ingaunian Ligurians gave hostages, and surrendered. The masters and crews of the ships, which had been employed in piracies, were carefully sought, for, and thrown into prison; and thirty-two ships of that description were taken by Caius Matienus, one of the two on the Ligurian coast. Lucius Aurelius Cotta, and Caius Sulpicius Gallus, were sent to Rome to announce these transactions and bring a letter to the senate, and at the same time to request that, as the business of the province was finished, Lucius Æmilius might have permission to leave it, and to bring away his troops and disband them. Both requests were granted by the senate, and a supplication was decreed, at all the shrines, for three days; the prætors Petillius and Fabius received orders, the former to discharge the city legions, the latter to excuse the allies and Latins from the levies, and that the city prætor should write to the consuls, that the senate thought proper that the occasional soldiers, enlisted on account of the sudden alarm, should be immediately discharged.

29 The colony of Gravisca was established this year in a district of Etruria, formerly taken from the Tarquinians, and five acres of land were given to each settler. The commissioners who conducted it were Caius Calpurnius Piso, Publius Claudius Pulcher, and Caius

Terentius Istra. The year was rendered remarkable by a drought, and a scarcity of the productions of the earth. It is handed down on record, that during the space of six months no rain fell. In the same year, some workmen in the farm of Lucius Petillius, a notary, at the foot of the Janiculum, digging the ground deeper than usual, discovered two stone chests, about eight feet long and four broad, the covers of which were soldered with lead. Both the chests had inscriptions in Greek and Latin letters, one signifying that therein was buried Numa Pompilius, son of Pompo, and king of the Romans; the other, that therein were contained the books of Numa Pompilius. When the owner of the ground had, by the advice of his friends, opened these chests, the one which, according to its inscription, contained the body of the king, was found perfectly empty, without any trace of a human body or of any thing else having ever been in it; the whole being consumed by the decay of such a number of years. In the other were found two bundles, tied round with waxed cords, and each containing seven books, not only entire, but apparently quite fresh. Seven were in Latin, and related to the pontifical law; and seven in Greek, containing the doctrines of philosophy, such as might have been known in that age. Valerius Antias adds, that they contained the doctrines of Pythagoras, supporting, by this plausible fiction, the credit of the vulgar opinion, that Numa had been a disciple of Pythagoras. The books were read, first, by Petillius's friends, who were present at the discovery. Afterwards, when they became publicly spoken of in consequence of many others reading them, Quintus Petillius, the city prætor, having a desire to read those books, borrowed them from Lucius Petillius, with whom he was familiarly acquainted, in consequence of Quintus Petillius having, when quæstor, made him a notary, and chosen him as one of ten. On reading the principal heads of the contents, he perceived that most of them had a tendency to undermine the established system of religious doctrines, and, thereupon, he told Lucius Petillius, that "he was determined to throw those books into the fire; but before he did so, he gave him leave, if he thought he had any right or appeal to demand the restitution of them, to make the trial, which he might do and preserve his favour." The notary applied to the plebeian tribunes, and the tribunes referred the matter to the senate. The prætor

declared, that he was ready to make oath that those books ought not to be read or preserved; and the senate decreed, that “the prætor’s having offered his oath ought to be deemed sufficient evidence that those books should, without delay, be burned in the comitium, and that such a price should be paid to the owner as might be judged reasonable by the prætor, Quintus Petillius, and the majority of the plebeian tribunes.” The notary did not receive the money. The books, however, were burned in the comitium, in the view of the people, the fire being made by the public servants, whose duty “it was to assist at sacrifices.

30 A formidable war broke out this summer in the Hither Spain, where the Celtiberians assembled such a force as they had hardly ever brought into the field before, amounting to no less than thirty-five thousand men. Quintus Fulvius Flaccus was governor of this province, who, because he heard that the Celtiberians were arming their young men, drew together all the succours he could procure from the allies. But he was by no means equal to the enemy in point of numbers. Early in spring, he marched his army into Carpetania, and fixed his camp close to the town of Æbura, in which he posted a small garrison. In a few days after, the Celtiberians pitched their camp at the foot of a hill, about two miles from that place. When the Roman prætor was informed of their approach, he detached his brother, Marcus Fulvius, with two troops of the allied horse, to the enemy’s post, to take a view of them; ordering him to advance as near as possible to their rampart, so as to form a judgment of the size of the camp; and not to engage in fight, but to retreat if he should see the enemy’s cavalry coming out. He acted according to his instructions, and for several days there was nothing further done than these two troops showing themselves, and then retreating when the enemy’s cavalry sallied from their tents. At length, the Celtiberians came out, with their entire force of horse and foot together, and drawing up in a line, posted themselves about midway between the two camps. The whole plain was level, and convenient for fighting, and here the Spaniards stood waiting for their enemy. The Roman general kept his men within the rampart during four successive days, while the others constantly drew up theirs, and formed in the same place. No motion was made by the Romans; and from that time the

Celtiberians, because they had not an opportunity of engaging, remained quiet in their camp; their cavalry only advanced as out-posts, to be ready in case of any movement being made by Fulvius. Both parties went for wood and forage behind their own camps, neither interrupting the other.

³¹ When the Roman prætor thought that, by his inactivity for so many days, he had created in the Celtiberians a firm persuasion that he would not be first in any movement, he ordered Lucius Acilius, with the left wing of allies and six thousand provincial auxiliaries, to make the circuit of a mountain behind the enemy, and as soon as he should hear the shout, to pour down from them on their camp. This party, to avoid being seen, set out in the night. At the dawn of day Flaccus sent Caius Scribonius, a præfect of the allies, with the allied cavalry of the left wing, to the enemy's rampart; when the Celtiberians, observing that they approached nearer, and were also more numerous than usual, all their cavalry poured forth from the camp, and at the same time the signal is given to the infantry to sally forth. Scribonius, according to his instructions, no sooner heard the neighing of the enemy's cavalry than he wheeled about and retreated to the camp, on which they pursued with the more violence. First the cavalry, and in a short time the line of infantry, came up, confidently expecting that they should be able to assault the camp before night, and they were five hundred paces, not more, from the rampart. Flaccus, therefore, thinking that they were now drawn far enough from their camp, to hinder them from giving it any succour, as he had his troops already formed within the works, burst out from three sides at once; and at the same time raised the shout, not only to inspire ardour for the fight, but also that the party on the mountain might hear it. Nor did these make any delay, but, according to their orders, poured down on the camp, where five thousand men, not more, were left to guard it, and when the smallness of their numbers, the multitude of the assailants and the unexpectedness of the affair, had struck terror into them, the camp was taken almost without a struggle. Acilius set fire to that part of the camp which was most exposed to the view of the combatants.

³² The Celtiberians in the rear of their own line first observed the flames, and the news spread quickly through the whole army, that the

camp was lost, and was even then completely in a blaze, which filled them with dismay, while it gave fresh spirits to the Romans; for now the shouts of victory raised by their friends struck their ear, and the enemies' camp appeared all on fire. The Celtiberians hesitated for some time, uncertain how to act, but when they considered that, in case of a defeat, they had no place of refuge, and that their only hope now lay in their arms, they renewed the combat afresh, with greater obstinacy. Their centre was pressed hard by the fifth legion; but their men advanced with more confidence against the left wing, where they saw that the Romans had posted the provincial auxiliaries, troops of their own kind. The left wing of the Romans was now near being defeated, had not the seventh legion come to its support. At the same time, the troops left in garrison at Æbura came up during the heat of the battle, and Acilius closed on the enemy's rear. Thus surrounded, the Celtiberians were, for a long time, cut off in great numbers, and at last the survivors betook themselves to flight in every direction. The cavalry, in two divisions, were sent in pursuit, and made great havoc. There were killed, of the enemy, on that day, twenty-three thousand, and four thousand seven hundred were taken, with more than five hundred horses, and eighty-eight military ensigns. The victory was great, but not obtained without loss of blood. There fell, of the two Roman legions, a few more than two hundred men; of the Latin confederates, eight hundred and thirty; and of foreign auxiliaries, about two thousand four hundred. The prætor led back his victorious troops to their tents: Acilius was ordered to remain in the camp which he had taken. Next day the spoils of the enemy were collected, and those whose bravery had been remarkable were presented with gifts in a public assembly.

33 The wounded were then conveyed into the town of Æbura, and the legions marched through Carpetania, against Contrebia. The garrison there, on being invested, sent for succours to the Celtiberians; but these were long in coming, not because they were unwilling to give assistance, but that after they had begun their march the roads were rendered impassable, and the rivers swelled by continued rains, so that their countrymen, despairing of assistance, capitulated. Flaccus also, being compelled by the same severe weather, brought his whole army into the city. The Celtiberians, who

were on their march, having heard nothing of the capitulation, when the rains abated at last, passed the rivers, and came to Contrebia. When they saw no camp before the town, supposing either that it was removed to the other side, or that the enemy had retired, they came up towards the walls in careless disorder. The Romans made a sally against them from two gates, and attacking them in confusion completely routed them. The same circumstance that disabled them from standing their ground and maintaining a fight, — their not having come in one body, or in a regular disposition, round their standards, — proved favourable to many in making their escape: for they scattered themselves widely over the whole plain, so that the Romans could no where enclose any considerable body of them. However, there were about twelve thousand killed, and more than five thousand taken, with four hundred horses, and sixty-two military standards. The stragglers, flying homewards, turned back another body of Celtiberians, whom they met on the road, by informing them of the surrender of Contrebia, and their own defeat; whereupon they all immediately dispersed, and made the best of their way to their several villages and forts. Flaccus, leaving Contrebia, led his legions through Celtiberia ravaging the country; he stormed many forts until at length the greatest part of the Celtiberians surrendered.

³⁴ Such were the transactions of that year in Hither Spain. In the Farther province, Manlius fought several successful battles with the Lusitanians. In the same year the Latin colony of Aquileia was established in the Gallic territory. Three thousand foot soldiers received each fifty acres, centurions a hundred, horsemen a hundred and forty. The three commissioners who conducted the settlement were Publius Cornelius Scipio Nasica, Caius Flaminius and Lucius Manlius Acidinus. Two temples were dedicated this year, one to Venus Erycina, at the Colline gate; Lucius Porcius Licinius duumvir, son of Lucius, dedicated it. This temple had been vowed, during the Ligurian war, by Lucius Porcius, the consul. The other to Piety, in the herb-market. Manius Acilius Glabrio, the duumvir, dedicated this temple; he erected a gilded statue of his father Glabrio, the first of the kind that ever was seen in Italy. This was the person who vowed the temple, on the day whereon he gained the decisive victory over king Antiochus, at Thermopylæ, and who, likewise, had contracted for its

being built, in pursuance of a decree of the senate. At the same time when these temples were consecrated, Lucius Æmilius Paullus, the proconsul, triumphed over the Ingaunian Ligurians. He carried in the procession twenty-five golden crowns, but no other article of either gold or silver. Many Ligurian chiefs were led captives before his chariot, and he distributed to each of his soldiers three hundred *asses*. The arrival of ambassadors from the Ligurians, begging that a perpetual peace might be established, enhanced the reputation of this triumph, and they asserted, that “the Ligurians had come to a resolution never again to take arms, on any occasion, except when commanded by the Roman people.” This answer was given to the Ligurians, by Quintus Fabius, the prætor, by order of the senate, that “such kind of language was not new with the Ligurians; but it concerned chiefly their own interest that their disposition should be new, and conformable to their language. They must go to the consuls, and perform whatever was commanded by them; for the senate would never believe, from any other than the consuls, that the Ligurians were really and sincerely disposed to peace.” Peace however was made with that people. In Corsica, a battle was fought against the inhabitants. The prætor, Marcus Pinarius, slew in the field about two thousand of them; by which loss they were compelled to give hostages, and a hundred thousand pounds of wax. The army was then carried over into Sardinia, and some successful battles were fought against the Iliensians, a nation, even at the present day, not in every particular friendly to us. In this year a hundred hostages were restored to the Carthaginians, and the Roman people enabled them to live in peace, not only among themselves, but also with Masinissa, who at that time with an armed force held possession of the land in dispute.

35 The consuls had nothing to do in their province. Marcus Bæbius, being summoned home to Rome to preside at the elections, created consuls Aulus Postumius Albinus Luscus and Caius Calpurnius Piso. Then Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus, Lucius Postumius Albinus, Publius Cornelius Mammula Titus Minucius Molliculus, Aulus Hostilius Mancinus, and Caius Mænius were made prætors. All these entered into office on the ides of March. In the beginning of this year in which Aulus Postumius Albinus and Caius

Calpurnius Piso were consuls, Lucius Minucius, lieutenant-general, and two military tribunes, Titus Mænius and Lucius Terentius Massilieta, who had come from Hither Spain from Quintus Fulvius Flaccus, were introduced to an audience of the senate by Aulus Postumius the consul. These, after informing the senate of the two victories gained, of the submission of Celtiberia, and of the conclusion of the business of the province, and that there was no occasion either to send pay, as usual, or corn to the army for that year, requested, first, that “on account of these successes a thanksgiving should be performed to the immortal gods; and, then, that leave should be given to Quintus Fulvius, on his quitting the province, to bring home from it the army which had served under him and many former prætors, with much bravery. They represented, that this measure, besides the propriety of it, was in some degree necessary, for the troops were so obstinately bent on it, that it did not seem possible to keep them longer in the province; but, if they were not disbanded, they would either leave it without orders, or, if any one would attempt to detain them by compulsion, would break out into a dangerous mutiny.” The senate ordered, that Liguria should be the province of both the consuls. The prætors then cast lots for theirs. The city jurisdiction fell to Aulus Hostilius; the foreign, to Titus Minucius; Sicily, to Publius Cornelius; Sardinia, to Caius Mænius; Farther Spain, to Lucius Postumius; and Hither Spain, to Tiberius Sempronius. As this last was to succeed Quintus Fulvius Flaccus, and wished that the province might not be stripped of the veteran troops, he spoke thus: “Quintus Minucius, I demand of you, since you assert, in your report, that your province is subdued, do you think, that the Celtiberians will always faithfully observe the treaty, so that the province may be kept in obedience without an army? If you cannot give us any assurance of, or undertake to answer for, the fidelity of the barbarians, but think that, at all events, there must be an army maintained there, I pray you, whether would you recommend to the senate to send a reinforcement into Spain, in order that those soldiers only who have served out their time may be discharged, and the recruits mixed with the veterans? or to withdraw the veteran legions, and enlist new ones, and send them in their place? and this, although the contempt entertained for such new

recruits might rouse barbarians of more pacific tempers to a renewal of war? would it be a matter easier said than done, to reduce to complete subjection a province naturally fierce, and constantly renewing the war? A few states, as I am informed, who were awed, more than the rest, by the nearness of our winter quarters, have submitted to our authority and dominion, while those more remote are in arms. This being the case, conscript fathers, I now give notice beforehand, that, with the army at present there, I will undertake to execute the business of the republic; but, if Flaccus bring those legions home with him, I will choose some quiet part of the country for winter quarters, and will not expose raw soldiers to an enemy so remarkably ferocious.”

³⁶ To these questions, which he had been asked, the lieutenant-general answered, that “neither he nor any other could possibly divine what were the sentiments of the Celtiberians, or what they would be in future; therefore he could not deny that it would be proper to send an army among a barbarous people, who, though reduced to a state of quiet, were not yet sufficiently inured to subjection; but whether a new army or a veteran one might be requisite, rested with him to decide who could ascertain with what sincerity the Celtiberians would observe the peace; and who, at the same time, had assurance that the troops would remain quiet, if kept longer in the province. If a conjecture were to be formed of their intentions, either from their conversations with each other, or from the expressions with which they interrupted the general’s harangues, they had openly and loudly declared, that they would either keep their commander in the province, or come home with him to Italy.” This discussion, between the prætor and the lieutenant-general, was suspended by the consuls introducing other matters; for they thought it right, that their own provinces might be adjusted before they deliberated concerning the army of the prætor. An army entirely new was decreed to the consuls: two Roman legions to each, with their proportion of cavalry; and of the Latin allies, the usual number of fifteen thousand foot and eight hundred horse. With these forces, they were directed to make war on the Apuan Ligurians. Publius Cornelius and Marcus Bæbius were continued in command, and ordered to hold the government of the provinces until the consuls

should arrive. They were ordered then to disband their troops, and return to Rome. Then they deliberated concerning the army under Tiberius Sempronius. The consuls were ordered to enlist for him a new legion of five thousand two hundred foot and four hundred horse; and also a thousand Roman foot and five hundred horse; and to command the allies of Latium to furnish seven thousand foot and three hundred horse. With this army it was determined that Sempronius should go into Hither Spain. Permission was granted to Quintus Fulvius, with respect to all those soldiers, whether Romans or allies, who had been transported into Spain previous to the consulate of Spurius Postumius and Quintus Marcius; and likewise to such as, after the junction of the reinforcements, should be found in the two legions, above the number of ten thousand four hundred foot and six hundred horse; and in the Latin auxiliaries above twelve thousand foot and six hundred horse, who had behaved with courage under Quintus Fulvius in the two battles with the Celtiberians, — these, if he thought proper, he might bring home. Thanksgivings were also decreed, because he had managed the republic successfully; and the rest of the prætors sent into their provinces. Quintus Fabius Buteo had his command in Gaul. It was resolved that eight legions should be employed this year, besides the veteran army then in Liguria, which expected to be speedily disbanded; and that very army was made up with difficulty, in consequence of the pestilence which continued, for the third year, to depopulate the city of Rome and all Italy.

³⁷ Tiberius Minucius, the prætor, died of this malady; and soon after, Caius Calpurnius, the consul; also many illustrious men of all ranks; so that at last this calamity began to be considered as a prodigy. Caius Servilius, chief pontiff was ordered to find out proper atonements for the wrath of the gods; the decemvirs to inspect the books, and the consul to vow offerings, and to present gilded statues, to Apollo Æsculapius, and Health; which he vowed and gave. The decemvirs proclaimed, on account of the sickness, a supplication of two days in the city, and in all the market-towns and villages; all persons above the age of twelve years offered the supplication, with garlands on their heads, and holding laurels in their hands. There had, also, crept into people's minds a suspicion of human villany in

regard to it whereupon Caius Claudius, the prætor, who had been substituted in the room of Tiberius Minucius, was commissioned by a decree of the senate, to make inquisition concerning acts of poisoning committed in the city, or within ten miles of it; and Caius Mænius was ordered to do the same, before he passed over to his province, Sardinia, in the market-towns and villages beyond the tenth stone. The death of the consul was most suspected. It was reported that he had been murdered by his wife, Quarta Hostilia; and when her son, Quintus Fulvius Flaccus, was proclaimed consul in the room of his stepfather, the death of Piso began to excite much more suspicion; for witnesses appeared, who testified, that, after Albinus and Piso were declared consuls, in which election Flaccus had suffered a disappointment, his mother upbraided him with being refused the consulship a third time, and then desired him to make ready to stand candidate again, saying, “she would take such measures that within two months he should be made consul.” This expression verified by the event, which was but too real, joined to many other evidences of the same tendency, appeared such strong proof, that Hostilia was condemned. In the spring of this year, the levies detained the new consuls at Rome; while the death of one of them, and the holding of the assembly to substitute another in his place, occasioned still further delays. In the mean time Publius Cornelius and Marcus Bæbius, who, in their consulate, had done nothing worth mention, led their troops into the country of the Apuan Ligurians.

³⁸ The Ligurians, who did not expect an attack before the arrival of the consuls in the province, were surprised, and surrendered to the number of twelve thousand men. Cornelius and Bæbius, having consulted the senate by letter, determined to bring them down from their mountains into a plain country, so far from home, that they should have no hope of a return; for they were convinced, that before this was done no end could be put to the war in Liguria. There was a tract of land in Samnium, the public property of the Roman people, formerly occupied by the Taurasinians. When they intended to transplant the Apuan Ligurians to this country, they published an order, that this people should quit the mountains, with their wives and children, and bring all their effects along with them. The

Ligurians made, by their ambassadors, many humble supplications that they might not be compelled to relinquish their native home, the soil in which they were born, and the tombs of their forefathers. They promised to give up their arms, and deliver hostages. After they failed in all their solicitations, and were destitute of strength for the maintenance of a war, they obeyed the order. Forty thousand men, of free condition, with their women and children, were transplanted at the expense of the public, and a hundred and fifty thousand sesterces were given them, to provide necessaries for their new habitations. Cornelius and Bæbius, who removed them, were commissioned to divide and apportion the lands; but, at their own request, the senate appointed five other commissioners, by whose advice they should act. When they had finished this business, and brought home their veteran soldiers to Home, a triumph was decreed them by the senate. These were the first who ever triumphed without having fought an enemy. Hostages only were led before their chariots; for there appeared not, in their triumphs, either spoils to be carried, or prisoners to be led captives, or money to be distributed to the soldiers.

39 In the same year Fulvius Flaccus, the proconsul in Spain, as his successor did not come to the province at the usual time, having drawn out the troops from their winter quarters, proceeded to lay waste the farther part of Celtiberia, whose inhabitants had not come in to make submission. But by this proceeding he rather provoked than terrified the spirits of the barbarians; so that, having collected secretly a body of forces, they beset the Manlian pass, through which they knew, with certainty, that the Roman army would march. Gracchus had commissioned his colleague, Lucius Postumius Albinus, who was going to the Farther Spain, to desire Quintus Fulvius to bring his forces to Tarraco, where he intended to discharge the veterans, to distribute the reinforcements among the respective corps, and reorganize the entire army. The day also was mentioned to Flaccus, and that not very distant, on which his successor would arrive. When tidings of this new arrangement had compelled Flaccus to drop the business which he had undertaken, and to lead away the troops in haste out of Celtiberia, the barbarians, unacquainted with the reason, and supposing that he had discovered their revolt and

secret assembling of an army, and that he was retreating through fear, beset the pass with the greater determination. When the Roman army entered this defile, at the dawn of day, immediately the enemy starting up attacked it at two sides at once. And when Flaccus saw this, he put down the confusion arising among the soldiers by giving orders through the centurions that every man should keep his post, in the order of march, and make ready his arms; then collecting the baggage and beasts of burden, into one spot, partly by himself, partly by the help of the lieutenants-general, and military tribunes, he formed his troops as the time and place required, without any confusion. He put them in mind, that they were to engage with men “who had been twice reduced to submission; that guilt and perfidy, not valour or courage, were their only accessions. That these people had put it in their power to make their return to their country which otherwise would have been ignoble, glorious and splendid; for they would now carry home their swords red from the slaughter, and spoils dropping blood.” The time did not allow more to be said, as the enemy were rapidly advancing upon them; the extremities of the wings were already engaged, and quickly after the entire lines.

40 The battle was furious in every part, but the success various. The two legions fought with extraordinary bravery, nor were the two cohorts of the allies remiss; but the foreign auxiliaries were hard pressed, by men armed like themselves, and rather a better description of soldiers; nor were they able to maintain their ground. The Celtiberians, as soon as they perceived that, in a regular line, and in fair fighting, they were no match for the legions, made a charge against them, in the form of a wedge, in which sort of attack they excel so much, that on whatever part they direct their assault they cannot be withstood. On this occasion, too, the legions were ordered, and the line was almost broken. When Flaccus observed this disorder, he rode up to the legionary cavalry, asking them, “Have we any support in you? Is the whole army to be lost?” Whereupon they called to him from all sides, to “tell them what he wished to be done; and that it should be instantly attempted.” “Cavalry of the two legions, double your troops,” he replied, “and charge the wedge, which is attacking our soldiers; you will make a more violent charge, if you spur your horses without bridles against the foe. This

expedient is recorded to have been often employed by the Roman cavalry with great advantage.” They obeyed his orders, and taking off the bits of the bridle, they spurred in full career through that body twice, forward and backward, breaking their spears to pieces, and making great havoc of the enemy. The Celtiberians, on this dispersion of their wedge, on which had been their whole reliance, were quite dismayed, and almost giving over the fight, looked about for ways to escape. And now, when the allied horse saw this brilliant exploit of the Roman cavalry, they were so inflamed by the example of their bravery, that without waiting for orders, they made a charge on the enemy, while they were in confusion. Then truly all the Celtiberians scatter and fly, and the Roman general, when he saw their backs, vowed a temple to Equestrian Fortune, and games in honour of Jupiter supremely good and great. The fugitives, dispersing, were pursued with much slaughter, through the whole length of the pass. Seventeen thousand of the enemy are recorded to have been killed on this occasion, and more than four thousand taken, with two hundred and seventy-seven military standards, and near one thousand one hundred horses. The victorious army pitched no camp on that day. This victory, however, was not gained without loss; four hundred and seventy-two Roman soldiers, one thousand and nineteen of the allies and Latins, and besides these three thousand of the auxiliaries perished. The victorious army, having thus reasserted their former renown, finished their march to Tarraco. The prætor, Tiberius Sempronius, who had arrived two days before, came out to meet Fulvius on the road, and congratulated him on the important services which he had rendered to the commonwealth. They then, with perfect unanimity, settled what soldiers they should discharge, and what they should retain; and Fulvius, embarking the disbanded soldiers in the fleet, set sail for Rome, while Sempronius led the legions into Celtiberia.

⁴¹ Both the consuls led their armies into Liguria, but on different sides. Postumius, with the first and third legions, invested the mountains of Balista and Suismontium; and, by securing the narrow passes leading thereto with guards, cut off all supplies of provisions; and by want of every thing he reduced them to an entire obedience. Fulvius, with the second and fourth legions, marched from Pisæ

against the Apuan Ligurians; and having received the submission of that part of them which inhabited the banks of the river Macra, he put them, to the number of seven thousand men, on board ships, and sent them along the Etrurian coast to Neapolis, from whence they were conducted into Samnium, and lands were assigned to them among their countrymen. The vine-yards of the Ligurians of the mountains were cut down and their corn burnt by Aulus Postumius, until, compelled by all the calamities of war, they surrendered and delivered up their arms. From thence Postumius proceeded, by sea, to visit the coast of the Ingaunian and Intemelian tribes. Before these consuls joined the army which had been ordered to meet at Pisæ, Aulus Postumius, and a brother of Quintus Fulvius, Marcus Fulvius Nobilior, had the command of it. Fulvius was military tribune of the second legion. He in his months of command disbanded the legion, after obliging the centurions to swear, that they would carry the money in their hands to the treasury, and deliver it to the quæstors. When this was announced to Aulus at Placentia, to which place he happened to have made an excursion, he set out with some light horsemen, in quest of the disbanded men; and such as he could overtake, he sharply rebuked and brought back to Pisæ, and then apprised the consul of the whole matter. When he laid the business before the senate, a decree was passed that Marcus Fulvius should be banished into that part of Spain beyond New Carthage; and a letter was given him by the consul, to be carried into Farther Spain, to Publius Manlius. The soldiers were ordered to return to their standards; and it was decreed, that, as a mark of disgrace, that legion should, for that year, receive but half a year's pay. The consul was likewise ordered to sell the person and property of every soldier who should not return to the army.

42 In the same year Lucius Duronius, who had been prætor the year before, returned with ten ships from Illyricum to Brundisium, and leaving the fleet in that harbour, came to Rome, and in giving a recital of the services which he had performed in his province, he threw the blame of all the piracies committed by sea, on Gentius, king of Illyricum, as their undoubted cause. "From his kingdom," he said, "came all the ships that had ravaged the coast of the Hadriatic; that he had sent ambassadors on the subject, but they were not even

allowed an audience of the king.” Some time before this, ambassadors had come to Rome from Gentius, who said, that “when the Romans came for the purpose of holding a conference with the king, he happened to be sick in a remote part of his dominions; and that Gentius requested of the senate, not to give credit to the forged charges which his enemies had made against him.” Duronius added, that injuries were offered to many Roman citizens and Latin allies, in Gentius’s dominions; some of whom he held in confinement in Corcyra. It was their pleasure that all these should be brought to Rome; that the prætor, Caius Claudius, should inquire into that business; and that until this were done, no answer should be given to king Gentius, or his ambassadors. Among many others whom the pestilence of this year cut off, several priests also died. Lucius Valerius Flaccus, a pontiff, died of it; and in his room was substituted Quintus Fabius Labeo. Publius Manlius, who had lately come home from the Farther Spain, and was triumvir of religious feasts, died also; Quintus Fulvius, son of Marcus, then a mere youth, succeeded him. The appointing of a king of the sacrifices in the room of Cneius Cornelius Dolabella, gave rise to a dispute between Caius Servilius, chief pontiff, and Lucius Cornelius Dolabella, naval duumvir; whom the pontiff ordered to resign his office, to the end that he might inaugurate him; and on the duumvir’s refusing to do this, a fine was therefore imposed on him by the pontiff; and when the latter appealed, they contended about the affair before the people. After a majority of the tribes, being called in, had ordered that the duumvir should comply with the requisition of the pontiff, and that if he would resign his commission the fine should be remitted, an unfavourable omen from the heavens intervened, which broke off the proceedings of the assembly. After this the pontiffs were prevented by religious scruples from inaugurating Dolabella. They consecrated Publius Clælius Siculus, who had been installed in the second place. Towards the end of the year, Caius Servilius Geminus, the chief pontiff, also died; the same was decemvir of religious affairs. In his room, as pontiff, Quintus Fulvius Flaccus was nominated by the college; but Marcus Æmilius Lepidus, was elected chief pontiff, though many illustrious men sought that office; and Quintus Marcius Philippus was appointed to the office of the same, as decemvir of

religious affairs. Spurius Postumius Albinus, an augur, died; and the augurs elected into his place Publius Scipio, son of Africanus. On the request of the people of Cumæ that year, leave was granted them to use the Latin language in their public business, and that their auctioneers should have a right to use the Latin language in selling.

43 To the Pisans, offering ground for the establishment of a Latin colony, thanks were returned by the senate, and triumvirs were appointed to conduct that business; these were Quintus Fabius Buteo, Marcus Pompilius Lænas, and Publius Pompilius Lænas. A letter was brought from Caius Mænius, the prætor, (to whom, after that the province of Sardinia had fallen to his lot, orders were given to make inquisition concerning sorceries, in places more than ten miles distant from the city,) the purport of which was, “that he had already passed sentence on three thousand people; and that still, in consequence of fresh discoveries, the business of the inquisition increased so much on his hands, that he must either drop the prosecution of the inquiries, or give up the province.” Quintus Fulvius Flaccus returned to Rome from Spain, with a high reputation for his military exploits; and while he waited without the city in expectation of a triumph, was elected consul with Lucius Manlius Acidinus. And after a few days, he rode through the city in triumph, accompanied by the soldiers whom he had brought with him. He carried in the procession a hundred and twenty-four golden crowns, together with thirty-one pounds’ weight of gold, and of coined Oscan silver a hundred and seventy-three thousand two hundred pieces. He gave out of the booty to each of the soldiers fifty denariuses; double that sum to a centurion; triple it to a horseman; and the same sums to the Latin allies, with double pay to all. This year, for the first time, a law was proposed by Lucius Villius, plebeian tribune, ascertaining at what ages men might sue for, and hold each office in the state. Hence the surname Annalis was given to his family.

44 Four prætors were elected, after a lapse of many years, by the Bæbian law, which enacted that four should be elected every alternate year; and the persons appointed were Cneius Cornelius Scipio, Caius Valerius Lævinus, Quintus Mucius Scævola, and Publius Mucius Scævola, sons of Quintus. To the consuls, Quintus Fulvius and Lucius Manlius, was decreed the same province as to the

preceding ones, and the same number of forces, infantry, cavalry, citizens, and allies. In the two Spains, Tiberius Sempronius and Lucius Postumius were continued in command, with the same armies which they then had; and to recruit their numbers, the consuls were ordered to enlist, of Romans three thousand foot and three hundred horse, and of the Latin allies, five thousand foot and four hundred horse. Publius Mucius Scævola obtained by lot the city jurisdiction, and likewise the business of the inquisitions concerning sorcery, in the city, and within ten miles of it; Cneius Scipio, the foreign jurisdiction; Quintus Mucius Scævola, Sicily; and Caius Valerius Lævinus, Sardinia. The consul, Quintus Fulvius, before he meddled with any of the public business, declared that “he intended to acquit both himself and the state of the obligation of fulfilling the vows which he had made; that on the day of his last battle with the Celtiberians, he had vowed to perform games in honour of Jupiter supremely good and great, and to build a temple to Equestrian Fortune; and that by the Spaniards a contribution of money had been made for these purposes.” A vote was passed that the games should be performed, and that duumvirs should be appointed to contract for the building of the temple. With regard to the expenses, a limitation was fixed, that “no greater sum should be expended on the games than that which had been voted to Fulvius Nobilior, when he exhibited games on the conclusion of the Ætolian war; and that the consul should not, on account of these games, send for, collect, or receive, or do any thing contrary to the decree of the senate passed concerning games in the consulate of Lucius Æmilius and Cneius Bæbius.” The senate qualified their vote in this manner, on account of the lavish expense occasioned by the games of Tiberius Sempronius, the ædile, which had been burthensome not only to Italy and the Latin allies, but even to the provinces abroad.

45 The winter of that year was rendered severe by falls of snow and storms of every kind; those kinds of trees which are susceptible of injury from cold, were all blighted; and it continued at that time somewhat longer than on other occasions. Wherefore a tempest coming on suddenly, and with intolerable violence, shortly after, interrupted the Latin festivals on the mount; and they were celebrated afterwards, pursuant to an order of the pontiffs. The same storm also

threw down many statues in the Capitol, disfigured very many buildings by lightning, as the temple of Jupiter at Tarracina, the white temple at Capua, and a Roman gate; and in some places the battlements of the wall were overthrown. Among the rest of these prodigies, an account was received from Reate, that a three-footed mule had been foaled there. On account of those portents, the decemvirs, having been ordered to consult the books, declared to what gods, and with how many victims, sacrifices should be performed; and that on account of very many places being disfigured by lightning, a supplication of one day should be performed at the temple of Jupiter. Then the votive games of the consul Quintus Fulvius were exhibited with great magnificence, during ten days. Soon after was held the election of censors. Marcus Æmilius Lepidus, chief pontiff, and Marcus Fulvius Nobilior, who had triumphed over the Ætolians, were chosen. Apparent hostilities existed between these men, which were frequently displayed in many violent disputes, both in the senate and in the assemblies of the people. When the election was ended, the censors, according to ancient custom, seated themselves in curule chairs in the Campus Martius, near the altar of Mars; whither in a few minutes came the principal senators, accompanied by the body of the citizens, of whom Quintus Cæcilius Metellus spoke as follows: —

46 “Censors, we are not unmindful that you have been just now, by the whole body of the Roman people, set over our morals; and that we ought to be admonished and ruled by you, not you by us. Nevertheless, that should be pointed out which in you may either give offence to all good men, or at least what they would wish to be altered. When we look at you separately, Marcus Æmilius, Marcus Fulvius, we know not, in the whole state, any one person whom, if we were called back again to vote, we could wish to be preferred to you; but when we behold you both together, we cannot avoid fearing that you are but ill associated; and that the public may not reap as much advantage from your being exceedingly pleasing to every one of us, as injury, from your being displeasing one to another. You have for many years past harboured an enmity, violent in its degree, and detrimental to yourselves; and it is to be feared, that from this

day forward it may prove more detrimental to us and to the state, than it has been to you. As to the reasons why we fear this, many observations which might be made occur to yourselves; had you not happened to be implacable they would have engrossed your senses. These feuds we all beseech you to terminate this day, in that sacred place, and to suffer those whom the Roman people have united by their suffrages, to be united by us, through this re-establishment of friendship also. May you, with unanimity and harmony, choose the senate, review the knights, hold the census, and close the lustrum, as truly and sincerely as you would wish that to happen which you express in the words, used in almost all your prayers, ‘that this affair may prove good and prosperous to me and my colleague:’ and cause us men also to believe that you really desire that which you entreat of the gods. Titus Tatius and Romulus, after they had engaged in battle as public enemies, in the midst of the forum of this city, reigned there with unanimity. Not only quarrels, but wars, are ended; and from deadly foes men frequently become faithful allies, nay, sometimes, even fellow-citizens. The Albans, after the demolition of Alba, were brought over to Rome: the Latins, the Sabines, were admitted into the number of citizens. It is a common saying, and, because founded in truth, has become a proverb, that ‘friendships ought to be immortal, but enmities mortal.’” A roar of approbation burst forth: and presently after, the voices of every one present, joining in the same request, interrupted his speech. Then Æmilius, besides other complaints, represented, that through Marcus Fulvius he had been twice deprived of the consulship, which seemed sure. On the other hand, Fulvius complained that he had always been assailed by Æmilius, and that security had been given for him, which was attended with great disgrace. Nevertheless, each of them intimated that if the other would wish, he was ready to submit to the direction of such a number of the most respectable members of the state; and all present urgently repeating their request, they mutually pledged their right hands, and their honour, to dismiss in reality and forget all animosity. Then the whole assembly expressing the highest applause of their behaviour, they were escorted to the Capitol. Both the attention paid to such a matter by the persons of the first consequence, and the compliance of the censors, were most warmly

approved and commended by the senate. The censors then demanded that a sum of money should be assigned to them, which they might expend in public works; and the customs of one year were accordingly decreed to them.

47 In the same year the proprætors in Spain, Lucius Postumius and Tiberius Sempronius, settled between them, that Albinus should march through Lusitania, against the Vaccæans, and thence return into Celtiberia, and Gracchus penetrate into the remotest parts of that province, if the commotions there were more dangerous. First, having made an unexpected assault on the city of Munda, by night, he took it by storm; then, after having received hostages and placed a garrison, he proceeded to attack their forts and ravage the country with fire, until he arrived at another very strong city, (the Celtiberians call it Certima,) there, when he was already advancing his works, deputies came out from the town, whose speech partook of all the simplicity of the earliest times, not dissembling their wishes to continue the war, if they had strength to support it. — For they requested permission to go into the camp of the Celtiberians, and procure assistance from them; and said, that “if they did not obtain it they would then deliberate apart from them. By the permission of Gracchus they went; and in a few days after brought with them ten other ambassadors. It was mid-day. The first thing that they asked of the prætor was, that he would order some drink to be given them. After drinking off the first caps, they asked a second time, causing thereby loud laughter from those present, at minds so unpolished, and ignorant of all civilization. The eldest of them then says, “We have been sent by our nation to ask, on what do you rely that you attack us?” To this question Gracchus answered, that “he came relying on an excellent army; which if they chose to see, in order to carry back more certain information to their friends, he would give them an opportunity;” and he orders the military tribunes to draw up, in array, all the forces both horse and foot, and make them go through their exercise in arms. After this sight, the ambassadors, being dismissed, deterred their people from attempting to succour the besieged city. When the townsmen had from the towers raised fires, (which was the signal agreed upon,) to no purpose, and had been disappointed in their only hope of relief, they capitulated. A

contribution of two million four hundred thousand sesterces was imposed on them; and they were ordered to furnish forty horsemen of the highest rank among them, not under the denomination of hostages, for they were ordered to serve as soldiers, but in reality to be pledges for their fidelity.

48 From thence Gracchus now marched to the city of Alce, where lay the camp of the Celtiberians, from which the ambassadors had lately come. When he had harassed them for some days with skirmishes, by sending his light troops to charge their advanced guards, he made attacks more important every day, in order to entice them all out of their intrenchments. As soon as he perceived that his object had been effected, he gives orders to the præfects of the auxiliaries, that after a short contest they should suddenly turn their backs, as if they were overpowered by numbers, and fly with all haste to the camp: in the mean time he himself drew up all his forces in order, within the rampart, at all the gates. No long time had intervened, when he saw a body of his own troops flying back, according to the preconcerted plan, and the barbarians following in a disorderly pursuit. He had his army drawn up within the trench in readiness for this very opportunity. He therefore delayed only so long as to allow his own men to retreat into the camp by a free passage; then, raising the shout, he rushed forth from all the gates at the same time. The enemy did not sustain the unexpected shock. They who came to assault his camp could not defend even their own. For they were instantly routed put to flight, driven in a panic within their trenches; and at last beaten out of them. On that day nine thousand of the enemy were killed, and three hundred and twenty taken, with a hundred and twelve horses and thirty-seven military ensigns. Of the Roman army there fell a hundred and nine.

49 After this battle, Gracchus led the legions to ravage Celtiberia. And when he was carrying and driving off all things from every quarter, some states voluntarily, others through fear, submitted to his yoke; within a few days he received the submission of a hundred and three towns; he got immense booty. He then marched back to Alce, whence he came, and set about besieging that city. The townsmen withstood the first assault of the enemy; as soon as they found themselves attacked, not only by arms but by works also, having

despaired of any protection in the city, they all retired to the citadel. And then at last they sent envoys, and surrendered themselves, and every thing belonging to them, to the Romans. Great plunder was obtained from this. Many prisoners of distinction fell into his power, among whom were two sons and a daughter of Thurrus. This chieftain, who governed those tribes, was by far the most powerful of all the Spaniards. On hearing the disasters of his countrymen he sent persons to request protection for himself when coming to the camp to Gracchus, and he came. And he first asked him, "Whether the lives of himself and his subjects would be spared?" When the prætor answered that they would; he asked again, "Whether it would be allowed him to bear arms on the side of the Romans?" To this too Gracchus assenting, he said, "I will follow you then against my old allies, since they have not thought proper to pay any regard to me. From that time he united himself to the Romans, and by his brave and faithful exertions he in many places advanced the Roman interest.

⁵⁰ After this, Ergavia, a celebrated and powerful city, terrified by the disasters of the surrounding states, opened its gates to the Romans. There are some writers who say, that this submission of the towns was not made with sincerity; that, from whatever district he might have led the legions, hostilities were there renewed forthwith; and that he afterwards fought, near Mount Caunus, a pitched battle with the Celtiberians, from break of day to the sixth hour; that many fell on both sides, and that the Romans did not perform any feat from which you might believe that they were not vanquished, excepting that, next day, they offered battle to the enemy remaining in their intrenchments: that they employed that whole day in collecting the spoils, on the third day they fought again a more desperate battle, then there was no doubt that the Celtiberians were at last completely defeated, and their camp taken and plundered. Twenty-two thousand of the enemy were killed on that day, more than three hundred taken, and almost an equal number of horses, and seventy-two military standards. This put an end to the war: the Celtiberians concluded a sincere peace, and did not waver in their allegiance as before. They say also, that during the same summer Lucius Postumius fought twice with success in the Farther Spain against the Vaccæans, killed

thirty-five thousand of the enemy, and took their camp. It is however more probable, that he came into the province too late to succeed well in that summer.

51 The censors inspected the senate with sincere unanimity. Marcus Æmilius Lepidus, the censor, who was likewise chief pontiff, was chosen head of the senate; three were expelled from that body. Lepidus restored some who were rejected by his colleague. They completed these works with the money which had been assigned, and divided between them: — Lepidus built a mole at Tarracina, an unpopular work, because he had estates there, and brought into the account of the public expenditure what ought to have been done at his own expense. He contracted for the building of a theatre and stage near the temple of Apollo, the whitening of the temple of Jupiter in the Capitol, and the columns around it; he also removed from those columns the statues that stood unseemingly before them, and took down from them the shields and military ensigns of all sorts hung thereon. Marcus Fulvius made contracts for works more numerous and of more use; a haven on the Tiber, and piers for a bridge across it; on which piers Publius Scipio Africanus and Lucius Mummius, who were the censors, many years after, bargained for the erection of arches; a court of justice behind the new bankers' houses, and a fish-market surrounded with shops, which he sold to private persons; also a forum and portico, on the outside of the gate Trigemina; another portico behind the dock-yard, and one at the temple of Hercules; also a temple of Apollo Medicus, behind that of Hope, on the bank of the Tiber. They had besides, some of the money undivided, and out of this they jointly agreed to pay for water being brought, and arches being made; but Marcus Licinius Crassus hindered this work, for he would not suffer it to be brought through his grounds. They also established many port duties and customs, and took care that very many public chapels, which had been occupied by private individuals, should be public and consecrated, and open to the people. They likewise made an alteration in the mode of voting; for, through all the regions, they divided the tribes according to the different ranks, conditions, and callings of men.

52 One of the censors, Marcus Æmilius, petitioned the senate, that a sum of money should be voted for the celebration of games, in

honour of the dedication of the temples of Imperial Juno and Diana, which he had vowed eight years before, when employed in the Ligurian war. They accordingly voted twenty thousand *asses*. He dedicated those temples each in the Flaminian circus; and celebrated theatrical games for three days after the dedication of the temple of Juno, and for two after that of Diana, and each day in the circus. He also dedicated a temple to the deities of the sea in the field of Mars, which Lucius Æmilius Regillus had vowed eleven years before this, in a naval engagement against the commanders of king Antiochus. Over the gate of the temple was hung up a tablet with this inscription: "This temple was vowed by Lucius Æmilius, the son of Marcus Æmilius, on coming forth from a battle which he fought for the purpose of establishing peace, in which he concluded a mighty war and subdued kings, — because under his auspices, command, and successful generalship, the fleet of king Antiochus, under the very eyes of Antiochus himself and his entire army, cavalry and elephants, was conquered, thrown into confusion, shattered, and put to flight, on the eleventh day before the calends of January; and there on that day thirteen ships of war with all their crews taken. When that battle was fought, king Antiochus and his dominions * * * * *

*. On this account he vowed a temple to the titular gods of the sea." In the same manner a tablet was placed over the gate of the temple of Jupiter, on the Capitol.

53 Two days after the censors had inspected the senate, the consul Quintus Fulvius marched against the Ligurians; and having with his army crossed over pathless mountains and woody valleys, he fought a pitched battle with the enemy, and not only defeated them in the field, but took their camp the same day. Three thousand two hundred of the enemy, and all that tract of Liguria, surrendered. The consul brought down all those who surrendered into the low-lands, and posted guards on the mountains. His letters from that province quickly reached Rome, and thanksgivings for three days were voted on account of his successes. The prætors, during these thanksgivings, celebrated divine worship by sacrificing forty victims of the larger kind. By the other consul, Lucius Manlius, nothing worth recording was done in Liguria. Transalpine Gauls, to the number of three thousand, coming over into Italy, without offering to commit

hostilities on any one, petitioned the consul and senate for some land, that they might live as peaceable subjects, under the government of the Roman people. But the senate ordered them to quit Italy, and enjoined the consul Quintus Fulvius to search after and punish those who had been the first to advise them to cross the Alps.

54 This year died Philip, king of the Macedonians, being worn out with old age, and grief occasioned by his son's death. He spent the winter at Demetrias, in great anguish of mind, occasioned both by regret for his son and contrition for his own cruelty. His other son also disquieted his mind, who, both in his own opinion and that of others, was undoubtedly king. The eyes of all were turned to him, and his own old age was desolate. Some only waiting for his death, while others did not even wait for that event. By which circumstance he was still more distressed, and with him Antigonus, son of Echecrates, named after his uncle Antigonus, who had been guardian to Philip, a man of royal dignity, and famed also for a remarkable battle which he fought against Cleomenes the Lacedæmonian. The Greeks called him the Guardian, to distinguish him from the other princes of that surname. His nephew Antigonus, of all the friends whom Philip had honoured with his favours, alone remained uncorrupted; and this faithful attachment to him had made Perseus, who had been in no wise his friend, become now his most inveterate enemy. He, foreseeing in his mind with what danger to himself the inheritance of the kingdom would fall to Demetrius, as soon as he perceived the king's mind to waver, and that he sometimes sighed with regret for the loss of his son; at one time by listening, and at another by making mention of the deed, as being rashly done, he himself was at hand, adding his complaint to the frequent lamentations of the king; — and, as the truth usually affords many traces of itself, he assisted with the most zealous diligence, in order that the whole might be brought to light as speedily as possible. Of the agents employed in that business, those who were most generally supposed guilty, were Apelles and Philocles, who had gone ambassadors to Rome, and had brought the letter under the name of Flamininus, which had proved so ruinous to Demetrius. They generally murmured in the palace, that it was a forgery, falsified by the secretary, and that the seal was counterfeited.

55 But while this thing was rather a matter of suspicion than of certainty, Antigonus accidentally met Xychus, whom he seized and brought to the palace; then leaving him in custody of guards, Antigonus went on to the apartment of Philip, to whom he said, "I think I understood from many conversations, that you would value it highly, if you could ascertain the whole truth respecting your sons, which of the two was assailed by the other's deceit and secret machinations. Xychus, the only man in the world who can unravel this mystery, is now in your power. I met him by accident, and I have brought him to the palace; order him to be called into your presence." On being brought in, he at first denied; but with such irresolution, as showed that by a slight application to his fears he would become a ready informer. He did not withstand the sight of the executioner and the instruments of torture, but disclosed the whole process of the villany of the ambassadors, and his own services therein. Persons were instantly despatched to seize the ambassadors, and they apprehended by surprise Philocles, who was present, but Apelles, who had been sent in pursuit of a person called Chærea, having heard of the information given by Xychus, went over into Italy. With respect to Philocles, no certain account has been published: some say, that for a time he boldly denied all knowledge of the matter; but that when Xychus was confronted with him, he persisted no longer; others, that he even suffered the rack without confessing. Philip's grief was renewed and doubled; and he felt his unhappiness, with regard to his children, press the heavier on him, because one of them was not.

56 When Perseus was told that all was discovered, he was too powerful to think that flight was necessary. He only took care to keep out of the way, intending to guard himself, in the mean time, during the remainder of Philip's life, from the flame, as it were, of his burning resentment; who, having lost hopes of subjecting the person of Perseus to punishment, meditated on this, as the last resource, that he would not, besides impunity, enjoy the reward of his wickedness also. Therefore he addresses himself to Antigonus, to whom he was obliged for the discovery of the fratricide; and whom he supposed the Macedonians, considering the fresh renown of his uncle Antigonus, would neither be ashamed nor displeased at having for their king.

“Antigonus,” says he, “since I have been brought into such a situation that the being childless, a state which other parents reckon a curse, ought to be wished for by me, I am resolved to transfer to you the kingdom which I received from your uncle, and which his faithful and resolute guardianship not only preserved for me, but even enlarged. You are the only friend I have, whom I can judge worthy of the throne; and, if I had not one such, I should wish it to perish and become extinct, rather than be a prize to the treacherous villany of Perseus. I shall think Demetrius recalled from the dead, and restored to me, if I can leave you substituted in his room, who alone have wept for his innocent death, and for my unhappy error.” After this discourse he did not fail to advance him by conferring on him honours of every kind; and, as Perseus was absent in Thrace, he went round the cities of Macedon, and recommended Antigonus to the chief men; and, had his life been prolonged, there is no doubt but that he would have left him in possession of the throne. After leaving Demetrius, he staid a very long time at Thessalonica; and when he had gone thence to Amphipolis, he was there seized with a severe sickness. Yet it was evident that it was a disorder of the mind rather than of the body, and that, owing to his anxieties and want of sleep, for apparitions and phantoms of his innocent murdered son ever and anon disquieted him, he breathed his last uttering awful imprecations on the other. Nevertheless Antigonus might have been first acquainted with the death of the king, had it not been immediately divulged. Calligenes, the physician, who had the charge of his treatment, not expecting the king’s death, sent to Perseus, on the first appearance of desperate symptoms, messengers who had been previously stationed at different places; and till his arrival he concealed the death of the king from all but those who were in the palace.

57 Perseus therefore surprised them all, when not expecting, and totally ignorant of, his arrival, and seized on the throne, which was obtained by wickedness. The demise of Philip happened very seasonably for the purpose of gaining time and collecting strength for the support of a war: for, in a few days after, the nation of the Bastarnians, in consequence of long solicitation, set out from their own abodes, with a large force of infantry and cavalry, and crossed

the Danube. Antigonus and Cotto (the latter was a Bastarnian of distinction, and Antigonus had been sent, much against his will, with this same Cotto, as ambassador, to persuade his countrymen to take arms) went forward, to carry intelligence of this to the king; but at a small distance from Amphipolis a rumour, and then authentic information, acquainted them with the king's death; which event disconcerted the whole arrangement of their plan. It had been arranged in this manner; — Philip was to procure for the Bastarnians a safe passage through Thrace, and supplies of provisions. In order to be able to effect this, he had courted the chieftains in that country by presents, having pledged his faith that the Bastarnians should march through it in a peaceable body. It was proposed to exterminate the nation of the Dardanians, and to establish settlements for the Bastarnians in their country: from which measure a double advantage would accrue, if both the Dardanians, a nation ever hostile to Macedonia, and anxiously looking to the unfortunate periods of its kings, would be removed out of the way; and the Bastarnians, having left their wives and children in Dardania, might be sent to ravage Italy. That the road to the Adriatic Sea and Italy was through the country of the Scordiscians, and that the army could not be led by any other way; that the Scordiscians would readily grant a passage to the Bastarnians, for they would have no dislike to people resembling themselves in language and manners and would probably join them in an expedition, when they saw that they were on their way to the plunder of a most opulent nation. The remaining plans were accommodated to every kind of event that might take place; for if the Bastarnians would be cut off by the Romans, still the removal of the Dardanians, and the booty to be gained from the remains of the former, and the full possession of Dardania, would prove a consolation; or if they should be successful, then, while the Romans would be employed in the Bastarnian war, he might recover what he had lost in Greece. Such had been the designs of Philip.

58 The Bastarnians commenced their march in a peaceable array, relying on the word of Cotto and Antigonus. But, not long after the report of Philip's death, neither the Thracians were easily dealt with, nor would the Bastarnians be content with what they could purchase; nor could they be kept in a body, so as not to go out of the road. In

consequence, injuries were committed on both sides; and, from the daily multiplication of these, war at last burst forth. When at last the Thracians were unable to withstand the great strength and numbers of the enemy, having deserted their towns in the plains, they betook themselves to a high mountain (they call it Donuca). When the Bastarnians wished to come up, such a tempest there discomfited them, when in vain approaching the summit of the mountain, as, we are told, destroyed the Gauls, when plundering Delphi. They were not only overwhelmed with a deluge of rain, followed by prodigious thick showers of hail, accompanied by tremendous noises in the sky, thunder, and lightning which dazzled their sight; but the thunderbolts, also, fell so frequently on all sides, that their bodies seemed to be aimed at: and not only the soldiers, but their officers also, being struck by them, fell. When therefore, in hasty flight, they, rushing on blindly, were scattered, and tumbling over very high rocks, and the Thracians also attacked them when already in dismay, they themselves then said, that the gods were the cause of the flight, and that the sky was falling on them. When, being dispersed by the storm, as by a shipwreck, they had returned (most of them half armed) to the camp whence they had set out, they then began to consider what they should do; on which a disagreement ensued, some advising to return home, and others to advance to Dardania. About thirty thousand men, under the command of Clondicus, arrived at that place; the rest marched back, by the same road through which they came, to the country beyond the Danube. Perseus, having got possession of the kingdom, ordered Antigonus to be put to death; and, until he could settle his affairs on a firm foundation, sent ambassadors to Rome, to renew the treaty concluded by his father, and to request the senate to give him the title of king. These were the transactions of that year in Macedon.

59 One of the consuls, Quintus Fulvius, triumphed over the Ligurians; which triumph, it was agreed, was granted rather to the greatness of his influence, than to that of his exploits. He carried in the procession a vast quantity of arms, taken from the enemy, but no money; yet he distributed to each soldier three hundred *asses*, double that sum to a centurion, triple it to a horseman. There was nothing in this triumph more remarkable, than that it happened to be celebrated

on the same day of the year on which he had triumphed, after his prætorship, the year before. After the triumph he proclaimed the assembly of election, in which were chosen consuls, Marcus Junius Brutus, and Aulus Manlius Vulso. Afterwards, a storm interrupted the election of prætors, though three had been already elected; but on the following day, the fourth before the ides of March, the other three were elected, Marcus Titinius Curvus, Tiberius Claudius Nero, and Titus Fonteius Capito. The Roman games were renewed by the curule ædiles, Cneius Servilius Cæpio, and Appius Claudius Centho, on account of the prodigies which had occurred. In the public forum, where a lectisternium was being celebrated, there was an earthquake, and the heads of the gods who were on the couches turned away their faces, and the cloak and robes placed on Jupiter fell off. It was also construed as a prodigy, that the mice gnawed the olives on the table. For the expiation of these, nothing more was done than repeating the celebration of the games.

BOOK XLI

Translated by William A. McDevitte

The sacred fire was extinguished in the temple of Vesta. Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus conquered the Celtiberians and received their submission, and built the town Gracchuris in Spain, as a memorial of his exploits. The Vaccæans and Lusitanians also were subdued by the proconsul Postumius Albinus. Both generals triumphed. Antiochus, the son of Antiochus, having been delivered to the Romans by his father, as a hostage, on the death of his brother Seleucus, who had succeeded his father on his demise, being sent from Rome to the sovereignty of Syria, acted the part of a very worthless king, with the exception of his attention to religion, owing to which he erected many magnificent temples in various places; at Athens to Olympian, and at Antioch to Capitoline Jupiter. The lustrum was closed by the censors. Two hundred and sixty-three thousand two hundred and ninety-four citizens are said to have been rated. Quintus Voconius Saxa, tribune of the people, proposed a law, that no one should make a woman his heir. Marcus Cato advocated the law: his speech is extant. This book contains besides the successes against the Ligurians, Istrians, Sardinians, and Celtiberians, and the commencement of the Macedonian war, which Perseus, the son of Philip, was planning; for he had sent an embassy to the Carthaginians, which had been heard by them at night; and besides he was tampering with different states of Greece.

1The Roman people had now carried their victorious arms over all parts of the world, and far and wide had penetrated countries at a vast distance, and separated by several seas. Nevertheless, in such a tide of success flowing according to their wishes, having obtained a high character for moderation, they were more powerful by their influence than by their military sway; and they boasted frequently that they carried more measures with foreign nations by policy, than by violence and terror. Never insulting conquered nations and kings, generous to their allies, seeking for themselves the honour of victory

only, to kings they had preserved their rank, to nations their laws, rights, and liberty, whether in a treaty formed with an equal or with an inferior; and although they had so encompassed, by their arms, both coasts of the Mediterranean, from Cadiz even as far as Syria, and had gained respect for the Roman name through immense tracts of territory, yet the only subjects they had, were the nations of Sicily and the islands on the coast of Italy, and the tribes of the greater part of Spain, which had not yet learned to bear their yoke with resignation. It was the ill-timed treachery of their enemies and rivals, rather than their own ambition, that afforded them cause and material for the increase of their sway. As a special instance: the cruelty of Perseus, who obtained the kingdom of Macedon by treachery and crime, displayed towards his subjects, detested by all, his frantic avarice in the midst of boundless wealth, his inconsiderate levity in the adoption and prosecution of his plans, both destroyed him, and whatever could remain independent, as long as he existed, the principal restraint on the Roman power; for his fall recoiled upon others, and brought with it not only the downfall of his neighbours, but also that of those who were far removed from him. The fall of Carthage and of the Achæans followed the ruin of the Macedonians: and when the state of all was convulsed by their disasters, the rest of the empires, already tottering for some time, were overthrown shortly after, and all fell beneath the Roman sway. It was my intention to lay here before the reader at a glance these events, so intimately connected in interest, though occurring at different times and places, whilst he contemplated the war impending over the Romans from Perseus, from which especially the Roman power drew the sources of its growth. Perseus was then concocting that war in secret; the Ligurians and Gauls provoked rather than employed the Roman arms.

2Gaul and the Ligurians were the provinces assigned to the consuls, Marcus Junius Brutus, Aulus Manlius Vulso: Gaul was assigned to Manlius, Liguria to Junius. As to the prætors, the city jurisdiction fell to Marcus Titinius Curvus; the foreign, to Tiberius Claudius Nero; Sicily, to Publius Ælius Ligus; Sardinia, to Titus Æbutius; Hither Spain, to the other Marcus Titinius, for there were two of that name prætors in that year; and the Farther Spain, to

Titus Fonteius Capito. A fire broke out in the forum, by which very many buildings were burnt to the ground, and the temple of Venus was entirely consumed. The sacred fire of Vesta was extinguished: the virgin who had the care of it was punished with stripes, by order of Marcus Æmilius, the chief pontiff, and supplication was performed, as usual in such cases. In this year the lustrum was closed by Marcus Æmilius Lepidus and Marcus Fulvius Nobilior, censors, in which were rated two hundred and seventy-three thousand two hundred and forty-four citizens. The ambassadors of Perseus arrived, requiring that he should be saluted by the senate as king, ally, and friend, and that the treaty should be renewed with him which had existed with his father Philip. Perseus was an object of hatred and suspicion to the Romans, and most of them had no doubt, that as soon as an opportunity was presented, and his strength appeared to him adequate to the struggle, he would wage against the Romans the war, prepared in secret by Philip, for so many years. However, that they might not appear to have provoked him when quiet and desirous of peace, and to have themselves furnished him with a cause for war, they conceded to him his demands. Perseus, when this answer was received, supposing that the kingdom was secured to him, began to acquire influence among the Greeks. Being desirous therefore of procuring their friendship, he recalled into Macedon all, without exception, who had gone into exile, when condemned for debt or by any judicial proceeding, and those who had left Macedon for high treason, by edicts, openly announced in the island of Delos, and at Delphi, and at the temple of Minerva at Itone, in which he granted to those returning not only pardon, but also restoration of all their property, with the income, from that period in which each became an exile. He also remitted to those who were living in Macedon whatever was due to the royal exchequer; and released all those imprisoned for high treason. When by these acts he had encouraged the minds of many, he turned the attention of all Greece towards himself, and filled it with great hope. And besides, in the entire deportment of the rest of his life, he preserved the dignity of a king; for his mien was noble, and his person well fitted to discharge all the duties of war and peace; and his age, now matured, possessed a graceful majesty, beaming from brow and

forehead. He had none of his father's wantonness, and licentious passions for women and wine. By these praise-worthy acts Perseus rendered the beginning of his reign agreeable, although it was destined to have a termination very different from its commencement.

3Before those prætors who had obtained by lot the Spains could come to their provinces, great exploits were there performed by Postumius and Gracchus. But the praise of Gracchus was extraordinary, for he being in the prime of life, since he far surpassed all his coevals in courage and prudence, even then was lauded greatly by fame, and raised greater hope of himself with regard to the future. Twenty thousand Celtiberians were besieging Carabi, a city in alliance with the Romans. Gracchus hastened to bear aid to his allies. That anxiety tortured him, how he could signify his intention to the besieged, while the enemy pressed the city with so close a blockade, that it scarcely appeared possible that an enemy could reach it. The daring of Cominius executed the difficult task. He being præfect of a troop of horse, having previously weighed over the matter with himself, and having informed Gracchus of what he was preparing, dressed himself in a Spanish military cloak, and mixed with the enemy's foragers. Having entered the camp with them he galloped from it to the city, and announced the approach of Tiberius. The townsmen, being aroused by this intelligence from the depth of despair to cheerfulness and daring, and having determined to fight bravely to the last, were relieved from blockade on the third day, in consequence of the enemy having departed on the arrival of Gracchus. He himself having been afterwards attacked by a stratagem of the barbarians, by the union of skill and strength, so repelled the danger, that the artifice recoiled on its originators. There was a town, Complega by name, that had been built several years before, but strengthened by fortifications and increased by speedy additions, into which many of the Spaniards had flocked, who previously straggled here and there in need of territory. About twenty thousand men coming forth from that city in the garb of suppliants, and holding forth branches of olive, stood in view of the camp as if entreating peace. Immediately, having cast away the emblems of suppliants, and having suddenly attacked the Romans, they fill every place with alarm and consternation. Gracchus, by a

prudent counsel, deserted the camp under the pretence of flight: and whilst they were plundering it with the usual greediness of barbarians, and were encumbering themselves with the spoil, he suddenly returned, and attacking them when in no apprehensions of such an evil, slew the most of them, and even made himself master of their town. There are some who tell the story differently: that Gracchus, when he had discovered that the enemy were distressed from want of food, abandoned his camp, which was very well furnished with all articles of food; that the enemy, having taken possession of it, and having intemperately filled themselves with what they had found, and gorged themselves to repletion, were suddenly cut off by the return of the Roman army.

4. But whether this is a different way of telling the same exploit, or quite a different affair and different victory, it is certain that Gracchus completely conquered several tribes, and moreover the entire nation of the Celtiberians. I would not however have the hardihood to assert that he took and destroyed three hundred of their cities, although Polybius, a writer of the highest authority, makes mention of it; unless that under the name of cities we include towers and castles: by which description of falsehood both the generals in wars and the writers of histories take delight in setting off exploits. For Spain, with its dry and uncultivated soil, could not support a large number of cities. The wild and uncivilized manners of the Spaniards, with the exception of those that dwell on our sea, are also at variance with the assertion, since the dispositions of men are accustomed to become more mild by the meeting with fellow-citizens which occurs in towns. But whatever we may determine concerning the number or description of the cities taken by Sempronius, (for writers vary also in the number, and some have related that one hundred and fifty towns were taken by him, others that one hundred and three was the number,) he certainly performed noble achievements; nor was he distinguished by the praises he received in war only; but he also proved himself unparalleled in arranging and arbitrating peace and laws for the conquered nations. For he distributed lands among the poor and assigned them habitations, and by giving and receiving an oath, secured to all the tribes inhabiting that country, laws clearly defined, according to which they were to

live in friendship and alliance with the Roman people. And posterity often appealed to the authority of this treaty in the wars which afterwards broke out. Gracchus appointed that the town which was hitherto called Illurcis, should be distinguished by his own name, and called Gracchuris, as a monument of his merit and actions. The report of the acts of Postumius is more involved in obscurity. However the Vaccæans and Lusitanians were conquered by him, and forty thousand of these nations were slain. These affairs being transacted, they both, when they had delivered up the armies and provinces to their successors on their arrival, went home to triumph. In Gaul, Manlius the consul, to whom that province had fallen, when material for a triumph was wanting, eagerly seized an opportunity presented by fortune, of waging war against the Istrians. They had aided the Ætolians on a former occasion when making war against the Romans, and lately too had given trouble. At that time Æpulo, a king of a violent disposition, ruled them, who was said to have armed the nation trained to peace by his father, and therefore was much endeared to the youth desirous of plundering.

¹ When the consul held a council on the subject of a war with Istria, some were of opinion that it ought to be begun immediately, before the enemy could collect forces; others, that the senate ought first to be consulted; the opinion was adopted which opposed delay. Accordingly the consul, marching from Aquileia, pitched his camp at the lake Timavus, which lies very near the sea. Thither came Caius Furius, one of the naval commanders, with ten ships; for two naval commanders had been appointed against the fleet of the Illyrians, and these commanders, with twenty ships for the protection of the coast of the Hadriatic, were to make Ancona, as it were, the pivot of their position; so that Lucius Cornelius had to guard the coasts on the right, extending from the latter place to Tarentum; and Caius Furius those on the left, as far as Aquileia. This squadron was sent to the nearest port in the Istrian territory, with a number of transports and a large store of provisions; while the consul, following with the legions, encamped at the distance of about five miles from the coast. A plentiful market was soon established at the port, and every thing conveyed thence to the camp. That this might be done with greater safety, out-posts were fixed around the camp; a newly-levied cohort

of Placentines was posted between the camp and the sea, as a picket in the direction of Istria; and that the watering-parties might likewise have protection at the river, orders were given to Marcus Æbutius, military tribune, to take thither two companies of the second legion. Titus and Caius Ælius, military tribunes, led out the third legion on the road towards Aquileia, in support of those that went for food and forage. In the same quarter, nearly a mile distant, was the camp of the Gauls: Catmelus acted as their chieftain, and they were not more than three thousand armed men.

2 When the Roman army first reached the lake Timavus, the Istrians took post behind a hill, where they could not be seen; and on its march thence followed it through by-ways, watching attentively for some opportunity that might give them an advantage; nor did any thing that was done, either on land or sea, escape their observation. When they saw that the advanced guards of the Romans were weak, and that the market-place was filled with an unarmed crowd of persons trafficking between the camp and the sea, and that they had not fortified themselves either by works on land, or by the help of ships, they made an assault on two of their posts at once, that of the Placentine cohort, and that of the two companies of the second legion. A morning fog concealed their design; and when this began to disperse as the sun grew warm, the light piercing through it in some degree, yet still being far from clear, and, as usual in such cases, magnifying the appearance of every thing, deceived the Romans, and made the army of the enemy appear much greater to them than it really was. And when the troops in both the posts, terrified, had fled in the utmost confusion to the camp, there they caused much greater alarm than that which they were under themselves: for they could neither tell what made them fly nor answer any question that was asked. Then a shouting was heard at all the gates, since there were no guards at them which could withstand an attack: and the crowding together of the soldiers, who fell one against the other in the dark, raised a doubt as to whether the enemy was within the rampart. One only cry was heard, that of those urging to the sea. This cry uttered by one, and without an objected by chance, resounded every where throughout the entire camp. At first, therefore, a few with their arms and a greater part without them, as if

they had received orders so to do, ran off to the sea shore; then followed more, and at length almost the whole of the army, and the consul himself, when, having attempted in vain to call back the fugitives, he had effected nothing by commands, advice, and, at last, by entreaties. Marcus Licinius Strabo, a military tribune of the third legion, with three companies alone, remained, being left behind by his legion. The Istrians having made an attack on the empty camp, after that no other had met them in arms came upon him while he was drawing up and encouraging his men at the general's quarters; the fight was maintained with more resolution than might be anticipated, from the small number of the defenders; nor did it cease until the tribune, and those who stood round him, were all slain. The enemy then, tearing down the general's tent, and seizing on all they could find, went on to the quæstor's quarters, and the adjoining forum, called Quintana. Thereupon, when they found all kinds of food dressed and laid out in the quæstor's tent, and the couches placed in order, their chieftain lay down and began to feast. Presently all the rest, thinking no more of fighting or of the enemy, did the same; and being unaccustomed to any sort of rich food, they greedily gorged themselves with meat and wine.

3 The appearance of affairs among the Romans was by no means the same. There was confusion both on land and sea; the mariners struck their tents, and hastily conveyed on board the provisions which had been sent on shore; the soldiers in a panic rushed into the boats, and even into the water. Some of the seamen, in fear lest their vessels should be overcrowded, opposed the entrance of the multitude, while others pushed off from the shore into the deep. Hence arose a dispute, and in a short time a fight, accompanied by wounds and loss of lives, both of soldiers and seamen; until by order of the consul, the fleet was removed to a distance from the shore. He next set about separating the armed from the unarmed; out of so large a number, there were scarcely found twelve hundred who had preserved their arms; very few horsemen who had brought their horses with them; while the rest were an ill-looking throng, like servants and sutlers, and would certainly have fallen a prey, if the enemy had not neglected the war. At length an express was despatched to call in the third legion and the out-post of the Gauls;

and at the same time the troops began to march back from all parts in order to retake the camp, and wipe off their disgrace. The military tribunes of the third legion ordered their men to throw away the forage and wood, and commanded the centurions to mount two elderly soldiers on horses from which the loads were thrown down, and each of the cavalry to take a young foot soldier with him on his horse. He told them, "it would be a great honour to their legion, if they should recover, by bravery, the camp which had been lost by the cowardice of the second; and that this might be easily effected, if the barbarians were surprised while busied in plundering. In like manner as they had taken it, so might it be retaken." His exhortation was received by the army with the utmost alacrity; they eagerly bear on the standards, nor do the soldiers delay the standard-bearers. However the consul, and the troops which were led back from the shore, reached the rampart first. Lucius Atius, first tribune of the second legion, not only urged on his men, but informed them also, that "if the Istrians meant to retain the camp, which they had taken, by the same arms by which they took it, they would, in the first place, have pursued their enemy driven from his camp to the sea; and, in the next place, they would certainly have stationed guards outside the rampart; and that it was very likely that they were lying in sleep, or drowned in wine."

4 Immediately after this, he ordered his own standard-bearer, Aulus Bæculonius, a man of known bravery, to bear in the standard; who replied, that if the men were willing to follow him, he would cause it to be done more quickly. Then, exerting all his strength, after throwing the standard across the intrenchment, he was the first that entered the gate. And on the other side, Titus Ælius and Caius Ælius, military tribunes of the third legion, with their cavalry arrived; and, quickly after them, the soldiers whom they had mounted in pairs on the beasts of burden; also the consul with the main body. Only a few of the Istrians, who had drunk in moderation, betook themselves to flight: death succeeded as the continuation of the sleep of the others; and the Romans recovered all their effects unimpaired, except the victuals and wine which had been consumed. The soldiers, too, who had been left sick in the camp, when they saw their countrymen within the trenches, snatched up arms, and committed great

slaughter. The bravery of Caius Popilius, a horseman, was pre-eminent above that of all. His surname was Labellus. He had been left behind in the camp, on account of a wound in his foot, notwithstanding which he slew by far the greatest number of the enemy. About eight thousand Istrians were killed, but not one prisoner taken; for rage and indignation had made the Romans regardless of booty. The king of the Istrians, though drunk after his banquet, was hastily mounted on a horse by his people, and effected his escape. Of the conquerors there were lost two hundred and thirty-seven men; more of whom fell in the fight in the morning, than in the retaking of the camp.

5 It happened that Cneius and Lucius Cavillius, new citizens of Aquileia, coming with a convoy of provisions, and not knowing what had passed, were very near going into the camp after it was taken by the Istrians. These men, when, leaving their baggage, they had fled back to Aquileia, filled all things with consternation and alarm, not only there, but, in a few days after, at Rome also; to which intelligence was brought, not only that the camp was taken, and that the troops ran away, as was really the case, but that every thing was lost and that the whole army was entirely cut off. Wherefore, as is usual in a dangerous emergency, extraordinary levies were ordered by proclamation, both in the city and throughout all Italy. Two legions of Roman citizens were raised, and ten thousand foot and five hundred horse were demanded from the allies of the Latin nation. The consul Marcus Junius was ordered to pass on into Gaul, and demand from the several states of that province, whatever number of troops each was able to supply. At the same time it was decreed that Tiberius Claudius, the prætor, should issue orders for the fourth legion, and five thousand foot and two hundred and fifty horse, of the Latins, to assemble at Pisæ; and that he should guard that province during the consul's absence; and that Marcus Titinius, the prætor, should order the first legion, and an equal number of allied foot and horse, to meet at Ariminum. Nero, habited in general's robes, set out for Pisæ, which was in his province. Titinius, after sending Caius Cassius, military tribune, to Ariminum, to take the command of the legion there, held a levy at Rome. The consul, Marcus Junius, passed over from Liguria into the province of Gaul, and having immediately

ordered a levy of auxiliaries through the states of Gaul, and having ordered the colonies to send soldiers, came to Aquileia. There he learned that the army was safe; wherefore, after despatching a letter to Rome, that they might be no longer alarmed, he sent home the auxiliaries, which he had ordered the Gauls to furnish, and proceeded himself to join his colleague. There was great joy at Rome after the unexpected news; the levies were stopped, the soldiers who had taken the military oath were discharged, and the troops at Ariminum, who were afflicted with a pestilential sickness, were remanded home. The Istrians, when they with a numerous force were encamped at no great distance from the consul, after they heard that the other consul was arrived with a new army, dispersed, and returned to their several states. The consuls led back their legions into winter quarters at Aquileia.

6 The alarm caused by the affairs of Istria being at length composed, a decree of the senate was passed, that the consuls should settle between themselves which of them should come to Rome, to preside at the elections. When two plebeian tribunes, Aulus Licinius Narva and Caius Papirius Turdus, in their harangues to the people, uttered severe reflections on Manlius, then abroad; and proposed the passing of an order, that although the government of their provinces had already been continued to the consuls for a year, yet Manlius should not hold command beyond the ides of March; in order that he might immediately, after going out of office, be brought to trial. Against this proposition, Quintus Ælius, another tribune, protested; and, after violent struggles, prevailed so far, as to prevent its being passed. About this time, when Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus and Lucius Postumius Albinus came home from Spain, an audience of the senate is granted to them, by Marcus Titinius the prætor, to speak of the services which they had rendered, and demand the honours they had merited, and also that thanksgiving should be offered to the immortal gods. At the same time also it was known by the letters of Titus Æbutius the prætor, which his son brought to the senate, that there was great commotion in Sardinia. The Iliensians, having added to their forces Balearian auxiliaries, had invaded the province though at peace with them; nor could resistance be offered to them by a weak, army, which had besides lost great numbers by a pestilence.

Ambassadors from the Sardinians made the same representations, entreating the senate to send relief to their cities; for as to the country, it was already entirely ruined. This embassy, and every thing which referred to Sardinia, was referred to the new magistrates. There was an embassy from the Lycians, no less entitled to commiseration, who complained of the cruel treatment which they suffered from the Rhodians, to whose government they had been annexed by Lucius Cornelius Scipio. "They had formerly," they said, "been under the dominion of Antiochus, and their bondage under that king, compared to their present condition, appeared an honourable state of liberty; that they were not only oppressed by acts of government, but individually underwent real slavery. That they themselves, their wives, and children, were abused alike by them; that cruelties were practised on their persons, and their character blotted and dishonoured, a circumstance which would excite the indignation of every one. They were openly treated with contemptuous insults, merely for the purpose of exercising an usurped prerogative, that they might not doubt that there was no difference between them and purchased slaves." The senate was highly displeased at such proceedings, and gave the Lycians a letter to the Rhodians, acquainting them, that "it was the will of the senate, that neither the Lycians should be subjected to the Rhodians as slaves, nor should any other men who were born free become the slaves of any one; but that the Lycians should be under the government, and, at the same time, the protection of the Rhodians, in like manner as the allied states were subjected to the Roman people."

7 Two triumphs for conquests in Spain were then successively celebrated. First, Sempronius Gracchus triumphed over the Celtiberians and their allies; next day, Lucius Postumius triumphed over the Lusitanians, and the other Spaniards in that quarter. Tiberius Gracchus carried in the procession forty thousand pounds' weight of silver, Albinus twenty thousand. They distributed to each of their soldiers twenty-five denariuses, double that sum to a centurion, triple it to a horseman; the same sums to the allied troops as to the Roman. The consul, Marcus Junius, happened to arrive at Rome at this time from Istria, in order to hold the elections. The plebeian tribunes, Papirius and Licinius, after harassing him in the senate, with

questions relative to what had passed in Istria, brought him into the assembly of the people. To which inquiries the consul answered, that “he had been not more than eleven days in that province; and that as to what had happened when he was not present, he, like themselves, gained his information from report.” But they still proceeded to ask, “why, then, did not Manlius rather come to Rome, that he might account to the Roman people for his having quitted Gaul, the province allotted to him, and gone into Istria? When had the senate decreed a war with that nation? When had the people ordered it? But he will say, ‘Though the war was indeed undertaken by private authority, yet it was conducted with prudence and courage.’ On the contrary, it is impossible to say, whether it was undertaken with greater injustice than the rashness with which it was conducted. Two advanced guards were surprised by the Istrians; a Roman camp was taken, with whatever infantry and cavalry were in it; the rest in disorder, without arms, and among the foremost the consul himself, fled to the shore and the ships. But he should answer for all these matters when he became a private citizen, since he had been unwilling to do so while consul.”

8 The elections were then held, in which Caius Claudius Pulcher and Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus were chosen consuls. Next day the following persons were elected præters, Publius Ælius Tubero, a second time, Caius Quintus Flaminius, Caius Numisius, Lucius Mummius, Cneius Cornelius Scipio, and Publius Valerius Lævinus. The city jurisdiction fell, by lot, to Tubero; the foreign, to Quintus; Sicily, to Numisius; and Sardinia, to Mummius; but this last, on account of the importance of the war there, was made a consular province. Gracchus obtains it by lot; Claudius, Istria; Scipio and Lævinus received Gaul, which was divided into two provinces. On the ides of March, the day when Sempronius and Claudius assumed the administration, a cursory mention only was of the provinces of Sardinia and of Istria, and of those who had commenced hostilities there; but on the day following, the ambassadors of the Sardinians, who had been referred to the new magistrates, were introduced, and Lucius Minucius Thermus, lieutenant-general under the consul Manlius in Istria, attended; and by them the senate was accurately informed how far these provinces were involved in war.

Ambassadors from the confederate states of Latium, who, after having ineffectually applied to the former consuls and censors, were at last introduced to an audience, made a powerful impression on the senate. The amount of their complaints was that "their citizens, having been rated in the general survey at Rome, had most of them removed thither; and that if this practice were allowed, it would come to pass, in the course of a very few lustrums, that their deserted towns and country would be unable to furnish any soldiers." The Samnites and the Pelignians also represented, that four thousand families had emigrated to Fregellæ; and that neither of these places furnished less soldiers on that account. That there had been practised two species of fraud in individuals changing their citizenship: there was a law, which granted liberty to any of the allies or Latins, who should not leave his offspring at home, to be enrolled a citizen of Rome; yet, by an abuse of this law, some did injury to the allies, others to the Roman people. For, at first, to evade the leaving offspring at home, they made over their children as slaves to some Roman, under an agreement that they should be again set free, and thus become citizens by emancipation; and then those men, who had now no children to leave, became Roman citizens. Afterwards, they neglected even these appearances of law; and, without any regard either to the ordinances or to progeny, passed indiscriminately into the Roman state by migration, and getting themselves included in the survey. To prevent such proceedings in future, the ambassadors requested the senate to order the allies to return to their respective states, and to provide by a law that no one should make any man his property, or alienate such property for the purpose of a change of citizenship; and that if any person should by such means be made a citizen of Rome, he should not enjoy the rights of a citizen."

9 The senate granted their petitions; and then Sardinia and Istria, the provinces which were in arms, were disposed of. Two legions were ordered to be enrolled for Sardinia, each containing five thousand two hundred foot and three hundred horse; and of allies and Latins, twelve thousand foot and six hundred horse; and it was decided that the consul should have ten ships, of five banks of oars, if he should think it requisite to take them from the docks. The same

numbers of infantry and cavalry were decreed for Istria as for Sardinia. The consuls were ordered to send into Spain to Marcus Titinius, one legion, with three hundred horse and five thousand foot, and two hundred and fifty horse of the allies. Before the consuls cast lots for their provinces, several prodigies were reported: that in the Crustumine territory, a stone fell from the sky into the grove of Mars; that in the Roman territory, a boy was born defective in his limbs; that a serpent with four feet had been seen; that at Capua, many buildings in the forum were struck by lightning; and, that at Puteoli, two ships were burned by lightning. Amidst these prodigies which were reported from abroad, a wolf also, after entering Rome by the Colline gate, was chased during the day, and, to the great consternation of its pursuers, escaped through the Esquiline gate. On account of these prodigies, the consuls sacrificed victims of the larger kinds, and there was a supplication, for one day, at all the shrines. When the sacrifices were duly performed, they cast lots for their provinces; Istria fell to Claudius, Sardinia to Sempronius. Then Caius Claudius, by direction of the senate, proposed a law and issued a proclamation, that “any of the allies and Latin confederates, who themselves, or whose ancestors, had been surveyed among the associated states of Latium in the censorship of Marcus Claudius and Titus Quintius, or at any time since, should all return, each to his respective state, before the calends of November.” Inquiry concerning such as did not obey, was intrusted to Lucius Mummius the prætor. To the law and the proclamation of the consul, was added a decree of the senate, that “the dictator, consul, interrex, censor, or prætor, who then should be in office, before whom any slave should be brought, to receive manumission, should cause the said slave who was about to be made free, to make oath, that the person giving him liberty did not do it for the purpose of his changing his citizenship;” they ordered that he, whoever would not swear this oath, should not be manumitted. The cognizance and jurisdiction in this business was, for the future, assigned to Caius Claudius the consul.

10 While these matters passed at Rome, Marcus Junius and Aulus Manlius, the consuls of the preceding year, after remaining during the winter at Aquileia, led their army early in the spring into the Istrian territories; where when they spread their depredations through

a great part of the country, grief and indignation, rather than any well-grounded hope of being able to make head against these joint forces, roused the Istrians, on perceiving the plunder of their property. A hasty levy of their young men being made from all their cantons this raw and tumultuary army made its first onset with more vigour than perseverance. About four thousand of them were slain in the field; and the rest, giving over the war, fled in different directions to their respective states. Soon after, they sent ambassadors to the Roman camp to sue for peace, and then delivered up the hostages required of them. When these transactions were made known at Rome, by letters from the proconsul, Caius Claudius, the consul, fearing that this proceeding might, perhaps, take the province and the army out of his hands, without offering vows, without assuming the military habit, and unaccompanied by his lictors, having acquainted his colleague alone with his intention, set out in the night, and with the utmost speed hastened to the province, where he conducted himself even with less prudence than he had shown in coming. For, in an assembly which he called, after making severe remarks on Manlius's running away from the camp, which were very offensive to the ears of the soldiers, as they themselves had begun the flight, and after railing at Marcus Junius, as having made himself a sharer in the disgrace of his colleague, he at last ordered both of them to quit the province. And when they replied, that when the consul should come, in the regular manner, agreeably to ancient practice; when he should set out from the city, after offering vows in the Capitol, attended by his lictors and dressed in the military habit, then they would obey his orders. Maddened by anger, he summoned the person who acted as quæstor to Manlius, and ordered him to bring fetters, threatening to send Junius and Manlius to Rome in chains. The consul's command was slighted by this man too; and the surrounding crowd of soldiers, who favoured the cause of their commanders, and were incensed against the consul, supplied him with resolution to refuse obedience. At last the consul, overpowered by the reproaches of individuals and the scoffs of the multitude, for they even turned him into ridicule, went back to Aquileia in the same ship in which he had come. Thence he wrote to his colleague, desiring him to give notice to that part of the new-raised troops who

were enlisted for Istria, to assemble at Aquileia, in order that he should have no delay at Rome, but set out, in the military habit, as soon as the ceremony of offering vows was finished. These directions his colleague punctually executed, and an early day was appointed for the assembling of the troops. Claudius almost overtook his own letter. On his arrival he called an assembly, that he might represent the conduct of Manlius and Junius; and, staying only three days in Rome, he offered his vows in the Capitol, put on the military habit, and, attended by his lictors, set out to his province with the same rapid speed which he had used in the former journey.

11 A few days before his arrival, Junius and Manlius had laid vigorous siege to the town of Nesatium, in which the principal Istrians, and Epulo their king, had shut themselves up. Claudius, bringing thither the two new legions, dismissed the old army, with its commanders; invested the town himself; and prosecuted the siege with regular works. He by the labour of many days changed the course of, and carried away in a new channel, a river which flowed on the outside of the wall, and greatly impeded the proceedings of the besiegers, while it supplied the Istrians with water. This event, of the water being cut off, terrified the barbarians, as if effected by some supernatural power; yet still they entertained no thoughts of peace, but set about killing their wives and children; exhibiting a spectacle shocking even to their enemies; and, after putting them to death in open view on the walls, tumbled them down. Amid the simultaneous shrieking of women and children, and this horrid carnage, the soldiers, scaling the walls, effected an entrance into the town. As soon as the king heard the uproar of the captured city, from the cries of terror uttered by the flying inhabitants, he plunged his sword into his breast, that he might not be taken alive; the rest were either killed or taken prisoners. After this, two other towns, Mutila and Faveria, were stormed and destroyed. The booty, which exceeded expectation, considering the poverty of the nation, was all given up to the soldiers. Five thousand six hundred and thirty-two persons were sold by auction, and the fomenters of the war were beaten with rods and beheaded. By the destruction of these three towns, and the death of the king, the whole country of Istria was brought to terms of peace; every one of its states, giving hostages, submitted to the dominion of

the Romans.

¹² For some time before, the conclusion of the war with Istria, consultations were held among the Ligurians about the renewal of hostilities. Tiberius Claudius, proconsul, who had been consul the year before, with a garrison of one legion, held the command of Pisæ. And when the senate was informed by his letter of their proceedings, they vote that "the same letter should be carried to Caius Claudius," for the other consul had already crossed over into Sardinia; and they added a decree, that, since the province of Istria was subdued, he might, if he thought proper, lead his army into Liguria. At the same time, a supplication for two days was decreed, in consequence of the letter which he wrote concerning his actions in Istria. The other consul, Sempronius, likewise was successful in his operations in Sardinia. He carried his army into the territory of the Ilian tribe of Sardinians. Powerful reinforcements from the Balarians had come to the Ilians. He fought a pitched battle against the combined forces of the two states. The enemy were routed and put to flight, and driven from their camp; twelve thousand armed men were slain. Next day, the consul ordered their arms to be gathered into a heap and burned, as an offering to Vulcan. He then led back his victorious troops into winter quarters in the allied cities. Caius Claudius, on receipt of the letter of Tiberius Claudius and the decree of the senate, marched his legions out of Istria into Liguria. The enemy, having advanced into the plains, were encamped on the river Scultenna: here a pitched battle was fought, in which fifteen thousand of the enemy were killed, and about seven hundred captured in the fight, and in the camp, for that too was stormed; and also fifty-one military standards were taken. The Ligurians who survived the slaughter, fled back in every direction into the mountains. No appearance of arms any where met the consul while ravaging the low country. Claudius, having thus in one year subdued two nations, and, what has rarely been achieved in a single consulate, completed the reduction of two provinces, came home to Rome.

¹³ Several prodigies were reported this year: that at Crustumium a bird, which they call the ospray, cut a sacred stone with its beak; that a cow spoke in Campania; that at Syracuse a brazen statue of a cow was mounted by a farmer's bull which had strayed from the

herd. A supplication of one day was performed in Crustumium, on the spot; the cow at Campania was ordered to be maintained at the public expense, and the prodigy at Syracuse was expiated, the deities to whom supplications should be offered, being declared by the aruspices. This year died, in the office of pontiff, Marcus Claudius Marcellus, who had been consul and censor; and his son, Marcus Marcellus, was chosen into the vacant place. The same year a colony of two thousand Roman citizens was settled at Luca. The triumvirs, Publius Ælius, Lucius Egilius, and Cneius Sicinius, planted it. Fifty-one acres and a half of land were given to each. This land had been taken from the Ligurians, and had been the property of the Etrurians, before it fell into their possession. Caius Claudius, the consul, arrived at the city, and after laying before the senate a detail of his successful services in Istria and Liguria, a triumph was decreed to him on demanding it. He triumphed, in office, over the two nations at once. In this procession he carried three hundred and seven thousand denariuses, and eighty-five thousand seven hundred and two quinariuses. To each soldier fifteen denariuses were given, double that sum to a centurion, triple it to a horseman. The allied soldiers received less, by half, than the native troops, for which reason they followed his chariot in silence to show their disgust.

¹⁴ While this triumph over the Ligurians was celebrated, that people, perceiving that not only the consular army returned to Rome, but also that the legion at Pisæ had been disbanded by Tiberius Claudius, shaking off their fears, and collecting an army secretly, crossed the mountains by winding paths, and came down into the plains, and after ravaging the lands of Mutina, by a sudden assault they gained possession of the colony itself. When this account was brought to Rome, the senate ordered Caius Claudius, the consul, to hold the elections as soon as possible, and (after appointing magistrates for the ensuing year) to go back to his province, and rescue the colony out of the hands of the enemy. The elections were held as the senate had directed; and Cneius Cornelius Scipio Hispalus, with Quintus Petillius Spurius, were chosen consuls. Then Marcus Popillius Lænas, Publius Licinius Crassus, Marcus Cornelius Scipio, Lucius Papirius Maso, Marcus Aburius, and Lucius Aquilius Gallus, were elected prætors. To Caius Claudius, the consul, his

command was prolonged for a year, and likewise the administration of the province of Gaul; and he was ordered, lest the Istrians should follow the example of the Ligurians, to send into Istria the allied Latin troops, which he had brought home to attend his triumph. When the consuls, Cneius Cornelius and Quintus Petillius, on the day of entering into office, according to custom, sacrificed each an ox to Jupiter, the head of the liver was not found in the victim sacrificed by Petillius; which being reported to the senate, he was ordered to sacrifice oxen until the omens should be favourable. The senate being then consulted concerning the provinces, decreed Pisæ and Liguria to be the provinces of the consuls. They ordered that he to whose lot Pisæ fell, should, at the time of the elections, come home to preside at them; and that they should severally enlist two new legions and three hundred horse; and should order the allies, and Latin confederates, to furnish ten thousand foot and six hundred horse to each. The command was prolonged to Tiberius Claudius, until such time as the consul should arrive in the province.

15 While the senate was employed in these affairs, Caius Cornelius, being called by a beadle, went out of the senate-house; and, after a short time, returned with a troubled countenance, and told the conscript fathers that the liver of a fat ox, which he had sacrificed, had melted away; that, when this was told him by the person who dressed the victims, he did not believe it, and he himself ordered the water to be poured out of the vessel in which the entrails were boiled; and he saw all entire but the liver, which had been unaccountably consumed. While the fathers were under much terror on account of this prodigy, their alarm was augmented by the other consul, who informed them that, on account of the first victim having wanted the head of the liver, he had sacrificed three oxen, and had not yet found favourable omens. The senate ordered him to continue sacrificing the larger victims until he should find favourable omens. They say that the victims offered to the other deities at length presented good omens; but that in those offered to Health, Petillius could find none such. Then the consuls and prætors cast lots for their provinces, when Pisæ fell to Cneius Cornelius; Liguria, to Petillius. Of the prætors, Lucius Papirius Maso obtained the city jurisdiction; Marcus Abutius, the foreign; Marcus Cornelius Scipio Maluginensis,

the Farther Spain; Lucius Aquilius Gallus, Sicily. Two of them petitioned to be excused from going into their provinces. First, Marcus Popillius requested that he might not be obliged to go to Sardinia, alleging that "Gracchus was bringing that province into a state of tranquillity; that Titus Æbutius the præter had been given to him by the senate as his assistant; and that it was by no means expedient to interrupt the train of business, for the completion of which there was no method so efficacious as the continuing the management in the same hands; that, amid the transfer of command and initiation of the successors, who must be impressed with a knowledge of circumstances before they can proceed to action, opportunities of successfully transacting matters were frequently lost." The excuse of Popillius was admitted. Then Publius Licinius Crassus alleged that he was prevented from going into his province by solemn sacrifices. That which had fallen to his lot was Hither Spain. But he was ordered either to proceed thither, or to swear in the public assembly that he was hindered by the performance of solemn anniversary sacrifices. When this determination was made in the case of Publius Licinius, Marcus Cornelius demanded that his oath, of the like import, might be admitted as an excuse for his not going into the Farther Spain. Both the prætors accordingly took an oath in the same words. Marcus Titinius and Titus Fonteius, proconsuls, were ordered to remain in Spain, with authority as before; and it was decreed that a reinforcement should be sent to them of three thousand Roman foot, with two hundred horse; and five hundred Latin foot, with three hundred horse.

16 The Latin festival was celebrated on the third day before the nones of May; and because, on the offering of one of the victims, the magistrate of Lanuvium had not prayed for the Roman people, the Quirites, religious scruples were felt. When the matter was laid before the senate, and they referred it to the college of pontiffs, the latter determined that the Latin festival had not been duly performed, and must be repeated; and that the Lanuvians, on whose account they were repeated, should furnish the victims. Besides the concern excited by matters of a religious nature, another incident caused no small degree of uneasiness. The consul Cneius Cornelius, as he was

returning from the Alban mount, fell down. And being paralysed in part of his limbs, set out for the waters of Cumæ, where, his disorder still increasing, he died. His body was conveyed to Rome to be buried, and the funeral obsequies were performed with great magnificence: he was likewise a pontiff. The other consul, Quintus Petillius, was ordered to hold an assembly, as soon as the auspices could be taken, for the election of a consul in the room of his late colleague, and to proclaim the Latin festival. Accordingly, by proclamation, he fixed the election for the third day before the nones of August, and the Latin festival for the third before the ides of the same month. While the minds of the people were full of religious fears, to add thereto, several prodigies were reported to have happened; that a blazing torch was seen in the sky at Tusculum; that the temple of Apollo, and many private buildings at Gabii, and a wall and gate at Graviscaë, were struck by lightning. The senate ordered these to be expiated as the pontiffs should direct. While the consuls were detained, at first by religious ceremonies, and afterwards, one of them, by the death of the other, and then by the election and the repetition of the Latin festival, in the mean time Caius Claudius marched the army to Mutina, which the Ligurians had taken the year before. Before three days had elapsed from the commencement of the siege he retook it, and delivered it back to the colonists; on this occasion eight thousand Ligurians were killed within the walls. He immediately despatched a letter to Rome, in which he not only represented this success, but likewise boasted that through his good conduct and good fortune there was not one enemy of the Roman people left on this side the Alps; and that a large tract of land had been taken, which might be distributed among many thousand men, giving each a share.

17 During the same period, Tiberius Sempronius, after gaining many victories, totally subdued the people of Sardinia. Fifteen thousand of the enemy were slain. All the tribes of the Sardinians, who had revolted, were brought under the dominion of Rome. On those which had formerly been tributary, double taxes were, imposed and levied; the rest paid a contribution in corn. When he had thus restored peace in the province, and received hostages from all parts of the island, to the number of two hundred and thirty, deputies are

sent by him to Rome, to give information of these transactions, and to request of the senate, that in consideration of those services, performed under the conduct and auspices of Tiberius Sempronius, a thanksgiving might be offered to the immortal gods, and permission granted him to quit the province and bring home the army with him. The senate, having given audience to the deputies in the temple of Apollo, ordered a thanksgiving for two days, and that the consuls should sacrifice forty victims of the larger kinds; but commanded the proconsul, Tiberius Sempronius, and his army, to continue in the province for the year. Then the election for filling the vacant place of a consul, which had been fixed by proclamation for the third day before the nones of August, was finished in one day, and the consul Quintus Petillius declared Caius Valerius Lævinus duly elected his colleague, who was to assume immediately the administration of his office. This man, having been long ambitious of the government of a province, when, very seasonably for the gratification of his wishes, a letter now arrived with intelligence that the Ligurians were again in arms, on the nones of August assumed the military habit; and ordered that, on account of this alarm, the third legion should march into Gaul, and join Caius Claudius, proconsul, and that the commanders of the fleet should sail with their ships to Pisæ, and coast along the Ligurian shore, to terrify that people by the sight of a naval power also. The other consul, Quintus Petillius, had appointed a day for his troops to assemble in the same place. Besides, Caius Claudius, proconsul, on hearing of the rebellion in Liguria, having hastily collected some soldiers, in addition to those whom he had with him at Parma, brought this army to the frontiers of Liguria.

18 On the approach of Caius Claudius, the enemy, reflecting that this was the same commander who had defeated them at the river Scultenna, resolving to rely on situation, rather than arms, for their defence against a force with which they had so unsuccessfully struggled, took post in two mountains, called Letum and Balista; and, for greater security, surrounded their encampment with a wall. Some, who were too slow in removing from the low grounds, were surprised and put to the sword, — one thousand five hundred in number. The others kept themselves close on the mountains; and retaining, in the midst of their fears, their native savage disposition,

vented their fury on the prey taken at Mutina. They put their prisoners to death after shocking mutilation: the cattle they butchered in the temples, rather than decently sacrificed: and then (satiated with the destruction of living creatures) they turned their fury against things inanimate, dashing against the walls even vessels made for use rather than for show. Quintus Petillius, the consul, fearing that the war might be brought to a conclusion before he arrived in the province, wrote to Caius Claudius to bring the army into Gaul, saying, that he would wait for him at the Long Plains. Claudius, immediately on receipt of the letter, marched out of Liguria, and gave up the command of the army to the consul at the Long Plains. To the same place came, in a few days after, the other consul, Caius Valerius. There having divided their forces before they separated, they both together performed a purification of the troops. They then cast lots for their respective routes, it having been resolved that they should not assail the enemy on the same side. It was certain that Valerius cast his lot auspiciously, because he was in the consecrated ground; the augurs afterwards announced that there was this defect in the case of Petillius, that he himself when outside the consecrated ground cast his lot into the urn, which was subsequently brought into the sacred place. They then began their march in different directions; Petillius pitched his camp against the ridge of Balista and Letum, which joined the two together with one continued range. They report, that while he was here encouraging his soldiers, whom he had assembled for the purpose, without reflecting on the ambiguity of the word, he uttered this ominous expression: "This day I will have Letum." He made his troops march up the mountain in two places at the same time. The division in which he was advanced briskly: the other was repulsed by the enemy; and the consul riding up thither, to remedy the disorder, rallied his troops; but whilst he moves about too carelessly in the front, he was pierced through with a javelin, and fell. The commanders of the enemy did not know that he was killed; and the few of his own party who saw the disaster, carefully covered the body from view, knowing that the victory rested on this. The rest of the troops, horse and foot, though deprived of their leader, dislodged the enemy, and took possession of the mountains. Five thousand of the Ligurians were slain and of the Roman army only

fifty-two were lost. Besides this evident completion of the unhappy omen, the keeper of the chickens was heard to say, that there had been a defect in the auspices, and that the consul was not ignorant of it. Caius Valerius, *when he was informed of the death of Quintus Petillius, made the army, thus bereft of its commander, join his own; then, attacking the enemy again, in their blood he offered a noble sacrifice to the shade of his departed colleague. He had the honour of a triumph over the Ligurians. The legion, at whose head the consul was killed, was severely punished by the senate. They determined that the campaign of this year should not be counted to the entire legion, and that their pay should be stopped, for not exposing themselves to the enemy's weapons in defence of their commander. About this time ambassadors came to Rome from the Dardanians, who were greatly distressed by the numerous army of Bastarnians, under Clondicus, mentioned above. These ambassadors, after describing the vast multitude of the Bastarnians, their tall and huge bodies, and their daring intrepidity in facing danger, added, that there was an alliance between them and Perseus, and that the Dardanians were really more afraid of him than even of the Bastarnians; and therefore begged of the senate that assistance should be sent them. The senate thereupon agreed, that ambassadors should be sent to examine into the affairs of Macedonia; and immediately a commission was given to Aulus Postumius to go thither. They gave to him as colleagues some young men, that he might have the principal direction and management of the embassy. The senate then took into consideration the election of magistrates for the ensuing year, on which subject there was a long debate: for people skilled in the rules of religion and politics affirmed, that, as the regular consuls of the year had died, one by the sword, the other by sickness, the substituted consuls could not with propriety hold the elections. An interregnum, therefore, took place, and the interrex elected consuls Publius Mucius Scævola, and Marcus Æmilius Lepidus, a second time. Then Caius Popillius Lænas, Titus Annius Luscus, Caius Memmius Gallus, Caius Cluvius Saxula, Servius Cornelius Sulla, and Appius Claudius Centho, were chosen prætors. The provinces assigned to the consuls were Gaul and Liguria. Of the prætors, Cornelius Sulla obtained Sardinia, Claudius Centho gained*

Hither Spain. There is no record of those to whom the other prætorian provinces fell. This year was notorious for an epidemic, which however attacked cattle only. The Ligurians, a nation ever vanquished, yet ever rebelling, ravaged the lands of Luna and Pisæ; and at the same time there were alarming rumours of disturbances in Gaul. Lepidus having easily quelled the commotions among the Gauls, then marched into Liguria. Several states of this country submitted themselves to his disposal; and he, supposing that they were rendered savage by the rugged mountain tops which they inhabited, as the dispositions of the inhabitants of a country generally resemble its natural features, by the precedent of some former consuls, brought them down to the plains. Of these the Garulians, Lapicinians, and Hercatians had lived on the other side of the Apennine, and the Briniatians on the farther side.

19 On the hither side of the river Audena, Quintus Mucius made war on those who had wasted the lands of Luna and Pisæ: and having reduced them all to subjection, he took away their arms from them. On account of these services, performed under the conduct and auspices of the two consuls, the senate voted a thanksgiving for three days, and sacrifices of forty victims. The commotions which broke out in Gaul and Liguria, at the beginning of this year, were thus speedily suppressed, without any great difficulty; but the apprehensions of the public, respecting a war with Macedon, still continued. For Perseus laboured to embroil the Bastarnians with the Dardanians; and the ambassadors, sent to examine into the state of affairs in Macedon, returned to Rome, and brought certain information that hostilities had commenced in Dardania. At the same time came envoys from king Perseus, to plead in excuse that neither had the Bastarnians been invited by him, nor had they done any thing at his instigation. The senate neither acquitted the king of the imputation, nor urged it against him; they only ordered him to be warned to be very careful to show, that he considered the treaty between him and the Romans as inviolable. The Dardanians, perceiving that the Bastarnians, so far from quitting their country, as they had hoped, became daily more troublesome, as they were supported by the neighbouring Thracians and Scordiscians, thinking it necessary to make some effort against them, though without any

reasonable prospect of success, assembled together in arms from all quarters, at the town that was nearest to the camp of the Bastarnians. It was now winter, and they chose that season of the year, as supposing that the Thracians and Scordiscians would return to their own countries. As soon as they heard that these were gone, and the Bastarnians left by themselves, they divided their forces into two parts, that one might march openly along the straight road to attack the enemy; and that the other, going round through a wood, which lay out of sight, might assault them on the rear. But, before these could arrive at the enemy's post, the fight commenced, and the Dardanians were beaten, and pursued to the town, which was about twelve miles from the Bastarnian camp. The victors immediately invested the city, not doubting that, on the day following, either the enemy would surrender it from fear, or they might take it by storm. Meanwhile the other body of Dardanians, which had gone round, not having heard of the defeat of their countrymen, *easily* possessed themselves of the camp of the Bastarnians, which had been left without a guard. *The Bastarnians, thus deprived of all their provisions and warlike stores, which were in their camp, and having no means of replacing them in a hostile country, and at that unfavourable season, resolved to return to their native home. Having therefore retreated to the Danube, they found it, to their great joy, covered with ice, so thick as to seem capable of sustaining any weight. But when the entire body of men and cattle, hastening on, and crowding together, pressed on it at the same time, the ice, splitting under the immense weight, suddenly parted, and being overcome and broken up, left in the middle of the water the entire army which it had supported so long. Most of them were immediately swallowed in the eddies of the river. The fragments of the broken ice passed over many of them in their attempt to swim and drowned them. A few out of the entire nation with difficulty escaped to either bank, with their persons severely crushed. About this time, Antiochus, son to Antiochus the Great, who had been for a long time a hostage at Rome, came into possession of the kingdom of Syria, on the death of his brother Seleucus. For Seleucus, whom the Greeks call Philopator, after having received the kingdom of Syria, which had been greatly debilitated by the misfortunes of his father, during*

an idle reign of twelve years never distinguished by any memorable enterprise at all, called home from Rome this his younger brother, sending, in his stead, his own son Demetrius, according to the terms of the treaty, which allowed the changing of the hostages from time to time. Antiochus had but just reached Athens on his way, when Seleucus was murdered, in consequence of a conspiracy formed by Heliodorus, one of the nobles. Eumenes and Attalus expelled him aiming at the crown, and put Antiochus in possession of it, and valued it highly that they had bound him to them by this so important a favour. They now began to harbour some jealousy of the Romans, on account of several trifling causes of disgust. Antiochus, having gained the kingdom by their aid, was received by the people with such transports of joy, that they gave him the surname of Epiphanes, or Rising Star, because when aliens to the royal blood were about to seize the throne, he appeared like a propitious star, to assert his hereditary right. He was not deficient in capacity or vigour of mind to make a figure in war; but he was so perverse and indiscreet in the whole tenor of his conduct and behaviour, that they soon changed the surname which they had given him, and instead of Epiphanes, called him Epimanes or Madman. For often having gone forth from the palace without the knowledge of his servants, with one or two attendants, crowned with roses, and dressed in robes embroidered with gold, he used to go through the city, sometimes striking those that he met with stones that he carried under his arms; sometimes, on the other hand, throwing money among the mob, and shouting out, "Let him take to whom fortune shall give." But at another time he used to go through the workshops of the goldsmiths, and engravers and other artisans, arguing vainly concerning the art of each; at another time he engaged in conversation in public with any of the plebeian he met; again, wandering around the common taverns, he indulged in potations with foreigners and strangers of the lowest grade. If by chance he had learned that any young men were celebrating an untimely banquet, he himself at once came upon them suddenly, with a glass and a concert, revelling and wantoning, so that most of them, struck with terror at the strangeness of the matter, fled away, and the remainder were silent in fear. It is ascertained also that, in the public baths, he used to bathe with the mob. As

however there he was in the habit of using the most precious unguents, they report that a plebeian one day said to him. "You are happy, O king: you savour of perfumes of the highest value." To whom Antiochus, delighted at his words, said, "I will immediately make you so happy, that you will confess that you are sated:" and immediately ordered a large pot of most valuable unguent to be poured on his head, so that, the floor being drenched with it, both the others began to fall on the slippery surface, and the king himself, laughing heartily, came to the ground.

20 Lastly, having assumed the Roman gown instead of his royal robes, he used to go about the market-place, as lie had seen done by the candidates for office at Rome, saluting and embracing each of the plebeians; soliciting at one time for the ædileship, at another for the plebeian tribuneship, until at last he obtained the office by the suffrages of the people, and then, according to the Roman custom, he took his seat in an ivory chair, where he heard causes, and listened to debates on the most trivial matters. So far was his mind from adhering to any routine, for it wandered through every sort of life, that it was not ascertained either by himself or any one else what was his real character. He was accustomed not to speak to his friends, nor scarcely afford a smile, to his acquaintance. By an inconsistent kind of liberality, he made himself and others subjects of ridicule; for to some in the most elevated stations, and who thought highly of themselves, he would give childish presents of sweetmeats, cakes, or toys; others expecting nothing he enriched. Wherefore to many he appeared not to know what he was doing; some said that he acted from a silly, sportive temper; others, that he was evidently mad. In two great and honourable instances, however, he showed a spirit truly royal, — in the presents which he made to several cities, and the honour he paid to the gods. To the inhabitants of Megalopolis, in Arcadia, he made a promise to build a wall round their city, and he gave them the greater part of the money requisite for the purpose. At Tegea he began to erect a magnificent theatre of marble. At Cyzicum, he presented a set of golden utensils for the service of one table in the Prytaneum, the state-room of the city; where such as are entitled to that honour dine together. To the Rhodians he gave presents of every kind that their convenience required, but none very

remarkable. Of the magnificence of his notions, in every thing respecting the gods, the temple of Jupiter Olympius at Athens can be a sufficient testimony: being the only one in the world, the plan of which was suitable to the greatness of the deity. He likewise ornamented Delos with altars of extraordinary beauty, and abundance of statues. A magnificent temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, which he promised to build at Antioch, of which not only the ceilings, but all the walls, were to be covered with plates of gold, and many other edifices which he intended in various places, he did not finish, as his reign was very short. He surpassed his predecessors, too, in the magnificence of the public games of every description; of which all the games but one were after their own custom, and celebrated by an immense number of Grecian actors. He gave a show of gladiators in the Roman manner, which at first, among & people unaccustomed to such sights, caused more terror than pleasure; but by frequently repeating them, and sometimes permitting the combatants to go no further than wounds, at other times to fight until one was killed, he rendered such kind of shows not only familiar to people's eyes, but even agreeable, and kindled in most of the young men a passion for arms; so much so that, although, at the beginning, he was obliged to entice gladiators from Rome, by high rewards, *he soon found a sufficient number in his own dominions willing to perform for a moderate hire. But he displayed the same worthlessness and levity in exhibiting the games, as in the rest of his life, so that nothing could be seen more magnificent than the preparation for the games, nothing more vile or contemptible than the king himself. And when this appeared often on other occasions, it was then most conspicuous in those games, which, in emulation of the magnificence of those which were given by Paulus in Macedon, after the conquest of Perseus, he exhibited at immense expense, and with corresponding dishonour. To return, however, to the Roman affairs, from which the mention of this king has caused us to digress too far. Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus, after holding the government of Sardinia two years, resigned it to Servius Cornelius Sulla, the prætor, and, coming home to Rome, triumphed over the Sardinians. We are told that he brought such a multitude of captives from, that island, that from the long continuance of the sale, "Sardinians for sale" became a vulgar*

proverb, to denote things of little price. Both the consuls (Scævola and Lepidus) triumphed over the Ligurians; Lepidus over the Gauls also. Then were held the elections of magistrates for the ensuing year. Spurius Postumius Albinus and Quintus Mucius Scævola were chosen consuls. In the election of prætors, fortune involved Lucius or Cneius Cornelius Scipio, son of Publius Africanus, one of the candidates, in a very invidious struggle with Caius Cicereius, who had been his father's secretary. For, after five prætors had been declared, namely, Caius Cassius Longinus, Publius Furius Philus, Lucius Claudius Asellus, Marcus Atilius Serranus, and Cneius Servilius Cæpio; although Scipio struggled hard to be admitted even in the last place, yet he was thought to have degenerated so far from the virtues of his father, that Cicereius would have been preferred by the votes of all the centuries, had not the latter, with singular modesty, corrected what might be considered either the fault of fortune or error of the elections. He could not reconcile it to himself, that, in a struggle in the elections, he should gain the victory over the son of his patron; but immediately throwing off the white gown, he became, from a competitor sure of success, the grateful friend and supporter of the interest of his rival. Thus, by the help of Cicereius Scipio obtained an honour which he did not seem likely to gain from the people, and which reflected greater glory on Cicereius than on himself.

²¹ *The provinces assigned to the consuls were Gaul and Liguria. On the prætors casting lots, the city jurisdiction fell to Caius Cassius Longinus, and the foreign, to Lucius Cornelius Scipio. The province of Sardinia fell to Marcus Atilius, who was ordered to sail over to Corsica with a new legion, raised by the consuls, and consisting of five thousand foot and three hundred horse; and while he was engaged in carrying on the war there, Cornelius was continued in command, that he might hold the government of Sardinia. To Cneius Servilius Cæpio, for the service of Farther Spain, and to Publius Furius Philus for that of Hither Spain, the following troops were assigned — to each, three thousand Roman foot with one hundred and fifty horse, and five thousand Latin foot with three hundred horse. Sicily was decreed to Lucius Claudius, without any reinforcement. The consuls were ordered to levy two more legions,*

of the regular numbers of foot and horse, and to demand from the allies ten thousand foot and six hundred horse: but they met great difficulty in making the levies; for the pestilence, which the year before had fallen on the cattle, in the present year attacked the human species. Such as were seized by it, seldom survived the seventh day; those who did survive, lingered under a tedious disorder, which generally turned to a quartan ague. The slaves especially perished, of whom heaps lay unburied on all the roads. The necessary requisites could not be procured for the funerals of those of free condition. The bodies were consumed by putrefaction, without being touched by the dogs or vultures; and it was universally observed, that during that and the preceding year, while the mortality of cattle and men was so great, no vultures were any where seen. Of the public priests, there died by this contagion, Cneius Servilius Cæpio, father of the prætor, a pontiff; Tiberius Sempronius Longus, son of Tiberius, decemvir of religious rites; Publius Ælius Pætus, and Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus, augurs; Caius Mamilius Vitulus, chief curio; and Marcus Sempronius Tuditanus, a pontiff. In the vacant places of pontiffs were chosen * * * * and Caius Sulpicius Galba, in the room of Tuditanus. The augurs substituted were, Titus Veturius Gracchus Sempronianus, in place of Gracchus; and Quintus Ælius Pætus, in place of Publius Ælius. Caius Sempronius Longus was made decemvir of religious rites, and Caius Scribonius Curio, chief curio. When the termination of the plague was not visible, the senate voted that the decemvirs should consult the Sibylline books; and, by their directions, a supplication of one day was performed; and the people assembled in the forum made a vow, whilst Quintus Marcius Philippus dictated the words, that “if the sickness and pestilence should be removed out of the Roman territory, they would solemnize a festival and thanksgiving of two days’ continuance.” In the district of Veii, a boy was born with two heads; at Sinuessæ, one with a single hand; and at Oximum, a girl with teeth; in the middle of the day, the sky being perfectly clear, a rainbow was seen, stretching over the temple of Saturn, in the Roman forum, and three suns shone at once; and the following night many lights were seen gliding through the air, about Lanuvium. The people of Cære affirmed that there had appeared in their town a snake with a mane, having its

body marked with spots like gold; and it was fully proved that an ox had spoken in Campania.

22 On the nones of June, the ambassadors returned from Africa, who having first had an interview with king Masinissa, proceeded to Carthage; but they received much more certain information respecting what had taken place in Carthage from the king than from the Carthaginians themselves. They said they had sufficient proof that ambassadors had come from king Perseus, and that an audience of the senate was given to them by night, in the temple of Æsculapius; and the king asserted, that the Carthaginians had sent ambassadors to Macedon, which they themselves did not positively deny. The senate, hereupon, resolved to send an embassy to Macedonia. They made choice of Caius Lælius, Marcus Valerius Messala, and Sextus Digitius, who accordingly proceeded thither. About this time, Perseus, because some of the Dolopians were refractory, and in the matters in dispute were for referring the decision from the king to the Romans, marched an army into their country, and reduced the whole nation under his jurisdiction and dominion. Thence he passed through the mountains of Cæta, and on account of some religious scruples affecting his mind, went up to Delphi, to apply to the oracle. His sudden appearance in the middle of Greece caused a great alarm, not only in the neighbouring states, but also caused alarming intelligence to be brought into Asia to king Eumenes. He staid only three days at Delphi, and then returned to his own dominions, through Phthiotis, Achaia, and Thessaly, without doing the least injury or damage to those countries. He did not think it sufficient to conciliate the esteem of the several states through which his road lay; but despatched either ambassadors or letters to every one of the Grecian powers, requesting that they would “think no more of the animosities which had subsisted between them and his father; that the disputes had not been so violent that they might not, and ought not, to cease with regard to himself. On his part, there was no kind of obstacle to the forming of a cordial friendship.” Above all, he wished particularly to find some way of ingratiating himself with the Achæan nation.

23 This nation, and the state of Athens, solitary exceptions to the whole of Greece, had carried their resentment to such a length, as to

prohibit the Macedonians entering their territories. In consequence of this, Macedonia became a place of refuge for slaves running away out of Achaia; for, as the Achæans had forbidden the inhabitants of Macedon to set foot in their territories, they could not presume to pass the boundaries of that kingdom. When Perseus observed this, he seized all the fugitives, and wrote a letter * * * * * “but that they ought to consider of the proper means of preventing such elopements for the future.” When this letter was read by the prætor Xenarchus, who was seeking a path to private influence with the king, the greater part who were present, but especially those who, contrary to their expectations, were about to receive the slaves they had lost, commended the moderation and kindness with which it was written; but Callierates, one who thought that the safety of the nation depended on the treaty with Rome being preserved inviolate, delivered his sentiments to this effect;— “To some of you, Achæans, the matter under consideration appears trifling and unimportant. I think that a very great and important subject is not only under consideration, but to a certain extent decided. For we, who prohibited the kings of Macedonia, and all their subjects, from entering our territories, and made a perpetual decree, not to receive from those sovereigns either ambassadors or messengers, by whom the minds of any of us might be tampered with; we, I say, listen to the king speaking in a manner, though absent, and what is more, approve of his discourse. Although wild beasts generally reject and shun the food laid in their way for their destruction; yet we, blinded by the specious offer of an insignificant favour, swallow the bait, and would, for the sake of recovering a parcel of wretched slaves, of no value worth mentioning, suffer our independence to be undermined and subverted. For who does not see that a way is being paved to an alliance with the king, by which the treaty with Rome in which all our interests are involved would be violated? That there must be a war between Perseus and the Romans, is not, I believe, a matter of doubt to any one, and the struggle which was expected during the life of Philip, and interrupted by his death, will, now that he is dead, most certainly ensue. Philip, you all know, had two sons, Demetrius and Perseus. Demetrius was much superior in birth, on the mother’s side, in merit, capacity, and in the esteem of the Macedonian nation.

But Philip, having set up the crown as the prize of hatred towards the Romans, put Demetrius to death, for no other crime than having contracted a friendship with that people; and made Perseus king, because he knew him to be an enemy to the Roman people almost before he determined on making him king. Accordingly, what else has the present king done since his father's death, than prepare for the war? In the first place, to the terror of all the surrounding nations, he brought the Bastarnians into Dardania; where if they had made a lasting settlement, Greece would have found them more troublesome neighbours than Asia found the Gauls. Disappointed in that hope, he did not drop his design of a war; nay, if we choose to speak the truth, he has already commenced hostilities. He subdued Dolopia by force of arms; and would not listen when they wished to appeal concerning their disputes to the arbitration of the Romans. Then, crossing Cæta, that he might show himself in the very centre of Greece, he went up to Delphi. To what, think you did his taking a journey so uncommon tend? He next traversed Thessaly; and as to his refraining on his route from doing injury to the people whom he hated, I dread his machinations the more on that very account. He then sent a letter to us, with the hollow show of an act of kindness, and bade us to consider measures by which we may not require this gift for the future; that is, to repeal the decree by which the Macedonians are excluded from Peloponnesus; to receive again ambassadors from him their king; to renew intimacies contracted with his principal subjects; and, in a short time, we should see Macedonian armies, with himself at their head, crossing over the narrow strait from Delphi into Peloponnesus, and thus we should be blended with the Macedonians, while they are arming themselves against the Romans. My opinion is, that we ought not to resolve on any new proceeding, but to keep every thing in its present state, until the question shall be reduced to a certainty, whether these our fears be well or ill grounded. If the peace between the Romans and Macedonians shall continue inviolate, then may we also have a friendship and intercourse with Perseus; but to think of such a measure now, appears to me both premature and dangerous."

24 After him, Arco, brother to the prætor Xenarchus, said:—"Callicrates hath made the delivery of our sentiments difficult both to

me and to every one who differs in opinion from him; for after his pleading in favour of the Roman alliance, alleging that it was undermined and attacked, (although no one either undermines or attacks it,) he has caused that whoever dissents from him must seem to argue against the cause of the Romans. In the first place, as if he had not been here with us, but had just left the senate-house of the Roman people, or had been admitted into the privy councils of kings, he knows and tells us every transaction that passes in secret. Nay more, he divines what would have happened if Philip had lived, why Perseus became heir of the kingdom: in such a manner, what are the intentions of the Macedonians, and what the thoughts of the Romans. But we, who neither know for what cause, nor in what manner, Demetrius perished, nor what Philip would have done, if he had lived, ought to accommodate our resolutions to the transactions that have passed in open view. We know that Perseus, on his coming to the throne, sent ambassadors to Rome, and received the title of king from the Roman people, and we hear that ambassadors came from Rome to the king, and were graciously received by him. I consider that all these circumstances are signs of peace, not of war; and that the Romans cannot be offended, if as we imitated their conduct in war, so we follow now their example in peace. For my part, I cannot see why we alone, of all mankind, wage implacable war against the kingdom of the Macedonians. Are we exposed to insult by a close neighbourhood to Macedon? or are we like the Dolopians, whom Perseus subdued lately, the weakest of all states? No; on the contrary, by the bounty of the gods, we are sufficiently secured, as well by our own strength, as by the remoteness of our situation. But we have as much reason to apprehend ill treatment, as the Thessalians and Ætolians; have we no more credit or influence with the Romans, though we were always their friends and allies, than the Ætolians, who but lately were their enemies? Whatever reciprocal rights the Ætolians, the Thessalians, the Epirots, in short, every state in Greece, allow to subsist between them and the Macedonians, let us allow the same. Why have we alone what may be termed a cursed neglect of the ties of humanity? Philip may have done some act on account of which we should pass this decree against him when in arms and waging war against us: What has Perseus deserved, a king just seated

on the throne, guiltless of all injury against us, and effacing by his own kindness his father's feuds? Why should we be his only enemies? Although I might make this assertion, that so great have been our obligations to the former kings of Macedon, that the ill usage, suffered from a single prince of their line, if any has really been suffered from Philip, * * * especially after his death. When a Roman fleet was lying at Cenchreæ, and the consul, with his army, was at Elatia, we were three days in council, deliberating whether we should follow the Romans or Philip. Now, granting that the fear of immediate danger from the Romans had no influence on our judgments, yet there was, certainly, something that made our deliberation last so long; and that was, the connexion which had long subsisted between us and the Macedonians; the distinguished favours in ancient times received from their kings. Let the same considerations prevail at present, — not to make us his singular friends, but to hinder us from becoming his singular enemies. Let us not, Callicrates, pretend what is not even thought of. No one advises us to form a new alliance, or sign a new treaty, by which we might inconsiderately compromise ourselves, but merely that we may have the intercourse of affording and demanding justice, and that we may not by excluding his subjects from our territories, exclude ourselves from his dominions, and that our slaves may not have any refuge to fly to. How does this operate against the Roman treaty? Why do we give an air of importance and suspicion to a matter which is trifling and open to the world? Why do we raise groundless alarms? Why, for the sake of ingratiating ourselves still more particularly with the Romans, render others odious and suspected? If war shall take place even Perseus himself does not doubt our taking part with the Romans. While peace continues, let animosities if they are not terminated, be at least suspended.” When those who approved of the king's letter expressed their approbation of this speech, the decree was postponed, owing to the indignation of the chief men that Perseus should obtain by a letter of a few lines a matter which he did not even deign worthy of an embassy. Ambassadors were afterwards sent by the king, when a council was held at Megalopolis; but exertions were made by those, who dreaded a rupture with Rome, that they should not be admitted to an audience.

25 During this period the fury of the Ætolians, being turned against themselves, seemed likely to cause the total extinction of that nation by the massacres of the contending parties. Then both parties, being wearied, sent ambassadors to Rome, and also opened a negotiation between themselves for the restoration of concord: but this was broken off by an act of barbarity, which revived their old quarrels. When a return to their country had been promised to the exiles from Hypata, who were of the faction of Proxenus, and the public faith had been pledged to them by Eupolemus, the chief man of the state; eighty persons of distinction, whom even Eupolemus, among the rest of the multitude, had gone forth to meet on their return, though they were received with kind salutation, and right hands were pledged to them, were butchered on entering the gate, though they implored in vain the honour that had been pledged, and the gods the witnesses of the transaction. On this the war blazed out anew, with greater fury than ever. Caius Valerius Lævinus, Appius Claudius Pulcher, Caius Memmius, Marcus Popilius, and Lucius Canuleius, being sent as ambassadors by the senate, arrived in that country. When the deputies from both parties pleaded their respective causes with great energy, Proxenus appeared to have greatly the advantage as well in the justice of his cause as in eloquence; a few days after, he was poisoned by his wife Orthobula, who being convicted of the crime, went into banishment. The same madness was wasting the Cretans also; but, on the arrival of Quintus Minucius, lieutenant-general, who was sent with ten ships to quiet their contentions, the inhabitants had some prospect of peace; however, they only concluded a suspension of arms for six months, after which the war was again renewed with much greater violence. About this time, the Lycians, too, were harassed in war by the Rhodians. But the wars of foreign nations among themselves, or the several methods in which they were conducted, it is not my business to detail; since I have a task of more than sufficient weight in writing the deeds performed by the Roman people.

26 In Spain, the Celtiberians, (who, since their reduction by Tiberius Gracchus, and their consequent surrender to him, had remained quiet; when Marcus Titinius, the prætor, held the government of that province,) on the arrival of Appius Claudius,

resumed their arms, and commenced hostilities by a sudden attack on the Roman camp. It was nearly the first dawn when the sentinels on the rampart, and the men on guard before the gates, descriing the enemy approaching at a distance, shouted "to arms." Appius Claudius instantly displayed the signal of battle; and, after exhorting the troops, in few words, ordered them to rush out by three gates at once. But they were opposed by the Celtiberians in the very passage; and in consequence, the fight was for some time equal on both sides, as, on account of the narrowness, the Romans could not all come into action in the entrance; then pressing forward on one another, whenever it was possible, they made their way beyond the trenches, so that they were able to extend their line, and form a front equal to the wings of the enemy, by which they were surrounded; and now they made their onset with such sudden impetuosity, that the Celtiberians could not support the assault. Before the second hour, they were driven from the field; about fifteen thousand were either killed or made prisoners, and thirty-two standards were taken. Their camp, also, was stormed the same day, and a conclusion put to the war; for those who survived the battle fled by different ways, to their several towns, and thenceforth submitted quietly to the Roman government.

27 Quintus Fulvius Flaccus and Aulus Postumius, being created censors, reviewed the senate this year. Marcus Æmilius Lepidus, chief pontiff, was chosen chief of the senate. Nine senators were expelled. The remarkable censures pronounced were on Marcus Cornelius Maluginensis, who had been prætor in Spain two years before; on Lucius Cornelius Scipio, who was then prætor and exercised the jurisdiction between natives and foreigners; and on Cneius Fulvius, brother to the censor, and, as Valerius Antias says, partner in property. The consuls, after offering vows in the Capitol, set out for their provinces. Marcus Æmilius was commissioned by the senate to suppress an insurrection of the Patavians in Venetia; for their own ambassadors had given information that by the violent contests of opposing factions they had broken out into civil war. The ambassadors who had gone into Ætolia, to suppress commotions of a similar kind, reported on their return, that the outrageous temper of that nation could not be restrained. The consul's arrival among the

Patavians saved them from ruin; and having no other business in the province, he returned to Rome. The present censors were the first who contracted for paving the streets of Rome with flint stones, for laying with gravel the foundation of roads outside the city, and for forming raised foot-ways on the sides; for building bridges in several places; and affording seats in the theatre to the prætors and ædiles; they fixed up goals in the circus, with balls on the goals for marking the number of courses of the chariots; and erected iron grates, through which wild beasts might be let in. They caused the Capitoline hill to be paved with flint, and erected a piazza from the temple of Saturn, in the Capitol, to the council-chamber, and over that a public hall. On the outside of the gate Trigemina, they also paved a market-place with stones, and enclosed it with a paling; they repaired the Æmilian portico, and formed an ascent, by stairs, from the Tiber to the market-place. They paved, with flint, the portico, from the same gate to the Aventine, and built a court-house: contracted for walls to be built at Galatia and Oximum, and, after selling lots of ground there, which belonged to the public, employed the money arising from the sale in building shops round the forums of both places. Fulvius Flaccus (for Postumius *declared*, that, without a decree of the senate, or order of the people, he would not expend any money belonging to them) agreed for building a temple of Jupiter at Pisaurum; and another at Fundi; for bringing water to Pollentia; for paving the street of Pisaurum, and for many various works at Sinuessa; among which were, the structure of a sewer to fall into the river, the enclosure of the forum with porticoes and shops, and erection of three statues of Janus. These works were all contracted for by one of the censors, and gained him a high degree of favour with those colonists. Their censorship was also very active and strict in the superintendence of the morals of the people. Many knights were deprived of their horses.

28 At the close of the year, there was a thanksgiving, for one day, on account of the advantages obtained in Spain under the conduct and auspices of Appius Claudius, the proconsul; and they sacrificed twenty victims, of the larger kinds. There was also a supplication, for another day, at the temples of Ceres, Liber, and Liberia, because a violent earthquake with the destruction of many houses was

announced from the Sabines. When Appius Claudius came home from Spain, the senate voted that he should enter the city in ovation. The election of consuls now came on: when they were held, after a violent struggle in consequence of the great number of candidates, Lucius Postumius Albinus and Marcus Popilius Lænas were elected consuls. Then Numerius Fabius Buteo, Marcus Matienus, Caius Cicereius, Marcus Furius Crassipes, a second time, Marcus Atilius Serranus, a second time, and Caius Cluvius Saxula, a second time, were chosen prætors. After the elections were finished, Appius Claudius Centho, entering the city in ovation over the Celtiberians, conveyed to the treasury ten thousand pounds' weight of silver, and five thousand of gold. Cneius Cornelius was inaugurated flamen of Jupiter. In the same year a tablet was hung up in the temple of mother Matuta, with this inscription: — under the command and auspices of tiberius sempronius gracchus, consul, a legion and army of the roman people subdued sardinia; in which province above eighty thousand of the enemy were killed or taken. having executed the business of the public with the happiest success; having recovered the revenues, and restored them *to the commonwealth*, — he brought home the army safe, uninjured, and enriched with spoil, and, a second time, entered the city of rome in triumph. in commemoration of which event he presented this tablet as an offering to jupiter. A map of the island of Sardinia was engraved on the tablet, and pictures of the battles fought there were delineated on it. Several small exhibitions of gladiators were given to the public this year; the only one particularly remarkable, was that of Titus Flamininus, which he gave on occasion of his father's death, and it was accompanied with a donation of meat, a feast, and stage-plays, and lasted four days. Yet, in the whole of this great exhibition, only seventy-four men fought in three days. *The close of this year was rendered memorable by the proposal of a new and important rule, which occupied the state, since it was debated with great emotion. Hitherto, as the law stood, women were as equally capable of receiving inheritances as men. From which it happened that the wealth of the most illustrious houses was frequently transferred into other families, to the great detriment, as it was generally supposed, of the state; to which it was no small advantage that there should be*

a sufficiency of wealth to the descendants of distinguished ancestors, by which they might support and do honour to their nobility of birth, which otherwise would form a burden rather than honour to them. Besides, since with the now growing power of the empire, the riches of private persons also were increasing, fear was felt, lest the minds of women, being rather inclined by nature to luxury, and the pursuit of a more elegant routine of life, and deriving from unbounded wealth incentives to desire, should fall into immoderate expenses and luxury, and should subsequently chance to depart from the ancient sanctity of manners, so that there would be a change of morals no less than of the manner of living. To obviate these evils, Quintus Voconius Saxa, plebeian tribune, proposed to the people, that "no person who should be rated after the censorship of Aulus Postumius and Quintius Fulvius should make any woman, whether married or unmarried his heir; also, that no woman, whether married or unmarried, should be capable of receiving, by inheritance, goods exceeding the value of one hundred thousand sesterces." Voconius, also, thought it proper to provide that estates should not be exhausted by the number of legacies, which sometimes happened. Accordingly he added a clause to his law, that no person should bequeath to any person or persons property exceeding in value what was to go to the immediate heirs." This latter clause readily met the general approbation; it appeared reasonable, and calculated to press severely on nobody. Concerning the former clause, by which women were utterly disqualified from receiving inheritances, there were many doubts. Marcus Cato put an end to all hesitation, having been already, on a former occasion, a most determined adversary and reprover of women, in the defence of the Oppian law, who, although sixty-five years of age, with loud voice and good lungs advocated this law of still greater importance, against them, inveighing, with his usual asperity, against the tyranny of women, and their unsufferable insolence token opulent: on the present occasion, too, he declaimed against the pride and arrogance of the rich matrons, "because they oftentimes, after bringing a great dowry to their husband, kept back and retained for themselves a great sum of money, and lent that money on such terms afterwards to their husbands, on their asking it, that as often as they were angry they

immediately pressed importunately on their husbands, as if they were strange debtors, by a reserved slave who followed them and daily importuned payment.” Moved by indignation at this, they voted for passing the law as Voconius proposed it.

BOOK XLII

Translated by William A. McDevitte

Quintus Fulvius Flaccus, the censor, spoiled the temple of Juno at Lacinium of the marble tiles, to roof a temple which he was dedicating. The tiles were returned by a decree of the senate. Eumenes, the king of Asia, complained before the senate of Perseus, the king of Macedon; the outrages of the latter are laid before the Roman people. And when a war was proclaimed against him on account of these, Publius Licinius Crassus, the consul to whom it was intrusted, passed over into Macedon, and in trifling expeditions and cavalry actions, fought with Perseus in Thessaly, by no means successfully. An arbiter was appointed by the senate to decide concerning land disputed between Masinissa and the Carthaginians. Ambassadors were sent to request of the allied states and kings, that they would abide by their agreements, as the Rhodians wavered. The lustrum was closed by the censors. Two hundred and fifty-seven thousand two hundred and thirty-one citizens were rated. It includes besides, the successes gained over the Corsicans and Ligurians.

1 When Lucius Postumius Albinus and Marcus Popilius Lænas brought before the senate first of all the distribution of the provinces, Liguria was assigned the joint province of both, with directions that they should enlist new legions, by which they would hold that province (two were decreed to each); and also ten thousand foot and six hundred horse of the Latin confederates; and as a supplement to the army in Spain, three thousand Roman foot and two hundred horse. One thousand five hundred Roman foot and one hundred horse were ordered to be raised; with which the prætor, to whose lot Sardinia might fall, should cross over to Corsica, and carry on the war there; and it was further ordered, that in the mean time the former prætor, Marcus Atilius, should obtain the province of Sardinia. The prætors then cast lots for their provinces. Aulus Atilius Serranus obtained the city jurisdiction; Caius Cluvius Saxula, that between natives and foreigners; Numerius Fabius Buteo, Hither Spain; Marcus Matienus, Farther Spain; Marcus Furius Crassipes,

Sicily; and Caius Cicereius, Sardinia. The senate resolved that, before the magistrates went abroad, Lucius Postumius should go into Campania, to fix the bounds between the lands which were private property and those which belonged to the public; for it was understood that individuals, by gradually extending their bounds, had taken possession of a very considerable share of the common lands. He, being enraged with the people of Præneste because, when he had gone thither as private individual to offer sacrifice in the temple of Fortune, no honour had been paid him, either in public or private, by the people of Præneste, before he set out from Rome, sent a letter to Præneste, ordering the chief magistrate to meet him, and to provide him lodging at the public expense; and that, at his departure, cattle should be ready to carry his baggage. No consul before him ever put the allies to any trouble or expense whatever. Magistrates were furnished with mules, tents, and every other requisite for a campaign, in order that they might not make any such demands. They had private lodgings, in which they behaved with courtesy and kindness, and their houses at Rome were always open to their hosts with whom they used to lodge. Ambassadors indeed sent to any place, on a sudden emergency, demanded each a single horse in the several towns through which their journey lay; but the allies never contributed any other portion of the expense of the Roman magistrates. The resentment of the consul, which, even if well founded, ought not to have been exerted during his office, and the too modest or too timid acquiescence of the Prænestines, gave to the magistrates, as if by an approved precedent, the privilege of imposing orders of this sort, which grew more burdensome daily.

2 In the beginning of this year the ambassadors, who had been sent to Ætolia and Macedon, returned, and reported that “they had not been able to obtain an interview with Perseus, as some of his court said that he was abroad, others that he was sick; both of which were false pretences. Nevertheless, that it was quite evident that war was in preparation, and that he would no longer put off the appeal to arms. That in Ætolia, likewise, the dissensions grew daily more violent; and the leaders of the contending parties were not to be restrained by their authority.” As a war with Macedon was daily expected, the senate resolved, that before it broke out all prodigies

should be expiated, and the favour of such gods, as should be found expressed in the books of the Fates, invoked by supplications. It was said that at Lanuvium the appearance of large fleets was seen in the air; that at Privernum black wool grew out of the ground; that in the territory of Veii, at Remens, a shower of stones fell; and that the whole Pomptine district was covered with clouds of locusts; also that in the Gallic province, where a plough was at work, fishes sprung up from under the earth as it was turned. On account of these prodigies the books of the Fates were accordingly consulted, and the decemvirs directed both to what gods and with what victims, sacrifices should be offered; likewise that a supplication should be performed, in expiation of the prodigies; and also that another, which had been vowed in the preceding year for the health of the people, should be celebrated, and likewise a solemn festival. Accordingly, sacrifices were offered in accordance with the written directions of the decemvirs.

3 In the same year, the temple of Juno Lacinia was uncovered. Quintus Fulvius Flaccus, the censor, was erecting a temple to Equestrian Fortune, which he had vowed when prætor during the Celtiberian war, with anxious desire that it should not be surpassed by any other at Rome, either in size or magnificence. Thinking that he would add a very great ornament to this temple if the tiles were marble, he went to Bruttium, and stripped, off about the half of those belonging to the temple of the Lacinian Juno; for he computed that so many would be sufficient to cover the one he was building. Ships were in readiness to take on board the materials, while the allies were deterred by the authority of the censor from preventing the sacrilege. When the censor returned, the marble was landed and carried to the temple; but though he made no mention of the place from which it was brought, yet such an affair could not be concealed. Accordingly, considerable murmuring arose in the senate; from all sides of the house a demand was made that the consuls should lay that matter before the senate. When the censor, on being summoned, appeared in the senate-house, they all, both separately and in a body, inveighed against him with great asperity. They cried out that "he was not content with violating the most venerable temple in all that part of the world, a temple which neither Pyrrhus nor Hannibal had violated;

but he had stripped it shamefully, and almost demolished it. Though created censor for the purpose of regulating men's manners, and bound in duty, according to long-established rules, to enforce the repairing of edifices for public worship, and the keeping them in due order, he had nevertheless gone about through the cities of the allies, stripping the roofs of their sacred buildings, and even demolishing them. In a word, what might be deemed scandalous if practised on private houses, he committed against the temples of the immortal gods; and that he involved the Roman people in the guilt of impiety, building temples with the ruins of temples; as if the deities were not the same in all places, but that some should be decorated with the spoils of others." When it was evident what were the sentiments of the senators, before their opinion was asked; when the question was put, they unanimously concurred in voting, that a contract should be entered into for carrying the tiles back to the temple, and that atonements should be offered to Juno. What regarded the atonements was carefully executed; the contractors made a report that they were obliged to leave the marble in the court of the temple, because no workman could be found who knew how to replace the same.

4 Of the prætors who set out for the provinces, Numerius Fabius, on his way to Hither Spain, died at Marseilles. Therefore when this was announced by envoys from Marseilles, the senate resolved that Publius Furius and Cneius Servilius, to whom successors had been sent, should cast lots to determine which of them should hold the government of Hither Spain, with a continuation of authority; and the lot determined, very fortunately, that Publius Furius, whose province it had formerly been, should continue. During the same year, on its appearing that large tracts of land in Gaul and Liguria, which had been taken in war, lay unoccupied, the senate passed a decree, that those lands should be distributed in single shares; and Aulus Titilius, city prætor, in pursuance of the said decree, appointed ten commissioners for that Purpose, namely, Marcus Æmilius Lepidus, Caius Cassius, Titus Æbutius Carus, Caius Tremellius, Publius Cornelius Cethegus, Quintus and Lucius Appuleius, Marcus Cæcilius, Caius Salonius, and Caius Munatius. They apportioned ten acres to each Roman, and three to each Latin colonist. During the same time in which these transactions took place, ambassadors came

to Rome from Ætolia with representations of the quarrels and dissensions subsisting in that country; likewise Thessalian ambassadors, announcing the transactions in Macedon.

5 Perseus, revolving in his mind the war, which had been resolved on during the life-time of his father, endeavoured, by sending embassies, and by promising a great deal more than he performed, to attach to himself not only the commonwealth of Greece, but also each particular state. However the feelings of the majority were inclined in his favour, and much better disposed towards him than Eumenes, although all the states of Greece, and most of the leading men, were under obligations to the latter for benefits and gifts; and although he so conducted himself in his sovereignty, that the cities which were under his dominion would not exchange their condition for that of any free state. On the contrary, there was a general report that Perseus, after his father's death, had killed his wife with his own hand; that Apelles, formerly the agent of his treachery in the destruction of his brother, and on that account sought anxiously by Philip, for punishment, being in exile, was invited by him, after the death of his father, by great promises, to receive a guerdon for rendering so important services, and was secretly put to death. Although he had rendered himself infamous by many other murders, both of his own relations and of others, and possessed not one good quality to recommend him, yet the Grecian states in general gave him the preference to Eumenes who was so affectionate towards his relations, so just toward his subjects, and so liberal towards all mankind; either because they were so prejudiced by the fame and dignity of the Macedonian kings, as to despise a kingdom lately formed, or were led by a wish for a change in affairs, and wished him to be exposed to the arms of the Romans. The Ætolians were not the only people in a state of distraction, on account of the intolerable burden of their debts: the Thessalians were in the same situation; and the evil, acting by contagion like a pestilence, had spread into Perrhæbia also. As soon as it was known that the Thessalians were in arms, the senate sent Appius Claudius, as ambassador, to examine and adjust their affairs. He severely reprimanded the leaders of both parties; and after cancelling so much of the debts as had been accumulated by iniquitous usury, which he did with the consent of

the greater part of the creditors themselves, he ordered the remaining just debts to be discharged by annual payments. Affairs in Perrhæbia were arranged in the same manner by the same Appius. In the mean time, Marcellus, at Delphi, gave a hearing to the disputes of the Ætolians, which they maintained with no less hostile acrimony than they had shown against each other in the heat of their civil war. Perceiving that they vied with each other in inconsiderate violence, he did not choose to make any determination, to lighten or aggravate the grievances of either party, but required of both alike to cease from hostilities, and, forgetting what was past, to put an end to their quarrels. The good faith of the mutual reconciliation was confirmed by a reciprocal exchange of hostages.

6 Corinth was agreed upon as the place where the hostages should be lodged. Marcellus crossed over from Delphi, and the Ætolian council, into Peloponnesus, where he had summoned a diet of the Achæans. There, by the praises which he bestowed on that nation, for having resolutely maintained their old decree, which prohibited the admission of the Macedonian kings within the limits of their territories, he manifested the inveterate hatred of the Romans towards Perseus; and this hatred broke out into effect the sooner, in consequence of king Eumenes coming to Rome, and bringing with him a written statement of the preparations made for war, which he had drawn up, after a full inquiry into every particular. Five ambassadors were now sent to the king, in order to take a view of affairs in Macedon. The same were ordered to proceed to Alexandria to Ptolemy, to renew the treaty of friendship. These were Caius Valerius, Cneius Lutatius Cerco, Quintus Bæbius Sulca, Marcus Cornelius Mammula, and Marcus Cæcilius Denter. About the same time, came ambassadors from king Antiochus; and the principal of them, called Apollonius, being admitted to an audience of the senate, presented, on behalf of his king, many and reasonable apologies for paying the tribute later than the day appointed. "He now brought," he said, "the whole of it, that the king might require no favour except the delay of time. He brought besides a present of gold vases, in weight five hundred pounds. Antiochus requested, that the treaty of alliance and amity, which had been made with his father, might be renewed with him; and that the Roman people might demand from

him every service which might be required from a king who was a good and faithful ally: that he would never be remiss in the performance of any duty. Such had been the kindness of the senate towards him when he was at Rome, such the courtesy of the young men, that, among all ranks of men, he was treated as a sovereign, not as a hostage.” A gracious answer was returned to the ambassadors, and Aulus Atilius, city prætor, was ordered to renew with Antiochus the alliance formerly made with his father. The city quæstors received the tribute, and the censors the golden vases; and the business of placing them in whatever temples they should judge proper, was assigned to them. “One hundred thousand *asses* were presented to the ambassador, and a house at the public cost was given him for his accommodation, and it was ordered that his expenses should be paid as long as he would remain in Italy. The ambassadors, who had been in Syria, represented him as standing in the highest degree of favour with the king, and a very warm friend to the Roman people.

7 The following were the events in the provinces during this year. Caius Cicereius, prætor in Corsica, fought the enemy in a pitched battle, in which seven thousand of the Corsicans were slain, and more than one thousand seven hundred taken. During the engagement the prætor vowed a temple to Juno Moneta. Peace was then granted to the Corsicans, on their petitioning for it, and a contribution was imposed, of two hundred thousand pounds’ weight of wax. Cicereius crossed over from Corsica, which he had reduced to subjection, to Sardinia. In Liguria, also, a battle was fought in the territory of Satiella, at the town of Carystas. A large army of Ligurians had assembled there, who, for some time after Marcus Popilius’ arrival, kept themselves within the walls; but afterwards, when they perceived that the Roman general would lay siege to the town, they marched out beyond the gates, and drew up in order of battle. The consul did not decline an engagement, as that was the object which he endeavoured to gain by threatening a siege. The fight was maintained for more than three hours, in such a manner, that the hope of victory leaned to neither side; but when the consul perceived that the Ligurian battalions no where gave ground, he ordered the cavalry to mount their horses, and charge in three places at once,

with all possible violence. A great part of the horse broke through the middle of the enemy's line, and made their way to the rear of the troops engaged, owing to which manœuvre, terror was struck into the Ligurians. They fled in different directions on all sides. Very few ran back into the town, because in that quarter, chiefly, the cavalry had thrown themselves in their way. So obstinate a contest swept off great numbers of the Ligurians, and many perished in the flight; ten thousand of them are said to have been killed, and more, than seven hundred taken, in various places; besides which, the victors brought off eighty-two of their military standards. Nor was the victory gained without loss of blood; above three thousand of the conquerors fell in the conflict; for as neither party gave way, the foremost on both sides were cut off.

8 When the Ligurians re-assembled in one body, after their scattered flight, they found that a much greater number of their countrymen were lost than left alive (for there were not above ten thousand men surviving); on which they surrendered. They did not stipulate for any terms, yet entertained hopes that the consul would not treat them with greater severity than former commanders. But he immediately took their arms from them, razed their town, and sold themselves and their effects; and he then sent a letter to the senate, relating the services which he had performed. When Aulus Atilius, the prætor, read this letter in the council, (for the other consul, Postumius, was absent, being employed in surveying the lands in Campania,) the proceeding appeared to the senate in a heinous light; "that the people of Satiella, who alone, of all the Ligurian nation, had not borne arms against the Romans, should be attacked, when not offering hostilities, and even after surrendering themselves in dependence on the protection of the Roman people, should be butchered and exterminated, that so many thousands of innocent persons suffering, who had implored the protection of the Roman people, established the worst possible precedent, calculated to deter any one from ever venturing to surrender to them; dragged as the were away into various parts of the country, and made slaves to those who were formerly the avowed enemies of Rome, though now reduced to quiet. That for these reasons the senate ordered, that the consul, Marcus Popilius, should reinstate the Ligurians in their

liberty, repaying the purchase-money to the buyers, and should likewise use his best endeavours to recover and restore their effects. That arms should be made for them, as soon as possible; and that the consul should not depart from his province before he restored to their country the Ligurians that had surrendered. That victory derived its lustre from conquering the enemy in arms, not from cruelty to the vanquished."

9 The consul exerted the same ferocious spirit in disobeying the senate, which he displayed towards the Ligurians. He immediately sent the legions into winter quarters at Pisæ, and, full of resentment against the senators and the prætor, went home to Rome; where, instantly assembling the senate in the temple of Bellona, he used many invectives against the prætor, who, "when he ought to have proposed to the senate that thanksgiving should be offered to the immortal gods, on account of the happy successes obtained by the Roman arms, had procured a decree of the senate against him, in favour of the enemy, by which he might transfer his victory to the Ligurians; and, though only a prætor, he had ordered the consul, in a manner, to be surrendered to them: he therefore gave notice, that he would sue to have him fined. From the senate he demanded, that they should order the decree of the senate passed against him to be cancelled; and that the thanksgiving, which they, though they were far from him, ought to have voted on the authority of his letter, sent from abroad, with an account of the success of the arms of the commonwealth, should, now when he was present, be voted; first, in consideration of the honour due to the immortal gods, and next, out of some kind of regard to himself." Being censured to his face no less severely than in his absence, in the speeches of several of the senators, and having obtained neither request, he returned to his province. The other consul, Postumius, after spending the whole summer in surveying the lands, without even seeing his province, came home to Rome to hold the elections. He appointed Caius Popillius Lænas and Publius Ælius Ligus, consuls. Then Caius Licinius Crassus, Marcus Junius Pennus, Spurius Lucretius, Spurius Cluvius, Cneius Sicinius, and Caius Memmius, a second time, were elected prætors.

10 The lustrum was closed this year. The censors were Quintus

Fulvius Flaccus and Lucius Postumius Albinus, the latter of whom performed the ceremony. In this survey were rated two hundred and sixty-nine thousand and fifteen Roman citizens. The number was considerably less, because the consul Lucius Postumius, gave public orders, in assembly, that none of the Latin allies (who, according to the edict of the consul, Caius Claudius, ought to have gone home) should be surveyed at Rome, but all of them in their respective countries. Their censorship was conducted with perfect harmony and zeal for the public good. They disfranchised and degraded from their tribes every one whom they expelled the senate, or from whom they took away his horse; nor did either approve a person censured by the other. Fulvius, at this time, dedicated the temple of Equestrian Fortune, which he had vowed six years before, and when proconsul in Spain, during the battle with the Celtiberians; he also exhibited stage-plays, which lasted four days, in one of which the performance was in the circus. Lucius Cornelius Lentulus, decemvir in religious matters, died this year, and Aulus Postumius Albinus was substituted in his room. Such great crowds of locusts were suddenly brought by the wind over the sea into Apulia, that they covered the country far and wide with their swarms. In order to remove this pest, so destructive to the fruits of the earth, Caius Sicinius, prætor elect, was sent in command, with a vast multitude of people assembled, to gather them up, and spent a considerable time in that business. The beginning of the year in which Caius Popillius and Publius Ælius were consuls, was employed in the disputes which had arisen in the last. The senators were desirous that the business respecting the Ligurians should be re-considered, and the decree renewed. Ælius, the consul, was willing to propose it, but Popillius warmly interceded for his brother, both with his colleague and the senate; and by giving notice, that if they would pass any vote on the subject he would enter his protest, he deterred him from proceeding in the matter. The senate being hereby equally incensed against them, persisted the more obstinately in their intention; and when they took into consideration the distribution of the provinces, although Macedon was earnestly sought by the consuls, because a war with Perseus was daily expected, yet the Ligurians were assigned as the province of both. They declare that they would not vote Macedonia

to them, unless the question were put on the affair of Marcus Popilius. The consuls afterwards demanded that they might be authorized to raise either new armies, or recruits to fill up the old; both demands were refused. To the prætors also, when seeking a reinforcement for Spain, a refusal is given: to Marcus Junius for Hither Spain, and to Spurius Lucretius for the Farther. Caius Licinius Crassus obtained by lot the city jurisdiction; Cneius Sicinius, the foreign; Caius Memmius, Sicily; and Spurius Cluvius, Sardinia. The consuls, enraged against the senate on account of this conduct, having proclaimed an early day for the Latin festival, declared openly that they would go away to their province, and would not transact any kind of business, except what belonged to their own government.

¹¹ Valerius Antias writes, that, in this consulate, Attalus, brother to king Eumenes, came to Rome as ambassador, to lay heavy charges against Perseus, and give an account of his preparations for war. But the greater number of historians, and those deemed most worthy of credit, assert, that Eumenes came in person. Eumenes then, on his arrival, being received with every degree of respect which the Roman people judged suitable, not merely to his deserts, but also to their own former favours, bestowed on him in great abundance, was introduced to the senate. He said, that “The cause of his coming to Rome, besides his wish to visit those gods and men who had placed him in a situation beyond which he could not presume to form a wish, was, that he might in person forewarn the senate to counteract the designs of Perseus.” Then, beginning with the projects of Philip, he mentioned his murder of Demetrius, because that prince was averse to a war with Rome; that the Bastarnian nation was summoned from their homes, that, relying on their aid, he might pass over into Italy. While his thoughts were busied in plans of this sort, he was surprised by the approach of death, and left his kingdom to the person whom he knew to be, of all men, the bitterest foe to the Romans. “Perseus therefore,” said he, “having received this scheme of a war, as a legacy bequeathed by his father, and descending to him along with the crown, advances and improves it, as his primary object, by every means that he can devise. He is powerful, in respect of the number of his young men, since a long peace has produced a

plentiful progeny; he is powerful in respect to the resources of his kingdom, and powerful, likewise, in respect to his age. And as, at his time of life, he possesses vigour of body, so his mind has been thoroughly trained, both in the theory and practice of war; for even from his childhood he became inured to it, in his father's tent, not only in the wars against the neighbouring states, but also against the Romans, being employed by him in many and various expeditions. Already, since he has received the government, he has, by a wonderful train of prosperous events, accomplished many things which Philip, after using his best efforts, could never effect, either by force or artifice.

12 "There is added to his strength such a degree of influence as is usually acquired, in a great length of time, by many and important kindnesses. For, in the several states throughout Greece and Asia, all men revere the dignity of his character; nor do I perceive for what deserts, for what generosity, such uncommon respect is paid him; neither can I with certainty say whether it occurs through some good fortune attending him, or whether, what I mention with reluctance a general dislike to the Romans attaches men to his interest. Even among sovereign princes he is great by his influence. He married the daughter of Seleucus, a match which he did not solicit, but to which he was solicited by her friends; and he gave his sister in marriage to Prusias, in compliance with his earnest prayers and entreaties. Both these marriages were solemnized amidst congratulations and presents from innumerable embassies, and were escorted by the most renowned nations, acting as bridal attendants. The Bœotians could never be brought, by all the intrigues of Philip, to sign a treaty of friendship with him; but now, a treaty with Perseus is engraved at three different places, at Thebes, in Delos, in the most venerable and celebrated temple, and at Delphi. Then, in the diet of Achaia, (only that the proceeding was quashed by a few persons, threatening them with the displeasure of the Roman government,) the business was nearly effected of allowing him admission into Achaia. But, as to the honours formerly paid to myself, (whose kindness to that nation have been such, that it is hard to say whether my public or private benefactions were the greater,) they have been lost, partly through neglect, and partly by hostile means Who does not know that the

Ætolians, lately, on occasion of their intestine broils, sought protection, not from the Romans, but from Perseus? For, while he is upheld by these alliances and friendships, he has at home such preparations of every requisite for war, that he wants nothing from abroad. He has thirty thousand foot and five thousand horse, and is laying up a store of corn for ten years, so that he can be independent of his own territory or that of his enemies with respect to provisions. He has amassed money to such an amount, as to have in readiness the pay of ten thousand mercenary soldiers, besides the Macedonian troops, for the same number of years, as well as the annual revenue accruing from the royal mines. He has stored up arms for three times that number of men; and has Thrace under subjection, from which, as a never-failing spring, he can draw supplies of young men if ever Macedon should become exhausted.”

13 The rest of his discourse contained exhortations to timely exertions: “Conscript fathers,” said he, “I make these representations to you, and they are not founded on uncertain rumours, and too readily believed by me, because I wished such charges against my enemy to be true; but on a clear discovery of the facts, as if I had been sent by you to reconnoitre, and I were now relating what took place before my eyes. Nor would I have left my kingdom, which you have rendered ample and highly respectable, and crossed such a tract of sea, to injure my own credit by offering you unauthenticated reports. I saw the most remarkable states of Asia and Greece, every day, gradually unfolding their sentiments, and ready to proceed, shortly, to such lengths as would not leave them room for repentance. I saw Perseus, not confining himself within the limits of Macedonia, but seizing some places by force of arms, and seducing, by favour and kindness, those which could not be subdued by force. I perceived the unfair footing on which matters stood, while he was preparing war against you, and you bestowing on him the security of peace; although, to my judgment, he did not appear to be preparing, but rather waging war. He dethroned Abrupolis, your ally and friend. He put to death Artetarus, the Illyrian, another ally and friend of yours, because he heard that some information had been written to you by him. He managed that Eversa and Callicrates, the Thebans, who were leading men in their state, should be taken off, because, in

the council of the Bœotians, they had spoken with more than ordinary freedom against him and declared that they would inform you of what was going on. He carried succour to the Byzantians, contrary to the treaty. He made war on Dolopia. He overran Thessaly and Doris with an army, in order to take advantage of the civil war then raging, and by the help of the party which had the worst cause to crush the other which had more justice on its side. He raised universal confusion and disorder in Thessaly and Perrhæbia, by holding out a prospect of an abolition of debts, that, by the means of the multitude of debtors thereby attached to his interest, he might overpower the nobles. Since he has performed all these acts with your acquiescence and silent endurance, and has seen Greece yielded up to him by you, he firmly believes that he will not meet with one opponent in arms, until he arrives in Italy. How safe or how honourable this might be for you, you yourselves may consider; for my part, I thought it would certainly reflect dishonour on me, if Perseus should come into Italy to make war, before I, your ally, came to warn you to be on your guard. Having discharged this duty, necessarily incumbent on me, and, in some measure, freed and exonerated my faith; what can I do further, but beseech the gods and goddesses that you may adopt such measures as will prove salutary to yourselves, to your commonwealth, and to us your allies and friends who depend upon you?"

¹⁴ His discourse made a deep impression on the senate. However, for the present, no one, without doors, could know any thing more than that the king had been in the senate-house, in such secrecy were the deliberations of the senate involved; and it was not until after the conclusion of the war, that the purport of king Eumenes' speech, and the answer to it, transpired. In a few days after, the senate gave audience to the ambassadors of Perseus. But their feelings as well as their ears were so prepossessed by king Eumenes, that every plea offered in his justification by the ambassadors, and every argument to alleviate the charges against him, were disregarded. They were still further exasperated by the immoderate presumption of Harpalus, chief of the embassy, who said, that "the king was indeed desirous and even anxious that credit should be given to him when pleading in his excuse that he had neither said nor done any thing hostile; but

that if he saw them obstinately bent on finding out a pretence for war, he would defend himself with determined courage. The fortune of war was open to all and the issue uncertain.” All the states of Greece and Asia were full of curiosity to learn what the ambassadors of Perseus, and what Eumenes, had effected with the senate; and most of them, on hearing of the latter’s journey to Rome, which they supposed might produce material consequences, had sent ambassadors thither who pretended other business. Among the rest came an embassy from Rhodes, at the head of which was a person named Satyrus, who had no kind of doubt but that Eumenes had included his state in the accusations brought against Perseus. He therefore endeavoured, by every means, through his patrons and friends, to get an opportunity of debating the matter with Eumenes in presence of the senate. When he obtained this, he inveighed against that king with intemperate vehemence, as having instigated the people of Lycia to an attack on the Rhodians, and as being more oppressive to Asia than Antiochus had been. He delivered a discourse flattering indeed, and acceptable to the states of Asia, (for the popularity of Perseus had spread even to them,) but very displeasing to the senate, and disadvantageous to himself and his nation. This apparent conspiracy against Eumenes, increased, indeed, the favour of the Romans towards him; so that every kind of honour was paid, and the most magnificent presents were made him; among which were a curule chair and an ivory sceptre.

15 After the embassies were dismissed, when Harpalus went back into Macedon with all the haste he could, and told the king that he had left the Romans, not indeed making immediate preparations for war, but in such an angry temper, that it was very evident they would not defer it long; Perseus himself, who all along believed that this would be the case, now even wished for it, as he thought himself at the highest pitch of power that he could ever expect to attain. He was more violently incensed against Eumenes than against any other; and being desirous of commencing the war with his bloodshed, he suborned Evander, a Cretan, commander of the auxiliaries, and three Macedonians, who were accustomed to the perpetration of such deeds, to murder that king; and gives them a letter to a woman called Praxo, an acquaintance of his, the wealthiest and most powerful

person at Delphi. It was generally known that Eumenes intended going up to Delphi to sacrifice to Apollo. The assassins having reconnoitred the around with Evander, sought for nothing else than a fit place to execute their design. On the road from Cirrha to the temple, before you come to the places thickly inhabited, there was a wall on the left side of a narrow path projecting a little from the foundation, by which single persons could pass; the part on the right formed a precipice of considerable depth by the sinking of the ground. Behind this wall they concealed themselves, and raised up steps to it, that from thence, as from a fortress, they might discharge their weapons on the king, as he passed by. At first, as he came up from the sea, he was surrounded by a multitude of his friends and attendants; afterwards the increasing narrowness of the road made the train thinner about him. When they arrived at the spot where each was to pass singly, the first who advanced on the path was Pantaleon, an Ætolian of distinction, who was at the time in conversation with the king. The assassins now, starting up, rolled down two huge stones, by one of which the head of the king was struck, and by the other the shoulder; and being stunned by the blow, many stones having been cast on him after falling, he tumbled from the sloping path down the precipice. The rest of his friends and attendants, on seeing him fall, fled different ways; but Pantaleon, with great intrepidity and resolution, kept his ground, in order to protect the king.

16 The assassins might, by making a short circuit of the wall, have run down and completed their business; yet they fled off towards the top of Parnassus with such precipitation, that as one of them, by being unable to keep up with the rest through the pathless and steep grounds, retarded their flight, they killed him lest he should be taken, and a discovery ensue. The friends, and then the guards and servants of the king, ran together and raised him up, while stunned by the wound, and quite insensible. However, they perceived, from the warmth of his body, and the breath remaining in his lungs, that he was still alive, but had little or no hopes that he would ever recover. Some of his guards having pursued the tracks of the assassins, when they had reached even as far as the summit of Parnassus, and had fatigued themselves in vain, returned without being able to overtake

them. As the Macedonians set about the deed injudiciously so, after making the attempt with boldness, they abandoned it in a manner both foolish and cowardly. His friends on the next day bore to his ship the king, now in possession of his faculties, and then, having drawn their vessel, across the neck of the isthmus, they cross over to Ægina. Here his cure was conducted with such secrecy, his attendants admitting no one, that a report of his death was carried into Asia. Attalus also gave more ready credence to it than was worthy the harmony of brothers; for he talked, both to Eumenes' consort, and to the governor of the citadel, as if he had actually succeeded to the crown. This, afterwards, came to the knowledge of the king; who, though he had determined to dissemble, and to pass it over in silence, yet could not refrain, at their first meeting, from rallying Attalus, on his premature haste to get his wife. The report of Eumenes' death spread even to Rome.

17 About the same time, Caius Valerius, who had been sent ambassador to examine the state of Greece, and to observe the movements of king Perseus, returned from that country, and made a report of all things, which agreed with the accusations urged by Eumenes. He brought with him from Delphi, Praxo, the woman whose house had served as a receptacle for the assassins; and Lucius Rammius, a Brundusian, who was the bearer of the following information. Rammius was a person of the first distinction at Brundisium, accustomed to entertain in his house the Roman commanders, and such ambassadors as came that way from foreign powers, especially those of the kings. By these means he had formed an acquaintance with Perseus, although he was distant from him; and in consequence of a letter from him, which gave hopes of a more intimate friendship, and of great advantages to accrue to him, he went on a visit to the king, and, in a short time, found himself treated with particular familiarity, and drawn, oftener than he wished, into private conversations. Perseus, after promises of the highest rewards, pressed him, with the most earnest solicitations, "as all the commanders and ambassadors of the Romans used to lodge at his house, to procure poison to be given to such of them as he should point out by letter;" and told him, that, "as he knew the preparation of poison to be attended with the greatest difficulty and danger, and

that ordinarily it could not be administered without the privity of several; besides, the issue was uncertain, whether doses sufficiently powerful to produce the desired effect or calculated to escape detection, might be given; — he would, therefore, give him some which neither in administering nor when administered could be discovered by any means.” Rammius dreading, lest, in case of refusal, he should himself be the first on whom the poison would be tried, promised compliance, and departed; but did not wish to return to Brundisium, without first holding a conference with Caius Valerius, the ambassador, who was said to be at that time in the neighbourhood of Chalcis. Having first laid his information before him, by his order he accompanied him to Rome, where, being brought before the senate, he gave them an account of what had passed.

18 These discoveries were added to the information which had been given by Eumenes, and effected, that Perseus should the sooner be judged an enemy; as the senate perceived that he did not content himself with preparing, with the spirit of a king, for a fair and open war, but pushed his designs by all the base clandestine means of assassination and poison. The conduct of the war is conferred on the new consuls; but, in the mean time, an order was given, that Cneius Sicinius, the prætor, whose province was the jurisdiction between natives and foreigners, should raise soldiers who should be led with all expedition to Brundisium, and thence carried over into Apollonia in Epirus, in order to secure the cities on the sea-coasts; in order that the consul, who should have Macedon as his province, might put in his fleet with safety, and land his troops with convenience. Eumenes was detained a long time at Ægina, by a dangerous and difficult cure; but, as soon as could remove with safety, he went home to Pergamus, and set on foot the most vigorous preparations for war, since the late atrocious villany of Perseus now stimulated him, in addition to the ancient enmity which subsisted between them. Ambassadors soon came from Rome, with congratulations on his escape from so great a danger. When the war with Macedon was deferred to the next year, (the other prætors having gone away to their provinces,) Marcus Junius and Spurius Lucretius, to whom the Spanish affairs had fallen, by importuning the senate with frequent repetitions of the same

request obtained at last that a reinforcement for their army should be given them, viz. three thousand foot and one hundred and fifty horse, for the Roman legions; they are ordered to levy, from the allies, for the confederate troops, five thousand foot and three hundred horse: these forces were carried by the new prætors into Spain.

19 In the same year, because, in consequence of the inquiries made by the consul Postumius, a large portion of the lands of Campania, which had been usurped by private persons indiscriminately, in various parts, had been recovered to the public, Marcus Lucretius, plebeian tribune, published a proposal for an order of the people, that the censors should let the Campanian land to farm; a measure which had been omitted during so many years, since the taking of Capua, that the greediness of individuals might have clear room to work in. After war, though not yet proclaimed, had been resolved on, while the senate was anxious to know which of the several kings would espouse their cause, and which that of Perseus, ambassadors came to Rome from Ariarathes, bringing with them his younger son. The purport of their message was, that “the king had sent his son to be educated at Rome, in order that he might even from childhood be acquainted with the manners and the persons of the Romans; and he requested, that they would allow him to be not only under the protection of his particular friends, but likewise the care, and in some measure the guardianship, of the public.” This embassy was highly pleasing to the senate; and they ordered, that Cneius Sicinius, the prætor, should hire a furnished house for the accommodation of the young prince and his attendants. Then that which they sought was given to ambassadors of the Thracians, who were disputing among themselves, and requesting the friendship and alliance of the Roman people, and presents of the amount of two thousand *asses* were sent to each, for the Romans were rejoiced that these states were gained as allies the more so, as they lay at the back of Macedon. But, in order to acquire a clear knowledge of every thing in Asia and in the islands, they sent ambassadors, Tiberius Claudius Nero and Marcus Decimus, with orders to go to Crete and Rhodes, to renew the treaties of friendship, and at the same time to observe whether the affections of the allies had been tampered with by Perseus.

20 While the minds of the public were in a state of extreme anxiety

and suspense with respect to the impending war, in consequence of a storm happening in the night the pillar in the Capitol, ornamented with beaks of ships, *which had been erected* in the first Punic war by the consul *Marcus Æmilius*, whose colleague was Servius Fulvius, was shattered to pieces, even to the very foundation, by lightning. This event, being deemed a prodigy, was reported to the senate, who ordered, that it should be laid before the aruspices, and that the decemvirs should consult the books. The decemvirs, in answer, directed that the city should be purified; that a supplication, and prayers, for the averting of misfortunes should be offered, and victims of the larger kinds sacrificed both in the Capitol at Rome, and at the promontory of Minerva in Campania; and that games should be celebrated as soon as possible in honour of Jupiter supremely good and great, during ten days. All these directions were carefully executed. The aruspices answered, that the prodigy would prove happy in the issue; that it portended extension of territory and destruction of enemies; for those beaks of ships which the storm had scattered were spoils. There were other occurrences which occasioned religious apprehensions: it was said, that at the town of Saturnia showers of blood fell during three successive days; that an ass with three feet was foaled at Calatia; that a bull, with five cows, were killed by one stroke of lightning; and that a shower of earth had fallen at Auximum. On account of these prodigies, also, public worship was performed, and a supplication and festival observed for one day.

²¹ The consuls had not yet gone to their provinces; for they would not comply with the senate, in proposing the business respecting Marcus Popilius; and, on the other hand, the senate was determined to proceed on no other until that was done. The general resentment against Popilius was aggravated by a letter received from him, in which he mentioned that he had, as proconsul, fought a second battle with the Ligurians of Statiella, six thousand of whom he had killed. On account of the injustice of this attack, the rest of the states of the Ligurians took up arms. Then not only was Popilius, in his absence, severely censured in the senate, for having, contrary to all laws, human and divine, made war on a people who had submitted to terms, and stirred up to rebellion states that were disposed to live in

peace, but also the consuls for not having proceeded to that province. Encouraged by the unanimous opinion of the senators, two plebian tribunes, Marcus Marcius Sermo and Quintus Marcius Sylla, declared publicly that they would institute a suit for a fine to be laid on the consuls, if they did not repair to their destination. They likewise read before the senate a proposal for an order of the people respecting the Ligurians, which they intended to publish. By it a regulation was made, "that in case any of the surrendered Statiellans should not be restored to liberty before the calends of August, then next ensuing, the senate, on oath, should appoint a magistrate to inquire into the business, and to punish the person through whose wicked practices he had been brought into slavery;" and accordingly, by direction of the senate, they proclaimed the same in public. Before the departure of the consuls, the senate gave audience, in the temple of Bellona, to Caius Cicereius, prætor of the former year. After recounting what he had performed in Corsica, he demanded a triumph; but this being refused, he rode in state on the Alban mount; a mode of celebration for victory without public authority, which had now become usual. The people, with universal approbation, passed and ratified the order proposed by Marcius, respecting the Ligurians; and in pursuance of this resolution of the people, Caius Licinius, prætor, desired the senate to appoint a person to conduct the inquiry, according to the order; whereupon the senate directed that he himself should conduct it.

22 The consuls repaired, at last, to their province, and received the command of the army from Marcus Popilius. But the latter did not dare to go home to Rome, lest he might plead his cause while the senate were so highly displeased with him, the people still more exasperated, and before a prætor likewise who had taken the opinion of the senate on an inquiry pointed against him. The tribunes of the people met his evasion by the menace of another order, — that if he did not come into the city of Rome before the ides of November, Caius Licinius should judge and determine respecting him, though absent. When he, dragged by this fetter, had returned, his presence in the senate called forth general hatred. There, when he was censured by the severe reproaches of many, a decree was passed, that the prætors, Caius Licinius and Cneius Sicinius, should take care that

such of the Ligurians as had not been in open arms since the consulate of Quintus Fulvius and Lucius Manlius, should all be restored to liberty; and that the consul, Caius Popilius, should assign them lands on the farther side of the Po. By this decree many thousands were restored in this manner, led beyond the Po, and received portions of land accordingly. Marcus Popilius, being tried by the Marcian law, twice pleaded his cause before Caius Licinius; but at a third hearing, the prætor, overcome by his regard for the absent consul, and the prayers of the Popilian family, ordered the defendant to appear on the ides of March, on which day the new magistrates were to enter into office; so that he, being then in a private capacity, could not preside at the trial. Thus was the order of the people, respecting the Ligurians, eluded by artifice.

23 There were at this time in Rome ambassadors from Carthage, and also Gulussa, son of Masinissa, between whom very warm words passed, in presence of the senate. The Carthaginians complained that, “besides the district, about which ambassadors were formerly sent from Rome, to determine the matter on the spot, Masinissa had, within the last two years, by force of arms, possessed himself of more than seventy towns and forts in the Carthaginian territories. This was easy for him, who cared for nothing. But the Carthaginians, being tied down by treaty, were silent; for they were prohibited from carrying arms beyond their own frontiers; and although they knew that if they forced the Numidians thence, they would wage the war within their own territory, yet they were deterred by another clause in the treaty, too clear to be mistaken, in which they were expressly forbidden to wage war against the allies of the Roman people. But the Carthaginians could not longer endure his pride, his cruelty, and his avarice. “They were sent,” they said, “to beseech the senate to grant them one of these three things: either that they should fairly decide what belonged to each, as became an ally of both; or give permission to the Carthaginians to defend themselves in a just war against unjust attacks; or finally, if favour swayed more with them than the truth, to fix at once how much of the property of others they wished should be bestowed on Masinissa. That the senate would certainly be more moderate in their grants, and they themselves would know the extent of them; whereas, he would set no limits but

the arbitrary dictates of his own ambition. If they could obtain none of these, and if they had, since the peace granted by Publius Scipio, been guilty of any transgression, they begged that the Romans themselves would rather inflict the punishment. They preferred a secure bondage under Roman masters, to a state of freedom exposed to the injustice of Masinissa. It was better for them to perish at once, than to continue to breathe under the will of “an executioner.” After these words, they burst into tears, prostrated themselves on the ground, and, in this posture, excited both compassion for themselves, and *no less displeasure* against the king.

²⁴ It was then voted, that Gulussa should be asked what answer he had to make to these charges; or that, if it were more agreeable to him, he should first tell on what business he had come to Rome. Gulussa said, that “it was not easy for him to speak on subjects concerning which he had no instructions from his father; and that it would have been hard for his father to have given him instructions, when the Carthaginians neither disclosed the business which they intended to bring forward, nor even their design of going to Rome. That they had, for several nights, held private consultations, composed of nobles, in the temple of Æsculapius, from whence ambassadors were despatched with secret information to Rome. This was his father’s reason for sending him into Italy, that he might entreat the senate not to give credit to the common enemy accusing him, whom they hated for no other cause than his inviolable fidelity to the Roman people.” After hearing both parties, the senate, on the question being put respecting the demands of the Carthaginians, ordered this answer to be given, that “it was their will that Gulussa should, without delay, return to Numidia, and desire his father to send ambassadors immediately to the senate, to answer the complaints of the Carthaginians, and to give notice to that people to come and support their allegation. They had hitherto paid to Masinissa, and would continue to pay him, all the honour in their power; that they could not sacrifice justice to favour. Their wish was, that the lands should every where be possessed by the real owners; nor did they intend to establish new boundaries, but that the old ones should be observed. When they vanquished the Carthaginians, they left them in possession of cities and lands, not with the purpose of

stripping them by acts of injustice in time of peace of what they had not taken from them by the right of war.” With this answer the Carthaginians, and the prince, were dismissed. The customary presents were sent to both parties, and the other attentions which hospitality inquired were performed with all courtesy.

25 About this time Cneius Servilius Cæpio, Appius Claudius Centho, and Titus Annius Luscus, who had been sent ambassadors to Macedonia, to demand restitution and renounce the king’s friendship, returned, and inflamed to a still greater degree the senate, already predisposed to hostilities against Perseus, by relating, in order, what they had seen and heard. They said, that “through all the cities of Macedonia they saw preparations for war, carried on with the utmost diligence. When they arrived at the residence of the king, they were refused admission to him for many days; at last, when, despairing of a conference, they were just setting out, then at length they were called back from their journey and brought before him. That the leading subjects in their discourse were, the treaty concluded with Philip, and, after his father’s death, renewed with himself; in which he was expressly prohibited from carrying his arms beyond his own dominions, and, likewise, from making war on the allies of the Roman people. They then laid before him, in order, the true and well-authenticated accounts which they themselves had lately heard from Eumenes, in the senate. They took notice, besides, of his having held a secret consultation, in Samothracia, with ambassadors from the states of Asia; and told him, that the senate thought proper that satisfaction should be given for these injuries, as well as restitution, to them and their allies, of their property, which he held contrary to the tenor of the treaty. On this the king, being inflamed, spoke at first harshly, frequently upbraiding the Romans with pride and avarice, and with ambassadors coming one after another to pry into his words and actions; and with thinking proper that he should speak and do all things in compliance with their nod and order. After speaking a long time with great loudness and violence, he ordered them to return the next day, for he intended to give his answer in writing. Then the written answer was given to them; of which the purport was, that the treaty concluded with his father in no respect concerned him; that he had suffered it to be renewed, not because he approved of it, but

because, being so lately come to the throne, he had to endure every thing. If they chose to form a new engagement with him, they ought first to agree on the terms; if they could bring themselves to make a treaty on an equal footing, he would consider what was to be done on his part, and he was convinced that they would provide for the interests of their own state. After this, he hastily turned away, and they were desired to quit the palace. They then declared, that they renounced his friendship and alliance; at which he was highly exasperated, stopped, and with a loud voice charged them to quit his dominions within three days. They departed accordingly; and neither on their coming, nor while they staid, was any kind of attention or hospitality shown them." The Thessalian and Ætolian ambassadors were then admitted to audience. It pleased the senate, that a letter should be sent to the consuls, directing, that whichever of them was most able should come to Rome to elect magistrates, in order that they might know what commanders the state was about to employ.

26 The consuls, during that year, performed no business of the republic that deserved much notice. It appeared more advantageous to the republic, that the Ligurians, who had been highly exasperated, should be pacified and appeased. While a Macedonian war was expected, ambassadors from Issa gave them reason to suspect the inclinations of Gentius, king of Illyria; for they complained that "he had, a second time, ravaged their country;" affirming likewise, that "the kings of Macedon and Illyria lived on terms of the closest intimacy; that both were preparing, in concert, for war against the Romans, and that there were then in Rome Illyrian spies, under the appearance of ambassadors, and who were sent thither by the advice of Perseus, to ascertain what was going on." The Illyrians, being called before the senate, said, that they were sent by their king, to justify his conduct, if the Issans should make any complaint against him. They were then asked why they had not applied to some magistrate, that they might, according to the regular practice, be furnished with lodging and entertainment, that their arrival might be known, and the business on which they came; when they hesitated in their reply, they were ordered to retire out of the senate-house. It was not thought proper to give them any answer, as delegates, because they had not applied for an audience of the senate; they resolved,

“that ambassadors should be sent to the king, to announce to him the complaints made by the allies of his having ravaged their country; and that he acted unjustly, since he did not refrain from offering injury to their allies.” On this embassy Aulus Terentius Varro, Caius Platorius, and Caius Cicereius, were sent. The ambassadors, who had been sent to the several kings in alliance with the state, came home from Asia, and reported that “they had conferred in it with Eumenes; in Syria, with Antiochus; and at Alexandria, with Ptolemy; all of whom, though strongly solicited by embassies from Perseus, remained perfectly faithful to their engagements, and gave assurances of their readiness to execute every order of the Roman people. That they had also visited the allied states; that all were firm in their attachment, except the Rhodians, who seemed to be wavering, and infected by the counsels of Perseus.” Ambassadors had come from the Rhodians, to exculpate them from the imputations which, they knew, were openly urged against them; but a resolution was made, that “an audience of the senate should be given, when the new magistrates came into office.”

27 The senate were of opinion, that the preparations for war should be deferred no longer. The duty is assigned to Caius Licinius, that out of the old galleys laid up in the docks at Rome, which might be rendered serviceable, he should refit and get ready for sea fifty ships. If any were wanting to make up that number, that he should write to his colleague, Caius Memmius, in Sicily, directing him to repair and fit out such vessels as were in that province, so that they might be sent, with all expedition, to Brundisium. Caius Licinius, the prætor, was ordered to enlist Roman citizens of the rank of freed-men’s sons, to man twenty-five ships; Cneius Sicinius, to levy, from the allies, an equal number for the other twenty-five, and likewise to require from the Latin confederates eight thousand foot and four hundred horse. Aulus Atilius Serranus, who had been prætor the year before, was commissioned to receive these troops at Brundisium, and transport them to Macedon; and Cneius Sicinius, the prætor, to keep them in readiness for embarkation. By direction of the senate, Caius Licinius, the prætor, wrote to the consul, Caius Popilius, to order the second legion, which was the oldest then in Liguria, together with four thousand foot and two hundred horse, of the Latin nation, to be in

Brundisium on the ides of February, With this fleet, and this army, Cneius Sicinius, being continued a year in command for the purpose, was ordered to take care of the province of Macedon until a new governor should arrive. All these measures, which the senate voted, were vigorously executed; thirty-eight quinqueremes were drawn out of the docks; Lucius Porcius Licinus was appointed to the command, with directions to conduct them to Brundisium, and twelve were sent from Sicily; three commissaries were despatched into Apulia and Calabria, to buy up corn for the fleet and army; these were Sextus Digitius, Titus Juventius, and Marcus Cæcilius. When all things were in readiness, the prætor, Cneius Sicinius, in his military robes, set out from the city and went to Brundisium.

28 The consul, Caius Popilius, came home to Rome when the year had almost expired, much later than had been directed by the vote of the senate; to whom it had seemed advantageous to the republic, that magistrates should be elected as soon as possible, when so important a war was impending. Therefore the consul did not receive a favourable hearing from the senate, when he spoke in the temple of Bellona of his acts among the Ligurians. There were frequent interruptions and questions, why he had not restored to liberty the Ligurians, who had been oppressed by his brother? The election was held on the day appointed by proclamation, the twelfth before the calends of March. The consuls chosen were, Publius Licinius Crassus and Caius Cassius Longinus. Next day were elected prætors, Caius Sulpicius Galba, Lucius Furius Philus, Lucius Canuleius Dives, Caius Lucretius Gallus, Caius Caninius Rebilus, and Lucius Villius Annalis. The provinces decreed to these prætors were, the two civil jurisdictions in Rome, Spain, Sicily, and Sardinia; and one of them was kept disengaged, that he might be employed wherever the senate should direct. The senate ordered the consuls elect, that, on whatever day they would enter on their office, having sacrificed victims of the larger kind, they should pray to the gods that the war, which the Roman people intended to engage in, might prove fortunate in the issue. On the same day the senate passed an order, that the consul, Caius Popilius, should vow games, of ten days' continuance, to Jupiter supremely good and great, with offerings in all the temples, if the commonwealth should remain for ten years in

its present state. Pursuant to this vote, the consul made a vow in the Capitol, that the games should be celebrated, and the offerings made, at such expense as the senate should direct, when not less than a hundred and fifty persons were present. That vow was expressed in terms dictated by Lepidus, the chief pontiff. There died this year, of the public priests, Lucius Æmilius Papus, decemvir of religious rites, and Quintus Fulvius Flaccus, a pontiff who had been censor the year before. The latter died in a shocking manner: he had received an account, that, of his two sons who were in the army in Illyria, one was dead, and the other labouring under a heavy and dangerous malady: his grief and fears, together, overwhelmed his reason, and his servants, on going into his chamber in the morning, found him hanging by a rope. There was a general opinion, that, since his censorship, his understanding had not been sound; and the report was popular, that the resentment of Juno Lacinia, for the spoil committed on her temple, had caused the derangement of his intellects. Marcus Valerius Messala was substituted decemvir in the place of Æmilius; and Cneius Domitius Ænobarbus, though a mere youth, was chosen into the priesthood as pontiff in the room of Fulvius.

29 In this consulate of Publius Licinius and Caius Cassius, not only the city of Rome, but the whole of Italy, with all the kings and states both in Europe and in Asia, had their attention fixed on the approaching war between Rome and Macedon. Not only old hatred, but also recent anger, because by the villany of Perseus he had been almost slaughtered like a victim at Delphi, urged Eumenes against him. Prusias, king of Bithynia, resolved to keep clear of hostilities, and to wait the event; for as he did not think it proper to carry arms on the side of the Romans against his wife's brother, so he trusted that, in case of Perseus proving victorious, his favour might be secured through the means of his sister. Ariarathes, king of Cappadocia, besides having, in his own name, promised aid to the Romans, had, ever since he was allied by affinity to Eumenes, united with him in all his plans, whether of war or peace. Antiochus indeed entertained designs on the kingdom of Egypt, since he despised the unripe age of Ptolemy, and the inactive disposition of his guardians, and thought that he might, by raising a dispute about Cœlesyria, find sufficient pretext for proceeding to extremities, and carry on a war

there without any impediment, while the Roman arms were employed against Macedon: yet, by his ambassadors to the senate, and to their ambassadors sent to him, he made the fairest promises. Ptolemy, on account of his age, was then influenced by the will of others; and his guardians, at the same time while they were preparing for war with Antiochus, to secure possession of Coelesyria, promised the Romans every support in the war against Macedon. Masinissa both assisted the Romans with supplies of corn, and prepared to send into the field, to their assistance, a body of troops and a number of elephants, with his son Misagenes. He so arranged his plans as to answer every event that might take place; for if success should attend the Romans, he judged that his own affairs would rest in their present state, and that he ought to seek for nothing further, as the Romans would not suffer violence to be offered to the Carthaginians; and if the power of the Romans, which at that time protected the Carthaginians, should be reduced, then all Africa would be his own. Gentius, king of Illyria, had indeed given cause of suspicion to the Romans; but he had not yet determined which party to espouse, and it was believed that he would join either one or the other through some sudden impulse of passion, rather than from any rational motive. Cotys, the Thracian king of the Odrysians, was openly in favour of the Macedonians.

30 Such were the inclinations of the several kings, while the free nations and states the plebeians, favouring as usual the weaker cause, were almost universally inclined to the Macedonians and their king; but among the nobles might be observed different views. One party was so warmly devoted to the Romans, that, by the excess of their zeal, they diminished their own influence. Of these a few were actuated by their admiration of the justice of the Roman government; but by far the greater number supposed that they would become powerful in their state, if they displayed remarkable exertions. A second party wished to court the king's favour, as debt, and despair of their affairs, while the same constitution remained, urged them hastily to complete revolution; and others, through a fickleness of temper, followed Perseus as the more popular character. A third party, the wisest and the best, wished, in case of being allowed the choice of a master, to live under the Romans rather than under the

king. Yet, could they have had the free disposal of events, they wished that neither party should become more powerful by the destruction of the other, but rather that, the strength of both being uninjured, peace should continue on that account; for thus the condition of their states would be the happiest, as one party would always protect a weak state from any ill treatment intended by the other. Judging thus, they viewed in silence from their safe position the contest between the partisans of the two contending powers. The consuls, having on the day of their entering on office, in compliance with the order of the senate, sacrificed victims of the larger kinds in all the temples where the lectisternium was usually celebrated for the greater part of the year, and having from them collected omens that their prayers were accepted by the immortal gods, reported to the senate that the sacrifices had been duly performed, and prayers offered respecting the war. The aruspices declared, that "if any new undertaking was intended, it ought to be proceeded in without delay; that victory, triumphs, and extension of empire were portended." The senate then resolved, that "the consuls should, on the first proper day, propose to the people assembled by centuries, — that whereas Perseus, son of Philip, and king of Macedon, contrary to the league struck with his father, and after Philip's death renewed with himself, had committed hostilities on the allies of Rome, had wasted their lands, and seized their towns, and also had formed a design of making war on the Roman people, and had for that purpose prepared arms, troops, and a fleet; unless he gave satisfaction concerning those matters, that war should be proclaimed against him." The question was carried among the commons. Then a decree of the senate was passed, that "the consuls should settle between themselves, or cast lots, for the provinces of Italy and Macedon; that the one to whose lot Macedon fell should seek redress by force of arms from king Perseus, and all who concurred in his designs, unless they made amends to the Roman people."

31 It was ordered that four new legions should be raised, two for each consul. This in particular was assigned to the province of Macedon, that although five thousand foot and two hundred horse were assigned to the other consul's legions, according to the ancient practice, six thousand foot and three hundred horse were ordered to

be enlisted for each of the legions that were to serve in Macedonia. Of the allied troops also, the number was augmented in the army ordered into Macedon, — namely, sixteen thousand foot and eight hundred horse, besides the six hundred horsemen carried thither by Cneius Sicinius. For Italy, twelve thousand foot and six hundred horse of the allies were deemed sufficient. The following remarkable concession was made to the service in Macedon; the consul was authorized to enlist at his option veteran centurions and soldiers, as old as fifty years. An unusual mode of proceeding with regard to the military tribunes was also introduced on the same occasion: for the consuls, by direction of the senate, recommended to the people, that, for that year, the military tribunes should not be created by their suffrages; but that the consuls and prætors should exercise their judgment and discrimination in their selection. Their respective commands were assigned to the prætors in the following manner: he to whose lot it fell to be employed wherever the senate should direct, had orders to go to Brundisium, to the fleet, that he might then review the crews, and, dismissing such men as appeared unfit for the service, enlist in their places sons of freed-men, taking care that two-thirds should be Roman citizens, and the remainder allies. For supplying provisions to the ships and legions, from Sicily and Sardinia, it was resolved, that the prætors who obtained the government of those provinces should be enjoined to levy a second tenth on the Sicilians and Sardinians, and that this corn should be conveyed into Macedon, to the army. The lots gave Sicily to Caius Caninius Rebilus; Sardinia, to Lucius Furius Philus; Spain, to Lucius Canuleius; the city jurisdiction, to Caius Sulpicius Galba; and the foreign, to Lucius Villius Annalis. The lot of Caius Lucretius Gallus was to be employed wherever the senate should direct.

³² The consuls had a slight dispute, rather than a great contest, about their province. Cassius said, that “he would select Macedon without casting lots, nor could his colleague, without perjury, abide their determination. When he was prætor, to avoid going to his province, he made oath in the public assembly, that he had sacrifices to perform on stated days, in a stated place, and that they could not be duly performed in his absence; and surely they could no more be performed duly in his absence when he was consul, than when he

was praetor. If the senate thought proper to pay more regard to what Publius Licinius wished, in his consulship, than to what he had sworn in his praetorship, he himself, for his part, would at all events be ruled by that body.” When the question was put, the senators thought it would be a degree of arrogance in them to refuse a province to him, since the Roman people had not denied him the consulship. They, however, ordered the consuls to cast lots. Macedonia fell to Publius Licinius, Italy to Caius Cassius. They then cast lots for the legions: when it fell to the lot of the first and third to go over into Macedonia; and of the second and fourth, to remain in Italy. The consuls held the levy with much greater care than usual. Licinius enlisted even veteran centurions and soldiers; and many of them volunteered, as they saw that those men who had served in the former Macedonian war, or in Asia, had become rich. When the military tribunes cited the centurions, and especially those of the highest rank, twenty-three of them, who had held the first posts, appealed to the tribunes of the people. Two of that body, Marcus Fulvius Nobilior and Marcus Claudius Marcellus, wished to refer the matter to the consuls; “the cognizance of it ought to rest with those to whom the levy and the war were intrusted:” but the rest declared, that since the appeal had been made to them, they would examine into the affair; and, if there were any injustice in the case, would support their fellow-citizens.

³³ The business, therefore, came into the court of the tribunes. Thither Marcus Popilius, a man of consular dignity, the centurions, and the consul came. The consul then required that the matter might be discussed in a general assembly; and, accordingly, the people were summoned. On the side of the centurions, Marcus Popilius, who had been consul two years before, argued thus: that “as military men they had served out their regular time, and that they possessed bodies worn out through age and continual hardships. Nevertheless, they did not refuse to give the public the benefit of their services, they only entreated that they might be favoured so far, that posts inferior to those which they had formerly held in the army should not be assigned to them.” The consul, Publius Licinius, first ordered the decree of the senate to be read, in which war was determined against Perseus; and then the other, which directed that as many veteran

centurions as could be procured should be enlisted for that war; and that no exemption from the service should be allowed to any who was not upwards of fifty years of age. He then entreated that, “at a time when a new war was breaking out so near to Italy, and with a most powerful king, they would not either obstruct the military tribunes in making the levies, or prevent the consul from assigning to each person such a post as best suited the convenience of the public; and that, if any doubt should arise in the proceedings, they might refer it to the decision of the senate.”

³⁴ When the consul had said all that he thought proper, Spurius Ligustinus, one of those who had appealed to the plebeian tribunes, requested permission from the consul and tribunes to speak a few words to the people. By the permission of them all he spoke, we are told, to this effect: “Romans, I am Spurius Ligustinus, of the Crustumian tribe, and I sprung from the Sabines. My father left me one acre of land, and a small cottage, in which I was born and educated, and I dwell there to-day. As soon as I came to man’s estate, my father married me to his brother’s daughter, who brought nothing with her but independence and modesty; except, indeed, a degree of fruitfulness that would have better suited a wealthier family. We have six sons and two daughters; the latter are both married; of our sons, four are grown up to manhood, the other two are as yet boys. I became a soldier in the consulate of Publius Sulpicius and Caius Aurelius. In the army which was sent over into Macedon I served as a common soldier, against Philip, for two years; and in the third year, Titus Quintius Flamininus, in reward of my good conduct, gave me the command of the tenth company of spearmen. When Philip and the Macedonians were subdued, and we were brought back to Italy and discharged, I immediately went as a volunteer, with the consul Marcus Porcius into Spain. Those who have had experience of him, and of other generals in a long course of service, know that no single commander living was a more accurate observer and judge of merit. This commander judged me deserving of being set at the head of the first company of spearmen. A third time I entered as a volunteer in the army which was sent against the *Ætolians* and king Antiochus; and Manius Acilius gave me the command of the first company of first-rank men. After Antiochus

was driven out of the country, and the Ætolians were reduced, we were brought home to Italy, where I served the two succeeding years in legions that were raised annually. I afterwards made two campaigns in Spain; one under Quintus Fulvius Flaccus, the other under Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus, prætors. I was brought by Flaccus among others whom he brought home from the province to attend his triumph, out of regard to their good services. At the request of Tiberius Gracchus, I went with him to his province. Four times within a few years was I first centurion of my corps; thirty-four times I was honoured by my commanders with presents for bravery. I have received six civic crowns, I have fulfilled twenty-two years of service in the army, and I am upwards of fifty years of age. But, if I had neither served out all my campaigns, nor was entitled to exemption on account of my age, yet Publius Licinius, as I can supply you with four soldiers instead of myself, it were reasonable that I should be discharged. But I wish you to consider these words merely as a state of my case; as to offering any thing as an excuse from service, that is what I will never do, so long as any officer, enlisting troops, shall believe me fit for it. What rank the military tribunes may think I deserve, rests with their power. That no one in the army may surpass me in a zealous discharge of duty, I shall use my best endeavours; and that I have always acted on that principle, my commanders and my comrades can testify. And now, fellow-soldiers, you who assert your privilege of appeal, as you have never, in your youthful days, done any act contrary to the directions of the magistrates and the senate, now too you ought to be amenable to the authority of the senate and consuls, and to think every post honourable in which you can act for the defence of the commonwealth.”

35 Having finished his speech, he was highly commended by the consul, who led him from the assembly into the senate-house, where, by order of the senate, he again received public thanks; and the military tribunes, in consideration of his meritorious behaviour, made him first centurion in the first legion. The rest of the centurions, dropping the appeal, submissively answered to their names in the levy. That the magistrates might the sooner go into their provinces, the Latin festival was celebrated on the calends of June; and as soon

as that solemnity was ended, Caius Lucretius, the prætor, after sending forward every thing requisite for the fleet, went to Brundisium. Besides the armies which the consuls were forming, Caius Sulpicius Galba, the prætor, was commissioned to raise four city legions, with the regular number of foot and horse, and to choose out of the senate four military tribunes to command them; likewise, to require from the Latin allies fifteen thousand foot, with twelve hundred horse; that this army should be prepared to act wherever the senate should order. At the desire of the consul, Publius Licinius, the following auxiliaries were ordered to join the army of citizens and allies under his command: two thousand Ligurians; a body of Cretan archers (whose number was not specified, the order only mentioning whatever succours the Cretans, on being applied to, should send); likewise the Numidian cavalry and elephants. To settle concerning these last, ambassadors were sent to Masinissa and the Carthaginians, — Lucius Postumius Albinus, Quintus Terentius Culleo, and Caius Aburius: also, to Crete, — Aulus Postumius Albinus, Caius Decimius, and Aulus Licinius Nerva.

36 At this time arrived ambassadors from Perseus. It was the pleasure of the fathers that they should not be permitted to come into the city; as the senate had already decreed; and the people had ordered, a declaration of war against their king and the Macedonians. Being introduced before the senate in the temple of Bellona, they spoke in the following manner: that “king Perseus wondered what could be their motive for transporting troops into Macedon; and that if the senate could be prevailed on to recall them, the king would, at their arbitration, satisfactorily account for any injuries of which their allies might complain.” Spurius Carvilius had been sent home from Greece, by Cneius Sicinius, for the purpose of attending this business, and was present in the senate. He charged the king with taking military occupation of Perrhæbia, storming several cities of Thessaly, and other enterprises, in which he was either actually employed or preparing to engage; and the ambassadors were called on to answer to those points. After they declined to do so, declaring that they had no further instructions, they were ordered to tell their king, that “the consul Publius Licinius would soon be in Macedon at the head of an army. To him he might send ambassadors, if he were

disposed to give satisfaction, but there was no use in his sending any more to Rome; for none of them would be permitted to pass through Italy.” After they were thus dismissed, a charge was given to Publius Sicinius, to insist on their quitting Italy within eleven days, and to send Spurius Carvilius to guard them, until they embarked. Such were the transactions at Rome, before the departure of the consuls for their provinces. Cneius Sicinius, who, before the expiration of his office, had been sent to Brundisium to the fleet and army, had by this time transported into Epirus five thousand foot and three hundred horse, and was encamped at Nymphæum, in the territory of Apollonia. From which place he sent tribunes, with two thousand men, to take possession of the forts of the Dassaretians and Illyrians; as those people themselves solicited garrisons, to secure them from the inroads of the Macedonians in their neighbourhood.

³⁷ A few days after, Quintus Marcius, Aulus Atilius, Publius Cornelius Lentulus, Servius Cornelius Lentulus, and Lucius Decimius, who were sent ambassadors to Greece, carried with them one thousand soldiers to Corcyra; where they divided the troops among them, and settled what districts they were to visit. Decimius was sent to Gentius, king of Illyria, with instructions to sound him, as to whether he retained any regard for former friendship; and even to prevail on him to take part in the war. The two Lentuluses were sent to Cephallenia that they might cross over from it into Peloponnesus; and, before the winter, make a circuit round the western coast. The circuit of Epirus, Ætolia, and Thessaly is intrusted to Marcius and Atilius; they were directed to take a view afterwards of Bœotia and Eubœa, and then to pass over to Peloponnesus, where, by appointment, they were to meet the Lentuluses. Before they set out on their several routes from Corcyra, a letter was brought from Perseus, in which he inquired the reason of the Romans sending troops into Greece, and taking possession of the cities. They did not think proper to give him any answer in writing; but they told his messenger, who brought the letter, “for the sake of guarding the cities themselves.” The Lentuluses, going round the cities of Peloponnesus, after exhorting all the states, without distinction, as they had assisted the Romans with fidelity and spirit, first in the war with Philip, and then in that with Antiochus, to assist them now, in

like manner, against Perseus, heard some murmuring in the assemblies; for the Achæans were highly offended that they, who, from the very first rise of the war with Macedon, had given every instance of friendship to the Romans, and had been open enemies to the Macedonians in the war with Philip, should be treated on the same footing with the Messenians and Elians, who had borne arms on the side of Antiochus against the Roman people, and who, being lately incorporated in the Achæan union, made heavy complaints, as if they were made over to the victorious Achæans as a prize.

³⁸ When Marcius and Atilius went up to Gitanæ, a town of Epirus, about ten miles from the sea, a council of Epirotes being held there, they were listened to with universal approbation; and they sent thence four hundred young men of that country to Orestæ, to protect those whom they had freed from the dominion of the Macedonians. From this place they proceeded into Ætolia; where, having waited a few days, until a prætor was chosen, in the room of one who had died, and the election having fallen on Lyciscus, who was well known to be a friend to the interest of the Romans, they passed over into Thessaly. The envoys of the Acarnanians and the exiles of the Bœotians came thither. The Acarnanians had orders to represent that “whatever offences they had been guilty of towards the Romans, first in the war with Philip, and afterwards in that with Antiochus, in consequence of being misled by the professions of those kings, they had found an opportunity to expiate. Since in spite of their demerits they had experienced the clemency of the Roman people, so they would now, by their endeavours to merit favour, make trial of its generosity.” The Bœotians were upbraided with having united themselves in alliance with Perseus; but they threw the blame on Ismenias, the leader of a party, and alleged, that “several states were drawn into that measure, contrary to their own judgment:” to which Marcius replied, that “this would appear, as they intended to give to every one of the states the power of judging for itself.” The council of the Thessalians was held at Larissa. There too the Thessalians had a wide field for giving thanks to the Romans for the blessing of liberty conferred on them; and the ambassadors, because they had been vigorously assisted by the Thessalians in the wars with Philip and Antiochus. The feelings of the assembly were acted on by this

mutual acknowledgment of favours to such a degree that they voted every measure which the Romans wished. Soon after this meeting, ambassadors arrived from king Perseus, chiefly through reliance on a connexion of hospitality subsisting between him and Marcius, which had existed between their fathers. The ambassadors began by reminding him of this bond of amity, and then requested him to give the king an opportunity of conferring with him. Marcius answered, that "he had received from his father the same account of the friendship and hospitable connexion between him and Philip; and the consideration of that connexion induced him to undertake the present embassy. That he would not have so long delayed giving the king a meeting, could it have been done without inconvenience; and that now he and his colleague would, as soon as it should be in their power, come to the river Peneus, where the passage was from Omolium to Diium; messengers being previously sent to announce it to the king."

³⁹ Perseus, on this, withdrew from Diium into the heart of the kingdom, having conceived a slight inspiration of hope from the expression of Marcius, that he had undertaken the embassy out of regard to him. After a few days they all met at the appointed place. The king's suite was a large one, since a crowd of friends attended him, as well as his body-guards. The ambassadors came with a train not inferior in numbers, as many accompanied them from Larissa, and also the delegates of many states, who had met them there, wishing to carry home information on the positive testimony of what they themselves should hear. All men felt a strong curiosity to behold a meeting between so powerful a king, and the ambassadors of the first people in the world. After they came within sight, on the opposite sides of the river, some time was spent in sending messengers from one to the other, to settle which of the two should cross it; for one party thought the compliment due to royal majesty, the other to the fame of the Roman people, especially as Perseus had requested the conference. Marcius by a jest roused them from their delay:—"Let the younger," said he, "cross over to the elder; the son to the father:" for his own surname was Philip. The king was easily persuaded to comply; but then another perplexity arose, about the number he should bring over with him. He thought it would be

proper to be attended by his whole retinue; but the ambassadors required that he should either come with three attendants only, or if he brought so great a band, that he should give hostages that no treachery should be used during the conference. He accordingly sent as hostages Hippias and Pantaucus, two of his particular friends, and whom he had sent as ambassadors. The hostages were demanded not so much to get a pledge of good faith, as to make it apparent to the allies, that the king did not meet the ambassadors on a footing of equal dignity. Their salutations were not like those between enemies, but kind and friendly; and seats being placed for them, they sat down together.

40 After a short silence, Marcius began thus:— “I suppose you expect us to give an answer to your letter sent to Corcyra, in which you ask the reason, why we ambassadors come attended by soldiers, and why we send garrisons into the cities? To this your question I dread either to refuse an answer, lest it should appear haughty in me, or to give a true one, lest, to your ears, it might seem too harsh. But since the person who infringes a treaty must be reproved, either with words or with arms, as I could wish that the war against you had been intrusted to any other rather than to myself, so I will undergo the task, however disagreeable, of uttering rough language against my friend, as physicians, when they, for the recovery of health, sometimes apply painful remedies. The senate is of opinion that, since you came to the throne, you have acted but in one particular as you ought to have done, and that is, in sending ambassadors to Rome to renew *the treaty made with your father*, — *and yet it would have been better never to have renewed it*, (they think,) than afterwards to violate it. You expelled from his throne Abrupolis, an ally and friend of the Roman people. You gave refuge to the murderers of Artetarus, that it might appear that you were pleased at his assassination, to say nothing worse; though they put to death a prince, who, of all the Illyrians, was the most faithful to the Roman nation. You marched with an army through Thessaly and the Italian territory to Delphi, contrary to the treaty. You likewise, in violation of it, sent succours to the Byzantians. You concluded by an oath a separate alliance with the Bœotians our confederates, which you had no right to do. As to Eversa and Callicritus, the Theban ambassadors, who were slain in

returning from Rome, I wish rather to inquire who were their murderers, than to charge any one of the crime. To whom else than your agents can the civil war in Ætolia, and the deaths of the principal inhabitants, be imputed? The country of the Dolopians was ravaged by you in person. King Eumenes, when he was returning from Rome to his own dominions, was almost butchered, as a victim, at the altars in consecrated ground, at Delphi, and it grieves me to know the person whom he accuses. With regard to the secret crimes which the host at Brundisium states in his communication, I take it for certain, that all the particulars were written you from Rome, and that your ambassadors reported them to you. There was one way by which you might have avoided my speaking of these matters, which was, by not inquiring why we brought troops into Macedonia, or sent garrisons into the cities of our allies. When you had asked the question, it would have been more haughty to keep silence, than to answer according to truth. Out of regard to the friendship derived to us from our fathers, I am really disposed to listen favourably to whatever you may say, and wish that you may afford me some grounds of pleading your cause before the senate.”

41 To this the king answered,— “A cause which would approve itself good if tried before impartial judges, I must plead before judges who are at the same time my accusers. Of the circumstances laid to my charge, some are of such a nature that I know not whether I ought not to glory in them; others there are which I would not blush to confess; and others, which as they are backed by bare assertions, it will be sufficient to deny. Supposing that I were this day to stand a trial, according to your laws, what does either the Brundusian informer, or Eumenes, allege against me that would be deemed a well-founded accusation, and not rather a malicious aspersion? Had Eumenes (although both in his public and private capacity he has done many grievous injuries to so many people) no other enemy than me? Could I not find a better agent for the perpetration of wickedness than Rammius, whom I had never seen before, nor had any probability of ever seeing again? Then, I must give an account of the Thebans, who, it is well known, perished by shipwreck; and of the death of Artetarus, with regard to whom nothing more is alleged against me, than that his murderers lived in exile in my dominions. I

will not object to the injustice of this assumption, provided you will admit it on your side; and will acknowledge that, whatever exiles have taken refuge in Rome or in Italy, you are yourselves abettors of the crimes for which they have been condemned. If you admit not this principle, as other nations will not, neither will I. In truth, what advantage were it to any one that exile lay within his grasp, if no where was there room for an exile? As soon however as I understood from your representations, that those men were in Macedon, I ordered that search should be made for them, and that they should quit the kingdom; and I prohibited them for ever from setting foot on my dominions. These accusations are brought against me as if I were a criminal pleading my cause; the others affect me as a king, and must derive their decision from the treaty which exists between you and me. For if it is thus expressed in that treaty, that even if any one would wage war against me, I am not permitted to protect my kingdom; I must then confess I have infringed it, by defending myself with arms against Abrupolis, an ally of the Roman people. But, on the other hand, if it is both allowed by the treaty, and is an axiom established by the law of nations, that arms may be repelled by arms; how, I pray you, ought I to have acted when Abrupolis had spread devastation over the frontiers of my kingdom as far as Amphipolis, carried off great numbers of free persons a vast multitude of slaves, and many thousands of cattle? Ought I to have lain quiet, and let him proceed until he came in arms to Pella, into my very palace? But, allowing that I avenged my wrongs in a just war, yet he ought not to have been subdued, and made to suffer the evils which occur to the vanquished. Nay, but when I, who was the person attacked, underwent the hazard of all these, how can he, who was the cause of the war, complain if they happened to fall upon himself? As to my having punished the Dolopians by force of arms, I mean not, Romans, to defend myself in the same manner; because, whether they deserved that treatment or not, I acted in right of my own sovereign authority: for they were under my sovereign power and dominion, annexed to my father's territories by your decree. Nor, even if I were to give an account of my conduct, I do not say to you, nor my other confederates, but even to such as disapprove of a severe and unjust exercise of authority, even over slaves, would I appear to

have carried my severity against them beyond the limits of justice and equity; for they slew Euphranor, the governor whom I had set over them, in such a manner, that death was the slightest of his sufferings.

42 “But, when I proceeded to visit Larissa, Antron, and Pteleos, (that I might be within a convenient distance to pay vows, due long before,) I went up to Delphi, in order to offer sacrifice; and here, with the purpose of aggravating the imputed guilt, it is subjoined, that I went with an army, with intent to do what I now complain of your doing, — to seize the towns, and put garrisons in the citadels. Now, call together, in assembly, the states of Greece, through which I marched; and if any one person complain of ill treatment, offered by a soldier of mine, I will not deny that I may appear, under a pretence of sacrificing, to have had a different object. We sent aid to the Ætolians and Byzantians, and made a treaty of friendship with the Bœotians. These proceedings, of whatever nature they may be, have been repeatedly avowed by my ambassadors; and, what is more, excused before your senate, where I had several of my judges not so favourable as you, Quintus Marcius, my paternal friend and guest. But at that time, my accuser, Eumenes, had not come to Rome; one who, by misrepresenting and distorting every occurrence, rendered it suspicious and odious, and endeavoured to persuade you that Greece could not be in a state of freedom, nor enjoy your kindness, while the kingdom of Macedon subsisted. The wheel will come round; people will soon be found who will insist, that Antiochus was in vain removed beyond the mountains of Taurus; that Eumenes is more burdensome to Asia than Antiochus was; and that your allies can never enjoy peace so long as there is a palace at Pergamus: for this was raised as a citadel over the heads of the neighbouring states. Quintus Marcius and Aulus Atilius, I am aware that the charges which were made by you, and my reply to them, will have just so much weight as the ears and the tempers of the hearers are disposed to allow them to have; and that the question what I have done, or with what intention, is not of so much importance, as what construction you may put on what has been done. I am conscious to myself that I have not, knowingly, done wrong; and that, if I have done any wrong, erring through imprudence, I am capable of

receiving correction and reformation from these reproofs. I have certainly committed no fault that is incurable, or deserving punishment by war and plunder: for surely the fame of your clemency and consistency of conduct, spread over the world, is ill-founded, if, on such causes as are scarcely deserving of complaint or expostulation, you take up arms against kings in alliance with you."

43 As he uttered these words with the apparent approbation of the ambassadors, Marcius advised him to send ambassadors to Rome, as he thought it best to try every expedient to the last, and to omit nothing that might afford any prospect of peace. The consideration still remained, how the ambassadors might travel with safety; and although, to this end, it was necessary that the king should ask a truce, which Marcius wished for, and in fact had no other view in consenting to the conference, yet he granted it with apparent reluctance, and as a great favour to the persons requesting it. At that juncture the Romans had not made sufficient preparations for war; they had no army, no general: whereas Perseus had every thing prepared and ready; and if a delusive hope of peace had not blinded his judgment, he might have commenced hostilities at a time most advantageous to himself and distressing to his enemies. At the breaking up of this conference, (the truce being ratified by both parties,) the Roman ambassadors bent their route towards Bœotia, where great commotions were now beginning; for several of the states withdrew themselves from the union of the general confederacy of the Bœotians, from the time that the answer of the ambassadors was announced, that "it would appear what particular states were displeased at the formation of the alliance with the king." First deputies from Chæronea, then others from Thebes, met the Romans on the road, and assured them, that they were not present in the council wherein that alliance was resolved on. The ambassadors, giving them no answer at the time, ordered that they should go with them to Chalcis. At Thebes a violent dissension arose out of another contest. The party defeated in the election of prætors of Bœotia, resolving to revenge the affront, collected the multitude, and passed a decree at Thebes, that the new Bœotarchs should not be admitted into the cities. All the persons thus exiled betook themselves to Thespiæ; being recalled from it (for they were received there without

hesitation) to Thebes, owing to a change in the minds of the people, they passed a decree that the twelve persons who, without being invested with public authority, had held an assembly and council, should be punished by banishment: and afterwards the new prætor, (he was Ismenias, a man of distinction and power,) by another decree, condemns them, although absent, to capital punishment. They had fled to Chalcis; and thence they proceeded to Larissa, to the Romans, and threw on Ismenias alone the blame of the alliance concluded with Perseus, asserting that the contest originated in a party dispute; yet ambassadors from both sides waited on the Romans, as did the exiles, accusers of Ismenias, and Ismenias himself.

44 When they were all arrived at Chalcis, the chiefs of the other states, each by a particular decree of their own, renounced the alliance of Perseus, and joined themselves to the Romans, a circumstance which gave very great pleasure to the latter. Ismenias recommended, that the Bœotian nation should be placed under the orders of Rome; on which so violent a dispute arose, that, if he had not fled for shelter to the tribunal of the ambassadors, he would not have been far from losing his life by the hands of the exiles and their abettors. Thebes itself, the capital of Bœotia, was in a violent ferment, one party struggling hard to bring the state over to the king, the other to the Romans; and multitudes had come together, from Coronæ and Haliartus, to support the decree in favour of Perseus. But by the firmness of the chiefs, (who desired them to judge, from the defeats of Philip and Antiochus, how great must be the power and fortune of the Roman empire,) the same multitude was overcome, and not only resolved that the alliance with the king should be cancelled, but also, to gratify the ambassadors, sent the promoters of that alliance to Chalcis; and ordered, that the state should be recommended to the protection of the Romans. Marcius and Atilius heard the Thebans with joy, and advised both them and each state separately to send ambassadors to Rome to renew the treaty. They required, above all things, that the exiles should be restored; and condemned by their own decree the advisers of the treaty with the king. Having thus disunited the members of the Bœotian council, which was their grand object, they proceeded to

Peloponnesus, after summoning Servius Cornelius to Chalcis. An assembly was summoned to meet them at Argos, where they demanded nothing more from the Achæans, than the furnishing of one thousand soldiers, which were sent as a garrison to defend Chalcis until a Roman army should come into Greece.

⁴⁵ Marcius and Atilius having finished the business that was to be done in Greece, returned to Rome in the beginning of winter. An embassy had been despatched thence, about the same time, into Asia, to the several islands. The ambassadors were three; Tiberius Claudius, Publius Postumius, and Marcus Junius. These, making a circuit among the allies, exhorted them to undertake the war against Perseus, in conjunction with the Romans; and the more powerful any state was, the more earnestly they requested them, judging that the smaller states would follow the lead of the greater. The Rhodians were esteemed of the utmost consequence on every account; because they could not only countenance the war, but also assist in it by their own strength, having, pursuant to the advice of Hegesilochus, forty ships ready for sea. This man being chief magistrate, whom they call Prytanis, had, by many arguments, prevailed on the Rhodians to banish the hope of courting the favour of kings, which they had, in repeated instances, found fallacious; and to maintain firmly the alliance with Rome (which was the only one in the earth that could be relied on for strength or honour). He told them, that “a war was upon the point of breaking out with Perseus: that the Romans would expect the same naval armament which they had seen lately in that with Antiochus, and formerly in that with Philip: that they would be hurried, in the hasty equipment of a fleet, when it ought to be sent at once, unless they immediately set about the repairing and manning of their ships: and that they ought to do this with the greatest diligence, in order to refute, by the evidence of facts, the imputations thrown on them by Eumenes.” Roused by these arguments, they showed to the Roman ambassadors, on their arrival, a fleet of forty ships rigged and fitted out, so that it might appear that they did not require to be urged. This embassy had great effect in conciliating the affections of the states in Asia. Decimius alone returned to Rome without effecting any thing, and disgraced by the suspicion of having received money from the Illyrian kings.

46 When Perseus, after the conference with the Romans, had retired into Macedon, he sent ambassadors to Rome to carry on the negotiation for peace commenced with Marcius, giving them letters, to be delivered at Byzantium and Rhodes. The purport of the letters to all was the same, viz. that he had conferred with the Roman ambassadors. What he had heard from them, and what he had said, was, however, represented in such a manner that he might seem to have had the advantage in the debate. In presence of the Rhodians, the ambassadors added, that “they were confident of a continuation of peace, for it was by the advice of Marcius and Atilius that they were sent to Rome. But if the Romans should commence their hostilities, contrary to treaty, it would then be the business of the Rhodians to labour, with all their power and all their interest, for the re-establishment of peace; and that, if they should effect nothing by their mediation, they ought then to take such measures as would prevent the dominion of the whole world from coming into the hands of one nation only. That, as this was a matter of general concern, so it was peculiarly interesting to the Rhodians, as they surpassed the other states in dignity and power, which must be held on terms of servility and dependence, if there were no other resource for redress than the Romans.” Both the letter and the discourse of the ambassadors were received by the Rhodians with every appearance of kindness, but by no means exerted any influence in working a change in their minds, for by this time the best-judging party had the superior influence. By a public order this answer was given: — that “the Rhodians wished for peace; but, if war should take place, they hoped that the king would not expect or require from them any thing that might break off their ancient friendship with the Romans, the fruit of many and great services performed on their part both in war and peace.” The Macedonians, on their way home from Rhodes, visited also the states of Bœotia. Thebes, Coronæa, and Haliartus; for it was thought that the measure of abandoning the alliance with the king, and joining the Romans, was extorted from them against their will. The Thebans were not influenced by his representations, though they were somewhat displeased with the Romans, on account of the sentence passed on their nobles, and the restoration of the exiles; but the Coronæans and Haliartians, out of a kind of natural attachment to

kings, sent ambassadors to Macedon, requesting the aid of a body of troops to defend them against the insolent tyranny of the Thebans. To this application the king answered, that, "on account of the truce concluded with the Romans, it was not in his power to send troops; but he recommended to them, to guard themselves against ill-treatment from the Thebans, as far as they were able, without affording the Romans a pretext for venting their resentment on him."

47 When Marcius and Atilius returned to Rome, they reported in the Capitol the result of their embassy, in such a manner that they assumed no greater merit for any one matter, than for having overreached the king by the suspension of arms, and the hope of peace given him; for "he was so fully provided," they said, "with every requisite for the immediate commencement of war, while on their side no one thing was in readiness, that all the convenient posts might have been preoccupied by him before an army could be transported into Greece; but, by gaining so much time by the truce, the Romans would begin the war better provided with every thing; whereas he would come into the field in no respect better prepared." They mentioned, also, that "they had so effectually disunited by stratagem the members of the Bœotian council, that they could never again, with any degree of unanimity, connect themselves with the Macedonians." A great part of the senate approved of these proceedings, as conducted with consummate wisdom; but the older members, and those who retained the ancient simplicity of manners, declared, that "in the conduct of that embassy, they could discover nothing of the Roman genius. Their ancestors waged war not by stratagems and attacks in the night, nor by counterfeiting flight and returning unexpectedly on an unguarded foe, nor in such a manner as to glory in cunning more than in real valour. That they were accustomed to proclaim war before they waged it, that they sometimes appointed the day of battle and marked out the ground on which they were to fight. That with the same honourable feeling information was given to king Pyrrhus of his physician plotting against his life; and, from the same motive, they delivered bound, to the Faliscians, the betrayer of their children. These were the acts of the Roman law, not resulting from the craft of Carthaginians or the subtlety of Greeks, among whom it is reckoned more glorious to

deceive an enemy than to overcome him by force. Sometimes greater present advantages may be acquired by artifice than by bravery. But an adversary's spirit is finally subdued for ever, when the confession has been extorted from him, that he was vanquished, not by artifice, nor by chance, but in a just and open war, in a fair trial of strength hand to hand." Such were the sentiments of the elder members, to whom this modern kind of wisdom was displeasing. But that part of the senate who paid more regard to utility than to honour, prevailed, and passed a vote approving of Marcius' conduct in his former embassy; at the same time ordering that he should be sent again into Greece with some ships, and with authority to act in other matters as he should judge most conducive to the public good. They also sent Aulus Atilius to keep possession of Larissa in Thessaly; fearing lest, on the expiration of the armistice, Perseus might send troops and secure to himself that metropolis. For the execution of this, Atilius was ordered to receive from Cneius Sicinius two thousand infantry. And three hundred soldiers of the Italian race were given to Publius Lentulus, who had returned from Achaia, that he should fix his quarters at Thebes, in order that Bœotia might be kept in obedience.

⁴⁸ After these preparations were made, the senate, notwithstanding their determination for war was fixed, yet judged it proper to give audience to the king's ambassadors. Their discourse was, principally, a repetition of what had been urged by Perseus in the conference. The accusation of laying the ambush against Eumenes was defended with the greatest care, and yet with the least success, for the thing was manifest. The rest consisted of apologies: but their hearers were not in a temper to be either convinced or persuaded. Orders were given them to quit the city of Rome instantly, and Italy within thirty days. Then orders were given to Publius Licinius, the consul, to whose lot the province of Macedon had fallen, to appoint as early as possible the day for assembling the army. Caius Lucretius, the prætor, whose province was the fleet, sailed from the city with forty quinqueres; for it was judged proper that some of the vessels that were repaired should be kept at Rome for other exigencies. The prætor sent forward his brother, Marcus Lucretius, with one quinquere; ordering him to collect from the allies the ships due by treaty, and to join the fleet at Cephalaria. He received from the

Rhegians one trireme, from the Locrians two, and from the Urites four; and then, coasting along the shore of Italy, until he passed the farthest promontory of Calabria, in the Ionian Sea, he shaped his course over to Dyrrachium. Finding there ten barks belonging to the Dyrrachians, twelve belonging to the Issæans, and fifty-four to king Gentius, affecting to understand that they had been brought thither for the use of the Romans, he carried them all off, and sailed in three days to Corcyra, and thence directly to Cephalaria. The prætor Caius Lucretius set sail from Naples, and, passing the strait, arrived on the fifth day at Cephalaria. There the fleet halted, waiting until the land forces should be carried over, and until the transport vessels, which had been separated from the fleet and scattered over the sea, might rejoin it.

⁴⁹ About this time the consul Publius Licinius, after offering vows in the Capitol, marched out of the city in his military robes. This ceremony is always conducted with great dignity and solemnity; on this occasion particularly, it engaged people's eyes and thoughts in an unusual degree, — and this, by reason that they escorted the consul against an enemy formidable and conspicuous both for abilities and resources. For not only their desire to pay him the customary respect, but an earnest wish to behold the show, and see the commander, to whose wisdom and conduct they intrusted the maintenance of the public safety, brought them together. Then such reflections as these entered their minds: "How various were the chances of war; how uncertain the issue of the contest; how variable the success of arms; how frequent the vicissitudes of losses and successes; what disasters often happened through the unskilfulness and rashness of commanders; and on the contrary, what advantages their judgment and valour conferred. What human being could yet know either the capacity or the fortune of the consul whom they were sending against the enemy; whether they were shortly to see him at the head of a victorious army ascending the Capitol in triumph, to revisit the same gods from whom he now took his departure, or whether they were to give a like cause of exultation to their enemies." Then king Perseus, against whom he was going, had a high reputation, derived from the great martial character of the Macedonian nation, and from his father Philip, who, besides many

prosperous achievements, had gained a large share of renown even in his war with the Romans. Besides too, the name of Perseus himself, which had never ceased, since his accession to the throne, to be the subject of conversation, owing to the expectation of the war. Two military tribunes, of consular rank, Caius Claudius and Quintus Mucius, were sent with him; and three illustrious young men, Publius Lentulus, and two of the name of Manlius Acidinus, one the son of Marcus Manlius, the other of Lucius. With these he went to Brundisium to the army; and sailing over thence with all his forces, pitched his camp at Nymphæum, in the territory of Apollonia.

50 A few days before this, Perseus, after the ambassadors returned from Rome, and cut off every hope of peace, held a council, in which a contest was carried on for some time between different opinions. Some were of opinion that he ought to pay a tribute, or even to cede a part of his dominions, if they should deprive him of that; in short, that he ought not to refuse, for the sake of peace, whatever must be submitted to, nor act in such a manner as would expose himself and his kingdom to such a perilous hazard. For, “if he retained undisputed possession of the throne, time and the revolution of affairs might produce many conjunctures, which would enable him not only to recover his losses, but to become formidable to those whom he now had reason to dread.” A considerable majority, however, expressed sentiments of a bolder nature. They insisted that “the cession of any part would be followed by that of the whole kingdom. The Romans were in want of neither money nor territory: but they considered that all human affairs, even kingdoms and empires are subject to many casualties. They had themselves broken the power of the Carthaginians, and settled in the neighbourhood a very powerful king, as a yoke on their necks, and had removed Antiochus and his future successors beyond the mountains of Taurus. There now remained only the kingdom of Macedonia near in situation, and such as might, if any where the fortune of Rome should waver, inspire its kings with the spirit of their forefathers. Perseus therefore ought, while his affairs were yet in a state of safety, to consider well in his own mind, whether he should prefer to give up one part of his dominions after another, until at length, stripped of all power and exiled from his kingdom, he should be reduced to beg

from the Romans either Samothracia or some other island, where he might grow old in poverty and contempt; or, on the other hand, armed in vindication of his fortune and his honour, as is the part of a brave man, either should endure with patience whatever misfortune the chance of war might bring upon him, or by victory deliver the world from the tyranny of Rome. There would be nothing more wonderful in the Romans being driven out of Greece, than in Hannibal's being driven out of Italy; nor, in truth, did they see how it could consist with the character of the prince, to resist with the utmost vigour his brother, who unjustly aspired to the crown, and, after he had fairly obtained it himself, surrender it up to foreigners. Lastly, that war had its vindication as well as peace, so that nothing was accounted more shameful than to yield up a dominion without a struggle, and nothing more glorious than for a prince to have experienced every kind of fortune in the defence of his crown and dignity."

51 The council was held at Pella, in the old palace of the Macedonian kings. "Let us then," Perseus said, "with the help of the gods, wage war, since that is your opinion;" and, despatching letters to all the commanders of the troops, he concentrated his entire force at Cytium, a town of Macedon. He himself, after making a royal offering of one hundred victims, which he sacrificed to Minerva, called Alcides, set out for Cytium, attended by a band of nobles and guards. All the forces, both of the Macedonians and foreign auxiliaries, had already assembled in that place. He encamped them before the city, and drew them all up, under arms, in order of battle, in a plain. The amount of the whole was forty-three thousand armed men; of whom about one half composed the phalanx, and were commanded by Hippas of Berea; there were then two thousand selected for their superior strength, and the vigour of their age, out of the whole number of their shield-bearers: this legion they called, in their own language, Agema, and the command of them was given to Leonatus and Thrasippus of Eulyea. Antiphrastus of Edessa commanded the rest of the shield-bearers, about three thousand men. Pæonians, and men from Parorea and Paristrymonia, (places subject to Thrace,) with Agrians, and a mixture of some native Thracians, made up the number of about three thousand men. Didas, the

Pæonian, the murderer of young Demetrius, had armed and embodied these. There were two thousand Gallic soldiers, under the command of Asclepiodotus; three thousand independent Thracians, from Heraclea, in the country of the Sintians, had a general of their own. An equal number nearly of Cretans followed their own general, Susus of Phalasarna, and Syllus of Gnosus. Leonidas, a Lacedæmonian, commanded a body of five hundred Greeks, of various descriptions: this man was said to be of the royal blood, and had been condemned to exile in a full council of the Achæans on account of a letter to Perseus, which was intercepted. Lycho, an Achæan, was the commander of the Ætolians and Bœotians, who did not make up more than the number of five hundred men. These auxiliaries, composed of so many states and so many nations, made up about twelve thousand fighting men. Of cavalry, he had collected from all parts of Macedon, three thousand: and Cotys, son of Seutha, king of the Odrysian nation, was arrived with one thousand chosen horsemen, and nearly the same number of foot. The total number was thirty-nine thousand foot, and four thousand horse. Most certainly, since the army which Alexander the Great led into Asia, no king of Macedonia had ever been at the head of so powerful a force.

52 It was now twenty-six years since peace had been granted to the suit of Philip; and Macedon, having through all that period enjoyed quiet, was become exceedingly populous, and very many were now grown up, and become qualified for the duties of the field; and owing to the unimportant wars with the neighbouring states of Thrace, which had given them exercise rather than fatigue, were in continual practice of military service. Besides, a war with Rome having been long meditated by, first, Philip, and afterwards by Perseus, had effected that all things should be arranged and prepared. The troops performed some few movements, but not the regular course of exercise, only that they might not seem to have stood motionless under arms. He then called them, armed as they were, to an assembly. He himself stood on his tribunal, with his two sons, one on each side of him; the elder of whom, Philip, was by birth his brother, his son by adoption; the younger, named Alexander, was his son by birth. The king exhorted his troops to a vigorous prosecution of the war. He enumerated the injuries offered by the Romans to Philip and

himself; told them, that “his father, having been compelled, by every kind of indignity, to resolve on a renewal of hostilities, was, in the midst of his preparations for war, arrested by fate: that ambassadors were sent by himself at the same time that soldiers were sent to seize the cities of Greece: that then, under the pretext of re-establishing peace, they spun out the winter, by means of a fallacious conference, in order to gain time to make their preparations; that their consul was now coming, with two Roman legions, containing each six thousand foot and three hundred horse, and nearly the same number of auxiliaries; and that, should they even be joined by the troops of Eumenes and Masinissa, yet these could not amount to more than seven thousand foot and two thousand horse.” He desired them, “after hearing the number of the enemy’s forces, to reflect on their own army, how far it excelled both in number and in the qualifications of the men, a body of raw recruits, enlisted hastily for the present occasion; whereas they themselves had from childhood been instructed in the military art, and had been disciplined and inured to toil in a course of many wars. The auxiliaries of the Romans were Lydians, Phrygians, and Numidians; while his were Thracians and Gauls, the bravest nations in the world. Their troops had such arms as each needy soldier procured for himself; but those of the Macedonians were furnished out of the royal stores, and had been made with much care at the expense of his father, in a course of many years. They must bring their provisions not only from a great distance, but expose them to all the hazards of the sea; while he, besides his revenue from the mines, had laid up a store, both of money and food, sufficient for the consumption of ten years. The Macedonians possessed in abundance every advantage, in point of preparation, that depended on the kindness of the gods, or the care of their sovereign: they ought therefore to have the same daring spirit which their fathers had before them; who, after subduing all Europe, passed over into Asia, and opened by their arms a world unknown to fame, and never ceased to conquer until they were stopped by the Red Sea, and when nothing remained for them to subdue. But in truth fortune has determined the present struggle to be carried on, not for the far remote regions of India, but for the possession of Macedon itself. When the Romans made war on his father, they held out the

specious pretence of liberating Greece; now, they avowedly aimed at reducing Macedon to slavery, that there might be no king in the neighbourhood of the Roman empire, and that no nation, renowned in war, should have the possession of arms; for these must be delivered up to their imperious masters, together with the king and kingdom, if they chose to decline a war, and obey their orders."

⁵³ Notwithstanding that, during the course of his speech, he was frequently interrupted by the exclamations of the multitude; then truly such shouts arose from the army, expressing indignation and menaces against the foe, and urging him to act with spirit, that he put an end to his discourse. He only ordered them to be ready to march; because it was reported that the Romans were quitting their camp at Nymphæum; and then, dismissing the assembly, he went to give audience to deputies from the several states of Macedon, who were come to offer money and corn, in proportion to the abilities of each. He gave thanks to all, but declined their proffers; telling them that the royal stores were sufficient to answer every purpose. Carriages only were demanded for the conveyance of the engines, and the vast quantity of missile weapons that was prepared, with other military implements. He then put his army in motion, directing his route to Eordea; and after encamping at the lake Begorites, advanced, next day, into Elimea, to the river Haliacmon. Then passing the mountains through a narrow defile called Cambunii, he marched against the inhabitants of the district called Tripolis, consisting of Azoras, Pythios, and Doliche. These three towns hesitated, for a little time, because they had given hostages to the Larissæans; however being overcome by the fear of immediate danger, they capitulated. He received them with expressions of favour, not doubting that the Perrhæbians would be induced to follow their example; and accordingly, on his first arrival he got possession of their city, without any reluctance being shown on the part of the inhabitants. He was obliged to use force against Cyretiæ, and was even repulsed the first day by bodies of armed men, who defended the gates with great bravery; but on the day following, having assaulted the place with all his forces, he received their surrender before night.

⁵⁴ Mylas, the next town, was so strongly fortified, that the inhabitants, from the hopes of their works being impregnable, had

conceived too great a degree of confidence. Not content with shutting their gates against the king, they cast insulting reproaches on himself and on the Macedonians, which behaviour, while it provoked the enemy to attack them with greater rancour, kindled a greater ardour in themselves to make a vigorous defence, as they had now no hopes of pardon. During three days, therefore, the town was attacked and defended with great spirit. The great number of Macedonians made it easy for them to relieve each other, and to support the fight by turns; not only wounds, but want of sleep and continual labour, were wearing out the besieged, who guarded the walls by day and night. On the fourth day, when the scaling-ladders were raised on all sides, and one of the gates was attacked with unusual force, the townsmen, who were beaten off the walls, ran together to secure the gate, and made a sudden sally. Since this was the effect rather of inconsiderate rage than of a well-grounded confidence in their strength, they being few in number, and worn down with fatigue, were routed by men who were fresh; and having turned their backs, and fled through the open gate, they allowed the enemy to enter through it. The city was thus taken, and plundered, and even the persons of free condition who survived the carnage were sold. The king, after dismantling and reducing to ashes the greater part of the town, removed, and encamped at Phalanna; and next day arrived at Gyrtion; but understanding that Titus Minucius Rufus, and Hippias, the prætor of the Thessalians, had gone into the town with a body of troops, he passed by, without even attempting a siege, and received the submission of Elatia and Gonni, whose inhabitants were dismayed by his unexpected arrival. Both these towns, particularly Gonni, stand at the entrance of the pass which leads to Tempe; he therefore left the latter under a strong guard of horse and foot, and fortified it, besides, with a triple trench and rampart. Advancing to Sycurium, he determined to wait there the approach of the Romans; at the same time he ordered his troops to collect corn from all parts of the country subject to the enemy: for Sycurium stands at the foot of Mount Ossa, the southern side of which overlooks the plains of Thessaly, and the opposite side Macedonia and Magnesia. Besides these advantages of situation, the place enjoys a most healthful air, and a never-failing supply of water, from the numerous springs

which lay around.

55 About the same time the Roman consul, marching towards Thessaly, at first found the roads of Epirus clear and open; but afterwards, when he proceeded into Athamania, where the country is rugged, and almost impassable, with great labour and by short marches he with difficulty reached Gomphi. If, while he was leading his raw troops through such a territory, and while both his men and horses were debilitated by constant toil, the king had attacked him with his army in proper order, and at an advantageous place and time, the Romans themselves do not deny that they must have suffered very great loss in an engagement. When they arrived at Gomphi, without opposition, great contempt of the enemy was added to their joy at having effected their passage through such a dangerous road, since they showed such utter ignorance of their own advantages. The consul, after duly offering sacrifice, and distributing corn to the troops, halted a few days, to give rest to the men and horses; and then, hearing that the Macedonians were overrunning Thessaly, and wasting the country of the allies, he led on to Larissa his troops, now sufficiently refreshed. Proceeding thence, when he came within about three miles of Tripolis, (they call the place Scæa,) he encamped on the river Peneus. In the mean time, Eumenes arrived by sea at Chalcis, accompanied by his brothers Attalus and Athenæus, (bringing with him two thousand foot, the command of whom he gave to the latter,) having left his other brother, Philetærus, at Pergamus to manage the business of his kingdom. From thence, with Attalus and four thousand foot and one thousand horse, he came and joined the consul: two thousand foot were left at Chalcis, of which Athenæus had the command: whither also arrived parties of auxiliaries from every one of the states of Greece; but most of them so small that their numbers have not been transmitted to us. The Apollonians sent three hundred horse and one hundred foot. Of the Ætolians came a number equal to one cohort, being the entire cavalry of the nation; and of the Thessalians (all their cavalry acted separately) not more than three hundred horsemen were in the Roman camp. The Achæans furnished one thousand young men, armed mostly in the Cretan manner.

56 In the mean time, Caius Lucretius, the prætor and naval

commander at Cephallenia, having ordered his brother, Marcus Lucretius, to conduct the fleet along the coast of Malea to Chalcis, went himself on board a trireme, and sailed to the Corinthian gulf, that he might as early as possible put the affairs of Bœotia on a proper footing; but the voyage proved tedious to him, particularly from the weak state of his health. Marcus Lucretius, on his arrival at Chalcis, when he heard that Haliartus was besieged by Publius Lentulus, sent a messenger to him, with an order, in the prætor's name, to retire from the place. The lieutenant-general, who had undertaken this enterprise with Bœotian troops, raised out of the party that sided with the Romans, retired from the walls. But the raising of this siege only made room for a new one: for Marcus Lucretius immediately invested Haliartus with troops from on board the fleet, amounting to ten thousand effective men, and who were joined by two thousand of the forces of king Eumenes, who were under Athenæus. Just when they were preparing for an assault, the prætor came up from Creusa. At the same time, ships sent by the allies arrived at Chalcis: two Carthaginian quinqueremes, two triremes from Heraclea in Pontus, four from Chalcedon, a like number from Samos, and also five quinqueremes from Rhodes. The prætor sent back these to the allies, because there was no where a naval war. Quintus Marcius also came to Chalcis with his ships, having taken Alope, and laid siege to Larissa, called likewise Cremaste. While such was the state of affairs in Bœotia, Perseus, when, as has been mentioned, he lay encamped at Sycurium, after collecting the corn from all the adjacent parts, sent a detachment to ravage the lands of the Pheræans; hoping that the Romans might be drawn away from their camp to succour the cities of their allies, and then be caught at a disadvantage. And when he saw that they were not put in motion by this disorderly expedition, he distributed all the booty, consisting mostly of cattle of all kinds, among the soldiers, that they might feast themselves with plenty. The prisoners he kept.

57 Both the consul and the king held councils nearly at the same time, to determine in what manner they should begin their operations. The king assumed fresh confidence, from the enemy having allowed him, without interruption, to ravage the country of the Pheræans: and in consequence, resolved to advance directly to

their camp, and give them no further time for delay. On the other side, the Romans were convinced that their inactivity had created a mean opinion of them in the minds of their allies, who were exceedingly offended that aid was not borne to the Pheræans. While they were deliberating how they should act, (Eumenes and Attalus were present in the council,) a messenger in a violent hurry acquainted them that the enemy were approaching in a great body. On this the council was dismissed, and an order to take arms instantly issued. It was also resolved, that in the mean time a party of Eumenes' troops, consisting of one hundred horse, and an equal number of javelin-bearers on foot, should go out to observe the enemy. Perseus, about the fourth hour of the day, being nearly one thousand paces from the Roman camp, ordered the body of his infantry to halt and advanced himself in front, with the cavalry and light infantry, accompanied by Cotys and the other generals of the auxiliaries. They were less than five hundred paces distant, when they descried the Roman horse, which consisted of two cohorts, mostly Gauls, commanded by Cassignatus, and attended by about one hundred and fifty light infantry, Mysians and Cretans. The king halted, as he knew not the force of the enemy. He then sent forward two troops of Thracians, and two of Macedonians, with two cohorts of Cretans and Thracians. The fight, as the parties were equal in number, and no reinforcements were sent upon either side, ended without any decided advantage. About thirty of Eumenes' men were killed, among whom fell Cassignatus, general of the Gauls. Perseus then led back his forces to Sycurium, and the next day, about the same hour, brought up his army to the same ground, and a number of waggons carrying water followed him; for the road for twelve miles had no water, and was very full of dust: and it was apparent that if they came to an engagement on the first view of the enemy, they would be greatly distressed in the fight by thirst. When the Romans remained quiet, and even called in the advanced guards within the rampart; the king's troops returned to their camp. In this manner they acted for several days, still hoping that the Roman cavalry might attack their rear on their retreat, which would bring on a battle; considering, likewise, that when they had once enticed the Romans to some distance from their camp, they could, being superior in both

cavalry and light infantry, easily, and in any spot, face about upon them.

58 After this design did not succeed, the king moved his camp nearer the enemy, and fortified it at the distance of five miles from the Romans. From it at the dawn of the next day, having drawn up his line of infantry on the same ground as before, he led up the whole cavalry and light infantry to the enemy's camp. The sight of the dust rising in great abundance and nearer than usual, caused a great alarm in the Roman camp; and at first they scarcely believed the person announcing the circumstance, because during all the preceding days the Macedonians had never appeared before the fourth hour, and it was now only sun-rise. Afterwards, when their doubts were removed, by the shouting of great numbers, and the men running off from the gates, great confusion ensued. The tribunes, præfects, and centurions hastened to the general's quarters, and their soldiers to their several tents. Perseus formed his troops within less than five hundred paces of the rampart, round a hill, called Callinicus. King Cotys, at the head of his countrymen, had the command of the left wing, the light infantry were placed between the ranks of the cavalry and separated them. On the right wing were the Macedonian horse, with whose troops the Cretans were intermixed. Milo, of Berœa, had the command of these last; Meno, of Antigone, that of the cavalry, and the chief direction of the whole division. Next to the wings were posted the royal horsemen, and a mixed kind of troops selected out of the auxiliary corps of many nations; the commanders here were Patrocles of Antigone, and Didas the governor of Pæonia. In the centre was the king; and on each side of him the band called Agema, with the consecrated squadrons of horse; in his front the slingers and javelin-bearers, each body amounting to four hundred. The command of these he gave to Ion of Thessalonice, and Timanor, a Dolopian. The king's troops were posted in this manner. On the other side, the consul, drawing up his infantry in a line within the trenches, sent out likewise all his cavalry and light infantry, which were marshalled on the outside of the rampart. Caius Licinius Crassus, the consul's brother, had the command of the right wing, which consisted of all the Italian cavalry, with light infantry intermixed. On the left wing, Marcus Valerius Lævinus commanded the cavalry of the allies, being

sent by the states of Greece, and the light infantry of the same nation; Quintus Mucius, with a chosen body of cavalry, levied on the emergency, led the centre. In the front of this body were placed two hundred Gallic horsemen; and of the auxiliaries of Eumenes, three hundred Cyrtians. Four hundred Thessalian horse were posted at a little distance, beyond the left wing. King Eumenes and Attalus, with their whole division, stood on the rear, between the rear rank and the rampart.

59 Formed in this manner, and nearly equal in numbers of cavalry and light infantry, the two armies encountered; the fight being begun by the slingers and javelin-bearers, who preceded the lines. First of all the Thracians, just like wild beasts which had been long pent up, rushing on with a hideous yell, fell upon the Italian cavalry in the right wing with such fury, that even those men who were fortified against fear, both by experience in war and by their natural courage, were thrown into disorder. The footmen struck their spears with their swords; sometimes cut the hams of their horse, and sometimes stabbed them in the flanks. Perseus, making a charge on the centre, at the first onset routed the Greeks. When the enemy pressed hard on their rear, the Thessalian cavalry, who had been posted in reserve at a little distance from the left wing, clear of the shock, at first mere spectators of the fight, afterwards, when affairs took this unfortunate turn, were of the utmost service to the Greeks. For they retreating leisurely, and keeping their ranks, after they joined the auxiliary troops under Eumenes, in concert with him afforded a safe retreat between their ranks to the confederates, who fled in disorder, and as the enemy did not follow in close bodies, they even had the courage to advance, and by that means saved many of the flying soldiers who made towards them. Nor did the king's troops, who in the ardour of the pursuit had fallen into confusion, dare to encounter men regularly formed, and marching with a steady pace. When the king, victorious in the cavalry action, shouted out "that the war was finished, if they would aid him by even slight exertions," the phalanx came up seasonably while he was encouraging his troops; for Hippias and Leonatus, as soon as they heard of the victory gained by the horse, without waiting for orders, advanced with all haste, that they might be at hand to second any spirited design. While the king, struck with

the great importance of the attempt, hesitated between hope and fear, Evander, the Cretan, who had been employed by him to waylay king Eumenes at Delphi, after he saw the body of infantry advancing round their standards, ran up, and warmly recommended, to him, “not to suffer himself to be so far elated by success, as rashly to risk his all on a precarious chance, when there was no necessity for it. If he would content himself with the advantage already obtained, and proceed no farther that day, he would have it in his power to make an honourable peace; or if he chose to continue the war, he would be joined by abundance of allies, who would readily follow fortune.” The king’s own judgment rather inclined to this plan; wherefore, after commending Evander, he ordered the standards to be borne back, and the infantry to return to their camp, and the trumpeters to sound the signal for retreat to the cavalry. On the side of the Romans there were slain that day two hundred horsemen, and not less than two thousand footmen; about two hundred horsemen were made prisoners: but of the king’s, only twenty horsemen and forty footmen were killed.

⁶⁰ When the victors returned to their camp, all were full of joy, but the insolent transports of the Thracians were particularly remarkable; for on their way back they chanted songs, and carried the heads of the enemy fixed on spears. Among the Romans there was not only grief arising from their ill success, but dread lest the enemy should immediately attack their camp. Eumenes advised the consul to take post on the other side of the Peneus, that he might have the river as a defence, until the dismayed troops should recover their spirits. The consul was deeply struck with the shame of an acknowledgment of fear; yet he yielded to reason, and leading over his troops in the dead of the night, fortified a camp on the farther bank. Next day the king advanced with the intention of provoking the enemy to battle; and on seeing their camp pitched in safety on the other side of the river, admitted that he had been guilty of error in not pushing the victory the day before, and of a still greater fault, in lying idle during the night; for by sending his light-armed troops, without calling out any of his other soldiers, the army of the enemy might in a great measure be destroyed, during their confusion in the passage of the river. The Romans were delivered, indeed, from any immediate fears, as they

had their camp in a place of safety; but, among many other afflicting circumstances, their loss of reputation affected them most. In a council held in presence of the consul, every one concurred in throwing the blame on the Ætolians, insisting that the panic and flight took place first among them; and that then the other allied troops of the Grecian states followed their cowardly example. Five chiefs of the Ætolians, who were said to be the first persons that turned their backs, were sent to Rome.

61 The Thessalians were publicly commended in a general assembly, and their commanders even received presents for their good behaviour. The spoils of the enemies who fell in the engagement were brought to the king, out of which he made presents, — to some, of remarkable armour, to some, of horses, and to others he gave prisoners. There were above one thousand five hundred shields; the coats of mail and breastplates amounted to more than one thousand, and the number of helmets, swords, and missile weapons of all sorts was much greater. These spoils, ample in themselves, were much magnified in a speech which the king made to an assembly of the troops: he said, “You have given the prestige of victory to the issue of the war: you have routed the best part of the enemy’s force, the Roman cavalry, which they used to boast of as invincible. For, with them, the cavalry is the flower of their youth; the cavalry is the nursery of their senate; out of them they choose the members of that body, who afterwards are made their consuls; out of them they elect their commanders. The spoils of these we have just now divided among you. Nor have you a less evident victory over their legions of infantry, who, stealing away in the night through fear of you, filled the river with all the disorderly confusion of people shipwrecked, swimming here and there. But it will be easier for us to pass the Peneus in pursuit of the vanquished, than it was for them in the hurry of their flight; and, immediately on our passing, we will assault their camp, which we should have taken this morning if they had not run away. Or if they should choose to meet us in the field, anticipate the same result in an infantry action, as took place yesterday when the cavalry were engaged.” Those troops who had gained the victory, while they bore on their shoulders the spoils of the enemies whom they had killed, were highly animated at hearing

their own exploits, and, from what had passed, conceived sanguine hopes of the future; while the infantry, especially those of the Macedonian phalanx, were inflamed with emulation of the glory acquired by the others, wishing impatiently for an opportunity to display their exertions in the king's service, and to acquire equal glory from the defeat of the enemy. The king then dismissed the assembly; and next day, marching thence, pitched his camp at Mopsius, a hill situate half way between Tempe and Larissa.

62 The Romans, without quitting the bank of the Peneus, removed their camp to a place of greater safety. Thither came Misagenes, the Numidian, with one thousand horse, and a like number of foot, besides twenty-two elephants. The king soon after held a council on the general plan to be pursued; and as the presumption inspired by the late success had by this time subsided, some of his friends ventured to advise him to employ his good fortune as the means of obtaining an honourable peace, rather than to let himself be so far transported with vain hopes, as to expose himself to the hazard of an irretrievable misfortune. They observed, that "to use moderation in prosperity, and not to confide too much in the calm of present circumstances, was the part of a man of prudence, who deserved success; and they recommended it to him to send to the consul, to renew the treaty, on the same terms which his father had received from Titus Quintius, his conqueror; for the war could never be terminated in a more glorious manner than by such a memorable battle, nor could a surer hope of a lasting peace ever occur, than that afforded by existing circumstances, as they were likely to make the Romans, dispirited by their defeat, more willing to come to terms. But should they, with their native obstinacy, spurn reasonable conditions, then gods and men would bear witness both to the moderation of Perseus, and to the stubborn pride of the others." The king's inclination was never averse to such measures; therefore this opinion received the approbation of the majority. The ambassadors sent to the consul had audience in a full council, summoned for the purpose. They requested that "a peace might be concluded; promising that Perseus should pay the Romans the same tribute which Philip had engaged to pay, and should evacuate the same cities, lands, and places, which Philip had evacuated." Such were the

proposals of the ambassadors. When they withdrew, and the council deliberated concerning them, the Roman firmness prevailed in their determination. So completely was it the practice of that time, to assume in adversity the countenance of prosperity, and in prosperity to moderate the temper. They resolved to give this answer: "That peace should be granted on this condition only; that the king should give to the senate an entirely unconditional right, of deciding concerning him and all Macedon." When the ambassadors brought back this answer, such as were unacquainted with their usual mode of acting, were astonished at the obstinate perseverance of the Romans, and most people advised the king to make no further mention of peace, for "the enemy would soon come to solicit that which they now disdained when offered." Perseus feared this haughtiness, since it proceeded from a confidence in their strength, and increasing the sum of money, with the hope of purchasing peace by treasure, did not cease to solicit the mind of the consul. After the consul made no change in the answer which he had first given, Perseus, having despaired of peace, returned to Sycurium, from which he had set out with the intention of trying again the fortune of war.

63 The news of this cavalry action spread through Greece, produced a discovery of the wishes of the people. For not only those who professed an attachment to the Macedonians, but the generality, who were bound to the Romans under the weightiest obligations, and some who had even felt the power and haughty behaviour of the Macedonians, received the account with joy; and that for no other cause, than out of an evil passion which the mob displays, even in contests of sports, of favouring the worse and weaker party. Meanwhile, in Bœotia, the prætor, Lucretius, pushed the siege of Haliartus with all imaginable vigour. And although the besieged had no foreign aid, except some young Coronæans, who had come into the town at the beginning of the siege, and were without hope of relief, yet they maintained the defence with courage beyond their strength. For they made frequent irruptions against the works; and when the ram was applied, they crushed it to the ground, by dropping on it a mass of lead; and whenever those who worked the engine avoided the blow by changing its position, the besieged by working

in masses, and collecting stones out of the rubbish, quickly erected a new wall in the room of that which had been demolished. The prætor, when the progress by machines was too slow, ordered scaling-ladders to be distributed among the companies, resolving to make a general assault on the walls. He thought the number of his men sufficient for this, and the more so because on one side of the city, which is bounded by a morass, it would neither be useful nor practicable to form an attack. Lucretius himself led two thousand chosen men to a place where two towers, and the wall between them, had been thrown down; hoping that, while he endeavoured to climb over the ruins, and the townsmen crowded thither to oppose him, the walls, being left defenceless, in some part or other might be taken by escalade. The besieged were not remiss in preparing to repel his assault; for, on the ground, overspread with the rubbish, they placed faggots of dry bushes, and standing with burning torches in their hands, they often threatened to set them on fire, in order that, being covered from the enemy by the smoke and flames, they might have time to throw up a wall in the inside. But a casualty prevented this plan from succeeding; for there fell suddenly such a quantity of rain, as hindered the faggots from being kindled; thus a passage was laid open by drawing the smoking faggots aside; and while all were attending to the defence of one particular spot, the walls were mounted by escalade in many places at once. In the first tumult of storming the town the old men and children, whom chance threw in the way, were put to the sword indiscriminately, while the men who carried arms fled into the citadel. Next day, these, having no remaining hope, surrendered, and were sold by public auction. Their number was about two thousand five hundred. The ornaments of the city, consisting of statues and pictures, with all the valuable booty, were carried off to the ships, and the city was razed to the ground. The prætor then led his army into Thebes, which fell into his hands without a dispute; when he gave the city in possession to the exiles, and the party that sided with the Romans; and sold, as slaves, the families of those who were of the opposite faction, and favoured the king and the Macedonians. After performing these acts in Bœotia, he returned to the sea-coast to his fleet.

64 Whilst these events were taking place in Bœotia, Perseus lay a

considerable time encamped at Sycurium. Having learned there that the Romans were busily employed in collecting corn from all the adjacent grounds, and that when it was brought in, they cut off the ears with sickles, each before his own tent, in order that he might thresh it the cleaner, and had by this means formed large heaps of straw in all quarters of the camp: he, supposing that he might set it on fire, ordered torches, faggots, and bundles of tow, dipped in pitch, to be got ready; and thus prepared, he began his march at midnight, that he might make the attack at the first dawn, and without discovery. But his stratagem was frustrated: the advanced guards, who were surprised, alarmed the rest of the troops by the tumult and terror among them: orders were given to take arms with all speed, and the soldiers were instantly drawn up on the rampart and at the gates in readiness to defend the camp. Perseus immediately ordered his army to face about; the baggage to go foremost, and the battalions of foot to follow, while himself, with the cavalry and light infantry, kept behind, in order to cover the rear; for he expected, what indeed happened, that the enemy would pursue and harass his rear. There was a short scuffle between the light infantry, mostly in skirmishing parties. The infantry and cavalry returned to their camp, without any disturbance. After reaping all the corn in that quarter, the Romans removed into the territory of Cranno, which was yet untouched. While they were encamped there, deeming themselves secure on account of the distance between the camps, and the difficulty of the march, through a country as destitute of water as was that between Sycurium and Cranno, the king's cavalry and light infantry appeared suddenly, at the dawn of day, on the nearest hills, and caused a violent alarm. They had marched from Sycurium at noon the preceding day, and had left their infantry at the dawn in the next plain. Perseus stood a short time on the hills, in expectation that the Romans might be induced to come to a cavalry action; but after they did not move, he sent a horseman to order the infantry to return to Sycurium, and he himself soon followed. The Roman horse pursued at a small distance, in expectation of being able to attack such as might disperse and separate; but seeing them retreat in close order, and attentive to their standards and ranks, they desisted, and returned to their camp.

65 The king, disliking the length of the march, removed his camp from Sycurium to Mopsilum; and the Romans, having cut down all the corn about Cranno, marched into the lands of Phalanna. When Perseus learnt from a deserter that they carried on their reaping there, without any armed guard, straggling at random through the fields, he set out with one thousand horsemen and two thousand Thracians and Cretans, and after marching with all the speed that he possibly could, unexpectedly fell on the Romans. Nearly a thousand carts, with horses harnessed to them, most of them loaded, were seized, and about six hundred men were taken. The charge of guarding this booty, and conducting it to the camp, he gave to a party of three hundred Cretans, and calling in the rest of his infantry and the cavalry who were spread about, killing the enemy, he led them against the nearest station, thinking that it might be overpowered without much difficulty. Lucius Pompeius, a military tribune, was in command; who led his men, who were dismayed by the sudden approach of the enemy, to a hill at a little distance, hoping to defend himself by means of the advantage of the ground, as he was inferior in number and strength. There he collected his men in a circular body, that, by closing their shields, they might guard themselves from arrows and javelins; on which Perseus, surrounding the hill with armed men, ordered a party to strive to climb it on all sides, and come to close fighting, and the rest to throw missile weapons against them from a distance. The Romans were environed with dangers, in whatever manner they acted; for they could not fight in a body, on account of the enemy who endeavoured to mount the hill; and, if they broke their ranks in order to skirmish with these, they were exposed to the arrows and javelins. They were galled most severely by the Cestrospondana. A dart, two palms in length, was fixed to a shaft, half a cubit long, and of the thickness of a man's finger; round this, which was made of pine, three feathers were tied, as is commonly done with arrows. To throw this they used a sling, which had two beds, unequal in size and in the length of the strings. When the weapon was balanced in these, and the slinger whirled it round by the longer string and discharged it, it flew with the rapid force of a leaden bullet. When one half of the soldiers had been wounded by these and other weapons of all kinds, and the rest were so fatigued

that they could hardly bear the weight of their arms, the king pressed them to surrender, assured them of safety, and sometimes promised them rewards; but not one could be prevailed on to yield; and hope now dawned on them determined to die. For when some of the foragers, fleeing back to the camp, had announced to the consul that the party was surrounded; alarmed for the safety of such a number of his countrymen, (for they were near eight hundred, and all Romans,) he set out with the cavalry and light infantry, joined by the newly arrived Numidian auxiliaries, horse, foot, and elephants, and ordered the military tribunes, that the battalions of the legions should follow. He himself, having strengthened the light-armed auxiliaries with his own light infantry, hastened forward at their head to the hill. He was accompanied by Eumenes, Attalus, and the Numidian prince, Misagenes.

66 When the standards of the Romans first came in sight of the surrounded troops, their spirits were raised from the depth of despair. Perseus's best plan would have been to have contented himself with his accidental good fortune, in having killed and taken so many of the foragers, and not to have wasted time in attacking this detachment of the enemy; or, after he had engaged in the attempt, as he was sensible that he had not a proper force with him, to have gone off, while he might, with safety; instead of which, intoxicated with success, he waited for the arrival of the enemy, and sent messengers in haste to bring up the phalanx, which would have been too late for the emergency. The men must have engaged in all the disorder of a hurried march, against troops duly formed and prepared. The consul, arriving first, proceeded instantly to action. The Macedonians, for some time made resistance; afterwards, when they were equal to their enemies in no respect, having lost three hundred foot, and twenty-four of the best of their horse, of what they call the Sacred Cohort, (among whom fell Antimachus, who commanded that body,) they endeavoured to retreat: but this march back was more disorderly and confused than the battle itself. When the phalanx, being summoned by a hasty order, was marching at full speed, it met first, in a narrow pass, the carts laden with corn, with the mass of prisoners. These they put to the sword, and both parties suffered great annoyance; but none waited till the troops might pass in some sort of order, but the

soldiers tumbled the loads down a precipice, which was the only possible way to clear the road, and the horses, when they were goaded, pushed furiously through the crowd. Scarcely had they disentangled themselves from the disorderly throng of the prisoners, when they met the king's party and the discomfited horsemen. And now the shouts of the men, calling to their comrades to go back, raised a consternation not unlike a total rout; insomuch, that if the enemy had ventured to enter the defile, and carry the pursuit a little farther, they might have done them very great damage. But the consul, when he had relieved his party from the hill, content with that moderate share of success, led back his troops to the camp. There are writers who state that a general engagement took place that day, in which eight thousand of the enemy were killed, among whom were Sopater and Antipater, two of the king's generals, and about two thousand eight hundred taken, with twenty-seven military standards; and that it was not a bloodless victory, for that above four thousand three hundred fell, and five standards of the left wing of the allies were lost.

67 This day revived the spirits of the Romans, and struck Perseus with dismay: to such a degree that, after staying at Mopsilum a few days, chiefly out of anxiety to bury his dead, he left a very strong garrison at Gonnus, and led back his army into Macedon. He left Timotheus, one of his generals, with a small party at Phila, ordering him to endeavour to gain the affection of the Magnesians, by his proximity to them. On his arrival at Pella, he sent his troops to their winter quarters, and proceeded with Cotys to Thessalonica. There an account was received that Atlesbis, a petty prince of Thrace, and Corragus, an officer belonging to Eumenes, had made an inroad into the dominions of Cotys, and seized on the district called Marene. Supposing, therefore, that he must send Cotys home to defend his own territories, he honoured him at his departure with very magnificent presents, and paid to his cavalry two hundred talents, which was but half a year's pay, though he had agreed to give them the pay of a whole year. The consul, hearing that Perseus had left the country, marched his army to Gonnus, in hopes of being able to take that town: which standing directly opposite to the pass of Tempe, at its entrance, serves as the safest barrier to Macedon, and renders a

descent into Thessaly easy. But the city, from the nature of its situation and the strength of the garrison, was impregnable; he therefore gave up the design, and turning his route to Perrhæbia, having taken Mallæa at the first assault, he demolished it; and after reducing Tripolis, and the rest of Perrhæbia, returned to Larissa. From that place he sent home Eumenes and Attalus, and quartered Misagenes and his Numidians, for the winter, in the nearest towns of Thessaly. One half of his army he distributed through Thessaly, in such a manner that all had commodious winter quarters, and served at the same time as a defence to the cities. He sent Quintus Mucius, lieutenant-general, with two thousand men, to secure Ambracia, and dismissed all the allied troops belonging to the Grecian states, except the Achæans. With the other half of his army he marched into the Achæan Phthiotis; where, finding Pteleum deserted by the inhabitants, he levelled it to the ground. He received the voluntary surrender of Antron, and he then marched against Larissa: this city was likewise deserted, the whole multitude taking refuge in the citadel, to which he laid siege. First the Macedonians, who constituted the king's garrison, withdrew through fear; and then the townsmen, on being abandoned by them, surrendered immediately. He then hesitated whether he should first attack Demetrias, or take a view of affairs in Bœotia. The Thebans, being harassed by the Coronæans, pressed him to go into Bœotia; wherefore, in compliance with their entreaties, and because that country was better adapted for winter quarters than Magnesia, he led his army thither.

BOOK XLIII

Translated by William A. McDevitte

Several prætors were condemned because they had conducted themselves with avarice and cruelty in the administration of their provinces. Publius Licinius Crassus, the proconsul, took by storm several cities in Greece, and plundered them with great cruelty. For this reason the captives, who were sold by him, were subsequently, by a decree of the senate, restored to their respective states. Many tyrannical acts were done to the allies by the admirals of the Roman fleets also. This book contains likewise the successful operations of king Perseus in Thrace, with the conquest of Dardania and Illyricum; Gentius was the king of the latter country. The commotions which arose in Spain through the agency of Olonicus, were quelled by his death. Marcus Æmilius Lepidus was chosen by the censors prince of the senate.

1 In the same summer in which the Romans were conquerors in the cavalry action in Thessaly, the lieutenant-general, sent by the consul to Illyricum, compelled, by force of arms, two opulent cities to surrender, and gave the inhabitants all their effects, in hopes, by the reputation of his clemency, to allure to submission the inhabitants of Carnus, a city strongly fortified. But after he could neither induce them to surrender, nor take their city by a siege; that his soldiers might not be fatigued by the two sieges without reaping any advantage, he sacked those cities which he had spared before. The other consul, Caius Cassius, performed nothing memorable in Gaul, the province that fell to his lot; but made an ill-judged attempt to lead his army through Illyricum to Macedon. The senate learned his having undertaken that march from deputies from Aquileia, who complained that their colony, which was new, weak, and but indifferently fortified, lay in the midst of hostile states, Istrians and Illyrians; and begged the senate to take into consideration some method of strengthening it. These, being asked whether they wished that matter to be given in charge to the consul Caius Cassius, replied,

that Cassius, after assembling his forces at Aquileia, had set out on a march through Illyricum into Macedon. The fact was at first deemed incredible, and each individual was under the impression that he had gone on an expedition against the Carnians, or perhaps the Istrians. The Aquileians then said, that all that they knew, or could take upon them to affirm, was that corn for thirty days had been given to the soldiers, and that guides, who knew the roads from Italy to Macedon, had been sought for and carried with him. The senate were highly displeased that the consul should presume to act so improperly as to leave his own province, and remove into that of another; and lead his army by a new and dangerous route through foreign states, and thereby open for so many nations a passage into Italy. Assembled in great numbers, they decreed that the prætor, Caius Sulpicius, should nominate out of the senate three deputies, who should set out from the city on that very day, make all possible haste to overtake the consul, Cassius, wherever he might be, and tell him not to engage in a war with any nation, unless that against which the senate voted that such war should be waged. These deputies left the city; Marcus Cornelius Cethegus, Marcus Fulvius, and Publius Marcius Rex. The fears entertained for the consul and his army caused the business of fortifying Aquileia to be postponed for that time.

2 Then were introduced to the senate ambassadors from the several states of both the Spains; these, after complaining of the avarice and pride of the Roman magistrates, fell on their knees, and implored the senate not to suffer them, who were their allies, to be more cruelly plundered and ill-treated than their enemies. When they complained of other unworthy treatment, and it was also evident that money had been extorted from them; a charge was then given to Lucius Canuleius, the prætor, to whom Spain was allotted, to appoint out of the senatorian order five judges delegate, to try each person from whom the Spaniards might demand back their money; and that they should give the latter power to choose whomsoever they pleased as patrons. The ambassadors being called into the senate-house, the decree of the senate was read aloud, and they were ordered to name their protectors. They named four, — Marcus Porcius Cato, Publius Cornelius Scipio, son of Cneius, Lucius Æmilius Paullus, son of Lucius, and Caius Sulpicius Gallus. The judges entered on the

business with the case of Marcus Titinius first, who had been prætor in Hither Spain, in the consulate of Aulus Manlius and Marcus Junius. The cause was twice adjourned, and on the third hearing the accused was acquitted. A dispute took place between the ambassadors of the two provinces; and the states of Hither Spain chose for their patrons Marcus Cato and Scipio; those of Farther Spain, Lucius Paullus and Sulpicius Gallus. Publius Furius Philus and Marcus Matienus were brought before the judges, the former by the states of the Hither province, and the latter by those of the Farther; the former of whom had been prætor, three years before, in the consulate of Spurius Postumius and Quintus Mucius; and the latter, two years before, when Lucius Postumius and Marcus Popilius were consuls. Both, being accused of most heinous crimes, were remanded; but when the cause was about to be pleaded anew, it was represented on their behalf that they had quitted the country as voluntary exiles. Furius had gone to Præneste, Matienus to Tibur, to live in exile. There was a report that the plaintiffs were not suffered, by their patrons, to bring charges against people of high birth and power; and Canuleius the prætor increased this suspicion, for having neglected that business, he applied himself to the enlisting of soldiers. Then he suddenly went off to his province, lest more might be accused by the Spaniards. Although past transactions were thus consigned to silence, yet the senate deliberated for the interest of the Spaniards in future, for they passed an order that the Roman magistrates should not have the valuation of the corn; nor should they compel the Spaniards to compound for their twentieths at such prices as they pleased; and that officers should not be placed in command of their towns for the purpose of exacting money.

3 There came also from Spain another embassy, from a new race of men. They, representing that they were the offspring of Roman soldiers and Spanish women, to whom the Romans had not been united in wedlock, and that their number amounted to more than four thousand, petitioned for a grant of some town to be given them in which they might reside. The senate decreed, that “they should put their names on a list before Lucius Canuleius; and that, if he should judge any of them deserving of freedom, it was their pleasure that they should be settled as a colony at Carteia, on the ocean. That such

of the present inhabitants of Carteia as wished to remain there, should have the privilege of being considered as colonists, and should have lands assigned them. That this should be deemed a Latin settlement, and be called a colony of freed-men." At this time Prince Gulussa, son of king Masinissa, arrived from Africa as ambassador from his father. Carthaginian ambassadors also came. Gulussa, being first introduced to the senate, gave a detail of the succours sent by his father to the maintenance of the war in Macedon, and promised, that if they wished to order any thing besides, he would execute it in return for the meritorious deeds of the Roman people; and he warned the conscript fathers to be on their guard against the treachery of the Carthaginians. That they "had formed the design of fitting out a powerful fleet, in favour, as they pretended, of the Romans, and against the Macedonians; but when it should be equipped and ready for action, they would have it in their power to make their own option which party they would treat as a friend, and which as a foe." *Then he pleaded Masinissa's cause concerning the land and towns, which, according to the complaint of the Carthaginians, were wrested from them, by him; and the question was debated with great warmth between the prince and the Carthaginian ambassadors. We have not ascertained what were the arguments brought forward by both parties, or what was the reply given by the senate. However this contest ceased, and seemed to slumber for several years; it was subsequently renewed, and burst forth into the flames of that war which was undertaken by the Carthaginians against Masinissa, necessarily waged against Rome, and terminated only by the downfall of Carthage. We find, in the annals of this year, that a son was born of a virgin, while she was under the strict guardianship of her parents, and by the order of the soothsayers was conveyed to a desert island. The elections were held by Caius Cassius the consul, in which Aulus Hostilius Mancinus and Aulus Atilius Serranus were appointed consuls. Then Marcus Ræcius, Quintus Mænius, Lucius Flatensius, Quintus Ælius Pætus, Titus Manlius Torquatus, and Caius Hostilius, were elected prætors. Italy and Macedon are declared the consular provinces. Italy fell to Atilius, and Macedon to Hostilius. With regard to the prætors, Ræcius obtained by lot the city jurisdiction, Mænius the foreign. The fleet, together with the sea-*

coast of Greece, fell to Hortensius. The rest of the prætorian provinces were, without doubt, those of the former year, viz. Spain, Sicily, and Sardinia. But what prætors obtained the command in each cannot be ascertained, in consequence of the silence of the ancient records. In the mean time Publius Licinius, as if he were sent to wage war not against Perseus, but the Greeks, turned the rage of war, so ineffectual against the real enemy, towards wretches who were unable to cope with him, and took by storm and plundered in a most merciless manner several cities in Bæotia, in which he was passing the winter. When the Coroneans, who were the most ill-used, threw themselves on the protection of the senate, that august body decreed that the captives who had been sold should be restored to freedom. Lucretius the prætor, who had the command of the fleet, imitated, or rather surpassed, the cruelty and avarice of the consul; he was oppressive to the allies, despicable in the sight of the enemy. Since Perseus, by a sudden attack on the fleet stationed at Oreum, took twenty transports laden with corn, sunk the rest of them, and even made himself master of four galleys of five banks of oars. Matters were successfully managed by Perseus in Thrace also where he made a diversion in that country in favour of Cotys against the forces of Atlesbis and Corragus. Nor truly was Cotys false to his own interests, as he was a man indefatigable in war, and pre-eminent in council, a Thracian by birth alone, not by his habits; for he was singularly sober and temperate, and, besides, quite amiable, owing to his mercy and moderation. The tide of war flowed on in favour of Perseus, for at this time the nation of the Epirotes also passed over to his party, by the advice of Cephalus, who however was induced to revolt more by necessity, than his own free will. He was a man of remarkable prudence and firmness, and even then influenced by the best of feelings. For he had prayed to the immortal gods that war might never break out between the Romans and Perseus, and that they might never come to a decisive struggle. For he had determined, when the war broke out, to aid the Romans according to the written articles of the treaty, but to do nothing further than the conditions of that treaty demanded, and not to be complaisant in a servile or disgraceful manner. These plans were confounded by one Charopus, the grandson of that Charopus who opened the pass at the river Arus

to Titus Quinctius, in the war against Philip; this Charopus was a worthless flatterer of those in power, and a strange adept at forging calumnies against men of the best character. He was educated at Rome, having been sent there by his grandfather, in order that he might learn thoroughly the Roman language and literature. Owing to this he became acquainted with, and dear to, very many of the Romans; and yet, after his return home, as he was naturally of a fickle and depraved disposition, and besides inspired with confidence, owing to his intimacy with the Roman nobles, he was constantly sneering at the leading men of the state. At first he was despised by all, nor was any regard paid to his allegations. But after the war with Perseus broke out, and suspicions were rife throughout Greece, as many openly professed their zeal for Perseus, and still more felt it in secret, Charopus never ceased accusing before the Romans those who were invested with authority among the Epirotes. The intimate connexion that Cephalus, and the others who adopted that line of politics, had formerly with the kings of Macedon, gave a specious appearance and false colouring to his calumnies. Already, in truth, by malignantly prying into all their acts and words, and putting the worst construction on them, and by falsifying the truth by adding and subtracting whatever he chose, he was succeeding in having his accusations believed. Nor however were Cephalus, and, those who had been the associates of his designs in the management of the republic, moved by these allegations, since they relied on the full consciousness of unsullied fidelity towards the Romans. But when they perceived that the Romans lent an ear to these calumnies, and that some of the Ætolian nobles, whom the calumnies of slanderers had rendered objects of suspicion as well as themselves, were taken away to Rome, then at length they believed it necessary to provide for the safety of themselves and their property. And they, when no other resource than the king's friendship suggested itself to them, were compelled to form an alliance with Perseus, and give their nation into his hands. Aulus Hostilius and Aulus Atilius, the consuls, having entered on their office at Rome, and having performed such religious and political acts as are usually executed by the consuls in and around the city, set out for their provinces. Hostilius, to whose lot Macedon had fallen, when he was hastening into Thessaly, to join

the army there, entered Epirus, which had not yet openly revolted, and was very near falling into the hands of Perseus. For one Theodotus and Philostratus, under the impression that, if they would deliver him up to the king, they would receive great favour from Perseus; and, besides, would strike a very severe blow against the Romans at the time, sent letters to the king, desiring him to come up with all the speed he could. And were it not that Perseus was retained by delay, thrown in his way by the Molossians, at the passage of the river Lous, and that the consul, being informed of his danger, had changed his intended route, there was not a possibility of his escaping. Therefore, having left Epirus, he sailed to Anticyra, and from the latter place proceeded to Thessaly. Having received the command of the army there, he marched at once against the enemy. But he was not a whit more successful in the operations of the war than his predecessor. For having engaged in battle with the king, he was beaten, and when at first he attempted to force his way through Elimeia, and afterwards to march secretly through Thessaly, he was compelled to desist from his useless attempts, as Perseus anticipated all his manœuvres. Nor did Hortensius the prætor, to whom the fleet had fallen, carry on any of his operations with sufficient skill or success, for none of his acts deserves better to be remembered than his cruel and perfidious plundering of the city of the Abderites, when they endeavoured to avert, by entreaty, the intolerable burdens imposed on them. Perseus, therefore, now despising the Romans, as if he were completely at leisure and disengaged, made an incursion, for the purpose of gaining a fresh wreath of laurel, against the Dardanians, and having slain ten thousand of the barbarians, bore away great booty.

4 In this year the Celtiberians made some warlike motions in Spain, at the instigation of a strange leader named Olonicus, some give him the name of Salindicus. He was a man of great cunning and boldness, and brandishing a silver spear, which he pretended was sent to him from heaven, with the agitation of a person inspired, he attracted universal attention. But when he, with corresponding rashness, had approached the camp of the Roman prætor, in the dusk of the evening, with the intention of slaying him, bringing with him an associate in his mad enterprise, he was killed, near the very tent,

by a sentinel with a javelin: his companion paid the same penalty for his foolish undertaking. The prætor immediately ordered both their heads to be cut off and fixed on spears, and then given to some of the prisoners to bear to their countrymen. These entering the camp and showing the heads caused such panic, that if the Romans had instantly advanced to the camp they might have taken it. As it was, a general flight took place; and some were of opinion that ambassadors should be sent to supplicate for peace; while a great number of states, on hearing this intelligence, surrendered: and when the prætor had given pardon to them while endeavouring to excuse themselves, and laying all the blame on the madness of the two individuals who had voluntarily offered themselves for punishment, he proceeded immediately to the other states, every one of which acknowledged his authority, and he passed with his army in peace, without doing any injury, through the tract of country where before the flames of war raged with the utmost fury. This mercy shown by the prætor, by which he overcame without bloodshed a very savage people, was the more pleasing to the senate and people, as the war had been conducted in Greece both by the consul Licinius and the prætor Lucretius with uncommon avarice and cruelty. The plebeian tribunes, daily in their speeches to the people, censured Lucretius for being absent, though it was alleged in his favour that he was abroad on the business of the public. But so little was then known of what passed, even in the vicinity of Rome, that he was, at that very time, at his own estate near Antium; and with money amassed in his expedition, was bringing water thither from the river Loracina; he is said to have contracted for the execution of this work at the expense of one hundred and thirty thousand *asses*. He also decorated the temple of Æsculapius with pictures taken from among the spoils. But ambassadors from Abdera diverted the public displeasure, and the consequent disgrace, from Lucretius to his successor. These stood weeping at the door of the senate-house, and complained, that “their town had been stormed and plundered by Hortensius. His only reason,” they said, “for destroying their city was, that, on his demanding from them one hundred thousand denariuses, and fifty thousand measures of wheat, they had requested time until they could send ambassadors on the subject, both to the consul Hostilius,

and to Rome; and that they had scarcely reached the consul, when they heard that the town was stormed, their nobles beheaded, and the rest sold for slaves.” This act appeared to the senate deserving their indignation, and they passed the same decree respecting the people of Abdera as they had passed concerning the Coronæans. They also ordered Quintus Mænius, the prætor, to publish the notice in a general assembly, as had been done the year before. Two ambassadors, Caius Sempronius Blæsus and Sextus Julius Cæsar, were sent to restore the Abderites to liberty; and were likewise commissioned to deliver a message from the senate to the consul Hostilius, and to the prætor Hortensius, that the senate judged the war made on the Abderites to be unjust, and had directed that all those who were in servitude should be sought out and restored to liberty.

5 At the same time, complaints were laid before the senate against Caius Cassius, who had been consul the year before, and was then a military tribune in Macedon, under Aulus Hostilius, and ambassadors came from Cincibilus, a king of the Gauls. His brother made a speech to the senate, complaining that Caius Cassius had entirely wasted the country of the Alpine Gauls, their allies, and carried off into slavery many thousands of their people. Ambassadors came at the same time from the Carnians, Istrians, and Iapudans, who represented, that “at first guides had been demanded from them by the consul, Cassius, to point out the road to him, leading his army into Macedon: that he had parted from them in a peaceable manner, as if to carry war elsewhere; but afterwards, when he had proceeded half way, he returned, and overran their country in a hostile manner, spreading depredations and fires through every quarter; nor had they as yet been able to discover for what reason they were treated as enemies by the consul.” The following answer was returned to the absent prince of the Gauls, and the states present, that “the senate had no previous knowledge of those acts of which they complained; nor did they approve of them if they did take place. But that it would still be unjust to condemn, unheard and absent, a man of consular rank, especially as he was employed abroad in the business of the public. That, when Caius Cassius should come home from Macedonia, if they chose then to prosecute their complaints against him, in his

presence, the senate, after examining the matter, would endeavour to give them satisfaction." It was further resolved, that not only a verbal answer should be given, but that ambassadors should be also sent to those nations, (two to the transalpine chieftain, and three to the other states,) to notify to them the determinations of the senate. They voted, that presents, to the amount of two thousand *asses*, should be sent to the ambassadors; and to the prince, and his brother, some of extraordinary value: two chains made of gold, and weighing five pounds; five silver vases, amounting to twenty pounds' weight; two horses, fully caparisoned, with grooms to attend them, and horsemen's armour and cloaks, besides suits of apparel to their attendants, both freemen and slaves. These were presented to them; and, on their request, permission was given to each of them to purchase ten horses, and convey them out of Italy. Caius Lælius and Marcus Æmilius were sent ambassadors with the Gauls, to the regions on the northern side of the Alps; and Caius Cicinius, Publius Cornelius Blasio, and Titus Memmius, to the other states.

6 Embassies from many states of Greece and Asia arrived at Rome at the same time. The first that had audience of the senate were the Athenians, who represented, that "they had sent what ships and soldiers they had to the consul Publius Licinius, and the prætor Caius Lucretius, who did not think proper to employ their forces, but ordered the state to furnish one hundred thousand measures of corn; and, notwithstanding that they were the cultivators of a sterile soil, and that they fed even the husbandmen with imported grain, yet that they might not appear deficient in their duty, they had made up that quantity, and were ready to perform any other service that might be required of them." The Milesians making no mention of their past services, promised to readily afford any assistance in the war which the senate should think proper to demand. The Alabandians said, that they had erected a temple to the city of Rome, and instituted anniversary games to her divinity; that they had brought a golden crown, of fifty pounds' weight, to be deposited in the Capitol, as an offering to Jupiter supremely good and great; also three hundred horsemen's bucklers, which they were ready to deliver to any person appointed to receive them; and they requested permission to lodge

the said offering as intended, and to perform sacrifice. Ambassadors from Lampsacus, who brought a crown of eighty pounds' weight, made the same request, and represented to the senate that "they had renounced the party of Perseus as soon as the Roman army arrived in Macedon, though they had been under the dominion of that monarch, and formerly of Philip. In return for which, and for their having contributed every assistance in their power to the Roman commanders, they only requested to be admitted into the friendship of the Roman people; and that, if peace should be made with Perseus, they should be exempted from falling again into his power." A gracious answer was given to the rest of the ambassadors, and the prætor, Quintus Mænius, was ordered to enrol the people of Lampsacus as allies. Presents were made to all, and two thousand asses were given to each. The Alabandians were desired to carry back the bucklers into Macedon, to the consul Aulus Hostilius. At the same time ambassadors came from Africa; those of the Carthaginians acquainted the senate that they had brought down to the sea-coast a million of measures of wheat, and five hundred thousand of barley, "to be transported to whatever place the senate should order. They were sensible," they said, "that this offer, and act of duty, were very inferior the deserts of the Roman people, and to their own inclinations; but that on many other occasions, when both nations were in favourable circumstances, they had performed the duties of faithful and grateful allies." In like manner, ambassadors from Masinissa offered the same quantity of wheat, one thousand two hundred horsemen, and twelve elephants; desiring, that if he could be of service in any other particular, the senate would lay their commands on him, and he would execute them with as much zeal as if he had proposed them himself. Thanks were returned both to the Carthaginians and to the king; and they were requested to send the supplies, which they had promised, into Macedon, to the consul Hostilius. A present of two thousand *asses* was made to each of the ambassadors.

7 When the ambassadors of the Cretans mentioned that they had sent into Macedon the number of archers which had been demanded by the consul, Publius Licinius, on being interrogated, they did not deny that a greater number of their archers were serving in the army

of Perseus than in that of the Romans: on which they received this answer; that “if the Cretans were candidly and sincerely resolved to prefer the friendship of the Roman people to that of king Perseus, the Roman senate, on their part, would answer them as allies who could be relied on. In the mean time, that they should announce to their countrymen, that the senate required that the Cretans should endeavour to call home, as soon as possible, all the soldiers who were in the service of king Perseus.” The Cretans being dismissed, the ambassadors from Chalcis were called, whose embassy seemed to be a matter of extreme necessity, from the very circumstance of their entering the senate-house at all, since Miction, their chief, having lost the use of his limbs, was introduced on a litter: and either the plea of bad health had not appeared to himself an adequate motive for seeking exemption from duty, though he was in such a distressing state, or exemption had not been given him at his request. After premising that no other part was alive but his tongue, which served him to deplore the calamities of his country, he represented, first, the friendly assistance given by his state to the Roman commanders and armies, both on former occasions and in the war with Perseus; and then, the instances of pride, avarice, and cruelty, which his countrymen had suffered from the Roman prætor, Caius Lucretius, and were at that very time suffering from Lucius Hortensius; notwithstanding which, they were resolved to endure all hardships, should they be even more grievous than they underwent at present, rather than swerve from their allegiance. “With regard to Lucretius and Hortensius, they knew that it would have been safer to have shut their gates against them, than to receive them into the city. For those cities which had so done, remained in safety, as Emathea, Amphipolis Maronea, and Ænus; whereas, in Chalcis, the temples were robbed of all their ornaments. Caius Lucretius had carried off in ships, to Antium, the plunder amassed by such sacrilege and had dragged persons of free condition into slavery; the property of the allies of the Roman people was subjected to rapine and plunder every day. For Hortensius, pursuing the practice of Caius Lucretius, kept the crews of his ships in lodgings both in summer and winter alike; so that their houses were filled with a crowd of seamen, and those men who showed no regard to propriety, either in their words or

actions, lived among the inhabitants, their wives, and children.”

8 The senate resolved to call Lucretius before them, that he might argue the matter in person, and exculpate himself. But when he appeared, he heard many more crimes alleged against him than had been mentioned in his absence; and two more weighty and powerful accusers stood forth in support of the charges, Manius Juventius Thalna and Cneius Aufidius, plebeian tribunes. These not only arraigned him bitterly in the senate, but dragged him out into the assembly of the people, and there, after reproaching him with many heinous crimes, they instituted a legal prosecution against him. By order of the senate, the prætor, Quintus Mænius, gave this answer to the ambassadors of Chalcis: that “the senate acknowledged their account of the good offices done by them to the Roman people, both on former occasions and during the present war, to be true; and that their conduct met with gratitude, as it ought: that as to the ill treatment, which they complained of having received formerly from Caius Lucretius, and now from Lucius Hortensius, Roman prætors, who could suppose that such things were done with the approbation of the senate, who would consider that the Roman people had made war on Perseus, and, before that, on his father Philip, for the express purpose of asserting the liberties of Greece, and not that their friends and allies should receive such treatment from their magistrates: that they would give them a letter to the prætor, Lucius Hortensius, informing him that the proceedings, of which the people of Chalcis complained, were highly displeasing to the senate; charging him to take care that all free persons, who had been reduced to slavery, should be sought out as soon as possible, and restored to liberty; and commanding that no seamen, except the masters of vessels, should be permitted to lodge on shore.” Pursuant to the senate’s order, a letter to this purport was written to Hortensius. A present of two thousand *asses* was made to each of the ambassadors, and carriages were hired for Miction, at the public expense, to carry him commodiously to Brundisium. When the day of Caius Lucretius’s trial came, the tribunes pleaded against him before the people, and demanded that he should be fined in the sum of one million of *asses*; and an assembly of the people being held, every one of the thirty-five pronounced him guilty.

9 In Liguria, nothing worthy of record occurred in that year; for the enemy made no hostile attempt, nor did the consul march his legions into their country; on the contrary, having made himself sure that there would be peace that year, he discharged the soldiers of the two Roman legions within sixty days after his arrival in the province, sent the troops of the Latin confederates early into winter quarters at Luna and Pisæ, and himself, with the cavalry, visited most of the towns in the Gallic province. Although there was no open war any where but in Macedon, yet the Romans suspected Gentius, king of Illyria. The senate, therefore, voted that eight ships, fully equipped, should be sent from Brundisium to Issa, to Caius Furius, lieutenant-general, who, with only two vessels belonging to the inhabitants, held the government of that island. In this squadron were embarked two thousand soldiers, whom the prætor, Quintus Mænius, in pursuance of a decree of the senate, had raised in the quarter of Italy opposite Illyria; and the consul Hostilius sent Appius Claudius, with four thousand foot, into Illyria, to protect the states that bordered on it. But Appius Claudius, not content with the force which he brought with him, collected aid from the allies, until he armed as many as eight thousand men of different nations; and after overrunning all that country, took post at Lychnidus, in the territory of the Dassaretians.

10 Not far from this place was Uscana, a town generally deemed part of the dominions of Perseus. It contained ten thousand inhabitants, and a small party of Cretans, who served as a garrison. From this place messengers came secretly, to Claudius, telling him that "if he brought his army nearer, there would be people ready to put the town into his hands; and that it would be well worth his while; for he would satiate with plunder not only his friends, but also his soldiers." The hopes presented to his avarice "blinded his understanding to that degree, that he neither detained any of those who came, nor required hostages as a pledge for his security, in a business which was to be transacted clandestinely and treacherously; neither did he send scouts to examine matters, nor require an oath from the messengers; but, on the day appointed, he left Lychnidus, and pitched his camp twelve miles from the city, which was the object of his design. At the fourth watch he set out, leaving about one

thousand men to guard the camp. His forces, in disorder, extending themselves in a long irregular train, and few in number, as they were separated by a mistake in the night, arrived in this state at the city. Their carelessness increased when they saw not a soldier on the walls. But as soon as they approached within a weapon's cast, a sally was made from two gates at once. Besides the shout raised by the sallying party, a tremendous noise was heard on the walls, composed of the yells of women and the sound of brazen instruments, while the rabble of the place, mixed with a multitude of slaves, made the air resound with various cries. Such a number of terrific circumstances, presented to them on all sides, had such an effect, that the Romans were unable to support the first onset of the sallying party; so that a greater number of them were killed in the flight than in the battle, and scarcely two thousand, with the lieutenant-general himself, effected their escape. The enemy had the greater opportunity of overtaking the weary Romans, in proportion to their distance from the camp. Appius, without even halting in the camp to collect his scattered troops, which would have been the means of saving many stragglers, led back, directly, to Lychnidus, the remains of his unfortunate army.

11 These and other unfavourable occurrences in Macedon were learned from Sextus Digitius, a military tribune, who came to Rome to perform a sacrifice. The senate being apprehensive on account of these advices of some greater disgrace ensuing, deputed Marcus Fulvius Flaccus and Marcus Caninius Rebilus to go to Macedon, and bring certain information of what was going on there; at the same time ordering that the consul, Aulus Hostilius, should summon the assembly for the election of consuls, and arrange that it might be held in the month of January, and should come home to the city as soon as possible. In the mean time instructions were given to the prætor, Marcus Recius, to call home to Rome, by proclamation, all the senators from every part of Italy, except such as were absent on public business; and it was resolved that none of those who were in Rome should go further than one mile from the city. All this was done pursuant to the votes of the senate. The election of consuls was held on the fifth day before the calends of February. Quintus Marcius Philippus a second time, and Cneius Servilius Cæpio, were elected

consuls. Three days after, Caius Decimius, Marcus Claudius Marcellus, Caius Sulpicius Gallus, Caius Marcius Figulus, Servius Cornelius Lentulus, and Publius Fonteius Capito, were chosen prætors. Four other provinces in addition to the two in the city were assigned to the prætors elect; these provinces were Spain, Sardinia, Sicily, and the fleet. Towards the end of February the deputies returned from Macedon, and gave an account of the successful enterprises of Perseus during the preceding summer, and of the great fears which had taken possession of the allies of the Roman people, on account of so many cities being reduced under the king's power. They reported, that "the consul's troops were very thin, in consequence of leave of absence being granted to great numbers, with the view of gaining popularity; the blame of which the consul laid upon the military tribunes, and they, on the other hand, on the consul." The senate understood them to make little of the disgrace sustained through the rashness of Claudius, since they represented "that very few soldiers of Italian extraction were lost, the greatest part being the soldiers raised in that country by an irregular levy." The consuls elect received orders, immediately on entering into office, to propose the affairs of Macedon to the consideration of the senate; and Italy and Macedon were appointed their provinces. An intercalation was made in the calendar of this year, intercalary calends being reckoned on the third day after the feast of Terminus. There died of the priests during this year, Lucius Flaminus, *augur*, and two pontiffs, Lucius Furius Philus, and Caius Livius Salinator. In the room of Furius, the pontiffs chose Titus Manlius Torquatus, and in that of Livius, Marcus Servilius.

12 In the beginning of the ensuing year, when the new consuls, Quintus Marcius and Cneius Servilius, had proposed the distribution of the provinces for consideration, the senate voted that they should, without delay, either settle between themselves about Macedon and Italy, or cast lots for them; and that, before the lot should decide this matter, and while the destination of each was uncertain, lest interest might have any influence, the supplies of men, which the exigency required for each province, should be ordered. Six thousand Roman foot and six thousand of the Latin allies, two hundred and fifty Roman horse and three hundred of the allies, were voted for

Macedon. The old soldiers were to be discharged, so that there should be in each Roman legion no more than six thousand foot and three hundred horse. The number of Roman citizens, which the other consul was to enlist for a reinforcement, was not precisely determined; there was only this limitation mentioned, that he should raise two legions, each of them to contain five thousand two hundred foot and three hundred horse. A larger number of Latin infantry was decreed to him than to his colleague; no less than ten thousand foot, with six hundred horse. An order was given for raising four other legions, to serve wherever occasion might require. The consuls were not allowed the appointment of the military tribunes; the people elected them. The confederates of the Latin nation were ordered to furnish sixteen thousand foot and one thousand horse. This force was intended only to be kept in readiness, to march out should any exigency demand it. Macedon gave the senate most anxiety; they ordered, that one thousand Roman citizens, of the rank of freed-men, should be enlisted in Italy, as seamen, to man the fleet, and the same number in Sicily; and instructions were given the prætor, to whose lot the government of the latter province fell, to the effect that he should take care to carry these over to Macedon, to whatever place the fleet should be stationed at. Three thousand Roman foot and three hundred horse were voted to recruit the army in Spain. Then also the number of men in each legion was limited to five thousand foot and three hundred and thirty horse. Besides these, the prætor, to whose lot Spain should fall, was ordered to levy from the allies four thousand foot and three hundred horse.

13 I am well aware, that, through the same disregard of religion, owing to which the men of the present day generally believe that the gods never give portents of any future events, no prodigies are now either reported to government, or recorded in histories. But for my part, while I am writing the transactions of ancient times, my sentiments, I know not how, become antique; and a kind of religious awe prevents me from considering events, which the men of those days, renowned for wisdom, judged deserving of the attention of the state and of public expiation, unworthy of being recorded in my history. From Anagnia two prodigies were reported this year: that a blazing torch was seen in the air; and that a cow spoke, and was

maintained at the public expense. About the same time, at Minturnæ, the sky appeared as in a blaze of fire. At Reate, a shower of stones fell. At Cumæ, the image of Apollo, in the citadel, shed tears during three days and three nights. In the city of Rome, two of the keepers of the temples made strange announcements, one that in the temple of Fortune, a snake, with a mane like that of a horse, had been seen by many; the other, that, in the temple of Fortuna Primigenia on the hill, a palm sprung up in the court, and that a shower of blood fell in the middle of the day. Two prodigies were not attended to: one, because it happened in a place belonging to a private person; Titus Marcius Figulus having reported, that a palm sprung up in the inner court of his house; the other, because it occurred in a foreign place, Fregellæ, — where, in the house of Lucius Arreus, a spear which he had bought for his son, who was a soldier, burned, as was said, for more than two hours, and notwithstanding the fire consumed none of it. The Sibylline books were consulted by the decemvirs on account of the public prodigies. They directed that the consuls should sacrifice forty of the larger victims to the deities, whom they pointed out; that a supplication should be performed; and that all the magistrates should sacrifice victims of the larger kinds in all the temples, and the people wear garlands. All these acts were performed according to the injunctions of the decemvirs.

14 Then the elections were held for the creation of censors. Several of the first men in the state, including Caius Valerius Lævinus, Lucius Postumius Albinus, Publius Mucius Scævola, Marcus Junius Brutus, Caius Claudius Pulcher, and Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus, were candidates for this office. The Roman people appointed the two last censors. As, on account of the Macedonian war, greater attention was paid to holding the levy than usual, the consuls made a complaint to the senate against the plebeians, that even the younger men did not obey their summons. But, in opposition to them, Caius Sulpicius and Marcus Claudius, tribunes of the people, pleaded in favour of the plebeians; asserting, that “the levying of soldiers was a difficult task, not to the consuls in general, but to such consuls as affected popularity; that no man was made a soldier by them against his inclination; and that the conscript fathers might be convinced of the truth of this, the prætors, who in their office had less power and

authority, would, if it seemed good to the senate, complete the levy.” That business was accordingly committed to the care of the prætors by an unanimous vote of the senate, not without great murmuring on the part of the consuls. The censors, in order to forward it, published, in a general assembly, the following notice: that “they would make it a rule in conducting the survey, that, besides the common oath taken by all citizens, the younger part should swear in this manner, when challenged, — You are younger than forty-six years, and you shall attend at the levy, pursuant to the edict of Caius Claudius and Tiberius Sempronius, censors; and you shall attend at the levy, as often as there shall be a levy held by any magistrate during the aforesaid censors’ continuance in office, if you shall not have been already enlisted.” Also as there was a report, that many men belonging to the legions in Macedon were absent from the army on furloughs, which did not limit the time, and were granted by the commanders to ingratiate themselves with the soldiers, they issued a proclamation concerning all who had been draughted for Macedon in the consulate of Publius Ælius and Caius Popilius, or since that period; that “such as were in Italy should, after being first registered by them in the survey, repair within thirty days to the province in which they served; and that, if any were under the power of a father or grandfather, the names of such should be notified to them. That they would also make inquiry into the cases of the soldiers who had been discharged; and that they would order those, whose discharge should appear to have been obtained through favour, before the regular number of campaigns were served, to be enlisted again.” In consequence of this proclamation, and letters from the censors being dispersed through the market-towns and villages, such multitudes of young men flocked to Rome, that the extraordinary crowd was even inconvenient to the city. Besides enrolling those whom it was necessary to send as a reinforcement for the armies, four legions were raised by the prætor, Caius Sulpicius, and the levies were completed within eleven days.

15 The consuls then cast lots for their provinces; the prætors, on account of the civil jurisdiction, had determined theirs earlier in the season. The civil jurisdiction had fallen to Caius Sulpicius; the foreign, to Caius Decimius; Marcus Claudius Marcellus had obtained

by lot Spain; Servius Cornelius Lentulus, Sicily; Publius Fonteius Capito, Sardinia; and Caius Marcius Figulus had received the command of the fleet. In the arrangement of the consular provinces, Italy fell to Cneius Servilius, and Macedon to Quintus Marcius; and the latter set out as soon as the Latin festival could be celebrated. Cæpio then desired the senate to direct which two of the new legions he should take with him into Gaul; when they ordered, that the prætors Caius Sulpicius and Marcus Claudius should give the consul such of the legions, which they had raised, as they should think fit. The latter, highly offended at a consul being subjected to the will of prætors, adjourned the senate; and standing at the tribunal of the prætors, demanded, that pursuant to the decree, they should assign him two legions; but the prætors left the consul to his own discretion in selecting them. The censors then called over the list of the senate. Marcus Æmilius Lepidus was now, by the third censors, chosen prince of the senate. Seven were expelled that body. In making the survey of the people, they discovered from the rolls how many of the soldiers belonging to the army in Macedonia were absent, and obliged them all to return to that province. They inquired into the cases of the men who had been discharged; and, when any of their discharges appeared irregular in respect of time, they put the following oath to them: "Do you truly swear, that you will, without deceit or evasion, return into the province of Macedon, according to the edict of the censors, Caius Claudius and Tiberius Sempronius?"

16 In the review of the knights their censorship was very severe and harsh: they deprived many of their horses; and after giving offence to the equestrian order in this matter, they inflamed the general displeasure to a higher degree by an edict, in which they ordered, that "no person who had farmed the public revenues or taxes from the censors Quintus Fulvius and Aulus Postumius, should attend their sale, or have any partnership or connexion in the contracts then to be made." When the former tax-contractors could not prevail on the senate, by their frequent complaints, to check the power of the censors, at length they found a patron of their cause in Publius Rutilius, a plebeian tribune, who was incensed against the censors in consequence of a dispute about a private concern. They had ordered a client of his, a freed-man, to throw down a wall, which

stood opposite to a public building in the Sacred Street, because it was built on ground belonging to the public. The tribunes were appealed to by the citizen. When none of them would interfere, except Rutilus, the censors were sent to seize the property of the citizen, and imposed a fine on him in a public assembly. When the present dispute broke out, and the old revenue-farmers had recourse to the tribunes, a bill was suddenly promulgated under the name of one of the tribunes, that “with regard to the public revenues and taxes, which Caius Claudius and Tiberius Sempronius should have hired out, all contracts made by them should be null and void: that they should all be let anew, and that every person, without distinction, should be at liberty to bid for and take them.” The tribune appointed the day for an assembly to vote on this bill. When the day came, and the censors stood forth to argue against the order, there was deep silence while Gracchus addressed them: when the voice of Claudius was drowned in the murmurs, he directed the crier to cause silence, that he might be heard. When this was done, the tribune, complaining that the assembly which he had summoned was taken out of his rule, and that he was reduced to a private capacity, retired from the Capitol, where the assembly met. Next day he raised a violent commotion. In the first place, he declared the property of Tiberius Gracchus forfeited to the gods, because he, by fining and seizing the goods of a person who had appealed to a tribune, and by refusing to admit the tribune’s right of protesting, had reduced him to a private capacity. He instituted a criminal process against Caius Claudius because he had summoned the assembly away from him, and declared his intention of prosecuting both the censors for treason; and he demanded of Caius Sulpicius, the city prætor, that he would fix a day for an assembly to try them. As the censors offered no objection to the people passing their sentence on them as soon as they pleased, their trial for treason was fixed to come the eighth and seventh days before the calends of October. The censors went up immediately to the temple of Liberty, where they sealed the books of the public accounts, shut up the office, and dismissed the clerks; affirming, that they would do no kind of public business until the sentence of the people was passed on them. Claudius was first brought to trial; and after eight out of the eighteen centuries of

knights, and many others of the first class, had given sentence against him, the principal men in the state, immediately taking off their gold rings, in the sight of the people, put on mourning, in order that they might suppliantly solicit the commons in his favour. Yet, it is said, that Gracchus was the chief means of making a change in their sentiments; for when shouts arose from the commons on all sides that Gracchus was in no danger, he took a formal oath, that if his colleague were condemned, he would be his companion in exile, without waiting for their judgment concerning himself. After all, the case of the accused was so near being desperate, that the votes of eight centuries only were wanting to condemn him. When Claudius was acquitted, the tribune said, that he would not delay Gracchus.

17 This year, when the ambassadors of the Aquileians demanded that the number of the colonists should be increased, one thousand five hundred families were enrolled by a decree of the senate; and Titus Annius Luscus, Publius Decius Subulo, and Marcus Cornelius Cethegus, were appointed commissioners to conduct them. During the same year, Caius Popilius and Cneius Octavius, who had been sent ambassadors into Greece, read, first at Thebes, and afterwards carried about to all the other states of Peloponnesus, a decree, ordering, that “no person should furnish the Roman magistrates with any thing for the use of the war, except what the senate should determine.” This afforded the allies a pleasing confidence, with regard to the future also, that they would be relieved from the heavy burdens and expenses, by which they were exhausted, in consequence of the various demands of those magistrates. In the council of Achaia, held at Ægium, the ambassadors spoke, and were heard with sentiments of mutual esteem and affection; and then, leaving that faithful nation in confident assurance of lasting prosperity, they crossed over to Ætolia. No civil war had yet broke out in that country; but all places were full of suspicion and mutual recrimination. The ambassadors having demanded hostages on account of these disputes, set out from this place to Acarnania, without putting an end to the evil. The Acarnanians gave to the ambassadors an audience of their general council at Thyrium. Here, too, there was a struggle between opposite factions; some of the

nobles required that garrisons might be placed in their cities, to protect them against the madness of those who were endeavouring to bring the nation over to the Macedonians; and others objected to the measure, lest peaceful and allied cities should receive such an insult, as was usually offered only to towns taken in war, or engaged in hostilities. Their objection was reckoned reasonable. The ambassadors returned to Larissa, to Hostilius, for by him they had been sent. He kept Octavius with him, and sent Popilius, with about a thousand soldiers, into winter quarters at Ambracia.

18 Perseus did not venture, at the commencement of winter, to go out of the limits of Macedon, lest the Romans might make an irruption into the kingdom by some unguarded quarter; but on the approach of the winter solstice, when the depth of the snow renders the mountains between it and Thessaly impassable, he thought the season favourable for crushing the hopes and spirits of his neighbours, lest any danger should be lurking there, while his attention was turned to the Romans; since Cotys afforded him security in the direction of Thrace, and Cephalus, by his sudden revolt from the Romans, freed him from uneasiness on the side of Epirus, and his late expedition had subdued the Dardanians, he considered that Macedon was only exposed on the side next to Illyria, the Illyrians themselves being in motion, and having offered a free passage to the Romans: hoping, however, that if he reduced the nearest tribes of Illyrians, Gentius himself, who had long been wavering, might be brought into alliance with him, he set out at the head of ten thousand foot, the greater part of whom were soldiers of the phalanx, two thousand light infantry, and five hundred horse, and proceeded to Stubera. Having there supplied himself with corn sufficient for many days, and ordered every requisite for besieging towns to be sent after him, he encamped on the third day before Uscana, the largest city in the Penestian country. Before he employed force, he sent emissaries to sound the dispositions, sometimes of the commanders of the garrison, sometimes of the inhabitants; for, besides some troops of Illyrians, there was a Roman garrison in the place. When his emissaries brought back no friendly message, he resolved to attack the town, and made an attempt to take it by a line of circumvallation formed of troops; but though his men, relieving

one another, continued without intermission, either by day or night, some to apply ladders to the walls, others to attempt to set fire to the gates, yet the defenders of the city sustained that shock, for they had hopes that the Macedonians would not be able to endure any longer the severity of the winter in the open field; and besides, that the king would not have so long a respite from the war with Rome, that he would be able to stay there. But, when they saw the machines in motion, and towers erected, their resolution was overcome; for, besides that they were unequal to a contest with his force, they had not a sufficient store of corn, or any other necessary, as they had not expected a siege. Therefore when they had no hopes of being able to hold out, Caius Carvilius Spoletinus and Caius Afranius were sent by the Roman garrison to request from Perseus, first, to allow the troops to march out with their arms, and to carry their effects with them; and then, if they could not obtain that, to receive his promise of their lives and liberty. The king promised more generously than he performed; for, after desiring them to march out with their effects, the first thing he did was to take away their arms. As soon as they left the city, both the cohort of Illyrians, five hundred in number, and the inhabitants of Uscana, immediately surrendered themselves and the city.

19 Perseus, placing a garrison in Uscana, carried away to Stuberæ the whole multitude of prisoners, almost equal to his army in number. He then distributed the Romans, who amounted to four thousand, besides officers, among several cities, to be kept in custody; and, having sold the Uscanians and Illyrians, led back his army to Penestria, to reduce the city of Oæneus: the town is advantageously situated in other respects, and besides, in that direction there is a passage into the country of the Labeatians, where Gentius was king. As he passed by a fort, named Draudacum, which was full of men, one of the persons, well acquainted with the country, told him that “there was no use in taking Oæneus unless he had Draudacum in his power; for the latter was situated more advantageously in every respect.” When his army was brought against it, the garrison surrendered unanimously and at once. Encouraged by the surrender of this place, which was earlier than he hoped, and perceiving what terrors his march diffused, by taking

advantage of the like fears, he reduced eleven other forts to submission. Against a very few he had occasion to use force; the rest submitted voluntarily; among whom one thousand five hundred Roman soldiers were taken, who had been divided among the Roman garrisons. Carvilius Spoletinus was very serviceable to him in his conferences with the garrison, by declaring that no severity had been shown to his own party. At length he arrived at Oæneus, which could not be taken without a regular siege. The town possessed a much greater number of young men than the others, and was strong in its fortifications. It was enclosed on one side by a river called Artatus, and on another by a very high mountain of difficult access; these circumstances gave the inhabitants courage to make resistance. Perseus, having drawn lines of circumvallation, began, on the higher ground, to raise a mound, which he intended should exceed the wall in height. By the time that this work was completed, the besieged, in their many actions, when sallying out to defend their works, or to obstruct those of the enemy, had lost great numbers by various chances; while the survivors were rendered useless by wounds, and by continual labour both in the day and night. As soon as the mound was brought close to the wall, the royal cohort (the men of which are called Nicators) rushed from it into the town, while an assault was made by scalade in many places at once. All the males, who had reached the age of puberty, were put to the sword, their wives and children were thrown into confinement, and every thing else was given as booty to the soldiers. Returning thence victorious to Stubera, he sent, as ambassadors to Gentius, — Pleuratus, an Illyrian, who lived in exile at his court, and Adæus, a Macedonian, from Berœa. He gave them instructions to represent his exploits against the Romans and Dardanians during the preceding summer and winter, and to add the recent operations of his winter campaign in Illyria, and to exhort Gentius to unite with him and the Macedonians in a treaty of friendship.

20 They crossed over the top of Mount Scordus, and through desert tracts of Illyria, which the Macedonians had laid waste, for the purpose of preventing the Dardanians from passing easily into Illyria or Macedon; and, at length, after undergoing prodigious fatigue, arrived at Scodra. King Gentius was at Lissus; to which place the

ambassadors were invited, and received a favourable audience while stating their instructions, but obtained an indecisive answer: that “he wanted not inclination to go to war with the Romans, but was in extreme want of money to enable him to enter on such an undertaking, though he wished to do so.” This answer they brought to the king at Stubera, whilst he was engaged in selling the Illyrian prisoners. The same ambassadors were immediately sent back, with an accession to their numbers in Glaucias, one of his body guards, but without any mention of money; the only thing by which the needy barbarian could be induced to take a part in the war. Then Perseus, after ravaging Ancyra, led back his army once more into Penestia; and having strengthened the garrison of Uscana, and the surrounding fortresses which he had taken, he retired into Macedon.

21 Lucius Cælius, a Roman lieutenant-general, commanded at that time in Illyria. While the king was in that country he did not venture to stir; but, on his departure, he made an attempt to recover Uscana, in Penestia; in which being repulsed, with great loss, by the Macedonian garrison, he led back his forces to Lychnidus. In a short time after he sent Marcus Trebellius Fregellanus, with a very strong force, into Penestia, to receive hostages from the cities which had faithfully remained in friendship. He ordered him, also, to march on to the Parthinians, who had likewise covenanted to give hostages, which were received from both nations without any trouble: those of the Penestians were sent to Apollonia; those of the Parthinians, to Dyrrachium, then more generally called by the Greeks Epidamnus. Appius Claudius, wishing to repair the disgrace which he had suffered in Illyria, made an attack on Phanote, a fortress of Epirus; bringing with him, besides the Roman troops, Athamanian and Thesprotian auxiliaries, to the amount of six thousand men; nor did he gain any advantage to recompense his exertion, for Clevas, who had been left there with a strong garrison, effectually defended the place. Perseus marched to Elimeia, and, after reviewing his army in the vicinity of that town, led it to Stratus, in compliance with an invitation of the Epirotes. Stratus was then the strongest city in Ætolia. It stands on the Ambracian Gulf, near the river Inachus. Thither he marched with ten thousand foot and three hundred horse;

for, on account of the narrowness and ruggedness of the roads, he led a smaller army than he would otherwise have done. On the third day he came to Mount Citium, which he could scarcely climb over, by reason of the depth of the snow, and with difficulty found even a place for his camp. Leaving that spot, rather because he could not conveniently stay, than that either the road or the weather was tolerable, the army, after suffering severe hardships, which fell heaviest on the beasts of burden, encamped on the second day at the temple of Jupiter, called Nicæus. After a very long march thence, he halted at the river Aractus, being detained there by the depth of the water, during the time in which a bridge was being constructed; he then led over his army, and, having proceeded one day's march, met Archidamus, an Ætolian of distinction, who proposed delivering Stratus into his hands.

22 On that day Perseus encamped at the borders of the Ætolian territory; and, on the next, arrived before Stratus, where, pitching his camp near the river Achelous, he expected that the Ætolians would come in crowds to put themselves under his protection; but on the contrary, he found the gates shut, and discovered that the very night on which he arrived, a Roman garrison, under Caius Popilius, lieutenant-general, had been received into the town. The nobles, who, induced by the authority of Archidamus, while he was present, had invited the king, as soon as he went out to meet Perseus had become less zealous, and had given an opportunity to the opposite faction to call in Popilius, with one thousand foot, from Ambracia. At the same juncture came also Dinarchus, general of the Ætolian cavalry, with six hundred foot and one hundred horse. It was well known that he came to Stratus intending to act with Perseus; but that, with the change of fortune, he had changed his mind, and joined the Romans, against whom he had come. Nor was Popilius less on his guard than he ought to be among people of such fickle tempers. He immediately took into his own keeping the keys of the gates, with the direction of the guard of the walls, and removed Dinarchus and the Ætolians, together with the young men of Stratus, into the citadel, under pretence of garrisoning it. Perseus sounded the garrison, by addressing them from the eminences that hung over the upper part of

the city, and finding that they were obstinate, and even kept him at a distance with weapons, removed his camp to the other side of the river Petitarus, about five miles from the town: there he held a council, wherein Archidamus and the refugees from Epirus were for detaining him there; but the Macedonian nobles were of opinion that he ought not to fight against the severity of the season without having magazines of provisions; in which case the besiegers would feel a scarcity sooner than the besieged, especially as the winter quarters of the enemy were at no great distance: being deterred by these considerations, he removed his camp into Aperantia. The Aperantians, in consequence of the great interest and influence which Archidamus possessed among them, submitted to Perseus with universal consent; and Archidamus himself was appointed their governor, with a body of eight hundred soldiers.

23 The king then returned into Macedon with his men and horses, not less harassed than they had been in their advance to Stratus. However, the report of Perseus's march to that place obliged Appius to raise the siege of Phanote. Clevas, with a body of active young men, pursued him to the foot of some mountains, which formed a defile almost impassable, killed one thousand men of his disordered troops, and took two hundred prisoners. Appius, when he got clear of the defile, encamped for a few days in a plain named Meleon. Meanwhile Clevas, being joined by Philostratus, who was invested with the chief power among the nation of the Epirotes, proceeded over the mountains into the lands of Antigonea. The Macedonians setting out to plunder, Philostratus, with his division, posted himself in ambush, in a place where he could not be seen. When the troops at Antigonea sallied out against the straggling plunderers, they pursued them in their flight with too great eagerness, until they precipitated themselves into the valley which was beset by the enemy, who killed one thousand, and made about one hundred prisoners. Being thus successful every where, they encamped near the post of Appius, in order to prevent the Roman army from offering any violence to their allies. Appius, as he was wasting time there to no purpose, dismissed the Chaonian and other Epirotes, and with his Italian soldiers marched back to Illyria; then sending the troops to their several winter quarters, in the confederate cities of the Parthinians, he went

home to Rome on account of a sacrifice. Perseus recalled from the nation of the Penestians one thousand foot and two hundred horse, and sent them to garrison Cassandria. His ambassadors returned from Gentius with the same answer as before. Still he did not cease from soliciting him, but sent embassy after embassy; yet, notwithstanding that he was sensible of the powerful support he would find in Gentius, the Macedonian could not prevail on himself to expend money on the business, although it was to him a question of vital importance.

BOOK XLIV

Translated by William A. McDevitte

Quintus Marcius Philippus, the consul, penetrates into Macedonia through the rugged passes, and takes several cities. The Rhodians send an embassy to Rome, threatening to aid Perseus, unless the Romans made peace with him. This act was received with general indignation. Lucius Æmilius Paullus, the consul, sent against Perseus, defeats him, and reduces all Macedonia to subjection. Before the engagement, Caius Sulpicius Gallus, a military tribune, foretells an eclipse of the moon, and warns the soldiers not to be alarmed at that phenomenon. Gentius, king of Illyria, vanquished by Anicius the prætor, and sent prisoner, together with his wife and children, to Rome. Ambassadors from Ptolemy and Cleopatra, king and queen of Egypt, complain of Antiochus making war upon them. Perseus, not paying Eumenes, king of Pergamus, and Gentius, king of Illyria, the money he had promised them for their assistance, is deserted by them.

1 Early in the spring which succeeded the winter in which these transactions took place, the consul, Quintus Marcius Philippus, set out from Rome, with five thousand men, whom he was to carry over to reinforce his legions, and arrived at Brundisium. Marcus Popilius, of consular rank, and other young men of equal dignity, accompanied him, in the capacity of military tribunes for the legions in Macedonia. Nearly at the same time, Caius Marcius Figulus, the prætor, whose province was the fleet, came to Brundisium; and, both sailing from Italy, made Corcyra on the second day, and Actium, a port of Acarnania, on the third. The consul, then, disembarking at Ambracia, proceeded towards Thessaly by land. The prætor, doubling Cape Leucate, sailed into the gulf of Corinth; then, leaving his ships at Creusa, he went by land also through the middle of Bœotia, and, by a quick journey of one day, came to the fleet at Chalcis. Aulus Hostilius at that time lay encamped in Thessaly, near Palæpharsalus; and though he had performed no warlike act of any

consequence, yet he had reformed his troops from a state of dissolute licentiousness, and brought them to exact military discipline; had faithfully consulted the interest of the allies, and defended them from every kind of injury. On hearing of his successor's approach, he carefully inspected the arms, men, and horses; and then, with the army in complete order, he marched out to meet the consul. Their first meeting was such as became their own dignity and the Roman character; and in transacting business afterwards, *they preserved the greatest harmony and propriety*. The proconsul, addressing himself to the troops, *exhorted them to behave with courage, and with due respect to the orders of their commander. He then recommended them, in warm terms, to the consul, and, as soon as he had despatched the necessary affairs, set off for Rome*. A few days after, the consul made a speech to his soldiers, which began with the unnatural murder which Perseus had perpetrated on his brother, and meditated against his father; he then mentioned "his acquisition of the kingdom by nefarious practices; his poisonings and murders; his abominable attempt to assassinate Eumenes; the injuries he had committed against the Roman people; and his plundering the cities of their allies, in violation of the treaty." "How detestable such proceedings were in the sight of the gods, Perseus would feel," he said, "in the issue of his affairs; for the gods always favoured righteous and honourable dealings; by means of which the Roman people had risen to so great an exaltation." He next compared the strength of the Roman people, which now embraced the whole world, with that of Macedonia, and the armies of the one with those of the other; and then added, "How much more powerful armies of Philip and Antiochus had been conquered by forces not more numerous than the present!"

2 Having animated the minds of his soldiers by such exhortations, he began to consult on a general plan of operations for the campaign; being joined by the prætor, Caius Marcius, who, after receiving the command of the fleet, came thither from Chalcis. It was resolved not to waste time by delaying longer in Thessaly; but to decamp immediately, and advance thence into Macedonia; and that the prætor should exert himself to the utmost, that the fleet might appear, at the same time, on the enemy's coasts. The prætor then having been

sent away, the consul, having ordered the soldiers to carry with them a month's provisions, struck his tents, on the tenth day after he received the command of the army, and proceeded one day's march. He then called together his guides, and ordered them to explain, in the presence of the council, by what road each of them proposed to lead him; then, having dismissed them, he asked the opinion of the council, as to what route he should prefer. Some advised the road through Pythium; others, that over the Cambunian mountains, by which the consul Hostilius had marched the year before; while others, again, preferred that which passed by the side of the Lake Ascuris. There was yet before him a considerable length of road common to each of these routes; the further consideration of this matter was therefore postponed until they should encamp near the place where the roads diverged. He then marched into Perhæbia, and posted himself between Azorus and Doliche, in order to consider again which was the preferable road. In the mean time, Perseus, understanding that the enemy was marching towards him, but unable to guess what route he might take, resolved to secure all the passes by guards. To the top of the Cambunian mountains, called by the natives Volustana, he sent ten thousand light infantry, under the command of Asclepiodotus; ordering Hippias, with a detachment of twelve thousand Macedonians, to guard the pass called Lapathus, near a fort which stood over the Lake Ascuris. He himself, with the rest of his forces, lay for some time in camp at Dium; but afterwards, as if he had lost the use of his judgment, and was incapable of forming any plan, he used to gallop along the coast, with a party of light horse, sometimes to Heracleum, sometimes to Phila, and then return with the same speed to Dium.

3 By this time the consul had determined to march through the pass near Octolophus, where, as we have mentioned, the camp of the king formerly stood. But he deemed it prudent to despatch before him four thousand men, to secure such places as might be useful: the command of this party was given to Marcus Claudius, and Quintus Marcius the consul's son. The main body followed close after; but the road was so steep, rough, and craggy, that the advanced party of light troops, with great difficulty, effected in two days a march of fifteen miles; and then encamped. They call the place which they

took, the tower of Eudicru. Next day they advanced seven miles; and, having seized on a hill at a small distance from the enemy's camp, sent back a message to the consul, that "they had come up with the enemy; and had taken post in a place which was safe and convenient in every respect; urging him to join them with all possible speed." This message came to the consul at the Lake Ascuris, at a time when he was full of anxiety, on account of the badness of the road on which he had entered, and for the fate of the small force he had sent forward into the midst of the posts of the enemy. His spirits were therefore greatly revived; and, soon effecting a junction of all his forces, he pitched his camp on the side of the hill that had been seized, where the ground was the most commodious. This hill was so high as to afford a wide-extended prospect presenting to their eyes, at one view, not only the enemy's camp, which was little more than a mile distant, but the whole extent of territory to Dium and Phila, together with a large tract of the sea-coast; circumstances which greatly enlivened the courage of the soldiers, giving them so near a view of the grand theatre of the war, of all the king's forces, and of the country of the enemy. So eager were they, that they pressed the consul to lead them on directly to the enemy's camp; but, after the fatigue that they had suffered on the road, one day was set apart for repose. On the third day, the consul, leaving one half of his troops to guard the camp, drew out his forces against the enemy.

4 Hippias had been sent by the king, a short time before, to maintain that pass; and having employed himself, since he first saw the Roman camp on the hill, in preparing his men's minds for a battle, he now went forth to meet the consul's army as it advanced. The Romans came out to battle with light armour, as did the enemy; light troops being the fittest to commence the engagement. As soon as they met, therefore, they instantly discharged their javelins, and many wounds were given and received on both sides in a disorderly kind of conflict; but few of either party were killed. This only roused their courage for the following day, when they would have engaged with more numerous forces, and with greater animosity, had there been room to form a line; but the summit of the mountain was contracted into a ridge so narrow, as scarcely to allow space for three files in front; so that, while but few were fighting, the greater part,

especially such as carried heavy arms, stood mere spectators of the fight. The light troops even ran through the hollows of the hill, and attacked the flanks of the light-armed troops of the enemy; and alike through even and uneven places, sought to come to action. That day, greater numbers were wounded than killed, and night put a stop to the dispute. The Roman general was greatly at a loss how to proceed on the third day; for to remain on that naked hill was impossible, and he could not return without disgrace, and even danger, if the enemy with the advantage of the ground, should press on his troops in their retreat: he had therefore no other plan left than to improve his bold attempt, by persevering resolution, which sometimes, in the issue, proves the wiser course. He had, in fact, brought himself into such a situation, that if he had had to deal with an enemy like the ancient kings of Macedon, he might have suffered a severe defeat. But while the king, with his horsemen, ran up and down the shore at Dium; and, though at a distance of twelve miles, he was almost within hearing of the shout and noise of his forces who were engaged, neither strengthened his forces by sending up fresh men to relieve the weary, nor, what was most material, appeared himself in the action; the Roman general, notwithstanding that he was above sixty years old, and unwieldy through corpulency, performed actively every duty of a commander. He persisted with extraordinary resolution in his bold undertaking; and, leaving Popilius to guard the summit, marched across, through trackless places, having sent forward a party to open a road. Attalus and Misagenes, with the auxiliary troops of their own nations, were ordered to protect them, while clearing the way through the forests. He himself, keeping the cavalry and baggage before him, closed the rear with the legions.

5 In descending the mountain, the men suffered inexpressible fatigue, besides the frequent falling of the cattle and their loads, so that, before they had advanced quite four miles, they began to think that their most eligible plan would be to return, if they could, by the way they had come. The elephants caused almost as much confusion among the troops as an enemy could; for, when they came to impassable steeps, they threw off their riders, and set up such a hideous roar, as spread terror through all, especially among the horses, until a method was contrived for bringing them down. They

fastened in the earth, in the line of descent, some way from the top, two long, strong posts, distant from each other a little more than the breadth of the animal, on which were fastened beams thirty feet long, so as to form a kind of bridge, and covered it with earth; after a little intermediate space, a second and similar bridge was formed; then a third bridge, with several others one after another, where the rocks were precipitous. The elephant walked forward on solid footing upon the bridge; but before he came to the end, the posts underneath were cut, and the bridge falling, obliged him to slide down gently to the beginning of the next bridge, which some of them performed standing, others on their haunches. When they arrived at the level of another bridge, they were again carried down, by its falling in like manner; and so on until they came to more level ground. The Romans advanced that day scarcely more than seven miles; and even of this journey little was performed on foot. Their method of proceeding in general was rolling themselves down, together with their arms and other encumbrances, with every kind of discomfort; insomuch, that even their commander, who led them such a march, did not deny, but that tho whole army might have been cut off by a small party. During the night, they arrived at a small plain; but, as it was hemmed in on every side, there was no opportunity of discovering whether it was a position of danger or not. However, as they had, beyond their expectation, at length found good footing, they judged it necessary to wait, during the next day, in that deep valley for Popilius, and the forces left behind with him; who, though the enemy gave them no disturbance from any quarter, suffered severely from the difficulties of the ground, — as if they had been harassed by an enemy. These having joined the main body, the whole proceeded, on the third day, through a pass called by the natives Callipeuce. On the fourth day they marched down through places equally trackless, but more cleverly in consequence of their experience, and with more comfortable hopes, as they saw no enemy any where, and as they were coming nearer to the sea, into the plains, where they pitched their camp of infantry between Heracleum and Libethrus, the greater part being posted on hills, the rest occupying a valley and part of the plain where the cavalry encamped.

6 The king, it is said, was bathing, when he was informed of the enemy's approach; on hearing which, he started up from his seat, and rushed out in a fright, crying out, that he was conquered without a battle; and afterwards, in a state of great perturbation, amidst plans and orders dictated by fear, he recalled two most intimate friends from his garrisons, and sent one to Pella, where his treasure was lodged, and the other to Parthus, and opened all the passes to the invasion of the enemy. He himself, having suddenly removed from Dium all the gilded statues, that they might not fall a prey to the enemy, ordered all the inhabitants to remove to Pydna; and thus made the conduct of the consul, in venturing into a situation out of which he could not retreat without the enemy's permission, although it might have been deemed rash and inconsiderate, to wear the appearance of judicious boldness. For there were only two passes through which the Romans could remove from their present situation; one through Tempe into Thessaly, the other by Dium into Macedonia; and both these were occupied by parties of the king's troops. So that if an intrepid commander had, only for ten days, maintained his ground, without yielding to the first appearance of an approaching terror, the Romans could neither have retreated by Tempe into Thessaly, nor have had any road open for the conveyance of provisions to their position. For Tempe is a pass of such a nature, that even supposing no obstruction was given by an enemy, it is difficult to get through it; being so narrow for the distance of five miles, that there is barely room for a loaded horse to pass: the precipices, also, on both sides, are so abrupt, that it is scarcely possible to look down from them, without a dizziness alike of the eyes and the mind; while the roaring and depth of the river Peneus, flowing through the middle of the glen, increases the terrific effect. This defile, in its nature so dangerous, was guarded by parties of the king's troops, stationed in four different places: one near Gonnus, at the first entrance; another in an impregnable fortress at Condylus; a third near Lapathus, in a place called Charax; and the fourth on the road itself about midway, where the valley is narrowest, and might have been easily defended even by half a score men. All possibility either of retreating, or of receiving provisions through Tempe, being cut off, the Romans, in order to return, must have crossed over the

same mountains from which they came down; but even though they might have been able to effect this by passing unobserved, they never could have accomplished it openly, and while the enemy kept possession of the heights; and besides, the difficulties which they had already experienced would have precluded every hope of the kind. In this rash enterprise they would have no other plan left than to force their way into Macedonia, through the midst of the enemy posted at Dium; and if the gods had not deprived the king of his understanding, this would have been extremely difficult. For the space between the foot of Mount Olympus and the sea is not much more than a mile in breadth; one half of which is taken up by the mouth of the river Baphirus, which forms a large morass, and, of the remaining plain, a great share is occupied by the town and the temple of Jupiter: the rest, being a very small space, might have been shut up with a trench and rampart of no great length; or, so great was the plenty of stones and timber on the spot, that a wall might have been drawn across, and towers erected. But the king's judgment was so entirely blinded by the sudden fright, that he reflected not upon any one of these circumstances; on the contrary, he evacuated all his strong posts, and leaving them open to the enemy, fled back to Pydna.

7 The consul, perceiving in the folly and sloth of the enemy a most favourable prospect, not only of safety, but of success, sent back a messenger to Larissa, with orders to Spurius Lucretius to seize on the deserted forts about Tempe; then, sending forward Popilius, to examine all the passes round Dium, and learning that all was clear, he marched in two days to that town, ordering the camp to be fixed under the walls of the temple, that no violation might be offered to that sacred place. He went himself into the city; and seeing it, though not large, yet highly ornamented with public buildings and abundance of statues, and remarkably well fortified, he could scarcely believe that there was not some stratagem concealed in the abandonment of such important advantages without cause. He waited therefore one day to examine all the country round; then he decamped; and supposing that he should find plenty of corn in Pieria, advanced to a river called the Mytis. On the day following, continuing his march, he received the voluntary surrender of the city of Agassæ; whereupon, in order to gain the good opinion of the rest

of the Macedonians, he contented himself with receiving hostages, assuring the inhabitants, that he would leave them their city without a garrison, and that they should live free from taxes, and under their own laws. Proceeding thence one day's march, he encamped at the river Ascordus; but, finding that the farther he removed from Thessaly, the greater was the scarcity of every thing, he returned to Dium; which clearly demonstrated how much he must have suffered if he had been cut off from Thessaly, since he found it unsafe to go to any great distance from it. Perseus, having drawn all his forces into one body, and assembled all his generals, reprimanded severely the commanders of the garrisons, and particularly Hippias, and Asclepiodotus; asserting that they had betrayed to the Romans the keys of Macedonia; of which charge no one was more truly guilty than himself. The consul, on seeing the fleet at sea, conceived hopes that they were coming with provisions, for every article had now become very dear and very scarce; but when the ships came into harbour, he was informed that the transports had been left behind at Magnesia. He was then under great perplexity to determine what measures to take; so hard did he find it to struggle with the difficulties of his situation, though not aggravated by any effort of the enemy; when, very seasonably, a letter arrived from Lucretius, acquainting him that he was in possession of all the forts about Tempe and Phila, and had found in them great plenty of corn and other necessities.

8 The consul, highly delighted with this intelligence, removed his quarters from Dium to Phila, in order to strengthen that post, and, at the same time, to distribute corn to the soldiers, on the spot, as the carriage of it thence would be tedious. That march gave rise to opinions not at all favourable to his reputation: some said that he retired from the enemy through fear; because if he had staid in Pieria he must have risked a battle: others, that, not considering the daily changes produced by fortune in the affairs of war, he had let slip out of his hands advantages which threw themselves in his way, and which, in all probability, he could never regain. For, by giving up the possession of Dium, he at once roused the enemy to action; who at length saw the necessity of endeavouring to recover what he had lost before, through his own fault. On hearing of the consul's departure,

therefore, Perseus marched back to Dium, repaired whatever had been destroyed and laid waste by the Romans, rebuilt the battlements which they had thrown down, strengthened the fortifications all round, and then pitched his camp within five miles of the city, on the hither bank of the Enipeus, in order to have the river itself, the passage of which was extremely difficult, as a defence to his post. The Enipeus, which rises in a valley of Mount Olympus, is a small stream during the summer, but is raised by the winter rains to a violent torrent, when, as it runs over the rocks, it forms furious eddies, and, by sweeping away the earth at the bottom into the sea, makes very deep gulfs, while the sinking of the middle of the channel renders the banks both high and steep. Perseus, thinking that the advance of the enemy was sufficiently obstructed by this river, contemplated spending there the remainder of the summer. In the mean time, the consul sent Popilius, with two thousand men, from Phila to Heracleum. It is distant about five miles from Phila, midway between Dium and Tempe, and stands on a steep rock hanging over the river.

9 Popilius, before he brought his troops up to the walls, sent to recommend to the magistrates and principal men, rather to try the honour and clemency of the Romans than their power; but this advice produced no effect, the fires in the king's camp on the Enipeus being now within their sight. The attack was then commenced by assaults, and with works and machines, as well on the side facing the sea, (for the ships had been brought up close to the shore,) as on land. A party of Roman youths actually gained possession of the lowest part of the wall, by turning to the purposes of war a kind of sport which they were accustomed to practise in the circus. In those times, when the present extravagant fashion of filling the area with beasts of every kind was yet unknown, it was customary to contrive various kinds of amusements; for when one chariot race and one equestrian performer were exhibited, both the performances scarcely filled up the space of an hour. Among other diversions, in the more elaborate games, about sixty young men in arms, sometimes more, used to be introduced, whose performances were partly a representation of troops going through the military exercise, and partly a display of more accurate skill than appeared in the practice of soldiers, and

which approached nearer to the mode of fighting used by gladiators. After performing various evolutions, they formed in a square body with their shields raised over their heads, and closed together, the foremost standing upright, the next stooping a little, the third and fourth lines more and more, and so on, until the hindmost rested on their knees, thus composing a covering in the shape of a tortoise-shell, and sloping, like the roof of a house. Then two armed men, who stood at the distance of about fifty feet, ran forward, and after some menacing flourishes of their arms, mounted over the closed shields, from the bottom to the top of this roof; and, treading as steadily as if on solid ground, sometimes paraded along the extreme edges of it, as if repelling an enemy, and sometimes encountered each other on the middle of it. A body similar to this was brought up against the lowest part of the wall, and the soldiers, standing thereon, mounted until they were as high as the defendants on the battlements; and these having been beaten off, the soldiers of two companies climbed over into the town. The only difference was, that here the outside men in the front and in the two flanks alone did not raise their shields over their heads, lest they should expose their bodies, but held them before them, as in battle; so that the weapons thrown at them from the walls, as they advanced, did them no injury, while those that were poured like a shower on the roof glided down the smooth slope to the bottom, without doing any mischief. When Heracleum was taken, the consul removed his quarters thither, as if he intended to besiege Dium; and, after driving the king thence, to advance to Pieria. But as he was now preparing his quarters for the winter, he ordered roads to be made for the conveyance of provisions from Thessaly, and proper places to be chosen for store-houses; also huts to be built, where the people employed in bringing the provisions might lodge.

¹⁰ Perseus, having at length recovered his spirits, after the panic with which he had been seized, began to wish that obedience had not been paid to the orders which he had given in his fright, to throw the treasures at Pella into the sea, and to burn the naval arsenals at Thessalonica. Andronicus, indeed, whom he had sent to Thessalonica, had spun out the time, leaving him time for repentance, which actually took place; but Nicias, less provident,

threw into the sea what money he found at Pella. He seems, however, to have fallen into a mistake which was not without remedy, inasmuch as the greatest part of that treasure was brought up again by divers. Nevertheless, such shame did the king feel for his terror on the occasion, that he caused the divers to be privately put to death, together with Andronicus and Nicias, that there might be no living witnesses of so preposterous an order. In the mean time, Caius Marcius, with the fleet, sailed from Heracleum to Thessalonica. Landing his men, he made wide depredations on the country; and when the troops from the city came out against him, he defeated them in several actions, and drove them back in dismay within their walls. He even alarmed the city itself; but the townsmen, erecting engines of every kind, wounded, with stones thrown from them, not only such as straggled carelessly near the walls, but even those who were on board the ships. He therefore re-embarked his troops; and giving up the design of besieging Thessalonica, proceeded thence to Ænia, fifteen miles distant, situated opposite to Pydna, in a fertile country. After ravaging the lands in that quarter, he coasted along the shore until he arrived at Antigonea. Here his troops landed, and for some time carried their depredations through all the country round, putting a great deal of booty on board the ships; but afterwards a party of Macedonians, consisting of foot and horse intermixed, fell upon them as they straggled, and, pursuing them as they fled to the shore, killed near five hundred, and took as many prisoners. Extreme necessity, on finding themselves hindered from safely regaining their vessels, roused the courage of the Roman soldiers, at once with despair of any other means of safety, (than by resistance,) and also with indignation. They renewed the fight on the shore, and those who were on board assisted them; and here about two hundred Macedonians were killed, and a like number taken. From Antigonea the fleet sailed on to the district of Pallene, where a descent was made for the purpose of plundering. This district belonged to the territory of Cassandrea, and was by far the most plentiful of any at which they had yet touched on the coast. There they were met by king Eumenes, who came from Elea with twenty decked ships; and king Prusias also sent thither five ships of war.

11 By this accession of strength the prætor was encouraged to lay

siege to Cassandrea. This city was built by king Cassander, in the pass which connects the territory of Pallene with the rest of Macedonia. It is bounded on one side by the Toronæan, on another by the Macedonian Sea; for it stands on a neck of land which stretches into the ocean, and rises in the part opposite Magnesia to a height equal to that of Mount Athos, forming two unequal promontories, the larger called Posideum, the smaller Canastræum. The besiegers formed their attacks on two different sides; the Roman general, at a place called Clitæ, drew a trench from the Macedonian to the Toronæan Sea, to which he added pointed palisades, to cut off the communication; while on the other side is the Euripus, where Eumenes carried on his attack. The Romans underwent a vast deal of labour in filling up a trench, which Perseus had recently dug in the way; and on the prætor inquiring where the earth that had been taken out of it was thrown, as he saw no heaps of it any where, some arches were shown him that were closed up with it, not of equal thickness with the old wall, but with a single row of brick. On this, he formed the design of opening a way into the city, by breaking through that wall; and he hoped to be able to escape observation, if, by assaulting another part by scalade, and raising a tumult there, he could divert the attention of the besieged to the defence of the place attacked. There were in garrison at Cassandrea, besides the younger inhabitants, who formed no contemptible body, eight hundred Agrians and two thousand Illyrians from Penestia, sent thither by Pleuratus, each being a warlike race. While these were busy in defending the walls, and the Romans using their utmost efforts to scale them, in an instant of time the arches were broken through, and the city laid open; and if those who made this irruption had been armed, they must have immediately become masters of the town. When the soldiers were told that this work was accomplished, they were so elated with joy, that they raised a sudden shout, expecting to force their way in, some in one part, and others in another.

12 At first the enemy was seized with wonder at to what this sudden shout could mean; but when Pytho and Philip, the commanders of the garrison, were told that the city was laid open, they concluded that every advantage resulting from that event would be in favour of whichever party should make the first charge; and,

therefore, they sallied out, with a strong body of Agrians and Illyrians, who, while the Romans were coming together and being congregated from various parts that they might march in order into the city, routed them while thus disordered and irregular, and drove them to the trench, into which they tumbled them, in heaps, one over another. About six hundred were killed in this action, and almost every one that was found between the wall and the trench was wounded. The blow meditated by the prætor having thus recoiled on himself, made him slower to form any other attempts; and as Eumenes made little or no progress though he carried on his operations both by land and sea, they concurred in a resolution to strengthen their guards, in order to prevent the introduction of any reinforcement from Macedonia: and, since they had not succeeded by assault, to carry on the siege by regular approaches. While they were making preparations for this, ten barks, belonging to the king, sent from Thessalonica, with a chosen body of Gallic auxiliaries, observing the enemy's ships lying at anchor in the road, and keeping as close to the shore as possible, amidst the darkness of the night, in a single line, effected their entrance to the city. Intelligence of this new addition of force obliged both the Romans and Eumenes to raise the siege. They then sailed round the promontory, and brought the fleet into the harbour of Torone. This town also they attempted to besiege; but, perceiving that it was defended, by a strong garrison, they dropped the design, and proceeded to Demetrias. When they approached this place, they saw the walls fully manned with armed troops; they therefore sailed on, and brought the fleet into harbour at Iolcos, intending, after ravaging the country there, to proceed to the siege of Demetrias.

13 In the mean time, the consul, not to lie inactive in the enemies' country, sent Marcus Popilius, with five thousand men, to reduce the city of Melibœa. This city stands at the foot of the Mount Ossa, where it stretches out into Thessaly, and is very advantageously situated for commanding Demetrias. The first approach of the enemy struck terror into the inhabitants of the place; but soon recovering from the fright occasioned by the unexpectedness of the event, they ran hastily in arms to the gates and walls, where an entrance was apprehended, and at once put a stop to all hope of taking the place by

the first assault. Preparations were therefore made for a siege, and the works commenced for making the approaches. When Perseus was informed that both Melibœa was being besieged by the consul's army, and that the fleet at the same time was lying at Iolcos, intending to proceed thence to attack Demetrias, he sent Euphranor, one of his generals, with two thousand chosen men, to Melibœa. His orders were, that, if he could compel the Romans to retire from before Melibœa, he should then march secretly into Demetrias, before the enemy should bring up their troops from Iolcos to that city. As soon as he suddenly became visible on the high grounds to the besiegers of Melibœa, they abandoned their numerous works in great consternation, and set them on fire. Thus they withdrew from Melibœa, and Euphranor, having raised the siege of one city, marched instantly to Demetrias. Then the townsmen felt confident that they should be able, not only to defend their walls, but to protect their lands also from depredations; and they made several irruptions on the straggling parties of the plunderers, not without injury to the enemy. However, the prætor and the king rode round the walls to view the situation of the city, and try whether they might attempt it on any side, either by storm or works. It was reported, that some overtures of friendship between Eumenes and Perseus were here agitated, through Cydas, a Cretan, and Antimachus, governor of Demetrias. It is certain, that the armies retired from Demetrias. Eumenes sailed to the consul; and, after congratulating him on his success in penetrating into Macedonia, went home to Pergamus. Marcius Figulus, the prætor, having sent part of his fleet to winter at Sciathus, with the remainder repaired to Oreum in Eubœa; judging that the most convenient city from which he could send supplies to the armies in Macedonia and Thessaly. There are very different accounts given respecting king Eumenes: if Valerius Antias is to be believed, he neither gave any assistance with his fleet to the prætor, though often solicited by letters; nor did he depart from the consul for Asia in good humour, being offended at not being permitted to lie in the same camp with him; he says too, that he could not be prevailed on even to leave the Gallic horsemen that he had brought with him. But his brother Attalus remained with the consul, and in the constant tenor of his conduct evinced a sincere attachment, and

an extraordinary degree of zeal and activity in the service.

14 While the war was being carried on in Macedonia, ambassadors came to Rome, from a chieftain of the Gauls beyond the Alps, whose name is said to have been Balanos, but of what tribe is not mentioned. They brought an offer of assistance towards the war in Macedonia. The senate returned him thanks, and sent him presents, — a golden chain of two pounds weight, golden bowls to the amount of four pounds, a horse completely caparisoned, and a suit of horseman's armour. After the Gauls, ambassadors from Pamphylia, brought into the senate-house a golden crown, of the value of twenty thousand Philippeans, and requested permission to deposit it, as an offering, in the shrine of Jupiter supremely good and great, and to offer sacrifice in the Capitol, which was granted. The said ambassadors having expressed a wish to renew the treaty of friendship, a gracious answer was given, and a present was made to each of two thousand *asses*. Then audience was given to the ambassadors of king Prusias; and, a little after, to those of the Rhodians, who discoursed on the same subject, but in a widely different manner. The purpose of both embassies was, to effect a peace with king Perseus. The address of Prusias consisted of entreaties rather than demands; for he declared, that “he had hitherto supported the cause of the Romans, and would continue to support it as long as the war should continue. But, on Perseus sending ambassadors to him, on the subject of putting an end to the war with Rome, he had promised them to become a mediator with the senate:” and he requested that, “if they could prevail on themselves to lay aside their resentment, they would place him in the favourable position of mediator of the peace.” Such was the discourse of the king's ambassadors. The Rhodians, after ostentatiously recounting their many services to the Roman people, and arrogating to themselves rather the greater share of its successes, particularly in the case of king Antiochus, proceeded in this manner; that, “at a time when peace subsisted between the Macedonians and Romans, they likewise commenced a friendship with king Perseus, which they had, since, unwillingly broken, without having any reason to complain of him, but merely because it was the desire of the Romans to draw them into a confederacy in the war, that for three years past they had

felt many inconveniences from that war. In consequence of the interruption of commerce, and the loss of their port duties and provisions, their island was distressed by a general scarcity. When their countrymen could no longer suffer this, they had sent other ambassadors into Macedonia, to Perseus, to announce to him that it was the wish of the Rhodians that he should conclude a peace with the Romans, and had sent them to Rome with the same message. The Rhodians would afterwards consider what measures they should judge proper to be taken against either party that should prevent an end being put to the war.” I am convinced that no person, even at the present time, can hear or read such expressions without indignation; we may, then, easily judge what was the state of mind of the senators when they listened to them.

15 According to the account of Claudius, no answer was given; and a decree of the senate only was read, by which the Roman people ordered, that the Carians and Lycians should enjoy independence; and that a letter should be sent immediately to each of those nations, acquainting them therewith. On hearing which the principal ambassador, whose arrogant demeanour, just before, the senate could scarce contain, fell down insensible. Other writers say, that an answer was given to this effect: “That, at the commencement of the present war, the Roman people had learned, from unquestionable authority, that the Rhodians, in concert with king Perseus, had formed secret machinations against their commonwealth; and that, if that matter had been doubtful hitherto, the words of their ambassadors, just now, had reduced it to a certainty; as, in general, treachery, though at first sufficiently cautious, yet, in the end, betrays itself. Were the Rhodians now to act the part of arbiters of war and peace throughout the world? were the Romans at their nod to take up arms and lay them down? and henceforth to appeal, not to the gods, but to the Rhodians, for their sanction of treaties? And was this indeed the case, that, unless their orders were obeyed, and the armies withdrawn from Macedonia, they would consider what measures they should take? What the Rhodians might determine, they themselves knew best; but the Roman people, as soon as the conquest of Perseus should be completed, an event which they hoped was at no great distance, would most certainly consider how to make

due retribution to each state, according to its deserts in the course of the war." Nevertheless the usual presents of two thousand *asses* each were sent to the ambassadors, which they did not accept.

16 Then was read a letter from the consul, Quintus Marcius, informing the senate, that "he had passed the mountains, and penetrated into Macedonia; that the prætor had collected there, and procured from other places, stores of provisions for the approaching winter; and that he had brought from the Epirots twenty thousand measures of wheat, ten thousand of barley, the price of which he desired might be paid to their ambassadors in Rome: that clothing for the troops must be sent from Rome; and that he wanted about two hundred horses, above all Numidian horses; where he was, he could procure none." The senate decreed, that every thing should be done in accordance with the consul's letter. The prætor, Caius Sulpicius, agreed with contractors for conveying into Macedonia six thousand gowns, thirty thousand tunics, and the horses, all to be left to the approbation of the consul; and he paid the Epirot ambassadors the price of the corn. He then introduced to the senate, Onesimus, son of Pytho, a Macedonian of distinction. He had always advised the king to peaceable measures, and recommended to him, that, as his father Philip had, to the last day of his life, made it an established rule to read over twice every day the treaty concluded with the Romans, so he should, if not daily, yet frequently, observe the same practice. When he could not dissuade him from war, he at first began to absent himself on various pretences, that he might not be present at proceedings which he could not approve. But at last, having discovered that suspicions were harboured against him, and that he was tacitly accused of the crime of treason, he went over to the Romans, and was of great service to the consul. When he was introduced into the senate-house, he mentioned these circumstances, and the senate thereupon decreed that he should be enrolled in the number of their allies; that a house and accommodations should be provided for him; also a grant of two hundred acres of land, in that part of the Tarentine territory which was the public property of the Roman people; and a house in Tarentum to be bought for him; the charge of executing all which was committed to Caius Decimius, the prætor. On the ides of December, the censors performed the general

survey with more severity than formerly. A great many were deprived of their horses, among whom was Publius Rutilius, who, when tribune of the people, had carried on a violent prosecution against them; he was, besides, degraded from his tribe, and disfranchised. In pursuance of a decree of the senate, one-half of the taxes of that year was paid by the quæstors into the hands of the censors, to defray the expenses of public works. Tiberius Sempronius, out of the money assigned to him, purchased for the public the house of Publius Africanus, behind the old house, near the statue of Vertumnus, with the butchers' stalls and shops adjoining; where he built the public court-house, afterwards called the Sempronian.

17 The end of the year was now approaching, and people chiefly canvassed in their conversation, through their concern about the war in Macedonia, what consuls they should choose, to bring that war, at length, to a conclusion. The senate therefore passed an order, that Cneius Servilius should come home, at the very first opportunity, to hold the elections. Sulpicius, the prætor, sent the order of the senate to the consul; and, in a few days after, read his answer in public, wherein he promised to be in the city before the * * day of * * *. The consul came in due time, and the election was finished on the day appointed. The consuls chosen were, Lucius Æmilius Paullus, a second time, fourteen years after his first consulship, and Caius Licinius Crassus. Next day, the following were appointed prætors: Cneius Bæbius Tamphilus, Lucius Anicius Gallus, Cneius Octavius, Publius Fonteius Balbus, Marcus Æbutius Elva, and Caius Papirius Corbo. The senate's anxiety about the Macedonian war stimulated them to more than ordinary expedition in all their proceedings; they therefore ordered, that the magistrates elect should immediately cast lots for their provinces, that it might be known which consul was to have the command in Macedonia, and which prætor that of the fleet; in order that they might, without loss of time, consider and prepare whatever was requisite for the service, and consult the senate on any point where their direction was necessary, they voted, that, "on the magistrates coming into office, the Latin festival should be celebrated as early as the rules of religion permitted; and that the consul who was to go into Macedonia should not be detained on account of it."

When these orders were passed, Italy and Macedonia were named as the provinces for the consuls; and for the prætors, besides the two jurisdictions in the city, the fleet, Spain, Sicily, and Sardinia. As to the consuls, Macedonia fell to Æmilius, Italy to Licinius. Of the prætors, Cneius Bæbius got the city jurisdiction; Lucius Anicius the foreign, under a rule to go wherever the senate should direct; Cneius Octavius, the fleet; Publius Fonteius, Spain; Marcus Æbutius, Sicily; and Caius Papirius, Sardinia.

18 It immediately became evident to all, that Lucius Æmilius would prosecute the war with vigour; for, besides that he was a different kind of man (from his predecessors), his thoughts were intently employed night and day solely on the business relative to that war. In the first place, he requested the senate to send commissioners into Macedonia, to review the armies and the fleet, and to bring authentic information as to what might be necessary both for the land and sea forces; to make what discoveries they could respecting the state of the king's forces; and to learn how much of the country was in our power, how much in that of the enemy; whether the Romans were still encamped among the woods and mountains, or had got clear of all the difficult passes, and were come down into the plains; who appeared to be faithful allies to us, who were doubtful and suspended their fidelity on fortune, and who avowed enemies; what store of provisions was prepared, and whence new supplies might be brought by land-carriage, whence by the fleet; and what had been achieved during the last campaign, either on land or sea. For he thought that, by gaining a thorough knowledge of all these particulars, decisive plans might be taken for future proceedings. The senate directed the consul Cneius Servilius to send as commissioners, into Macedonia, such persons as should be approved of by Lucius Æmilius. Cneius Domitius Ahenobarbus, Aulus Licinius Nerva, and Lucius Bæbius, accordingly, began their journey two days after. Towards the close of this year it was reported that two showers of stones had fallen, one in the territory of Rome, the other in that of Veii; and the nine days' solemnity was performed. Of the priests, died this year, Publius Quintilius Varus, flamen of Mars, and Marcus Claudius Marcellus, decemvir, in whose room was substituted Cneius Octavius. It has been remarked as an

instance of the increasing munificence of the times, that in the Circensian games, exhibited by Publius Cornelius Scipio Nasica and Publius Lentulus, curule ædiles, sixty-three panthers, with forty bears and elephants, made a part of the show.

19 At the beginning of the following year, Lucius Æmilius Paullus and Caius Licinius, the consuls, having commenced their administration on the ides of March, the senators were impatient to hear what propositions were to be laid before them, particularly with respect to Macedonia, by the consul to whose lot that province had fallen; but Paullus said, that he had as yet nothing to propose to them, the commissioners not being returned: that “they were then at Brundisium, after having been twice driven back to Dyrrachium in attempting the passage: that he intended, shortly, to propose something to their consideration, when he should have obtained the information which was previously necessary, and which he expected within very few days.” He added, that, “in order that nothing should delay his setting out, the day before the ides of April had been fixed for the Latin festival; after finishing which solemnity, he and Cneius Octavius would begin their journey as soon as the senate should direct: that, in his absence, his colleague Caius Licinius would take care that every thing necessary to be provided, or sent for the war, should be provided and sent; and that, in the mean time, audience might be given to the embassies of foreign nations.” The first introduced were ambassadors from Alexandria, sent by king Ptolemy and queen Cleopatra. They came into the senate-house dressed in mourning, with their hair and beard neglected, holding in their hands branches of olive; there they prostrated themselves, and their discourse was even more piteous than their dress. Antiochus, king of Syria, who had formerly been a hostage at Rome, had lately, under the honourable pretext of restoring the elder Ptolemy to the throne, made war on his younger brother, who was then in possession of Alexandria; and having gained the victory in a sea-fight off Pelusium, and thrown a temporary bridge across the Nile, he led over his army, and was terrifying Alexandria itself, by laying siege to it; so that he seemed almost on the point of taking possession of that very opulent kingdom. The ambassadors, after complaining of these proceedings, besought the senate to succour those princes, the faithful friends of

their empire. They said, that “such had been the kindness of the Roman people to Antiochus, such its influence over all kings and nations, that if they only sent ambassadors, to give him notice that the senate were displeased at war being made with princes in alliance with them, he would instantly retire from the walls of Alexandria, and lead his army home into Syria. But if they hesitated to do this Ptolemy and Cleopatra would soon come to Rome as exiles from their kingdom, which must excite some degree of shame in the Roman people, for not having brought them assistance in their extreme distress.” The senate, affected by the supplications of the Alexandrians, immediately sent Caius Popilius Lænas, Caius Decimius, and Caius Hostilius, ambassadors, to put an end to the dispute between those kings. Their instructions were, to go first to Antiochus, then to Ptolemy; and to acquaint them, that, unless hostilities were stopped, whichever party persisted, must expect to be considered by the senate as neither a friend nor an ally.

20 These ambassadors set out, within three days, in company with those of Alexandria; and, on the last day of the feast of Minerva, the commissioners arrived from Macedonia. Their coming had been so impatiently wished for, that, if it had not been very late in the day, the consuls would have assembled the senate immediately. Next day the senate met, and the commissioners had an audience. They stated, that “the army had been led through pathless and difficult wilds into Macedonia, with more risk than advantage: that Pieria, to which its march had been directed, was then possessed by the king; and the two camps so close to each other, as to be separated only by the river Enipeus: that the king offered no opportunity to fight, nor were our men strong enough to compel him; and, besides, that the winter had unexpectedly interrupted all military operations: that the soldiers were maintained in idleness, and had not corn sufficient for more than six *days*: that the force of the Macedonians was said to amount to thirty thousand effective men: that if Appius Claudius had a sufficient force at Lychnidus, the king might be perplexed by a twofold hostile array; but that, as the case stood, both Appius, and the troops under his command, were in the utmost danger, unless either a regular army were speedily sent thither, or they were removed thence. “From the camp,” they stated that “they had gone to

the fleet; where they learned, that part of the seamen had perished by sickness; that others, particularly such as came from Sicily, had gone off to their own homes; and that the ships were in want of men, while those who were on board had neither received pay nor had clothing: that Eumenes and his fleet, as if driven thither by the wind, had both come and gone away, without any apparent reason; nor did the intentions of that king seem to be thoroughly settled.” While they reported every particular in the conduct of Eumenes as suspicious, they represented the fidelity of Attalus as stedfast in the highest degree.

21 After the commissioners were heard, Lucius Æmilius said, that he then proposed for consideration the business of the war: and the senate decreed, that “tribunes for eight legions should be appointed, half by the consuls, and half by the people; but that none should be named for that year who had not held some magisterial office: that, out of all the military tribunes, Lucius Æmilius should select such as he chose for the two legions that were to serve in Macedonia; and that, as soon as the Latin festival should be finished, the said consul, with the prætor Cneius Octavius, to whose lot the fleet had fallen, should repair to that province.” To these was added a third, Lucius Anicius, the prætor who had the foreign jurisdiction; for it was resolved that he should succeed Appius Claudius in the province of Illyria, near Lychnidus. The charge of raising recruits was laid on the consul Caius Licinius, who was ordered to enlist, of Roman citizens, seven thousand foot and two hundred horse, and to demand, from the Latin confederates, seven thousand foot and four hundred horse; and also to write to Cneius Servilius, governor of Gaul, to raise there six hundred horse. This force he was ordered to send, with all expedition, into Macedonia, to his colleague. It was resolved, that there should be no more than two legions in that province, but that their numbers should be filled up so as that each should contain six thousand foot and three hundred horse; and that the rest of the foot and horse should be placed in the different garrisons; that such men as were unfit for service should be discharged, and that the allies should be obliged to raise another body of ten thousand foot and eight hundred horse. These were assigned as a reinforcement to Anicius, in addition to the two legions which he was ordered to carry

into Illyria, consisting each of five thousand two hundred foot and three hundred horse; and five thousand seamen were raised for the fleet. The consul Licinius was ordered to employ two legions in the service of his province, and to add to them ten thousand foot and six hundred horse of the allies.

22 When the senate had passed these decrees, the consul Lucius Æmilius went out from the senate-house into the assembly of the people, whom he addressed in a discourse to this effect: “Romans, I think I have perceived that your congratulations, on my obtaining, by lot, the province of Macedonia, were warmer than either when I was saluted consul, or on the day when I entered on office; and that for no other reason, than your having conceived an opinion, that by me the war with Perseus, which has been long protracted, may be brought to a conclusion becoming the majesty of the Roman people. I trust that the gods also have favoured this disposal of the lots, and will give me their aid in the conduct of affairs. Some of these consequences I can prognosticate; others I can hope for. One thing I regard as certain, and venture to affirm; that I will endeavour, by every exertion in my power, that this hope which you have conceived of me may not be frustrated. Every thing necessary for the service, the senate has ordered; and as it has been resolved, that I am to go abroad immediately, and I do not wish to delay, my colleague, Caius Licinius, an admirable man, will make the preparations with as much zeal, as if he himself were to carry on that war. Do you give full credit to whatever I shall write to you, or to the senate; but do not by your credulity encourage mere rumours, of which no man shall appear as the responsible author. For, no man is so entirely regardless of reputation, as that his spirits cannot be damped; which I have observed has commonly occurred, especially in this war. In every circle, and, truly, at every table, there are people who lead armies into Macedonia; who know where the camp ought to be placed; what posts ought to be occupied by troops; when and through what pass Macedonia should be entered; where magazines should be formed; how provisions should be conveyed by land and sea; and when it is proper to engage the enemy, when to lie quiet. And they not only determine what is best to be done, but if any thing is done in any other manner than what they have pointed out, they arraign the

consul, as if he were on his trial. These are great impediments to those who have the management of affairs; for every one cannot encounter injurious reports with the same constancy and firmness of mind as Fabius did, who chose to let his own authority be diminished through the folly of the people, rather than to mismanage the public business with a high reputation. I am not one of those who think that commanders ought never to receive advice; on the contrary, I should deem that man more proud than wise, who did every thing of his own single judgment. What then is my opinion? That commanders should be counselled, chiefly, by persons of known talent; by those, especially, who are skilled in the art of war, and who have been taught by experience; and next, by those who are present at the scene of action, who see the country, who see the enemy; who see the advantages that occasions offer, and who, embarked, as it were, in the same ship, are sharers of the danger. If, therefore, any one thinks himself qualified to give advice respecting the war which I am to conduct, which may prove advantageous to the public, let him not refuse his assistance to the state, but let him come with me into Macedonia. He shall be furnished by me with a ship, a horse, a tent; and even with his travelling charges. But if he thinks this too much trouble, and prefers the repose of a city life to the toils of war, let him not, on land, assume the office of a pilot. The city, in itself, furnishes abundance of topics for conversation; let it confine its passion for talking, and rest assured, that we shall be content with such councils as shall be framed within our camp.” Soon after this speech, the Latin festival having been celebrated on the day before the calends of April, and the sacrifice on the mount affording favourable omens, the consul, and Cneius Octavius, the prætor, set out directly for Macedonia. There is a tradition that the consul, at his departure, was escorted by multitudes unusually numerous; and that people, with confident hope, presaged a conclusion of the Macedonian war, and the speedy return of the consul, to a glorious triumph.

23 During these occurrences in Italy, Perseus, though he could not, at first, prevail on himself to complete the design which he had projected, of attaching to himself Gentius, king of Illyria, on account of the money which would be demanded for it; yet, when he found that the Romans had penetrated the passes, and that the final crisis of

the war drew near, resolved to defer it no longer, and having, by his ambassador Hippias, consented to pay three thousand talents of silver, provided hostages were given on both sides; he now sent Pantauchus, one of his most trusty friends, to conclude the business. Pantauchus met the Illyrian king at Meteo, in the province of Labeas, and there received from the king his oath and the hostages. Gentius likewise sent an ambassador, named Olympio, to require an oath and hostages from Perseus. Together with him, were sent persons to receive the money; and by the advice of Pantauchus, to go to Rhodes with ambassadors from Macedonia. Parmenio and Morcus were appointed. Their instructions were, first, to receive the king's oath, the hostages, and money; and then to proceed to Rhodes; and it was hoped, that, by the name of the two kings, the Rhodians might be incited to a war against Rome, and that the union of that state, which alone at that time possessed naval glory, would leave the Romans no prospect of success, either on land or sea. As the Illyrians approached, Perseus marched with all his cavalry, from his camp on the Enipeus, and met them at Dium. There the articles agreed on were executed; a body of cavalry having been drawn up around, whom the king chose should be witness to the treaty of alliance made with Gentius, supposing that this event would add greatly to their confidence. The hostages were given and taken in the sight of all; those who were to receive the money were sent to Pella, where the king's treasure lay; and the persons who were to go to Rhodes, with the Illyrian ambassadors, were ordered to take ship at Thessalonica. There was present one Metrodorus, who had lately come from Rhodes, and who, on the authority of Dinon and Polyaratus, two principal members of that state, affirmed, that the Rhodians were prepared for the war; he was appointed head of the joint embassy with the Illyrians.

24 At this time Perseus sent to Eumenes and Antiochus, a common message, which the state of affairs seemed to suggest that "a free state, and a king, were, in their natures, hostile to each other. That the Roman people were accustomed to attack kings singly; and, what was more shameful, to conquer them, by the power of other kings. Thus, his father was overpowered by the aid of Attalus; and by the assistance of Eumenes, and of his father Philip, in part, Antiochus

had been vanquished; and now, both Eumenes and Prusias were armed against himself. If the regal power should be abolished in Macedonia, the next, in their way, would be Asia, which they had already rendered, in part, their own, under the pretence of liberating the states; and next to that Syria. Already Prusias was honoured by them, far beyond Eumenes; and already Antiochus, though victorious, was debarred from Egypt, the prize of his arms." He desired that each of them, "considering these matters seriously, should see that he either compelled the Romans to make peace with him, or, if they should persist in such an unjust war, he should regard them as the common enemies of all kings." The message to Antiochus was sent openly; the ambassador to Eumenes went under the pretence of ransoming prisoners. But some more secret business was transacted between them, which, in addition to the jealousy and distrust already conceived by the Romans against Eumenes, *brought on him charges* of a heavier nature. For they considered him as a traitor, and nearly as an enemy, while the two kings laboured to overreach each other in schemes of fraud and avarice. There was a Cretan, called Cydas, an intimate of Eumenes; this man had formerly conferred, at Amphipolis, with one Chimarus, a countryman of his own, serving in the army of Perseus; and he, afterwards, had had one interview with Menecrates, and another with Archidamus, officers of the king, at Demetrias, close under the wall of the town. Herophon, too, who was sent on that business, had, before that, executed two embassies to the same Eumenes. These furtive conferences and embassies were notorious; but what the subject of them was, or what agreement had taken place between the kings, remained a secret.

25 Now the truth of the matter was this: Eumenes neither wished success to Perseus nor intended to make war upon him; and his ill-will arose not so much from the enmity which they inherited from their fathers, as from the personal quarrels which had broken out between themselves. The jealousy of the two kings was not so moderate, that Eumenes could, with patience, have seen Perseus acquiring such vast power and glory as awaited him, if he conquered the Romans. Besides which, he saw that Perseus, from the commencement of the war, by every mean, sought a prospect of peace; and that every day, as the danger approached nearer, he was

contriving and contemplating no other object. He considered too, that as the war had been protracted beyond the expectations of the Romans, their commanders and senate would not be averse from putting an end to a contest so inconvenient and difficult. Having discovered this inclination in both parties, he concluded, that, from the disgust of the stronger party, and the fears of the weaker, this might take place spontaneously; and therefore he the more wished, for the sake of conciliating favour to himself, to make his own efforts available in the business. He therefore, sometimes, laboured to stipulate for a consideration for not affording assistance to the Romans, either on sea or land; at other times, for bringing about a peace with them. He demanded for not interfering in the war, one thousand talents; for effecting a peace, one thousand five hundred; and for his sincerity in either case, he professed himself prepared, not only to make oath, but to give hostages also. Perseus, stimulated by his fears, showed the greatest readiness in the beginning of the negotiation, and treated without delay about receiving the hostages; when it was agreed, that, on their being received, they should be sent to Crete. But when they came to the mention of money, there he hesitated; remarking that, in the case of kings of their high character, a pecuniary consideration was mean and sordid, both with respect to the giver, and still more so with respect to the receiver. He preferred not to decline the payment in the hope of a peace with Rome, but said that he would pay the money when the business should be concluded; and that he would lodge it in the mean time in the temple of Samothrace. As that island was under his own dominion, Eumenes said, that it was all the same as if the money were at Pella; and he struggled hard to obtain some part of it at the present. Thus, having manœuvred with each other to no purpose, they gained nothing but disgrace.

26 This was not the only business which Perseus left unfinished from motives of avarice, since for a small sum of money he might have procured, through Eumenes, a secure peace, well purchased even with half of his kingdom; while, if defrauded, he might have exposed him to public view, as an enemy laden with his pelf, and made the Romans deservedly his enemies. Through this avaricious spirit the prompt alliance of king Gentius, with the assistance of a

large *army* of Gauls, who had spread themselves through Illyria, and offered themselves to him, was lost. There came ten thousand horsemen, and the same number of footmen, who themselves kept pace with the horses, and in place of the riders who had fallen, took on the horses to the fight. They had stipulated that each horseman should receive in immediate payment, ten golden Philippics, each footman five, and their commander one thousand. Perseus went from his camp on the Enipeus with half of his forces to meet them as they approached; and issued orders through the towns and villages near the road, to prepare provisions, so that they might have plenty of corn, wine, and cattle. He brought with him some horses, trappings, and cloaks, for presents to the chiefs; and a small quantity of gold to be divided among a few; for the multitude, he supposed, might be amused with hopes. He advanced as far as the city of Almanæ, and encamped on the bank of the river Axius, at which time the army of the Gauls lay near Desudaba, in Mædica, waiting for the promised hire. Thither he sent Antigonus, one of his nobles, with directions, that the said army should remove their camp to Bylazor, a place in Pæonia, and that their chiefs should come to him in a body. They were at this time seventy-five miles distant from the river Axius and the king's camp. Antigonus, in his message, told them what great plenty of every thing was provided on the road by the king's directions, and what presents of apparel, money, and horses he intended for them on their arrival. They answered, that they would judge of those things when they saw them; at the same time asking him, whether, according to their stipulation for immediate payment, he had brought with him the gold which was to be distributed to each footman and horseman? When to this no direct answer was given, Clondicus, their prince, said, "Go back, then, and tell your king, that, unless they should have received the gold and the hostages, the Gauls would never move one step farther." When this message was brought to the king, he called a council: and, as it was very plain what advice all the members would give; he, being a better guardian of his money than of his kingdom, began to descant on the perfidy and savage behaviour of the Gauls. "The disasters," he said, "of many states demonstrated, that it would be dangerous to admit such a multitude into Macedonia, lest they might feel such allies more

troublesome than their Roman enemies. Five thousand horsemen would be enough for them to employ in the war, and that number they need not be afraid to receive.”

27 It was sufficiently clear to all that what he feared was the paying of such a multitude, and nothing else; but as none had the courage to declare their opinion, when asked, Antigonus was sent again, with a message, that the king chose to employ only five thousand horsemen, but that he could not receive the rest of their number. When the barbarians heard this, they began to murmur, and show a great deal of anger at being brought so far from home for no purpose; but Clondicus again asked him, whether he would pay even the five thousand the hire agreed on. When he perceived that an evasive answer was given to this question also, the Gauls, dismissing the insidious envoy unhurt, which was what he himself had scarcely hoped could be his fate, returned home to the Danube, after utterly wasting such lands of Thrace as lay near their road. Now had this body of troops, while the king lay quiet on the Enipeus, been led against the Romans through the passes of Perrhæbia, into Thessaly, it might not only have stripped that country so bare, that the Romans could not expect supplies from thence; but might even have destroyed the cities themselves, while Perseus, by detaining his enemy at the Enipeus, would have put it out of their power to succour their allies. The Romans, indeed, would have been obliged to look out for their own safety, since they could neither stay where they were, after losing Thessaly, whence their army drew sustenance, nor move forward, as the camp of the Macedonians *stood in their way*. *By this error, Perseus enlivened the hopes of the Romans*, and damped not a little *those of the Macedonians*, who had depended much on that project. Through the same avarice, he alienated from him king Gentius. When he paid, at Pella, three hundred talents to the persons sent by Gentius, he allowed them to seal up the money. He then ordered ten talents to be carried to Pantauchus, and these he desired should be given immediately to the king. He ordered his people, who were carrying the rest of the money, sealed with the seals of the Illyrians, to convey it by short journeys, and when they should come to the bounds of Macedonia, to halt there, and wait for a message from him. Gentius, having received this small portion of the

money, and being incessantly urged by Pantauchus to provoke the Romans by some hostile act, threw into custody Marcus Perperna and Lucius Petilius, who happened to come at that time as ambassadors. Having heard this, Perseus, thinking that the Illyrian had now laid himself under a necessity of waging war with the Romans at least, sent to recall those who were conveying the money, as if for no other object, than that the greatest possible booty might be reserved for the Romans on his defeat. Herophon, too, returned from Eumenes, without any one knowing what had been secretly negotiated between them. The parties themselves had mentioned publicly that the business of the prisoners had been concluded, and Eumenes, for the sake of avoiding suspicion, acquainted the consul with it.

28 Upon the return of Herophon from Eumenes, Perseus, disappointed in his hope, sent Antenor and Callippus, the commanders of his fleet, with forty barks, to which were added five heavy galleys, to Tenedos, that they might protect the vessels sailing to Macedonia with corn, and scattered among the Cyclades. This squadron, setting sail from Cassandrea, steered, first, to the harbour at the foot of Mount Athos, and crossing over thence, with mild weather, to Tenedos, found lying in the harbour a number of Rhodian undecked ships, and their commander Eudamus; these they did not offer to molest, but, after having spoken them in a friendly manner, suffered them to pursue their course. Then, learning that, on the other side of the island, fifty transports of their own were shut up by a squadron of Eumenes, commanded by Damius, which lay in the mouth of the harbour, they sailed round with all haste; and the enemy's ships retiring, through fear, they sent on the transports to Macedonia, ten barks having been appointed to accompany them, which were to return to Tenedos as soon as they had convoyed them to a place of safety. Accordingly, on the ninth day after, they rejoined the fleet, then lying at Sigeum. From thence they sailed over to Subota, an island between Elea and Athos. The next day after the fleet had reached Subota, it happened that thirty-five vessels, of the kind called horse-transports, sent by Eumenes to Attalus, and which had sailed from Elea, with Gallic horsemen and their horses, were steering towards Phanaë, a promontory of Chios, from whence they

might cross over to Macedonia, A signal having been given to Antenor, from a post of observation, that these ships were passing along the main, he left Subota, and met them between Cape Erythræ and Chios, where the strait is narrowest. The officers of Eumenes believed nothing less probable than that a Macedonian fleet was cruising in that sea; they imagined that they were Romans, or that Attalus, or some people sent home by him from the Roman camp, were on their way to Pergamus. But when, on their nearer approach, the shape of the vessels was plainly perceived, and when the briskness of their rowing, and their prows being directed straight against themselves, proved that enemies were approaching, a panic was struck into them; for they had no hope of being able to make resistance, their ships being of an unwieldy kind, and the Gauls scarcely able to bear a state of quiet when at sea. Some, who were nearest to the shore of the continent, swam to Erythræ; some, crowding all their sail, ran the ships aground near Chios; and, leaving their horses behind, made for the city in disorderly flight. When the barks, however, had landed their troops nearer to the city, where the access was more convenient, the Macedonians overtook and put to the sword the flying Gauls, some on the road, and some who had been shut out before the gate, for the Chians had shut their gates, not knowing who they were that fled, or who that pursued. About eight hundred Gauls were killed, and two hundred made prisoners. Of the horses, some were lost in the sea, by the ships being wrecked, and others the Macedonians hamstrung on the shore. Antenor ordered the same ten barks, which he had employed before, to carry twenty horses of extraordinary beauty, with the prisoners, to Thessalonica, and to return to the fleet as speedily as possible; saying, that he would wait for them at Phanæ. The fleet staid about three days off the city, and then proceeded to Phanæ, and the ten barks having returned sooner than was expected, they set sail, and crossed the Ægean Sea to Delos.

29 While these things were taking place, the Roman ambassadors, Caius Popilius, Caius Decimius, and Caius Hostinus having sailed from Chalcis with three quinqueremes, arrived at Delos, and found there forty Macedonian barks, and five quinqueremes belonging to king Eumenes. The sacred character of the temple and the island

secured all parties from injury; so that the Roman and Macedonian seamen, and those of Eumenes, used to meet promiscuously in the temple, a truce being imposed by the religious feeling which the place inspired. Antenor, the commander of Perseus's fleet, having learned, by signals from his watch-posts, that several transport ships were passing by at sea, went himself in pursuit, with one half of his barks, (distributing the other half among the Cyclades,) and sunk or plundered every ship he met with, except such as were bound for Macedonia. Popilius and the ships of Eumenes assisted as many as they were able; but, in the night, the Macedonians sailing out, generally with two or three vessels, passed unseen. About this time, ambassadors from Macedonia and Illyria came together to Rhodes. Their influence was the greater, in consequence of their squadron cruising freely among the Cyclades, and over all the Ægean Sea, and likewise on account of the junction of Perseus and Gentius, and of the report of the Gauls approaching with a great force both of horse and foot. Dinon and Polyaratus, the partisans of Perseus, now took fresh courage, and the Rhodians not only gave a favourable answer to the ambassadors, but declared publicly, that "they would put an end to the war by their own influence; and therefore desired the kings to dispose themselves to accede to a peace."

³⁰ It was now the beginning of spring, and the new commanders had arrived in their provinces; the consul Æmilius in Macedonia, Octavius at Oreum, where the fleet lay, and Anicius in Illyria, to carry on the war against Gentius. This prince, who was the son of Pleuratus, king of Illyria, and his queen Eurydice, had two brothers, one called Plator, by both parents, the other Caravantius, by the same mother only. The latter, as descended of ignoble ancestors on his father's side, was but little suspected; but, that his reign might be more secure, he had put to death Plator, and two active men his friends, Ettritius and Epicadus. It was rumoured, that he was actuated by jealousy towards his brother, who had engaged himself to Etuta, the daughter of Hononus, prince of the Dardanians, as if, by that match, engaging that nation in his interest; and this supposition was rendered the more probable by Gentius marrying her, after the death of Plator. From this time, when he was delivered from the fear of his brother, he began to be oppressive to his subjects, and the natural

violence of his temper was inflamed by an immoderate use of wine. Having been incited, as was mentioned above, to a war with the Romans, he collected all his forces, amounting to fifteen thousand men, at Lissus. From thence, detaching his brother with one thousand foot and fifty horse, to reduce, either by force or terror, the nation of the Cavians, he marched himself to Bassania, a city five miles distant from Lissus. The inhabitants were in alliance with Rome. Therefore, having been first solicited by emissaries sent in advance, they determined rather to endure a siege than surrender themselves. In Cavia, the people of the town of Durnium cheerfully opened their gates to Caravantius, on his arrival; but another town, called Caravantis, refused him admittance; and whilst he was carelessly ravaging their lands, many of his straggling soldiers were killed by a muster of the peasants. By this time Appius Claudius, having joined to the army he had in command some bodies of auxiliaries, composed of Bulinians, Apollonians, and Dyrrhachians, had left his winter quarters, and was encamped near the river Genusus. Having heard of the treaty between Persius and Gentius, and being highly provoked at the ill-treatment of the outraged ambassadors, he was resolved to make war upon him. The prætor Anicius, who was now at Apollonia, being informed of what passed in Illyria, despatched a letter to Appius, desiring him to wait for him at the Genusus; and, in three days after, he arrived in the camp. *Having added to the auxiliary troops which he then had, two thousand foot and two hundred horse of the Parthinians, (the foot commanded by Epicadus, and the horse by Agalsus,) he prepared to march into Illyria, chiefly that he might relieve the Bassanians from the siege. But an account brought him, of the sea-coast being ravaged by a number of the enemy's barks, checked his efforts. These were eighty vessels, which, by the advice of Pantauchus, Gentius had sent to waste the lands of the Dyrrhachians and Apollonians. The Roman fleet was then lying near Apollonia. Anicius hastily repaired thither, soon overtook the Illyrian plunderers, brought them to an engagement, and, defeating them with very little trouble, took many of their ships, and compelled the rest to retire to Illyria. Returning thence to the camp at the Genusus, he hastened to the relief of Bassania. Gentius did not bear up against the rumour of the prætor's coming; but,*

raising the siege, retired to Scodra with such precipitate haste, that he did not even take the whole of his army with him. There was a large body of forces, which, if their courage had been supported by the presence of their commander, might have given some check to the Romans; but, as he had withdrawn, they surrendered.

31 The cities of that country, one after another, followed the example; their own inclinations being encouraged by the justice and clemency which the Roman prætor showed to all. The army then advanced to Scodra, which was the chief seat of the war, not merely because Gentius had chosen it for the metropolis of his kingdom, but because it has by far the strongest fortifications of any in the territory of the Labeatians, and is of very difficult access. Two rivers enclose it; the Clausula flowing past the eastern side of the city, and by the western, the Barbanna, which rises out of the lake Labeatus. These two rivers, uniting their streams, fall into the river Oriuns, which, running down from mount Scordus, and being augmented by many other waters, empties itself into the Adriatic Sea. Mount Scordus is much the highest hill in all that country; at its foot, towards the east, lies Dardania; towards the south, Macedonia; and towards the west, Illyria. Notwithstanding that the town was so strong, from the nature of its situation, and was garrisoned by the whole force of the Illyrian nation, with the king himself at their head, yet the Roman prætor, encouraged by the happy success of his first enterprises, and hoping that the fortune of the whole undertaking would correspond to its commencement, and thinking also that a sudden alarm might have a powerful effect, advanced to the walls with his troops in order of battle. But, if the garrison had kept their gates shut, and manned the walls and the towers of the gates with soldiers, they might have repulsed the Romans from the walls with their efforts frustrated, instead of which they marched out from the gate, and, on equal ground, commenced a battle with more courage than they supported it: for, being forced to give way, and crowded together in their retreat, and above two hundred having fallen in the very entrance of the gate, the rest were so terrified, that Gentius immediately despatched Teuticus and Bellus, two of the first men of the nation, to the prætor, through whom he begged a truce, in order that he might be able to deliberate on the state of his affairs. He was allowed three

days for the purpose, and, as the Roman camp was about five hundred paces from the city, he went on board a ship, and sailed up the river Barbanna, into the lake of Labeatus, as if in search of a retired place for consultation; but, as afterwards appeared, he was led by a groundless report, that his brother Caravantius was coming, with many thousands of soldiers collected in the country, to which he had been sent. This rumour dying away, on the third day he sailed down the river in the same ship to Scodra; and, after sending forward messengers, to request permission to call upon the prætor, and leave being given, came into the camp. He began his discourse with reproaches against himself, for the folly of his conduct; then descended to tears and prayers, and, falling at the prætor's knees, gave himself up into his power. He was at first desired to keep up his spirits, and having been even invited to supper, he went back into the city to his people, and, for that day, was entertained by the prætor with every mark of respect. On the day following, he was delivered into custody, to Caius Cassius, a military tribune, having, though a king, received ten talents, scarcely the hire of a party of gladiators, and that from a king, to reduce himself to these circumstances.

³² The first thing Anicius did, after taking possession of Scodra, was, to order the ambassadors, Petilius and Perperna, to be sought for and brought to him; and having restored to them their former dignity, he immediately despatched Perperna to seize the king's friends and relations, who, hastening to Medeo, a city of Labeatia, conducted to the camp at Scodra, Etleva, the king's consort; his brother Caravantius; with his two sons, Scerdiletus and Pleuratus. Anicius, having brought the Illyrian war to a conclusion within thirty days, sent Perperna to Rome with the news of his success; and, in a few days after, king Gentius himself, with his mother, queen, children, and brother, and other Illyrians of distinction. This one war was announced at Rome as finished before it was known to have been begun. At the time when these things took place, Perseus laboured under dreadful apprehensions, on account of the approach, both of the new consul Æmilius, who, as he heard, was coming with formidable threats, and also of the prætor Octavius: nor did he less dread the Roman fleet, and the danger which threatened the sea-coast. Eumenes and Athenagoras commanded at Thessalonica, with a

small garrison of two thousand targeteers. Thither he sent Androcles, as governor, and ordered him to keep the troops encamped close by the naval arsenals. He ordered one thousand horse, under Antigonus, to Ænia, to guard the sea-coast; directing them, whenever they should hear of the enemy's fleet approaching the shore in any part, instantly to hasten thither, to protect the country people. Five thousand Macedonians were sent to garrison the mountains Pythium and Petra, commanded by Histæus, Theogenes, and Medon. After making these detachments, he set about fortifying the bank of the river Enipeus, the channel being dry and fordable; and, in order that all the men might apply themselves to this work, the women were obliged to bring provisions from the neighbouring cities into the camp. He ordered the soldiers to *fetch timber* from the woods which were not far distant. *Then a mound was formed and works thrown up strengthened with towers and with engines, disposed in various parts so that the enemy might not be able to force a way through without great opposition and danger. Thus he trusted that he should be secure against every attack of the Romans, and that, wearied out with inaction and slow delay, and drained by expenses, a disgust at so difficult a war would seize on the mind of the enemy. On the other side, the more diligence and caution Paullus saw the Macedonians use, the more assiduously did he study to devise some means of frustrating those hopes, which the enemy had not without reason conceived. But he suffered immediate distress from the scarcity of water, as the neighbouring river was almost dried up, except that a little stream, and that impure, flowed in the part contiguous to the sea.*

33 *The consul, when those who were sent to search the neighbourhood announced that no water could be found, at last ordered the water-carriers to attend him to the shore, which was not three hundred paces distant, and there to dig holes in several places, not far from each other. The great height of the mountains gave him reason to suppose that they contained hidden springs of water, the veins of which flowing through to the sea, mingled with its waves; and the more so, as they discharged no streams above ground. Scarcely was the surface of the sand removed, when springs began to boil up, small at first, and muddy, but in a little time they threw out*

clear water in great plenty, as if through the favourable interference of the gods. This circumstance added greatly to the reputation and influence of the general in the minds of the soldiers. He then ordered them to get ready their arms; and went himself, with the tribunes and first centurions, to examine the fords, in hopes of finding a passage, where the descent would be easy for the troops, and where the ascending the other bank would be least difficult. After taking a sufficient view of these matters, he made it his first care to provide, that, in the movements of the army, every thing should be done regularly, and without noise, at the first order and beck of the general. When notice was proclaimed of what was to be done to all at the same time, every one did not distinctly hear; and as the orders received were not clear, some making additions for themselves, did more than was ordered, while others did less; while dissonant shouts were raised in every quarter, insomuch that the enemy knew sooner than the soldiers themselves what was intended. He therefore directed, that the military tribune should communicate, secretly, to the first centurion of the legion, then he to the next, and that so on, in order that each should tell the next to him in rank what was requisite to be done, whether the instructions were to be conveyed from front to rear, or from rear to front. He likewise, by a new arrangement, forbade the sentinels to carry their shields when on duty; for as a sentinel did not go to fight, but to watch, he had no occasion for arms; it was his duty, when he perceived an enemy approaching, to retire, and to rouse the rest to arms. They used to stand with their helmets on, and their shields erected on the ground before them; when tired, they leaned on their spears; or laying their heads on the edge of their shields, stood dozing in such a manner, that from the glittering of their arms they could be seen afar off by the enemy, while themselves could see nothing. He likewise altered the practice of the advanced guards. Formerly, the guards were kept on duty through the whole day, all under arms, the horsemen with their horses bridled; and when this happened in summer, under a continual scorching sun, both men and horses were so much exhausted by the heat and the languor contracted in so many hours, that very often, when attacked by fresh troops, a few could get the better of a greater number. He therefore ordered, that they should retire from the

morning-watch at noon, and that others should succeed to the duty for the rest of the day; by which means the enemy could never come fresh upon them when they were wearied.

³⁴ Æmilius, after publishing, in a general assembly, his orders for these regulations, added a speech of similar purport to that which he had made in the city, that “it was the business of the commander alone to consider what was proper to be done, sometimes singly, sometimes in conjunction with those whom he should call to council; and that such as were not called, ought not to pronounce their opinions either in public or in private. That it was a soldier’s business to attend to these three things, — his body, that he may keep it in perfect strength and agility; his arms, in good order; and his provisions ready, in case of a sudden order; and to understand, that all other matters relating to him are under the care of the immortal gods and his captain. That in any army, where the soldiers formed plans, and that the chief was drawn, first one way, then another, by the rumours of the multitude, nothing was successful. For his part,” he declared, that “he would take care, as was the duty of a general, to afford them occasion of acting with success. On their part, they were to make no inquiries whatever as to what was about to take place; but, when the signal was given, to discharge the duty of a soldier.” After these precepts, he dismissed the assembly, while the veterans themselves acknowledged, that on that day, for the first time, they had, like recruits, been taught the business of a soldier. Nor did they, by such expressions only, demonstrate with what perfect conviction they had listened to the consul’s discourse; but the practical effect of it was immediate. In the whole camp, not one person was to be seen idle; some were sharpening their weapons; others scouring their helmets and cheek-pieces, their shields and breastplates; some fitted their armour to their bodies and tested the agility of their limbs under it; some brandished their spears, others flourished their swords, and tried the points; so that it could be easily perceived that their intention was, whenever they should come to battle, to finish the war at once, either by a splendid victory or a memorable death. On the other side, when Perseus saw that, in consequence of the arrival of the consul, and of the opening of the spring, all was motion and bustle among the Romans, as in a new

war; and that the camp had been removed from Phila and pitched on the opposite bank, and that the Roman general employed himself busily, sometimes in going round and examining all his works, doubtless looking out for a place to pass the river; *and sometimes in preparing every thing requisite for attack or defence of a camp, with the closest attention, and omitted nothing which could be attempted or achieved by a great general, whether against the enemy or for increasing the efficiency of his own men; he (Perseus) also exerted himself no less diligently on his part to rouse the courage of his soldiers, and add more and more strength to his defences, as if he were approaching the crisis of the whole business, and never considered all matters to be adequately provided for, or the bank sufficiently fortified and secured. Nevertheless, amidst this most vehement ardour on both sides, their camps were for some time in a state of tranquillity. Nor was it ever recorded that such powerful armies, with their camps pitched so near together, had ever lain so quiet.*

35 *In the mean time, a report announced that king Gentius had been defeated, in Illyria, by the prætor Anicius; and that himself, his family, and his whole kingdom, were in the hands of the Romans; which event greatly raised the spirits of the Romans, and struck no small degree of terror into the Macedonians and their king. At first, Perseus endeavoured to suppress the intelligence, and sent messengers to Pantauchus, who was on his way from that country, forbidding him to come near the camp; but some of his people had already seen certain boys, carried away among the Illyrian hostages; and it is certain that the more pains there are used to conceal any circumstances, the more readily they are divulged, through the gossiping disposition of the attendants of kings. About this time, ambassadors came to the camp from Rhodes, with the same message which had excited so much resentment in the Roman senate. They were now heard by the council in the camp with much greater indignation than at Rome; some even advised that they should be instantly driven out of the camp without any reply; but the consul said, that he would give them an answer in fifteen days. Meanwhile, to show how far the influence of the Rhodians as mediators extended, he began to consult on the plan of carrying forward the war. Some,*

particularly the older officers, advised to force their way across the Enipeus, and through the enemy's works. "When they should advance in close order and make an assault, the Macedonians," they said, "would never be able to withstand them. They had been, last year, beaten out of many fortresses much higher and better fortified, which they had occupied with much stronger garrisons." Others recommended, that Octavius, with the fleet, should sail to Thessalonica; and, by committing depredations on the sea-coast, to divide the king's forces; so that when, on the appearance of another enemy behind him, he should turn about to protect the interior part of the kingdom, he would be forced to leave a passage over the Enipeus open in some place or other. The consul himself was of opinion, that the nature of the bank, and the works erected on it, presented insuperable difficulties; and, besides its being every where furnished with engines, he had been informed, that the enemy were remarkable for using missile weapons with uncommon skill, and with a very certain aim. The consul's full conviction leaned quite another way; as soon, therefore, as the council broke up, he sent for Schoenus and Menophilus, Perrhæbian merchants, whom he knew to be men of probity and good sense, and examined them in private about the nature of the passes leading into Perrhæbia. They told him, that the places themselves were not difficult; but that they were occupied by parties of the king's troops; from which he conceived hopes of being able to beat off those parties, by making a sudden attack with a strong force in the night, when they were off their guard. For he considered that "javelins, and arrows, and other missile weapons, were useless in the dark, when one cannot see at distance what to aim at; but that, when combatants closed together in a throng, the business must depend on the sword, in which the Roman soldier was superior." He resolved to employ those two men as guides; and, sending for the prætor Octavius, explained to him what he intended, ordering him to sail directly with the fleet to Heracleum, and to have in readiness, there, ten days' provisions for one thousand men. He then sent Publius Scipio Nasica, and Quintus Fabius Maximus, his own son, with five thousand chosen men, to Heracleum, as if they were to embark in the fleet, to ravage the coast of the interior parts of Macedonia, as had been proposed in the council. He told them, in

private, that there were provisions prepared for them on board, so that they should have no delay. He then ordered the guides to divide the road in such a manner that they might attack Pythium at the fourth watch on the third day. He himself, on the day following, in order to withdraw the king from the observation of other matters, attacked his advanced guards as soon as it was light in the middle of the channel of the river, where the fight was maintained by the light infantry on both sides, for the bottom was so uneven, that heavy arms could not be used. The slope of each bank was three hundred paces long, and the breadth of the channel, which was of various depths, somewhat more than a mile. In this middle space the fight was carried on, while the king on one side, and the consul with his legions on the other, stood spectators on the ramparts of their camps. At a distance, the king's troops had the advantage in fighting with missile weapons; but in close fight the Roman soldier was more steady, and was better defended, either with a target or a Ligurian buckler. About noon, the consul ordered the signal of retreat to be given, and thus the battle ended for that day, after considerable numbers had fallen on both sides. Next morning at sun-rise, the fight was renewed with greater fury, as their passions had been irritated by the former contest; but the Romans were wounded, not only by those with whom they were immediately engaged, but much more by the multitudes that stood posted in the towers, with missiles of every sort, particularly stones; so that whenever they advanced towards the enemy's bank, the weapons thrown from the engines reached even the hindmost of their men. The consul, having lost far more men on that day, somewhat later called off his men. On the third day he declined fighting, and moved down to the lowest side of the camp, as if intending to attempt a passage through an intrenchment which stretched down to the sea. Perseus, *who did not extend his cares beyond the objects that lay before his eyes, bent all his thoughts and exertions to stop the progress of the enemy in the quarter where he lay, careful of nought beside. In the mean time, Publius Nasica, with the detachment assigned to him, having departed towards the sea to Heracleum, when he arrived there, waited for nightfall, ordering his soldiers to refresh themselves. He then explained to the principal of his officers the real directions of the consul, and when first the*

darkness spread itself, bending his course to the mountain, he led his troops in silence to Pythium, as he had been commanded. When they had arrived at the very summit, which rises to a height of more than ten stadia, some repose was given to the wearied soldiers. This height, as has been already stated, Medon, Histiaëus, and Theogenes, who were sent by Perseus, were occupying with five thousand Macedonians, but so great was the negligence of the king's generals, that no one perceived that the Romans were approaching. If we are to believe Polybius, Nasica, having attacked them while asleep, easily dislodged them from the height. Nasica himself however, narrates the affair very differently in a letter to one of the kings. He says, that the mountain was of steep ascent, but so unguarded that he could have taken possession of the pass with no trouble, had not a deserter from those Cretans, whom he was taking with him, fled to Perseus, and informed him what was being done. That the king himself remained in his camp, but sent two thousand Macedonians and ten thousand auxiliaries, with Medon as their leader, to take possession of the pass. That with these a most fierce engagement took place on the top of the hill, and, among other things, that he himself was thrust at with a sword by a Thracian soldier, whom he transfixed by driving his spear through his breast. That at length the Macedonians, being conquered, gave way, and that their leader himself, throwing away his arms, sought safety in a disgraceful flight. The Romans pursuing the fugitives had an easy descent, without any danger, to the plain. In this stale of things Perseus was in perplexity as to what was necessary to be done, as he feared lest, now that a way through the pass had been opened, he should be hemmed in by the Romans. It was absolutely necessary that he should either retire to Pydna, and await the enemy there, so as to fight with less danger under the walls of a fortified city; or that, dispersing his forces through the cities of Macedonia, conveying the corn and cattle into more fortified places, and devastating the fields, he, should leave the bare soil to the enemy. The mind of the king fluctuated irresolute between these two propositions: his friends, thinking that that which was the most honourable would also be the safer, advised him to try the fortune of a battle, alleging both that he was superior in the number of his soldiers, and that he ought surely

to trust to that valour which, while it was natural to their minds, would be inflamed by the most powerful and sacred incitements to a valiant opposition which could act upon men; — their altars, their hearths, and their religious institutions, amidst which and for which they had to fight; their parents and their wives, and, lastly, their king himself observing them, and exposing himself to a share of the danger. Influenced by these suggestions, the king prepared himself for a battle, and when he had retired to Pydna, at once pitched his camp, drew up his army, and assigned to each of his leaders his position and duty, as if about to fight immediately after the march. The locality was of this kind; the plain was suited for the ranging of the phalanx, which requires an open and even space, not, however, such as that it could be easily moved forward; then there were continuous hills which afforded to the light-armed troops the means of retreating at one time, and at another of wheeling round. Two streams, the one of which the inhabitants called Æson, the other Leucus, though they flowed with but a scanty supply of water, yet seemed likely to occasion some trouble to the Romans. Æmilius, having united his forces with Nasica, set out directly against the enemy, but at the sight of their army, which was most effective both as to the number and the strength of the soldiers, and admirably drawn up and ranged for battle, he stopped, struck with awe, and revolving many considerations within himself.

³⁶ *The season of the year was a little after the summer solstice; the time of the day was approaching towards noon; and his march had been performed amidst great quantities of dust, and the increasing heat of the sun. Lassitude and thirst were already felt, and both would certainly be aggravated by mid-day coming on. He resolved, therefore, not to expose his men in that condition to an enemy, fresh and in full vigour; but so great was the ardour for battle in the minds of both parties, that the general had occasion for as much art to elude the wishes of his own men, as those of the enemy. He urged the military tribunes to hasten the forming of the troops, went himself round the ranks, and with exhortations inflamed their courage for the fight. At first, they called to him for the signal briskly; but afterwards, as the beat increased, their looks became less lively, and their voices fainter, while many stood resting on their shields, or*

leaning on their javelins. He then, at length, openly ordered the foremost ranks to measure out the front of a camp, and store the baggage; on seeing which, some undisguisedly rejoiced that he had not compelled them to fight when they were wearied with marching and with the scorching heat. Immediately about the general were the lieutenants-general, and the commanders of the foreign troops; among others Attalus, who, when they thought that the consul intended to fight, (for even to them he did not disclose his intention of delaying,) had all approved the measure. On this sudden alteration of his plan, while the rest were silent, Nasica alone of them all ventured to advise the consul, not to let slip from his hands an enemy, who, by shunning a battle, had baffled former commanders. "There was reason to fear," he said, "that if he should march off in the night, he would have to be pursued with extreme toil and danger, into the heart of Macedonia; and the troops must be led about, as under former generals, wandering through the glens and forests of the Macedonian mountains. He therefore earnestly recommended to attack the enemy while he had him in an open plain, and not to lose the opportunity of obtaining a victory, which now presented itself." The consul, not in the least offended at the frank advice of so illustrious a youth, answered: "Nasica, I once thought as you do now; hereafter you will come to think as I do. By the many chances of war, I have learned when it is proper to fight, when to abstain from fighting. It would not be right in me, at present, standing at the head of the troops to explain to you the causes that render it better to rest to-day. Ask my reasons some other time. At present you will acquiesce in the judgment of an old commander." The youth was silent, concluding that the consul certainly saw some objections to fighting, which did not appear to him.

³⁷ Paullus, as soon as he saw the camp marked out, and the baggage laid up, drew off, first, the veterans from the rear line, then the first-rank men, while the spearmen stood in the front, lest the enemy might make any attempt; and lastly, the spearmen, beginning at the right wing, and leading them away, gradually, by single companies. Thus were the infantry drawn off without tumult; and, in the mean time, the cavalry and light infantry faced the enemy; nor were the cavalry recalled from their station, until the rampart and

trench were finished. The king, though he was disposed to have given battle that day, was yet satisfied; since his men knew, that, the delay was owing to the enemy: and he led back his troops to their station. When the camp had been thoroughly fortified, Caius Sulpicius Gallus, a military tribune of the second legion, who had been prætor the year before, with the consul's permission collected the soldiers in assembly, and gave them notice, lest they should any of them consider the matter as a prodigy, that, "on the following night, the moon would be eclipsed, from the second hour to the fourth." He mentioned that, "as this happened in the course of nature, at stated times, it could be known, and foretold. As, therefore, they did not wonder at the regular rising and setting of the sun and moon, or at the moon's sometimes shining with a full orb, and sometimes in its wane, showing only small horns, so neither ought they to construe as a portent, its being obscured when covered with the shadow of the earth." When on the night preceding the day before the nones of September, at the hour mentioned, the eclipse took place, the Roman soldiers thought the wisdom of Gallus almost divine; but the Macedonians were shocked, as at a dismal prodigy, foreboding the fall of their kingdom and the ruin of their nation; nor did their soothsayers explain it otherwise. There was shouting and yelling in the camp of the Macedonians, until the moon emerged forth into its full light. Both armies had been so eager for an engagement, that, next day, both the king and the consul were censured by many of their respective men for having separated without a battle. The king could readily excuse himself, not only as the enemy had led back his troops into camp, openly declining a battle; but, also, as he had posted his men on ground of such a nature, that the phalanx (which even a small inequality of surface renders useless) could not advance on it. The consul, besides appearing to have neglected an opportunity of fighting, and to have given the enemy room to go off in the night, if he were so inclined, was thought to waste time at the present, under pretence of offering sacrifice, though the signal had been displayed, at the first light, for going out to the field. At last, about the third hour, the sacrifices being duly performed, he summoned a council, and there, too, he was deemed by several to spin out, in talking and unseasonable consultation, the time that ought to be

employed in action; after the conversation, however, the consul addressed to them the following speech.

38 “Publius Nasica, a youth of uncommon merit, was the only one of those who were for fighting yesterday, that disclosed his sentiments to me; and even he was afterwards silent, so that he seems to have come over to my opinion. Some others have thought proper, rather to carp at their general in his absence, than to offer advice in his presence. Now, I shall, without the least reluctance, make known to you, Publius Nasica, and to any who, with less openness, entertained the same opinion with you, my reasons for deferring an engagement. For, so far am I from being sorry for yesterday’s inaction, that I am convinced that by that course I preserved the army. And if any of you think that I hold this opinion groundlessly, let him come forward, if he pleases, and take with me a review of how many things were favourable to the enemy and adverse to us. In the first place, how far they surpass us in numbers, I am sure not one of you was at any time ignorant; and yesterday, I am convinced that you must have observed it, when you saw their line drawn out. Of our small force, a fourth part had been left to guard the baggage; and you know that they are not the worst of the soldiers who are left in custody of the baggage. But suppose we were all here, can we believe it a matter of little moment, that, with the blessing of the gods, we shall this day, if judged proper, or tomorrow at farthest, march to battle out of this our own camp, where we have lodged last night? Is there no difference whether you order a soldier to take arms in his own tent, when he has not suffered any fatigue on that day, either from a long march or laborious work; after he has enjoyed his natural rest, and is fresh; so as to lead him into the field vigorous both in body and mind; or whether, when he is wearied by such a march, or fatigued with carrying a load; while he is wet with sweat, and while his throat is parched with thirst, and his mouth and eyes filled with dust, you oppose him, under a scorching noon-day sun, to an enemy who has had full repose, and who brings into the battle his strength unimpaired by any previous circumstance? Is there, in the name of the gods, any one so dastardly, that, if matched in this manner, he would not overcome the bravest man? We must consider, that the enemy had, quite at their leisure, formed their line of battle;

had recruited their spirits, and were standing in regular order; whereas we must have formed our line in hurry and confusion, and have engaged before it was completed.

39 “We should then confessedly have an irregular and disorderly line, but should we have had a camp fortified, a watering-place provided, and the passage to it secured by troops, and all the country round reconnoitred; or should we have been without any one spot of our own, except the naked field on which we fought? Your fathers considered a fortified camp as a harbour of safety in all the emergencies of an army; out of which they were to march to battle, and in which, after being tossed in the storm of the fight, they had a safe retreat. For that reason, besides enclosing it with works, they strengthened it further with a numerous guard; for any general who lost his camp, though he should have been victorious in the field, yet was deemed vanquished. A camp is a residence for the victorious, a refuge for the conquered. How many armies, to whom the fortune of the fight has been adverse, when driven within their ramparts, have, at their own time, and sometimes the next moment, sallied out and defeated their victors! This military settlement is another native country to every soldier: the rampart is as the wall of his city, and his own tent his habitation and his home. Should we have fought while in that unsettled state, and without quarters prepared, to which, even if victorious, we might retire? In opposition to these considerations of the difficulties and impediments to the fighting at that time, one argument is urged: What if the enemy had marched off in the course of last night? What immense fatigue, it is observed, must have been undergone in pursuing him to the remotest parts of Macedonia! But, for my part, I take it as a certainty, that if he had had any intention of retreating, he would neither have waited, nor drawn out his troops to battle. For, how much more easily could he have gone off while we were at a great distance, than now, when we are close behind him! Nor could he escape observation in departing either by day or by night. What could be more desirable to us, who were obliged to attack their camp, defended as it was by a very high bank of a river, and enclosed likewise with a rampart and a number of towers, than that they should quit their fortifications, and, marching off with haste, give us an opportunity of attacking their rear in an open plain? These

were the reasons for deferring a battle from yesterday to this day. For I am myself also inclined to fight; and for that reason, as the way to come at the enemy over the river Enipeus was stopped, I have opened a new way, by dislodging the enemy's guards from another pass. Nor will I rest until I shall have brought the war to a conclusion."

40 Silence ensued after this address; for some were convinced by his arguments, and the rest were fearful of giving offence needlessly in a matter which, from whatever cause overlooked, could not now be regained. Even on that day, neither the king nor the consul was desirous of engaging; not the king, because he was not going, as on the day before, to attack men who were fatigued after their march, were hurried in forming their line, and not completely marshalled; nor the consul, because, in his new camp, no collection was yet made of wood or forage, to bring which from the adjacent country a great number of his men had gone forth from the camp. Still fortune, whose power prevails over all human schemes, brought about a battle. Nearer to the enemy's camp was a river, not very large, from which both parties supplied themselves with water; and that this might be done with safety, guards were stationed on each bank. On the Roman side were two cohorts, a Marrucinian and a Pelignian, with two troops of Samnite horse, commanded by a lieutenant-general, Marcus Sergius Silus; and in the front of the camp there was posted another guard, under Caius Cluvius, lieutenant-general, composed of three cohorts, a Firmian, a Vestinian, and a Cremonian; besides two troops of horse, a Placentine and an Æsernian. While there was quiet at the river, neither party making an attack; about the ninth hour, a horse, breaking loose from those who had the care of him, ran off towards the farther bank, and three Roman soldiers followed him through the water, which was about as high as their knees. At the same time two Thracians endeavoured to bring the horse from the middle of the channel to their own bank; but one of these having been slain, and the horse having been recovered, they retired to their post. On the enemy's bank there was a body of eight hundred Thracians, of whom a few, at first enraged at their countryman being killed before their eyes, crossed the river in pursuit of his slayers; in a little time some more, and at last all of them, and

engaged with the guard which defended the bank on the Roman side. Some authors say, that by the command of Paullus, the horse was driven without a bridle to the enemy's side, and men sent to bring him back, in order that the enemy might first provoke the conflict. For when favourable auspices were not obtained by the first twenty victims, at length the haruspices declared, "that the entrails of the twenty-first portended victory to the Romans, provided they acted only upon the defensive, without striking the first blow." However, whether by the design of the leader or by accident, the battle was certainly brought about from this commencement, and, in a short time, was so augmented by party after party on both sides flying to carry succour to their comrades, that the commanders were compelled to come down to a general decision of the contest; for Æmilius, on hearing the tumult, came forth from his tent, and when it seemed neither easy nor safe to recall or stop the impetuosity of those who were rushing to arms, he thought it best to avail himself of the ardour of the soldiers, and to turn an accident into an opportunity. He therefore led out his forces from the camp, and riding among their ranks exhorted them to enter upon the contest they had so greatly desired with corresponding ardour. At the same time Nasica, having been sent forward to reconnoitre what was the position of affairs amongst those who were engaged in the commencing conflict, announced that Perseus was approaching with his army in battle-array. First marched the Thracians, men of fierce countenance and tall of stature, and protected on their left side by bucklers which shone with remarkable brightness. A black cloak covered both shoulders, and on their right they brandished from time to time a sword of enormous weight. Next to the Thracians stood the hired auxiliaries, their armour and costume differing according to their respective nations; and among these were some Pæonians. Next came a band of the Macedonians themselves, which they called the phalanx of the Leucaspides. A few selected for their strength and valour were more conspicuous, shining in gilded armour and scarlet cloaks: this was the middle of the army. These were succeeded by those whom they called Chalcaspides, from their brazen and glittering bucklers. This phalanx was placed next to the other on the right wing. Besides these two phalanxes, which constituted the chief

strength of the Macedonian army, the targeteers, who were also Macedonians, and carried pikes like those of the phalanx, but in other respects more lightly armed, were distributed on the wings advanced, and projecting beyond the rest of the line. The plain was illuminated with the brightness of their arms, the neighbouring hills echoed with their shouts, as they mutually cheered each other on. Such was the swiftness and boldness of all these forces as they came out to the fight, that those who were first slain fell at two hundred and fifty paces from the Roman camp. Meanwhile Æmilius advanced, and when he saw not only the other Macedonians, but those who constituted the phalanx, some with their bucklers, and some with their targets removed from their shoulders, and with their pikes inclined in one direction receiving the attack of the Romans, admiring the firmness of the serried ranks, and the bristling rampart of outstretched pikes, he was smitten at once with astonishment and terror, as if he had never seen so fearful a spectacle, and was afterwards in the habit of frequently referring to it, and making this statement respecting himself. Carefully concealing however at the time the agitation of his troubled mind, he with serene countenance and careless aspect, and with his head and body undefended, drew up his line. The Pelignians were now fighting against the targeteers, who were ranged opposite to them, and when, after long and laborious efforts, they were unable to break through that compact array, Salius, who was commanding the Pelignians, seized a standard and threw it among the enemy. On this a prodigious conflict was excited, whilst on the one side the Pelignians strove with all their might to recover the standard, the Macedonians on the other to retain possession of it. The former strove either to cut through the long spears of the Macedonians, or to repel them with the bosses of their bucklers, or in some instances to turn them aside even with their naked hands, while the latter drove them firmly grasped with both hands with such force against the enemy, who rushed on with rash and heedless fury, that, penetrating shields and bucklers, they overthrew the men transfixed in like manner. The first ranks of the Pelignians having been thus defeated, those who stood behind them were also cut down, and the rest retreated towards the mountain which the inhabitants call Mount Olocrus, though not yet in open flight. On this the grief of Æmilius

burst forth, so that he even rent his robe with mortification, for in other places as well he saw that his men were hanging back and approaching with timidity that hedge of steel, as it were, with which the Macedonian line bristled in every part. But that skilful general observed that this conjunction of the foe was not every where close, but that here and there it opened with little interstices, either on account of the unevenness of the ground, or on account of the very length of its front, which was immensely extended, while those who attempted to occupy higher ground were necessarily, though unwillingly, separated from those who occupied lower positions, or those who were slower from those who were faster, and those who advanced from those who held back, and lastly, those who pressed upon the enemy from those who were repulsed. In order, therefore, entirely to break the ranks of the enemy, and to distribute the irresistible attack of the entire phalanx into a number of separate conflicts, he commanded his men, that wherever they should see the line of the enemy present openings, they should individually rush to those spots, and insinuating themselves like a wedge into such spaces, however narrow their extent, they should fight with impetuosity. This order having been issued and spread through the whole army, he led on in person one of the legions to the battle.

41 The troops were impressed by the high dignity of his office, the personal renown of the man, and, above all, by his age: for, though more than sixty years old, he discharged the duties of youth, taking on himself the principal share both of the labour and danger. His legion filled up the space between the targeteers and the phalanxes, and thus disunited the enemy's line. Behind him were the targeteers, and his front faced the shielded phalanx of Chalcaspides. Lucius Albinus, a man of consular rank, was ordered to lead on the second legion against the phalanx of the Leucaspides, which formed the centre of the enemy's line. On the right wing, where the fight began, at the river, he brought forward the elephants, with the cohorts of allied cavalry; and from this quarter the retreat of the Macedonians first began. For as new contrivances generally make an important figure in the words of men, but on being put in practice oftentimes prove vain and ineffectual, so on that occasion the elephants in the line of battle were a mere name, without the least use. Their attack

was followed by the Latin allies, who forced the enemy's left wing to give way. In the centre, the second legion charged and dispersed the phalanx; nor was there any more evident cause of the victory, than there being many distinct fights, which first disordered that body, when it wavered, and at last quite broke it. Its force, while it is compact and bristling with extended spears, is irresistible; but if, by attacking them separately, you force them to turn about their spears, which, on account of their length and weight, are unwieldy, they are mingled in a confused mass; and, if any disorder arises on the flank or rear, they fall into irretrievable disorder. Thus, now, they were obliged to oppose the Romans in small parties, and with their own line broken into numerous divisions; and the Romans, when any opening was made, worked themselves into their ranks. But had they advanced with their entire line, straight against the phalanx when in its regular order, just as happened to the Pelignians, who, in the beginning of the battle, incautiously engaged the targeteers; they would have impaled themselves on the spears, and would have been unable to withstand such a firm body.

42 But though a massacre was made of the infantry on all sides, except those who threw away their arms and fled, the cavalry quitted the field with scarcely any loss. The king himself was the first in flight. With the sacred squadrons of horse he took the road to Pella, and was quickly followed by Cotys and the Odrysian cavalry. The other wings of the Macedonians, likewise, went off with full ranks: because, as the line of infantry stood in the way, the slaughter of them detained the conquerors, and made them careless of pursuing the cavalry. For a long time, the men of the phalanx were cut off, in front, on the flanks, and on the rear; at last, such as could avoid the enemy's hands, fled unarmed towards the sea; some even ran into the water, and, stretching out their hands to those on board the fleet, humbly begged their lives. And when they saw boats coming from all the ships, supposing that they were coming to take them in rather than to slay them, advanced farther into the water, so that some of them even swam. But, when they were cut to pieces as enemies by the boats, such as were able regained the land by swimming back, where they met with a more dreadful death; for the elephants, which their riders had driven down to the shore, trod them under foot, and

crushed them in pieces. It was generally acknowledged, that the Macedonians never lost so great a number of men in any battle with the Romans; for their killed amounted to twenty thousand; six thousand, who made their escape from the field to Pydna, fell alive into the hands of the Romans, and five thousand were taken straggling through the country. Of the victorious army there fell not more than one hundred, the greater part of whom were Pelignians; but a much greater number were wounded. If the battle had been begun earlier, so that the conquerors might have had daylight enough for a pursuit, all their troops must have been utterly destroyed. As it happened, the approach of night both screened the fugitives, and made the Romans unwilling to follow them through an unknown country.

43 Perseus fled as far as the Pierian wood, with a military appearance, being attended by a numerous body of horse, together with his royal retinue; but when he came into the thicket, where there were numerous paths in different directions, and when darkness came on, he turned out of the main path with a very few, in whom he placed the greatest confidence. The horsemen, abandoned by their leader, dispersed, in different directions, to their respective homes; some of whom made their way to Pella, quicker than Perseus himself, because they went by the straight and open road. The king was hindered by his fears and the many difficulties of the way, till near midnight. Perseus was met at the palace by Euctus, governor of Pella, and the royal pages; but of all his friends who had escaped from the battle by various chances, and had reached Pella, not one would come near him, though they were repeatedly sent for. Only three persons accompanied him in his flight; Evander a Cretan, Neo a Bœotian, and Archidamus an Ætolian. With these he continued his retreat, at the fourth watch; for he began to fear, lest those who had refused to obey his summons, might, presently, attempt something more audacious. He had an escort of about five hundred Cretans. He took the road to Amphipolis; leaving Pella in the night, and hastening to get over the river Axius before daylight, as he thought that it, from the difficulty of passing it, would put an end to the further pursuit of the Romans.

44 The consul, when he returned victorious to his camp, to mar his

entire joy, was much distressed by concern for his younger son. This was Publius Scipio, who afterwards acquired the title of Africanus by the destruction of Carthage. He was, by birth, the son of the consul Paullus, and by adoption, the grandson of the elder Africanus. He was then only in the seventeenth year of his age, which circumstance heightened his father's anxiety; for, pursuing the enemy with eagerness, he had been carried away by the crowd to a distant part. But when he returned late in the evening, the consul, having received his son in safety, felt unmixed joy for the very important victory. When the news of the battle reached Amphipolis, the matrons ran together to the temple of Diana, whom they style Tauropolos, to implore her aid. Diodorus, who was governor of the city, fearing lest the Thracians, of whom there were two thousand in garrison, might, during the confusion, plunder the city, contrived to receive in the middle of the forum a letter through a person whom he had deceitfully suborned to personate a courier. The contents of it were, that "the Romans had put in their fleet at Emathia, and were ravaging the territory round; and that the governors of Emathia besought him to send a reinforcement to oppose the ravagers." After reading this, he desired the Thracians to march to the relief of the coast of Emathia, telling them, as an encouragement, that the Romans being dispersed through the country, they might easily kill many of them, and gain a large booty. At the same time he threw discredit on the report of the defeat, alleging that, if it were true, many would have come thither direct from the retreat. Having, on this pretence, sent the Thracians out of the town, he no sooner saw them pass the river Strynion, than he shut the gates.

45 On the third day after the battle, Perseus arrived at Amphipolis, and sent thence to Paullus suppliant ambassadors, with the wand of peace. In the mean time, Hippas Medon, and Pantauchus, the principal friends of the king, went themselves to the consul, and surrendered to the Romans the city of Berœa, to which they had fled after the battle; and several other cities, struck with fear, prepared to do the same. The consul despatched to Rome, with letters and the news of his victory, his son Quintus Fabius, Lucius Lentulus, and Quintus Metellus. He gave to his infantry the spoils of the enemy who were slain, and to his cavalry the plunder of the circumjacent

country, provided, however, that they did not stay out of the camp longer than two nights. He himself then removed nearer the sea towards Pydna. Beroëa, Thessalonica, and Pella, and indeed almost every city in Macedonia, successively surrendered within two days. The inhabitants of Pydna, which was the nearest, had not yet sent any ambassadors; the confused multitude, made up of many different nations, with the numbers who had been driven into one place in their flight from the battle, embarrassed the counsels and unanimity of the inhabitants; the gates, too, were not only shut, but closed up with walls. Milo and Pantauchus were sent to confer, under the wall, with Solon, who commanded in the place. By his means the crowd of military people were sent away, and the town was surrendered and given up to the soldiers to be plundered. Perseus, after making a single effort to procure the assistance of the Basaltians, to whom he had sent ambassadors in vain, came forth into a general assembly, bringing with him his son Philip, in order to encourage the Amphipolitans themselves, and to raise the spirits of those horse and foot soldiers who had either constantly accompanied him, or had happened to fly to the same place. But, though he made several attempts to speak, he was always stopped by his tears; so that, finding himself unable to proceed, he told Evander, the Cretan, what he wished to have laid before the people, and came down from the tribunal. Although the multitude, on observing the aspect of the king, and his pitiable weeping, had themselves sighed and wept with him, yet they refused to listen to the discourse of Evander; and some, from the middle of the assembly, had the assurance to interrupt him, exclaiming, "Depart to some other place, that the few of us who are left alive may not be destroyed on your account." Their daring opposition stopped Evander's mouth. The king retired to his palace; and, causing his treasures to be put on board some barks which lay in the Strymon, went down himself to the river. The Thracians would not venture to trust themselves on board, but went off to their own homes, as did the rest of the soldiers. The Cretans only followed in hope of the money: but, as any distribution of it among them would probably raise more discontent than gratitude, fifty talents were laid for them on the bank, to be scrambled for. After this scramble they went on board, yet in such hurry and disorder, that they sunk one of

the barks, which was swamped by numbers in the mouth of the river. They arrived that day at Galepsus, and the next at Samothrace, to which they were bound. Thither it is said that as many as two thousand talents were conveyed.

46 Paullus sent officers to hold the government of the several cities which had surrendered; lest, at a time when peace was but newly restored, the conquered might suffer any ill treatment. He detained with himself the ambassadors of Perseus; and, being uninformed of the flight of the king, detached Publius Nasica, with a small party of horse and foot, to Amphipolis, both that he might lay waste the country of Sintice, and be ready to obstruct every effort of the king. In the mean time, Melibœa was taken and sacked by Cneius Octavius. At Æginium, to which Cneius Anicius, a lieutenant-general, had been despatched, two hundred men were lost by a sally made from the town; the Æginians not being aware that the war was at an end. The consul, quitting Pydna, arrived with his whole army, on the second day, at Pella; and, pitching his camp at the distance of a mile from it, remained in that station for several days, reconnoitring on all sides the situation of the city; and he perceived that it was chosen to be the capital of the kingdom, not without good reason. It stands on a hill which faces the south-west, and is surrounded by morasses, formed by stagnant waters from the adjacent lakes, so deep as to be impassable either in winter or summer. In the part of the morass nearest to the city the citadel rises up like an island, being built on a mound of earth formed with immense labour, so as to be capable of supporting the wall, and secure against any injury from the water of the surrounding marsh. At a distance it seems to join the city rampart, but is divided from it by a river, and united by a bridge; so that if externally invaded it has no access from any part, and if the king chooses to confine any person within it, there is no way for an escape except by that bridge, which can be guarded with great ease. This was the depository of the royal treasure; but, at that time, there was nothing found there but the three hundred talents which had been sent to king Gentius, and afterwards brought back. While they were stationed at Pella, audience was given to a great number of embassies, which came with congratulations, especially out of Thessaly. Then, receiving

intelligence that Perseus had passed over to Samothrace, the consul departed from Pella, and after four days' march, arrived at Amphipolis. Here the whole multitude poured out of the town to meet him; a plain demonstration that the people considered themselves not as *bereft of a good and just king, but as delivered from a haughty tyrant. Paullus having entered the city while engaged in religious services, and performing a solemn sacrifice, the altar was suddenly kindled by lightning, while all considered the event to signify that the offerings of the consul were most acceptable to the gods, since they were consecrated by fire from heaven. The consul, after a short delay at Amphipolis, proceeded at once in pursuit of Perseus, and also that he might carry his victorious arms round to all the nations which had been under his sway, made for the province of Odomantice, a region beyond the river Strymon, and encamped at Siræ.*

BOOK XLV

Translated by William A. McDevitte

Perseus was captured by Æmilius Paulus in Samothrace. When Antiochus, king of Syria, was besieging Ptolemy and Cleopatra, king and queen of Egypt, and ambassadors were sent to him by the senate, to order him to desist from besieging a king in alliance with Rome, on his being informed of the mandates of the senate, he answered, that he would consider what line of conduct he should adopt. Then Popilius, one of the ambassadors, described, with his wand, a circle around the king, and ordered him to give a decided answer before he passed it. By which decided conduct he compelled the king to desist from the war. The embassies of the nations and king, that came to congratulate the Romans, were admitted into the senate-house, with the exception of the embassy from the Rhodians, which was excluded because their feelings in that war were opposed to the Roman people. The next day, when the question was put "that war should be proclaimed against them," the Rhodian ambassadors pleaded the cause of their country before the senate, and were dismissed in a manner that rendered it uncertain whether they were looked on as enemies or allies. Macedon was reduced to the form of a Roman province. Æmilius Paulus triumphed; although his own soldiers opposed him, because they were dissatisfied with their share of the plunder, and Servius Sulpicius Galba spoke against him; Perseus and his three sons preceded his triumphal chariot. Still the joy of this triumph was not unmingled, for it was rendered remarkable by the death of his two sons: one of whom died before his father's triumph; the death of the other speedily followed. The ceremony of the conclusion of the census was performed by the censors. Three hundred and twelve thousand eight hundred and five citizens were enrolled. Prusias, king of Bithynia, came to Rome, to congratulate the senate on the victory gained over Macedon; and committed his son Nicomedes to the charge of the senate: being full of servility, he called himself the freed-man of the Roman people.

1 Although Quintus Fabius, Lucius Lentulus, and Quintus Metellus, who were sent with the news of the victory, made all possible haste to Rome, yet they found rejoicings for that event anticipated there. The fourth day after the battle with Perseus, while games were exhibiting in the circus, a faint rumour spread itself suddenly among the people through all the seats, "that a battle had been fought in Macedon, and that the king was entirely defeated." The rumour gathered strength, until at last arose shouting and clapping of hands, as if certain tidings of victory were brought to them. The magistrates were surprised, and caused inquiry to be made for the originator of this sudden rejoicing; but as none was found, the joy of course vanished, since the matter was uncertain; yet the prestige of conquest still remained impressed on their minds; and when, on the arrival of Fabius, Lentulus, and Metellus, the fact was established by authentic information, they rejoiced on a twofold account, — on that of the victory, and their happy presage of it. This exultation in the circus is related in another manner, with equal appearance of probability: that on the fifteenth day before the calends of October, being the second day of the Roman games, as the consul Licinius was going down to give the signal for the race, a courier, who said he came from Macedon, delivered to him a letter decorated with laurel. As soon as he had started the chariots, he mounted his own, and as he rode back through the circus to the seats of the magistrates, showed to the people the embellished tablets, at the sight of which the multitude, regardless of the games, ran down at once into the middle of the area. The consul held a meeting of the senate on the spot; and after reading the letter to them, by their direction told the people, before the seats of the magistrates, that "his colleague, Lucius Æmilius, had fought a general engagement with Perseus; that the Macedonian army was beaten and put to flight; that the king had fled with few attendants; and that all the states of Macedon had submitted to the Romans." On hearing this, a universal shouting and clapping of hands arose among the commons; and most of them, leaving the games, hastened home to communicate the joyful tidings to their wives and children. This was the thirteenth day after the battle was fought in Macedon.

2 On the following day a meeting of the senate was held in the

council-chamber, and a general supplication was voted, and likewise a decree of the senate was passed, that the consul should disband all his troops, excepting the legionary soldiers and seamen; and that their disbandment should be taken into consideration as soon as the deputies from the consul Æmilius, who had sent forward the courier, should arrive in town. On the sixth day before the calends of October, about the second hour, the deputies came into the city, and proceeded directly to the tribunal in the forum, drawing after them, wherever they went, an immense crowd, composed of those who went forth to meet and escort them. The senate happened to be then in the council-chamber, and the consul introduced the deputies to them. They were detained there no longer than to give an account, "how very numerous the king's forces of horse and foot had been; how many thousands of them were killed, how many taken; with what small loss of men the Romans had made such havoc of the enemy, and with how small a retinue Perseus had fled; that it was supposed he would go to Samothrace, and that the fleet was ready to pursue him; so that he could not escape, either by sea or land." They were then brought out into the assembly of the people, where they repeated the same particulars, and the general joy was renewed in such a degree, that no sooner had the consul published an order, "that all the places of worship should be opened," than every one proceeded, with as much speed as he could use, to return thanks to the gods, and the temples of the immortal gods, throughout the entire city, were filled with vast crowds, not only of men, but of women. The senate, being re-assembled, ordered thanksgivings in all the temples, during five days, for the glorious successes obtained by the consul Lucius Æmilius, with sacrifices of the larger kinds of victims. They also voted that the ships, which lay in the Tiber fit for sea, and ready to sail for Macedon, in case the king had been able to maintain the contest, should be hauled up, and placed in the docks, and that the seamen belonging to them should be discharged, after receiving a year's pay; and, together with these, all who had taken the military oath to the consul; that all the soldiers in Corcyra and Brundisium, on the coast of the Hadriatic and in the territory of Larinum, (for in all these places had troops been cantoned, in order that the consul Licinius might, if occasion required, take them over to reinforce his

colleague,) should be disbanded. The thanksgiving was fixed, by proclamation in the assembly, for the fifth day before the ides of October, and the five days following.

3 Two deputies, Caius Licinius Nerva and Publius Decius, arriving from Illyria, brought intelligence that the army of the Illyrians was defeated, their king, Gentius, taken prisoner and all Illyria reduced under the dominion of the Roman people. On account of these services, under the conduct and auspices of the prætor, Lucius Anicius, the senate voted a supplication of three days' continuance, and it was accordingly appointed, by proclamation, to be performed on the fourth third, and second days before the ides of November. Some writers tell us that the Rhodian ambassadors, who had not yet been dismissed, were, when the news of the victory was received, called before the senate in order to expose their absurd arrogance. On this occasion, Agesipolis, their principal, spoke to this effect: that "they had been sent by the Rhodians to effect an accommodation between the Romans and Perseus; because the war subsisting between them was injurious and burdensome to all Greece, and expensive and detrimental to the Romans themselves; but that fortune had acted very kindly, since, by terminating the war after another manner, it afforded them an opportunity of congratulating the Romans on a glorious victory." This was the discourse of the Rhodians. The senate returned the following answer: that "the Rhodians had sent that embassy, not through anxiety for the interests of Greece, or for the expenses of the Roman people, but merely from their wish to serve Perseus. For, if their concern had been such as they pretended, they should have sent ambassadors at the time when Perseus, leading an army into Thessaly, had continued, for two years, to besiege some of the cities of Greece, and to terrify others with denunciations of vengeance. All this time not the least mention of peace was made by the Rhodians; but when they heard that the Romans had passed the defiles, and penetrated into Macedon, and that Perseus was held enclosed by them, then they sent an embassy, from no other motive whatever, but a wish to rescue Perseus from the impending danger." With this answer the ambassadors were dismissed.

4 About the same time Marcus Marcellus, coming home from

Spain, where he had taken Marcolica, a city of note, brought into the treasury ten pounds' weight of gold, and a quantity of silver, amounting to a million of sesterces. While the consul, Paullus Æmilius, lay encamped at Siræ, in Odomantice, as mentioned above, a letter from king Perseus was brought to him by three ambassadors of mean appearance, and it is reported that he, on looking at them, shed tears at the uncertainty of the lot of man; because he who, a short time before, not content with the kingdom of Macedon, had invaded Dardania and Illyria, and had called out to his aid the whole Bastarnian nation, now banished from his kingdom after the loss of his army, was forced to take refuge in a little island, where, as a suppliant, he was protected by the sanctity of the place, not by any strength of his own. But when he read the address, "King Perseus to the consul Paullus, greeting," the folly of a man, who seemed insensible to his condition, banished every feeling of compassion; therefore, although there were, in the remaining part of the letter, entreaties ill suited to royalty, yet the embassy was dismissed without an answer and without a letter. Perseus felt that he must, now that he was conquered, forego the name of king, and consequently sent another letter, inscribed simply with his name, in which he made a request, and obtained it too, that some persons should be sent to him, with whom he might confer on the state and condition of his affairs. Three ambassadors were accordingly despatched, Publius Lentulus, Aulus Postumius Albinus, and Aulus Antonius; but nothing was effected by this embassy, for Perseus clung with all the energy of despair to the regal title, while Paullus insisted on an absolute submission of himself, and every thing belonging to him, to the honour and clemency of the Roman people.

5 Whilst these things are going on, the fleet of Cneius Octavius put in at Samothrace. When he also, by presenting immediate danger to Perseus's view, was endeavouring at one time by menaces, at another by hopes, to prevail on him to surrender; in this design he was greatly assisted by a circumstance which may have occurred either by accident or design. Lucius Atilius, a distinguished young man, observing that the people of Samothrace were met in a general assembly, requested permission of the magistrate to address a few words to them; which being granted, he said,— "People of

Samothrace, our good hosts; is the account which we have heard true or false, that this island is sacred, and the entire soil holy and inviolable?" They all agreed in asserting the supposed sanctity of the place; whereupon he proceeded thus: "Why, then, has a murderer, stained with the blood of king Eumenes, presumed to profane it? And though, previous to every sacrifice, a proclamation forbids all who have not pure hands to assist at the sacred rites, will you, nevertheless, suffer your holy places to be polluted by an assassin who bears the mark of blood on his person?" The story of king Eumenes having been nearly murdered by Evander at Delphi, was now well known by report through all the cities of Greece. The Samothracians, therefore, besides the consideration of their being themselves, as well as the temple and the whole island, in the power of the Romans, were convinced that the censure thrown on them was not unjust, and therefore sent Theondas, their chief magistrate, whom they style king, to Perseus, to acquaint him, that "Evander the Cretan was accused of murder; that they had a mode of trial established among them, by the practice of their ancestors, concerning such as were charged with bringing impure hands into the consecrated precincts of the temple. If Evander was confident that he was innocent of the capital charge made against him, let him come forth, and stand a trial; but, if he would not venture to undergo an inquiry, let him free the temple from profanation, and provide for his own safety." Perseus, calling Evander aside, advised him not on any account to stand a trial, because he was no match for his accusers, either in the merits of the cause, or in influence. He had secret apprehensions that Evander, on being condemned, would expose him, as the instigator of that abominable act. "What then remained," he said, "but to die bravely?" Evander made, openly, no objection; but telling the king that he chose to die by poison rather than by the sword, took measures in secret for effecting his escape. When this was told the king, fearing lest he should direct the anger of the Samothracians against himself as accessory to the escape of a guilty person, he ordered Evander to be put to death. No sooner was this rash murder perpetrated, than the idea immediately struck his mind that he had now drawn on himself the whole of the guilt, which before had affected Evander only; that the latter had wounded

Eumenes at Delphi, and he had slain Evander in Samothrace; and thus the two most venerable sanctuaries in the world had, through his means alone, been defiled with human blood. However, he avoided the imputation of this deed, by bribing Theondas to tell the people that Evander had laid violent hands on himself.

6 But by such an atrocious act, committed on his only remaining friend, on one whose fidelity he had experienced on so many trying occasions, and who, in return for not proving a traitor, was himself betrayed, he alienated the feelings of every one. All went over to the Romans as soon as they could, and consequently obliged him, now left almost alone, to adopt the design of flying. He applied to a Cretan, called Oroandes, to whom the coast of Thrace was well known, since he carried on traffic in that country, to take him on board his vessel, and convey him to Cotys. At one of the promontories of Samothrace, is the harbour of Demetrium; there the vessel lay. About sun-set every thing necessary for the voyage was carried thither, together with as much money as could be transported with secrecy; and at midnight, the king himself, with three persons, who were privy to his flight, going out through a back door into a garden near his chamber, and having, with much difficulty, climbed over the wall, went down to the shore. Oroandes had set sail, at the dusk of the evening, the very moment the money arrived, and was now steering for Crete. Perseus, after he could not find the ship in the harbour, wandered about for a long time on the coast, but at last, fearing the approach of day, and not daring to return to his lodging, he hid himself in a dark corner at one side of the temple. The royal pages was the name given among the Macedonians to a band of the children of the leading noblemen, who were selected to wait on the king: this band had accompanied Perseus in his flight, and did not even now desert him, until a proclamation was made by the herald of Cneius Octavius, that, "if the royal pages, and other Macedonians, then in Samothrace, would come over to the Romans, they should have impunity, liberty, and all their property, both what they had in the island, and what they had left in Macedon." On this notice they all passed over to the Romans, and gave in their names to Caius Postumius, a military tribune. Ion of Thessalonica delivered up to Octavius the king's younger children also; nor was any one now left

with Perseus, except Philip, his eldest son. Then, after uttering many execrations against fortune, and the gods to whom the temple belonged, for not affording aid to a suppliant, he surrendered himself and his son to Octavius, who gave orders to put him on board the prætor's ship; the remainder of his money was put on board the same ship; and the fleet immediately returned to Amphipolis. Thence Octavius sent the king into the camp to the consul, having previously sent forward a letter to inform him that he was a prisoner, and on the road thither.

7 Paullus, considering this a second victory, as it really was, offered sacrifices on receiving the intelligence; then, calling a council, and reading to them the prætor's letter, he sent Quintus Ælius Tubero to meet the king; the rest he desired to remain assembled in the prætorium. Never, on any other occasion, did so great a multitude gather about a spectacle. In the time of their fathers, king Syphax had been made prisoner, and brought into the Roman camp; but, besides that he could not be compared with Perseus, either in respect of his own reputation or that of his country, he was at the time merely a subordinate party in the Carthaginian war, as Gentius was in the Macedonian. Whereas Perseus was the principal in this war; and was not only highly conspicuous through his own personal renown, and that of his father, grandfather, and other relations in blood and extraction, but of these, two shone with unparalleled lustre, — Philip, and Alexander the Great, who made the empire of the Macedonians the first in the world. Perseus came into the camp, dressed in mourning, unattended by any of his countrymen, except his own son, who being a sharer in the calamity, made him more wretched. He could not advance on account of the number of persons that had collected to see him, until the lictors were sent by the consul, and they, after clearing the way, opened a passage to the prætorium. The consul arose to do him honour, but ordered the rest to keep their seats, and, advancing a little, held out his right hand to the king, on his entrance; and raised him up when he endeavoured to throw himself at his feet: nor would he suffer him to embrace his knees, but led him into the tent, and desired him to sit on the side opposite to the officers assembled in council.

8 The first question asked Perseus was, “by what injuries had he

been compelled to enter into a war against the Roman people with such violent animosity, and to bring himself and his kingdom to the extremity of danger?" While all expected his answer, fixing his eyes on the ground, he wept a long time in silence. The consul, again addressing him, said, "If you had succeeded to the government in early youth, I should have wondered less at your not being sensible of the great importance of the friendship, or enmity, of the Roman people: but that was not the case, as you bore a part in the war which your father waged with us, and, afterwards, must have remembered the peace which we observed towards him with the strictest sincerity. What then was your design in preferring war to peace, with those, whose power in war, and whose good faith in peace, you had so fully experienced?" Neither questions nor reproaches could draw an answer from him: on which the consul added, "Howsoever these things may have occurred, whether through the frailty of mankind, or accident, or necessity, be of good spirits. The clemency of the Roman people, displayed in the distress of numerous kings and nations, affords you not only hope, but almost perfect confidence of safety." This he said in the Greek language to Perseus; and then, turning to his own people, he said, in the Latin tongue, "You observe this striking instance of the instability of human affairs. To you, young men, principally, I address the observation. In the hour of prosperity, therefore, we ought to adopt against no man measures dictated by either pride or violence, nor confide implicitly in present advantages; since we know not what the evening may produce. He is really a man, whose spirit neither prosperity can elate by success, nor adversity break by misfortune." On the dismissal of the council, the charge of guarding the king is given to Quintus Ælius. Perseus was invited to dine that day with the consul, and every other honour, which could be shown him under existing circumstances, was paid to him.

9 The troops were immediately sent off to their winter cantonments. Amphipolis furnished the greater part with quarters, and the towns in that neighbourhood received the rest. Thus ended the war between the Romans and Perseus, which had lasted, without intermission, four years; and thus ended a kingdom, long renowned through a great part of Europe, and throughout all Asia. From

Caranus, who was their first king, they reckoned Perseus the fortieth. Perseus came to the crown in the consulate of Quintus Fulvius and Lucius Manlius, received the title of king from the senate in that of Marcus Junius and Aulus Manlius, and reigned eleven years. The Macedonians were little known by fame until the reign of Philip, son of Amyntas; although the empire began to increase in his time, and through his agency, still it was confined within the limits of Europe, extending over all Greece with a part of Thrace, and Illyria. Afterwards the power of Macedon poured down like a deluge on Asia, and in the course of the thirteen years of the reign of Alexander, reduced under its dominion that almost immense tract which had constituted the empire of the Persians. Hence it overspread the Arabias and India, as far as where the Red Sea forms the utmost boundary of the earth. At that time their empire and name were the first in the world; but on the death of Alexander, it was torn asunder into a number of kingdoms, whilst his successors, in the general scramble for power, dismembered it by their struggles. From the time of its highest elevation to this its final downfall, it stood one hundred and fifty years.

¹⁰ When the news of the victory, obtained by the Romans, was carried into Asia, Antenor, who lay with a fleet of small vessels at Phanaë, sailed over to Cassandrea. Caius Popilius, who staid at Delos to protect the ships bound to Macedon, learning that the war there was at an end, and that the enemy's fleet had left its station, sent home the Athenian squadron, and proceeded on his voyage for Egypt, to finish the business of the embassy with which he was charged, in order that he might meet Antiochus before he should approach the walls of Alexandria. When the ambassadors, after sailing along the coast of Asia, arrived at Loryma, a port somewhat more than twenty miles from Rhodes, and just opposite to that city, some of the principal Rhodians (for the news of the victory had by this time reached them too) met them, and requested them "to sail over to their city; that it was of the utmost consequence to the character and safety of the Rhodian state that they should, in person, inform themselves of what had been done, and what was then passing at Rhodes; so as to carry to Rome intelligence, founded on their own knowledge, and not on vague reports." After refusing for a

long time, they were at length prevailed on to submit to a short delay of their voyage, for the sake of the safety of an allied city. When they came to Rhodes, the same persons, by urgent entreaties, persuaded them to come into a general assembly. The arrival of the ambassadors rather heightened, than allayed, the fears of the public. For Popilius enumerated all the hostile expressions and actions, both of the community and of individuals, during the war: and, being naturally of an austere temper, he magnified the atrociousness of the matters which he mentioned, by the sternness of his countenance, and the harshness of his tone of voice; so that, as he had no cause of personal quarrel with their state, people judged from the severity of one Roman senator, what was the feeling of the whole senate towards them. The speech of Caius Decimius was more moderate; for he said, “that in most of the particulars mentioned by Popilius, the blame lay, not on the nation, but on a few incendiary ringleaders of the populace, who, employing their tongues for hire, procured the passing of several decrees, full of flattery towards the king; and had sent those embassies, at which the Rhodians should always feel not less shame than grief; all which proceedings, however, if the people were disposed to act properly, would fall on the heads of the guilty.” He was heard with great satisfaction; not only because he extenuated the offences of the community, but because he threw the whole blame on the authors of their misconduct. When, therefore, their own magistrates spoke in answer to the Romans, the speech of those who endeavoured to exculpate them, in some measure, from the charges advanced by Popilius, was not so pleasing to them as the advice of those who concurred with the opinion of Decimius, in the necessity of giving up the principal instigators to atone for their crime. A decree was therefore immediately passed, that all who should be convicted of having, in any instance, spoken or acted in favour of Perseus, against the Romans, should be condemned to die. Several of those concerned had left the city on the arrival of the Romans: others put an end to their own lives. The ambassadors staid only five days at Rhodes, and then proceeded to Alexandria. Nor were the trials instituted, pursuant to the decree passed in their presence, carried on at Rhodes with less activity; and this perseverance of the Rhodians, in the execution of that business, was entirely owing to the mild

behaviour of Decimius.

11 Whilst these events were going on, Antiochus, after a fruitless attempt on the walls of Alexandria, had retired: and being now master of all the rest of Egypt, he left, at Memphis, the elder Ptolemy, whose restoration to the throne was the pretended object of his armament, though, in reality, he meant to attack him, as soon as he should have vanquished his competitors; and then he led back his army into Syria. Ptolemy, who was not ignorant of his intention, conceived hopes, that, while he held his younger brother under terror, and in dread of a siege, he might be received into Alexandria, provided his sister favoured the design, and his brother's friends did not oppose it. Accordingly, he never ceased sending proposals to his sister first, and his brother and his friends afterwards, until he effected an accommodation with them. His suspicions of Antiochus were awakened by this circumstance, that, when he gave him possession of the rest of Egypt, he left a strong garrison in Pelusium: a plain proof that he kept that key of Egypt in his hands, in order that he might be able, whenever he pleased, to introduce an army again into the country; and he foresaw, that the final issue of a civil war with his brother must be, that the conqueror, thoroughly weakened by the contest, would be utterly unable to contend with Antiochus. In these prudent observations of the elder brother, the younger, and those about him, concurred; while their sister greatly promoted the negotiation, both by her advice and entreaties. Accordingly, peace being made with the approbation of all, the elder Ptolemy was received into Alexandria, without any opposition even from the populace; who, during the war, had been severely distressed by a general scarcity, not only in consequence of the siege, but from receiving no provisions from the rest of Egypt after the enemy had retired from the walls. Although it was reasonable to suppose that Antiochus would be rejoiced at these events, if he had really marched his army into Egypt for the purpose of reinstating Ptolemy on the throne, — (the plausible pretext which he had professed to all the states of Asia and Greece, in his answers to their embassies, and in the letters that he wrote,) — yet he was so highly offended, that he prepared to make war on the two brothers, with much greater acrimony and fury of resentment than he had shown against the one.

He instantly sent his fleet to Cyprus; and, as soon as the spring appeared, he directed his route towards Egypt at the head of his army, and advanced into Cœle-syria. Near Rhinocolura he was met by ambassadors from Ptolemy, who gave him thanks, because through his assistance he had recovered the throne of his fathers; and requested him to secure to him the enjoyment of the benefit, which he had himself conferred; and rather to signify what he wished to be done, than from an ally to become an enemy, and proceed by force of arms. To this he answered, that “he would neither recall his fleet, nor stop the march of his army, on any other conditions than the cession of all Cyprus and the city of Pelusium, together with the lands adjoining the Pelusian mouth of the Nile;” and he even named a particular day, on or before which he expected to receive an answer that these demands were complied with.

12 When the time fixed for the suspension of hostilities had elapsed, *Antiochus ordered the commanders of his fleet to sail up the mouth of the Nile to Pelusium, while he himself entered Egypt, through the deserts of Arabia. He was amicably received by the people about Memphis, as he was, afterwards, by the rest of the Egyptians; some being led by inclination, others by fear; and he proceeded thus, by short marches, down to Alexandria.* The Roman ambassadors met him after crossing the river at Eleusine, four miles from that city. On their approach he saluted them, and held out his right hand to Popilius; but Popilius put into his hand a written tablet, containing the decree of the senate, and desired him first to peruse that. On perusing it, he said, that he, after calling his friends together, would consult on what was to be done; on which Popilius, with the usual asperity of his disposition, drew a line round the king, with a wand which he held in his hand, and said, “Before you go out of that circle, give me an answer to report to the senate.” Astonished at such a peremptory injunction, the king hesitated for some time; but at last replied, “I will do as the senate directs.” Popilius then thought proper to stretch out his right hand to him; as to a friend and ally. Antiochus having retired out of Egypt, on the day appointed, the ambassadors, after confirming by their influence the reconciliations between the brothers, as concord was far from being established among them, sailed to Cyprus: from which they sent home the ships of Antiochus,

which had fought and defeated an Egyptian fleet. This embassy attracted a great share of respect from all nations; because it had manifestly rescued Egypt out of the hands of the Syrian, when he had it within his grasp, and restored to the race of Ptolemy the kingdom of their forefathers. While one of the consuls of this year distinguished his administration by a glorious victory, the reputation of the other was thrown into the shade, because he had no opportunity of displaying his talents. When, in the beginning of his administration, he had appointed his troops to assemble, he entered the consecrated place without due auspices; and the augurs, on the matter being laid before them, pronounced the appointment improper. Going into Gaul, he lay encamped near the long plains, at the foot of the mountains Sicimina and Papirus, and passed the winter in the same country with the troops of the Latin allies. The Roman legions staid all the while in the city, because the day had been irregularly appointed for the meeting of the soldiers. The prætors went to their several provinces, except Caius Papirius Carbo, to whose lot Sardinia had fallen; the senate having commanded him to administer justice, at Rome, between natives and foreigners; a duty to which he had been already named.

13 Popilius, with his colleagues in the embassy to Antiochus, returned to Rome, and gave information, that all disputes between the kings had terminated, and that the army had marched out of Egypt into Syria. Soon after, ambassadors arrived from the kings themselves. Those of Antiochus represented, that “their king had considered a peace, which was agreeable to the senate, as preferable to a victory, how complete soever, and had, accordingly, obeyed the order of the Roman ambassadors, as implicitly as if it had been a mandate of the gods.” They then offered his congratulations on their victory, “to which,” they said, “the king would have contributed with his utmost power, if any commands to that effect had been given him.” The ambassadors of Ptolemy, in the joint names of that prince and Cleopatra, presented their thanks, acknowledging that “they were more indebted to the senate and people of Rome than to their own parents, more than to the immortal gods; since through their intervention they had been relieved from a most distressing siege, and had recovered the kingdom of their fathers, when it was almost

entirely lost.” The answer given by the senate was that “Antiochus had acted rightly and properly, in complying with the demand of their ambassadors; and that his conduct was pleasing to the senate and people of Rome.” To Ptolemy and Cleopatra, king and queen of Egypt, they answered, that “the senate rejoiced very much, that any benefit or advantage had accrued to the Egyptian monarchs, through their instrumentality; and would take care, that they should always have reason to consider, that the strongest bulwark of their kingdom lay in the protection of the Roman people.” Caius Papirius, the prætor, was commissioned to send the usual presents to the ambassadors. A letter now arrived from Macedon, which doubled the public joy, as it brought information that “king Perseus was in the hands of the consul.” After the ambassadors were dismissed, a controversy between deputies from Pisa and others from Luna came on; the former, complaining that they were dispossessed of their lands by the Roman colonists; while the latter insisted that the lands in question had been marked out to them by the triumvirs. The senate sent five commissioners to examine and fix the boundaries, Quintus Fabius Buteo, Publius Cornelius Blasio, Tiberius Sempronius Musca, Lucius Nævius Balbus, and Caius Apuleius Saturninus. A joint embassy from the three brothers, Eumenes, Attalus, and Athenæus, came with congratulations on the victory; and Masgaba, son of king Masinissa, having landed at Puteoli, Lucius Manlius, the quæstor, was immediately despatched with money to meet him, and conduct him to Rome at the public expense. An audience of the senate was immediately given him on his arrival. This young prince spoke in such a manner that he made services, which were meritorious in themselves, still more gratifying. He recounted what numbers of foot and horse, how many elephants, and what quantities of corn his father had sent into Macedon in aid of the Romans during the last four years. “But there were two things,” he said, “that made him blush; one, the senate having sent by their ambassadors a request, instead of an order, to furnish necessaries for their army; the other, their having sent money in payment for the corn. Masinissa well remembered that the kingdom which he held had been acquired, and increased, and multiplied by the Roman people; and contenting himself with the management of it, acknowledged the right and

sovereignty to be vested in those who granted it to him. It was just, therefore, to take, and not to ask from him nor purchase, any of the produce of lands made over by themselves. Whatever remained, after supplying the Roman people, would be fully sufficient for Masinissa." That with these instructions he parted with his father; but he was afterwards overtaken by some horsemen, who announced to him the conquest of Macedon, with directions to congratulate the senate, and acquaint them that his father felt so much joy at that circumstance, that he wished to come to Rome, and in the Capitol to offer thanks to Jupiter supremely good and great. He requested, therefore, that if it were not disagreeable, the senate would give him permission to do so.

14 Masgaba was answered, that "his father, Masinissa, acted as became a prince of a benevolent and grateful disposition; to such a degree that, by acknowledging the kindness of his friends, he added value and dignity to it. The Roman people had been assisted by him in the Carthaginian war with exertions at once faithful and brave; by the favour of the Roman people he had obtained his kingdom, and had afterwards, in the successive wars with the three kings, discharged with his usual readiness every duty. That it was not surprising, that a king who had so intimately blended his own interests, and those of his kingdom, with the interests of the Romans, should be delighted at the victory of the Roman people. That he should return thanks to the immortal gods for the victory of the Roman people, before the tutelary deities of his family; that his son could return thanks in his stead at Rome; as he had already said enough in the way of congratulation, both in his own name and in his father's. But that the senate were of opinion, that his leaving his own kingdom, and going out of Africa, besides being inconvenient to himself, was detrimental to the Roman people." On Masgaba making a request that Hanno, son of Hamilcar, *might be brought to Rome as a hostage in the place of some other, the senate replied, that they could not reasonably require hostages from the Carthaginians, at the choice of any other person.* The quæstor was ordered, by a vote of the senate, to purchase presents for the young prince to the value of one hundred pounds' weight of silver, to accompany him to Puteoli, to defray all his expenses while he staid in Italy, and to hire two

ships to carry him and the retinue of the king to Africa; clothes were given to every one of his attendants, both freemen and slaves. Soon after this a letter was brought concerning Masinissa's other son, Misagenes, stating that, after the conquest of Perseus, he was sent by Lucius Paullus, with his horsemen, to Africa; and that while he was on his voyage in the Adriatic Sea, his fleet was dispersed, and himself, in a bad state of health, driven into Brundisium with only three ships. Lucius Stertinius, the quæstor, was sent to him to Brundisium, with presents of the same kind as those given to his brother at Rome, and he was ordered to provide lodgings for the prince and his retinue, and *every thing necessary for his health and convenience; and that the expenses of himself and his entire retinue should be paid liberally; that he should look out for ships by which the prince might pass over into Africa with ease and safety. The quæstor was ordered to give to each of the horsemen a pound of silver, and five hundred sesterces. The assemblies, for the election of consuls for the ensuing year, were held by Caius Licinius the consul. Quintus Ælius Pætus, Marcus Junius Pennus, were appointed consuls. Then Quintus Cassius Longinus, Manius Juventius Thalna, Tiberius Claudius Nero, Aulus Manlius Torquatus, Cneius Fulvius Gillo, C. Licinius Nerva, were made prætors. In the same year the censors, Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus and Caius Claudius Pulcher, at length united in passing a decree on a matter, which had been for a long time discussed among themselves in different disputes. Gracchus, when the freed-men, after being repeatedly confined within the four city tribes, had once more spread themselves through them all, wished to pluck up by the root the evil which was always sending fresh shoots, and to exclude from enrolment all who had ever been slaves. Claudius struggled energetically against him, and made frequent references to the institutions of their ancestors, who had often tried to restrain the freed-men, but never to totally exclude them from the rights of citizens. He said that some relaxation of the former strictness had been conceded even by the censors, Caius Flaminius and Lucius Æmilius. And indeed, although even at that time those dregs of the people had spread themselves through all the tribes, and it appeared requisite to reduce them again within what might be considered their original settlement, still at the time*

some important concessions were made to several of that rank.

15 *For by those censors* the freed-men were enrolled in the four city tribes, excepting such as had a son more than five years old, who was their own offspring; all these the censors ordered to be surveyed in the tribe wherein they had been surveyed within the last five years; and such as had a farm, or farms, in the country, exceeding in value thirty thousand sesterces, were allowed the privilege of being included in the country tribes. Though this reservation was made in their favour, yet Claudius still insisted, that “a censor could not, without an order of the people, take away from any man, and much less from a whole class of men, the right of suffrage. For though he can remove a man from his tribe, which is nothing more than ordering him to change it, yet he cannot, therefore, remove him out of all the thirty-five tribes; which would be to strip him of the rights of a citizen, and of liberty; not to fix where he should be surveyed, but to exclude him from the survey.” These points were discussed by the censors, who at last came to this compromise: that out of the four city tribes, they should openly, in the court of the temple of Liberty, select one by lot, in which they should include all those who had ever been in servitude. The lot fell on the Æsquiline tribe; on which Tiberius Gracchus published an order, that all sons of freed-men should be surveyed in that tribe. This proceeding gained the censors great honour with the senate, who gave thanks to Sempronius for his perseverance in so good a design, and also to Claudius for not obstructing it. Greater numbers were expelled from the senate, and ordered to sell their horses, by them than by their predecessors. They both concurred in removing from their tribes and disfranchising the same persons, in every instance; nor did one of them remove any mark of disgrace inflicted by the other. They petitioned that, according to custom, the year and half’s time allowed for enforcing the repairs of buildings, and for approving the execution of works contracted for, should be prolonged; but Cneius Tremellius, a tribune, protested against it, because he had not been chosen into the senate. This year Caius Cicereius dedicated a temple to Juno Monita on the Alban mount, five years after he had vowed it; and Lucius Postumius Albinus was inaugurated flamen of Mars.

16 The consuls, Quintius Ælius and Marcus Junius, having proposed the business of distributing, the provinces, the senate decreed that Spain, which during the Macedonian war had been but one province, should be again formed into two; and that the present governors, Lucius Paullus and Lucius Anicius, should continue in the government of Macedonia and Illyria, until, with the concurrence of commissioners, they should adjust the affairs of those countries disordered by the war, and reduce them to a form of government different from the regal. The provinces assigned to the consuls were Pisæ and Gaul, with two legions to each, containing separately five thousand two hundred foot and four hundred horse. The lots of the prætors were as follows: the city jurisdiction fell to Quintus Cassius; the foreign, to Manius Juventius Thalna; Sicily, to Tiberius Claudius Nero; Hither Spain, to Cneius Fulvius; and to Caius Licinius Nerva, Farther Spain. Sardinia had fallen to Aulus Manlius Torquatus, but he could not proceed thither, being detained by a decree of the senate, to preside at trials of capital offences. The senate was then consulted concerning prodigies which were reported: the temple of the tutelar deities, on the Velian hill, had been struck by lightning; and two gates, and a large part of the wall, in the town of Minervium. At Anagnia, a shower of earth had fallen; and, at Lanuvium, a blazing torch was seen in the sky. Marcus Valerius, a Roman citizen, reported, that at Calatia, on the public lands, blood had flowed from his hearth, during three days and two nights. On account of this last occurrence in particular, the decemvirs were directed to consult the books; on which they ordered a general supplication for one day, and sacrificed in the forum fifty goats. On account of the other prodigies, there was a supplication for another day, with sacrifices of the larger victims, and the city was purified. Then, with reference to the gratitude due to the immortal gods, the senate decreed, that, “forasmuch as their enemies were subdued, and the kings Perseus and Gentius, with Macedon and Illyria, were in the power of the Roman people, whatever offerings were made in all the temples by Appius Claudius and Marcus Sempronius, the consuls, on occasion of the conquest of king Antiochus, offerings of the same value should then be made, and that Quintus Cassius and Manius Juventius, the prætors, should superintend them.

17 They then constituted commissioners, by whose advice the generals, Lucius Paullus and Lucius Anicius, were to regulate the affairs of their provinces; ten for Macedon, and five for Illyria. Those nominated for Macedon were, Aulus Postumius Luscus, Caius Claudius, both of whom had been censors, Caius Licinius Crassus, the colleague of Paullus in the consulship; he then held the province of Gaul, as he had the command continued to him. To these, who were of consular rank, the senate added Cneius Domitius Ænobarbus, Servius Cornelius Sulla, Lucius Junius, Caius Antistius Labeo, Titus Numisius Tarquiniensis, and Aulus Terentius Varro. The following were nominated for Illyria: Publius Ælius Ligus, a man of consular rank, Caius Cicereius, Cneius Bæbius Tamphilus, (he had been prætor the last year, as had Cicereius many years before,) Publius Terentius Tuscivicanus, and Publius Manilius. The consuls were then advised by the senate, that, as one of them must go into Gaul, in the room of Caius Licinius, who was appointed a commissioner, they should, as soon as possible, either settle their provinces between themselves, or cast lots, as might be agreeable to them. They chose to cast lots; when Pisæ fell to Marcus Junius, (who was ordered to introduce to the senate the embassies that came to Rome from all quarters, with congratulations before he went to his province,) and Gaul to Quintus Ælius.

18 But although men of such characters were sent on the commission, that confident hopes might be entertained that the generals, influenced by their counsel, would determine on nothing derogatory either to the clemency or dignity of the Roman people, yet the heads of a plan of settlement were considered in the senate, that the said commissioners might carry, from Rome to the generals, an outline of the entire plan. First, it was determined, that “the Macedonians and Illyrians should be free; in order to demonstrate to all the world that the arms of the Roman people did not bring slavery to the free, but freedom to slaves, and that the nations which already enjoyed freedom, should be convinced that it would be safe and permanent under the protection of the *Roman people*; and that such nations as lived under regal government should be convinced that their princes, under awe of the Roman people, would be, at present, more just and mild; and that, should war break out at any time

between their kings and the Roman people, the issue would bring victory to the latter, and liberty to themselves. It was also provided, that the farming both of the Macedonian mines, which produced a very large profit, and that of crown lands, should be abolished; as business of this kind could not be managed without the intervention of revenue farmers; and wherever a tax-contractor was employed, either the rights of the people were a nonentity, or the freedom of the allies destroyed. Nor could the Macedonians themselves conduct such affairs; for while they afforded the managers opportunities of acquiring plunder for themselves, there never would be wanting causes of disputes and seditions. It was further determined, that there should be a general council of the nation; lest the perverseness of the populace might, some time or other, convert into pestilent licentiousness the liberty granted by the senate with a wholesome degree of moderation: but that Macedonia should be divided into four districts, each of which should have a council of its own; and that they should pay to the Roman people half the tribute which they used formerly to pay to their kings." Similar instructions were given respecting Illyria. Other particulars were left to the generals and commissioners; whose investigation of matters on the spot would enable them to form more accurate plans.

19 Among the many embassies from kings, nations, and states, Attalus, the brother of Eumenes, attracted the general attention in a very particular manner; for he was received by those who had served along with him in the late war, with even greater demonstration of kindness than if Eumenes had come in person. Two reasons, both, apparently, highly honourable, had induced him to come; one to offer congratulations, which were quite proper, in the case of a victory to which he himself had contributed; the other to complain of disturbances raised by the Gauls, and of a defeat received, by which his brother's kingdom was endangered. But he had, also, secret hopes of honours and rewards from the senate, which he could scarcely receive without infringing on his duty to his brother. There were among the Romans some evil advisers, who were working on his ambition by promises. They told him, that "the general opinion concerning Attalus and Eumenes was, that one was a steady friend to the Romans, and that the other was not a faithful ally either to them

or to Perseus. That it was not easy to determine whether the requests that he might make for himself, or those against his brother, were more likely to be obtained from the senate; so entirely were all disposed to gratify the one, and to grant nothing to the other.” As the event proved, Attalus was one of those who would have coveted all that hope can promise to itself, had not the prudent admonitions of one friend put a curb on those passions, which were growing wanton through prosperity. He had, in his retinue, a physician, called Stratius sent to Rome by Eumenes, who distrusted Attalus, for the purpose of watching over his conduct, and giving him faithful advice, if he should perceive him swerve from his allegiance. This man, although he had to address ears already prepossessed, and a mind already biassed, yet, by addressing him at judiciously selected times, restored the thing to its proper state, even after it had become almost desperate. He said that “different kingdoms grew into power by different means: that their kingdom being lately formed, and unsupported by any long-established strength, was upheld solely by the concord of the brothers; for, while one bore the title and the ornament which distinguishes the head of a sovereign, each of the brothers was considered as a king. As to Attalus, in particular, being the next in years, was there any man who did not consider him as king? and that, not only because they perceived his present power to be great, but because there was not a doubt but he must ascend the throne, in a very short time, in consequence of the age and infirmity of Eumenes, who had no legitimate issue” (for he had not at this time acknowledged the son who afterwards reigned). “To what purpose, then, employ violence, to attain what must come to him presently without any exertions on his part? Besides, a new storm had fallen on the kingdom, from the insurrection of the Gauls, which could scarcely be resisted by the most perfect harmony and union of the brothers. But if to a foreign war domestic dissensions were added, the evil could not be checked; nor would he effect any thing else than preventing his brother from dying on the throne, and depriving himself of the hope of ascending it. If both modes of acting were honourable, — either to preserve the kingdom for his brother, or to take it from him, — yet the honour that would result to him from the preservation of the kingdom, since it was united to brotherly love,

would be the greater. The latter indeed, would be detestable, and bordering nearly on parricide; what room, then, could there be for deliberation? For, whether did he mean to demand a share of the kingdom, or to seize the whole? If he would demand a share, then both, by the separation of their strength, would be rendered feeble, and exposed to injuries of every kind; if the whole, would he then require his elder brother, reduced to a private station, at his time of life and labouring under such bodily infirmities, to live in exile, and die in such a wretched state. For, not to mention the catastrophes of undutiful brothers recorded in stories, the fate of Perseus seemed a striking instance, who, prostrated at the feet of a victorious enemy, laid down, in the temple of the Samothracians, before the gods, who, as it were, demanded satisfaction for his crimes, the crown which he had seized after the death of his brother. "Those very men," he continued, "who not through friendship for him, but enmity to Eumenes, had instigated him to the adoption of such measures, would praise his affection and firmness, if he preserved to the last his allegiance to his brother."

20 These arguments prevailed in the mind of Attalus. Therefore, on being introduced to the senate, he congratulated them on their success, and made mention of his own services during the war, and those of his brother, whatever he had performed; of the defection of the Gauls, which had lately happened, and which had caused violent commotions; and he entreated that they should send ambassadors to those people, by whose authority they should be summoned to desist. After delivering these messages respecting the general interest of the state, he requested a grant of Ænus and Maronea to himself. Having thus disappointed the hopes of those who expected that he, after arraigning his brother's conduct, would solicit a partition of the kingdom, he retired from the senate-house. Seldom on other occasions was either a king or private person heard with such a degree of favour and approbation by all; during his stay he received presents and honours of every description, and they treated him similarly at his departure. Of the many embassies which came from Greece and Asia, that of the Rhodians engaged the greatest share of the public attention. At first they appeared in white, the colour which was most becoming to persons congratulating others, for had they

worn mourning, they might seem to be lamenting the misfortunes of Perseus. Afterwards the senate being consulted by the consul, Marcus Junius, (the ambassadors standing in the Comitium,) whether they should grant them lodgings, entertainments, and an audience of the senate they voted that no duty of hospitality was due to them. When the consul came out of the senate-house, after the Rhodians had told him that they were come to congratulate the Romans on their late success, and to clear their state of the charges made against it, and requested an audience of the senate, he returned this answer, that “it was the custom of the Romans both to grant audience in their senate, and to perform other acts of kindness and hospitality to their friends and allies; but that the Rhodians had not deserved in that war to be ranked in the number of friends or allies.” On hearing this, they all prostrated themselves on the ground, beseeching the consul and all present not to think it right that new and false imputations should operate more powerfully to their prejudice, than their long course of services, which they had themselves witnessed. They immediately assumed a mourning dress, and going round to the houses of the principal men, supplicated with prayers and tears that their cause might be heard before they were condemned.

21 Marcus Juventius Thalna, the prætor who had the jurisdiction between natives and foreigners, stimulated the public resentment against the Rhodians, and promulgated a bill, that “war should be declared against the Rhodians, and that the people should choose one of the magistrates of the present year, who should be sent with a fleet to carry on that war;” with the hope that he himself should be the person chosen. Two of the plebeian tribunes, Marcus Antonius and Marcus Pomponius, opposed this proceeding. But the prætor, on his part, commenced the business in an unprecedented and pernicious manner; for without first consulting the senate, and without acquainting the consuls, of his own sole judgment he proposed to the people the question, “was it their will and order that war should be declared against the Rhodians?” whereas, ever until then, the senate was first consulted concerning the war, and then the business was laid before the people. On the other side, the plebeian tribunes *opposed this proceeding*; although it was a received rule that no tribune should protest against a proposal, until opportunity was

given to private citizens to argue for and against it; in consequence of which it had often happened that some, who had avowed no intention of protesting, having discovered defects in the law from the discourses of those who opposed it, on that account did protest; and some who came avowedly to protest, abstained from it, being convinced by the arguments of those who spoke in favour of the law. On this occasion the prætor and tribunes vied with each other in doing every thing out of time. *While the tribunes blamed the hasty proceeding of the prætor, they imitated the example by protesting before their time. The only pretence they alleged for it was, the necessity for adjourning the entire deliberation concerning the Rhodians until the return of the general and the ten commissioners from Macedon, who, after most carefully weighing the matter according to the communications received in their letters and tablets, were likely to give certain information relative to the feelings which each state had borne towards Perseus or the Romans. But when the prætor, nevertheless, persisted in his determination, the matter came to this, that Antonius, the tribune of the commons, after bringing the ambassadors before the people, dragged down from the rostrum Thalna, who was attempting to ascend it contrary to his wishes, and was beginning to address the people, and gave the Rhodians an opportunity of speaking before the general assembly. But although the violent and, impetuous attempt of the prætor had been defeated by corresponding firmness on the part of the tribune, still anxiety did not as yet leave the minds of the Rhodians; for the senators bore them a most unfriendly feeling; so that the Rhodians were relieved from the impending evil for the present, rather than completely rescued from it. Therefore, when a meeting of the senate was granted to them, after requesting it for a long time and frequently, on their introduction by the consul they lay at first for a long time with their persons prostrated on the ground; afterwards, when the consul raised them up and ordered them to speak, Astymedes, whose appearance was most calculated to excite pity, spoke to the following effect: "Conscript fathers, this grief and degradation of allies, who enjoyed your friendship a short time ago, cannot fail to be pitied even by those who are irritated against us; and how much more justly will compassion enter your minds, if you will but consider the*

hard conditions under which we this day, in your presence, plead the cause of our state, already almost condemned. Others are accused prior to their condemnation; nor do they suffer punishment until their guilt is ascertained.

22 “Whether we Rhodians have transgressed, or not is yet doubtful; meanwhile we suffer punishments and disgraces of all sorts. In former times, when we visited Rome, after the conquest of Carthage, after the defeat of Philip, and after that of Antiochus, we *were escorted* from a mansion furnished us by the public, into the senate-house, to present our congratulations to you, conscript fathers, and, from the senate-house to the Capitol, carrying offerings to your gods. But now, from a vile and filthy inn, scarcely gaining a reception for our money, treated as enemies, and forbid to lodge within the city, we come in this squalid dress to the Roman senate-house: we, Rhodians, on whom a short time ago you bestowed the provinces of Lycia and Caria; on whom you conferred the most ample rewards and honours. You order even the Macedonians and Illyrians, as we hear, to be free; though they were in servitude before they waged war with you: (nor do we envy the good fortune of any; on the contrary, we acknowledge therein the usual clemency of the Roman people.) But will you convert, from allies into enemies, the Rhodians, who were guilty of nothing more than remaining neutral during the war? You are in truth the same Romans, who boast that your wars are successful because they are just; who glory not so much in the issue of them, in that you conquer, as in the commencement of them, because you do not undertake them without a just cause. The attack on Messana, in Sicily, made the Carthaginians your enemies. The siege of Athens, and attempt to reduce Greece to slavery, together with the assistance of men and money given to Hannibal, led to hostilities with Philip. Antiochus, on the invitation of the Ætolians, your enemies, came over in person with a fleet from Asia to Greece; and by seizing Demetrias, Chalcis, and the pass of Thermopylæ, endeavoured to dispossess you of empire. The motives to your war with Perseus were his attacks on your allies, and his putting to death the princes and leading members of certain states. But, if we are doomed to ruin, to what motive will our misfortune be ascribed? I do not yet separate the cause of the

state from that of our countrymen, Polyaratus and Dino, with others, whom we have brought hither in order to deliver them into your hands. But supposing every one of us were equally guilty, I ask what was our crime with respect to the late war? We favoured the interest of Perseus; and we have supported that prince against you in like manner as, in the wars of Antiochus and Philip, we supported you against those kings. Now, in what manner we are accustomed to assist our allies, and with what vigour to conduct wars, ask Caius Livius and Lucius Æmilius Regillus, who commanded your fleets on the coasts of Asia. Your ships never fought a battle without us. We, with our own fleet, fought one engagement at Samos and a second on the coast of Pamphylia, against that distinguished commander, Hannibal. The victory, which we gained in the latter, was the more glorious to us because, although we lost a great part of our navy and the flower of our youth in the unsuccessful action at Samos, we were not deterred from venturing again to give battle to the king's fleet on its return from Syria. These matters I have mentioned not out of ostentation, (that would ill become our present situation,) but to remind you in what way the Rhodians assist their allies.

23 “When Philip and Antiochus were subdued, we received from you very ample rewards. If the fortune of Perseus were such as yours now is by the favour of the gods and your own courage, and we were to go into Macedon, to the victorious king, to demand rewards from him, what merit should we have to plead? Is it that he was aided by us with money or corn; with land or sea forces? Had we defended his garrison? where had we, either under his generals or by ourselves? If he should inquire where were our soldiers or ships acting in concert with his; what answer could we give? Perhaps we might be pleading our cause before him, if successful, as we are now, before you. All that we have gained by sending ambassadors to both, to mediate a peace, is, that we received no thanks from either party, and incurred from one of them accusations and danger. Perseus, indeed, might justly object to us what you cannot, conscript fathers, that at the commencement of the war we sent ambassadors to Rome, promising supplies of all sorts requisite for the war, and engaging to be ready, as in former wars, with our docks, our arms, and our men. It was your fault that we did not perform this, since you, whatever was the

reason, rejected our assistance on that occasion. We have, therefore, neither acted in any instance as enemies, nor been deficient in the duty of well-affected allies; but we were prevented by you from performing it. What then shall we say? Rhodians, has there been nothing said or done in your country which you disapprove of, and at which the Roman people would be justly offended? Henceforth I do not mean to defend what has been done, (I am not so weak,) but to distinguish the cause of the public from the guilt of private men. For there is no nation whatever that has not, generally, some ill-disposed members, and always an ignorant populace. I have heard, that even among the Romans there have been men who worked themselves into power by courting the multitude; that the plebeians sometimes seceded from you, and that the government was not always in your hands. If it were possible for this to happen in a state so well constituted, who can wonder at there being some among us, who, out of a wish to gain the king's friendship, led our commons astray by bad advice? Yet they effected nothing more than our remaining inactive, without infringing on our duty. I shall not pass by that, which has been made the heaviest charge against our state during the war. We sent ambassadors at the same time to you and Perseus, to mediate a peace; and that unfortunate design was, by a furious orator, as we afterwards heard, rendered foolish to the last degree; for it is ascertained that he spoke in such a manner as Caius Popilius, the Roman ambassador, should have spoken, when you sent him to the two kings, Antiochus and Ptolemy, to induce them to cease from hostilities. But still, whether this conduct is to be called arrogance or folly, it was the same towards Perseus as towards you. States, as well as individuals, have their different characters; some are violent, others daring, others timid; some addicted to wine, others more particularly to women. Fame says that the Athenian nation was quick and bold, beyond its strength, in beginning an enterprise; and that the Lacedæmonian was dilatory and backward in entering upon business, even when confident of success. I cannot deny that Asia, throughout its whole extent, produces men too much inclined to vanity, and that the speech of even the Rhodians is too much tinctured with vain-glory, because we seem to have the pre-eminence above the neighbouring states; and that, too, owing not so much to our strength

as to the marks of honour and esteem conferred on us by you. That embassy received on the spot sufficient reproof for its immediate misconduct, when it was dismissed with so severe an answer. But, if the disgrace which we then suffered was too trifling, surely the present mournful and suppliant embassy would be a sufficient expiation for an embassy even more insolent than that was. Irritable men hate arrogance; men of sense despise it, particularly if shown in words; more especially, if it be shown by an inferior towards a superior; but no one has ever yet thought it deserving of capital punishment. There was, in truth, danger lest the Rhodians should condemn the Romans! Some men have spoken, even of the gods, in terms too presumptuous; yet we have never heard of any one being struck with thunder on that account.

24 “What charge then remains, of which we are to acquit ourselves, since there has been no hostile act on our part, and the insolent language of an ambassador, though grating to the ear, has not deserved the ruin of a state. Conscript fathers, I hear that the estimate of the penalty for our secret wishes has become the subject of your conversation. Some assert that we favoured the king, and therefore that we should be punished with war; others, that we did indeed wish him success, but ought not, on that account, to suffer the penalty of war, since it has not been so instituted either by the practice or laws of any state, that if any one should wish an enemy to perish, he should be condemned, provided that he did nothing towards effecting his wishes. We feel, indeed, grateful to those who absolve us from the punishment, though not from the crime; but we lay down this law for ourselves: if we all entertained the wishes of which we are accused, we will then make no distinction between the will and the deed: let us all be punished. If some of our people in power favoured you, and others the king, I do not demand, that for the sake of us who were on your side, the favourers of the king may be saved; but I deprecate our perishing through them. You are not more inveterate against them than is our state itself; and most of them, when they ascertained this, fled, or put themselves to death, the others have been condemned by us, and they will soon be in your power, conscript fathers. The rest of us Rhodians, as we have merited no thanks during the war, so neither have we deserved punishment.

Let the accumulation of our former services atone for our present dereliction of duty. You have recently waged war with three kings: let not the circumstance of our having been inactive in one of these wars, be more injurious to us than our having fought on your side in the other two has served us. Consider Philip, Antiochus, and Perseus, as you would three votes; two of them acquit us; one, although it would be unfavourable, is nevertheless doubtful. If they were to sit in judgment over us, we would be condemned. Conscript fathers, you are to decide, whether Rhodes is to continue on the earth or to be utterly destroyed. You are not deliberating concerning war, conscript fathers, for though it is in your power to declare war, it is not in your power to wage it, as not a single Rhodian will take up arms against you. If you persist in your anger, we will beg time from you, until we carry home an account of this unhappy embassy. We will then, every free person of all the Rhodians, both men and women, with all our wealth, embark in ships, and leaving the seats of our tutelary deities, both public and private, repair to Rome, where, heaping together in the Comitium, at the door of your senate-house, all our gold and silver, all the public and private property that we possess, we will submit our persons, and those of our wives and children, to your disposal; that, whatever we are to suffer, we may suffer here. Let our city be sacked and burned far away from our view. The Romans may pass a judgment, that the Rhodians are enemies; but we have also a right, in some degree, to judge ourselves; and we never will judge ourselves your enemies, nor do one hostile act, should we even suffer extreme calamities.”

25 After so mournful a speech, they all prostrated themselves again, and as supplicants, held out olive branches; but at length they were raised, and withdrew from the senate-house. They then began to ask the opinions of the senators. The most inveterate against the Rhodians were those, who as consuls, prætors, or lieutenant-generals, had been engaged in the war with Macedon. Marcus Porcius Cato was the principal supporter of their cause, who, though naturally austere, acted his part as a senator, on this occasion, with much mildness and lenity. I will not introduce here a specimen of his copious eloquence, by relating what he said: his speech is extant, and is comprised in the fifth book of his Antiquities. The answer given to

the Rhodians was, that “they should neither be declared enemies, nor any longer remain in alliance with Rome.” At the head of this embassy were Philocrates and Astymedes. They determined that half their number, with Philocrates, should carry home to Rhodes an account of their proceedings; and that the other half, with Astymedes, should remain at Rome, that they might be acquainted with what passed, and inform their countrymen. For the present, they were commanded to remove their governors out of Lycia and Caria, before a certain day. This intelligence was announced at Rhodes; and although it was galling in itself, yet as the Rhodians were relieved from the dread of a greater evil, for they had feared a war, the announcement created joy. They therefore immediately voted a present, amounting in value to twenty thousand pieces of gold, and deputed Theætetus, the commander of their fleet, on that embassy. They wished to procure an alliance with the Romans; but, in such a manner, as that no order of the people should pass concerning it, nor any thing be committed to writing; for in either of these cases, if they failed in succeeding, there would be greater disgrace in the refusal. The admiral of the fleet was empowered, singly, to negotiate that business, if he could effect it without any law being brought forward at Rome on the subject; for, during a considerable length of time, they had maintained a friendship with the Romans, in such a manner as not to bind themselves by a treaty of alliance, for no other reason than that they might neither preclude the kings from all hope of their assistance, if any of them should need it, nor themselves from a participation of the advantages which might accrue from the good fortune and liberality of the said kings. At this time, however, an alliance seemed particularly desirable, not to render them more secure from others, (for excepting the Romans, they feared none,) but to make them less suspected by the Romans themselves. About this time, the Caunians revolted from them, and the Mylasensians seized on the towns of the Euromensians. The spirit of their community was not so totally broken as to hinder their perceiving, that, if Lycia and Caria were taken from them by the Romans, their other provinces would either assert their own freedom by a revolt, or be seized on by their neighbours; and that they themselves would then be shut up in a small island; within the shores of a barren country, which could by

no means maintain the numerous people in so large a city. They therefore sent out with all speed, a body of troops, and reduced the Caunians to obedience, though they had received succours from Cybara: and afterwards defeated in a battle at Orthosia the Mylassians and Alabandians, who, having seized the province of Euroma, had marched against them with their allied forces.

26 Whilst these events are occurring in Rhodes, different matters are going on in Macedon and Rome; in the mean time, in Illyria, Lucius Anicius, having reduced king Gentius under his power, as before mentioned, placed Gabinius over a garrison that he posted in Scodra, which had been the capital of the kingdom; and appointed Caius Licinius commander in Rhizon and Olcinium, which were towns very conveniently situated. Leaving these two in charge of Illyria, he marched with the rest of his forces into Epirus. Here, Phanota was the first place which submitted to him; the whole multitude, with fillets on their heads, coming out to meet him. Placing a garrison there, he went over into Molossis, all the towns of which province, except Passora, Tecmo, Phylace, and Horreum, having surrendered, he marched first against Passora. The two men of the greatest authority in that city, were Antinous and Theodotus, who were remarkable for their warm attachment to Perseus, and hatred to the Romans; the same individuals had instigated the whole nation to revolt from the Romans. These men, since they had no hope of pardon, owing to their consciousness of guilt, shut the gates, that they might be buried under the general ruin of their country, and exhorted the multitude to prefer death to slavery. No man dared to open his lips against men of such transcendent power. At last one Theodotus, a young man of distinction, (when his greater dread of the Romans had overpowered the lesser fear of his own leaders,) exclaimed, "What madness has seized you, to make the public accessory to the crimes of two individuals? I have often heard mention made of men who offered themselves to death for the sake of their country; but those are the first that were ever found, who required that their country should perish for them. Why not open our gates, and submit to that power to which the whole world has submitted?" As he spoke thus, the multitude followed him; on which Antinous and Theodotus rushed out on the advanced guards of the

enemy, and freely exposing themselves to their weapons, were slain, and the city was surrendered to the Romans. Through a similar obstinacy in Cephalus, a man in power, the gates of Tecmo were shut: when he was put to death, Anicius received the surrender of the town. Neither Phylace nor Horreum stood a siege. Having thus reduced Epirus, Anicius distributed his troops in winter quarters, through the most convenient towns; and returning into Illyria, held a general convention at Scodra, where the five commissioners had arrived from Rome, and to which place he had summoned the principal men from all parts of the province. There, with advice of the council, he proclaimed from his tribunal, that “the senate and people of Rome granted freedom to the Illyrians; and that he would withdraw his garrisons from all their towns, citadels, and castles. That the Issensians and Taulantians, with the Pirustans, that were included among the Dassaretians, the Rhizonites, and the Olcinians, should not only enjoy liberty, but likewise an immunity from taxes; because when Gentius was in his full strength, they had revolted to the Romans. That the same exemption was granted to the Daorseans; because they forsook Caravantius, and came over with their arms to the Romans; and that the Scodrans, Dassaretians, Selepitans, and the rest of the Illyrians, should pay half the taxes which they had formerly paid to their king.” He then divided Illyria into three districts; he made the first division out of the people above mentioned, the second comprehended all the Labeatians, and the third the Agranonites, Rhizonites, and Olcinians, with the contiguous states. Having established this constitution in Illyria, he returned into Epirus, to his winter quarters at Passaro.

27 While these matters are passing in Illyria, Paullus, before the arrival of the ten commissioners, sent his son Quintus Maximus, who was by this time returned from Rome, to sack Agassæ and Æginium: Agassæ, because the inhabitants, after surrendering their city to the consul, and voluntarily soliciting an alliance with Rome, had revolted again to Perseus: the crime of the people of Æginium was of a late date; not giving credit to the report of the Romans being victorious, they had treated with hostile cruelty some soldiers who came into the city. He also detached Lucius Postumius to pillage the city of Ænia; because the inhabitants had continued in arms with

more obstinacy than the neighbouring states. Autumn now drew nigh; at the commencement of this season, when he resolved to make a tour through Greece, in order to take a view of those curiosities, which, being celebrated by fame, are represented as greater than they really are when examined by the eye, he gave the command of his quarters to Caius Sulpicius Gallus, and, with a moderate retinue, began his journey, accompanied by his son Scipio, and Athenæus, king Eumenes' brother, and directed his route through Thessaly to the famous oracle at Delphi; where he offered sacrifices to Apollo, and, in honour of his victory, destined for his own statues some unfinished columns in the vestibule, on which they had intended to place statues of king Perseus. He also visited the temple of Jupiter Trophonius at Lebadia; where, after viewing the mouth of the cave, through which people applying to the oracle descend, in order to obtain information from the gods, he sacrificed to Jupiter and Hercyna, who have a temple there; and then went down to Chalcis, to see the curiosities of the Euripus, and of the island of Eubœa, which is there united to the continent by a bridge. From Chalcis he passed by sea to Aulis, a port three miles distant, famous for having been formerly the station of Agamemnon's fleet of one thousand ships, and distinguished also for the temple of Diana, in which that king of kings sought a passage for his fleet to Troy, by offering his daughter Iphigenia as a victim at the altar. Thence he came to Oropus, in Attica; where an ancient prophet is worshipped as a god, and has an old temple, rendered delightful by the surrounding springs and streams. He then went to Athens, which, though filled with only the decayed relics of ancient grandeur, still contained many things worthy of observation; the citadel, the port, the walls connecting Piræus with the city; the dockyards, the monuments of illustrious generals, the statues of gods and men, alike remarkable for the variety of the materials and the ingenuity of the artists.

28 After sacrificing to Minerva, the guardian of the citadel, he continued his journey, and on the second day arrived at Corinth. The city was then flourishing, as this visit was prior to its fall; the citadel too, and the isthmus, afforded admirable views; the former, within the walls, and towering up to an immense height, yet abounding with springs; and the latter, separating by a narrow neck two seas, which

wash it on the east and west. He next visited the celebrated cities of Sicyon and Argos; then Epidaurus, which, though unequal to them in opulence, was yet remarkable for a famous temple of Esculapius, which, standing at five miles' distance from the city, was at that time rich in offerings, which the sick had dedicated to that deity, as an acknowledgment for the remedies which restored them to health; but now, full of the traces of them only, whence they have been torn away. Thence he proceeded to Lacedæmon, renowned, not for magnificent works of art, but for its laws and discipline; and then, passing through Magalopolis, he went up to Olympia. Here, having taken a view of all things worthy of notice, and beholding Jupiter in a manner present before him, he was struck with the deepest reverence; therefore he ordered preparations to be made for a sacrifice, with more than usual magnificence, and as if he were going to make offerings in the Capitol; having made his circuit through Greece in such a manner as not to inquire into the sentiments which any one, either in his public or private capacity, entertained in the war against Perseus, lest he might disturb the minds of the allies with any kind of apprehensions. On his way back to Demetrias, a crowd of Ætolians, in mourning apparel, met him: on his expressing surprise, and asking the reason of this proceeding, he was told that five hundred and fifty of the chief of their countrymen had been put to death by Lyciscus and Tisippus, who surrounded their senate with Roman soldiers, sent by their commander Bæbius; that others had been driven into exile; and that the accusers were in possession of the goods of the killed and exiled. They were ordered to wait on him at Amphipolis; and then, having met Cneius Octavius at Demetrias, who informed him that the ten commissioners were landed, he laid aside all other business, and went to Apollonia to meet them. And when Perseus, owing to the negligence of his guard, had come hither to meet him from Amphipolis, (the distance is a day's journey,) Æmilius spoke to him with great courtesy; but is said to have severely reprimanded Caius Sulpicius, when he reached the camp at Amphipolis; first, for allowing Perseus thus to ramble through the province, and next, for indulging the soldiers so far as to suffer them to strip the buildings on the city walls of the tiles, in order to cover their own winter huts. These tiles he ordered to be carried back the buildings to be repaired,

and put in their former condition. He gave in charge to Aulus Postumius, Perseus, with his elder son Philip, and sent them into a place of confinement; his daughter and younger son he ordered to be brought from Samothrace to Amphipolis, and treated them with all possible kindness.

29 When the day arrived, on which he had ordered ten chiefs from each of the states to attend at Amphipolis, and all the writings wherever deposited, and the money belonging to the king, to be brought thither, he seated himself, with the ten commissioners, on his tribunal, while the whole multitude of the Macedonians surrounded him. Though they were inured to the government of a king, yet the strange tribunal presented a terrible appearance; the path that was cleared towards the prætor by the removal of the people, the herald, the sergeant, were all objects strange to their eyes and ears, and capable of inspiring awe in allies, much more in conquered enemies. Silence being proclaimed by the herald, Paullus declared in the Latin language the regulations adopted by the senate, and by himself with the advice of the council; and the prætor, Cneius Octavius, (for he too was present,) translated them into the Greek language, and read them aloud. First of all he ordered, that “the Macedonians should live free; possessing the same cities and lands as before; governed by their own laws, and creating annual magistrates; and that they should pay to the Roman people one-half of the taxes which they had paid to their kings. Next, that Macedon should be divided into four districts. That the division which should be deemed the first, should comprehend the lands between the rivers Strymon and Nessus: to this territory should be added the territory beyond the Nessus, towards the east, wherein Perseus had possessed villages, castles, or towns, excepting Ænus, Maronea, and Abdera; and the country beyond the Strymon, verging towards the west, including all Bisaltica, with Heraclea, which they call Sintice. That the second district should be the country enclosed by the river Strymon, on the east, where were excepted Sintice-Heraclea and Bisaltica, and by the river Axius on the west; to which should be added the Pœnians, who dwelt near the river Axius, and on its right bank. The third district comprised the territory bounded by the river Axius on the east, the Peneus on the west, and Mount Bora on the north. That to this division should be

joined that tract of Pæonia, which stretches along the western side of the Axios; Edessa also, and Berœa, should be united to it. The fourth district was to consist of the country on the north of Mount Bora, touching Illyria on one side, and Epirus on the other. He then appointed the capitals of the districts in which the councils should be held: of the first district, Amphipolis; of the second, Thessalonica; of the third, Pella; and of the fourth, Pelagonia. In these he ordered that the councils of the several districts should be assembled, the public money deposited, and the magistrates elected.” He then gave notice, “that it was determined, that there should not be intermarriage, nor liberty to purchase lands or houses, out of the limits of their respective districts, that the mines of gold and silver must not be worked; but those of iron and copper might.” The tax imposed upon such persons as worked them, was one half of that which they had paid to the king. He likewise forbade the use of imported salt. To the Dardanians, who laid claim to Pæonia, because it had formerly been theirs, and was contiguous to their territory, he declared that, “he gave liberty to all who had been under subjection to Perseus.” After the refusal of Pæonia, he granted them liberty to purchase salt, and ordered that the third district should bring it down to Stobi, in Pæonia; and he fixed the price to be paid for it. He prohibited them from cutting ship timber themselves, or suffering others to cut it. To those districts which bordered on the barbarians, (and excepting the third, this was the case with them all,) he gave permission to keep armed forces on their frontiers.

³⁰ These terms, announced on the first day of the convention, affected the minds of those who were present with very different emotions. Liberty being granted them beyond their expectation, and the annual tribute being lightened, gave them high satisfaction; but then, by the prohibition of a commercial intercourse between the districts, Macedon appeared dismembered, like an animal torn asunder into separate limbs, which stood in need of mutual aid from each other; so little did the Macedonians themselves know how great was the extent of their country, how aptly it was formed for a division and how content each part could be with its own resources. The first division contains the Bisaltians, men of the greatest courage (residing beyond the river Nessus, and on both sides of the Strymon);

it has many peculiar productions of the vegetable kingdom, and mines also, and the advantages derived from the city of Amphipolis, which, standing just in the way, shuts up every passage into Macedonia from the east. The second division has two very remarkable cities, Thessalonica and Cassandria, and the country of Pallene, producing grain and fruits in abundance; its harbours at Torone and Mount Athos, (they call the latter the port of Ænea,) besides others, some of which are conveniently situated opposite Eubœa, and some upon the Hellespont, give it opportunities for maritime business. The third district has the celebrated cities of Edessa, Berœa, and Pella; and is partly inhabited by the Vettians, a warlike people; also by great numbers of Gauls and Illyrians, who are industrious husbandmen. The fourth district is occupied by the Eordæans, Lyncestans, and Pelagonians, to whom are joined Atintania, Stymphalis, and Elemiotis. All this tract is cold and rough, and unfavourable to tillage; it has men whose dispositions are like the land that they till. Their vicinity to the barbarians renders them more ferocious; for they at one time inure them to arms, and at another are in peace, and introduce their customs among them. Having separated the interests of the several districts of Macedon by this division, he declared that he would give them a constitution which should bind the Macedonians in general, when he was prepared to give them a body of laws also.

³¹ The Ætolians were then summoned to appear; in which trial the inquiry was directed to discover, rather, which party had favoured the Romans, and which the king, than which had done, and which suffered injury; for the murderers were absolved from guilt, and likewise the banishment of the exiles confirmed, and the death of the citizens overlooked. Aulus Bæbius alone was condemned for having lent Roman soldiers as agents in the butchery. This result in the case of the Ætolians puffed up the party which favoured the Romans to an intolerable degree of arrogance, throughout all the states and nations of Greece; and subjected all those, on whom the slightest suspicion of being in the king's interest fell, to be trodden under their feet. Of the leading men in the states, there were three parties; two of which paying servile court either to the Romans, or the kings, sought to aggrandize themselves by enslaving their countries; while one,

adopting a middle course, and struggling against both, stood up in support of their laws and liberty. Although the last had the greatest share of the affection of their countrymen, still they had the least interest among foreigners. The partisans of the Romans being elated by the success of their party, alone held the offices of magistracy, and alone were employed on embassies. Great numbers of these, coming from the diets of Peloponnesus, Bœotia, and other parts of Greece, filled the ears of the ten commissioners with insinuations, that “those who, through folly, had openly boasted of being friends and intimates of Perseus, were not the only persons who had favoured his cause; much greater numbers had done so in secret. That there was another party, who under pretence of supporting liberty, had, in the diets, advanced every measure contrary to the Romans; and that these nations would not continue faithful, unless the spirit of these parties was broken, and the influence of those, who had no other object than the advancement of the Roman power, was augmented and strengthened.” These persons, whose names were given in by this clique, were summoned by the general’s letter out of Ætolia, Acarnania, Epirus, and Bœotia, to follow him to Rome, and plead their cause. Two of the ten commissioners, Caius Claudius and Cneius Domitius, went to Achaia, that they might, on the spot, summon by proclamation the persons implicated. This was done for two reasons; one was because they believed that the Achæans would have greater spirit and confidence than the rest, and might disobey, and perhaps even endanger Callicrates, and other authors of the charges, and informers. The other reason for summoning them on the spot, was, that the commissioners had in their possession letters from the chief men of the other nations, which had been found among the king’s papers; but with regard to the Achæans the charges were not clear, because no letters of theirs had been discovered. When the Ætolians were dismissed, the Acarnanian nation was called in. No alteration was made in their situation, only Leucas was disunited from their council. Then making more extensive inquiries respecting those who had, publicly or privately, favoured the king, they extended their jurisdiction even into Asia, and sent Labeo to demolish Antissa, in the island of Lesbos, and to remove the inhabitants to Methymna; because they had received within their

port, and supplied with provisions, Antenor, the commander of the king's fleet, while cruising with his squadron on the coast of Lesbos. Two distinguished men were beheaded, Andronicus, son of Andronicus, an Ætolian, because, imitating his father, he had borne arms against the Roman people; and Neo, a Theban, by whose advice his countrymen had formed an alliance with Perseus.

³² This examination into foreign matters having intervened, the general assembly of the Macedonians was again summoned, and information was given them that "with regard to the government of Macedon, they must elect senators called by themselves Synedroi, by whose advice the republic should be directed." Then was read a list of Macedonians of distinction, who, with their children above fifteen years of age, were ordered to go before him into Italy. This injunction, at first view cruel, appeared afterwards to the Macedonian populace to have been intended in favour of their freedom. For the persons named were Perseus's friends and courtiers, the generals of his armies, and the commanders of his ships or garrisons; men accustomed to pay servile obedience to the king, and to domineer haughtily over others; some immoderately rich, others vying in expense with those to whom they were unequal in fortune, all living in regal pomp and luxury; in a word, none possessed of a disposition suited to a member of a commonwealth, and all incapable of paying due obedience to the laws, and of enjoying an equal participation of liberty. All, therefore, who had held any employment under the king, even those who had been upon the most trivial embassies, were ordered to leave Macedon and go into Italy; and the penalty of death was denounced against any who disobeyed the mandate. He framed laws for Macedon with such care, that he seemed to be giving them not to vanquished foes, but to allies who had merited well; laws so wise, that even experience (which is the only corrector of laws) could not find any fault in them after a long trial. Turning from serious business, he celebrated with great pomp at Amphipolis games, for which he had been making preparations for a long time, having sent people to the states and kings in Asia to give notice of the intended diversions, and in his late tour through Greece he had himself mentioned his design to the principal people. There came thither from every region in the world, multitudes of artists of every sort,

skilled in such exhibitions, and vast numbers of wrestlers and noble horses; deputations also came with victims and every other mark of respect usually shown out of regard to gods or men, in great games of Greece. Hence it came to pass, that the people admired not only the magnificence, but likewise the skill displayed in the entertainments; in which kind of business the Romans were, at that time, quite inexperienced. Feasts were also provided for the ambassadors with the same degree of care and opulence. They made frequent mention of an expression of his, that to furnish out a feast, and to conduct games, seldom fell to the lot of him who knew how to conquer.

33 When the games of every kind were finished, he put the brazen shields on board the ships; the rest of the arms, being all collected together in a huge pile, the general himself, after praying to Mars, Minerva, mother Lua, and the other deities, to whom it is right and proper to dedicate the spoils of enemies, set fire to them with a torch, and then the military tribunes who stood round all threw fire on the same. It was remarkable, that, at such a general congress of Europe and Asia, where such multitudes were assembled, some to congratulate the victors, some to see the shows; and where such numerous bodies of land and naval forces were quartered, so great was the plenty of every thing, and so moderate the price of provisions, that presents of divers articles were made by the general to private persons, and states, and nations; not only for their present use, but even to carry home with them. The stage entertainments, the gymnastics, and the horse races, did not afford a more pleasing spectacle to the crowd which had assembled, than the Macedonian booty, which was all exposed to view, consisting of the ornaments of the palace at Pella, namely, statues, pictures, tapestry, and vases, formed of gold, silver, brass, and ivory, in so elaborate a manner, that they seemed intended not merely for present show, like the furniture of the palace of Alexandria but even for continual use. These were embarked in the fleet and given in charge to Cneius Octavius, to be carried to Rome. Paullus, after dismissing the ambassadors with great courtesy, crossed the Strymon, and encamped at the distance of a mile from Amphipolis; then resuming his march, he arrived on the fifth day at Pella. Having passed by that city, he halted for two days

at a place called Spelæum, and detached his son Quintus Maximus and Publius Nasica, with half of the troops, to lay waste the country of the Illyrians, who had assisted Perseus in the war, ordering them to meet him at Oricum; then, taking the road to Epirus, on his fifteenth encampment, he reached the city of Passaro.

³⁴ Not far from this was the camp of Anicius, to whom he sent a letter, desiring him not to be alarmed at any thing that should happen, for “the senate had granted to his soldiers the plunder of those cities in Epirus which had revolted to Perseus.” Having despatched centurions, who were to give out that they came to bring away the garrisons, in order that the Epirotes might be free, as well as the Macedonians; he summoned before him ten of the principal men of each city, and after giving them strict injunctions that all their gold and silver should be brought into the public street, he then sent cohorts to the several states. Those that were destined for the more remote states set out earlier than those who were sent to the nearer, that they might all arrive on the same day. The tribunes and centurions were instructed how to act. Early in the morning all the treasure was collected; at the fourth hour the signal was given to the soldiers to plunder, and so ample was the booty acquired, that the shares distributed were four hundred denariuses to a horseman, and two hundred to a footman. One hundred and fifty thousand persons were led away captive. Then the walls of the plundered cities, they were about seventy in number, were razed; the effects sold, and the soldiers’ shares paid out of the price. Paullus then marched down to the sea to Oricum, having by no means satisfied the wishes of his men as he had imagined, for they were enraged at being excluded from sharing in the spoil of the king, as if they had not waged any war in Macedon. When he found, at Oricum, the troops sent with his son Maximus and Scipio Nasica, he embarked the army, and sailed over to Italy. Anicius, a few days after, having held a convention of the rest of the Epirotes and Acarnanians, and having ordered those of their chiefs, whose cases he had reserved for consideration, to follow him into Italy, waited only for the return of the ships that the Macedonian army had used, and then passed over to Italy. At the time that these events took place in Macedon and Epirus, the ambassadors that had been sent with Attalus, to put a stop to

hostilities between the Gauls and king Eumenes, arrived in Asia. Having agreed to a suspension of arms for the winter, the Gauls were gone home, and the king had retired to Pergamus into winter quarters, where he fell sick of a grievous disease. The first appearance of spring drew out both parties from their respective homes; the Gauls had advanced as far as Synnada, while Eumenes had collected from every quarter his forces, at Sardis. Then the Romans held a conference with Solovettius, general of the Gauls, at Synnada, and Attalus accompanied them; but it was not thought proper that he should enter the camp of the Gauls, lest the passions of either party might be heated by debate. Publius Licinius held a conference with the Gallic chieftain, and brought back word that he was rendered more haughty by the attempt to persuade him; so that it might, therefore, seem matter of wonder that the mediation of Roman ambassadors should have had so great influence on Antiochus and Ptolemy, two powerful kings, as to make them instantly conclude a peace; and yet, that it had no influence with the Gauls.

35 The captive kings, Perseus and Gentius, with their children, were the first brought to Rome, and put in custody, and next the other prisoners; then such of the Macedonians and principal men of Greece as had been ordered to come to Rome; for of these, not only such as were at home were summoned by letter, but even those who were said to be at the courts of the kings. In a few days after, Paullus was carried up the Tiber to the city, in a royal galley of vast size, which was moved by sixteen tiers of oars, and decorated with Macedonian spoils, consisting not only of beautiful armour, but of tapestry, which had been the property of the king; while the banks of the river were covered with the multitudes that poured out to do him honour. After a few days, arrived Anicius, and Cneius Octavius with his fleet. A triumph was voted by the senate to all three: and instructions were given to Quintus Cassius, the prætor, to apply to the plebeian tribunes, who, by the authority of the senate, should propose to the commons the passing of an order to invest them with military command during the day on which they should ride through the city in triumph. Those in the middle rank are never assailed by popular displeasure, which usually aims at the highest. With regard to the triumphs of Anicius and Octavius, no hesitation was made; yet they

detracted from the merits of Paullus, with whom these men could not, without blushing, set themselves in comparison. He had kept his soldiers under the ancient rules of discipline, and had made smaller donations out of the spoil, than they hoped to receive, since the treasures of the king were so large; for if he had indulged their avarice, there would have left nothing to be carried to the treasury. The whole Macedonian army was disposed to attend negligently in support of their commander, at the assembly held for the passing of the order. But Servius Sulpicius Galba, (who had been military tribune of the second legion in Macedon, and who was a personal enemy of the general,) by his own importunities, and by soliciting them through the soldiers of his own legion, had instigated them to attend in full numbers, to give their votes, and to “take revenge on a haughty and morose commander, by rejecting the order proposed for his triumph. The commons of the city would follow the judgment of the soldiery. Was it probable that he could not give the money? The soldiers could confer honours! Let him not hope to reap the fruits of gratitude among those from whom he had not merited them.”

³⁶ The soldiers were urged on by these expressions, and when, in the Capitol, Tiberius Sempronius, tribune of the commons, proposed the order, and private citizens had an opportunity of speaking on the law, no one came forward to speak in favour of it, as there was not a doubt entertained of its passing. Whereupon Servius Galba suddenly came forward and demanded of the tribune, that, “as it was then the eighth hour, and as there would not be time enough to produce all the reasons for not ordering a triumph to Lucius Æmilius, they should adjourn to the next day, and proceed with the business early in the morning: for he would require an entire day to plead that cause.” When the tribune desired, that he would say then whatever he chose to object; by his speech he protracted the affair until night, representing to the people and reminding the soldiers, that “the duties of the service had been enforced with unusual severity; that greater toil and greater danger had been imposed on them than the occasion required; while, on the other hand, in respect of rewards and honours, every thing was conducted on the narrowest scale; and if such commanders succeeded, military employment would become more irksome and more laborious to the soldiers, while it would produce to

the conquerors neither riches nor honours. That the Macedonians were in a better condition than the Roman soldiers. If they would attend next day, in full numbers, to reject the order, men in power would learn, that every thing was not in the disposal of the commander, but that there was something in that of the soldiery." The soldiers, instigated by such arguments, filled the Capitol next day with such a crowd, that no one else could find room to vote. When the tribes which were first called in gave a negative to the question, the principal men in the state ran together to the Capitol, crying out, that "it was a shameful thing that Lucius Paullus, after his success in such an important war, should be robbed of a triumph; that commanders should be given up, in a state of subjection, to the licentiousness and avarice of their men. As it was, too many errors were made through a desire to gain popularity; but what must be the consequence if the soldiers were raised into the place of masters over their generals?" All heaped violent reproaches on Galba. At last, when the uproar was calmed, Marcus Servilius, who had been consul and master of the horse, requested from the tribunes that they would begin the proceedings anew, and give him an opportunity of speaking to the people. These, after withdrawing to deliberate, being overcome by the influence of the leading men of the state, began the proceedings over again, and declared that they would call back the tribes as soon as Servilius and other private persons should have delivered their sentiments.

³⁷ Servilius then said: "Romans, if we had no other means of judging what a consummate commander Lucius Æmilius was, this one would be sufficient: that, notwithstanding he had in his camp soldiers so fickle and mutinously inclined, with an enemy so noble, so zealous, and so eloquent, to stir up the passions of the multitude, yet he never had any sedition in his army. That strictness of discipline, which they now hate, kept them then in order. Subjected to the ancient rules, they did not mutiny. If truly, Servius Galba wished to make his debut as an orator in the case of Lucius Paullus, and to give a specimen of his eloquence, still he ought not to obstruct his triumph, since, if there was no other reason in its favour, the senate had judged it to be well merited. But on the day after the triumph, when he should see Æmilius in a private station, he should

prefer a charge, and prosecute him according to the laws; or else, at a later period, when he himself should be invested with magistracy, let him cite Paullus to a trial, and accuse his enemy before the people. By such conduct Lucius Paullus would both receive the reward of his proper conduct, a triumph for extraordinary success in war, and also meet punishment, if he had committed any thing unworthy of his former or present reputation. Instead of which, he has undertaken to detract from the merits of a man to whom he cannot impute either crime or dishonour. Yesterday he demanded a whole day, for making his charges against Lucius Paullus, and he spent four hours, which remained of that day, in delivering a speech to that purpose. What accused man was ever so transcendently wicked, that the offence of his life could not be set forth in that number of hours? And yet, in all that time, what did he object to him, that Lucius Paullus, if actually on his trial, would have wished to be denied? Let any one with me fancy for a moment, two assemblies: one composed of the soldiers who served in Macedon; the other, of sounder judgment, unbiassed either by favour or dislike; where the whole body of the Roman people is the judge. Let the cause of the accused be pleaded, first, before the citizens, peaceably assembled in their gowns. Servius Galba, what have you to say before the Roman citizens? for such a discourse, as you made before, is totally precluded. You were obliged to stand at your posts with too much strictness and attention; the watches were visited with too much exactness and severity; you had more fatigue than formerly, because the general himself went the rounds, and enforced the duties. On the same day you performed a march, and, without repose, were led forth to battle. Even when you had gained a victory, he did not allow you rest: he led you immediately in pursuit of the enemy. When he has it in his power to make you rich, by dividing the spoil, he intends to carry the king's treasure in his triumph, and deposit it in the treasury. Though these arguments may have some incentive to stimulate the passions of soldiers, who imagine that too little deference has been shown to their licentious temper, and too little indulgence to their avarice; yet they would have no kind of influence on the judgment of the Roman people; who, though they should not recollect old accounts, and what they heard from their parents, of the numerous defeats suffered in

consequence of the desire of commanders to gain popularity, or of victories gained in consequence of strict enforcement of discipline; yet must they surely remember, what a difference there was in the last Punic war between Marcus Minucius, the master of the horse, and Quintus Fabius Maximus, the dictator. The accuser, therefore, would soon know, that any defence, on the part of Paullus, would be superfluous.

³⁸ “Let us now pass to the other assembly; and here I am not to address you as citizens, but as soldiers, if, indeed, this name can cause a blush, and inspire you with shame, for your injurious treatment of your general. And I for my part feel my own mind affected in a very different manner, when I suppose myself speaking to an army, from what it was, just now, when my speech was addressed to the commons of the city. For what say you, soldiers, is there any man in Rome, except Perseus, that wishes there should be no triumph over Macedon; and are you not tearing him in pieces with the same hands with which you subdued the Macedonians? That man, who would hinder you from entering the city in triumph, would, if it had been in his power, have hindered you from conquering. Soldiers, you are mistaken, if you imagine that a triumph is an honour to the general only, and not to the soldiers also, as well as to the whole Roman people. This honour does not belong to Paullus alone. Many who failed of obtaining a triumph from the senate, have triumphed on the Alban Mount, No man can wrest from Lucius Paullus the honour of having brought the Macedonian war to a conclusion, any more than he can from Caius Lutatius, that of putting an end to the first Punic war, or from Publius Cornelius, that of finishing the second; or from those who, *since those generals*, have triumphed. Neither will a triumph add to, or diminish, the honour of Lucius Paullus as a commander: the character of the soldiers, and of the whole Roman people, is more immediately concerned therein, lest they should incur the imputation of envy and ingratitude towards one of their most illustrious citizens, and appear to imitate, in this respect, the Athenians, who have persecuted their distinguished men by exciting the hatred of the populace. Sufficient error was committed by your ancestors in the case of Camillus, whom they treated injuriously, before the city was recovered from

the Gauls through his means; error sufficient, and more than sufficient, was committed by you in the case of Publius Africanus. How must we blush, when we reflect that the habitation and house of the conqueror of Africa was at Liternum; that his tomb is shown at Liternum! And shall Lucius Paullus, equal to any of those men in renown, receive from you an equal share of ill-treatment? Let then this infamy be first blotted out, which is shameful in the eyes of other nations, and injurious to ourselves; for who will wish to resemble either Africanus, or Paullus, in a state ungrateful and inimical to the virtuous? If there were no disgrace in the case, and the question merely concerned glory, what triumph does not imply the general glory of the Roman race? Are all the numerous triumphs over the Gauls, the Spaniards, and the Carthaginians, called the triumphs of the generals only, or of the Roman people? As the triumphs were celebrated not merely over Pyrrhus, or Hannibal, or Philip, but over the Epirotes and Carthaginians; so it was not the individual, Manius Curius, or Publius Cornelius, nor Titus Quinctius, but the Romans, that triumphed. This, indeed, is the peculiar case of the soldiers, who, themselves both crowned with laurel, and conspicuous for the presents each one has received, proclaim the triumph by name, and march in procession through the city, singing their own and their commander's praises. If, at any time, soldiers are not brought home from a province to such honours, they murmur; and yet, even in that case, they consider themselves distinguished, even in their absence, because by their hands the victory was obtained. Soldiers, if it should be asked, for what purpose you were brought home to Italy, and not disbanded immediately, when the business of the province was finished; why you came to Rome, in a body, round your standards; why you loiter here, and do not repair to your several homes: what other answer can you give, than that you wished to be seen triumphing? And, certainly, you have a right to show yourselves as conquerors.

39 "Triumphs have been lately celebrated over Philip, father of the present king, and over Antiochus. Both these triumphs over them took place when they were in possession of their thrones, and shall there be no triumph over Perseus, who has been taken prisoner, and, with his children, brought away to the city? But if Lucius Paullus, as

a private citizen, should, amid the crowd of gowned citizens, interrogate, from the lower ground, those mounting to the Capitol in a chariot, and clad in gold and purple,— ‘Lucius Anicius, Cneius Octavius, whether do you esteem yourselves, or me, more deserving of a triumph?’ I am confident they would yield him the chariot, and, through shame, themselves present to him their ensigns of honour. And do ye choose, citizens, that Gentius should be led in procession, rather than Perseus; do you wish to triumph over an accessory, rather than over the principal in the war? Shall the legions from Illyria, and the crews of the fleet, enter the city with laurel crowns; and shall the Macedonian legions, after being refused a triumph, be only spectators of other men’s glories? What then will become of such a rich booty, the spoils of a victory so lucrative? Where shall be buried so many thousand suits of armour, stripped from the bodies of the enemy? shall they be sent back to Macedon? Where shall be lodged the statues of gold, of marble, and of ivory: the pictures, the tapestries, such a quantity of wrought silver and gold, and such a mass of royal money? Shall they be conveyed to the treasury by night, as if they were stolen? What? when will that greatest of shows, the celebrated and powerful captive king, Perseus, be exhibited to the eyes of a victorious people? Most of us remember what a concourse the captured king Syphax, an auxiliary only in the Punic war, caused; and shall the captured king, Perseus, with his sons, Philip and Alexander, names so illustrious, be withdrawn from the eager gaze of the state? All men are eagerly anxious to behold Lucius Paullus himself, twice consul, the conqueror of Greece, entering the city in his triumphal chariot. We made him consul for this very purpose, that he should finish a war which had been protracted for four years, to our great shame. When he obtained that province by lot, and when he was setting out for it, with presaging minds, we destined to him victory and triumph; and shall we now, when he is victorious, refuse him a triumph; shall we defraud, not only men, but the gods also of the honours due to them? For a triumph is due to the gods also, and not to men only: your ancestors commenced every business of importance with worshipping them, and ended all in the same manner. The consul, or prætor, (when going to his province and to a war, dressed in his military robe, and attended by his lictors,) offers

vows in the Capitol; and when he returns victorious, after bringing the war to a conclusion, carries in triumph to the Capitol, to the deities to whom he made the vows, the due offering of the Roman people. The victims that precede him are not the most immaterial part of the procession, — to demonstrate that the commander comes home with thanksgivings to the gods for the success granted to the state. You may slay at sacrifices performed by different persons, all those victims, which he has claimed to be led in his triumph. Do you intend to interrupt those banquets of the senate which (whether they are meant for the gratification of men, or both of gods and men) are not partaken of either in any private or even public unconsecrated place, but only in the Capitol, — because such is the will of Servius Galba? Shall the gates be shut against the triumph of Lucius Paullus? Shall Perseus, king of Macedon, with his children, the multitude of other captives, and the spoils of the Macedonians, be left behind on this side of the river? Shall Lucius Paullus, in a private character, go straight from the gate to his house, as if returning home from his country-seat? And do you, centurion, and you, soldiers, listen to the votes of the senate respecting your general, Paullus, rather than to what Servius Galba may invent? Listen to me, who say this, rather than to him. He has learned nothing, but to speak; and even that with rancour and malice. I have three-and-twenty times fought against the enemy, on challenges; from every one with whom I engaged, I brought off spoils. I have my body plentifully marked with honourable scars, all received in front.” It is said that he then stripped himself, and mentioned in what war each of his wounds was received; while he was showing these, he happened to uncover what ought to be concealed, and a swelling in his groins raised a laugh among those near him. He then said, “This too, which excites your laughter, I got by continuing days and nights on horseback; nor do I feel either shame or sorrow for it, any more than for these scars, since it never prevented me from rendering effectual service to the republic, either in peace or war. An aged soldier, I have shown to youthful soldiers this body of mine, often wounded by the weapons of the enemy. Let Galba expose his, which is sleek and unhurt. Tribunes, be pleased to call back the tribes to vote. Soldiers, *I will go down among you, and will follow you as you proceed to give your*

votes, and I will mark the turbulent and ungrateful, and such as require that they should not be governed by the general, but that he should become their willing slave, through a desire to gain popularity." The great body of the soldiers felt so deeply the justice of this reproof, that they changed their minds, so that all the tribes, when recalled to give their votes, passed unanimously the bill concerning the triumph. Therefore Paullus, having at length overcome the malice and detraction of his enemies, celebrated a triumph over king Perseus and the Macedonians, which lasted three days, namely, the fourth, third, and second days, before the calends of December. This triumph, whether we consider the greatness of the conquered king, or the appearances of the images, or the quantity of money, was by far the most magnificent that was ever celebrated, so that by its greatness it precluded all comparison with occurrences of a similar nature. The people having raised stands, like those in the theatre, along the market-place and the other streets of the city, by which the procession was to move, were spectators, and were dressed in white gowns. All the temples were open, and were wreathed with garlands and smoking with incense. The lictors and beadles kept the whole extent of the streets clear, and the way open, by removing from the middle of them the mob, which was crowding together and wandering about. Although the gorgeous spectacle was destined to occupy three days, as we have already mentioned, yet the first day scarcely sufficed for the procession of the statues and paintings, which were placed on two hundred and fifty chariots. The next day all the most beautiful and most magnificent arms of the Macedonians were carried along on many waggons; and these arms were glittering with all the brightness of steel, or lately polished brass, and were piled up in such a manner with regard to one another, that although they seemed to be heaped up in masses rather than artificially arranged, yet they presented to the eye a striking appearance, owing to this very fortuitous and confused arrangement: helmets were mixed with shields, and coats of mail with greaves, and Cretan targets, and Thracian bucklers, and quivers, in one heap with the bridles of horses, and naked swords exposing their threatening points, and Macedonian spears projecting from the sides. And as all these arms were loosely bound together, whenever they clashed with

one another in the carriage, they sent forth a certain terrible and martial sound, so that not even the arms of the conquered could be viewed without a feeling of fear. Then more than seven hundred and fifty vases, filled with coined silver, were borne along by three thousand men. Each vase contained three talents, and was borne by four men. There were some who bore silver bowls, and goblets, and cups, and vessels made of horn, remarkable as well for the beauty of their arrangement, as for their size and weight, and the surpassing workmanship of the raised carving. On the third day, at the very dawn, the trumpeters began the march, playing not only the festal strains which were usual in solemn processions, but also sounding the war-notes, as if they were advancing to battle. A hundred and twenty fat oxen with gilded horns, and adorned with fillets and wreaths of flowers, were led along. Young men, begirt with bands of exquisite workmanship, led the bulls along; and to them were added as companions, boys who bore golden and silver goblets. Then followed the persons who bore the coined gold in seventy-seven vases, each of which contained three talents, like those in which the silver was carried. Then was seen the sacred goblet, ten talents in weight, adorned with precious gems, which Paullus had ordered to be made, and also the goblets of Antigonus and Seleucus, and the cups made by Thericles, and other distinguished artists, all made of gold, with to which the saloons of Perseus had been furnished. After them came the chariot of Perseus, laden with his arms, and a diadem in addition. A band of captives followed, namely, Bethys, the son of king Cotys, who had been sent by his father into Macedon as a hostage, and subsequently taken by the Romans along with the children of Perseus; then the children of Perseus themselves, accompanied by a band of tutors and guardians, who in tears stretched forth their hands mournfully to the spectators, and instructed the boys to implore suppliantly the mercy of the victorious people. There were two sons and one daughter who excited the greater commiseration in the spectators, because they themselves, on account of their age, could scarcely comprehend their misfortunes. Therefore the majority of the spectators could not refrain from tears, and a sort of silent grief saddened the minds of all, and prevented them from enjoying real pleasure, as long as the children met their

gaze. Behind his children walked Perseus with his wife, in a mourning robe, dressed in sandals, after the Greek custom, like a person stupified and astonished, whom the greatness of his calamities seemed to have deprived of reason. Then followed a crowd of friends and acquaintances, in whose countenances deep grief was depicted, for whenever they gazed on the king they wept bitterly, demonstrating clearly that they were grieved on account of his calamities, but forgot their own. Perseus had endeavoured to avert this ignominy by entreaties, and had sent persons to Æmilius, to beg that he should not be led in the triumphal procession. Æmilius smiled at the dastardly spirit of the wretch, and said, "that this request was formerly, and is even now, under his own actions and power;" thereby giving him a silent hint, that he should avoid by a noble death that of which he was afraid. But his irresolute mind was not capable of adopting so determined a design, and under the soothing influence of some hope, he preferred being considered part of his own spoil. Then four hundred golden crowns were carried along, which had been sent by almost all the states of Greece and Asia, through their ambassadors, as gifts to Paullus, and an expression of their joy for his victory: their value, if they were considered intrinsically, was immense, yet they constituted a slight addition to the enormous treasures which were borne in that triumph.

40 Valerius Antias tells us, that the total of the captured gold and silver, carried in the procession, was one hundred and twenty millions of sesterces; but from the number of chariots, and the weights of the gold and silver, specifically set down by himself, the amount is unquestionably made much greater. An equal sum, it is said, had been either expended on the late war, or dissipated during the flight, when he sought Samothrace; and it was more wonderful on this account, because so large a quantity of money had been amassed within the space of the thirty years that intervened since Philip's war with the Romans, partly out of the produce of the mines, and partly from the other branches of revenue. Philip began war against the Romans almost destitute of money; Perseus, on the contrary, was immensely rich. Last came Paullus himself, in his chariot, making a

very majestic appearance, both from the dignity of his person, and from his age. After his chariot, among other illustrious personages, were his two sons, Quintus Maximus and Publius Scipio; then the cavalry, troop by troop, and the cohorts of infantry, each in its order. The donative distributed among them was one hundred denariuses to each footman, double to a centurion, and triple to a horseman; and it is believed that he would have given as much more to the infantry, and in the same proportion to the others, had they not objected to his attaining the present honour, or had they answered with thankful acclamations, when that sum was announced as their reward. But Perseus, led through the city of his enemies in chains, before the chariot of the general, his conqueror, was not the only instance at the time of the misfortunes incident to mankind; another appeared even in the victorious Paullus, though glittering in gold and purple. For, of two sons, (whom, after having given away two others on adoption, he had retained at home, the sole heirs of his name, household gods, and estate,) the younger, about twelve years old, died five days before the triumph, and the elder fourteen years of age, three days after it; who ought to have been carried in the chariot with their father, dressed in the *prætexta*, and anticipating, in their hopes, the like kind of honours for themselves. A few days after, at a general assembly granted by Marcus Antonius, tribune of the people, after Paullus has descanted on his own proper services, as usually done by other commanders, his speech was memorable, and worthy of a Roman chief.

⁴¹ “Although, Romans, I think you are not ignorant that I have successfully administered the state, nor that two dreadful strokes have lately crushed my house; since now my triumph and now the funerals of my two sons have been exhibited to your view; yet permit me, I pray you, to take in few words, and with that temper which becomes me, a comparative view of my own private situation, and the happy state of the public. Departing from Italy, I sailed from Brundisium at sun-rise; at the ninth hour, with my whole squadron, I reached Corcyra. On the fifth day after that I offered sacrifice to Apollo, at Delphi, in expiation of myself, of your armies and fleets. From Delphi I arrived on the fifth day in the camp; where, having received the command of the army, and altered several matters which

greatly impeded success, I advanced into the country; as the enemy's camp was impregnable, and Perseus could not be brought to an action, I forced the pass of Petra in the very face of his guards, and at length, compelled the king to come to an engagement, and gained a complete victory. I reduced Macedonia under the power of the Romans; and in fifteen days finished a war, which four consuls before me had for four years conducted in such a manner, that each left it to his successor more formidable than he had found it. Other prosperous events followed in consequence of this; all the cities of Macedon submitted; the royal treasure came into my hands; the king himself, with his children, was taken in the temple of Samothrace, just as if the gods themselves delivered him into my hands. I now thought my good fortune excessive, and on that account to be suspected; I began to dread the dangers of the sea in carrying away the king's vast treasure, and transporting the victorious army. When all arrived in Italy, after a prosperous voyage, and I had nothing further to wish, I prayed that (as fortune generally from the highest elevation rolls backwards) my own house, rather than the commonwealth, might feel the change. I hope, therefore, that the republic is free from danger, by my having undergone such an extraordinary calamity, as to have my triumph, in mockery as it were of human fortunes, intervene between the funerals of my two sons. And though Perseus and myself are at present exhibited as the most striking examples of the vicissitudes of mortals, yet he, — who, himself in captivity saw his children led captive, — has them still in safety; while I who triumphed over him, went up in my chariot to the Capitol from the funeral of one son, and came down from the Capitol to the bed of the other, just expiring; nor out of so large a family of children is there one remaining to bear the name of Lucius Æmilius Paullus. For, as out of a numerous progeny, the Cornelian and Fabian families have two of them who were given in adoption. In the house of Paullus, except the old man, none remains. However, your happiness, and the prosperous state of the commonwealth, console me for this ruin of my house.” 42. These words, expressed with such magnanimity, moved the minds of the audience with deeper commiseration than if he had with tears bewailed the loss of his children in the most plaintive terms.

42 Cneius Octavius celebrated a naval triumph over king Perseus, on the calends of December. That triumph was without prisoners or spoils. He distributed to each seaman seventy-five denariuses; to the pilots who were on board, twice that sum; and to the masters of ships, four times. A meeting of the senate was then held. The fathers ordered that Quintus Cassius should conduct king Perseus and his son Alexander to Alba, to be there kept in custody; but that he should retain his attendants, money, plate, and furniture. Bitis, son to the king of Thrace, was sent to Carseoli; with the hostages he had given to Macedon, the rest, who had been led in triumph, were ordered to be shut up in prison. A few days after this passed, ambassadors came from Cotys, king of Thrace, bringing money to ransom his son and the said hostages. When they were introduced to an audience of the senate, and alleged, as an argument, in excuse of Cotys, that he had not voluntarily assisted Perseus in the war, but had been compelled to do it; and likewise requested the senate to allow the hostages to be ransomed, at any price that should be judged proper; the following answer was returned to them: that “the Roman people remembered the friendship which had subsisted between them and Cotys, and likewise his predecessors, and the Thracian nation; that the giving of hostages was the very fault laid to his charge, and not an apology for it; for Perseus, even when at rest from others, could not be formidable to the Thracian nation, much less when he was embroiled in a war with Rome. But that notwithstanding that Cotys had preferred the favour of Perseus to the friendship of the Roman people, yet the senate would consider rather what suited their own dignity, than what treatment he had merited; and would send home his son and the hostages; that the kind acts of the Roman people were always gratuitous, and that they chose to leave the value of them in the memory of the receivers, rather than to demand it at the time.” Titus Quintius Flamininus, Caius Licinius Nerva, and Marcus Caninius Rebilus were nominated ambassadors to conduct the hostages to Thrace; and a present of two thousand *asses* was made to each of the Thracian ambassadors. Bithys was fetched from Carseoli, and, accompanied by the hostages, was sent to his father along with the ambassadors. Some of the king’s ships which were taken from the Macedonians, which were of a size never seen before, were

hauled ashore in the field of Mars.

43 While the memory of the Macedonian triumph was remaining not only in the minds but almost before the eyes of the people, Lucius Anicius triumphed over king Gentius and the Illyrians, on the day of the festival of Quirinus. These exhibitions were considered rather as similar than equal. The commander himself was inferior; Anicius was not to be compared in renown with Æmilius; a prætor, in dignity of office, with a consul; neither could Gentius be set on a level with Perseus, nor the Illyrians with the Macedonians; nor the spoils, nor the money, nor the presents obtained in one country, with those obtained in the other. But though the late triumph outshone the present, yet the latter, when considered by itself, appeared very far from contemptible. For Anicius had, in the space of a few days, entirely subdued the Illyrian nation, though they were remarkable for their courage both on land and sea, and confident in the strength of their position; he had also taken their king and the whole royal family. He carried in his triumph many military standards, and much spoil of other sorts, with all the royal furniture; and also twenty-seven pounds' weight of gold, and nineteen of silver, besides three thousand denariuses, and, in Illyrian money, the amount of one hundred and twenty thousand. Before his chariot were led Gentius, with his queen and children; Caravantius, the king's brother, and several Illyrian nobles. Out of the booty he gave forty-five denariuses to each footman, double that sum to a centurion, triple it to a horseman; to the Latin allies the like sums as to natives, and to the seamen the same as to the soldiers. The soldiers attended this triumph with greater demonstrations of joy than that of Æmilius, and the general was celebrated in abundance of songs. Valerius Antias says, that twenty thousand sesterces were produced by the sale of the booty, besides the gold and silver carried to the treasury; but, as no sources appeared from which such a sum could be raised, I have set down my authority instead of asserting the fact. King Gentius, with his queen, children, and brother, was, pursuant to an order of the senate taken to Spoletium, to be kept there in custody; the rest of the prisoners were thrown into prison at Rome; but the people of Spoletium refusing the charge, the royal family was removed to Iguvium. There remained of the Illyrian spoil, two hundred and

twenty barks, which Quintus Cassius, by order of the senate, distributed among the Corcyreans, Apollonians, and Dyrrachians.

44 The consuls of this year, after merely ravaging the lands of the Ligurians, as the enemy never brought an army into the field, returned to Rome to elect new magistrates, without having performed any matter of importance; and on the first day on which the assembly could meet, they appointed Marcus Claudius Marcellus, and Caius Sulpicius Gallus, consuls. Lucius Livius, Lucius Appuleius Saturninus, Aulus Licinius Nerva, Publius Rutilius Calvus, Publius Quintilius Varus, and Marcus Fonteius, were elected prætors on the next day. The two city provinces, the two Spains, Sicily, and Sardinia were decreed to these prætors. There was an intercalation made in the calendar this year, which took place on the day after the feast of Terminus. One of the augurs, Caius Claudius, died this year, and Titus Quintus Flamininus was chosen in his place by the college. The flamen quirinalis, Quintus Fabius Pictor, died also. This year king Prusias arrived at Rome with his son Nicomedes. Coming into the city with a large retinue, he went directly from the gate to the forum, to the tribunal of the prætor, Quintus Cassius; and a crowd immediately collecting, he said, that "he came to pay his respects to the deities inhabiting the city of Rome, and to the Roman senate and people, to congratulate them on their conquest of the two kings, Perseus and Gentius, and the augmentation of their empire by the reduction of Macedon and Illyria under their dominion." When the prætor told him that, if he chose it, he would procure him audience of the senate on the same day, he desired two days' time, in which he might go round and visit the temples of the gods, see the city, and his acquaintances and friends. Lucius Cornelius Scipio, then quæstor, who had been sent to Capua to meet him, was appointed to conduct him around Rome. A house was likewise provided, capable of lodging him and his retinue with convenience. On the third day after, he attended at a meeting of the senate. He congratulated them on their success, recounted his own deserts towards them during the war, and then requested that "he might be allowed to fulfil a vow of sacrificing ten large victims in the Capitol, and one to Fortune at Præneste; a vow which had been made for the success of the Roman people. He further desired that the alliance with him might be

renewed; and that the territory taken from king Antiochus, and not granted to any other, but now in possession of the Gauls, might be given to him.” Lastly, he recommended to the senate his son Nicomedes. He was assisted by the interest of all those who had commanded armies in Macedon; his requests therefore were granted, except that with regard to the territory, concerning which he received this answer: that “they would send ambassadors to examine the matter on the spot. If the territory in question had become the property of the Roman people, and if no grant had been made of it, they would deem no other so deserving of a present of the kind as Prusias. But if it had not belonged to Antiochus, it evidently, in consequence, did not become the property of the Roman people; or if it had been already granted to the Gauls, Prusias must excuse the Roman people if they did not choose to confer a present on him in violation of the rights of others. A present cannot be acceptable to the receiver, which he knows the donor may take away whenever he thinks proper. That they cheerfully accepted his recommendation of Nicomedes; and Ptolemy, king of Egypt, was an instance of the great care with which the Roman people supported the children of their friends.” With this answer Prusias was dismissed. Presents were ordered to be given him to the value of * * * * sesterces besides vases of silver, weighing fifty pounds. And they voted that gifts should be given to his son Nicomedes of the same value with those given to Masgaba, the son of king Masinissa; and that the same victims, and other matters pertaining to sacrifices, should be furnished to the king at the public expense, as to the Roman magistrates, whenever he chose to make the offering, either at Rome or at Præneste; and that twenty ships of war should be assigned to him, and which were then lying at Brundisium, of which he should have the use until he arrived at the fleet which was presented to him. That Lucius Cornelius Scipio should not quit him, but defray all his expenses, and those of his retinue, until they went on board the ships. We are told that Prusias was wonderfully rejoiced at the kind treatment which he received from the Roman people; that he refused all that had been offered to himself, but ordered his son to receive the present of the Roman people. Such are the accounts given of Prusias by our own writers. Polybius, however, represents that king as

having degraded the majesty of his name, — and says that he used to meet the ambassadors, wearing a cap, and having his head shaved, calling himself a freed slave of the Roman people, and, accordingly, bearing the badges of that class; that likewise at Rome, when coming into the senate-house, he stooped down and kissed the threshold; called the senate his tutelar deities, and used other expressions not so honourable to the hearers as disgraceful to himself. He staid in the city and its vicinity not more than thirty days, and then returned to his kingdom, and the war that had been carried on in Asia. * * * * *

Here ends all that has reached us of this history. Of ninety-five books more, which it originally consisted of, the contents only have been preserved; they are as follow: —

SUMMARIES OF MISSING BOOKS XLVI-CXL

Translated by William A. McDevitte

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BOOK XLVI.

King Eumenes came to Rome. [y. r. 586. b. c. 166.] A general law was introduced, that no king should be permitted to come to Rome, in order that he might not appear to be declared an enemy, if he were excluded; nor yet justified, if he were admitted — because he had remained neutral in the Macedonian war. The consul, Claudius Marcellus, subdued the Alpine Gauls; and Caius Sulpicius Gallus the Ligurians. [y. r. 587. b. c. 165.] The ambassadors of king Prusias complain of Eumenes, for ravaging their borders; they accuse him of entering into a conspiracy, with Antiochus, against the Romans. A treaty of friendship was made with the Rhodians, upon their solicitation, [y. r. 588. b. c. 164.] A census was held by the censors; the number of the citizens was found to be three hundred and twenty-seven thousand and twenty-two. Marcus Æmilius Lepidus was chosen chief of the senate. Ptolemy, king of Egypt, being dethroned by his younger brother, was restored by ambassadors sent from Rome. [y. r. 589. b. c. 163.] Ariarathes, king of Cappadocia, died, and was succeeded by his son Ariarathes, who entered anew into a treaty of friendship with the Romans. [y. r. 590. b. c. 162.] Expeditions against the Ligurians, Corsicans, and Lusitanians, were attended with various success. Commotions took place in Syria, on occasion of the death of Antiochus, who had left a son, an infant; Demetrius, the son of Seleucus, who had been a hostage at Rome, secretly murders this young Antiochus, with his tutor Lysias, because he was not dismissed by the Romans, and usurps the kingdom, [y. r. 591. b. c. 161.] Lucius Æmilius Paullus, the conqueror of Perseus, died. Such was the moderation and integrity of this great commander, that, notwithstanding the immense treasures he had brought from Spain and Macedon, upon the sale of his effects, there could scarcely be raised a sum sufficient to repay his wife's fortune, [y. r. 592. b. c. 160.] The Pomptine marshes were drained, and converted into dry land, by the consul, Cornelius Cethegus.

BOOK XLVII.

Cneius Tremellius, a plebeian tribune, was [y. r. 593. b. c. 159] fined for contending in an unjust cause with Marcus Æmilius Lepidus, the chief priest; which greatly enhanced the authority of the priesthood. A law was made respecting the canvassing for offices, [y. r. 594. b. c. 158.] A census was held: the number of Roman citizens was found to be three hundred and twenty-eight thousand three hundred and fourteen. Marcus Æmilius Lepidus was again chosen chief of the senate. A treaty was concluded between the Ptolemies, brothers, that one should be the king of Egypt, the other of Cyrene. [y. r. 595. b. c. 157.] Ariarathes, king of Cappadocia, being deprived of his kingdom by the intrigues and power of Demetrius, king of Syria, was restored by the senate. Ambassadors were sent by the senate to determine a territorial dispute between Masinissa and the Carthaginians, [y. r. 596. b. c. 156.] Caius Marcius, the consul, fought against the Dalmatians, at first unfortunately; but afterwards successfully. The cause of this war was, that they had made inroads upon the Illyrians, who were in alliance with the people of Rome. [y. r. 597. b. c. 155.] The Dalmatians were subdued by the consul, Cornelius Nasica. The consul, Quintus Opimius, defeats the Transalpine Ligurians, who had plundered Antipolis and Nicæa, two towns belonging to the Massilians. [y. r. 598. b. c. 154.] Various ill successes occurred under different commanders, in Spain. In the five hundred and ninety-eighth year from the foundation of the city, the consuls enter upon office immediately after the conclusion of their election; which alteration was made on account of a rebellion in Spain. [y. r. 599. b. c. 153.] The ambassadors sent by the senate to determine a dispute between Masinissa and the Carthaginians return, and report that the Carthaginians had collected a vast quantity of materials for ship-building. Several prætors, accused of extortion by different provinces, were condemned and punished.

BOOK XLVIII.

A census was held by the censors [y. r. 600. b. c. 152]; the number of citizens amounted to three hundred and twenty-four thousand. The causes of the third Punic war are enumerated: when a large army of Numidians was said to be in the territory of the Carthaginians, with Ariobarzanes, the descendant of Syphax, as general, Marcus Porcius Cato advised that war should be declared against the Carthaginians, because they had invited Ariobarzanes into their country, apparently to oppose king Masinissa, but in reality against the Romans. Publius Scipio Nasica being of a contrary opinion, it is resolved to send ambassadors to Carthage, to inquire into the truth of the affair. The Carthaginian senate being reproved for levying forces, and preparing materials for ship-building, contrary to treaty, declare themselves ready to make peace with Masinissa, upon condition of his giving up the lands in dispute. But Gisgo, son of Hamilcar, a man of a seditious disposition, at that time chief magistrate, notwithstanding the determination of the senate to abide by the decision of the ambassadors, urges the Carthaginians to war against the Romans, in such strong terms, that the ambassadors are obliged to save themselves by flight from personal violence. On this being announced at Rome, the senate becomes more highly incensed against them. Cato, being poor, celebrated the funeral obsequies of his son, who died in the office of prætor, at a very small expense. Andriscus, an impostor, pretending to be the son of Perseus, king of Macedonia, was sent to Rome. Marcus Æmilius Lepidus, who had been six times declared chief of the senate, on his death-bed, gives strict orders to his sons that he shall be carried out to burial on a couch, without the usual ornaments of purple and fine linen, and that there shall not be expended on his funeral more than ten pieces of brass: alleging that the funerals of the most distinguished men used, formerly, to be decorated by trains of images, and not by vast expense. An inquiry was instituted concerning poisoning. Publicia and Licinia, women of high rank, accused of the murder of their husbands, were tried before the prætor, and executed, [y. r. 601. b. c. 151.] Gulussa, son of Masinissa, gives information that troops were

levying and a fleet fitting out at Carthage, and that there could be no doubt of their intending war. Cato urging a declaration of war, and Nasica speaking against it, entreated the senate to do nothing rashly; it is resolved to send ten ambassadors to inquire into the affair. The consuls, Lucius Licinius Lucullus, and Aulus Postumius Albinus, carrying on the levying of soldiers with inflexible severity, were committed to prison by the tribunes of the people, for not, at their entreaty, sparing some of their friends. The ill success of the war in Spain having so discouraged the citizens of Rome, that none could be found to undertake any military command or office, Publius Cornelius Æmilianus comes forward, and offers to undertake any office whatever, which it should be thought proper to call him to: roused by his example, the whole body of the people make the like offer. It was thought that the consul, Claudius Marcellus, had reduced all the states of Celtiberia to a state of tranquillity; nevertheless, his successor, Lucius Lucullus, is engaged in war with the Vaccosans, Cantabrians, and other nations of Spaniards, hitherto unknown; all of which he subdues. In this war, Publius Cornelius Africanus Scipio Æmilianus, the son of Lucius Paullus, and nephew, by adoption, of Africanus, a military tribune, slays a barbarian who had challenged him, and distinguishes himself highly at the siege of Intercatia; being the first who scaled the wall. The prætor, Servius Sulpicius Galba, fights against the Lusitanians unsuccessfully. When the ambassadors, returning from Africa, together with some Carthaginian deputies, and Gulussa, reported that they found an army and a fleet ready for service at Carthage, the matter was taken into consideration by the senate. Cato, and other principal Senators, urge that an army should be immediately sent over into Africa; but Cornelius Nasica declaring that he yet saw no just cause for war, it is resolved that it should not be declared, provided the Carthaginians would burn their fleet, and disband their troops; but if not, that then the next succeeding consuls should propose the question of war. A theatre which the censors had contracted for, being built, Cornelius Nasica moves, and carries the question, that it be pulled down, as being not only useless, but injurious to the morals of the people: the people, therefore, continue to behold the public shows standing. Masinissa, now ninety-two years old, vanquishes the Carthaginians, who had made war against

him unjustly, and contrary to treaty. By this infraction of the treaty, they also involve themselves in a war with Rome.

BOOK XLIX.

The commencement of the third Punic war, dated [y. r. 602. b. c. 150], which was ended within five years after it began. Marcus Porcius Cato, deemed the wisest man in the state, and Scipio Nasica, adjudged by the senate to be the best, differ in opinion, and have a sharp altercation: Cato urging the demolition of Carthage; Nasica arguing against it. It was, however, resolved, that war should be declared against the Carthaginians, for having fitted out a fleet contrary to treaty, and led forth an army beyond the boundaries of their state; for having committed hostilities against Masinissa the friend and ally of the Romans; and refusing to admit Gulussa, who accompanied the ambassadors into their city. [y. r. 603. b. c. 149.] Before any forces were embarked, ambassadors came from Utica, and surrendered their state and property to the Romans: an ominous circumstance highly pleasing to the Roman senate, and at the same time a grievous mortification to the Carthaginians. Games were exhibited at Tarentum, in honour of Pluto, according to directions found in the Sibylline books, the same as had been celebrated a hundred years before, during the first Punic war. [y. r. 502.] The Carthaginians send thirty ambassadors to Rome to make a tender of submission; but the opinion of Cato, that the consuls should be ordered to proceed immediately to the war prevails. These, passing over into Africa, receive three hundred hostages, and take possession of all the arms and warlike stores to be found in Carthage; they then, by authority of the senate, command them to build themselves a new city, at least ten miles from the sea. Roused by this indignant treatment, the Carthaginians resolve to have recourse to arms. Lucius Marcius and Marcus Manlius, consuls, lay siege to Carthage. During this siege, two military tribunes force their way in, with their troops, in a place which they observed to be negligently guarded; they are set upon and beaten by the townsmen, but rescued afterwards by Scipio Africanus, who also, with a few horsemen, relieves a Roman fort, attacked by the enemy in the night. He also repulsed the Carthaginians, who sallied forth in great force to attack the camp. When, afterwards, one of the consuls (the other having gone to Rome

to hold the elections) observed that the siege of Carthage was not going on prosperously, and proposed to attack Hasdrubal, who had drawn up his forces in a narrow pass, he (Scipio) first advised him not to venture upon an engagement on ground so very disadvantageous: and then, when his advice was overruled by those who were envious both of his prudence and valour, he himself rushed into the pass; and when the Romans were routed and put to flight, as he foresaw would take place, he returns with a very small body of horse, rescues his friends, and brings them off in safety. Which valiant action, Cato, although much more inclined to censure than to praise, extols in the senate in very magnificent terms: saying that all the others, who were fighting in Africa, were but mere shadows; Scipio was life itself: and such was the favour he gained among his fellow-citizens, that at the ensuing election the greater number of the tribes voted for electing him consul, although he was under the legal age. Lucius Scribonius, tribune of the people, proposes a law, that the Lusitanians, who, notwithstanding they had surrendered upon the faith of the Roman people, had been sold in Gaul, by Servius Galba, should be restored to liberty; which Marcus Cato supports with great zeal, as may be seen by his oration, which is still extant, being published in his annals. Quintus Fulvius Nobilior, although Cato had before handled him with great severity, yet takes up the cause of Galba. Galba himself too, apprehensive of being condemned, taking up in his arms his own two infant children, and the son of Sulpicius Gallus, speaks in his own behalf, in such a piteous strain of supplication, that the question was carried in his favour. One Andriscus, a man of the meanest extraction, having given himself out to be the son of Perseus, and changed his name to Philip, flies from Rome, whither Demetrius had sent him, on account of this audacious forgery; many people believing his fabulous account of himself to be true, gather round him, and enable him to raise an army; at the head of which, partly by force, and partly by the willing submission of the people, he acquires the possession of all Macedon. The story which he propagated was this: that he was the son of Perseus by a harlot; that he had been delivered to a certain Cretan woman to be taken care of, and brought up; in order that whatever might be the event of the war, in which the king was at that time engaged with the Romans,

some one, at least, of the royal progeny might remain. That, upon the death of Perseus, he was educated at Adramyttium, until he was twelve years old; ignorant all along of his real parentage, and always supposing himself to be the son of the person who brought him up. That, at length, this person being ill, and about to die, discovered to him the secret of his birth; informing him at the same time of a certain writing, sealed with the royal signet of Perseus, which had been intrusted to his supposed mother, to keep and give to him, when he should attain to manhood: but with the strictest injunctions that the affair should be kept a profound secret until the arrival of that period. That, when the time came, the writing was delivered to him; in which was indicated a very considerable treasure, left him by his father. That the woman, after informing him fully of the circumstance of his birth, earnestly besought him to quit that part of the country before the affair should come to the knowledge of Eumenes, the enemy of his father Perseus, lest he should be murdered. That, fearful of being assassinated, and in hopes also of receiving some assistance from Demetrius, he had gone into Syria; and had there first ventured openly to declare who he was.

BOOK L.

The aforesaid impostor [y. r. 604. b. c. 148] assuming the name of Philip, being about to invade and forcibly possess himself of Thessaly, was prevented by the Roman ambassadors, with the aid of the Achæans. Prusias, king of Bithynia, a man abandoned to the practice of every vice, was murdered by his son Nicomedes, assisted by Attalus, king of Pergamus. He had another son, who in the place of teeth in his upper jaw, is said to have had one entire bone. The Romans send an embassy to negotiate peace between Nicomedes and Prusias; it happening that one of the ambassadors had his head deformed by scars, from many wounds; another was lame from gout, and the third was of weak understanding: Cato said, it was an embassy without head, feet, or heart. The king of Syria was of the royal race of Perseus; but being, like Prusias, addicted to every vicious pursuit, and passing his whole time in tippling-houses, brothels, and such like places of infamous resort, Ammonus rules in his stead; and puts to death all the king's friends, together with his queen Laodice, and Antigonus, the son of Demetrius. Masinissa, king of Numidia, a man of a character truly illustrious, dies, aged upwards of ninety years; he retained the vigour of youth even to his last years; and begot a son at the age of eighty-six. Publius Scipio Æmilianus, being authorized by his will so to do divides his kingdom into three parts, and allots their respective portions of it to his three sons, Micipsa, Gulussa, and Manastabal. Scipio persuades Phamæas, general of the Carthaginian cavalry, under Himilco, a man highly looked up to and relied upon by the Carthaginians, to revolt to the Romans, with the troops under his command. Claudius Marcellus, one of the three ambassadors sent to Masinissa, was lost in a storm. Hasdrubal, nephew of Masinissa, was put to death by the Carthaginians, who suspected him of treasonable views, on account of his affinity to Gulussa, now the friend of the Romans. Scipio Æmilianus, when a candidate for the ædileship was elected consul by the people, though under age: a violent contest arises from this, the people supporting, the nobles opposing, his election; which, at length, terminates in his favour. Manius Manlius takes several

citizens in the neighbourhood of Carthage. The impostor Philip, having slain the prætor, Publius Juventius, and vanquished his army, was himself afterwards subdued and taken prisoner by Quintus Cæcilius, who recovered Macedonia.

BOOK LI.

Carthage, [y. r. 605. b. c. 147,] comprehended in a circuit of twenty-three miles, was besieged with immense exertion, and was gradually taken; first, by Mancinus, acting as lieutenant-general; and afterwards by Scipio, the consul, to whom Africa was voted as his province, without casting lots. The Carthaginians having constructed a new mole, (the old one being destroyed by Scipio,) and equipped, secretly, in an unusually short space of time, a considerable fleet, engage, unsuccessfully, in a sea-fight. Hasdrubal, with his army, notwithstanding he had taken post in a place of extremely difficult approach, was cut off by Scipio; who at length took the city by storm, in the seven hundredth year after its foundation. [y. r. 606. b. c. 146.] The greater part of the spoil was returned to the Sicilians, from whom it had been taken. During the destruction of the city, when Hasdrubal had given himself up into Scipio's hands, his wife, who, a few days before, had not been able to prevail upon him to surrender to the conqueror, casts herself, with her two children, from a tower into the flames of the burning city. Scipio, following the example of his father, Æmilius Paullus, the conqueror of Macedon, celebrates solemn games; during which he exposes the deserters and fugitives to wild beasts. The origin of the Achæan war is referred to the circumstance of the ambassadors of the Romans being expelled from Corinth by the Achæans, when they were sent to separate from the Achæan council those cities which had been under the dominion of Philip.

BOOK LII.

Quintus Cæcilius Metellus engages and conquers the Achæans, together with the Bœotians and Chalcidians. Critolaus, their unsuccessful general, poisons himself; in whose room, the Achæans choose as general, Diæus, the chief promoter of the insurrection; he also is conquered, in an engagement near Isthmos, and all Achaia reduced; Corinth was demolished, by order of the senate, because violence had been done there to the ambassadors. Thebes also, and Chalcis, for having furnished aid to the Achæans, were destroyed. Lucius Mummius afforded in himself an example of extreme forbearance, for, having all the vast wealth and splendid ornaments of the opulent city of Corinth in his power, he took none of them. Quintus Cæcilius Metellus triumphs, on account of his victory, over Andrisus; likewise Publius Cornelius Scipio, for the conquest of Carthage and Hasdrubal. [y. r. 607. b. c. 145.] Viriathus, in Spain, from a shepherd becomes a hunter, then leader of a band of robbers; afterwards general of a powerful army, with which he possesses himself of all Lusitania, having vanquished the prætor, Petilius, and put his army to flight. Caius Plautius, the prætor, sent against him, is equally unfortunate. So successful was his career, that, at length, it was deemed necessary to send a consul, at the head of a consular army, against him. Commotions in Syria, and wars between the kings in those parts are recorded. Alexander, a man utterly unknown, and of an unknown race, murders Demetrius, and usurps the crown in Syria: he is afterwards slain by Demetrius, (son of the before-mentioned Demetrius,) aided by Ptolemy, king of Egypt, whose daughter he had married. Ptolemy grievously wounded in the head; dies of the operations intended for the cure of his wounds; and is succeeded by his younger brother, Ptolemy, king of Cyrene. Demetrius, by his cruelty towards his subjects, provokes an insurrection; is vanquished by Diodotus, and flies to Seleucia, while Diodotus claims the crown for Alexander, a child scarcely two years old. Lucius Mummius triumphed over the Achæans, and so carried in his triumph brazen standards, marble statues, and pictures.

BOOK LIII.

Appius Claudius, the consul, [y. r. 608. b. c. 144,] subdued the Salacians, a nation of the Alps. Another impostor, assuming the name of Philip, appears in Macedonia, but is vanquished by the quæstor, Lucius Tremellius. [y. r. 609. b. c. 143.] Quintus Cæcilius Metellus, the proconsul, defeats the Celtiberians. [y. r. 610. b. c. 142.] Quintus Fabius, the proconsul, takes many cities of Lusitania, and recovers the greatest part of that country. Caius Julius, a senator, writes the history of Rome in the Greek language.

BOOK LIV.

Quintus Pompeius, the consul, [y. r. 611. b. c. 141,] subdues the Termestines in Spain, and makes peace with them, and also with the Numantines. A census was held, — the number of citizen amounts to three hundred and twenty-eight thousand three hundred and forty-two. Ambassadors from Macedon complain that Decius Junius Silanus, the prætor, had extorted money from that province; Titus Manlius Torquatus, the father of Silanus, sought and obtained permission to inquire into the matter. And the case having been considered at home, he condemned and disowned his son, and did not even attend his funeral after he had hung himself, but continued to sit at home, and give audience to those who consulted him, as if nothing, which concerned him, had happened, [y. r. 612. b. c. 140.] Quintus Fabius, the proconsul, having successfully terminated the war, stains the honour of his victories by making peace with Viriathus, upon terms of equality, [y. r. 613. b. c. 139.] Servilius Cæpio procures the death of Viriathus, by traitors; he is much bewailed, and interred with distinguished funeral honours by his army. He was, in truth, a great man, and a valiant general; and in the fourteen years during which he carried on war with the Romans, had very frequently vanquished their armies.

BOOK LV.

While Publius Cornelius Nasica, [y. r. 614. b. c. 138,] (who was nicknamed Scrapio by the plebeian tribune Curiatius, a man of humour,) and Decius Junius Brutus, the consuls, were holding the levies, an act of public justice was done, in the sight of the whole body of the young men then assembled, which afforded a very useful example: Caius Matienus was accused, before the tribunes, of deserting from the army in Spain; being found guilty, he was scourged under the gallows, and sold as a slave, for a sestertius. The tribunes of the people claimed the privilege of exempting from service any ten soldiers whom they thought proper; on this being refused by the consuls, they commit the latter to prison. Junius Brutus, the consul in Spain, allots lands, and a town called Valentia, to the soldiers who had served under Viriathus. Marcus Popilius, having made peace with the Numantines, which the senate refused to ratify, was routed, and his whole army put to flight. [y. r. 615. b. c. 137.] While Caius Hostilius Mancinus, the consul, was sacrificing, the holy chickens escape from their coop, and fly away; afterwards, as he was getting on board his ship, to sail for Spain, a voice is heard crying out, “Go not, Mancinus, go not.” The event afterwards proves these omens to have been inauspicious: for, being vanquished by the Numantines, and driven out of his camp, when he had no prospect of preserving his army, he made a disgraceful peace, which the senate likewise refused to ratify. Upon this occasion thirty thousand Romans were beaten by only four thousand Numantines. Decius Junius Brutus subdues all Lusitania, as far as the western sea; and when his soldiers refused to pass the river Oblivio, he seizes the standard and carries it over; whereupon they follow him. The son of Alexander, king of Syria, was traitorously murdered by his guardian Diodotus, surnamed Tryphon: his physicians were bribed to give out that he had a stone in his bladder; and in pretending to cut him for it, they killed him.

BOOK LVI.

[y. r. 616. b. c. 136.] Decius Junius Brutus fought with success against the Gallæcians, in Farther Spain: Marcus Æmilius Lepidus engages the Vaccæans, unsuccessfully, and is as unfortunate as Mancinus was against the Numantines. The Romans, to absolve themselves from the guilt of breach of treaty, order Mancinus, who made the peace with the Numantines, to be delivered up to that people; but they refuse to receive him. [y. r. 617. b. c. 135.] The lustrum was closed by the censors: the number of citizens was three hundred and twenty-three thousand. Fulvius Flaccus, the consul, subdued the Vardeans in Illyria. Marcus Cosconius, the prætor, fights against the Scordiscians, in Thrace, and conquers them. The war in Numantia still continuing, owing to the ill-conduct of the generals, the senate and people voluntarily confer the consulship upon Scipio Africanus: on which occasion the law, which prohibits any man from being elected consul a second time, is dispensed with. [y. r. 618. b. c. 134.] An insurrection of the slaves arose in Sicily; which is committed to the care of the consul, Caius Fulvius, when the prætor is unable to quell it. Eunus, a slave, a Syrian by birth, was the author of this war; by gathering a large body of the rustic slaves, and breaking open the prisons, he raised a considerable army: Cleon also, another slave, having assembled seventy thousand slaves, joins him; and they, several times, engage the Roman forces in those parts.

BOOK LVII.

Scipio Africanus laid siege to Numantia, [y. r. 619. b. c. 133,] and restored to the strictest military discipline the army, which had been corrupted by licentiousness and luxury: this he effected by cutting off every kind of pleasurable gratification; driving away the prostitutes who followed the camp, to the number of two thousand; keeping the soldiers to hard labour, and compelling every man to bear on his shoulders provisions for thirty days, besides seven stakes for their fortifications; to any one who lagged behind on account of the burden, he used to cry out, When you are able to defend yourself with your sword, then cease to carry your fortification; he ordered another who carried with ease a small shield, to bear one unusually large; and not unfrequently ridiculed them for being more expert in managing their shields for the defence of their own bodies, than their swords for the annoyance of those of the enemy. When he found any man absent from his post, he ordered him to be flogged with vine twigs, if a Roman; if a foreigner, with rods. He sold all the beasts of burden, that the soldiers might be forced to carry their own baggage. He engaged in frequent skirmishes with the enemy, with good success. The Vaccæans, being reduced to extremity, first put their wives and children to death, and then slew themselves. Antiochus, king of Syria, having sent him some very magnificent presents, Scipio, contrary to the practice of other commanders who used to conceal these royal gifts, received them openly, and ordered the quæstor to place the whole to the public account, and promised out of them, to reward those who should most distinguish themselves by their valour. When Numantia was closely invested on all sides, he gave orders that those who came out in search of victuals should not be killed; saying, that the more numerous the inhabitants were, the sooner would their provisions be consumed.

BOOK LVIII.

Titus Sempronius Gracchus, the plebeian tribune, having proposed an Agrarian law, (contrary to the sense of the senate, and the equestrian order,) to the effect that no person should hold more than five hundred acres of the public lands, wrought himself up to such a degree of passion that he deprived his colleague, Marcus Octavius, of his authority by a law which he made, and appointed himself, together with his brother Caius, and his father-in-law Appius Claudius, commissioners for dividing the lands. He also proposed another Agrarian law, by which the land was still more at his disposal, that the same commissioners should be authorized to determine which was public and which private land. When afterwards it appeared that there was not land sufficient to be divided so as to satisfy the people, whose hopes he had raised to cupidity by the expectations held out to them, he declared that he would propose a law, that all those, who by the law of Sempronius were entitled to such grant, should be paid in money out of the bequest of king Attalus. But Attalus, king of Pergamus, son of Eumenes, had made the Romans his heirs. The senate was roused to indignation at such repeated ill-treatment; and chiefly Publius Mucius, the consul, who, having delivered a severe invective against Gracchus in the senate, was seized by him, dragged before the people, and accused; nevertheless he continued to inveigh against him from the rostrum. Gracchus, endeavouring to procure his re-election as tribune, was slain in the Capitol, by the chief nobles, by the advice of Publius Cornelius Nasica, after having been beaten first with the fragments of the seats, and was thrown, without the rites of sepulture, into the river, together with some others who fell in the tumult. Various engagements, with various success, against the slaves in Sicily are recorded.

BOOK LIX.

The Numantines, reduced to the extremity of distress by famine, put themselves to death. Scipio having taken the city, destroys it and triumphs in the fourteenth year after the destruction of Carthage, [y. r. 620. b. c. 132.] The consul, Publius Rupilius, puts an end to the war with the slaves in Sicily. Aristonicus, the son of king Eumenes, invades and seizes Asia; which having been bequeathed to the Roman people by Attalus, ought to be free. The consul, Publius Licinius Crassus, who was also chief priest, marches against him out of Italy, (which never was done before,) engages with him in battle, is beaten and slain. Marcus Peperna, the consul, subdued Aristonicus. Quintus Metellus and Quintus Pomponius, the first plebeians who were ever both at one time elected censors, closed the lustrum; the number of citizens amounted to three hundred and thirteen thousand eight hundred and twenty-three, besides orphans and widows, [y. r. 621. b. c. 131.] Quintus Metellus gives his opinion, that every man should be compelled to marry, in order to increase the population of the state. His speech upon the occasion, is still extant, and so exactly does it apply to the present times, that Augustus Cæsar read it in the senate upon occasion of his proposing to release marriage from all restraints on account of the difference of rank. Caius Atinius Labeo, tribune of the people, orders the censor, Quintus Metellus, to be thrown from the Tarpeian rock for striking him out of the list of the senate; but the other tribunes interfere and protect him. [y. r. 622. b. c. 130.] Quintus Carbo, the plebeian tribune, proposes a law that the people might have the power of re-electing the same tribune as often as they please: Publius Africanus argues against the proposition in a speech of great energy, in which he asserts that Tiberius Gracchus was justly put to death. Gracchus supports the proposed law; but Scipio prevails. War was waged between Antiochus, king of Syria, and Phraates, king of Parthia, nor does the record show that greater tranquillity existed in Egypt. Ptolemy, surnamed Evergetes, being detested on account of his cruelty by his subjects, who set his palace on fire, escaped to Cyprus, and when the people conferred the kingdom upon his sister

Cleopatra, whom he had divorced, after having first ravished and then married her daughter; he being enraged, murders the son he had by her at Cyprus, and sent his head and limbs to the mother, [y. r. 623. b. c. 129.] Seditions were excited by Fulvius Flaccus, Caius Gracchus, and Caius Carbo, appointed to carry into execution the Agrarian law: these were opposed by Publius Scipio Africanus, who going home at night in perfect health, was found dead in his chamber the next morning. His wife, Sempronia, sister of the Gracchuses, with whom Scipio was at enmity, was strongly suspected of having given him poison: no inquiry however was made into the matter. Upon his death the popular seditions blaze out with great fury. Caius Sempronius, the consul, fought the Iapidæ, at first unsuccessfully, but soon repairs all his losses by a signal victory, gained by the valour of Junius Brutus, the conqueror of Lusitania.

BOOK LX.

Lucius Aurelius subdued the rebellious Sardinians, [y. r. 624. b. c. 128.] Marcus Fulvius Flaccus, who first subdued the Transalpine Ligurians, was sent to assist the Massilians, against the Salvian Gauls, who were ravaging their country. Lucius Opimius, the prætor, caused the revolted Fregellans to lay down their arms, and destroyed Fregellæ. [y. r. 625. b. c. 127.] An extraordinary multitude of locusts in Africa, killed and lying dead on the ground, is said to have produced a pestilence, [y. r. 626. b. c. 126.] The censors closed the lustrum: the number of the citizens was three hundred and ninety thousand seven hundred and thirty-six. [y. r. 627. b. c. 125.] Caius Gracchus, the plebeian tribune, the brother of Tiberius, even more eloquent than his brother, carried some very dangerous laws; among others, one respecting corn, that the people shall be supplied with the article in the market at the rate of half and a third of an *as*; also an Agrarian law, the same as his brother's: and a third intended to corrupt the equestrian order, who at that time were subservient in all their opinions to the senate: namely, that six hundred of them should be admitted into the senate: these six hundred equestrians were to be joined to three hundred senators for at that time there were only three hundred senators; that is, in other words, that the equestrian order should have double influence in the senate. His office being continued to him another year, by Agrarian laws which he passed, he caused that many colonies should be led out into Italy, and he himself, having been made triumvir, headed one to the territory of demolished Carthage, [y. r. 628. b. c. 124.] The successful expeditions of the consul Quintus Metellus against the Balearians, called by the Greeks Gymnesians, because they go naked all the summer, are recorded. They are called Balearians, from their skill in throwing weapons; or, as some will have it, from Baleus, the companion of Hercules, who left him there behind him, when he sailed to Geryon. [y. r. 629. b. c. 123.] Commotions in Syria, in which Cleopatra murders her husband Demetrius, and also his son Seleucus, for assuming the crown without her consent, upon his father's death, are also mentioned.

BOOK LXI.

Caius Sextius, the proconsul, [y. r. 630. b. c. 122,] having subdued the nation of the Salyans, founds a colony, which he named Aquæ Sextiæ, after his own name, and on account of the abundance of water which he found there, flowing both from hot and cold springs, [y. r. 631. b. c. 121.] Cneius Domitius, the proconsul, fought the Allobrogiens with success at the town of Vindalium. The cause of this war was their receiving, and furnishing with all the aid in their power, Teutomalius, the king of the Salyans, who had fled to them, and their ravaging the lands of the Æduans, who were in alliance with the people of Rome. [y. r. 632. b. c. 120.] Caius Gracchus, upon the expiration of his seditious tribunate, seized upon the Aventine mount with a considerable number of armed followers; Lucius Opimius, by a decree of the senate, armed the people, drove him from it, and put him to death, together with Fulvius Flaccus, a man of consular rank, a participator of the same wild project. Quintus Fabius Maximus, the consul, nephew of Paullus, gained a battle against the Allobrogiens and Bituitus, king of the Arverniens, in which one thousand one hundred and twenty of the army of Bituitus were slain, [y. r. 633. b. c. 119.] The king having come to Rome to make satisfaction to the senate, was sent prisoner to Alba, there to be kept in custody, as it was not considered safe to send him back to Gaul. A decree was also passed, that his son, Congentiatus, should be taken and sent to Rome. The Allobrogiens were admitted to a capitulation. Lucius Opimius, being brought to trial before the people for committing to prison some citizens who had not been condemned, was acquitted.

BOOK LXII.

The consul, Quintus Marcius, [y. r. 634. b. c. 118,] subdued the Stonians, an Alpine nation. Micipsa, king of Numidia, dying, bequeathed his kingdom to his two sons, Adherbal, Hiempsal, and Jugurtha, his nephew, whom he had adopted. [y. r. 635. b. c. 117.] Lucius Cæcilius Metellus subdued the Dalmatians. Jugurtha went to war with his brother Hiempsal; vanquished him and put him to death; drove Adherbal from his kingdom, who was restored by the senate. [y. r. 636. b. c. 116.] Lucius Cæcilius Metellus, and Cneius Domitius Ahenobarbus, the censors, expelled thirty-two senators. [y. r. 637. b. c. 115.] Disturbances in Syria are recorded.

BOOK LXIII.

Caius Porcius, the consul, [y. r. 638. b. c. 114,] fought against the Scordiscians in Thrace, unsuccessfully. The lustrum was closed by the censors: the number of the citizens amounts to three hundred and ninety-four thousand three hundred and thirty-six. Æmilia, Licinia, and Marcia, vestal virgins, were found guilty of incest. [y. r. 639. b. c. 113.] The Cimbrians, a wandering people, came into Illyria, where they fight with and defeat the army of the consul, Papirius Carbo. [y. r. 640. b. c. 112.] The consul, Livius Drusus, made war successfully upon the Scordiscians, a people descended from the Gauls.

BOOK LXIV.

Jugurtha attacked Adherbal, besieged him in Cirta, and put him to death, contrary to the express commands of the senate. [y. r. 641. b. c. 111.] War was declared against him on this account, which being committed to the conduct of the consul, Calpurnius Bestia, he made peace with Jugurtha, without authority from the senate and people. [y. r. 642. b. c. 110.] Jugurtha, called upon to declare who were his advisers, came to Rome upon the faith of a safe-conduct; he is supposed to have bribed many of the principal senators. And being called on to stand his trial for the murder of a certain prince, by name Massiva, slain at Rome, who had aimed at his kingdom, which he hoped to obtain through the hatred of the Romans to Jugurtha, he escaped when he found himself in danger; and is reported to have said, on going away, “O venal city! doomed to quick perdition, could but a purchaser be found!” Aulus Posthumius, having fought against Jugurtha unsuccessfully, added to his disgrace, by making an ignominious peace with him; which the senate refused to ratify.

BOOK LXV.

Quintus Cæcilius Metellus, the consul, [y. r. 643. b. c. 109,] defeated Jugurtha, in two battles, and ravaged all Numidia. Marcus Junius Silanus, the consul, fought unsuccessfully against the Cimbrians. The Cimbrian ambassadors petitioning the senate for a settlement and lands, were refused. [y. r. 644. b. c. 108.] Marcus Minucius, the proconsul, vanquished the Thracians. Cassius, the consul, with his army, was cut off by the Tigurine Gauls, in the country of the Helvetians. The soldiers who survived that unfortunate action stipulated for their lives, by giving hostages, and delivering up half their property.

BOOK LXVI.

Jugurtha, [y. r. 645. b. c. 107,] being driven out of Numidia by Caius Marius, received aid from Bocchus, king of the Moors. [y. r. 646. b. c. 106.] Bocchus, having lost a battle, and being unwilling to carry on the war any longer, delivered up Jugurtha in chains to Marius. In this action, Lucius Cornelius Sylla, the quæstor under Marius, distinguished himself most highly.

BOOK LXVII.

Marcus Aurelius Scaurus, [y. r. 647. b. c. 105,] lieutenant-general under the consul, was taken prisoner by the Cimbrians, his army being routed; and was slain by Boiorix, for saying, in their council, when they talked of invading Italy, that the Romans were not to be conquered. Cneius Mallius, the consul, and Quintus Servilius Cæpio, the proconsul, were taken prisoners by the same enemies who defeated their armies and drove them from both their camps, with the loss of eighty thousand men, and forty thousand sutlers, and other camp-followers. The goods of Cæpio, whose rashness was the cause of this misfortune, were sold by auction, by order of the people; being the first person whose effects were confiscated, since the dethronement of king Tarquin, and he was deprived of office. [y. r. 648. b. c. 104.] Jugurtha, with his two sons, was led in triumph before the chariot of Caius Marius, and was put to death in prison. Marius entered the senate, in his triumphal habit; the first person that ever did so: on account of the apprehensions of a Cimbrian war, he is continued in the consulship for several years, being elected a second and a third time, in his absence; dissembling his views, he attains the consulship a fourth time. The Cimbrians, having ravaged all the country between the Rhine and the Pyrenees, passed into Spain, where, having committed many depredations, they were at length put to flight by the Celtiberians: returning into Gaul, they joined the Teutons, a warlike people.

BOOK LXVIII.

Marcus Antonius, the prætor, [y. r. 649. b. c. 103,] attacked the pirates, and chased them into Cilicia. The consul, Caius Marius, when attacked by the Teutons and Ambrogians, with their utmost force, defended himself; and afterwards, in two battles, in the neighbourhood of Aquæ Sextiæ, utterly defeated them, with the loss, it is said, of two hundred thousand killed, and ninety thousand taken prisoners. Marius was elected consul, in his absence, a fifth time. A triumph was offered to him, which he deferred until he should have subdued the Cimbrians also. [y. r. 650. b. c. 102.] The Cimbrians, having driven Quintus Catulus, the proconsul, from the Alps, where he had possessed himself of the narrow passes, and erected a castle to command the river Athesis, which he abandoned, passed into Italy. Catulus and Marius, having effected a junction of their forces, fought and vanquished them: in this battle we are told that there fell one hundred and forty thousand of the enemy, and that sixty thousand were taken. Marius, on his return to Rome, was received with the highest honours, by the whole body of the citizens; two triumphs were offered him, but he contented himself with one. The principal men in the state, who were for some time extremely envious that such distinctions should be conferred upon a man of no family, now acknowledge him to have saved the commonwealth. [y. r. 651. b. c. 101.] Publicius Malleolus was executed for the murder of his mother; being the first that ever was sewn up in a sack and cast into the sea. The sacred shields are said to have shaken, with considerable noise, previous to the conclusion of the Cimbrian war. Wars between the kings of Syria.

BOOK LXIX.

Lucius Apuleius Saturninus, aided by Marius, — the soldiers having killed his competitor, Aulus Nonius, — having been forcibly elected prætor, exercised his office with a violence equal to that by which he obtained it. Having procured an Agrarian law, he summons Metellus Numidicus to stand his trial before the people, for refusing to swear to the observance of it. Metellus, notwithstanding he enjoyed the protection of all the best men in the state, yet, being unwilling to furnish matter of dispute, retires into voluntary exile, to Rhodes: there he passed his time entirely in study, and in receiving the visits of men of eminent character, [y. r. 652. b. c. 100.] Caius Marius, the chief promoter of the sedition, who had now purchased a fourth consulship, by openly distributing money among the tribes, pronounced sentence of banishment upon him after his departure. The same Appuleius Saturninus murders Caius Memmius, who was a candidate for the consulship, fearing lest he might have, in him, a strenuous opposer of his evil actions. By which conduct the senate was aroused, and Caius Marius, when he could no longer defend Saturninus, being a man of fickle and versatile disposition, who always suited his plans to circumstances, joined it. Saturninus, with Glaucias, and other participators of the same mad conduct, having been overpowered by force of arms, was killed in what may be considered a war. [y. r. 653. b. c. 99.] Quintus Cæcilius Metellus was recalled from banishment by the decided favour of the whole state. Marcus Aquilius, the proconsul put an end to the servile war in Sicily.

BOOK LXX.

Manius Aquilius, [y. r. 654. b. c. 98,] being accused of extortion, refused to implore the favour of the judges appointed to try him. Marcus Antonius, his advocate, cut open his vest, and showed the scars of his honourable wounds; upon sight of which he was clearly acquitted, [y. r. 655. b. c. 97.] This fact is related upon the authority of Cicero only. Titus Didius, the proconsul, fought successfully against the Celtiberians. [y. r. 656. b. c. 96.] Ptolemy, king of Cyrene, surnamed Apio, dying, bequeathed his kingdom to the Roman people: and the senate decreed that the cities in that kingdom should be free. [y. r. 657. b. c. 95.] Ariobarzanes was restored to his kingdom of Cappadocia by Lucius Sylla. Ambassadors from Arsaces, king of Parthia, come to Sylla, to solicit the friendship of the Roman people, [y. r. 658. b. c. 94.] Publius Rutilius, a man of the strictest integrity, because he exerted himself, when lieutenant-general under Quintus Mucius, the proconsul, to protect the people of Asia from the oppression of the revenue farmers, became odious to the equestrian order, who had the cognizance of affairs of that nature, and being brought to trial, was condemned to exile, [y. r. 659. b. c. 93.] Caius Sentius, the prætor, fought unsuccessfully against the Thracians. [y. r. 660. b. c. 92.] The senate not being disposed to tolerate the inefficiency of the equestrian order in the exercise of their judicial functions, tried, by all its influence, to have those functions transferred to itself, and Marcus Livius Drusus, the plebeian tribune, promoting this design, stimulated the people, by the pernicious hope of bribes, to add their sanction. Moreover a commotion occurred among the kings of Syria.

BOOK LXXI.

Marcus Livius Drusus, the plebeian tribune, [y. r. 661. b. c. 91,] in order the more effectually to support the senate in their pretensions, gained the concurrence of the allies, and the Italian states, by promising them the freedom of the city. Aided by them, besides the Agrarian and corn laws, he carried that also relative to criminal jurisdiction; — that in capital prosecutions the senate should have equal authority with the equestrian order. It was afterwards found that the freedom which he had promised could not be conferred upon them; which incensed and incited them to revolt. An account is given of their assembling, — their combinations and speeches made at their meetings, by the chief men among them. Drusus becoming obnoxious even to the senate, on account of his conduct in this affair, and being considered as the cause of the social war, was slain in his own house, by an unknown hand.

BOOK LXXII.

The Italian states, the Picentians, Vestinians, Marcians, Pelignians, Marrucinians, Samnites, and Lucanians, revolted, the war commencing with the Picentians. Quintus Servilius, the proconsul, was murdered, in the town of Asculum, with all the Roman citizens in the place. The whole body of the Roman people assumed the military dress. Servius Galba, having been taken by the Lucanians, escaped by the assistance of a woman with whom he lodged. [y. r. 662. b. c. 90.] Æsernia and Alba were besieged by the Italians. Aid was sent to the Romans by the Latins, and other foreign nations, and the expeditions, and sieges, on both sides, are recorded.

BOOK LXXIII.

The consul, Lucius Julius Cæsar, fought against the Samnites unsuccessfully. The colony of Nola fell into the hands of the Samnites, together with Lucius Posthumius, the prætor, whom they killed. Many different states went over to the enemy. After Publius Rutilius had fought unsuccessfully against the Marcians, and had been slain in battle, Caius Marius, his lieutenant-general, encountered them with better success. Servius Sulpicius defeated the Pelignians, in a pitched battle. Quintus Cæpio, Rutilius's lieutenant-general, made a successful sally against the enemy besieging him; on account of which success he was made equal in command to Marius, and becoming adventurous and rash, was surprised in an ambuscade, and his army being defeated, was slain. Lucius Julius Cæsar, the consul, fought successfully against the Samnites. On account of this victory the inhabitants of Rome laid aside the military habit; the war being carried on with various success, Æsernia, with Marcellus, fell into the hands of the Samnites. Caius Marius vanquished the Marcians, Herius Asinius, the prætor of the Marrucinians, being killed. Caius Cæcilius subdued the rebellious Salvians in Trausalpine Gaul.

BOOK LXXIV.

Cneius Pompeius defeated the Picentians, and laid siege to their town; on account of this victory the inhabitants of Rome resume their purple robes, and other distinguishing marks of magistracy. Caius Marius fought an undecided battle with the Marcians. Freedmen's sons were now first received into the army. [y. r. 663. b. c. 89.] Aulus Plotius, the lieutenant, subdued the Umbrians, and Lucius Porcius, the prætor, the Marcians, both of whom had revolted. Nicomedes was restored to the kingdom of Bithynia, and Ariobarzanes to that of Cappadocia. Cneius Pompeius, the consul, overthrew the Marcians in a pitched battle. The citizens, being deeply involved in debt, Aulus Sempronius Asellio, the prætor, was murdered in the forum, by the usurers, in consequence of some judgments given by him in favour of debtors. Incursions were made by the Thracians, and devastations committed against the Macedonians.

BOOK LXXV.

Aulus Posthumius Albinus, commander of a fleet, upon a suspicion of treachery, was murdered by the forces under his command. Lucius Cornelius Sylla, lieutenant-general, defeated the Samnites, and took two of their camps. The Vestinians surrendered to Cneius Pompeius. Lucius Porcius, the consul, having been successful in frequent engagements with the Marcians, was slain in an attack upon their camp, which circumstance decided the victory in favour of the enemy. Cosconius and Lucceius overthrew the Samnites in a battle, slew Marius Egnatius, the most distinguished of their generals, and received the surrender of many of their towns. Lucius Sylla subdued the Hirpinians, defeated the Samnites in many battles, and received the submission of several states; in consequence of having performed so many distinguished services, as scarcely any one had ever done under the circumstances, he repaired to Rome to solicit the consulship.

BOOK LXXVI.

Aulus Gabinius, the lieutenant, having defeated the Lucanians, and taken several of their towns, was slain in an attack on their camp. Sulpicius, a lieutenant-general, committed military execution on the Marrucinians, and reduced their whole country. Cneius Pompeius, the proconsul, forced the Vestinians and Pelignians to submission. Also the Marcians, defeated in several battles, by Lucius Murena and Cæcilius Pius, sued for peace, [y. r. 664. b. c. 88.] Asculum was taken by Cneius Pompeius, and the Italians there were put to death by Mamercus Æmilius. Silo Pompædus, the author of the revolt, was killed in an action. Ariobarzanes, king of Cappadocia, and Nicomedes, king of Bithynia, were driven out of their kingdoms by Mithridates, king of Pontus. Predatory incursions were made by the Thracians into Macedon.

BOOK LXXVII.

Publius Sulpicius, the tribune of the people, having, with the aid of Caius Marius, carried certain laws: "that those who had been banished should be recalled; that the newly-created citizens, and the sons of freed-men, should be distributed among the tribes, and that Caius Marius should be appointed general against Mithridates, king of Pontus," and having used violence towards Quintus Pompeius and Lucius Sylla, the consuls, who had opposed these proceedings; Quintus, the son of Pompeius, who was married to Sylla's daughter, being murdered, Lucius Sylla came into the town with an army, and fought against the faction of Sulpicius and Marius, in the city, and drove it out. Twelve of the number, among whom are Caius Marius, the father, and his son, were condemned by the senate. Publius Sulpicius having concealed himself in a farm-house in the neighbourhood, being betrayed by one of his slaves, was apprehended and put to death. The slave, being entitled to the reward promised to the discoverer, was made free; and was then thrown from the Tarpeian rock, for having traitorously betrayed his master. Caius Marius, the son, passed over into Africa. Caius Marius, the father, having concealed himself in the marshes of Minturna, was seized by the towns-people: after a Gallic slave who was sent to despatch him, being terrified at his majestic appearance, had retired, unable to accomplish the deed, he was publicly placed in a vessel, and sent off to Africa. Lucius Sylla reformed the state, and afterwards sent forth colonies. Cneius Pompeius, the proconsul, procured the murder of Quintus Pompeius, the consul, who was to have succeeded him in the command of the army. Mithridates, king of Pontus, seized Bithynia and Cappadocia, after having driven the Roman general, Aquilius, out of them: and at the head of a great army entered Phrygia, a province belonging to the Roman people.

BOOK LXXVIII.

Mithridates possessed himself of Asia; threw into chains Quintus Oppius, the proconsul, and Aquilius, the general; and ordered all the Romans in Asia to be massacred on the same day; he attacked the city of Rhodes, the only one which had retained its fidelity to the Roman state; and being overcome in several actions at sea, he retreated, [y. r. 665. b. c. 87.] Archelaus, one of the king's governors, invaded Greece and took Athens. Commotions resulted in several states and islands, some endeavouring to draw over their people to the side of the Romans, others to that of Mithridates.

BOOK LXXIX.

Lucius Cornelius Cinna having, by force of arms, procured the enactment of several injurious laws, was driven out of the city by his colleague, Cneius Octavius, together with six plebeian tribunes. Thus deposed from the authority, he procured the command of his army under Appius Claudius, by bribery, and made war upon the city, having called to his assistance Caius Marius, and other exiles, from Africa. In this war, two brothers, (one of Pompeius's army, the other of Cinna's,) encountered each other without knowing it; and when the conqueror despoiling the enemy recognised his brother, he vented his grief in uncontrolled lamentation, and having prepared a funeral pile for him, he stabbed himself on it, and was consumed with him. Although this war might have been suppressed at first, yet owing to the treachery of Pompeius, who, by encouraging either party, gave power to Cinna, whilst he only succoured the patriotic party when their energies were exhausted; and also to the neglect of the consul; Cinna and Marius, with four armies, two of which were commanded by Sertorius and Carbo, gained strength and laid siege to the city. Marius took Ostia, which he plundered in the most cruel manner.

BOOK LXXX.

The freedom of the city of Rome was granted to the Italian states. The Samnites, the only people who continued in arms, joined Cinna and Marius, and overthrew Plautius's army, killing the general. Cinna and Marius, with Carbo and Sertorius, seized the Janiculum; and were repelled by the consul Octavius. Marius plunders Antium, Aricia, and Lanuvium. The principal men in the state having now no hope of resisting, on account of the cowardice and treachery both of the generals and soldiers, who, being bribed, either refused to fight, or deserted to one party or another, received Cinna and Marius into the city, who, as if it had been captured, devastated it by murder and robbery, putting to death the consul, Cneius Octavius, and all the chiefs of the opposite party; among others, Marcus Antonius, a man highly distinguished for his eloquence, with Lucius and Caius Cæsar, whose heads they stuck up on the rostrum. The younger Crassus having been slain by a party of horsemen at Fimbria; his father, to escape suffering insult, killed himself. Cinna and Marius, without even the formality of an election, declared themselves consuls; and on the first day of their entering upon office, Marius ordered Sextus Licinius, a senator, to be cast from the Tarpeian rock, and after having committed very many atrocious acts, died on the ides of January. If we compare his vices with his virtues, it will be difficult to pronounce whether he was greater in war, or more wicked in peace. Having preserved his country by his valour, he ruined it afterwards by every species of artifice and fraud; and finally destroyed it by open force.

BOOK LXXXI.

Lucius Sylla besieged Athens, [y. r. 666. b. c. 86,] held by Archelaus, under Mithridates, and took it, after an obstinate resistance. The city and such of the inhabitants as remained alive, were restored to liberty. Magnesia, the only city in Asia which continued faithful, was defended against Mithridates with great valour. The Thracians invaded Macedon.

BOOK LXXXII.

Sylla defeated Mithridates in Thessaly, killing one hundred thousand men, and taking their camp. The war being renewed, he entirely routed and destroyed the king's army. Archelaus, with the royal fleet, surrendered to Sylla. Lucius Valerius Flaccus, Cinna's colleague in the consulship, who was appointed to succeed Sylla in the command of his army, became so odious to his men, on account of his avarice, that he was slain by Caius Fimbria, his lieutenant-general, a man of consummate audacity, who assumed the command. Several cities in Asia were taken by Mithridates, who treated them with extreme cruelty. Macedon was invaded by the Thracians.

BOOK LXXXIII.

[y. r. 667. b. c. 85.] Caius Fimbria having defeated several of Mithridates' generals in Asia, took the city of Pergamus, and was very near making the king captive. He took and destroyed the city of Ilion, which adhered to Sylla, and recovered a great part of Asia. Sylla overcame the Thracians in several battles. Lucius Cinna and Cneius Papirius Carbo, having declared themselves consuls, made preparations for war against Sylla; Lucius Valerius Flaccus, the chief of the senate, having made a speech among that body, by their assistance, with that of all who desired tranquillity, effected that ambassadors should be sent to Sylla, concerning a treaty of peace. Cinna, attempting to force his men to embark and go against Sylla, was slain by them. [y. r. 668. b. c. 84.] Carbo alone held the consulship. Sylla made peace in Asia with Mithridates, upon conditions that the king should evacuate Asia, Bithynia, and Cappadocia. Fimbria, deserted by his army, which went over to Sylla, put himself to death, by calling on his slave to cut off his head.

BOOK LXXXIV.

Sylla replied to deputies sent by the senate, that he would yield to the authority of the senate, upon condition that those who, being banished by Cinna, had fled to him, should be restored; which proposition appeared reasonable to the senate, but was opposed and rejected by Carbo and his faction, who conceived that they would derive more advantage from a continuance of the war. Carbo, requiring hostages from all the towns and colonies of Italy, to bind them more firmly in union against Sylla, was overruled by the senate. The right of voting was given to the new citizens by a decree of the senate. Quintus Metellus Pius, who had taken part with the chief men of the state, being prepared for war in Africa, was crushed by Caius Fabius, the prætor, [y. r. 660. b. c. 83.] Carbo's faction and the Marian party procured a decree of the senate, that the armies should every where be disbanded. The sons of freed-men were distributed among the thirty-five tribes. Preparations were made for war against Sylla.

BOOK LXXXV.

Sylla entered Italy at the head of an army, and defeated in a battle Norbanus, the consul, by whom his ambassadors, sent to negotiate a peace, had been maltreated. Having ineffectually tried every means with Lucius Scipio, the other consul, to bring about a peace, he prepared to attack his camp, when the consul's whole army deserted to Sylla, having been seduced by some soldiers sent out by him. Scipio was set free, when he could have been killed. Cneius Pompeius, the son of Pompeius, who took Asculum, raised an army of volunteers, and went over to Sylla with three legions; also the whole body of the nobility quit the city and joined his camp. Sundry actions in different parts of Italy are recorded in the book.

BOOK LXXXVI.

While Caius Marius, son of Caius Marius, was made consul [y. r. 670. b. c. 82] by force, before he was twenty years old, Caius Fabius was burned alive in his tent, in Africa, for his avarice and extortion. Lucius Philippus, Sylla's lieutenant-general, having overthrown and killed the prætor, Quintus Antonius, took Sardinia. Sylla made a league with the states of Italy, lest he should be suspected of intending to deprive them of their constitution and the right of suffrage, which had been lately conceded to them. So confident was he of the victory, that he published an order that all persons engaged in lawsuits, bound by sureties, should make their appearance at Rome, although the city was yet in the possession of the opposite party. Lucius Damasippus, the prætor, having called together the senate, at the desire of Marius, murdered such of the nobility as remained in the city; among them Quintus Mucius Scævola, the high priest, who, endeavouring to make his escape, was killed in the vestibule of the temple of Vesta. Besides, it includes an account of the war in Asia against Mithridates, renewed by Lucius Muræna.

BOOK LXXXVII.

Sylla, having conquered and destroyed Caius Marius's army, at Sacriportus, laid siege to Præneste, where Marius had taken refuge. He recovered Rome out of the hands of his enemies. Marius attempting to break forth from Præneste, was repelled. This book moreover contains an account of the successes of the different commanders under him, every where.

BOOK LXXXVIII.

Sylla, having routed and cut off the army of Carbo at Clusium, Faventia, and Fidentia, drove him out of Italy; he completely subdued the Samnites near the city of Rome, before the Colline gate: they were the only one of all the Italian states that had not before laid down their arms. Having restored the affairs of the commonwealth, he stained his glorious victory with the most atrocious cruelties ever committed; he murdered eight thousand men in the Villa Publica, who had submitted and laid down their arms, and published a list of persons proscribed: he filled with blood the city of Rome, and all Italy. He ordered all the Prænestines, without exception, although they had laid down their arms, to be murdered; he killed Marius, a senator, by breaking his legs and arms, cutting off his ears, and scooping out his eyes. Caius Marius, being besieged at Præneste by Lucretius Asella, one of the partisans of Sylla, having endeavoured to escape through a mine, was intercepted by an army, and committed suicide; this took place in the centre of the mine, when he found it impossible to escape with Pontius Telesinus, the companion of his flight, for each having drawn his sword, rushed madly on: when he had slain Telesinus, he himself, being wounded, begged of a slave that he would despatch him.

BOOK LXXXIX.

Marcus Brutus being sent in a fishing-boat to Lilybæum, by Cneius Papirius Carbo, who had sailed to Cossura, to discover if Pompeius were there, and being surrounded by the ships, which Pompey had sent, turned the point of his sword against himself, and threw himself on it with all the weight of his body, at one of the ship's benches. Cneius Pompeius, being sent by the senate to Sicily, with full powers, having taken Carbo prisoner, put him to death; he dies weeping with womanly weakness. Sylla, having been created dictator, marched through the city with twenty-four lictors, which no one had ever done before. He established new regulations in the state; abridged the authority of the plebeian tribunes; took from them the power of proposing laws; increased the college of priests and augurs to fifteen; filled up the senate from the equestrian order; took from the descendants of the proscribed persons all power of reclaiming the property of their ancestors, and sold such of their effects as had not been already confiscated, to the amount of one hundred and fifty millions of sesterces. He ordered Lucretius Ofella to be put to death in the forum, for having declared himself a candidate for the consulship, without having previously obtained his permission; and when the people of Rome were offended, he called a meeting, and told them that Ofella was slain by his orders, [y. r. 671. b. c. 81.] Cneius Pompeius vanquished and killed, in Africa, Cneius Domitius, one of the proscribed persons, and Hiarbas, king of Numidia, who were making preparations for war. He triumphed over Africa, although not more than twenty-four years of age, and only of equestrian rank, which never happened to any man before. Caius Norbanus, of consular rank, being proscribed, when he was taken at Rhodes, committed suicide. Mutilus, one of the proscribed, coming privately and in disguise to the back door of his wife Bastia's house, was refused admission, and she told him that he was a proscribed man, whereupon he stabbed himself, and sprinkled the door of his wife's house with his blood. Sylla took Nolla, a city of the Samnites, [y. r. 672. b. c. 80,] and led forth forty-seven legions into the conquered lands, and divided them among them. [y. r. 673. b. c. 79.]

He besieged and took the town of Volaterra, which was as yet at war with him. Mitylene, the only town in Asia which continued to adhere to Mithridates, was likewise stormed and demolished.

BOOK XC.

Sylla died, and the honour was paid him by the senate of being buried in the Campus Martius. [y. r. 674. b. c. 78.] Marcus Æmilius Lepidus, attempting to rescind the acts of Sylla, raised a war, and was driven out of Italy by his colleague, Quintus Catulus, and having vainly planned a war in Sardinia, lost his life. [y. r. 675. b. c. 77.] Marcus Brutus, who held possession of Cisalpine Gaul, was slain by Cneius Pompeius. Quintus Sertorius, one of the proscribed, raised a formidable war in Farther Spain. Lucius Manilius, the proconsul, and Marcus Domitius were overthrown in a battle by the quæstor Herculeius. This book contains, moreover, an account of the expedition of the proconsul, Publius Servilius, against the Cilicians.

BOOK XCI.

Cneius Pompeius, while yet only of equestrian rank, was sent with consular authority against Sertorius. Sertorius took several cities, and reduced very many others to submission. The proconsul Appius Claudius, conquered the Thracians in several battles, [y. r. 676. b. c. 76.] Quintus Metellus, the proconsul, cut off Herculeius, the quæstor of Sertorius, with his whole army.

BOOK XCII.

Cneius Pompeius fought an undecided battle with Sertorius, the wings on each side being beaten. Quintus Metellus conquered Sertorius and Peperna, with both their armies; Pompeius, desirous of having a share in this victory, engaged in the action, but without success. Sertorius, besieged in Clunia, made frequent sallies, to the great loss of the besiegers, [y. r. 677. b. c. 75.] This book contains, moreover, an account of the successful expedition of Curio, the proconsul, against the Dardanians, and of the cruelties of Sertorius against his own partisans, many of whom he put to death, upon pretended suspicion of treachery.

BOOK XCIII.

Publius Servilius, the proconsul in Cilicia, subdued the Isaurians, and took several cities belonging to the pirates. Nicomedes, king of Bithynia, dying, bequeathed his dominions to the Roman people, who reduced them into the form of a province, [y. r. 678. b. c. 74.] Mithridates, having established a league with Sertorius, declared war against Rome; he made vast preparations, both by land and sea, and seized Bithynia: Marcus Aurelius Cotta was overcome in an action by the king, at Chalcedon. This book contains the history of the actions of Pompey and Metellus against Sertorius, who was equal to them in all the tactics of war and military service, and having driven them from the blockade of the town of Calagurris, he compelled them to retire to different countries — Metellus to Farther Spain, and Pompey to Gaul.

BOOK XCIV.

Lucius Licinius Lucullus, consul, defeated Mithridates in an action between their cavalry, and made several successful expeditions, and repressed a mutiny among his soldiers which originated from an eager desire of fighting. Deiotarus, tetrarch of Gallogræcia, killed certain officers of Mithridates who were stirring up war in Phrygia. This book contains, moreover, an account of the successes of Pompeius against Sertorius in Spain.

BOOK XCV.

Caius Curio, the proconsul, [y. r. 679. b. c. 73,] subdued the Dardanians, in Thrace. Seventy-four gladiators, belonging to Lentulus, make their escape from Capua, and having collected a great number of slaves and hired servants, and having put themselves under the command of Crixus and Spartacus, they defeated, in a battle, Claudius Pulcher, a lieutenant-general, and Publius Varenus, the prætor. Lucius Lucullus, the proconsul, destroyed the army of Mithridates, by the sword and famine, at Cyzicus; and obliged that king, when driven from Bithynia, and broken down by various misfortunes arising from war and shipwrecks, to take refuge in Pontus.

BOOK XCVI.

Quintus Arrius, the prætor, [y. r. 680. b. c. 72.] slew Crixus, the commander of the fugitive gladiators, with twenty thousand men. Cneius Lentulus, the consul, engaged Spartacus unsuccessfully, who also defeated Lucius Gellius, the consul, and Quintus Arrius, the prætor. Sertorius was slain at a feast, in the eighth year of his command, by Manius Antonius, Marcus Peperna, and other conspirators: he was a great general, and although opposed to two eminent commanders, Pompeius and Metellus, was often equal, and sometimes even superior, to both of them; at last, being deserted and betrayed, the command of his force devolved upon Peperna, whom Pompeius took prisoner and slew, and recovered Spain, towards the close of the tenth year of that war. Caius Crassus, the proconsul, and Cneius Manlius, the prætor, fought Spartacus unsuccessfully; the charge of that war was committed to the prætor, Marcus Crassus.

BOOK XCVII.

Marcus Crassus, the prætor, [y. r. 681. b. c. 71,] fought successfully first with that part of the fugitives which was composed of Gauls and Germans, and slew thirty-five thousand of them, with their general, Granicus; afterwards he fought with Spartacus, killing him and forty thousand men. Marcus Antonius, the prætor, ended, by his death, the war against the Cretans, which had been unsuccessfully undertaken. Marcus Lucullus, the proconsul, subdued the Thracians. Lucius Lucullus fought successfully against Mithridates in Pontus, more than sixty thousand of the enemy being slain, [y. r. 682. b. c. 70.] Marcus Crassus and Cneius Pompey, being made consuls, restored the tribunitian power; the latter, being of the equestrian order, had not filled the office of quæstor. The right of trial was transferred to the Roman knights, by the prætor, Lucius Aurelius Cotta. The affairs of Mithridates being reduced to a state of desperation, he flew for refuge to Tigranes, king of Armenia.

BOOK XCVIII.

A treaty of friendship was made by Machares, son of Mithridates, king of Bosphorus, with Lucius Lucullus. Cneius Lentulus and Caius Gellius, the censors, exercised their office with extreme rigour; expelling sixty-four senators. The lustrum was closed, and the number of citizens amounted to four hundred and fifty thousand. [y. r. 683. b. c. 69.] Lucius Metellus, the prætor, was successful against the pirates in Sicily. The temple of Jupiter in the Capitol, having been consumed by fire, was rebuilt, and dedicated by Quintus Catulus. [y. r. 684. b. c. 68.] Lucius Lucullus defeated Mithridates and Tigranes, with their vast armies, in Armenia, in several battles. The war against the Cretans being committed to the charge of the proconsul, Quintus Metellus, he laid siege to the city of Cydonia. [y. r. 685. b. c. 67.] Lucius Triarius, a lieutenant-general of Lucullus, was defeated in a battle against Mithridates. Lucullus was prevented, by a sedition in his army, from pursuing Mithridates and Tigranes, and completing his victory; the Valerian legions refused to follow Lucullus, alleging that they had served out their time.

BOOK XCIX.

The proconsul, Quintus Metellus, took Gnossus, Lyctus, Cydonia, and many other cities. Lucius Roscius, the plebeian tribune, carried a law, that the fourteen lower seats in the theatre shall be allotted to the Roman knights. Cneius Pompeius, being ordered by a law, which had the sanction of the people, to proceed against the pirates, who had interrupted the commerce of corn, in forty days drove them wholly from the sea; and having finished the war against them in Cilicia, and reduced them to submission, assigned them lands and towns. This book contains, moreover, the history of the successes of Metellus against the Cretans, the letters between Metellus and Pompeius. Metellus complained that Pompeius had robbed him of the glory of his actions, in sending a deputy of his own to receive the submission of the Cretans. Pompeius alleged that he had a right to do so.

BOOK C.

Caius Manilius, the tribune of the people, [y. r. 686. b. c. 66,] to the great dissatisfaction of the nobility, proposed that the Mithridatic war should be committed to the conduct of Pompeius. He made an admirable speech on the occasion. Quintus Metellus, having subdued Crete, imposed laws upon that hitherto free island. Cneius Pompeius, on setting out for the war against Mithridates, renewed the treaty of friendship with Phraates, king of Parthia; he overcame Mithridates in an engagement between their cavalry. This book contains also the history of the war between Phraates, king of Parthia, and Tigranes, king of Armenia; afterwards, between the father and son Tigranes.

BOOK CI.

Cneius Pompeius vanquished Mithridates, in a battle fought in the night, and compelled him to fly to Bosphorus; reduced Tigranes to submission, taking from him Syria, Phœnicia, and Cilicia; and restored to him his own kingdom of Armenia. The conspiracy planned by those, who had been found guilty of bribery in seeking the consulship, to murder the consuls, was suppressed. [y. r. 687. b. c. 65.] Pompeius pursued Mithridates into remote, and even unknown regions; he conquered in battle the Iberians and Albanians, who had refused him a passage through their territories. This book contains also the history of the flight of Mithridates through Colchis and the country of the Heinochi, and of his actions at Bosphorus.

BOOK CII.

Pompeius reduce Pontus to the form of a Roman province. Pharnaces, son of Mithridates, made war upon his father. Mithridates, besieged in his palace, took poison, and, when this did not produce the desired effect, he caused himself to be slain by a Gaul, named Bituitus. Pompeius conquered the Jews, and took their hitherto unviolated temple at Jerusalem. [y. r. 688. b. c. 64.] Catiline, having twice failed in his suit for the consulship, forms a conspiracy, with Lentulus, Cethegus, and others, to destroy the consuls and the senate, to burn the city, and seize the commonwealth: he raised an army in Etruria; [y. r. 689. b. c. 63;] the conspiracy was discovered, and frustrated by the exertions of Marcus Tullius Cicero, the consul. Catiline was driven out of Rome; the other conspirators were punished with death.

BOOK CIII.

Catiline, together with his army, [y. r. 690. b. c. 62,] was slain by the proconsul, Caius Antonius. Publius Clodius being accused of having, disguised in woman's apparel, entered a chapel, which it was not lawful for a man to enter, and of having defiled the wife of the high priest, was acquitted. Caius Pontinius, the prætor, subdued at Solon the Allobrogians, who had rebelled. Publius Clodius joined the party of the people. Caius Cæsar subdued the Lusitanians: [y. r. 691. b. c. 51:] being a candidate for the consulship, and determined to seize the power of the commonwealth in his own hands, he formed a party with two of the principal men of the state, Cneius Pompeius and Marcus Crassus. [y. r. 692. b. c. 60.] Cæsar, the consul, procured the passing of some Agrarian laws, contrary to the will of the senate, and notwithstanding the opposition of his colleague, Marcus Bibulus. [y. r. 693. b. c. 59.] Caius Antonius, the proconsul, was defeated in Thrace. [y. r. 694. b. c. 58.] Marcus Cicero was banished, in consequence of a law procured by Publius Clodius, for having put to death Roman citizens uncondemned. Cæsar, having gone into the province of Gaul, subdued the Helvetians, a wandering tribe, who, seeking a place of settlement, attempted to pass through Narbo, a part of his province. This book contains a description of the situation of Gaul. Pompeius triumphed over the children of Mithridates, Tigranes, and also the son of the latter; and the surname of the Great was conferred upon him by a full assembly of the people.

BOOK CIV.

This book commences with a description of the situation of Germany, and the manners and customs of the natives. Caius Cæsar, at the request of the Æduans and Sequanians, whose country had been seized upon, leads his army against the Germans, who had invaded Gaul, under the command of Ariovistus, roused by an address the courage of his soldiers, who were alarmed at the unusual appearance of these new enemies, and expelled from Gaul the Germans, defeated in a battle, [y. r. 695. b. c. 57.] Marcus Tullius Cicero, to the great joy of the senate, and of all Italy, was recalled from banishment chiefly by the persuasion of Pompeius, aided by Titus Annius Milo, the plebeian tribune, who also argued in his favour. The charge of providing corn for the city was committed to Cneius Pompeius for five years. Cæsar brought to subjection the Ambians, Suessians, Veromanduans, and Atrebatians, a people of the Belgians, whose numbers were immense, after having subdued them in battle. He afterwards, at great risk, engaged the Nervians, a people belonging to one of the above states, and destroyed that race; this war they continued with such obstinacy, that their army was reduced from sixty thousand men to three hundred, and, of four hundred senators, only three remained alive. A law being made to reduce Cyprus to the form of a province, and to confiscate the royal treasure; the management of that business was committed to Marcus Cato. [y. r. 696. b. c. 56.] Ptolemy, being ill-treated by his subjects, and dethroned, came to Rome. Caius Cæsar defeated the Venetians, a people living on the borders of the sea, in a sea-fight. This book contains also the history of his lieutenants' equally good fortune.

BOOK CV.

When, by the intercessions of Caius Cato, the elections were suspended, the senate went into mourning, [y. r. 607. b. c. 55.] Marcus Cato, a candidate for the prætorship, lost the election, Vatinius carrying it against him. The same Cato was committed to prison by the tribune Trebonius, for resisting the law allotting the provinces, for five years, in the following manner: to Cæsar, Gaul and Germany; to Pompeius, Spain; and to Crassus, Syria, and the Parthian war. Aulus Gabinius, the proconsul, restored Ptolemy to his kingdom of Egypt, and dethroned Archelaus, whom the people had elected king. [y. r. 698. b. c. 54.] Cæsar, having vanquished the Germans who had invaded Gaul, passed the Rhine, and subdued the nearest part of it: and then crossed over the sea into Britain, with adverse fortune, at first owing to opposing tempests, and afterwards with little better success; and, having killed a very great number of the inhabitants, he reduced a part of the island to subjection.

BOOK CVI.

Julia, the daughter of Cæsar, and wife of Pompeius, died, and by a vote of the people she was honoured with burial in the Campus Martius. Certain tribes of the Gauls revolted under the command of Ambiorix; they insnare and cut off Cotta and Titurius, lieutenants-general under Cæsar, with the armies under their command: having attacked the camps of the other legions, who with difficulty defended them, and among the rest the camp of Quintus Cicero, who commanded in the country of the Nervii, they were defeated by Cæsar in battle. [y. r. 699. b. c. 53.] Marcus Crassus crossed the Euphrates, to make war against the Parthians, and was overthrown in a battle, in which his son was killed, after he had collected the remains of his army upon a rising ground: having been invited to a conference by the enemy, whose leader was Surenas, under the pretence of a treaty of peace, he was insnared, and fell fighting bravely, to prevent his suffering indignity from the enemy while alive.

BOOK CVII.

Caius Cæsar, having subdued the Trevirian Gauls, passed over a second time into Germany; finding no enemy there, he returned to Gaul, and reduced to obedience the Eburones, and other cities, which had revolted. Titus Annius Milo, a candidate for the consulship, killed Publius Clodius on the Appian road, near Bovilla: the people burned the body of the latter in the curia, [y. r. 700. b. c. 52.] The candidates for the consulship, Hypsæus, Scipio, and Milo, carried on their contention with so much rancour, as to come to open violence, which excited a seditious tumult. To repress these enormities, Cneius Pompeius was a third time elected consul, in his absence, and without a colleague, — a circumstance which never occurred before. Milo was tried for the murder of Clodius, and condemned to banishment. A law was made, notwithstanding the strenuous opposition of Marcus Cato, to empower Cæsar to stand for the consulship, though absent. This book contains also the history of Cæsar's operations against the Gauls, who had almost all revolted, and put themselves under the command of Vercingetorix: he took many towns; amongst others, Avaricum, Biturium, and Gergovia.

BOOK CVIII.

Caius Cæsar overthrew the Gauls at Alesia, and reduced all the revolted cities to subjection. Caius Cassius, Marcus Crassus's quæstor, defeated the Parthians who had passed over into Syria. [y. r. 701. b. c. 51.] Marcus Cato failed in his suit for the consulship; the successful candidates being Servius Sulpicius and Marcus Marcellus. Caius Cæsar subdued the Bellovacians, and other Gallic tribes. This book contains, moreover, the record of the disputes between the consuls, concerning the sending out of a person to succeed Cæsar; Marcellus contending that Cæsar should come home to sue for the consulship, being, by a law made expressly for that purpose, enabled to hold his province until that period; and also the exploits of Marcus Bibulus in Syria.

BOOK CIX.

In this book are recorded the causes and commencement of the civil war, and [y. r. 702. b. c. 50] disputes about sending a successor to Cæsar, who refused to disband his army, unless Pompeius should also do the same. And it contains an account of the actions of Caius Curio, the plebeian tribune, first against Cæsar, afterwards in his favour. [y. r. 703. b. c. 49.] A decree of the senate being passed, that a successor to Cæsar should be appointed, Marcus Antonius and Quintus Cassius being driven out of the city, for protesting against that measure, orders were sent by the senate to the consuls, and to Cneius Pompeius, to take care that the commonwealth should sustain no injury. Cæsar, determined to make war upon his enemies, arrived in Italy with his army, took Corfinium, and in it Lucius Domitius and Lucius Lentulus, whom he discharged; and drove Cneius Pompeius and his adherents out of Italy.

BOOK CX.

Cæsar besieged Masilia, the gates of which had been shut against him; leaving his lieutenants-general, Caius Trebonius and Decimus Brutus, to carry on the siege, he set out for Spain, where Lucius Afranius and Caius Petreius, Pompeius's lieutenants-general, with seven legions, surrendered to him at Ilerda: he dismissed them all in safety. He also reduced to submission Varro, another lieutenant-general of Pompeius, with the army under his command. He granted the privileges of Roman citizens to the Gaditanians. The Massilians were defeated in two engagements at sea; after having sustained a long siege, they yielded to Cæsar. Caius Antonius, a lieutenant-general of Cæsar, having made an unsuccessful attack upon Pompeius's forces in Illyria, was taken prisoner. In the course of this war, the inhabitants of Opitergium, a district beyond the Po, in alliance with Cæsar, seeing their bridge blocked up by the enemy's ships, rather than fall into their hands, killed one another. Caius Curio, one of Cæsar's lieutenants-general in Africa, after a successful engagement with Varus, a general of the Pompeian party, was cut off, together with his army, by Juba, king of Mauritania. Caius Cæsar passed over into Greece.

BOOK CXI.

Marcus Cælius Rufus, the prætor, [y. r. 662. b. c. 48,] having excited a sedition in the city, by holding out hopes to the people that their debts should be annulled, his office being taken from him, was driven from the city: he joined Milo, who, being in exile, was raising an army of fugitives: they were both slain while preparing for war. Cleopatra, queen of Egypt, was dethroned by her brother Ptolemy. The Cordubians in Spain, harassed by the extortion and oppression of the prætor, Quintus Cassius, desert Cæsar's party, together with two legions. Cneius Pompeius being besieged by Cæsar at Dyrracchium, beats him out of his lines; the siege being raised, the seat of war was removed to Thessaly; Cæsar conquered Pompeius in a battle at Pharsalia. Cicero remained in the camp, as he was a man better calculated for any thing than war. Cæsar granted a free pardon to all who submitted themselves to his power.

BOOK CXII.

The consternation and flight of the vanquished parties in various quarters of the world are recorded. Cneius Pompeius, when he had gone to Egypt, before he could land, was slain in his boat by Achilles, who had been sent for that purpose, according to the command of Ptolemy, the young king, who was instigated by Pothinus and Theodotus, his tutor, who had great influence over the king. Cornelia, his wife, and Sextus, his son, fled to Cyprus. Cæsar followed him three days after; and when Theodotus presented to him the head and ring of Pompeius, he was grievously offended, and wept over them. [y. r. 705. b. c. 47.] Cæsar entered Alexandria in safety, though it was in a state of tumult. Cæsar being created dictator, restored Cleopatra to her throne; and defeated with great slaughter Ptolemy, who had made war upon him by the advice of those who had caused him to put Pompeius to death. Ptolemy, in his flight, sunk with his vessel in the Nile. This book contains also an account of the fatiguing march of Marcus Cato, with his legions, through the deserts of Africa; and of the unsuccessful war of Cneius Domitius against Pharnaces.

BOOK CXIII.

The Pompeian party having collected their forces in Africa, the supreme command was given to Publius Scipio, — Marcus Cato, who had been joined with him in the command, giving it up. When it was deliberated, in council, whether the city of Utica should not be demolished, on account of its attachment to Cæsar, Cato opposed that measure, which was strongly recommended by Juba: Cato's opinion prevailing, he was appointed governor of the city. Cneius Pompeius, the son of Pompeius the Great, having collected some forces in Spain, which neither Afranius nor Petreius would take the command of, renews the war against Cæsar. Pharnaces, king of Pontus, son of Mithridates, after supporting the war but a very short time, was subdued. When seditions were excited in Rome by Publius Dolabella, a plebeian tribune, who moved for a law to abolish the debts of the people, and on that account a tumult arose among the people, Marcus Antonius, master of the horse, brought troops into the town, and killed eight hundred of the people. Cæsar discharged the veteran soldiers, who were grown mutinous, crossed over into Africa, and engaged the forces of king Juba in a very hazardous combat.

BOOK CXIV.

Cæcilius Bassus, [y. r. 706. b. c. 46,] a Roman knight of the Pompeian party, stirred up war in Syria; the legion left there under the command of Sextus Cæsar, having slain their commander, and revolted to Bassus. Cæsar defeated Scipio the prætor, Afranius, and Juba, at Thapsus, their camps having been stormed. Having heard of this circumstance, Cato stabbed himself at Utica, and by the intervention of his son he might have been saved, but in the middle of the restoratives, having torn open the wound, he expired, in his forty-ninth year. Petreius put Juba and himself to death. Publius Scipio, being surrounded in his ship, to an honourable death added also a remarkable speech, for to the enemies who inquired about the general, he said, "The general is well." Faustus and Afranius were slain. Cato's son was pardoned. Brutus, Cæsar's lieutenant-general, defeated the rebellious Bellovacians in battle.

BOOK CXV.

Cæsar triumphed four times; over Gaul, Egypt, Pontus, and Africa. He gave a feast, and exhibited shows of every description. To Marcus Marcellus, a man of consular rank, he granted leave to return at the request of the senate; which favour Marcellus did not live to enjoy, having been murdered at Athens by Cneius Magius Cilo, his own dependant. Cæsar held a census, when the number of citizens amounted to one hundred and fifty thousand, [y. r. 707. b. c. 45,] and went to Spain against Cneius Pompey; where, after many attacks on both sides, many cities having been stormed, he at length gained a signal victory, after a most desperate engagement, at Munda. Sextus Pompeius effected his escape.

BOOK CXVI.

Cæsar triumphed a fifth time over Spain. Very many and high honours were decreed him by the senate; among others, that he should be styled Father of his country, and Sacred, and also that he should be perpetual dictator, [y. r. 708. b. c. 44.] It afforded cause of odium against him, that he rose not to the senate when conferring these honours on him, as he was sitting before the shrine of Venus Genetrix; and that he laid aside on a chair the diadem, placed on his head, by his colleague in the consulship, Marcus Antonius, who was running among the Lupercalians, and that the magistracies were taken away from Epidius Marullus and Cassetius Flavus, the tribunes of the people, who excited envy against him for aiming at the imperial dignity. For these reasons, a conspiracy was formed against him; the chiefs of which were, Marcus Brutus and Caius Cassius, with two of his own partisans, Decimus Brutus and Caius Trebonius. He was slain in Pompey's senate-house with three-and-twenty wounds; and the Capitol was seized on by his murderers. An act of amnesty having been passed by the senate in relation to his murder, and the children of Antony and Lepidus having been taken as hostages, the conspirators came down from the Capitol. Octavius, Cæsar's nephew, was by his will made heir of half his possessions. Cæsar's body was burnt by the people, in the Campus Martius, opposite the rostrum. The office of dictator was abolished for ever. Caius Amatius, one of the lowest of the people, giving himself out for the son of Caius Marius, having excited some seditious movements among the credulous vulgar, was slain.

BOOK CXVII.

Caius Octavius came to Rome from Epirus, whither Cæsar had sent him to conduct the war in Macedonia; and, having received favourable omens, assumed the name of Cæsar. In the confusion and bustle of affairs, Lepidus procured the office of chief priest. But when Marcus Antonius, the consul, governed with violence, and forcibly caused a law to be passed respecting the change of provinces; and had also given very injurious treatment to Cæsar, when he requested that he would assist him in punishing the murderers of his uncle; Cæsar, to strengthen himself and the commonwealth against him, called out the veteran soldiers, who had been settled in the colonies. The fourth and Martian legions also deserted from Antony to Cæsar. Afterwards also very many revolted to Caasar, on account of the cruelty of Antony, who slaughtered every where in their own camps even those whom he suspected. Decimus Brutus, in order to stop Antonius on his way into Cisalpine Gaul, seized Mutina with his army. This book contains also the history of the attempts of both parties to possess themselves of the provinces, and of the preparations for war.

BOOK CXVIII.

Marcus Brutus, in Greece, under the pretext of supporting the commonwealth, and the war against Antonius, managed to get the command of Vatinius' army and province. [y. r. 709. b. c. 43.] To Cæsar, who had first undertaken to defend the commonwealth by arms, was given the authority of proprætor, with consular ornaments by the senate, and it was added that he should be enrolled a senator. Marcus Antonius besieged Brutus at Mutina; and the ambassadors sent to him by the senate, with a treaty of peace, met with little success in effecting it. The people of Rome assumed the military habit. Marcus Brutus reduced under his power Caius Antonius, the prætor, together with the army which he commanded in Epirus.

BOOK CXIX.

By the treachery of Publius Dolabella, Caius Trebonius was slain in Asia: for which crime the senate voted Dolabella to be a public enemy. When Pansa, one of the consuls, had fought unsuccessfully against Antony, Aulus Hirtius, the other consul, coming up with his army, equalized the fortune of either party, the forces of Antony being routed. Antonius, afterwards being conquered by Hirtius and Cæsar, fled into Gaul, and joined to himself Marcus Lepidus, together with the legions which were under him, and was declared a public enemy by the senate, together with all his associates. Aulus Hirtius, who, after his victory, was slain in the enemy's camp, and Lucius Pansa, who died of a wound received in an unsuccessful battle, were buried in the Campus Martius. To Cæsar, the only surviving general of the three, the senate showed but little gratitude; for a triumph was voted to Decimus Brutus, who was relieved from the siege of Mutina by Cæsar. They did not mention with sufficient gratitude Cæsar and his soldiers, wherefore Caius Cæsar, having, by the intervention of Marcus Lepidus, renewed his friendly relation with Marcus Antonius, came with his army to Rome, and those who had been unjust to him, being struck with dread at his approach, he was elected consul in his nineteenth year.

BOOK CXX.

Cæsar, the consul, introduced a law to hold an inquiry into the case of those by whose instigation his father had been murdered, and Marcus Brutus, Caius Cassius, and Decimus Brutus having been tried by this law, were condemned, though absent. When Asinius Pollio and Munatius Plancus, having also joined their forces to those of Antonius, had increased his strength, and when Decimus Brutus, to whom the senate had given orders to pursue Antony, being deserted by the legions under his command, had fled, he was killed by Capenus Sequanus, by order of Antonius, into whose hands he had fallen. Caius Cæsar became reconciled to Antonius and Lepidus, so that he and Lepidus and Antony formed a triumvirate for the administration of the republic for five years, and that they should proscribe each his particular enemies, in which proscription were included very many of the equestrian order, and one hundred and thirty senators; among whom were Lucius Paulus, the brother of Lepidus, Lucius Cæsar, Antony's uncle, and Marcus Tullius Cicero, whose head and right hand were placed on the rostrum, when he was murdered in his sixty-third year by Popilius, a legionary soldier. This book also contains an account of the transactions of Brutus in Greece.

BOOK CXXI.

Caius Cassius, having received orders from the senate to pursue Dolabella, who had been pronounced a public enemy, acting under the sanction of the state, reduced Syria under his authority by means of the three armies which were in that province, and besieging Dolabella, in Laodicea, put him to death. Caius Antonius, having been taken, was also slain by order of Marcus Brutus.

BOOK CXXII.

Marcus Brutus fought unsuccessfully with the Thracians. Afterwards all the provinces beyond sea, together with the armies in them, having been brought into obedience to him and Cassius, they met at Smyrna, to hold a council relative to the war which they were about to engage in. [y. r. 710. b. c. 42.] They agreed in pardoning Publicola, the brother of Marcus Messala, who had been conquered.

BOOK CXXIII.

Sextus, son of Pompey the Great, having assembled a considerable number of the proscribed Romans, and other fugitives, in Epirus, wandering about for a long time, subsisting chiefly by piracy; at length he seized first on Messana in Sicily, and afterwards on the whole province; and having killed Aulus Pompeius Bithynicus, the prætor, he defeated Quintus Salvidienus, a general of Cæsar's, in a sea-fight. Cæsar and Antonius, with their armies, passed over into Greece, to make war against Brutus and Cassius. Quintus Cornificius conquered, in a battle in Africa, Titus Sestius, the leader of Cassius' party.

BOOK CXXIV.

Caius Cæsar and Antony fought an undecisive battle with Brutus and Cassius at Philippi; in which the right wing of each army was victorious; and on both sides the camps were taken: the death of Cassius turned the scale of fortune; for, being at the head of that wing which was beaten, he supposed his whole army routed, and killed himself. Afterwards, in another battle, Brutus, being overcome, put an end to his life, in his fortieth year, after entreating Strabo, the companion of his flight, to drive a sword through him. *Many others slew themselves*, among whom was Quintus Hortensius.

BOOK CXXV.

Cæsar, [y. r. 711. b. c. 41,] leaving Antonius to take care of the provinces beyond the sea, returned to Italy, and made a distribution of lands among the veterans. He represses, with great risk, a mutiny among his soldiers, who, being bribed by Fulvia, the wife of Marcus Antonius, conspired against their general. Lucius Antonius, the consul, influenced by Fulvia, made war upon Cæsar, having taken to his assistance those whose lands Cæsar had distributed among his veteran soldiers: and having overthrown Lepidus, who, with an army, had charge of the defence of the city, he entered it in a hostile manner.

BOOK CXXVI.

Cæsar, now twenty-three years of age, [y. r. 712. b. c. 40,] besieged Antonius in Perusia, and forced him, after several ineffectual attempts to escape, to surrender through famine, and pardoned him and all his soldiers. He razed Perusia to the ground and terminated the war without bloodshed, all the forces of the enemy having been brought under his own power.

BOOK CXXVII.

The Parthians, who had joined the Pompeian party, under the command of Labienus, invaded Syria, and having beaten Decidius Saxa, a lieutenant-general under Antonius, seized that whole province. When Marcus Antonius was excited to dispute with Cæsar by his wife Fulvia, having dismissed her, lest she should mar the concord of the generals, and having concluded a treaty of peace with Cæsar, he married his sister Octavia. He himself informed against Quintus Salvidienus, who was forming a villanous combination against Cæsar, who, having been condemned, committed suicide. [y. r. 713. b. c. 39.] Publius Ventidius, the lieutenant of Antony, drove the Parthians from Syria, having conquered them in battle, their general, Labienus, having been slain. When Sextus Pompey held Sicily, (being hostilely disposed, and near to Italy,) and obstructed the commerce in corn, at his own request Cæsar and Antony entered into a treaty of peace, so that he was made governor of Sicily. This book contains also the history of the commotions and war in Africa.

BOOK CXXVIII.

[y. r. 714. b. c. 38.] When Sextus Pompeius had again infested the sea with his piracies, nor kept the peace which he had solicited, Cæsar, being obliged to make war upon him, fought against him in two indecisive sea-engagements, [y. r. 715. b. c. 37.] Publius Ventidius, the lieutenant of Marcus Antonius, overthrew the Parthians in battle, in Syria, and killed their king. [y. r. 716. b. c. 36.] Antonius's generals vanquished the Jews also. This book contains also the account of the preparations for war in Sicily.

BOOK CXXIX.

Several battles were fought at sea, with Sextus Pompeius, with various success; of Cæsar's two fleets, one under the command of Agrippa gained a victory; the other, led by Cæsar himself, was cut off; and his soldiers, being sent on shore, were exposed to great dangers. Pompeius, being afterwards defeated, fled into Sicily. Marcus Lepidus, who came from Africa, under the pretext of joining Cæsar in the war which he was about to wage against Sextus Pompeius, when he declared war against Cæsar himself, being deserted by his army, and deprived of the honour of the triumvirate, obtained his life. Cæsar conferred a naval crown upon Agrippa, an honour never before bestowed on any commander.

BOOK CXXX.

Marcus Antonius, having spent much time in luxurious indulgence with Cleopatra, having arrived late in Media, with eighteen legions and sixteen thousand horse, made war upon the Parthians. When, having lost two of his legions, nothing prospered with him, he retreated to Armenia; being pursued by the Parthians, he fled three hundred miles in twenty-one days, great trepidation and danger encompassing his whole army. He lost about eight thousand men by tempests; he was himself the cause, as well of the losses by the tempests, as of the unfortunate Parthian war; for he would not winter in Armenia, being in haste to revisit Cleopatra.

BOOK CXXXI.

Sextus Pompeius, [y. r. 717. b. c. 35,] notwithstanding his engagements to Marcus Antonius, endeavoured to raise a war against him in Asia, and was slain by one of Antonius's generals. [y. r. 718. b. c. 34.] Cæsar repressed a mutiny of the veterans, which threatened much mischief; he subdued the Japidæ, the Dalmatians, and Pannonians. [y. r. 179. b. c. 33.] Antonius, having, by promises of safety and protection, induced Artavardes, king of Armenia, to come to him, commanded him to be thrown into chains, and gave the kingdom of Armenia to his own son, whom he had by Cleopatra, whom he now treated as his wife, having been long enamoured of her.

BOOK CXXXII.

Cæsar conquered the Dalmatians in Illyria. [y. r. 720. b. c. 32.] He passed over to Epirus at the head of an army [y. r. 721. b. c. 31] against Antonius, who, fascinated by the love of Cleopatra, by whom he had two sons, Alexander and Philadelphus, would neither come to Rome, nor, the time of his triumvirate being expired, would resign that office; but meditated war, which he should wage against Rome and Italy, and for that purpose was preparing great forces both by sea and land, having also divorced Octavia, Cæsar's sister. Sea-fights, and battles on land between the cavalry, in which Cæsar was victorious, are recorded.

BOOK CXXXIII.

After his fleet had been vanquished by Cæsar at Actium, Antonius escaped to Alexandria, where, being besieged by Cæsar, in desperation, induced principally by a false rumour of the death of Cleopatra, he committed suicide. Cæsar having reduced Alexandria, [y. r. 722. b. c. 30,] Cleopatra, to avoid falling into his hands, having put herself to death, on his return to Rome triumphs three times: first, over Illyria; secondly, on account of the victory at Actium; and, thirdly, over Cleopatra: the civil wars being thus terminated, after they had lasted one-and-twenty years, [y. r. 723. b. c. 29.] Marcus Lepidus, the son of Lepidus, who was of the triumvirate, forming a conspiracy against Cæsar, was taken and killed.

BOOK CXXXIV.

Cæsar, having settled the affairs of the state, [y. r. 724. b. c. 28,] and reduced all the provinces to exact order, received the surname of Augustus; and the month Sextilis was named, in honour of him, August. [y. r. 725. b. c. 27.] Cæsar having called a meeting of the states at Narbo, a census was made of the three Gauls, which were conquered by his father. The war against the Bastarnians, Mœsians, and other nations, under the conduct of Marcus Crassus, is described in this book.

BOOK CXXXV.

The war carried on by Marcus Crassus against the Thracians, and by Cæsar against the Spaniards, is recorded in this book. [y. r. 729. b. c. 23.] The Salassians, a people of the Alps, were subdued.

BOOK CXXXVI.

Rhætia was subdued by Tiberius Nero and Drusus, the step-sons of Cæsar. Agrippa, Cæsar's son-in-law, died. The census was held by Drusus.

BOOK CXXXVII.

The states of Germany, situated on either side of the Rhine, are attacked by Drusus. The insurrections, excited by the taxes levied in Gaul, were suppressed, [y. r. 740. b. c. 12.] An altar was dedicated to Cæsar at the confluence of the Arar and the Rhone, by Caius Julius Vercundaris Dubius, an Æduan, appointed priest for that purpose.

BOOK CXXXVIII.

That the Thracians were subdued by Lucius Piso; [y. r. 741. b. c. 11;] also the Cheruskans, Tenetherans, Cattians, and other nations beyond the Rhine, by Drusus, is recorded in this book. Octavia, Augustus's sister, died, having before lost her son, Marcellus; a theatre and portico, dedicated in his name, form his monument.

BOOK CXXXIX.

[y. r. 742. b. c. 10.] The war against the nations beyond the Rhine, conducted by Drusus, is recorded in this book: the chief actors in it were Senectius and Anectius, military tribunes, belonging to the Nervians. Nero, the brother of Drusus, subdued the Dalmatians and Pannonians. Peace was concluded with Parthia, the standards which were taken from Crassus, and afterwards from Antonius, being restored by their king.

BOOK CXL.

[y. r. 743. b. c. 9.] The war against the German nations beyond the Rhine, conducted by Drusus, is recorded in this book. Drusus himself, his horse having fallen on his leg, died of the fracture thirteen days after the accident. His body was conveyed to Rome by his brother, Nero, who having been summoned by the tidings of his illness, had quickly come to him, and it was buried in the tomb of Caius Julius. His funeral eulogium was pronounced by Cæsar Augustus, his stepfather, and many honours were added to his last rites.

FRAGMENTS OF THE HISTORY OF LIVY

Translated by William A. McDevitte

N. B. An asterisk is prefixed to such fragments as can, by a probable conjecture, be referred to the books to which they belong: the other fragments, to which we cannot assign their proper place in the books of Livy, together with what remains of a letter inscribed to his son, have been added subsequently.

* Belonging to the 12th book.

Pyrrhus was a consummate tactician, but more skilful in the arrangements of a battle than the operations of a war. — Servius on Virg. *Æn.* i. 456.

* Belonging to the 13th book.

We might have held it in private. — Priscian.

* Belonging to the 14th book.

Both Livy and Sallust inform us that the ancients used scythe-armed chariots. — Servius. Virg. *Æn.* i. 476.

* Belonging to the 16th book.

Sichæus was called Sicharbas; Belus, the father of Dido, Methres; Carthage from Carthada, (as we read it,) which is found in the history of the Carthaginians, and in Livy. — Servius. Virg. *Æn.* i. 343.

Carthage signifies, in the Punic tongue, “New City,” as Livy informs us. — Servius. Virg. *Æn.* i. 366.

Bitias was the admiral of the Punic fleet, as Livy informs us. Servius. — Virg. *Æn.* i. 738.

* Belonging to the 17th book.

The day before the Nones. The day before the Ides. — Priscian.

* Belonging to the 18th book.

Beardless. — Charis. book i.

There is also mention made by Livy of a serpent, in a narrative alike interesting and eloquent.

For he says that there was in Africa, at the river Bagradas, a snake of such enormous size, that it prevented the army of Atilius Regulus from using the water: and that, after seizing many of the soldiers in

its powerful fangs, and crushing several to death in the folds of its tail, as soon as they discovered that it could not be injured by weapons cast by the hand, it was at last attacked on every side by missiles from the engines, and killed by numerous and ponderous blows of huge stones; and that it appeared to all, both cohorts and legions, more terrible than Carthage itself. He narrates that the Romans were compelled to remove their camp, owing to the river being tinged with its blood, and the air in the vicinity being corrupted by the pestilential effluvia.

He says, too, that the skin of the monster, which was a hundred and twenty feet long, was sent to Rome. — Valerius Maximus.

* Belonging to the 19th book.

The third (secular) games were celebrated, according to Antias and Livy, in the consulship of Publius Claudius Pulcher, and Caius Junius Pullus. — Censorinus.

It is recorded in Livy that when a certain general, who was desirous of carrying on a war, was prevented by one of the tribunes of the commons from setting out on the expedition, he ordered the sacred chickens to be brought forward: when they did not eat the corn that was cast before them, the consul, in derision of the augury, said, “let them drink,” and cast them into the Tiber. Afterwards, when returning victorious in his ships, he was drowned off the coast of Africa, with all that he commanded. — Servius. Virg. *Æn.* vi. 198.

* Belonging to the 22nd book.

And in repeating the attack with a small body of troops on the walls of Alisfa, after coming like a marauder, an elephant covered with armour broke forth from the town: the consul took it, and after slaying those on its back, reserved it for the fight. But the townsmen, as they felt little anxiety about it, on the second day, armed with shields, engraven with the figures of elephants, attack a few fugitives, and retake the elephant under more favourable omens; and the inhabitants give the name of Alifæ to the town, formerly called Ruffius, from the circumstance of the favourable following the unfavourable omen.

This fragment is undoubtedly spurious.

* Belonging to the 49th book.

There are three different opinions concerning the date of the

fourth (secular) games. For Antias, and Varro, and Livy have recorded, that they were exhibited in the consulate of Lucius Marcius Censorinus and Manius Manilius, in the six hundred and fifth year after the foundation of Rome. — Censorinus.

* Belonging to the 56th book.

Who say that Pompey pleaded disease as an excuse, lest, by his presence in the tumult, he might irritate the minds of the Numantines. — Priscian.

* Belonging to the 77th book.

Sulla makes a most noble matrimonial alliance, by marrying Cæcilia, the daughter of Metellus, the pontifex maximus. For which reason the populace chanted many lampoons against him, and many of the principal men envied him, considering him, whom they judged deserving of consulship, unworthy of that woman, as Livy remarks. — Plutarch. Sulla.

Livy relates that, when Sulla first advanced to the city against Marius, the entrails appeared so propitious to the person sacrificing, that Postumius, the soothsayer, expressed his willingness to give himself into custody, on condition that he should suffer capital punishment, if Sulla did not, by the aid of the gods, succeed in the projects which he had in contemplation. — Augustin.

* Belonging to the 83rd book.

Since when all the statues were overthrown and burned along with the town, the statue of Minerva alone is reported (as Livy says) to have stood uninjured under the ruins of that immense temple. — Augustin.

Belonging to the 91st book.

The inhabitants of Contrebia, although they were attacked by the pangs of famine, in addition to their other calamities, after making many ineffectual attempts to repel the war from their city and walls, injured the works of Sertorius by casting fire from the walls; and a tower of many stories, which exceeded in height all the fortifications of the city, being consumed by the spreading flames, fell to the ground with a great crash. However, during the following night another tower was reared in the same place, by the efforts of Sertorius, who remained awake all night; the sight of which at the dawn struck the enemy with astonishment. At the same time the city-

tower, which had been their strongest defence, as its foundations were undermined, began to yawn with great rents, and afterwards take fire from a torch that was thrown against it; and the inhabitants of Contrebia, being terrified by the fear of the fire and fall of the battlements combined, fled in alarm from the walls: and the whole populace shouted out that ambassadors should be sent to surrender the city. The same valour which had urged Sertorius to besiege them when they provoked him, made him, when victorious, more inclined to mercy. After receiving hostages, he exacted a small sum of money, and took away from them all their arms. He ordered the deserters that were freemen to be brought alive to him: he ordered the inhabitants to slay the fugitive slaves, of whom there was a greater number. They cut their throats and cast them from the walls. Having reduced Contrebia, after a siege of forty-four days, which cost him a great number of men, and having left Lucius Insteius in command there with a strong garrison, he himself marched his army to the river Iberus. Then having built his winter quarters nigh to the town, which is called *Castra Ælia*, he remained in person in the camp; during the day he held a congress of the allied states in the town. He had previously issued a proclamation throughout the entire province, that each state should make arms in proportion to its resources: and after inspecting them, he ordered his soldiers to bring in their other arms, which had been rendered ineffective by frequent marches, or assaults and battles, and divided the new arms among the men by means of the centurions. He also furnished the cavalry with new arms: and distributed among them clothes, which had been previously prepared for them, and gave them pay also. He searched carefully for mechanics, and brought them together from every quarter, and erected public manufactories in which he could employ their labour, and made calculations of the amount of work that could be done each day. Therefore all the implements of war were in process of preparation at the same time: neither did the mechanics want materials, as all things had been previously prepared by the zealous efforts of the states; nor was any department of the service unprovided with proper workmen. Then, after calling together the embassies of all the nations and states, he returned them thanks, because they furnished the supplies which had been levied on them

for the infantry: he laid before them a statement of the acts which he had performed in defending his allies and besieging the cities of the enemy, and encouraged them to prosecute the war with vigour: he informed them, briefly, how deeply the provinces of Spain were interested in the success of his party. He then dismissed the assembly, and after bidding them all to be of good courage, and return to their respective states, he sent Marcus Perperna early in spring with twenty thousand infantry and fifteen hundred cavalry, to the nation of the Ilercaonians, to defend the maritime coast of that country: he gave him instructions relative to the routes by which he should march to defend the cities in alliance with him, which Pompey was besieging, and pointed out the places in which he might lay ambuscades for Pompey on his march. At the same time he sent letters to Herennuleius, who was in the same country, and to Lucius Hirtulius, in the other province, with instructions as to the manner in which he wished the war to be conducted: charging him especially “to defend the allied states in such a manner as not to fight a pitched battle with Metellus, for whom he was not a match either in influence or strength. That he himself did not intend to march against Pompey; nor did he believe that the latter would come to a pitched battle; since if the war were protracted, the enemy could procure supplies from every quarter by their shipping, as they had the sea at their back, and all the provinces under their dominion; and that he himself would be reduced to want of every thing, since what he had previously stored was consumed during the former summer. That Perperna was appointed to the command of the region bordering on the sea, in order that he might be able to defend the country which was as yet free from the ravages of the enemy, and at the same time attack them unawares, if any opportunity should occur.” He determined to march in person with his army against the Beronians and Autrigonians; because he ascertained that they had frequently, during the winter, solicited aid from Pompey, and had sent persons to point out the way to the Roman army, during the time that he himself was employed in besieging the Celtiberian cities; and besides, his soldiers were often harassed by their cavalry during the siege of Contrebia, in whatsoever direction they might proceed in search of corn and forage. They had even the hardihood at that time to solicit

the Arevaci to join their party. He intended, after giving them an example of the severity of war, to deliberate which of his two enemies he should attack, which of the two provinces he should repair to: whether he should go to the maritime coast, to prevent Pompey from entering Ilercaonia and Contestania, both of which were allied nations, or should turn his attention to Metellus and Lusitania. Sertorius, anxiously deliberating on these plans, marched his army peaceably along the banks of the river Iberus, through the territory of his allies, without injuring any one. Then he marched into the territories of the Bursaonians, Cascantianians, and Gracchuritanians; and after wasting every thing, and trampling down the crops, came to Calaguris Nasica, a city of the allies; and after passing the river nigh to the town, by a bridge built for the occasion, he encamped there. On the next day he sent Marcus Marius, the quæstor, into the territory of the Arevacans and Cerindonians, to enlist soldiers among those nations, and to convey the corn from them to Contrebia, called also Leucas, near which city lay the most convenient roads leading out of the country of the Beronians, in whatever direction he should determine to march his army: and he sent Caius Insteius, the prefect of the cavalry, to Liguria and the nation of the Vaccæans, to search for horsemen, with orders to wait for him at Contrebia with such cavalry as he could collect. After despatching them, he himself set out, and having marched his army through the territory of the Vasconians, pitched his camp on the confines of the Beronians. On the next day he went forward with the cavalry to reconnoitre the roads, after giving orders to the infantry to march in the form of a square, and came to Vaccæa, the strongest city in that country. He came on them unexpectedly during the night. The townsmen having summoned from every quarter the cavalry, both of their own nation and the Autrigonians, made a sally and marched against Sertorius, to prevent him from entering the pass. — The Vatican copy of Livy. This was the first battle that was fought between Sertorius and Pompey. We have the authority of Livy, that Pompey's army lost ten thousand men and all their baggage. — Frontinus.

* Belonging to the 94th book.

Livy says, in his 94th book, that Inarime was in part of Mæonia,

where, for an extent of fifty miles, the earth has been burned with fire. He intimates that Homer signified the same fact. — Servius. *Æn.* ix. 715.

Belonging to the 97th book.

Livy relates that thirty thousand armed men (composed of the fugitives conquered by Crassus) were slain in that battle with their leaders, Castus and Gannicus, and that five of the Roman eagles were recovered, besides twenty-six military standards, and many spoils, among which were the rods and axes. — Frontinus.

* Belonging to the 98th book.

Livy says that the Romans never before, with such inferior numbers, engaged an enemy. For the victors were scarcely equal in number to a twentieth, or even a smaller portion, of the conquered. — Plutarch. Lucullus. We have the authority of Livy that in the former engagement (that at Tigranocerta) a greater number of the enemy was slain and taken prisoners, but in the latter battle (that at Artaxata) the noblest of the nation met that fate. — Plutarch. Lucullus.

* Belonging to the 99th book.

Crete had at first a hundred cities; from which circumstance it was called Hecatompolis; afterwards it contained twenty-four; and subsequently, as we are told, two, Gnosus and Hierapytna: although Livy says that several were stormed by Metellus. — Servius. *Virg. Æn.* iii. 106.

* Belonging to the 102nd book.

After having dissolved this. — Agroetius. For on the capture of the city, (he alludes to the capture of Jerusalem by Cneius Pompeius,) in the third month of the siege, on a fast-day, in the 179th Olympiad, in the consulship of Caius Antonius and Marcus Tullius Cicero, when the Romans, after storming the town, were butchering those who were in the temple; notwithstanding all this, those who were engaged in the sacred ceremonies continued to offer divine worship with the same attention, and were not induced, either by the fear of losing their lives, or by the number of men who were slain around them, to take to flight, for they considered it better to suffer at the very altars whatever they might be compelled to endure, than to neglect any of the commandments instituted by their forefathers.

Those who have recorded the achievements of Pompey, testify that these facts were not invented, merely with a tendency to extol a false piety, but that they are really true; among these writers may be enumerated Strabo and Nicolaus, and in addition to them Titus Livy, the writer of Roman History. — Josephus.

Belonging to the 103rd book.

The cancer which eats away the body is more horrible. When concealed it consumes the vitals; when palpable, tears them away: formerly the ancients expelled it by various remedies. For the 103rd book of Titus Livy informs us that such an ulcer was cut out by a red-hot knife, or driven away by drinking the seed of rape: he asserts that the life of a person who has received the infection can scarcely be prolonged for seven days; so great is the violence of the disease. — Q. Seren. Lamon.

* Belonging to the 105th book.

Livy among the ancients, and Fabius Rusticus among the moderns, both most eloquent writers, have compared the shape of Great Britain to an oblong shield, or two-edged battle-axe. — Tacitus. Agric. Although no one as yet has made the circuit of the entire of Britain, as Livy relates, still various opinions have been expressed by many in speaking on that subject. — Jornandes.

* Belonging to the 109th book.

In the seven hundredth year from the foundation of Rome, a conflagration, the origin of which has not been ascertained, broke out in that city, and consumed fourteen divisions of it: never, as Livy remarks, was it wasted by a greater fire; so extensive was it, that several years after, Cæsar Augustus gave a large sum of money out of the public treasury for the purpose of rebuilding those edifices which were then burned to the ground. — Orosius. Cæsar, having crossed the river Rubicon, on his reaching Ariminum soon after, issued the necessary commands to the five cohorts, which were the only troops that he then had, and with which, as Livy says, he attacked the world. — Orosius.

* Belonging to the 111th book.

Caius Crastinus was the first that struck an enemy on the late occasion, which he did with the first javelin that he could seize. — Scholiast on Lucan. Caius Cornelius, a man skilled in the science of

augury, the fellow-citizen and intimate friend of Livy the historian, happened to be engaged in taking auspices at the same time. He first, as Livy records, knew the exact period of the battle (of Pharsalia), and told the bystanders that the affair was going on at that moment, and that the leaders were commencing battle. When he took the auguries a second time, and beheld the signs, he leaped up in a fit of inspiration, shouting out, "Cæsar, thou art conquering!" While they who were present were astonished, he took off the garland from his head, and swore that he would not replace it until the event was proved to correspond to his art. Livy positively asserts that this is true. — Plutarch. Cæsar.

Belonging to the 112th book.

Bogud Bogudis, the name of a barbarian, which Livy has declined in the 112th book with the genitive Bogudis. — Priscian. Cassius and Bogud attacked the camp also in different parts, and were not far from forcing the works. At which time also he endeavoured to transport his army rapidly into Africa, for the purpose of strengthening the kingdom of Bogud. Cassius would have waged war against Trebonius, if he could have induced Bogud to become a partner in his mad design. — Priscian. Four hundred thousand books, the noblest monument of the wealth of kings that ever existed, were burned at Alexandria. Other writers have spoken in favour of this library; Livy, for instance, who said that it was the surpassing work of the elegance and research of kings. — Seneca.

Belonging to the 113th book.

And he himself defended the coast about Palpud.

* Belonging to the 114th book.

These are the accounts that some give of Bassus; but Livy says that he fought under the command of Pompey, and on his defeat lived privately at Tyre, and by bribing some of the legionary soldiers, succeeded in being elected general by them when Sextus was killed. — Appian. I should wish my lot to be such as Titus Livy describes Cato's to have been: for his glory was of such an elevated character, that no addition to or diminution of it was made by the praise or blame of any man, though men of the greatest abilities did both. He alludes to Marcus Cicero and Caius Cæsar, the former of whom wrote in praise, and the latter in condemnation, of the above-

mentioned individual. — Hieronymus.

* Belonging to the 116th book.

According to the narrative of Livy, an ornamental top had been added to the house of Cæsar, by a decree of the senate, to give it beauty and grandeur. His wife Calpurnia imagined in her dreams that this had fallen, and that she was lamenting and weeping over it. Therefore, when day dawned, she entreated Cæsar not to go into the street that day, but postpone the meeting of the senate to another occasion, if he could possibly effect it. — Plutarch. Cæsar. It is considered an evil omen when Mount Ætna, in Sicily, emits not only smoke, but balls of fire: and Livy says that such extensive flames issued from it before the death of Cæsar; that not only the neighbouring cities, but also the state of Rhegium, which is far distant from it, felt the fiery vapour. — Servius. The remark that was generally made concerning Julius Cæsar, and attributed to Titus Livy, is applicable also to the winds; namely, that it was doubtful whether his existence or non-existence would have been more advantageous to the republic. — Seneca.

* Belonging to the 118th book.

In opposition to the murderers of Caius Cæsar, he levied some troops to assist his avengers.

* Belonging to the 120th book.

Marcus Cicero had left the city a little before the arrival of the triumvirs, considering it certain that there was no greater possibility of his being rescued from Antonius, than of Brutus and Cassius being saved from Cæsar, and so the matter really was. He fled first to the territory of Tusculum, and afterwards proceeded by crossroads into the territory of Formiæ, with the intention of embarking at Caieta. From which he sailed out several times into the deep sea, but when the adverse winds at one time drove him back, at another he himself could not endure the pitching of the ship in the heavy roll of the sea, he was at length seized with a disgust at both life and flight: and having returned to his upper villa, which is little more than a mile from the sea, he said, "I will die in my native land that I have saved so often." It is ascertained that his slaves were prepared to fight with bravery and fidelity; and that he himself ordered them to lay down the litter, and bear with resignation whatever the severity of fortune

would enjoin. As he stretched forth from the litter, and held his neck unmoved, his head was cut off. Nor did that suffice the senseless cruelty of the soldiers. They cut off his hands also, in reproach of their having written any thing against Antonius. In this way his head was brought to Antonius, and by his orders placed between his hands on the rostrum. The people, raising up their eyes bedimmed with tears, could scarcely bear the sight of his dismembered limbs. He lived sixty-three years; so that in the absence of violence his death would not have seemed a premature one: his genius was successfully displayed in his works, and in gaining the rewards of his works: he himself was for a long time prosperous, yet during his long career of success suffering occasionally great calamities: namely, exile, the ruin of the party which he had espoused, the death of his daughter, his own, so miserable and galling; none of which calamities he bore with the firmness worthy of a man, except his death, which, to a man that estimated matters justly, might seem less likely to call forth indignation, as he had not suffered from his victorious enemy greater cruelty than he would himself have practised, if he had been equally successful. However, if any one will weigh accurately his virtues against his vices, he will come to the conclusion that he was a great, energetic, and remarkable man, and one who would require the eulogies of a second Cicero to do justice to his merit.

Belonging to the 127th book.

Since traces of the dissensions between Augustus and Antonius still existed, Cocceius Nerva, the ancestor of that Nerva who was subsequently emperor of Rome, recommended to Augustus to send deputies to treat of affairs in general. Therefore Mæcenas and Agrippa were sent, who brought both armies into one camp, as Livy relates in the 127th book. But we must understand that when Fonteius was deputed by Antonius, Augustus sent Mæcenas and others to the same place. — Acro on Horace. When a dispute arose between Cæsar Augustus and Antonius, Cocceius Nerva, the ancestor of him who was afterwards emperor of Rome, requested of Cæsar to send some one to Tarracina to negotiate the principal points. Mæcenas held the conference first, and was shortly after joined by Agrippa, and there entered into a most solemn compact with Antonius's deputies, and ordered the standards of both armies to

be brought together into the same camp. Livy mentions this also in the 127th book, but makes no mention of Capito. — Porphyrio on Horace. Fonteius Capito had been sent as deputy by Antonius and Mæcenæ, and Agrippa, in a similar capacity, by Augustus, owing to the mediation of Cocceius Nerva, who possessed great influence with both Augustus and Antonius, and was the ancestor of the emperor Nerva. But the deputies met for the purpose of negotiating the general interests of their principals, and settling the disputes that had broken out between these two commanders; which they did, and brought both armies into one camp, near Brundisium; an event which was hailed with great demonstrations of joy, as Livy relates in the 127th book. — Commentator Cruquii on Horace.

* Belonging to the 133rd book.

Livy relates that Cleopatra, when after her capture by Augustus she was designedly treated with great indulgence, used to say: I will not grace a triumph. — Commentator Cruquii. Hor. Odes, i. 37.

Belonging to the 136th book.

In the same year Cæsar celebrated the secular games with great pomp; they were usually celebrated every hundredth year (for such was the limit of a secular period). — Censorinus.

A man of great but ill-directed abilities. — Seneca.

I confess that I am astonished that Titus Livy, a most celebrated writer, in one of the volumes of his history, which he traces back to the foundation of the city, used the following exordium: that he had already acquired sufficient glory, and had it in his power to cease his exertions, were it not that his intellectual restlessness obtained food by labour. — Pliny.

Titus Livy and Cornelius Nepos have recorded that the breadth of the Straits of Gibraltar at the narrowest part is seven miles; but at the widest part ten miles. — Pliny. The proper number of consuls being elected. — Servius.

Thou, whosoever thou art, shalt be ours, are the words of a general receiving a deserter under his protection, in which sense we meet them in Livy. — Servius.

I was destined from my birth to be a general, not a common soldier.

William of Malmesbury appears to have borrowed this expression

of Scipio from Livy.

Tell me, when we often read in Roman history, on the authority of Livy, that countless thousands of men perished very frequently in this city by the breaking out of plagues, and that matters often came to such a state that there were scarcely sufficient men to constitute an army in those warlike times, were no sacrifices offered to your god, Februarius, at that period? Or was his worship utterly ineffectual? Were not the Lupercalia celebrated at that time? For you cannot say that these sacred rites were unknown at the time since they were said to have been introduced into Italy by Evander before the date of Romulus. But Livy, in his second decade, tells us the reason of the institution of the Lupercalia (as they are intimately connected with his own superstitions): he does not say that they were instituted to check disease, but to remove the barrenness of women, which was then prevalent. — Gelasius.

According to Livy, ambassadors suing for peace are called heralds. — Servius.

Livy calls silver heavy; he means masses of it. — Servius.

On this eminence (the promontory of Circæum) was a town, which was called both Circæum and Circæi. For Livy uses both. — Servius.

Titus Livius was so unfavourable to Sallust, that he reproached him with this sentence, “prosperity has a wonderful tendency to cloak misconduct,” as being not only translated, but even spoiled in the translation. Nor does he do this out of regard to Thucydides, with a view to extol him. He praises him whose rivalry he does not fear, and thinks that Sallust could be more easily surpassed by him if he were previously excelled by Thucydides. — Seneca.

Titus Livy used to say that Miltiades, the rhetorician, made the following elegant remark— “they are mad on common-place subjects ...” in reference to orators who hunt after antiquated or obsolete terms, and consider chastity of style to consist in obscurity of diction. — Seneca.

Several have fallen into the same error: nor is it a novel defect, since I find, even in Livy, that there was a certain teacher of rhetoric who ordered his pupils to throw an air of mystery over their expressions, which he expressed by the Greek word [Greek:

skotison]. From which circumstance originated the remarkable expression of approbation: “so much the better: even I myself did not understand.” — Quintilian.

Therefore that hint was the safest, of which an example occurs in Livy, in the letter written to his son, “we ought to read Demosthenes and Cicero, and them too in such a manner that each of us should closely resemble Demosthenes and Cicero.” — Quintilian.

THE END

The Latin Texts



Ruins on the Palatine Hill, Rome — Augustus established the Library of Palatine Apollo here in the Temple of Apollo. There were two sections in the library: one for Greek texts and one for Latin. Livy was likely to have used the library extensively for his research whilst writing his 'Ab urbe condita libri'.

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In this section of the eBook, readers can view the original Latin text of Livy's 'Ab urbe condita libri'. You may wish to Bookmark this page for future reference.

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PRAEFATIO

TITI LIVI AB VRBE CONDITA PRAEFATIO

Facturusne operae pretium sim si a primordio urbis res populi Romani perscripserim nec satis scio nec, si sciam, dicere ausim, quippe qui cum veterem tum volgatam esse rem videam, dum novi semper scriptores aut in rebus certius aliquid allaturos se aut scribendi arte rudem vetustatem superaturos credunt. Utcumque erit, iuvabit tamen rerum gestarum memoriae principis terrarum populi pro virili parte et ipsum consuluisse; et si in tanta scriptorum turba mea fama in obscuro sit, nobilitate ac magnitudine eorum me qui nomini officient meo consoler. Res est praeterea et immensi operis, ut quae supra septingentesimum annum repetatur et quae ab exiguis profecta initiis eo creverit ut iam magnitudine labore sua; et legentium plerisque haud dubito quin primae origines proximaque originibus minus praebitura voluptatis sint, festinantibus ad haec nova quibus iam pridem praevalentis populi vires se ipsae conficiunt: ego contra hoc quoque laboris praemium petam, ut me a conspectu malorum quae nostra tot per annos vidit aetas, tantisper certe dum prisca [tota] illa mente repeto, avertam, omnis expers curae quae scribentis animum, etsi non flectere a uero, sollicitum tamen efficere posset.

Quae ante conditam condendamve urbem poeticis magis decora fabulis quam incorruptis rerum gestarum monumentis traduntur, ea nec adfirmare nec refellere in animo est. Datur haec venia antiquitati ut miscendo humana divinis primordia urbium augustiora faciat; et si cui populo licere oportet consecrare origines suas et ad deos referre auctores, ea belli gloria est populo Romano ut cum suum conditorisque sui parentem Martem potissimum ferat, tam et hoc gentes humanae patiantur aequo animo quam imperium patiuntur. Sed haec et his similia utcumque animaduversa aut existimata erunt haud in magno equidem ponam discrimine: ad illa mihi pro se quisque acriter intendat animum, quae vita, qui mores fuerint, per quos viros quibusque artibus domi militiaeque et partum et auctum imperium sit; labente deinde paulatim disciplina velut desidentes

primo mores sequatur animo, deinde ut magis magisque lapsi sint, tum ire coeperint praecipites, donec ad haec tempora quibus nec vitia nostra nec remedia pati possumus perventum est.

Hoc illud est praecipue in cognitione rerum salubre ac frugiferum, omnis te exempli documenta in inlustri posita monumento intueri; inde tibi tuaeque rei publicae quod imitere capias, inde foedum inceptu foedum exitu quod vites. Ceterum aut me amor negotii suscepti fallit, aut nulla unquam res publica nec maior nec sanctior nec bonis exemplis ditior fuit, nec in quam [civitatem] tam serae avaritia luxuriaque immigraverint, nec ubi tantus ac tam diu paupertati ac parsimoniae honos fuerit. Adeo quanto rerum minus, tanto minus cupiditatis erat: nuper divitiae avaritiam et abundantes voluptates desiderium per luxum atque libidinem pereundi perdendique omnia invexere.

Sed querellae, ne tum quidem gratae futurae cum forsitan necessariae erunt, ab initio certe tantae ordiendae rei absint: cum bonis potius ominibus votisque et precationibus deorum dearumque, si, ut poetis, nobis quoque mos esset, libentius inciperemus, ut orsis tantum operis successus prosperos darent.

LIBER I

[1] Iam primum omnium satis constat Troia capta in ceteros saevitum esse Troianos, duobus, Aeneae Antenorique, et vetusti iure hospitii et quia pacis reddendaeque Helenae semper auctores fuerant, omne ius belli Achivos abstinuisse; casibus deinde variis Antenorem cum multitudine Enetum, qui seditione ex Paphlagonia pulsus et sedes et ducem rege Pylaemene ad Troiam amisso quaerebant, venisse in intimum maris Hadriatici sinum, Euganeisque qui inter mare Alpesque incolebant pulsus Enetos Troianosque eas tenuisse terras. Et in quem primo egressi sunt locum Troia vocatur pagoque inde Troiano nomen est: gens universa Veneti appellati. Aeneam ab simili clade domo profugum sed ad maiora rerum initia ducentibus fatis, primo in Macedoniam venisse, inde in Siciliam quaerentem sedes delatum, ab Sicilia classe ad Laurentem agrum tenuisse. Troia et huic loco nomen est. Ibi egressi Troiani, ut quibus ab immenso prope errore nihil praeter arma et naves superesset, cum praedam ex agris agerent, Latinus rex Aboriginesque qui tum ea tenebant loca ad arcendam vim advenarum armati ex urbe atque agris concurrunt. Duplex inde fama est. Alii proelio victum Latinum pacem cum Aenea, deinde adfinitatem iunxisse tradunt: alii, cum instructae acies constitissent, priusquam signa canerent processisse Latinum inter primores ducemque advenarum evocasse ad conloquium; percontatum deinde qui mortales essent, unde aut quo casu profecti domo quidve quaerentes in agrum Laurentinum exissent, postquam audierit multitudinem Troianos esse, ducem Aeneam filium Anchisae et Veneris, cremata patria domo profugos, sedem condendaeque urbi locum quaerere, et nobilitatem admiratum gentis virique et animum vel bello vel paci paratum, dextra data fidem futurae amicitiae sanxisse. Inde foedus ictum inter duces, inter exercitus salutationem factam. Aeneam apud Latinum fuisse in hospitio; ibi Latinum apud penates deos domesticum publico adiunxisse foedus filia Aeneae in matrimonium data.

Ea res utique Troianis spem adfirmat tandem stabili certaue sede finiendi erroris. Oppidum condunt; Aeneas ab nomine uxoris Lavinium appellat. Brevi stirpis quoque virilis ex novo matrimonio

fuit, cui Ascanium parentes dixere nomen.

[2] Bello deinde Aborigines Troianique simul petiti. Turnus rex Rutulorum, cui pacta Lavinia ante adventum Aeneae fuerat, praelatum sibi advenam aegre patiens simul Aeneae Latinoque bellum intulerat. Neutra acies laeta ex eo certamine abiit: victi Rutuli: victores Aborigines Troianique ducem Latinum amisere. Inde Turnus Rutulique diffisi rebus ad florentes opes Etruscorum Mezentiumque regem eorum confugiunt, qui Caere opulento tum oppido imperitans, iam inde ab initio minime laetus novae origine urbis et tum nimio plus quam satis tutum esset accolis rem Troianam crescere ratus, haud gravatim socia arma Rutulis iunxit. Aeneas adversus tanti belli terrorem ut animos Aboriginum sibi conciliaret nec sub eodem iure solum sed etiam nomine omnes essent, Latinos utramque gentem appellavit; nec deinde Aborigines Troianis studio ac fide erga regem Aeneam cessere. Fretusque his animis coalescentium in dies magis duorum populorum Aeneas, quamquam tanta opibus Etruria erat ut iam non terras solum sed mare etiam per totam Italiae longitudinem ab Alpibus ad fretum Siculum fama nominis sui implesset, tamen cum moenibus bellum propulsare posset in aciem copias eduxit. Secundum inde proelium Latinis, Aeneae etiam ultimum operum mortalium fuit. Situs est, quemcumque eum dici ius fasque est super Numicum flumen: Iovem indigetem appellant.

[3] Nondum maturus imperio Ascanius Aeneae filius erat; tamen id imperium ei ad puberem aetatem incolume mansit; tantisper tutela muliebri — tanta indoles in Lavinia erat — res Latina et regnum avitum paternumque puero stetit. Haud ambigam — quis enim rem tam veterem pro certo adfirmet? — hicine fuerit Ascanius an maior quam hic, Creusa matre Ilio incolumi natus comesque inde paternae fugae, quem Iulum eundem Iulia gens auctorem nominis sui nuncupat. Is Ascanius, ubicumque et quacumque matre genitus — certe natum Aenea constat — abundante Lavinii multitudine florentem iam ut tum res erant atque opulentam urbem matri seu novercae relinquit, novam ipse aliam sub Albano monte condidit quae ab situ porrectae in dorso urbis Longa Alba appellata. Inter Lavinium et Albam Longam coloniam deductam triginta ferme interfuere anni. Tantum tamen opes creverant maxime fuis Etruscis

ut ne morte quidem Aeneae nec deinde inter muliebre tutelam rudimentumque primum puerilis regni movere arma aut Mezentius Etruscique aut ulli alii accolae ausi sint. Pax ita convenerat ut Etruscis Latinisque fluvius Albula, quem nunc Tiberim vocant, finis esset.

Silvius deinde regnat Ascani filius, casu quodam in silvis natus; is Aeneam Silvium creat; is deinde Latinum Silvium. Ab eo coloniae aliquot deductae, Prisci Latini appellati. Mansit Silviis postea omnibus cognomen, qui Albae regnarunt. Latino Alba ortus, Alba Atys, Atye Capys, Capye Capetus, Capeto Tiberinus, qui in traiectu Albulae amnis submersus celebre ad posteros nomen flumini dedit. Agrippa inde Tiberini filius, post Agrippam Romulus Silvius a patre accepto imperio regnat. Aventino fulmine ipse ictus regnum per manus tradidit. Is sepultus in eo colle qui nunc pars Romanae est urbis, cognomen colli fecit. Proca deinde regnat. Is Numitorem atque Amulium procreat, Numitori, qui stirpis maximus erat, regnum vetustum Silviae gentis legat. Plus tamen vis potuit quam voluntas patris aut verecundia aetatis: pulso fratre Amulius regnat. Addit sceleri scelus: stirpem fratris virilem interemit, fratris filiae Reae Silviae per speciem honoris cum Vestalem eam legisset perpetua virginitate spem partus adimit.

[4] Sed debebatur, ut opinor, fatis tantae origo urbis maximique secundum deorum opes imperii principium. Vi compressa Vestalis cum geminum partum edidisset, seu ita rata seu quia deus auctor culpae honestior erat, Martem incertae stirpis patrem nuncupat. Sed nec di nec homines aut ipsam aut stirpem a crudelitate regia vindicant: sacerdos vincta in custodiam datur, pueros in profluentem aquam mitti iubet. Forte quadam divinitus super ripas Tiberis effusus lenibus stagnis nec adiri usquam ad iusti cursum poterat amnis et posse quamvis languida mergi aqua infantes spem ferentibus dabat. Ita velut defuncti regis imperio in proxima alluvie ubi nunc ficus Ruminalis est — Romularem vocatam ferunt — pueros exponunt. Vastae tum in his locis solitudines erant. Tenet fama cum fluitantem alveum, quo expositi erant pueri, tenuis in sicco aqua destituisset, lupam sitientem ex montibus qui circa sunt ad puerilem vagitum cursum flexisse; eam submissas infantibus adeo mitem praebuisse mammas ut lingua lambentem pueros magister regii pecoris invenerit

— Faustulo fuisse nomen ferunt — ab eo ad stabula Larentiae uxori educandos datos. Sunt qui Larentiam volgato corpore lupam inter pastores vocatam putent; inde locum fabulae ac miraculo datum. Ita geniti itaque educati, cum primum adolevit aetas, nec in stabulis nec ad pecora segnes venando peragrarare saltus. Hinc robore corporibus animisque sumpto iam non feras tantum subsistere sed in latrones praeda onustos impetus facere pastoribusque rapta dividere et cum his crescente in dies grege iuvenum seria ac iocos celebrare.

[5] Iam tum in Palatio monte Lupercal hoc fuisse ludicrum ferunt, et a Pallanteo, urbe Arcadica, Pallantium, dein Palatium montem appellatum; ibi Evandrum, qui ex eo genere Arcadum multis ante tempestatibus tenuerit loca, sollemne allatum ex Arcadia instituisse ut nudi iuvenes Lycaeum Pana venerantes per lusum atque lasciviam currerent, quem Romani deinde vocarunt Inuum. Huic deditis ludicro cum sollemne notum esset insidiosos ob iram praedae amissae latrones, cum Romulus vi se defendisset, Remum cepisse, captum regi Amulio tradidisse, ultro accusantes. Crimini maxime dabant in Numitoris agros ab iis impetum fieri; inde eos collecta iuvenum manu hostilem in modum praedas agere. Sic Numitori ad supplicium Remus deditur. Iam inde ab initio Faustulo spes fuerat regiam stirpem apud se educari; nam et expositos iussu regis infantes sciebat et tempus quo ipse eos sustulisset ad id ipsum congruere; sed rem immaturam nisi aut per occasionem aut per necessitatem aperiri noluerat. Necessitas prior venit: ita metu subactus Romulo rem aperit. Forte et Numitori cum in custodia Remum haberet audissetque geminos esse fratres, comparando et aetatem eorum et ipsam minime servilem indolem, tetigerat animum memoria nepotum; sciscitandoque eodem pervenit ut haud procul esset quin Remum agnosceret. Ita undique regi dolus nequitur. Romulus non cum globo iuvenum — nec enim erat ad vim apertam par — sed aliis alio itinere iussis certo tempore ad regiam venire pastoribus ad regem impetum facit; et a domo Numitoris alia comparata manu adiuvat Remus. Ita regem obtruncat.

[6] Numitor inter primum tumultum, hostes invasisse urbem atque adortos regiam dictitans, cum pubem Albanam in arcem praesidio armisque obtinendam avocasset, postquam iuvenes perpetrata caede pergere ad se gratulantes vidit, extemplo advocato concilio scelera in

se fratris originem nepotum, ut geniti, ut educati, ut cogniti essent, caedem deinceps tyranni seque eius auctorem ostendit. Iuvenes per mediam contionem agmine ingressi cum avum regem salutassent, secuta ex omni multitudine consentiens vox ratum nomen imperiumque regi efficit.

Ita Numitori Albana re permissa Romulum Remumque cupido cepit in iis locis ubi expositi ubique educati erant urbis condendae. Et supererat multitudo Albanorum Latinorumque; ad id pastores quoque accesserant, qui omnes facile spem facerent parvam Albam, parvum Lavinium prae ea urbe quae conderetur fore. Intervenit deinde his cogitationibus avitum malum, regni cupido, atque inde foedum certamen coortum a satis miti principio. Quoniam gemini essent nec aetatis verecundia discrimen facere posset, ut di quorum tutelae ea loca essent auguriis legerent qui nomen novae urbi daret, qui conditam imperio regeret, Palatium Romulus, Remus Aventinum ad inaugurandum templa capiunt.

[7] Priori Remo augurium venisse fertur, sex voltures; iamque nuntiato augurio cum duplex numerus Romulo se ostendisset, utrumque regem sua multitudo consalutaverat: tempore illi praecepto, at hi numero avium regnum trahebant. Inde cum altercatione congressi certamine irarum ad caedem vertuntur; ibi in turba ictus Remus cecidit. Volgatior fama est ludibrio fratris Remum novos transiluisse muros; inde ab irato Romulo, cum verbis quoque increpitans adiecisset, “Sic deinde, quicumque alius transiliet moenia mea,” interfectum. Ita solus potitus imperio Romulus; condita urbs conditoris nomine appellata.

Palatium primum, in quo ipse erat educatus, muniit. Sacra dis aliis Albano ritu, Graeco Herculi, ut ab Evandro instituta erant, facit. Herculem in ea loca Geryone interempto boves mira specie abegisse memorant, ac prope Tiberim fluvium, qua prae se armentum agens nando traiecerat, loco herbido ut quiete et pabulo laeto reficeret boves et ipsum fessum via procubuisse. Ibi cum eum cibo vinoque gravatum sopor oppressisset, pastor accola eius loci, nomine Cacus, ferox viribus, captus pulchritudine boum cum avertere eam praedam vellet, quia si agendo armentum in speluncam compulisset ipsa vestigia quaerentem dominum eo deductura erant, aversos boves eximium quemque pulchritudine caudis in speluncam traxit. Hercules

ad primam auroram somno excitus cum gregem perlustrasset oculis et partem abesse numero sensisset, pergīt ad proximam speluncam, si forte eo vestigia ferrent. Quae ubi omnia foras versa vidit nec in partem aliam ferre, confusus atque incertus animi ex loco infesto agere porro armentum occepit. Inde cum actae boves quaedam ad desiderium, ut fit, relictarum mugissent, reddita inclusarum ex spelunca boum vox Herculem convertit. Quem cum vadentem ad speluncam Cacus vi prohibere conatus esset, ictus claua fidem pastorum nequiquam invocans morte occubuit. Evander tum ea, profugus ex Peloponneso, auctoritate magis quam imperio regebat loca, venerabilis vir miraculo litterarum, rei novae inter rudes artium homines, venerabilior divinitate credita Carmentae matris, quam fatiloquam ante Sibyllae in Italiam adventum miratae eae gentes fuerant. Is tum Evander concursu pastorum trepidantium circa advenam manifestae reum caedis excitus postquam facinus facinorisque causam audit, habitum formamque viri aliquantum ampliorem augustioremque humana intuens rogitat qui vir esset. Ubi nomen patremque ac patriam accepit, “Iove nate, Hercules, salve,” inquit; “te mihi mater, veridica interpres deum, aucturum caelestium numerum cecinit, tibi que aram hic dicatum iri quam opulentissima olim in terris gens maximam vocet tuoque ritu colat.” Dextra Hercules data accipere se omen impleturumque fata ara condita ac dicata ait. Ibi tum primum bove eximia capta de grege sacrum Herculi, adhibitis ad ministerium dapemque Potitiis ac Pinariis, quae tum familiae maxime inclitae ea loca incolebant, factum. Forte ita evenit ut Potitii ad tempus praesto essent iisque exta apponerentur, Pinarii extis adesis ad ceteram venirent dapem. Inde institutum mansit donec Pinarium genus fuit, ne extis eorum sollemnium vescerentur. Potitii ab Evandro edocti antistites sacri eius per multas aetates fuerunt, donec tradito servis publicis sollemni familiae ministerio genus omne Potitiorum interiit. Haec tum sacra Romulus una ex omnibus peregrina suscepit, iam tum immortalitatis virtute partae ad quam eum sua fata ducebant fautor.

[8] Rebus divinis rite perpetratis vocataque ad concilium multitudine quae coalescere in populi unius corpus nulla re praeterquam legibus poterat, iura dedit; quae ita sancta generi hominum agresti fore ratus, si se ipse venerabilem insignibus imperii

fecisset, cum cetero habitu se augustiorem, tum maxime lictoribus duodecim sumptis fecit. Alii ab numero avium quae augurio regnum portenderant eum secutum numerum putant. me haud paenitet eorum sententiae esse quibus et apparitores hoc genus ab Etruscis finitimis, unde sella curulis, unde toga praetexta sumpta est, et numerum quoque ipsum ductum placet, et ita habuisse Etruscos quod ex duodecim populis communiter creato rege singulos singuli populi lictores dederint.

Crescebat interim urbs munitionibus alia atque alia appetendo loca, cum in spem magis futurae multitudinis quam ad id quod tum hominum erat munirent. Deinde ne vana urbis magnitudo esset, adiciendae multitudinis causa vetere consilio condentium urbes, qui obscuram atque humilem conciendo ad se multitudinem natam e terra sibi prolem ementiebantur, locum qui nunc saeptus descendentibus inter duos lucos est asylum aperit. Eo ex finitimis populis turba omnis sine discrimine, liber an servus esset, avida novarum rerum perfugit, idque primum ad coeptam magnitudinem roboris fuit. Cum iam virium haud paeniteret consilium deinde viribus parat. Centum creat senatores, sive quia is numerus satis erat, sive quia soli centum erant qui creari patres possent. Patres certe ab honore patriciique progenies eorum appellati.

[9] Iam res Romana adeo erat valida ut cuilibet finitimarum civitatum bello par esset; sed penuria mulierum hominis aetatem duratura magnitudo erat, quippe quibus nec domi spes prolis nec cum finitimis conubia essent. Tum ex consilio patrum Romulus legatos circa vicinas gentes misit qui societatem conubiumque novo populo peterent: urbes quoque, ut cetera, ex infimo nasci; dein, quas sua virtus ac di iuvent, magnas opes sibi magnumque nomen facere; satis scire, origini Romanae et deos adfuisse et non defuturam virtutem; proinde ne gravarentur homines cum hominibus sanguinem ac genus miscere. Nusquam benigne legatio audita est: adeo simul spernebant, simul tantam in medio crescentem molem sibi ac posteris suis metuebant. Ac plerisque rogitantibus dimissi ecquod feminis quoque asylum aperuissent; id enim demum compar conubium fore. Aegre id Romana pubes passa et haud dubie ad vim spectare res coepit. Cui tempus locumque aptum ut daret Romulus aegritudinem animi dissimulans ludos ex industria parat Neptuno equestri sollemnes;

Consualia vocat. Indici deinde finitimis spectaculum iubet; quantoque apparatu tum sciebant aut poterant, concelebrant ut rem claram exspectatamque facerent.

Multi mortales convenere, studio etiam videndae novae urbis, maxime proximi quique, Caeninenses, Crustumini, Antemnates; iam Sabinorum omnis multitudo cum liberis ac coniugibus venit. Inuitati hospitaliter per domos cum situm moeniaque et frequentem tectis urbem vidissent, mirantur tam brevi rem Romanam crevisse. Ubi spectaculi tempus venit deditaque eo mentes cum oculis erant, tum ex composito orta vis signoque dato iuventus Romana ad rapiendas virgines discurrit. Magna pars forte in quem quaeque inciderat raptae: quasdam forma excellentes, primoribus patrum destinatas, ex plebe homines quibus datum negotium erat domos deferebant. Unam longe ante alias specie ac pulchritudine insignem a globo Thalassii cuiusdam raptam ferunt multisque sciscitantibus cuinam eam ferrent, identidem ne quis violaret Thalassio ferri clamitatum; inde nuptialem hanc vocem factam.

Turbato per metum ludicro maesti parentes virginum profugiant, incusantes violati hospitii foedus deumque invocantes cuius ad sollemne ludosque per fas ac fidem decepti venissent. Nec raptis aut spes de se melior aut indignatio est minor. Sed ipse Romulus circumibat docebatque patrum id superbia factum qui conubium finitimis negassent; illas tamen in matrimonio, in societate fortunarum omnium civitatisque et quo nihil carius humano generi sit liberum fore; mollirent modo iras et, quibus fors corpora dedisset, darent animos; saepe ex iniuria postmodum gratiam ortam; eoque melioribus usuris viris quod adniscurus pro se quisque sit ut, cum suam vicem functus officio sit, parentum etiam patriaeque expleat desiderium. Accedebant blanditiae virorum, factum purgantium cupiditate atque amore, quae maxime ad muliebrem ingenium efficaces preces sunt.

[10] Iam admodum mitigati animi raptis erant; at raptarum parentes tum maxime sordida veste lacrimisque et querellis civitates concitabant. Nec domi tantum indignationes continebant sed congregabantur undique ad T. Tatium regem Sabinorum, et legationes eo quod maximum Tati nomen in iis regionibus erat conveniebant. Caeninenses Crustumini et Antemnates erant ad

quos eius iniuriae pars pertinebat. Lente agere his Tatius Sabinique visi sunt: ipsi inter se tres populi communiter bellum parant. Ne Crustumini quidem atque Antemnates pro ardore iraque Caeninensium satis se impigre movent; ita per se ipsum nomen Caeninum in agrum Romanum impetum facit. Sed effuse vastantibus fit obuius cum exercitu Romulus leuique certamine docet vanam sine viribus iram esse. Exercitum fundit fugatque, fusum persequitur: regem in proelio obtruncat et spoliatur: duce hostium occiso urbem primo impetu capit. Inde exercitu victore reducto, ipse cum factis vir magnificus tum factorum ostentator haud minor, spolia ducis hostium caesi suspensa fabricato ad id apte ferculo gerens in Capitolium escendit; ibique ea cum ad quercum pastoribus sacram deposuisset, simul cum dono designavit templo Iouis fines cognomenque addidit deo: “Iuppiter Feretri” inquit, “haec tibi victor Romulus rex regia arma fero, templumque his regionibus quas modo animo metatus sum dedico, sedem opimis spoliis quae regibus ducibusque hostium caesis me auctorem sequentes posterius ferent.” Haec templi est origo quod primum omnium Romae sacrum est. Ita deinde dis visum nec inritam conditoris templi vocem esse qua laturos eo spolia posteros nuncupavit nec multitudine compotum eius doni volgari laudem. Bina postea, inter tot annos, tot bella, optima parta sunt spolia: adeo rara eius fortuna decoris fuit.

[11] Dum ea ibi Romani gerunt, Antemnatum exercitus per occasionem ac solitudinem hostiliter in fines Romanos incursionem facit. Raptim et ad hos Romana legio ducta palatos in agris oppressit. Fusi igitur primo impetu et clamore hostes, oppidum captum; duplicique victoria ouantem Romulum Hersilia coniunx precibus raptarum fatigata orat ut parentibus earum det veniam et in civitatem accipiat: ita rem coalescere concordia posse. Facile impetratum. Inde contra Crustuminos profectus bellum inferentes. Ibi minus etiam quod alienis cladibus ceciderant animi certaminis fuit. Utroque coloniae missae: plures inventi qui propter ubertatem terrae in Crustuminum nomina darent. Et Romam inde frequenter migratum est, a parentibus maxime ac propinquis raptarum.

Novissimum ab Sabinis bellum ortum multoque id maximum fuit; nihil enim per iram aut cupiditatem actum est, nec ostenderunt bellum prius quam intulerunt. Consilio etiam additus dolus. Sp.

Tarpeius Romanae praeerat arci. Huius filiam virginem auro corrumpit Tatius ut armatos in arcem accipiat; aquam forte ea tum sacris extra moenia petitem ierat. Accepti obrutam armis necavere, seu ut vi capta potius arx videretur seu prodendi exempli causa ne quid usquam fidum proditori esset. Additur fabula, quod volgo Sabini aureas armillas magni ponderis brachio laevo gemmatosque magna specie anulos habuerint, pepigisse eam quod in sinistris manibus haberent; eo scuta illi pro aureis donis congesta. Sunt qui eam ex pacto tradendi quod in sinistris manibus esset directo arma petisse dicant et fraude visam agere sua ipsam peremptam mercede.

[12] Tenuere tamen arcem Sabini; atque inde postero die, cum Romanus exercitus instructus quod inter Palatinum Capitolinumque collem campi est compleret, non prius descenderunt in aequum quam ira et cupiditate recipiendae arcis stimulante animos in adversum Romani subire. Principes utrimque pugnam ciebant ab Sabinis Mettius Curtius, ab Romanis Hostius Hostilius. Hic rem Romanam iniquo loco ad prima signa animo atque audacia sustinebat. Ut Hostius cecidit, confestim Romana inclinatur acies fusaque est. Ad veterem portam Palati Romulus et ipse turba fugientium actus, arma ad caelum tollens, "Iuppiter, tuis" inquit "iussus avibus hic in Palatio prima urbi fundamenta ieci. Arcem iam scelere emptam Sabini habent; inde huc armati superata media valle tendunt; at tu, pater deum hominumque, hinc saltem arce hostes; deme terrorem Romanis fugamque foedam siste. Hic ego tibi templum Statori Iovi, quod monumentum sit posteris tua praesenti ope servatam urbem esse, voveo." Haec precatus, veluti sensisset auditas preces, "Hinc" inquit, "Romani, Iuppiter optimus maximus resistere atque iterare pugnam iubet." Restitere Romani tamquam caelesti voce iussi: ipse ad primores Romulus provolat. Mettius Curtius ab Sabinis princeps ab arce decucurrerat et effusos egerat Romanos toto quantum foro spatium est. Nec procul iam a porta Palati erat, clamitans: "Vicimus perfidos hospites, imbelles hostes; iam sciunt longe aliud esse virgines rapere, aliud pugnare cum viris." In eum haec gloriantem cum globo ferocissimorum iuvenum Romulus impetum facit. Ex equo tum forte Mettius pugnabat; eo pelli facilius fuit.

Pulsum Romani persequuntur; et alia Romana acies, audacia regis

accensa, fundit Sabinos. Mettius in paludem sese strepitu sequentium trepidante equo coniecit; averteratque ea res etiam Sabinos tanti periculo viri. Et ille quidem adnuentibus ac vocantibus suis favore multorum addito animo evadit: Romani Sabinique in media conualle duorum montium redintegrant proelium; sed res Romana erat superior.

[13] Tum Sabinae mulieres, quarum ex iniuria bellum ortum erat, crinibus passis scissaque veste, victo malis muliebri pavore, ausae se inter tela volantia inferre, ex transverso impetu facto dirimere infestas acies, dirimere iras, hinc patres, hinc viros orantes, ne sanguine se nefando soceri generique respergerent, ne parricidio macularent partus suos, nepotum illi, hi liberum progeniem. “Si adfinitatis inter vos, si conubii piget, in nos vertite iras; nos causa belli, nos vulnere ac caedium viris ac parentibus sumus; melius peribimus quam sine alteris vestrum viduae aut orbae vivemus,” movet res cum multitudinem tum duces; silentium et repentina fit quies; inde ad foedus faciendum duces prodeunt. Nec pacem modo sed civitatem unam ex duabus faciunt. Regnum consociant: imperium omne conferunt Romam. Ita geminata urbe ut Sabinis tamen aliquid daretur Quirites a Curibus appellati. Monumentum eius pugnae ubi primum ex profunda emersus palude equus Curtium in vado statuit, Curtium lacum appellarunt.

Ex bello tam tristi laeta repente pax cariores Sabinas viris ac parentibus et ante omnes Romulo ipsi fecit. Itaque cum populum in curias triginta divideret, nomina earum curiis imposuit. Id non traditur, cum haud dubie aliquanto numerus maior hoc mulierum fuerit, aetate an dignitatibus suis virorumue an sorte lectae sint, quae nomina curiis darent. Eodem tempore et centuriae tres equitum conscriptae sunt. Ramnenses ab Romulo, ab T. Tatio Titienses appellati: Lucerum nominis et originis causa incerta est. Inde non modo commune sed concors etiam regnum duobus regibus fuit.

[14] Post aliquot annos propinqui regis Tati legatos Laurentium pulsant; cumque Laurentes iure gentium agerent, apud Tatium gratia suorum et preces plus poterant. Igitur illorum poenam in se vertit; nam Lavinii cum ad sollemne sacrificium eo venisset concursu facto interficitur. Eam rem minus aegre quam dignum erat tulisse Romulum ferunt, seu ob infidam societatem regni seu quia haud

iniuria caesum credebat. Itaque bello quidem abstinuit; ut tamen expiarentur legatorum iniuriae regisque caedes, foedus inter Romam Laviniumque urbes renovatum est.

Et cum his quidem insperata pax erat: aliud multo propius atque in ipsis prope portis bellum ortum. Fidenates nimis vicinas prope se conualescere opes rati, priusquam tantum roboris esset quantum futurum apparebat, occupant bellum facere. Iuventute armata immissa vastatur agri quod inter urbem ac Fidenas est; inde ad laevam versi quia dextra Tiberis arcebat, cum magna trepidatione agrestium populantur, tumultusque repens ex agris in urbem inlatus pro nuntio fuit. Excitus Romulus — neque enim dilationem pati tam vicinum bellum poterat — exercitum educit, castra a Fidenis mille passuum locat. Ibi modico praesidio relicto, egressus omnibus copiis partem militum locis circa densa obsita virgulta obscuris subsidere in insidiis iussit: cum parte maiore atque omni equitatu profectus, id quod quaerebat, tumultuoso et minaci genere pugnae adequitando ipsis prope portis hostem excivit. Fugae quoque, quae simulanda erat, eadem equestris pugna causam minus mirabilem dedit. Et cum, velut inter pugnae fugaeque consilium trepidante equitatu, pedes quoque referret gradum, plenis repente portis effusi hostes impulsa Romana acie studio instandi sequendique trahuntur ad locum insidiarum. Inde subito exorti Romani transversam invadunt hostium aciem; addunt pavorem mota e castris signa eorum qui in praesidio relicti fuerant.

Ita multiplici terrore perculsi Fidenates prius paene, quam Romulus quique avehi cum eo visi erant circumagerent frenis equos, terga vertunt; multoque effusius, quippe vera fuga, qui simulantes paulo ante secuti erant oppidum repetebant. Non tamen eripuerunt se hosti: haerens in tergo Romanus, priusquam fores portarum obicerentur, velut agmine uno inrumpit.

[15] Belli Fidenatis contagione irritati Veientium animi et consanguinitate — nam Fidenates quoque Etrusci fuerunt — et quod ipsa propinquitas loci, si Romana arma omnibus infesta finitimis essent, stimulabat. In fines Romanos excucurrerunt populabundi magis quam iusti more belli. Itaque non castris positis, non exspectato hostium exercitu, raptam ex agris praedam portantes Veios rediere. Romanus contra postquam hostem in agris non

invenit, dimicationi ultimae instructus intentusque Tiberim transit. Quem postquam castra ponere et ad urbem accessurum Veientes audivere, obviam egressi ut potius acie decernerent quam inclusi de tectis moenibusque dimicarent. Ibi viribus nulla arte adiutis, tantum veterani robore exercitus rex Romanus vicit; persecutusque fusos ad moenia hostes, urbe valida muris ac situ ipso munita abstinuit, agros rediens vastat, ulciscendi magis quam praedae studio; eaque clade haud minus quam adversa pugna subacti Veientes pacem petitem oratores Romam mittunt. Agri parte multatis in centum annos indutiae datae.

Haec ferme Romulo regnante domi militiaeque gesta, quorum nihil absonum fidei divinae originis divinitatisque post mortem creditae fuit, non animus in regno avito recipiendo, non condendae urbis consilium, non bello ac pace firmandae. Ab illo enim profecto viribus datis tantum valuit ut in quadraginta deinde annos tutam pacem haberet. Multitudini tamen gratior fuit quam patribus, longe ante alios acceptissimus militum animis; trecentosque armatos ad custodiam corporis quos Celeres appellavit non in bello solum sed etiam in pace habuit.

[16] His immortalibus editis operibus cum ad exercitum recensendum contionem in campo ad Caprae paludem haberet, subito coorta tempestas cum magno fragore tonitribusque tam denso regem operuit nimbo ut conspectum eius contioni abstulerit; nec deinde in terris Romulus fuit. Romana pubes sedato tandem pavore postquam ex tam turbido die serena et tranquilla lux rediit, ubi vacuam sedem regiam vidit, etsi satis credebat patribus qui proximi steterant sublimem raptum procella, tamen velut orbitatis metu icta maestum aliquamdiu silentium obtinuit. Deinde a paucis initio facto, deum deo natum, regem parentemque urbis Romanae salvere universi Romulum iubent; pacem precibus exposcunt, uti volens propitius suam semper sospitet progeniem. Fuisse credo tum quoque aliquos qui discerptum regem patrum manibus taciti arguerent; manavit enim haec quoque sed perobscura fama; illam alteram admiratio viri et pavor praesens nobilitavit. Et consilio etiam unius hominis addita rei dicitur fides. Namque Proculus Iulius, sollicita civitate desiderio regis et infensa patribus, gravis, ut traditur, quamvis magnae rei auctor in contionem prodit. "Romulus" inquit, "Quirites, parens urbis

huius, prima hodierna luce caelo repente delapsus se mihi obvium dedit. Cum perfusus horrore venerabundusque adstitissem petens precibus ut contra intueri fas esset, ““Abi, nuntia”“ inquit ““Romanis, caelestes ita velle ut mea Roma caput orbis terrarum sit; proinde rem militarem colant sciantque et ita posteris tradant nullas opes humanas armis Romanis resistere posse.”“ Haec” inquit “locutus sublimis abiit.” Mirum quantum illi viro nuntianti haec fides fuerit, quamque desiderium Romuli apud plebem exercitumque facta fide immortalitatis lenitum sit.

[17] Patrum interim animos certamen regni ac cupido versabat; necdum ad singulos, quia nemo magnopere eminebat in novo populo, pervenerat: factionibus inter ordines certabatur. Oriundi ab Sabinis, ne quia post Tati mortem ab sua parte non erat regnatum, in societate aequa possessionem imperii amitterent, sui corporis creari regem volebant: Romani veteres peregrinum regem aspernabantur. In variis voluntatibus regnari tamen omnes volebant, libertatis dulcedine nondum experta. Timor deinde patres incessit ne civitatem sine imperio, exercitum sine duce, multarum circa civitatum inirritatis animis, vis aliqua externa adoriretur. Et esse igitur aliquod caput placebat, et nemo alteri concedere in animum inducebat. Ita rem inter se centum patres, decem decuriis factis singulisque in singulas decurias creatis qui summae rerum praeessent consociant. Decem imperitabant: unus cum insignibus imperii et lictoribus erat: quinque dierum spatio finiebatur imperium ac per omnes in orbem ibat, annumque interuallum regni fuit. Id ab re quod nunc quoque tenet nomen interregnum appellatum. Fremere deinde plebs multiplicatam servitutem, centum pro uno dominos factos; nec ultra nisi regem et ab ipsis creatum videbantur passuri. Cum sensissent ea moveri patres, offerendum ultro rati quod amissuri erant, ita gratiam ineunt summa potestate populo permissa ut non plus darent iuris quam detinerent. Decreverunt enim ut cum populus regem iussisset, id sic ratum esset si patres auctores fierent. Hodie quoque in legibus magistratibusque rogandis usurpatur idem ius, vi adempta: priusquam populus suffragium ineat, in incertum comitiorum eventum patres auctores fiunt. Tum interrex contione advocata, “Quod bonum, faustum felixque sit” inquit, “Quirites, regem create: ita patribus visum est. Patres deinde, si dignum qui secundus ab

Romulo numeretur crearetis, auctores fient.” Adeo id gratum plebi fuit ut, ne victi beneficio viderentur, id modo sciscerent iuberentque ut senatus decerneret qui Romae regnaret.

[18] Inclita iustitia religioque ea tempestate Numae Pompili erat. Curibus Sabinis habitabat, consultissimus vir, ut in illa quisquam esse aetate poterat, omnis divini atque humani iuris. Auctorem doctrinae eius, quia non exstat alius, falso Samium Pythagoram edunt, quem Servio Tullio regnante Romae centum amplius post annos in ultima Italiae ora circa Metapontum Heracleamque et Crotona iuvenum aemulantium studia coetus habuisse constat. Ex quibus locis, etsi eiusdem aetatis fuisset, quae fama in Sabinos? Aut quo linguae commercio quemquam ad cupiditatem discendi excivisset? Quove praesidio unus per tot gentes dissonas sermone moribusque pervenisset? Suapte igitur ingenio temperatum animum virtutibus fuisse opinor magis instructumque non tam peregrinis artibus quam disciplina tetrica ac tristi veterum Sabinorum, quo genere nullum quondam incorruptius fuit. Audito nomine Numae patres Romani, quamquam inclinari opes ad Sabinos rege inde sumpto videbantur, tamen neque se quisquam nec factionis suae alium nec denique patrum aut civium quemquam praeferre illi viro ausi, ad unum omnes Numae Pompilio regnum deferendum decernunt. Accitus, sicut Romulus augurato urbe condenda regnum adeptus est, de se quoque deos consuli iussit. Inde ab augure, cui deinde honoris ergo publicum id perpetuumque sacerdotium fuit, deductus in arcem, in lapide ad meridiem versus consedit. Augur ad laevam eius capite velato sedem cepit, dextra manu baculum sine nodo aduncum tenens quem lituum appellarunt. Inde ubi prospectu in urbem agrumque capto deos precatus regiones ab oriente ad occasum determinavit, dexteris ad meridiem partes, laevas ad septentrionem esse dixit; signum contra quo longissime conspectum oculi ferebant animo finivit; tum lituo in laevam manum translato, dextra in caput Numae imposita, ita precatus est: “Iuppiter pater, si est fas hunc Numam Pompilium cuius ego caput teneo regem Romae esse, uti tu signa nobis certa adclarassis inter eos fines quod feci.” Tum peregit verbis auspicia quae mitti vellet. Quibus missis declaratus rex Numa de templo descendit.

[19] Qui regno ita potitus urbem novam conditam vi et armis, iure

eam legibusque ac moribus de integro condere parat. Quibus cum inter bella adsuescere videret non posse — quippe efferari militia animos — , mitigandum ferocem populum armorum desuetudine ratus, Ianum ad infimum Argiletum indicem pacis bellique fecit, apertus ut in armis esse civitatem, clausus pacatos circa omnes populos significaret. Bis deinde post Numae regnum clausus fuit, semel T. Manlio consule post Punicum primum perfectum bellum, iterum, quod nostrae aetati di dederunt ut videremus, post bellum Actiacum ab imperatore Caesare Augusto pace terra marique parta. — Clauso eo cum omnium circa finitimorum societate ac foederibus iunxisset animos, positis externorum periculorum curis, ne luxuriarent otio animi quos metus hostium disciplinaque militaris continerat, omnium primum, rem ad multitudinem imperitam et illis saeculis rudem efficacissimam, deorum metum iniciendum ratus est. Qui cum descendere ad animos sine aliquo commento miraculi non posset, simulat sibi cum dea Egeria congressus nocturnos esse; eius se monitu quae acceptissima dis essent sacra instituere, sacerdotes suos cuique deorum praeficere. Atque omnium primum ad cursus lunae in duodecim menses describit annum; quem quia tricenos dies singulis mensibus luna non explet desuntque sex dies solido anno qui solstitiali circumagitur orbe, intercalariis mensibus interponendis ita dispensavit, ut vicesimo anno ad metam eandem solis unde orsi essent, plenis omnium annorum spatiis dies congruerent. Idem nefastos dies fastosque fecit quia aliquando nihil cum populo agi utile futurum erat.

[20] Tum sacerdotibus creandis animum adiecit, quamquam ipse plurima sacra obibat, ea maxime quae nunc ad Dialectem flaminem pertinent. Sed quia in civitate bellicosa plures Romuli quam Numae similes reges putabat fore iturosque ipsos ad bella, ne sacra regiae vicis desererentur flaminem Iovi adsiduum sacerdotem creavit insignique eum veste et curuli regia sella adornavit. Huic duos flamines adiecit, Marti unum, alterum Quirino, virginesque Vestae legit, Alba oriundum sacerdotium et genti conditoris haud alienum. His ut adsiduae templi antistites essent stipendium de publico statuit; virginitate aliisque caerimoniis venerabiles ac sanctas fecit. Salios item duodecim Marti Gradiuo legit, tunicaeque pictae insigne dedit et super tunicam aeneum pectori tegumen; caelestiaque arma, quae

ancilia appellantur, ferre ac per urbem ire canentes carmina cum tripudiis sollemnique saltatu iussit. Pontificem deinde Numam Marcium Marci filium ex patribus legit eique sacra omnia exscripta exsignataque attribuit, quibus hostiis, quibus diebus, ad quae templa sacra fierent, atque unde in eos sumptus pecunia erogaretur. Cetera quoque omnia publica privataque sacra pontificis scitis subiecit, ut esset quo consultum plebes veniret, ne quid divini iuris negligendo patrios ritus peregrinosque adsciscendo turbaretur; nec caelestes modo caerimonias, sed iusta quoque funebria placandosque manes ut idem pontifex edoceret, quaeque prodigia fulminibus a Iove quo visu missa susciperentur atque curarentur. Ad ea elicienda ex mentibus divinis Iovi Elicio aram in Aventino dicavit deumque consuluit auguriis, quae suscipienda essent.

[21] Ad haec consultanda procurandaque multitudine omni a vi et armis conversa, et animi aliquid agendo occupati erant, et deorum adsidua insidens cura, cum interesse rebus humanis caeleste numen videretur, ea pietate omnium pectora imbuerat ut fides ac ius iurandum [proximo] legum ac poenarum metu civitatem regerent. Et cum ipsi se homines in regis velut unici exempli mores formarent, tum finitimi etiam populi, qui antea castra non urbem positam in medio ad sollicitandam omnium pacem crediderant, in eam verecundiam adducti sunt, ut civitatem totam in cultum versam deorum violari ducerent nefas. Lucus erat quem medium ex opaco specu fons perenni rigabat aqua.

Quo quia se persaepe Numa sine arbitris velut ad congressum deae inferebat, Camenis eum lucum sacravit, quod earum ibi concilia cum coniuge sua Egeria essent. Et [soli] Fidei sollemne instituit. Ad id sacrarium flamines bigis curru arcuato vehi iussit manuque ad digitos usque inuoluta rem divinam facere, significantes fidem tutandam sedemque eius etiam in dexteris sacratam esse. Multa alia sacrificia locaque sacris faciendis quae Argeos pontifices vocant dedicavit. Omnium tamen maximum eius operum fuit tutela per omne regni tempus haud minor pacis quam regni. Ita duo deinceps reges, alius alia via, ille bello, hic pace, civitatem auxerunt. Romulus septem et triginta regnavit annos, Numa tres et quadraginta. Cum valida tum temperata et belli et pacis artibus erat civitas.

[22] Numae morte ad interregnum res rediit. Inde Tullum

Hostilium, nepotem Hostili, cuius in infima arce clara pugna adversus Sabinos fuerat, regem populus iussit; patres auctores acti. Hic non solum proximo regi dissimilis sed ferocior etiam quam Romulus fuit. Cum aetas viresque tum avita quoque gloria animum stimulabat. Senescere igitur civitatem otio ratus undique materiam excitandi belli quaerebat. Forte evenit ut agrestes Romani ex Albano agro, Albani ex Romano praedas in vicem agerent. Imperitabat tum Gaius Cluilius Albae. Utrimque legati fere sub idem tempus ad res repetendas missi. Tullus praeceperat suis ne quid prius quam mandata agerent; satis sciebat negaturum Albanum; ita pie bellum indici posse. Ab Albanis socordius res acta; excepti hospitio ab Tullo blande ac benigne, comiter regis convivium celebrant. Tantisper Romani et res repeterant priores et neganti Albano bellum in tricesimum diem indixerant. Haec renuntiant Tullo. Tum legatis Tullus dicendi potestatem quid petentes venerint facit. Illi omnium ignari primum purgando terunt tempus: se invitos quicquam quod minus placeat Tullo dicturos, sed imperio subigi; res repetitum se venisse; ni reddantur bellum indicare iussos. Ad haec Tullus “Nuntiate” inquit, “regi vestro regem Romanum deos facere testes, uter prius populus res repetentes legatos aspernatus dimiserit, ut in eum omnes expetant huiusce clades belli.”

[23] Haec nuntiant domum Albani. Et bellum utrimque summa ope parabatur, civili simillimum bello, prope inter parentes natosque, Troianam utramque prolem, cum Lavinium ab Troia, ab Lavinio Alba, ab Albanorum stirpe regum oriundi Romani essent. Eventus tamen belli minus miserabilem dimicationem fecit, quod nec acie certatum est et tectis modo dirutis alterius urbis duo populi in unum confusi sunt. Albani priores ingenti exercitu in agrum Romanum impetum fecere.

Castra ab urbe haud plus quinque milia passuum locant, fossa circumdant; fossa Cluilia ab nomine ducis per aliquot saecula appellata est, donec cum re nomen quoque vetustate abolevit. In his castris Cluilius Albanus rex moritur; dictatorem Albani Mettium Fufetium creant. Interim Tullus ferox, praecipue morte regis, magnumque deorum numen ab ipso capite orsum in omne nomen Albanum expetiturum poenas ob bellum impium dictitans, nocte praeteritis hostium castris, infesto exercitu in agrum Albanum pergit.

Ea res ab stativis excivit Mettium. Ducit quam proxime ad hostem potest; inde legatum praemisum nuntiare Tullo iubet priusquam dimicent opus esse conloquio; si secum congressus sit, satis scire ea se allaturum quae nihilo minus ad rem Romanam quam ad Albanam pertineant. Haud aspernatus Tullus, tamen si vana adferantur in aciem educit.

Exeunt contra et Albani. Postquam instructi utrimque stabant, cum paucis procerum in medium duces procedunt. Ibi infit Albanus: “Iniurias et non redditas res ex foedere quae repetitae sint, et ego regem nostrum Cluilius causam huiusce esse belli audisse videor, nec te dubito, Tulle, eadem prae te ferre; sed si vera potius quam dictu speciosa dicenda sunt, cupido imperii duos cognatos vicinosque populos ad arma stimulat. Neque, recte an perperam, interpretor. Fuerit ista eius deliberatio qui bellum suscepit: me Albani gerendo bello ducem creavere. Illud te, Tulle, monitum velim: Etrusca res quanta circa nos teque maxime sit, quo propior es Volscis hoc magis scis. Multum illi terra, plurimum mari pollent. Memor esto, iam cum signum pugnae dabis, has duas acies spectaculo fore ut fessos confectosque simul victorem ac victum adgrediantur. Itaque si nos di amant, quoniam non contenti libertate certa in dubiam imperii servitiiue aleam imus, ineamus aliquam viam qua utri utris imperent sine magna clade, sine multo sanguine utriusque populi decerni possit.” Haud displicet res Tullo quamquam cum indole animi tum spe victoriae ferocior erat. Quaerentibus utrimque ratio initur cui et fortuna ipsa praebeuit materiam.

[24] Forte in duobus tum exercitibus erant trigemini fratres, nec aetate nec viribus dispares. Horatios Curiatiosque fuisse satis constat, nec ferme res antiqua alia est nobilior; tamen in re tam clara nominum error manet, utrius populi Horatii, utrius Curiatii fuerint. Auctores utroque trahunt; plures tamen invenio qui Romanos Horatios vocent; hos ut sequar inclinatus animus. Cum trigeminis agunt reges ut pro sua quisque patria dimicent ferro; ibi imperium fore unde victoria fuerit. Nihil recusatur; tempus et locus convenit. Priusquam dimicarent foedus ictum inter Romanos et Albanos est his legibus ut cuiusque populi cives eo certamine vicissent, is alteri populo cum bona pace imperitaret. Foedera alia aliis legibus, ceterum eodem modo omnia fiunt. Tum ita factum accepimus, nec ullius

vetustior foederis memoria est. Fetialis regem Tullum ita rogavit: "Iubesne me, rex, cum patre patrato populi Albani foedus ferire?" Iubente rege, "Sagmina" inquit "te, rex, posco." Rex ait: "Pura tollito." Fetialis ex arce graminis herbam puram attulit. Postea regem ita rogavit: "Rex, facisne me tu regium nuntium populi Romani Quiritium, vasa comitesque meos?" Rex respondit: "Quod sine fraude mea populi Romani Quiritium fiat, facio." Fetialis erat M. Valerius; is patrem patratum Sp. Fusium fecit, verbena caput capillosque tangens. Pater patratus ad ius iurandum patrandum, id est, sanciendum fit foedus; multisque id verbis, quae longo effata carmine non operae est referre, peragit. Legibus deinde, recitatis, "Audi" inquit, "Iuppiter; audi, pater patratus populi Albani; audi tu, populus Albanus. Ut illa palam prima postrema ex illis tabulis cerave recitata sunt sine dolo malo, utique ea hic hodie rectissime intellecta sunt, illis legibus populus Romanus prior non deficiet. Si prior defexit publico consilio dolo malo, tum ille Diespiter populum Romanum sic ferito ut ego hunc porcum hic hodie feriam; tantoque magis ferito quanto magis potes pollesque." Id ubi dixit porcum saxo silice percussit. Sua item carmina Albani suumque ius iurandum per suum dictatorem suosque sacerdotes peregerunt.

[25] Foedere icto trigemini, sicut convenerat, arma capiunt. Cum sui utrosque adhortarentur, deos patrios, patriam ac parentes, quidquid civium domi, quidquid in exercitu sit, illorum tunc arma, illorum intueri manus, feroces et suo apte ingenio et pleni adhortantium vocibus in medium inter duas acies procedunt. Considerant utrimque pro castris duo exercitus, periculi magis praesentis quam curae expertes; quippe imperium agebatur in tam paucorum virtute atque fortuna positum. Itaque ergo erecti suspensique in minime gratum spectaculum animo incenduntur. Datur signum infestisque armis velut acies terni iuvenes magnorum exercituum animos gerentes concurrunt. Nec his nec illis periculum suum, publicum imperium servitiumque obversatur animo futuraque ea deinde patriae fortuna quam ipsi fecissent. Ut primo statim concursu increpuere arma micantesque fulsere gladii, horror ingens spectantes perstringit et neutro inclinata spe torpebat vox spiritusque. Consertis deinde manibus cum iam non motus tantum corporum agitatioque anceps telorum armorumque sed volnera quoque et

sanguis spectaculo essent, duo Romani super alium alius, vulneratis tribus Albanis, exspirantes corruerunt. Ad quorum casum cum conclamasset gaudio Albanus exercitus, Romanas legiones iam spes tota, nondum tamen cura deseruerat, exanimis vice unius quem tres Curiatii circumsteterant. Forte is integer fuit, ut universis solus nequaquam par, sic adversus singulos ferox. Ergo ut segregaret pugnam eorum capessit fugam, ita ratus secuturos ut quemque vulnere adfectum corpus sineret. Iam aliquantum spatii ex eo loco ubi pugnatum est aufugerat, cum respiciens videt magnis intervallis sequentes, unum haud procul ab sese abesse. In eum magno impetu rediit; et dum Albanus exercitus inclamat Curiatiis uti opem ferant fratri, iam Horatius caeso hoste victor secundam pugnam petebat. Tunc clamore qualis ex insperato faventium solet Romani adiuvant militem suum; et ille defungi proelio festinat. Prius itaque quam alter — nec procul aberat — consequi posset, et alterum Curiatium conficit; iamque aequato Marte singuli supererant, sed nec spe nec viribus pares. Alterum intactum ferro corpus et geminata victoria ferocem in certamen tertium dabat: alter fessum vulnere, fessum cursu trahens corpus victusque fratrum ante se strage victori obicitur hosti. Nec illud proelium fuit. Romanus exsultans “Duos” inquit, “fratrum manibus dedi; tertium causae belli huiusce, ut Romanus Albano imperet, dabo.” Male sustinenti arma gladium superne iugulo defigit, iacentem spoliatur. Romani ovantes ac gratulantes Horatium accipiunt, eo maiore cum gaudio, quo prope metum res fuerat. Ad sepulturam inde suorum nequaquam paribus animis vertuntur, quippe imperio alteri aucti, alteri dicionis alienae facti. Sepulcra exstant quo quisque loco cecidit, duo Romana uno loco propius Albam, tria Albana Romam versus sed distantia locis ut et pugnatum est.

[26] Priusquam inde digrederentur, roganti Mettius ex foedere icto quid imperaret, imperat Tullus uti iuventutem in armis habeat: usum se eorum opera si bellum cum Veientibus foret. Ita exercitus inde domos abducti. Princeps Horatius ibat, trigemina spolia prae se gerens; cui soror virgo, quae desponsa, uni ex Curiatiis fuerat, obvia ante portam Capenam fuit, cognitoque super umeros fratris paludamento sponsi quod ipsa confecerat, solvit crines et flebiliter nomine sponsum mortuum appellat. movet feroci iuveni animum comploratio sororis in victoria sua tantoque gaudio publico. Stricto

itaque gladio simul verbis increpans transfigit puellam. “Abi hinc cum immaturo amore ad sponsum,” inquit, “oblita fratrum mortuorum vivique, oblita patriae. Sic eat quaecumque Romana lugebit hostem.” Atrox visum id facinus patribus plebique, sed recens meritum facto obstabat. Tamen raptus in ius ad regem. Rex ne ipse tam tristis ingratiue ad vulgus iudicii ac secundum iudicium supplicii auctor esset, concilio populi advocato “Duumuiros” inquit, “qui Horatio perduellionem iudicent, secundum legem facio.” Lex horrendi carminis erat: “Duumuires perduellionem iudicent; si a duumuiris provocarit, provocatione certato; si vincent, caput obnubito; infelici arbori reste suspendito; verberato vel intra pomerium vel extra pomerium.” Hac lege duumuires creati, qui se absolvere non rebantur ea lege ne innoxium quidem posse, cum condemnassent, tum alter ex iis “Publi Horati, tibi perduellionem iudico” inquit. “I, lictor, colliga manus.” Accesserat lictor iniciebatque laqueum. Tum Horatius auctore Tullo, clemente legis interprete, “Provoco” inquit. Itaque provocatione certatum ad populum est. Moti homines sunt in eo iudicio maxime P. Horatio patre proclamante se filiam iure caesam iudicare; ni ita esset, patrio iure in filium animadversurum fuisse. Orabat deinde ne se quem paulo ante cum egregia stirpe conspexissent orbem liberis facerent. Inter haec senex iuvenem amplexus, spolia Curiatorum fixa eo loco qui nunc Pila Horatia appellatur ostentans, “Huncine” aiebat, “quem modo decoratum ouantemque victoria incedentem vidistis, Quirites, eum sub furca vinctum inter verbera et cruciatus videre potestis? Quod vix Albanorum oculi tam deforme spectaculum ferre possent. I, lictor, colliga manus, quae paulo ante armatae imperium populo Romano pepererunt. I, caput obnube liberatoris urbis huius; arbore infelici suspende; verbera vel intra pomerium, modo inter illa pila et spolia hostium, vel extra pomerium, modo inter sepulcra Curiatorum; quo enim ducere hunc iuvenem potestis ubi non sua decora eum a tanta foeditate supplicii vindicent?” Non tulit populus nec patris lacrimas nec ipsius parem in omni periculo animum, absolveruntque admiratione magis virtutis quam iure causae. Itaque ut caedes manifesta aliquo tamen piaculo lueretur, imperatum patri ut filium expiaret pecunia publica. Is quibusdam piacularibus sacrificiis factis quae deinde genti Horatiae tradita sunt, transmisso per viam

tigillo, capite adopto velut sub iugum misit iuvenem. Id hodie quoque publice semper refectum manet; sororium tigillum vocant. Horatiae sepulcrum, quo loco corruerat icta, constructum est saxo quadrato.

[27] Nec diu pax Albana mansit. Invidia volgi quod tribus militibus fortuna publica commissa fuerit, vanum ingenium dictatoris corrumpit, et quoniam recta consilia haud bene evenerant, pravis reconciliare popularium animos coepit. Igitur ut prius in bello pacem, sic in pace bellum quaerens, quia suae civitati animorum plus quam virium cernebat esse, ad bellum palam atque ex edicto gerendum alios concitat populos, suis per speciem societatis prodicionem reservat. Fidenates, colonia Romana, Veientibus sociis consilii adsumptis, pacto transitionis Albanorum ad bellum atque arma incitantur. Cum Fidenae aperte descissent, Tullus Mettius exercituque eius ab Alba accito contra hostes ducit. Ubi Anienem transiit, ad confluentes conlocat castra. Inter eum locum et Fidenas Veientium exercitus Tiberim transierat. Hi et in acie prope flumen tenuere dextrum cornu; in sinistro Fidenates propius montes consistunt. Tullus adversus Veientem hostem derigit suos, Albanos contra legionem Fidenatium conlocat. Albano non plus animi erat quam fidei. Nec manere ergo nec transire aperte ausus sensim ad montes succedit; inde ubi satis subisse sese ratus est, erigit totam aciem, fluctuansque animo ut tereret tempus ordines explicat. Consilium erat qua fortuna rem daret, ea inclinare vires. Miraculo primo esse Romanis qui proximi steterant ut nudari latera sua sociorum digressu senserunt; inde eques citato equo nuntiat regi abire Albanos. Tullus in re trepida duodecim vovit Salios fanaque Pallori ac pavori. Equitem clara increpans voce ut hostes exaudirent, redire in proelium iubet: nihil trepidatione opus esse; suo iussu circumduci Albanum exercitum ut Fidenatium nuda terga invadant; idem imperat ut hastas equites erigerent. Id factum magnae parti peditum Romanorum conspectum abeuntis Albani exercitus intersaepsit; qui viderant, id quod ab rege auditum erat rati, eo acrius pugnant. Terror ad hostes transit; et audiverant clara voce dictum, et magna pars Fidenatium, ut quibus coloni additi Romani essent, Latine sciebant. Itaque ne subito ex collibus decursu Albanorum intercluderentur ab oppido, terga vertunt. Instat Tullus fusoque Fidenatium cornu in Veientem alieno pavore perculsum

ferocior redit. Nec illi tulere impetum, sed ab effusa fuga flumen obiectum ab tergo arcebat. Quo postquam fuga inclinavit, alii arma foede iactantes in aquam caeci ruebant, alii dum cunctantur in ripis inter fugae pugnaeque consilium oppressi. Non alia ante Romana pugna atrocior fuit.

[28] Tum Albanus exercitus, spectator certaminis, deductus in campos. Mettius Tullo devictos hostes gratulatur; contra Tullus Mettium benigne adloquitur. Quod bene vertat, castra Albanos Romanis castris iungere iubet; sacrificium lustrale in diem posterum parat. Ubi inluxit, paratis omnibus ut adsolet, vocari ad contionem utrumque exercitum iubet. Praecones ab extremo orsi primos excivere Albanos. Hi novitate etiam rei moti ut regem Romanum contionantem audirent proximi constitere. Ex composito armata circumdatur Romana legio; centurionibus datum negotium erat ut sine mora imperia exsequerentur. Tum ita Tullus inquit: “Romani, si unquam ante alias ullo in bello fuit quod primum dis immortalibus gratias ageretur, deinde vestrae ipsorum virtuti, hesternum id proelium fuit. Dimicatum est enim non magis cum hostibus quam, quae dimicatio maior atque periculosior est, cum proditione ac perfidia sociorum. Nam ne vos falsa opinio teneat, iniussu meo Albani subire ad montes, nec imperium illud meum sed consilium et imperii simulatio fuit, ut nec vobis, ignorantibus deserere vos, averteretur a certamine animus, et hostibus, circumveniri se ab tergo ratis, terror ac fuga iniceretur. Nec ea culpa quam arguo omnium Albanorum est: ducem secuti sunt, ut et vos, si quo ego inde agmen declinare voluissem, fecissetis. Mettius ille est ductor itineris huius, Mettius idem huius machinator belli, Mettius foederis Romani Albanique ruptor. Audeat deinde talia alius, nisi in hunc insigne iam documentum mortalibus dederō.” Centuriones armati Mettium circumsistunt; rex cetera ut orsus erat peragit: “Quod bonum faustum felixque sit populo Romano ac mihi vobisque, Albani, populum omnem Albanum Romam traducere in animo est, civitatem dare plebi, primores in patres legere, unam urbem, unam rem publicam facere; ut ex uno quondam in duos populos divisa Albana res est, sic nunc in unum redeat.” Ad haec Albana pubes, inermis ab armatis saepta, in variis voluntatibus communi tamen metu cogente, silentium tenet. Tum Tullus “Metti Fufeti” inquit, “si ipse discere

posses fidem ac foedera servare, vivo tibi ea disciplina a me adhibita esset; nunc quoniam tuum insanabile ingenium est, at tu tuo supplicio doce humanum genus ea sancta credere quae a te violata sunt. Ut igitur paulo ante animum inter Fidenatem Romanamque rem ancipitem gessisti, ita iam corpus passim distrahendum dabis.” Exinde duabus admotis quadrigis, in currus earum distentum inligat Mettium; deinde in diversum iter equi concitati, lacerum in utroque curru corpus, qua inhaeserant vinculis membra, portantes. avertere omnes ab tanta foeditate spectaculi oculos. Primum ultimumque illud supplicium apud Romanos exempli parum memoris legum humanarum fuit: in aliis gloriari licet nulli gentium mitiores placuisse poenas.

[29] Inter haec iam praemissi Albam erant equites qui multitudinem traducerent Romam. Legiones deinde ductae ad diruendam urbem. Quae ubi intravere portas, non quidem fuit tumultus ille nec pavor qualis captarum esse urbium solet, cum effractis portis stratisve ariete muris aut arce vi capta clamor hostilis et cursus per urbem armatorum omnia ferro flammaque miscet; sed silentium triste ac tacita maestitia ita defixit omnium animos, ut prae metu obliti quid relinquerent, quid secum ferrent deficiente consilio rogitantesque alii alios, nunc in liminibus starent, nunc errabundi domos suas ultimum illud visuri pervagarentur. Ut vero iam equitum clamor exire iubentium instabat, iam fragor tectorum quae diruebantur ultimis urbis partibus audiebatur pulvisque ex distantibus locis ortus velut nube inducta omnia impleverat, raptim quibus quisque poterat elatis, cum larem ac penates tectaque in quibus natus quisque educatusque esset relinquentes exirent, iam continens agmen migrantium impleverat vias, et conspectus aliorum mutua miseratione integrabat lacrimas, vocesque etiam miserabiles exaudiebantur, mulierum praecipue, cum obsessa ab armatis templa augusta praeterirent ac velut captos relinquerent deos. Egressis urbe Albanis Romanus passim publica privataque omnia tecta adaequat solo, unaque hora quadringentorum annorum opus quibus Alba steterat excidio ac ruinis dedit. Templis tamen deum — ita enim edictum ab rege fuerat — temperatum est.

[30] Roma interim crescit Albae ruinis. Duplicatur civium numerus; Caelius additur urbi mons, et quo frequentius habitaretur

eam sedem Tullus regiae capit ibique habitavit. Principes Albanorum in patres ut ea quoque pars rei publicae cresceret legit, Iulios, Servilios, Quinctios, Geganos, Curiatios, Cloelios; templumque ordini ab se aucto curiam fecit quae Hostilia usque ad patrum nostrorum aetatem appellata est. Et ut omnium ordinum viribus aliquid ex novo populo adiceretur equitum decem turmas ex Albanis legit, legiones et veteres eodem supplemento explevit et novas scripsit.

Hac fiducia virium Tullus Sabinis bellum indicit, genti ea tempestate secundum Etruscos opulentissimae viris armisque. Utrumque iniuriae factae ac res nequiquam erant repetitae. Tullus ad Feroniae fanum mercatu frequenti negotiatores Romanos comprehensos querebatur, Sabini suos prius in lucum confugisse ac Romae retentos. Hae causae belli ferebantur. Sabini haud parum memores et suarum virium partem Romae ab Tatio locatam et Romanam rem nuper etiam adiectione populi Albani auctam, circumspicere et ipsi externa auxilia. Etruria erat vicina, proximi Etruscorum Veientes. Inde ob residuas bellorum iras maxime sollicitatis ad defectionem animis voluntarios traxere, et apud vagos quosdam ex inopi plebe etiam merces valuit: publico auxilio nullo adiuti sunt valuitque apud Veientes — nam de ceteris minus mirum est — pacta cum Romulo indutiarum fides. Cum bellum utrumque summa ope pararent vertique in eo res videretur utri prius arma inferrent, occupat Tullus in agrum Sabinum transire. Pugna atrox ad silvam Malitiosam fuit, ubi et peditum quidem robore, ceterum equitatu aucto nuper plurimum Romana acies valuit. Ab equitibus repente invectis turbati ordines sunt Sabinorum, nec pugna deinde illis constare nec fuga explicari sine magna caede potuit.

[31] Devictis Sabinis cum in magna gloria magnisque opibus regnum Tulli ac tota res Romana esset, nuntiatum regi patribusque est in monte Albano lapidibus pluvisse. Quod cum credi vix posset, missis ad id visendum prodigium in conspectu haud aliter quam cum grandinem venti glomeratam in terras agunt crebri cecidere caelo lapides. Visi etiam audire vocem ingentem ex summi cacuminis luco ut patrio ritu sacra Albani facerent, quae velut dis quoque simul cum patria relictis oblivioni dederant, et aut Romana sacra susceperant aut fortunae, ut fit, obirati cultum reliquerant deum. Romanis quoque ab

eodem prodigio novendiale sacrum publice susceptum est, seu voce caelesti ex Albano monte missa — nam id quoque traditur — seu haruspicum monitu; mansit certe sollemne ut quandoque idem prodigium nuntiaretur feriae per novem dies agerentur.

Haud ita multo post pestilentia laboratum est. Unde cum pigritia militandi oreretur, nulla tamen ab armis quies dabatur a bellicoso rege, salubriora etiam credente militiae quam domi iuvenum corpora esse, donec ipse quoque longinquo morbo est implicitus. Tunc adeo fracti simul cum corpore sunt spiritus illi feroces ut qui nihil ante ratus esset minus regium quam sacris dedere animum, repente omnibus magnis parvisque superstitionibus obnoxius degeret religionibusque etiam populum impleret. Volgo iam homines eum statum rerum qui sub Numa rege fuerat requirentes, unam opem aegris corporibus relictam si pax veniaque ab dis impetrata esset credebant. Ipsum regem tradunt volventem commentarios Numae, cum ibi quaedam occulta sollemnia sacrificia Iovi Elicio facta invenisset, operatum his sacris se abdidisse; sed non rite initum aut curatum id sacrum esse, nec solum nullam ei oblatam caelestium speciem sed ira Iovis sollicitati prava religione fulmine ictum cum domo conflagrasset. Tullus magna gloria belli regnavit annos duos et triginta.

[32] Mortuo Tullo res, ut institutum iam inde ab initio erat, ad patres redierat hique interregem nominaverant. Quo comitia habente Ancum Marcium regem populus creavit; patres fuere auctores. Numae Pompili regis nepos filia ortus Ancus Marcius erat. Qui ut regnare coepit et avitae gloriae memor et quia proximum regnum, cetera egregium, ab una parte haud satis prosperum fuerat aut neglectis religionibus aut prave cultis, longe antiquissimum ratus sacra publica ut ab Numa instituta erant facere, omnia ea ex commentariis regiis pontificem in album elata proponere in publico iubet. Inde et civibus otii cupidis et finitimis civitatibus facta spes in avi mores atque instituta regem abiturum. Igitur Latini cum quibus Tullo regnante ictum foedus erat sustulerant animos, et cum incursionem in agrum Romanum fecissent repetentibus res Romanis superbe responsum reddunt, desidem Romanum regem inter sacella et aras acturum esse regnum rati. Medium erat in Anco ingenium, et Numae et Romuli memor; et praeterquam quod avi regno magis

necessariam fuisse pacem credebat cum in novo tum feroci populo, etiam quod illi contigisset otium sine iniuria id se haud facile habiturum; temptari patientiam et temptatam contemni, temporaque esse Tullo regi aptiora quam Numae. Ut tamen, quoniam Numa in pace religiones instituisset, a se bellicae caerimoniae proderentur, nec gererentur solum sed etiam indicerentur bella aliquo ritu, ius ab antiqua gente Aequiculis quod nunc fetiales habent descripsit, quo res repetuntur. Legatus ubi ad fines eorum venit unde res repetuntur, capite velato filo — lanae velamen est — “Audi, Iuppiter” inquit; “audite, fines” — cuiuscumque gentis sunt, nominat — ; “audiat fas. Ego sum publicus nuntius populi Romani; iuste pieque legatus venio, verbisque meis fides sit.” Peragit deinde postulata. Inde Iovem testem facit: “Si ego iniuste impieque illos homines illasque res dedier mihi exposco, tum patriae compotem me nunquam siris esse.” Haec, cum fines suprascandit, haec, quicumque ei primus vir obuius fuerit, haec portam ingrediens, haec forum ingressus, paucis verbis carminis concipiendique iuris iurandi mutatis, peragit. Si non deduntur quos exposcit diebus tribus et triginta — tot enim sollemnes sunt — peractis bellum ita indicit: “Audi, Iuppiter, et tu, Iane Quirine, dique omnes caelestes, vosque terrestres vosque inferni, audite; ego vos testor populum illum” — quicumque est, nominat — “iniustum esse neque ius persolvere; sed de istis rebus in patria maiores natu consulemus, quo pacto ius nostrum adipiscamur.”

Tum nuntius Romam ad consulendum redit. Confestim rex his ferme verbis patres consulebat: “Quarum rerum litium causarum condixit pater patratus populi Romani Quiritium patri patrato Priscorum Latinorum hominibusque Priscis Latinis, quas res nec dederunt nec solverunt nec fecerunt, quas res dari fieri solvi oportuit, dic” inquit ei quem primum sententiam rogabat, “quid censes?” Tum ille: “Puro pioque duello quaerendas censeo, itaque consensio consciscoque.” Inde ordine alii rogabantur; quandoque pars maior eorum qui aderant in eandem sententiam ibat, bellum erat consensum. Fieri solitum ut fetialis hastam ferratam aut praeustam sanguineam ad fines eorum ferret et non minus tribus puberibus praesentibus diceret: “Quod populi Priscorum Latinorum hominesque Prisci Latini adversus populum Romanum Quiritium fecerunt deliquerunt, quod populus Romanus Quiritium bellum cum

Priscis Latinis iussit esse senatusque populi Romani Quiritium censuit consensit conscivit ut bellum cum Priscis Latinis fieret, ob eam rem ego populusque Romanus populis Priscorum Latinorum hominibusque Priscis Latinis bellum indico facioque.” Id ubi dixisset, hastam in fines eorum emittebat. Hoc tum modo ab Latinis repetitae res ac bellum indictum, moremque eum posterī acceperunt.

[33] Ancus demandata cura sacrorum flaminibus sacerdotibusque aliis, exercitu novo conscripto profectus, Politorium, urbem Latinorum, vi cepit; secutusque morem regum priorum, qui rem Romanam auxerant hostibus in civitatem accipiendis, multitudinem omnem Romam traduxit. Et cum circa Palatium, sedem veterum Romanorum, Sabini Capitolium atque arcem, Caelium montem Albani implessent, Aventinum novae multitudini datum. Additi eodem haud ita multo post, Tellenis Ficanaque captis, novi cives. Politorium inde rursus bello repetitum quod vacuum occupaverant Prisci Latini, eaque causa diruendae urbis eius fuit Romanis ne hostium semper receptaculum esset. Postremo omni bello Latino Medulliam compulso, aliquamdiu ibi Marte incerto, varia victoria pugnatum est; nam et urbs tuta munitionibus praesidioque firmata valido erat, et castris in aperto positis aliquotiens exercitus Latinus comminus cum Romanis signa contulerat. Ad ultimum omnibus copiis conisus Ancus acie primum vincit; inde ingenti praeda potens Romam redit, tum quoque multis milibus Latinorum in civitatem acceptis, quibus, ut iungeretur Palatio Aventinum, ad Murciae datae sedes. Ianiculum quoque adiectum, non inopia loci sed ne quando ea arx hostium esset. Id non muro solum sed etiam ob commoditatem itineris ponte sublicio, tum primum in Tiberi facto, coniungi urbi placuit. Quiritium quoque fossa, haud parvum munimentum a planioribus aditu locis, Anci regis opus est. Ingenti incremento rebus auctis, cum in tanta multitudine hominum, discrimine recte an perperam facti confuso, facinora clandestina fierent, carcer ad terrorem increscentis audaciae media urbe imminens foro aedificatur. Nec urbs tantum hoc rege crevit sed etiam ager finesque. Silva Maesia Veientibus adempta usque ad mare imperium prolatum et in ore Tiberis Ostia urbs condita, salinae circa factae, egregieque rebus bello gestis aedis Iovis Feretri amplificata.

[34] Anco regnante Lucumo, vir impiger ac divitiis potens, Romam

commigravit cupidine maxime ac spe magni honoris, cuius adipiscendi Tarquiniis — nam ibi quoque peregrina stirpe oriundus erat — facultas non fuerat. Demarati Corinthii filius erat, qui ob seditiones domo profugus cum Tarquiniis forte consedisset, uxore ibi ducta duos filios genuit. Nomina his Lucumo atque Arruns fuerunt. Lucumo superfuit patri bonorum omnium heres: Arruns prior quam pater moritur uxore gravida relicta. Nec diu manet superstes filio pater; qui cum, ignorans nurum ventrem ferre, immemor in testando nepotis decessisset, puero post avi mortem in nullam sortem bonorum nato ab inopia Egerio inditum nomen. Lucumoni contra, omnium heredi bonorum, cum divitiae iam animos facerent, auxit ducta in matrimonium Tanaquil, summo loco nata et quae haud facile iis in quibus nata erat humiliora sineret ea quo innupsisset. Spernentibus Etruscis Lucumonem exsule advena ortum, ferre indignitatem non potuit, oblitaque ingenitae erga patriam caritatis dummodo virum honoratum videret, consilium migrandi ab Tarquiniis cepit. Roma est ad id potissima visa: in novo populo, ubi omnis repentina atque ex virtute nobilitas sit, futurum locum forti ac strenuo viro; regnasse Tatium Sabinum, arcessitum in regnum Numam a Curibus, et Ancum Sabina matre ortum nobilemque una imagine Numae esse. Facile persuadet ut cupido honorum et cui Tarquiniis materna tantum patria esset. Sublatis itaque rebus amigrant Romam. Ad Ianiculum forte ventum erat; ibi ei carpento sedenti cum uxore aquila suspensis demissa leviter alis pilleum aufert, superque carpentum cum magno clangore volitans rursus velut ministerio divinitus missa capiti apte reponit; inde sublimis abiit. Accepisse id augurium laeta dicitur Tanaquil, perita ut volgo Etrusci caelestium prodigiorum mulier. Excelsa et alta sperare complexa virum iubet: eam alitem ea regione caeli et eius dei nuntiam venisse; circa summum culmen hominis auspiciū fecisse; levasse humano superpositum capiti decus ut divinitus eidem redderet. Has spes cogitationesque secum portantes urbem ingressi sunt, domicilioque ibi comparato L. Tarquinius Priscum edidere nomen. Romanis conspicuum eum novitas divitiaeque faciebant; et ipse fortunam benigno adloquio, comitate invitandi beneficiisque quos poterat sibi conciliando adiuvabat, donec in regiam quoque de eo fama perlata est. Notitiamque eam brevi apud regem liberaliter dextereque

obeundo officia in familiaris amicitiae adduxerat iura, ut publicis pariter ac privatis consiliis bello domique interesset et per omnia expertus postremo tutor etiam liberis regis testamento institueretur.

[35] Regnavit Ancus annos quattuor et viginti, cuilibet superiorum regum belli pacisque et artibus et gloria par. Iam filii prope puberem aetatem erant. Eo magis Tarquinius instare ut quam primum comitia regi creando fierent. Quibus indictis sub tempus pueros venatum ablegavit. Isque primus et petisse ambitiose regnum et orationem dicitur habuisse ad conciliandos plebis animos compositam: cum se non rem novam petere, quippe qui non primus, quod quisquam indignari mirarive posset, sed tertius Romae peregrinus regnum adfectet; et Tatium non ex peregrino solum sed etiam ex hoste regem factum, et Numam ignarum urbis, non petentem, in regnum ultro accitum: se ex quo sui potens fuerit Romam cum coniuge ac fortunis omnibus commigrasse; maiorem partem aetatis eius qua civilibus officiis fungantur homines, Romae se quam in vetere patria vixisse; domi militiaeque sub haud paenitendo magistro, ipso Anco rege, Romana se iura, Romanos ritus didicisse; obsequio et observantia in regem cum omnibus, benignitate erga alios cum rege ipso certasse. Haec eum haud falsa memorantem ingenti consensu populus Romanus regnare iussit. Ergo virum cetera egregium secuta, quam in petendo habuerat, etiam regnantem ambitio est; nec minus regni sui firmandi quam augendae rei publicae memor centum in patres legit qui deinde minorum gentium sunt appellati, factio haud dubia regis cuius beneficio in curiam venerant.

Bellum primum cum Latinis gessit et oppidum ibi Apiolas vi cepit; praedaeque inde maiore quam quanta belli fama fuerat reventa ludos opulenter instructiusque quam priores reges fecit. Tum primum circo qui nunc maximus dicitur designatus locus est. Loca divisa patribus equitibusque ubi spectacula sibi quisque facerent; fori appellati; spectare furcis duodenos ab terra spectacula alta sustinentibus pedes. Ludicrum fuit equi pugilesque ex Etruria maxime acciti. Sollemnes deinde annui mansere ludi, Romani magnique varie appellati. Ab eodem rege et circa forum privatis aedificanda divisa sunt loca; porticus tabernaeque factae.

[36] Muro quoque lapideo circumdare urbem parabat cum Sabinum bellum coeptis intervenit. Adeoque ea subita res fuit ut prius

Anienem transirent hostes quam obviam ire ac prohibere exercitus Romanus posset. Itaque trepidatum Romae est; et primo dubia victoria, magna utrimque caede pugnatum est. Reductis deinde in castra hostium copiis datoque spatio Romanis ad comparandum de integro bellum, Tarquinius equitem maxime suis deesse viribus ratus ad Ramnes, Titienses, Luceres, quas centurias Romulus scripserat, addere alias constituit suoque insignes relinquere nomine. Id quia inaugurato Romulus fecerat, negare Attus Navius, inclitus ea tempestate augur, neque mutari neque novum constitui nisi aves addixissent posse. Ex eo ira regi mota; eludensque artem ut ferunt, “Age dum” inquit, “divine tu, inaugura fierine possit quod nunc ego mente concipio.” Cum ille augurio rem expertus profecto futuram dixisset, “Atqui hoc animo agitavi” inquit, “te novacula cotem discissurum. Cape haec et perage quod aves tuae fieri posse portendunt.” Tum illum haud cunctanter discidisse cotem ferunt. Statua Atti capite velato, quo in loco res acta est in comitio in gradibus ipsis ad laevam curiae fuit, cotem quoque eodem loco sitam fuisse memorant ut esset ad posteros miraculi eius monumentum. Auguriis certe sacerdotioque augurum tantus honos accessit ut nihil belli domique postea nisi auspicato gereretur, concilia populi, exercitus vocati, summa rerum, ubi aves non admisissent, dirimerentur. Neque tum Tarquinius de equitum centuriis quicquam mutavit; numero alterum tantum adiecit, ut mille et octingenti equites in tribus centuriis essent. Posteriores modo sub iisdem nominibus qui additi erant appellati sunt; quas nunc quia geminatae sunt sex vocant centurias.

[37] Hac parte copiarum aucta iterum cum Sabinis confligitur. Sed praeterquam quod viribus creverat Romanus exercitus, ex occulto etiam additur dolus, missis qui magnam vim lignorum, in Anienis ripa iacentem, ardentem in flumen conicerent; ventoque iuvante accensa ligna et pleraque in ratibus impacta sublicisque cum haerent, pontem incendunt. Ea quoque res in pugna terrorem attulit Sabinis, et fuis eadem fugam impedit; multique mortales cum hostem effugissent in flumine ipso periere, quorum fluitantia arma ad urbem cognita in Tiberi prius paene quam nuntiari posset insignem victoriam fecere. Eo proelio praecipua equitum gloria fuit; utrimque ab cornibus positos, cum iam pelleretur media peditum suorum acies,

ita incurrisse ab lateribus ferunt, ut non sisterent modo Sabinas legiones ferociter instantes cedentibus, sed subito in fugam averterent. Montes effuso cursu Sabini petebant, et pauci tenere: maxima pars, ut ante dictum est, ab equitibus in flumen acti sunt. Tarquinius, instandum perterritis ratus, praeda captivisque Romam missis, spoliis hostium — id votum Volcano erat — ingenti cumulo accensis, pergit porro in agrum Sabinum exercitum inducere; et quamquam male gesta res erat nec gesturos melius sperare poterant, tamen, quia consulendi res non dabat spatium, ire obviam Sabini tumultuario milite; iterumque ibi fusi, perditis iam prope rebus pacem petiere.

[38] Collatia et quidquid citra Collatiam agri erat Sabinis ademptum; Egerius — fratris hic filius erat regis — Collatiae in praesidio relictus. Deditosque Collatinos ita accipio eamque deditionis formulam esse: rex interrogavit: “Estisne vos legati oratoresque missi a populo Collatino ut vos populumque Collatinum dederetis?”— “Sumus.”— “Estne populus Collatinus in sua potestate?”— “Est.”— “Deditisne vos populumque Collatinum, urbem, agros, aquam, terminos, delubra, utensilia, divina humanaque omnia, in meam populi que Romani dicionem?”— “Dedimus.”— “At ego recipio.”

Bello Sabino perfecto Tarquinius triumphans Romam redit. Inde Priscis Latinis bellum fecit; ubi nusquam ad universae rei dimicationem ventum est, ad singula oppida circumferendo arma omne nomen Latinum domuit. Corniculum, Ficulea vetus, Cameria, Crustumerium, Ameriola, Medullia, Nomentum, haec de Priscis Latinis aut qui ad Latinos defecerant, capta oppida. Pax deinde est facta. Maiore inde animo pacis opera incohata quam quanta mole gesserat bella, ut non quietior populus domi esset quam militiae, fuisset. Nam et muro lapideo, cuius exordium operis Sabino bello turbatum erat, urbem qua nondum munierat cingere parat, et infima urbis loca circa forum aliasque interiectas collibus conualles, quia ex planis locis haud facile euehebant aquas, cloacis fastigio in Tiberim ductis siccant, et aream ad aedem in Capitolio Iovis quam voverat bello Sabino, iam praesagiente animo futuram olim amplitudinem loci, occupat fundamentis.

[39] Eo tempore in regia prodigium visu eventumque mirabile fuit.

Puero dormienti, cui Servio Tullio fuit nomen, caput arsisse ferunt multorum in conspectu; plurimo igitur clamore inde ad tantae rei miraculum orto excitos reges, et cum quidam familiarium aquam ad restinguendum ferret, ab regina retentum, sedatoque eam tumultu moveri vetuisse puerum donec sua sponte experrectus esset; mox cum somno et flammam abisse. Tum abducto in secretum viro Tanaquil “Viden tu puerum hunc” inquit, “quem tam humili cultu educamus? Scire licet hunc lumen quondam rebus nostris dubiis futurum praesidiumque regiae adflictae; proinde materiam ingentis publice privatimque decoris omni indulgentia nostra nutriamus.” Inde puerum liberum loco coeptum haberi erudiri que artibus quibus ingenia ad magnae fortunae cultum excitantur. Evenit facile quod discendi esset: iuvenis evasit vere indolis regiae nec, cum quaereretur gener Tarquinio, quisquam Romanae iuventutis ulla arte conferri potuit, filiamque ei suam rex despondit. Hic quacumque de causa tantus illi honos habitus credere prohibet serva natum eum parvumque ipsum servisse. Eorum magis sententiae sum qui Corniculo capto Ser. Tulli, qui princeps in illa urbe fuerat, gravidam viro occiso uxorem, cum inter reliquas captivas cognita esset, ob unicam nobilitatem ab regina Romana prohibitam ferunt servitio partum Romae edidisse Prisci Tarquini in domo; inde tanto beneficio et inter mulieres familiaritatem auctam et puerum, ut in domo a parvo eductum, in caritate atque honore fuisse; fortunam matris, quod, capta patria in hostium manus venerit, ut serva natus crederetur fecisse.

[40] Duodequadragésimo ferme anno ex quo regnare coeperat Tarquinius, non apud regem modo sed apud patres plebemque longe maximo honore Ser. Tullius erat. Tum Anci filii duo etsi antea semper pro indignissimo habuerant se patrio regno tutoris fraude pulsos, regnare Romae advenam non modo vicinae sed ne Italicae quidem stirpis, tum impensius iis indignitas crescere si ne ab Tarquinio quidem ad se rediret regnum, sed praeceps inde porro ad servitia caderet, ut in eadem civitate post centesimum fere annum quam Romulus deo prognatus deus ipse tenuerit regnum donec in terris fuerit, id servus serva natus possideat. Cum commune Romani nominis tum praecipue id domus suae dedecus fore, si Anci regis virili stirpe salva non modo advenis sed servis etiam regnum Romae

pateret. Ferro igitur eam arcere contumeliam statuunt; sed et iniuriae dolor in Tarquinium ipsum magis quam in Servium eos stimulabat, et quia gravior ultor caedis, si superesset, rex futurus erat quam privatus; tum Servio occiso, quemcumque alium generum delegisset, eundem regni heredem facturum videbatur; ob haec ipsi regi insidiae parantur. Ex pastoribus duo ferocissimi delecti ad facinus, quibus consueti erant uterque agrestibus ferramentis, in vestibulo regiae quam potuere tumultuosissime specie rixae in se omnes apparitores regios convertunt; inde, cum ambo regem appellarent clamorque eorum penitus in regiam pervenisset, vocati ad regem pergunt. Primo uterque vociferari et certatim alter alteri obstrepere; coerciti ab lictore et iussi in vicem dicere tandem obloqui desistunt; unus rem ex composito orditur. Cum intentus in eum se rex totus averteret, alter elatam securim in caput deiecit, relictoque in vulnere telo ambo se foras eiciunt.

[41] Tarquinium moribundum cum qui circa erant excepissent, illos fugientes lictores comprehendunt. Clamor inde concursusque populi, mirantium quid rei esset. Tanaquil inter tumultum claudi regiam iubet, arbitros eiecit. Simul quae curando vulneri opus sunt, tamquam spes subesset, sedulo comparat, simul si destituat spes, alia praesidia molitur. Servio propere accito cum paene exsanguem virum ostendisset, dextram tenens orat ne inultam mortem soceri, ne socrum inimicis ludibrio esse sinat. “Tuum est” inquit, “Servi, si vir es, regnum, non eorum qui alienis manibus pessimum facinus fecere. Erige te deosque duces sequere qui clarum hoc fore caput divino quondam circumfuso igni portenderunt. Nunc te illa caelestis excitet flamma; nunc expergiscere vere. Et nos peregrini regnavimus; qui sis, non unde natus sis reputa. Si tua re subita consilia torpent, at tu mea consilia sequere.” Cum clamor impetusque multitudinis vix sustineri posset, ex superiore parte aedium per fenestras in Nouam viam versas — habitabat enim rex ad Iovis Statoris — populum Tanaquil adloquitur. Iubet bono animo, esse; sopitum fuisse regem subito ictu; ferrum haud alte in corpus descendisse; iam ad se redisse; inspectum vulnus absterso cruore; omnia salubria esse; confidere propediem ipsum eos visuros; interim Ser. Tullio iubere populum dicto audientem esse; eum iura redditurum obiturumque alia regis munia esse. Servius cum trabea et lictoribus prodit ac sede

regia sedens alia decernit, de aliis consulturum se regem esse simulat. Itaque per aliquot dies cum iam exspirasset Tarquinius celata morte per speciem alienae fungendae vicis suas opes firmavit; tum demum palam factum est comploratione in regia orta. Servius praesidio firmo munitus, primus iniussu populi, voluntate patrum regnavit. Anci liberi iam tum comprehensis sceleris ministris ut vivere regem et tantas esse opes Servi nuntiatum est, Suessam Pometiam exsulatum ierant.

[42] Nec iam publicis magis consiliis Servius quam privatis munire opes, et ne, qualis Anci liberum animus adversus Tarquinium fuerat, talis adversus se Tarquini liberum esset, duas filias iuvenibus regiis, Lucio atque Arrunti Tarquiniis iungit; nec rupit tamen fati necessitatem humanis consiliis quin invidia regni etiam inter domesticos infida omnia atque infesta faceret.

Peropportune ad praesentis quietem status bellum cum Veientibus — iam enim indutiae exierant — aliisque Etruscis sumptum. In eo bello et virtus et fortuna enituit Tulli; fusoque ingenti hostium exercitu haud dubius rex, seu patrum seu plebis animos periclitaretur, Romam rediit. Adgrediturque inde ad pacis longe maximum opus, ut quemadmodum Numa divini auctor iuris fuisset, ita Servium conditorem omnis in civitate discriminis ordinumque quibus inter gradus dignitatis fortunaeque aliquid interlucet posterius fama ferrent. Censum enim instituit, rem saluberrimam tanto futuro imperio, ex quo belli pacisque munia non viritim, ut ante, sed pro habitu pecuniarum fierent; tum classes centuriasque et hunc ordinem ex censu discipis, vel paci decorum vel bello.

[43] Ex iis qui centum milium aeris aut maiorem censum haberent octoginta confecit centurias, quadragenas seniorum ac iuniorum; prima classis omnes appellati; seniores ad urbis custodiam ut praesto essent, iuvenes ut foris bella gererent; arma his imperata galea, clipeum, ocreae, lorica, omnia ex aere; haec ut tegumenta corporis essent: tela in hostem hastaque et gladius. Additae huic classi duae fabrum centuriae quae sine armis stipendia facerent; datum munus ut machinas in bello ferrent. Secunda classis intra centum usque ad quinque et septuaginta milium censum instituta, et ex iis, senioribus iunioribusque, viginti conscriptae centuriae; arma imperata scutum pro clipeo et praeter lorica omnia eadem. Tertiae classis in

quinquaginta milium censum esse voluit; totidem centuriae et hae eodemque discrimine aetatum factae; nec de armis quicquam mutatum, ocreae tantum ademptae. In quarta classe census quinque et viginti milium, totidem centuriae factae, arma mutata: nihil praeter hastam et verutum datum. Quinta classis aucta; centuriae triginta factae; fundas lapidesque missiles hi secum gerebant; in his accensi cornicines tubicinesque in duas centurias distributi; undecim milibus haec classis censebatur. Hoc minor census reliquam multitudinem habuit; inde una centuria facta est, immunis militia. Ita pedestri exercitu ornato distributoque, equitum ex primoribus civitatis duodecim scripsit centurias; sex item alias centurias, tribus ab Romulo institutis, sub iisdem quibus inauguratae erant nominibus fecit. Ad equos emendos dena milia aeris ex publico data, et, quibus equos alerent, viduae attributae quae bina milia aeris in annos singulos penderent. Haec omnia in dites a pauperibus inclinata onera. Deinde est honos additus. Non enim, ut ab Romulo traditum ceteri servaverant reges, viritim suffragium eadem vi eodemque iure promisce omnibus datum est; sed gradus facti, ut neque exclusus quisquam suffragio videretur et vis omnis penes primores civitatis esset; equites enim vocabantur primi, octoginta inde primae classis centuriae, ibi si variaret — quod raro incidebat — [fiebat] ut secundae classis vocarentur; nec fere unquam infra ita descenderunt ut ad infimos pervenirent. Nec mirari oportet hunc ordinem qui nunc est post expletas quinque et triginta tribus, duplicato earum numero centuriis iuniorum seniorumque, ad institutam ab Ser. Tullio summam non convenire. Quadrifariam enim urbe divisa regionibus collibus qui habitabantur, partes eas tribus appellavit, ut ego arbitror, ab tributo; nam eius quoque aequaliter ex censu conferendi ab eodem inita ratio est; neque eae tribus ad centuriarum distributionem numerumque quicquam pertinere.

[44] Censu perfecto quem maturaverat metu legis de incensis latae cum vinculorum minis mortisque, edixit ut omnes cives Romani, equites peditesque, in suis quisque centuriis, in campo Martio prima luce adessent. Ibi instructum exercitum omnem suovetaurilibus lustravit, idque conditum lustrum appellatum, quia is censendo finis factus est. Milia octoginta eo lustro civium censa dicuntur; adicit scriptorum antiquissimus Fabius Pictor, eorum qui arma ferre

possent eum numerum fuisse. Ad eam multitudinem urbs quoque amplificanda visa est. Addit duos colles, Quirinalem Viminalemque; Viminalem inde deinceps auget Esquiliis; ibique ipse, ut loco dignitas fieret, habitat; aggere et fossis et muro circumdat urbem; ita pomerium profert. Pomerium verbi vim solam intuentes postmoerium interpretantur esse; est autem magis circamoerium, locus quem in condendis urbibus quondam Etrusci qua murum ducturi erant certis circa terminis inaugurato consecrabant, ut neque interiore parte aedificia moenibus continuarentur, quae nunc volgo etiam coniungunt, et extrinsecus puri aliquid ab humano cultu pateret soli. Hoc spatium quod neque habitari neque arari fas erat, non magis quod post murum esset quam quod murus post id, pomerium Romani appellarunt; et in urbis incremento semper quantum moenia processura erant tantum termini hi consecrati proferebantur.

[45] Aucta civitate magnitudine urbis, formatis omnibus domi et ad belli et ad pacis usus, ne semper armis opes acquirerentur, consilio augere imperium conatus est, simul et aliquod addere urbi decus. Iam tum erat inclitum Dianae Ephesiae fanum; id communiter a civitatibus Asiae factum fama ferebat. Eum consensum deosque consociatos laudare mire Servius inter procures Latinorum, cum quibus publice privatimque hospitia amicitiasque de industria iunxerat. Saepe iterando eadem perpulit tandem, ut Romae fanum Dianae populi Latini cum populo Romano facerent. Ea erat confessio caput rerum Romam esse, de quo totiens armis certatum fuerat. Id quamquam omissum iam ex omnium cura Latinorum ob rem totiens infelicitur temptatam armis videbatur, uni se ex Sabinis fors dare visa est privato consilio imperii recipiendi. Bos in Sabinis nata cuidam patri familiae dicitur miranda magnitudine ac specie; fixa per multas aetates cornua in vestibulo templi Dianae monumentum ei fuere miraculo. Habita, ut erat, res prodigii loco est, et cecinere vates cuius civitatis eam civis Dianae immolasset, ibi fore imperium; idque carmen pervenerat ad antistitem fani Dianae Sabinusque ut prima apta dies sacrificio visa est, bovem Romam actam deducit ad fanum Dianae et ante aram statuit. Ibi antistes Romanus, cum eum magnitudo victimae celebrata fama movisset, memor responsi Sabinum ita adloquitur: “Quidnam tu, hospes, paras?” inquit, “inceste sacrificium Dianae facere? Quin tu ante vivo perfunderis

flumine? Infima valle praeffluit Tiberis.” Religione tactus hospes, qui omnia, ut prodigio responderet eventus, cuperet rite facta, extemplo descendit ad Tiberim; interea Romanus immolat Dianae bovem. Id mire gratum regi atque civitati fuit.

[46] Servius quamquam iam usu haud dubie regnum possederat, tamen quia interdum iactari voces a iuvene Tarquinio audiebat se iniussu populi regnare, conciliata prius voluntate plebis agro capto ex hostibus viritim diviso, ausus est ferre ad populum vellent iuberentne se regnare; tantoque consensu quanto haud quisquam alius ante rex est declaratus. Neque ea res Tarquinio spem adfectandi regni minuit; immo eo impensius quia de agro plebis adversa patrum voluntate senserat agi, criminandi Servi apud patres crescendique in curia sibi occasionem datam ratus est, et ipse iuvenis ardentis animi et domi uxore Tullia inquietum animum stimulante. Tulit enim et Romana regia sceleris tragici exemplum, ut taedio regum maturior veniret libertas ultimumque regnum esset quod scelere partum foret. Hic L. Tarquinius — Prisci Tarquini regis filius neposne fuerit parum liquet; pluribus tamen auctoribus filium ediderim — fratrem habuerat Arruntem Tarquinium mitis ingenii iuvenem. His duobus, ut ante dictum est, duae Tulliae regis filiae nupserant, et ipsae longe dispares moribus. Forte ita inciderat ne duo violenta ingenia matrimonio iungerentur fortuna, credo, populi Romani, quo diuturnius Servi regnum esset constituique civitatis mores possent.angebatur ferox Tullia nihil materiae in viro neque ad cupiditatem neque ad audaciam esse; tota in alterum aversa Tarquinium eum mirari, eum virum dicere ac regio sanguine ortum: spernere sororem, quod virum nacta muliebri cessaret audacia. Contrahit celeriter similitudo eos, ut fere fit: malum malo aptissimum; sed initium turbandi omnia a femina ortum est. Ea secretis viri alieni adsuefacta sermonibus nullis verborum contumeliis parcere de viro ad fratrem, de sorore ad virum; et se rectius viduam et illum caelibem futurum fuisse contendere, quam cum impari iungi ut elanguescendum aliena ignavia esset; si sibi eum quo digna esset di dedissent virum, domi se propediem visuram regnum fuisse quod apud patrem videat. Celeriter adulescentem suae temeritatis implet; Arruns Tarquinius et Tullia minor prope continuatis funeribus cum domos vacuas novo matrimonio fecissent, iunguntur nuptiis, magis non prohibente Servio

quam adprobante.

[47] Tum vero in dies infestior Tulli senectus, infestius coepit regnum esse; iam enim ab scelere ad aliud spectare mulier scelus. Nec nocte nec interdiu virum conquiescere pati, ne gratuita praeterita parricidia essent: non sibi defuisse cui nupta diceretur, nec cum quo tacita serviret; defuisse qui se regno dignum putaret, qui meminisset se esse Prisci Tarquini filium, qui habere quam sperare regnum mallet. “Si tu is es cui nuptam esse me arbitror, et virum et regem appello; sin minus, eo nunc peius mutata res est quod istic cum ignavia est scelus. Quin accingeris? Non tibi ab Corintho nec ab Tarquiniis, ut patri tuo, peregrina regna moliri necesse est: di te penates patrique et patris imago et domus regia et in domo regale solium et nomen Tarquinium creat vocatque regem. Aut si ad haec parum est animi, quid frustraris civitatem? Quid te ut regium iuvenem conspici sinis? Facesse hinc Tarquinius aut Corinthum; devolvere retro ad stirpem, fratri similior quam patri.” His aliisque increpando iuvenem instigat, nec conquiescere ipsa potest si, cum Tanaquil, peregrina mulier, tantum moliri potuisset animo ut duo continua regna viro ac deinceps genero dedisset, ipsa regio semine orta nullum momentum in dando adimendoque regno faceret. His muliebribus instinctus furiis Tarquinius circumire et prensare minorum maxime gentium patres; admonere paterni beneficii ac pro eo gratiam repetere; allicere donis iuvenes; cum de se ingentia pollicendo tum regis criminibus omnibus locis crescere. Postremo ut iam agenda rei tempus visum est, stipatus agmine armatorum in forum inrupit. Inde omnibus percussis pavore, in regia sede pro curia sedens patres in curiam per praeconem ad regem Tarquinium citari iussit. Convenere extemplo, alii iam ante ad hoc praeparati, alii metu ne non venisse fraudi esset, novitate ac miraculo attoniti et iam de Servio actum rati. Ibi Tarquinius maledicta ab stirpe ultima orsus: servum servaque natum post mortem indignam parentis sui, non interregno, ut antea, inito, non comitiis habitis, non per suffragium populi, non auctoribus patribus, muliebri dono regnum occupasse. Ita natum, ita creatum regem, fautorem infimi generis hominum ex quo ipse sit, odio alienae honestatis ereptum primoribus agrum sordidissimo cuique divisisse; omnia onera quae communia quondam fuerint inclinasse in primores civitatis; instituisse censum ut insignis

ad invidiam locupletiorum fortuna esset et parata unde, ubi vellet, egentissimis largiretur.

[48] Huic orationi Servius cum intervenisset trepido nuntio excitatus, extemplo a vestibulo curiae magna voce “Quid hoc” inquit, “Tarquini, rei est? Qua tu audacia me vivo vocare ausus es patres aut in sede considerare mea?” Cum ille ferociter ad haec — se patris sui tenere sedem; multo quam servum potiolem filium regis regni heredem; satis illum diu per licentiam eludentem insultasse dominis —, clamor ab utriusque fautoribus oritur et concursus populi fiebat in curiam, apparebatque regnaturum qui vicisset. Tum Tarquinius necessitate iam et ipsa cogente ultima audere, multo et aetate et viribus validior, medium arripit Servium elatumque e curia in inferiorem partem per gradus deiecit; inde ad cogendum senatum in curiam rediit. Fit fuga regis apparitorum atque comitum; ipse prope exsanguis cum sine regio comitatu domum se reciperet ab iis qui missi ab Tarquinio fugientem consecuti erant interficitur. Creditur, quia non abhorret a cetero scelere, admonitu Tulliae id factum. Carpento certe, id quod satis constat, in forum invecta nec reverita coetum virorum evocavit virum e curia regemque prima appellavit. A quo facessere iussa ex tanto tumultu cum se domum reciperet pervenissetque ad summum Cyprium vicum, ubi Dianium nuper fuit, flectenti carpentum dextra in Urbium clivum ut in collem Esquiliarum eueheretur, restitit pavidus atque inhibuit frenos is qui iumenta agebat iacentemque dominae Servium trucidatum ostendit. Foedum inhumanumque inde traditur scelus monumentoque locus est — Sceleratum vicum vocant — quo amens, agitantibus furiis sororis ac viri, Tullia per patris corpus carpentum egisse fertur, partemque sanguinis ac caedis paternae cruento vehiculo, contaminata ipsa respersaque, tulisse ad penates suos virique sui, quibus iratis malo regni principio similes propediem exitus sequerentur.

Ser. Tullius regnavit annos quattuor et quadraginta ita ut bono etiam moderatoque succedenti regi difficilis aemulatio esset; ceterum id quoque ad gloriam accessit quod cum illo simul iusta ac legitima regna occiderunt. Id ipsum tam mite ac tam moderatum imperium tamen quia unius esset deponere eum in animo habuisse quidam auctores sunt, ni scelus intestinum liberandae patriae consilia agitati intervenisset.

[49] Inde L. Tarquinius regnare ocepit, cui Superbo cognomen facta indiderunt, quia socerum gener sepultura prohibuit, Romulum quoque insepultum perisse dictitans, primoresque patrum, quos Servi rebus favisse credebat, interfecit; conscius deinde male quaerendi regni ab se ipso adversus se exemplum capi posse, armatis corpus circumsaepsit; neque enim ad ius regni quicquam praeter vim habebat ut qui neque populi iussu neque auctoribus patribus regnaret. Eo accedebat ut in caritate civium nihil spei reponenti metu regnum tutandum esset. Quem ut pluribus incuteret cognitiones capitalium rerum sine consiliis per se solus exercebat, perque eam causam occidere, in exilium agere, bonis multare poterat non suspectos modo aut invisos sed unde nihil aliud quam praedam sperare posset. Praecipue ita patrum numero imminuto statuit nullos in patres legere, quo contemptior paucitate ipsa ordo esset minusque per se nihil agi indignarentur. Hic enim regum primus traditum a prioribus morem de omnibus senatum consulendi solvit; domesticis consiliis rem publicam administravit; bellum, pacem, foedera, societates per se ipse, cum quibus voluit, iniussu populi ac senatus, fecit diremitque. Latinorum sibi maxime gentem conciliabat ut peregrinis quoque opibus tutior inter cives esset, neque hospitia modo cum primoribus eorum sed adfinitates quoque iungebat. Octavio Mamilio Tusculano — is longe princeps Latini nominis erat, si famae credimus, ab Ulixee deaque Circa oriundus — , ei Mamilio filiam nuptum dat, perque eas nuptias multos sibi cognatos amicosque eius conciliat.

[50] Iam magna Tarquini auctoritas inter Latinorum proceres erat, cum in diem certam ut ad lucum Ferentinae conveniant indicit: esse, quae agere de rebus communibus velit. Conveniunt frequentes prima luce: ipse Tarquinius diem quidem servavit, sed paulo ante quam sol occideret venit. Multa ibi toto die in concilio variis iactata sermonibus erant. Turnus Herdonius ab Aricia ferociter in absentem Tarquinium erat invectus: haud mirum esse Superbo inditum Romae cognomen — iam enim ita clam quidem mussitantes, volgo tamen eum appellabant — an quicquam superbius esse quam ludificari sic omne nomen Latinum? Principibus longe ab domo excitis, ipsum, qui concilium indixerit, non adesse. Temptari profecto patientiam ut, si iugum acceperint, obnoxios premat. Cui enim non apparere, adfectare eum imperium in Latinos? Quod si sui bene crediderint

cives, aut si creditum illud et non raptum parricidio sit, credere et Latinos quamquam ne sic quidem alienigenae debere: sin suos eius paeniteat, quippe qui alii super alios trucidentur exsulatum eant bona amittant, quid spei melioris Latinis portendi? Si se audiant, domum suam quemque inde abituros neque magis observaturos diem concilii quam ipse qui indixerit observet. Haec atque alia eodem pertinentia seditiosus facinorosusque homo hisque artibus opes domi nactus cum maxime dissereret, intervenit Tarquinius. Is finis orationi fuit; aversi omnes ad Tarquinium salutandum. Qui silentio facto monitus a proximis ut purgaret se quod id temporis venisset, disceptatorem ait se sumptum inter patrem et filium cura reconciliandi eos in gratiam moratum esse, et quia ea res emisisset illum diem, postero die acturum quae constitueret. Ne id quidem ab Turno tulisse tacitum ferunt; dixisse enim nullam breviorē esse cognitionem quam inter patrem et filium paucisque transigi verbis posse: ni pareat patri, habitum infortunium esse.

[51] Haec Aricinus in regem Romanum increpans ex concilio abiit. Quam rem Tarquinius aliquanto quam videbatur aegrius ferens confestim Turno necem machinatur, ut eundem terrorem quo civium animos domi oppresserat Latinis iniceret. Et quia pro imperio palam interfici non poterat, oblato falso crimine insontem oppressit. Per adversae factionis quosdam Aricinos servum Turni auro corrumpit, ut in deversorium eius vim magnam gladiatorum inferri clam sineret. Ea cum una nocte perfecta essent, Tarquinius paulo ante lucem accitis ad se principibus Latinorum quasi re nova perturbatus, moram suam hesternam velut deorum quadam providentia inlatam ait saluti sibi atque illis fuisse. Ab Turno dici sibi et primoribus populorum parari necem ut Latinorum solus imperium teneat. Adgressurum fuisse hesterno die in concilio; dilatam rem esse, quod auctor concilii afuerit quem maxime peteret. Inde illam absentis insectationem esse natam quod morando spem destituerit. Non dubitare, si vera deferantur, quin prima luce, ubi ventum in concilium sit, instructus cum coniuratorum manu armatusque venturus sit. Dici gladiatorum ingentem esse numerum ad eum convectum. Id vanum necne sit, extemplo sciri posse. Rogare eos ut inde secum ad Turnum veniant. Suspectam fecit rem et ingenium Turni ferox et oratio hesterna et mora Tarquini, quod videbatur ob eam differri caedes potuisse. Eunt

inclinatis quidem ad credendum animis, tamen, nisi gladiis deprehensis, cetera vana existimaturi. Ubi est eo ventum, Turnum ex somno excitatum circumsistunt custodes; comprehensisque servis qui caritate domini vim parabant, cum gladii abditi ex omnibus locis deverticuli protraherentur, enimvero manifesta res visa iniectaeque Turno catenae; et confestim Latinorum concilium magno cum tumultu advocatur. Ibi tam atrox invidia orta est gladiis in medio positis, ut indicta causa, novo genere leti, deiectus ad caput aquae Ferentinae crate superne iniecta saxisque congestis mergeretur.

[52] Revocatis deinde ad concilium Latinis Tarquinius conlaudatisque qui Turnum nouantem res pro manifesto parricidio merita poena adfecissent) ita verba fecit: posse quidem se vetusto iure agere, quod, cum omnes Latini ab Alba oriundi sint, [in] eo foedere teneantur, quo sub Tullo res omnis Albana cum colonis suis in Romanum cesserit imperium; ceterum se utilitatis id magis omnium causa censere ut renovetur id foedus, secundaque potius fortuna populi Romani ut participes Latini fruantur quam urbium excidia vastationesque agrorum, quas Anco prius, patre deinde suo regnante perpassi sint, semper aut expectent aut patiantur. Haud difficulter persuasum Latinis, quamquam in ea foedere superior Romana res erat; ceterum et capita nominis Latini stare ac sentire cum rege videbant, et [Turnus] sui cuique periculi, si adversatus esset, recens erat documentum. Ita renovatum foedus, indictumque iunioribus Latinorum ut ex foedere die certa ad lucum Ferentinae armati frequentes adessent. Qui ubi ad edictum Romani regis ex omnibus populis convenere, ne ducem suum neve secretum imperium propriae signa haberent, miscuit manipulos ex Latinis Romanisque ut ex binis singulos faceret binosque ex singulis; ita geminatis manipulis centuriones imposuit.

[53] Nec ut iniustus in pace rex, ita dux belli pravus fuit; quin ea arte aequasset superiores reges ni degeneratum in aliis huic quoque decori offecisset. Is primus Volscis bellum in ducentos amplius post suam aetatem annos movit, Suessamque Pometiam ex iis vi cepit. Ubi cum divendita praeda quadraginta talenta argenti refecisset, concepit animo eam amplitudinem Iovis templi quae digna deum hominumque rege, quae Romano imperio, quae ipsius etiam loci maiestate esset; captivam pecuniam in aedificationem eius templi

seposuit.

Excepit deinde lentius spe bellum, quo Gabios, propinquam urbem, nequiquam vi adortus, cum obsidendi quoque urbem spes pulso a moenibus adempta esset, postremo minime arte Romana, fraude ac dolo, adgressus est. Nam cum velut posito bello fundamentis templi iaciendis aliisque urbanis operibus intentum se esse simularet, Sextus filius eius, qui minimus ex tribus erat, transfugit ex composito Gabios, patris in se saevitiam intolerabilem conquerens: iam ab alienis in suos vertisse superbiam et liberorum quoque eum frequentiae taedere, ut quam in curia solitudinem fecerit domi quoque faciat, ne quam stirpem, ne quem heredem regni relinquat. Se quidem inter tela et gladios patris elapsum nihil usquam sibi tutum nisi apud hostes L. Tarquini credidisse. Nam ne errarent, manere iis bellum quod positum simuletur, et per occasionem eum incautos invasurum. Quod si apud eos supplicibus locus non sit, pererraturum se omne Latium, Volcosque se inde et Aequos et Hernicos petiturum donec ad eos perveniat qui a patrum crudelibus atque impiis suppliciis tegere liberos sciant. Forsitan etiam ardoris aliquid ad bellum armaque se adversus superbissimum regem ac ferocissimum populum inventurum. Cum si nihil morarentur infensus ira porro inde abiturus videretur, benigne ab Gabinis excipitur. Vetant mirari si, qualis in cives, qualis in socios, talis ad ultimum in liberos esset; in se ipsum postremo saeviturum, si alia desint. Sibi vero gratum adventum eius esse, futurumque credere brevi ut illo adiuvante a portis Gabinis sub Romana moenia bellum transferatur.

[54] Inde in consilia publica adhiberi. Ubi cum de aliis rebus adsentire se veteribus Gabinis diceret quibus eae notiores essent, ipse identidem belli auctor esse et in eo sibi praecipuam prudentiam adsumere quod utriusque populi vires nosset, sciretque invisam profecto superbiam regiam civibus esse quam ferre ne liberi quidem potuissent. Ita cum sensim ad rebellandum primores Gabinorum incitaret, ipse cum promptissimis iuvenum praedatum atque in expeditiones iret et dictis factisque omnibus ad fallendum instructis vana ad cresceret fides, dux ad ultimum belli legitur. Ibi cum inscia multitudine quid ageretur, proelia parva inter Romam Gabiosque fierent quibus plerumque Gabina res superior esset, tum certatim summi infimique Gabinorum Sex. Tarquinius dono deum sibi

missum ducem credere. Apud milites vero obeundo pericula ac labores pariter, praedam munifice largiendo tanta caritate esse ut non pater Tarquinius potentior Romae quam filius Gabiis esset. Itaque postquam satis virium conlectum ad omnes conatus videbat, tum ex suis unum sciscitatum Romam ad patrem mittit quidnam se facere vellet, quando quidem ut omnia unus publice Gabiis posset ei di dedissent. Huic nuntio, quia, credo, dubiae fidei videbatur, nihil voce responsum est; rex velut deliberabundus in hortum aedium transit sequente nuntio filii; ibi inambulans tacitus summa papaverum capita dicitur baculo decussisse. Interrogando exspectandoque responsum nuntius fessus, ut re imperfecta, redit Gabios; quae dixerit ipse quaeque viderit refert; seu ira seu odio seu superbia insita ingenio nullam eum vocem emisisse. Sexto ubi quid vellet parens quidve praeciperet tacitis ambagibus patuit, primores civitatis criminando alios apud populum, alios sua ipsos invidia opportunos interemit. Multi palam, quidam in quibus minus speciosa criminatio erat futura clam interfecti. Patuit quibusdam volentibus fuga, aut in exilium acti sunt, absentiumque bona iuxta atque interemptorum divisui fuere. Largitiones inde praedaeque; et dulcedine privati commodi sensus malorum publicorum adimi, donec orba consilio auxilioque Gabina res regi Romano sine ulla dimicatione in manum traditur.

[55] Gabiis receptis Tarquinius pacem cum Aequeorum gente fecit, foedus cum Tuscis renovavit. Inde ad negotia urbana animum convertit; quorum erat primum ut Iovis templum in monte Tarpeio monumentum regni sui nominisque relinqueret: Tarquinius reges ambos patrem vovisse, filium perfecisse. Et ut libera a ceteris religionibus area esset tota Iovis templique eius quod inaedificaretur, exaugurare fana sacellaque statuit quae aliquot ibi, a Tatio rege primum in ipso discrimine adversus Romulum pugnae vota, consecrata inaugurataque postea fuerant. Inter principia condendi huius operis movisse numen ad indicandam tanti imperii molem traditur deos; nam cum omnium sacellorum exaugurationes admitterent aves, in Termini fano non addixere; idque omen auguriumque ita acceptum est non motam Termini sedem unumque eum deorum non evocatum sacratis sibi finibus firma stabiliaque cuncta portendere. Hoc perpetuitatis auspicio accepto, secutum aliud magnitudinem imperii portendens prodigium est: caput humanum

integra facie aperientibus fundamenta templi dicitur apparuisse. Quae visa species haud per ambages arcem eam imperii caputque rerum fore portendebat; idque ita cecinere vates quique in urbe erant quosque ad eam rem consultandam ex Etruria acciverant.

Augebatur ad impensas regis animus; itaque Pometinae manubiae, quae perducendo ad culmen operi destinatae erant, vix in fundamenta suppeditavere. Eo magis Fabio, praeterquam quod antiquior est, crediderim quadraginta ea sola talenta fuisse, quam Pisoni, qui quadraginta milia pondo argenti seposita in eam rem scribit, summam pecuniae neque ex unius tum urbis praeda sperandam et nullius ne horum quidem operum fundamenta non exsuperaturam.

[56] Intentus perficiendo templo, fabris undique ex Etruria accitis, non pecunia solum ad id publica est usus sed operis etiam ex plebe. Qui cum haud parvus et ipse militiae adderetur labor, minus tamen plebs gravabatur se templa deum exaedificare manibus suis quam postquam et ad alia, ut specie minora, sic laboris aliquanto maioris traducebantur opera foros in circo faciendos cloacamque maximam, receptaculum omnium purgamentorum urbis, sub terra agendam; quibus duobus operibus vix nova haec magnificentia quicquam adaequare potuit. His laboribus exercita plebe, quia et urbi multitudinem, ubi usus non esset, oneri rebatur esse et colonis mittendis occupari latius imperii fines volebat, Signiam Circeiosque colonos misit, praesidia urbi futura terra marique.

Haec agenti portentum terribile visum: anguis ex columna lignea elapsus cum terrorem fugamque in regia fecisset, ipsius regis non tam subito pavore perculit pectus quam anxiis implevit curis. Itaque cum ad publica prodigia Etrusci tantum vates adhiberentur, hoc velut domestico exterritus visu Delphos ad maxime inclitum in terris oraculum mittere statuit. Neque responsa sortium ulli alii committere ausus, duos filios per ignotas ea tempestate terras, ignotiora maria in Graeciam misit. Titus et Arruns profecti; comes iis additus L. Iunius Brutus, Tarquinia, sorore regis, natus, iuvenis longe alius ingenii quam cuius simulationem induerat. Is cum primores civitatis, in quibus fratrem suum, ab avunculo interfectum audisset, neque in animo suo quicquam regi timendum neque in fortuna concupiscendum relinquere statuit contemptuque tutus esse ubi in iure parum praesidii esset. Ergo ex industria factus ad imitationem

stultitiae, cum se suaque praedae esse regi sineret, Bruti quoque haud abnuat cognomen ut sub eius obtentu cognominis liberator ille populi Romani animus latens opperiretur tempora sua. Is tum ab Tarquiniis ductus Delphos, ludibrium verius quam comes, aureum baculum inclusum corneo cavato ad id baculo tulisse donum Apollini dicitur, per ambages effigiem ingenii sui. Quo postquam ventum est, perfectis patris mandatis cupido incessit animos iuvenum sciscitandi ad quem eorum regnum Romanum esset venturum. Ex infimo specu vocem redditam ferunt: imperium summum Romae habebit qui vestrum primus, O iuvenes, osculum matri tulerit. Tarquinius ut Sextus, qui Romae relictus fuerat, ignarus responsi expersque imperii esset, rem summa ope taceri iubent; ipsi inter se uter prior, cum Romam redisset, matri osculum daret, sorti permittunt. Brutus alio ratus spectare Pythicam vocem, velut si prolapsus cecidisset, terram osculo contigit, scilicet quod ea communis mater omnium mortalium esset. Reditum inde Romam, ubi adversus Rutulos bellum summa vi parabatur.

[57] Ardeam Rutuli habebant, gens, ut in ea regione atque in ea aetate, divitiis praepollens; eaque ipsa causa belli fuit, quod rex Romanus cum ipse ditari, exhaustus magnificentia publicorum operum, tum praeda delenire popularium animos studebat, praeter aliam superbiam regno infestos etiam quod se in fabrorum ministeriis ac servili tam diu habitos opere ab rege indignabantur. Temptata res est, si primo impetu capi Ardea posset: ubi id parum processit, obsidione munitionibusque coepti premi hostes. In his stativis, ut fit longo magis quam acri bello, satis liberi commeatus erant, primoribus tamen magis quam militibus; regii quidem iuvenes interdum otium conviviiis comisationibusque inter se terebant. Forte potantibus his apud Sex. Tarquinium, ubi et Collatinus cenabat Tarquinius, Egeri filius, incidit de uxoribus mentio. Suam quisque laudare miris modis; inde certamine accenso Collatinus negat verbis opus esse; paucis id quidem horis posse sciri quantum ceteris praestet Lucretia sua. “Quin, si vigor iuventae inest, conscendimus equos invisimusque praesentes nostrarum ingenia? Id cuique spectatissimum sit quod necopinato viri adventu occurrerit oculis.” Incaluerant vino; “Age sane” omnes; citatis equis avolant Romam. Quo cum primis se intendentibus tenebris pervenissent, pergunt inde

Collatiam, ubi Lucretiam haudquaquam ut regias nurus, quas in convivio luxuque cum aequalibus viderant tempus terentes sed nocte sera deditam lanae inter lucubrantēs ancillas in medio aedium sedentem inveniunt. Muliebris certaminis laus penes Lucretiam fuit. Adveniēns vir Tarquiniique excepti benigne; victor maritus comiter invitat regios iuvenes. Ibi Sex. Tarquinius mala libido Lucretiae per vim stuprandae capit; cum forma tum spectata castitas incitat. Et tum quidem ab nocturno iuvenali ludo in castra redeunt.

[58] Paucis interiectis diebus Sex. Tarquinius inscio Collatino cum comite uno Collatiam venit. Ubi exceptus benigne ab ignaris consilii cum post cenam in hospitale cubiculum deductus esset, amore ardens, postquam satis tuta circa sopitique omnes videbantur, stricto gladio ad dormientem Lucretiam venit sinistraque manu mulieris pectore oppresso “Tace, Lucretia” inquit; “Sex. Tarquinius sum; ferrum in manu est; moriere, si emiseris vocem.” Cum pavida ex somno mulier nullam opem, prope mortem imminētem videret, tum Tarquinius fateri amorem, orare, miscere precibus minas, versare in omnes partes muliebrem animum. Ubi obstinatam videbat et ne mortis quidem metu inclinari, addit ad metum dedecus: cum mortua iugulatum servum nudum positurum ait, ut in sordido adulterio necata dicatur. Quo terrore cum vicisset obstinatam pudicitiam velut vi victrix libido, profectusque inde Tarquinius ferox expugnato decore muliebri esset, Lucretia maesta tanto malo nuntium Romam eundem ad patrem Ardeamque ad virum mittit, ut cum singulis fidelibus amicis veniant; ita facto maturatoque opus esse; rem atrocem incidisse. Sp. Lucretius cum P. Valerio Volesi filio, Collatinus cum L. Iunio Bruto venit, cum quo forte Romam rediens ab nuntio uxoris erat conventus. Lucretiam sedentem maestam in cubiculo inveniunt. Adventu suorum lacrimae obortae, quaerentique viro “Satin salve?” “Minime” inquit; “quid enim salvi est mulieri amissa pudicitia? Vestigia viri alieni, Collatine, in lecto sunt tuo; ceterum corpus est tantum violatum, animus insons; mors testis erit. Sed date dexterās fidemque haud impune adultero fore. Sex. est Tarquinius qui hostis pro hospite priore nocte vi armatus mihi sibi, si vos viri estis, pestiferum hinc abstulit gaudium.” Dant ordine omnes fidem; consolantur aegram animi avertendo noxam ab coacta in auctorem delicti: mentem peccare, non corpus, et unde

consilium afuerit culpam abesse. “Vos” inquit “uideritis quid illi debeat: ego me etsi peccato absolvo, supplicio non libero; nec ulla deinde impudica Lucretiae exemplo vivet.” Cultrum, quem sub veste abditum habebat, eum in corde defigit, prolapsaque in vulnus moribunda cecidit. Conclamat vir paterque.

[59] Brutus illis luctu occupatis cultrum ex vulnere Lucretiae extractum, manantem cruore prae se tenens, “Per hunc” inquit “castissimum ante regiam iniuriam sanguinem iuro, vosque, di, testes facio me L. Tarquinius Superbum cum scelerata coniuge et omni liberorum stirpe ferro igni quacumque dehinc vi possim exsecuturum, nec illos nec alium quemquam regnare Romae passurum.” Cultrum deinde Collatino tradit, inde Lucretio ac Valerio, stupentibus miraculo rei, unde novum in Bruti pectore ingenium. Ut praeceptum erat iurant; totique ab luctu versi in iram, Brutum iam inde ad expugnandum regnum vocantem sequuntur ducem.

Elatum domo Lucretiae corpus in forum deferunt, concientque miraculo, ut fit, rei novae atque indignitate homines. Pro se quisque scelus regum ac vim queruntur. Movet cum patris maestitia, tum Brutus castigatorem lacrimarum atque inertium querellarum auctorque quod viros, quod Romanos deceret, arma capiendi adversus hostilia ausos. Ferocissimus quisque iuvenum cum armis voluntarius adest; sequitur et cetera iuventus. Inde patre praeside relicto Collatiae [ad portas] custodibusque datis ne quis eum motum regibus nuntiaret, ceteri armati duce Bruto Romam profecti. Ubi eo ventum est, quacumque incedit armata multitudo, pavorem ac tumultum facit; rursus ubi anteire primores civitatis vident, quidquid sit haud temere esse rentur. Nec minorem motum animorum Romae tam atrox res facit quam Collatiae fecerat; ergo ex omnibus locis urbis in forum curritur. Quo simul ventum est, praeco ad tribunum celerum, in quo tum magistratu forte Brutus erat, populum advocavit. Ibi oratio habita nequaquam eius pectoris ingenii quod simulatum ad eam diem fuerat, de vi ac libidine Sex. Tarquini, de stupro infando Lucretiae et miserabili caede, de orbitate Tricipitini cui morte filiae causa mortis indignior ac miserabilior esset. Addita superbia ipsius regis miseriae et labores plebis in fossas cloacasque exhaustas demersae; Romanos homines, victores omnium circa populorum,

opifices ac lapicidas pro bellatoribus factos. Indigna Ser. Tulli regis memorata caedes et invecta corpori patris nefando vehiculo filia, invocatique ultores parentum di. His atrocioribusque, credo, aliis, quae praesens rerum indignitas haudquaquam relatu scriptoribus facilia subicit, memoratis, incensam multitudinem perpulit ut imperium regi abrogaret exsulesque esse iuberet L. Tarquinius cum coniuge ac liberis. Ipse iunioribus qui ultro nomina dabant lectis armatisque, ad concitandum inde adversus regem exercitum Ardeam in castra est profectus: imperium in urbe Lucretio, praefecto urbis iam ante ab rege instituto, relinquit. Inter hunc tumultum Tullia domo profugit execrantibus quacumque incedebat invocantibusque parentum furias viris mulieribusque.

[60] Harum rerum nuntiis in castra perlatis cum re nova trepidus rex pergeret Romam ad comprimendos motus, flexit viam Brutus — senserat enim adventum — ne obvius fieret; eodemque fere tempore, diversis itineribus, Brutus Ardeam, Tarquinius Romam venerunt. Tarquinio clausae portae exsiliumque indictum: liberatorem urbis laeta castra accepere, exactique inde liberi regis. Duo patrem secuti sunt qui exsulatum Caere in Etruscos ierunt. Sex. Tarquinius Gabios tamquam in suum regnum profectus ab ultoribus veterum simultatium, quas sibi ipse caedibus rapinisque concierat, est interfectus.

L. Tarquinius Superbus regnavit annos quinque et viginti. Regnatum Romae ab condita urbe ad liberatam annos ducentos quadraginta quattuor. Duo consules inde comitiis centuriatis a praefecto urbis ex commentariis Ser. Tulli creati sunt, L. Iunius Brutus et L. Tarquinius Collatinus.

LIBER II

[1] Liberi iam hinc populi Romani res pace belloque gestas, annuos magistratus, imperiaque legum potentiora quam hominum peragam. Quae libertas ut laetior esset proximi regis superbia fecerat. Nam priores ita regnarunt ut haud immerito omnes deinceps conditores partium certe urbis, quas novas ipsi sedes ab se auctae multitudinis addiderunt, numerentur; neque ambigitur quin Brutus idem qui tantum gloriae superbo exacto rege meruit pessimo publico id facturus fuerit, si libertatis immaturae cupidine priorum regum alicui regnum extorsisset. Quid enim futurum fuit, si illa pastorum convenarumque plebs, transfuga ex suis populis, sub tutela inviolati templi aut libertatem aut certe impunitatem adepta, soluta regio metu agitari coepta esset tribuniciis procellis, et in aliena urbe cum patribus serere certamina, priusquam pignera coniugum ac liberorum caritasque ipsius soli, cui longo tempore adsuescitur, animos eorum consociasset? Dissipatae res nondum adultae discordia forent, quas fovit tranquilla moderatio imperii eoque nutriendo perduxit ut bonam frugem libertatis maturis iam viribus ferre possent. Libertatis autem originem inde magis quia annum imperium consulare factum est quam quod deminutum quicquam sit ex regia potestate numeres. Omnia iura, omnia insignia primi consules tenuere; id modo cautum est ne, si ambo fascēs haberent, duplicatus terror videretur. Brutus prior, concedente collega, fascēs habuit; qui non acrior vindex libertatis fuerat quam deinde custos fuit. Omnium primum avidum novae libertatis populum, ne postmodum flecti precibus aut donis regiis posset, iure iurando adegit neminem Romae passuros regnare. Deinde quo plus virium in senatu frequentia etiam ordinis faceret, caedibus regis deminutum patrum numerum primoribus equestris gradus lectis ad trecentorum summam explevit, traditumque inde fertur ut in senatum vocarentur qui patres quique conscripti essent; conscriptos videlicet novum senatum, appellabant lectos. Id mirum quantum profuit ad concordiam civitatis iungendosque patribus plebis animos.

[2] Rerum deinde divinarum habita cura; et quia quaedam publica sacra per ipsos reges factitata erant, necubi regum desiderium esset,

regem sacrificolum creant. Id sacerdotium pontifici subiecere, ne additus nomini honos aliquid libertati, cuius tunc prima erat cura, officeret. Ac nescio an nimium undique eam minimisque rebus muniendo modum excesserint. Consul is enim alterius, cum nihil aliud offenderet, nomen invisum civitati fuit: nimium Tarquinius regno adsuesse; initium a Prisco factum; regnasse dein Ser. Tullium; ne intervallo quidem facto oblitum, tamquam alieni, regni, Superbum Tarquinium velut hereditatem gentis scelere ac vi repetisse; pulso Superbo penes Collatinum imperium esse. Nescire Tarquinius privatos vivere; non placere nomen, periculosum libertati esse. Hinc primo sensim temptantium animos sermo per totam civitatem est datus, sollicitamque suspicione plebem Brutus ad contionem vocat. Ibi omnium primum ius iurandum populi recitat neminem regnare passuros nec esse Romae unde periculum libertati foret; id summa ope tuendum esse, neque ullam rem quae eo pertineat contemnendam. Invitum se dicere hominis causa, nec dicturum fuisse ni caritas rei publicae vinceret: non credere populum Romanum solidam libertatem reciperatam esse; regium genus, regium nomen non solum in civitate sed etiam in imperio esse; id officere, id obstare libertati. “Hunc tu” inquit “tua voluntate, L. Tarquini, remove metum. Meminimus, fatemur: eiecisti reges; absolue beneficium tuum, aufer hinc regium nomen. Res tuas tibi non solum reddent cives tui auctore me, sed si quid deest munifice augebunt. Amicus abi; exonera civitatem vano forsitan metu; ita persuasum est animis cum gente Tarquinia regnum hinc abiturum.” Consuli primo tam novae rei ac subitae admiratio incluserat vocem; dicere deinde incipientem primores civitatis circumsistunt, eadem multis precibus orant. Et ceteri quidem movebant minus: postquam Sp. Lucretius, maior aetate ac dignitate, socer praeterea ipsius, agere varie rogando alternis suadendoque coepit ut vinci se consensu civitatis pateretur, timens consul ne postmodum privato sibi eadem illa cum bonorum amissione additaque alia insuper ignominia acciderent, abdicavit se consulatu rebusque suis omnibus Lavinium translatis civitate cessit. Brutus ex senatus consulto ad populum tulit ut omnes Tarquiniae gentis exsules essent; collegam sibi comitiis centuriatis creavit P. Valerium, quo adiutore reges eiecerat.

[3] Cum haud cuiquam in dubio esset bellum ab Tarquiniis

imminere, id quidem spe omnium serius fuit; ceterum, id quod non timebant, per dolum ac prodicionem prope libertas amissa est. Erant in Romana iuventute adolescentes aliquot, nec ii tenui loco orti, quorum in regno libido solutior fuerat, aequales sodalesque adulescentium Tarquiniorum, adsueti more regio vivere. Eam tum, aequato iure omnium, licentiam quaerentes, libertatem aliorum in suam vertisse servitutem inter se conquerebantur: regem hominem esse, a quo impetres, ubi ius, ubi iniuria opus sit; esse gratiae locum, esse beneficio; et irasci et ignoscere posse; inter amicum atque inimicum discrimen nosse; leges rem surdam, inexorabilem esse, salubriorem melioremque inopi quam potenti; nihil laxamenti nec veniae habere, si modum excesseris; periculosum esse in tot humanis erroribus sola innocentia vivere. Ita iam sua sponte aegris animis legati ab regibus superveniunt, sine mentione redditus bona tantum repetentes. Eorum verba postquam in senatu audita sunt, per aliquot dies ea consultatio tenuit, ne non reddita belli causa, reddita belli materia et adiumentum essent. Interim legati alia moliri; aperte bona repetentes clam recipiendi regni consilia struere; et tamquam ad id quod agi videbatur ambientes, nobilium adulescentium animos pertemptant. A quibus placide oratio accepta est, iis litteras ab Tarquiniis reddunt et de accipiendis clam nocte in urbem regibus conloquuntur.

[4] Vitelliis Aquiliisque fratribus primo commissa res est. Vitelliorum soror consuli nupta Bruto erat, iamque ex eo matrimonio adolescentes erant liberi, Titus Tiberiusque; eos quoque in societatem consilii avunculi adsumunt. Praeterea aliquot nobiles adolescentes conscii adsumpti, quorum vetustate memoria abiit. Interim cum in senatu vicisset sententia quae censebat reddenda bona, eamque ipsam causam morae in urbe haberent legati quod spatium ad vehicula comparanda a consulibus sumpsissent quibus regum asportarent res, omne id tempus cum coniuratis consultando absumunt, evincuntque instando ut litterae sibi ad Tarquinius darentur: nam aliter qui credituros eos non vana ab legatis super rebus tantis adferri? Datae litterae ut pignus fidei essent, manifestum facinus fecerunt. Nam cum pridie quam legati ad Tarquinius proficiscerentur cenatum forte apud Vitellios esset, coniuratique ibi, remotis arbitris, multa inter se de novo, ut fit, consilio egissent,

sermonem eorum ex servis unus excepit, qui iam antea id senserat agi, sed eam occasionem, ut litterae legatis darentur quae deprehensae rem coarguere possent, exspectabat. Postquam datas sensit, rem ad consules detulit. Consules ad deprehendendos legatos coniuratosque profecti domo sine tumultu rem omnem oppressere; litterarum in primis habita cura ne interciderent. Proditoribus extemplo in vincla coniectis, de legatis paululum addubitatum est; et quamquam visi sunt commisisse ut hostium loco essent, ius tamen gentium valuit.

[5] De bonis regiis, quae reddi ante censuerant, res integra refertur ad patres. Ibi vicit ira; vetuere reddi, vetuere in publicum redigi. Diripienda plebi sunt data, ut contacta regia praeda spem in perpetuum cum iis pacis amitteret. Ager Tarquiniorum qui inter urbem ac Tiberim fuit, consecratus Marti, Martius deinde campus fuit. Forte ibi tum seges farris dicitur fuisse matura messi. Quem campi fructum quia religiosum erat consumere, desectam cum stramento segetem magna vis hominum simul immissa corbibus fudere in Tiberim tenui fluentem aqua, ut mediis caloribus solet. Ita in vadis haesitantes frumenti acervos sedisse inlitos limo; insulam inde paulatim, et aliis quae fert temere flumen eodem invectis, factam; postea credo additas moles manuque adiutum, ut tam eminens area firmaque templis quoque ac porticibus sustinendis esset. Direptis bonis regum damnati proditores sumptumque supplicium, conspectius eo quod poenae capiendae ministerium patri de liberis consulatus imposuit, et qui spectator erat amovendus, eum ipsum fortuna exactorem supplicii dedit. Stabant deligati ad palum nobilissimi iuvenes; sed a ceteris, velut ab ignotis capitibus, consulis liberi omnium in se averterant oculos, miserebatque non poenae magis homines quam sceleris quo poenam meriti essent: illos eo potissimum anno patriam liberatam, patrem liberatorem, consulatum ortum ex domo Iunia, patres, plebem, quidquid deorum hominumque Romanorum esset, induxisse in animum ut superbo quondam regi, tum infesto exsuli proderent. Consules in sedem processere suam, missique lictores ad sumendum supplicium. Nudatos virgis caedunt securique feriunt, cum inter omne tempus pater voltusque et os eius spectaculo esset, eminente animo patrio inter publicae poenae ministerium. Secundum poenam nocentium, ut in utramque partem

arcendis sceleribus exemplum nobile esset, praemium indici pecunia ex aerario, libertas et civitas data. Ille primum dicitur vindicta liberatus; quidam vindictae quoque nomen tractum ab illo putant; Vindicio ipsi nomen fuisse. Post illum observatum ut qui ita liberati essent in civitatem accepti viderentur.

[6] His sicut acta erant nuntiatis incensus Tarquinius non dolore solum tantae ad inritum cadentis spei sed etiam odio iraque, postquam dolo viam obsaeptam vidit, bellum aperte moliendum ratus circumire supplex Etruriae urbes; orare maxime Veientes Tarquiniensesque, ne ex se ortum, eiusdem sanguinis, extorrem, egentem ex tanto modo regno cum liberis adolescentibus ante oculos suos perire sinerent: alios peregre in regnum Romam accitos: se regem, augmentem bello Romanum imperium, a proximis scelerata coniuratione pulsum. Eos inter se, quia nemo unus satis dignus regno visus sit, partes regni rapuisse; bona sua diripienda populo dedisse, ne quis expers sceleris esset. Patriam se regnumque suum repetere et persequi ingratos cives velle. Ferrent opem, adiuvent; suas quoque veteres iniurias ultum irent, totiens caesas legiones, agrum ademptum. Haec moverunt Veientes, ac pro se quisque Romano saltem duce ignominias demendas belloque amissa repetenda minaciter fremunt. Tarquinienses nomen ac cognatio movet: pulchrum videbatur suos Romae regnare. Ita duo duarum civitatum exercitus ad repetendum regnum belloque persequendos Romanos secuti Tarquinium. Postquam in agrum Romanum ventum est, obviam hosti consules eunt. Valerius quadrato agmine peditem ducit: Brutus ad explorandum cum equitatu antecessit. Eodem modo primus eques hostium agminis fuit; praeerat Arruns Tarquinius filius regis, rex ipse cum legionibus sequebatur. Arruns ubi ex lictoribus procul consulem esse, deinde iam propius ac certius facie quoque Brutum cognovit, inflammatus ira “ille est vir” inquit, “qui nos extorres expulit patria. Ipse en ille nostris decoratus insignibus magnifice incedit. Di regum ultores adeste.” Concitat calcaribus equum atque in ipsum infestus consulem derigit. Sensit in se iri Brutus; decorum erat tum ipsis capessere pugnam ducibus; avide itaque se certamini offert; adeoque infestis animis concurrerunt, neuter dum hostem vulneraret sui protegendum corporis memor, ut contrario ictu per parvam uterque transfixus duabus haerentes hastis

moribundi ex equis lapsi sint. Simul et cetera equestris pugna coepit, neque ita multo post et pedites superveniunt. Ibi varia victoria et velut aequo Marte pugnatum est; dextera utrimque cornua vicere, laeva superata. Veientes, vinci ab Romano milite adsueti, fusi fugatique: Tarquiniensis, novus hostis, non stetit solum, sed etiam ab sua parte Romanum pepulit.

[7] Ita cum pugnatum esset, tantus terror Tarquinium atque Etruscos incescit ut omissa inrita re nocte ambo exercitus, Veiens Tarquiniensisque, suas quisque abirent domos. Adiciunt miracula huic pugnae: silentio proximae noctis ex silva Arsia ingentem editam vocem; Silvani vocem eam creditam; haec dicta: uno plus Tuscorum cecidisse in acie; vincere bello Romanum. Ita certe inde abiere, Romani ut victores, Etrusci pro victis; nam postquam inluxit nec quisquam hostium in conspectu erat, P. Valerius consul spolia legit triumphansque inde Romam rediit. Collegae funus quanto tum potuit apparatu fecit; sed multo maius morti decus publica fuit maestitia, eo ante omnia insignis quia matronae annum ut parentem eum luxerunt, quod tam acer ultor violatae pudicitiae fuisset. Consuli deinde qui superfuerat, ut sunt mutabiles volgi animi, ex favore non invidia modo sed suspicio etiam cum atroci crimine orta. Regnum eum adfectare fama ferebat, quia nec collegam subrogaverat in locum Bruti et aedificabat in summa Velia: ibi alto atque munito loco arcem inexpugnabilem fieri. Haec dicta volgo creditaque cum indignitate angerent consulis animum, vocato ad concilium populo submissis fascibus in contionem escendit. Gratum multitudini spectaculum fuit, submissa sibi esse imperii insignia confessionemque factam populi quam consulis maiestatem vimque maiorem esse. Ibi audire iussis consul laudare fortunam collegae, quod liberata patria, in summo honore, pro re publica dimicans, matura gloria necdum se vertente in invidiam, mortem occubuisset: se superstitem gloriae suae ad crimen atque invidiam superesse; ex liberatore patriae ad Aquilios se Vitelliosque recidisse. “Nunquamne ergo” inquit, “ulla adeo vobis spectata virtus erit, ut suspicione violari nequeat? Ego me, illum acerrimum regum hostem, ipsum cupiditatis regni crimen subiturum timerem? Ego si in ipsa arce Capitolioque habitarem, metui me crederem posse a civibus meis? Tam levi momento mea apud vos fama pendet? Adeone est fundata leviter fides ut ubi sim quam qui

sim magis referat? Non obstabunt Publi Valeri aedes libertati vestrae, Quirites; tuta erit vobis Velia; deferam non in planum modo aedes sed colli etiam subiciam, ut vos supra suspectum me civem habitetis; in Velia aedificent quibus melius quam P. Valerio creditur libertas.” Delata confestim materia omnis infra Veliam et, ubi nunc Vicae Potae est, domus in infimo clivo aedificata.

[8] Latae deinde leges, non solum quae regni suspicione consulem absoluerent, sed quae adeo in contrarium verterent ut popularem etiam facerent; inde cognomen factum Publicolae est. Ante omnes de provocatione adversus magistratus ad populum sacrandoque cum bonis capite eius qui regni occupandi consilia inisset gratiae in volgus leges fuere. Quas cum solus pertulisset, ut sua unius in his gratia esset, tum deinde comitia collegae subrogando habuit. Creatus Sp. Lucretius consul, qui magno natu, non sufficientibus iam viribus ad consularia munera obeunda, intra paucos dies moritur. Suffectus in Lucreti locum M. Horatius Puluillus. Apud quosdam veteres auctores non invenio Lucretium consulem; Bruto statim Horatium suggerunt; credo, quia nulla gesta res insignem fecerit consulatum, memoria intercidisse. Nondum dedicata erat in Capitolio Iovis aedes; Valerius Horatiusque consules sortiti uter dedicaret. Horatio sorte evenit: Publicola ad Veientium bellum profectus. Aegrius quam dignum erat tulere Valeri necessarii dedicationem tam incliti templi Horatio dari. Id omnibus modis impedire conati, postquam alia frustra temptata erant, postem iam tenenti consuli foedum inter precationem deum nuntium incutiunt, mortuum eius filium esse, funestaque familia dedicare eum templum non posse. Non crediderit factum an tantum animo roboris fuerit, nec traditur certum nec interpretatio est facilis. Nihil aliud ad eum nuntium a proposito aversus quam ut cadaver efferri iuberet, tenens postem precationem peragit et dedicat templum. Haec post exactos reges domi militiaeque gesta primo anno.

[9] Inde P. Valerius iterum T. Lucretius consules facti. Iam Tarquinius ad Lartem Porsennam, Clusinum regem, perfugerant. Ibi miscendo consilium precesque nunc orabant, ne se, oriundos ex Etruscis, eiusdem sanguinis nominisque, egentes exsulare pateretur, nunc monebant etiam ne orientem morem pellendi reges inultum sineret. Satis libertatem ipsam habere dulcedinis. Nisi quanta vi

civitates eam expetant tanta regna reges defendant, aequari summa infimis; nihil excelsum, nihil quod supra cetera emineat, in civitatibus fore; adesse finem regnis, rei inter deos hominesque pulcherrimae. Porsenna cum regem esse Romae tutum, tum Etruscae gentis regem, amplum Tuscis ratus, Romam infesto exercitu venit. Non unquam alias ante tantus terror senatum invasit; adeo valida res tum Clusina erat magnumque Porsennae nomen. Nec hostes modo timebant sed suosmet ipsi cives, ne Romana plebs, metu perculsa, receptis in urbem regibus vel cum servitute pacem acciperet. Multa igitur blandimenta plebi per id tempus ab senatu data. Annonae in primis habita cura, et ad frumentum comparandum missi alii in Volscos, alii Cumas. Salis quoque vendendi arbitrium, quia impenso pretio venibat, in publicum omne sumptum, ademptum privatis; portoriisque et tributo plebes liberata, ut divites conferrent qui oneri ferendo essent: pauperes satis stipendii pendere, si liberos educent. Itaque haec indulgentia patrum asperis postmodum rebus in obsidione ac fame adeo concordem civitatem tenuit, ut regium nomen non summi magis quam infimi horrerent, nec quisquam unus malis artibus postea tam popularis esset quam tum bene imperando universus senatus fuit.

[10] Cum hostes adessent, pro se quisque in urbem ex agris demigrant; urbem ipsam saepiunt praesidiis. Alia muris, alia Tiberi obiecto videbantur tuta: pons sublicius iter paene hostibus dedit, ni unus vir fuisset, Horatius Cocles; id munimentum illo die fortuna urbis Romanae habuit. Qui positus forte in statione pontis cum captum repentino impetu Ianiculum atque inde citatos decurrere hostes vidisset trepidamque turbam suorum arma ordinesque relinquere, reprehensans singulos, obsistens obtestansque deum et hominum fidem testabatur nequiquam deserto praesidio eos fugere; si transitum ponte a tergo reliquissent, iam plus hostium in Palatio Capitolioque quam in Ianiculo fore. Itaque monere, praedicere ut pontem ferro, igni, quacumque vi possint, interrumpant: se impetum hostium, quantum corpore uno posset obsisti, excepturum. Vadit inde in primum aditum pontis, insignisque inter conspecta cedentium pugna terga obversis comminus ad ineundum proelium armis, ipso miraculo audaciae obstupescit hostes. Duos tamen cum eo pudor tenuit, Sp. Larcium ac T. Herminium, ambos claros genere factisque.

Cum his primam periculi procellam et quod tumultuosissimum pugnae erat parumper sustinuit; deinde eos quoque ipsos exigua parte pontis relicta revocantibus qui rescindebant cedere in tutum coegit. Circumferens inde truces minaciter oculos ad proceres Etruscorum nunc singulos provocare, nunc increpare omnes: servitia regum superborum, suae libertatis immemores alienam oppugnatum venire. Cunctati aliquamdiu sunt, dum alius alium, ut proelium incipiant, circumspectant; pudor deinde commovit aciem, et clamore sublato undique in unum hostem tela coniciunt. Quae cum in obiecto cuncta scuto haesissent, neque ille minus obstinatus ingenti pontem obtineret gradu, iam impetu conabantur detrudere virum, cum simul fragor rupti pontis, simul clamor Romanorum, alacritate perfecti operis sublatus, pavore subito impetum sustinuit. Tum Cocles “Tiberine pater” inquit, “te sancte precor, haec arma et hunc militem propitio flumine accipias.” Ita sic armatus in Tiberim desiluit multisque superincidentibus telis incolumis ad suos tranavit, rem ausus plus famae habituram ad posteros quam fidei. Grata erga tantam virtutem civitas fuit; statua in comitio posita; agri quantum uno die circumaravit, datum. Privata quoque inter publicos honores studia eminebant; nam in magna inopia pro domesticis copiis unusquisque ei aliquid, fraudans se ipse victu suo, contulit.

[11] Porsinna primo conatu repulsus, consiliis ab oppugnanda urbe ad obsidendam versis, praesidio in Ianiculo locato, ipse in plano ripisque Tiberis castra posuit, navibus undique accitis et ad custodiam ne quid Romam frumenti subvehi sineret, et ut praedatum milites trans flumen per occasiones aliis atque aliis locis traiceret; brevique adeo infestum omnem Romanum agrum reddidit ut non cetera solum ex agris sed pecus quoque omne in urbem compelleretur, neque quisquam extra portas propellere auderet. Hoc tantum licentiae Etruscis non metu magis quam consilio concessum. Namque Valerius consul intentus in occasionem multos simul et effusos improvise adoriundi, in parvis rebus negligens ultor, gravem se ad maiora vindicem servabat. Itaque ut eliceret praedatores, edicit suis postero die frequentes porta Esquilina, quae aversissima ab hoste erat, expellerent pecus, scituros id hostes ratus, quod in obsidione et fame servitia infida transfugerent. Et sciare perfugae indicio; multoque plures, ut in spem universae praedae, flumen traiciunt. P.

Valerius inde T. Herminium cum modicis copiis ad secundum lapidem Gabina via occultum considerare iubet, Sp. Larcium cum expedita iuventute ad portam Collinam stare donec hostis praetereat; inde se obicere ne sit ad flumen reditus. Consulum alter T. Lucretius porta Naeuia cum aliquot manipulis militum egressus; ipse Valerius Caelio monte cohortes delectas educit, hique primi apparuere hosti. Herminius ubi tumultum sensit, concurrit ex insidiis, versisque in Lucretium Etruscis terga caedit; dextra laevaue, hinc a porta Collina, illinc ab Naeuia, redditus clamor; ita caesi in medio praedatores, neque ad pugnam viribus pares et ad fugam saeptis omnibus viis. Finisque ille tam effuse evagandi Etruscis fuit.

[12] Obsidio erat nihilo minus et frumenti cum summa caritate inopia, sedendoque expugnaturum se urbem spem Porsinna habebat, cum C. Mucius, adulescens nobilis, cui indignum videbatur populum Romanum servientem cum sub regibus esset nullo bello nec ab hostibus ullis obsessum esse, liberum eundem populum ab iisdem Etruscis obsideri quorum saepe exercitus fuderit, — itaque magno audacique aliquo facinore eam indignitatem vindicandam ratus, primo sua sponte penetrare in hostium castra constituit; dein metuens ne si consulum iniussu et ignaris omnibus iret, forte deprehensus a custodibus Romanis retraheretur ut transfuga, fortuna tum urbis crimen adfirmante, senatum adit. “Transire Tiberim” inquit, “patres, et intrare, si possim, castra hostium volo, non praedo nec populationum in vicem ultor; maius si di iuvant in animo est facinus.” Adprobant patres; abdito intra vestem ferro proficiscitur. Ubi eo venit, in confertissima turba prope regium tribunal constitit. Ibi cum stipendium militibus forte daretur et scriba cum rege sedens pari fere ornatu multa ageret eumque milites volgo adirent, timens sciscitari uter Porsinna esset, ne ignorando regem semet ipse aperiret quis esset, quo temere traxit fortuna facinus, scribam pro rege obtruncat. Vadentem inde qua per trepidam turbam cruento mucrone sibi ipse fecerat viam, cum concursu ad clamorem facto comprehensum regii satellites retraxissent, ante tribunal regis destitutus, tum quoque inter tantas fortunae minas metuendus magis quam metuens, “Romanus sum” inquit, “civis; C. Mucium vocant. Hostis hostem occidere volui, nec ad mortem minus animi est, quam fuit ad caedem; et facere et pati fortia Romanum est. Nec unus in te

ego hos animos gessi; longus post me ordo est idem petentium decus. Proinde in hoc discrimen, si iuvat, accingere, ut in singulas horas capite dimices tuo, ferrum hostemque in vestibulo habeas regiae. Hoc tibi iuventus Romana indicimus bellum. Nullam aciem, nullum proelium timueris; uni tibi et cum singulis res erit.” Cum rex simul ira infensus periculoque contritus circumdari ignes minitabundus iuberet nisi expromeret propere quas insidiarum sibi minas per ambages iaceret, “en tibi” inquit, “ut sentias quam vile corpus sit iis qui magnam gloriam vident”; dextramque accenso ad sacrificium foculo inicit. Quam cum velut alienato ab sensu torreret animo, prope attonitus miraculo rex cum ab sede sua prosilisset amoverique ab altaribus iuvenem iussisset, “tu vero abi” inquit, “in te magis quam in me hostilia ausus. Iuberem macte virtute esse, si pro mea patria ista virtus staret; nunc iure belli liberum te, intactum inviolatumque hinc dimitto.” Tunc Mucius, quasi remunerans meritum, “quando quidem” inquit, “est apud te virtuti honos, ut beneficio tuleris a me quod minis nequisti, trecenti coniuravimus principes iuventutis Romanae ut in te hac via grassaremur. Mea prima sors fuit; ceteri ut cuiusque ceciderit primi quoad te opportunum fortuna dederit, suo quisque tempore aderunt.”

[13] Mucium dimissum, cui postea Scaevolae a clade dextrae manus cognomen inditum, legati a Porsinna Romam secuti sunt; adeo moverat eum et primi periculi casus, a quo nihil se praeter errorem insidiatoris texisset, et subeunda dimicatio totiens quot coniurati superessent, ut pacis condiciones ultro ferret Romanis. Iactatum in condicionibus nequiquam de Tarquiniis in regnum restituendis, magis quia id negare ipse nequiverat Tarquiniis quam quod negatum iri sibi ab Romanis ignoraret. De agro Veientibus restituendo impetratum, expressaque necessitas obsides dandi Romanis, si Ianiculo praesidium deduci vellent. His condicionibus composita pace, exercitum ab Ianiculo deduxit Porsinna et agro Romano excessit. Patres C. Mucio virtutis causa trans Tiberim agrum dono dedere, quae postea sunt Mucia prata appellata. Ergo ita honorata virtute, feminae quoque ad publica decora excitatae, et Cloelia virgo una ex obsidibus, cum castra Etruscorum forte haud procul ripa Tiberis locata essent, frustrata custodes, dux agminis virginum inter tela hostium Tiberim tranavit, sospitesque omnes

Romam ad propinquos restituit. Quod ubi regi nuntiatum est, primo incensus ira oratores Romam misit ad Cloeliam obsidem deposcendam: alias haud magni facere. Deinde in admirationem versus, supra Coclites Muciosque dicere id facinus esse, et prae se ferre quemadmodum si non dedatur obses, pro rupto foedus se habiturum, sic deditam intactam inviolatamque ad suos remissurum. Utrumque constitit fides; et Romani pignus pacis ex foedere restituerunt, et apud regem Etruscum non tuta solum sed honorata etiam virtus fuit, laudatamque virginem parte obsidum se donare dixit; ipsa quos vellet legeret. Productis omnibus elegeris impubes dicitur; quod et virginitati decorum et consensu obsidum ipsorum probabile erat eam aetatem potissimum liberari ab hoste quae maxime opportuna iniuriae esset. Pace redintegrata Romani novam in femina virtutem novo genere honoris, statua equestri, donavere; in summa Sacra via fuit posita virgo insidens equo.

[14] Huic tam pacatae profectioni ab urbe regis Etrusci abhorrens mos traditus ab antiquis usque ad nostram aetatem inter cetera sollemnia manet, bona Porsennae regis vendendi. Cuius originem moris necesse est aut inter bellum natam esse neque omissam in pace, aut a mitiore crevisse principio quam hic prae se ferat titulus bona hostiliter vendendi. Proximum vero est ex iis quae traduntur Porsennam discedentem ab Ianiculo castra opulenta, convecto ex propinquis ac fertilibus Etruriae arvis commeatu, Romanis dono dedisse, inopi tum urbe ab longinqua obsidione; ea deinde, ne populo immisso diriperentur hostiliter, venisse, bonaque Porsennae appellata, gratiam muneris magis significante titulo quam auctionem fortunae regiae quae ne in potestate quidem populi Romani esset. Omisso Romano bello Porsenna, ne frustra in ea loca exercitus adductus videretur, cum parte copiarum filium Arruntem Ariciam oppugnatum mittit. Primo Aricinos res necopinata perculerat; arcessita deinde auxilia et a Latinis populis et a Cumis tantum spei fecere, ut acie decernere auderent. Proelio inito, adeo concitato impetu se intulerant Etrusci ut funderent ipso incursu Aricinos: Cumanae cohortes arte adversus vim usae declinavere paululum, effuseque praelatos hostes conversis signis ab tergo adortae sunt. Ita in medio prope iam victores caesi Etrusci. Pars perexigua, duce amisso, quia nullum propius perfugium erat, Romam inermes et

fortuna et specie supplicum delati sunt. Ibi benigne excepti divisique in hospitia. Curatis vulneribus, alii profecti domos, nuntii hospitalium beneficiorum: multos Romae hospitem urbisque caritas tenuit. His locus ad habitandum datus quem deinde Tusculum vicum appellarunt.

[15] Sp. Larcius inde et T. Herminius, P. Lucretius inde et P. Valerius Publicola consules facti. Eo anno postremum legati a Porsenna de reducendo in regnum Tarquinio venerunt; quibus cum responsum esset missurum ad regem senatum legatos, missi confestim honoratissimus quisque ex patribus. Non quin breviter reddi responsum potuerit non recipi reges, ideo potius delectos patrum ad eum missos quam legatis eius Romae daretur responsum, sed ut in perpetuum mentio eius rei finiretur, neu in tantis mutuis beneficiis in vicem animi sollicitarentur, cum ille peteret quod contra libertatem populi Romani esset, Romani, nisi in perniciem suam faciles esse vellent, negarent cui nihil negatum vellent. Non in regno populum Romanum sed in libertate esse. Ita induxisse in animum, hostibus portas potius quam regibus patefacere; ea esse vota omnium ut qui libertati erit in illa urbe finis, idem urbi sit. Proinde si saluam esse vellet Romam, ut patiatu liberam esse orare. Rex verecundia victus “quando id certum atque obstinatum est” inquit, “neque ego obtundam saepius eadem nequiquam agendo, nec Tarquinius spe auxilii, quod nullum in me est, frustrabor. Alium hinc, seu bello opus est seu quiete, exsilio quaerant locum, ne quid meam vobiscum pacem distineat.” Dictis facta amiciora adiecit; obsidum quod reliquum erat reddidit; agrum Veientem, foedere ad Ianiculum icto ademptum, restituit. Tarquinius spe omni reditus incisa exsulatum ad generum Mamilium Octavium Tusculum abiit. Romanis pax fida cum Porsenna fuit.

[16] Consules M. Valerius P. Postumius. Eo anno bene pugnatum cum Sabinis; consules triumpharunt. Maiore inde mole Sabini bellum parabant. Adversus eos et ne quid simul ab Tusculo, unde etsi non apertum, suspectum tamen bellum erat, repentini periculi oreretur, P. Valerius quartum T. Lucretius iterum consules facti. Seditio inter belli pacisque auctores orta in Sabinis aliquantum inde virium transtulit ad Romanos. Namque Attius Clausus, cui postea Appio Claudio fuit Romae nomen, cum pacis ipse auctor a turbatoribus belli

premeretur nec par factioni esset, ab Inregillo, magna clientium comitatus manu, Romam transfugit. His civitas data agerque trans Anienem; Vetus Claudia tribus — additis postea novis tribulibus — qui ex eo venirent agro appellati. Appius inter patres lectus, haud ita multo post in principum dignationem pervenit. Consules infesto exercitu in agrum Sabinum profecti cum ita vastatione, dein proelio adflixissent opes hostium ut diu nihil inde rebellionis timeri posset, triumphantes Romam redierunt. P. Valerius, omnium consensu princeps belli pacisque artibus, anno post Agrippa Menenio P. Postumio consulibus moritur, gloria ingenti, copiis familiaribus adeo exiguis, ut funeri sumptus deesset; de publico est datus. Luxere matronae ut Brutum. Eodem anno duae coloniae Latinae, Pometia et Cora, ad Auruncos deficiunt. Cum Auruncis bellum initum; fusoque ingenti exercitu, qui se ingredientibus fines consulibus ferociter obtulerat, omne Auruncum bellum Pometiam compulsus est. Nec magis post proelium quam in proelio caedibus temperatum est; et caesi aliquanto plures erant quam capti, et captos passim trucidaverunt; ne ab obsidibus quidem, qui trecenti accepti numero erant, ira belli abstinuit. Et hoc anno Romae triumphatum.

[17] Secuti consules Opiter Verginius Sp. Cassius Pometiam primo vi, deinde vineis aliisque operibus oppugnarunt. In quos Aurunci magis iam inexpiabili odio quam spe aliqua aut occasione coorti, cum plures igni quam ferro armati excucurrissent, caede incendioque cuncta complent. Vineis incensis, multis hostium vulneratis et occisis, consulum quoque alterum — sed utrum auctores non adiciunt — gravi vulnere ex equo deiectum prope interfecerunt. Romam inde male gesta re reditum; inter multos saucios consul spe incerta vitae relatus. Interiecto deinde haud magno spatio, quod vulneribus curandis supplendoque exercitui satis esset, cum ira maiore, tum viribus etiam auctis Pometiae arma inlata. Et cum vineis reffectis aliaque mole belli iam in eo esset ut in muros evaderet miles, deditio est facta. Ceterum nihilo minus foeda, dedita urbe, quam si capta foret, Aurunci passi; principes securi percussi, sub corona venierunt coloni alii, oppidum dirutum, ager venit. Consules magis ob iras graviter ultas quam ob magnitudinem perfecti belli triumpharunt.

[18] Insequens annus Postumum Cominium et T. Largium consules

habuit. Eo anno Romae, cum per ludos ab Sabinorum iuventute per lasciviam scorta raperentur, concursu hominum rixa ac prope proelium fuit, parvaeque ex re ad rebellionem spectare videbatur. Super belli Sabini metum id quoque accesserat quod, triginta iam coniurasse populos concitante Octavio Mamilio satis constabat. In hac tantarum expectatione rerum sollicita civitate, dictatoris primum creandi mentio orta. Sed nec quibus consulibus quia ex factione Tarquiniana essent — id quoque enim traditur — parum creditum sit, nec quis primum dictator creatus sit, satis constat. Apud veterrimos tamen auctores T. Largium dictatorem primum, Sp. Cassium magistrum equitum creatos invenio. Consulares legere; ita lex iubebat de dictatore creando lata. Eo magis adducor ut credam Largium, qui consularis erat, potius quam M'. Valerium Marci filium Volesi nepotem, qui nondum consul fuerat, moderatorem et magistrum consulibus appositum; quin si maxime ex ea familia legi dictatorem vellent, patrem multo potius M. Valerium spectatae virtutis et consularem virum legissent. Creato dictatore primum Romae, postquam praeferri secures viderunt, magnus plebem metus incessit, ut intentiores essent ad dicto parendum; neque enim ut in consulibus qui pari potestate essent, alterius auxilium neque provocatio erat neque ullum usquam nisi in cura parendi auxilium. Sabinis etiam creatus Romae dictator, eo magis quod propter se creatum crediderant, metum incussit. Itaque legatos de pace mittunt. Quibus orantibus dictatorem senatumque ut veniam erroris hominibus adulescentibus darent, responsum ignosci adulescentibus posse, senibus non posse qui bella ex bellis sererent. Actum tamen est de pace, impetrataque foret si, quod impensae factum in bellum erat, praestare Sabini — id enim postulatum erat — in animum induxissent. Bellum indictum: tacitae indutiae quietum annum tenere.

[19] Consules Ser. Sulpicius M'. Tullius; nihil dignum memoria actum; T. Aebutius deinde et C. Vetustius. His consulibus Fidenae obsessae, Crustumeria capta; Praeneste ab Latinis ad Romanos descivit, nec ultra bellum Latinum, gliscens iam per aliquot annos, dilatatum. A. Postumius dictator, T. Aebutius magister equitum, magnis copiis peditum equitumque profecti, ad lacum Regillum in agro Tusculano agmini hostium occurrerunt, et quia Tarquinius esse

in exercitu Latinorum auditum est, sustineri ira non potuit quin extemplo confligerent. Ergo etiam proelium aliquanto quam cetera gravius atque atrocius fuit. Non enim duces ad regendam modo consilio rem adfuere, sed suismet ipsi corporibus dimicantes miscuere certamina, nec quisquam procerum ferme hac aut illa ex acie sine vulnere praeter dictatorem Romanum excessit. In Postumium prima in acie suos adhortantem instruentemque Tarquinius Superbus, quamquam iam aetate et viribus erat gravior, equum infestus admisit, ictusque ab latere concursu suorum receptus in tutum est. Et ad alterum cornu Aebutius magister equitum in Octavium Mamilium impetum dederat; nec fefellit veniens Tusculanum ducem, contraque et ille concitat equum. Tantaque vis infestis venientium hastis fuit ut brachium Aebutio traiectum sit, Mamilio pectus percussum. Hunc quidem in secundam aciem Latini recepere; Aebutius cum saucio brachio tenere telum non posset, pugna excessit. Latinus dux nihil deterritus vulnere proelium ciet et quia suos perculos videbat, arcessit cohortem exsulum Romanorum, cui L. Tarquini filius praeerat. Ea quo maiore pugnabat ira ob erepta bona patriamque ademptam, pugnam parumper restituit.

[20] Referentibus iam pedem ab ea parte Romanis, M. Valerius Publicolae frater, conspicatus ferocem iuvenem Tarquinium ostentantem se in prima exsulum acie, domestica etiam gloria accensus ut cuius familiae decus eiecti reges erant, eiusdem interfecti forent, subdit calcaria equo et Tarquinium infesto spiculo petit. Tarquinius retro in agmen suorum infenso cessit hosti: Valerium temere invectum in exsulum aciem ex transverso quidam adortus transfigit, nec quicquam equitis vulnere equo retardato, moribundus Romanus labentibus super corpus armis ad terram defluxit. Dictator Postumius postquam cecidisse talem virum, exsules ferociter citato agmine invehit, suos perculos cedere animadvertit, cohorti suae, quam delectam manum praesidii causa circa se habebat, dat signum ut quem suorum fugientem viderint, pro hoste habeant. Ita metu ancipiti versi a fuga Romani in hostem et restituta acies. Cohors dictatoris tum primum proelium iniit; integris corporibus animisque fessos adorti exsules caedunt. Ibi alia inter proceres coorta pugna. Imperator Latinus, ubi cohortem exsulum a dictatore Romano prope circumventam vidit, ex subsidiariis manipulos aliquot in primam

aciem secum rapit. Hos agmine venientes T. Herminius legatus conspicatus, interque eos insignem veste armisque Mamilium noscitans, tanto vi maiore quam paulo ante magister equitum cum hostium duce proelium iniit, ut et uno ictu transfixum per latus occiderit Mamilium et ipse inter spoliandum corpus hostis veruto percussus, cum victor in castra esset relatus, inter primam curationem exspiraverit. Tum ad equites dictator advolat, obtestans ut fesso iam pedite descendant ex equis et pugnam capessant. Dicto parvere; desiliunt ex equis, provolant in primum et pro antesignanis parmas obiciunt. Recipit extemplo animum pedestris acies, postquam iuventutis proceres aequato genere pugnae secum partem periculi sustinentes vidit. Tum demum impulsus Latini percussaque inclinavit acies. Equiti admoti equi, ut persequi hostem posset; secuta et pedestris acies. Ibi nihil nec divinae nec humanae opis dictator praetermittens aedem Castori vovisse fertur ac pronuntiasse militi praemia, qui primus, qui secundus castra hostium intrasset; tantusque ardor fuit ut eodem impetu quo fuderant hostem Romani castra caperent. Hoc modo ad lacum Regillum pugnatum est. Dictator et magister equitum triumphantes in urbem rediere.

[21] Triennio deinde nec certa pax nec bellum fuit. Consules Q. Cloelius et T. Larcus, inde A. Sempronius et M. Minucius. His consulibus aedis Saturno dedicata, Saturnalia institutus festus dies. A. deinde Postumius et T. Verginius consules facti. Hoc demum anno ad Regillum lacum pugnatum apud quosdam invenio; A. Postumium, quia collega dubiae fidei fuerit, se consulatu abdicasse; dictatorem inde factum. Tanti errores implicant temporum, aliter apud alios ordinatis magistratibus, ut nec qui consules secundum quos, nec quid quoque anno actum sit, in tanta vetustate non rerum modo sed etiam auctorum digerere possis. Ap. Claudius deinde et P. Servilius consules facti. Insignis hic annus est nuntio Tarquini mortis. Mortuus Cumis, quo se post fractas opes Latinorum ad Aristodemum tyrannum contulerat. Eo nuntio erecti patres, erecta plebes; sed patribus nimis luxuriosa ea fuit laetitia; plebi, cui ad eam diem summa ope inservitum erat, iniuriae a primoribus fieri coepere. Eodem anno Signia colonia, quam rex Tarquinius deduxerat, suppleto numero colonorum iterum deducta est. Romae tribus una et viginti factae. Aedes Mercuri dedicata est idibus Maiis.

[22] Cum Volscorum gente Latino bello neque pax neque bellum fuerat; nam et Volsci comparaverant auxilia quae mitterent Latinis, ni maturatum ab dictatore Romano esset, et maturavit Romanus ne proelio uno cum Latino Volscoque contenderet. Hac ira consules in Volscum agrum legiones duxere. Volscos consilii poenam non metuentes necopinata res perculit; armorum immemores obsides dant trecentos principum a Cora atque Pometia liberos. Ita sine certamine inde abductae legiones. Nec ita multo post Volscis levatis metu suum rediit ingenium. Rursus occultum parant bellum, Hernicis in societatem armorum adsumptis. Legatos quoque ad sollicitandum Latium passim dimittunt; sed recens ad Regillum lacum accepta cladis Latinos ira odioque eius, quicumque arma suaderet, ne ab legatis quidem violandis abstinuit; comprehensos Volscos Romam duxere. Ibi traditi consulibus indicatumque est Volscos Hernicosque parare bellum Romanis. Relata re ad senatum adeo fuit gratum patribus ut et captivorum sex milia Latinis remitterent et de foedere, quod prope in perpetuum negatum fuerat, rem ad novos magistratus traicerent. Enimvero tum Latini gaudere facto; pacis auctores in ingenti gloria esse. Coronam auream Iovi donum in Capitolium mittunt. Cum legatis donoque qui captivorum remissi ad suos fuerant, magna circumfusa multitudo, venit. Pergunt domos eorum apud quem quisque servierant; gratias agunt liberaliter habiti cultique in calamitate sua; inde hospitia iungunt. Nunquam alias ante publice privatimque Latinum nomen Romano imperio coniunctius fuit.

[23] Sed et bellum Volscum imminebat et civitas secum ipsa discors intestino inter patres plebemque flagrabat odio, maxime propter nexos ob aes alienum. Fremebant se, foris pro libertate et imperio dimicantes, domi a civibus captos et oppressos esse, tutioremque in bello quam in pace et inter hostes quam inter cives libertatem plebis esse; invidiamque eam sua sponte gliscentem insignis unius calamitas accendit. Magno natu quidam cum omnium malorum suorum insignibus se in forum proiecit. Obsita erat squalore vestis, foedior corporis habitus pallore ac macie perempti; ad hoc promissa barba et capilli efferaverant speciem oris. Noscitabatur tamen in tanta deformitate, et ordines duxisse aiebant, aliaque militiae decora volgo miserantes eum iactabant; ipse testes honestarum aliquot locis pugnarum cicatrices adverso pectore

ostentabat. Sciscitantibus unde ille habitus, unde deformitas, cum circumfusa turba esset prope in contionis modum, Sabino bello ait se militantem, quia propter populationes agri non fructu modo caruerit, sed villa incensa fuerit, direpta omnia, pecora abacta, tributum iniquo suo tempore imperatum, aes alienum fecisse. Id cumulatam usuris primo se agro paterno avitque exuisse, deinde fortunis aliis; postremo velut tabem pervenisse ad corpus; ductum se ab creditore non in servitium, sed in ergastulum et carnificinam esse. Inde ostentare tergum foedum recentibus vestigiis verberum. Ad haec visa auditaque clamor ingens oritur. Non iam foro se tumultus tenet, sed passim totam urbem pervadit. Nexi, vincti solutique, se undique in publicum proripiunt, implorant Quiritium fidem. Nullo loco deest seditionis voluntarius comes; multis passim agminibus per omnes vias cum clamore in forum curritur. Magno cum periculo suo qui forte patrum in foro erant in eam turbam inciderunt; nec temperatum manibus foret, ni propere consules, P. Servilius et Ap. Claudius, ad comprimendam seditionem intervenissent. At in eos multitudo versa ostentare vincula sua deformitatemque aliam. Haec se meritos dicere, exprobrantes suam quisque alius alibi militiam; postulare multo minaciter magis quam suppliciter ut senatum vocarent; curiamque ipsi futuri arbitri moderatoresque publici consilii circumsistunt. Pauci admodum patrum, quos casus obtulerat, contracti ab consulibus; ceteros metus non curia modo sed etiam foro arcebat, nec agi quicquam per infrequentiam poterat senatus. Tum vero eludi atque extrahi se multitudo putare, et patrum qui abessent, non casu, non metu, sed impediendae rei causa abesse, et consules ipsos tergiversari, nec dubie ludibrio esse miseras suas. Iam prope erat ut ne consulum quidem maiestas coerceret iras hominum, cum incerti morando an veniendo plus periculi contraherent, tandem in senatum veniunt. Frequentique tandem curia non modo inter patres sed ne inter consules quidem ipsos satis conveniebat. Appius, vehementis ingenii vir, imperio consulari rem agendam censebat; uno aut altero arrepto, quieturos alios: Servilius, lenibus remediis aptior, concitatos animos flecti quam frangi putabat cum tutius tum facilius esse.

[24] Inter haec maior alius terror: Latini equites cum tumultuoso advolant nuntio Volscos infesto exercitu ad urbem oppugnandam venire. Quae audita — adeo duas ex una civitate discordia fecerat —

longe aliter patres ac plebem adfecere. Exsultare gaudio plebes; ultores superbiae patrum adesse dicere deos; alius alium confirmare ne nomina darent; cum omnibus potius quam solos perituros; patres militarent, patres arma caperent, ut penes eosdem pericula belli, penes quos praemia, essent. At vero curia, maesta ac trepida ancipiti metu et ab cive et ab hoste, Servilium consulem, cui ingenium magis popolare erat, orare ut tantis circumventam terroribus expediret rem publicam. Tum consul misso senatu in contionem prodit. Ibi curae esse patribus ostendit ut consulatur plebi; ceterum deliberationi de maxima quidem illa sed tamen parte civitatis metum pro universa re publica intervenisse; nec posse, cum prope ad portas essent, bello praeverti quicquam, nec, si sit laxamenti aliquid, aut plebi honestum esse, nisi mercede prius accepta, arma pro patria non cepisse, neque patribus satis decorum per metum potius quam postmodo voluntate adflictis civium suorum fortunis consuluisse. Contioni deinde edicto addidit fidem quo edixit ne quis civem Romanum vinctum aut clausum teneret, quo minus ei nominis edendi apud consules potestas fieret, neu quis militis, donec in castris esset, bona possideret aut venderet, liberos nepotesve eius moraretur. Hoc proposito edicto, et qui aderant nexi profiteri extemplo nomina, et undique ex tota urbe proripientium se ex privato, cum retinendi ius creditori non esset, concursus in forum ut sacramento dicerent fieri. Magna ea manus fuit, neque aliorum magis in Volsco bello virtus atque opera enituit. Consul copias contra hostem educit; parvo dirimente intervallo castra ponit.

[25] Proxima inde nocte Volsci, discordia Romana freti, si qua nocturna transitio proditiove fieri posset, temptant castra. Sensere vigiles; excitatus exercitus; signo dato concursus est ad arma; ita frustra id inceptum Volscis fuit. Reliquum noctis utrimque quieti datum. Postero die prima luce Volsci fossis repletis vallum invadunt. Iamque ob omni parte munimenta vellebantur, cum consul, quamquam cuncti undique et nexi ante omnes ut signum daret clamabant, experiendi animos militum causa parumper moratus, postquam satis apparebat ingens ardor, dato tandem ad erumpendum signo militem avidum certaminis emittit. Primo statim incursu pulsi hostes; fugientibus, quoad insequi pedes potuit, terga caesa; eques usque ad castra pavidos egit. Mox ipsa castra legionibus circumdatis,

cum Volscos inde etiam pavor expulisset, capta direptaque. Postero die ad Suessam Pometiam quo confugerant hostes legionibus ductis, intra paucos dies oppidum capitur; captum praedae datum. Inde paulum recreatus egens miles; consul cum maxima gloria sua victorem exercitum Romam reducit. Decedentem Romam Ecetranorum Volscorum legati, rebus suis timentes post Pometiam captam, adeunt. His ex senatus consulto data pax, ager ademptus.

[26] Confestim et Sabini Romanos territare; tumultus enim fuit verius quam bellum. Nocte in urbem nuntiatum est exercitum Sabinum praedabundum ad Anienem amnem pervenisse; ibi passim diripi atque incendi villas. Missus extemplo eo cum omnibus copiis equitum A. Postumius, qui dictator bello Latino fuerat; secutus consul Servilius cum delecta peditum manu. Plerosque palantes eques circumvenit, nec advenienti peditum agmini restitit Sabina legio. Fessi cum itinere tum populatione nocturna, magna pars in villis repleti cibo vinoque, vix fugae quod satis esset virium habuere. Nocte una audito perfectoque bello Sabino, postero die in magna iam spe undique partae pacis, legati Aurunci senatum adeunt, ni decedatur Volscis agro bellum indicentes. Cum legatis simul exercitus Auruncorum domo profectus erat; cuius fama haud procul iam ab Aricia visi tanto tumultu concivit Romanos ut nec consuli ordine patres nec pacatum responsum arma inferentibus arma ipsi capientes dare possent. Ariciam infesto agmine itur; nec procul inde cum Auruncis signa conlata, proelioque uno debellatum est.

[27] Fusis Auruncis, victor tot intra paucos dies bellis Romanus promissa consulis fidemque senatus exspectabat, cum Appius et insita superbia animo et ut collegae vanam faceret fidem, quam asperrime poterat ius de creditis pecuniis dicere. Deinceps et qui ante nexi fuerant creditoribus tradebantur et nectebantur alii. Quod ubi cui militi inciderat, collegam appellabat. Concursus ad Servilium fiebat; illius promissa iactabant; illi exprobrabant sua quisque belli merita cicatricesque acceptas. Postulabant ut aut referret ad senatum, aut auxilio esset consul civibus suis, imperator militibus. Movebant consulem haec, sed tergiversari res cogebat; adeo in alteram causam non collega solum praeceps erat sed omnis factio nobilium. Ita medium se gerendo nec plebis vitavit odium nec apud patres gratiam iniit. Patres mollem consulem et ambitiosum rati, plebes fallacem,

brevique apparuit aequasse eum Appi odium. Certamen consulibus inciderat, uter dedicaret Mercuri aedem. Senatus a se rem ad populum reiecit: utri eorum dedicatio iussu populi data esset, eum praeesse annonae, mercatorum collegium instituere, sollemnia pro pontifice iussit suscipere. Populus dedicationem aedis dat M. Laetorio, primi pili centurioni, quod facile appareret non tam ad honorem eius cui curatio altior fastigio suo data esset factum quam ad consulum ignominiam. Saevire inde utique consulum alter patresque; sed plebi creverant animi et longe alia quam primo instituerant via grassabantur. Desperato enim consulum senatusque auxilio, cum in ius duci debitorem vidissent, undique convolabant. Neque decretum exaudiri consulis prae strepitu et clamore poterat, neque cum decresset quisquam obtemperabat. Vi agebatur, metusque omnis et periculum, cum in conspectu consulis singuli a pluribus violarentur, in creditores a debitoribus verterant. Super haec timor incessit Sabini belli; dilectuque decreto nemo nomen dedit, furente Appio et insectante ambitionem collegae, qui populari silentio rem publicam proderet et ad id quod de credita pecunia ius non dixisset, adiceret ut ne dilectum quidem ex senatus consulto haberet; non esse tamen desertam omnino rem publicam neque proiectum consulare imperium; se unum et suae et patrum maiestatis vindicem fore. Cum circumstaret cotidiana multitudo licentia accensa, arripi unum insignem ducem seditionum iussit. Ille cum a lictoribus iam traheretur provocavit; nec cessisset provocationi consul, quia non dubium erat populi iudicium, nisi aegre victa pertinacia foret consilio magis et auctoritate principum quam populi clamore; adeo supererant animi ad sustinendam invidiam. Crescere inde malum in dies, non clamoribus modo apertis sed, quod multo perniciosius erat, secessione occultisque conloquiis. Tandem invisi plebi consules magistratu abeunt, Servilius neutris, Appius patribus mire gratus.

[28] A. Verginius inde et T. Vetusius consulatum ineunt. Tum vero plebs incerta quales habitura consules esset, coetus nocturnos, pars Esquilii, pars in Aventino facere, ne in foro subitis trepidaret consiliis et omnia temere ac fortuito ageret. Eam rem consules rati, ut erat, perniciosam ad patres deferunt, sed delatam consulere ordine non licuit; adeo tumultuose excepta est clamoribus undique et indignatione patrum, si quod imperio consulari exsequendum esset,

invidiam eius consules ad senatum reicerent: profecto si essent in re publica magistratus, nullum futurum fuisse Romae nisi publicum concilium; nunc in mille curias contionesque [cum alia in Esquilis, alia in Aventino fiant concilia] dispersam et dissipatam esse rem publicam. Unum hercule virum — id enim plus esse quam consulem — qualis Ap. Claudius fuerit, momento temporis discussurum illos coetus fuisse. Correpti consules cum, quid ergo se facere, vellent nihil enim segnius molliusve quam patribus placeat acturos, percontarentur, decernunt ut dilectum quam acerrimum habeant: otio lascivire plebem. Dimisso senatu consules in tribunal escendunt; citant nominatim iuniores. Cum ad nomen nemo responderet, circumfusa multitudo in contionis modum negare ultra decipi plebem posse; nunquam unum militem habituros nisi praestaretur fides publica; libertatem unicuique prius reddendam esse quam arma danda, ut pro patria civibusque, non pro dominis pugnent. Consules quid mandatum esset a senatu videbant, sed eorum, qui intra parietes curiae ferociter loquerentur, neminem adesse invidiae suae participem; et apparebat atrox cum plebe certamen. Prius itaque quam ultima experirentur senatum iterum consulere placuit. Tum vero ad sellas consulum prope convolare minimus quisque natu patrum, abdicare consulatum iubentes et deponere imperium, ad quod tuendum animus deesset.

[29] Utraque re satis experta tum demum consules: “ne praedictum negetis, patres conscripti, adest ingens seditio. Postulamus ut hi qui maxime ignaviam increpant adsint nobis habentibus dilectum. Acerrimi cuiusque arbitrio, quando ita placet, rem agemus.” Redeunt in tribunal; citari nominatim unum ex iis qui in conspectu erant dedita opera iubent. Cum staret tacitus et circa eum aliquot hominum, ne forte violaretur, constitisset globus, lictorem ad eum consules mittunt. Quo repulso, tum vero indignum facinus esse clamitantes qui patrum consulibus aderant, devolant de tribunali ut lictori auxilio essent. Sed ab lictore nihil aliud quam prendere prohibito cum conversus in patres impetus esset, consulum intercurso rixa sedata est, in qua tamen sine lapide, sine telo plus clamoris atque irarum quam iniuriae fuerat. Senatus tumultuose vocatus tumultuosius consulitur, quaestionem postulantibus iis qui pulsati fuerant, decernente ferocissimo quoque non sententiis magis quam

clamore et strepitu. Tandem cum irae resedissent, exprobrantibus consulibus nihilo plus sanitatis in curia quam in foro esse, ordine consuli coepit. Tres fuere sententiae. P. Verginius rem non volgabat; de iis tantum qui fidem secuti P. Servili consulis Volsco Aurunco Sabinoque militassent bello, agendum censebat. T. Largius, non id tempus esse ut merita tantummodo exsolverentur; totam plebem aere alieno demersam esse, nec sisti posse nisi omnibus consulatur; quin si alia aliorum sit condicio, accendi magis discordiam quam sedari. Ap. Claudius, et natura immitis et efferatus hinc plebis odio, illinc patrum laudibus, non miseriis ait sed licentia tantum concitum barbarum et lascivire magis plebem quam saevire. Id adeo malum ex provocatione natum; quippe minas esse consulum, non imperium, ubi ad eos qui una peccaverint provocare liceat. “Agedum” inquit, “dictatorem, a quo provocatio non est, creemus; iam hic quo nunc omnia ardent conticescet furor. Pulset tum mihi lictorem qui sciet ius de tergo vitaeque sua penes unum illum esse cuius maiestatem violarit.”

[30] Multis, ut erat, horrida et atrox videbatur Appi sententia; rursus Vergini Largique exemplo haud salubres, utique Lari [putabant sententiam], quae totam fidem tolleret. Medium maxime et moderatum utroque consilium Vergini habebatur; sed factione respectuque rerum privatarum, quae semper offecere officientque publicis consiliis, Appius vicit, ac prope fuit ut dictator ille idem crearetur; quae res utique alienasset plebem periculosissimo tempore, cum Volsci Aequique et Sabini forte una omnes in armis essent. Sed curae fuit consulibus et senioribus patrum, ut imperium sua vi vehemens mansueto permetteretur ingenio: M'. Valerium dictatorem Volesi filium creant. Plebes etsi adversus se creatum dictatorem videbat, tamen cum provocationem fratris lege haberet, nihil ex ea familia triste nec superbum timebat; edictum deinde a dictatore propositum confirmavit animos, Servili fere consulis edicto conveniens; sed et homini et potestati melius rati credi, omisso certamine nomina dedere. Quantus nunquam ante exercitus, legiones decem effectae; ternae inde datae consulibus, quattuor dictator usus. Nec iam poterat bellum differri. Aequi Latinum agrum invaserant. Oratores Latinorum ab senatu petebant ut aut mitterent subsidium aut se ipsos tuendorum finium causa capere arma sinerent. Tutius visum

est defendi inermes Latinos quam pati retractare arma. Vetusius consul missus est; is finis populationibus fuit. Cessere Aequi campis, locoque magis quam armis freti summis se iugis montium tutabantur. Alter consul in Volscos profectus, ne et ipse tereretur tempus, vastandis maxime agris hostem ad conferenda propius castra dimicandumque acie excivit. Medio inter castra campo ante suum quisque vallum infestis signis constitere. Multitudine aliquantum Volsci superabant; itaque effusi et contemptim pugnam iniere. Consul Romanus nec promovit aciem, nec clamorem reddi passus defixis pilis stare suos iussit: ubi ad manum venisset hostis, tum coortos tota vi gladiis rem gerere. Volsci cursu et clamore fessi cum se velut stupentibus metu intulissent Romanis, postquam impressionem sensere ex adverso factam et ante oculos micare gladios, haud secus quam si in insidias incidissent, turbati vertunt terga; et ne ad fugam quidem satis virium fuit, quia cursu in proelium ierant. Romani contra, quia principio pugnae quieti steterant, vigentes corporibus, facile adepti fessos, et castra impetu ceperunt et castris exutum hostem Velitras persecuti uno agmine victores cum victis in urbem inrupere; plusque ibi sanguinis promiscua omnium generum caede quam in ipsa dimicatione factum. Paucis data venia, qui inermes in deditionem venerunt.

[31] Dum haec in Volscis geruntur, dictator Sabinos, ubi longe plurimum belli fuerat, fundit exiitque castris. Equitatu immisso mediam turbaverat hostium aciem, quam, dum se cornua latius pandunt, parum apte introrsum ordinibus firmaverant; turbatos pedes invasit. Eodem impetu castra capta debellatumque est. Post pugnam ad Regillum lacum non alia illis annis pugna clarior fuit. Dictator triumphans urbem invehitur. Super solitos honores locus in circo ipsi posterisque ad spectaculum datus; sella in eo loco curulis posita. Volscis deuictis Veliternus ager ademptus; Velitras coloni ab urbe missi et colonia deducta. Cum Aequis post aliquanto pugnatum est, invito quidem consule quia loco iniquo subeundum erat ad hostes; sed milites extrahi rem criminantes ut dictator priusquam ipsi redirent in urbem magistratu abiret inritaque, sicut ante consulis, promissa eius caderent, perpulere ut forte temere in adversos montes agmen erigeret. Id male commissum ignavia hostium in bonum vertit, qui priusquam ad coniectum teli veniretur, obstupefacti

audacia Romanorum, relictis castris quae munitissimis tenuerant locis, in aversas valles desiluere. Ibi satis praedae et victoria incruenta fuit. Ita trifariam re bello bene gesta, de domesticarum rerum eventu nec patribus nec plebi cura decesserat: tanta cum gratia tum arte praeparaverant feneratores quae non modo plebem, sed ipsum etiam dictatorem frustrarentur. Namque Valerius post Vetusi consulis reditum omnium actionum in senatu primam habuit pro victore populo, rettulitque quid de nexis fieri placeret. Quae cum reiecta relatio esset, “non placeo” inquit, “concordiae auctor. Optabitis, mediusfidius, propediem, ut mei similes Romana plebis patronos habeat. Quod ad me attinet, neque frustrabor ultra cives meos neque ipse frustra dictator ero. Discordiae intestinae, bellum externum fecere ut hoc magistratu egeret res publica: pax foris parta est, domi impeditur; privatus potius quam dictator seditioni interero.” Ita curia egressus dictatura se abdicavit. Apparuit causa plebi, suam vicem indignantem magistratu abisse; itaque velut persoluta fide, quoniam per eum non stetisset quin praestaretur, decedentem domum cum favore ac laudibus prosecuti sunt.

[32] Timor inde patres incessit ne, si dimissus exercitus foret, rursus coetus occulti coniurationesque fierent. Itaque quamquam per dictatorem dilectus habitus esset, tamen quoniam in consulum verba iurassent sacramento teneri militem rati, per causam renovati ab Aequis belli educi ex urbe legiones iussere. Quo facto maturata est seditio. Et primo agitatum dicitur de consulum caede, ut solverentur sacramento; doctos deinde nullam scelere religionem exsolvi, Sicinio quodam auctore iniussu consulum in Sacrum montem secessisse. Trans Anienem amnem est, tria ab urbe milia passuum. Ea frequentior fama est quam cuius Piso auctor est, in Aventinum secessionem factam esse. Ibi sine ullo duce vallo fossaque communis castris quieti, rem nullam nisi necessariam ad victum sumendo, per aliquot dies neque lacesciti neque lacescentes sese tenere. Pavor ingens in urbe, metuque mutuo suspensa erant omnia. Timere relictis ab suis plebis violentiam patrum; timere patres residem in urbe plebem, incerti manere eam an abire mallent: quamdiu autem tranquillam quae secesserit multitudinem fore? Quid futurum deinde si quod externum interim bellum existat? Nullam profecto nisi in concordia civium spem reliquam ducere; eam per

aequa, per iniqua reconciliandam civitati esse. Placuit igitur oratorem ad plebem mitti Menenium Agrippam, facundum virum et quod inde oriundus erat plebi carum. Is intromissus in castra prisco illo dicendi et horrido modo nihil aliud quam hoc narrasse fertur: tempore quo in homine non ut nunc omnia in unum consentiant, sed singulis membris suum cuique consilium, suus sermo fuerit, indignatas reliquas partes sua cura, suo labore ac ministerio ventri omnia quaeri, ventrem in medio quietum nihil aliud quam datis voluptatibus frui; conspirasse inde ne manus ad os cibum ferrent, nec os acciperet datum, nec dentes quae acciperent conficerent. Hac ira, dum ventrem fame domare vellent, ipsa una membra totumque corpus ad extremam tabem venisse. Inde apparuisse ventris quoque haud segne ministerium esse, nec magis ali quam alere eum, reddentem in omnes corporis partes hunc quo vivimus vigemusque, divisum pariter in venas maturum confecto cibo sanguinem. Comparando hinc quam intestina corporis seditio similis esset irae plebis in patres, flexisse mentes hominum.

[33] Agi deinde de concordia coeptum, concessumque in condiciones ut plebi sui magistratus essent sacrosancti quibus auxilii latio adversus consules esset, neve cui patrum capere eum magistratum liceret. Ita tribuni plebei creati duo, C. Licinius et L. Albinus. Ii tres collegas sibi creaverunt. In his Sicinium fuisse, seditionis auctorem: de duobus, qui fuerint minus convenit. Sunt qui duos tantum in Sacro monte creatos tribunos esse dicant, ibique sacratam legem latam.

Per secessionem plebis Sp. Cassius et Postumius Cominius consulatum inierunt. Iis consulibus cum Latinis populis ictum foedus. Ad id feriendum consul alter Romae mansit: alter ad Volscum bellum missus Antiates Volscos fundit fugatque; compulsos in oppidum Longulam persecutus moenibus potitur. Inde protinus Poluscam, item Volscorum, cepit; tum magna vi adortus est Coriolos. Erat tum in castris inter primores iuvenum Cn. Marcius, adulescens et consilio et manu promptus, cui cognomen postea Coriolano fuit. Cum subito exercitum Romanum Coriolos obsidentem atque in oppidanos, quos intus clausos habebat, intentum, sine ullo metu extrinsecus imminenti belli, Volscae legiones profectae ab Antio invasissent, eodemque tempore ex

oppido erupissent hostes, forte in statione Marcius fuit. Is cum delecta militum manu non modo impetum erumpentium rettudit, sed per patentem portam ferox inrupit in proxima urbis, caedeq̃ue facta ignem temere arreptum imminentibus muro aedificiis iniecit. Clamor inde oppidanorum mixtus muliebri puerilique ploratu ad terrorem, ut solet, primum orto et Romanis auxit animum et turbavit Volscos utpote capta urbe cui ad ferendam opem venerant. Ita fusi Volsci Antiates, Corioli oppidum captum; tantumque sua laude obstitit famae consulis Marcius ut, nisi foedus cum Latinis in columna aenea insculptum monumento esset ab Sp. Cassio uno, quia collega afuerat, ictum, Postumum Cominium bellum gessisse cum Volscis memoria cessisset. Eodem anno Agrippa Menenius moritur, vir omni in vita pariter patribus ac plebi carus, post secessionem carior plebi factus. Huic interpreti arbitroque concordiae civium, legato patrum ad plebem, reductori plebis Romanae in urbem sumptus funeri defuit; extulit eum plebs sextantibus conlatis in capita.

[34] Consules deinde T. Geganius P. Minucius facti. Eo anno cum et foris quieta omnia a bello essent et domi sanata discordia, aliud multo gravius malum civitatem invasit, caritas primum annonae ex incultis per secessionem plebis agris, fames deinde, qualis clausis solet. Ventumque ad interitum servitiorum utique et plebis esset, ni consules providissent dimissis passim ad frumentum coemendum, non in Etruriam modo dextris ab Ostia litoribus laevoque per Volscos mari usque ad Cumas, sed quaesitum in Sicilia quoque; adeo finitimorum odia longinquis coegerant indigere auxiliis. Frumentum Cumis cum coemptum esset, naves pro bonis Tarquiniorum ab Aristodemo tyranno, qui heres erat, retentae sunt; in Volscis Pomptinoque ne emi quidem potuit; periculum quoque ab impetu hominum ipsis frumentatoribus fuit; ex Tuscis frumentum Tiberi venit; eo sustentata est plebs. Incommodo bello in tam artis commeatibus vexati forent, ni Volscos iam moventes arma pestilentia ingens invasisset. Ea clade contreritis hostium animis, ut etiam ubi ea remisisset terrore aliquo tenerentur, et Velitris auxere numerum colonorum Romani, et Norbam in montes novam coloniam, quae arx in Pomptino esset, miserunt.

M. Minucio deinde et A. Sempronio consulibus magna vis frumenti ex Sicilia advecta, agitatumque in senatu quanti plebi

daretur. Multi venisse tempus premendae plebis putabant recipiendique iura quae extorta secessione ac vi patribus essent. In primis Marcius Coriolanus, hostis tribuniciae potestatis, “si annonam” inquit, “veterem volunt, ius pristinum reddant patribus. Cur ego plebeios magistratus, cur Sicinium potentem video, sub iugum missus, tamquam ab latronibus redemptus? Egone has indignitates diutius patiar quam necesse est? Tarquinius regem qui non tulerim, Sicinium feram? Secedat nunc; avocet plebem; patet via in Sacrum montem aliosque colles; rapiant frumenta ex agris nostris, quemadmodum tertio anno rapuere. Fruantur annona quam furore suo fecere. Audeo dicere hoc malo domitos ipsos potius cultores agrorum fore quam ut armati per secessionem coli prohibeant.” Haud tam facile dictu est faciendumne fuerit quam potuisse arbitror fieri ut condicionibus laxandi annonam et tribuniciam potestatem et omnia invitis iura imposita patres demerent sibi.

[35] Et senatui nimis atrox visa sententia est et plebem ira prope armavit. Fame se iam sicut hostes peti, cibo victuque fraudari; peregrinum frumentum, quae sola alimenta ex insperato fortuna dederit, ab ore rapi nisi Cn. Marcio vincti dedantur tribuni, nisi de tergo plebis Romanae satisfiat; eum sibi carnificem novum exortum, qui aut mori aut servire iubeat. In exeuntem e curia impetus factus esset, ni peropportune tribuni diem dixissent. Ibi ira est suppressa; se iudicem quisque, se dominum vitae necisque inimici factum videbat. Contemptim primo Marcius audiebat minas tribunicias: auxilii, non poenae ius datum illi potestati, plebisque, non patrum tribunos esse. Sed adeo infensa erat coorta plebs ut unius poena defungendum esset patribus. Restiterunt tamen adversa invidia, usque sunt qua suis quisque, qua totius ordinis viribus. Ac primo temptata res est si dispositis clientibus absterrendo singulos a coitionibus conciliisque disicere rem possent. Universi deinde processere — quidquid erat patrum, reos diceres — precibus plebem exposcentes, unum sibi civem, unum senatorem, si innocentem absolvere nollent, pro nocente donarent. Ipse cum die dicta non adesset, perseveratum in ira est. Damnatus absens in Volscos exsulatum abiit, minitans patriae hostilesque iam tum spiritus gerens. Venientem Volsci benigne exceperunt, benigniusque in dies colebant, quo maior ira in suos eminebat crebraeque nunc querellae, nunc minae percipiebantur.

Hospitio utebatur Atti Tulli. Longe is tum princeps Volsci nominis erat Romanisque semper infestus. Ita cum alterum vetus odium, alterum ira recens stimularet, consilia conferunt de Romano bello. Haud facile credebant plebem suam impelli posse, ut totiens infeliciter temptata arma caperent: multis saepe bellis, pestilentia postremo amissa iuventute fractos spiritus esse; arte agendum in exoleto iam vetustate odio, ut recenti aliqua ira exacerbarentur animi.

[36] Ludi forte ex instauratione magni Romae parabantur. Instaurandi haec causa fuerat. Ludis mane servum quidam pater familiae, nondum commisso spectaculo, sub furca caesum medio egerat circo; coepti inde ludi, velut ea res nihil ad religionem pertinuisset. Haud ita multo post Tito Latinio, de plebe homini, somnium fuit; visus Iuppiter dicere sibi ludis praesultatorem displicuisse; nisi magnifice instaurarentur ii ludi, periculum urbi fore; iret, ea consulibus nuntiaret. Quamquam haud sane liber erat religione animus, verecundia tamen maiestatis magistratuum timorque vicit, ne in ora hominum pro ludibrio abiret. Magno illi ea cunctatio stetit; filium namque intra paucos dies amisit. Cuius repentinae cladis ne causa ei dubia esset, aegro animi eadem illa in somnis obversata species visa est rogitare, satin magnam spreti numinis haberet mercedem; maiorem instare ni eat propere ac nuntiet consulibus. Iam praesentior res erat. Cunctantem tamen ac prolatantem ingens vis morbi adorta est debilitate subita. Tunc enimvero deorum ira admonuit. Fessus igitur malis praeteritis instantibusque, consilio propinquorum adhibito, cum visa atque audita et obversatum totiens somno Iovem, minas irasque caelestes repraesentatas casibus suis exposuisset, consensu inde haud dubio omnium qui aderant in forum ad consules lectica defertur. Inde in curiam iussu consulum delatus, eadem illa cum patribus ingenti omnium admiratione enarrasset, ecce aliud miraculum: qui captus omnibus membris delatus in curiam esset, eum functum officio pedibus suis domum redisse traditum memoriae est.

[37] Ludi quam amplissimi ut fierent senatus decrevit. Ad eos ludos auctore Attio Tullio vis magna Volscorum venit. Priusquam committerentur ludi, Tullius, ut domi compositum cum Marcio fuerat, ad consules venit; dicit esse quae secreto agere de re publica velit. Arbitris remotis, “invitus” inquit, “quod sequius sit, de meis

civibus loquor. Non tamen admissum quicquam ab iis criminatum venio, sed cautum ne admittant. Nimio plus quam velim, nostrorum ingenia sunt mobilia. Multis id cladibus sensimus, quippe qui non nostro merito sed vestra patientia incolumes simus. Magna hic nunc Volscorum multitudo est; ludi sunt; spectaculo intenta civitas erit. Memini quid per eandem occasionem ab Sabinorum iuventute in hac urbe commissum sit; horret animus, ne quid inconsulte ac temere fiat. Haec nostra vestraque causa prius dicenda vobis, consules, ratus sum. Quod ad me attinet, extemplo hinc domum abire in animo est, ne cuius facti dictive contagione praesens violer.” Haec locutus abiit. Consules cum ad patres rem dubiam sub auctore certo detulissent, auctor magis, ut fit, quam res ad praecavendum vel ex supervacuo movit, factoque senatus consulto ut urbe excederent Volsci, praecones dimittuntur qui omnes eos proficisci ante noctem iuberent. Ingens pavor primo discurrentes ad suas res tollendas in hospitia perculit; proficiscentibus deinde indignatio oborta, se ut consceleratos contaminatosque ab ludis, festis diebus, coetu quodam modo hominum deorumque abactos esse.

[38] Cum prope continuato agmine irent, praegressus Tullius ad caput Ferentinum, ut quisque veniret, primores eorum excipiens querendo indignandoque, et eos ipsos, sedulo audientes secunda irae verba, et per eos multitudinem aliam in subiectum viae campum deduxit. Ibi in contionis modum orationem exorsus “ut omnia” inquit, “obliviscamini alia, veteres populi Romani iniurias cladesque gentis Volscorum, hodiernam hanc contumeliam quo tandem animo fertis, qua per nostram ignominiam ludos commisere? An non sensistis triumphatum hodie de vobis esse? Vos omnibus, civibus, peregrinis, tot finitimis populis, spectaculo abeuntes fuisse? Vestras coniuges, vestros liberos traductos per ora hominum? Quid eos qui audivere vocem praeconis, quid, qui nos videre abeuntes, quid eos qui huic ignominioso agmini fuere obvii, existimasse putatis nisi aliquod profecto nefas esse quo, si intersimus spectaculo, violaturi simus ludos piaculumque merituri; ideo nos ab sede piorum, coetu concilioque abigi? Quid deinde? Illud non succurrit, vivere nos quod maturarimus proficisci? Si hoc profectio et non fuga est. Et hanc urbem vos non hostium ducitis, ubi si unum diem morati essetis, moriendum omnibus fuit? Bellum vobis indictum est, magno eorum

malo qui indixere si viri estis.” Ita et sua sponte irarum pleni et incitati domos inde digressi sunt, instigandoque suos quisque populos effecere ut omne Volscum nomen deficeret.

[39] Imperatores ad id bellum de omnium populorum sententia lecti Attius Tullius et Cn. Marcius, exsul Romanus, in quo aliquanto plus spei repositum. Quam spem nequaquam fefellit, ut facile appareret ducibus validiorem quam exercitu rem Romanam esse. Circeios profectus primum colonos inde Romanos expulit liberamque eam urbem Volscis tradidit; Satricum, Longulam, Poluscam, Coriolos, novella haec Romanis oppida ademit; inde Lavinium recepit; inde in Latinam viam transversis tramitibus transgressus, tunc deinceps Corbionem, Veteliam, Trebium, Labicos, Pedum cepit. Postremum ad urbem a Peto ducit, et ad fossas Cluilias quinque ab urbe milia passuum castris positus, populatur inde agrum Romanum, custodibus inter populatores missis qui patriciorum agros intactos servarent, sive infensus plebi magis, sive ut discordia inde inter patres plebemque oreretur. Quae profecto orta esset — adeo tribuni iam ferocem per se plebem criminando in primores civitatis instigabant — ; sed externus timor, maximum concordiae vinculum, quamvis suspectos infensosque inter se iungebat animos. Id modo non conveniebat quod senatus consulesque nusquam alibi spem quam in armis ponebant, plebes omnia quam bellum malebat. Sp. Nautius iam et Sex. Furius consules erant. Eos recensentes legiones, praesidia per muros aliaque in quibus stationes vigiliisque esse placuerat loca distribuentes, multitudo ingens pacem poscentium primum seditioso clamore conterrita, deinde vocare senatum, referre de legatis ad Cn. Marcium mittendis coegit. Acceperunt relationem patres, postquam apparuit labare plebis animos; missique de pace ad Marcium oratores atrox responsum rettulerunt: si Volscis ager redderetur, posse agi de pace: si praeda belli per otium frui velint, memorem se et civium iniuriae et hospitum beneficii adnisciturum, ut appareat exsilio sibi irritatos, non fractos animos esse. Iterum deinde iidem missi non recipiuntur in castra. Sacerdotes quoque suis insignibus velatos isse supplices ad castra hostium traditum est; nihilo magis quam legatos flexisse animum.

[40] Tum matronae ad Veturiam matrem Coriolani Volumniamque uxorem frequentes coeunt. Id publicum consilium an muliebris timor

fuerit, parum invenio: pervicere certe, ut et Veturia, magno natu mulier, et Volumnia duos parvos ex Marcio ferens filios secum in castra hostium irent et, quoniam armis viri defendere urbem non possent, mulieres precibus lacrimisque defenderent. Ubi ad castra ventum est nuntiatumque Coriolano est adesse ingens mulierum agmen, ut qui nec publica maiestate in legatis nec in sacerdotibus tanta offusa oculis animoque religione motus esset, multo obstinatio adversus lacrimas muliebres erat; dein familiarium quidam qui insignem maestitia inter ceteras cognoverat Veturiam, inter nurum nepotesque stantem, “nisi me frustrantur” inquit, “oculi, mater tibi coniunxque et liberi adsunt.” Coriolanus prope ut amens consternatus ab sede sua cum ferret matri obviae complexum, mulier in iram ex precibus versa “sine, priusquam complexum accipio, sciam” inquit, “ad hostem an ad filium venerim, captiva materne in castris tuis sim. In hoc me longa vita et infelix senecta traxit ut exsulem te deinde hostem viderem? Potuisti populari hanc terram quae te genuit atque aluit? Non tibi, quamvis infesto animo et minaci perveneras, ingredienti fines ira cecidit? Non, cum in conspectu Roma fuit, succurrit: intra illa moenia domus ac penates mei sunt, mater coniunx liberique? Ergo ego nisi peperissem, Roma non oppugnaretur; nisi filium haberem, libera in libera patria mortua essem. Sed ego mihi miserius nihil iam pati nec tibi turpius usquam possum, nec ut sum miserrima, diu futura sum: de his videris, quos, si pergis, aut immatura mors aut longa servitus manet.” Uxor deinde ac liberi amplexi, fletusque ob omni turba mulierum ortus et comploratio sui patriaeque fregere tandem virum. Complexus inde suos dimittit: ipse retro ab urbe castra movit. Abductis deinde legionibus ex agro Romano, invidia rei oppressum perisse tradunt, alii alio leto. Apud Fabium, longe antiquissimum auctorem, usque ad senectutem vixisse eundem invenio; refert certe hanc saepe eum exacta aetate usurpasse vocem multo miserius seni exsilium esse. Non inviderunt laude sua mulieribus viri Romani — adeo sine obtrectatione gloriae alienae vivebatur — ; monumento quoque quod esset, templum Fortunae muliebri aedificatum dedicatumque est.

Rediere deinde Volsci adiunctis Aequis in agrum Romanum; sed Aequi Attium Tullium haud ultra tulere ducem. Hinc ex certamine Volsci Aequine imperatorem coniuncto exercitui darent, seditio,

deinde atrox proelium ortum. Ibi fortuna populi Romani duos hostium exercitus haud minus pernicioso quam pertinaci certamine confecit.

Consules T. Sicinius et C. Aquilius. Sicinio Volsci, Aquilio Hernici — nam ii quoque in armis erant — provincia evenit. Eo anno Hernici deuicti: cum Volscis aequo Marte discessum est.

[41] Sp. Cassius deinde et Proculus Verginius consules facti. Cum Hernicis foedus ictum; agri partes duae ademptae. Inde dimidium Latinis, dimidium plebi divisurus consul Cassius erat. Adiciebat hic muneri agri aliquantum, quem publicum possideri a privatis criminabatur. Id multos quidem patrum, ipsos possessores, periculo rerum suarum terreat; sed et publica patribus sollicitudo inerat largitione consulem periculosas libertati opes struere. Tum primum lex agraria promulgata est, nunquam deinde usque ad hanc memoriam sine maximis motibus rerum agitata. Consul alter largitioni resistebat auctoribus patribus nec omni plebe adversante, quae primo coeperat fastidire munus volgatum a civibus isse in socios; saepe deinde et Verginium consulem in contionibus velut vaticinantem audiebat pestilens collegae munus esse; agros illos servitutem iis qui acceperint laturos; regno viam fieri. Quid ita enim adsumi socios et nomen Latinum, quid attinuisset Hernicis, paulo ante hostibus, capti agri partem tertiam reddi, nisi ut hae gentes pro Coriolano duce Cassium habeant? Popularis iam esse dissuasor et intercessor legis agrariae coeperat. Uterque deinde consul, ut certatim, plebi indulgere. Verginius dicere passurum se adsignari agros, dum ne cui nisi civi Romano adsignentur: Cassius, quia in agraria largitione ambitiosus in socios eoque civibus vilior erat, ut alio munere sibi reconciliaret civium animos, iubere pro Siculo frumento pecuniam acceptam retribui populo. Id vero haud secus quam praesentem mercedem regni aspernata plebes; adeo propter suspicionem insitam regni, velut abundarent omnia, munera eius [in animis hominum] respuebantur. Quem ubi primum magistratu abiit damnatum necatumque constat. Sunt qui patrem auctorem eius supplicii ferant: eum cognita domi causa verberasse ac necasse peculiumque filii Cereri consecravisse; signum inde factum esse et inscriptum, “ex Cassia familia datum.” Invenio apud quosdam, idque propius fidem est, a quaestoribus Caesone Fabio et L. Valerio diem

dictam perduellionis, damnatumque populi iudicio, dirutas publice aedes. Ea est area ante Telluris aedem. Ceterum sive illud domesticum sive publicum fuit iudicium, damnatur Servio Cornelio Q. Fabio consulibus.

[42] Haud diuturna ira populi in Cassium fuit. Dulcedo agrariae legis ipsa per se, dempto auctore, subibat animos, accensaque ea cupiditas est malignitate patrum, qui deuictis eo anno Volscis Aequisque, militem praeda fraudavere. Quidquid captum ex hostibus est, vendidit Fabius consul ac redegit in publicum.

Invisum erat Fabium nomen plebi propter novissimum consulem; tenere tamen patres ut cum L. Aemilio Caeso Fabius consul crearetur. Eo infestior facta plebes seditione domestica bellum externum excivit. Bello deinde civiles discordiae intermissae; uno animo patres ac plebs rebellantes Volscos et Aequos duce Aemilio prospera pugna vicere. Plus tamen hostium fuga quam proelium absumpsit; adeo pertinaciter fusos insecuti sunt equites. Castoris aedis eodem anno idibus Quintilibus dedicata est; vota erat Latino bello a Postumio dictatore: filius eius duumvir ad id ipsum creatus dedicavit.

Sollicitati et eo anno sunt dulcedine agrariae legis animi plebis. Tribuni plebi popularem potestatem lege populari celebrabant: patres, satis superque gratuiti furoris in multitudine credentes esse, largitiones temeritatisque invitamenta horrebant. Acerrimi patribus duces ad resistendum consules fuere. Ea igitur pars rei publicae vicit, nec in praesens modo sed in venientem etiam annum M. Fabium, Caesonis fratrem, et magis invisum alterum plebi accusatione Sp. Cassi, L. Valerium, consules dedit.

Certatum eo quoque anno cum tribunis est. Vana lex vanique legis auctores iactando inritum munus facti. Fabium inde nomen ingens post tres continuos consulatus unoque velut tenore omnes expertos tribuniciiis certaminibus habitum; itaque, ut bene locatus, mansit in ea familia aliquamdiu honos. Bellum inde Veiens initum, et Volsci rebellarunt; sed ad bella externa prope supererant vires, abutebanturque iis inter semet ipsos certando. Accessere ad aegras iam omnium mentes prodigia caelestia, prope cotidianas in urbe agrisque ostentantia minas; motique ita numinis causam nullam aliam vates caneabant publice privatimque nunc extis, nunc per aues

consulti, quam haud rite sacra fieri; qui terrores tamen eo evasere ut Oppia virgo Vestalis damnata incesti poenas dederit.

[43] Q. Fabius inde et C. Iulius consules facti. Eo anno non segnior discordia domi et bellum foris atrocius fuit. Ab Aequis arma sumpta; Veientes agrum quoque Romanorum populantes inierunt. Quorum bellorum crescente cura, Caeso Fabius et Sp. Furius consules fiunt. Ortonam, Latinam urbem, Aequi oppugnabant: Veientes, pleni iam populationum, Romam ipsam se oppugnatueros minabantur. Qui terrores cum compescere deberent, auxere insuper animos plebis, redibatque non sua sponte plebi mos detractandi militiam, sed Sp. Licinius tribunus plebis, venisse tempus ratus per ultimam necessitatem legis agrariae patribus iniungendae, suscepit rem militarem impediendam. Ceterum tota invidia tribuniciae potestatis versa in auctorem est, nec in eum consules acrius quam ipsius collegae coorti sunt, auxilioque eorum dilectum consules habent.

Ad duo simul bella exercitus scribitur; ducendus Fabio in Aequos, Furio datur in Veientes. In Veientes nihil dignum memoria gestum; et in Aequis quidem Fabio aliquanto plus negotii cum civibus quam cum hostibus fuit. Unus ille vir, ipse consul, rem publicam sustinuit, quam exercitus odio consulis, quantum in se fuit, prodebat. Nam cum consul praeter ceteras imperatorias artes, quas parando gerendoque bello edidit plurimas, ita instruxisset aciem ut solo equitatu emissio exercitum hostium funderet, insequi fusos pedes noluit; nec illos, et si non adhortatio invisi ducis, suum saltem flagitium et publicum in praesentia dedecus, postmodo periculum, si animus hosti redisset, cogere potuit gradum adcelerare aut si aliud nihil, stare instructos. Iniussu signa referunt, maestique — crederes victos — exsecrantes nunc imperatorem, nunc nauatam ab equite operam, redeunt in castra. Nec huic tam pestilenti exemplo remedia ulla ab imperatore quaesita sunt; adeo excellentibus ingeniis citius defuerit ars qua civem regant quam qua hostem superent. Consul Romam rediit non tam belli gloria aucta quam inritato exacerbatoque in se militum odio. Obtinere tamen patres ut in Fabia gente consulatus maneret: M. Fabium consulem creant; Fabio collega Cn. Manlius datur.

[44] Et hic annus tribunum auctorem legis agrariae habuit. Tib. Pontificius fuit. Is eandem viam, velut processisset Sp. Licinio, ingressus dilectum paulisper impediit. Perturbatis iterum patribus

Ap. Claudius victam tribuniciam potestatem dicere priore anno, in praesentia re, exemplo in perpetuum, quando inventum sit suis ipsam viribus dissolvi. Neque enim unquam defuturum qui et ex collega victoriam sibi et gratiam melioris partis bono publico velit quaesitam; et plures, si pluribus opus sit, tribunos ad auxilium consulum paratos fore, et unum vel adversus omnes satis esse. Darent modo et consules et primores patrum operam ut, si minus omnes, aliquos tamen ex tribunis rei publicae ac senatui conciliarent. Praeceptis Appi moniti patres et universi comiter ac benigne tribunos appellare, et consulares ut cuique eorum privatim aliquid iuris adversus singulos erat, partim gratia, partim auctoritate obtinere ut tribuniciae potestatis vires salubres vellent rei publicae esse, quattuorque tribunorum adversus unum moratorem publici commodi auxilio dilectum consules habent.

Inde ad Veiens bellum profecti, quo undique ex Etruria auxilia convenerant, non tam Veientium gratia concitata quam quod in spem ventum erat discordia intestina dissolvi rem Romanam posse. Principesque in omnium Etruriae populorum conciliis fremebant aeternas opes esse Romanas nisi inter semet ipsi seditionibus saeviant; id unum venenum, eam labem civitatibus opulentis repertam ut magna imperia mortalia essent. Diu sustentatum id malum, partim patrum consiliis, partim patientia plebis, iam ad extrema venisse. Duas civitates ex una factas; suos cuique parti magistratus, suas leges esse. Primum in dilectibus saevire solitos, eosdem in bello tamen paruisse ducibus. Qualicumque urbis statu, manente disciplina militari sisti potuisse; iam non parendi magistratibus morem in castra quoque Romanum militem sequi. Proximo bello in ipsa acie, in ipso certamine, consensu exercitus traditam ultro victoriam victis Aequis, signa deserta, imperatorem in acie relictum, iniussu in castra reditum. Profecto si instetur, suo milite vinci Romam posse. Nihil aliud opus esse quam indici ostendique bellum; cetera sua sponte fata et deos gesturos. Hae spes Etruscos armaverant, multis in vicem casibus victos victoresque.

[45] Consules quoque Romani nihil praeterea aliud quam suas vires, sua arma horrebant; memoria pessimi proximo bello exempli terrebat ne rem committerent eo ubi duae simul acies timendae essent. Itaque castris se tenebant, tam ancipiti periculo aversi: diem

tempusque forsitan ipsum lenitum iras sanitatemque animis allaturum. Veiens hostis Etruscique eo magis praepropere agere; lacessere ad pugnam primo obequitando castris provocandoque, postremo ut nihil movebant, qua consules ipsos, qua exercitum increpando: simulationem intestinae discordiae remedium timoris inventum, et consules magis non confidere quam non credere suis militibus; novum seditionis genus, silentium otiumque inter armatos. Ad haec in novitatem generis originisque qua falsa, qua vera iacere. Haec cum sub ipso vallo portisque streperent, haud aegre consules pati; at imperitae multitudini nunc indignatio, nunc pudor pectora versare et ab intestinis avertere malis; nolle inultos hostes, nolle successum non patribus, non consulibus; externa et domestica odia certare in animis. Tandem superant externa; adeo superbe insolenterque hostis eludebat. Frequentes in praetorium conveniunt; poscunt pugnam, postulant ut signum detur. Consules velut deliberabundi capita conferunt, diu conloquuntur. Pugnare cupiebant, sed retro revocanda et abdenda cupiditas erat, ut adversando remorandoque incitato semel militi adderent impetum. Redditur responsum immaturam rem agi; nondum tempus pugnae esse; castris se tenerent. Edicunt inde ut abstineant pugna; si quis iniussu pugnaverit, ut in hostem animadversuros. Ita dimissis, quo minus consules velle credunt, crescit ardor pugnandi. Accendunt insuper hostes ferocius multo, ut statuisset non pugnare consules cognitum est: quippe impune se insultaturos; non credi militi arma; rem ad ultimum seditionis erupturam, finemque venisse Romano imperio. His freti occursant portis, ingerunt probra; aegre abstinere quin castra oppugnent. Enimvero non ultra contumeliam pati Romanus posse; totis castris undique ad consules curritur; non iam sensim, ut ante, per centurionum principes postulant, sed passim omnes clamoribus agunt. Matura res erat; tergiversantur tamen. Fabius deinde ad crescentem tumultum iam metu seditionis collega concedente, cum silentium classico fecisset: “Ego istos, Cn. Manli, posse vincere scio: velle ne scirem, ipsi fecerunt. Itaque certum est non dare signum nisi victores se redituros ex hac pugna iurant. Consulem Romanum miles semel in acie fefellit: deos nunquam fallat.” Centurio erat M. Flavoleius, inter primores pugnae flagitator. “Victor” inquit, “M. Fabi, revertar ex acie”; si fallat, Iovem patrem Gradivumque Martem

aliosque iratos invocat deos. Idem deinceps omnis exercitus in se quisque iurat. Iuratis datur signum; arma capiunt; eunt in pugnam irarum speique pleni. Nunc iubent Etruscos probra iacere, nunc armati sibi quisque lingua promptum hostem offerri. Omnium illo die, qua plebis, qua patrum, eximia virtus fuit; Fabium nomen maxime enituit; multis civilibus certaminibus infensos plebis animos illa pugna sibi reconciliare statuunt.

[46] Instruitur acies, nec Veiens hostis Etruscaeque legiones detractant. Prope certa spes erat non magis secum pugnatuos quam cum Aequis; maius quoque aliquod in tam inritatis animis et occasione ancipiti haud desperandum esse facinus. Res aliter longe evenit; nam non alio ante bello infestior Romanus — adeo hinc contumeliis hostes, hinc consules mora exacerbaverant — proelium iniit. Vix explicandi ordinis spatium Etruscis fuit, cum pilis inter primam trepidationem abiectis temere magis quam emissis, pugna iam in manus, iam ad gladios, ubi Mars est atrocissimus, venerat. Inter primores genus Fabium insigne spectaculo exemploque civibus erat. Ex his Q. Fabium — tertio hic anno ante consul fuerat — principem in confertos Veientes euntem ferox viribus et armorum arte Tuscus, incautum inter multas versantem hostium manus, gladio per pectus transfigit; telo extracto praeceps Fabius in volnus abiit. Sensit utraque acies unius viri casum, cedebatque inde Romanus cum M. Fabius consul transiit iacentis corpus obiectaque parma, “hoc iurastis” inquit, “milites, fugientes vos in castra redituros? Adeo ignavissimos hostes magis timetis quam Iovem Martemque per quos iurastis? At ego iniuratus aut victor revertar aut prope te hic, Q. Fabi, dimicans cadam.” Consuli tum Caeso Fabius, prioris anni consul: “Verbisne istis, frater, ut pugnent, te impetraturum credis? Di impetrabunt per quos iuravere; et nos, ut decet procures, ut Fabio nomine est dignum, pugnando potius quam adhortando accendamus militum animos.” Sic in primum infensis hastis provolant duo Fabii, totamque moverunt secum aciem.

[47] Proelio ex parte una restituto, nihilo segnius in cornu altero Cn. Manlius consul pugnam ciebat, ubi prope similis fortuna est versata. Nam ut altero in cornu Q. Fabium, sic in hoc ipsum consulem Manlium iam velut fusos agentem hostes et impigre milites secuti sunt et, ut ille gravi vulnere ictus ex acie cessit, interfectum

rati gradum rettulere; cessissentque loco, ni consul alter cum aliquot turmis equitum in eam partem citato equo advectus, vivere clamitans collegam, se victorem fuso altero cornu adesse, rem inclinatam sustinisset. Manlius quoque ad restituendam aciem se ipse coram offert. Duorum consulum cognita ora accendunt militum animos. Simul et vanior iam erat hostium acies, dum abundante multitudine freti, subtracta subsidia mittunt ad castra oppugnanda. In quae haud magno certamine impetu facto cum praedae magis quam pugnae memores tererent tempus, triarii Romani qui primam inruptionem sustinere non potuerant, missis ad consules nuntiis quo loco res essent, conglobati ad praetorium redeunt et sua sponte ipsi proelium renovant. Et Manlius consul revector in castra, ad omnes portas milite opposito hostibus viam clauserat. Ea desperatio Tuscis rabiem magis quam audaciam accendit. Nam cum incursantes quacumque exitum ostenderet spes vano aliquotiens impetu issent, globus iuvenum unus in ipsum consulem insignem armis invadit. Prima excepta a circumstantibus tela; sustineri deinde vis nequit; consul mortifero vulnere ictus cadit, fusique circa omnes. Tuscis crescit audacia; Romanos terror per tota castra trepidos agit, et ad extrema ventum foret ni legati rapto consulis corpore patefecissent una porta hostibus viam. Ea erumpunt; consternatoque agmine abeuntes in victorem alterum incidunt consulem; ibi iterum caesi fusique passim.

Victoria egregia parta, tristis tamen duobus tam claris funeribus. Itaque consul decernente senatu triumphum, si exercitus sine imperatore triumphare possit, pro eximia eo bello opera facile passurum respondit; se familia funesta Q. Fabi fratris morte, re publica ex parte orba, consule altero amisso, publico privatoque deformem luctu lauream non accepturum. Omni acto triumpho depositus triumphus clarior fuit; adeo spreta in tempore gloria interdum cumulator rediit. Funera deinde duo deinceps collegae fratrisque ducit, idem in utroque laudator, cum concedendo illis suas laudes ipse maximam partem earum ferret. Neque immemor eius quod initio consulatus imbiberat, reconciliandi animos plebis, saucios milites curandos dividit patribus. Fabiis plurimi dati, nec alibi maiore cura habiti. Inde populares iam esse Fabii, nec hoc ulla nisi salubri rei publicae arte.

[48] Igitur non patrum magis quam plebis studiis K. Fabius cum T.

Verginio consul factus neque belli neque dilectus neque ullam aliam priorem curam agere quam ut iam aliqua ex parte incohata concordiae spe, primo quoque tempore cum patribus coalescerent animi plebis. Itaque principio anni censuit priusquam quisquam agrariae legis auctor tribunus exsisteret, occuparent patres ipsi suum munus facere; captivum agrum plebi quam maxime aequaliter darent; verum esse habere eos quorum sanguine ac sudore partus sit. Aspernati patres sunt; questi quoque quidam nimia gloria luxuriare et evanescere vividum quondam illud Caesonis ingenium.

Nullae deinde urbanae factiones fuere; vexabantur incursionibus Aequorum Latini. Eo cum exercitu Caeso missus in ipsorum Aequorum agrum depopulandum transit. Aequi se in oppida receperunt murisque se tenebant; eo nulla pugna memorabilis fuit. At a Veiente hoste clades accepta temeritate alterius consulis, actumque de exercitu foret, ni K. Fabius in tempore subsidio venisset. Ex eo tempore neque pax neque bellum cum Veientibus fuit; res proxime formam latrocinii venerat. Legionibus Romanis cedebant in urbem; ubi abductas senserant legiones, agros incursabant, bellum quiete, quietem bello in vicem eludentes. Ita neque omitti tota res nec perfici poterat; et alia bella aut praesentia instabant, ut ab Aequis Volscisque, non diutius quam recens dolor proximae cladis transiret quiescentibus, aut mox moturos esse apparebat Sabinos semper infestos Etruriamque omnem. Sed Veiens hostis, adsiduus magis quam gravis, contumeliis saepius quam periculo animos agitabat, quod nullo tempore neglegi poterat aut averti alio sinebat. Tum Fabia gens senatum adiit. Consul pro gente loquitur: “Adsiduo magis quam magno praesidio, ut scitis, patres conscripti, bellum Veiens eget. Vos alia bella curate, Fabios hostes Veientibus date. Auctores sumus tutam ibi maiestatem Romani nominis fore. Nostrum id nobis velut familiare bellum privato sumptu gerere in animo est; res publica et milite illic et pecunia vacet.” Gratiae ingentes actae. Consul e curia egressus comitante Fabiorum agmine, qui in vestibulo curiae senatus consultum exspectantes steterant, domum redit. Iussi armati postero die ad limen consulis adesse; domos inde discedunt.

[49] Manat tota urbe rumor; Fabios ad caelum laudibus ferunt: familiam unam subisse civitatis onus; Veiens bellum in privatam curam, in privata arma versum. Si sint duae roboris eiusdem in urbe

gentes, deposcant haec Volscos sibi, illa Aequos: populo Romano tranquillam pacem agente omnes finitimos subigi populos posse. Fabii postera die arma capiunt; quo iussi erant conveniunt. Consul paludatus egrediens in vestibulo gentem omnem suam instructo agmine videt; acceptus in medium signa ferri iubet. Nunquam exercitus neque minor numero neque clarior fama et admiratione hominum per urbem incessit. Sex et trecenti milites, omnes patricii, omnes unius gentis, quorum neminem ducem sperneres, egregius quibuslibet temporibus senatus, ibant, unius familiae viribus Veienti populo pestem minitantes. Sequebatur turba propria alia cognatorum sodaliumque, nihil medium, nec spem nec curam, sed immensa omnia volventium animo, alia publica sollicitudine excitata, favore et admiratione stupens. Ire fortes, ire felices iubent, inceptis eventus pares reddere; consulatus inde ac triumphos, omnia praemia ab se, omnes honores sperare. Praetereuntibus Capitolium arcemque et alia templa, quidquid deorum oculis, quidquid animo occurrit, precantur ut illud agmen faustum atque felix mittant, sospites brevi in patriam ad parentes restituant. In cassum missae preces. Infelici via, dextro iano portae Carmentalis, profecti ad Cremeram flumen perveniunt. Is opportunus visus locus communiendo praesidio.

L. Aemilius inde et C. Servilius consules facti. Et donec nihil aliud quam in populationibus res fuit, non ad praesidium modo tutandum Fabii satis erant, sed tota regione qua Tuscus ager Romano adiacet, sua tuta omnia, infesta hostium, vagantes per utrumque finem, fecere. Intervallum deinde haud magnum populationibus fuit, dum et Veientes accito ex Etruria exercitu praesidium Cremerae oppugnant, et Romanae legiones ab L. Aemilio consule adductae cominus cum Etruscis dimicant acie; quamquam vix dirigendi aciem spatium Veientibus fuit; adeo inter primam trepidationem dum post signa ordines introeunt subsidiaque locant, invecta subito ab latere Romana equitum ala non pugnae modo incipiendae sed consistendi ademit locum. Ita fusi retro ad saxa Rubra — ibi castra habebant — , pacem supplices petunt. Cuius impetratae, ab insita animis levitate, ante deductum Cremera Romanum praesidium paenituit.

[50] Rursus cum Fabiis erat Veienti populo, sine ullo maioris belli apparatu, certamen; nec erant incursiones modo in agros aut subiti impetus in incursantes, sed aliquotiens aequo campo conlatisque

signis certatum, gensque una populi Romani saepe ex opulentissima, ut tum res erant, Etrusca civitate victoriam tulit. Id primo acerbum indignumque Veientibus est visum; inde consilium ex re natum insidiis ferocem hostem captandi; gaudere etiam multo successu Fabiis audaciam crescere. Itaque et pecora praedantibus aliquotiens, velut casu incidissent, obviam acta, et agrestium fuga vasti relictis agri, et subsidia armatorum ad arcendas populationes missa saepius simulato quam vero pavore refugerunt. Iamque Fabii adeo contempserant hostem ut sua invicta arma neque loco neque tempore ullo crederent sustineri posse. Haec spes provexit ut ad conspecta procul a Cremera magno campi intervallo pecora, quamquam rara hostium apparebant arma, decurrerent. Et cum improvidi effuso cursu insidias circa ipsum iter locatas superassent palatique passim vaga, ut fit pavore iniecto, raperent pecora, subito ex insidiis consurgitur; et adversi et undique hostes erant. Primo clamor circumlatus exterruit, dein tela ab omni parte accidebant; coeuntibusque Etruscis, iam continenti agmine armatorum saepti, quo magis se hostis inferebat, cogeantur breviori spatio et ipsi orbem colligere, quae res et paucitatem eorum insignem et multitudinem Etruscorum, multiplicatis in arto ordinibus, faciebat. Tum omissa pugna, quam in omnes partes parem intenderant, in unum locum se omnes inclinant; eo nisi corporibus armisque rupere cuneo viam. Duxit via in editum leniter collem. Inde primo restitere; mox, ut respirandi superior locus spatium dedit recipiendique a pavore tanto animum, pepulere etiam subeuntes, vincebatque auxilio loci paucitas, ni iugo circummissus Veiens in verticem collis evasisset. Ita superior rursus hostis factus. Fabii caesi ad unum omnes praesidiumque expugnatum. Trecentos sex perisse satis convenit, unum prope puberem aetate relictum, stirpem genti Fabiae dubiisque rebus populi Romani saepe domi bellique vel maximum futurum auxilium.

[51] Cum haec accepta clades est, iam C. Horatius et T. Menenius consules erant. Menenius adversus Tuscos victoria elatos confestim missus. Tum quoque male pugnatum est, et Ianiculum hostes occupavere; obsessaque urbs foret, super bellum annona premente — transierant enim Etrusci Tiberim — , ni Horatius consul ex Volscis esset revocatus. Adeoque id bellum ipsis institit moenibus, ut primo pugnatum ad Spei sit aequo Marte, iterum ad portam Collinam. Ibi

quamquam parvo momento superior Romana res fuit, meliorem tamen militem, recepto pristino animo, in futura proelia id certamen fecit.

A. Verginius et Sp. Servilius consules fiunt. Post acceptam proxima pugna cladem Veientes abstinuere acie; populationes erant, et velut ab arce Ianiculo passim in Romanum agrum impetus dabant; non usquam pecora tuta, non agrestes erant. Capti deinde eadem arte sunt qua ceperant Fabios. Secuti dedita opera passim ad inlecebras propulsa pecora praecipitavere in insidias; quo plures erant, maior caedes fuit. Ex hac clade atrox ira maioris cladis causa atque initium fuit. Traiecto enim nocte Tiberi, castra Servili consulis adorti sunt oppugnare. Inde fusi magna caede in Ianiculum se aegre recepere. Confestim consul et ipse transit Tiberim, castra sub Ianiculo communit. Postero die luce orta nonnihil et hesterna felicitate pugnae ferox, magis tamen quod inopia frumenti quamvis in praecipitia, dum celeriora essent, agebat consilia, temere adverso Ianiculo ad castra hostium aciem erexit, foediusque inde pulsus quam pridie pepulerat, interventu collegae ipse exercitusque est servatus. Inter duas acies Etrusci, cum in vicem his atque illis terga darent, occidione occisi. Ita oppressum temeritate felici Veiens bellum.

[52] Urbi cum pace laxior etiam annona rediit, et advecto ex Campania frumento, et postquam timor sibi cuique futurae inopiae abiit, eo quod abditum fuerat prolato. Ex copia deinde otioque lascivire rursus animi et pristina mala, postquam foris deerant, domi quaerere. Tribuni plebem agitare suo veneno, agraria lege; in resistentes incitare patres, nec in universos modo sed in singulos. Q. Considius et T. Genucius, auctores agrariae legis, T. Menenio diem dicunt. Invidiae erat amissum Cremerae praesidium, cum haud procul inde stativa consul habuisset; ea oppressit, cum et patres haud minus quam pro Coriolano adnisi essent et patris Agrippae favor haudum exolevisset. In multa temperarunt tribuni; cum capitis anquisissent, duorum milium aeris damnato multam dixerunt. Ea in caput vertit; negant tulisse ignominiam aegritudinemque; inde morbo absumptum esse.

Alius deinde reus, Sp. Servilius, ut consulatu abiit, C. Nautio et P. Valerio consulibus, initio statim anni ab L. Caedicio et T. Statio tribunis die dicta, non ut Menenius, precibus suis aut patrum sed cum

multa fiducia innocentiae gratiaeque tribunicios impetus tulit. Et huic proelium cum Tuscis ad Ianiculum erat crimini. Sed fervidi animi vir ut in publico periculo ante, sic tum in suo, non tribunos modo sed plebem oratione feroci refutando exprobrandoque T. Meneni damnationem mortemque, cuius patris munere restituta quondam plebs eos ipsos quibus tum saeviret magistratus, eas leges haberet, periculum audacia discussit. Iuuit et Verginius collega testis productus, participando laudes; magis tamen Menenianum — adeo mutaverant animum — profuit iudicium.

[53] Certamina domi finita: Veiens bellum exortum, quibus Sabini arma coniunxerant. P. Valerius consul accitis Latinorum Hernicorumque auxiliis cum exercitu Veios missus castra Sabina, quae pro moenibus sociorum locata erant, confestim adgreditur; tantamque trepidationem iniecit ut dum dispersi alii alia manipulatim excurrunt ad arcendam hostium vim, ea porta cui signa primum intulerat caperetur. Intra vallum deinde caedes magis quam proelium esse. Tumultus e castris et in urbem penetrat; tamquam Veis captis, ita pavidī Veientes ad arma currunt. Pars Sabinis eunt subsidio, pars Romanos toto impetu intentos in castra adoriuntur. Paulisper aversi turbatique sunt; deinde et ipsi utroque versis signis resistunt, et eques ab consule immissus Tuscos fundit fugatque, eademque hora duo exercitus, duae potentissimae et maxime finitimae gentes superatae sunt.

Dum haec ad Veios geruntur, Volsci Aequique in Latino agro posuerant castra populatique fines erant. Eos per se ipsi Latini adsumptis Hernicis, sine Romano aut duce aut auxilio castris exuerunt; ingenti praeda praeter suas reciperatas res potiti sunt. Missus tamen ab Roma consul in Volscos C. Nautius; mos, credo, non placebat, sine Romano duce exercituque socios propriis viribus consiliisque bella gerere. Nullum genus calamitatis contumeliaeque non editum in Volscos est, nec tamen perPELLI potuere ut acie dimicarent.

[54] L. Furius inde et C. Manlius consules. Manlio Veientes provincia evenit; non tamen bellatum; indutiae in annos quadraginta petentibus datae frumento stipendioque imperato. Paci externae confestim continuatur discordia domi. Agrariae legis tribuniciis stimulis plebs furebat. Consules, nihil Meneni damnatione, nihil

periculo deterriti Servili, summa vi resistunt. Abeuntes magistratu Cn. Genucius tribunus plebis arripuit.

L. Aemilius et Opiter Verginius consulatum ineunt; Vopiscum Iulium pro Verginio in quibusdam annalibus consulem invenio. Hoc anno, quoscumque consules habuit, rei ad populum Furius et Manlius circumeunt sordidati non plebem magis quam iuniores patrum. Suadent monent honoribus et administratione rei publicae abstineant; consulares vero fasces, praetextam, curulemque sellam nihil aliud quam pompam funeris putent; claris insignibus velut infulis velatos ad mortem destinari. Quod si consulatus tanta dulcedo sit, iam nunc ita in animum inducant consulatum captum et oppressum ab tribunicia potestate esse; consuli, velut apparitori tribunicio, omnia ad nutum imperiumque tribuni agenda esse; si se commoverit, si respexerit patres, si aliud quam plebem esse in re publica crediderit, exsilium Cn. Marci, Meneni damnationem et mortem sibi proponat ante oculos. His accensi vocibus patres consilia inde non publica sed in privato seductaque a plurium conscientia habuere, ubi cum id modo constaret, iure an iniuria, eripiendos esse reos, atrocissima quaeque maxime placebat sententia, nec auctor quamvis audaci facinori deerat. Igitur iudicii die, cum plebs in foro erecta expectatione staret, mirari primo quod non descenderet tribunus; dein cum iam mora suspectior fieret, deterritum a primoribus credere et desertam ac proditam causam publicam queri; tandem qui obversati vestibulo tribuni fuerant nuntiant domi mortuum esse inventum. Quod ubi in totam contionem pertulit rumor, sicut acies funditur duce occiso, ita dilapsi passim alii alio. Praecipuus pavor tribunos invaserat, quam nihil auxilii sacratae leges haberent morte collegae monitos. Nec patres satis moderate ferre laetitiam, adeoque neminem noxae paenitebat, ut etiam insontes fecisse videri vellent, palamque ferretur malo domandam tribuniciam potestatem.

[55] Sub hac pessimi exempli victoria dilectus edicitur, paventibusque tribunis sine intercessione ulla consules rem peragunt. Tum vero irasci plebs tribunorum magis silentio quam consulum imperio, et dicere actum esse de libertate sua; rursus ad antiqua reditum; cum Genucio una mortuam ac sepultam tribuniciam potestatem. Aliud agendum ac cogitandum quomodo resistatur patribus; id autem unum consilium esse ut se ipsa plebs, quando

aliud nihil auxilii habeat, defendat. Quattuor et viginti lictores apparere consulibus et eos ipsos plebis homines; nihil contemptius neque infirmius, si sint qui contemnant; sibi quemque ea magna atque horrenda facere. His vocibus alii alios cum incitassent, ad Voleronem Publilium de plebe hominem quia, quod ordines duxisset, negaret se militem fieri debere, lictor missus est a consulibus. Volero appellat tribunos. Cum auxilio nemo esset, consules spoliari hominem et virgas expediri iubent. “Provoco” inquit, “ad populum” Volero, “quoniam tribuni civem Romanum in conspectu suo virgis caedi malunt quam ipsi in lecto suo a vobis trucidari.” Quo ferocius clamitabat, eo infestius circumscindere et spoliare lictor. Tum Volero et praevalens ipse et adiuvantibus advocatis repulso lictore, ubi indignantium pro se acerrimus erat clamor, eo se in turbam confertissimam recipit clamitans: “Provoco et fidem plebis imploro. Adeste, cives; adeste, commilitones; nihil est quod expectetis tribunos quibus ipsis vestro auxilio opus est.” Concitati homines veluti ad proelium se expediunt, apparebatque omne discrimen adesse; nihil cuiquam sanctum, non publici fore, non privati iuris. Huic tantae tempestati cum se consules obtulissent, facile experti sunt parum tutam maiestatem sine viribus esse. Violatis lictoribus, fascibus fractis, e foro in curiam compelluntur, incerti quatenus Volero exerceret victoriam. Conticescente deinde tumultu cum in senatum vocari iussissent, queruntur iniurias suas, vim plebis, Voleronis audaciam. Multis ferociter dictis sententiis, vicere seniores quibus ira patrum adversus temeritatem plebis certari non placuit.

[56] Voleronem amplexa favore plebs proximis comitiis tribunum plebi creat in eum annum qui L. Pinarium P. Furium consules habuit. Contraque omnium opinionem, qui eum vexandis prioris anni consulibus permissurum tribunatum credebant, post publicam causam privato dolore habito, ne verbo quidem violatis consulibus, rogationem tulit ad populum ut plebei magistratus tributis comitiis fierent. Haud parva res sub titulo prima specie minime atroci ferebatur, sed quae patriciis omnem potestatem per clientium suffragia creandi quos vellent tribunos auferret. Huic actioni gratissimae plebi cum summa vi resisterent patres, nec quae una vis ad resistendum erat, ut intercederet aliquis ex collegio, auctoritate aut consulum aut principum adduci posset, res tamen suo ipsa molimine

gravis certaminibus in annum extrahitur. Plebs Volerone tribunum reficit: patres, ad ultimum dimicationis rati rem venturam, Ap. Claudium Appi filium, iam inde a paternis certaminibus invisum infestumque plebi, consulem faciunt. Collega ei T. Quinctius datur.

Principio statim anni nihil prius quam de lege agebatur. Sed ut inventor legis Volero, sic Laetorius, collega eius, auctor cum recentior tum acrior erat. Ferocem faciebat belli gloria ingens, quod aetatis eius haud quisquam manu promptior erat. Is, cum Volero nihil praeterquam de lege loqueretur, insectatione abstinens consulum, ipse incusationem Appi familiaeque superbissimae ac crudelissimae in plebem Romanam exorsus, cum a patribus non consulem, sed carnificem ad vexandam et lacerandam plebem creatum esse contenderet, rudis in militari homine lingua non suppetebat libertati animoque. Itaque deficiente oratione, “Quando quidem non facile loquor” inquit, “Quirites, quam quod locutus sum praesto, crastino die adeste; ego hic aut in conspectu vestro moriar aut perferam legem”. Occupant tribuni templum postero die; consules nobilitasque ad impediendam legem in contione consistunt. Summoveri Laetorius iubet, praeterquam qui suffragium ineant. Adulescentes nobiles stabant nihil cedentes viatori. Tum ex his prendi quosdam Laetorius iubet. Consul Appius negare ius esse tribuno in quemquam nisi in plebeium; non enim populi sed plebis eum magistratum esse; nec illam ipsam submovere pro imperio posse more maiorum, quia ita dicatur: “Si vobis videtur, discedite, Quirites.” Facile contemptim de iure disserendo perturbare Laetorium poterat. Ardens igitur ira tribunus viatorem mittit ad consulem, consul lictorem ad tribunum, privatum esse clamitans, sine imperio, sine magistratu; violatusque esset tribunus, ni et contio omnis atrox coorta pro tribuno in consulem esset, et concursus hominum in forum ex tota urbe concitatae multitudinis fieret. Sustinebat tamen Appius pertinacia tantam tempestatem, certatumque haud incruento proelio foret, ni Quinctius, consul alter, consularibus negotio dato ut collegam vi, si aliter non possent, de foro abducerent, ipse nunc plebem saevientem precibus lenisset, nunc orasset tribunos ut concilium dimitterent; darent irae spatium; non vim suam illis tempus adempturum, sed consilium viribus additurum; et patres in populi et consulem in patrum fore potestate.

[57] Aegre sedata ab Quinctio plebs, multo aegrius consul alter a patribus. Dimisso tandem concilio plebis senatum consules habent. Ubi cum timor atque ira in vicem sententias variassent, quo magis spatio interposito ab impetu ad consultandum avocabantur, eo plus abhorrebant a certatione animi, adeo ut Quinctio gratias agerent quod eius opera mitigata discordia esset. Ab Appio petitur ut tantam consularem maiestatem esse vellet quanta esse in concordi civitate posset; dum tribunique et consules ad se quisque omnia trahant, nihil relictum esse virium in medio; distractam laceratamque rem publicam; magis quorum in manu sit quam ut incolumis sit quaeri. Appius contra testari deos atque homines rem publicam prodi per metum ac deseriri; non consulem senatui sed senatum consuli deesse; graviores accipi leges quam in Sacro monte acceptae sint. Victus tamen patrum consensu quievit; lex silentio perfertur.

[58] Tum primum tributis comitiis creati tribuni sunt. Numero etiam additos tres, perinde ac duo antea fuerint, Piso auctor est. Nominat quoque tribunos, Cn. Siccium, L. Numitorium, M. Duillium, Sp. Icilium, L. Maecilium.

Volscum Aequicumque inter seditionem Romanam est bellum coortum. Vastaverant agros ut si qua secessio plebis fieret ad se receptum haberet; compositis deinde rebus castra retro movere. Ap. Claudius in Volscos missus, Quinctio Aequi provincia evenit. Eadem in militia saevitia Appi quae domi esse, liberior quod sine tribuniciis vinculis erat. Odisse plebem plus quam paterno odio: se victum ab ea; se unico consule electo adversus tribuniciam potestatem perlatam legem esse, quam minore conatu, nequaquam tanta patrum spe, priores impelierint consules. Haec ira indignatioque ferocem animum ad vexandum saevo imperio exercitum stimulabat. Nec ulla vi domari poterat; tantum certamen animis imbiberant. Segniter, otiose, neglegenter, contumaciter omnia agere; nec pudor nec metus coercerat. Si citius agi vellet agmen, tardius sedulo incedere; si adhortator operis adesset, omnes sua sponte motam remittere industriam; praesenti voltus demittere, tacite praetereuntem exsecrari, ut invictus ille odio plebeio animus interdum moveretur. Omni nequiquam acerbitate prompta, nihil iam cum militibus agere; a centurionibus corruptum exercitum dicere; tribunos plebei cavillans interdum et Volerones vocare.

[59] Nihil eorum Volsci nesciebant, instabantque eo magis, sperantes idem certamen animorum adversus Appium habiturum exercitum Romanum quod adversus Fabium consulem habuisset. Ceterum multo Appio quam Fabio violentior fuit; non enim vincere tantum noluit, ut Fabianus exercitus, sed vinci voluit. Productus in aciem turpi fuga petit castra, nec ante restitit quam signa inferentem Volscum munimentis vidit foedamque extremi agminis caedem. Tum expressa vis ad pugnandum, ut victor iam a vallo submoveretur hostis, satis tamen appareret capi tantum castra militem Romanum noluisse, alioqui gaudere sua clade atque ignominia. Quibus nihil infractus ferox Appi animus cum insuper saevire vellet contionemque advocaret, concurrunt ad eum legati tribunisque, monentes ne utique experiri vellet imperium, cuius vis omnis in consensu oboedientium esset; negare volgo milites se ad contionem ituros passimque exaudiri voces postulantium ut castra ex VolSCO agro moveantur; hostem victorem paulo ante prope in portis ac vallo fuisse, ingentisque mali non suspicionem modo sed apertam speciem obversari ante oculos. Victus tandem, quando quidem nihil praeter tempus noxae lucrarentur, remissa contione iter in insequentem diem pronuntiari cum iussisset, prima luce classico signum profectionis dedit. Cum maxime agmen e castris explicaretur, Volsci, ut eodem signo excitati, novissimos adoriuntur. A quibus perlatus ad primos tumultus eo pavore signaque et ordines turbavit ut neque imperia exaudiri neque instrui acies posset. Nemo ullius nisi fugae memor. Ita effuso agmine per stragem corporum armorumque evasere ut prius hostis desisteret sequi quam Romanus fugere. Tandem conlectis ex dissipato cursu militibus consul, cum revocando nequiquam suos persecutus esset, in pacato agro castra posuit; advocataque contione invectus haud falso in proditorem exercitum militaris disciplinae, desertorem signorum, ubi signa, ubi arma essent singulos rogitans, inermes milites, signo amisso signiferos, ad hoc centuriones duplicariosque qui reliquerant ordines, virgis caesos securi percussit: cetera multitudo sorte decimus quisque ad supplicium lecti.

[60] Contra ea in Aequis inter consulem ac milites comitate ac beneficiis certatum est. Et natura Quinctius erat lenior, et saevitia infelix collegae quo is magis gauderet ingenio suo effecerat. Huic

tantae concordiae ducis exercitusque non ausi offerre se Aequi, vagari populabundum hostem per agros passi; nec ullo ante bello latius inde acta est praeda. Ea omnis militi data est. Addebantur et laudes, quibus haud minus quam praemio gaudent militum animi. Cum duci, tum propter ducem patribus quoque placatior exercitus rediit, sibi parentem, alteri exercitui dominum datum ab senatu memorans.

Varia fortuna belli, atroci discordia domi forique annum exactum insignem maxime comitia tributa efficiunt, res maior victoria suscepti certaminis quam usu. Plus enim dignitatis comitiis ipsis detractum est patres ex concilio submovendo, quam virium aut plebi additum est aut demptum patribus.

[61] Turbulentior inde annus excepit L. Valerio T. Aemilio consulibus, cum propter certamina ordinum de lege agraria tum propter iudicium Ap. Claudii, cui acerrimo adversario legis causamque possessorum publici agri tamquam tertio consuli sustinenti M. Duillius et Cn. Siccus diem dixere. Nunquam ante tam invisus plebi reus ad iudicium vocatus populi est, plenus suarum, plenus paternarum irarum. Patres quoque non temere pro ullo aeque adnisi sunt: propugnatorem senatus maiestatisque vindicem suae, ad omnes tribunicios plebeiosque oppositum tumultus, modum dumtaxat in certamine egressum, iratae obici plebi. Unus e patribus ipse Ap. Claudius et tribunos et plebem et suum iudicium pro nihilo habebat. Illum non minae plebis, non senatus preces percellere unquam potuere, non modo ut vestem mutaret aut supplex prensaret homines, sed ne ut ex consueta quidem asperitate orationis, cum ad populum agenda causa esset, aliquid leniret atque submitteret. Idem habitus oris, eadem contumacia in vultu, idem in oratione spiritus erat, adeo ut magna pars plebis Appium non minus reum timeret quam consulem timuerat. Semel causam dixit, quo semper agere omnia solitus erat, accusatorio spiritu, adeoque constantia sua et tribunos obstupescit et plebem ut diem ipsi sua voluntate prodicerent, trahi deinde rem sinerent. Haud ita multum interim temporis fuit; ante tamen quam predicta dies veniret, morbo moritur. Cuius laudationem cum tribunus plebis impedire conaretur, plebs fraudari sollemni honore supremum diem tanti viri noluit, et laudationem tam aequis auribus mortui audivit quam vivi

accusationem audierat et exsequias frequens celebravit.

[62] Eodem anno Valerius consul cum exercitu in Aequos profectus, cum hostem ad proelium elicere non posset, castra oppugnare est adortus. Prohibuit foeda tempestas cum grandine ac tonitribus caelo deiecta. Admirationem deinde auxit signo receptui dato adeo tranquilla serenitas reddita ut velut numine aliquo defensa castra oppugnare iterum religio fuerit. Omnis ira belli ad populationem agri vertit. Alter consul Aemilius in Sabinis bellum gessit. Et ibi, quia hostis moenibus se tenebat, vastati agri sunt. Incendiis deinde non villarum modo sed etiam vicorum quibus frequenter habitabatur Sabini exciti cum praedatoribus occurrissent, ancipiti proelio digressi postero die rettulere castra in tutiora loca. Id satis consuli visum cur pro victo relinqueret hostem, integro inde decedens bello.

[63] Inter haec bella manente discordia domi, consules T. Numicius Priscus A. Verginius facti. Non ultra videbatur latura plebes dilationem agrariae legis, ultimaque vis parabatur, cum Volscos adesse fumo ex incendiis villarum fugaque agrestium cognitum est. Ea res maturam iam seditionem ac prope erumpentem repressit. Consules coacti extemplo ab senatu ad bellum educta ex urbe iuventute tranquilliores ceteram plebem fecerunt. Et hostes quidem nihil aliud quam perfusis vano timore Romanis citato agmine abeunt: Numicius Antium adversus Volscos, Verginius contra Aequos profectus. Ibi ex insidiis prope magna accepta clade virtus militum rem prolapsam negligentia consulis restituit. Melius in Volscis imperatum est; fusi primo proelio hostes fugaque in urbem Antium, ut tum res erant opulentissimam, acti. Quam consul oppugnare non ausus Caenonem, aliud oppidum nequaquam tam opulentum, ab Antiatibus cepit. Dum Aequi Volscique Romanos exercitus tenent, Sabini usque ad portas urbis populates incessere. Deinde ipsi paucis post diebus ab duobus exercitibus, utroque per iram consule ingresso in fines, plus cladium quam intulerant acceperunt.

[64] Extremo anno pacis aliquid fuit, sed, ut semper alias, sollicitae certamine patrum et plebis. Irata plebs interesse consularibus comitiis noluit; per patres clientesque patrum consules creati T. Quinctius Q. Servilius. Similem annum priori habent, seditiosa initia, bello deinde externo tranquilla. Sabini Crustumino campos citato

agmine transgressi cum caedes et incendia circum Anienem flumen fecissent, a porta prope Collina moenibusque pulsi ingentes tamen praedas hominum pecorumque egere. Quos Servilius consul infesto exercitu insecutus ipsum quidem agmen adipisci aequis locis non potuit, populationem adeo effuse fecit, ut nihil bello intactum relinquerent multiplicique capta praeda rediret.

Et in Volscis res publica egregie gesta cum ducis tum militum opera. Primum aequo campo signis conlatis pugnatum, ingenti caede utrimque, plurimo sanguine; et Romani, quia paucitas damno sentiendo propior erat, gradum rettulissent, ni salubri mendacio consul fugere hostes ab cornu altero clamitans concitasset aciem. Impetu facto dum se putant vincere vicere. Consul metuens ne nimis instando renovaret certamen, signum receptui dedit. Intercessere pauci dies, velut tacitis indutiis utrimque quiete sumpta, per quos ingens vis hominum ex omnibus Volscis Aequisque populis in castra venit, haud dubitans si senserint Romanos nocte abituros. Itaque tertia fere vigilia ad castra oppugnanda veniunt. Quinctius sedato tumultu quem terror subitus exciverat, cum manere in tentoriis quietum militem iussisset, Hernicorum cohortem in stationem educit, cornicines tubicinesque in equos impositos canere ante vallum iubet sollicitumque hostem ad lucem tenere. Reliquum noctis adeo tranquilla omnia in castris fuere ut somni quoque Romanis copia esset. Volscos species armatorum peditum, quos et plures esse et Romanos putabant, fremitus hinnitusque equorum, qui et insueto sedente equite et insuper aures agitante sonitu saeviebant, intentos velut ad impetum hostium tenuit.

[65] Ubi inluxit, Romanus integer satiatumque somno productus in aciem fessum stando et vigiliis Volscum primo impetu perculit; quamquam cessere magis quam pulsi hostes sunt, quia ab tergo erant clivi in quos post principia integris ordinibus tutus receptus fuit. Consul ubi ad iniquum locum ventum est, sistit aciem. Miles aegre teneri, clamare et poscere ut percussis instare liceat. Ferocius agunt equites; circumfusi duci vociferantur se ante signa ituros. Dum cunctatur consul virtute militum fretus, loco parum fidens, conclamant se ituros clamoremque res est secuta. Fixis in terram pilis quo leviores ardua evaderent, cursu subeunt. Volscus effusis ad primum impetum missilibus telis, saxa obiacentia pedibus ingerit in

subeuntes, turbatosque ictibus crebris urget ex superiore loco. Sic prope oneratum est sinistrum Romanis cornu, ni referentibus iam gradum consul increpando simul temeritatem, simul ignaviam, pudore metum excussisset. Restitere primo obstinatis animis; deinde, ut obtinentes locum vim pro vi referebant, audent ultro gradum inferre et clamore renovato commovent aciem; tum rursus impetu capto enituntur atque exsuperant iniquitatem loci. Iam prope erat ut in summum clivi iugum evaderent cum terga hostes dedere, effusoque cursu paene agmine uno fugientes sequentesque castris incidere. In eo pavore castra capiuntur: qui Volscorum effugere potuerunt, Antium petunt. Antium et Romanus exercitus ductus. Paucos circumsessum dies deditur, nulla oppugnantium nova vi, sed quod iam inde ab infelici pugna castrisque amissis ceciderant animi.

LIBER III

[1] Antio capto, T. Aemilius et Q. Fabius consules fiunt. Hic erat Fabius qui unus exstinctae ad Cremeram genti superfuerat. Iam priore consulatu Aemilius dandi agri plebi fuerat auctor; itaque secundo quoque consulatu eius et agrarii se in spem legis erexerant, et tribuni, rem contra consules saepe temptatam adiutore utique consule obtineri posse rati, suscipiunt, et consul manebat in sententia sua. Possessores et magna pars patrum, tribuniciis se iactare actionibus principem civitatis et largiendo de alieno popularem fieri querentes, totius invidiam rei a tribunis in consulem averterant. Atrox certamen aderat, ni Fabius consilio neutri parti acerbo rem expedisset: T. Quincti ductu et auspicio agri captum priore anno aliquantum a Volscis esse; Antium, opportunam et maritimam urbem, coloniam deduci posse; ita sine querellis possessorum plebem in agros ituram, civitatem in concordia fore. Haec sententia accepta est. Triumviros agro dando creat T. Quinctium A. Verginium P. Furium; iussi nomina dare qui agrum accipere vellent. Fecit statim, ut fit, fastidium copia adeoque pauci nomina dedere ut ad explendum numerum coloni Volsci adderentur; cetera multitudo poscere Romae agrum malle quam alibi accipere. Aequi a Q. Fabio — is eo cum exercitu venerat — pacem petiere, inritamque eam ipsi subita incursione in agrum Latinum fecere.

[2] Q. Servilius insequenti anno — is enim cum Sp. Postumio consul fuit — in Aequos missus in Latino agro stativa habuit. Quies necessaria morbo implicitum exercitum tenuit. Extractum in tertium annum bellum est Q. Fabio et T. Quinctio consulibus. Fabio extra ordinem, quia is victor pacem Aequis dederat, ea provincia data. Qui haud dubia spe profectus famam nominis sui pacaturam Aequos, legatos in concilium gentis missos nuntiare iussit Q. Fabium consulem dicere se ex Aequis pacem Romam tulisse, ab Roma Aequis bellum adferre eadem dextera armata quam pacatam illis antea dederat. Quorum id perfidia et periurio fiat, deos nunc testes esse, mox fore ultores. Se tamen, utcumque sit, etiam nunc paenitere sua sponte Aequos quam pati hostilia malle. Si paeniteat, tutum receptum ad expertam clementiam fore: sin periurio gaudeant, dis

magis iratis quam hostibus gesturos bellum. Haec dicta adeo nihil moverunt quemquam ut legati prope violati sint exercitusque in Algidum adversus Romanos missus. Quae ubi Romam sunt nuntiata, indignitas rei magis quam periculum consulem alterum ab urbe excivit. Ita duo consulares exercitus ad hostem accessere acie instructa ut confestim dimicarent. Sed cum forte haud multum diei superesset, unus ab statione hostium exclamat: 'Ostentare hoc est, Romani, non gerere bellum. In noctem imminens aciem instruitis; longiore luce ad id certamen quod instat nobis opus est. Crastino die oriente sole redite in aciem; erit copia pugnandi; ne timete.' His vocibus irritatus miles in diem posterum in castra reducitur, longam venire noctem ratus quae moram certamini faceret. Tum quidem corpora cibo somnoque curant; ubi inluxit postero die, prior aliquanto constitit Romana acies; tandem et Aequi processere. Proelium fuit utrimque vehemens, quod et Romanus ira odioque pugnabat et Aequos conscientia contracti culpa periculi et desperatio futurae sibi postea fidei ultima audere et experiri cogebat. Non tamen sustinere aciem Romanam Aequi; pulsique cum in fines suos se recepissent, nihilo inclinioribus ad pacem animis ferox multitudo increpare duces quod in aciem, qua pugnandi arte Romanus excellat, commissa res sit; Aequos populationibus incursionibusque meliores esse et multas passim manus quam magnam molem unius exercitus rectius bella gerere.

[3] Relicto itaque castris praesidio egressi tanto cum tumultu invasere fines Romanos, ut ad urbem quoque terrorem pertulerint. Necopinata etiam res plus trepidationis fecit, quod nihil minus quam ne victus ac prope in castris obsessus hostis memor populationis esset timeri poterat; agrestesque pavidi incidentes portis non populationem nec praedonum parvas manus, sed omnia vano augentes timore exercitus et legiones adesse hostium et infesto agmine ruere ad urbem clamabant. Ab his proximi audita incerta eoque vaniora ferre ad alios. Cursus clamorque vocantium ad arma haud multum a pavore captae urbis abesse. Forte ab Algidum Quinctius consul redierat Romam. Id remedium timori fuit; tumultuque sedato victos timeri increpans hostes, praesidia portis imposuit. Vocato dein senatu cum ex auctoritate patrum iustitio indicto profectus ad tutandos fines esset Q. Servilio praefecto urbis

relicto, hostem in agris non invenit. Ab altero consule res gesta egregie est; qui, qua venturum hostem sciebat, gravem praeda eoque impeditiore agmine incedentem adgressus, funestam populationem fecit. Pauci hostium evasere ex insidiis, praeda omnis recepta est. Sic finem iustitio, quod quadriduum fuit, reditus Quincti consulis in urbem fecit.

Census deinde actus et conditum ab Quinctio lustrum. Censa civium capita centum quattuor milia septingenta quattuordecim dicuntur praeter orbos orbasque. In Aeqvis nihil deinde memorabile actum; in oppida sua se recepere, uri sua popularique passi. Consul cum aliquotiens per omnem hostium agrum infesto agmine populabundus isset, cum ingenti laude praedaeque Romam rediit.

[4] Consules inde A. Postumius Albus Sp. Furius Fusus. Furios Fusios scripsere quidam; id admoneo, ne quis immutationem virorum ipsorum esse quae nominum est putet. Haud dubium erat quin cum Aeqvis alter consulum bellum gereret. Itaque Aequi ab Ecetranis Volscis praesidium petiere; quo cupide oblato — adeo civitates hae perpetuo in Romanis odio certavere — bellum summa vi parabatur. Sentiant Hernici et praedicunt Romanis Ecetranum ad Aequos descisse. Suspecta et colonia Antium fuit, quod magna vis hominum inde, cum oppidum captum esset, confugisset ad Aequos; isque miles per bellum Aequicum vel acerrimus fuit; compulsis deinde in oppida Aeqvis, ea multitudo dilapsa cum Antium redisset, sua sponte iam infidos colonos Romanis abalienavit. Necdum matura re cum defectionem parari delatum ad senatum esset, datum negotium est consulibus ut principibus coloniae Romam excitis quaererent quid rei esset. Qui cum haud gravate venissent, introducti a consulibus ad senatum ita responderunt ad interrogata ut magis suspecti quam venerant dimitterentur.

Bellum inde haud dubium haberi. Sp. Furius consulum alter cui ea provincia evenerat profectus in Aequos, Hernicorum in agro populabundum hostem invenit, ignarusque multitudinis, quia nusquam universa conspecta fuerat, imparem copiis exercitum temere pugnae commisit. Primo concursu pulsus se intra castra recepit. Neque is finis periculi fuit; namque et proxima nocte et postero die tanta vi castra sunt circumsessa atque oppugnata ut ne nuntius quidem inde mitti Romam posset. Hernici et male pugnatum

et consulem exercitumque obsideri nuntiaverunt, tantumque terrorem incussere patribus ut, quae forma senatus consulti ultimae semper necessitatis habita est, Postumio, alteri consulum, negotium daretur videret ne quid res publica detrimenti caperet. Ipsum consulem Romae manere ad conscribendos omnes qui arma ferre possent optimum visum est: pro consule T. Quinctium subsidio castris cum sociali exercitu mitti; ad eum explendum Latini Hernicique et colonia Antium dare Quinctio subitarios milites — ita tum repentina auxilia appellabant — iussi.

[5] Multi per eos dies motus multique impetus hinc atque illinc facti, quia superante multitudine hostes carpere multifariam vires Romanas, ut non suffecturas ad omnia, adgressi sunt; simul castra oppugnabantur, simul pars exercitus ad populandum agrum Romanum missa urbemque ipsam, si qua fortuna daret, temptandam. L. Valerius ad praesidium urbis relictus, consul Postumius ad arcendas populationes finium missus. Nihil remissum ab ulla parte curae aut laboris; vigiliae in urbe, stationes ante portas praesidiaque in muris disposita, et, quod necesse erat in tanto tumultu, iustitium per aliquot dies servatum. Interim in castris Furius consul, cum primo quietus obsidionem passus esset, in incautum hostem decumana porta erupit et, cum persequi posset, metu substitit ne qua ex parte altera in castra vis fieret. Furium legatum — frater idem consulis erat — longius extulit cursus; nec suos ille redeuntes persequendi studio neque hostium ab tergo incursum vidit. Ita exclusus multis saepe frustra conatibus captis ut viam sibi ad castra faceret, acriter dimicans cecidit. Et consul nuntio circumventi fratris conversus ad pugnam, dum se temere magis quam satis caute in mediam dimicationem infert, vulnere accepto aegre ab circumstantibus ereptus et suorum animos turbavit et ferociores hostes fecit; qui caede legati et consulis vulnere accensi nulla deinde vi sustineri potuere, ut compulsi in castra Romani rursus obsiderentur nec spe nec viribus pares; venissetque in periculum summa rerum, ni T. Quinctius peregrinis copiis, [cum] Latino Hernicoque exercitu, subvenisset. Is intentos in castra Romana Aequos legatique caput ferociter ostentantes ab tergo adortus simul ad signum ab se procul editum ex castris eruptione facta, magnam vim hostium circumvenit. Minor caedis, fuga effusior Aequorum in agro fuit Romano, in quos

palatos praedam agentes Postumius aliquot locis, quibus opportuna imposuerat praesidia, impetum dedit. Hi vagi dissipato agmine fugientes in Quinctium victorem cum saucio consule revertentem incidere; tum consularis exercitus egregia pugna consulis volnus, legati et cohortium ultus est caedem. Magnae clades ultro citroque illis diebus et inlatae et acceptae. Difficile ad fidem est in tam antiqua re quot pugnaverint ceciderintve exacto adfirmare numero; audet tamen Antias Valerius concipere summas: Romanos cecidisse in Hernico agro quinque milia octingentos: ex praedatoribus Aequorum qui populabundi in finibus Romanis vagabantur ab A. Postumio consule duo milia et quadringentos caesos: ceteram multitudinem praedam agentem quae inciderit in Quinctium nequaquam pari defunctam esse caede: interfecta inde quattuor milia et, exsequendo subtiliter numerum, ducentos ait et triginta.

Ut Romam reditum est et iustitium remissum, caelum visum est ardere plurimo igni, portentaque alia aut obversata oculis aut vanas exterritis ostentavere species. His avertendis terroribus in triduum feriae indictae, per quas omnia delubra pacem deum exposcentium virorum mulierumque turba implebantur. Cohortes inde Latinae Hernicaeque ab senatu gratiis ob impigram militiam actis remissae domos. Antiates mille milites, quia serum auxilium post proelium venerant, prope cum ignominia dimissi.

[6] Comitia inde habita; creati consules L. Aebutius P. Servilius. Kalendis Sextilibus, ut tunc principium anni agebatur, consulatum ineunt. Grave tempus et forte annus pestilens erat urbi agrisque, nec hominibus magis quam pecori, et auxere vim morbi terrore populationis pecoribus agrestibusque in urbem acceptis. Ea conludio mixtorum omnis generis animantium et odore insolito urbanos et agrestem confertum in arta tecta aestu ac vigiliis angebat, ministeriaque in vicem ac contagio ipsa volgabant morbos. Vix instantes sustinentibus clades repente legati Hernici nuntiant in agro suo Aequos Volcosque coniunctis copiis castra posuisse, inde exercitu ingenti fines suos depopulari. Praeterquam quod infrequens senatus indicio erat sociis adflictam civitatem pestilentia esse, maestum etiam responsum tulere, ut per se ipsi Hernici cum Latinis res suas tutarentur; urbem Romanam subita deum ira morbo populari; si qua eius mali quies veniat, ut anno ante, ut semper alias,

sociis opem laturos. Discessere socii, pro tristi nuntio tristiores domum referentes, quippe quibus per se sustinendum bellum erat quod vix Romanis fulti viribus sustinuissent. Non diutius se in Hernico hostis continuit; pergit inde infestus in agros Romanos, etiam sine belli iniuria vastatos. Ubi cum obuius nemo ne inermis quidem fieret, perque omnia non praesidiis modo deserta sed etiam cultu agresti transirent, pervenire ad tertium lapidem Gabina via.

Mortuus Aebutius erat Romanus consul; collega eius Servilius exigua in spe trahebat animam; adfecti plerique principum, patrum maior pars, militaris fere aetas omnis, ut non modo ad expeditiones quas in tanto tumultu res poscebat, sed vix ad quietas stationes viribus sufficerent. Munus vigiliarum senatores, qui per aetatem ac valetudinem poterant, per se ipsi obibant; circumitio ac cura aedilium plebi erat; ad eos summa rerum ac maiestas consularis imperii venerat.

[7] Deserta omnia, sine capite, sine viribus, di praesides ac fortuna urbis tutata est, quae Volscis Aequisque praedonum potius mentem quam hostium dedit. Adeo enim nullam spem non potiundi modo sed ne adeundi quidem Romana moenia animus eorum cepit tectaque procul visa atque imminentes tumuli avertere mentes eorum, ut totis passim castris fremitu orto quid in vasto ac deserto agro inter tabem pecorum hominumque desides sine praeda tempus tererent, cum integra loca, Tusculanum agrum opimum copiis, petere possent, signa repente convellerent transversisque itineribus per Labicanos agros in Tusculanos colles transirent. Eo vis omnis tempestasque belli conversa est. Interim Hernici Latinique pudore etiam, non misericordia solum, moti si nec obstitissent communibus hostibus infesto agmine Romanam urbem petentibus nec opem ullam obsessis sociis ferrent, coniuncto exercitu Romam pergunt. Ubi cum hostes non invenissent, secuti famam ac vestigia obvii fiunt descenditibus ab Tusculana in Albanam vallem. Ibi haudquaquam aequo proelio pugnatum est, fidesque sua sociis parum felix in praesentia fuit.

Haud minor Romae fit morbo strages quam quanta ferro sociorum facta erat. Consul qui unus supererat moritur; mortui et alii clari viri, M. Valerius, T. Verginius Rutulus augures, Ser. Sulpicius curio maximus; et per ignota capita late vagata est vis morbi, inopsque senatus auxilii humani ad deos populum ac vota vertit. Iussi cum

coniugibus ac liberis supplicatum ire pacemque exposcere deum, ad id quod sua quemque mala cogeant auctoritate publica evocati omnia delubra implent. Stratae passim matres, crinibus templa verrentes, veniam irarum caelestium finemque pesti exposcunt.

[8] Inde paulatim, seu pace deum impetrata seu graviore tempore anni iam circumacto, defuncta morbis corpora salubriora esse incipere, versisque animis iam ad publicam curam, cum aliquot interregna exissent, P. Valerius Publicola tertio die quam interregnum inierat consules creat L. Lucretium Tricipitinum et T. Veturium Geminum, sive ille Vetusius fuit. Ante diem tertium idus Sextiles consulatum ineunt, iam satis valida civitate ut non solum arcere bellum sed ultro etiam inferre posset. Igitur nuntiantibus Hernicis in fines suos transcendisse hostes impigre promissum auxilium. Duo consulares exercitus scripti. Veturius missus in Volscos ad bellum ultro inferendum: Tricipitinus populationibus arcendis sociorum agro oppositus non ultra quam in Hernicos procedit. Veturius primo proelio hostes fundit fugatque: Lucretium dum in Hernicis sedet praedonum agmen fefellit supra montes Praenestinos ductum, inde demissum in campos. Vastavere agros Praenestinum Gabinumque; ex Gabino in Tusculanos flexere colles. Urbi quoque Romae ingens praebitus terror, magis in re subita quam quod ad arcendam vim parum virium esset. Q. Fabius praeerat urbi; is armata iuventute dispositisque praesidiis tuta omnia ac tranquilla fecit. Itaque hostes praeda ex proximis locis rapta adpropinquare urbi non ausi, cum circumacto agmine redirent quanto longius ab urbe hostium abscederent eo solutiore cura, in Lucretium incidunt consulem iam ante exploratis itineribus suis instructum et ad certamen intentum. Igitur praeparatis animis repentino pavore perculsos adorti aliquanto pauciores multitudinem ingentem fundunt fugantque et compulsos in cavas valles, cum exitus haud in facili essent, circumveniunt. Ibi Volscum nomen prope deletum est. Tredecim milia quadringentos septuaginta cecidisse in acie ac fuga, mille septingentos quinquaginta vivos captos, signa viginti septem militaria relata in quibusdam annalibus invenio, ubi etsi adiectum aliquid numero sit, magna certe caedes fuit. Victor consul ingenti praeda potitus eodem in stativa rediit. Tum consules castra coniungunt, et Volsci Aequeque adflictas vires suas in unum

contulere. Tertia illa pugna eo anno fuit. Eadem fortuna victoriam dedit; fuis hostibus etiam castra capta.

[9] Sic res Romana in antiquum statum rediit, secundaeque belli res extemplo urbanos motus excitaverunt. C. Terentilius Harsa tribunus plebis eo anno fuit. Is consulibus absentibus ratus locum tribuniciis actionibus datum, per aliquot dies patrum superbiam ad plebem criminatus, maxime in consulare imperium tamquam nimium nec tolerabile liberae civitati invehebatur: nomine enim tantum minus invidiosum, re ipsa prope atrocius quam regium esse; quippe duos pro uno dominos acceptos, immoderata, infinita potestate, qui soluti atque effrenati ipsi omnes metus legum omniaque supplicia verterent in plebem. Quae ne aeterna illis licentia sit, legem se promulgaturum ut quinque viri creentur legibus de imperio consulari scribendis; quod populus in se ius dederit, eo consulem usurum, non ipsos libidinem ac licentiam suam pro lege habituros. Qua promulgata lege cum timerent patres ne absentibus consulibus iugum acciperent, senatus a praefecto urbis Q. Fabio vocatur, qui adeo atrociter in rogationem latoremque ipsum est invectus ut nihil, si ambo consules infesti circumstarent tribunum, relictum minarum atque terroris sit: insidiatum eum et tempore capto adortum rem publicam. Si quem similem eius priore anno inter morbum bellumque irati di tribunum dedissent, non potuisse sisti. Mortuis duobus consulibus, iacente aegra civitate, in conlutione omnium rerum, ad tollendum rei publicae consulare imperium laturum leges fuisse, ducem Volscis Aequisque ad oppugnandam urbem futurum. Quid tandem? Illi non licere, si quid consules superbe in aliquem civium aut crudeliter fecerint, diem dicere, accusare iis ipsis iudiciis quorum in aliquem saevitum sit? Non illum consulare imperium sed tribuniciam potestatem invisam intolerandamque facere; quam placatam reconciliatamque patribus de integro in antiqua redigi mala. Neque illum se deprecari quo minus pergat ut coeperit. ‘Vos’ inquit Fabius, ‘ceteri tribuni, oramus, ut primum omnium cogitetis potestatem istam ad singulorum auxilium, non ad perniciem universorum comparatam esse; tribunos plebis vos creatos, non hostes patribus. Nobis miserum, invidiosum vobis est, desertam rem publicam invadi. Non ius vestrum, sed invidiam minueritis. Agite cum collega ut rem integram in adventum consulum differat.

Ne Aequi quidem ac Volsci, morbo absumptis priore anno consulibus, crudeli superboque nobis bello institere.’ Agunt cum Terentilio tribuni, dilataque in speciem actione, re ipsa sublata, consules extemplo arcessiti.

[10] Lucretius cum ingenti praeda, maiore multo gloria rediit. Et augeat gloriam adveniens exposita omni in campo Martio praeda, ut suum quisque per triduum cognitum abduceret. Reliqua vendita, quibus domini non exstiteret. Debebatur omnium consensu consuli triumphus; sed dilata res est, tribuno de lege agente; id antiquius consuli fuit. Iactata per aliquot dies cum in senatu res tum apud populum est; cessit ad ultimum maiestati consulis tribunus et destitit. Tum imperatori exercituique honos suus redditus. Triumphavit de Volscis Aequisque; triumphantem secutae suae legiones. Alteri consuli datum ut ovans sine militibus urbem iniret

Anno deinde insequenti lex Terentilia ab toto relata collegio novos adgressa consules est; erant consules P. Volumnius Ser. Sulpicius. Eo anno caelum ardere visum, terra ingenti concussa motu est. Bovem locutam, cui rei priore anno fides non fuerat, creditum. Inter alia prodigia et carne pluit, quem imbrem ingens numerus avium intervalitando rapuisse fertur; quod intercudit, sparsum ita iacuisse per aliquot dies ut nihil odor mutaret. Libri per duumviros sacrorum aditi; pericula a conventu alienigenarum praedicta, ne qui in loca summa urbis impetus caedesque inde fierent; inter cetera monitum ut seditionibus abstineretur. Id factum ad impediendam legem tribuni criminabantur, ingensque aderat certamen. Ecce, ut idem in singulos annos orbis volveretur, Hernici nuntiant Volscos et Aequos, etsi abscisae res sint, reficere exercitus; Antii summam rei positam; Ecetrae Antiates colonos palam concilia facere; id caput, eas vires belli esse. Ut haec dicta in senatu sunt, dilectus edicitur; consules belli administrationem inter se dispertiri iussi, alteri ut Volsci, alteri ut Aequi provincia esset. Tribuni coram in foro personare, fabulam compositam Volsci belli, Hernicos ad partes paratos. Iam ne virtute quidem premi libertatem populi Romani sed arte eludi. Quia occidione prope occisos Volscos et Aequos movere sua sponte arma posse iam fides abierit, novos hostes quaeri; coloniam fidam propinquam infamem fieri. Bellum innoxiiis Antiatibus indici, geri cum plebe Romana, quam oneratam armis ex

urbe praecipiti agmine acturi essent, exsilio et relegatione civium ulciscentes tribunos. Sic, ne quid aliud actum putent, victam legem esse, nisi dum in integro res sit, dum domi, dum togati sint, caveant ne possessione urbis pellantur, ne iugum accipiant. Si animus sit, non defore auxilium; consentire omnes tribunos. Nullum terrorem externum, nullum periculum esse; cavisse deos priore anno ut tuto libertas defendi posset. Haec tribuni.

[11] At ex parte altera consules in conspectu eorum positis sellis dilectum habebant. Eo decurrunt tribuni contionemque secum trahunt. Citati pauci velut rei experiundae causa, et statim vis coorta. Quemcumque lictor iussu consulis prendisset, tribunus mitti iubebat; neque suum cuique ius modum faciebat sed virium spes, et manu obtinendum erat quod intenderes.

Quemadmodum se tribuni gessissent in prohibendo dilectu, sic patres se in lege, quae per omnes comitiales dies ferebatur, impedienda gerebant. Initium erat rixae, cum discedere populum iussissent tribuni, quod patres se submoveri haud sinebant. Nec fere seniores rei intererant, quippe quae non consilio regenda sed permissa temeritati audaciaeque esset. Multum et consules se abstinebant, ne cui in conluvione rerum maiestatem suam contumeliae offerrent.

Caeso erat Quinctius, ferox iuvenis qua nobilitate gentis, qua corporis magnitudine et viribus. Ad ea munera data a dis et ipse addiderat multa belli decora facundiamque in foro, ut nemo, non lingua, non manu promptior in civitate haberetur. Hic cum in medio patrum agmine constitisset, eminens inter alios, velut omnes dictaturas consulatusque gerens in voce ac viribus suis, unus impetus tribunicios popularesque procillas sustinebat. Hoc duce saepe pulsi foro tribuni, fusa ac fugata plebes est; qui obvius fuerat, mulcatus nudatusque abibat, ut satis appareret, si sic agi liceret, victam legem esse. Tum prope iam percussis aliis tribunis A. Verginius, ex collegio unus, Caesoni capitis diem dicit. Atrox ingenium accenderat eo facto magis quam contrerruerat; eo acrius obstare legi, agitare plebem, tribunos velut iusto persequi bello. Accusator pati reum ruere invidiaeque flammam ac materiam criminibus suis suggerere; legem interim non tam ad spem perferendi quam ad lacessendam Caesonis temeritatem ferre. Ibi multa saepe ab iuventute inconsulte dicta

factaque in unius Caesonis suspectum incidunt ingenium. Tamen legi resistebat. Et A. Verginius identidem plebi: 'Ecquid sentitis iam, vos, Quirites, Caesonem simul civem et legem quam cupitis habere non posse? Quamquam quid ego legem loquor? Libertati obstat; omnes Tarquinius superbia exsuperat. Exspectate dum consul aut dictator fiat, quem privatum viribus et audacia regnantem videtis.' Adsentiebantur multi pulsatos se querentes, et tribunum ad rem peragendam ultro incitabant.

[12] Iam aderat iudicio dies apparebatque volgo homines in damnatione Caesonis libertatem agi credere. Tum demum coactus cum multa indignitate prensabat singulos. Sequebantur necessarii, principes civitatis. T. Quinctius Capitolinus, qui ter consul fuerat, cum multa referret sua familiaeque decora, adfirmabat neque in Quinctia gente neque in civitate Romana tantam indolem tam maturae virtutis unquam exstitisse; suum primum militem fuisse, se saepe vidente pugnasse in hostem. Sp. Furius, missum ab Quinctio Capitolino sibi eum in dubiis suis rebus venisse subsidio; neminem unum esse cuius magis opera putet rem restitutam. L. Lucretius, consul anni prioris, recenti gloria nitens, suas laudes participare cum Caesone, memorare pugnas, referre egregia facinora nunc in expeditionibus, nunc in acie; suadere et monere iuvenem egregium, instructum naturae fortunaeque omnibus bonis, maximum momentum rerum eius civitatis in quamcumque venisset, suum quam alienum mallent civem esse. Quod offendant in eo, fervorem et audaciam, aetatem cottidie auferre: quod desideretur, consilium, id in dies crescere. Senescentibus vitiis, maturescente virtute, sinerent tantum virum senem in civitate fieri. Pater inter hos L. Quinctius, cui Cincinnato cognomen erat, non iterando laudes, ne cumicaret invidiam, sed veniam errori atque adulescentiae petendo, sibi qui non dicto, non facto quemquam offendisset, ut condonarent filium orabat. Sed alii aversabantur preces aut verecundia aut metu, alii se suosque mulcatos querentes atroci responso iudicium suum praeferebant.

[13] Premebat reum praeter volgatam invidiam crimen unum, quod M. Volscius Fictor, qui ante aliquot annos tribunus plebis fuerat, testis exstiterat se, haud multo post quam pestilentia in urbe fuerat, in iuventutem grassantem in Subura incidisse. Ibi rixam natam esse fratremque suum maiorem natu, necdum ex morbo satis validum,

pugno ictum ab Caesone cecidisse; semianimem inter manus domum ablatum, mortuumque inde arbitrari, nec sibi rem exsequi tam atrocem per consules superiorum annorum licuisse. Haec Volsco clamitante adeo concitati homines sunt ut haud multum afuerit quin impetu populi Caeso interiret. Verginius arripi iubet hominem et in vincula duci. Patricii vi contra vim resistunt. T. Quinctius clamitat, cui rei capitalis dies dicta sit et de quo futurum propediem iudicium, eum indemnatum indicta causa non debere violari. Tribunus supplicium negat sumpturum se de indemnato; servaturum tamen in vinculis esse ad iudicii diem ut, qui hominem necaverit, de eo supplicii sumendi copia populo Romano fiat. Appellati tribuni medio decreto ius auxilii sui expediunt: in vincla conici vetant; sisti reum pecuniamque ni sistatur populo promitti placere pronuntiant. Summam pecuniae quantam aequum esset promitti, veniebat in dubium; id ad senatum reicitur: reus, dum consulerentur patres, retentus in publico est. Vades dari placuit; unum vadem tribus milibus aeris obligarunt; quot darentur permissum tribunis est. Decem finierunt; tot vadibus accusator vadatus est reum. Hic primus vades publico dedit. Dimissus e foro nocte proxima in Tuscos in exsilium abiit. Iudicii die cum excusaretur solum vertisse exsilii causa, nihilo minus Verginio comitia habente, collegae appellati dimisere concilium. Pecunia a patre exacta crudeliter, ut divenditis omnibus bonis aliquamdiu trans Tiberim veluti relegatus devio quodam tugurio viveret.

[14] Hoc iudicium et promulgata lex exercuit civitatem: ab externis armis otium fuit. Cum velut victores tribuni percussis patribus Caesonis exsilio prope perlatam esse crederent legem, et quod ad seniores patrum pertineret cessissent possessione rei publicae, iuniores, id maxime quod Caesonis sodalium fuit, auxere iras in plebem, non minuerunt animos; sed ibi plurimum profectum est quod modo quodam temperare impetus suos. Cum primo post Caesonis exsilium lex coepta ferri est, instructi paratique cum ingenti clientium exercitu sic tribunos, ubi primum submoventes praebuere causam, adorti sunt ut nemo unus inde praecipuum quicquam gloriae domum invidiaeve ferret, mille pro uno Caesones exstitisse plebes quereretur. Mediis diebus quibus tribuni de lege non agerent, nihil eisdem illis placidius aut quietius erat. Benigne salutare, adloqui

plebis homines, domum invitare, adesse in foro, tribunos ipsos cetera pati sine interpellatione concilia habere, nunquam ulli neque publice neque privatim truces esse, nisi cum de lege agi coeptum esset; alibi popularis iuventus erat. Ne voce quidem incommoda, nedum ut ulla vis fieret, paulatim permulcendo tractandoque mansuefecerant plebem. His per totum annum artibus lex elusa est. Nec cetera modo tribuni tranquillo peregere, sed refecti quoque in insequentem annum.

[15] Accipiunt civitatem placidiorem consules C. Claudius Appi filius et P. Valerius Publicola. Nihil novi novus annus attulerat; legis ferendae aut accipiendae cura civitatem tenebat. Quantum iuniores patrum plebi se magis insinuabant, eo acrius contra tribuni tendebant ut plebi suspectos eos criminando facerent: coniurationem factam; Caesonem Romae esse; interficiendorum tribunorum, trucidandae plebis consilia inita; id negotii datum ab senioribus patrum ut iuventus tribuniciam potestatem e re publica tolleret formaque eadem civitatis esset quae ante Sacrum montem occupatum fuerat. Et ab Volscis et Aequis statum iam ac prope sollemne in singulos annos bellum timebatur, propiusque aliud novum malum necopinato exortum. Exsules servique, ad duo milia hominum et quingenti, duce Appio Herdonio Sabino nocte Capitolium atque arcem occupavere. Confestim in arce facta caedes eorum qui coniurare et simul capere arma noluerant: alii inter tumultum praecipites pavore in forum devolant: alternae voces ‘ad arma’ et ‘hostes in urbe sunt’ audiebantur. Consules et armare plebem et inermem pati timebant, incerti quod malum repentinum, externum an intestinum, ab odio plebis an ab servili fraude, urbem invasisset; sedabant tumultus, sedando interdum movebant; nec enim poterat pavida et consternata multitudo regi imperio. Dant tamen arma, non volgo, tantum ut incerto hoste praesidium satis fidum ad omnia esset. Solliciti reliquum noctis incertique qui homines, quantus numerus hostium esset, in stationibus disponendis ad opportuna omnis urbis loca egere. Lux deinde aperuit bellum ducemque belli. Servos ad libertatem Appius Herdonius ex Capitolio vocabat: se miserrimi cuiusque suscepisse causam, ut exsules iniuria pulsos in patriam reduceret et servitiis grave iugum demeret; id malle populo Romano auctore fieri: si ibi spes non sit, se Volscos et Aequos et omnia

extrema temptaturum et concitaturum.

[16] Dilucere res magis patribus atque consulibus. Praeter ea tamen quae denuntiabantur, ne Veientium neu Sabinorum id consilium esset timere et, cum tantum in urbe hostium esset, mox Sabinae Etruscaeque legiones ex composito adessent, tum aeterni hostes, Volsci et Aequi, non ad populandos, ut ante, fines sed ad urbem ut ex parte captam venirent. Multi et varii timores; inter ceteros eminebat terror servilis ne suus cuique domi hostis esset, cui nec credere nec non credendo, ne infestior fieret, fidem abrogare satis erat tutum; vixque concordia sisti videbatur posse. Tantum superantibus aliis ac mergentibus malis nemo tribunos aut plebem timebat; mansuetum id malum et per aliorum quietem malorum semper exoriens tum quiesse peregrino terrore sopitum videbatur. Ad id prope unum maxime inclinatis rebus incubuit. Tantus enim tribunos furor tenuit ut non bellum, sed vanam imaginem belli ad avertendos ab legis cura plebis animos Capitolium insedissee contenderent; patriciorum hospites clientesque si perlata lege frustra tumultuatos esse se sentiant, maiore quam venerint silentio abituros. Concilium inde legis perferendae habere, avvocato populo ab armis. Senatum interim consules habent, alio se maiore ab tribunis metu ostendente quam quem nocturnus hostis intulerat.

[17] Postquam arma poni et discedere homines ab stationibus nuntiatum est, P. Valerius, collega senatum retinente, se ex curia proripit, inde in templum ad tribunos venit. 'Quid hoc rei est' inquit, 'tribuni? Appi Herdoni ductu et auspicio rem publicam eversuri estis? Tam felix vobis corrumpendis fuit qui servitia non commovit auctor? Cum hostes supra caput sint, discedi ab armis legesque ferri placet?' Inde ad multitudinem oratione versa: 'Si vos urbis, Quirites, si vestri nulla cura tangit, at vos veremini deos vestros ab hostibus captos. Iuppiter optimus maximus, Iuno regina et Minerva, alii di deaeque obsidentur; castra servorum publicos vestros penates tenent; haec vobis forma sanae civitatis videtur? Tantum hostium non solum intra muros est sed in arce supra forum curiamque; comitia interim in foro sunt, senatus in curia est; velut cum otium superat, senator sententiam dicit, alii Quirites suffragium ineunt. Non quidquid patrum plebisque est, consules, tribunos, deos hominesque omnes armatos opem ferre, in Capitolium currere, liberare ac pacare

augustissimam illam domum Iovis optimi maximi decuit? Romule pater, tu mentem tuam, qua quondam arcem ab his iisdem Sabinis auro captam recepisti, da stirpi tuae; iube hanc ingredi viam, quam tu dux, quam tuus ingressus exercitus est. Primus en ego consul, quantum mortalis deum possum, te ac tua vestigia sequar.' Ultimum orationis fuit, se arma capere, vocare omnes Quirites ad arma; si qui impediatur, iam se consularis imperii, iam tribuniciae potestatis sacratarumque legum oblitum, quisquis ille sit, ubicumque sit, in Capitolio, in foro, pro hoste habiturum. Iuberent tribuni, quoniam in Appium Herdonium vetarent, in P. Valerium consulem sumi arma; ausurum se in tribunis, quod princeps familiae suae ausus in regibus esset. Vim ultimam apparebat futuram spectaculoque seditionem Romanam hostibus fore. Nec lex tamen ferri nec ire in Capitolium consul potuit; nox certamina coepta oppressit; tribuni cessere nocti, timentes consulum arma. Amotis inde seditionis auctoribus patres circumire plebem inserentesque se in circulos sermones tempori aptos serere; admonere ut viderent in quod discrimen rem publicam adducerent. Non inter patres ac plebem certamen esse, sed simul patres plebemque, arcem urbis, templa deorum, penates publicos privatosque hostibus dedi. Dum haec in foro sedandae discordiae causa aguntur, consules interim, ne Sabini neve Veiens hostis moveretur, circa portas murosque discesserant.

[18] Eadem nocte et Tusculum de arce capta Capitolioque occupato et alio turbatae urbis statu nuntii veniunt. L. Mamilius Tusculi tum dictator erat. Is confestim convocato senatu atque introductis nuntiis magnopere censet, ne expectent dum ab Roma legati auxilium petentes veniant; periculum ipsum discrimenque ac sociales deos fidemque foederum id poscere; demerendi beneficio tam potentem, tam propinquam civitatem nunquam parem occasionem daturus deos. Placet ferri auxilium; iuventus conscribitur, arma dantur. Romam prima luce venientes procul speciem hostium praebuere; Aequi aut Volsci venire visi sunt; deinde ubi vanus terror abiit, accepti in urbem agmine in forum descendunt. Ibi iam P. Valerius relicto ad portarum praesidia collega instruebat aciem. Auctoritas viri moverat, adfirmantis Capitolio recipero et urbe pacata si edoceri se sissent quae fraus ab tribunis occulta in lege ferretur, memorem se maiorum suorum, memorem cognominis quo populi colendi velut hereditaria

cura sibi a maioribus tradita esset, concilium plebis non impediturum. Hunc ducem secuti nequiquam reclamantibus tribunis in clivum Capitolinum erigunt aciem. Adiungitur et Tusculana legio. Certare socii civesque utri reciperatae arcis suum decus facerent; dux uterque suos adhortatur. Trepidare tum hostes nec ulli satis rei praeterquam loco fidere; trepidantibus inferrunt signa Romani sociique. Iam in vestibulum perruperant templi cum P. Valerius inter primores pugnam ciens interficitur. P. Volumnius consularis vidit cadentem. Is dato negotio suis ut corpus obtegerent, ipse in locum vicemque consulis provolat. Prae ardore impetuque tantae rei sensus non pervenit ad militem; prius vicit quam se pugnare sine duce sentiret. Multi exsulum caede sua foedavere templum, multi vivi capti, Herdonius interfectus. Ita Capitolium reciperatum. De captivis, ut quisque liber aut servus esset, suae fortunae a quoque sumptum supplicium est. Tusculanis gratiae actae, Capitolium purgatum atque lustratum. In consulis domum plebes quadrantibus ut funere ampliore efferretur iactasse fertur.

[19] Pace parta, instare tum tribuni patribus, ut P. Valeri fidem exsolverent, instare C. Claudio, ut collegae deos manes fraude liberaret, agi de lege sineret. Consul antequam collegam sibi subrogasset negare passurum agi de lege. Hae tenuere contentiones usque ad comitia consulis subrogandi. Decembri mense summo patrum studio L. Quinctius Cincinnatus, pater Caesonis, consul creatur qui magistratum statim occiperet. Perculsa erat plebes consulem habitura iratum, potentem favore patrum, virtute sua, tribus liberis, quorum nemo Caesoni cedebat magnitudine animi, consilium et modum adhibendo ubi res posceret priores erant. Is ut magistratum iniit, adsiduis contionibus pro tribunali non in plebe coercenda quam senatu castigando vehementior fuit, cuius ordinis languore perpetui iam tribuni plebis, non ut in re publica populi Romani sed ut in perdita domo lingua criminibusque regnarent: cum Caesone filio suo virtutem, constantiam, omnia iuventutis belli domique decora pulsa ex urbe Romana et fugata esse; loquaces, seditiosos, semina discordiarum, iterum ac tertium tribunos, pessimis artibus, regia licentia vivere. ‘Aulus’ inquit, ‘ille Verginius, quia in Capitolio non fuit, minus supplicii quam Appius Herdonius meruit? Plus hercule aliquanto, qui vere rem aestimare velit. Herdonius, si nihil aliud,

hostem se fatendo prope denuntiavit ut arma caperetis; hic negando bellum esse arma vobis ademit nudosque servis vestris et exsulis obiecit. Et vos — C. Claudii pace et P. Valerii mortui loquar — prius in clivum Capitolinum signa intulistis quam hos hostes de foro tolleretis? Pudet deorum hominumque. Cum hostes in arce, in Capitolio essent, exsulum et servorum dux profanatis omnibus in cella Iovis optimi maximi habitaret, Tusculi ante quam Romae sumpta sunt arma. In dubio fuit utrum L. Mamilius, Tusculanus dux, an P. Valerius et C. Claudius consules Romanam arcem liberarent; et qui ante Latinos ne pro se quidem ipsis, cum in finibus hostem haberent, attingere arma passi sumus, nunc, nisi Latini sua sponte arma sumpsissent, capti et deleti eramus. Hoc est, tribuni, auxilium plebi ferre, inermem eam hosti trucidandam obicere? Scilicet si quis vobis humillimus homo de vestra plebe, quam partem velut abruptam a cetero populo vestram patriam peculiaremque rem publicam fecistis, si quis ex his domum suam obsessam a familia armata nuntiaret, ferendum auxilium putaretis: Iuppiter optimus maximus exsulum atque servorum saeptus armis nulla humana ope dignus erat? Et hi postulant, ut sacrosancti habeantur, quibus ipsi di neque sacri neque sancti sunt? At enim, divinis humanisque obruti sceleribus, legem vos hoc anno perlaturus dictitatis. Tum hercule illo die quo ego consul sum creatus, male gesta res publica est, peius multo quam cum P. Valerius consul periit, — si tuleritis. Iam primum omnium' inquit, 'Quirites, in Volscos et Aequos mihi atque collegae legiones ducere in animo est. Nescio quo fato magis bellantes quam pacati propitios habemus deos. Quantum periculum ab illis populis fuerit si Capitolium ab exsulis obsessum scissent, suspicari de praeterito quam re ipsa experiri est melius.'

[20] Moverat plebem oratio consulis; erecti patres restitutam credebant rem publicam. Consul alter, comes animosior quam auctor, suscepisse collegam priorem actiones tam graves facile passus, in peragendis consularis officii partem ad se vindicabat. Tum tribuni, eludentes velut vana dicta, persequi quaerendo quonam modo exercitum educturi consules essent quos dilectum habere nemo passurus sit. 'Nobis vero' inquit Quinctius, nihil dilectu opus est, cum, quo tempore P. Valerius ad recipiendum Capitolium arma plebi dedit, omnes in verba iuraverint conventuros se iussu consulis nec

iniussu abituros. Edicimus itaque, omnes qui in verba iurastis crastina die armati ad lacum Regillum adsitis.’ Cavillari tum tribuni et populum exsolvere religione velle: privatum eo tempore Quinctium fuisse cum sacramento adacti sint. Sed nondum haec quae nunc tenet saeculum neglegentia deum venerat, nec interpretando sibi quisque ius iurandum et leges aptas faciebat, sed suos potius mores ad ea accommodabat. Igitur tribuni, ut impediendae rei nulla spes erat, de proferendo exitu agere, eo magis quod et augures iussos adesse ad Regillum lacum fama exierat, locumque inaugurari ubi auspicato cum populo agi posset, ut quidquid Romae vi tribunicia rogatum esset id comitiis ibi abrogaretur: omnes id iussuros quod consules velint; neque enim provocationem esse longius ab urbe mille passuum, et tribunos, si eo veniant, in alia turba Quiritium subiectos fore consulari imperio. Terrebant haec; sed ille maximus terror animos agitabat, quod saepius Quinctius dictitabat se consulum comitia non habiturum; non ita civitatem aegram esse ut consuetis remediis sisti possit; dictatore opus esse rei publicae, ut, qui se moverit ad sollicitandum statum civitatis, sentiat sine provocatione dictaturam esse.

[21] Senatus in Capitolio erat; eo tribuni cum perturbata plebe veniunt. Multitudo clamore ingenti nunc consulum, nunc patrum fidem implorant; nec ante moverunt de sententia consulem quam tribuni se in auctoritate patrum futuros esse polliciti sunt. Tunc referente consule de tribunorum et plebis postulatis senatus consulta fiunt ut neque tribuni legem eo anno ferrent neque consules ab urbe exercitum educerent; in reliquum magistratus continuari et eosdem tribunos refici iudicare senatum contra rem publicam esse. Consules fuere in patrum potestate: tribuni reclamantibus consulibus refecti. Patres quoque, ne quid cederent plebi, et ipsi L. Quinctium consulem reficiebant. Nulla toto anno vehementior actio consulis fuit. ‘Mirer’ inquit, ‘si vana vestra, patres conscripti, auctoritas ad plebem est? Vos elevatis eam quippe qui, quia plebs senatus consultum continuandis magistratibus solvit, ipsi quoque solutum voltis, ne temeritati multitudinis cedatis, tamquam id sit plus posse in civitate, plus levitatis ac licentiae habere. Levius enim vaniusque profecto est sua decreta et consulta tollere quam aliorum. Imitamini, patres conscripti, turbam inconsultam, et qui exemplo aliis esse debetis,

aliorum exemplo peccate potius quam alii vestro recte faciant, dum ego ne imiter tribunos nec me contra senatus consultum consulem renuntiari patiar. Te vero, C. Claudii, adhortor ut et ipse populum Romanum hac licentia arceas, et de me hoc tibi persuadeas me ita accepturum ut non honorem meum a te impeditum, sed gloriam spreti honoris auctam, invidiam quae ex continuato eo impenderet levatam putem.’ Communiter inde edicunt ne quis L. Quinctium consulem faceret; si quis fecisset, se id suffragium non observaturos.

[22] Consules creati Q. Fabius Vibulanus tertium et L. Cornelius Maluginensis. Census actus eo anno: lustrum propter Capitolium captum, consulem occisum condi religiosum fuit. Q. Fabio L. Cornelio consulibus principio anni statim res turbulenta. Instigabant plebem tribuni: bellum ingens a Volscis et Aequis Latini atque Hernici nuntiabant: iam Antii Volscorum legiones esse. Et ipsam coloniam ingens metus erat defecturam; aegreque impetratum a tribunis ut bellum praeverti sinerent. Consules inde partiti provincias: Fabio ut legiones Antium duceret datum, Cornelius ut Romae praesidio esset, ne qua pars hostium, qui Aequis mos erat, ad populandum veniret. Hernici et Latini iussi milites dare ex foedere, duaeque partes sociorum in exercitu, tertia civium fuit. Postquam ad diem praestitutum venerunt socii, consul extra portam Capenam castra locat. Inde lustrato exercitu Antium profectus haud procul oppido stativisque hostium consedit. Ubi cum Volsci, quia nondum ab Aequis venisset exercitus, dimicare non ausi, quemadmodum quieti vallo se tutarentur, pararent, postero die Fabius non permixtam unam sociorum civiumque sed trium populorum tres separatim acies circa vallum hostium instruxit; ipse erat medius cum legionibus Romanis. Inde signum observari iussit, ut pariter et socii rem inciperent referrentque pedem, si receptui cecinisset. Equites item suae cuique parti post principia conlocat. Ita trifariam adortus castra circumvenit et cum undique instaret non sustinentes impetum Volscos vallo deturbat. Transgressus inde munitiones pavidam turbam inclinatumque in partem unam castris expellit. Inde effuse fugientes eques, cui superare vallum haud facile fuerat, cum ad id spectator pugnae adstisset, libero campo adeptus parte victoriae fruitur terribis caedendo. Magna et in castris et extra munimenta caedes fugientium fuit sed praeda maior, quia vix arma secum efferre

hostis potuit; deletusque exercitus foret ni fugientes silvae texissent.

[23] Dum ad Antium haec geruntur, interim Aequi robore iuventutis praemisso arcem Tusculanam improvise nocte capiunt, reliquo exercitu haud procul moenibus Tusculi considunt ut distenderent hostium copias. Haec celeriter Romam, ab Roma in castra Antium perlata movent Romanos haud secus quam si Capitolium captum nuntiaretur; adeo et recens erat Tusculanorum meritum et similitudo ipsa periculi reposcere datum auxilium videbatur. Fabius omissis omnibus praedam ex castris raptim Antium convehit; ibi modico praesidio relicto, citatum agmen Tusculum rapit. Nihil praeter arma et quod cocti ad manum fuit cibi ferre militi licuit; commeatum ab Roma consul Cornelius subvehit. Aliquot menses Tusculi bellatum. Parte exercitus consul castra Aequeorum oppugnabat; partem Tusculanis dederat ad arcem recipiendam. Vi nunquam eo subiri potuit: fames postremo inde detraxit hostem. Qua postquam ventum ad extremum est, inermes nudique omnes sub iugum ab Tusculanis missi. Hos ignominiosa fuga domum se recipientes Romanus consul in Algidum consecutus ad unum omnes occidit. Victor ad Columnam — id loco nomen est — exercitu reducto castra locat. Et alter consul, postquam moenibus iam Romanis pulso hoste periculum esse desierat, et ipse ab Roma profectus. Ita bifariam consules ingressi hostium fines ingenti certamine hinc Volscos, hinc Aequeos populantur. Eodem anno descisse Antiates apud plerosque auctores invenio; L. Corneliū consulem id bellum gessisse oppidumque cepisse. Certum adfirmare, quia nulla apud vetustiores scriptores eius rei mentio est, non ausim.

[24] Hoc bello perfecto tribunicium domi bellum patres territat. Clamant fraude fieri quod foris teneatur exercitus; frustrationem eam legis tollendae esse; se nihilo minus rem susceptam peracturos. Obtinuit tamen L. Lucretius praefectus urbis ut actiones tribuniciae in adventum consulum differrentur. Erat et nova exorta causa motus. A. Cornelius et Q. Servilius quaestores M. Volscio, quod falsus haud dubie testis in Caesonem exstisset, diem dixerant. Multis enim emanabat indiciis neque fratrem Volsci ex quo semel fuerit aeger unquam non modo visum in publico, sed ne adsurrexisse quidem ex morbo, multorumque tabe mensum mortuum; nec iis temporibus in quae testis crimen coniecisset Caesonem Romae visum,

adfirmantibus qui una meruerant secum eum tum frequentemque ad signa sine ullo commeatu fuisse. Nisi ita esset multi privatim ferebant Volscio iudicem. Cum ad iudicium ire non auderet, omnes eae res in unum congruentes haud magis dubiam damnationem Volsci quam Caesonis Volscio teste fuerat faciebant. In mora tribuni erant, qui comitia quaestores habere de reo, nisi prius habita de lege essent, passuros negabant. Ita extracta utraque res in consulum adventum est. Qui ubi triumphantes victore cum exercitu urbem inierunt, quia silentium de lege erat, percussos magna pars credebant tribunos; at illi — etenim extremum anni iam erat, — quartum adfectantes tribunatum, in comitiorum disceptationem ab lege certamen averterant. Et cum consules nihilo minus adversus continuationem tribunatus quam si lex minuendae suae maiestatis causa promulgata ferretur tetendissent victoria certaminis penes tribunos fuit

Eodem anno Aequis pax est petentibus data. Census, res priore anno incohata, perficitur, idque lustrum ab origine urbis decimum conditum ferunt. Censa civium capita centum septendecim milia trecenta undeviginti. Consulum magna domi bellicae eo anno gloria fuit, quod et foris pacem peperere, et domi, etsi non concors, minus tamen quam alias infesta civitas fuit.

[25] L. Minucius inde et C. Nautius consules facti duas residuas anni prioris causas exceperunt. Eodem modo consules legem, tribuni iudicium de Volscio impediabant; sed in quaestoribus novis maior vis, maior auctoritas erat. Cum M. Valerio Mani filio Volesi nepote quaestor erat T. Quinctius Capitolinus qui ter consul fuerat. Is, quoniam neque Quinctiae familiae Caeso neque rei publicae maximus iuvenum restitui posset, falsum testem qui dicendae causae innoxio potestatem ademisset, iusto ac pio bello persequabatur. Cum Verginius maxime ex tribunis de lege ageret, duum mensum spatium consulibus datum est ad inspiciendam legem ut cum edocuissent populum quid fraudis occultae ferretur, sinerent deinde suffragium inire. Hoc intervalli datum res tranquillas in urbe fecit. Nec diuturnam quietem Aequi dederunt, qui rupto foedere quod ictum erat priore anno cum Romanis, imperium ad Gracchum Cloelium deferunt; is tum longe princeps in Aequis erat. Graccho duce in Labicanum agrum, inde in Tusculanum hostili populatione veniunt,

plenique praedae in Algido castra locant. In ea castra Q. Fabius, P. Volumnius, A. Postumius legati ab Roma venerunt questum iniurias et ex eo foedere res repetitum. Eos Aequorum imperator, quae mandata habeant ab senatu Romano, ad quercum iubet dicere; se alia interim acturum. Quercus ingens arbor praetorio imminebat, cuius umbra opaca sedes erat. Tum ex legatis unus abiens 'et haec' inquit, 'sacrata quercus et quidquid deorum est audiant foedus a vobis ruptum, nostrisque et nunc querellis adsint et mox armis, cum deorum hominumque simul violata iura exsequemur.' Romam ut redire legati, senatus iussit alterum consulem contra Gracchum in Algidum exercitum ducere, alteri populationem finium Aequorum provinciam dedit. Tribuni suo more impedire dilectum, et forsitan ad ultimum impedissent; sed novus subito additus terror est.

[26] Vis Sabinorum ingens prope ad moenia urbis infesta populatione venit; foedati agri, terror iniectus urbi est. Tum plebs benigne arma cepit; reclamantibus frustra tribunis magni duo exercitus scripti. Alterum Nautius contra Sabinos duxit, castrisque ad Eretum positis, per expeditiones parvas, plerumque nocturnis incursionibus, tantam vastitatem in Sabino agro reddidit ut comparati ad eam prope intacti bello fines Romani viderentur. Minucio neque fortuna nec vis animi eadem in gerendo negotio fuit; nam cum haud procul ab hoste castra posuisset, nulla magnopere clade accepta castris se pavidus tenebat. Quod ubi senserant hostes, crevit ex metu alieno, ut fit, audacia, et nocte adorti castra postquam parum vis aperta profecerat, munitiones postero die circumdant. Quae priusquam undique vallo obiectae clauderent exitus quinque equites inter stationes hostium emissi Romam pertulere consulem exercitumque obsideri. Nihil tam inopinatum nec tam insperatum accidere potuit. Itaque tantus pavor, tanta trepidatio fuit quanta si urbem, non castra hostes obsiderent. Nautium consulem arcessunt. In quo cum parum praesidii videretur dictatoremque dici placeret qui rem perculsam restitueret, L. Quinctius Cincinnatus consensu omnium dicitur.

Operae pretium est audire qui omnia prae divitiis humana spernunt neque honori magno locum neque virtuti putant esse, nisi ubi effuse affluent opes. Spes unica imperii populi Romani, L. Quinctius trans Tiberim, contra eum ipsum locum ubi nunc navalia

sunt, quattuor iugerum colebat agrum, quae prata Quinctia vocantur. Ibi ab legatis — seu fossam fodiens palae innixus, seu cum araret, operi certe, id quod constat, agresti intentus — salute data in vicem redditaeque rogatus ut, quod bene verteret ipsi reique publicae, togatus mandata senatus audiret, admiratus rogitansque ‘satin salve?’ Togam prope e tugurio proferre uxorem Raciliam iubet. Qua simul absterso pulvere ac sudore velatus processit, dictatorem eum legati gratulantes consalutant, in urbem vocant; qui terror sit in exercitu exponunt. Navis Quinctio publice parata fuit, transvectumque tres obviam egressi filii excipiunt, inde alii propinqui atque amici, tum patrum maior pars. Ea frequentia stipatus antecedentibus lictoribus deductus est domum. Et plebis concursus ingens fuit; sed ea nequaquam tam laeta Quinctium vidit, et imperium nimium et virum ipso imperio vehementiorem rata. Et illa quidem nocte nihil praeterquam vigilatum est in urbe.

[27] Postero die dictator cum ante lucem in forum venisset, magistrum equitum dicit L. Tarquitium, patriciae gentis, sed qui, cum stipendia pedibus propter paupertatem fecisset, bello tamen primus longe Romanae iuventutis habitus esset. Cum magistro equitum in contionem venit, iustitium edicit, claudi tabernas tota urbe iubet, vetat quemquam privatae quicquam rei agere; tum quicumque aetate militari essent armati cum cibariis in dies quinque coctis vallisque duodenis ante solis occasum Martio in campo adessent; quibus aetas ad militandum gravior esset, vicino militi, dum is arma pararet vallumque peteret, cibaria coquere iussit. Sic iuventus discurrit ad vallum petendum. Sumpsere unde cuique proximum fuit; prohibitus nemo est; impigreque omnes ad edictum dictatoris praesto fuere. Inde composito agmine non itineri magis apti quam proelio si res ita tulisset, legiones ipse dictator, magister equitum suos equites ducit. In utroque agmine quas tempus ipsum poscebat adhortationes erant: adderent gradum; maturato opus esse, ut nocte ad hostem perveniri posset; consulem exercitumque Romanum obsideri, tertium diem iam clausos esse; quid quaeque nox aut dies ferat incertum esse; puncto saepe temporis maximarum rerum momenta verti. ‘Adcelera, signifer,’ ‘sequere, miles,’ inter se quoque, gratificantes ducibus, clamabant. Media nocte in Algidum perveniunt et ut sensere se iam prope hostes esse, signa constituunt.

[28] Ibi dictator quantum nocte prospici poterat equo circumvectus contemplatusque qui tractus castrorum quaeque forma esset, tribunis militum imperavit ut sarcinas in unum conici iubeant, militem cum armis valloque redire in ordines suos. Facta quae imperavit. Tum quo fuerant ordine in via, exercitum omnem longo agmine circumdat hostium castris et ubi signum datum sit clamorem omnes tollere iubet; clamore sublato ante se quemque ducere fossam et iacere vallum. Edito imperio, signum secutum est. Iussa miles exsequitur; clamor hostes circumsonat. Superat inde castra hostium et in castra consulis venit; alibi pavorem, alibi gaudium ingens facit. Romani civilem esse clamorem atque auxilium adesse inter se gratulantes, ultro ex stationibus ac vigiliis territant hostem. Consul differendum negat; illo clamore non adventum modo significari sed rem ab suis coeptam, mirumque esse ni iam exteriori parte castra hostium oppugnentur. Itaque arma suos capere et se subsequi iubet. Nocte initum proelium est; legionibus dictatoris clamore significant ab ea quoque parte rem in discrimine esse. Iam se ad prohibenda circumdari opera Aequi parabant cum ab interiore hoste proelio coepto, ne per media sua castra fieret eruptio, a munientibus ad pugnantes introrsum versi vacuum noctem operi dedere, pugnatumque cum consule ad lucem est. Luce prima iam circumvallati ab dictatore erant et vix adversus unum exercitum pugnam sustinebant. Tum a Quinctiano exercitu, qui confestim a perfecto opere ad arma rediit, invaditur vallum. Hic instabat nova pugna: illa nihil remiserat prior. Tum ancipiti malo urgente, a proelio ad preces versi hinc dictatorem, hinc consulem orare, ne in occisione victoriam ponerent, ut inermes se inde abire sinerent. Ab consule ad dictatorem ire iussi; is ignominiam infensus addidit; Gracchum Cloelium ducem principesque alios vinctos ad se adduci iubet, oppido Corbione decedi. Sanguinis se Aequorum non egere; licere abire, sed ut exprimatur tandem confessio subactam domitamque esse gentem, sub iugum abituros. Tribus hastis iugum fit, humi fixis duabus superque eas transversa una deligata. Sub hoc iugo dictator Aequos misit.

[29] Castris hostium receptis plenis omnium rerum — nudos enim emiserat — praedam omnem suo tantum militi dedit; consularem exercitum ipsumque consulem increpans ‘carebis’ inquit ‘praedae

parte, miles, ex eo hoste cui prope praedae fuisti. Et tu, L. Minuci, donec consularem animum incipias habere, legatus his legionibus praeeris.' Ita se Minucius abdicat consulatu iussusque ad exercitum manet. Sed adeo tum imperio meliori animus mansuete oboediens erat, ut beneficii magis quam ignominiae hic exercitus memor et coronam auream dictatori, libram pondo, decreverit et proficiscentem eum patronum salutaverit. Romae a Q. Fabio praefecto urbis senatus habitus triumphantem Quinctium quo veniebat agmine urbem ingredi iussit. Ducti ante currum hostium duces; militaria signa praelata; secutus exercitus praeda onustus. Epulae instructae dicuntur fuisse ante omnium domos, epulantesque cum carmine triumphali et sollemnibus iocis comisantium modo currum secuti sunt. Eo die L. Mamilio Tusculano adprobantibus cunctis civitas data est. Confestim se dictator magistratu abdicasset ni comitia M. Volsci, falsi testis, tenuissent. Ea ne impedirent tribuni dictatoris obstitit metus; Volscius damnatus Lanuvium in exilium abiit. Quinctius sexto decimo die dictatura in sex menses accepta se abdicavit. Per eos dies consul Nautius ad Eretum cum Sabinis egregie pugnat; ad vastatos agros ea quoque clades accessit Sabinis. Minucio Fabius successor in Algidum missus. Extremo anno agitatum de lege ab tribunis est; sed quia duo exercitus aberant, ne quid ferretur ad populum patres tenere; plebes vicit ut quintum eosdem tribunos crearent. Lupos visos in Capitolio ferunt a canibus fugatos; ob id prodigium lustratum Capitolium esse. Haec eo anno gesta.

[30] Sequuntur consules Q. Minucius M. Horatius Pulvillus. Cuius initio anni cum foris otium esset, domi seditiones iidem tribuni, eadem lex faciebat; ulteriusque ventum foret — adeo exarserant animis — ni velut dedita opera nocturno impetu Aequorum Corbione amissum praesidium nuntiatum esset. Senatum consules vocant; iubentur subitarium scribere exercitum atque in Algidum ducere. Inde posito legis certamine nova de dilectu contentio orta; vincebaturque consulare imperium tribunicio auxilio cum alius additur terror, Sabinum exercitum praedatum descendisse in agros Romanos, inde ad urbem venire. Is metus perculit ut scribi militem tribuni sinerent, non sine pactione tamen ut quoniam ipsi quinquennium elusi essent parvumque id plebi praesidium foret, decem deinde tribuni plebis crearentur. Expressit hoc necessitas

patribus: id modo excepere ne postea eosdem tribunos viderent. Tribunicia comitia, ne id quoque post bellum ut cetera vanum esset, extemplo habita. Tricensimo sexto anno a primis tribuni plebis decem creati sunt, bini ex singulis classibus; itaque cautum est ut postea crearentur. Dilectu deinde habito Minucius contra Sabinos profectus non invenit hostem. Horatius, cum iam Aequi Corbione interfecto praesidio Ortonam etiam cepissent, in Algido pugnat; multos mortales occidit; fugat hostem non ex Algido modo sed a Corbione Ortonaque. Corbionem etiam diruit propter proditum praesidium.

[31] Deinde M. Valerius Sp. Verginius consules facti. Domi forisque otium fuit; annona propter aquarum intemperiem laboratum est. De Aventino publicando lata lex est. Tribuni plebis iidem refecti. Hi sequente anno, T. Romilio C. Veturio consulibus, legem omnibus contionibus suis celebrant: pudere se numeri sui nequiquam aucti, si ea res aeque suo biennio iaceret ac toto superiore lustro iacuisset. Cum maxime haec agerent, trepidi nuntii ab Tusculo veniunt Aequos in agro Tusculano esse. Fecit pudorem recens eius populi meritum morandi auxilii. Ambo consules cum exercitu missi hostem in sua sede, in Algido inveniunt. Ibi pugnatum. Supra septem milia hostium caesa, alii fugati; praeda parta ingens. Eam propter inopiam aerarii consules vendiderunt. Invidiae tamen res ad exercitum fuit, eademque tribunis materiam criminandi ad plebem consules praebuit.

Itaque ergo, ut magistratu abiere, Sp. Tarpeio A. Aternio consulibus dies dicta est Romilio ab C. Caluio Cicerone tribuno plebis, Veturio ab L. Alieno aedile plebis. Uterque magna patrum indignatione damnatus, Romilius decem milibus aeris, Veturius quindecim. Nec haec priorum calamitas consulum segniores novos fecerat consules. Et se damnari posse aiebant, et plebem et tribunos legem ferre non posse. Tum abiecta lege quae promulgata consenuerat, tribuni lenius agere cum patribus: finem tandem certaminum facerent. Si plebeiae leges displicerent, at illi communiter legum latores et ex plebe et ex patribus, qui utrisque utilia ferrent quaeque aequandae libertatis essent, sinerent creari. Rem non aspernabantur patres; daturum leges neminem nisi ex patribus aiebant. Cum de legibus conveniret, de latore tantum discreparet, missi legati Athenas Sp. Postumius Albus A. Manlius P.

Sulpicius Camerinus, iussique inclitas leges Solonis describere et aliarum Graeciae civitatum instituta mores iuraque noscere.

[32] Ab externis bellis quietus annus fuit, quietior insequens P. Curiatio et Sex. Quinctilio consulibus, perpetuo silentio tribunorum, quod primo legatorum qui Athenas ierant legumque peregrinarum exspectatio praeбuit, dein duo simul mala ingentia exorta, fames pestilentiaque, foeda homini, foeda pecori. Vastati agri sunt, urbs adsiduis exhausta funeribus; multae et clarae lugubres domus. Flamen Quirinalis Ser. Cornelius mortuus, augur C. Horatius Pulvillus, in cuius locum C. Veturium, eo cupidius quia damnatus a plebe erat, augures legere. Mortuus consul Quinctilius, quattuor tribuni plebi. Multiplici clade foedatus annus; ab hoste otium fuit.

Inde consules C. Menenius P. Sestius Capitolinus. Neque eo anno quicquam belli externi fuit: domi motus orti. Iam redierant legati cum Atticis legibus. Eo intentius instabant tribuni ut tandem scribendarum legum initium fieret. Placet creari decemviros sine provocatione, et ne quis eo anno alius magistratus esset. Admischerentur ne plebei controversia aliquamdiu fuit; postremo concessum patribus, modo ne lex Icilia de Aventino aliaeque sacrae leges abrogarentur.

[33] Anno trecentensimo altero quam condita Roma erat iterum mutatur forma civitatis, ab consulibus ad decemviros, quemadmodum ab regibus ante ad consules venerat, translato imperio. Minus insignis, quia non diuturna, mutatio fuit. Laeta enim principia magistratus eius nimis luxuriavere; eo citius lapsa res est repetitumque duobus uti mandaretur consulum nomen imperiumque. Decemviri creati Ap. Claudius, T. Genucius, P. Sestius, L. Veturius, C. Iulius, A. Manlius, P. Sulpicius, P. Curiatius, T. Romilius, Sp. Postumius. Claudio et Genucio, quia designati consules in eum annum fuerant, pro honore honos redditus, et Sestio, alteri consulum prioris anni, quod eam rem collega invito ad patres rettulerat. His proximi habiti legati tres qui Athenas ierant, simul ut pro legatione tam longinqua praemio esset honos, simul peritos legum peregrinarum ad condenda nova iura usui fore credebant. Supplere ceteri numerum. Graves quoque aetate electos novissimis suffragiis ferunt, quo minus ferociter aliorum scitis adversarentur. Regimen totius magistratus penes Appium erat favore plebis, adeoque novum

sibi ingenium induerat ut plebicola repente omnisque aurae popularis captator evaderet pro truci saevoque insectatore plebis. Decimo die ius populo singuli reddebant. Eo die penes praefectum iuris fasces duodecim erant: collegis novem singuli accensi apparebant. Et in unica concordia inter ipsos, qui consensus privatis interdum inutilis est, summa adversus alios aequitas erat. Moderationis eorum argumentum exemplo unius rei notasse satis erit. Cum sine provocatione creati essent, defosso cadavere domi apud P. Sestium, patriciae gentis virum, invento prolatoque in contionem, in re iuxta manifesta atque atroci C. Iulius decemvir diem Sestio dixit et accusator ad populum exstitit, cuius rei iudex legitimus erat, decessitque iure suo, ut demptum de vi magistratus populi libertati adiceret.

[34] Cum promptum hoc ius velut ex oraculo incorruptum pariter ab iis summi infimique ferrent, tum legibus condendis opera dabatur; ingentique hominum exspectatione propositis decem tabulis, populum ad contionem advocaverunt et, quod bonum faustum felixque rei publicae ipsis liberisque eorum esset, ire et legere leges propositas iussere: se, quantum decem hominum ingeniis provideri potuerit, omnibus, summis infimisque, iura aequasse: plus pollere multorum ingenia consiliaque. Versarent in animis secum unamquamque rem, agitarent deinde sermonibus, atque in medium quid in quaque re plus minusve esset conferrent. Eas leges habiturum populum Romanum quas consensus omnium non iussisse latas magis quam tulisse videri posset.

Cum ad rumores hominum de unoquoque legum capite editos satis correctae viderentur, centuriatis comitiis decem tabularum leges perlatae sunt, qui nunc quoque, in hoc immenso aliarum super alias acervatarum legum cumulo, fons omnis publici privatiue est iuris. Volgatur deinde rumor duas deesse tabulas quibus adiectis absolvi posse velut corpus omnis Romani iuris. Ea exspectatio, cum dies comitiorum adpropinquaret, desiderium decemviros iterum creandi fecit. Iam plebs, praeterquam quod consulum nomen haud secus quam regum perosa erat, ne tribunicium quidem auxilium, cedentibus in vicem appellationi decemviris, quaerebat.

[35] Postquam vero comitia decemviris creandis in trinum nundinum indicta sunt, tanta exarsit ambitio, ut primores quoque

civitatis — metu, credo, ne tanti possessio imperii, vacuo ab se relicto loco, haud satis dignis pateret — prensarent homines, honorem summa ope a se impugnatum ab ea plebe, cum qua contenderant, suppliciter petentes. Demissa iam in discrimen dignitas ea aetate iisque honoribus actis stimulabat Ap. Claudium. Nescires utrum inter decemviros an inter candidatos numerares; propior interdum petendo quam gerendo magistratui erat. Criminari optimates, extollere candidatorum levissimum quemque humillimumque, ipse medius inter tribunicios, Duillios Icillosque, in foro volitare, per illos se plebi venditare, donec collegae quoque, qui unice illi dediti fuerant ad id tempus, coniecere in eum oculos, mirantes quid sibi vellet: apparere nihil sinceri esse; profecto haud gratuitam in tanta superbia comitatem fore; nimium in ordinem se ipsum cogere et volgari cum privatis non tam properantis abire magistratu quam viam ad continuandum magistratum quaerentis esse. Propalam obviam ire cupiditati parum ausi, obsecundando mollire impetum adgrediuntur. Comitiorum illi habendorum, quando minimus natu sit, munus consensu iniungunt. Ars haec erat, ne semet ipse creare posset, quod praeter tribunos plebi — et id ipsum pessimo exemplo — nemo unquam fecisset. Ille enimvero, quod bene vertat, habiturum se comitia professus, impedimentum pro occasione arripuit; deiectisque honore per coitionem duobus Quinctiis, Capitolino et Cincinnato, et patruo suo C. Claudio, constantissimo viro in optimatum causa, et aliis eiusdem fastigii civibus, nequaquam splendore vitae pares decemviros creat, se in primis, quod haud secus factum improbabant boni quam nemo facere ausurum crediderat. Creati cum eo M. Cornelius Maluginensis M. Sergius L. Minucius Q. Fabius Vibulanus Q. Poetelius T. Antonius Merenda K. Duillius Sp. Oppius Cornicen M'. Rabuleius.

[36] Ille finis Appio alienae personae ferendae fuit. Suo iam inde vivere ingenio coepit novosque collegas, iam priusquam inirent magistratum, in suos mores formare. Cottidie coibant remotis arbitris; inde impotentibus instructi consiliis, quae secreto ab aliis coquebant, iam haud dissimulando superbiam, rari aditus, conloquentibus difficiles, ad idus Maias rem perduxere. Idus tum Maias sollemnes ineundis magistratibus erant. Inito igitur magistratu primum honoris diem denuntiatione ingentis terroris insignem fecere.

Nam cum ita priores decemviri servassent ut unus fasces haberet et hoc insigne regum in orbem, suam cuiusque vicem, per omnes iret, subito omnes cum duodenis fascibus prodire. Centum viginti lictores forum impleverant et cum fascibus secures inligatas praeferabant; nec attinuisse demi securem, cum sine provocatione creati essent, interpretabantur. Decem regum species erat, multiplicatusque terror non infimis solum sed primoribus patrum, ratis caedis causam ac principium quaeri, ut si quis memorem libertatis vocem aut in senatu aut in populo misisset statim virgae securesque etiam ad ceterorum metum expedirentur. Nam praeterquam quod in populo nihil erat praesidii sublata provocatione, intercessionem quoque consensu sustulerant, cum priores decemviri appellatione collegae corrigi reddita ab se iura tulissent et quaedam, quae sui iudicii videri possent, ad populum reiecissent. Aliquamdiu aequatus inter omnes terror fuit; paulatim totus vertere in plebem coepit; abstinebatur a patribus; in humiliores libidinose crudeliterque consulebatur. Hominum, non causarum toti erant, ut apud quos gratia vim aequi haberet. Iudicia domi conflabant, pronuntiabant in foro. Si quis collegam appellasset, ab eo ad quem venerat ita discedebat ut paeniteret non prioris decreto stetisse. Opinio etiam sine auctore exierat non in praesentis modo temporis eos iniuriam conspirasse, sed foedus clandestinum inter ipsos iure iurando ictum, ne comitia haberent perpetuoque decemviratu possessum semel obtinerent imperium.

[37] Circumspectare tum patriciorum voltus plebeii et inde libertatis captare auram, unde servitutem timendo in eum statum rem publicam adduxerant. Primores patrum odisse decemviros, odisse plebem; nec probare quae fierent, et credere haud indignis accidere; avide ruendo ad libertatem in servitutem elapsos iuuare nolle; cumulari quoque iniurias, ut taedio praesentium consules duo tandem et status pristinus rerum in desiderium veniant. Iam et processerat pars maior anni et duae tabulae legum ad prioris anni decem tabulas erant adiectae, nec quicquam iam supererat, si eae quoque leges centuriatis comitiis perlatae essent, cur eo magistratu rei publicae opus esset. Exspectabant quam mox consulibus creandis comitia edicerentur; id modo plebes agitabat quonam modo tribuniciam potestatem, munimentum libertati, rem intermissam, repararent; cum

interim mentio comitiorum nulla fieri. Et decemviri, qui primo tribunicios homines, quia id populare habebatur, circum se ostentaverant plebi, patriciis iuvenibus saepserant latera. Eorum catervae tribunalia obsederant; hi ferre agere plebem plebisque res, cum fortuna, qua quidquid cupitum foret, potentioris esset. Et iam ne tergo quidem abstinebatur; virgis caedi, alii securi subici; et, ne gratuita crudelitas esset, bonorum donatio sequi domini supplicium. Hac mercede iuventus nobilis corrupta non modo non ire obviam iniuriae, sed propalam licentiam suam malle quam omnium libertatem.

[38] Idus Maias venere. Nullis subrogatis magistratibus, privati pro decemviris, neque animis ad imperium inhibendum imminutis neque ad speciem honoris insignibus prodeunt. Id vero regnum haud dubie videri. Deploratur in perpetuum libertas, nec vindex quisquam exsistit aut futurus videtur. Nec ipsi solum desponderant animos, sed contemni coepti erant a finitimis populis, imperiumque ibi esse ubi non esset libertas, indignabantur. Sabini magna manu incursionem in agrum Romanum fecere; lateque populati cum hominum atque pecudum inulti praedas egissent, recepto ad Eretum quod passim vagatum erat agmine castra locant, spem in discordia Romana ponentes: eam impedimentum dilectui fore. Non nuntii solum sed per urbem agrestium fuga trepidationem iniecit. Decemviri consultant quid opus facto sit, destituti inter patrum et plebis odia. Addidit terrorem insuper alium fortuna. Aequi alia ex parte castra in Algidio locant depopulanturque inde excursionibus Tusculanum agrum; legati ea ab Tusculo, praesidium orantes, nuntiant. Is pavor perculit decemviros ut senatum, simul duobus circumstantibus urbem bellis, consulerent. Citari iubent in curiam patres, haud ignari quanta invidiae immineret tempestas: omnes vastati agri periculorumque imminentium causas in se congesturos; temptationemque eam fore abolendi sibi magistratus, nisi consensu resisterent imperioque inhibendo acriter in paucos praeferocis animi conatus aliorum comprimerent. Postquam audita vox in foro est praeconis patres in curiam ad decemviros vocantis, velut nova res, quia intermiserant iam diu morem consulendi senatus, mirabundam plebem convertit quidnam incidisset cur ex tanto intervallo rem desuetam usurparent; hostibus belloque gratiam habendam quod solitum quicquam liberae

civitati fieret. Circumspectare omnibus fori partibus senatorem, raroque usquam noscitare; curiam inde ac solitudinem circa decemviros intueri, cum et ipsi suum invisum consensu imperium, et plebs, quia privatis ius non esset vocandi senatum, non convenire patres interpretarentur; iam caput fieri libertatem repetentium, si se plebs comitem senatui det et quemadmodum patres vocati non coeant in senatum, sic plebs abnuat dilectum. Haec fremunt plebes. Patrum haud fere quisquam in foro, in urbe rari erant. Indignitate rerum cesserant in agros, suarumque rerum erant amissa publica, tantum ab iniuria se abesse rati quantum a coetu congressuque impotentium dominorum se amovissent. Postquam citati non conveniebant, dimissi circa domos apparitores simul ad pignera capienda sciscitandumque num consulto detractarent referunt senatum in agris esse. Laetius id decemviris accidit quam si praesentes detractare imperium referrent. Iubent acciri omnes, senatumque in diem posterum edicunt; qui aliquanto spe ipsorum frequentior convenit. Quo facto proditam a patribus plebs libertatem rata, quod iis qui iam magistratu abissent privatisque si vis abesset, tamquam iure cogentibus, senatus paruisset.

[39] Sed magis oboedienter ventum in curiam esse quam obnoxie dictas sententias accepimus. L. Valerium Potitum proditum memoriae est post relationem Ap. Claudii, priusquam ordine sententiae rogarentur, postulando ut de re publica liceret dicere, prohibentibus minaciter decemviris proditurum se ad plebem denuntiantem, tumultum excivisse. Nec minus ferociter M. Horatium Barbatum isse in certamen, decem Tarquinius appellan-tem admonentemque Valeriis et Horatiis ducibus pulsos reges. Nec nominis homines tum pertaesum esse, quippe quo Iovem appellari fas sit, quo Romulum, conditorem urbis, deincepsque reges, quod sacris etiam ut sollemne retentum sit: superbiam violentiamque tum perosus regis. Quae si in rege tum aut in filio regis ferenda non fuerint, quem eadem laturum in tot privatis? Viderent ne vetando in curia libere homines loqui extra curiam etiam moverent vocem; neque se videre qui sibi minus privato ad contionem populum vocare quam illis senatum cogere liceat. Ubi vellent experirentur quanto fortior dolor libertate sua vindicanda quam cupiditas in iniusta dominatione esset. De bello Sabino eos referre, tamquam maius

ullum populo Romano bellum sit quam cum iis qui legum ferendarum causa creati nihil iuris in civitate reliquerint; qui comitia, qui annuos magistratus, qui vicissitudinem imperitandi, quod unum exaequandae sit libertatis, sustulerint; qui privati fascēs et regium imperium habeant. Fuisse regibus exactis patricios magistratus; creatos postea post secessionem plebis plebeios; cuius illi partis essent, rogare. Populares? Quid enim eos per populum egisse? Optimates? Qui anno iam prope senatum non habuerint, tunc ita habeant ut de re publica loqui prohibeant? Ne nimium in metu alieno spei ponerent; graviora quae patiantur videri iam hominibus quam quae metuant.

[40] Haec vociferante Horatio cum decemviri nec irae nec ignoscendi modum reperirent nec quo evasura res esset cernerent, C. Claudī, qui patruus Appi decemviri erat, oratio fuit precibus quam iurgio similior, orantis per sui fratris parentisque eius manes ut civilis potius societatis in qua natus esset, quam foederis nefarie icti cum collegis meminisset. Multo id magis se illius causa orare quam rei publicae; quippe rem publicam, si a volentibus nequeat, ab invitis ius expetituram; sed ex magno certamine magnas excitari ferme iras; earum eventum se horrere. Cum aliud praeterquam de quo rettulissent decemviri dicere prohiberent, Claudium interpellandi verecundia fuit. Sententiam igitur peregit nullum placere senatus consultum fieri. Omnesque ita accipiebant privatos eos a Claudio iudicatos; multique ex consularibus verbo adsensi sunt. Alia sententia, asperior in speciem, vim minorem aliquanto habuit, quae patricios coire ad prodendum interregem iubebat. Censendo enim quodcumque, magistratus esse qui senatum haberent iudicabat, quos privatos fecerat auctor nullius senatus consulti faciendi. Ita labente iam causa decemvirorum, L. Cornelius Maluginensis, M. Corneli decemviri frater, cum ex consularibus ad ultimum dicendi locum consulto servatus esset, simulando curam belli fratrem collegasque eius tuebatur, quonam fato incidisset mirari se dictitans ut decemviros, qui decemviratum petissent — aut soli ii aut maxime — oppugnarent; aut quid ita, cum per tot menses vacua civitate nemo iustine magistratus summae rerum praeesset controversiam fecerit, nunc demum cum hostes prope ad portas sint, civiles discordias serant, nisi quod in turbido minus perspicuum fore putent quid

agatur. Ceterum — nonne enim maiore cura occupatis animis verum esse praeiudicium rei tantae auferri? — sibi placere de eo quod Valerius Horatiusque ante idus Maias decemviros abisse magistratu insimulent, bellis quae immineant perfectis, re publica in tranquillum redacta, senatu disceptante agi, et iam nunc ita se parare Ap. Claudium ut comitiorum quae decemviris creandis decemvirum ipse habuerit sciat sibi rationem reddendam esse utrum in unum annum creati sint, an donec leges quae deessent perferrentur. In praesentia omnia praeter bellum omitti placere; cuius si falso famam volgatam, vanaque non nuntios solum sed Tusculanorum etiam legatos attulisse putent, speculatores mittendos censere qui certius explorata referant: sin fides et nuntiis et legatis habeatur, dilectum primo quoque tempore haberi et decemviros quo cuique eorum videatur exercitus ducere, nec rem aliam praeverti.

[41] In hanc sententiam ut discederetur iuniores patrum evincebant. Ferociioresque iterum coorti Valerius Horatiusque vociferari ut de re publica liceret dicere; dicturos ad populum, si in senatu per factionem non liceat; neque enim sibi privatos aut in curia aut in contione posse obstare, neque se imaginariis fascibus eorum cessuros esse. Tum Appius iam prope esse ratus ut ni violentiae eorum pari resisteretur audacia, victum imperium esset, ‘non erit melius’ inquit, ‘nisi de quo consulimus, vocem misisse,’ et ad Valerium, negantem se privato reticere, lictorem accedere iussit. Iam Quiritium fidem implorante Valerio a curiae limine, L. Cornelius complexus Appium, non cui simulabat consulendo, diremit certamen; factaque per Cornelium Valerio dicendi gratia quae vellet, cum libertas non ultra vocem excessisset, decemviri propositum tenere. Consulares quoque ac seniores ab residuo tribuniciae potestatis odio, cuius desiderium plebi multo acrius quam consularis imperii rebantur esse, prope malebant postmodo ipsos decemviros voluntate abire magistratu quam invidia eorum exsurgere rursus plebem: si leniter ducta res sine populari strepitu ad consules redisset, aut bellis interpositis aut moderatione consulum in imperiis exercendis posse in oblivionem tribunorum plebem adduci.

Silentio patrum edicatur dilectus. Iuniores cum sine provocatione imperium esset ad nomina respondent. Legionibus scriptis, inter se decemviri comparabant quos ire ad bellum, quos praeesse exercitibus

opporteret. Principes inter decemviros erant Q. Fabius et Ap. Claudius. Bellum domi maius quam foris apparebat. Appi violentiam aptiorem rati ad comprimendos urbanos motus: in Fabio minus in bono constans quam navum in malitia ingenium esse. Hunc enim virum, egregium olim domi militiaeque, decemviratus collegaeque ita mutaverant ut Appi quam sui similis mallet esse. Huic bellum in Sabinis, M'. Rabuleio et Q. Poetelio additis collegis, mandatum. M. Cornelius in Algidum missus cum L. Minucio et T. Antonio et K. Duillio et M. Sergio. Sp. Oppium Ap. Claudio adiutorem ad urbem tuendam, aequo omnium decemvirorum imperio, decernunt.

[42] Nihilo militiae quam domi melius res publica administrata est. Illa modo in ducibus culpa quod ut odio essent civibus fecerant: alia omnis penes milites noxia erat, qui ne quid ductu atque auspicio decemvirorum prospere usquam gereretur vinci se per suum atque illorum dedecus patiebantur. Fusi et ab Sabinis ad Eretum et in Algido ab Aequis exercitus erant. Ab Ereto per silentium noctis profugi propius urbem, inter Fidenas Crustumeriamque, loco edito castra communierant; persecutis hostibus nusquam se aequo certamine committentes, natura loci ac vallo, non virtute aut armis tutabantur. Maius flagitium in Algido, maior etiam clades accepta; castra quoque amissa erant, exutusque omnibus utensilibus miles Tusculum se, fide misericordiaque victurus hospitum, quae tamen non fefellerunt, contulerat. Romam tanti erant terrores allati, ut posito iam decemvirali odio patres vigilias in urbe habendas censerent, omnes qui per aetatem arma ferre possent custodire moenia ac pro portis stationes agere iuberent, arma Tusculum ad supplementum decernerent, decemvirosque ab arce Tusculi digressos in castris militem habere, castra alia a Fidenis in Sabinum agrum transferri, belloque ultro inferendo deterreri hostes a consilio urbis oppugnandae.

[43] Ad clades ab hostibus acceptas duo nefanda facinora decemviri belli domique adiciunt. L. Siccium in Sabinis, per invidiam decemviralem tribunorum creandorum secessionisque mentiones ad vulgus militum sermonibus occultis serentem, prospeculatum ad locum castris capiendum mittunt. Datur negotium militibus quos miserant expeditionis eius comites, ut eum opportuno adorti loco interficerent. Haud inultum interfecere; nam circa

repugnantem aliquot insidiatores cecidere, cum ipse se praevalidus, pari viribus animo, circumventus tutaretur. Nuntiant in castra ceteri praecipitatum in insidias esse; Siccium egregie pugnans militesque quosdam cum eo amissos. Primo fides nuntiantibus fuit; profecta deinde cohors ad sepeliendos qui ceciderant decemvirorum permissu, postquam nullum spoliatum ibi corpus Sicciumque in medio iacentem armatum omnibus in eum versis corporibus videre, hostium neque corpus ullum nec vestigia abeuntium, profecto ab suis interfectum memorantes rettulere corpus. Invidiaeque plena castra erant, et Romam ferri protinus Siccium placebat, ni decemviri funus militare ei publica impensa facere maturassent. Sepultus ingenti militum maestitia, pessima decemvirorum in volgus fama est.

[44] Sequitur aliud in urbe nefas, ab libidine ortum, haud minus foedo eventu quam quod per stuprum caedemque Lucretiae urbe regnoque Tarquinius expulerat, ut non finis solum idem decemviris qui regibus sed causa etiam eadem imperii amittendi esset. Ap. Claudium virginis plebeiae stuprandae libido cepit. Pater virginis, L. Verginius, honestum ordinem in Algido ducebat, vir exempli recti domi militiaeque. Perinde uxor instituta fuerat liberique instituebantur. Desponderat filiam L. Icilio tribunicio, viro acri et pro causa plebis expertae virtutis. Hanc virginem adultam forma excellentem Appius amore amens pretio ac spe perlicere adortus, postquam omnia pudore saepta animadverterat, ad crudelem superbamque vim animum convertit. M. Claudio clienti negotium dedit, ut virginem in servitutem adsereret neque cederet secundum libertatem postulantibus vindicias, quod pater puellae abesset locum iniuriae esse ratus. Virgini venienti in forum — ibi namque in tabernaculis litterarum ludi erant — minister decemviri libidinis manum iniecit, serva sua natam servamque appellans, sequique se iubebat: cunctantem vi abstracturum. Pavida puella stupente, ad clamorem nutricis fidem Quiritium implorantis fit concursus; Vergini patris sponsique Icili populare nomen celebrabatur. Notos gratia eorum, turbam indignitas rei virgini conciliat. Iam a vi tuta erat, cum adsertor nihil opus esse multitudine concitata ait; se iure grassari, non vi. Vocat puellam in ius. Auctoribus qui aderant ut sequerentur, ad tribunal Appi perventum est. Notam iudici fabulam petitor, quippe apud ipsum auctorem argumenti, peragit: puellam domi suae natam

furtoque inde in domum Vergini translatam suppositam ei esse; id se indicio compertum adferre probaturumque vel ipso Verginio iudice, ad quem maior pars iniuriae eius pertineat; interim dominum sequi ancillam aequum esse. Advocati puellae, cum Verginium rei publicae causa dixissent abesse, biduo adfuturum si nuntiatum ei sit, iniquum esse absentem de liberis dimicare, postulant ut rem integram in patris adventum differat, lege ab ipso lata vindicias det secundum libertatem, neu patiatur virginem adultam famae prius quam libertatis periculum adire.

[45] Appius decreto praefatur quam libertati faverit eam ipsam legem declarare quam Vergini amici postulationi suae praetendant; ceterum ita in ea firmum libertati fore praesidium, si nec causis nec personis variet. In iis enim qui adserantur in libertatem, quia quivis lege agere possit, id iuris esse: in ea quae in patris manu sit, neminem esse alium cui dominus possessione cedat. Placere itaque patrem arcessiri; interea iuris sui iacturam adsertorem non facere quin ducat puellam sistendamque in adventum eius qui pater dicatur promittat.

Adversus iniuriam decreti cum multi magis fremerent quam quisquam unus recusare auderet, P. Numitorius puellae auus et sponsus Icilius interveniunt; dataque inter turbam via, cum multitudo Icili maxime interventu resisti posse Appio crederet, lictor decresse ait vociferantemque Icilium submovet. Placidum quoque ingenium tam atrox iniuria accendisset. ‘Ferro hinc tibi submovendus sum, Appi’ inquit, ‘ut tacitum feras quod celari vis. Virginem ego hanc sum ducturus nuptamque pudicam habiturus. Proinde omnes collegarum quoque lictores convoca; expediri virgas et secures iube; non manebit extra domum patris sponsa Icili. Non si tribunicium auxilium et provocationem plebi Romanae, duas arces libertatis tuendae, ademistis, ideo in liberos quoque nostros coniugesque regnum vestrae libidini datum est. Saevite in tergum et in cervices nostras: pudicitia saltem in tuto sit. Huic si vis adferetur, ego praesentium Quiritium pro sponsa, Verginius militum pro unica filia, omnes deorum hominumque implorabimus fidem, neque tu istud unquam decretum sine caede nostra referes. Postulo Appi, etiam atque etiam consideres quo progrediare. Verginius viderit de filia ubi venerit quid agat; hoc tantum sciat sibi si huius vindiciis cesserit

condicionem filiae quaerendam esse. Me vindicantem sponsam in libertatem vita citius deseret quam fides.'

[46] Concitata multitudo erat certamenque instare videbatur. Lictores Icilium circumsteterant; nec ultra minas tamen processum est, cum Appius non Verginiam defendi ab Icilio, sed inquietum hominem et tribunatum etiam nunc spirantem locum seditionis quaerere diceret. Non praebiturum se illi eo die materiam, sed, ut iam sciret non id petulantiae suae sed Verginio absenti et patrio nomini et libertati datum, ius eo die se non dicturum neque decretum interpositurum: a M. Claudio petiturum ut decederet iure suo vindicarique puellam in posterum diem pateretur; quod nisi pater postero die adfuisset, denuntiare se Icilio similibusque Icili neque legi suae latorem neque decemviro constantiam defore; nec se utique collegarum lictores convocaturum ad coercendos seditionis auctores: contentum se suis lictoribus fore.

Cum dilatum tempus iniuriae esset secessissentque advocati puellae, placuit omnium primum fratrem Icili filiumque Numitori, impigros iuvenes, pergere inde recta ad portam, et quantum adcelerari posset Verginium acciri e castris; in eo verti puellae salutem, si postero die vindex iniuriae ad tempus praesto esset. Iussi pergunt citatisque equis nuntium ad patrem perferunt. Cum instaret adsertor puellae ut vindicaret sponsoresque daret, atque id ipsum agi diceret Icilius, sedulo tempus terrens dum praeciperent iter nuntii missi in castra, manus tollere undique multitudo et se quisque paratum ad spondendum Icilio ostendere. Atque ille lacrimabundus 'gratum est' inquit; 'crastina die vestra opera utar; sponsoz nunc satis est.' Ita vindicatur Verginia spondentibus propinquis. Appius paulisper moratus ne eius rei causa sedisse videretur, postquam omissis rebus aliis prae cura unius nemo adibat, domum se recepit collegisque in castra scribit, ne Verginio commeatum dent atque etiam in custodia habeant. Improbum consilium serum, ut debuit, fuit et iam commeatu sumpto profectus Verginius prima vigilia erat, cum postero die mane de retinendo eo nequiquam litterae redduntur.

[47] At in urbe prima luce cum civitas in foro exspectatione erecta staret, Verginius sordidatus filiam secum obsoleta veste comitantibus aliquot matronis cum ingenti advocazione in forum deducit. Circumire ibi et prensare homines coepit et non orare solum

precariam opem, sed pro debita petere: se pro liberis eorum ac coniugibus cottidie in acie stare, nec alium virum esse cuius strenue ac ferociter facta in bello plura memorari possent: quid prodesse si, incolumi urbe, quae capta ultima timeantur liberis suis sint patienda? Haec prope contionabundus circumibat homines. Similia his ab Icilio iactabantur. Comitatus muliebris plus tacito fletu quam ulla vox movebat. Adversus quae omnia obstinato animo Appius — tanta vis amentiae verius quam amoris mentem turbaverat — in tribunal escendit, et ultro querente pauca petitore quod ius sibi pridie per ambitionem dictum non esset, priusquam aut ille postulatum perageret aut Verginio respondendi daretur locus, Appius interfatur. Quem decreto sermonem praetenderit, forsitan aliquem verum auctores antiqui tradiderint: quia nusquam ullum in tanta foeditate decreti veri similem invenio, id quod constat nudum videtur proponendum, decresse vindicias secundum servitutem. Primo stupor omnes admiratione rei tam atrocis defixit; silentium inde aliquamdiu tenuit. Dein cum M. Claudius, circumstantibus matronis, iret adprehendendam virginem, lamentabilisque eum mulierum comploratio excepisset, Verginius intentans in Appium manus, ‘Icilio’ inquit, ‘Appi, non tibi filiam despondi et ad nuptias, non ad stuprum educavi. Placet pecudum ferarumque ritu promisce in concubitus ruere? Passurine haec isti sint nescio: non spero esse passuros illos qui arma habent.’ Cum repelleretur adsertor virginis a globo mulierum circumstantiumque advocatorum, silentium factum per praeconem.

[48] Decemvir alienatus ad libidinem animo negat ex hesterno tantum convicio Icili violentiaque Vergini, cuius testem populum Romanum habeat, sed certis quoque indiciis compertum se habere nocte tota coetus in urbe factos esse ad movendam seditionem. Itaque se haud inscium eius dimicationis cum armatis descendisse, non ut quemquam quietum violaret, sed ut turbantes civitatis otium pro maiestate imperii coerceret. ‘Proinde quiesce erit melius. I,’ inquit, ‘lictor, submove turbam et da viam domino adprehendendum Mancipium.’ Cum haec intonuisset plenus irae, multitudo ipsa se sua sponte dimovit desertaque praeda iniuriae puella stabat. Tum Verginius ubi nihil usquam auxilii vidit, ‘quaeso’ inquit, ‘Appi, primum ignosce patrio dolori, si quo inclementius in te sum invectus;

deinde sinas hic coram virgine nutricem percontari quid hoc rei sit, ut si falso pater dictus sum aequiore hinc animo discedam.’ Data venia seducit filiam ac nutricem prope Cloacinae ad tabernas, quibus nunc Novis est nomen, atque ibi ab Ianio cultro arrepto, ‘hoc te uno quo possum’ ait, ‘modo, filia, in libertatem vindico.’ Pectus deinde puellae transfigit, respectansque ad tribunal ‘te’ inquit, ‘Appi, tuumque caput sanguine hoc consecro.’ Clamore ad tam atrox facinus orto excitus Appius comprehendi Verginium iubet. Ille ferro quacumque ibat viam facere, donec multitudine etiam prosequentium tuente ad portam perrexit. Icilius Numitoriusque exsangve corpus sublatum ostentant populo; scelus Appi, puellae infelicem formam, necessitatem patris deplorant. Sequentes clamitant matronae, eamne liberorum procreandorum condicionem, ea pudicitiae praemia esse? — cetera, quae in tali re muliebris dolor, quo est maestior imbecillo animo, eo miserabilia magis querentibus subicit. Virorum et maxime Icili vox tota tribuniciae potestatis ac provocationis ad populum ereptae publicarumque indignationum erat.

[49] Concitatur multitudo partim atrocitate sceleris, partim spe per occasionem repetendae libertatis. Appius nunc vocari Icilium, nunc retractantem arripi, postremo, cum locus adeundi apparitoribus non daretur, ipse cum agmine patriciorum iuvenum per turbam vadens, in vincula duci iubet. Iam circa Icilium non solum multitudo sed duces quoque multitudinis erant, L. Valerius et M. Horatius, qui repulso lictore, si iure ageret, vindicare se a privato Icilium aiebant; si vim adferre conaretur, ibi quoque haud impares fore. Hinc atrox rixa oritur. Valerium Horatiumque lictor decemviri invadit: franguntur a multitudine fascies. In contionem Appius escendit: sequuntur Horatius Valeriusque. Eos contio audit: decemviro obstrepitur. Iam pro imperio Valerius discedere a privato lictores iubebat, cum fractis animis Appius, vitae metuens, in domum se propinquam foro insciis adversariis capite obvoluto recipit. Sp. Oppius, ut auxilio collegae esset, in forum ex altera parte inrumpit. Videt imperium vi victum. Agitatus deinde consiliis ad quae ex omni parte adsentiendo multis auctoribus trepidaverat, senatum postremo vocari iussit. Ea res, quod magnae parti patrum displicere acta decemvirorum videbantur, spe per senatum finiendae potestatis eius multitudinem sedavit. Senatus nec plebem irritandam censuit et multo magis providendum ne quid

Vergini adventus in exercitu motus faceret.

[50] Itaque missi iuniores patrum in castra, quae tum in monte Vecilio erant, nuntiant decemviris ut omni ope ab seditione milites contineant. Ibi Verginius maiorem quam reliquerat in urbe motum excivit. Nam praeterquam quod agmine prope quadringentorum hominum veniens, qui ab urbe indignitate rei accensi comites ei se dederant, conspectus est, strictum etiam telum respersusque ipse cruore tota in se castra convertit. Et togae multifariam in castris visae maioris aliquanto quam erat speciem urbanae multitudinis fecerant. Quaerentibus quid rei esset, flens diu vocem non misit; tandem, ut iam ex trepidatione concurrentium turba constitit ac silentium fuit, ordine cuncta, ut gesta erant, exposuit. Supinas deinde tendens manus, commilitones appellans orabat ne quod scelus Ap. Claudii esset sibi attribuerent neu se ut parricidam liberum aversarentur. Sibi vitam filiae sua cariorem fuisse, si liberae ac pudicae vivere licitum fuisset: cum velut servam ad stuprum rapi videret, morte amitti melius ratum quam contumelia liberos, misericordia se in speciem crudelitatis lapsum; nec superstitem filiae futurum fuisse, nisi spem ulciscendae mortis eius in auxilio commilitonum habuisset. Illis quoque filias sorores coniugesque esse, nec cum filia sua libidinem Ap. Claudii exstinctam esse, sed quo impunitior sit eo effrenatiorem fore. Aliena calamitate documentum datum illis cavendae similis iniuriae. Quod ad se attineat, uxorem sibi fato ereptam, filiam, quia non ultra pudica victura fuerit, miseram sed honestam mortem occubuisse; non esse iam Appii libidini locum in domo sua: ab alia violentia eius eodem se animo suum corpus vindicaturum quo vindicaverit filiae: ceteri sibi ac liberis suis consulerent.

Haec Verginio vociferanti succlamabat multitudo nec illius dolori nec suae libertati se defuturos. Et immixti turbae militum togati, eadem illa querendo docendoque quanto visa quam audita indigniora potuerint videri, simul profligatam iam rem nuntiando Romae esse, insecutis qui Appium prope interemptum in exilium abisse dicerent, perpulerunt ut ad arma conclamaretur vellentque signa et Romam proficiscerentur. Decemviri simul iis quae videbant iisque quae acta Romae audierant perturbati, alius in aliam partem castrorum ad sedandos motus discurrent. Et leniter agentibus responsum non redditur: imperium si quis inhiberet, et viros et armatos se esse

respondetur. Eunt agmine ad urbem et Aventinum insidunt, ut quisque occurrerat plebem ad repetendam libertatem creandosque tribunos plebis adhortantes. Alia vox nulla violenta audita est. Senatum Sp. Oppius habet. Nihil placet aspere agi; quippe ab ipsis datum locum seditioni esse. Mittuntur tres legati consulares, Sp. Tarpeius C. Iulius P. Sulpicius, qui quaerent senatus verbis cuius iussu castra deseruissent aut quid sibi vellent qui armati Aventinum obsedissent belloque averso ab hostibus patriam suam cepissent. Non defuit quod responderetur: deerat qui daret responsum, nullodum certo duce nec satis audentibus singulis invidiae se offerre. Id modo a multitudine conclamatum est ut L. Valerium et M. Horatium ad se mitterent: his se daturos responsum.

[51] Dimissis legatis, admonet milites Verginius in re non maxima paulo ante trepidatum esse, quia sine capite multitudo fuerit, responsumque, quamquam non inutiliter, fortuito tamen magis consensu quam communi consilio esse; placere decem creati qui summae rei praeessent militarique honore tribunos militum appellari. Cum ad eum ipsum primum is honos deferretur, ‘melioribus meis vestrisque rebus reservate’ inquit, ‘ista de me iudicia. Nec mihi filia inulta honorem ullum iucundum esse patitur, nec in perturbata re publica eos utile est praeesse vobis qui proximi invidiae sint. Si quis usus mei est, nihilo minor ex privato capietur.’ ita decem numero tribunos militares creant.

Neque in Sabinis quievit exercitus. Ibi quoque auctore Icilio Numitorioque secessio ab decemviris facta est, non minore motu animorum Sicci caedis memoria renovata quam quem nova fama de virgine adeo foede ad libidinem petita accenderat. Icilius ubi audivit tribunos militum in Aventino creatos, ne comitiorum militarium praerogatiavam urbana comitia iisdem tribunis plebis creandis sequerentur, peritus rerum popularium imminensque ei potestati et ipse, priusquam iretur ad urbem, pari potestate eundem numerum ab suis creandum curat. Porta Collina urbem intravere sub signis, mediaque urbe agmine in Aventinum pergunt. Ibi coniuncti alteri exercitui viginti tribunis militum negotium dederunt ut ex suo numero duos crearent qui summae rerum praeessent. M. Oppium Sex. Manilium creant.

Patres solliciti de summa rerum cum senatus cottidie esset iurgiis

saepius terunt tempus quam consiliis. Sicci caedes decemviris et Appiana libido et dedecora militiae obieiebantur. Placebat Valerium Horatiumque ire in Aventinum. Illi negabant se aliter ituros quam si decemviri deponerent insignia magistratus eius quo anno iam ante abissent. Decemviri querentes se in ordinem cogi, non ante quam perlatis legibus quarum causa creati essent deposituros imperium se aiebant.

[52] Per M. Duillium qui tribunus plebis fuerat certior facta plebs contentionibus adsiduis nihil transigi, in Sacrum montem ex Aventino transit, adfirmante Duillio non prius quam deseri urbem videant curam in animos patrum descensuram; admoniturum Sacrum montem constantiae plebis scituros qua sine restituta potestate redigi in concordiam res nequeant. Via Nomentana, cui tum Ficolensi nomen fuit, profecti castra in monte Sacro locavere, modestiam patrum suorum nihil violando imitati. Secuta exercitum plebs, nullo qui per aetatem ire posset retractante. Prosequuntur coniuges liberique, cuinam se relinquerent in ea urbe in qua nec pudicitia nec libertas sancta esset miserabiliter rogitantes.

Cum vasta Romae omnia insueta solitudo fecisset, in foro praeter paucos seniorum nemo esset, vocatis utique in senatum patribus desertum apparuisset forum, plures iam quam Horatius ac Valerius vociferabantur: 'Quid exspectabitis, patres conscripti? Si decemviri finem pertinaciae non faciunt, ruere ac deflagrare omnia passuri estis? Quod autem istud imperium est, decemviri, quod amplexi tenetis? Tectis ac parietibus iura dicturi estis? Non pudet lictorum vestrorum maiorem prope numerum in foro conspici quam togatorum aliorum? Quid si hostes ad urbem veniant facturi estis? Quid si plebs mox, ubi parum secessionem moveamur, armata veniat? Occasune urbis voltis finire imperium? Atqui aut plebs non est habenda aut habendi sunt tribuni plebis. Nos citius caruerimus patriciis magistratibus quam illi plebeiis. Novam inexpertamque eam potestatem eripere patribus nostris, ne nunc dulcedine semel capti ferant desiderium, cum praesertim nec nos temperemus imperiis, quo minus illi auxilii egeant.' Cum haec ex omni parte iactarentur, victi consensu decemviri futuros se, quando ita videatur, in potestate patrum adfirmant. Id modo simul orant ac monent ut ipsis ab invidia caveatur nec suo sanguine ad supplicia patrum plebem adsuefaciant.

[53] Tum Valerius Horatiusque missi ad plebem condicionibus quibus videretur revocandam componendasque res, decemviris quoque ab ira et impetu multitudinis praecavere iubentur. Profecti gaudio ingenti plebis in castra accipiuntur, quippe liberatores haud dubie et motus initio et exitu rei. Ob haec iis advenientibus gratiae actae; Icilius pro multitudine verba facit. Idem, cum de condicionibus ageretur, quaerentibus legatis quae postulata plebis essent, composito iam ante adventum legatorum consilio ea postulavit ut appareret in aequitate rerum plus quam in armis reponi spei. Potestatem enim tribuniciam provocationemque repetebant, quae ante decemviros creatos auxilia plebis fuerant, et ne cui fraudi esset concisse milites aut plebem ad repetendam per secessionem libertatem. De decemvirorum modo supplicio atrox postulatum fuit; dedi quippe eos aequum censebant vivosque igni concrematuros minabantur. Legati ad ea: ‘Quae consilii fuerunt adeo aequa postulastis ut ultro vobis deferenda fuerint; libertati enim ea praesidia petitis, non licentiae ad impugnandos alios. Irae vestrae magis ignoscendum quam indulgendum est, quippe qui crudelitatis odio in crudelitatem ruitis et prius paene quam ipsi liberi sitis dominari iam in adversarios voltis. Nunquamne quiescet civitas nostra a suppliciis aut patrum in plebem Romanam aut plebis in patres? Scuto vobis magis quam gladio opus est. Satis superque humili est, qui iure aequo in civitate vivit, nec inferendo iniuriam nec patiendo. Etiam si quando metuendos vos praebituri estis, cum reciperatis magistratibus legibusque vestris iudicia penes vos erunt de capite nostro fortunisque, tunc ut quaeque causa erit statuetis: nunc libertatem repeti satis est.’

[54] Facerent ut vellent permittentibus cunctis, mox redituros se legati rebus perfectis adfirmant. Profecti cum mandata plebis patribus exposuissent, alii decemviri, quando quidem praeter spem ipsorum supplicii sui nulla mentio fieret, haud quicquam abnuere: Appius truci ingenio et invidia praecipua odium in se aliorum suo in eos metiens odio, ‘haud ignaro’ inquit, ‘imminet fortuna. Video donec arma adversariis tradantur differri adversus nos certamen. Dandus invidiae est sanguis. Nihil ne ego quidem moror quo minus decemviratu abeam.’ Factum senatus consultum ut decemviri se primo quoque tempore magistratu abdicarent, Q. Furius pontifex

maximus tribunos plebis crearet; et ne cui fraudi esset secessio militum plebisque.

His senatus consultis perfectis dimisso senatu, decemviri prodeunt in contionem abdicantque se magistratu, ingenti hominum laetitia. Nuntiantur haec plebi. Legatos quidquid in urbe hominum supererat prosequitur. Huic multitudini laeta alia turba ex castris occurrit. Congratulantur libertatem concordiamque civitati restitutam. Legati pro contione: 'Quod bonum faustum felixque sit vobis rei publicae, redite in patriam ad penates coniuges liberosque vestros; sed qua hic modestia fuistis, ubi nullius ager in tot rerum usu necessario tantae multitudini est violatus, eam modestiam ferte in urbem. In Aventinum ite, unde profecti estis; ibi felici loco, ubi prima initia incohastis libertatis vestrae, tribunos plebi creabitis. Praesto erit pontifex maximus qui comitia habeat.' Ingens adsensus alacritasque cuncta adprobantium fuit. Convellunt inde signa profectique Romam certant cum obviis gaudio. Armati per urbem silentio in Aventinum perveniunt. Ibi extemplo pontifice maximo comitia habente tribunos plebis creaverunt, omnium primum L. Verginium, inde L. Icilium et P. Numitorium, auunculum Verginae, auctores secessionis, tum C. Sicinium, progeniem eius quem primum tribunum plebis creatum in Sacro monte proditum memoriae est, et M. Duillium, qui tribunatum insignem ante decemviros creatos gesserat nec in decemviralibus certaminibus plebi defuerat. Spe deinde magis quam meritis electi M. Titinius M. Pomponius C. Apronius P. Villius C. Oppius. Tribunatu inito L. Icilius extemplo plebem rogavit et plebs scivit ne cui fraudi esset secessio ab decemviris facta. Confestim de consulibus creandis cum provocatione M. Duillius rogationem pertulit. Ea omnia in pratis Flaminiiis concilio plebis acta, quem nunc circum Flaminium appellant.

[55] Per interregem deinde consules creati L. Valerius M. Horatius, qui extemplo magistratum occeperunt. Quorum consulatus popularis sine ulla patrum iniuria nec sine offensione fuit; quidquid enim libertati plebis caveretur, id suis decedere opibus credebant. Omnium primum, cum velut in controverso iure esset tenerentur patres plebi scitis, legem centuriatis comitiis tulere ut quod tributim plebes iussisset populum teneret; qua lege tribuniciis rogationibus telum

acerrimum datum est. Aliam deinde consularem legem de provocatione, unicum praesidium libertatis, decemvirali potestate eversam, non restituunt modo, sed etiam in posterum muniunt sanciendo novam legem, ne quis ullum magistratum sine provocatione crearet; qui creasset, eum ius fasque esset occidi, neve ea caedes capitalis noxae haberetur. Et cum plebem hinc provocatione, hinc tribunicio auxilio satis firmassent, ipsis quoque tribunis, ut sacrosancti viderentur, cuius rei prope iam memoria aboleverat, relatis quibusdam ex magno intervallo caerimoniis renovarunt, et cum religione inviolatos eos, tum lege etiam fecerunt, sanciendo ut qui tribunis plebis aedilibus iudicibus decemviris nocuisset, eius caput Iovi sacrum esset, familia ad aedem Cereris Liberi Liberaeque venum iret. Hac lege iuris interpretes negant quemquam sacrosanctum esse, sed eum qui eorum cui nocuerit Iovi sacrum sanciri; itaque aedilem prendi ducique a maioribus magistratibus, quod, etsi non iure fiat — noceri enim ei cui hac lege non liceat — tamen argumentum esse non haberi pro sacro sanctoque aedilem; tribunos vetere iure iurando plebis, cum primum eam potestatem creavit, sacrosanctos esse. Fuere qui interpretarentur eadem hac Horatia lege consulibus quoque et praetoribus, quia eisdem auspiciis quibus consules crearentur, cautum esse: iudicem enim consulem appellari. Quae refellitur interpretatio, quod iis temporibus nondum consulem iudicem sed praetorem appellari mos fuerit

Hae consulares leges fuere. Institutum etiam ab iisdem consulibus ut senatus consulta in aedem Cereris ad aediles plebis deferrentur, quae antea arbitrio consulum supprimebantur vitiabanturque. M. Duillius deinde tribunus plebis plebem rogavit plebesque scivit qui plebem sine tribunis reliquisset, quique magistratum sine provocatione creasset, tergo ac capite puniretur. Haec omnia ut invitis, ita non adversantibus patriciis transacta, quia nondum in quemquam unum saeviebatur.

[56] Fundata deinde et potestate tribunicia et plebis libertate, tum tribuni adgredi singulos tutum maturumque iam rati, accusatorem primum Verginium et Appium reum deligunt. Cum diem Appio Verginius dixisset et Appius stipatus patriciis iuvenibus in forum descendisset, redintegrata extemplo est omnibus memoria

foedissimae potestatis, cum ipsum satellitesque eius vidissent. Tum Verginius 'oratio' inquit, 'rebus dubiis inventa est; itaque neque ego accusando apud vos eum tempus teram, a cuius crudelitate vosmet ipsi armis vindicastis, nec istum ad cetera scelera impudentiam in defendendo se adicere patiar. Omnium igitur tibi, Appi Claudii, quae impie nefarieque per biennium alia super alia es ausus, gratiam facio. Unius tantum criminis nisi iudicem dices, te ab libertate in servitutem contra leges vindicias non dedisse, in vincla te duci iubebo.' Nec in tribunicio auxilio Appius nec in iudicio populi ullam spem habebat; tamen et tribunos appellavit et, nullo morante arreptus a viatore, 'provoco' inquit. Audita vox una vindex libertatis, ex eo missa ore quo vindiciae nuper ab libertate dictae erant, silentium fecit. Et dum pro se quisque deos tandem esse et non neglegere humana fremunt et superbiae crudelitatisque etsi seras, non leves tamen venire poenas — provocare qui provocationem sustulisset, et implorare praesidium populi qui omnia iura populi obtrisset, rapique in vincla egentem iure libertatis qui liberum corpus in servitutem addixisset, — ipsius Appi inter contionis murmur fidem populi Romani implorantis vox audiebatur: maiorum merita in rem publicam domi militiaeque commemorabat, suum infelix erga plebem Romanam studium, quo aequandarum legum causa cum maxima offensione patrum consulatu abisset, suas leges, quibus manentibus lator earum in vincla ducatur. Ceterum sua propria bona malaque, cum causae dicendae data facultas sit, tum se experturum; in praesentia se communi iure civitatis civem Romanum die dicta postulare ut dicere liceat, ut iudicium populi Romani experiri. Non ita se invidiam pertimuisse, ut nihil in aequitate et misericordia civium suorum spei habeat. Quod si indicta causa in vincla ducatur, iterum se tribunos plebei appellare et monere ne imitentur quos oderint. Quod si tribuni eodem foedere obligatos se fateantur tollendae appellationis in quod conspirasse decemviros criminati sint, at se provocare ad populum, implorare leges de provocatione et consulares et tribunicias, eo ipso anno latas. Quem enim provocaturum, si hoc indemnato indicta causa non liceat? Cui plebeio et humili praesidium in legibus fore, si Ap. Claudio non sit? Se documento futurum utrum novis legibus dominatio an libertas firmata sit, et appellatio provocatioque adversus iniuriam

magistratuum ostentata tantum inanibus litteris an vere data sit.

[57] Contra ea Verginius unum Ap. Claudium et legum expertem et civilis et humani foederis esse aiebat: respicerent tribunal homines, castellum omnium scelerum, ubi decemvir ille perpetuus, bonis, tergo, sanguini civium infestus, virgas securesque omnibus minitans, deorum hominumque contemptor, carnificibus, non lictoribus stipatus, iam ab rapinis et caedibus animo ad libidinem verso virginem ingenuam in oculis populi Romani, velut bello captam, ab complexu patris abreptam ministro cubiculi sui clienti dono dederit; ubi crudeli decreto nefandisque vindiciis dextram patris in filiam armaverit; ubi tollentes corpus semianime virginis sponsum aumque in carcerem duci iusserit, stupro interpellato magis quam caede motus. Et illi carcerem aedificatum esse quod domicilium plebis Romanae vocare sit solitus. Proinde ut ille iterum ac saepius provocet, sic se iterum ac saepius iudicem illi ferre ni vindicias ab libertate in servitutem dederit; si ad iudicem non eat, pro damnato in vincla duci iubere. Ut haud quoquam improbante, sic magno motu animorum, cum tanti viri supplicio suamet plebi iam nimia libertas videretur, in carcerem est coniectus; tribunus ei diem prodixit.

Inter haec ab Latinis et Hernicis legati gratulatum de concordia patrum ac plebis Romam venerunt, donumque ob eam Iovi optumo maximo coronam auream in Capitolium tulere parvi ponderis, prout res haud opulentae erant colebanturque religiones pie magis quam magnifice. Iisdem auctoribus cognitum est Aequos Volscosque summa vi bellum apparare. Itaque partiri provincias consules iussi. Horatio Sabini, Valerio Aequi evenere. Cum ad ea bella dilectum edixissent, favore plebis non iuniores modo sed emeritis etiam stipendiis pars magna voluntariorum ad nomina danda praesto fuere, eoque non copia modo sed genere etiam militum, veteranis admixtis, firmior exercitus fuit. Priusquam urbe egrederentur, leges decemvirales, quibus tabulis duodecim est nomen, in aes incisas in publico proposuerunt. Sunt qui iussu tribunorum aediles functos eo ministerio scribant.

[58] C. Claudius, qui perosus decemvirorum scelera et ante omnes fratris filii superbiae infestus Regillum, antiquam in patriam, se contulerat, is magno iam natu cum ad pericula eius deprecanda redisset cuius vitia fugerat, sordidatus cum gentilibus clientibusque

in foro prensabat singulos orabatque ne Claudiae genti eam inustam maculam vellent ut carcere et vinculis viderentur digni. Virum honoratissimae imaginis futurum ad posteros, legum latorem conditoremque Romani iuris, iacere vinctum inter fures nocturnos ac latrones. Averterent ab ira parumper ad cognitionem cogitationemque animos, et potius unum tot Claudiis deprecantibus condonarent quam propter unius odium multorum preces aspernarentur. Se quoque id generi ac nomini dare nec cum eo in gratiam redisse, cuius adversae fortunae velit succursum. Virtute libertatem reciperatam esse: clementia concordiam ordinum stabiliri posse. Erant quos moveret sua magis pietate quam eius pro quo agebat causa; sed Verginius sui potius ut misererentur orabat filiaeque, nec gentis Claudiae regnum in plebem sortitae sed necessariorum Verginae trium tribunorum preces audirent, qui ad auxilium plebis creati ipsi plebis fidem atque auxilium implorarent. Iustiores hae lacrimae videbantur. Itaque spe incisa, priusquam prodicta dies adesset, Appius mortem sibi conscivit.

Subinde arreptus a P. Numitorio Sp. Oppius, proximus invidiae, quod in urbe fuerat cum iniustae vindiciae a collega dicerentur. Plus tamen facta iniuria Oppio quam non prohibita invidiae fecit. Testis productus, qui septem et viginti enumeratis stipendiis, octiens extra ordinem donatus donaque ea gerens in conspectu populi, scissa veste, tergum laceratum virgis ostendit, nihilum deprecans quin si quam suam noxam reus dicere posset, privatus iterum in se saeviret. Oppius quoque ductus in vincula est, et ante iudicii diem finem ibi vitae fecit. Bona Claudi Oppique tribuni publicavere. Collegae eorum exsilii causa solum verterunt; bona publicata sunt. Et M. Claudius, adsertor Verginae, die dicta damnatus, ipso remittente Verginio ultimam poenam dimissus Tibur exsulatum abiit, manesque Verginae, mortuae quam vivae felicioris, per tot domos ad petendas poenas vagati, nullo relicto sonte tandem quieverunt.

[59] Ingens metus incesserat patres, voltusque iam iidem tribunorum erant qui decemvirorum fuerant, cum M. Duillius tribunus plebis, inhibito salubriter modo nimiae potestati, 'et libertatis' inquit, 'nostrae et poenarum ex inimicis satis est; itaque hoc anno nec diem dici cuiquam nec in vincla duci quemquam sum passurus. Nam neque vetera peccata repeti iam obliterata placet,

cum nova expiata sint decemvirosum suppliciis, et nihil admissum iri quod vim tribuniciam desideret spondet perpetua consulum amborum in libertate vestra tuenda cura.' Ea primum moderatio tribuni metum patribus dempsit, eademque auxit consulum invidiam, quod adeo toti plebis fuissent ut patrum salutis libertatisque prior plebeio magistratui quam patricio cura fuisset, et ante inimicos satietas poenarum suarum cepisset quam obviam ituros licentiae eorum consules appareret. Multique erant qui mollius consultum dicerent, quod legum ab iis latarum patres auctores fuissent; neque erat dubium quin turbato rei publicae statu tempori succubuissent.

[60] Consules rebus urbanis compositis fundatoque plebis statu, in provincias diversi abiere. Valerius adversus coniunctos iam in Alcido exercitus Aequorum Volscorumque sustinuit consilio bellum; quod si extemplo rem fortunae commisisset, haud scio an, qui tum animi ab decemvirosum infelicibus auspiciis Romanis hostibusque erant, magno detrimento certamen staturum fuerit. Castris mille passuum ab hoste positis copias continebat. Hostes medium inter bina castra spatium acie instructa complebant, provocantibusque ad proelium responsum Romanus nemo reddebat. Tandem fatigati stando ac nequiquam exspectando certamen Aequi Volscique, postquam concessum propemodum de victoria credebant, pars in Hernicos, pars in Latinos praedatum abeunt; relinquitur magis castris praesidium quam satis virium ad certamen. Quod ubi consul sensit, reddit inlatum antea terrorem, instructaque acie ultro hostem lacessit. Ubi illi, conscientia quid abesset virium, detractavere pugnam, crevit extemplo Romanis animus, et pro victis habebant paventes intra vallum. Cum per totum diem stetissent intenti ad certamen, nocti cessere. Et Romani quidem pleni spei corpora curabant: haudquaquam pari hostes animo nuntios passim trepidi ad revocandos praedatores dimittunt. Recurritur ex proximis locis: ulteriores non inventi. Ubi inlucit, egreditur castris Romanus, vallum invasurus ni copia pugnae fieret. Et postquam multa iam dies erat neque movebatur quicquam ab hoste, iubet signa inferri consul; motaque acie, indignatio Aequos et Volscos incessit, si victores exercitus vallum potius quam virtus et arma tegerent. Igitur et ipsi efflagitatum ab ducibus signum pugnae acceperere. Iamque pars egressa portis erat deincepsque alii servabant ordinem, in suum

quisque locum descendentes, cum consul Romanus, priusquam totis viribus fulta constaret hostium acies, intulit signa; adortusque nec omnes dum eductos nec, qui erant, satis explicatis ordinibus, prope fluctuantem turbam trepidantium huc atque illuc circumspectantiumque se ac suos, addito turbatis mentibus clamore atque impetu invadit. Rettulere primo pedem hostes; deinde cum animos collegissent et undique duces victisne cessuri essent increparent, restituitur pugna.

[61] Consul ex altera parte Romanos meminisse iubebat illo die primum liberos pro libera urbe Romana pugnare, sibimet ipsis victuros, non ut decemvirorum victores praemium essent. Non Appio duce rem geri, sed consule Valerio, ab liberatoribus populi Romani orto, liberatore ipso. Ostenderent prioribus proeliis per duces non per milites stetisse ne vincerent. Turpe esse contra cives plus animi habuisse quam contra hostes et domi quam foris servitutem magis timuisse. Unam Verginiam fuisse cuius pudicitiae in pace periculum esset, unum Appium civem periculosae libidinis; at si fortuna belli inclinet, omnium liberis ab tot milibus hostium periculum fore; nolle ominari quae nec Iuppiter nec Mars pater passuri sint iis auspiciis conditae urbi accidere. Aventini Sacrique montis admonebat, ut ubi libertas parta esset paucis ante mensibus, eo imperium inlibatum referrent, ostenderentque eandem indolem militibus Romanis post exactos decemviros esse quae ante creatos fuerit, nec aequatis legibus imminutam virtutem populi Romani esse. Haec ubi inter signa peditum dicta dedit, avolat deinde ad equites. ‘Agite, iuvenes’ inquit, ‘praestate virtute peditem ut honore atque ordine praestatis. Primo concursu pedes movit hostem; pulsum vos immissis equis exigit e campo. Non sustinebunt impetum, et nunc cunctantur magis quam resistunt’. Concitant equos permittuntque in hostem pedestri iam turbatum pugna, et perruptis ordinibus elati ad novissimam aciem, pars libero spatio circumvecti, iam fugam undique capessentes plerosque a castris avertunt praeterequitantesque absterrent. Peditum acies et consul ipse visque omnis belli fertur in castra, captisque cum ingenti caede, maiore praeda potitur.

Huius pugnae fama perlata non in urbem modo sed in Sabinos ad alterum exercitum, in urbe laetitia modo celebrata est, in castris animos militum ad aemulandum decus accendit. Iam Horatius eos

excursionibus [sufficiendo] proeliisque levibus experiundo adsuefecerat sibi potius fidere quam meminisse ignominiae decemvirorum ductu acceptae, parvaeque certamina in summam totius profecerant spei. Nec cessabant Sabini, feroces ab re priore anno bene gesta, laceessere atque instare, rogitantes quid latrocinii modo procursantes pauci recurrentesque tererent tempus et in multa proelia parvaeque carperent summam unius belli? Quin illi congregarentur acie inclinandamque semel fortunae rem darent?

[62] Ad id, quod sua sponte satis collectum animorum erat, indignitate etiam Romani accendebantur: iam alterum exercitum victorem in urbem rediturum; sibi ultro per contumelias hostem insultare; quando autem se, si tum non sint, pares hostibus fore? Ubi haec fremere militem in castris consul sensit, contione advocata, 'quemadmodum' inquit, 'in Algido res gesta sit, arbitror vos, milites, audisse. Qualem liberi populi exercitum decuit esse, talis fuit; consilio collegae, virtute militum victoria parta est. Quod ad me attinet, id consilii animique habiturus sum, quod vos mihi feceritis. Et trahi bellum salubriter et mature perfici potest. Si trahendum est, ego ut in dies spes virtusque vestra crescat, eadem qua institui disciplina efficiam; si iam satis animi est decernique placet, agite dum, clamorem qualem in acie sublaturi estis, tollite hic indicem voluntatis virtutisque vestrae.' Postquam ingenti alacritate clamor est sublatus, quod bene vertat gesturum se illis morem posteroque die in aciem deducturum adfirmat. Reliquum diei apparandis armis consumptum est.

Postero die simul instrui Romanam aciem Sabini videre et ipsi, iam pridem avidi certaminis, procedunt. Proelium fuit, quale inter fidentes sibimet ambo exercitus, veteris perpetuaeque alterum gloriae, alterum nuper nova victoria elatum. Consilio etiam Sabini vires adiuvere; nam cum aequassent aciem, duo extra ordinem milia quae in sinistrum cornu Romanorum in ipso certamine impressionem facerent tenuere. Quae ubi inlatis ex transverso signis degravabant prope circumventum cornu, equites duarum legionum, sescenti fere, ex equis desiliunt cedentibusque iam suis provolant in primum, simulque et hosti se opponunt et aequato primum periculo, pudore deinde animos peditum accendunt. Verecundiae erat equitem suo alienoque Marte pugnare, peditem ne ad pedes quidem degresso

equiti parem esse.

[63] Vadunt igitur in proelium ab sua parte omissum et locum ex quo cesserant repetunt; momentoque non restituta modo pugna, sed inclinatur etiam Sabinis cornu. Eques inter ordines peditum tectus se ad equos recipit; transvolat inde in partem alteram suis victoriae nuntius; simul et in hostes iam pavidos, quippe fuso suae partis validiore cornu, impetum facit. Non aliorum eo proelio virtus magis enituit. Consul providere omnia, laudare fortes, increpare sicubi segnior pugna esset. Castigati fortium statim virorum opera edebant tantumque hos pudor quantum alios laudes excitabant. Redintegrato clamore undique omnes conisi hostem avertunt, nec deinde Romana vis sustineri potuit. Sabini fusi passim per agros castra hosti ad praedam relinquunt. Ibi non sociorum sicut in Algido res, sed suas Romanus populationibus agrorum amissas recipit.

Gemina victoria duobus bifariam proeliis parta, maligne senatus in unum diem supplicationes consulum nomine decrevit. Populus iniussu et altero die frequens iit supplicatum; et haec vaga popularisque supplicatio studiis prope celebratior fuit. Consules ex composito eodem biduo ad urbem accessere senatumque in Martium campum evocavere. Ubi cum de rebus ab se gestis agerent, questi primores patrum senatum inter milites dedita opera terroris causa haberi. Itaque inde consules, ne criminationi locus esset, in prata Flaminia, ubi nunc aedes Apollinis est — iam tum Apollinare appellabant — , avocavere senatum. Ubi cum ingenti consensu patrum negaretur triumphus, L. Icilius tribunus plebis tulit ad populum de triumpho consulum, multis dissuasum prodeuntibus, maxime C. Claudio vociferante de patribus, non de hostibus consules triumphare velle gratiamque pro privato merito in tribunum, non pro virtute honorem peti. Nunquam ante de triumpho per populum actum; semper aestimationem arbitriumque eius honoris penes senatum fuisse; ne reges quidem maiestatem summi ordinis imminuisse. Ne ita omnia tribuni potestatis suae implerent, ut nullum publicum consilium sinerent esse. Ita demum liberam civitatem fore, ita aequatas leges, si sua quisque iura ordo, suam maiestatem teneat. In eandem sententiam multa et a ceteris senioribus patrum cum essent dicta, omnes tribus eam rogationem acceperunt. Tum primum sine auctoritate senatus populi iussu triumphatum est.

[64] Haec victoria tribunorum plebisque prope in haud salubrem luxuriam vertit, conspiratione inter tribunos facta ut iidem tribuni reficerentur, et, quo sua minus cupiditas emereret, consulibus quoque continuarent magistratum. Consensum patrum causabantur, quo per contumeliam consulum iura plebis labefactata essent. Quid futurum nondum firmatis legibus, si novos tribunos per factionis suae consules adorti essent? Non enim semper Valerios Horatiosque consules fore, qui libertati plebis suas opes postferrent. Forte quadam utili ad tempus, ut comitiis praeesset potissimum M. Duillio sorte evenit, viro prudenti et ex continuatione magistratus invidiam imminuentem cernenti. Qui cum ex veteribus tribunis negaret se ullius rationem habiturum, pugnarentque collegae ut liberas tribus in suffragium mitteret aut concederet sortem comitiorum collegis, habituris e lege potius comitia quam ex voluntate patrum, iniecta contentione Duillius consules ad subsellia accitos cum interrogasset quid de comitiis consularibus in animo haberent, respondissentque se novos consules creaturos, auctores populares sententiae haud popularis nactus in contionem cum iis processit. Ubi cum consules producti ad populum interrogatique, si eos populus Romanus, memor libertatis per illos receptae domi, memor militiae rerum gestarum, consules iterum faceret, quidnam facturi essent, nihil sententiae suae mutassent, conlaudatis consulibus quod perseverarent ad ultimum dissimiles decemvirorum esse, comitia habuit; et quinque tribunis plebi creatis cum prae studiis aperte petentium novem tribunorum alii candidati tribus non explerent, concilium dimisit nec deinde comitiorum causa habuit. Satisfactum legi aiebat, quae numero nusquam praefinito tribuni modo ut relinquerentur sanciret et ab iis qui creati essent cooptari collegas iuberet; recitabatque rogationis carmen in quo sic erat: ‘Si tribunos plebei decem rogabo, si qui vos minus hodie decem tribunos plebei feceritis, tum ut ii quos hi sibi collegas cooptassint legitimi eadem lege tribuni plebei sint ut illi quos hodie tribunos plebei feceritis.’ Duillius cum ad ultimum perseverasset negando quindecim tribunos plebei rem publicam habere posse, victa collegarum cupiditate pariter patribus plebeique acceptus magistratu abiit.

[65] Novi tribuni plebis in cooptandis collegis patrum voluntatem foverunt; duos etiam patricos consularesque, Sp. Tarpeium et A.

Aternium, cooptavere. Consules creati Sp. Herminius T. Verginius Caelimontanus, nihil magnopere ad patrum aut plebis causam inclinati, otium domi ac foris habuere. L. Trebonius tribunus plebis, infestus patribus quod se ab iis in cooptandis tribunis fraude captum proditumque a collegis aiebat, rogationem tulit ut qui plebem Romanam tribunos plebei rogaret, is usque eo rogaret dum decem tribunos plebei faceret; insectandisque patribus, unde Aspero etiam inditum est cognomen, tribunatum gessit. Inde M. Geganius Macerinus et C. Iulius consules facti contentiones tribunorum adversus nobilium iuventutem ortas, sine insectatione potestatis eius conservata maiestate patrum, sedavere; plebem, decreto ad bellum Volscorum et Aequorum dilectu, sustinendo rem ab seditionibus continuare, urbano otio foris quoque omnia tranquilla esse adfirmantes, per discordias civiles externos tollere animos. Cura pacis concordiae quoque intestinae causa fuit. Sed alter semper ordo gravis alterius modestiae erat; quiescenti plebi ab iunioribus patrum iniuriae fieri coeptae. Ubi tribuni auxilio humilioribus essent, in primis parum proderat; deinde ne ipsi quidem inviolati erant, utique postremis mensibus, cum et per coitiones potentiorum iniuria fieret et vis potestatis omnis aliquanto posteriore anni parte languidior ferme esset. Iamque plebs ita in tribunatu ponere aliquid spei, si similes Icilio tribunos haberet: nomina tantum se biennio habuisse. Seniores contra patrum ut nimis feroces suos credere iuvenes, ita malle, si modus excedendus esset, suis quam adversariis superesse animos. Adeo moderatio tuendae libertatis, dum aequari velle simulando ita se quisque extollit ut deprimat alium, in difficili est, cavendoque ne metuant, homines metuendos ultro se efficiunt, et iniuriam ab nobis repulsam, tamquam aut facere aut pati necesse sit, iniungimus aliis.

[66] T. Quinctius Capitolinus quartum et Agrippa Furius consules inde facti nec seditionem domi nec foris bellum acceperunt; sed imminebat utrumque. Iam non ultra discordia civium reprimi poterat, et tribunis et plebe incitata in patres, cum dies alicui nobilium dicta novis semper certaminibus contiones turbaret. Ad quarum primum strepitum, velut signo accepto, arma cepere Aequi ac Volsci, simul quod persuaserant iis duces, cupidi praedarum, biennio ante dilectum indictum haberi non potuisse, abnuente iam plebe imperium: eo adversus se non esse missos exercitus. Dissolvi licentia militandi

morem, nec pro communi iam patria Romam esse. Quicquid irarum simultatumque cum externis fuerit in ipsos verti. Occaecatos lupos intestina rabie opprimendi occasionem esse. Coniunctis exercitibus Latinum primum agrum perpopulati sunt; deinde postquam ibi nemo vindex occurrebat, tum vero exsultantibus belli auctoribus ad moenia ipsa Romae populabundi regione portae Esquilinae accessere, vastationem agrorum per contumeliam urbi ostentantes. Unde postquam inulti, praedam prae se agentes, retro ad Corbionem agmine iere, Quinctius consul ad contionem populum vocavit.

[67] Ibi in hanc sententiam locutum accipio: 'Etsi mihi nullius noxae conscius, Quirites, sum, tamen cum pudore summo in contionem in conspectum vestrum processi. Hoc vos scire, hoc posteris memoriae traditum iri Aequeos et Volscos, vix Hernicis modo pares, T. Quinctio quartum consule ad moenia urbis Romae impune armatos venisse! Hanc ego ignominiam, quamquam iam diu ita vivitur ut nihil boni divinet animus, si huic potissimum imminere anno scissem, vel exilio vel morte, si alia fuga honoris non esset, vitassem. Ergo si viri arma illa habuissent quae in portis fuere nostris, capi Roma me consule potuit? Satis honorum, satis superque vitae erat; mori consulem tertium oportuit. Quem tandem ignavissimi hostium contempsere? Nos consules an vos Quirites? Si culpa in nobis est, auferte imperium indignis et, si id parum est, insuper poenas expetite: si in vobis, nemo deorum nec hominum sit, qui vestra puniat peccata, Quirites: vosmet tantum eorum paeniteat. Non illi vestram ignaviam contempsere nec suae virtuti confisi sunt; quippe totiens fusi fugatique, castris exuti, agro multati, sub iugum missi, et se et vos novere: discordia ordinum et venenum urbis huius, patrum ac plebis certamina, dum nec nobis imperii nec vobis libertatis est modus, dum taedet vos patriciorum, nos plebeiorum magistratum, sustulere illis animos. Pro deum fidem, quid vobis voltis? Tribunos plebis concupistis; concordiae causa concessimus. Decemviros desiderastis; creari passi sumus. Decemvirorum vos pertaesum est; coegimus abire magistratu. Manente in eosdem privatos ira vestra, mori atque exulare nobilissimos viros honoratissimosque passi sumus. Tribunos plebis creare iterum voluistis; creastis. Consules facerestrarum partium; etsi patribus videbamus iniquos, patricium quoque magistratum plebi donum fieri

vidimus. Auxilium tribunicium, provocationem ad populum, scita plebis iniuncta patribus, sub titulo aequandarum legum nostra iura oppressa tulimus et ferimus. Qui finis erit discordiarum? Ecquando unam urbem habere, ecquando communem hanc esse patriam licebit? Victi nos aequiore animo quiescimus quam vos victores. Satisne est nobis vos metuendos esse? Adversus nos Aventinum capitur, adversus nos Sacer occupatur mons; Esquilias vidimus ab hoste prope captas et scandentem in aggerem Volscum. Hostem nemo submovit: in nos viri, in nos armati estis.

[68] Agitedum, ubi hic curiam circumsederitis et forum infestum feceritis et carcerem impleveritis principibus, iisdem istis ferocibus animis egredimini extra portam Esquilinam, aut, si ne hoc quidem audetis, ex muris visite agros vestros ferro ignique vastatos, praedam abigi, fumare incensa passim tecta. At enim communis res per haec loco est peiore; ager uritur, urbs obsidetur, belli gloria penes hostes est. Quid tandem? Privatae res vestrae quo statu sunt? Iam unicuique ex agris sua damna nuntiabuntur. Quid est tandem domi unde ea expleatis? Tribuni vobis amissa reddent ac restituent? Vocis verborumque quantum voletis ingerent, et criminum in principes et legum aliarum super alias ut contionum; sed ex illis contionibus nunquam vestrum quisquam re, fortuna domum auctor rediit. Ecquis rettulit aliquid ad coniugem ac liberos praeter odia offensiones simultates publicas privatasque, a quibus semper non vestra virtute innocentiaque, sed auxilio alieno tuti sitis? At hercules, cum stipendia nobis consulibus, non tribunis ducibus, et in castris, non in foro faciebatis, et in acie vestrum clamorem hostes, non in contione patres Romani horrebant, praeda parta agro ex hoste capto pleni fortunarum gloriaeque simul publicae simul privatae triumphantes domum ad penates redibatis: nunc oneratum vestris fortunis hostem abire sinitis. Haerete adfixi contionibus et in foro vivite: sequitur vos necessitas militandi quam fugitis. Grave erat in Aequos et Volscos proficisci: ante portas est bellum. Si inde non pellitur, iam intra moenia erit et arcem et Capitolium scandet et in domos vestras vos persequetur. Biennio ante senatus dilectum haberi et educi exercitum in Algidum iussit: sedemus desides domi mulierum ritu inter nos altercantes, praesenti pace laeti nec cernentes ex otio illo brevi multiplex bellum rediturum. His ego gratiora dictu alia esse scio; sed

me vera pro gratis loqui, etsi meum ingenium non moneret, necessitas cogit. Vellem equidem vobis placere, Quirites; sed multo malo vos salvos esse, qualicumque erga me animo futuri estis. Natura hoc ita comparatum est, ut qui apud multitudinem sua causa loquitur gravior eo sit cuius mens nihil praeter publicum commodum videt; nisi forte adsentatores publicos, plebicolas istos, qui vos nec in armis nec in otio esse sinunt, vestra vos causa incitare et stimulare putatis. Concitati aut honori aut quaestui illis estis; et quia in concordia ordinum nullos se usquam esse vident, malae rei se quam nullius, turbarum ac seditionum duces esse volunt. Quarum rerum si vos taedium tandem capere potest et patrum vestroque antiquos mores voltis pro his novis sumere, nulla supplicia recuso, nisi paucis diebus hos populatores agrorum nostrorum fusos fugatosque castris exuero et a portis nostris moenibusque ad illorum urbes hunc belli terrorem quo nunc vos attoniti estis transtulero.'

[69] Raro alias tribuni popularis oratio acceptior plebi quam tunc severissimi consulis fuit. Iuventus quoque, quae inter tales metus detractationem militiae telum acerrimum adversus patres habere solita erat, arma et bellum spectabat. Et agrestium fuga spoliatique in agris et vulnerati, foediora iis quae subiciebantur oculis nuntiantes, totam urbem ira implevere. In senatum ubi ventum est, ibi vero in Quinctium omnes versi ut unum vindicem maiestatis Romanae intueri, et primores patrum dignam dicere contionem imperio consulari, dignam tot consulatibus ante actis, dignam vita omni, plena honorum saepe gestorum, saepius meritorum. Alios consules aut per prodicionem dignitatis patrum plebi adultos aut acerbe tuendo iura ordinis asperiores domando multitudinem fecisse: T. Quinctium orationem memorem maiestatis patrum concordiaeque ordinum et temporum in primis habuisse. Orare eum collegamque ut capesseret rem publicam; orare tribunos ut uno animo cum consulibus bellum ab urbe ac moenibus propulsari vellent plebemque oboedientem in re tam trepida patribus praeberent; appellare tribunos communem patriam auxiliumque eorum implorare vastatis agris, urbe prope oppugnata. Consensu omnium dilectus decernitur habeturque. Cum in contione pronuntiassent tempus non esse causas cognoscendi, omnes iuniores postero die prima luce in campo Martio adessent; cognoscendis causis eorum qui nomina non dedissent bello

perfecto se daturos tempus; pro desertore futurum, cuius non probassent causam; — omnis iuventus adfuit postero die. Cohortes sibi quaeque centuriones legerunt; bini senatores singulis cohortibus praepositi. Haec omnia adeo mature perfecta accepimus ut signa, eo ipso die a quaestoribus ex aerario prompta delataque in campum, quarta diei hora mota ex campo sint, exercitusque novus, paucis cohortibus veterum militum voluntate sequentibus, manserit ad decimum lapidem. Insequens dies hostem in conspectum dedit, castraque ad Corbionem castris sunt coniuncta. Tertio die, cum ira Romanos, illos, cum totiens rebellassent, conscientia culpa ac desperatio inritaret, mora dimicandi nulla est facta.

[70] In exercitu Romano cum duo consules essent potestate pari, quod saluberrimum in administratione magnarum rerum est, summa imperii concedente Agrippa penes collegam erat; et praelatus ille facilitati submittentis se comiter respondebat communicando consilia laudesque et aequando imparem sibi. In acie Quinctius dextrum cornu, Agrippa sinistrum tenuit; Sp. Postumio Albo legato datur media acies tuenda; legatum alterum P. Sulpicium equitibus praeficiunt. Pedites ab dextro cornu egregie pugnare, haud segniter resistentibus Volscis. P. Sulpicius per mediam hostium aciem cum equitatu perripuit. Unde cum eadem reverti posset ad suos, priusquam hostis turbatos ordines reficeret terga impugnare hostium satius visum est; momentoque temporis in aversam incursando aciem ancipiti terrore dissipasset hostes, ni suo proprio eum proelio equites Volscorum et Aequorum exceptum aliquamdiu tenuissent. Ibi vero Sulpicius negare cunctandi tempus esse, circumventos interclusosque ab suis vociferans, ni equestre proelium conixi omni vi perficerent; nec fugare equitem integrum satis esse: conficerent equos virosque, ne quis reveheretur inde ad proelium aut integraret pugnam; non posse illos resistere sibi, quibus conferta peditum acies cessisset. Haud surdis auribus dicta. Impressionem una totum equitatum fudere, magnam vim ex equis praecipitavere, ipsos equosque spiculis confodere. Is finis pugnae equestris fuit. Tunc adorti peditum aciem, nuntios ad consules rei gestae mittunt, ubi iam inclinabatur hostium acies. Nuntius deinde et vincentibus Romanis animos auxit et referentes gradum perculit Aequos. In media primum acie vinci coepti, qua permissus equitatus turbaverat ordines; sinistrum deinde

cornu ab Quinctio consule pelli coeptum; in dextro plurimum laboris fuit. Ibi Agrippa, aetate viribusque ferox, cum omni parte pugnae melius rem geri quam apud se videret, arrepta signa ab signiferis ipse inferre, quaedam iacere etiam in confertos hostes coepit; cuius ignominiae metu concitati milites invasere hostem. Ita aequata ex omni parte victoria est. Nuntius tum a Quinctio venit victorem iam se imminere hostium castris; nolle inrumpere antequam sciat debellatum et in sinistro cornu esse: si iam fudisset hostes, conferret ad se signa, ut simul omnis exercitus praeda potiretur. Victor Agrippa cum mutua gratulatione ad victorem collegam castraque hostium venit. Ibi paucis defendentibus momentoque fusis, sine certamine in munitiones inrumpunt, praedaeque ingenti compotem exercitum suis etiam rebus reciperatis quae populatione agrorum amissae erant reducunt. Triumphum nec ipsos postulasse nec delatum iis ab senatu accipio, nec traditur causa sprete aut non sperati honoris. Ego quantum in tanto intervallo temporum conicio, cum Valerio atque Horatio consulibus qui praeter Volscos et Aequos Sabini etiam belli perfecti gloriam pepererant negatus ab senatu triumphus esset, verecundiae fuit pro parte dimidia rerum consulibus petere triumphum, ne etiamsi impetrassent magis hominum ratio quam meritorum habita videretur.

[71] Victoriā honestam ex hostibus partam turpe domi de finibus sociorum iudicium populi deformavit. Aricini atque Ardeates de ambiguo agro cum saepe bello certassent, multis in vicem cladibus fessi iudicem populum Romanum cepere. Cum ad causam orandam venissent, concilio populi a magistratibus dato magna contentione actum. Iamque editis testibus, cum tribus vocari et populum inire suffragium oporteret, consurgit P. Scaptius de plebe, magno natu, et ‘si licet’ inquit, ‘consules, de re publica dicere, errare ego populum in hac causa non patiar.’ Cum ut vanum eum negarent consules audiendum esse vociferantemque prodi publicam causam submoveri iussissent, tribunos appellat. Tribuni, ut fere semper reguntur a multitudine magis quam regunt, dedere cupidae audiendi plebi ut quae vellet Scaptius diceret. Ibi infit annum se tertium et octogensimum agere, et in eo agro de quo agitur militasse, non iuvenem, vicesima iam stipendia merentem, cum ad Coriolos sit bellatum. Eo rem se vetustate oblitteratam, ceterum suae memoriae

infixam adferre agrum de quo ambigitur finium Coriolanorum fuisse captisque Coriolis iure belli publicum populi Romani factum. Mirari se quonam ore Ardeates Aricinique, cuius agri ius nunquam usurpaverint incolumi Coriolana re, eum se a populo Romano, quem pro domino iudicem fecerint, intercepturos sperent. Sibi exiguum vitae tempus superesse; non potuisse se tamen inducere in animum quin, quem agrum miles pro parte virili manu cepisset, eum senex quoque voce, qua una posset, vindicaret. Magnopere se suadere populo ne inutili pudore suam ipse causam damnaret.

[72] Consules cum Scaptium non silentio modo, sed cum adsensu etiam audiri animadvertissent, deos hominesque testantes flagitium ingens fieri, patrum primores arcessunt. Cum iis circumire tribus, orare ne pessimum facinus peiore exemplo admitterent iudices in suam rem litem vertendo, cum praesertim etiamsi fas sit curam emolumenti sui iudici esse, nequaquam tantum agro intercipiendo adquiratur, quantum amittatur alienandis iniuria sociorum animis. Nam famae quidem ac fidei damna maiora esse quam quae aestimari possent: hoc legatos referre domum, hoc volgari, hoc socios audire, hoc hostes, quo cum dolore hos, quo cum gaudio illos? Scaptione hoc, contionali seni, adsignaturos putarent finitimos populos? Clarum hac fore imagine Scaptium; sed populum Romanum quadruplatoris et interceptoris litis alienae personam laturum. Quem enim hoc privatae rei iudicem fecisse ut sibi controversiosam adiudicaret rem? Scaptium ipsum id quidem, etsi praemortui iam sit pudoris, non facturum.

Haec consules, haec patres vociferantur; sed plus cupiditas et auctor cupiditatis Scaptius valet. Vocatae tribus iudicaverunt agrum publicum populi Romani esse. Nec abnuitor ita fuisse, si ad iudices alios itum foret; nunc haud sane quicquam bono causae levatur dedecus iudicii; idque non Aricinis Ardeatibusque quam patribus Romanis foedius atque acerbius visum. Reliquum anni quietum ab urbanis motibus et ab externis mansit.

LIBER IV

[1] Hos secuti M. Genucius et C. Curtius consules. Fuit annus domi forisque infestus. Nam principio et de conubio patrum et plebis C. Canuleius tribunus plebis rogationem promulgavit, qua contaminari sanguinem suum patres confundique iura gentium rebantur, et mentio primo sensim inlata a tribunis ut alterum ex plebe consulem liceret fieri, eo processit deinde ut rogationem novem tribuni promulgarent, ut populo potestas esset, seu de plebe seu de patribus vellet, consules faciendi. Id vero si fieret, non volgari modo cum infimis, sed prorsus auferri a primoribus ad plebem summum imperium credebant. Laeti ergo audiere patres Ardeatium populum ob iniuriam agri abiudicati descisse, et Veientes depopulatos extrema agri Romani, et Volscos Aequosque ob communitam Verruginem fremere; adeo vel infelix bellum ignominiosae paci praeferabant. His itaque in maius etiam acceptis, ut inter strepitum tot bellorum conticescerent actiones tribuniciae, dilectus haberi, bellum armaque vi summa apparari iubent, si quo intentius possit quam T. Quinctio consule apparatus sit. Tum C. Canuleius, pauca in senatu vociferatus, nequiquam territando consules avertere plebem a cura novarum legum, nunquam eos se vivo dilectum habituros, antequam ea quae promulgata ab se collegisque essent plebes scivisset, confestim ad contionem advocavit.

[2] Eodem tempore et consules senatum in tribunum et tribunus populum in consules incitabat. Negabant consules iam ultra ferri posse furores tribunicios; ventum iam ad finem esse; domi plus belli concitari quam foris. Id adeo non plebis quam patrum neque tribunorum magis quam consulum culpa accidere. Cuius rei praemium sit in civitate, eam maximis semper auctibus crescere; sic pace bonos, sic bello fieri. Maximum Romae praemium seditionum esse; ideo singulis universisque semper honori fuisse. Reminiscerentur quam maiestatem senatus ipsi a patribus accepissent, quam liberis tradituri essent, vel quem ad modum plebs gloriari posset auctiorem amplioemque esse. Finem ergo non fieri nec futuram donec quam felices seditiones tam honorati seditionum auctores essent. Quas quantasque res C. Canuleium adgressum!

Conlunionem gentium, perturbationem auspicioꝝ publicoꝝ privatoꝝque adferre, ne quid sinceri, ne quid incontaminati sit, ut discrimine omni sublato nec se quisquam nec suos noverit. Quam enim aliam vim conubia promiscua habere nisi ut ferarum prope ritu volgentur concubitus plebis patrumque? Ut qui natus sit ignoret, cuius sanguinis, quorum sacroꝝ sit; dimidius patrum sit, dimidius plebis, ne secum quidem ipse concors. Parum id videri quod omnia divina humanaque turbentur: iam ad consulatum volgi turbatores accingi. Et primo ut alter consul ex plebe fieret, id modo sermonibus temptasse; nunc rogari ut seu ex patribus seu ex plebe velit populus consules creet. Et creaturos haud dubie ex plebe seditiosissimum quemque; Canuleios igitur Iciliosque consules fore. Ne id Iuppiter optimus maximus sineret regiae maiestatis imperium eo recidere; et se miliens morituros potius quam ut tantum dedecoris admitti patiantur. Certum habere maiores quoque, si divinassent concedendo omnia non mitiorem in se plebem, sed asperioꝝ alia ex aliis iniquioꝝ postulando cum prima impetrasset futuram, primo quamlibet dimicationem subituros fuisse potius quam eas leges sibi imponi paterentur. Quia tum concessum sit de tribunis, iterum concessum esse; finem non fieri posse si in eadem civitate tribuni plebis et patres essent; aut hunc ordinem aut illum magistratum tollendum esse, potiusque sero quam nunquam obviam eundem audaciae temeritatie. Illine ut impune primo discordias serentes concitent finitima bella, deinde adversus ea quae concitaverint armari civitatem defendique prohibeant, et cum hostes tantum non arcessierint, exercitus conscribi adversus hostes non patiantur, sed audeat Canuleius in senatu proloqui se nisi suas leges tamquam victoris patres accipi sinant dilectum haberi prohibiturum? Quid esse aliud quam minari se proditurum patriam, oppugnari atque capi passurum! Quid eam vocem animoꝝ, non plebi Romanae, sed Volscis et Aequis et Veientibus allaturam! Nonne Canuleio duce se speraturos Capitolium atque arcem scandere posse? Nisi patribus tribuni cum iure ac maiestate adempta animos etiam eripuerint, consules paratos esse duces prius adversus scelus civium quam adversus hostium arma.

[3] Cum maxime haec in senatu agerentur, Canuleius pro legibus suis et adversus consules ita disseruit: “Quanto opere vos, Quirites,

contemnerent patres, quam indignos ducerent qui una secum urbe intra eadem moenia viveretis, saepe equidem et ante videor animadvertisse, nunc tamen maxime quod adeo atroces in has rogationes nostras coorti sunt, quibus quid aliud quam admonemus cives nos eorum esse et, si non easdem opes habere, eandem tamen patriam incolere? Altera conubium petimus, quod finitimis externisque dari solet; nos quidem civitatem, quae plus quam conubium est, hostibus etiam victis dedimus; — altera nihil novi ferimus, sed id quod populi est repetimus atque usurpamus, ut quibus velit populus Romanus honores mandet. Quid tandem est cur caelum ac terras misceant, cur in me impetus modo paene in senatu sit factus, negent se manibus temperaturos, violaturosque denuntient sacrosanctam potestatem? Si populo Romano liberum suffragium datur, ut quibus velit consulatum mandet, et non praeciditur spes plebeio quoque, si dignus summo honore erit, apiscendi summi honoris, stare urbs haec non poterit? De imperio actum est? Et perinde hoc valet, plebeiusne consul fiat, tamquam servum aut libertinum aliquis consulem futurum dicat? Ecquid sentitis in quanto contemptu vivatis? Lucis vobis huius partem, si liceat, adimant; quod spiratis, quod vocem mittitis, quod formas hominum habetis, indignantur; quin etiam, si dis placet, nefas aiunt esse consulem plebeium fieri. Obsecro vos, si non ad fastos, non ad commentarios pontificum admittimur, ne ea quidem scimus quae omnes peregrini etiam sciunt, consules in locum regum successisse nec aut iuris aut maiestatis quicquam habere quod non in regibus ante fuerit? En unquam creditis fando auditum esse, Numam Pompilium, non modo non patricium sed ne civem quidem Romanum, ex Sabino agro accitum, populi iussu, patribus auctoribus Romae regnasse? L. deinde Tarquinius, non Romanae modo sed ne Italicae quidem gentis, Demarati Corinthii filium, incolam ab Tarquiniis, vivis liberis Anci, regem factum? Ser. Tullium post hunc, captiva Corniculana natum, patre nullo, matre serva, ingenio, virtute regnum tenuisse? Quid enim de T. Tatius Sabino dicam, quem ipse Romulus, parens urbis, in societatem regni accepit? Ergo dum nullum fastiditur genus in quo eniteret virtus, crevit imperium Romanum. Paeniteat nunc vos plebei consulis, cum maiores nostri advenas reges non fastidierint, et ne regibus quidem exactis clausa urbs fuerit peregrinae virtuti?

Claudiam certe gentem post reges exactos ex Sabinis non in civitatem modo accepimus sed etiam in patriciorum numerum. Ex peregrinone patricius, deinde consul fiat, civis Romanus si sit ex plebe, praecisa consulatus spes erit? Utrum tandem non credimus fieri posse, ut vir fortis ac strenuus, pace belloque bonus, ex plebe sit, Numae, L. Tarquinio, Ser. Tullio similis, an, ne si sit quidem, ad gubernacula rei publicae accedere eum patiemur, potiusque decemviris, taeterrimis mortalium, qui tum omnes ex patribus erant, quam optimis regum, novis hominibus, similes consules sumus habituri?

[4] “At enim nemo post reges exactos de plebe consul fuit. Quid postea? Nullane res nova institui debet? Et quod nondum est factum — multa enim nondum sunt facta in novo populo, — ea ne si utilia quidem sunt fieri oportet? Pontifices, augures Romulo regnante nulli erant; ab Numa Pompilio creati sunt. Census in civitate et discriptio centuriarum classiumque non erat; ab Ser. Tullio est facta. Consules nunquam fuerant; regibus exactis creati sunt. Dictatoris nec imperium nec nomen fuerat; apud patres esse coepit. Tribuni plebi, aediles, quaestores nulli erant; institutum est ut fierent. Decemuiros legibus scribendis intra decem hos annos et creavimus et e re publica sustulimus. Quis dubitat quin in aeternum urbe condita, in immensum crescente nova imperia, sacerdotia, iura gentium hominumque instituantur? Hoc ipsum, ne conubium patribus cum plebe esset, non decemviri tulerunt paucis his annis pessimo publico, cum summa iniuria plebis? An esse ulla maior aut insignior contumelia potest quam partem civitatis velut contaminatam indignam conubio haberi? Quid est aliud quam exilium intra eadem moenia, quam relegationem pati? Ne adfinitatibus, ne propinquitatibus immisceamur cavent, ne societur sanguis. Quid? Hoc si polluit nobilitatem istam vestram, quam plerique oriundi ex Albanis et Sabinis non genere nec sanguine sed per cooptationem in patres habetis, aut ab regibus lecti aut post reges exactos iussu populi, sinceram servare privatis consiliis non poteratis, nec ducendo ex plebe neque vestras filias sororesque ecnubere sinendo e patribus? Nemo plebeius patriciae virgini vim adferret; patriciorum ista libido est; nemo invitum pactionem nuptialem quemquam facere coegisset. Verum enimvero lege id prohiberi et conubium tolli patrum ac

plebis, id demum contumeliosum plebi est. Cur enim non fertis, ne sit conubium divitibus ac pauperibus? Quod privatorum consiliorum ubique semper fuit, ut in quam cuique feminae convenisset domum nuberet, ex qua pactus esset vir domo, in matrimonium duceret, id vos sub legis superbissimae vincula conicitis, qua dirimatis societatem civilem duasque ex una civitate faciatis. Cur non sancitis ne vicinus patricio sit plebeius nec eodem itinere eat, ne idem conuivium ineat, ne in foro eodem consistat? Quid enim in re est aliud, si plebeiam patricius duxerit, si patriciam plebeius? Quid iuris tandem immutatur? Nempe patrem sequuntur liberi. Nec quod nos ex conubio vestro petamus quicquam est, praeterquam ut hominum, ut civium numero simus, nec vos, nisi in contumeliam ignominiamque nostram certare iuvat, quod contendatis quicquam est.

[5] Denique utrum tandem populi Romani an vestrum summum imperium est? Regibus exactis utrum vobis dominatio an omnibus aequa libertas parta est? Oportet licere populo Romano, si velit, iubere legem, an ut quaeque rogatio promulgata erit vos dilectum pro poena decernetis, et simul ego tribunus vocare tribus in suffragium coepero, tu statim consul sacramento iuniores adiges et in castra educes, et minaberis plebi, minaberis tribuno? Quid si non quantum istae minae adversus plebis consensum valerent bis iam experti essetis? Scilicet quia nobis consultum volebatis, certamine abstinuistis; an ideo non est dimicatum, quod quae pars firmior eadem modestior fuit? Nec nunc erit certamen, Quirites; animos vestros illi temptabunt semper, vires non experientur. Itaque ad bella ista, seu falsa seu vera sunt, consules, parata vobis plebes est, si conubiis redditis unam hanc civitatem tandem facitis, si coalescere, si iungi miscerique vobis privatis necessitudinibus possunt, si spes, si aditus ad honores viris strenuis et fortibus datur, si in consortio, si in societate rei publicae esse, si, quod aequae libertatis est, in vicem annuis magistratibus parere atque imperitare licet. Si haec impedit aliquis, ferte sermonibus et multiplicata fama bella; nemo est nomen daturus, nemo arma capturus, nemo dimicaturus pro superbis dominis, cum quibus nec in re publica honorum nec in privata conubii societas est.”

[6] Cum in contionem et consules processissent et res a perpetuis orationibus in altercationem vertisset, interroganti tribuno cur

plebeium consulem fieri non oporteret, ut fortasse vere, sic parum utiliter in praesens Curtius respondit, quod nemo plebeius auspicia haberet, ideoque decemviros conubium diremissee ne incerta prole auspicia turbarentur. Plebes ad id maxime indignatione exarsit, quod auspicari, tamquam invisi dis immortalibus, negarentur posse; nec ante finis contentionum fuit, cum et tribunum acerrimum auctorem plebes nacta esset et ipsa cum eo pertinacia certaret, quam victi tandem patres ut de conubio ferretur concessere, ita maxime rati contentionem de plebeiis consulibus tribunos aut totam deposituros aut post bellum dilaturos esse, contentamque interim conubio plebem paratam dilectui fore.

Cum Canuleius victoria de patribus et plebis favore ingens esset, accensi alii tribuni ad certamen pro rogatione sua summa vi pugnant et crescente in dies fama belli dilectum impediunt. Consules, cum per senatum intercedentibus tribunis nihil agi posset, concilia principum domi habebant. Apparebat aut hostibus aut civibus de victoria concedendum esse. Soli ex consularibus valerius atque Horatius non intererant consiliis. C. Claudi sententia consules armabat in tribunos, Quinctiorum Cincinnatique et Capitolini sententiae abhorrebant a caede violandisque quos foedere icto cum plebe sacrosanctos accepissent. Per haec consilia eo deducta est res, ut tribunos militum consulari potestate promisce ex patribus ac plebe creari sinerent, de consulibus creandis nihil mutaretur; eoque contenti tribuni, contenta plebs fuit. Comitia tribunis consulari potestate tribus creandis indicuntur. Quibus indictis, extemplo quicumque aliquid seditiose dixerat aut fecerat unquam, maxime tribunicii, et prensare homines et concursare toto foro candidati coepere, ut patricos desperatio primo inritata plebe apiscendi honoris, deinde indignatio, si cum his gerendus esset honos, deterreret. Postremo coacti tamen a primoribus petiere, ne cessasse possessione rei publicae viderentur. Eventus eorum comitiorum docuit alios animos in contentione libertatis dignitatisque, alios secundum deposita certamina incorrupto iudicio esse; tribunos enim omnes patricos creavit populus, contentus eo quod ratio habita plebeiorum esset. Hanc modestiam aequitatemque et altitudinem animi ubi nunc in uno inveneris, quae tum populi universi fuit?

[7] Anno trecentesimo decimo quam urbs Roma condita erat

primum tribuni militum pro consulibus magistratum ineunt, A. Sempronius Atratinus, L. Atilius, T. Cloelius, quorum in magistratu concordia domi pacem etiam foris praebuit. Sunt qui propter adiectum Aequorum Volscorumque bello et Ardeatium defectioni Veiens bellum, quia duo consules obire tot simul bella nequirent, tribunos militum tres creatos dicant, sine mentione promulgatae legis de consulibus creandis ex plebe, et imperio et insignibus consularibus usos. Non tamen pro firmato iam stetit magistratus eius ius, quia tertio mense quam inierunt, augurum decreto perinde ac vitio creati, honore abiere, quod C. Curtius qui comitiis eorum praefuerat parum recte tabernaculum cepisset.

Legati ab Ardea Romam venerunt, ita de iniuria querentes ut si demeretur ea in foedere atque amicitia mansuros restituto agro appareret. Ab senatu responsum est iudicium populi rescindi ab senatu non posse, praeterquam quod nullo nec exemplo nec iure fieret, concordiae etiam ordinum causa: si Ardeates sua tempora exspectare velint arbitriumque senatui levandae iniuriae suae permittant, fore ut postmodo gaudeant se irae moderatos, sciantque patribus aequae curae fuisse ne qua iniuria in eos oreretur ac ne orta diuturna esset. Ita legati cum se rem integram relatueros dixissent, comiter dimissi.

Patricii cum sine curuli magistratu res publica esset, coiere et interregem creavere. Contentio consulesne an tribuni militum crearentur in interregno rem dies complures tenuit. Interrex ac senatus, consulum comitia, tribuni plebis et plebs, tribunorum militum ut habeantur, tendunt. Vicere patres, quia et plebs, patriciis seu hunc seu illum delatura honorem, frustra certare supersedit, et principes plebis ea comitia malebant, quibus non haberetur ratio sua, quam quibus ut indigni praeterirentur. Tribuni quoque plebi certamen sine effectum in beneficio apud primores patrum reliquere. T. Quinctius Barbatus interrex consules creat L. Papirium Mugillanum, L. Sempronium Atratinum. His consulibus cum Ardeatibus foedus renovatum est; idque monumentum est consules eos illo anno fuisse, qui neque in annalibus priscis neque in libris magistratum inveniuntur. Credo quod tribuni militum initio anni fuerunt, eo perinde ac totum annum in imperio fuerint, suffectis iis consulibus praetermissa nomina consulum horum. Licinius Macer auctor est et

in foedere Ardeatino et in linteis libris ad Monetae ea inventa. Et foris, cum tot terrores a finitimis ostentati essent, et domi otium fuit.

[8] Hunc annum, seu tribunos modo seu tribunis suffectos consules quoque habuit, sequitur annus haud dubiis consulibus, M. Geganio Macerino iterum T. Quinctio Capitolino quintum. Idem hic annus censurae initium fuit, rei a parva origine ortae, quae deinde tanto incremento aucta est, ut morum disciplinaeque Romanae penes eam regimen, senatui equitumque centuriis decoris dedecorisque discrimen sub ditione eius magistratus, ius publicorum privatorumque locorum, vectigalia populi Romani sub nutu atque arbitrio eius essent. Ortum autem initium est rei, quod in populo per multos annos incenso neque differri census poterat neque consulibus, cum tot populorum bella imminerent, operae erat id negotium agere. Mentio inlata apud senatum est rem operosam ac minime consularem suo proprio magistratu egere, cui scribarum ministerium custodiaeque tabularum cura, cui arbitrium formulae censendi subiceretur. Et patres quamquam rem parvam, tamen quo plures patricii magistratus in re publica essent, laeti acceperere, id quod evenit futurum, credo, etiam rati, ut mox opes eorum qui praeesent ipsi honori ius maiestatemque adicerent, et tribuni, id quod tunc erat, magis necessarii quam speciosi ministerii procurationem intuentes, ne in parvis quoque rebus incommode adversarentur, haud sane tetendere. Cum a primoribus civitatis spretus honor esset, Papirium Semproniumque, quorum de consulatu dubitatur, ut eo magistratu parum solidum consulatum explerent, censui agendo populus suffragiis praefecit. Censores ab re appellati sunt.

[9] Dum haec Romae geruntur, legati ab Ardea veniunt, pro veterrima societate renovataque foedere recenti auxilium prope eversae urbi implorantes. Frui namque pace optimo consilio cum populo Romano servata per intestina arma non licuit; quorum causa atque initium traditur ex certamine factionum ortum, quae fuerunt eruntque pluribus populis exitio quam bella externa, quam fames morbiue quaeque alia in deum iras velut ultima publicorum malorum vertunt. Virginem plebei generis maxime forma notam duo petiere iuvenes, alter virgini genere par, tutoribus fretus, qui et ipsi eiusdem corporis erant, nobilis alter, nulla re praeterquam forma captus. Adiuuabant eum optumatum studia, per quae in domum quoque

puellae certamen partium penetravit. Nobilis superior iudicio matris esse, quae quam splendidissimis nuptiis iungi puellam volebat: tutores in ea quoque re partium memores ad suum tendere. Cum res peragi intra parietes nequisset, ventum in ius est. Postulatu audito matris tutorumque, magistratus secundum parentis arbitrium dant ius nuptiarum. Sed vis potentior fuit; namque tutores, inter suae partis homines de iniuria decreti palam in foro contionati, manu facta virginem ex domo matris rapiunt; adversus quos infestior coorta optumatum acies sequitur accensum iniuria iuvenem. Fit proelium atrox. Pulsa plebs, nihil Romanae plebi similis, armata ex urbe profecta, colle quodam capto, in agros optumatum cum ferro ignique excursiones facit; urbem quoque, omni etiam expertium ante certaminis multitudine opificum ad spem praedae evocata, obsidere parat; nec ulla species cladesque belli abest, velut contacta civitate rabie duorum iuvenum funestas nuptias ex occasu patriae petentium. Parum parti utrique domi armorum bellique est visum; optumates Romanos ad auxilium urbis obsessae, plebs ad expugnandam secum Ardeam Volscos excivere. Priores Volsci duce Aequeo Cluilio Ardeam venere et moenibus hostium vallum obicere. Quod ubi Romam est nuntiatum, extemplo M. Geganius consul cum exercitu profectus tria milia passuum ab hoste locum castris cepit, praecipitique iam die curare corpora milites iubet. Quarta deinde vigilia signa profert; coeptumque opus adeo adproperatum est, ut sole orto Volsci firmiore se munimento ab Romanis circumvallatos quam a se urbem viderent; et alia parte consul muro Ardae brachium iniunxerat, qua ex oppido sui commeare possent.

[10] Volscus imperator, qui ad eam diem non commeatu praeparato sed ex populatione agrorum rapto in diem frumento aluisset militem, postquam saeptus vallo repente inops omnium rerum erat, ad conloquium consule evocato, si solvendae obsidionis causa venerit Romanus, abducturum se inde Volscos ait. Adversus ea consul victis condiciones accipiendas esse, non ferendas respondit, neque ut venerint ad oppugnandos socios populi Romani suo arbitrio, ita abituros Volscos esse. Dedi imperatorem, arma poni iubet, et fatentes victos se esse imperio parere; aliter tam abeuntibus quam manentibus se hostem infensum victoriam potius ex Volscis quam pacem infidam Romam relaturum. Volsci exiguum spem in armis alia undique

abscisa cum temptassent, praeter cetera adversa loco quoque iniquo ad pugnam congressi, iniquiore ad fugam, cum ab omni parte caederentur, ad preces a certamine versi, dedito imperatore traditisque armis sub iugum missi, cum singulis vestimentis ignominiae cladisque pleni dimittuntur; et cum haud procul urbe Tusculo consedissent, vetere Tusculanorum odio inermes oppressi dederunt poenas, vix nuntiis caedis relictis. Romanus Ardeae turbatas seditione res principibus eius motus securi percussis bonisque eorum in publicum Ardeatium redactis composuit; demptamque iniuriam iudicii tanto beneficio populi Romani Ardeates credebant; senatui superesse aliquid ad delendum publicae avaritiae monumentum videbatur. Consul triumphans in urbem redit, Cluilio duce Volscorum ante currum ducto praelatisque spoliis quibus dearmatum exercitum hostium sub iugum miserat.

Aequavit, quod haud facile est, Quinctius consul togatus armati gloriam collegae, quia concordiae pacisque domesticam curam iura infimis summisque moderando ita tenuit ut eum et patres severum consulem et plebs satis comem crediderint. Et adversus tribunos auctoritate plura quam certamine tenuit; quinque consulatus eodem tenore gesti vitaeque omnis consulariter acta verendum paene ipsum magis quam honorem faciebant. Eo tribunorum militarium nulla mentio his consulibus fuit;

[11] Consules creant M. Fabium Vibulanum, Postumum Aebutium Cornicinem. Fabius et Aebutius consules, quo maiori gloriae rerum domi forisque gestarum succedere se cernebant, maxime autem memorabilem annum apud finitimos socios hostesque esse quod Ardeatibus in re praecipiti tanta foret cura subuentum, eo impensius ut delerent prorsus ex animis hominum infamiam iudicii, senatus consultum fecerunt ut, quoniam civitas Ardeatium intestino tumultu redacta ad paucos esset, coloni eo praesidii causa adversus Volscos scriberentur. Hoc palam relatum in tabulas, ut plebem tribunosque falleret iudicii rescindendi consilium initum; consenserant autem ut, multo maiore parte Rutulorum colonorum quam Romanorum scripta, nec ager ullus divideretur nisi is, qui interceptus iudicio infami erat, nec ulli prius Romano ibi quam omnibus Rutulis divisus esset, gleba ulla agri adsignaretur. Sic ager ad Ardeates rediit. Triumviri ad coloniam Ardeam deducendam creati Agrippa Menenius T. Cloelius

Siculus, M. Aebutius Helua; qui praeter minime popolare ministerium, agro adsignando sociis quem populus Romanus suum iudicasset cum plebem offendissent, ne primoribus quidem patrum satis accepti, quod nihil gratiae cuiusquam dederant, vexationes ad populum iam die dicta ab tribunis, remanendo in colonia, quam testem integritatis iustitiaeque habebant, vitavere.

[12] Pax domi forisque fuit et hoc et insequente anno, C. Furio Paculo et M. Papirio Crasso consulibus. Ludi ab decemviris per secessionem plebis a patribus ex senatus consulto voti eo anno facti sunt. Causa seditionum nequiquam a Poetelio quaesita, qui tribunus plebis iterum ea ipsa denuntiando factus, neque ut de agris dividendis plebi referrent consules ad senatum pervincere potuit, et cum magno certamine obtinuisset ut consulerentur patres, consulum an tribunorum placeret comitia haberi, consules creati iussi sunt; ludibrioque erant minae tribuni denuntiantis se dilectum impediturum, cum quietis finitimis neque bello neque belli apparatu opus esset.

Sequitur hanc tranquillitatem rerum annus Proculo Geganio Macerino L. Menenio Lanato consulibus multiplici clade ac periculo insignis, seditionibus, fame, regno prope per largitionis dulcedinem in ceruices accepto; unum afuit bellum externum; quo si adgravatae res essent, vix ope deorum omnium resisti potuisset. Coepere a fame mala, seu adversus annus frugibus fuit, seu dulcedine contionum et urbis deserto agrorum cultu; nam utrumque traditur. Et patres plebem desidem et tribuni plebis nunc fraudem, nunc negligentiam consulum accusabant. Postremo perpulere plebem, haud adversante senatu, ut L. Minucius praefectus annonae crearetur, felicius in eo magistratu ad custodiam libertatis futurus quam ad curationem ministerii sui, quamquam postremo annonae quoque levatae haud immeritam et gratiam et gloriam tulit. Qui cum multis circa finitimos populos legationibus terra marique nequiquam missis, nisi quod ex Etruria haud ita multum frumenti advectum est, nullum momentum annonae fecisset, et revolutus ad dispensationem inopiae, profiteri cogendo frumentum et vendere quod usui menstuo superesset, fraudandoque parte diurni cibi servitia, criminando inde et obiciendo irae populi frumentarios, acerba inquisitione aperiret magis quam levaret inopiam, multi ex plebe, spe amissa, potius quam ut

cruciarentur trahendo animam, capitibus obvolutis se in Tiberim praecipitaverunt.

[13] Tum Sp. Maelius ex equestri ordine, ut illis temporibus praediues, rem utilem pessimo exemplo, peiore consilio est adgressus. Frumento namque ex Etruria privata pecunia per hospitem clientiumque ministeria coempto, quae, credo, ipsa res ad levandam publica cura annonam impedimento fuerat, largitiones frumenti facere instituit; plebemque hoc munere delenitam, quacumque incederet, conspectus elatusque supra modum hominis privati, secum trahere, haud dubium consulatum favore ac spe despondentem. Ipse, ut est humanus animus insatiabilis eo quod fortuna spondet, ad altiora et non concessa tendere et, quoniam consulatus quoque eripiendus invitis patribus esset, de regno agitare: id unum dignum tanto apparatu consiliorum et certamine quod ingens exsudandum esset praemium fore. Iam comitia consularia instabant; quae res eum necdum compositis maturisue satis consiliis oppressit. Consul sextum creatus T. Quinctius Capitolinus, minime opportunus vir novanti res; collega additur ei Agrippa Menenius cui Lanatus erat cognomen; et L. Minucius praefectus annonae seu refectus seu, quoad res posceret, in incertum creatus; nihil enim constat, nisi in libros linteos utroque anno relatum inter magistratus praefecti nomen. Hic Minucius eandem publice curationem agens quam Maelius privatim agenda suscepit, cum in utraque domo idem hominum versaretur, rem compertam ad senatum deferret: tela in domum Maeli conferri, eumque contiones domi habere, ac non dubia regni consilia esse. Tempus agenda rei nondum stare: cetera iam convenisse: et tribunos mercede emptos ad prodendam libertatem et partita ducibus multitudinis ministeria esse. Serius se paene quam tutum fuerit, ne cuius incerti vanique auctor esset, ea deferre. Quae postquam sunt audita, cum undique primores patrum et prioris anni consules increparent quod eas largitiones coetusque plebis in privata domo passi essent fieri, et novos consules quod exspectassent donec a praefecto annonae tanta res ad senatum deferretur, quae consulem non auctorem solum desideraret sed etiam vindicem, tum Quinctius consules immerito increpari ait, qui constricti legibus de provocatione ad dissolvendum imperium latis, nequaquam tantum virium in magistratu ad eam rem pro atrocitate vindicandam quantum

animi haberent. Opus esse non forti solum viro sed etiam libero exsolutoque legum vinclis. Itaque se dictatorem L. Quinctium dicturum; ibi animum parem tantae potestati esse. Adprobantibus cunctis, primo Quinctius abnuere et quid sibi vellent rogitare qui se aetate exacta tantae dimicationi obicerent. Dein cum undique plus in illo senili animo non consilii modo sed etiam virtutis esse quam in omnibus aliis dicerent laudibusque haud immeritis onerarent, et consul nihil remitteret, precatus tandem deos immortales Cincinnatus ne senectus sua in tam trepidis rebus damno dedecoriue rei publicae esset, dictator a consule dicitur. Ipse deinde C. Servilium Ahalam magistrum equitum dicit.

[14] Postero die, dispositis praesidiis cum in forum descendisset conversaque in eum plebs novitate rei ac miraculo esset, et Maeliani atque ipse dux eorum in se intentam vim tanti imperii cernerent, expertes consiliorum regni qui tumultus, quod bellum repens aut dictatoriam maiestatem aut Quinctium post octogesimum annum rectorem rei publicae quaesisset rogarent, missus ab dictatore Servilius magister equitum ad Maelium “vocat te” inquit, “dictator”. Cum pavidus ille quid vellet quaereret, Serviliusque causam dicendam esse proponeret crimenque a Minucio delatum ad senatum diluendum, tunc Maelius recipere se in cateruam suorum, et primum circumspectans tergiuersari, postremo cum apparitor iussu magistri equitum duceret, ereptus a circumstantibus fugiensque fidem plebis Romanae implorare, et opprimi se consensu patrum dicere, quod plebi benigne fecisset; orare ut opem sibi ultimo in discrimine ferrent neue ante oculos suos trucidari sinerent. Haec eum vociferantem adsecutus Ahala Servilius obtruncat, respersusque cruore, stipatus caterua patriciorum iuvenum, dictatori renuntiat vocatum ad eum Maelium, repulso apparitore concitantem multitudinem, poenam meritam habere. Tum dictator “Macte virtute” inquit, “C. Servili, esto liberata re publica”.

[15] Tumultuantem deinde multitudinem incerta existimatione facti ad contionem vocari iussit, et Maelium iure caesum pronuntiavit etiamsi regni crimine insons fuerit, qui vocatus a magistro equitum ad dictatorem non venisset. Se ad causam cognoscendam consedissee, qua cognita habiturum fuisse Maelium similem causae fortunam; vim parantem ne iudicio se committeret, vi coercitum esse. Nec cum eo

tamquam cum cive agendum fuisse, qui natus in libero populo inter iura legesque, ex qua urbe reges exactos sciret eodemque anno sororis filios regis et liberos consulis, liberatoris patriae, propter pactionem indicatam recipiendorum in urbem regum a patre securi esse percussos, ex qua Collatinum Tarquinium consulem nominis odio abdicare se magistratu atque exulare iussum, in qua de Sp. Cassio post aliq vot annos propter consilia inita de regno supplicium sumptum, in qua nuper decemviros bonis, exsilio, capite multatos ob superbiam regiam, in ea Sp. Maelius spem regni conceperit. Et quis homo? Quamquam nullam nobilitatem, nullos honores, nulla merita cuiquam ad dominationem pandere viam; sed tamen Claudios, Cassios consulatibus, decemviratibus, suis maiorumque honoribus, splendore familiarum sustulisse animos quo nefas fuerit: Sp. Maelium, cui tribunatus plebis magis optandus quam sperandus fuerit, frumentarium divitem bilibris farris sperasse libertatem se civium suorum emisse, ciboque obiciendo ratum victorem finitimorum omnium populum in servitutem perlici posse, ut quem senatorem concoquere civitas vix posset regem ferret, Romuli conditoris, ab dis orti, recepti ad deos, insignia atque imperium habentem. Non pro scelere id magis quam pro monstro habendum, nec satis esse sanguine eius expiatum, nisi tecta parietesque intra quae tantum amentiae conceptum esset dissiparentur bonaque contacta pretiis regni mercandi publicarentur. Iubere itaque quaestores vendere ea bona atque in publicum redigere.

[16] Domum deinde, ut monumento area esset oppressae nefariae spei, dirui extemplo iussit. Id Aequimaelium appellatum est. L. Minucius bove aurata extra portam Trigeminam est donatus, ne plebe quidem invita, quia frumentum Maelianum assibus in modios aestimatum plebi divisit. Hunc Minucium apud quosdam auctores transisse a patribus ad plebem, undecimumque tribunum plebis cooptatum seditionem motam ex Maeliana caede sedasse invenio; ceterum vix credibile est numerum tribunorum patres augeri passos, idque potissimum exemplum a patricio homine introductum, nec deinde id plebem concessum semel obtinuisse aut certe temptasse. Sed ante omnia refellit falsum imaginis titulum paucis ante annis lege cautum ne tribunis collegam cooptare liceret. Q. Caecilius Q. Iunius Sex. Titinius soli ex collegio tribunorum neque tulerant de

honoribus Minuci legem et criminari nunc Minucium, nunc Servilium apud plebem querique indignam necem Maeli non destiterant. Peruicerunt igitur ut tribunorum militum potius quam consulum comitia haberentur, haud dubii quin sex locis — tot enim iam creari licebat — et plebei aliqui, profitendo se ultores fore Maelianae caedis, crearentur. Plebs quamquam agitata multis eo anno et variis motibus erat, nec plures quam tres tribunos consulari potestate creavit et in his L. Quinctium Cincinnati filium, ex cuius dictaturae invidia tumultus quaerebatur. Praelatus suffragiis Quinctio Mamercus Aemilius, vir summae dignitatis; L. Iulium tertium creant.

[17] In horum magistratu Fidenae, colonia Romana, ad Lartem Tolumnium ac Veientes defecere. Maius additum defectioni scelus: C. Fulcinium Cloelium Tullum Sp. Antium L. Roscium legatos Romanos, causam novi consilii quaerentes, iussu Tolumni interfecerunt. Leuant quidam regis facinus; in tesserarum prospero iactu vocem eius ambiguum, ut occidi iussisse videretur, a Fidenatibus exceptam causam mortis legatis fuisse, — rem incredibilem, interuentu Fidenatium, novorum sociorum, consulentium de caede ruptura ius gentium, non aversum ab intentione lusus animum nec deinde in errorem versum facinus. Propius est fidem obstringi Fidenatium populum ne respicere spem ullam ab Romanis posset conscientia tanti sceleris voluisse. Legatorum qui Fidenis caesi erant statuae publice in Rostris positae sunt. Cum Veientibus Fidenatibusque, praeterquam finitimis populis, ab causa etiam tam nefanda bellum exorsis atrox dimicatio instabat.

Itaque ad curam summae rerum quieta plebe tribunisque eius, nihil controversiae fuit quin consules crearentur M. Geganius Macerinus tertium et L. Sergius Fidenas. A bello credo quod deinde gessit appellatum; hic enim primus cis Anienem cum rege Veientium secundo proelio confligit, nec incruentam victoriam rettulit. Maior itaque ex civibus amissis dolor quam laetitia fuis hostibus fuit; et senatus, ut in trepidis rebus, dictatorem dici Mam. Aemilium iussit. Is magistrum equitum ex collegio prioris anni, quo simul tribuni militum consulari potestate fuerant, L. Quinctium Cincinnatum, dignum parente iuvenem, dixit. Ad dilectum a consulibus habitum centuriones veteres belli periti adiecti et numerus amissorum proxima pugna expletus. Legatos T. Quinctium Capitolinum et M.

Fabium Vibulanum sequi se dictator iussit. Cum potestas maior tum vir quoque potestati par hostes ex agro Romano trans Anienem submovere; collesque inter Fidenas atque Anienem ceperunt referentes castra, nec ante in campos degressi sunt quam legiones Faliscorum auxilio venerunt. Tum demum castra Etruscorum pro moenibus Fidenarum posita. Et dictator Romanus haud procul inde ad confluentes consedit in utriusque ripis amnis, qua sequi munimento poterat vallo interposito. Postero die in aciem eduxit.

[18] Inter hostes variae fuere sententiae. Faliscus procul ab domo militiam aegre patiens satisque fidens sibi, poscere pugnam: Veienti Fidenatique plus spei in trahendo bello esse. Tolumnius, quamquam suorum magis placebant consilia, ne longinquam militiam non paterentur Falisci, postero die se pugnaturum edicit. Dictatori ac Romanis, quod detractasset pugnam hostis, animi accessere; posteroque die iam militibus castra urbemque se oppugnatorios frementibus ni copia pugnae fiat, utrimque acies inter bina castra in medium campi procedunt. Veiens multitudine abundans, qui inter dimicationem castra Romana adgrederentur post montes circummisit. Trium populorum exercitus ita stetit instructus ut dextrum cornu Veientes, sinistrum Falisci tenerent, medii Fidenates essent. Dictator dextro cornu adversus Faliscos, sinistro contra Veientem Capitolinus Quinctius intulit signa; ante mediam aciem cum equitatu magister equitum processit. Parumper silentium et quies fuit, nec Etruscis nisi cogerentur pugnam inituris et dictatore arcem Romanam respectante, ut ex ea ab auguribus, simul aves rite admisissent, ex composito tolleretur signum. Quod simul conspexit, primos equites clamore sublato in hostem emisit; secuta peditum acies ingenti vi confligit. Nulla parte legiones Etruscae sustinere impetum Romanorum; eques maxime resistebat, equitumque longe fortissimus ipse rex ab omni parte effuse sequentibus obequitans Romanis trahebat certamen.

[19] Erat tum inter equites tribunus militum A. Cornelius Cossus, eximia pulchritudine corporis, animo ac viribus par memorque generis, quod amplissimum acceptum maius auctiusque reliquit posteris. Is cum ad impetum Tolumni, quacumque se intendisset, trepidantes Romanas videret turmas insignemque eum regio habitu volitantem tota acie cognosset, “hicine est” inquit, “ruptor foederis

humani violatorque gentium iuris? Iam ego hanc mactatam victimam, si modo sancti quicquam in terris esse di volunt, legatorum manibus dabo”. Calcaribus subditis infesta cuspidem in unum fertur hostem; quem cum ictum equo deiecisset, confestim et ipse hasta innixus se in pedes excepit. Adsurgentem ibi regem umbone resupinat, repetitumque saepius cuspidem ad terram adfixit. Tum exsanguis detracta spolia caputque abscisum victor spiculo gerens terrore caesi regis hostes fundit. Ita equitum quoque fusa acies, quae una fecerat anceps certamen. Dictator legionibus fugatis instat et ad castra compulsos caedit. Fidenatium plurimi locorum notitia effugere in montes. Cossus Tiberim cum equitatu transvectus ex agro Veientano ingentem detulit praedam ad urbem. Inter proelium et ad castra Romana pugnatum est adversus partem copiarum ab Tolumnio, ut ante dictum est, ad castra missam. Fabius Vibulanus corona primum vallum defendit; intentos deinde hostes in vallum, egressus dextra principali cum triariis, repente invadit. Quo pavore iniecto caedes minor, quia pauciores erant, fuga non minus trepida quam in acie fuit.

[20] Omnibus locis re bene gesta, dictator senatus consulto iussuque populi triumphans in urbem rediit. Longe maximum triumphus spectaculum fuit Cossus, spolia opima regis interfecti gerens; in eum milites carmina incondita aequantes eum Romulo canere. Spolia in aede Iovis Feretri prope Romuli spolia quae, prima opima appellata, sola ea tempestate erant, cum sollempni dedicatione dono fixit; averteratque in se a curru dictatoris civium ora et celebritatis eius diei fructum prope solus tulerat. Dictator coronam auream, libram pondo, ex publica pecunia populi iussu in Capitolio Iovi donum posuit.

Omnes ante me auctores secutus, A. Cornelium Cossum tribunum militum secunda spolia opima Iovis Feretri templo intulisse exposui; ceterum, praeterquam quod ea rite opima spolia habentur, quae dux duci detraxit nec ducem novimus nisi cuius auspicio bellum geritur, titulus ipse spoliis inscriptus illos meque arguit consulem ea Cossum cepisse. Hoc ego cum Augustum Caesarem, templorum omnium conditorem aut restitutorem, ingressum aedem Feretri Iovis quam vetustate dilapsam refecit, se ipsum in thorace linteo scriptum legisse audissem, prope sacrilegium ratus sum Cosso spoliorum suorum

Caesarem, ipsius templi auctorem, subtrahere testem. Qui si ea in re sit error quod tam veteres annales quodque magistratuum libri, quos linteos in aede repositos Monetae Macer Licinius citat identidem auctores, septimo post demum anno cum T. Quinctio Poeno A. Cornelium Cossum consulem habeant, existimatio communis omnibus est. Nam etiam illud accedit, ne tam clara pugna in eum annum transferri posset, quod imbellem triennium ferme pestilentia inopiaque frugum circa A. Cornelium consulem fuit, adeo ut quidam annales velut funesti nihil praeter nomina consulum suggerant. Tertius ab consulatu Cossi annus tribunum eum militum consulari potestate habet, eodem anno magistrum equitum; quo in imperio alteram insignem edidit pugnam equestrem. Ea libera coniectura est. Sed, ut ego arbitror, vana versare in omnes opiniones licet, cum auctor pugnae, recentibus spoliis in sacra sede positis, Iovem prope ipsum, cui vota erant, Romulumque intuens, haud spernendos falsi tituli testes, se A. Cornelium Cossum consulem scripserit.

[21] M. Cornelio Maluginense L. Papirio Crasso consulibus exercitus in agrum Veientem ac Faliscum ducti. Praedae abactae hominum pecorumque; hostis in agris nusquam inventus neque pugnandi copia facta; urbes tamen non oppugnatae quia pestilentia populum invasit. Et seditiones domi quaesitae sunt, nec motae tamen, ab Sp. Maelio tribuno plebis, qui favore nominis moturum se aliquid ratus et Minucio diem dixerat et rogationem de publicandis bonis Servili Ahalae tulerat, falsis criminibus a Minucio circumventum Maelium arguens, Servilio caedem civis indemnati obiciens; quae vaniora ad populum ipso auctore fuere. Ceterum magis vis morbi ingravescens curae erat terroresque ac prodigia, maxime quod crebris motibus terrae ruere in agris nuntiabantur tecta. Obsecratio itaque a populo duumviris praeceuntibus est facta.

Pestilentior inde annus C. Iulio iterum et L. Verginio consulibus tantum metus et vastitatis in urbe agrisque fecit, ut non modo praedandi causa quisquam ex agro Romano exiret belluae inferendi memoria patribus aut plebi esset, sed ultro Fidenates, qui se primo aut montibus aut muris tenuerant, populabundi descenderent in agrum Romanum. Deinde Veientium exercitu accito — nam Falisci perPELLI ad instaurandum bellum neque clade Romanorum neque sociorum precibus potuere — duo populi transiere Anienem atque

haud procul Collina porta signa habuere. Trepidatum itaque non in agris magis quam in urbe est. Iulius consul in aggere murisque explicat copias, a verginio senatus in aede Quirini consulitur. Dictatorem dici Q. Servilium placet, cui Prisco alii, alii Structo fuisse cognomen tradunt. Verginius dum collegam consuleret moratus, permittente eo nocte dictatorem dixit; is sibi magistrum equitum Postumum Aebutium Heluam dicit.

[22] Dictator omnes luce prima extra portam Collinam adesse iubet. Quibuscumque vires suppetebant ad arma ferenda praesto fuere. Signa ex aerario prompta feruntur ad dictatorem. Quae cum agerentur, hostes in loca altiora concessere. Eo dictator agmine infesto subit; nec procul Nomento signis conlatis fudit Etruscas legiones. Compulit inde in urbem Fidenas valloque circumdedit; sed neque scalis capi poterat urbs alta et munita neque in obsidione vis ulla erat, quia frumentum non necessitati modo satis, sed copiae quoque abunde ex ante convecto sufficiebat. Ita expugnandi pariter cogendique ad deditionem spe amissa, dictator in locis propter propinquitatem notis ab aversa parte urbis, maxime neglecta quia suapte natura tutissima erat, agere in arcem cuniculum instituit. Ipse diversissimis locis subeundo ad moenia quadrifariam diviso exercitu qui alii aliis succederent ad pugnam, continenti die ac nocte proelio ab sensu operis hostes avertebat, donec perfosso monte erecta in arcem via est, intentisque Etruscis ad vanas a certo periculo minas clamor supra caput hostilis captam urbem ostendit.

Eo anno C. Furius Paculus et M. Geganius Macerinus censores villam publicam in campo Martio probaverunt, ibique primum census populi est actus.

[23] Eosdem consules insequenti anno refectos, Iulium tertium, verginium iterum, apud Macrum Licinium invenio: valerius Antias et Q. Tubero M. Manlium et Q. Sulpicium consules in eum annum edunt. Ceterum in tam discrepanti editione et Tubero et Macer libros linteos auctores profitentur; neuter tribunos militum eo anno fuisse traditum a scriptoribus antiquis dissimulat. Licinio libros haud dubie sequi linteos placet: Tubero incertus veri est. Sit inter cetera vetustate cooperta hoc quoque in incerto positum.

Trepidatum in Etruria est post Fidenas captas, non Veientibus solum exterritis metu similis excidii, sed etiam Faliscis memoria initi

primo cum iis belli, quamquam rebellantibus non adfuerant. Igitur cum duae civitates legatis circa duodecim populos missis impetrassent ut ad voltumnae fanum indiceretur omni Etruriae concilium, velut magno inde tumultu imminente, senatus Mam. Aemilium dictatorem iterum dici iussit. Ab eo A. Postumius Tubertus magister equitum est dictus; bellumque tanto maiore quam proximo conatu apparatus est quanto plus erat ab omni Etruria periculi quam ab duobus populis fuerat.

[24] Ea res aliquanto exspectatione omnium tranquillior fuit. Itaque cum renuntiatum a mercatoribus esset negata Veientibus auxilia, iussosque suo consilio bellum initum suis viribus exsequi nec adversarum rerum quaerere socios, cum quibus spem integram communicati non sint, tum dictator, ne nequiquam creatus esset, materia quaerendae bello gloriae adempta, in pace aliquid operis edere quod monumentum esset dictaturae cupiens, censuram minuere parat, seu nimiam potestatem ratus seu non tam magnitudine honoris quam diuturnitate offensus. Contione itaque advocata, rem publicam foris gerendam ait tutaque omnia praestanda deos immortales suscepisse: se, quod intra muros agendum esset, libertati populi Romani consulturum. Maximam autem eius custodiam esse, si magna imperia diuturna non essent et temporis modus imponeretur, quibus iuris imponi non posset. Alios magistratus annuos esse, quinquennalem censuram; grave esse iisdem per tot annos magna parte vitae obnoxios vivere. Se legem laturum ne plus quam annua ac semestris censura esset. Consensu ingenti populi legem postero die pertulit et “ut re ipsa” inquit, “sciatis, Quirites, quam mihi diuturna non placeant imperia, dictatura me abdicō”. Deposito suo magistratu, imposito fine alteri, cum gratulatione ac favore ingenti populi domum est reductus. Censores aegre passi Mamercum quod magistratum populi Romani minuisset tribu moverunt octuplicatoque censu aerarium fecerunt. Quam rem ipsum ingenti animo tulisse ferunt, causam potius ignominiae intuentem quam ignominiam; primores patrum, quamquam deminutum censurae ius noluisent, exemplo acerbitatis censoriae offensos, quippe cum se quisque diutius ac saepius subiectum censoribus fore cerneret quam censuram gesturum: populi certe tanta indignatio coorta dicitur ut vis a censoribus nullius auctoritate praeterquam ipsius Mamerci deterreri

quiuerit.

[25] Tribuni plebi adsiduis contentionibus prohibendo consularia comitia cum res prope ad interregnum perducta esset, evicere tandem ut tribuni militum consulari potestate crearentur. Victoriae praemium quod petebatur ut plebeius crearetur nullum fuit: omnes patricii creati sunt, M. Fabius Vibulanus M. Folius L. Sergius Fidenas. Pestilentia eo anno aliarum rerum otium praeiuit. Aedis Apollini pro valetudine populi vota est. Multa duumviri ex libris placandae deum irae avertendaeque a populo pestis causa fecere; magna tamen clades in urbe agrisque promiscua hominum pecorumque perniciem accepta. Famem quoque ex pestilentia morbo implicitis cultoribus agrorum timentes in Etruriam Pomptinumque agrum et Cumas, postremo in Siciliam quoque frumenti causa misere. Consularium comitiorum nulla mentio habita est; tribuni militum consulari potestate omnes patricii creati sunt, L. Pinarius Mamercus L. Furius Medullinus Sp. Postumius Albus.

Eo anno vis morbi levata neque a penuria frumenti, quia ante provisum erat, periculum fuit. Consilia ad movenda bella in Volscorum Aequorumque conciliis et in Etruria ad fanum voltumnae agitata. Ibi prolatae in annum res decretoque cautum ne quod ante concilium fieret, nequiquam Veiente populo querente eandem qua Fidenae deletae sint imminere Veis fortunam.

Interim Romae principes plebis, iam diu nequiquam imminentes spei maioris honoris, dum foris otium esset, coetus indicare in domos tribunorum plebis; ibi secreta consilia agitare; queri se a plebe adeo spreto, ut cum per tot annos tribuni militum consulari potestate creentur, nulli unquam plebeio ad eum honorem aditus fuerit. Multum providisse suos maiores qui caverint ne cui patricio plebei magistratus paterent; aut patricos habendos fuisse tribunos plebi; adeo se suis etiam sordere nec a plebe minus quam a patribus contemni. Alii purgare plebem, culpam in patres vertere: eorum ambitione artibusque fieri ut obsaeptum plebi sit ad honorem iter; si plebi respirare ab eorum mixtis precibus minisque liceat, memorem eam suorum inituram suffragia esse et parto auxilio imperium quoque adscituram. Placet tollendae ambitionis causa tribunos legem promulgare ne cui album in vestimentum addere petitionis causa liceret. Parua nunc res et vix serio agenda videri possit, quae tunc

ingenti certamine patres ac plebem accendit. Vicere tamen tribuni ut legem perferrent; apparebatque inirritatis animis plebem ad suos studia inclinaturam. Quae ne libera essent, senatus consultum factum est ut consularia comitia haberentur.

[26] Tumultus causa fuit, quem ab Aequis et Volscis Latini atque Hernici nuntiarant. T. Quinctius L. F. Cincinnatus — eidem et Poeno cognomen additur — et Cn. Iulius Mento consules facti. Nec ultra terror belli est dilatus. Lege sacrata, quae maxima apud eos vis cogendae militiae erat, dilectu habito, utrimque validi exercitus profecti in Algidum convenere, ibique seorsum Aequi, seorsum Volsci castra communivere, intentiorque quam unquam ante muniendi exercendique militem cura ducibus erat. Eo plus nuntii terroris Romam attulere. Senatui dictatorem dici placuit, quia etsi saepe victi populi maiore tamen conatu quam alias unquam rebellarant; et aliquantum Romanae iuventutis morbo absumptum erat. Ante omnia pravitas consulum discordiaque inter ipsos et certamina in consiliis omnibus terrebant. Sunt qui male pugnatum ab his consulibus in Algido auctores sint eamque causam dictatoris creandi fuisse. Illud satis constat ad alia discordes in uno adversus patrum voluntatem consensisse ne dicerent dictatorem, donec cum alia aliis terribiliora adferrentur nec in auctoritate senatus consules essent, Q. Servilius Priscus, summis honoribus egregie usus, “uos” inquit, “tribuni plebis, quoniam ad extrema ventum est, senatus appellat ut in tanto discrimine rei publicae dictatorem dicere consules pro potestate vestra cogatis,” qua voce audita occasionem oblatam rati tribuni augendae potestatis secedunt proque collegio pronuntiant placere consules senatui dicto audientes esse; si adversus consensum amplissimi ordinis ultra tendant, in vincla se duci eos iussuros. Consules ab tribunis quam ab senatu vinci maluerunt, proditum a patribus summi imperii ius datumque sub iugum tribuniciae potestati consulatum memorantes, si quidem cogi aliquid pro potestate ab tribuno consules et — quo quid ulterius privato timendum foret? — in vincla etiam duci possent. Sors ut dictatorem diceret — nam ne id quidem inter collegas convenerat — T. Quinctio evenit. Is A. Postumium Tubertum, socerum suum, severissimi imperii virum, dictatorem dixit; ab eo L. Iulius magister equitum est dictus. Dilectus simul edicatur et iustitium, neque aliud tota urbe agi quam bellum

apparari. Cognitio vacantium militiae munere post bellum differtur; ita dubii quoque inclinant ad nomina danda. Et Hernicis Latinisque milites imperati; utrimque enixe oboeditum dictatori est.

[27] Haec omnia celeritate ingenti acta; relictoque Cn. Iulio consule ad praesidium urbis et L. Iulio magistro equitum ad subita belli ministeria, ne qua res qua eguissent in castris moraretur, dictator, praeunte A. Cornelio pontifice maximo, ludos magnos tumultus causa vovit, profectusque ab urbe, diviso cum Quinctio consule exercitu, ad hostes pervenit. Sicut bina castra hostium parvo inter se spatio distantia viderant, ipsi quoque mille ferme passus ab hoste dictator Tusculo, consul Lanuvio propiorem locum castris ceperunt. Ita quattuor exercitus, totidem munimenta planitiem in medio non parvis modo excursionibus ad proelia, sed vel ad explicandas utrimque acies satis patentem habebant. Nec ex quo castris castra conlata sunt cessatum a levibus proeliis est, facile patiente dictatore conferendo vires spem universae victoriae temptato paulatim eventu certaminum suos praecipere. Itaque hostes nulla in proelio iusto relicta spe, noctu adorti castra consulis rem in casum ancipitis eventus committunt. Clamor subito ortus non consulis modo vigiles, exercitum deinde omnem, sed dictatorem quoque ex somno excivit. Ubi praesenti ope res egebant, consul nec animo defecit nec consilio: pars militum portarum stationes firmat, pars corona vallum cingunt. In alteris apud dictatorem castris quo minus tumultus est, eo plus animadvertitur quid opus facto sit. Missum extemplo ad castra subsidium, cui Sp. Postumius Albus legatus praeficitur: ipse parte copiarum parvo circuitu locum maxime secretum ab tumultu petit, unde ex necopinato aversum hostem invadat. Q. Sulpicium legatum praeficit castris; M. Fabio legato adsignat equites, nec ante lucem movere iubet manum inter nocturnos tumultus moderatu difficilem. Omnia quae vel alius imperator prudens et impiger in tali re praeciperet ageretque, praecipit ordine atque agit: illud eximium consilii animique specimen et neutiquam volgatae laudis, quod ultro ad oppugnanda castra hostium, unde maiore agmine profectos exploratum fuerat, M. Geganium cum cohortibus delectis misit. Qui postquam intentos homines in eventum periculi alieni, pro se incautos neglectis vigiliis stationibusque est adortus, prius paene cepit castra quam oppugnari hostes satis scirent. Inde fumo, ut

convenerat, datum signum ubi conspectum ab dictatore est, exclamat capta hostium castra nuntiarique passim iubet.

[28] Et iam lucebat omniaque sub oculis erant. Et Fabius cum equitatu impetum dederat et consul eruptionem e castris in trepidos iam hostes fecerat; dictator autem parte altera subsidia et secundam aciem adortus, circumagenti se ad dissonos clamores ac subitos tumultus hosti undique obiecerat victorem peditem equitemque. Circumventi igitur iam in medio ad unum omnes poenas rebellionis dedissent, ni vetius Messius ex Volscis, nobilior vir factis quam genere, iam orbem voluentes suos increpans clara voce “hic praebituri” inquit, “uos telis hostium estis indefensi, inulti? Quid igitur arma habetis, aut quid ultro bellum intulistis, in otio tumultuosi, in bello segnes? Quid hic stantibus spei est? An deum aliquem protecturum vos rapturumque hinc putatis? Ferro via facienda est. Hac qua me praegressum videritis, agite, qui visuri domos parentes coniuges liberos estis, ite mecum! Non murus nec vallum sed armati armatis obstant. Virtute pares, necessitate, quae ultimum ac maximum telum est, superiores estis”. Haec locutum exsequentemque dicta redintegrato clamore secuti dant impressionem qua Postumius Albus cohortes obiecerat; et moverunt victorem, donec dictator pedem iam referentibus suis advenit eoque omne proelium versum est. Uni viro Messio fortuna hostium innititur. Multa utrimque volnera, multa passim caedes est; iam ne duces quidem Romani incruenti pugnant. Unus Postumius ictus saxo, perfracto capite acie excessit; non dictatorem umerus vulneratus, non Fabium prope adfixum equo femur, non brachium abscisum consulem ex tam ancipiti proelio submovit.

[29] Messium impetus per stratos caede hostes cum globo fortissimorum iuvenum extulit ad castra Volscorum, quae nondum capta erant. Eodem omnis acies inclinatur. Consul effusus usque ad vallum persecutus ipsa castra vallumque adgreditur; eodem et dictator alia parte copias admovet. Non segnior oppugnatio est quam pugna fuerat. Consulem signum quoque intra vallum iniecisse ferunt, quo milites acrius subirent, repetendoque signo primam impressionem factam. Et dictator proruto vallo iam in castra proelium intulerat. Tum abici passim arma ac dedi hostes coepti, castrisque et his captis, hostes praeter senatores omnes venum dati

sunt. Praedae pars sua cognoscentibus Latinis atque Hernicis reddita, partem sub hasta dictator vendidit; praepositoque consule castris, ipse triumphans invectus urbem dictatura se abdicavit. Egregiae dictaturae tristem memoriam faciunt, qui filium ab A. Postumio, quod occasione bene pugnandi captus iniussu decesserit praesidio, victorem securi percussum tradunt. Nec libet credere, et licet in variis opinionibus; et argumento est quod imperia Manliana, non Postumiana appellata sunt, cum qui prior auctor tam saevi exempli foret, occupaturus insignem titulum crudelitatis fuerit. Imperioso quoque Manlio cognomen inditum; Postumius nulla tristi nota est insignitus.

Cn. Iulius consul aedem Apollinis absente collega sine sorte dedicavit. Aegre id passus Quinctius cum dimisso exercitus in urbem redisset, nequiquam in senatu est conquestus.

Insigni magnis rebus anno additur, nihil tum ad rem Romanam pertinere visum, quod Carthaginienses, tanti hostes futuri, tum primum per seditiones Siculorum ad partis alterius auxilium in Siciliam exercitum traiecere.

[30] Agitatum in urbe ab tribunis plebis ut tribuni militum consulari potestate crearentur nec obtineri potuit. Consules fiunt L. Papirius Crassus, L. Iulius. Aequorum legati foedus ab senatu cum petissent et pro foedere deditio ostentaretur, indutias annorum octo impetraverunt: Volscorum res, super acceptam in Algido cladem, pertinaci certamine inter pacis bellicae auctores in iurgia et seditiones versa: undique otium fuit Romanis. Legem de multarum aestimatione pergratam populo cum ab tribunis parari consules unius ex collegio proditione exceperant, ipsi praeoccupaverunt ferre.

Consules L. Sergius Fidenas iterum Hostius Lucretius Tricipitinus. Nihil dignum dictu actum his consulibus. Secuti eos consules A. Cornelius Cossus T. Quinctius Poenus iterum. Veientes in agrum Romanum excursiones fecerunt. Fama fuit quosdam ex Fidenatium iuventute participes eius populationis fuisse, cognitioque eius rei L. Sergio et Q. Servilio et Mam. Aemilio permissa. Quidam Ostiam relegati, quod cur per eos dies a Fidenis afuissent parum constabat; colonorum additus numerus, agerque iis bello interemptorum adsignatus. Siccitate eo anno plurimum laboratum est, nec caelestes modo defuerunt aquae, sed terra quoque ingenito

umore egens vix ad perennes suffecit amnes. Defectus alibi aquarum circa torridos fontes rivosque stragem siti pecorum morientum dedit; scabie alia absumpta, volgatique in homines morbi. Et primo in agrestes ingruerant servitiaque; urbs deinde impletur. Nec corpora modo adfecta tabo, sed animos quoque multiplex religio et pleraque externa invasit, novos ritus sacrificandi vaticinando inferentibus in domos quibus quaestui sunt capti superstitione animi, donec publicus iam pudor ad primores civitatis pervenit, cernentes in omnibus vicis sacellisque peregrina atque insolita piacula pacis deum exposcendae. Datum inde negotium aedilibus, ut animadverterent ne qui nisi Romani di neu quo alio more quam patrio colerentur.

Irae adversus Veientes in insequentem annum, C. Servilium Ahalam L. Papirium Mugillanum consules, dilatae sunt. Tunc quoque ne confestim bellum indiceretur neue exercitus mitterentur religio obstitit; fetiales prius mittendos ad res repetendas censuere. Cum Veientibus nuper acie dimicatum ad Nomentum et Fidenas fuerat, indutiaeque inde, non pax facta, quarum et dies exierat, et ante diem rebellaverant; missi tamen fetiales; nec eorum, cum more patrum iurati repeterent res, verba sunt audita. Controversia inde fuit utrum populi iussu indiceretur bellum an satis esset senatus consultum. Peruicere tribuni, denuntiando impedituros se dilectum, ut Quinctius consul de bello ad populum ferret. Omnes centuriae iussere. In eo quoque plebs superior fuit, quod tenuit ne consules in proximum annum crearentur.

[31] Tribuni militum consulari potestate quattuor creati sunt, T. Quinctius Poenus ex consulatu C. Furius M. Postumius A. Cornelius Cossus. Ex his Cossus praefuit urbi, tres dilectu habito profecti sunt Veios, documentoque fuere quam plurium imperium bello inutile esset. Tendendo ad sua quisque consilia, cum aliud alii videretur, aperuerunt ad occasionem locum hosti; incertam namque aciem, signum aliis dari, receptui aliis cani iubentibus, invasere opportune Veientes. Castra propinqua turbatos ac terga dantes accepere; plus itaque ignominiae quam cladis est acceptum. Maesta civitas fuit vinci insueta; odisse tribunos, poscere dictatorem: in eo verti spes civitatis. Et cum ibi quoque religio obstaret ne non posset nisi ab consule dici dictator, augures consulti eam religionem exemere. A. Cornelius dictatorem Mam. Aemilium dixit et ipse ab eo magister equitum est

dictus; adeo, simul fortuna civitatis virtute vera eguit, nihil censoria animadversio effecit, quo minus regimen rerum ex notata indigne domo peteretur.

Veientes re secunda elati, missis circum Etruriae populos legatis, iactando tres duces Romanos ab se uno proelio fusos, cum tamen nullam publici consilii societatem movissent, voluntarios undique ad spem praedae adsciuerunt. Uni Fidenatium populo rebellare placuit; et tamquam nisi ab scelere bellum ordiri nefas esset, sicut legatorum ante, ita tum novorum colonorum caede imbutis armis, Veientibus sese coniungunt. Consultare inde principes duorum populorum, Veios an Fidenas sedem belli caperent. Fidenae visae opportuniore; itaque traiecto Tiberi Veientes Fidenas transtulerunt bellum. Romae terror ingens erat. Accito exercitu a Veiiis, eoque ipso ab re male gesta perculso, castra locantur ante portam Collinam, et in muris armati dispositi, et iustitium in foro tabernaeque clausae, fiuntque omnia castris quam urbi similiora,

[32] cum trepidam civitatem praeconibus per vicos dimissis dictator ad contionem advocatam increpuit quod animos ex tam levibus momentis fortunae suspensos gererent ut parva iactura accepta, quae ipsa non virtute hostium nec ignavia Romani exercitus sed discordia imperatorum accepta sit, Veientem hostem sexiens victum pertimescant Fidenasque prope saepius captas quam oppugnatas. Eisdem et Romanos et hostes esse qui per tot saecula fuerint; eisdem animos, easdem corporis vires, eadem arma gerere. Se quoque eundem dictatorem Mam. Aemilium esse qui antea Veientium Fidenatiumque adiunctis Faliscis ad Nomentum exercitus fuderit, et magistrum equitum A. Cornelium eundem in acie fore qui priore bello tribunus militum, Larte Tolumnio rege Veientium in conspectu duorum exercituum occiso, spolia opima Iovis Feretrii templo intulerit. Proinde memores secum triumphos, secum spolia, secum victoriam esse, cum hostibus scelus legatorum contra ius gentium interfectorum, caedem in pace Fidenatium colonorum, indutias ruptas, septimam infelicem defectionem, arma caperent. Simul castra castris coniunxissent, satis confidere nec sceleratissimis hostibus diuturnum ex ignominia exercitus Romani gaudium fore, et populum Romanum intellecturum quanto melius de re publica meriti sint qui se dictatorem tertium dixerint quam qui ob ereptum censurae

regnum labem secundae dictaturae suae imposuerint. Votis deinde nuncupatis profectus mille et quingentos passus citra Fidenas castra locat, dextra montibus, laeua Tiberi amne saeptus. T. Quinctium Poenum legatum occupare montes iubet occultumque id iugum capere, quod ab tergo hostibus foret.

Ipse postero die cum Etrusci pleni animorum ab pristini diei meliore occasione quam pugna in aciem processissent, cunctatus parumper dum speculatores referrent Quinctium evasisse in iugum propinquum arcis Fidenarum, signa profert peditumque aciem instructam pleno gradu in hostem inducit; magistro equitum praecipit ne iniussu pugnam incipiat: se cum opus sit equestri auxilio signum daturum; tum ut memor regiae pugnae, memor opimi doni Romulique ac Iovis Feretri rem gereret. Legiones impetu ingenti confligunt. Romanus odio accensus impium Fidenatem, praedonem Veientem, ruptores indutiarum, cruentos legatorum infanda caede, respersos sanguine colonorum suorum, perfidos socios, imbelles hostes compellans, factis simul dictisque odium explet.

[33] Concusserat primo statim congressu hostem cum repente patefactis Fidenarum portis nova erumpit acies, inaudita ante id tempus invisitataque. Ignibus armata ingens multitudo facibusque ardentibus tota conlucens, velut fanatico instincta cursu in hostem ruit, formaque insolitae pugnae Romanos parumper exterruit. Tum dictator, magistro equitum equitibusque, tum ex montibus Quinctio accito, proelium ciens ipse in sinistrum cornu, quod, incendio similis quam proelio, territum cesserat flammis, accurrit claraque voce “Fumone victi” inquit, “uelut examen apum, loco vestro exacti inermi cedetis hosti? Non ferro exstinguetis ignes? Non faces has ipsas pro se quisque, si igni, non telis pugnandum est, ereptas ultro infertis? Agite, nominis Romani ac virtutis patrum vestraeque memores vertite incendium hoc in hostium urbem, et suis flammis delete Fidenas, quas vestris beneficiis placare non potuistis. Legatorum hoc vos vestrorum colonorumque sanguis vastatique fines monent.” Ad imperium dictatoris mota cuncta acies. Faces partim emissae excipiuntur, partim vi eripiuntur: utraque acies armatur igni. Magister equitum et ipse novat pugnam equestrem; frenos ut detrahant equis imperat, et ipse princeps calcaribus subditis evectus effreno equo in medios ignes infertur, et alii concitati equi libero

cursu ferunt equitem in hostem. Pulvis elatus mixtusque fumo lucem ex oculis virorum equorumque aufert. Ea quae militem terruerat species nihil terruit equos; ruinae igitur similem stragem eques quacumque pervaserat dedit. Clamor deinde accidit novus; qui cum utramque mirabundam in se aciem vertisset, dictator exclamat Quinctium legatum et suos ab tergo hostem adortos; ipse redintegrato clamore infert acrius signa. Cum duae acies, duo diversa proelia circumventos Etruscos et a fronte et ab tergo urgerent, neque in castra retro neque in montes, unde se novus hostis obiecerat, iter fugae esset, et equitem passim liberi frenis distulissent equi, Veientium maxima pars Tiberim effusi petunt, Fidenatium qui supersunt ad urbem Fidenas tendunt. Infert pavidos fuga in mediam caedem; obtruncantur in ripis; alios in aquam compulsos gurgites ferunt; etiam peritos nandi lassitudo et volnera et pavor degravant; pauci ex multis tranant. Alterum agmen fertur per castra in urbem. Eadem et Romanos sequentes impetus rapit, Quinctium maxime et cum eo degressos modo de montibus, recentissimum ad laborem militem, quia ultimo proelio advenerat.

[34] Hi postquam mixti hostibus portam intravere, in muros evadunt, suisque capti oppidi signum ex muro tollunt. Quod ubi dictator conspexit- iam enim et ipse in deserta hostium castra penetraverat, — cupientem militem discurrere ad praedam, spe iniecta maioris in urbe praedae, ad portam ducit, receptusque intra muros in arcem quo ruere fugientium turbam videbat pergit; nec minor caedes in urbe quam in proelio fuit donec abiectis armis nihil praeter vitam petentes dictatori deduntur. Urbs castraque diripiuntur. Postero die singulis captivis ab equite ac centurione sorte ductis et, quorum eximia virtus fuerat, binis, aliis sub corona venundatis, exercitum victorem opulentumque praeda triumphans dictator Romam reduxit; iussoque magistro equitum abdicare se magistratu, ipse deinde abdicat, die sexto decimo reddito in pace imperio quod in bello trepidisque rebus acceperat. Classi quoque ad Fidenas pugnatum cum Veientibus quidam in annales rettulere, rem aequae difficilem atque incredibilem, nec nunc lato satis ad hoc amne et tum aliquanto, ut a veteribus accepimus, artiore, nisi in traiectus forte fluminis prohibendo aliquarum navium concursum in maius, ut fit, celebrantes navalis victoriae vanum titulum appetivere.

[35] Insequens annus tribunos militares consulari potestate habuit A. Sempronium Atratinum L. Quinctium Cincinnatum L. Furium Medullinum L. Horatium Barbatum. Veientibus annorum viginti indutiae datae et Aequis triennii, cum plurium annorum petissent; et a seditionibus urbanis otium fuit.

Annum insequentem neque bello foris neque domi seditione insignem ludi bello voti celebrem et tribunorum militum apparatu et finitimorum concursu fecere. Tribuni consulari potestate erant Ap. Claudius Crassus Sp. Nautius Rutulus, L. Sergius Fidenas Sex. Iulius Iulus. Spectaculum comitate etiam hospitum, ad quam publice consenserant, advenis gratius fuit. Post ludos contiones seditiosae tribunorum plebi fuerunt, obiurgantium multitudinem quod admiratione eorum quos odisset, stupens in aeterno se ipsa teneret servitio, et non modo ad spem consulatus in partem revocandam adspirare non auderet, sed ne in tribunis quidem militum creandis, quae communia essent comitia patrum ac plebis, aut sui aut suorum meminisset. Desineret ergo mirari cur nemo de commodis plebis ageret; eo impendi laborem ac periculum unde emolumentum atque honos speretur; nihil non adgressuros homines si magna conatis magna praemia proponantur; ut quidem aliquis tribunus plebis ruat caecus in certamina periculo ingenti, fructu nullo, ex quibus pro certo habeat, patres, adversus quos tenderet, bello inexpiabili se persecuturos, apud plebem, pro qua dimicaverit, nihilo se honoratiorem fore, neque sperandum neque postulandum esse. Magnos animos magnis honoribus fieri. Neminem se plebeium contempturum ubi contemni desissent. Experiendam rem denique in uno aut altero esse sitne aliqui plebeius ferendo magno honori an portento simile miraculoque sit fortem ac strenuum virum aliquem exsistere ortum ex plebe. Summa vi expugnatum esse ut tribuni militum consulari potestate et ex plebe crearentur. Petisse viros domi militiaeque spectatos; primis annis suggillatos, repulsos, risui patribus fuisse; desisse postremo praebere ad contumeliam os. Nec se videre cur non lex quoque abrogetur, qua id liceat quod nunquam futurum sit; minorem quippe ruborem fore in iuris iniquitate, quam si per indignitatem ipsorum praetereantur.

[36] Huius generis orationes cum adsensu auditae incitavere quosdam ad petendum tribunatum militum, alium alia de commodis

plebis laturum se in magistratu profitentem. Agri publici dividendi coloniarumque deducendarum ostentatae spes et vectigali possessoribus agrorum imposito in stipendium militum erogandi aeris. Captatum deinde tempus ab tribunis militum, quo per discessum hominum ab urbe, cum patres clandestina denuntiatione revocati ad diem certam essent, senatus consultum fieret absentibus tribunis plebi ut quoniam Volscos in Hernicorum agros praedatum exisse fama esset, ad rem inspiciendam tribuni militum proficiscerentur consulariaque comitia haberentur. Profecti Ap. Claudium, filium decemviri, praefectum urbis relinquunt, impigrum iuvenem et iam inde ab incunabulis imbutum odio tribunorum plebisque. Tribuni plebi nec cum absentibus iis qui senatus consultum fecerant, nec cum Appio, transacta re, quod contenderent, fuit.

[37] Creati consules sunt C. Sempronius Atratinus Q. Fabius Vibulanus.

Peregrina res, sed memoria digna traditur eo anno facta, volturnum, Etruscorum urbem, quae nunc Capua est, ab Samnitibus captam, Capuamque ab duce eorum Capye vel, quod propius vero est, a campestri agro appellatam. Cepere autem, prius bello fatigatis Etruscis, in societatem urbis agrorumque accepti, deinde festo die graves somno epulisque incolas veteres novi coloni nocturna caede adorti.

His rebus actis, consules ii, quos diximus, idibus Decembribus magistratum occepere. Iam non solum qui ad id missi erant rettulerant imminere Volscum bellum, sed legati quoque ab Latinis et Hernicis nuntiabant non ante unquam Volscos nec ducibus legendis nec exercitui scribendo intentiores fuisse; volgo fremere aut in perpetuum arma bellumque oblivioni danda iugumque accipiendum, aut iis cum quibus de imperio certetur, nec virtute nec patientia nec disciplina rei militaris cedendum esse. Haud vana attulere; sed nec perinde patres moti sunt, et C. Sempronius cui ea provincia sorti evenit tamquam constantissimae rei fortunae fretus, quod victoris populi adversus victos dux esset omnia temere ac negligenter egit, adeo ut disciplinae Romanae plus in Volscis exercitu quam in Romano esset. Ergo fortuna, ut saepe alias, virtutem est secuta. Primo proelio, quod ab Sempronio incaute inconsulteque

commissum est, non subsidiis firmata acie, non equite apte locato concursus est. Clamor indicium primum fuit quo res inclinatura esset, excitatio crebriorque ab hoste sublati: ab Romanis dissonus, impar, segnius saepe iteratus prodidit pavorem animorum. Eo ferocior inlatus hostis urgere scutis, micare gladiis. Altera ex parte nutant circumspectantibus galeae, et incerti trepidant applicantque se turbae; signa nunc resistentia deseruntur ab antesignanis, nunc inter suos manipulos recipiuntur. Nondum fuga certa, nondum victoria erat; tegi magis Romanus quam pugnare; Volscus inferre signa, urgere aciem, plus caedis hostium videre quam fugae.

[38] Iam omnibus locis ceditur, nequiquam Sempronio consule obiurgante atque hortante. Nihil nec imperium nec maiestas valebat, dataque mox terga hostibus forent, ni Sex. Tempanius, decurio equitum, labante iam re praesenti animo subvenisset. Qui cum magna voce exclamasset ut equites, qui saluam rem publicam vellent esse, ex equis desilirent, omnium turmarum equitibus velut ad consulis imperium motis, “nisi haec” inquit, “parmata cohors sistit impetum hostium, actum de imperio est. Sequimini pro vexillo cuspidem meam; ostendite Romanis Volscisque neque equitibus vobis ullos equites nec peditibus esse pedites pares”. Cum clamore comprobata adhortatio esset, vadit alte cuspidem gerens. Quacumque incedunt, vi viam faciunt; eo se inferunt obiectis parmis, ubi suorum plurimum laborem vident. Restituitur omnibus locis pugna, in quae eos impetus tulit; nec dubium erat quin, si tam pauci simul obire omnia possent, terga daturi hostes fuerint.

[39] Et cum iam parte nulla sustinerentur, dat signum Volscus imperator, ut parmatis, novae cohorti hostium, locus detur donec impetu inlati ab suis excludantur. Quod ubi est factum, interclusi equites nec perrumpere eadem qua transierant posse, ibi maxime confertis hostibus qua viam fecerant, et consul legionesque Romanae cum quod tegumen modo omnis exercitus fuerat nusquam viderent, ne tot fortissimos viros interclusos opprimeret hostis, tendunt in quemcumque casum. diversi Volsci hinc consulem ac legiones sustinere, altera fronte instare Tempanio atque equitibus; qui cum saepe conati nequissent perrumpere ad suos, tumultu quodam occupato in orbem se tutabantur, nequaquam inulti; nec pugnae finis ante noctem fuit.. Consul quoque nusquam remisso certamine dum

quicquam superfuit lucis hostem tenuit. Nox incertos diremit; tantusque ab imprudentia eventus utraque castra tenuit pavor ut relictis sauciis et magna parte impedimentorum ambo pro victis exercitus se in montes proximos reciperent. Tumulus tamen circumsessus ultra mediam noctem est; quo cum circumsedentibus nuntiatum esset castra deserta esse, victos rati suos et ipsi, qua quemque in tenebris pavor tulit, fugerunt. Tempanius metu insidiarum suos ad lucem tenuit. Digressus deinde ipse cum paucis speculatum, cum ab sauciis hostibus sciscitando comperisset castra Volscorum deserta esse, laetus ab tumultu suos devocat et in castra Romana penetrat. Ubi cum vasta desertaque omnia atque eandem quam apud hostes foeditatem invenisset, priusquam Volscos cognitus error reduceret, quibus poterat sauciis ductis secum, ignarus quam regionem consul petisset, ad urbem proximis itineribus pergit.

[40] Iam eo fama pugnae adversae castrorumque desertorum perlata erat, et ante omnia deplorati erant equites non privato magis quam publico luctu, Fabiusque consul terrore urbi quoque iniecto stationem ante portas agebat, cum equites procul visi non sine terrore ab dubiis quinam essent, mox cogniti tantam ex metu laetitiam fecere, ut clamor urbem pervaderet gratulantium salvos victoresque redisse equites, et ex maestis paulo ante domibus quae conclamaverant suos, procurreretur in vias, pavidaeque matres ac coniuges, oblitae prae gaudio decoris, obviam agmini occurrerent, in suos quaeque simul corpore atque animo, vix prae gaudio compotes, effusae. Tribunis plebi qui M. Postumio et T. Quinctio diem dixerant, quod ad Veios eorum opera male pugnatum esset, occasio visa est per recens odium Semproni consulis renovandae in eos invidiae. Itaque advocata contione cum proditam Veiis rem publicam esse ab ducibus, proditum deinde, quia illis impune fuerit, in Volscis ab consule exercitum, traditos ad caedem fortissimos equites, deserta foede castra vociferati essent, C. Iunius, unus ex tribunis, Tempanium equitem vocari iussit coramque ei “Sex. Tempani” inquit, “quaero de te arbitrerisne C. Sempronium consulem aut in tempore pugnam inisse aut firmasse subsidiis aciem aut ullo boni consulis functum officio; et tune ipse, victis legionibus Romanis, tuo consilio equitem ad pedes deduxeris restituerisque pugnam; excluso deinde ab acie nostra tibi atque equitibus num aut consul ipse

subuenerit aut miserit praesidium; postero denique die ecquid praesidii usquam habueris, an tu cohorsque in castra vestra virtute perruperitis; ecquem in castris consulem, ecquem exercitum inveneritis an deserta castra, relictos saucios milites. Haec pro virtute tua fideque, qua una hoc bello res publica stetit, dicenda tibi sunt hodie; denique ubi C. Sempronius, ubi legiones nostrae sint; desertus sis an deserueris consulem exercitumque; victi denique simus an vicerimus.”

[41] Adversus haec Tempani oratio incompta fuisse dicitur, ceterum militariter gravis, non suis vana laudibus, non crimine alieno laeta: quanta prudentia rei bellicae in C. Sempronio esset, non militis de imperatore existimationem esse, sed populi Romani fuisse, cum eum comitiis consulem legeret. Itaque ne ab se imperatoria consilia neu consulares artes exquirent, quae pensitanda quoque magnis animis atque ingeniis essent; sed quod viderit referre posse. Vidisse autem se priusquam ab acie intercluderetur consulem in prima acie pugnantem, adhortantem, inter signa Romana telaque hostium versantem. Postea se a conspectu suorum ablatum ex strepitu tamen et clamore sensisse usque ad noctem extractum certamen; nec ad tumultum quem ipse tenuerat prae multitudine hostium credere perrumpi potuisse. Exercitus ubi esset se nescire; arbitrari, velut ipse in re trepida loci praesidio se suosque sit tutatus, sic consulem servandi exercitus causa loca tutiora castris cepisse; nec Volscorum meliores res esse credere quam populi Romani; fortunam noctemque omnia erroris mutui implesse. Precantemque deinde ne se fessum labore ac vulneribus tenerent, cum ingenti laude non virtutis magis quam moderationis dimissum. Cum haec agerentur, iam consul via Labicana ad fanum Quietis erat. Eo missa plaustra iumentaue alia ab urbe exercitum adfectum proelio ac via nocturna excepere. Paulo post in urbem est ingressus consul, non ab se magis enixe amovens culpam quam Tempanium meritis laudibus ferens. Maestae civitati ab re male gesta et iratae ducibus M. Postumius reus obiectus, qui tribunus militum pro consule ad Veios fuerat, decem milibus aeris gravis damnatur. T. Quinctium collegam eius, quia et in Volscis consul auspicio dictatoris Postumi Tuberti et ad Fidenas legatus dictatoris alterius Mam. Aemili res prospere gesserat, totam culpam eius temporis in praedamnatum collegam transferentem omnes tribus

absolverunt. Profuisse ei Cincinnati patris memoria dicitur, venerabilis viri, et exactae iam aetatis Capitolinus Quinctius, suppliciter orans ne se, brevi reliquo vitae spatio, tam tristem nuntium ferre ad Cincinnatum paterentur.

[42] Plebs tribunos plebi absentes Sex. Tempanium M. Asellium Ti. Antistium Ti. Spurillium fecit, quos et pro centurionibus sibi praefecerant Tempanio auctore equites. Senatus cum odio Semproni consulare nomen offenderet, tribunos militum consulari potestate creari iussit. Creati sunt L. Manlius Capitolinus Q. Antonius Merenda L. Papirius Mugillanus. Principio statim anni L. Hortensius tribunus plebis C. Sempronio, consuli anni prioris, diem dixit. Quem cum quattuor collegae inspectante populo Romano orarent ne imperatorem suum innoxium, in quo nihil praeter fortunam reprehendi posset, vexaret, aegre Hortensius pati, temptationem eam credens esse perseverantiae suae, nec precibus tribunorum, quae in speciem modo iactentur, sed auxilio confidere reum. Itaque modo ad eum conversus, ubi illi patricii spiritus, ubi subnixus et fidens innocentiae animus esset quaerebat; sub tribunicia umbra consularem virum delituisse; modo ad collegas: “Vos autem, si reum perago, quid acturi estis? an erepturi ius populo et eversuri tribuniciam potestatem?” Cum illi et de Sempronio et de omnibus summam populi Romani potestatem esse dicerent, nec se iudicium populi tollere aut velle aut posse, sed si preces suae pro imperatore, qui sibi parentis esset loco, non valuissent, se vestem cum eo mutaturos, tum Hortensius “Non videbit” inquit, “plebs Romana sordidatos tribunos suos. C. Sempronium nihil moror, quando hoc est in imperio consecutus ut tam carus esset militibus”. Nec pietas quattuor tribunorum quam Hortensi tam placabile ad iustas preces ingenium pariter plebi patribusque gratius fuit.

Non diutius fortuna Aequis indulisit, qui ambiguam victoriam Volscorum pro sua amplexi fuerant.

[43] Proximo anno Num. Fabio Vibulano T. Quinctio Capitolini filio Capitolino consulibus ductu Fabii, cui sorte ea provincia evenerat, nihil dignum memoratu actum. Cum trepidam tantum ostendissent aciem Aequi, turpi fuga funduntur, haud magno consulis decore. Itaque triumphus negatus, ceterum ob Sempronianae cladis levatam ignominiam ut ovans urbem intraret concessum est.

Quemadmodum bellum minore quam timuerant dimicatione erat perfectum, sic in urbe ex tranquillo necopinata moles discordiarum inter plebem ac patres exorta est, coepta ab duplicando quaestorum numero. Quam rem — praeter duos urbanos ut crearentur alii quaestores duo qui consulibus ad ministeria belli praesto essent — a consulibus relatam cum et patres summa ope adprobassent, tribuni plebi certamen intulerunt ut pars quaestorum — nam ad id tempus patricii creati erant — ex plebe fieret. Adversus quam actionem primo et consules et patres summa ope adnisi sunt concedendo deinde ut quemadmodum in tribunis consulari potestate creandis, sic in quaestoribus liberum esset arbitrium populi, cum parum proficerent, totam rem de augendo quaestorum numero omittunt. Excipiunt omissam tribuni, aliaeque subinde, inter quas et agrariae legis, seditiosae actiones exsistunt; propter quos motus cum senatus consules quam tribunos creari mallet, neque posset per intercessionem tribunicias senatus consultum fieri, res publica a consulibus ad interregnum, neque id ipsum — nam coire patricos tribuni prohibebant — sine certamine ingenti, redit. Cum pars maior insequentis anni per novos tribunos plebi et alique votis interreges certaminibus extracta esset, modo prohibentibus tribunis patricos coire ad prodendum interregem, modo interregem interpellantibus ne senatus consultum de comitiis consularibus faceret, postremo L. Papirius Mugillanus proditus interrex, castigando nunc patres, nunc tribunos plebi, desertam omissamque ab hominibus rem publicam, deorum providentia cura exceptam memorabat Veientibus indutiis et cunctatione Aequorum stare. Unde si quid increpet terroris, sine patricio magistratu placere rem publicam opprimi? Non exercitum, non ducem scribendo exercitui esse? An bello intestino bellum externum propulsaturos? Quae si in unum convenient, vix deorum opibus quin obruatur Romana res resisti posse. Quin illi, remittendo de summa quisque iuris mediis consiliis copularent concordiam, patres patiendos tribunos militum pro consulibus fieri, tribuni plebi non intercedendo quo minus quattuor quaestores promisce de plebe ac patribus libero suffragio populi fierent?

[44] Tribunicia primum comitia sunt habita. Creati tribuni consulari potestate omnes patricii, L. Quinctius Cincinnatus tertium L. Furius Medullinus iterum M. Manlius A. Sempronius Atratinus. Hoc

tribuno comitia quaestorum habente, petentibusque inter alii vot plebeios filio A. Antisti tribuni plebis et fratre alterius tribuni plebis Sex. Pompili, nec potestas nec suffragatio horum valuit quin quorum patres auosque consules viderant eos nobilitate praeferrent. Furere omnes tribuni plebi, ante omnes Pompilius Antistiusque, repulsa suorum accensi. Quidnam id rei esset? Non suis beneficiis, non patrum iniuriis, non denique usurpandi libidine, cum liceat quod ante non licuerit, si non tribunum militarem, ne quaestorem quidem quemquam ex plebe factum. Non valuisse patris pro filio, fratris pro fratre preces, tribunorum plebis, potestatis sacrosanctae, ad auxilium libertatis creatae. Fraudem profecto in re esse, et A. Sempronium comitiis plus artis adhibuisse quam fidei. Eius iniuria queri suos honore deiectos. Itaque cum in ipsum, et innocentia tutum et magistratu, in quo tunc erat, impetus fieri non posset, flexere iras in C. Sempronium, patrualem Atratinum, eique ob ignominiam Volsci belli adiutore collega M. Canuleio diem dixere. Subinde ab iisdem tribunis mentio in senatu de agris dividendis inlata est, cui actioni semper acerrime C. Sempronius restiterat, ratis, id quod erat, aut deposita causa leviolem futurum apud patres reum aut perseverantem sub iudicii tempus plebem offensurum. Adversae invidiae obici maluit et suae nocere causae quam publicae deesse, stetitque in eadem sententia ne qua largitio, cessura in triumphum gratiam tribunorum, fieret; nec tum agrum plebi, sed sibi invidiam quaeri; se quoque subiturum eam tempestatem forti animo; nec senatui tanti se civem aut quemquam alium debere esse, ut in parcendo uni malum publicum fiat. Nihilo demissiore animo, cum dies venit causa ipse pro se dicta, nequiquam omnia expertis patribus ut mitigarent plebem, quindecim milibus aeris damnatur.

Eodem anno Postumia virgo vestalis de incestu causam dixit, crimine innoxia, ab suspitione propter cultum amoeniorem ingeniumque liberius quam virginem decet parum abhorrens. Eam ampliata, deinde absolutam pro collegii sententia pontifex maximus abstinere iocis colique sancte potius quam scite iussit. Eodem anno a Campanis Cumae, quam Graeci tum urbem tenebant, capiuntur.

Insequens annus tribunos militum consulari potestate habuit Agrippam Menenium Lanatum P. Lucretium Tricipitinum Sp.

Nautium Rutulum,

[45] Annus, felicitate populi Romani, periculo potius ingenti quam clade insignis. Servitia urbem ut incenderent distantibus locis coniurarunt, populoque ad opem passim ferendam tectis intento ut arcem Capitoliumque armati occuparent. Avertit nefanda consilia Iuppiter, indicioque duorum comprehensi fontes poenas dederunt. Indicibus dena milia gravis aeris, quae tum divitiae habebantur, ex aerario numerata et libertas praemium fuit.

Bellum inde ab Aequis reparari coeptum; et novos hostes Labicanos consilia cum veteribus iungere, haud incertis auctoribus Romam est allatum. Aequorum iam velut anniuersariis armis adsueuerat civitas; Labicos legati missi cum responsa inde rettulissent dubia, quibus nec tum bellum parari nec diuturnam pacem fore appareret, Tusculanis negotium datum adverterent animos ne quid novi tumultus Labicis oreretur.

Ad insequentis anni tribunos militum consulari potestate, inito magistratu, legati ab Tusculo venerunt, L. Sergium Fidenatem M. Papirium Mugillanum C. Servilium Prisci filium, quo dictatore Fidenae captae fuerant. Nuntiabant legati Labicanos arma cepisse et cum Aequorum exercitu depopulatos agrum Tusculanum castra in Algido posuisse. Tum Labicanis bellum indictum; factoque senatus consulto ut duo ex tribunis ad bellum proficiscerentur, unus res Romae curaret, certamen subito inter tribunos exortum; se quisque belli ducem potiolem ferre, curam urbis ut ingratam ignobilemque aspernari. Cum parum decorum inter collegas certamen mirabundi patres conspicerent, Q. Servilius “quando nec ordinis huius ulla” inquit, “nec rei publicae est verecundia, patria maiestas altercationem istam dirimet. Filius meus extra sortem urbi praeerit. Bellum utinam, qui adpetunt, consideratius concordiusque quam cupiunt gerant”.

[46] Dilectum haberi non ex toto passim populo placuit; decem tribus sorte ductae sunt; ex iis scriptos iuniores duo tribuni ad bellum duxere. Coepta inter eos in urbe certamina cupiditate eadem imperii multo impensius in castris accendi; nihil sentire idem, pro sententia pugnare; sua consilia velle, sua imperia sola rata esse; contemnere in vicem et contemni, donec castigantibus legatis tandem ita comparatum est ut alternis diebus summam imperii haberent. Quae cum allata Romam essent, dicitur Q. Servilius, aetate et usu doctus,

precatus ab dis immortalibus ne discordia tribunorum damnosior rei publicae esset quam ad Veios fuisset, et velut haud dubia clade imminente, instituisse filio ut milites scriberet et arma pararet. Nec falsus vates fuit. Nam ductu L. Sergi, cuius dies imperii erat, loco iniquo sub hostium castris, cum quia simulato metu receperat se hostis ad vallum, spes vana expugnandi castra eo traxisset, repentino impetu Aequorum per supinam vallem fusi sunt, multique in ruina maiore quam fuga oppressi obtruncatique; castraque eo die aegre retenta, postero die circumfusus iam magna ex parte hostibus per aversam portam fuga turpi deseruntur. Duces legatique et quod circa signa roboris de exercitu fuit Tusculum petiere: palati alii per agros passim multis itineribus maioris quam accepta erat cladis nuntii Romam contenderunt. Minus trepidationis fuit, quod eventus timori hominum congruens fuerat, et quod subsidia quae respicerent in re trepida praeparata erant ab tribuno militum. Iussuque eiusdem per minores magistratus sedato in urbe tumultu, speculatores propere missi nuntiavere Tusculi duces exercitumque esse, hostem castra loco non movisse. Et quod plurimum animorum fecit, dictator ex senatus consulto dictus Q. Servilius Priscus, vir cuius providentiam in re publica cum multis aliis tempestatibus ante experta civitas erat, tum eventu eius belli, quod uni certamen tribunorum suspectum ante rem male gestam fuerat. Magistro equitum creato, a quo ipse tribuno militum dictator erat dictus, filio suo — ut tradidere quidam; nam alii Ahalam Servilium magistrum equitum eo anno fuisse scribunt, — nouo exercitu profectus ad bellum, accitis qui Tusculi erant, duo milia passuum ab hoste locum castris cepit.

[47] Transierat ex re bene gesta superbia neglegentiaque ad Aequos, quae in Romanis ducibus fuerat. Itaque primo statim proelio cum dictator equitatu immisso antesignanos hostium turbasset, legionum inde signa inferri propere iussit signiferumque ex suis unum cunctantem occidit. Tantus ardor ad dimicandum fuit ut impetum Aequi non tulerint; victique acie cum fuga effusa petissent castra, brevior tempore et certamine minor castrorum oppugnatio fuit quam proelium fuerat. Captis direptisque castris cum praedam dictator militi concessisset, secutique fugientem ex castris hostem equites renuntiassent omnes Labicanos victos, magnam partem Aequorum Labicos confugisse, postero die ad Labicos ductus

exercitus oppidumque corona circumdata scalis captum ac direptum est. Dictator exercitu victore Romam reducto, die octavo quam creatus erat, magistratu se abdicavit; et opportune senatus priusquam ab tribunis plebi agrariae seditiones mentione inlata de agro Labicano dividendo fierent, censuit frequens coloniam Labicos deducendam. Coloni ab urbe mille et quingenti missi bina iugera acceperunt.

Captis Labicis, ac deinde tribunis militum consulari potestate Agrippa Menenio Lanato et C. Servilio Structo et P. Lucretio Tricipitino, iterum omnibus his, et Sp. Rutilio Crasso, et insequente anno A. Sempronio Atriatino tertium, et duobus iterum, M. Papirio Mugillano et Sp. Nautio Rutulo, biennium tranquillae externae res, discordia domi ex agrariis legibus fuit.

[48] Turbatores volgi erant Sp. Maecilius quartum et M. Metilius tertium tribuni plebis, ambo absentes creati. Ei cum rogationem promulgassent ut ager ex hostibus captus viritim divideretur, magnaeque partis nobilium eo plebiscito publicarentur fortunae — nec enim ferme quicquam agri, ut in urbe alieno solo posita, non armis partum erat, nec quod venisset adsignatumue publice esset praeterquam plebs habebat, — atrox plebi patribusque propositum videbatur certamen. Nec tribuni militum, nunc in senatu, nunc conciliis privatis principum cogendis, viam consilii inveniebant, cum Ap. Claudius, nepos eius qui decemvir legibus scribendis fuerat, minimus natu ex patrum concilio, dicitur dixisse vetus se ac familiare consilium domo adferre; proavum enim suum Ap. Claudium ostendisse patribus viam unam dissolvendae tribuniciae potestatis per collegarum intercessionem. Facile homines novos auctoritate principum de sententia deduci, si temporum interdum potius quam maiestatis memor adhibeatur oratio. Pro fortuna illis animos esse; ubi videant collegas principes agenda rei gratiam omnem ad plebem praeoccupasse nec locum in ea relictum sibi, haud gravate acclinaturos se ad causam senatus, per quam cum universo ordini, tum primoribus se patrum concilient. Adprobantibus cunctis et ante omnes Q. Servilio Prisco, quod non degenerasset ab stirpe Claudia, conlaudante iuvenem, negotium datur ut quos quisque posset ex collegio tribunorum ad intercessionem perlicerent. Misso senatu, prensantur ab principibus tribuni. Suadendo monendo pollicendoque, gratum id singulis privatim, gratum universo senatui fore, sex ad

intercessionem comparavere. Posteroque die cum ex composito relatum ad senatum esset de seditione quam Maecilius Metiliusque largitione pessimi exempli concirent, eae orationes a primoribus patrum habitae sunt ut pro se quisque iam nec consilium sibi suppetere diceret, nec se ullam opem cernere aliam usquam praeterquam in tribunicio auxilio; in eius potestatis fidem circumventam rem publicam, tamquam privatum inopem, confugere; praeclarum ipsis potestatique esse, non ad vexandum senatum discordiamque ordinum movendam plus in tribunatu virium esse quam ad resistendum improbis collegis. Fremitus deinde universi senatus ortus, cum ex omnibus patribus curiae tribuni appellarentur. Tum silentio facto ii qui praeparati erant gratia principum, quam rogationem a collegis promulgatam senatus censeat dissolvendae rei publicae esse, ei se intercessuros ostendunt. Gratiae intercessoribus ab senatu actae. Latores rogationis contione advocata proditores plebis commodorum ac servos consularium appellantes aliaque truci oratione in collegas inveci, actionem deposuere.

[49] Duo bella insequens annus habuisset, quo P. Cornelius Cossus C. Valerius Potitus Q. Quinctius Cincinnatus Num. Fabius Vibulanus tribuni militum consulari potestate fuerunt, ni Veiens bellum religio principum distulisset, quorum agros Tiberis super ripas effusus maxime ruinis villarum vastavit. Simul Aequos triennio ante accepta clades prohibuit Bolanis, suae gentis populo, praesidium ferre. Excursiones inde in confinem agrum Labicanum factae erant novisque colonis bellum inlatum. Quam noxam cum se consensu omnium Aequorum defensuros sperassent, deserti ab suis, ne memorabili quidem bello, per obsidionem levemque unam pugnam et oppidum et fines amisere. Temptatum ab L. Decio tribuno plebis ut rogationem ferret qua Bolas quoque, sicut Labicos, coloni mitterentur, per intercessionem collegarum qui nullum plebi scitum nisi ex auctoritate senatus passuros se perferri ostenderunt, discussum est.

Bolis insequente anno receptis Aequi coloniaque eo deducta novis viribus oppidum firmarunt, tribunis militum Romae consulari potestate Cn. Cornelio Cosso L. Valerio Potito Q. Fabio Vibulano iterum M. Postumio Regillensi. Huic bellum adversus Aequos permissum est, pravae mentis homini, quam tamen victoria magis

quam bellum ostendit. Nam exercitu impigre scripto ductoque ad Bolas cum levibus proeliis Aequorum animos fregisset, postremo in oppidum inrupit. Deinde ab hostibus in cives certamen vertit et cum inter oppugnationem praedam militis fore edixisset, capto oppido fidem mutavit. Eam magis adducor ut credam irae causam exercitui fuisse, quam quod in urbe nuper direpta coloniaque nova minus praedicatione tribuni praedae fuerit. Auxit eam iram, postquam ab collegis arcessitus propter seditiones tribunicias in urbem revertit, audita vox eius in contione stolidi ac prope vecors, qua M. Sextio tribuno plebis legem agrariam ferenti, simul Bolas quoque ut mitterentur coloni laturum se dicenti — dignum enim esse qui armis cepissent, eorum urbem agrumque Bolanum esse— “Malum quidem militibus meis” inquit, “nisi quieuerint.” Quod auditum non contionem magis quam mox patres offendit. Et tribunus plebis, vir acer nec infacundus, nactus inter adversarios superbum ingenium immodicamque linguam, quam inritando agitandoque in eas impelleret voces quae invidiae non ipsi tantum sed causae atque universo ordini essent, neminem ex collegio tribunorum militum saepius quam Postumium in disceptationem trahebat. Tum vero secundum tam saevum atque inhumanum dictum “Auditis” inquit, “Quirites, sicut servis malum minantem militibus? Tamen haec belua dignior vobis tanto honore videbitur quam qui vos urbe agrisque donatos in colonias mittunt, qui sedem senectuti vestrae prospiciunt, qui pro vestris commodis adversus tam crudeles superbosque adversarios depugnant? Incipite deinde mirari cur pauci iam vestram suscipiant causam. Quid ut a vobis sperent? An honores, quos adversariis vestris potius quam populi Romani propugnatoribus datis? Ingemuistis modo voce huius audita. Quid id refert? Iam si suffragium detur, hunc qui malum vobis minatur, iis qui agros sedesque ac fortunas stabilire volunt praeferetis”.

[50] Perlata haec vox Postumi ad milites multo in castris maiorem indignationem movit: praedaene interceptorem fraudatoremque etiam malum minari militibus? Itaque cum fremitus aperte esset, et quaestor P. Sestius eadem violentia coerceri putaret seditionem posse qua mota erat, misso ad vociferantem quendam militem lictore cum inde clamor et iurgium oreretur, saxo ictus turba excedit, insuper increpante qui volneraverat habere quaestorem quod imperator esset

militibus minatus. Ad hunc tumultum accitus Postumius asperiora omnia fecit acerbis quaestionibus, crudelibus suppliciis. Postremo cum modum irae nullum faceret, ad vociferationem eorum quos necari sub crate iusserat concursu facto, ipse ad interpellantes poenam vecors de tribunali decurrit. Ibi cum submoventes passim lictores centurionesque vexarent turbam, eo indignatio erupit ut tribunus militum ab exercitu suo lapidibus cooperiretur. Quod tam atrox facinus postquam est Romam nuntiatum, tribunis militum de morte collegae per senatum quaestiones decernentibus tribuni plebis intercedebant. Sed ea contentio ex certamine alio pendebat quod cura incesserat patres ne metu quaestionum plebs iraque tribunos militum ex plebe crearet, tendebantque summa ope ut consules crearentur. Cum senatus consultum fieri tribuni plebis non paterentur, iidem intercederent consularibus comitiis, res ad interregnum rediit. Victoria deinde penes patres fuit.

[51] Q. Fabio Vibulano interrege comitia habente consules creati sunt A. Cornelius Cossus L. Furius Medullinus. His consulibus principio anni senatus consultum factum est, ut de quaestione Postumianae caedis tribuni primo quoque tempore ad plebem ferrent, plebesque praeficeret quaestioni quem vellet. A plebe consensu populi consulibus negotium mandatur; qui, summa moderatione ac lenitate per paucorum supplicium, quos sibimet ipsos conscisse mortem satis creditum est, transacta re, nequivere tamen consequi ut non aegerrime id plebs ferret: iacere tam diu inritas actiones quae de suis commodis ferrentur, cum interim de sanguine ac supplicio suo latam legem confestim exerceri et tantam vim habere. Aptissimum tempus erat, vindicatis seditionibus, delenimentum animis Bolani agri divisionem obici, quo facto minuissent desiderium agrariae legis quae possesso per iniuriam agro publico patres pellebat; tunc haec ipsa indignitas angebat animos: non in retinendis modo publicis agris quos vi teneret pertinacem nobilitatem esse, sed ne vacuum quidem agrum, nuper ex hostibus captum plebi dividere, mox paucis, ut cetera, futurum praedae.

Eodem anno adversus Volscos populantes Hernicorum fines legiones ductae a Furio consule cum hostem ibi non invenissent, Ferentinum quo magna multitudo Volscorum se contulerat cepere. Minus praedae quam speraverant fuit, quod Volsci postquam spes

tuendi exigua erat sublatis rebus nocte oppidum reliquerunt; postero die prope desertum capitur. Hernicis ipsum agerque dono datus.

[52] Annum modestia tribunorum quietum excepti tribunus plebis L. Icilius, Q. Fabio Ambusto C. Furio Paculo consulibus. Is cum principio statim anni, velut pensum nominis familiaeque, seditiones agrariis legibus promulgandis cieret, pestilentia coorta, minacior tamen quam perniciosior, cogitationes hominum a foro certaminibusque publicis ad domum curamque corporum nutriendorum avertit; minusque eam damnosam fuisse quam seditio futura fuerit credunt. Defuncta civitate plurimorum morbis, perpaucis funeribus, pestilentem annum inopia frugum, neglecto cultu agrorum, ut plerumque fit, excepit, M. Papirio Atratio C. Nautio Rutulo consulibus. Iam fames quam pestilentia tristior erat, ni, dimissis circa omnes populos legatis qui Etruscum mare quique Tiberim accolunt ad frumentum mercandum, annonae foret subuentum. Superbe ab Samnitibus qui Capuam habebant Cumasque legati prohibiti commercio sunt, contra ea benigne ab Siculorum tyrannis adiuti; maximos commeatus summo Etruriae studio Tiberis devexit. Solitudinem in civitate aegra experti consules sunt, cum in legationes non plus singulis senatoribus invenientes coacti sunt binos equites adicere. Praeterquam ab morbo annonaeque nihil eo biennio intestini externiue incommodi fuit. At ubi eae sollicitudines discessere, omnia, quibus turbari solita erat civitas, domi discordia, foris bellum exortum.

[53] M. Aemilio C. Valerio Potito consulibus bellum Aequi parabant, Volscis, quamquam non publico consilio capessentibus arma, voluntariis mercede secutis militiam. Ad quorum famam hostium — iam enim in Latinum Hernicumque transcenderant agrum — dilectum habentem valerium consulem M. Menenius tribunus plebis legis agrariae lator cum impediret auxilioque tribuni nemo invitatus sacramento diceret, repente nuntiatur arcem Carventanam ab hostibus occupatam esse. Ea ignominia accepta cum apud patres invidiae Menenio fuit, tum ceteris tribunis, iam ante praeparatis intercessoribus legis agrariae, praebuit iustiorum causam resistendi collegae. Itaque cum res diu ducta per altercationem esset, consulibus deos hominesque testantibus quidquid ab hostibus cladis ignominiaeque aut iam acceptum esset aut immineret culpam penes

Menenium fore qui dilectum impediret, Menenio contra vociferante, si iniusti domini possessione agri publici cederent, se moram dilectui non facere, decreto interposito novem tribuni sustulerunt certamen pronuntiaveruntque ex collegii sententia: C. Valerio consuli se, damnum aliamque coercionem adversus intercessionem collegae dilectus causa detractantibus militiam inhibenti, auxilio futuros esse. Hoc decreto consul armatus cum paucis appellantis tribunum collum torsisset, metu ceteri sacramento dixere. Ductus exercitus ad Carventanam arcem, quamquam invisus infestusque consuli erat, impigre primo statim adventu deiectis qui in praesidio erant arcem recipit; praedatores ex praesidio per negligentiam dilapsi occasionem aperuere ad invadendum. Praedae ex adsiduis populationibus, quod omnia in locum tutum congesta erant, fuit aliquantum. Venditum sub hasta consul in aerarium redigere quaestores iussit, tum praedicans participem praedae fore exercitum cum militiam non abnuisset. Auctae inde plebis ac militum in consulem irae. Itaque cum ex senatus consulto urbem ovans introiret, alternis inconditi versus militari licentia iactati quibus consul increpitus, Meneni celebre nomen laudibus fuit, cum ad omnem mentionem tribuni favor circumstantis populi plausuque et adsensu cum vocibus militum certaret. Plusque ea res quam prope sollemnis militum lascivia in consulem curae patribus iniecit; et tamquam haud dubius inter tribunos militum honos Meneni si peteret consularibus comitiis est exclusus.

[54] Creati consules sunt Cn. Cornelius Cossus L. Furius Medullinus iterum. Non alias aegrius plebs tulit tribunicia comitia sibi non commissa. Eum dolorem quaestoriis comitiis simul ostendit et ulta est tunc primum plebeiis quaestoribus creatis, ita ut in quattuor creandis uni patricio, K. Fabio Ambusto, relinqueretur locus, tres plebei, Q. Silius P. Aelius P. Papius, clarissimarum familiarum iuvenibus praeferrentur. Auctores fuisse tam liberi populo suffragii Icilius accipio, ex familia infestissima patribus tres in eum annum tribunos plebis creatos, multarum magnarumque rerum molem avidissimo ad ea populo ostentantes, cum adfirmassent nihil se moturos si ne quaestoriis quidem comitiis, quae sola promiscua plebei patribusque reliquisset senatus, satis animi populo esset ad id quod tam diu vellent et per leges liceret. Pro ingenti itaque

victoria id fuit plebi, quaesturamque eam non honoris ipsius fine aestimabant, sed patefactus ad consulatum ac triumphos locus novis hominibus videbatur. Patres contra non pro communicatis sed pro amissis honoribus fremere; negare, si ea ita sint, liberos tollendos esse, qui pulsi maiorum loco cernentesque alios in possessione dignitatis suae, salii flaminesque nusquam alio quam ad sacrificandum pro populo sine imperiis ac potestatibus relinquuntur. Inritatis utriusque partis animis cum et spiritus plebs sumpsisset et tres ad popularem causam celeberrimi nominis haberet duces, patres omnia quaestoriis comitiis ubi utrumque plebi liceret similia fore cernentes, tendere ad consulum comitia quae nondum promiscua essent: Icilius contra tribunos militum creandos dicere et tandem aliquando impertiendos plebi honores.

[55] Sed nulla erat consularis actio quam impediendo id quod petebant exprimerent, cum mira opportunitate Volscos et Aequos praedatum extra fines exisse in agrum Latinum Hernicumque adfertur. Ad quod bellum ubi ex senatus consulto consules dilectum habere occipiunt, obstare tunc enixe tribuni, sibi plebique eam fortunam oblatam memorantes. Tres erant, et omnes acerrimi viri generosique iam, ut inter plebeios. Duo singuli singulos sibi consules adservandos adsidua opera desumunt; uni contionibus data nunc detinenda, nunc concienda plebs. Nec dilectum consules nec comitia quae petebant tribuni expediebant. Inclinate deinde se fortuna ad causam plebis, nuntii veniunt arcem Carventanam, dilapsis ad praedam militibus qui in praesidio erant, Aequos interfectis paucis custodibus arcis invasisse; alios recurrentes in arcem, alios palantes in agris caesos. Ea adversa civitati res vires tribuniciae actioni adiecit. Nequiquam enim temptati ut tum denique desisterent impediendo bello, postquam non cessere nec publicae tempestati nec suae invidiae, peruincunt ut senatus consultum fiat de tribunis militum creandis, certo tamen pacto ne cuius ratio haberetur qui eo anno tribunus plebis esset, neve quis reficeretur in annum tribunus plebis, haud dubie Icilius denotante senatu, quos mercedem seditiosi tribunatus petere consulatum insimulabant. Tum dilectus haberi bellumque omnium ordinum consensu apparari coeptum. Consules ambo profecti sint ad arcem Carventanam, an alter ad comitia habenda substiterit, incertum diversi auctores faciunt; illa pro certo

habenda, in quibus non dissentiunt, ab arce Carventana, cum diu nequiquam oppugnata esset, recessum, verruginem in Volscis eodem exercitu receptam, populationesque et praedas et in Aequis et in VolSCO agro ingentes factas.

[56] Romae sicut plebis victoria fuit in eo ut quae mallent comitia haberent, ita eventu comitiorum patres vicere; namque tribuni militum consulari potestate contra spem omnium tres patricii creati sunt, C. Iulius Iulus P. Cornelius Cossus C. Servilius Ahala. Artem adhibitam ferunt a patriciis, cuius eos Icili tum quoque insimulabant, quod turbam indignorum candidatorum intermiscendo dignis taedio sordium in quibusdam insignium populum a plebeiis avertissent.

Volscos deinde et Aequos, seu Carventana arx retenta in spem seu verrugine amissum praesidium ad iram cum impulsisset, fama adfertur summa vi ad bellum coortos; caput rerum Antiates esse; eorum legatos utriusque gentis populos circumnisse, castigantes ignaviam quod abditi intra muros populabundos in agris vagari Romanos priore anno et opprimi verruginis praesidium passi essent. Iam non exercitus modo armatos sed colonias etiam in suos fines mitti; nec ipsos modo Romanos sua divisa habere, sed Ferentinum etiam de se captum Hernicis donasse. Ad haec cum inflammarentur animi, ut ad quosque ventum erat, numerus iuniorum conscribatur. Ita omnium populorum iuventus Antium contracta castris positus hostem opperiebantur. Quae ubi tumultu maiore etiam quam res erat nuntiantur Romam, senatus extemplo, quod in rebus trepidis ultimum consilium erat, dictatorem dici iussit. Quam rem aegre passos Iulium Corneliumque ferunt, magnoque certamine animorum rem actam, cum primores patrum, nequiquam conquesti non esse in auctoritate senatus tribunos militum, postremo etiam tribunos plebi appellarent et consulibus quoque ab ea potestate vim super tali re inhibitam referrent, tribuni plebi, laeti discordia patrum nihil esse in se iis auxilii dicerent, quibus non civium, non denique hominum numero essent: si quando promiscui honores, communicata res publica esset, tum se animadversuros ne qua superbia magistratuum inrita senatus consulta essent: interim patricii soluti legum magistratuumque viverent verecundia, per se quoque tribuni agerent.

[57] Haec contentio minime idoneo tempore, cum tantum belli in manibus esset, occupaverat cogitationes hominum, donec ubi diu

alternis Iulius Corneliusque cum ad id bellum ipsi satis idonei duces essent, non esse aequum mandatum sibi a populo eripi honorem disseruere, tum Ahala Servilius, tribunus militum, tacuisse se tam diu ait, non quia incertus sententiae fuerit — quem enim bonum civem secernere sua a publicis consilia? — sed quia maluerit collegas sua sponte cedere auctoritati senatus quam tribuniciam potestatem adversus se implorari paterentur. Tum quoque si res sineret, libenter se daturum tempus iis fuisse ad receptum nimis pertinacis sententiae; sed cum belli necessitates non exspectent humana consilia, potiore sibi collegarum gratia rem publicam fore, et si maneat in sententia senatus, dictatorem nocte proxima dicturum; ac si quis intercedat senatus consulto, auctoritate se fore contentum. Quo facto cum haud immeritam laudem gratiamque apud omnes tulisset, dictatore P. Cornelio dicto ipse ab eo magister equitum creatus exemplo fuit collegas eumque intuentibus, quam gratia atque honos opportuniora interdum non cupientibus essent. Bellum haud memorabile fuit. Uno atque eo facili proelio caesi ad Antium hostes; victor exercitus depopulatus Volscum agrum. Castellum ad lacum Fucinum vi expugnatum, atque in eo tria milia hominum capta, ceteris Volscis intra moenia compulsis nec defendentibus agros. Dictator bello ita gesto ut tantum non defuisse fortunae videretur, felicitate quam gloria maior in urbem redit magistratuque se abdicavit. Tribuni militum, mentione nulla comitiorum consularium habita, credo, ob iram dictatoris creati, tribunorum militum comitia edixerunt. Tum vero gravior cura patribus incessit, quippe cum prodi causam ab suis cernerent. Itaque sicut priore anno per indignissimos ex plebeiis candidatos omnium, etiam dignorum, taedium fecerant, sic tum primoribus patrum splendore gratiaque ad petendum praeparatis omnia loca obtinere, ne cui plebeio aditus esset. Quattuor creati sunt, omnes iam functi eo honore, L. Furius Medullinus C. Valerius Potitus Num. Fabius Vibulanus C. Servilius Ahala, hic reffectus continuato honore cum ab alias virtutes, tum ob recentem favorem unica moderatione partum.

[58] Eo anno quia tempus indutiarum cum Veiente populo exierat, per legatos fetialesque res repeti coeptae. Quibus venientibus ad finem legatio Veientium obvia fuit. Petiere ne priusquam ipsi senatum Romanum adissent, Veios iretur. Ab senatu impetratum,

quia discordia intestina laborarent Veientes, ne res ab iis repeterentur; tantum afuit ut ex incommodo alieno sua occasio peteretur. Et in Volscis accepta clades amisso verrugine praesidio; ubi tantum in tempore fuit momenti ut cum precantibus opem militibus, qui ibi a Volscis obsidebantur, succurri si maturatum esset potuisset, ad id venerit exercitus subsidio missus ut ab recenti caede palati ad praedandum hostes opprimerentur. Tarditatis causa non in senatu magis fuit quam tribunis, qui, quia summa vi restari nuntiabatur, parum cogitaverunt nulla virtute superari humanarum virium modum. Fortissimi milites non tamen nec vivi nec post mortem inulti fuere.

Insequenti anno, P. et Cn. Corneliis Cossis Num. Fabio Ambusto L. Valerio Potito tribunis militum consulari potestate, Veiens bellum motum ob superbum responsum Veientis senatus, qui legatis repetentibus res, ni facerent propere urbe finibusque, daturos quod Lars Tolumnius dedisset responderi iussit. Id patres aegre passi decrevere ut tribuni militum de bello indicendo Veientibus primo quoque die ad populum ferrent. Quod ubi primo promulgatum est, fremere iuventus nondum debellatum cum Volscis esse; modo duo praesidia occidione occisa, cetera cum periculo retineri; nullum annum esse quo non acie dimicaretur; et tamquam paeniteat laboris, novum bellum cum finitimo populo et potentissimo parari qui omnem Etruriam sit concitaturus.

Haec sua sponte agitata insuper tribuni plebis accendunt; maximum bellum patribus cum plebe esse dictitant; eam de industria vexandam militia trucidandamque hostibus obici; eam procul urbe haberi atque ablegari, ne domi per otium memor libertatis coloniarum aut agri publici aut suffragii libere ferendi consilia agitet. Prensantesque veteranos stipendia cuiusque et volnera ac cicatrices numerabant, quid iam integri esset in corpore loci ad nova volnera accipienda, quid super sanguinis, quod dari pro re publica posset rogantes. Haec cum in sermonibus contionibusque interdum agitantes avertissent plebem ab suscipiendo bello, profertur tempus ferundae legis quam si subiecta invidiae esset antiquari apparebat.

[59] Interim tribunos militum in Volscum agrum ducere exercitum placuit; Cn. Cornelius unus Romae relictus. Tres tribuni, postquam nullo loco castra Volscorum esse nec commissuros se proelio

apparuit, tripartito ad devastandos fines discessere. Valerius Antium petit, Cornelius Ectras; quacumque incessere, late populati sunt tecta agrosque, ut distinerent Volscos; Fabius, quod maxime petebatur, ad Anxur oppugnandum sine ulla populatione accessit. Anxur fuit, quae nunc Tarracinae sunt, urbs prona in paludes. Ab ea parte Fabius oppugnationem ostendit; circummissae quattuor cohortes cum C. Servilio Ahala cum imminentem urbi collem cepissent, ex loco altiore, qua nullum erat praesidium, ingenti clamore ac tumultu moenia invasere. Ad quem tumultum obstupefacti qui adversus Fabium urbem infimam tuebantur locum dedere scalas admovendi, plenaque hostium cuncta erant, et immitis diu caedes pariter fugientium ac resistentium, armatorum atque inermium fuit. Cogebantur itaque victi, quia cedentibus spei nihil erat, pugnam inire, cum pronuntiatum repente ne quis praeter armatos violaretur, reliquam omnem multitudinem voluntariam exuit armis, quorum ad duo milia et quingenti vivi capiuntur. A cetera praeda Fabius militem abstinuit, donec collegae venirent, ab illis quoque exercitibus captum Anxur dictitans esse, qui ceteros Volscos a praesidio eius loci avertissent. Qui ubi venerunt, oppidum vetere fortuna opulentum tres exercitus diripuerunt; eaque primum benignitas imperatorum plebem patribus conciliavit. Additum deinde omnium maxime tempestivo principum in multitudinem munere, ut ante mentionem ullam plebis tribunorumque decerneret senatus, ut stipendium miles de publico acciperet, cum ante id tempus de suo quisque functus eo munere esset.

[60] Nihil acceptum unquam a plebe tanto gaudio traditur. Concursum itaque ad curiam esse prensatasque exeuntium manus et patres vere appellatos, effectum esse fatentibus ut nemo pro tam munifica patria, donec quicquam virium superesset, corpori aut sanguini suo parceret. Cum commoditas iuvaret rem familiarem saltem adquiescere eo tempore quo corpus addictum atque operatum rei publicae esset, tum quod ultro sibi oblatum esset, non a tribunis plebis unquam agitatam, non suis sermonibus efflagitatum, id efficiebat multiplex gaudium cumulationemque gratiam rei. Tribuni plebis, communis ordinum laetitiae concordiaeque soli expertes, negare, tam id laetum patribus civibus universis nec prosperum fore quam ipsi crederent. Consilium specie prima melius fuisse quam usu

appariturum. Unde enim eam pecuniam confici posse nisi tributo populo indicto? Ex alieno igitur aliis largitos. Neque id etiamsi ceteri ferant passuros eos, quibus iam emerita stipendia essent, meliore condicione alios militare quam ipsi militassent, et eosdem in sua stipendia impensas fecisse et in aliorum facere. His vocibus moverunt partem plebis; postremo, indicto iam tributo, edixerunt etiam tribuni auxilio se futuros si quis in militare stipendium tributum non contulisset. Patres bene coeptam rem perseveranter tueri; conferre ipsi primi; et quia nondum argentum signatum erat, aes grave plaustris quidam ad aerarium convehentes speciosam etiam conlationem faciebant. Cum senatus summa fide ex censu contulisset, primores plebis, nobilium amici, ex composito conferre incipiunt. Quos cum et a patribus conlaudari et a militari aetate tamquam bonos cives conspici vulgus hominum vidit, repente, spreto tribunicio auxilio, certamen conferendi est ortum. Et lege perlata de indicendo Veientibus bello, exercitum magna ex parte voluntarium novi tribuni militum consulari potestate Veios duxere.

[61] Fuere autem tribuni T. Quinctius Capitolinus Q. Quinctius Cincinnatus C. Iulius Iulus iterum A. Manlius L. Furius Medullinus tertium M^o. Aemilius Mamercus. Ab iis primum circumsessi Veii sunt; sub cuius initium obsidionis cum Etruscorum concilium ad fanum voltumnae frequenter habitum esset, parum constitit bellone publico gentis universae tuendi Veientes essent. Ea oppugnatio segnior insequenti anno fuit, parte tribunorum exercitusque ad Volscum advocata bellum. Tribunos militum consulari potestate is annus habuit C. Valerium Potitum tertium M^o. Sergium Fidenatem P. Cornelium Maluginensem Cn. Cornelium Cossum C. Fabium Ambustum Sp. Nautium Rutulum iterum. Cum Volscis inter Ferentinum atque Ecetram signis conlatis dimicatum; Romanis secunda fortuna pugnae fuit. Artena inde, Volscorum oppidum, ab tribunis obsideri coepta. Inde inter eruptionem temptatam compulso in urbem hoste, occasio data est Romanis inrumpendi, praeterque arcem cetera capta; in arcem munitam natura globus armatorum concessit; infra arcem caesi captique multi mortales. Arx deinde obsidebatur; nec aut vi capi poterat, quia pro spatio loci satis praesidii habebat, aut spem dabat deditionis, omni publico frumento priusquam urbs caperetur in arcem convecto; taedioque recessum

inde foret ni seruus arcem Romanis prodidisset. Ab eo milites per locum arduum accepti cepere; a quibus cum custodes trucidarentur, cetera multitudo repentino pavore oppressa in deditionem venit. Diruta et arce et urbe Artena, reductae legiones ex Volscis, omnisque vis Romana Veios conversa est. Proditori praeter libertatem duarum familiarum bona in praemium data; Servius Romanus vocitatus. Sunt qui Artenam Veientium, non Volscorum fuisse credant. Praebet errorem quod eiusdem nominis urbs inter Caere atque Veios fuit; sed eam reges Romani deleuere, Caeretumque, non Veientium fuerat; altera haec nomine eodem in Volasco agro fuit, cuius excidium est dictum.

LIBER V

[1] Pace alibi parta Romani Veique in armis erant tanta ira odioque ut victis finem adesse appareret. Comitia utriusque populi longe diversa ratione facta sunt. Romani auxere tribunorum militum consulari potestate numerum; octo, quot nunquam antea, creati, M'. Aemilius Mamercus iterum L. Valerius Potitus tertium Ap. Claudius Crassus M. Quinctilius Varus L. Iulius Iulus M. Postumius M. Furius Camillus M. Postumius Albinus. Veientes contra taedio annuae ambitionis quae interdum discordiarum causa erat, regem creavere. Offendit ea res populorum Etruriae animos, non maiore odio regni quam ipsius regis. Gravis iam is antea genti fuerat opibus superbiaque, quia sollemnia ludorum quos intermitteri nefas est violenter diremisset, cum ob iram repulsae, quod suffragio duodecim populorum alius sacerdos ei praelatus esset, artifices, quorum magna pars ipsius servi erant, ex medio ludicro repente abduxit. Gens itaque ante omnes alias eo magis dedita religionibus quod excelleret arte colendi eas, auxilium Veientibus negandum donec sub rege essent decrevit; cuius decreti suppressa fama est Veiis propter metum regis qui a quo tale quid dictum referretur, pro seditionis eum principe, non vani sermonis auctore habebat. Romanis etsi quietae res ex Etruria nuntiabantur, tamen quia omnibus conciliis eam rem agitari adferebatur, ita muniebant ut ancipitia munimenta essent: alia in urbem et contra oppidanorum eruptiones versa, aliis frons in Etruriam spectans, auxiliis si qua forte inde venirent obstruebatur.

[2] Cum spes maior imperatoribus Romanis in obsidione quam in oppugnatione esset, hibernacula etiam, res nova militi Romano, aedificari coepta, consiliumque erat hiemando continuare bellum. Quod postquam tribunis plebis, iam diu nullam novandi res causam invenientibus, Romam est allatum, in contionem prosiliunt, sollicitant plebis animos, hoc illud esse dictitantes quod aera militibus sint constituta; nec se fefellisse id donum inimicorum veneno inlitum fore. Venisse libertatem plebis; remotam in perpetuum et ablegatam ab urbe et ab re publica iuventutem iam ne hiemi quidem aut tempori anni cedere ac domos ac res invisere suas. Quam putarent continuatae militiae causam esse? Nullam profecto

aliam inventuros quam ne quid per frequentiam iuvenum eorum in quibus vires omnes plebis essent agi de commodis eorum posset. Vexari praeterea et subigi multo acrius quam Veientes; quippe illos hiemem sub tectis suis agere, egregiis muris situque naturali urbem tutantes, militem Romanum in opere ac labore, nivibus pruinisque obrutum, sub pellibus durare, ne hiemis quidem spatio quae omnium bellorum terra marique sit quies arma deponentem. Hoc neque reges neque ante tribuniciam potestatem creatam superbos illos consules neque triste dictatoris imperium neque importunos decemviros iniunxisse servitutis, ut perennem militiam facerent [quod tribuni militum in plebe Romana regnum exercerent]. Quidnam illi consules dictatoresve facturi essent, qui proconsularem imaginem tam saevam ac trucem fecerint? Sed id accidere haud immerito. Non fuisse ne in octo quidem tribunis militum locum ulli plebeio. Antea trina loca cum contentione summa patricios explere solitos: nunc iam octoiuges ad imperia obtinenda ire, et ne in turba quidem haerere plebeium quemquam qui, si nihil aliud, admoneat collegas, liberos et cives eorum, non servos militare, quos hieme saltem in domos ac tecta reduci oporteat et aliquo tempore anni parentes liberosque ac coniuges invisere et usurpare libertatem et creare magistratus.

Haec taliaque vociferantes adversarium haud imparem nacti sunt Ap. Claudium, relictum a collegis ad tribunicias seditiones comprimendas, virum imbutum iam ab iuventa certaminibus plebeiis, quem auctorem aliquot annis ante fuisse memoratum est per collegarum intercessionem tribuniciae potestatis dissolvendae.

[3] Is tum iam non promptus ingenio tantum, sed usu etiam exercitatus, talem orationem habuit: “Si unquam dubitatum est, Quirites, utrum tribuni plebis vestra an sua causa seditionum semper auctores fuerint, id ego hoc anno desisse dubitari certum habeo; et cum laetor tandem longi erroris vobis finem factum esse, tum, quod secundis potissimum vestris rebus hic error est sublatus, et vobis et propter vos rei publicae gratulor. An est quisquam qui dubitet nullis iniuriis vestris, si quae forte aliquando fuerunt, unquam aequae quam munere patrum in plebem, cum aera militantibus constituta sunt, tribunos plebis offensos ac concitados esse? Quid illos aliud aut tum timuisse creditis aut hodie turbare velle nisi concordiam ordinum, quam dissolvendae maxime tribuniciae potestatis rentur esse? Sic

hercule, tamquam artifices improbi, opus quaerunt qui [et] semper aegri aliquid esse in re publica volunt, ut sit ad cuius curationem a vobis adhibeantur. Utrum enim defenditis an impugnatis plebem? Utrum militantium adversarii estis an causam agitis? Nisi forte hoc dicitis: “quidquid patres faciunt displicet, sive illud pro plebe sive contra plebem est,” et quemadmodum servis suis vetant domini quicquam rei cum alienis hominibus esse pariterque in iis beneficio ac maleficio abstineri aequum censent, sic vos interdicitis patribus commercio plebis, ne nos comitate ac munificentia nostra provocemus plebem, nec plebs nobis dicto audiens atque oboediens sit. Quanto tandem, si quicquam in vobis, non dico civilis, sed humani esset, favere vos magis et quantum in vobis esset indulgere potius comitati patrum atque obsequio plebis oportuit? Quae si perpetua concordia sit, quis non spondere ausit maximum hoc imperium inter finitimos brevi futurum esse?

[4] “Atqui ego, quam hoc consilium collegarum meorum, quo abducere infecta re a Veiis exercitum noluerunt, non utile solum sed etiam necessarium fuerit, postea disseram: nunc de ipsa condicione dicere militantium libet; quam orationem non apud vos solum sed etiam in castris si habeatur, ipso exercitu disceptante, aequam arbitror videri posse. In qua si mihi ipsi nihil quod dicerem in mentem venire posset, adversariorum certe orationibus contentus essem. Negabant nuper danda esse aera militibus, quia nunquam data essent. Quonam modo igitur nunc indignari possunt, quibus aliquid novi adiectum commodi sit, eis laborem etiam novum pro portione iniungi? Nusquam nec opera sine emolumento nec emolumentum ferme sine impensa opera est. Labor voluptasque, dissimillima natura, societate quadam inter se naturali sunt iuncta. Molestae antea ferebat miles se suo sumptu operam rei publicae praebere; gaudebat idem partem anni se agrum suum colere, quaerere unde domi militiaeque se ac suos tueri posset: gaudet nunc fructui sibi rem publicam esse, et laetus stipendium accipit; aequo igitur animo patiatur se [ab domo] ab re familiari, cui gravis impensa non est, paulo diutius abesse. An si ad calculos eum res publica vocet, non merito dicat: “annua aera habes, annuam operam ede: an tu aequum censes militia semestri solidum te stipendium accipere?” Invitus in hac parte orationis, Quirites, moror; sic enim agere debent qui

mercenario milite utuntur; nos tamquam cum civibus agere volumus, agique tamquam cum patria nobiscum aequum censemus. Aut non suscipi bellum oportuit, aut geri pro dignitate populi Romani et perfici quam primum oportet. Perficietur autem si urgemus obsessos, si non ante abscedimus quam spei nostrae finem captis Veiis imposuerimus. Si hercules nulla alia causa, ipsa indignitas perseverantiam imponere debuit. Decem quondam annos urbs oppugnata est ob unam mulierem ab universa Graecia, quam procul ab domo? Quot terras, quot maria distans? Nos intra vicesimum lapidem, in conspectu prope urbis nostrae, annuam oppugnationem perferre piget. Scilicet quia levis causa belli est nec satis quicquam iusti doloris est quod nos ad perseverandum stimulet. Septiens rebellarunt; in pace nunquam fida fuerunt; agros nostros miliens depopulati sunt; Fidenates deficere a nobis coegerunt; colonos nostros ibi interfecerunt; auctores fuere contra ius caedis impiae legatorum nostrorum; Etruriam omnem adversus nos concitare voluerunt, hodieque id moliantur; res repetentes legatos nostros haud procul afruit quin violarent.

[5] “Cum his molliter et per dilationes bellum geri oportet? Si nos tam iustum odium nihil movet, ne illa quidem, oro vos, movent? Operibus ingentibus saepta urbs est quibus intra muros coercetur hostis; agrum non coluit, et culta evastata sunt bello; si reducimus exercitum, quis est qui dubitet illos non a cupiditate solum ulciscendi sed etiam necessitate imposita ex alieno praedandi cum sua amiserint agrum nostrum invasuros? Non differimus igitur bellum isto consilio, sed intra fines nostros accipimus. Quid? Illud, quod proprie ad milites pertinet, quibus boni tribuni plebis tum stipendium extorquere voluerunt, nunc consultum repente volunt, quale est? Vallum fossamque, ingentis utrumque operis, per tantum spatii duxerunt; castella primo pauca, postea exercitu aucto creberrima fecerunt; munitiones non in urbem modo sed in Etruriam etiam spectantes si qua auxilia veniant, opposuere; quid turres, quid vineas testudinesque et alium oppugnandarum urbium apparatus loquar? Cum tantum laboris exhaustum sit et ad finem iam operis tandem perventum, relinquendane haec censetis, ut ad aetatem rursus novus de integro his instituendis exsudet labor? Quanto est minus opera tueri facta et instare ac perseverare defungique cura? Brevis enim profecto res

est, si uno tenore peragitur nec ipsi per intermissiones has intervallaque lentiore spem nostram facimus. Loquor de operae et de temporis iactura; quid? Periculi, quod differendo bello adimus, num oblivisci nos haec tam crebra Etruriae concilia de mittendis Veios auxiliiis patiuntur? Ut nunc res se habet, irati sunt, oderunt, negant missuros; quantum in illis est, capere Veios licet. Quis est qui spondeat eundem, si differtur bellum, animum postea fore, cum si laxamentum dederis, maior frequentiorque legatio itura sit, cum id quod nunc offendit Etruscos, rex creatus Veiis, mutari spatio interposito possit vel consensu civitatis ut eo reconcilient Etruriae animos, vel ipsius voluntate regis qui ob stare regnum suum saluti civium nolit? Videte, quot res, quam inutiles sequantur illam viam consilii, iactura operum tanto labore factorum, vastatio imminens finium nostrorum, Etruscum bellum pro Veiente concitatum. Haec sunt, tribuni, consilia vestra, non hercule dissimilia ac si quis aegro qui curari se fortiter passus extemplo convalescere possit, cibi gratia praesentis aut potionis longinquum et forsitan insanabilem morbum efficiat.

[6] “Si, mediusfidius, ad hoc bellum nihil pertineret, ad disciplinam certe militiae plurimum intererat, insuescere militem nostrum non solum parata victoria frui, sed si etiam res lentior sit, pati taedium et quamvis serae spei exitum exspectare et si non sit aestate perfectum bellum, hiemem opperiri nec sicut aestivas aves statim autumnno tecta ac recessum circumspicere. Obsecro vos, venandi studium ac voluptas homines per nives ac pruinas in montes silvasque rapit: belli necessitatibus eam patientiam non adhibebimus quam vel lusus ac voluptas elicere solet? Adeone effeminata corpora militum nostrorum esse putamus, adeo molles animos, ut hiemem unam durare in castris, abesse ab domo non possint? Ut, tamquam navale bellum tempestatibus captandis et observando tempore anni gerant, non aestus, non frigora pati possint? Erubescant profecto, si quis eis haec obiciat, contendantque et animis et corporibus suis virilem patientiam inesse, et se iuxta hieme atque aestate bella gerere posse, nec se patrocinium mollitiae inertiaeque mandasse tribunis, et meminisse hanc ipsam potestatem non in umbra nec in tectis maiores suos creasse.

“Haec virtute militum vestrorum, haec Romano nomine sunt

digna, non Veios tantum nec hoc bellum intueri quod instat, sed famam et ad alia bella et ad ceteros populos in posterum quaerere. An mediocre discrimen opinionis secuturum ex hac re putatis, utrum tandem finitimi populum Romanum eum esse putent cuius si qua urbs primum illum brevissimi temporis sustinuerit impetum, nihil deinde timeat, an hic sit terror nominis nostri ut exercitum Romanum non taedium longinquae oppugnationis, non vis hiemis ab urbe circumsessa semel amovere possit, nec finem ullum alium belli quam victoriam noverit, nec impetu potius bella quam perseverantia gerat? Quae in omni quidem genere militiae, maxime tamen in obsidendis urbibus necessaria est, quarum plerasque munitionibus ac naturali situ inexpugnabiles fame sitique tempus ipsum vincit atque expugnat, — sicut Veios expugnabit, nisi auxilio hostibus tribuni plebis fuerint, et Romae invenerint praesidia Veientes quae nequiquam in Etruria quaerunt.

“An est quicquam quod Veientibus optatum aequae contingere possit quam ut seditionibus primum urbs Romana, deinde velut ex contagione castra impleantur? At hercule apud hostes tanta modestia est ut non obsidionis taedio, non denique regni, quicquam apud eos novatum sit, non negata auxilia ab Etruscis inritaverint animos; morietur enim extemplo quicumque erit seditionis auctor, nec cuiquam dicere ea licebit quae apud vos impune dicuntur. Fustuarium meretur, qui signa relinquit aut praesidio decedit: auctores signa relinquendi et deserendi castra non uni aut alteri militi sed universis exercitibus palam in contione audiuntur; adeo, quidquid tribunus plebi loquitur, etsi prodendae patriae dissolvendae rei publicae est, adsuestis, Quirites, audire et dulcedine potestatis eius capti quaelibet sub ea scelera latere sinitis. Reliquum est ut quae hic vociferantur, eadem in castris et apud milites agant et exercitus corrumpant ducibusque parere non patiantur, quoniam ea demum Romae libertas est, non senatum, non magistratus, non leges, non mores maiorum, non instituta patrum, non disciplinam vereri militiae.”

[7] Par iam etiam in contionibus erat Appius tribunus plebis, cum subito, unde minime quis crederet, accepta calamitas apud Veios et superiorem Appium in causa et concordiam ordinum maiorem ardoremque ad obsidendos pertinacius Veios fecit. Nam cum agger

promotus ad urbem vineaeque tantum non iam iniunctae moenibus essent, dum opera interdiu fiunt intentius quam nocte custodiuntur, patefacta repente porta ingens multitudo facibus maxime armata ignes coniecit, horaeque momento simul aggerem ac vineas, tam longi temporis opus, incendium hausit; multique ibi mortales nequiquam opem ferentes ferro ignique absumpti sunt. Quod ubi Romam est nuntiatum, maestitiam omnibus, senatui curam metumque iniecit, ne tum vero sustineri nec in urbe seditio nec in castris posset et tribuni plebis velut ab se victae rei publicae insultarent, cum repente quibus census equester erat, equi publici non erant adsignati, concilio prius inter sese habito, senatum adeunt factaque dicendi potestate, equis se suis stipendia facturos promittunt. Quibus cum amplissimis verbis gratiae ab senatu actae essent famaue ea forum atque urbem pervasisset, subito ad curiam concursus fit plebis; pedestris ordinis aiunt nunc esse operam rei publicae extra ordinem polliceri, seu Veios seu quo alio ducere velint; si Veios ducti sint, negant se inde prius quam capta urbe hostium redituros esse. Tum vero iam superfundenti se laetitiae vix temperatum est; non enim, sicut equites, dato magistratibus negotio laudari iussi, neque aut in curiam vocati quibus responsum daretur, aut limine curiae continebatur senatus; sed pro se quisque ex superiore loco ad multitudinem in comitio stantem voce manibusque significare publicam laetitiam, beatam urbem Romanam et invictam et aeternam illa concordia dicere, laudare equites, laudare plebem, diem ipsum laudibus ferre, victam esse fateri comitatem benignitatemque senatus. Certatim patribus plebique manare gaudio lacrimae, donec revocatis in curiam patribus senatus consultum factum est ut tribuni militares contione advocata peditibus equitibusque gratias agerent, memorem pietatis eorum erga patriam dicerent senatum fore; placere autem omnibus his voluntariam extra ordinem professis militiam aera procedere; et equiti certus numerus aeris est adsignatus. Tum primum equis suis merere equites coeperunt. Voluntarius ductus exercitus Veios non amissa modo restituit opera, sed nova etiam instituit. Ab urbe commeatus intentiore quam antea subvehi cura, ne quid tam bene merito exercitui ad usum deesset.

[8] Insequens annus tribunos militum consulari potestate habuit C.

Servilium Aham tertium Q. Servilium L. Verginium Q. Sulpicium A. Manlium iterum M'. Sergium iterum. His tribunis, dum cura omnium in Veiens bellum intenta est, neglectum Anxuri praesidium vacationibus militum et Volscos mercatores volgo receptando, proditis repente portarum custodibus oppressum est. Minus militum periit, quia praeter aegros lixarum in modum omnes per agros vicinasque urbes negotiabantur. Nec Veiiis melius gesta res, quod tum caput omnium curarum publicarum erat; nam et duces Romani plus inter se irarum quam adversus hostes animi habuerunt, et auctum est bellum adventu repentino Capenatium atque Faliscorum. Hi duo Etruriae populi, quia proximi regione erant, devictis Veiiis bello quoque Romano se proximos fore credentes, Falisci propria etiam causa infesti quod Fidenati bello se iam antea immiscuerant, per legatos ultro citroque missos iure iurando inter se obligati, cum exercitibus necopinato ad Veios accessere. Forte ea regione qua M'. Sergius tribunus militum praeerat castra adorti sunt ingentemque terrorem intulere, quia Etruriam omnem excitam sedibus magna mole adesse Romani crediderant. Eadem opinio Veientes in urbe concitavit. Ita ancipiti proelio castra Romana oppugnabantur; concursantesque cum huc atque illuc signa transferrent, nec Veientem satis cohibere intra munitiones nec suis munimentis arcere vim ac tueri se ab exteriori poterant hoste. Una spes erat, si ex maioribus castris subveniretur, ut diversae legiones aliae adversus Capenatem ac Faliscum, aliae contra eruptionem oppidanorum pugnarent; sed castris praeerat Verginius, privatim Sergio invisus infestusque. Is cum pleraque castella oppugnata, superatas munitiones, utrimque invehi hostem nuntiaretur, in armis milites tenuit, si opus foret auxilio collegam dictitans ad se missurum. Huius adrogantiam pertinacia alterius aequabat, qui, ne quam opem ab inimico videretur petisse, vinci ab hoste quam vincere per civem maluit. Diu in medio caesi milites; postremo desertis munitionibus, perpauci in maiora castra, pars maxima atque ipse Sergius Romam pertenderunt. Ubi cum omnem culpam in collegam inclinaret, acciri Verginium ex castris, interea praeesse legatos placuit. Acta deinde in senatu res est certatumque inter collegas maledictis. Pauci rei publicae, [plerique] huic atque illi ut quosque studium privatim aut gratia occupaverat adsunt.

[9] Primores patrum sive culpa sive infelicitate imperatorum tam ignominiosa clades accepta esset censuere non exspectandum iustum tempus comitiorum, sed extemplo novos tribunos militum creandos esse, qui Kalendis Octobribus magistratum occiperent. In quam sententiam cum pedibus iretur, ceteri tribuni militum nihil contradicere; at enimvero Sergius Verginiusque, propter quos paenitere magistratum eius anni senatum apparebat, primo deprecari ignominiam, deinde intercedere senatus consulto, negare se ante idus Decembres, sollemnem ineundis magistratibus diem, honore abituros esse. Inter haec tribuni plebis, cum in concordia hominum secundisque rebus civitatis inviti silentium tenuissent, feroces repente minari tribunis militum, nisi in auctoritate senatus essent, se in vincla eos duci iussuros esse. Tum C. Servilius Ahala tribunus militum: “Quod ad vos attinet, tribuni plebis, minasque vestras, ne ego libenter experirer quam non plus in iis iuris quam in vobis animi esset; sed nefas est tendere adversus auctoritatem senatus. Proinde et vos desinite inter nostra certamina locum iniuriae quaerere, et collegae aut facient quod censet senatus, aut si pertinacius tendent, dictatorem extemplo dicam qui eos abire magistratu cogat.” Cum omnium adsensu comprobata oratio esset, gauderentque patres sine tribuniciae potestatis terriculis inventam esse aliam vim maiorem ad coercendos magistratus, victi consensu omnium comitia tribunorum militum habuere qui Kalendis Octobribus magistratum occiperent, seque ante eam diem magistratu abdicavere.

[10] L. Valerio Potito quartum M. Furio Camillo iterum M'. Aemilio Mamerco tertium Cn. Cornelio Cosso iterum K. Fabio Ambusto L. Iulio Iulo tribunis militum consulari potestate multa domi militiaeque gesta; nam et bellum multiplex fuit eodem tempore, ad Veios et ad Capenam et ad Falerios et in Volscis ut Anxur ab hostibus reciperaretur, et Romae simul dilectu simul tributo conferendo laboratum est, et de tribunis plebi cooptandis contentio fuit, et haud parvum motum duo iudicia eorum qui paulo ante consulari potestate fuerant excivere. Omnium primum tribunis militum fuit, dilectum haberi; nec iuniores modo conscripti sed seniores etiam coacti nomina dare ut urbis custodiam agerent. Quantum autem augebatur militum numerus, tanto maiore pecunia in stipendium opus erat, eaque tributo conferebatur, invitis

conferentibus qui domi remanebant, quia tuentibus urbem opera quoque militari laborandum serviendumque rei publicae erat. Haec per se gravia indigniora ut viderentur tribuni plebis seditiosis contionibus faciebant, ideo aera militibus constituta esse arguendo ut plebis partem militia partem tributo conficerent. Unum bellum annum iam tertium trahi et consulto male geri ut diutius gerant. In quattuor deinde bella uno dilectu exercitus scriptos, et pueros quoque ac senes extractos. Iam non aetatis nec hiemis discrimen esse, ne ulla quies unquam miserae plebi sit; quae nunc etiam vectigalis ad ultimum facta sit, ut cum confecta labore volneribus postremo aetate corpora rettulerint incultaque omnia diutino dominorum desiderio domi invenerint, tributum ex adfecta re familiari pendant aeraque militaria, velut fenore accepta, multiplicia rei publicae reddant.

Inter dilectum tributumque et occupatos animos maiorum rerum curis, comitiis tribunorum plebis numerus expleri nequii. Pugnatum inde in loca vacua ut patricii cooptarentur. Postquam obtineri non poterat, tamen labefactandae legis [tribuniciae] causa effectum est ut cooptarentur tribuni plebis C. Lacerius et M. Acutius, haud dubie patriciorum opibus

[11] Fors ita tulit ut eo anno tribunus plebis Cn. Trebonius esset, qui nomini ac familiae debitum praestare videretur Treboniae legis patrociniū. Is quod petissent patres quondam primo incepto repulsi, tandem tribunos militum expugnasse vociferans, legem Treboniam sublatam et cooptatos tribunos plebis non suffragiis populi sed imperio patriciorum; eo revolvī rem ut aut patricii aut patriciorum adseculae habendi tribuni plebis sint; eripi sacratas leges, extorqueri tribuniciam potestatem; id fraude patriciorum, scelere ac proditione collegarum factum arguere.

Cum arderent invidia non patres modo sed etiam tribuni plebis, cooptati pariter et qui cooptaverant, tum ex collegio tres, P. Curatius M. Metilius M. Minucius, trepidi rerum suarum, in Sergium Verginiumque, prioris anni tribunos militares, incurrunt; in eos ab se iram plebis invidiamque die dicta avertunt. Quibus dilectus, quibus tributum, quibus diutina militia longinquitasque belli sit gravis, qui clade accepta ad Veios doleant, qui amissis liberis, fratribus, propinquis, adfinibus lugubres domos habeant, his publici privatique doloris exsequendi ius potestatemque ex duobus noxiis capitibus

datam ab se memorant. Omnium namque malorum in Sergio Verginioque causas esse; nec id accusatorem magis arguere quam fateri reos, qui noxii ambo alter in alterum causam conferant, fugam Sergi Verginius, Sergius proditorem increpans Vergini. Quorum adeo incredibilem amentiam fuisse ut multo veri similis sit compecto eam rem et communi fraude patriciorum actam. Ab his et prius datum locum Veientibus ad incendenda opera belli trahendi causa, et nunc proditum exercitum, tradita Faliscis Romana castra. Omnia fieri ut consenescat ad Veios iuventus, nec de agris nec de aliis commodis plebis ferre ad populum tribuni frequentiaque urbana celebrare actiones et resistere conspirationi patriciorum possint. Praejudicium iam de reis et ab senatu et ab populo Romano et ab ipsorum collegio factum esse; nam et senatus consulto eos ab re publica remotos esse, et recusantes abdicare se magistratu dictatoris metu ab collegis coercitos esse, et populum Romanum tribunos creasse qui non idibus Decembribus, die sollemni, sed extemplo Kalendis Octobribus magistratum occiperent, quia stare diutius res publica his manentibus in magistratu non posset; et tamen eos, tot iudiciis confossos praedamnatosque, venire ad populi iudicium et existimare defunctos se esse satisque poenarum dedisse quod duobus mensibus citius privati facti sint, neque intellegere nocendi sibi diutius tum potestatem ereptam esse, non poenam inrogatam; quippe et collegis abrogatum imperium qui certe nihil deliquissent. Illos repeterent animos Quirites, quos recenti clade accepta habuissent, cum fuga trepidum, plenum vulnerum ac pavoris incidentem portis exercitum viderint, non fortunam aut quemquam deorum sed hos duces accusantem. Pro certo se habere neminem in contione stare qui illo die non caput domum fortunasque L. Vergini ac M'. Sergi sit exsecratus detestatusque. Minime convenire quibus iratos quisque deos precatus sit, in iis sua potestate, cum liceat et oporteat, non uti. Nunquam deos ipsos admovere nocentibus manus; satis esse, si occasione ulciscendi laesos arment.

[12] His orationibus incitata plebs denis milibus aeris gravis reos condemnat, nequiquam Sergio Martem communem belli fortunamque accusante, Verginio deprecante ne infelicior domi quam militiae esset. In hos versa ira populi cooptationis tribunorum fraudisque contra legem Treboniam factae memoriam obscuram

fecit.

Victores tribuni ut praesentem mercedem iudicii plebes haberet legem agrariam promulgant, tributumque conferri prohibent, cum tot exercitibus stipendio opus esset resque militia ita prospere gererentur ut nullo bello veniretur ad exitum spei. Namque Veiis castra quae amissa erant recipiata castellis praesidiisque firmantur; praeerant tribuni militum M'. Aemilius et K. Fabius. A M. Furio in Faliscis, a Cn. Cornelio in Capenate agro hostes nulli extra moenia inventi; praedae actae incendiisque villarum ac frugum vastati fines; oppida oppugnata nec obsessa sunt. At in Volscis depopulato agro Anxur nequiquam oppugnatum, loco alto situm et postquam vis inrita erat vallo fossaque obsideri coeptum; Valerio Potito Volsci provincia evenerat.

Hoc statu militarium rerum, seditio intestina maiore mole coorta quam bella tractabantur; et cum tributum conferri per tribunos non posset nec stipendium imperatoribus mitteretur aeraque militaria flagitaret miles, haud procul erat quin castra quoque urbanae seditionis contagione turbarentur. Inter has iras plebis in patres cum tribuni plebi nunc illud tempus esse dicerent stabiliendae libertatis et ab Sergiis Verginiisque ad plebeios viros fortes ac strenuos transferendi summi honoris, non tamen ultra processum est quam ut unus ex plebe, usurpandi iuris causa, P. Licinius Calvus tribunus militum consulari potestate crearetur: ceteri patricii creati, P. Manilius L. Titinius P. Maelius L. Furius Medullinus L. Publilius Volscus. Ipsa plebes mirabatur se tantam rem obtinuisse, non is modo qui creatus erat, vir nullis ante honoribus usus, vetus tantum senator et aetate iam gravis; nec satis constat cur primus ac potissimus ad novum delibandum honorem sit habitus. Alii Cn. Corneli fratris, qui tribunus militum priore anno fuerat triplexque stipendium equitibus dederat, gratia extractum ad tantum honorem credunt, alii orationem ipsum tempestivam de concordia ordinum patribus plebique gratam habuisse. Hac victoria comitiorum exsultantes tribuni plebis quod maxime rem publicam impediabat de tributo remiserunt. Conlatum oboedienter missumque ad exercitum est.

[13] Anxur in Volscis brevi receptum est, neglectis die festo custodiis urbis. Insignis annus hieme gelida ac nivosa fuit, adeo ut

viae clausae, Tiberis innavigabilis fuerit. Annona ex ante convecta copia nihil mutavit. Et quia P. Licinius ut ceperat haud tumultuose magistratum maiore gaudio plebis quam indignatione patrum, ita etiam gessit, dulcedo invasit proximis comitiis tribunorum militum plebeios creandi. Unus M. Veturius ex patriciis candidatis locum tenuit: plebeios alios tribunos militum consulari potestate omnes fere centuriae dixere, M. Pomponium Cn. Duillium Voleronem Publilium Cn. Genucium L. Atilium.

Tristem hiemem sive ex intemperie caeli, raptim mutatione in contrarium facta, sive alia qua de causa gravis pestilensque omnibus animalibus aestas excepit; cuius insanabili perniciiei quando nec causa nec finis inveniebatur, libri Sibyllini ex senatus consulto aditi sunt. Duumviri sacris faciundis, lectisternio tunc primum in urbe Romana facto, per dies octo Apollinem Latonamque et Dianam, Herculem, Mercurium atque Neptunum tribus quam amplissime tum apparari poterat stratis lectis placauere. Privatim quoque id sacrum celebratum est. Tota urbe patentibus ianuis promiscuoque usu rerum omnium in propatulo posito, notos ignotosque passim advenas in hospitium ductos ferunt, et cum inimicis quoque benigne ac comiter sermones habitos; iurgiis ac litibus temperatum; vinctis quoque dempta in eos dies vincula; religioni deinde fuisse quibus eam opem di tulissent vinciri.

Interim ad Veios terror multiplex fuit tribus in unum bellis conlatis. Namque eodem quo antea modo circa munimenta cum repente Capenates Faliscique subsidio venissent, adversus tres exercitus ancipiti proelio pugnatum est. Ante omnia adiuvit memoria damnationis Sergi ac Vergini. Itaque [e] maioribus castris, unde antea cessatum fuerat, brevi spatio circumductae copiae Capenates in vallum Romanum versos ab tergo adgrediuntur; inde pugna coepta et Faliscis intulit terrorem, trepidantesque eruptio ex castris opportune facta avertit. Repulsos deinde insecuti victores ingentem ediderunt caedem; nec ita multo post iam [palantes veluti] forte oblati populatores Capenatis agri reliquias pugnae absumpsere. Et Veientium refugientes in urbem multi ante portas caesi, dum prae metu, ne simul Romanus inrumperet, obiectis foribus extremos suorum excludere.

[14] Haec eo anno acta; et iam comitia tribunorum militum aderant,

quorum prope maior patribus quam belli cura erat, quippe non communicatum modo cum plebe sed prope amissum cernentibus summum imperium. Itaque clarissimis viris ex composito praeparatis ad petendum quos praetereundi verecundiam crederent fore, nihilo minus ipsi perinde ac si omnes candidati essent cuncta experientes non homines modo sed deos etiam exciebant, in religionem vertentes comitia biennio habita: priore anno intolerandam hiemem prodigiisque divinis similem coortam, proximo non prodigia sed iam eventus: pestilentiam agris urbique inlatam haud dubia ira deum, quos pestis eius arcendae causa placandos esse in libris fatalibus inventum sit; comitiis auspicato quae fierent indignum dis visum honores vulgari discriminaque gentium confundi. Praeterquam maiestate petentium, religione etiam attoniti homines patricos omnes, partem magnam honoratissimum quemque, tribunos militum consulari potestate creavere, L. Valerium Potitum quintum M. Valerium Maximum M. Furium Camillum iterum L. Furium Medullinum tertium Q. Servilium Fidenatem iterum Q. Sulpicium Camerinum iterum. His tribunis ad Veios nihil admodum memorabile actum est; tota vis in populationibus fuit. Duo summi imperatores, Potitus a Faleriis, Camillus a Capena praedas ingentes egere, nulla incolumi relictis re cui ferro aut igni noceri posset.

[15] Prodigia interim multa nuntiari, quorum pleraque et quia singuli auctores erant parum credita spretaque, et quia, hostibus Etruscis, per quos ea procurarent haruspices non erant: in unum omnium curae versae sunt quod lacus in Albano nemore, sine ullis caelestibus aquis causave qua alia quae rem miraculo eximeret, in altitudinem insolitam crevit. Quidnam eo di portenderent prodigio missi sciscitatum oratores ad Delphicum oraculum. Sed propior interpres fati oblatus senior quidam Veiens, qui inter cavillantes in stationibus ac custodiis milites Romanos Etruscosque vaticinantis in modum cecinit priusquam ex lacu Albano aqua emissa foret nunquam potiturum Veiis Romanum. Quod primo velut temere iactum sperni, agitari deinde sermonibus coeptum est donec unus ex statione Romana percontatus proximum oppidanorum, iam per longinquitatem belli commercio sermonum facto, quisnam is esset qui per ambages de lacu Albano iaceret, postquam audivit haruspicem esse, vir haud intacti religione animi, causatus de privati

portenti procuratione si operae illi esset consulere velle, ad conloquium vatem elicit. Cumque progressi ambo a suis longius essent inermes sine ullo metu, praevalens iuvenis Romanus senem infirmum in conspectu omnium raptum nequiquam tumultuantibus Etruscis ad suos transtulit. Qui cum perductus ad imperatorem, inde Romam ad senatum missus esset, sciscitantibus quidnam id esset quod de lacu Albano docuisset, respondit profecto iratos deos Veienti populo illo fuisse die quo sibi eam mentem obiecissent ut excidium patriae fatale proderet. Itaque quae tum cecinerit divino spiritu instinctus, ea se nec ut indicta sint revocare posse, et tacendo forsitan quae di immortales volgari velint haud minus quam celanda effando nefas contrahi. Sic igitur libris fatalibus, sic disciplina Etrusca traditum esse, [ut] quando aqua Albana abundasset, tum si eam Romanus rite emisisset victoriam de Veientibus dari; antequam id fiat deos moenia Veientium deserturos non esse. Exsequebatur inde quae sollemnis derivatio esset; sed auctorem levem nec satis fidum super tanta re patres rati decrevere legatos sortesque oraculi Pythici exspectandas.

[16] Priusquam a Delphis oratores redirent Albanive prodigii piacula invenirentur, novi tribuni militum consulari potestate, L. Iulius Iulus L. Furius Medullinus quartum L. Sergius Fidenas A. Postumius Regillensis P. Cornelius Maluginensis A. Manlius magistratum inierunt. Eo anno Tarquinienses novi hostes exorti. Qui quia multis simul bellis, Volscorum ad Anxur, ubi praesidium obsidebatur, Aequorum ad Labicos, qui Romanam ibi coloniam oppugnabant, ad hoc Veientique et Falisco et Capenati bello occupatos videbant Romanos, nec intra muros quietiora negotia esse certaminibus patrum ac plebis, inter haec locum iniuriae rati esse, praedatum in agrum Romanum cohortes expeditas mittunt: aut enim passuros inultam eam iniuriam Romanos ne novo bello se onerarent, aut exiguo eoque parum valido exercitu persecuturos. Romanis indignitas maior quam cura populationis Tarquiniensium fuit; eo nec magno conatu suscepta nec in longum dilata res est. A. Postumius et L. Iulius, non iusto dilectu — etenim ab tribunis plebis impediabantur — sed prope voluntariorum quos adhortando incitaverant coacta manu, per agrum Caeretem obliquis tramitibus egressi, redeuntes a populationibus gravesque praeda Tarquinienses

oppressere. Multos mortales obtruncant, omnes exuunt impedimentis, et receptis agrorum suorum spoliis Romam revertuntur. Biduum ad recognoscendas res datum dominis; tertio incognita — erant autem ea pleraque hostium ipsorum — sub hasta veniere quodque inde redactum militibus est divisum.

Cetera bella maximeque Veiens incerti exitus erant. Iamque Romani desperata ope humana fata et deos spectabant, cum legati ab Delphis venerunt, sortem oraculi adferentes congruentem responso captivi vatis: “Romane, aquam Albanam cave lacu contineri, cave in mare manare suo flumine sinas; emissam per agros rigabis dissipatamque rivis exstingues; tum tu insiste audax hostium muris, memor quam per tot annos obsides urbem ex ea tibi his quae nunc panduntur fatis victoriam datam. Bello perfecto donum amplum victor ad mea templa portato, sacraque patria, quorum omissa cura est, instaurata ut adsolet facito.”

[17] Ingens inde haberi captivus vates coeptus, eumque adhibere tribuni militum Cornelius Postumiusque ad prodigii Albani procurationem ac deos rite placandos coepere; inventumque tandem est ubi neglectas caerimonias intermissumve sollemne di arguerent: nihil profecto aliud esse quam magistratus vitio creatos Latinas sacrumque in Albano monte non rite concepisse; unam expiationem eorum esse ut tribuni militum abdicarent se magistratu, auspicia de integro repeterentur et interregnum iniretur. Ea ita facta sunt ex senatus consulto. Interreges tres deinceps fuere, L. Valerius, Q. Servilius Fidenas, M. Furius Camillus. Nunquam desitum interim turbari, comitia interpellantibus tribunis plebis donec convenisset prius ut maior pars tribunorum militum ex plebe crearetur.

Quae dum aguntur, concilia Etruriae ad fanum Voltumnae habita, postulantibusque Capenatibus ac Faliscis ut Veios communi animo consilioque omnes Etruriae populi ex obsidione eriperent, responsum est antea se id Veientibus negasse quia unde consilium non petissent super tanta re auxilium petere non deberent; nunc iam pro se fortunam suam illis negare. Maxima iam in parte Etruriae gentem invisitatam, novos accolae [Gallos] esse, cum quibus nec pax satis fida nec bellum pro certo sit. Sanguini tamen nominique et praesentibus periculis consanguineorum id dari ut si qui iuventutis suae voluntate ad id bellum eant non impediant. Eum magnum

advenisse hostium numerum fama Romae erat, eoque mitescere discordiae intestinae metu communi, ut fit, coeptae.

[18] Haud invitis patribus P. Licinium Calvum praerogativa tribunum militum non petentem creant, moderationis expertae in priore magistratu virum, ceterum iam tum exactae aetatis; omnesque deinceps ex collegio eiusdem anni refici apparebat, L. Titinium P. Maenium Cn. Genucium L. Atilium. Qui priusquam renunciarentur iure vocatis tribubus, permissu interregis P. Licinius Calvus ita verba fecit: “Omen concordiae, Quirites, rei maxime in hoc tempus utili, memoria nostri magistratus vos his comitiis petere in insequentem annum video. Sed collegas eosdem reficitis, etiam usu meliores factos: me iam non eundem sed umbram nomenque P. Licini relictum videtis. Vires corporis adfectae, sensus oculorum atque aurium hebetes, memoria labat, vigor animi obtusus. En vobis” inquit, “iuvenem”, filium tenens, “effigiem atque imaginem eius quem vos antea tribunum militum ex plebe primum fecistis. Hunc ego institutum disciplina mea vicarium pro me rei publicae do dicoque, vosque quaeso, Quirites, delatum mihi ultro honorem huic petenti meisque pro eo adiectis precibus mandetis.” Datum id petenti patri filiusque eius P. Licinius tribunus militum consulari potestate cum iis quos supra scripsimus declaratus.

Titinius Genuciusque tribuni militum profecti adversus Faliscos Capenatesque, dum bellum maiore animo gerunt quam consilio, praecipitavere se in insidias. Genucius morte honesta temeritatem luens ante signa inter primores cecidit; Titinius in editum tumultum ex multa trepidatione militibus collectis aciem restituit; nec se tamen aequo loco hosti commisit. Plus ignominiae erat quam cladis acceptum, quae prope in cladem ingentem vertit; tantum inde terroris non Romae modo, quo multiplex fama pervenerat, sed in castris quoque fuit ad Veios. Aegre ibi miles retentus a fuga est cum pervasisset castra rumor ducibus exercituque caeso victorem Capenatem ac Faliscum Etruriaequae omnem iuventutem haud procul inde abesse. His tumultuosiora Romae, iam castra ad Veios oppugnari, iam partem hostium tendere ad urbem agmine infesto, crediderant; concursumque in muros est et matronarum, quas ex domo conciverat publicus pavor, obsecrationes in templis factae, precibusque ab dis petatum ut exitium ab urbis tectis templisque ac

moenibus Romanis arcerent Veiosque eum averterent terrorem, si sacra renovata rite, si procurata prodigia essent.

[19] Iam ludi Latinaeque instaurata erant, iam ex lacu Albano aqua emissa in agros, Veiosque fata adpetebant. Igitur fatalis dux ad excidium illius urbis servandaeque patriae, M. Furius Camillus, dictator dictus magistrum equitum P. Cornelium Scipionem dixit. Omnia repente mutaverat imperator mutatus; alia spes, alius animus hominum, fortuna quoque alia urbis videri. Omnium primum in eos qui a Veiiis in illo pavore fugerant more militari animadvertit, effecitque ne hostis maxime timendus militi esset. Deinde indicto dilectu in diem certam, ipse interim Veios ad confirmandos militum animos intercurrit; inde Romam ad scribendum novum exercitum redit, nullo detractante militiam. Peregrina etiam iuventus, Latini Hernicique, operam suam pollicentes ad id bellum venere; quibus cum gratias in senatu egisset dictator, satis iam omnibus ad id bellum paratis, ludos magnos ex senatus consulto vovit Veiiis captis se facturum aedemque Matutae Matris refectionem dedicaturum, iam ante ab rege Ser. Tullio dedicatam. Profectus cum exercitu ab urbe exspectatione hominum maiore quam spe, in agro primum Nepesino cum Faliscis et Capenatibus signa confert. Omnia ibi summa ratione consilioque acta fortuna etiam, ut fit, secuta est. Non proelio tantum fudit hostes, sed castris quoque exiit ingentique praeda est potitus; cuius pars maxima ad quaestorem redacta est, haud ita multum militi datum. Inde ad Veios exercitus ductus, densioraque castella facta, et a procursationibus quae multae temere inter murum ac vallum fiebant, edicto ne quis iniussu pugnaret, ad opus milites traducti. Operum fuit omnium longe maximum ac laboriosissimum cuniculus in arcem hostium agi coeptus. Quod ne intermitteretur opus neu sub terra continuus labor eosdem conficeret, in partes sex munitorum numerum divisit; senae horae in orbem operi attributae sunt; nocte ac die nunquam ante omissum quam in arcem viam facerent.

[20] Dictator cum iam in manibus videret victoriam esse, urbem opulentissimam capi, tantumque praedae fore quantum non omnibus in unum conlatis ante bellis fuisset, ne quam inde aut militum iram ex malignitate praedae partitae aut invidiam apud patres ex prodiga largitione caperet, litteras ad senatum misit, deum immortalium benignitate suis consiliis patientia militum Veios iam fore in

potestate populi Romani; quid de praeda faciendum censerent? Duae senatum distinebant sententiae, senis P. Licini, quem primum dixisse a filio interrogatum ferunt, edici palam placere populo ut qui particeps esse praedae vellet in castra Veios iret, altera Ap. Claudii, qui largitionem novam prodigam inaequalem inconsultam arguens, si semel nefas ducerent captam ex hostibus in aerario exhausto bellis pecuniam esse, auctor erat stipendii ex ea pecunia militi numerandi ut eo minus tributum plebes conferret; eius enim doni societatem sensuras aequaliter omnium domos, non avidas in direptiones manus otiosorum urbanorum bellatorum praerepturas fortium praemia esse, cum ita ferme eveniat ut segnior sit praedator ut quisque laboris periculique praecipuam petere partem soleat. Licinius contra suspectam et invisam semper eam pecuniam fore aiebat, causasque criminum ad plebem, seditionum inde ac legum novarum praebituram; satius igitur esse reconciliari eo dono plebis animos, exhaustis atque exinanitis tributo tot annorum succurri, et sentire praedae fructum ex eo bello in quo prope consenuerint. Gracilius id fore laetiusque quod quisque sua manu ex hoste captum domum rettulerit quam si multiplex alterius arbitrio accipiat. Ipsum dictatorem fugere invidiam ex eo criminaque; eo delegasse ad senatum; senatum quoque debere reiectam rem ad se permittere plebi ac pati habere quod cuique fors belli dederit. Haec tutior visa sententia est quae popularem senatum faceret. Edictum itaque est ad praedam Veientem quibus videretur in castra ad dictatorem proficiscerentur.

[21] Ingens profecta multitudo replevit castra. Tum dictator auspiciis egressus cum edixisset ut arma milites caperent, "Tuo ductu" inquit, "Pythice Apollo, tuoque numine instinctus pergo ad delendam urbem Veios, tibi hinc decimam partem praedae voveo. Te simul, Iuno regina, quae nunc Veios colis, precor, ut nos victores in nostram tuamque mox futuram urbem sequere, ubi te dignum amplitudine tua templum accipiat". Haec precatus, superante multitudine ab omnibus locis urbem adgreditur, quo minor ab cuniculo ingruentis periculi sensus esset. Veientes ignari se iam a suis vatibus, iam ab externis oraculis proditos, iam in partem praedae suae vocatos deos, alios votis ex urbe sua evocatos hostium templa novasque sedes spectare, sequere ultimum illum diem agere, nihil

minus timentes quam subrutis cuniculo moenibus arcem iam plenam hostium esse, in muros pro se quisque armati discurrunt, mirantes quidnam id esset quod cum tot per dies nemo se ab stationibus Romanus movisset, tum velut repentino icti furore improvidi currerent ad muros.

Inseritur huic loco fabula: immolante rege Veientium vocem haruspiciis, dicentis qui eius hostiae exta prosecuisset, ei victoriam dari, exauditam in cuniculo movisse Romanos milites ut adaperto cuniculo exta raperent et ad dictatorem ferrent. Sed in rebus tam antiquis si quae similia veri sint pro veris accipiantur, satis habeam: haec ad ostentationem scenae gaudentis miraculis aptiora quam ad fidem neque adfirmare neque refellere est operae pretium.

Cuniculus delectis militibus eo tempore plenus, in aedem Iunonis quae in Veientana arce erat armatos repente edidit, et pars aversos in muris invadunt hostes, pars claustra portarum revellunt, pars cum ex tectis saxa tegulaeque a mulieribus ac servitiis iacerentur, inferunt ignes. Clamor omnia variis terrentium ac paventium vocibus mixto mulierum ac puerorum ploratu complet. Memento temporis deiectis ex muro undique armatis patefactisque portis cum alii agmine inruerent, alii desertos scanderent muros, urbs hostibus impletur; omnibus locis pugnatur; deinde multa iam edita caede senescit pugna, et dictator praecones edicere iubet ut ab inermi abstineatur. Is finis sanguinis fuit. Dedi inde inermes coepti et ad praedam miles permissu dictatoris discurrit. Quae cum ante oculos eius aliquantum spe atque opinione maior maiorisque pretii rerum ferretur, dicitur manus ad caelum tollens precatus esse ut si cui deorum hominumque nimia sua fortuna populique Romani videretur, ut eam invidiam lenire quam minimo suo privato incommodo publicoque populi Romani liceret. Convertentem se inter hanc venerationem traditur memoriae prolapsus cecidisse; idque omen pertinuisse postea eventu rem coniectantibus visum ad damnationem ipsius Camilli, captae deinde urbis Romanae, quod post paucos accidit annos, cladem. Atque ille dies caede hostium ac direptione urbis opulentissimae est consumptus.

[22] Postero die libera corpora dictator sub corona vendidit. Ea sola pecunia in publicum redigitur, haud sine ira plebis; et quod rettulere secum praedae, nec duci, qui ad senatum malignitatis auctores

quaerendo rem arbitrii sui reiecisset, nec senatui, sed Liciniae familiae, ex qua filius ad senatum rettulisset, pater tam popularis sententiae auctor fuisset, acceptum referebant. Cum iam humanae opes egestae a Veis essent, amoliri tum deum dona ipsosque deos, sed colentium magis quam rapientium modo, coepere. namque delecti ex omni exercitu iuvenes, pure lautis corporibus, candida veste, quibus deportanda Romam regina Iuno adsignata erat, venerabundi templum iniere, primo religiose admoventes manus, quod id signum more Etrusco nisi certae gentis sacerdos attractare non esset solitus. Dein cum quidam, seu spiritu divino tactus seu iuvenali ioco, “Visne Romam ire, Iuno?” dixisset, adnuisse ceteri deam conclamaverunt. Inde fabulae adiectum est vocem quoque dicentis velle auditam; motam certe sede sua parvi molimenti adminiculis, sequentis modo accepimus levem ac facilem tralatu fuisse, integramque in Aventinum aeternam sedem suam quo vota Romani dictatoris vocaverant perlatam, ubi templum ei postea idem qui voverat Camillus dedicavit.

Hic Veiorum occasus fuit, urbis opulentissimae Etrusci nominis, magnitudinem suam vel ultima clade indicantis, quod decem aestates hiemesque continuas circumsessa cum plus aliquanto cladium intulisset quam accepisset, postremo iam fato quoque urgente, operi bus tamen, non vi expugnata est.

[23] Romam ut nuntiatum est Veios captos, quamquam et prodigia procurata fuerant et vatum responsa et Pythicae sortes notae, et quantum humanis adiuvari consiliis potuerat res ducem M. Furium, maximum imperatorum omnium, legerant, tamen quia tot annis varie ibi bellatum erat multaeque clades acceptae, velut ex insperato immensum gaudium fuit, et priusquam senatus decerneret plena omnia templa Romanarum matrum grates dis agentium erant. Senatus in quadriduum, quot dierum nullo ante bello, supplicationes decernit. Adventus quoque dictatoris omnibus ordinibus obviam effusis celebratior quam ullius unquam antea fuit, triumphusque omnem consuetum honorandi diei illius modum aliquantum excessit. Maxime conspectus ipse est, curru equis albis iuncto urbem invectus, parumque id non civile modo sed humanum etiam visum. Iovis Solisque equis aequiperatum dictatorem in religionem etiam trahebant, triumphusque ob eam unam maxime rem clarior quam

gratior fuit. Tum Iunoni reginae templum in Aventino locavit, dedicavitque Matutae Matris; atque his divinis humanisque rebus gestis dictatura se abdicavit.

Agi deinde de Apollinis dono coeptum. Cui se decimam vovisse praedae partem cum diceret Camillus, pontifices solvendum religione populum censerent, haud facile inibatur ratio iubendi referre praedam populum, ut ex ea pars debita in sacrum secerneretur. tandem eo quod lenissimum videbatur decursum est, ut qui se domumque religione exsolvere vellet, cum sibimet ipse praedam aestimasset suam, decimae pretium partis in publicum deferret, ut ex eo donum aureum, dignum amplitudine templi ac numine dei, ex dignitate populi Romani fieret. Ea quoque conlatio plebis animos a Camillo alienavit. Inter haec pacificatum legati a Volscis et Aequis venerunt, impetrataque pax, magis ut fessa tam diutino bello adquiesceret civitas quam quod digni peterent.

[24] Veiis captis, sex tribunos militum consulari potestate insequens annus habuit, duos P. Cornelios, Cossum et Scipionem, M. Valerium Maximum iterum K. Fabium Ambustum tertium L. Furium Medullinum quintum Q. Servilium tertium. Corneliis Faliscum bellum, Valerio ac Servilio Capenas sorte evenit. Ab iis non urbes vi aut operibus temptatae, sed ager est depopulatus praedaeque rerum agrestium actae; nulla felix arbor, nihil frugiferum in agro relictum. Ea clades Capenatem populum subegit; pax petentibus data; in Faliscis bellum restabat.

Romae interim multiplex seditio erat, cuius leniendae causa coloniam in Volscos, quo tria milia civium Romanorum scriberentur, deducendam censuerant, triumvirique ad id creati terna iugera et septunces viritim dividerant. Ea largitio sperni coepta, quia spei maioris avertendae solatium obiectum censebant: cur enim relegari plebem in Volscos cum pulcherrima urbs Veii agerque Veientanus in conspectu sit, uberior ampliorque Romano agro? Urbem quoque urbi Romae vel situ vel magnificentia publicorum privatorumque tectorum ac locorum praeponabant. Quin illa quoque actio movebatur, quae post captam utique Romam a Gallis celebratior fuit, transmigrandi Veios. Ceterum partem plebis, partem senatus habitando destinabant [Veios,] duasque urbes communi re publica incoli a populo Romano posse.

Adversus quae cum optimates ita tenderent ut morituros se citius dicerent in conspectu populi Romani quam quicquam earum rerum rogaretur; quippe nunc in una urbe tantum dissensionum esse: quid in duabus urbibus fore? Victamne ut quisquam victrici patriae praeferret sineretque maiorem fortunam captis esse Veiiis quam incolumibus fuerit? Postremo se relinqui a civibus in patria posse: ut relinquant patriam atque cives nullam vim unquam subacturam, et T. Sicinium — is enim ex tribunis plebis rogationis eius lator erat — conditorem Veios sequantur, relicto deo Romulo, dei filio, parente et auctore urbis Romae.

[25] — Haec cum foedis certaminibus agerentur — nam partem tribunorum plebi patres in suam sententiam traxerant — , nulla res alia manibus temperare plebem cogeabat quam quod, urbi rixae committendae causa clamor ortus esset, principes senatus primi turbae offerentes se peti feriri atque occidi iuebant. Ab horum aetatibus dignitatibusque et honoribus violandis dum abstinencebatur, et ad reliquos similes conatus verecundia irae obstabat.

Camillus identidem omnibus locis contionabatur: haud mirum id quidem esse, furere civitatem quae damnata voti omnium rerum potioem curam quam religione se exsolvendi habeat. Nihil de conlatione dicere, stipis verius quam decumae, quando ea se quisque privatim obligaverit, liberatus sit populus. Enimvero illud se tacere suam conscientiam non pati quod ex ea tantum praeda quae rerum moventium sit decuma designetur: urbis atque agri capti, quae et ipsa voto contineatur, mentionem nullam fieri.

Cum ea disceptatio, anceps senatui visa, delegata ad pontifices esset, adhibito Camillo visum collegio, quod eius ante conceptum votum Veientium fuisset et post votum in potestatem populi Romani venisset, eius partem decimam Apollini sacram esse. Ita in aestimationem urbs agerque venit. Pecunia ex aerario prompta, et tribunis militum consularibus ut aurum ex ea coemerent negotium datum. Cuius cum copia non esset, matronae coetibus ad eam rem consultandam habitis communi decreto pollicitae tribunis militum aurum et omnia ornamenta sua, in aerarium detulerunt. Grata ea res ut quae maxime senatui unquam fuit; honoremque ob eam munificentiam ferunt matronis habitum ut pilento ad sacra ludosque, carpentis festo profestoque uterentur. Pondere ab singulis auri

accepto aestimatoque ut pecuniae solverentur, crateram auream fieri placuit quae donum Apollini Delphos portaretur.

Simul ab religione animos remiserunt, integrant seditionem tribuni plebis; incitatur multitudo in omnes principes, ante alios in Camillum: eum praedam Veientanam publicando sacrandoque ad nihilum redegisse. Absentes ferociter increpant; praesentium, cum se ultro iratis offerrent, verecundiam habent. Simul extrahi rem ex eo anno viderunt, tribunos plebis latores legis in annum eosdem reficiunt; et patres hoc idem de intercessoribus legis adnisi; ita tribuni plebis magna ex parte iidem refecti.

[26] Comitibus tribunorum militum patres summa ope evicerunt ut M. Furius Camillus crearetur. Propter bella simulabant parari ducem; sed largitioni tribuniciae adversarius quaerebatur. Cum Camillo creati tribuni militum consulari potestate L. Furius Medullinus sextum C. Aemilius L. Valerius Publicola Sp. Postumius P. Cornelius iterum. Principio anni tribuni plebis nihil moverunt, donec M. Furius Camillus in Faliscos, cui id bellum mandatum erat, proficisceretur. Differendo deinde elanguit res, et Camillo quem adversarium maxime metuerant gloria in Faliscis crevit. Nam cum primo moenibus se hostes tenerent tutissimum id rati, populatione agrorum atque incendiis villarum coegit eos egredi urbe. Sed timor longius progredi prohibuit; mille fere passuum ab oppido castra locant, nulla re alia fidentes ea satis tuta esse quam difficultate aditus, asperis confragosisque circa, et partim artis, partim arduis viis. Ceterum Camillus, captivum indidem ex agris secutus ducem, castris multa nocte motis, prima luce aliquanto superioribus locis se ostendit. Trifariam Romani muniebant; alius exercitus proelio intentus stabat. Ibi impedire opus conatos hostes fundit fugatque; tantumque inde pavoris Faliscis iniectum est, ut effusa fuga castra sua quae propiora erant praelati urbem peterent. Multi caesi vulneratique priusquam paventes portis inciderent; castra capta; praeda ad quaestores redacta cum magna militum ira; sed severitate imperii victi eandem virtutem et oderant et mirabantur. Obsidio inde urbis et munitiones, et interdum per occasionem impetus oppidanorum in Romanas stationes proeliaque parva fieri et teri tempus neutro inclinata spe, cum frumentum copiaeque aliae ex ante convecto largius obsessis quam obsidentibus suppeterent.

Videbaturque aequae diuturnus futurus labor ac Veiiis fuisset, nisi fortuna imperatori Romano simul et cognitae rebus bellicis virtutis specimen [et] maturam victoriam dedisset.

[27] Mos erat Faliscis eodem magistro liberorum et comite uti, simulque plures pueri, quod hodie quoque in Graecia manet, unius curae demandabantur. Principum liberos, sicut fere fit, qui scientia videbatur praecellere erudiebat. Is cum in pace instituisset pueros ante urbem lusus exercendique causa producere, nihil eo more per belli tempus intermisso, [dum] modo brevioribus modo longioribus spatiis trahendo eos a porta, lusu sermonibusque variatis, longius solito ubi res dedit progressus, inter stationes eos hostium castraque inde Romana in praetorium ad Camillum perduxit. Ibi scelesti facinori scelestiorem sermonem addit, Falerios se in manus Romanis tradidisse, quando eos pueros quorum parentes capita ibi rerum sint in potestatem dediderit. Quae ubi Camillus audivit, “non ad similem” inquit, “tui nec populum nec imperatorem scelestus ipse cum scelesti munere venisti. Nobis cum Faliscis quae pacto fit humano societas non est: quam ingeneravit natura utrisque est eritque. Sunt et belli, sicut pacis, iura, iusteque ea non minus quam fortiter didicimus gerere. Arma habemus non adversus eam aetatem cui etiam captis urbibus parcitur, sed adversus armatos et ipsos qui, nec laesi nec lacessiti a nobis, castra Romana ad Veios oppugnaverunt. Eos tu quantum in te fuit novo scelere vicisti: ego Romanis artibus, virtute opere armis, sicut Veios vincam”. Denudatum deinde eum manibus post tergum inligatis reducendum Falerios pueris tradidit, virgasque eis quibus proditorem agerent in urbem verberantes dedit. Ad quod spectaculum concursu populi primum facto, deinde a magistratibus de re nova vocato senatu, tanta mutatio animis est iniecta ut qui modo efferati odio iraque Veientium exitum paene quam Capenatum pacem mallent, apud eos pacem universa posceret civitas. Fides Romana, iustitia imperatoris in foro et curia celebrantur; consensuque omnium legati ad Camillum in castra, atque inde permissu Camilli Romam ad senatum, qui dederent Falerios proficiscuntur. Introducti ad senatum ita locuti traduntur: “Patres conscripti, victoria cui nec deus nec homo quisquam invidet victi a vobis et imperatore vestro, dedimus nos vobis, rati, quo nihil victori pulchrius est, melius nos sub imperio vestro quam legibus nostris

victuros. Eventu huius belli duo salutaria exempla prodita humano generi sunt: vos fidem in bello quam praesentem victoriam maluistis; nos fide provocati victoriam ultro detulimus. Sub dicione vestra sumus; mittite qui arma, qui obsides, qui urbem patentibus portis accipiant. Nec vos fidei nostrae nec nos imperii vestri paenitebit.” Camillo et ab hostibus et a civibus gratiae actae. Faliscis in stipendium militum eius anni, ut populus Romanus tributo vacaret, pecunia imperata. Pace data exercitus Romam reductus.

[28] Camillus meliore multo laude quam cum triumphantem albi per urbem vexerant equi insignis, iustitia fideque hostibus victis cum in urbem redisset, taciti eius verecundiam non tulit senatus quin sine mora voti liberaretur; crateramque auream donum Apollini Delphos legati qui ferrent, L. Valerius L. Sergius A. Manlius, missi longa una nave, haud procul freto Siculo a piratis Liparensium excepti devehuntur Liparas. Mos erat civitatis velut publico latrocinio partam praedam dividere. Forte eo anno in summo magistratu erat Timasitheus quidam, Romanis vir similior quam suis; qui legatorum nomen donumque et deum cui mitteretur et doni causam veritus ipse multitudinem quoque, quae semper ferme regenti est similis, religionis iustae implevit, adductosque in publicum hospitium legatos cum praesidio etiam navium Delphos prosecutus, Romam inde sospites restituit. Hospitium cum eo senatus consulto est factum donaque publice data.

Eodem anno in Aequis varie bellatum, adeo ut in incerto fuerit et apud ipsos exercitus et Romae vicissent victine essent. Imperatores Romani fuere ex tribunis militum C. Aemilius Sp. Postumius. Primo rem communiter gesserunt; fuis inde acie hostibus, Aemilium praesidio Verruginem obtinere placuit, Postumium fines vastare. Ibi eum incomposito agmine negligentius ab re bene gesta euntem adorti Aequi terrore iniecto in proximos compulere tumulos; pavorque inde Verruginem etiam ad praesidium alterum est perlatus. Postumius suis in tutum receptis cum contione advocata terrorem increparet ac fugam, fusos esse ab ignavissimo ac fugacissimo hoste, conclamat universus exercitus merito se ea audire et fateri admissum flagitium, sed eosdem correcturos esse neque diuturnum id gaudium hostibus fore. Poscentes ut confestim inde ad castra hostium duceret — et in conspectu erant, posita in plano — nihil poenae recusabant

ni ea ante noctem expugnassent. Conlaudatos corpora curare paratosque esse quarta vigilia iubet. Et hostes nocturnam fugam ex tumulo Romanorum ut ab ea via quae ferebat Verruginem excluderent, fuere obvii; proeliumque ante lucem — sed luna pernox erat — commissum est. [Et] haud incertius diurno proelium fuit; sed clamor Verruginem perlatus, cum castra Romana crederent oppugnari, tantum iniecit pavoris ut nequiquam retinente atque obsecrante Aemilio Tusculum palati fugerent. Inde fama Romam perlata est Postumium exercitumque occisum. Qui ubi prima lux metum insidiarum effuse sequentibus sustulit, cum perequitas aciem promissa repetens, tantum iniecit ardoris ut non ultra sustinuerint impetum Aequi. Caedes inde fugientium, qualis ubi ira magis quam virtute res geritur, ad perniciem hostium facta est; tristemque ab Tusculo nuntium nequiquam exterrita civitate litterae a Postumio laureatae sequuntur, victoriam populi Romani esse, Aequorum exercitum deletum.

[29] Tribunorum plebis actiones quia nondum invenerant finem, et plebs continuare latoribus legis tribunatum et patres reficere intercessores legis adnisi sunt; sed plus suis comitiis plebs valuit; quem doloremulti patres sunt senatus consulto facto ut consules, invisus plebi magistratus, crearentur. Annum post quintum decimum creati consules L. Lucretius Flauus Ser. Sulpicius Camerinus. Principio huius anni ferociter quia nemo ex collegio intercessurus erat coortis ad perferendam legem tribunis plebis nec segnius ob id ipsum consulibus resistentibus omnique civitate in unam eam curam conversa, Vitelliam coloniam Romanam in suo agro Aequi expugnant. Colonorum pars maxima incolumis, quia nocte proditione oppidum captum liberam per aversa urbis fugam dederat, Romam perfugere. L. Lucretio consuli ea provincia evenit. Is cum exercitu profectus acie hostes vicit, victorque Romam ad maius aliquanto certamen redit. Dies dicta erat tribunis plebis biennii superioris A. Verginio et Q. Pomponio, quos defendi patrum consensu ad fidem senatus pertinebat; neque enim eos aut vitae ullo crimine alio aut gesti magistratus quisquam arguebat praeterquam quod gratificantes patribus rogationi tribuniciae intercessissent. Vicit tamen gratiam senatus plebis ira et pessimo exemplo innoxii denis milibus gravis aeris condemnati sunt. Id aegre passi patres; Camillus palam sceleris

plebem arguere quae iam in suos versa non intellexeret se pravo iudicio de tribunis intercessionem sustulisse, intercessione sublata tribuniciam potestatem evertisse; nam quod illi sperarent effrenatam licentiam eius magistratus patres laturos, falli eos. Si tribunicia vis tribunicio auxilio repelli nequeat, aliud telum patres inventuros esse; consulesque increpabat quod fide publica decipi tribunos eos taciti tulissent qui senatus auctoritatem secuti essent. Haec propalam contionabundus in dies magis augebat iras hominum.

[30] Senatum vero incitare adversus legem haud desistebat: ne aliter descenderent in forum, cum dies ferendae legis venisset, quam ut qui meminissent sibi pro aris focusque et deum templis ac solo in quo nati essent dimicandum fore. Nam quod ad se privatim attineat, si suae gloriae sibi inter dimicationem patriae meminisse sit fas, sibi amplum quoque esse urbem ab se captam frequentari, cottidie se frui monumento gloriae suae et ante oculos habere urbem latam in triumpho suo, insistere omnes vestigiis laudum suarum; sed nefas ducere desertam ac relictam ab dis immortalibus incoli urbem, et in captivo solo habitare populum Romanum et victrice patria victam mutari.

His adhortationibus principes concitati [patres] senes iuvenesque cum ferretur lex agmine facto in forum venerunt, dissipatique per tribus, suos quisque tribules prensantes, orare cum lacrimis coepere ne eam patriam pro qua fortissime felicissimeque ipsi ac patres eorum dimicassent desererent, Capitolium, aedem Vestae, cetera circa templa deorum ostentantes; ne exulem, extorrem populum Romanum ab solo patrio ac dis penatibus in hostium urbem agerent, eoque rem adducerent ut melius fuerit non capi Veios, ne Roma desereretur. Quia non vi agebant sed precibus, et inter preces multa deorum mentio erat, religiosum parti maximae fuit, et legem una plures tribus antiquarunt quam iusserunt. Adeoque ea victoria laeta patribus fuit, ut postero die referentibus consulibus senatus consultum fieret ut agri Veientani septena iugera plebi dividerentur, nec patribus familiae tantum, sed ut omnium in domo liberorum caputum ratio haberetur, vellentque in eam spem liberos tollere.

[31] Eo munere delenita plebe nihil certatum est quo minus consularia comitia haberentur. Creati consules L. Valerius Potitus M. Manlius, cui Capitolino postea fuit cognomen. Hi consules magnos

ludos fecere, quos M. Furius dictator voverat Veienti bello. Eodem anno aedes Iunonis reginae ab eodem dictatore eodemque bello vota dedicatur, celebratamque dedicationem ingenti matronarum studio tradunt.

Bellum haud memorabile in Algido cum Aequis gestum est, fuis hostibus prius paene quam manus consererent. Valerio quod perseverantior cedentes [insequi] [in fuga] fuit, triumphus, Manlio ut ovans ingrederetur urbem decretum est. Eodem anno novum bellum cum Volsiniensibus exortum; quo propter famem pestilentiamque in agro Romano ex siccitate caloribusque nimii ortam exercitus duci nequivit. Ob quae Volsinienses Sappinatis adiunctis superbia inflati ultro agros Romanos incursavere; bellum inde duobus populis indictum.

C. Iulius censor decessit; in eius locum M. Cornelius suffectus; — quae res postea religioni fuit quia eo lustro Roma est capta; nec deinde unquam in demortui locum censor sufficitur; — consulibusque morbo implicitis, placuit per interregnum renovari auspicia. Itaque cum ex senatus consulto consules magistratu se abdicassent, interrex creatur M. Furius Camillus, qui P. Cornelium Scipionem, is deinde L. Valerium Potitum interregem prodidit. Ab eo creati sex tribuni militum consulari potestate ut etiamsi cui eorum incommoda valetudo fuisset, copia magistratuum rei publicae esset.

[32] Kalendis Quintilibus magistratum occepere L. Lucretius Ser. Sulpicius M. Aemilius L. Furius Medullinus septimum Agrippa Furius C. Aemilius iterum. ex his L. Lucretio et C. Aemilio Volsinienses provincia evenit, Sappinates Agrippae Furio et Ser. Sulpicio. Prius cum Volsiniensibus pugnatum est. Bellum numero hostium ingens, certamine haud sane asperum fuit. Fusa concursu primo acies; in fuga milia octo armatorum ab equitibus interclusa positis armis in deditionem venerunt. Eius belli fama effecit ne se pugnae committerent Sappinates; moenibus armati se tutabantur. Romani praedas passim et ex Sappinati agro et ex Volsiniensi, nullo eam vim arcente, egerunt; donec Volsiniensibus fessis bello, ea condicione ut res populo Romano redderent stipendiumque eius anni exercitui praestarent, in viginti annos indutiae datae.

Eodem anno M. Caedicius de plebe nuntiavit tribunis se in Nova via, ubi nunc sacellum est supra aedem Vestae, vocem noctis silentio

audisse clariorem humana, quae magistratibus dici iuberet Gallos adventare. Id ut fit propter auctoris humilitatem spretum et quod longinqua eoque ignotior gens erat. Neque deorum modo monita ingruente fato spreta, sed humanam quoque opem, quae una erat, M. Furium ab urbe amovere. Qui die dicta ab L. Apuleio tribuno plebis propter praedam Veientanam, filio quoque adulescente per idem tempus orbatus, cum accitis domum tribulibus clientibusque quae magna pars plebis erat, percontatus animos eorum responsum tulisset se conlaturus quanti damnatus esset, absolvere eum non posse, in exilium abiit, precatus ab dis immortalibus si innoxio sibi ea iniuria fieret, primo quoque tempore desiderium sui civitati ingratae facerent. Absens quindecim milibus gravis aeris damnatur.

[33] Expulso cive quo manente, si quicquam humanorum certi est, capi Roma non potuerat, adventante fatali urbi clade legati ab Clusinis veniunt auxilium adversus Gallos petentes. Eam gentem traditur fama dulcedine frugum maximeque vini nova tum voluptate captam Alpes transisse agrosque ab Etruscis ante cultos possedis; et invexisse in Galliam vinum inliciendae gentis causa Arruntem Clusinum ira corruptae uxoris ab Lucumone cui tutor is fuerat, praepotente iuvene et a quo expeti poenae, nisi externa vis quaesita esset, nequirent; hunc transeuntibus Alpes ducem auctoremque Clusium oppugnandi fuisse. Equidem haud abnuerim Clusium Gallos ab Arrunte seu quo alio Clusino adductos; sed eos qui oppugnaverint Clusium non fuisse qui primi Alpes transierint satis constat. Ducentis quippe annis ante quam Clusium oppugnarent urbemque Romam caperent, in Italiam Galli transcenderunt; nec cum his primum Etruscorum sed multo ante cum iis qui inter Appenninum Alpesque incolebant saepe exercitus Gallici pugnare.

Tuscorum ante Romanum imperium late terra marique opes patuere. Mari supero inferoque quibus Italia insulae modo cingitur, quantum potuerint nomina sunt argumento, quod alterum Tuscum communi vocabulo gentis, alterum Hadriaticum [mare] ab Hatria, Tuscorum colonia, vocavere Italicae gentes, Graeci eadem Tyrrhenum atque Adriaticum vocant. Ei in utrumque mare vergentes incoluere urbibus duodenis terras, prius cis Appenninum ad inferum mare, postea trans Appenninum totidem, quot capita originis erant, coloniis missis, quae trans Padum omnia loca, — excepto Venetorum

angulo qui sinum circumcolunt maris, — usque ad Alpes tenuere. Alpinis quoque ea gentibus haud dubie origo est, maxime Raetis, quos loca ipsa efferarunt ne quid ex antiquo praeter sonum linguae nec eum incorruptum retinerent.

[34] De transitu in Italiam Gallorum haec accepimus: Prisco Tarquinio Romae regnante, Celtarum quae pars Galliae tertia est penes Bituriges summa imperii fuit; ii regem Celtico dabant. Ambigatus is fuit, virtute fortunaque cum sua, tum publica praepollens, quod in imperio eius Gallia adeo frugum hominumque fertilis fuit ut abundans multitudo vix regi videretur posse. Hic magno natu ipse iam exonerare praegravante turba regnum cupiens, Bellovesum ac Segovesum sororis filios impigros iuvenes missurum se esse in quas di dedissent auguriis sedes ostendit; quantum ipsi vellent numerum hominum excirent ne qua gens arcere advenientes posset. Tum Segoveso sortibus dati Hercynei saltus; Belloveso haud paulo laetiores in Italiam viam di dabant. Is quod eius ex populis abundabat, Bituriges, Arvernos, Senones, Haeduos, Ambarros, Carnutes, Aulercos excivit. Profectus ingentibus peditum equitumque copiis in Tricastinos venit.

Alpes inde oppositae erant; quas inexcuperabiles visas haud equidem miror, nulladum via, quod quidem continens memoria sit, nisi de Hercule fabulis credere libet, superatas. Ibi cum velut saeptos montium altitudo teneret Gallos, circumspectarentque quam per iuncta caelo iuga in alium orbem terrarum transirent, religio etiam tenuit quod allatum est advenas quaerentes agrum ab Saluum gente oppugnari. Massilienses erant ii, navibus a Phocaea profecti. Id Galli fortunae suae omen rati, adiuvare ut quem primum in terram egressi occupaverant locum patientibus Saluis communirent. Ipsi per Taurinos saltus [saltum]que Duriae Alpes transcenderunt; fusisque acie Tuscis haud procul Ticino flumine, cum in quo consederant agrum Insubrium appellari audissent cognominem Insubribus pago Haeduorum, ibi omen sequentes loci condidere urbem; Mediolanium appellarunt.

[35] Alia subinde manus Cenomanorum Etitovio duce vestigia priorum secuta eodem saltu favente Belloveso cum transcendisset Alpes, ubi nunc Brixia ac Verona urbes sunt locos tenuere. Libui considunt post hos Salluviique, prope antiquam gentem Laevos

Ligures incolentes circa Ticinum amnem. Poenino deinde Boii Lingonesque transgressi cum iam inter Padum atque Alpes omnia tenerentur, Pado ratibus traiecto non Etruscos modo sed etiam Umbros agro pellunt; intra Appenninum tamen sese tenuere. Tum Senones, recentissimi advenarum, ab Utente flumine usque ad Aesim fines habuere. Hanc gentem Clusium Romamque inde venisse comperio: id parum certum est, solamne an ab omnibus Cisalpinorum Gallorum populis adiutam.

Clusini novo bello exterriti, cum multitudinem, cum formas hominum invisitatas cernerent et genus armorum, audirentque saepe ab iis cis Padum ultraque legiones Etruscorum fusas, quamquam adversus Romanos nullum eis ius societatis amicitiaeve erat, nisi quod Veientes consanguineos adversus populum Romanum non defendissent, legatos Romam qui auxilium ab senatu peterent misere. De auxilio nihil impetratum; legati tres M. Fabi Ambusti filii missi, qui senatus populique Romani nomine agerent cum Gallis ne a quibus nullam iniuriam accepissent socios populi Romani atque amicos oppugnarent. Romanis eos bello quoque si res cogat tuendos esse; sed melius visum bellum ipsum amoveri si posset, et Gallos novam gentem pace potius cognosci quam armis.

[36] Mitis legatio, ni praeferoces legatos Gallisque magis quam Romanis similes habuisset. Quibus postquam mandata ediderunt in concilio [Gallorum] datur responsum, etsi novum nomen audiant Romanorum, tamen credere viros fortes esse quorum auxilium a Clusinis in re trepida sit imploratum; et quoniam legatione adversus se maluerint quam armis tueri socios, ne se quidem pacem quam illi adferant aspernari, si Gallis egentibus agro, quem latius possideant quam colant Clusini, partem finium concedant; aliter pacem impetrari non posse. Et responsum coram Romanis accipere velle et si negetur ager, coram iisdem Romanis dimicatuuros, ut nuntiare domum possent quantum Galli virtute ceteros mortales praestarent. Quodnam id ius esset agrum a possessoribus petere aut minari arma Romanis quaerentibus et quid in Etruria rei Gallis esset, cum illi se in armis ius ferre et omnia fortium virorum esse ferociter dicerent, accensis utrimque animis ad arma discurritur et proelium conseritur. Ibi iam urgentibus Romanam urbem fatis legati contra ius gentium arma capiunt. Nec id clam esse potuit cum ante signa Etruscorum

tres nobilissimi fortissimique Romanae iuventutis pugnarent; tantum eminebat peregrina virtus. Quin etiam Q. Fabius, evectus extra aciem equo, ducem Gallorum, ferociter in ipsa signa Etruscorum incursantem, per latus transfixum hasta occidit; spoliaque eius legentem Galli agnovere, perque totam aciem Romanum legatum esse signum datum est. Omissa inde in Clusinos ira, receptui canunt minantes Romanis. Erant qui extemplo Romam eundum censerent; vicere seniores, ut legati prius mitterentur questum iniurias postulatumque ut pro iure gentium violato Fabii dederentur. Legati Gallorum cum ea sicut erant mandata exposuissent, senatui nec factum placebat Fabiorum et ius postulare barbari videbantur; sed ne id quod placebat decerneretur in tantae nobilitatis viris ambitio obstabat. Itaque ne penes ipsos culpa esset cladis forte Gallico bello acceptae, cognitionem de postulatis Gallorum ad populum reiciunt; ubi tanto plus gratia atque opes valere ut quorum de poena agebatur tribuni militum consulari potestate in insequentem annum crearentur. Quo facto haud secus quam dignum erat infensi Galli bellum propalam minantes ad suos redeunt. Tribuni militum cum tribus Fabiis creati Q. Sulpicius Longus Q. Servilius quartum P. Cornelius Maluginensis.

[37] Cum tanta moles mali instaret — adeo occaecat animos fortuna, ubi vim suam ingruentem refringi non volt — civitas quae adversus Fidenatem ac Veientem hostem aliosque finitimos populos ultima experiens auxilia dictatorem multis tempestatibus dixisset, ea tunc invisitato atque inaudito hoste ab Oceano terrarumque ultimis oris bellum ciente, nihil extraordinarii imperii aut auxilii quaesivit. Tribuni quorum temeritate bellum contractum erat summae rerum praeerant, dilectumque nihilo accuratiorem quam ad media bella haberi solitus erat, extenuantes etiam famam belli, habebant. Interim Galli postquam acceperere ultro honorem habitum violatoribus iuris humani elusamque legationem suam esse, flagrantes ira cuius impotens est gens, confestim signis conuolsis citato agmine iter ingrediuntur. Ad quorum praetereuntium raptim tumultum cum exterritae urbes ad arma concurrerent fugaque agrestium fieret, Romam se ire magno clamore significabant quacumque ibant, equis virisque longe ac late fuso agmine immensum obtinentes loci. Sed antecedente fama nuntiisque Clusinorum, deinceps inde aliorum

populorum, plurimum terroris Romam celeritas hostium tulit, quippe quibus velut tumultuario exercitu raptim ducto aegre ad undecimum lapidem occursum est, qua flumen Allia, Crustuminis montibus praealto defluens alueo, haud multum infra viam Tiberino amni miscetur. Iam omnia contra circaque hostium plena erant et nata in vanos tumultus gens truci cantu clamoribusque variis horrendo cuncta compleverant sono.

[38] Ibi tribuni militum non loco castris ante capto, non praemunito vallo quo receptus esset, non deorum saltem si non hominum memores, nec auspicato nec litato, instruunt aciem, diductam in cornua ne circumveniri multitudine hostium possent; nec tamen aequari frontes poterant cum extenuando infirmam et vix cohaerentem mediam aciem habent. Paulum erat ab dextera editi loci quem subsidiariis repleti placuit, eaque res ut initium pavoris ac fugae, sic una salus fugientibus fuit. Nam Brennus regulus Gallorum in paucitate hostium artem maxime timens, ratus ad id captum superiorem locum ut ubi Galli cum acie legionum recta fronte concucurrissent subsidia in aversos transversosque impetum darent, ad subsidiarios signa convertit, si eos loco depulisset haud dubius facilem in aequo campi tantum superanti multitudine victoriam fore. Adeo non fortuna modo sed ratio etiam cum barbaris stabat. In altera acie nihil simile Romanis, non apud duces, non apud milites erat. Pavor fugaeque occupaverat animos et tanta omnium oblivio, ut multo maior pars Veios in hostium urbem, cum Tiberis arceret, quam recto itinere Romam ad coniuges ac liberos fugerent. Parumper subsidiarios tutatus est locus; in reliqua acie simul est clamor proximis ab latere, ultimis ab tergo auditus, ignotum hostem prius paene quam viderent, non modo non temptato certamine sed ne clamore quidem reddito integri intactique fugerunt; nec ulla caedes pugnantium fuit; terga caesa suomet ipsorum certamine in turba impedientium fugam. Circa ripam Tiberis quo armis abiectis totum sinistrum cornu defugit, magna strages facta est, multosque imperitos nandi aut invalidos, graves lorice aliisque tegminibus, hausere gurgites; maxima tamen pars incolumis Veios perfugit, unde non modo praesidii quicquam sed ne nuntius quidem cladis Romam est missus. Ab dextro cornu quod procul a flumine et magis sub monte steterat, Romam omnes petiere et ne clausis quidem portis urbis in

arcem confugerunt.

[39] Gallos quoque velut obstupefactos miraculum victoriae tam repentinae tenuit, et ipsi pavore defixi primum steterunt, velut ignari quid accidisset; deinde insidias vereri; postremo caesorum spolia legere armorumque cumulos, ut mos eis est, coacervare; tum demum postquam nihil usquam hostile cernebatur viam ingressi, haud multo ante solis occasum ad urbem Romam perveniunt. Ubi cum praegressi equites non portas clausas, non stationem pro portis excubare, non armatos esse in muris rettulissent, aliud priori simile miraculum eos sustinuit; noctemque veriti et ignotae situm urbis, inter Romam atque Anienem consedere, exploratoribus missis circa moenia aliasque portas quaenam hostibus in perdita re consilia essent. Romani cum pars maior ex acie Veios petisset quam Romam, nemo superesse quemquam praeter eos qui Romam refugerant crederet, complorati omnes pariter vivi mortuique totam prope urbem lamentis impleverunt. Privatos deinde luctus stupefecit publicus pavor, postquam hostes adesse nuntiatum est; mox ululatus cantusque dissonos vagantibus circa moenia turmatim barbaris audiebant. Omne inde tempus suspensos ita tenuit animos usque ad lucem alteram ut identidem iam in urbem futurus videretur impetus; primo adventu, quia accesserant ad urbem, — mansuros enim ad Alliam fuisse nisi hoc consilii foret, — deinde sub occasum solis, quia haud multum diei supererat, — ante noctem [enim] [rati se] invasuros; — tum in noctem dilatum consilium esse, quo plus pavoris inferrent. Postremo lux appropinquans exanimare, timorique perpetuo ipsum malum continens fuit cum signa infesta portis sunt inlata. Nequaquam tamen ea nocte neque insequenti die similis illi quae ad Alliam tam pavidè fugerat civitas fuit. Nam cum defendi urbem posse tam parva relictæ manu spes nulla esset, placuit cum coniugibus ac liberis iuventutem militarem senatusque robur in arcem Capitoliumque concedere, armisque et frumento conlato, ex loco inde munito deos hominesque et Romanum nomen defendere; flaminem sacerdotesque Vestales sacra publica a caede, ab incendiis procul auferre, nec ante deserì cultum eorum quam non superessent qui colerent. si arx Capitoliumque, sedes deorum, si senatus, caput publici consilii, si militaris iuventus superfuerit imminenti ruinae urbis, facilem iacturam esse seniorum relictæ in urbe utique

periturae turbae. Et quo id aequiore animo de plebe multitudo ferret, senes triumphales consularesque simul se cum illis palam dicere obituros, nec his corporibus, quibus non arma ferre, non tueri patriam possent, oneratos inopiam armatorum.

[40] Haec inter seniores morti destinatos iactata solacia. Versae inde adhortationes ad agmen iuvenum quos in Capitolium atque in arcem prosequabantur, commendantes virtuti eorum iuventaeque urbis per trecentos sexaginta annos omnibus bellis victricis quaecumque reliqua esset fortuna. Digredientibus qui spem omnem atque opem secum ferebant ab iis qui captae urbis non superesse statuerant exitio, cum ipsa res speciesque miserabilis erat, tum muliebris fletus et concursatio incerta nunc hos, nunc illos sequentium rogitantiumque viros natosque cui se fato darent, nihil quod humani superesset mali relinquebant. Magna pars tamen earum in arcem suos persecutae sunt, nec prohibente ullo nec vocante, quia quod utile obsessis ad minvendam imbellem multitudinem, id parum humanum erat. Alia maxime plebis turba, quam nec capere tam exiguus collis nec alere in tanta inopia frumenti poterat, ex urbe effusa velut agmine iam uno petiit Ianiculum. Inde pars per agros dilapsi, pars urbes petunt finitimas, sine ullo duce aut consensu, suam quisque spem, sua consilia communibus deploratis exsequentes.

Flamen interim Quirinalis virginesque Vestales omissa rerum suarum cura, quae sacrorum secum ferenda, quae quia vires ad omnia ferenda deerant relinquenda essent consultantes, quisve ea locus fideli adservaturus custodia esset, optimum ducunt condita in doliolis sacello proximo aedibus flaminis Quirinalis, ubi nunc despui religio est, defodere; cetera inter se onere partito ferunt via quae sublicio ponte ducit ad Ianiculum. In eo clivo eas cum L. Albinus de plebe Romana homo conspexisset plaustro coniugem ad liberos vehens inter ceteram turbam quae inutilis bello urbe excedebat, salvo etiam tum discrimine divinarum humanarumque rerum religiosum ratus sacerdotes publicas sacraque populi Romani pedibus ire ferrique, se ac suos in vehiculo conspici, descendere uxorem ac pueros iussit, virgines sacraque in plastrum imposuit et Caere quo iter sacerdotibus erat pervexit.

[41] Romae interim satis iam omnibus, ut in tali re, ad tuendam arcem compositis, turba seniorum domos regressi adventum hostium

obstinato ad mortem animo exspectabant. Qui eorum curules gesserant magistratus, ut in fortunae pristinae honorumque aut virtutis insignibus morerentur, quae augustissima vestis est tensas ducentibus triumphantibusue, ea vestiti medio aedium eburneis sellis sedere. Sunt qui M. Folio pontifice maximo praefante carmen devovisse eos se pro patria Quiritibusque Romanis tradant.

Galli et quia interposita nocte a contentione pugnae remiserant animos et quod nec in acie ancipiti usquam certaverant proelio nec tum impetu aut vi capiebant urbem, sine ira, sine ardore animorum ingressi postero die urbem patente Collina porta in forum perveniunt, circumferentes oculos ad templa deum arcemque solam belli speciem tenentem. Inde, modico relicto praesidio ne quis in dissipatos ex arce aut Capitolio impetus fieret, dilapsi ad praedam vacuis occursum hominum viis, pars in proxima quaeque tectorum agmine ruunt, pars ultima, velut ea demum intacta et referta praeda, petunt; inde rursus ipsa solitudine absteriti, ne qua fraus hostilis vagos exciperet, in forum ac propinqua foro loca conglobati redibant; ubi eos, plebis aedificiis obseratis, patentibus atriis principum, maior prope cunctatio tenebat aperta quam clausa invadendi; adeo haud secus quam venerabundi intuebantur in aedium vestibulis sedentes viros, praeter ornatum habitumque humano augustiorem, maiestate etiam quam voltus gravitasque oris prae se ferebat simillimos dis.

Ad eos velut simulacra versi cum starent, M. Papirius, unus ex iis, dicitur Gallo barbam suam, ut tum omnibus promissa erat, permulcenti scipione eburneo in caput incusso iram movisse, atque ab eo initium caedis ortum, ceteros in sedibus suis trucidatos; post principium caedem nulli deinde mortalium parci, diripi tecta, exhaustis inici ignes.

[42] Ceterum, seu non omnibus delendi urbem libido erat, seu ita placuerat principibus Gallorum et ostentari quaedam incendia terroris causa, si compelli ad deditionem caritate sedum suarum obsessi possent, et non omnia concremari tecta ut quodcumque superesset urbis, id pignus ad flectendos hostium animos haberent, nequaquam perinde atque in capta urbe primo die aut passim aut late vagatus est ignis. Romani ex arce plenam hostium urbem cernentes vagosque per vias omnes cursus, cum alia atque alia parte nova aliqua clades oreretur, non mentibus solum concipere sed ne auribus quidem atque

oculis satis constare poterant. Quocumque clamor hostium, mulierum puerorumque ploratus, sonitus flammae et fragor ruentium tectorum avertisset, paventes ad omnia animos oraque et oculos flectebant, velut ad spectaculum a fortuna positi occidentis patriae nec ullius rerum suarum relictis praeterquam corporum vindices, tanto ante alios miserandi magis qui unquam obsessi sunt quod interclusi a patria obsidebantur, omnia sua cernentes in hostium potestate. Nec tranquillior nox diem tam foede actum exceperit; lux deinde noctem inquieta insecuta est, nec ullum erat tempus quod a novae semper cladis alicuius spectaculo cessaret. Nihil tamen tot onerati atque obruti malis flexerunt animos quin etsi omnia flammis ac ruinis aequata vidissent, quamvis inopem parvumque quem tenebant collem liberati relictum virtute defenderent; et iam cum eadem cottidie acciderent, velut adsueta malis abalienaverant ab sensu rerum suarum animos, arma tantum ferrumque in dextris velut solas reliquias spei suae intuentes.

[43] Galli quoque per aliquot dies in tecta modo urbis nequiquam bello gesto cum inter incendia ac ruinas captae urbis nihil superesse praeter armatos hostes viderent, nec quicquam tot cladibus territos nec flexuros ad deditionem animos nisi vis adhiberetur, experiri ultima et impetum facere in arcem statuunt. Prima luce signo dato multitudo omnis in foro instruitur; inde clamore sublato ac testudine facta subeunt. Adversus quos Romani nihil temere nec trepide; ad omnes aditus stationibus firmatis, qua signa ferri videbant ea robore virorum opposito scandere hostem sinunt, quo successerit magis in arduum eo pelli posse per proclive facilius rati. Medio fere clivo restitere; atque inde ex loco superiore qui prope sua sponte in hostem inferebat impetu facto, strage ac ruina fudere Gallos; ut nunquam postea nec pars nec universi temptaverint tale pugnae genus. Omissa itaque spe per vim atque arma subeundi obsidionem parant, cuius ad id tempus immemores et quod in urbe fuerat frumentum incendiis urbis absumpserant, et ex agris per eos ipsos dies raptum omne Veios erat. Igitur exercitu diviso partim per finitimos populos praedari placuit, partim obsideri arcem, ut obsidentibus frumentum populatores agrorum praeberent.

Proficiscentes Gallos ab urbe ad Romanam experiendam virtutem fortuna ipsa Ardeam ubi Camillus exsulabat duxit; qui maestior ibi

fortuna publica quam sua cum dis hominibusque accusandis senesceret, indignando mirandoque ubi illi viri essent qui secum Veios Faleriosque cepissent, qui alia bella fortius semper quam felicius gessissent, repente audit Gallorum exercitum adventare atque de eo pavidos Ardeates consultare. Nec secus quam divino spiritu tactus cum se in mediam contionem intulisset, abstinere suetus ante talibus conciliis,

[44] “Ardeates” inquit, “veteres amici, novi etiam cives mei, quando et vestrum beneficium ita tulit et fortuna hoc eguit mea, nemo vestrum condicionis meae oblitum me huc processisse putet; sed res ac periculum commune cogit quod quisque possit in re trepida praesidii in medium conferre. Et quando ego vobis pro tantis vestris in me meritis gratiam referam, si nunc cessavero? Aut ubi usus erit mei vobis, si in bello non fuerit? Hac arte in patria steti et invictus bello, in pace ab ingratis civibus pulsus sum. Vobis autem, Ardeates, fortuna oblata est et pro tantis populi Romani pristinis beneficiis quanta ipsi meministis — nec enim exprobranda ea apud memores sunt — gratiae referendae et huic urbi decus ingens belli ex hoste communi pariendi. Qui effuso agmine adventant gens est cui natura corpora animosque magna magis quam firma dederit; eo in certamen omne plus terroris quam virium ferunt. Argumento sit clades Romana. Patentem cepere urbem: ex arce Capitolioque iis exigua resistitur manu: iam obsidionis taedio victi abscedunt vagique per agros palantur. Cibo vinoque raptim hausto repleti, ubi nox adpetit, prope rivos aquarum sine munimento, sine stationibus ac custodiis passim ferarum ritu sternuntur, nunc ab secundis rebus magis etiam solito incauti. Si vobis in animo est tueri moenia vestra nec pati haec omnia Galliam fieri, prima vigilia capite arma frequentes, me sequimini ad caedem, non ad pugnam. Nisi vinctos somno velut pecudes trucidandos tradidero, non recuso eundem Ardae rerum mearum exitum quem Romae habui”.

[45] Aequis iniquisque persuasum erat tantum bello virum neminem usquam ea tempestate esse. Contione dimissa, corpora curant, intenti quam mox signum daretur. Quo dato, primae silentio noctis ad portas Camillo praesto fuere. Egressi haud procul urbe, sicut praedictum erat, castra Gallorum intuta neglectaque ab omni parte nacti cum ingenti clamore invadunt. Nusquam proelium,

omnibus locis caedes est; nuda corpora et soluta somno trucidantur. Extremos tamen pavor cubilibus suis excitos, quae aut unde vis esset ignaros, in fugam et quosdam in hostem ipsum improvidos tulit. Magna pars in agrum Antiatem delati incursione ab oppidanis in palatos facta circumveniuntur.

Similis in agro Veienti Tuscorum facta strages est, qui urbis iam prope quadringentensimum annum vicinae, oppressae ab hoste invisitato, inaudito, adeo nihil miseriti sunt ut in agrum Romanum eo tempore incursiones facerent, plenique praedae Veios etiam praesidiumque, spem ultimam Romani nominis, in animo habuerint oppugnare. Viderant eos milites Romani vagantes per agros et congregato agmine praedam prae se agentes, et castra cernebant haud procul Veiis posita. Inde primum miseratio sui, deinde indignitas atque ex ea ira animos cepit: Etruscisne etiam, a quibus bellum Gallicum in se avertissent, ludibrio esse clades suas? Vix temperavere animis quin extemplo impetum facerent; compressi a Q. Caedicio centurione quem sibimet ipsi praeferant, rem in noctem sustinuerunt. Tantum par Camillo defuit auctor: cetera eodem ordine eodemque fortunae eventu gesta. Quin etiam ducibus captivis qui caedi nocturnae superfuerant, ad aliam manum Tuscorum ad Salinas profecti, nocte insequenti ex improvise maiorem caedem edidere, duplicique victoria ovantes Veios redeunt.

[46] Romae interim plerumque obsidio segnis et utrimque silentium esse, ad id tantum intentis Gallis ne quis hostium evadere inter stationes posset, cum repente iuvenis Romanus admiratione in se cives hostesque convertit. Sacrificium erat statum in Quirinali colle genti Fabiae. Ad id faciendum C. Fabius Dorsuo Gabino [cinctus in] cinctus sacra manibus gerens cum de Capitolio descendisset, per medias hostium stationes egressus nihil ad vocem cuiusquam terroremve motus in Quirinalem collem pervenit; ibique omnibus sollemniter peractis, eadem revertens similiter constanti voltu graduque, satis sperans propitios esse deos quorum cultum ne mortis quidem metu prohibitus deseruisset, in Capitolium ad suos rediit, seu attonitis Gallis miraculo auda ciae seu religione etiam motis cuius haudquaquam neglegens gens est.

Veiis interim non animi tantum in dies sed etiam vires crescebant. Nec Romanis solum eo convenientibus ex agris qui aut proelio

adverso aut clade captae urbis palati fuerant, sed etiam ex Latio voluntariis confluentibus ut in parte praedae essent, maturum iam videbatur repeti patriam eripique ex hostium manibus; sed corpori valido caput deerat. Locus ipse admonebat Camilli, et magna pars militum erat qui ductu auspicioque eius res prospere gesserant; et Caedicius negare se commissurum cur sibi aut deorum aut hominum quisquam imperium finiret potius quam ipse memor ordinis sui posceret imperatorem. Consensu omnium placuit ab Ardea Camillum acciri, sed antea consulto senatu qui Romae esset: adeo regebat omnia pudor discriminaque rerum prope perditis rebus servabant. Ingenti periculo transeundum per hostium custodias erat. Ad eam rem Pontius Cominus impiger iuvenis operam pollicitus, incubans cortici secundo Tiberi ad urbem defertur. Inde qua proximum fuit a ripa, per praeruptum eoque neglectum hostium custodiae saxum in Capitolium evadit, et ad magistratus ductus mandata exercitus edit. Accepto inde senatus consulto uti comitiis curiatis revocatus de exilio iussu populi Camillus dictator extemplo diceretur militesque haberent imperatorem quem vellent, eadem degressus nuntius Veios contendit; missique Ardeam legati ad Camillum Veios eum perduxere, seu — quod magis credere libet, non prius profectum ab Ardea quam compererit legem latam, quod nec iniussu populi mutari finibus posset nec nisi dictator dictus auspicia in exercitu habere — lex curiata lata est dictatorque absens dictus.

[47] Dum haec Veiis agebantur, interim arx Romae Capitoliumque in ingenti periculo fuit. Namque Galli, seu vestigio notato humano qua nuntius a Veiis pervenerat seu sua sponte animadverso ad Carmentis saxo in adscensum aequo, nocte sublustri cum primo inermem qui temptaret viam praemisissent, tradentes inde arma ubi quid iniqui esset, alterni innixi sublevantesque in vicem et trahentes alii alios, prout postularet locus, tanto silentio in summum evasere ut non custodes solum fallerent, sed ne canes quidem, sollicitum animal ad nocturnos strepitus, excitarent. Anseres non fefellere quibus sacris Iunonis in summa inopia cibi tamen abstinebatur. Quae res saluti fuit; namque clangore eorum alarumque crepitu excitus M. Manlius qui triennio ante consul fuerat, vir bello egregius, armis arreptis simul ad arma ceteros ciens vadit et dum ceteri trepidant, Gallum qui iam in summo constiterat umbone ictum deturbat. Cuius casus

prolapsi cum proximos sterneret, trepidantes alios armisque omissis saxa quibus adhaerebant manibus amplexos trucidat. Iamque et alii congregati telis missilibusque saxis proturbare hostes, ruinaque tota prolapsa acies in praeceps deferri. Sedato deinde tumultu reliquum noctis, quantum in turbatis mentibus poterat cum praeteritum quoque periculum sollicitaret, quieti datum est. Luce orta vocatis classico ad concilium militibus ad tribunos, cum et recte et perperam facto pretium deberetur, Manlius primum ob virtutem laudatus donatusque non ab tribunis solum militum sed consensu etiam militari; cui universi selibras farris et quartarios vini ad aedes eius quae in arce erant contulerunt, — rem dictu parvam, ceterum inopia fecerat eam argumentum ingens caritatis, cum se quisque victu suo fraudans detractum corpori atque usibus necessariis ad honorem unius viri conferret. Tum vigiles eius loci qua fefellerat adscendens hostis citati; et cum in omnes more militari se animadversurum Q. Sulpicius tribunus militum pronuntiasset, consentiente clamore militum in unum vigilem conicientium culpam deterritus, a ceteris abstinuit, reum haud dubium eius noxae adprobantibus cunctis de saxo deiecit. Inde intentiores utrimque custodiae esse, et apud Gallos, quia volgatum erat inter Veios Romamque nuntios commeare, et apud Romanos ab nocturni periculi memoria.

[48] Sed ante omnia obsidionis bellicae mala fames utrimque exercitum urgebat, Gallos pestilentia etiam, cum loco iacente inter tumulos castra habentes, tum ab incendiis torrido et vaporis pleno cineremque non puluerem modo ferente cum quid venti motum esset. Quorum intolerantissima gens umorique ac frigori adsueta cum aestu et angore vexati volgatis velut in pecua morbis morerentur, iam pigritia singulos sepeliendi promisce acervatos cumulos hominum urebant, bustorumque inde Gallicorum nomine insignem locum fecere. Indutiae deinde cum Romanis factae et conloquia permissu imperatorum habita; in quibus cum identidem Galli famem obicerent eaque necessitate ad deditionem vocarent, dicitur avertendae eius opinionis causa multis locis panis de Capitolio iactatus esse in hostium stationes. Sed iam neque dissimulari neque ferri ultra fames poterat. Itaque dum dictator dilectum per se Ardeae habet, magistrum equitum L. Valerium a Veiis adducere exercitum iubet, parat instruitque quibus haud impar adoriatur hostes, interim Capitolinus

exercitus, stationibus vigiliis fessus, superatis tamen humanis omnibus malis cum famem unam natura vinci non sineret, diem de die prospectans ecquod auxilium ab dictatore appareret, postremo spe quoque iam non solum cibo deficiente et cum stationes procederent prope obruentibus infirmum corpus armis, vel dedi vel redimi se quacumque pactione possint iussit, iactantibus non obscure Gallis haud magna mercede se adduci posse ut obsidionem relinquunt. Tum senatus habitus tribunisque militum negotium datum ut paciscerentur. Inde inter Q. Sulpicium tribunum militum et Brennum regulum Gallorum conloquio transacta res est, et mille pondo auri pretium populi gentibus mox imperaturi factum. Rei foedissimae per se adiecta indignitas est: pondera ab Gallis allata iniqua et tribuno recusante additus ab insolente Gallo ponderi gladius, auditaque intoleranda Romanis vox, vae victis.

[49] Sed dique et homines prohibuere redemptos vivere Romanos. nam forte quadam priusquam infanda merces perficeretur, per altercationem nondum omni auro adpenso, dictator intervenit, auferrique aurum de medio et Gallos submoveri iubet. Cum illi renitentes pactos dicerent sese, negat eam pactionem ratam esse quae postquam ipse dictator creatus esset iniussu suo ab inferioris iuris magistratu facta esset, denuntiatque Gallis ut se ad proelium expediant. Suos in acervum conicere sarcinas et arma aptare ferroque non auro recipere patriam iubet, in conspectu habentes fana deum et coniuges et liberos et solum patriae deforme belli malis et omnia quae defendi repetique et ulcisci fas sit. Instruit deinde aciem, ut loci natura patiebatur, in semirutae solo urbis et natura inaequali, et omnia quae arte belli secunda suis eligi praepararive poterant providit. Galli nova re trepidi arma capiunt iraque magis quam consilio in Romanos incurrunt. Iam verterat fortuna, iam deorum opes humanaque consilia rem Romanam adiuvabant. Igitur primo concursu haud maiore momento fusi Galli sunt quam ad Alliam vicerant. Iustiore altero deinde proelio ad octavum lapidem Gabina via, quo se ex fuga contulerant, eiusdem ductu auspicioque Camilli vincuntur. Ibi caedes omnia obtinuit; castra capiuntur et ne nuntius quidem cladis relictus. Dictator recuperata ex hostibus patria triumphans in urbem redit, interque iocos militares quos inconditos iaciunt, Romulus ac parens patriae conditorque alter urbis haud vanis

laudibus appellabatur.

Servatam deinde bello patriam iterum in pace haud dubie servavit cum prohibuit migrari Veios, et tribunis rem intentius agentibus post incensam urbem et per se inclinata magis plebe ad id consilium; eaque causa fuit non abdicandae post triumphum dictaturae, senatu obsecrante ne rem publicam in incerto relinqueret statu.

[50] Omnium primum, ut erat diligentissimus religionum cultor, quae ad deos immortales pertinebant rettulit et senatus consultum facit: fana omnia, quoad ea hostis possedisset, restituerentur terminarentur expiarenturque, expiatioque eorum in libris per duumviros quaeretur; cum Caeretibus hospitium publice fieret quod sacra populi Romani ac sacerdotes recepissent beneficioque eius populi non intermissus honos deum immortalium esset; ludi Capitolini fierent quod Iuppiter optimus maximus suam sedem atque arcem populi Romani in re trepida tutatus esset; collegiumque ad eam rem M. Furius dictator constitueret ex iis qui in Capitolio atque arce habitarent. Expiandae etiam vocis nocturnae quae nuntia cladis ante bellum Gallicum audita neglectaque esset mentio inlata, iussumque templum in Nova via Aio Locutio fieri. Aurum quod Gallis ereptum erat quodque ex aliis templis inter trepidationem in Iovis cellam conlatum cum in quae referri oporteret confusa memoria esset, sacrum omne iudicatum et sub Iovis sella poni iussum. Iam ante in eo religio civitatis apparuerat quod cum in publico deesset aurum ex quo summa pactae mercedis Gallis confieret, a matronis conlatum acceperant ut sacro auro abstineretur. Matronis gratiae actae honosque additus ut earum sicut virorum post mortem sollemnis laudatio esset. His peractis quae ad deos pertinebant quaeque per senatum agi poterant, tum demum agitantibus tribunis plebem adsiduis contionibus ut relictis ruinis in urbem paratam Veios transmigrarent, in contionem universo senatu prosequente escendit atque ita verba fecit.

[51] “Adeo mihi acerbae sunt, Quirites, contentiones cum tribunis plebis, ut nec tristissimi exsilii solacium aliud habuerim, quoad Ardeae vixi, quam quod procul ab his certaminibus eram, et ob eadem haec non si miliens senatus consulto populique iussu revocaretis, rediturus unquam fuerim. Nec nunc me ut redirem mea voluntas mutata sed vestra fortuna perpulit; quippe ut in sua sede

maneret patria, id agebatur, non ut ego utique in patria essem. Et nunc quiescerem ac tacerem libenter nisi haec quoque pro patria dimicatio esset; cui deesse, quoad vita suppetat, aliis turpe, Camillo etiam nefas est. Quid enim repetimus, quid obsessam ex hostium manibus eripuimus, si reciperatam ipsi deserimus? Et cum victoribus Gallis capta tota urbe Capitolium tamen atque arcem dique et homines Romani tenuerint, victoribus Romanis reciperata urbe arx quoque et Capitolium deseretur et plus vastitatis huic urbi secunda nostra fortuna faciet quam adversa fecit? Equidem si nobis cum urbe simul positae traditaeque per manus religiones nullae essent, tamen tam evidens numen hac tempestate rebus adfuit Romanis ut omnem negligentiam divini cultus exemptam hominibus putem. Intuemini enim horum deinceps annorum vel secundas res vel adversas; invenietis omnia prospera evenisse sequentibus deos, adversa spernentibus. Iam omnium primum, Veiens bellum — per quot annos, quanto labore gestum. — non ante cepit finem, quam monitu deorum aqua ex lacu Albano emissa est. Quid haec tandem urbis nostrae clades nova? Num ante exorta est quam spreta vox caelo emissa de adventu Gallorum, quam gentium ius ab legatis nostris violatum, quam a nobis cum vindicari deberet eadem negligentia deorum praetermissum? Igitur victi captique ac redempti tantum poenarum dis hominibusque dedimus ut terrarum orbi documento essemus. Adversae deinde res admonuerunt religionum. Confugimus in Capitolium ad deos, ad sedem Iovis optimi maximi; sacra in ruina rerum nostrarum alia terra celavimus, alia aucta in finitimas urbes amovimus ab hostium oculis; deorum cultum deserti ab dis hominibusque tamen non intermisimus. Reddidere igitur patriam et victoriam et antiquum belli decus amissum, et in hostes qui caeci avaritia in pondere auri foedus ac fidem fefellerunt, verterunt terrorem fugamque et caedem.

[52] Haec culti neglectique numinis tanta monumenta in rebus humanis cernentes ecquid sentitis, Quirites, quantum vixdum e naufragiis prioris culpa cladisque emergentes paremus nefas? Urbem auspicato inauguratoque conditam habemus; nullus locus in ea non religionum deorumque est plenus; sacrificiis sollemnibus non dies magis statim quam loca sunt in quibus fiant. Hos omnes deos publicos privatosque, Quirites, deserturi estis? Quam par vestrum

factum [ei] est quod in obsidione nuper in egregio adolescente, C. Fabio, non minore hostium admiratione quam vestra conspectum est, cum inter Gallica tela degressus ex arce sollemne Fabiae gentis in colle Quirinali obiit? An gentilicia sacra ne in bello quidem intermitti, publica sacra et Romanos deos etiam in pace deseri placet, et pontifices flaminesque neglegentiores publicarum religionum esse quam privatus in sollemni gentis fuerit? Forsitan aliquis dicat aut Veiis ea nos facturos aut huc inde missuros sacerdotes nostros qui faciant; quorum neutrum fieri salvis caerimoniis potest. Et ne omnia generatim sacra omnesque percenseam deos, in Iovis epulo num alibi quam in Capitolio pulvinar suscipi potest? Quid de aeternis Vestae ignibus signoque quod imperii pignus custodia eius templi tenetur loquar? Quid de ancilibus vestris, Mars Gradive tuque, Quirine pater? Haec omnia in profano deseri placet sacra, aequalia urbi, quaedam vetustiora origine urbis?

“Et videte quid inter nos ac maiores intersit. Illi sacra quaedam in monte Albano Laviniique nobis facienda tradiderunt. An ex hostium urbibus Romam ad nos transferri sacra religiosum fuit, hinc sine piaculo in hostium urbem Veios transferemus? Recordamini, agite dum, quotiens sacra instaurentur, quia aliquid ex patrio ritu neglegentia casuve praetermissum est. Modo quae res post prodigium Albani lacus nisi instauratio sacrorum auspiciorumque renovatio adfectae Veienti bello rei publicae remedio fuit? At etiam, tamquam veterum religionum memores, et peregrinos deos transtulimus Romam et instituimus novos. Iuno regina transvecta a Veiis nuper in Aventino quam insigni ob excellens matronarum studium celebrique dedicata est die. Aio Locutio templum propter caelestem vocem exauditam in Nova via iussimus fieri; Capitolinos ludos sollemnibus aliis addidimus collegiumque ad id novum auctore senatu condidimus; quid horum opus fuit suscipi, si una cum Gallis urbem Romanam relicturi fuimus, si non voluntate mansimus in Capitolio per tot menses obsidionis, sed ab hostibus metu retenti sumus? De sacris loquimur et de templis; quid tandem de sacerdotibus? Nonne in mentem venit quantum piaculi committatur? Vestalibus nempe una illa sedes est, ex qua eas nihil unquam praeterquam urbs capta movit; flamini Diali noctem unam manere extra urbem nefas est. Hos Veientes pro Romanis facturi estis

sacerdotes, et Vestales tuae te deserent, Vesta, et flamen peregre habitando in singulas noctes tantum sibi reique publicae piaculi contrahet? Quid alia quae auspicato agimus omnia fere intra pomerium, cui oblivioni aut negligentiae damus? Comitia curiata, quae rem militarem continent, comitia centuriata, quibus consules tribunosque militares creatis, ubi auspicato, nisi ubi adsolent, fieri possunt? Veiosne haec transferemus? An comitiorum causa populus tanto incommodo in desertam hanc ab dis hominibusque urbem conveniet?

[53] “At enim apparet quidem pollui omnia nec ullis piaculis expiari posse; sed res ipsa cogit vastam incendiis ruinisque relinquere urbem et ad integra omnia Veios migrare nec hic aedificando inopem plebem vexare. Hanc autem iactari magis causam quam veram esse, ut ego non dicam, apparere vobis, Quirites, puto, qui meministis ante Gallorum adventum, salvis tectis publicis privatisque, stante incolumi urbe, hanc eandem rem actam esse ut Veios transmigraremus. Et videte quantum inter meam sententiam vestramque intersit, tribuni. Vos, etiamsi tunc faciendum non fuerit, nunc utique faciendum putatis: ego contra — nec id mirati sitis, priusquam quale sit audieritis — etiamsi tum migrandum fuisset incolumi tota urbe, nunc has ruinas relinquendas non censerem. Quippe tum causa nobis in urbem captam migrandi victoria esset, gloriosa nobis ac posteris nostris; nunc haec migratio nobis misera ac turpis, Gallis gloriosa est. Non enim reliquisse victores, sed amisisse victi patriam videbimur: hoc ad Alliam fuga, hoc capta urbs, hoc circumsessum Capitolium necessitas imposuisse ut desereremus penates nostros exsiliumque ac fugam nobis ex eo loco conscisceremus quem tueri non possemus. Et Galli evertere potuerunt Romam quam Romani restituere non videbuntur potuisse? Quid restat nisi ut, si iam novis copiis veniant — constat enim vix credibilem multitudinem esse — et habitare in capta ab se, deserta a vobis hac urbe velint, sinatis? Quid? Si non Galli hoc sed veteres hostes vestri, Aequi Volscive, faciant ut commigrent Romam, velitisne illos Romanos, vos Veientes esse? An malitis hanc solitudinem vestram quam urbem hostium esse? Non equidem video quid magis nefas sit. Haec scelera, quia piget aedificare, haec dedecora pati parati estis? Si tota urbe nullum melius ampliusve

tectum fieri possit quam casa illa conditoris est nostri, non in casis ritu pastorum agrestiumque habitare est satius inter sacra penatesque nostros quam exsulatum publice ire? Maiores nostri, convenae pastoresque, cum in his locis nihil praeter silvas paludesque esset, novam urbem tam brevi aedificarunt: nos Capitolio, arce incolumi, stantibus templis deorum, aedificare incensa piget? Et, quod singuli facturi fuimus si aedes nostrae deflagrassent, hoc in publico incendio universi recusamus facere?

[54] “Quid tandem? Si fraude, si casu Veiis incendium ortum sit, ventoque ut fieri potest diffusa flamma magnam partem urbis absumat, Fidenas inde aut Gabios aliamve quam urbem quaesituri sumus quo transmigemus? Adeo nihil tenet solum patriae nec haec terra quam matrem appellamus, sed in superficie tignisque caritas nobis patriae pendet? Equidem — fatebor vobis, etsi minus iniuriae vestrae [quam meae calamitatis] meminisse iuvat — cum abessem, quotienscumque patria in mentem veniret, haec omnia occurrebant, colles campique et Tiberis et adsueta oculis regio et hoc caelum sub quo natus educatusque essem; quae vos, Quirites, nunc moveant potius caritate sua ut maneatis in sede vestra quam postea, cum reliqueritis eam, macerent desiderio. Non sine causa di hominesque hunc urbi condendae locum elegerunt, saluberrimos colles, flumen opportunum, quo ex mediterraneis locis fruges devehantur, quo maritimi commeatus accipiantur, mari vicinum ad commoditates nec expositum nimia propinquitate ad pericula classium externarum, regionum Italiae medium, ad incrementum urbis natum unice locum. Argumento est ipsa magnitudo tam novae urbis. Trecentensimus sexagensimus quintus annus urbis, Quirites, agitur; inter tot veterrimos populos tam diu bella geritis, cum interea, ne singulas loquar urbes, non coniuncti cum Aequis Volsci, tot tam valida oppida, non universa Etruria, tantum terra marique pollens atque inter duo maria latitudinem obtinens Italiae, bello vobis par est. Quod cum ita sit quae, malum, ratio est [haec] expertis alia experiri, cum iam ut virtus vestra transire alio possit, fortuna certe loci huius transferri non possit? Hic Capitolium est, ubi quondam capite humano invento responsum est eo loco caput rerum summamque imperii fore; hic cum augurato liberaretur Capitolium, Iuventas Terminusque maximo gaudio patrum vestrorum moveri se non passi;

hic Vestae ignes, hic ancilia caelo demissa, hic omnes propitii manentibus vobis di.”

[55] Movisse eos Camillus cum alia oratione, tum ea quae ad religiones pertinebat maxime dicitur; sed rem dubiam decrevit vox opportune emissa, quod cum senatus post paulo de his rebus in curia Hostilia haberetur cohortesque ex praesidiis revertentes forte agmine forum transirent, centurio in comitio exclamavit: “Signifer, statue signum; hic manebimus optime”. Qua voce audita, et senatus accipere se omen ex curia egressus conclamavit et plebs circumfusa adprobavit. Antiquata deinde lege, promisce urbs aedificari coepta. Tegula publice praebita est; saxi materiaeque caedendae unde quisque vellet ius factum, praedibus acceptis eo anno aedificia perfecturos. Festinatio curam exemit vicos dirigendi, dum omisso sui alienique discrimine in vacuo aedificant. Ea est causa ut veteres cloacae, primo per publicum ductae, nunc privata passim subeant tecta, formaque urbis sit occupatae magis quam divisae similis.

LIBER VI

[1] Quae ab condita urbe Roma ad captam eandem Romani sub regibus primum, consulibus deinde ac dictatoribus decemuirisque ac tribunis consularibus gessere, foris bella, domi seditiones, quinque libris exposui, res cum vetustate nimia obscuras velut quae magno ex intervallo loci vix cernuntur, tum quid rarae per eadem tempora litterae fuere, una custodia fidelis memoriae rerum gestarum, et quod, etiam si quae in commentariis pontificum aliisque publicis privatisque erant monumentis, incensa urbe pleraeque interiere. Clariora deinceps certioraque ab secunda origine velut ab stirpibus laetius feraciusque renatae urbis gesta domi militiaeque exponentur.

Ceterum primo quo adminiculo erecta erat eodem innixa M. Furio principe stetit, neque eum abdicare se dictatura nisi anno circumacto passi sunt. Comitia in insequentem annum tribunos habere quorum in magistratu capta urbs esset, non placuit; res ad interregnum rediit. Cum civitas in opere ac labore assiduo reficiendae urbis teneretur, interim Q. Fabio, simul primum magistratu abiit, ab Cn. Marcio tribuno plebis dicta dies est, quod legatus in Gallos — ad quos missus erat orator — contra ius gentium pugnasset; cui iudicio eum mors, adeo opportuna ut voluntariam magna pars crederet, subtraxit. Interregnum initum: P. Cornelius Scipio interrex et post eum M. Furius Camillus [iterum]. Is tribunos militum consulari potestate creat L. Valerium Publicolam iterum L. Verginium P. Cornelium A. Manlium L. Aemilium L. Postumium.

Hi ex interregno cum extemplo magistratum inissent, nulla de re prius quam de religionibus senatum consulere. In primis foedera ac leges — erant autem eae duodecim tabulae et quaedam regiae leges — conquiri, quae comparerent, iusserunt; alia ex eis edita etiam in volgus: quae autem ad sacra pertinebant a pontificibus maxime ut religione obstrictos haberent multitudinis animos suppressa. Tum de diebus religiosis agitari coeptum, diemque a. D. XV Kal. Sextiles, duplici clade insignem, quo die ad Cremeram Fabii caesi, quo deinde ad Alliam cum exitio urbis foede pugnatum, a posteriore clade Alliensem appellarunt, + insignemque rei nullius publice privatimque agenda + fecerunt. Quidam, quod postridie Idus Quintiles non

litasset Sulpicius tribunus militum neque inventa pace deum post diem tertium obiectus hosti exercitus Romanus esset, etiam postridie Idus rebus divinis supersederi iussum, inde, ut postridie Kalendas quoque ac Nonas eadem religio esset, traditum putant.

[2] Nec diu licuit quietis consilia erigendae ex tam gravi casu rei publicae secum agitare. Hinc Volsci, veteres hostes, ad extinguendum nomen Romanum arma ceperant: hinc Etruriae principum ex omnibus populis coniurationem de bello ad fanum Voltumnae factam mercatores adferebant. Novus quoque terror accesserat defectione Latinorum Hernicorumque, qui post pugnam ad lacum Regillum factam per annos prope centum nunquam ambigua fide in amicitia populi Romani fuerant. Itaque cum tanti undique terrores circumstarent appareretque omnibus non odio solum apud hostes sed contemptu etiam inter socios nomen Romanum laborare, placuit eiusdem auspiciis defendi rem publicam cuius recipera esset dictatoremque dici M. Furium Camillum. Is dictator C. Servilium Aham magistrum equitum dixit; iustitioque indicto dilectum iuniorum habuit ita ut seniores quoque, quibus aliquid roboris superesset, in verba sua iuratos centuriaret.

Exercitum conscriptum armatumque trifariam divisit: partem unam in agro Veiente Etruriae opposuit, alteram ante urbem castra locare iussit; tribuni militum his A. Manlius, illis quia adversus Etruscos mittebantur L. Aemilius praepositus; tertiam partem ipse ad Volscos duxit nec procul a Lanuvio — ad Mecium is locus dicitur — castra oppugnare est adortus. Quibus ab contemptu, quod prope omnem deletam a Gallis Romanam iuventutem crederent, ad bellum profectis tantum Camillus auditus imperator terroris intulerat ut vallo se ipsi, vallum congestis arboribus saepirent, ne qua intrare ad munimenta hostis posset. Quod ubi animadvertit Camillus, ignem in obiectam saepem coici iussit; et forte erat vis magna venti versa in hostem; itaque non aperuit solum incendio viam sed flammis in castra tendentibus vapore etiam ac fumo crepituque viridis materiae flagrantis ita consternavit hostes, ut minor moles superantibus vallum militibus munitum in castra Volscorum Romanis fuerit quam transcendentibus saepem incendio absumptam fuerat. Fusis hostibus caesisque cum castra impetu cepisset dictator, praedam militi dedit, quo minus speratam minime largitore duce, eo militi gratiorem.

Persecutus deinde fugientes cum omnem Volscum agrum depopulatus esset, ad deditionem Volscos septuagesimo demum anno subegit. Victor ex Volscis in Aequos transiit et ipsos bellum molientes; exercitum eorum ad Bolas oppressit, nec castra modo sed urbem etiam adgressus impetu primo cepit.

[3] Cum in ea parte in qua caput rei Romanae Camillus erat ea fortuna esset, aliam in partem terror ingens ingruerat. Etruria prope omnis armata Sutrium, socios populi Romani, obsidebat; quorum legati opem rebus adfectis orantes cum senatum adissent, decretum tulere ut dictator primo quoque tempore auxilium Sutrinis ferret. Cuius spei moram cum pati fortuna obsessorum non potuisset confectaque paucitas oppidanorum opere, vigiliis, vulneribus, quae semper eosdem urgebant, per pactionem urbe hostibus tradita inermis cum singulis emissa vestimentis miserabili agmine penates relinqueret, eo forte tempore Camillus cum exercitu Romano intervenit. Cui cum se maesta turba ad pedes provolvisset principumque orationem necessitate ultima expressam fletus mulierum ac puerorum qui exsilii comites trahebantur excepisset, parcere lamentis Sutrinis iussit: Etruscis se luctum lacrimasque ferre. Sarcinas inde deponi Sutrinisque ibi considerare modico praesidio relicto, arma secum militem ferre iubet. Ita expedito exercitu profectus ad Sutrium, id quod rebatur, soluta omnia rebus, ut fit, secundis invenit, nullam stationem ante moenia, patentes portas, victorem vagum praedam ex hostium tectis egerentem. Iterum igitur eodem die Sutrium capitur; victores Etrusci passim trucidantur ab novo hoste, neque se conglobandi coeundique in unum aut arma capiundi datur spatium. Cum pro se quisque tenderent ad portas, si qua forte se in agros eicere possent, clausas — id enim primum dictator imperaverat — portas inveniunt. Inde alii arma capere, alii, quos forte armatos tumultus occupaverat, convocare suos ut proelium inirent; quod accensum ab desperatione hostium fuisset, ni praecones per urbem dimissi poni arma et parci inermi iussissent nec praeter armatos quemquam violari. Tum etiam quibus animi in spe ultima obstinati ad decertandum fuerant, postquam data spes vitae est, iactare passim arma inermesque, quod tutius fortuna fecerat, se hosti offerre. Magna multitudo in custodias divisa; oppidum ante noctem redditum Sutrinis inviolatum integrumque ab omni clade belli, quia

non vi captum sed traditum per condiciones fuerat.

[4] Camillus in urbem triumphans rediit, trium simul bellorum victor. Longe plurimos captivos ex Etruscis ante currum duxit; quibus sub hasta venundatis tantum aeris redactum est ut, pretio pro auro matronis persoluto, ex eo quod supererat tres paterae aureae factae sint, quas cum titulo nominis Camilli ante Capitolium incensum in Iovis cella constat ante pedes Iunonis positas fuisse.

Eo anno in civitatem accepti qui Veientium Capenatiumque ac Faliscorum per ea bella transfugerant ad Romanos, agerque his novis civibus adsignatus. Revocati quoque in urbem senatus consulto a Veiis qui aedificandi Romae pigritia occupatis ibi vacuis tectis Veios se contulerant. Et primo fremitus fuit aspernantium imperium; dies deinde praestituta capitalisque poena, qui non remigrasset Romam, ex ferocibus universis singulos, metu suo quemque, oboedientes fecit; et Roma cum frequentia crescere, tum tota simul exurgere aedificiis et re publica impensas adiuvante et aedilibus velut publicum exigentibus opus et ipsis privatis — admonebat enim desiderium usus — festinantibus ad effectum operis; intraque annum nova urbs stetit.

Exitu anni comitia tribunorum militum consulari potestate habita. Creati T. Quinctius Cincinnatus Q. Servilius Fidenas quintum L. Iulius Iulus L. Aquilius Coruus L. Lucretius Tricipitinus Ser. Sulpicius Rufus exercitum alterum in Aequos, non ad bellum — victos namque se fatebantur — sed ab odio ad pervastandos fines, ne quid ad nova consilia relinqueretur virium, duxere, alterum in agrum Tarquiniensem; ibi oppida Etruscorum Cortuosa et Contenebra vi capta. Ad Cortuosam nihil certaminis fuit: improviso adorti primo clamore atque impetu cepere; direptum oppidum atque incensum est. Contenebra paucos dies oppugnationem sustinuit, laborque continuus non die, non nocte remissus subegit eos. Cum in sex partes divisus exercitus Romanus senis horis in orbem succederet proelio, oppidanos eosdem integro semper certamini paucitas fessos obiceret, cessere tandem locusque invadendi urbem Romanis datus est. Publicari praedam tribunis placebat; sed imperium quam consilium segnius fuit; dum cunctantur, iam militum praeda erat nec nisi per invidiam adimi poterat.

Eodem anno, ne privatis tantum operibus cresceret urbs,

Capitolium quoque saxo quadrato substructum est, opus vel in hac magnificentia urbis conspiciendum.

[5] Iam et tribuni plebis civitate aedificando occupata contiones suas frequentare legibus agrariis conabantur. Ostentabatur in spem Pomptinus ager, tum primum post accisas a Camillo Volscorum res possessionis haud ambiguae. Criminabantur multo eum infestiores agrum ab nobilitate esse quam a Volscis fuerit; ab illis enim tantum, quoad vires et arma habuerint, incursiones eo factas; nobiles homines in possessionem agri publici grassari nec, nisi antequam omnia praecipiant divisus sit, locum ibi plebi fore. Haud magno opere plebem moverunt et infrequentem in foro propter aedificandi curam et eodem exhaustam impensis eoque agri immemorem, ad quem instruendum vires non essent.

In civitate plena religionum, tunc etiam ab recenti clade superstitiosis principibus, ut renovarentur auspicia res ad interregnum rediit. Interreges deinceps M. Manlius Capitolinus Ser. Sulpicius Camerinus L. Valerius Potitus; hic demum tribunorum militum consulari potestate comitia habuit. L. Papirium Cn. + Sergium L. Aemilium iterum Licinium + Menenium L. Valerium Publicolam tertium creat; ii ex interregno magistratum occepere.

Eo anno aedis Martis Gallico bello vota dedicata est a T. Quinctio duumviro sacris faciendis. Tribus quattuor ex novis civibus additae, Stellatina Tromentina Sabatina Arniensis; eaeque viginti quinque tribuum numerum explevere.

[6] De agro Pomptino ab L. Sicinio tribuno plebis actum ad frequentiores iam populum mobilioremque ad cupiditatem agri quam fuerat. Et de Latino Hernicoque bello mentio facta in senatu maioris belli cura, quod Etruria in armis erat, dilata est. Res ad Camillum tribunum militum consulari potestate rediit; collegae additi quinque, Ser. Cornelius Maluginensis Q. Servilius Fidenas sextum L. Quinctius Cincinnatus L. Horatius Puluillus P. Valerius. Principio anni aversae curae hominum sunt a bello Etrusco, quod fugientium ex agro Pomptino agmen repente inlatum in urbem attulit Antiates in armis esse Latinorumque populos iuventutem suam summisisse ad id bellum, eo abnuentes publicum fuisse consilium quod non prohibitos tantummodo voluntarios dicerent militare ubi vellent.

Desierant iam ulla contemni bella. Itaque senatus dis agere gratias

quod Camillus in magistratu esset: dictatorem quippe dicendum eum fuisse si privatus esset; et collegae fateri regimen omnium rerum, ubi quid bellici terroris ingruat, in viro uno esse sibi que destinatum in animo esse Camillo summittere imperium nec quicquam de maiestate sua detractum credere quod maiestati eius viri concessissent. Conlaudatis ab senatu tribunis et ipse Camillus confusus animo gratias egit. Ingens inde ait onus a populo Romano sibi, qui se [dictatorem] iam quartum creasset, magnum ab senatu talibus de se iudiciis [eius ordinis], maximum tam honoratorum collegarum obsequio iniungi; itaque si quid laboris vigiliarumque adici possit, certantem secum ipsum adniscitur ut tanto de se consensu civitatis opinionem, quae maxima sit, etiam constantem efficiat. Quod ad bellum atque Antiates attineat, plus ibi minarum quam periculi esse; se tamen, ut nihil timendi, sic nihil contemnendi auctorem esse. Circumsederi urbem Romanam ab invidia et odio finitimorum; itaque et ducibus pluribus et exercitibus administrandam rem publicam esse. “Te” inquit, “P. Valeri, socium imperii consiliique legiones mecum adversus Antiatem hostem ducere placet; te, Q. Servili, altero exercitu instructo paratoque in urbe castra habere, intentum sive Etruria se interim, ut nuper, sive nova haec cura, Latini atque Hernici moverint; pro certo habeo ita rem gesturum ut patre avo teque ipso ac sex tribunatibus dignum est. Tertius exercitus ex causariis senioribusque a L. Quinctio scribatur, qui urbi moenibusque praesidio sit. L. Horatius arma, tela, frumentum, quaeque alia [belli] tempora poscent provideat. Te, Ser. Corneli, praesidem huius publici consilii, custodem religionum, comitorum, legum, rerum omnium urbanarum, collegae facimus.”

Cunctis in partes muneris sui benigne pollicentibus operam Valerius, socius imperii lectus, adiecit M. Furium sibi pro dictatore seque ei pro magistro equitum futurum; proinde, quam opinionem de unico imperatore, eam spem de bello haberent. Se vero bene sperare patres et de bello et de pace universaque re publica erecti gaudio fremunt nec dictatore unquam opus fore rei publicae, si tales viros in magistratu habeat, tam concordibus iunctos animis, parere atque imperare iuxta paratos laudemque conferentes potius in medium quam ex communi ad se trahentes.

[7] Iustitio indicto dilectuque habito Furius ac Valerius ad

Satricum profecti, quo non Volscorum modo iuventutem Antiates ex nova subole lectam sed ingentem Latinorum Hernicorumque [vim] conciverant ex integerrimis diutina pace populis. Itaque novus hostis veteri adiunctus commovit animos militis Romani. Quod ubi aciem iam instruenti Camillo centuriones renuntiaverunt, turbatas militum mentes esse, segniter arma capta, cunctabundosque et resistentes egressos castris esse, quin voces quoque auditas cum centenis hostibus singulos pugnatueros et aegre inermem tantam multitudinem, nedum armatam, sustineri posse, in equum insilit et ante signa obversus in aciem ordines interequitans:

“Quae tristitia, milites, haec, quae insolita cunctatio est? Hostem an me an vos ignoratis? Hostis est quid aliud quam perpetua materia virtutis gloriaeque vestrae? Vos contra me duce, ut Falerios Veiosque captos et in capta patria Gallorum legiones caesas taceam, modo trigeminae victoriae triplicem triumphum ex his ipsis Volscis et Aequis et ex Etruria egistis. An me, quod non dictator vobis sed tribunus signum dedi, non agnoscitis ducem? Neque ego maxima imperia in vos desidero, et vos in me nihil praeter me ipsum intueri decet; neque enim dictatura mihi unquam animos fecit, ut ne exsilium quidem ademit. Iidem igitur omnes sumus, et cum eadem omnia in hoc bellum adferamus quae in priora attulimus, eundem eventum belli expectemus. Simul concurreritis, quod quisque didicit ac consuevit faciet: vos vincetis, illi fugient.”

[8] Dato deinde signo ex equo desilit et proximum signiferum manu arreptum secum in hostem rapit “Infer, miles” clamitans, “signum.” Quod ubi videre, ipsum Camillum, iam ad munera corporis senecta invalidum, vadentem in hostes, procurrunt pariter omnes clamore sublato “Sequere imperatorem” pro se quisque clamantes. Emissum etiam signum Camilli iussu in hostium aciem ferunt idque ut repeteretur concitatos antesignanos; ibi primum pulsum Antiatem, terroremque non in primam tantum aciem sed etiam ad subsidiarios perlatum. Nec vis tantum militum movebat, excitata praesentia ducis, sed quod Volscorum animis nihil terribilius erat quam ipsius Camilli forte oblata species; ita quocumque se intulisset victoriam secum haud dubiam trahebat. Maxime id evidens fuit, cum in laevum cornu prope iam pulsum arrepto repente equo cum scuto pedestri advectus conspectu suo proelium restituit,

ostentans vincentem ceteram aciem. Iam inclinata res erat, sed turba hostium et fuga impediabatur et longa caede conficienda multitudo tanta fesso militi erat, cum repente ingentibus procellis fusus imber certam magis victoriam quam proelium diremit. Signo deinde receptui dato nox insecuta quietis Romanis perfecit bellum; Latini namque et Hernici relictis Volscis domos profecti sunt, malis consiliis pares adepti eventus; Volsci ubi se desertos ab eis videre quorum fiducia rebellaverant, relictis castris moenibus Satrici se includunt; quos primo Camillus vallo circumdare et aggere atque operibus oppugnare est adortus. Quae postquam nulla eruptione impediri videt, minus esse animi ratus in hoste quam ut in eo tam lentae spei victoriam exspectaret, cohortatus milites ne tamquam Veios oppugnantes in opere longinquo sese tererent, victoriam in manibus esse, ingenti militum alacritate moenia undique adgressus scalis oppidum cepit. Volsci abiectis armis sese dediderunt.

[9] Ceterum animus ducis rei maiori, Antio, imminebat: id caput Volscorum, eam fuisse originem proximi belli. Sed magno apparatu tormentis machinisque tam valida quia nisi urbs capi non poterat, relicto ad exercitum collega Romam est profectus, ut senatum ad excidendum Antium hortaretur. Inter sermonem eius — credo rem Antiatem diuturniorem manere dis cordi fuisse — legati ab Nepete ac Sutrio auxilium adversus Etruscos petentes veniunt, brevem occasionem esse ferendi auxilii memorantes. Eo vim Camilli ab Antio fortuna avertit. Namque cum ea loca opposita Etruriae et velut claustra inde portaeque essent, et illis occupandi ea cum quid novi molirentur et Romanis recipiendi tuendique cura erat. Igitur senatui cum Camillo agi placuit ut omisso Antio bellum Etruscum susciperet; legiones urbanae quibus Quinctius praefuerat ei decernuntur. Quamquam expertum exercitum adsuetumque imperio qui in Volscis erat mallet, nihil recusavit; Valerium tantummodo imperii socium depoposcit. Quinctius Horatiusque successores Valerio in Volscos missi.

Profecti ab urbe Sutrium Furius et Valerius partem oppidi iam captam ab Etruscis invenere, ex parte altera intersaeptis itineribus aegre oppidanos vim hostium ab se arcentes. Cum Romani auxilii adventus tum Camilli nomen celeberrimum apud hostes sociosque et in praesentia rem inclinatam sustinuit et spatium ad opem ferendam

dedit. Itaque diviso exercitu Camillus collegam in eam partem circumductis copiis quam hostes tenebant moenia adgredi iubet, non tanta spe scalis capi urbem posse quam ut aversis eo hostibus et oppidanis iam pugnando fessis laxaretur labor et ipse spatium intrandi sine certamine moenia haberet. Quod simul utrimque factum esset ancepsque terror Etruscos circumstaret, et moenia summa vi oppugnari et intra moenia esse hostem [ut] viderunt, porta se, quae una forte non obsidebatur, trepidi uno agmine eiecere. Magna caedes fugientium et in urbe et per agros est facta. Plures a Furianis intra moenia caesi, Valeriani expeditores ad persequendos fuere, nec ante noctem, quae conspectum ademit, finem caedendi fecere.

Sutrio recepto restitutoque sociis Nepete exercitus ductus, quod per deditionem acceptum iam totum Etrusci habebant.

[10] Videbatur plus in ea urbe recipienda laboris fore, non eo solum quod tota hostium erat sed etiam quod parte Nepesinorum prodente civitatem facta erat deditio; mitti tamen ad principes eorum placuit ut secernerent se ab Etruscis fidemque quam implorassent ab Romanis ipsi praestarent. Unde cum responsum allatum esset nihil suae potestatis esse, Etruscos moenia custodiasque portarum tenere, primo populationibus agri terror est oppidanis admotus; deinde, postquam deditionis quam societatis fides sanctor erat, fascibus sarmentorum ex agro conlatis ductus ad moenia exercitus completisque fossis scalae admotae et clamore primo impetuque oppidum capitur. Nepesinis inde edictum ut arma ponant parciue iussum inermi: Etrusci pariter armati atque inermes caesi. Nepesinorum quoque auctores deditionis securi percussi: innoxiae multitudini redditae res oppidumque cum praesidio relictum. Ita duabus sociis urbibus ex hoste receptis victorem exercitum tribuni cum magna gloria Romam reduxerunt.

Eodem anno ab Latinis Hernicisque res repetitae quaesitumque cur per eos annos militem ex instituto non dedissent. Responsum frequenti utriusque gentis concilio est nec culpam in eo publicam nec consilium fuisse quod suae iuventutis aliqui apud Volscos militaverint; eos tamen ipsos pravi consilii poenam habere nec quemquam ex his reducem esse; militis autem non dati causam terrorem assiduum a Volscis fuisse, quam pestem adhaerentem lateri suo tot super alia aliis bellis exhauriri nequisse. Quae relata patribus

magis tempus quam causam non visa belli habere.

[11] Insequenti anno, A. Manlio P. Cornelio T. et L. Quinctiis Capitolinis L. Papirio Cursore [iterum C. Sergio] iterum tribunis consulari potestate, grave bellum foris, gravior domi seditio exorta, bellum ab Volscis adiuncta Latinorum atque Hernicorum defectione, seditio, unde minime timeri potuit, a patriciae gentis viro et inclitae famae, M. Manlio Capitolino. Qui nimius animi cum alios principes sperneret, uni invideret eximio simul honoribus atque virtutibus, M. Furio, aegre ferebat solum eum in magistratibus, solum apud exercitus esse; tantum iam eminere ut iisdem auspiciis creatos non pro collegis sed pro ministris habeat; cum interim, si quis vere aestimare velit, a M. Furio recipi patriam ex obsidione hostium non potuerit, nisi a se prius Capitolium atque arx servata esset; et ille inter aurum accipiendum et in spem pacis solutis animis Gallos adgressus sit, ipse armatos capientesque arcem depulerit; illius gloriae pars virilis apud omnes milites sit qui simul vicerint: suae victoriae neminem omnium mortalium socium esse. His opinionibus inflato animo, ad hoc vitio quoque ingenii vehemens et impotens, postquam inter patres non quantum aequum censebat excellere suas opes animadvertit, primus omnium ex patribus popularis factus cum plebeiis magistratibus consilia communicare; criminando patres, alliciendo ad se plebem iam aura non consilio ferri famaeque magnae malle quam bonae esse. Et non contentus agrariis legibus, quae materia semper tribunis plebi seditionum fuisset, fidem moliri coepit: acriores quippe aeris alieni stimulos esse, qui non egestatem modo atque ignominiam minentur sed nervo ac vinculis corpus liberum terrent. Et erat aeris alieni magna vis re damnosissima etiam divitibus, aedificando, contracta. Bellum itaque Volscum, grave per se, oneratum Latinorum atque Hernicorum defectione, in speciem causae iactatum ut maior potestas quaereretur; sed nova consilia Manli magis compulere senatum ad dictatorem creandum. Creatus A. Cornelius Cossus magistrum equitum dixit T. Quinctium Capitolinum.

[12] Dictator etsi maiorem dimicationem propositam domi quam foris cernebat, tamen, seu quia celeritate ad bellum opus erat, seu victoria triumphoque dictaturae ipsi vires se additurum ratus, dilectu habito in agrum Pomptinum, quo a Volscis exercitum indictum

audierat, pergit. — non dubito praeter satietatem tot iam libris adsidua bella cum Volscis gesta legentibus illud quoque succursurum, quod mihi percensenti propiores temporibus harum rerum auctores miraculo fuit unde totiens victis Volscis et Aequis suffecerint milites. Quod cum ab antiquis tacitum praetermissum sit, cuius tandem ego rei praeter opinionem, quae sua cuique coniectanti esse potest, auctor sim? Simile veri est aut intervallis bellorum, sicut nunc in dilectibus fit Romanis, alia atque alia subole iuniorum ad bella instauranda totiens usos esse aut non ex iisdem semper populis exercitus scriptos, quamquam eadem semper gens bellum intulerit, aut innumerabilem multitudinem liberorum capitum in eis fuisse locis quae nunc vix seminario exiguo militum relicto servitia Romana ab solitudine vindicant. Ingens certe, quod inter omnes auctores conveniat, quamquam nuper Camilli ductu atque auspicio accisae res erant, Volscorum exercitus fuit; ad hoc Latini Hernicique accesserant et Circeiensium quidam et coloni etiam a Velitris Romani.

Dictator castris eo die positus, postero cum auspicato prodisset hostiaque caesa pacem deum adorasset, laetus ad milites iam arma ad propositum pugnae signum, sicut edictum erat, luce prima capientes processit. “Nostra victoria est, milites” inquit, “si quid di vatesque eorum in futurum vident. Itaque, ut decet certae spei plenos et cum imparibus manus conserturos, pilis ante pedes positus gladiis tantum dexteris armemus. Ne procurri quidem ab acie velim sed obnixos vos stabili gradu impetum hostium excipere. Ubi illi vana iniecerint missilia et effusi stantibus vobis se intulerint, tum micent gladii et veniat in mentem unicuique deos esse qui Romanum adiuvent deos qui secundis avibus in proelium miserint. Tu, T. Quincti, equitem intentus ad primum initium moti certaminis teneas; ubi haerere iam aciem conlato pede videris, tum terrorem equestrem occupatis alio pavore infer invectusque ordines pugnantium dissipa.” Sic eques, sic pedes, ut praeceperat, pugnant; nec dux legiones nec fortuna fefellit ducem.

[13] Multitudo hostium nulli rei praeterquam numero freta et oculis utramque metiens aciem temere proelium iniit, temere omisit; clamore tantum missilibusque telis et primo pugnae impetu ferox gladios et conlatum pedem et voltum hostis ardore animi micantem

ferre non potuit. Impulsa frons prima et trepidatio subsidiis inlata; et suum terrorem intulit eques; rupti inde multis locis ordines motaque omnia et fluctuanti similis acies erat. Dein postquam cadentibus primis iam ad se quisque perventuram caedem cernebat, terga vertunt. Instare Romanus; et donec armati confertique abibant, peditum labor in persequendo fuit; postquam iactari arma passim fugaque per agros spargi aciem hostium animadversum est, tum equitum turmae emissae, dato signo ne in singulorum morando caede spatium ad evadendum interim multitudini darent: satis esse missilibus ac terrore impediri cursum obequitandoque agmen teneri dum adsequi pedes et iusta caede conficere hostem posset. Fugae sequendique non ante noctem finis fuit. Capta quoque ac direpta eodem die castra Volscorum praedaque omnis praeter libera corpora militi concessa est. Pars maxima captivorum ex Latinis atque Hernicis fuit, nec hominum de plebe, ut credi posset mercede militasse, sed principes quidam iuventutis inventi, manifesta fides publica ope Volscos hostes adiutos. Circeiensium quoque quidam cogniti et coloni a Velitris; Romamque omnes missi percontantibus primoribus patrum eadem quae dictatori defectionem sui quisque populi haud perplexe indicavere.

[14] Dictator exercitum in stativis tenebat, minime dubius bellum cum iis populis patres iussuros, cum maior domi exorta moles coegit acciri Romam eum gliscente in dies seditione, quam solito magis metuendam auctor faciebat. Non enim iam orationes modo M. Manli sed facta, popularia in speciem, tumultuosa eadem, qua mente fierent intuenda erant. Centurionem, nobilem militaribus factis, iudicatum pecuniae cum duci vidisset, medio foro cum caterva sua accurrit et manum iniecit; vociferatusque de superbia patrum ac crudelitate feneratorum et miseriis plebis, virtutibus eius viri fortunaque, “tum vero ego” inquit “nequiquam hac dextra Capitolium arcemque servaverim, si civem commilitonemque meum tamquam Gallis victoribus captum in servitutem ac vincula duci videam.” Inde rem creditori palam populo solvit libraque et aere liberatum emittit, deos atque homines obtestantem ut M. Manlio, liberatori suo, parenti plebis Romanae, gratiam referant. Acceptus extemplo in tumultuosam turbam et ipse tumultum augebat, cicatrices acceptas Veienti Gallico aliisque deinceps bellis ostentans: se militantem, se

restituentem eversos penates, multiplici iam sorte exsoluta, mergentibus semper sortem usuris, obrutum fenore esse; videre lucem, forum, civium ora M. Manli opera; omnia parentum beneficia ab illo se habere; illi devovere corporis vitaeque ac sanguinis quod supersit; quodcumque sibi cum patria penatibus publicis ac privatis iuris fuerit, id cum uno homine esse. His vocibus instincta plebes cum iam unius hominis esset, addita alia commodioris ad omnia turbanda consilii res. Fundum in Veienti, caput patrimonii, subiecit praeconi, “ne quem vestrum” inquit, “Quirites, donec quicquam in re mea supererit, iudicatum addictumve duci patiar.” Id vero ita accendit animos, ut per omne fas ac nefas secuturi vindicem libertatis viderentur.

Ad hoc domi contionantis in modum sermones pleni criminum in patres; inter quos [cum] omisso discrimine vera an vana iaceret, thesauros Gallici auri occultari a patribus iecit nec iam possidendis publicis agris contentos esse nisi pecuniam quoque publicam avertant; ea res si palam fiat, exsolvi plebem aere alieno posse. Quae ubi obiecta spes est, enimvero indignum facinus videri, cum conferendum ad redimendam civitatem a Gallis aurum fuerit, tributo conlationem factam, idem aurum ex hostibus captum in paucorum praedam cessisse. Itaque exsequebantur quaerendo ubi tantae rei furtum occultaretur; differentique et tempore suo se indicaturum dicenti ceteris omissis eo versae erant omnium curae apparebatque nec veri indicii gratiam mediam nec falsi offensionem fore.

[15] Ita suspensis rebus dictator accitus ab exercitu in urbem venit. Postero die senatu habito, cum satis periclitatus voluntates hominum discedere senatum ab se vetuisset, stipatus ea multitudine sella in comitio posita viatorem ad M. Manlium misit; qui dictatoris iussu vocatus, cum signum suis dedisset adesse certamen, agmine ingenti ad tribunal venit. Hinc senatus, hinc plebs, suum quisque intuentes ducem, velut in acie constiterant. Tum dictator silentio facto, “utinam” inquit, “mihi patribusque Romanis ita de ceteris rebus cum plebe conveniat, quemadmodum, quod ad te attinet eamque rem quam de te sum quaesiturus conventurum satis confido. Spem factam a te civitati video fide incolumi ex thesauris Gallicis, quos primores patrum occultent, creditum solvi posse. Cui ego rei tantum abest ut impedimento sim ut contra te, M. Manli, adhorter, liberes fenore

plebem Romanam et istos incubantes publicis thesauris ex praeda clandestina evolvas. Quod nisi facis, sive ut et ipse in parte praedae sis sive quia vanum indicium est, in vincla te duci iubebo nec diutius patiar a te multitudinem fallaci spe concitari.”

Ad ea Manlius nec se fefellisse ait non adversus Volscos, totiens hostes quotiens patribus expediat, nec adversus Latinos Hernicosque, quos falsis criminibus in arma agant, sed adversus se ac plebem Romanam dictatorem creatum esse; iam omisso bello quod simulatum sit, in se impetum fieri; iam dictatorem profiteri patrocinium feneratorum adversus plebem; iam sibi ex favore multitudinis crimen et perniciem quaeri. “Offendit” inquit, “te, A. Corneli, vosque, patres conscripti, circumfusa turba lateri meo? Quin eam diducitis a me singuli vestris beneficiis, intercedendo, eximendo de nervo cives vestros, prohibendo iudicatos addictosque duci, ex eo quod affluit opibus vestris sustinendo necessitates aliorum? Sed quid ego vos de vestro impendatis hortor? Sortem reliquam ferte: de capite deducite quod usuris pernumeratum est; iam nihilo mea turba quam ullius conspectior erit. At enim quid ita solus ego civium curam ago? Nihilo magis quod respondeam habeo quam si quaeras quid ita solus Capitolium arcemque servaverim. Et tum universis quam potui opem tuli et nunc singulis feram. Nam quod ad thesauros Gallicos attinet, rem suapte natura facilem difficilem interrogatio facit. Cur enim quaeritis quod scitis? Cur quod in sinu vestro est excuti iubetis potius quam ponatis, nisi aliqua fraus subest? Quo magis argui praestigias iubetis vestras, eo plus vereor ne abstuleritis observantibus etiam oculos. Itaque non ego vobis ut indicem praedas vestras, sed vos id cogendi estis ut in medium proferatis.”

[16] Cum mittere ambages dictator iuberet et aut peragere verum indicium cogeret aut fateri facinus insimulati falso crimine senatus oblataeque vani furti invidiae, negantem arbitrio inimicorum se locuturum in vincla duci iussit. Arreptus a viatore “Iuppiter” inquit, “optime maxime Iunoque regina ac Minerva ceterique di deaeque, qui Capitolium arcemque incolitis, sicine vestrum militem ac praesidem sinitis vexari ab inimicis? Haec dextra, qua Gallos fudi a delubris vestris, iam in vinclis et catenis erit?” Nullius nec oculi nec aures indignitatem ferebant; sed invicta sibi quaedam patientissima iusti imperii civitas fecerat, nec adversus dictatoriam vim aut tribuni

plebis aut ipsa plebs attollere oculos aut hiscere audebant. Coniecto in carcerem Manlio satis constat magnam partem plebis vestem mutasse, multos mortales capillum ac barbam promisisse, obversatamque vestibulo carceris maestam turbam.

Dictator de Volscis triumphavit, invidiaeque magis triumphus quam gloriae fuit; quippe domi non militiae partum eum actumque de cive non de hoste fremebant: unum defuisse tantum superbiae, quod non M. Manlius ante currum sit ductus. Iamque haud procul seditione res erat; cuius leniendae causa postulante nullo largitor voluntarius repente senatus factus Satricum coloniam duo milia civium Romanorum deduci iussit. Bina iugera et semisses agri adsignati; quod cum et parvum et paucis datum et mercedem esse prodendi M. Manli interpretarentur, remedio inritatur seditio. Et iam magis insignis et sordibus et facie reorum turba Manliana erat, amotusque post triumphum abdicatione dictaturae terror et linguam et animos liberaverat hominum.

[17] Audiebantur itaque propalam voces exprobrantium multitudini, quod defensores suos semper in praecipitem locum favore tollat, deinde in ipso discrimine periculi destituat: sic Sp. Cassium in agros plebem vocantem, sic Sp. Maelium ab ore civium famem suis impensis propulsantem oppressos, sic M. Manlium mersam et obrutam fenore partem civitatis in libertatem ac lucem extrahentem proditum inimicis; saginare plebem populares suos ut iugulentur. Hocine patiendum fuisse, si ad nutum dictatoris non responderit vir consularis? Fingerent mentitum ante atque ideo non habuisse quod tum responderet; cui servo unquam mendacii poenam vincula fuisse? Non obversatam esse memoriam noctis illius quae paene ultima atque aeterna nomini Romano fuerit? Non speciem agminis Gallorum per Tarpeiam rupem scandentis? Non ipsius M. Manli, qualem eum armatum, plenum sudoris ac sanguinis ipso paene Iove erepto ex hostium manibus vidissent? Selibrisne farris gratiam servatori patriae relatum? Et quem prope caelestem, cognomine certe Capitolino Iovi parem fecerint eum pati vinctum in carcere, in tenebris obnoxiam carnificis arbitrio ducere animam? Adeo in uno omnibus satis auxilii fuisse, nullam opem in tam multis uni esse? Iam ne nocte quidem turba ex eo loco dilabebatur refracturosque carcerem minabantur, cum remisso quod erepturi

erant ex senatus consulto Manlius vinculis liberatur; quo facto non seditio finita sed dux seditioni datus est.

Per eosdem dies Latinis et Hernicis, simul colonis Circeiensibus et a Velitris, purgantibus se Volsci crimine belli captivosque repetentibus ut suis legibus in eos animadverterent, tristia responsa reddita, tristiora colonis quod cives Romani patriae oppugnandae nefanda consilia inissent. Non negatum itaque tantum de captivis sed, in quo ab sociis tamen temperaverant, denuntiatum senatus verbis facerent propere ex urbe ab ore atque oculis populi Romani, ne nihil eos legationis ius externo, non civi comparatum tegeret.

[18] Recrudescente Manliana seditione sub exitum anni comitia habita creatique tribuni militum consulari potestate Ser. Cornelius Maluginensis iterum P. Valerius Potitus iterum M. Furius Camillus quintum Ser. Sulpicius Rufus iterum C. Papirius Crassus T. Quinctius Cincinnatus iterum. Cuius principio anni et patribus et plebi peropportune externa pax data: plebi, quod non advocata dilectu spem cepit, dum tam potentem haberet ducem, fenoris expugnandi: patribus, ne quo externo terrore avocarentur animi ab sanandis domesticis malis. Igitur cum pars utraque acrior aliquanto coorta esset, iam propinquum certamen aderat. Et Manlius advocata domum plebe cum principibus novandarum rerum interdum noctuque consilia agitat, plenior aliquanto animorum irarumque quam antea fuerat. Iram accenderat ignominia recens in animo ad contumeliam inexperto: spiritus dabat, quod nec ausus esset idem in se dictator quod in Sp. Maelio Cincinnatus Quinctius fecisset, et vinculum suorum invidiam non dictator modo abdicando dictaturam fugisset sed ne senatus quidem sustinere potuisset. His simul inflatus exacerbatusque iam per se accensos incitabat plebis animos.

“Quousque tandem ignorabitis vires vestras, quas natura ne beluas quidem ignorare voluit? Numerate saltem quot ipsi sitis, quot adversarios habeatis. Quot enim clientes circa singulos fuistis patronos, tot nunc adversus unum hostem eritis. Si singuli singulos adgressuri essetis, tamen acrius crederem vos pro libertate quam illos pro dominatione certaturos. Ostendite modo bellum; pacem habebitis. Videant vos paratos ad vim; ius ipsi remittent. Audendum est aliquid universis aut omnia singulis patienda. Quousque me

circumspectabitis? Ego quidem nulli vestrum deero; ne fortuna mea desit videte. Ipse vindex vester, ubi visum inimicis est, nullus repente fui, et vidistis in vincula duci universi eum qui a singulis vobis vincula depuleram. Quid sperem, si plus in me audeant inimici? An exitum Cassi Maelique exspectem? Bene facitis quod abominamini. Di prohibebunt haec; sed nunquam propter me de caelo descendent; vobis dent mentem oportet ut prohibeatis, sicut mihi dederunt armato togatoque ut vos a barbaris hostibus, a superbis defenderem civibus. Tam parvus animus tanti populi est ut semper vobis auxilium adversus inimicos satis sit nec ullum, nisi quatenus imperari vobis sinatis, certamen adversus patres noritis? Nec hoc natura insitum vobis est, sed usu possidemini. Cur enim adversus externos tantum animorum geritis ut imperare illis aequum censeatis? Quia consuestis cum eis pro imperio certare, adversus hos temptare magis quam tueri libertatem. Tamen, qualescumque duces habuistis, qualescumque ipsi fuistis, omnia adhuc quantacumque petistis obtinuistis, seu vi seu fortuna vestra. Tempus est etiam maiora conari. Experimini modo et vestram felicitatem et me, ut spero, feliciter expertum; minore negotio qui imperet patribus imponetis quam qui resisterent imperantibus imposuistis. Solo aequandae sunt dictaturae consulatusque, ut caput attollere Romana plebes possit. Proinde adeste; prohibete ius de pecuniis dici. Ego me patronum profiteor plebis, quod mihi cura mea et fides nomen induit: vos si quo insigni magis imperii honorisve nomine vestrum appellabitis ducem, eo utemini potentiore ad obtinenda ea quae voltis.” Inde de regno agendi ortum initium dicitur; sed nec cum quibus nec quem ad finem consilia pervenerint, satis planum traditur.

[19] At in parte altera senatus de secessione in domum privatam plebis, forte etiam in arce positam, et imminente mole libertate agitatur. Magna pars vociferantur Servilio Ahala opus esse, qui non in vincula duci iubendo inritet publicum hostem sed unius iactura civis finiat intestinum bellum. Decurritur ad leniorem verbis sententiam, vim tamen eandem habentem, ut videant magistratus ne quid ex pernicioso consilio M. Manli res publica detrimenti capiat. Tum tribuni consulari potestate tribunique plebi — nam et [ei], quia eundem [et] suae potestatis, quem libertatis omnium, finem cernebant, patrum auctoritati se dediderant — hi tum omnes quid

opus facto sit consultant. Cum praeter vim et caedem nihil cuiquam occurreret, eam autem ingentis dimicationis fore appareret, tum M. Menenius et Q. Publilius tribuni plebis: “Quid patrum et plebis certamen facimus, quod civitatis esse adversus unum pestiferum civem debet? Quid cum plebe adgredimur eum quem per ipsam plebem tutius adgredi est ut suis ipse oneratus viribus ruat? Diem dicere ei nobis in animo est. Nihil minus populare quam regnum est. Simul multitudo illa non secum certari viderint et ex advocatis iudices facti erunt et accusatores de plebe patricium reum intuebuntur et regni crimen in medio, nulli magis quam libertati fauebunt suae.”

[20] Adprobantibus cunctis diem Manlio dicunt. Quod ubi est factum, primo commota plebs est, utique postquam sordidatum reum viderunt nec cum eo non modo patrum quemquam sed ne cognatos quidem aut adfines, postremo ne fratres quidem A. et T. Manlios, quod ad eum diem nunquam usu venisset, ut in tanto discrimine non et proximi vestem mutarent: Ap. Claudio in vincula ducto C. Claudium inimicum Claudiamque omnem gentem sordidatam fuisse; consensu opprimi popularem virum, quod primus a patribus ad plebem defecisset.

Cum dies venit, quae praeter coetus multitudinis seditiosasque voces et largitionem et fallax indicium pertinentia proprie ad regni crimen ab accusatoribus obiecta sint reo, apud neminem auctorem invenio; nec dubito haud parva fuisse, cum damnandi mora plebi non in causa sed in loco fuerit. Illud notandum videtur, ut sciant homines quae et quanta decora foeda cupiditas regni non ingrata solum sed invisae etiam reddiderit: homines prope quadringentos produxisse dicitur, quibus sine fenore expensas pecunias tulisset, quorum bona venire, quos duci addictos prohibuisset; ad haec decora quoque belli non commemorasse tantum sed protulisse etiam conspicienda, spolia hostium caesorum ad triginta, dona imperatorum ad quadraginta, in quibus insignes duas murales coronas, civicas octo; ad hoc servatos ex hostibus cives [produxit], inter quos C. Servilium magistrum equitum absentem nominatum; et cum ea quoque quae bello gesta essent pro fastigio rerum oratione etiam magnifica, facta dictis aequando, memorasset, nudasse pectus insigne cicatricibus bello acceptis et identidem Capitolium spectans Iovem deosque alios devocasse ad auxilium fortunarum suarum precatusque esse ut, quam

mentem sibi Capitolinam arcem protegenti ad salutem populi Romani dedissent, eam populo Romano in suo discrimine darent, et orasse singulos universosque ut Capitolium atque arcem intuentes, ut ad deos immortales versi de se iudicarent.

In campo Martio cum centuriatim populus citaretur et reus ad Capitolium manus tendens ab hominibus ad deos preces avertisset, apparuit tribunis, nisi oculos quoque hominum liberassent tanti memoria decoris, nunquam fore in praeoccupatis beneficio animis vero crimini locum. Ita prodicta die in Petelinum lucum extra portam Flumentanam, unde conspectus in Capitolium non esset, concilium populi indictum est. Ibi crimen valuit et obstinatis animis triste iudicium invisumque etiam iudicibus factum. Sunt qui per duumviros, qui de perduellione anquirent creatos, auctores sint damnatum. Tribuni de saxo Tarpeio deiecerunt locusque idem in uno nomine et eximiae gloriae monumentum et poenae ultimae fuit.

Adiectae mortuo notae sunt: publica una, quod, cum domus eius fuisset ubi nunc aedes atque officina Monetae est, latum ad populum est ne quis patricius in arce aut Capitolio habitaret; gentilicia altera, quod gentis Manliae decreto cautum est ne quis deinde M. Manlius vocaretur. Hunc exitum habuit vir, nisi in libera civitate natus esset, memorabilis. Populum brevi, postquam periculum ab eo nullum erat, per se ipsas recordantem virtutes desiderium eius tenuit. Pestilentia etiam brevi consecuta nullis occurrentibus tantae cladis causis ex Manliano supplicio magnae parti videri orta: violatum Capitolium esse sanguine servatoris nec dis cordi fuisse poenam eius oblatam prope oculis suis, a quo sua templa erepta e manibus hostium essent.

[21] Pestilentiam inopia frugum et volgatam utriusque mali famam anno insequente multiplex bellum excepit, L. Valerio quartum A. Manlio tertium Ser. Sulpicio tertium L. Lucretio L. Aemilio tertium M. Trebonio tribunis militum consulari potestate. Hostes novi praeter Volscos, velut sorte quadam prope in aeternum exercendo Romano militi datos, Circeiosque et Velitras colonias, iam diu molientes defectionem, et suspectum Latium Lanuvini etiam, quae fidelissima urbs fuerat, subito exorti. Id patres rati contemptu accidere, quod Veliternis civibus suis tam diu impunita defectio esset, decreverunt ut primo quoque tempore ad populum ferretur de bello eis indicendo. Ad quam militiam quo paratior plebes esset, quinqueviros Pomptino

agro dividendo et triumviros Nepete coloniae deducendae creaverunt. Tum, ut bellum iuberent, latum ad populum est et nequiquam dissuadentibus tribunis plebis omnes tribus bellum iusserunt. Apparatum eo anno bellum est, exercitus propter pestilentiam non eductus, eaque cunctatio colonis spatium dederat deprecandi senatum; et magna hominum pars eo ut legatio supplex Romam mitteretur inclinabat, ni privato, ut fit, periculo publicum implicitum esset auctoresque defectionis ab Romanis metu, ne soli crimini subiecti piacula irae Romanorum dederentur, avertissent colonias a consiliis pacis. Neque in senatu solum per eos legatio impedita est sed magna pars plebis incitata ut praedatum in agrum Romanum exirent. Haec nova iniuria exturbavit omnem spem pacis. De Praenestinatorum quoque defectione eo anno primum fama exorta; arguentibusque eos Tusculanis et Gabinis et Labicanis, quorum in fines incursatum erat, ita placide ab senatu responsum est ut minus credi de criminibus, quia nollent ea vera esse, appareret.

[22] Insequenti anno Sp. et L. Papirii novi tribuni militum consulari potestate Velitras legiones duxere, quattuor collegis Ser. Cornelio Maluginensi tertium Q. Servilio C. Sulpicio L. Aemilio quartum tribunis ad praesidium urbis et si qui ex Etruria novi motus nuntiarentur — omnia enim inde suspecta erant — relictis. Ad Velitras adversus maiora paene auxilia Praenestinatorum quam ipsam colonorum multitudinem secundo proelio pugnatum est ita ut propinquitas urbis hosti et causa maturioris fugae et unum ex fuga receptaculum esset. Oppidi oppugnatione tribuni abstinuere, quia et anceps erat nec in perniciem coloniae pugnandum censebant. Litterae Romam ad senatum cum victoriae nuntiis acriores in Praenestinum quam in Veliternum hostem missae. Itaque ex senatus consulto populique iussu bellum Praenestinis indictum; qui coniuncti Volscis anno insequente Satricum, coloniam populi Romani, pertinaciter a colonis defensam, vi expugnarunt foedeque in captis exercuere victoriam. Eam rem aegre passi Romani M. Furium Camillum sextum tribunum militum creavere. Additi collegae A. et L. Postumii Regillenses ac L. Furius cum L. Lucretio et M. Fabio Ambusto.

Volscum bellum M. Furio extra ordinem decretum; adiutor ex tribunis sorte L. Furius datur, non tam e re publica quam ut collegae materia ad omnem laudem esset et publice, quod rem temeritate eius

prolapsam restituit et privatim, quod ex errore gratiam potius eius sibi quam suam gloriam petiit. Exactae iam aetatis Camillus erat, comitiisque iurare parato in verba excusandae valetudini solita consensus populi restiterat; sed vegetum ingenium in vivido pectore vigeat virebatque integris sensibus, et civiles iam res haud magnopere obeuntem bella excitabant. Quattuor legionibus quaternum milium scriptis, exercitu indicto ad portam Esquilinam in posteram diem ad Satricum profectus. Ibi eum expugnatores coloniae haudquaquam perculsi, fidentes militum numero quo aliquantum praestabant, opperiebantur. Postquam appropinquare Romanos senserunt, extemplo in aciem procedunt nihil dilaturi quin periculum summae rerum facerent: ita paucitati hostium nihil artes imperatoris unici, quibus solis confiderent, profuturas esse.

[23] Idem ardor et in Romano exercitu erat et in altero duce, nec praesentis dimicationis fortunam ulla res praeterquam unius viri consilium atque imperium morabatur, qui occasionem iuvandarum ratione virium trahendo bello quaerebat. Eo magis hostis instare nec iam pro castris tantum suis explicare aciem sed procedere in medium campi et vallo prope hostium signa inferendo superbam fiduciam virium ostentare. Id aegre patiebatur Romanus miles, multo aegrius alter ex tribunis militum, L. Furius, ferox cum aetate et ingenio, tum multitudinis ex incertissimo sumentis animos spe inflatus. Hic per se iam milites incitatos insuper instigabat elevando, qua una poterat, aetate auctoritatem collegae, iuvenibus bella data dictitans et cum corporibus vigere et deflorescere animos; cunctatorem ex acerrimo bellatore factum et, qui adveniens castra urbesque primo impetu rapere sit solitus, eum residem intra vallum tempus terere, quid accessurum suis decessurumve hostium viribus sperantem? Quam occasionem, quod tempus, quem insidiis instruentem locum? Frigere ac torpere senis consilia. Sed Camillo cum vitae satis tum gloriae esse; quid attinere cum mortali corpore uno civitatis quam immortalem esse deceat pati consenescere vires?

His sermonibus tota in se averterat castra; et cum omnibus locis posceretur pugna, “Sustinere” inquit, “M. Furi, non possumus impetum militum, et hostis, cuius animos cunctando auximus, iam minime toleranda superbia insultat; cede unus omnibus et patere te vinci consilio ut maturius bello vincas”. Ad ea Camillus, quae bella

suo unius auspicio gesta ad eam diem essent, negare in eis neque se neque populum Romanum aut consilii sui aut fortunae paenituisse; nunc scire se collegam habere iure imperioque parem, vigore aetatis praestantem; itaque se quod ad exercitum attineat, regere consuesse, non regi: collegae imperium se non posse impedire. Dis bene iuvantibus ageret quod e re publica duceret: aetati suae se veniam etiam petere ne in prima acie esset. Quae senis munia in bello sint, iis se non defuturum: id a dis immortalibus precari ne qui casus suum consilium laudabile efficiat.

Nec ab hominibus salutaris sententia nec a dis tam piaee preces auditaee sunt. Primam aciem auctor pugnaee instruit, subsidia Camillus firmat validamque stationem pro castris opponit; ipse edito loco spectator intentus in eventum alieni consilii constitit.

[24] Simul primo concursu concrepuere arma, hostis dolo non metu pedem rettulit. Lenis ab tergo clivus erat inter aciem et castra; et, quod multitudo suppeditabat, aliquot validas cohortes in castris armatas instructasque reliquerant, quae inter commissum iam certamen, ubi vallo appropinquasset hostis, erumperent. Romanus cedentem hostem effuse sequendo in locum iniquum pertractus opportunus huic eruptioni fuit; versus itaque in victorem terror et novo hoste et supina valle Romanam inclinavit aciem. Instant Volsci recentes qui e castris impetum fecerant; integrant et illi pugnam qui simulata cesserant fuga. Iam non recipiebat se Romanus miles sed immemor recentis ferociae veterisque decoris terga passim dabat atque effuso cursu castra repetebat, cum Camillus subiectus ab circumstantibus in equum et raptim subsidiis oppositis “Haec est” inquit, “milites, pugna quam poposcistis? Quis homo, quis deus est, quem accusare possitis? Vestra illa temeritas, vestra ignavia haec est. Secuti alium ducem sequimini nunc Camillum et quod ductu meo soletis vincite. Quid vallum et castra spectatis? Neminem vestrum illa nisi victorem receptura sunt”.

Pudor primo tenuit effusus; inde, ut circumagi signa obvertique aciem viderunt in hostem et dux, praeterquam quod tot insignis triumphis, etiam aetate venerabilis inter prima signa ubi plurimus labor periculumque erat se offerebat, increpare singuli se quisque et alios, et adhortatio in vicem totam alacri clamore pervasit aciem. Neque alter tribunus rei defuit sed missus a collega restitunte

peditum aciem ad equites, non castigando — ad quam rem levio- rem auctorem eum culpae societas fecerat — sed ab imperio totus ad preces versus orare singulos universosque ut se reum fortunae eius diei crimine eximerent: “Abnuente ac prohibente collega temeritati me omnium potius socium quam unius prudentiae dedi. Camillus in utraque vestra fortuna suam gloriam videt; ego, ni restituitur pugna, quod miserrimum est, fortunam cum omnibus, infamiam solus sentiam.” Optimum visum est in fluctuante acie tradi equos et pedestri pugna invadere hostem. Eunt insignes armis animisque qua premi parte maxime peditum copias vident. Nihil neque apud duces neque apud milites remittitur a summo certamine animi. Sensit ergo eventus virtutis enixae opem et Volsci, qua modo simulato metu cesserant, ea in veram fugam effusi, magna pars et in ipso certamine et post in fuga caesi, ceteri in castris quae capta eodem impetu sunt; plures tamen capti quam occisi.

[25] Ubi in recensendis captivis cum Tusculani aliquot noscitarentur, secreti ab aliis ad tribunos adducuntur percontantibusque fassi publico consilio se militasse. Cuius tam vicini belli metu Camillus motus extemplo se Romam captivos ducturum ait, ne patres ignari sint Tusculanos ab societate descisse: castris exercituique interim, si videatur, praesit collega. Documento unus dies fuerat, ne sua consilia melioribus praeferret; nec tamen aut ipsi aut in exercitu cuiquam satis placato animo Camillus laturus culpam eius videbatur, qua data in tam praecipitem casum res publica esset; et cum in exercitu tum Romae constans omnium fama erat, cum varia fortuna in Volscis gesta res esset, adversae pugnae fugaeque in L. Furio culpam, secundae decus omne penes M. Furium esse. Introductis in senatum captivis cum bello persequendos Tusculanos patres censuissent Camilloque id bellum mandassent, adiutorem sibi ad eam rem unum petit, permissoque ut ex collegis optaret quem vellet contra spem omnium L. Furium optavit; qua moderatione animi cum collegae levavit infamiam tum sibi gloriam ingentem peperit.

Nec fuit cum Tusculanis bellum: pace constanti vim Romanam arcuerunt quam armis non poterant. Intransibiles fines Romanis non demigratum ex propinquis itineri locis, non cultus agrorum intermissus; patentibus portis urbis togati obviam frequentes

imperatoribus processere; commeatus exercitui comiter in castra ex urbe et ex agris deuehitur. Camillus castris ante portas positis, eademne forma pacis quae in agris ostentaretur etiam intra moenia esset scire cupiens, ingressus urbem ubi patentes ianuas et tabernis apertis proposita omnia in medio vidit intentosque opifices suo quemque operi et ludos litterarum strepere discentium vocibus ac repletas semitas inter volgus aliud puerorum et mulierum huc atque illuc euntium qua quemque suorum usuum causae ferrent, nihil usquam non pavidis modo sed ne mirantibus quidem simile, circumspiciebat omnia, inquirens oculis ubinam bellum fuisset; adeo nec amotae rei usquam nec oblatae ad tempus vestigium ullum erat sed ita omnia constanti tranquilla pace ut eo vix fama belli perlata videri posset.

[26] Victus igitur patientia hostium senatum eorum vocari iussit. “Soli adhuc” inquit, “Tusculani, vera arma verasque vires quibus ab ira Romanorum vestra tutaremini invenistis. Ite Romam ad senatum; aestimabunt patres utrum plus ante poenae an nunc veniae meriti sitis. Non praecipiam gratiam publici beneficii; deprecandi potestatem a me habueritis; precibus eventum vestris senatus quem videbitur dabit.”

Postquam Romam Tusculani venerunt senatusque paulo ante fidelium sociorum maestus in vestibulo curiae est conspectus, moti extemplo patres vocari eos iam tum hospitaliter magis quam hostiliter iussere. Dictator Tusculanus ita verba fecit: “Quibus bellum indixistis intulistisque, patres conscripti, sicut nunc videtis nos stantes in vestibulo curiae vestrae, ita armati paratique obviam imperatoribus legionibusque vestris processimus. Hic noster, hic plebis nostrae habitus fuit eritque semper, nisi si quando a vobis proque vobis arma acceperimus. Gratias agimus et ducibus vestris et exercitibus, quod oculis magis quam auribus crediderunt et ubi nihil hostile erat ne ipsi quidem fecerunt. Pacem, quam nos praestitimus, eam a vobis petimus; bellum eo, sicubi est, avertatis precamur; in nos quid arma polleant vestra, si patiundo experiundum est, inermes experiemur. Haec mens nostra est — di immortales faciant — tam felix quam pia. Quod ad crimina attinet quibus moti bellum indixistis, etsi revicta rebus verbis confutare nihil attinet, tamen, etiamsi vera sint, vel fateri nobis ea, cum tam evidenter paenituerit,

tutum censemus. Peccetur in vos, dum digni sitis quibus ita satisfiat”. Tantum fere verborum ab Tusculanis factum. Pacem in praesentia nec ita multo post civitatem etiam impetraverunt. Ab Tusculo legiones reductae.

[27] Camillus, consilio et virtute in Volsco bello, felicitate in Tusculana expeditione, utrobique singulari adversus collegam patientia et moderatione insignis, magistratu abiit creatis tribunis militaribus in insequentem annum L. et P. Valeriis — Lucio quintum, Publio tertium — [et] C. Sergio tertium [Licinio] Menenio iterum P. Papirio Ser. Cornelio Maluginense. Censoribus quoque eguit annus, maxime propter incertam famam aeris alieni, adgravantibus summam etiam invidiae eius tribunis plebis, cum ab iis elevaretur quibus fide magis quam fortuna debentium laborare creditum videri expediebat. Creati censores C. Sulpicius Camerinus Sp. Postumius Regillensis, coeptaque iam res morte Postumi, quia collegam suffici censori religio erat, interpellata est. Igitur cum Sulpicius abdicasset se magistratu, censores alii vitio creati non gesserunt magistratum; tertios creari velut dis non accipientibus in eum annum censuram religiosum fuit. Eam vero ludificationem plebis tribuni ferendam negabant: fugere senatum testes tabulas publicas census cuiusque, quia nolint conspici summam aeris alieni, quae indicatura sit demersam partem a parte civitatis, cum interim obaeratam plebem obiectari aliis atque aliis hostibus; passim iam sine ullo discrimine bella quaeri: ab Antio Satricum, ab Satrico Velitras, inde Tusculum legiones ductas; Latinis Hernicis Praenestinis iam intentari arma civium magis quam hostium odio, ut in armis terant plebem nec respirare in urbe aut per otium libertatis meminisse sinant aut consistere in contione, ubi aliquando audiant vocem tribuniciam de levando fenore et finem aliarum iniuriarum agentem. Quod si sit animus plebi memor patrum libertatis, se nec addici quemquam civem Romanum ob creditam pecuniam passuros neque dilectum haberi, donec inspecto aere alieno initaque ratione minuendi eius sciat unus quisque quid sui, quid alieni sit, supersit sibi liberum corpus an id quoque nervo debeatur.

Merces seditionis proposita confestim seditionem excitavit. Nam et addicebantur multi, et ad Praenestini famam belli novas legiones scribendas patres censuerant; quae utraque simul auxilio tribunicio et

consensu plebis impediri coepta; nam neque duci addictos tribuni sinebant neque iuniores nomina dabant. Cum patribus minor [in] praesens cura creditae pecuniae iuris exsequendi quam dilectus esset — quippe iam a Praeneste profectos hostes in agro Gabino consedissee nuntiabatur — interim tribunos plebis fama ea ipsa inritaverat magis ad susceptum certamen quam deterruerat neque aliud ad seditionem exstinguendam in urbe quam prope inlatum moenibus ipsis bellum valuit.

[28] Nam cum esset Praenestinis nuntiatum nullum exercitum conscriptum Romae, nullum ducem certum esse, patres ac plebem in semet ipsos versos, occasionem rati duces eorum raptim agmine facto, pervastatis protinus agris ad portam Collinam signa intulere. Ingens in urbe trepidatio fuit. Conclamatum “ad arma”, concursumque in muros adque portas est; tandemque ab seditione ad bellum versi dictatorem T. Quinctium Cincinnatum creavere. Is magistrum equitum A. Sempronium Atratinum dixit. Quod ubi auditum est — tantus eius magistratus terror erat — simul hostes a moenibus recessere et iuniores Romani ad edictum sine retractatione convenere.

Dum conscribitur Romae exercitus, castra interim hostium haud procul Allia flumine posita; inde agrum late populates, fatalem se urbi Romanae locum cepisse inter se iactabant; similem pavorem inde ac fugam fore ac bello Gallico fuerit; etenim si diem contactum religione insignemque nomine eius loci timeant Romani, quanto magis Alliensi die Alliam ipsam, monumentum tantae cladis, reformidaturos? Species profecto iis ibi truces Gallorum sonumque vocis in oculis atque auribus fore. Has inanium rerum inanes ipsas volventes cogitationes fortunae loci delegaverant spes suas. Romani contra, ubicumque esset Latinus hostis, satis scire eum esse quem ad Regillum lacum devictum centum annorum pace obnoxia tenuerint: locum insignem memoria cladis inritaturum se potius ad delendam memoriam dedecoris quam ut timorem faciat, ne qua terra sit nefasta victoriae suae; quin ipsi sibi Galli si offerantur illo loco, se ita pugnatos ut Romae pugnauerint in repetenda patria ut postero die ad Gabios, tunc cum effecerint ne quis hostis qui moenia Romana intrasset nuntium secundae adversaeque fortunae domum perferret.

[29] His utrimque animis ad Alliam ventum est. Dictator Romanus,

postquam in conspectu hostes erant instructi intentique, “videsne tu” inquit, “A. Semproni, loci fortuna illos fretos ad Alliam constitisse? Nec illis di immortales certioris quicquam fiduciae maiorisve quod sit auxilii dederint. At tu, fretus armis animisque, concitatis equis invade mediam aciem; ego cum legionibus in turbatos trepidantesque inferam signa. Adeste, di testes foederis, et expetite poenas debitas simul vobis violatis nobisque per vestrum numen deceptis.” Non equitem, non peditem sustinere Praenestini. Primo impetu ac clamore dissipati ordines sunt dein, postquam nullo loco constabat acies, terga vertunt consternatique et praeter castra etiam sua pavore praelati non prius se ab effuso cursu sistunt quam in conspectu Praeneste fuit. Ibi ex fuga dissipati locum quem tumultuario opere communirent capiunt, ne, si intra moenia se recepissent, extemplo ureretur ager depopulatisque omnibus obsidio urbi inferretur. Sed postquam direptis ad Alliam castris victor Romanus aderat, id quoque munimentum relictum; et vix moenia tuta rati oppido se Praeneste includunt. Octo praeterea oppida erant sub dicione Praenestinatorum. Ad ea circumlatum bellum deincepsque haud magno certamine captis Velitras exercitus ductus; eae quoque expugnatae. Tum ad caput belli Praeneste ventum. Id non vi sed per deditionem receptum est. T. Quinctius, semel acie victor, binis castris hostium, novem oppidis vi captis, Praeneste in deditionem accepto Romam revertit triumphansque signum Praeneste devectum Iovis Imperatoris in Capitolium tulit. Dedicatum est inter cellam Iovis ac Minervae tabulaque sub eo fixa, monumentum rerum gestarum, his ferme incisa litteris fuit: “Iuppiter atque divi omnes hoc dederunt ut T. Quinctius dictator oppida novem caperet”. Die vicesimo quam creatus erat dictatura se abdicavit.

[30] Comitia inde habita tribunorum militum consulari potestate, quibus aequatus patriciorum plebeiorumque numerus. Ex patribus creati P. et C. Manlii cum L. Iulio; plebes C. Sextilium M. Albinium L. Antistium dedit. Manliis, quod genere plebeios, gratia Iulium anteibant, Volsci provincia sine sorte, sine comparatione, extra ordinem data; cuius et ipsos postmodo et patres qui dederant paenituit. Inexplorato pabulatum cohortes misere; quibus velut circumventis, cum id falso nuntiatum esset, dum praesidio ut essent citati feruntur, ne auctore quidem adservato qui eos hostis Latinus

pro milite Romano frustratus erat ipsi in insidias praecipitavere. Ibi dum iniquo loco sola virtute militum restantes caedunt caedunturque, castra interim Romana iacentia in campo ab altera parte hostes invasere. Ab ducibus utrobique proditae temeritate atque inscitia res; quidquid superfuit Fortunae populi Romani, id militum etiam sine rectore stabilis virtus tutata est. Quae ubi Romam sunt relata, primum dictatorem dici placebat; deinde, postquam quietae res ex Volscis adferebantur et apparuit nescire eos victoria et tempore uti, revocati etiam inde exercitus ac duces; otiumque inde, quantum a Volscis, fuisset; id modo extremo anno tumultuatum quod Praenestini concitatis Latinorum populis rebellarunt.

Eodem anno Setiam ipsis querentibus penuriam hominum novi coloni adscripti; rebusque haud prosperis bello domestica quies, quam tribunorum militum ex plebe gratia maiestasque inter suos obtinuit, solacium fuit.

[31] Insequentis anni principia statim seditione ingenti arsere tribunis militum consulari potestate Sp. Furio Q. Servilio iterum [Licinio] Menenio tertium P. Cloelio M. Horatio L. Geganio. Erat autem et materia et causa seditionis aes alienum; cuius noscendi gratia Sp. Servilius Priscus Q. Cloelius Siculus censores facti ne rem agerent bello impediti sunt; namque trepidi nuntii primo, fuga deinde ex agris legiones Volscorum ingressas fines popularique passim Romanum agrum attulere. In qua trepitatione tantum afuit ut civilia certamina terror externus cohiberet, ut contra eo violentior potestas tribunicia impediendo dilectu esset, donec condiciones impositae patribus ne quis, quoad bellatum esset, tributum daret aut ius de pecunia credita diceret. Eo laxamento plebi sumpto mora dilectui non est facta. Legionibus novis scriptis placuit duos exercitus in agrum Volscum legionibus divisis duci. Sp. Furius M. Horatius dextrorsus [in] maritimam oram atque Antium, Q. Servilius et L. Geganus laeva ad montes [et] Ecetram pergunt. Neutra parte hostis obvisus [fuit]. Populatio itaque non illi vagae similis quam Volscus latrocinii more, discordiae hostium fretus et virtutem metuens, per trepitationem raptim fecerat sed ab iusto exercitu iusta ira facta, spatio quoque temporis gravior. Quippe a Volscis timentibus ne interim exercitus ab Roma exiret incursiones in extrema finium factae erant; Romano contra etiam in hostico morandi causa [erat], ut

hostem ad certamen eliceret. Itaque omnibus passim tectis agrorum vicisque etiam quibusdam exustis, non arbore frugifera, non satis in spem frugum relictis, omni quae extra moenia fuit hominum pecudumque praeda abacta Romam utrimque exercitus reducti.

[32] Parvo intervallo ad respirandum debitoribus dato, postquam quietae res ab hostibus erant, celebrari de integro iuris dictio et tantum abesse spes veteris levandi feneratoris, ut tributo novum fenus contraheretur in murum a censoribus locatum saxo quadrato faciendum; cui succumbere oneri coacta plebes, quia quem dilectum impedirent non habebant tribuni plebis. Tribunos etiam militares patricos omnes coacta principum opibus fecit, L. Aemilium P. Valerium quartum C. Veturium Ser. Sulpicium L. et C. Quinctios Cincinnatos. Iisdem opibus obtinere ut adversus Latinos Volscosque, qui coniunctis legionibus ad Satricum castra habebant, nullo impediante omnibus iunioribus sacramento adactis tres exercitus scriberent: unum ad praesidium urbis: alterum qui, si qui alibi motus exstitisset, ad subita belli mitti posset: tertium longe validissimum P. Valerius et L. Aemilius ad Satricum duxere. Ubi cum aciem instructam hostium loco aequo invenissent, extemplo pugnatum; et ut nondum satis claram victoriam, sic prosperae spei pugnam imber ingentibus procellis fusus diremit. Postero die iterata pugna; et aliquamdiu aequa virtute fortunaque Latinae maxime legiones longa societate militiam Romanam edoctae restabant. Sed eques immissus ordines turbavit; turbatis signa peditum inlata, quantumque Romana se invexit acies, tantum hostes gradu demoti; et ut semel inclinavit pugna, iam intolerabilis Romana vis erat. Fusi hostes cum Satricum, quod duo milia inde aberat, non castra peterent, ab equite maxime caesi: castra capta direptaque. Ab Satrico nocte quae proelio proxima fuit, fugae simili agmine petunt Antium; et cum Romanus exercitus prope vestigiis sequeretur, plus tamen timor quam ira celeritatis habuit. Prius itaque moenia intravere hostes quam Romanus extrema agminis carpere aut morari posset. Inde aliquot dies vastando agro absumpti nec Romanis satis instructis apparatu bellico ad moenia adgredienda nec illis ad subeundum pugnae casum.

[33] Seditio tum inter Antiates Latinosque coorta, cum Antiates victi malis subactique bello in quo et nati erant et consenuerant

deditionem spectarent, Latinos ex diutina pace nova defectio recentibus adhuc animis ferociores ad perseverandum in bello faceret. Finis certaminis fuit postquam utrisque apparuit nihil per alteros stare quo minus incepta persequerentur. Latini profecti, ab societate pacis, ut rebantur, inhonestae sese vindicaverunt; Antiates incommodis arbitris salutarium consiliorum remotis urbem agrosque Romanis dedunt. Ira et rabies Latinorum, quia nec Romanos bello laedere nec Volscos in armis retinere potuerant, eo erupit ut Satricum urbem, quae receptaculum primum eis adversae pugnae fuerat, igni concremarent. Nec aliud tectum eius superfuit urbis, cum faces pariter sacris profanisque inicerent, quam Matris Matutae templum; inde eos nec sua religio nec verecundia deum arcuisse dicitur sed vox horrenda edita templo cum tristibus minis ni nefandos ignes procul delubris amovissent. Incensos ea rabie impetus Tusculum tulit ob iram, quod deserto communi concilio Latinorum non in societatem modo Romanam sed etiam in civitatem se dedissent. Patentibus portis cum improvise incidissent, primo clamore oppidum praeter arcem captum est. In arcem oppidani refugere cum coniugibus ac liberis nuntiosque Romam, qui certiores de suo casu senatum facerent, misere. Haud segnius quam fide populi Romani dignum fuit exercitus Tusculum ductus; L. Quinctius et Ser. Sulpicius tribuni militum duxere. Clausas portas Tusculi Latinosque simul obsidentium atque obsessorum animo hinc moenia [Tusculi] tueri vident, illinc arcem oppugnare, terrere una ac pavere. Adventus Romanorum mutaverat utriusque partis animos: Tusculanos ex ingenti metu in summam alacritatem, Latinos ex prope certa fiducia mox capiendae arcis, quoniam oppido potirentur, in exiguam de se ipsis spem verterat. Tollitur ex arce clamor ab Tusculanis; excipit aliquanto maior ab exercitu Romano. Utrisque urgetur Latini: nec impetus Tusculanorum decurrentium ex superiore loco sustinent nec Romanos subeuntes moenia molientesque obices portarum arcere possunt. Scalas prius moenia capta, inde effracta claustra portarum; et cum anceps hostis et a fronte et a tergo urgeret nec ad pugnam ulla vis nec ad fugam loci quicquam superesset, in medio caesi ad unum omnes. Reciperato ab hostibus Tusculo exercitus Romam est reductus.

[34] Quanto magis prosperis eo anno bellis tranquilla omnia foris

erant, tanto in urbe vis patrum in dies miseriaeque plebis crescebant, cum eo ipso, quod necesse erat solvi, facultas solvendi impediretur. Itaque cum iam ex re nihil dari posset, fama et corpore iudicati atque addicti creditoribus satisfaciebant poenaeque in vicem fidei cesserat. Adeo ergo obnoxios summiserant animos non infimi solum sed principes etiam plebis, ut non modo ad tribunatum militum inter patricos petendum, quod tanta vi ut liceret tetenderant, sed ne ad plebeios quidem magistratus capessendos petendosque ulli viro acri experientique animus esset, possessionemque honoris usurpati modo a plebe per paucos annos reciperasse in perpetuum patres viderentur.

Ne id nimis laetum parti alteri esset, parva, ut plerumque solet, rem ingentem moliundi causa intervenit. M. Fabi Ambusti, potentis viri cum inter sui corporis homines tum etiam ad plebem, quod haudquaquam inter id genus contemptor eius habebatur, filiae duae nuptae, Ser. Sulpicio maior, minor C. Licinio Stoloni erat, illustri quidem viro tamen plebeio; eaque ipsa adfinitas haud sprete gratiam Fabio ad vulgum quaesierat. Forte ita incidit ut in Ser. Sulpici tribuni militum domo sorores Fabiae cum inter se, ut fit, sermonibus tempus tererent, lictor Sulpici, cum is de foro se domum reciperet, forem, ut mos est, virga percuteret. Cum ad id moris eius insueta expavisset minor Fabia, risui sorori fuit miranti ignorare id sororem; ceterum is risus stimulos parvis mobili rebus animo muliebri subdidit. Frequentia quoque prosequentium rogantiumque num quid vellet credo fortunatum matrimonium ei sororis visum suique ipsam malo arbitrio, quo a proximis quisque minime anteiri volt, paenituisse. Confusam eam ex recenti morsu animi cum pater forte vidisset, percontatus “Satin salve?” Avertentem causam doloris, quippe nec satis piam adversus sororem nec admodum in virum honorificam, elicuit comiter sciscitando, ut fateretur eam esse causam doloris, quod iuncta impari esset, nupta in domo quam nec honos nec gratia intrare posset. Consolans inde filiam Ambustus bonum animum habere iussit: eosdem propediem domi visuram honores quos apud sororem videat. Inde consilia inire cum genero coepit, adhibito L. Sextio, strenuo adolescente et cuius spei nihil praeter genus patricium deesset.

[35] Occasio videbatur rerum novandarum propter ingentem vim aeris alieni, cuius levamen mali plebes nisi suis in summo imperio

locatis nullum speraret: accingendum ad eam cogitationem esse; conando agendoque iam eo gradum fecisse plebeios unde, si porro adnitantur, pervenire ad summa et patribus aequari tam honore quam virtute possent. In praesentia tribunos plebis fieri placuit, quo in magistratu sibimet ipsi viam ad ceteros honores aperirent; creatique tribuni C. Licinius et L. Sextius promulgavere leges omnes adversus opes patriciorum et pro commodis plebis: unam de aere alieno, ut deducto eo de capite quod usuris pernumeratum esset id quod superesset triennio aequis portionibus persolveretur; alteram de modo agrorum, ne quis plus quingenta iugera agri possideret; tertiam, ne tribunorum militum comitia fierent consulumque utique alter ex plebe crearetur; cuncta ingentia et quae sine certamine maximo obtineri non possent.

Omnium igitur simul rerum, quarum immodica cupido inter mortales est, agri, pecuniae, honorum discrimine proposito conterriti patres, cum trepidassent publicis privatisque consiliis, nullo remedio alio praeter expertam multis iam ante certaminibus intercessionem invento collegas adversus tribunicias rogationes comparaverunt. Qui ubi tribus ad suffragium ineundum citari a Licinio Sextioque viderunt, stipati patrum praesidiis nec recitari rogationes nec sollemne quicquam aliud ad sciscendum plebi fieri passi sunt. Iamque frustra saepe concilio advocato, cum pro antiquatis rogationes essent: “Bene habet” inquit Sextius; “quando quidem tantum intercessionem pollere placet, isto ipso telo tutabimur plebem. Agitedum comitia indicite, patres, tribunis militum creandis; faxo ne iuvet vox ista ‘veto’, qua nunc concinentes collegas nostros tam laeti auditis.” Haud inritae cecidere minae: comitia praeter aedilium tribunorumque plebi nulla sunt habita. Licinius Sextiusque tribuni plebis refecti nullos curules magistratus creari passi sunt; eaque solitudo magistratuum et plebe reficiente duos tribunos et iis comitia tribunorum militum tollentibus per quinquennium urbem tenuit.

[36] Alia bella opportune quievere: Veliterni coloni gestientes otio quod nullus exercitus Romanus esset, et agrum Romanum aliquotiens incursavere et Tusculum oppugnare adorti sunt; eaque res Tusculanis, veteribus sociis, novis civibus, opem orantibus verecundia maxime non patres modo sed etiam plebem movit.

Remittentibus tribunis plebis comitia per interregem sunt habita; creatique tribuni militum L. Furius A. Manlius Ser. Sulpicius Ser. Cornelius P. et C. Valerii. Haudquaquam tam oboedientem in dilectu quam in comitiis plebem habuere; ingentique contentione exercitu scripto profecti non ab Tusculo modo summovere hostem sed intra suamet ipsum moenia compulere; obsidebanturque haud paulo vi maiore Velitrae quam Tusculum obsessum fuerat. Nec tamen ab eis, a quibus obsideri coeptae erant, expugnari potuere; ante novi creati sunt tribuni militum, Q. Servilius C. Veturius A. et M. Cornelii Q. Quinctius M. Fabius. Nihil ne ab his quidem tribunis ad Velitras memorabile factum.

In maiore discrimine domi res vertebantur. Nam praeter Sextium Liciniumque latores legum, iam octauum tribunos plebis refectos, Fabius quoque tribunus militum, Stolonis socer, quarum legum auctor fuerat, earum suasorem se haud dubium ferebat; et cum octo ex collegio tribunorum plebi primo intercessores legum fuissent, quinque soli erant, et, ut ferme solent qui a suis desciscunt, capti et stupentes animi vocibus alienis id modo quod domi praeceptum erat intercessioni suae praetendebant: Velitris in exercitu plebis magnam partem abesse; in adventum militum comitia differri debere, ut universa plebes de suis commodis suffragium ferret. Sextius Liciniusque cum parte collegarum et uno ex tribunis militum Fabio, artifices iam tot annorum usu tractandi animos plebis, primores patrum productos interrogando de singulis, quae ferebantur ad populum, fatigabant: auderentne postulare ut, cum bina iugera agri plebi dividerentur, ipsis plus quingenta iugera habere liceret ut singuli prope trecentorum civium possiderent agros, plebeio homini vix ad tectum necessarium aut locum sepulturae suus pateret ager? An placeret fenore circumventam plebem, [ni] potius quam sortem [creditum] solvat, corpus in nervum ac supplicia dare et gregatim cottidie de foro addictos duci et repleti vinctis nobiles domus et, ubicumque patricius habitet, ibi carcerem privatum esse?

[37] Haec indigna miserandaque auditu cum apud timentes sibimet ipsos maiore audientium indignatione quam sua increpuissent, atqui nec agros occupandi modum nec fenore trucidandi plebem alium patribus unquam fore, adfirmabant, nisi alterum ex plebe consulem, custodem suae libertatis, [plebi] fecissent. Contemni iam tribunos

plebis, quippe quae potestas iam suam ipsa vim frangat intercedendo. Non posse aequo iure agi ubi imperium penes illos, penes se auxilium tantum sit; nisi imperio communicato nunquam plebem in parte pari rei publicae fore. Nec esse quod quisquam satis putet, si plebeiorum ratio comitiis consularibus habeatur; nisi alterum consulem utique ex plebe fieri necesse sit, neminem fore. An iam memoria exisse, cum tribunos militum idcirco potius quam consules creari placuisset ut et plebeiis pateret summus honos, quattuor et quadraginta annis neminem ex plebe tribunum militum creatum esse? Qui crederent duobus nunc in locis sua voluntate impertituros plebi honorem, qui octona loca tribunis militum creandis occupare soliti sint, et ad consulatum viam fieri passuros, qui tribunatum saeptum tam diu habuerint? Lege obtinendum esse quod comitiis per gratiam nequeat, et seponendum extra certamen alterum consulatum ad quem plebi sit aditus, quoniam in certamine relictus praemium semper potentioris futurus sit. Nec iam posse dici id quod antea iactare soliti sint, non esse in plebeiis idoneos viros ad curules magistratus. Numqui enim socordius aut segnius rem publicam administrari post P. Licini Calui tribunatum, qui primus ex plebe creatus sit, quam per eos annos gesta sit quibus praeter patricios nemo tribunus militum fuerit? Quin contra patricios aliquot damnatos post tribunatum, neminem plebeium. Quaestores quoque, sicut tribunos militum, paucis ante annis ex plebe coeptos creari nec ullius eorum populum Romanum paenituisse. Consulatum superesse plebeiis; eam esse arcem libertatis, id columen. Si eo perventum sit, tum populum Romanum vere exactos ex urbe reges et stabilem libertatem suam existimaturum; quippe ex illa die in plebem ventura omnia quibus patricii excellant, imperium atque honorem, gloriam belli, genus, nobilitatem, magna ipsis fruenda, maiora liberis relinquenda.

Huius generis orationes ubi accipi videre, novam rogationem promulgant, ut pro duumviris sacris faciundis decemuiri creentur ita ut pars ex plebe, pars ex patribus fiat; omniumque earum rogationum comitia in adventum eius exercitus differunt qui Velitras obsidebat.

[38] Prius circumactus est annus quam a Velitris reducerentur legiones; ita suspensa de legibus res ad novos tribunos militum dilata; nam plebis tribunos eosdem, duos utique quia legum latores erant, plebes reficiebat. Tribuni militum creati T. Quinctius Ser.

Cornelius Ser. Sulpicius Sp. Servilius L. Papirius L. Veturius. Principio statim anni ad ultimam dimicationem de legibus ventum; et cum tribus vocarentur nec intercessio collegarum latoribus obstaret, trepidi patres ad duo ultima auxilia, summum imperium summumque ad civem decurrunt. Dictatorem dici placet; dicitur M. Furius Camillus, qui magistrum equitum L. Aemilium cooptat. Legum quoque latores adversus tantum apparatus adversariorum et ipsi causam plebis ingentibus animis armant concilioque plebis indicto tribus ad suffragium vocant.

Cum dictator, stipatus agmine patriciorum, plenus irae minarumque consedisset atque ageretur res solito primum certamine inter se tribunorum plebi ferentium legem intercedentiumque et, quanto iure potentior intercessio erat, tantum vinceretur favore legum ipsarum latorumque et “uti rogas” primae tribus dicerent, tum Camillus “Quando quidem” inquit, “Quirites, iam vos tribunicia libido, non potestas regit et intercessionem, secessione quondam plebis partam, vobis eadem vi facitis inritam qua peperistis, non rei publicae magis universae quam vestra causa dictator intercessioni adero eversumque vestrum auxilium imperio tutabor. Itaque si C. Licinius et L. Sextius intercessioni collegarum cedunt, nihil patricium magistratum inseram concilio plebis; si adversus intercessionem tamquam captae civitati leges imponere tendent, vim tribuniciam a se ipsa dissolvi non patiar.”

Adversus ea cum contemptim tribuni plebis rem nihilo segnius peragerent, tum percitus ira Camillus lictores qui de medio plebem emoverent misit et addidit minas, si pergerent, sacramento omnes iuniores adacturum exercitumque extemplo ex urbe educturum. Terrorem ingentem incusserat plebi: ducibus plebis accendit magis certamine animos quam minuit. Sed re neutro inclinata magistratu se abdicavit, seu quia vitio creatus erat, ut scripsere quidam, seu quia tribuni plebis tulerunt ad plebem idque plebs scivit, ut, si M. Furius pro dictatore quid egisset, quingentum milium ei multa esset; sed auspiciis magis quam novi exempli rogatione deterritum ut potius credam, cum ipsius viri facit ingenium, tum quod ei suffectus est extemplo P. Manlius dictator — quem quid creari attinebat ad id certamen quo M. Furius victus esset? — et quod eundem M. Furium dictatorem insequens annus habuit, haud sine pudore certe fractum

priore anno in se imperium repetiturum; simul quod eo tempore quo promulgatum de multa eius traditur aut et huic rogationi, qua se in ordinem cogi videbat, obsistere potuit aut ne illas quidem propter quas et haec lata erat impedire; et quod usque ad memoriam nostram tribuniciis consularibusque certatum viribus est, dictaturae semper altius fastigium fuit.

[39] Inter priorem dictaturam abdicatam novamque a Manlio initam ab tribunis velut per interregnum concilio plebis habito apparuit quae ex promulgatis plebi, quae latoribus gratiora essent. Nam de fenore atque agro rogationes iuebant, de plebeio consule antiquabant; et perfecta utraque res esset, ni tribuni se in omnia simul consulere plebem dixissent. P. Manlius deinde dictator rem in causam plebis inclinavit C. Licinio, qui tribunus militum fuerat, magistro equitum de plebe dicto. Id aegre patres passos accipio: dictatorem propinqua cognatione Licini se apud patres excusare solitum, simul negantem magistri equitum maius quam tribuni consularis imperium esse. Licinius Sextiusque, cum tribunorum plebi creandorum indicta comitia essent, ita se gerere ut negando iam sibi velle continuari honorem acerrime accenderent ad id quod dissimulando petebant plebem: nonum se annum iam velut in acie adversus optimates maximo privatim periculo, nullo publice emolumento stare. Consenuisse iam secum et rogationes promulgatas et vim omnem tribuniciae potestatis. Primo intercessionem collegarum in leges suas pugnatum esse, deinde ablegationem iuventutis ad Veliternum bellum; postremo dictatorium fulmen in se intentatum. Iam nec collegas nec bellum nec dictatorem obstore, quippe qui etiam omen plebeio consuli magistro equitum ex plebe dicendo dederit: se ipsam plebem et commoda morari sua. Liberam urbem ac forum a creditoribus, liberos agros ab iniustis possessoribus extemplo, si velit, habere posse. Quae munera quando tandem satis grato animo aestimatuos, si inter accipiendas de suis commodis rogationes spem honoris latoribus earum incidant? Non esse modestiae populi Romani id postulare ut ipse fenore levetur et in agrum iniuria possessum a potentibus inducatur, per quos ea consecutus sit senes tribunicios non sine honore tantum sed etiam sine spe honoris relinquat. Proinde ipsi primum statuerent apud animos quid vellent; deinde comitiis tribuniciis declararent voluntatem. Si coniuncte ferre ab se

promulgatas rogationes vellent, esse quod eosdem reficerent tribunos plebis; perlatores enim quae promulgaverint: sin quod cuique privatim opus sit id modo accipi velint, opus esse nihil invidiosa continuatione honoris; nec se tribunatum nec illos ea quae promulgata sint habituros.

[40] Adversus tam obstinatam orationem tribunorum cum prae indignitate rerum stupor silentiumque inde ceteros patrum defixisset, Ap. Claudius Crassus, nepos decemviri, dicitur odio magis iraque quam spe ad dissuadendum processisse et locutus in hanc fere sententiam esse: “Neque novum neque inopinatum mihi sit, Quirites, si, quod unum familiae nostrae semper obiectum est ab seditiosis tribunis, id nunc ego quoque audiam, Claudiae gentis iam inde ab initio nihil antiquius in re publica patrum maiestate fuisse, semper plebis commodis adversatos esse. Quorum alterum neque nego neque infitias eo — nos, ex quo adsciti sumus simul in civitatem et patres, enixe operam dedisse ut per nos aucta potius quam imminuta maiestas earum gentium inter quas nos esse voluistis dici vere posset: illud alterum pro me maioribusque meis contendere ausim, Quirites, nisi, quae pro universa re publica fiant, ea plebi tamquam aliam incolenti urbem adversa quis putet, nihil nos neque privatos neque in magistratibus quod incommodum plebi esset scientes fecisse nec ullum factum dictumve nostrum contra utilitatem vestram, etsi quaedam contra voluntatem fuerint, vere referri posse. An hoc, si Claudiae familiae non sim nec ex patricio sanguine ortus sed unus Quiritium quilibet, qui modo me duobus ingenuis ortum et vivere in libera civitate sciam, reticere possim L. Illum Sextium et C. Licinium, perpetuos, si dis placet, tribunos, tantum licentiae novem annis quibus regnant sumpsisse, ut vobis negent potestatem liberam suffragii non in comitiis, non in legibus iubendis se permissuros esse?

“Sub condicione” inquit, “nos reficietis decimum tribunos.” Quid est aliud dicere “quod petunt alii, nos adeo fastidimus ut sine mercede magna non accipiamus”? Sed quae tandem ista merces est qua vos semper tribunos plebis habeamus? “Ut rogationes” inquit, “nostras, seu placent seu displicent, seu utiles seu inutiles sunt, omnes coniunctim accipiatis.” Obsecro vos, Tarquinii tribuni plebis, putate me ex media contione unum civem succlamare ‘bona venia

vestra liceat ex his rogationibus legere quas salubres nobis censemus esse, antiquare alias.’ “Non” inquit, “licebit tu de fenore atque agris quod ad vos omnes pertinet iubeas et hoc portenti non fiat in urbe Romana uti L. Sextium atque hunc C. Licinium consules, quod indignaris, quod abominaris, videas; aut omnia accipe, aut nihil fero”; ut si quis ei quem urgeat fames venenum ponat cum cibo et aut abstinere eo quod vitale sit iubeat aut mortiferum vitali admisceat. Ergo si esset libera haec civitas, non tibi frequentes succlamassent “abi hinc cum tribunatibus ac rogationibus tuis”? Quid? Si tu non tuleris quod commodum est populo accipere, nemo erit qui ferat? Illud si quis patricius, si quis, quod illi volunt invidiosius esse, Claudius diceret “aut omnia accipite, aut nihil fero”, quis vestrum, Quirites, ferret? Nunquamne vos res potius quam auctores spectabitis sed omnia semper quae magistratus ille dicit secundis auribus, quae ab nostrum quo dicentur adversis accipietis?

“At hercule sermo est minime civilis; quid? Rogatio qualis est, quam a vobis antiquatam indignantur? Sermoni, Quirites, simillima. ‘Consules’ inquit, ‘rogo ne vobis quos velitis facere liceat.’ An aliter [rogat] qui utique alterum ex plebe fieri consulem iubet nec duos patricos creandi potestatem vobis permittit? Si hodie bella sint, quale Etruscum fuit cum Porsenna Ianiculum insedit, quale Gallicum modo cum praeter Capitolium atque arcem omnia haec hostium erant, et consulatum cum hoc M. Furio et quolibet alio ex patribus L. ille Sextius peteret, possetisne ferre Sextium haud pro dubio consulem esse, Camillum de repulsa dimicare? Hocine est in commune honores vocare, ut duos plebeios fieri consules liceat, duos patricos non liceat? Et alterum ex plebe creari necesse sit, utrumque ex patribus praeterire liceat? Quanam ista societas, quanam consortio est? Parum est, si, cuius pars tua nulla adhuc fuit, in partem eius venis, nisi partem petendo totum traxeris? ‘Timeo’ inquit, ‘ne, si duos licebit creari patricos, neminem creetis plebeium.’ Quid est dicere aliud ‘quia indignos vestra voluntate creaturi non estis, necessitatem vobis creandi quos non vultis imponam? Quid sequitur, nisi ut ne beneficium quidem debeat populo, si cum duobus patriciis unus petierit plebeius et lege se non suffragio creatum dicat?

[41] “Quomodo extorqueant, non quomodo petant honores, quaerunt; et ita maxima sunt adepturi, ut nihil ne pro minimis quidem

debeant; et occasionibus potius quam virtute petere honores malunt. Est aliquis, qui se inspicere, aestimari fastidiat, qui certos sibi uni honores inter dimicantes competitores aequum censeat esse, qui se arbitrio vestro eximat, qui vestra necessaria suffragia pro voluntariis et serva pro liberis faciat. Omitto Licinium Sextiumque, quorum annos in perpetua potestate tamquam regum in Capitolio numeratis: quis est hodie in civitate tam humilis cui non via ad consulatum facilius per istius legis occasionem quam nobis ac liberis nostris fiat, si quidem nos ne cum voveritis quidem creare interdum poteritis, istos etiam si nolueritis necesse sit?

“De indignitate satis dictum est. Etenim dignitas ad homines pertinet. Quid de religionibus atque auspiciis — quae propria deorum immortalium contemptio atque iniuria est — loquar? Auspiciis hanc urbem conditam esse, auspiciis bello ac pace domi militiaeque omnia geri, quis est qui ignoret? Penes quos igitur sunt auspicia more maiorum? Nempe penes patres; nam plebeius quidem magistratus nullus auspiciis creatur; nobis adeo propria sunt auspicia, ut non solum quos populus creat patricios magistratus non aliter quam auspiciis creentur sed nos quoque ipsi sine suffragio populi auspiciis inter regem prodamus et privatim auspicia habeamus, quae isti ne in magistratibus quidem habent. Quid igitur aliud quam tollit ex civitate auspicia qui plebeios consules creando a patribus, qui soli ea habere possunt, aufert? Eludant nunc licet religiones: ‘Quid enim est, si pulli non pascentur, si ex cauea tardius exierint, si occiderint avis?’ Parva sunt haec; sed parva ista non contemnendo maiores vestri maximam hanc rem fecerunt; nunc nos, tamquam iam nihil pace deorum opus sit, omnes caerimonias polluimus. Volgo ergo pontifices, augures, sacrificuli reges creentur; cuilibet apicem Dialem, dummodo homo sit imponamus; tradamus ancilia, penetralia, deos deorumque curam, quibus nefas est; non leges auspiciis ferantur, non magistratus creentur; nec centuriatis nec curiatis comitiis patres auctores fiant; Sextius et Licinius tamquam Romulus ac Tatius in urbe Romana regnent, quia pecunias alienas, quia agros dono dant. Tanta dulcedo est ex alienis fortunis praedandi, nec in mentem venit altera lege solitudines vastas in agris fieri pellendo finibus dominos, altera fidem abrogari cum qua omnis humana societas tollitur? Omnium rerum causa vobis antiquandas censeo istas rogationes. Quod faxitis deos

velim fortunare.”

[42] Oratio Appi ad id modo valuit ut tempus rogationum iubendarum proferretur. Refecti decumum iidem tribuni, Sextius et Licinius, de decemuiris sacrorum ex parte de plebe creandis legem pertulere. Creati quinque patrum, quinque plebis; graduque eo iam via facta ad consulatum videbatur. Hac victoria contenta plebes cessit patribus ut in praesentia consulum mentione omissa tribuni militum crearentur. Creati A. et M. Cornелиi iterum M. Geganius P. Manlius L. Veturius P. Valerius sextum.

Dum praeter Velitrarum obsidionem, tardi magis rem exitus quam dubii, quietae externae res Romanis essent, fama repens belli Gallici allata perpulit civitatem ut M. Furius dictator quintum diceretur. Is T. Quinctium Poenum magistrum equitum dixit. Bellatum cum Gallis eo anno circa Anienem flumen auctor est Claudius inclitamque in ponte pugnam, qua T. Manlius Gallum cum quo provocatus manus conseruit in conspectu duorum exercituum caesum torque spoliavit, tum pugnatam. Pluribus auctoribus magis adducor ut credam decem haud minus post annos ea acta, hoc autem anno in Albano agro cum Gallis dictatore M. Furio signa conlata. Nec dubia nec difficilis Romanis, quamquam ingentem Galli terrorem memoria pristinae cladis attulerant, victoria fuit. Multa milia barbarorum in acie, multa captis castris caesa; palati alii Apuliam maxime petentes cum fuga [se] longinqua tum quod passim eos simul pavor errorque distulerant, ab hoste sese tutati sunt. Dictatori consensu patrum plebisque triumphus decretus.

Vixdum perfunctum eum bello atrocior domi seditio excepit, et per ingentia certamina dictator senatusque victus, ut rogationes tribuniciae acciperentur; et comitia consulum adversa nobilitate habita, quibus L. Sextius de plebe primus consul factus. Et ne is quidem finis certaminum fuit. Quia patricii se auctores futuros negabant, prope secessionem plebis res terribilesque alias minas civilium certaminum venit cum tandem per dictatorem condicionibus sedatae discordiae sunt concessumque ab nobilitate plebi de consule plebeio, a plebe nobilitati de praetore uno qui ius in urbe diceret ex patribus creando. Ita ab diutina ira tandem in concordiam redactis ordinibus, cum dignam eam rem senatus censeret esse meritoque id, si quando unquam alias, deum immortalium [causa libenter facturos]

fore ut ludi maximi fierent et dies unus ad triduum adiceretur, recusantibus id munus aedilibus plebis, conclamatum a patriciis est iuvenibus se id honoris deum immortalium causa libenter facturos [ut aediles fierent]. Quibus cum ab universis gratiae actae essent, factum senatus consultum, ut, duumviros aediles ex patribus dictator populum rogaret, patres auctores omnibus eius anni comitiis fierent.

LIBER VII

[1] Annus hic erit insignis novi hominis consulatu, insignis novis duobus magistratibus, praetura et curuli aedilitate; hos sibi patricii quaesivere honores pro concessio plebi altero consulatu. Plebes consulatum L. Sextio, cuius lege partus erat, dedit: patres praeturam Sp. Furio M. Filio Camillo, aedilitatem Cn. Quinctio Capitolino et P. Cornelio Scipioni, suarum gentium viris, gratia campestri ceperunt. L. Sextio collega ex patribus datus L. Aemilius Mamercus. Principio anni et de Gallis, quos primo palatos per Apuliam congregari iam fama erat, et de Hernicorum defectione agitata mentio. Cum de industria omnia, ne quid per plebeium consulem ageretur, proferrentur, silentium omnium rerum ac iustitio simile otium fuit, nisi quod non patientibus tacitum tribunis quod pro consule uno plebeio tres patricos magistratus curulibus sellis praetextatos tamquam consules sedentes nobilitas sibi sumpsisset, praetorem quidem etiam iura reddentem et collegam consulibus atque iisdem auspiciis creatum, verecundia inde imposita est senatui ex patribus iubendi aediles curules creari. Primo ut alternis annis ex plebe fierent convenerat: postea promiscuum fuit.

Inde L. Genucio et Q. Servilio consulibus et ab seditione et a bello quietis rebus, ne quando a metu ac periculis vacarent, pestilentia ingens orta. Censorem, aedilem curulem, tres tribunos plebis mortuos ferunt, pro portione et ex multitudine alia multa funera fuisse; maximeque eam pestilentiam insignem mors quam matura tam acerba M. Furi fecit. Fuit enim vere vir unicus in omni fortuna, princeps pace belloque priusquam exsulatum iret, clarior in exilio, vel desiderio civitatis quae capta absentis imploravit opem vel felicitate qua restitutus in patriam secum patriam ipsam restituit; par deinde per quinque et viginti annos — tot enim postea vixit — titulo tantae gloriae fuit dignusque habitus quem secundum a Romulo conditorem urbis Romanae ferrent.

[2] Et hoc et insequenti anno C. Sulpicio Petico C. Licinio Stolone consulibus pestilentia fuit. Eo nihil dignum memoria actum, nisi quod pacis deum exposcendae causa tertio tum post conditam urbem lectisternium fuit. Et cum vis morbi nec humanis consiliis nec ope

diuina levaretur, victis superstitione animis ludi quoque scenici, nova res bellicoso populo — nam circi modo spectaculum fuerat — inter alia caelestis irae placamina instituti dicuntur; ceterum parva quoque, ut ferme principia omnia, et ea ipsa peregrina res fuit. Sine carmine ullo, sine imitandorum carminum actu ludiones ex Etruria acciti, ad tibicinis modos saltantes, haud indecoros motus more Tusco dabant. Imitari deinde eos iuventus, simul inconditis inter se iocularia fundentes versibus, coepere; nec absoni a voce motus erant. Accepta itaque res saepiusque usurpando excitata. Vernaculis artificibus, quia ister Tusco verbo ludio vocabatur, nomen histrionibus inditum; qui non, sicut ante, Fescennino versu similem incompositum temere ac rudem alternis iaciebant sed impletas modis saturas descripto iam ad tibicinem cantu motuque congruenti peragebant.

Liuius post aliquot annis, qui ab saturis ausus est primus argumento fabulam serere, idem scilicet — id quod omnes tum erant — suorum carminum actor, dicitur, cum saepius revocatus vocem obtudisset, venia petita puerum ad canendum ante tibicinem cum statuisset, canticum egisse aliquanto magis vigente motu quia nihil vocis usus impediabat. Inde ad manum cantari histrionibus coeptum diverbiaque tantum ipsorum voci relictas. Postquam lege hac fabularum ab risu ac soluto ioco res avocabatur et ludus in artem paulatim verterat, iuventus histrionibus fabellarum actu relicto ipsa inter se more antiquo ridicula intexta versibus iactitare coepit; unde exorta quae exodia postea appellata consertaque fabellis potissimum Atellanis sunt; quod genus ludorum ab Oscis acceptum tenuit iuventus nec ab histrionibus pollui passa est; eo institutum manet, ut actores Atellanarum nec tribu moveantur et stipendia, tamquam expertes artis ludicrae, faciant. Inter aliarum parva principia rerum ludorum quoque prima origo ponenda visa est, ut appareret quam ab sano initio res in hanc vix opulentis regnis tolerabilem insaniam venerit.

[3] Nec tamen ludorum primum initium procurandis religionibus datum aut religione animos aut corpora morbis levavit; quin etiam, cum medios forte ludos circus Tiberi superfuso inrigatus impedisset, id vero, velut aversis iam dis aspernantibusque placamina irae, terrorem ingentem fecit. Itaque Cn. Genucio L. Aemilio Mamercio iterum consulibus, cum piaculorum magis conquisitio animos quam

corpora morbi adficerent, repetitum ex seniorum memoria dicitur pestilentiam quondam clavo ab dictatore fixo sedatam. Ea religione adductus senatus dictatorem clavi figendi causa dici iussit; dictus L. Manlius Imperiosus L. Pinarium magistrum equitum dixit.

Lex vetusta est, priscis litteris verbisque scripta, ut qui praetor maximus sit idibus Septembribus clavum pangat; fixa fuit dextro lateri aedis Iovis optimi maximi, ex qua parte Minervae templum est. Eum clavum, quia rarae per ea tempora litterae erant, notam numeri annorum fuisse ferunt eoque Minervae templo dicatam legem quia numerus Minervae inventum sit. — Volsiniis quoque clavos indices numeri annorum fixos in templo Nortiae, Etruscae deae, comparere diligens talium monumentorum auctor Cincius adfirmat. — M. Horatius consul ea lege templum Iovis optimi maximi dedicavit anno post reges exactos; a consulibus postea ad dictatores, quia maius imperium erat, sollemne clavi figendi translatum est. Intermisso deinde more digna etiam per se visa res propter quam dictator crearetur. Qua de causa creatus L. Manlius, perinde ac rei gerendae ac non solvendae religionis gratia creatus esset, bellum Hernicum adfectans dilectu acerbo iuventutem agitavit; tandemque omnibus in eum tribunis plebis coortis seu vi seu verecundia victus dictatura abiit.

[4] Neque eo minus principio insequentis anni, Q. Servilio Ahala L. Genucio consulibus, dies Manlio dicitur a M. Pomponio tribuno plebis. Acerbitas in dilectu, non damno modo civium sed etiam laceratione corporum lata, partim virgis caesis qui ad nomina non respondissent, partim in vincula ductis, invisum erat, et ante omnia invisum ipsum ingenium atrox cognomenque Imperiosi, grave liberae civitati, ab ostentatione saevitiae adscitum quam non magis in alienis quam in proximis ac sanguine ipse suo exerceret. Criminique ei tribunus inter cetera dabat quod filium iuvenem nullius probri compertum, extorrem urbe, domo, penatibus, foro, luce, congressu aequalium prohibitum, in opus servile, prope in carcerem atque in ergastulum dederit, ubi summo loco natus dictatorius iuvenis cotidiana miseria disceret vere imperioso patre se natum esse. At quam ob noxam? Quia infacundior sit et lingua impromptus; quod naturae damnum utrum nutriendum patri, si quicquam in eo humani esset, an castigandum ac vexatione insigne faciendum fuisse? Ne

mutas quidem bestias minus alere ac fovere si quid ex progenie sua parum prosperum sit; at hercule L. Manlium malum malo augere filii et tarditatem ingenii insuper premere et, si quid in eo exiguum naturalis vigoris sit, id extinguere vita agresti et rustico cultu inter pecudes habendo.

[5] Omnium potius his criminationibus quam ipsius iuvenis inritatus est animus; quin contra se quoque parenti causam invidiae atque criminum esse aegre passus, ut omnes di hominesque scirent se parenti opem latam quam inimicis eius malle, capit consilium rudis quidem atque agrestis animi et quamquam non civilis exempli, tamen pietate laudabile. Inscientibus cunctis cultro succinctus mane in urbem atque a porta domum confestim ad M. Pomponium tribunum pergit; ianitori opus esse sibi domino eius convento extemplo ait; nuntiaret T. Manlium L. Filium esse. Mox introductus — etenim percitum ira in patrem spes erat aut criminis aliquid novi aut consilii ad rem agendam deferre — salute accepta redditaque esse ait quae cum eo agere arbitris remotis velit. Procul inde omnibus abire iussis cultrum stringit et super lectum stans ferro intento, nisi in quae ipse concepisset verba iuraret se patris eius accusandi causa concilium plebis nunquam habiturum, se eum extemplo transfixurum minatur. Pavidus tribunus, quippe qui ferrum ante oculos micare, se solum inermem, illum praevalidum iuvenem et, quod haud minus timendum erat, stolide ferocem viribus suis cerneret, adiurat in quae adactus est verba; et prae se deinde tulit ea vi subactum se incepto destitisse. Nec, perinde ut maluisset plebes sibi suffragii ferendi de tam crudeli et superbo reo potestatem fieri, ita aegre habuit filium id pro parente ausum; eoque id laudabilius erat quod animum eius tanta acerbitas patria nihil a pietate avertisset. Itaque non patri modo remissa causae dictio est sed ipsi etiam adulescenti ea res honori fuit et, cum eo anno primum placuisset tribunos militum ad legiones suffragio fieri — nam antea, sicut nunc quos Rufulos vocant, imperatores ipsi faciebant —, secundum in sex locis tenuit nullis domi militiaeque ad conciliandam gratiam meritis ut qui rure et procul coetu hominum iuventam egisset.

[6] Eodem anno, seu motu terrae seu qua vi alia, forum medium ferme specu vasto conlapsum in immensam altitudinem dicitur; neque eam voraginem coniectu terrae, cum pro se quisque gereret,

expleri potuisse, priusquam deum monitu quaeri coeptum quo plurimum populus Romanus posset; id enim illi loco dicandum vates canebant, si rem publicam Romanam perpetuam esse vellent. Tum M. Curtium, iuvenem bello egregium, castigasse ferunt dubitantes an ullum magis Romanum bonum quam arma virtusque esset, et silentio facto templa deorum immortalium, quae foro imminet, Capitoliumque intuentem et manus nunc in caelum, nunc in patentes terrae hiatus ad deos manes porrigentem, se devovisse; equo deinde quam poterat maxime exornato insidentem, armatum se in specum immisisse; donaque ac fruges super eum a multitudine virorum ac mulierum congestas lacumque Curtium non ab antiquo illo T. Tati milite Curtio Mettione sed ab hoc appellatum. Cura non deesset, si qua ad verum via inquirentem ferret: nunc fama rerum standum est, ubi certam derogat vetustas fidem; et lacus nomen ab hac recentiore insignitius fabula est.

Post tanti prodigii procurationem eodem anno de Hernicis consultus senatus, cum fetiales ad res repetendas nequiquam misisset, primo quoque die ferendum ad populum de bello indicendo Hernicis censuit populusque id bellum frequens iussit. L. Genucio consuli ea provincia sorte evenit. In exspectatione civitas erat, quod primus ille de plebe consul bellum suis auspiciis gesturus esset, perinde ut evenisset res, ita communicatos honores pro bene aut secus consulto habitura. Forte ita tulit casus, ut Genucius ad hostes magno conatu profectus in insidias praecipitaret et legionibus necopinato pavore fisis consul circumventus ab insciis quem interceptissent occideretur. Quod ubi est Romam nuntiatum, nequaquam tantum publica calamitate maesti patres, quantum feroces infelici consulis plebei ductu, fremunt omnibus locis: irent crearent consules ex plebe, transferrent auspicia quo nefas esset; potuisse patres plebi scito pelli honoribus suis: num etiam in deos immortales inauspicatam legem valuisse? Vindicasse ipsos suum numen, sua auspicia, quae ut primum contacta sint ab eo a quo nec ius nec fas fuerit, deletum cum duce exercitum documento fuisse ne deinde turbato gentium iure comitia haberentur. His vocibus curia et forum personat. Ap. Claudium, quia dissuaserat legem, maiore nunc auctoritate eventum reprehensi ab se consilii incusantem, dictatorem consensu patriciorum Servilius consul dicit, dilectusque et iustitium

indictum.

[7] Priusquam dictator legionesque novae in Hernicos venirent, ductu C. Sulpici legati res per occasionem gesta egregie est. In Hernicos morte consulis contemptim ad castra Romana cum haud dubia expugnandi spe succedentes, hortante legato et plenis irae atque indignitatis militum animis eruptio est facta. Multum ab spe adeundi valli res Hernicis afuit; adeo turbatis inde ordinibus abscessere. Dictatoris deinde adventu novus veteri exercitus iungitur et copiae duplicantur; et pro contione dictator laudibus legati militumque, quorum virtute castra defensa erant, simul audientibus laudes meritas tollit animos, simul ceteros ad aemulandas virtutes acuit. Neque segnius ad hostes bellum apparatus, qui et parti ante decoris memores neque ignari auctarum virium hostis suas quoque vires augent. Omne Hernicum nomen, omnis militaris aetas excitur; quadringenariae octo cohortes, lecta robora virorum, scribuntur. Hunc eximium florem iuventutis, eo etiam quod ut duplex acciperent stipendium decreverant, spei animorumque implevere; immunes quoque operum militarium erant, ut in unum pugnae laborem reservati plus sibi quam pro virili parte adnitendum scirent; extra ordinem etiam in acie locati quo conspectior virtus esset.

Duum milium planities castra Romana ab Hernicis dirimebat; ibi pari ferme utrimque spatio in medio pugnatum est. Primo stetit ambigua spe pugna nequiquam saepe conatis equitibus Romanis impetu turbare hostium aciem. Postquam equestris pugna effectum quam conatibus vanior erat, consulto prius dictatore equites, permissu deinde eius relictis equis, clamore ingenti provolant ante signa et novam integrant pugnam; neque sustineri poterant, nisi extraordinariae cohortes pari corporum animorumque robore se obiecissent.

[8] Tunc inter primores duorum populorum res geritur; quidquid hinc aut illinc communis Mars belli aufert, multiplex quam pro numero damnum est. Volgus aliud armatorum, velut delegata primoribus pugna, eventum suum in virtute aliena ponit. Multi utrimque cadunt, plures volnera accipiunt; tandem equites alius alium increpantes, quid deinde restaret quaerendo, si neque ex equis pepulissent hostem neque pedites quicquam momenti facerent? Quam tertiam exspectarent pugnam? Quid ante signa feroces

prosiluissent et alieno pugnarent loco? — his inter se vocibus concitati clamore renovato inferunt pedem et primum gradu moverunt hostem, deinde pepulerunt, postremo iam haud dubie avertunt; neque, tam vires pares quae superaverit res facile dictu est, nisi quod perpetua fortuna utriusque populi et extollere animos et minuere potuit. Usque ad castra fugientes Hernicos Romanus sequitur: castrorum oppugnatione, quia serum erat diei, abstinuere; — diu non perlitatum tenuerat dictatorem, ne ante meridiem signum dare posset; eo in noctem tractum erat certamen. — postero die deserta fuga castra Hernicorum et saucii relictis quidam inventi; agmenque fugientium ab Signinis, cum praeter moenia eorum infrequentia conspecta signa essent, fusum ac per agros trepida fuga palatum est. Nec Romanis incruenta victoria fuit: quarta pars militum amissa et, ubi haud minus iacturae fuit, aliquot equites Romani cecidere.

[9] Insequenti anno cum C. Sulpicius et C. Licinius Calvus consules in Hernicos exercitum duxissent neque inventis in agro hostibus Ferentinum urbem eorum vi cepissent, revertentibus inde eis Tiburtes portas clausere. Ea ultima fuit causa, cum multae ante querimoniae ultro citroque iactatae essent, cur per fetiales rebus repetitis bellum Tiburti populo indiceretur.

Dictatorem T. Quinctium Poenum eo anno fuisse satis constat et magistrum equitum Ser. Cornelium Maluginensem. Macer Licinius comitiorum habendorum causa et ab Licinio consule dictum scribit, quia collega comitia bello praeferre festinante ut continuaret consulatum, obviam eundum pravae cupiditati fuerit. Quaesita ea propriae familiae laus leviolem auctorem Licinium facit: cum mentionem eius rei in vetustioribus annalibus nullam inveniam, magis ut belli Gallici causa dictatorem creatum arbitrer inclinatus animus. Eo certe anno Galli ad tertium lapidem Salaria via trans pontem Anienis castra habuere.

Dictator cum tumultus Gallici causa iustitium edixisset, omnes iuniores sacramento adegit ingentique exercitu ab urbe profectus in citeriore ripa Anienis castra posuit. Pons in medio erat, neutris rumpentibus ne timoris indicium esset. Proelia de occupando ponte crebra erant, nec qui potirentur incertis viribus satis discerni poterat. Tum eximia corporis magnitudine in vacuum pontem Gallus

processit et quantum maxima voce potuit , “Quem nunc” inquit “Roma virum fortissimum habet, procedat agetum ad pugnam, ut noster duorum eventus ostendat utra gens bello sit melior.”

[10] Diu inter primores iuvenum Romanorum silentium fuit, cum et abnuere certamen vererentur et praecipuam sortem periculi petere nollent; tum T. Manlius L. Filius, qui patrem a vexatione tribunicia vindicaverat, ex statione ad dictatorem pergit. “Iniussu tuo” inquit, “imperator, extra ordinem nunquam pugnaverim, non si certam victoriam videam: si tu permittis, volo ego illi beluae ostendere, quando adeo ferox praesultat hostium signis, me ex ea familia ortum quae Gallorum agmen ex rupe Tarpeia deiecit.” Tum dictator “Macte virtute” inquit “ac pietate in patrem patriamque, T. Manli, esto. Perge et nomen Romanum invictum iuvantibus dis praesta.” Armant inde iuvenem aequales; pedestre scutum capit, Hispano cingitur gladio ad propiorem habili pugnam. Armatum adornatumque adversus Gallum stolidè laetum et — quoniam id quoque memoria dignum antiquis visum est — linguam etiam ab inrisu exserentem producent. Recipiunt inde se ad stationem; et duo in medio armati spectaculi magis more quam lege belli destituuntur, nequaquam visu ac specie aestimantibus pares. Corpus alteri magnitudine eximium, versicolori veste pictisque et auro caelatis refulgens armis; media in altero militaris statura modicaque in armis habilibus magis quam decoris species; non cantus, non exsultatio armorumque agitatio vana sed pectus animorum iraeque tacitae plenum; omnem ferociam in discrimen ipsum certaminis distulerat. Ubi constitere inter duas acies tot circa mortalium animis spe metuque pendentibus, Gallus velut moles superne imminens proiecto laeva scuto in advenientis arma hostis vanum caesim cum ingenti sonitu ensem deiecit; Romanus mucrone subrecto, cum scuto scutum imum perculisset totoque corpore interior periculo vulneris factus insinuasset se inter corpus armaque, uno alteroque subinde ictu ventrem atque inguina hausit et in spatium ingens ruentem porrexit hostem. Iacentis inde corpus ab omni alia vexatione intactum uno torque spoliavit, quem respersum cruore collo circumdedit suo. Defixerat pavor cum admiratione Gallos: Romani alacres ab statione obviam militi suo progressi, gratulantes laudantesque ad dictatorem perducunt. Inter carminum prope in modum incondita quaedam militariter ioculantes Torquati

cognomen auditum; celebratum deinde posteris etiam familiae honori fuit. Dictator coronam auream addidit donum mirisque pro contione eam pugnam laudibus tulit.

[11] Et hercule tanti ea ad universi belli eventum momenti dimicatio fuit, ut Gallorum exercitus proxima nocte relictis trepide castris in Tiburtem agrum atque inde societate belli facta commeatuque benigne ab Tiburtibus adiutus mox in Campaniam transierit. Ea fuit causa cur proximo anno C. Poetelius Balbus consul, cum collegae eius M. Fabio Ambusto Hernici provincia evenisset, adversus Tiburtes iussu populi exercitum duceret. Ad quorum auxilium cum Galli ex Campania redissent, foedae populationes in Labicano Tusculanoque et Albano agro haud dubie Tiburtibus ducibus sunt factae; et, cum adversus Tiburtem hostem duce consule contenta res publica esset, Gallicus tumultus dictatorem creari coegit. Creatus Q. Servilius Ahala T. Quinctium magistrum equitum dixit et ex auctoritate patrum, si prospere id bellum evenisset, ludos magnos vovit. Dictator ad continendos proprio bello Tiburtes consulari exercitu iusso manere, omnes iuniores nullo detractante militiam sacramento adegit. Pugnatum haud procul porta Collina est totius viribus urbis in conspectu parentum coniugumque ac liberorum; quae magna etiam absentibus hortamenta animi tum subiecta oculis simul verecundia misericordiaque militem accendebant. Magna utrimque edita caede avertitur tandem acies Gallorum. Fuga Tibur sicut arcem belli Gallici petunt; palati a consule Poetelio haud procul Tibure excepti, egressis ad opem ferendam Tiburtibus, simul cum iis intra portas compelluntur. Egregie cum ab dictatore tum ab consule res gesta est. Et consul alter Fabius proeliis primum parvis, postremo una insigni pugna, cum hostes totis adorti copiis essent, Hernicos devincit. Dictator consulibus in senatu et apud populum magnifice conlaudatis et suarum quoque rerum illis remisso honore dictatura se abdicavit. Poetelius de Gallis Tiburtibusque geminum triumphum egit: Fabio satis visum ut ovans urbem iniret.

Inridere Poeteli triumphum Tiburtes: ubi enim eum secum acie conflixisse? Spectatores paucos fugae trepidationisque Gallorum extra portas egressos, postquam in se quoque fieri impetum viderint et sine discrimine obvios caedi, recepissee se intra urbem; eam rem triumpho dignam visam Romanis. Ne nimis mirum magnumque

censerent tumultum exciere in hostium portis, maiorem ipsos trepidationem ante moenia sua visuros.

[12] Itaque insequenti anno M. Popilio Laenate Cn. Manlio consulibus primo silentio noctis ab Tibure agmine infesto profecti ad urbem Romam venerunt. Terrorem repente ex somno excitatis subita res et nocturnus pavor praebuit, ad hoc multorum inscitia, qui aut unde hostes advenissent; conclamatum tamen celeriter ad arma est et portae stationibus murique praesidiis firmati. Et ubi prima lux mediocrem multitudinem ante moenia neque alium quam Tiburtem hostem ostendit, duabus portis egressi consules utrimque aciem subeuntium iam muros adgrediuntur; apparuitque occasione magis quam virtute fretos venisse: adeo vix primum impetum Romanorum sustinuerunt. Quin etiam bono fuisse Romanis adventum eorum constabat orientemque iam seditionem inter patres et plebem metu tam propinqui belli compressam.

Alius adventus hostium fuit agris terribilior: populabundi Tarquinienses fines Romanos, maxime qua ex parte Etruriam adiacent, peragrare rebusque nequiquam repetitis novi consules C. Fabius et C. Plautius iussu populi bellum indixere; Fabioque ea provincia, Plautio Hernici evenere.

Gallici quoque belli fama increbrescebat. Sed inter multos terrores solacio fuit pax Latinis petentibus data et magna vis militum ab his ex foedere vetusto, quod multis intermiserant annis, accepta. Quo praesidio cum fulta res Romana esset, levius fuit quod Gallos mox Praeneste venisse atque inde circa Pedum consedissee auditum est. Dictatorem dici C. Sulpicium placuit; consul ad id accitus C. Plautius dixit; magister equitum dictatori additus M. Valerius. Hi robora militum ex duobus consularibus exercitibus electa adversus Gallos duxerunt.

Lentius id aliquanto bellum quam parti utrique placebat fuit. Cum primo Galli tantum avidi certaminis fuissent, deinde Romanus miles ruendo in arma ac dimicationem aliquantum Gallicam ferociam vinceret, dictatori nequiquam placebat, quando nulla cogeret res, fortunae se committere adversus hostem, quem tempus deteriore in dies faceret, locis alienis sine praeparato comaeatu, sine firmo munimento morantem, ad hoc iis corporibus animisque quorum omnis in impetu vis esset, parva eadem languesceret mora.

His consiliis dictator bellum trahebat gravemque edixerat poenam, si quis iniussu in hostem pugnasset. Milites aegre id patientes primo in stationibus vigiliisque inter se dictatorem sermonibus carpere, interdum patres communiter increpare quod non iussissent per consules geri bellum: electum esse eximium imperatorem, unicum ducem, qui nihil agenti sibi de caelo devolaturam in sinum victoriam censeat. Eadem deinde haec interdum propalam ac ferociora his iactare: se iniussu imperatoris aut dimicatuos aut agmine Romam ituros. Immiscerique militibus centuriones nec in circulis modo fremere sed iam in principiis ac praetorio in unum sermones confundi atque in contionis magnitudinem crescere turba et vociferari ex omnibus locis ut extemplo ad dictatorem iretur; verba pro exercitu faceret Sex. Tullius, ut virtute eius dignum esset.

[13] Septimum primum pilum iam Tullius ducebat neque erat in exercitu, qui quidem pedestria stipendia fecisset, vir factis nobilior. Is praecedens militum agmen ad tribunal pergit mirantique Sulpicio non turbam magis quam turbae principem Tullium, imperiis oboedientissimum militem, “Si licet, dictator” inquit, “condemnatum se universus exercitus a te ignaviae ratus et prope ignominiae causa destitutum sine armis oravit me ut suam causam apud te agerem. Equidem, sicubi loco cessum, si terga data hosti, si signa foede amissa obici nobis possent, tamen hoc a te impetrari aequum censerem ut nos virtute culpam nostram corrigere et abolere flagitii memoriam nova gloria patereris. Etiam ad Alliam fusae legiones eandem quam per pavorem amiserant patriam profectae postea a Veiis virtute recipravere. Nobis deum benignitate, felicitate tua populique Romani, et res et gloria est integra; quamquam de gloria vix dicere ausim, si nos et hostes haud secus quam feminas abditos intra vallum omnibus contumeliis eludunt, et tu imperator noster — quod aegrius patimur — exercitum tuum sine animis, sine armis, sine manibus iudicas esse et, priusquam expertus nos esses, de nobis ita desperasti ut te mancorum ac debilium ducem iudicares esse. Quid enim aliud esse causae credamus, cur veteranus dux, fortissimus bello, compressis, quod aiunt, manibus sedeas? Utcumque enim se habet res, te de nostra virtute dubitasse videri quam nos de tua verius est. Sin autem non tuum istuc sed publicum est consilium, et consensus aliqui patrum, non Gallicum bellum, nos ab urbe, a

penatibus nostris ablegatos tenet, quaeso, ut ea quae dicam non a militibus imperatori dicta censeas sed a plebe patribus — quae si, ut vos vestra habeatis consilia, sic se sua habituram dicat, quis tandem suscenseat? — milites nos esse non servos vestros, ad bellum non in exsilium missos; si quis det signum, in aciem educat, ut viris ac Romanis dignum sit, pugnatorios: si nihil armis opus sit, otium Romae potius quam in castris acturos. Haec dicta sint patribus. Te, imperator, milites tui oramus ut nobis pugnandi copiam facias; cum vincere cupimus, tum te duce vincere, tibi lauream insignem deferre, tecum triumphantes urbem inire, tuum sequentes currum Iovis optimi maximi templum gratantes ovantesque adire.” Orationem Tulli exceperunt preces multitudinis et undique, ut signum daret, ut capere arma iuberet, clamabant.

[14] Dictator quamquam rem bonam exemplo haud probabili actam censebat tamen facturum quod milites vellent, in se recepit Tulliumque secreto quaenam haec res sit aut quo acta more percontatur. Tullius magno opere a dictatore petere ne se oblitum disciplinae militaris, ne sui neve imperatoriae maiestatis crederet; multitudini concitatae, quae ferme auctoribus similis esset, non subtraxisse se ducem ne quis alius, quales mota creare multitudo soleret, existeret; nam se quidem nihil non arbitrio imperatoris acturum. Illi quoque tamen videndum magno opere esse ut exercitum in potestate haberet; differri non posse adeo concitados animos; ipsos sibi locum ac tempus pugnandi sumpturos, si ab imperatore non detur. Dum haec loquuntur, iumenta forte pascentia extra vallum Gallo abigenti duo milites Romani ademerunt. In eos saxa coniecta a Gallis; deinde ab Romana statione clamor ortus ac procursum utrimque est. Iamque haud procul iusto proelio res erat, ni celeriter diremptum certamen per centuriones esset; adfirmata certe eo casu Tulli apud dictatorem fides est; nec recipiente iam dilationem re, in posterum diem edicatur acie pugnatorios.

Dictator tamen, ut qui magis animis quam viribus fretus ad certamen descenderet, omnia circumspicere atque agitare coepit ut arte aliqua terrorem hostibus incuteret. Sollerti animo rem novam excogitat, qua deinde multi nostri atque externi imperatores, nostra quoque quidam aetate, usi sunt: mulis strata detrahi iubet binisque tantum centunculis relictis agasones partim captivis, partim aegrorum

armis ornatos imponit. His fere mille effectis centum admiscet equites et nocte super castra in montes evadere ac silvis se occultare iubet neque inde ante movere quam ab se acceperint signum. Ipse, ubi inluxit, in radicibus montium extendere aciem coepit sedulo, ut adversus montes consisteret hostis, instructo vani terroris apparatu, qui quidem terror plus paene veris viribus profuit. Primo credere duces Gallorum non descensuros in aequum Romanos; deinde, ubi degressos repente viderunt, et ipsi avidi certaminis in proelium ruunt priusque pugna coepit quam signum ab ducibus daretur.

[15] Acrius invasere Galli dextro cornu; neque sustineri potuissent, ni forte eo loco dictator fuisset, Sex. Tullium nomine increpans rogitansque sicine pugnatuuros milites spopondisset? Ubi illi clamores sint arma poscentium, ubi minae iniussu imperatoris proelium inituros? En ipsum imperatorem clara voce vocare ad proelium et ire armatum ante prima signa; ecquis sequeretur eorum qui modo ducturi fuerint, in castris feroces, in acie pavidi? Vera audiebant; itaque tantos pudor stimulos admovit, ut ruerent in hostium tela alienatis a memoria periculi animis. Hic primo impetus prope vecors turbavit hostes, eques deinde emissus turbatos avertit. Ipse dictator, post quam labantem una parte vidit aciem, signa in laevum cornu confert, quo turbam hostium congregari cernebat, et iis qui in monte erant signum quod convenerat dedit. Ubi inde quoque novus clamor ortus est et tendere obliquo monte ad castra Gallorum visi sunt, tum metu ne excluderentur omissa pugna est cursuque effuso ad castra ferebantur. Ubi cum occurrisset eis M. Valerius magister equitum, qui profligato dextro cornu obequitabat hostium munimentis, ad montes silvasque vertunt fugam plurimique ibi a fallaci equitum specie agasonibusque excepti sunt; et eorum, quos pavor pertulerat in silvas, atrox caedes post sedatum proelium fuit. Nec alius post M. Furium quam C. Sulpicius iustiore de Gallis egit triumphum. Auri quoque ex Gallicis spoliis satis magnum pondus saxo quadrato saeptum in Capitolio sacrauit.

Eodem anno et a consulibus vario eventu bellatum; nam Hernici a C. Plautio devicti subactique sunt, Fabius collega eius incaute atque inconsulte adversus Tarquinienses pugnavit. Nec in acie tantum ibi cladis acceptum quam quod trecentos septem milites Romanos captos Tarquinienses immolarunt; qua foeditate supplicii aliquanto

ignominia populi Romani insignitior fuit. Accessit ad eam cladem et vastatio Romani agri, quam Privernates, Veliterni deinde, incursione repentina fecerunt.

Eodem anno duae tribus, Pomptina et Publilia, additae; ludi votivi, quos M. Furius dictator voverat, facti; et de ambitu ab C. Poetelio tribuno plebis auctoribus patribus tum primum ad populum latum est; eaque rogatione novorum maxime hominum ambitionem, qui nundinas et conciliabula obire soliti erant, compressam credebant.

[16] Haud aequae laeta patribus insequenti anno C. Marcio Cn. Manlio consulibus de unciario fenore a M. Duillio L. Menenio tribunis plebis rogatio est perlata; et plebs aliquanto eam cupidius scivit. Ad bella nova priore anno destinata Falisci quoque hostes exorti duplici crimine quod et cum Tarquiniensibus iuventus eorum militaverat et eos qui Falerios perfugerant cum male pugnatum est, repetentibus fetialibus Romanis non reddiderant. Ea provincia Cn. Manlio obvenit. Marcius exercitum in agrum Privernatem, integrum pace longinqua, induxit militemque praeda implevit. Ad copiam rerum addidit munificentiam, quod nihil in publicum secernendo augenti rem privatam militi favit. Privernates cum ante moenia sua castris permunitis consedissent, vocatis ad contionem militibus “Castra nunc” inquit “vobis hostium urbemque praedae do, si mihi pollicemini vos fortiter in acie operam navaturos nec praedae magis quam pugnae paratos esse.” Signum poscunt ingenti clamore celsique et spe haud dubia feroces in proelium vadunt. Ibi ante signa Sex. Tullius, de quo ante dictum est, exclamat “Adspice, imperator” inquit, “quemadmodum exercitus tuus tibi promissa praestet”, piloque posito stricto gladio in hostem impetum facit. Sequuntur Tullium antesignani omnes primoque impetu avertere hostem; fusum inde ad oppidum persecuti, cum iam scalas moenibus admoverent, in deditionem urbem acceperunt. Triumphus de Privernatibus actus.

Ab altero consule nihil memorabile gestum, nisi quod legem novo exemplo ad Sutrium in castris tributum de vicensima eorum qui manumitterentur tulit. Patres, quia ea lege haud paruum vectigal inopi aerario additum esset, auctores fuerunt; ceterum tribuni plebis, non tam lege quam exemplo moti, ne quis postea populum sevocaret, capite sanxerunt: nihil enim non per milites iuratos in consulis verba,

quamvis perniciosum populo, si id liceret, ferri posse.

Eodem anno C. Licinius Stolo a M. Popilio Laenate sua lege decem milibus aeris est damnatus, quod mille iugerum agri cum filio possideret emancipandoque filium fraudem legi fecisset.

[17] Novi consules inde, M. Fabius Ambustus iterum et M. Popilius Laenas iterum, duo bella habuere, facile alterum cum Tiburtibus, quod Laenas gessit, qui hoste in urbem compulso agros vastavit; Falisci Tarquiniensesque alterum consulem prima pugna fuderunt. Inde terror maximus fuit quod sacerdotes eorum facibus ardentibus anguibusque praelatis incessu furiali militem Romanum insueta turbaverunt specie. Et tum quidem velut lymphati et attoniti munimentis suis trepido agmine inciderunt; deinde, ubi consul legatique ac tribuni puerorum ritu vana miracula paventes inridebant increpabantque, vertit animos repente pudor et in ea ipsa quae fugerant velut caeci ruebant. Discusso itaque vano apparatu hostium, cum in ipsos armatos se intulissent, averterunt totam aciem castrisque etiam eo die potiti praeda ingenti parta victores reverterunt, militaribus iocis cum apparatum hostium tum suum increpantes pavorem. Concitatur deinde omne nomen Etruscum et Tarquiniensibus Faliscisque ducibus ad Salinas perveniunt. Aduersus eum terrorem dictator C. Marcius Rutulus primus de plebe dictus magistrum equitum item de plebe C. Plautium dixit. Id vero patribus indignum videri etiam dictaturam iam in promiscuo esse; omnique ope impediabant ne quid dictatori ad id bellum decerneretur parareturue. Eo promptius cuncta ferente dictatore populus iussit. Profectus ab urbe utraque parte Tiberis, ratibus exercitu, quocumque fama hostium ducebat, traiecto multos populatores agrorum vagos palantes oppressit; castra quoque necopinato adgressus cepit et octo milibus hostium captis, ceteris aut caesis aut ex agro Romano fugatis sine auctoritate patrum populi iussu triumphavit.

Quia nec per dictatorem plebeium nec per consulem comitia consularia haberi volebant et alter consul Fabius bello retinebatur, res ad interregnum redit. Interreges deinceps Q. Servilius Ahala M. Fabius Cn. Manlius C. Fabius C. Sulpicius L. Aemilius Q. Servilius M. Fabius Ambustus. In secundo interregno orta contentio est, quod duo patricii consules creabantur, intercedentibusque tribunis interrex Fabius aiebat in duodecim tabulis legem esse ut, quodcumque

postremum populus iussisset, id ius ratumque esset; iussum populi et suffragia esse. Cum intercedendo tribuni nihil aliud quam ut differrent comitia valuissent, duo patricii consules creati sunt, C. Sulpicius Peticus tertium M. Valerius Publicola eodemque die magistratum inierunt,

[18] Quadringentesimo anno quam urbs Romana condita erat, quinto tricesimo quam a Gallis recuperata, ablato post undecimum annum a plebe consulatu [patricii consules ambo ex interregno magistratum iniere, C. Sulpicius Peticus tertium M. Valerius Publicola]. Empulum eo anno ex Tiburtibus haud memorando certamine captum, sive duorum consulum auspicio bellum ibi gestum est, ut scripsere quidam, seu per idem tempus Tarquiniensium quoque sunt vastati agri ab Sulpicio consule, quo Valerius adversus Tiburtes legiones duxit.

Domi maius certamen consulibus cum plebe ac tribunis erat. Fidei iam suae non solum virtutis ducebant esse, ut acceperant duo patricii consulatum, ita ambobus patriciis mandare: quin aut toto cedendum esse ut plebeius iam magistratus consulatus fiat, aut totum possidendum quam possessionem integram a patribus acceperant. Plebes contra fremit: quid se vivere, quid in parte civium censi, si, quod duorum hominum virtute, L. Sexti ac C. Licini, partum sit, id obtinere universi non possint? Vel reges vel decemviros vel si quod tristius sit imperii nomen patiendum esse potius quam ambos patricos consules videant nec in vicem pareatur atque imperetur sed pars altera in aeterno imperio locata plebem nusquam alio natam quam ad serviendum putet. Non desunt tribuni auctores turbarum, sed inter concitatos per se omnes vix duces eminent. Aliquotiens frustra in campum descensum cum esset multique per seditiones acti comitiales dies, postremo vicit perseverantia consulum: plebis eo dolor erupit, ut tribunos actum esse de libertate vociferantes relinquendumque non campum iam solum sed etiam urbem captam atque oppressam regno patriciorum maesta sequeretur. Consules relictis a parte populi per infrequentiam comitia nihilo segnius perficiunt. Creati consules ambo patricii, M. Fabius Ambustus tertium T. Quinctius. In quibusdam annalibus pro T. Quinctio M. Popilium consulem invenio.

[19] Duo bella eo anno prospere gesta: cum Tarquiniensibus

Tiburtibusque ad deditionem pugnatum. Sassula ex his urbs capta; ceteraque oppida eandem fortunam habuissent, ni universa gens positis armis in fidem consulis venisset. Triumphatum de Tiburtibus; alioquin mitis victoria fuit. In Tarquinienses acerbe saevitum; multis mortalibus in acie caesis ex ingenti captivorum numero trecenti quinquaginta octo delecti, nobilissimus quisque, qui Romam mitterentur; volgus aliud trucidatum. Nec populus in eos qui missi Romam erant mitior fuit: medio in foro omnes virgis caesi ac securi percussi. Id pro immolatis in foro Tarquiniensium Romanis poenae hostibus redditum. Res bello bene gestae ut Samnites quoque amicitiam peterent effecerunt. Legatis eorum comiter ab senatu responsum; foedere in societatem accepti.

Non eadem domi quae militiae fortuna erat plebi Romanae. Nam etsi unciario fenore facto levata usura erat, sorte ipsa obruebantur inopes nexumque inibant; eo nec patricios ambo consules neque comitiorum curam publicaue studia prae privatis incommodis plebs ad animum admittebat. Consulatus uterque apud patricios manet; consules creati C. Sulpicius Peticus quartum M. Valerius Publicola iterum.

In bellum Etruscum intentam civitatem, quia Caeritem populum misericordia consanguinitatis Tarquiniensibus adiunctum fama ferebat, legati Latini ad Volscos convertere, nuntiantes exercitum conscriptum armatumque iam suis finibus imminere; inde populabundos in agrum Romanum venturos esse. Censuit igitur senatus neutram neglegendam rem esse; utroque legiones scribi consulesque sortiri provincias iussit. Inclinauit deinde pars maior curae in Etruscum bellum, postquam litteris Sulpici consulis, cui Tarquini provincia evenerat, cognitum est depopulatum agrum circa Romanas salinas praedaeque partem in Caeritum fines avectam et haud dubie iuventutem eius populi inter praedatores fuisse. Itaque Valerium consulem, Volscis oppositum castraque ad finem Tusculanum habentem, revocatum inde senatus dictatorem dicere iussit. T. Manlium L. filium dixit. Is cum sibi magistrum equitum A. Cornelium Cossum dixisset, consulari exercitu contentus ex auctoritate patrum ac populi iussu Caeritibus bellum indixit.

[20] Tum primum Caerites, tamquam in verbis hostium vis maior ad bellum significandum quam in suis factis, qui per populationem

Romanos lacesierant, esset, verus belli terror invasit, et quam non suarum virium ea dimicatio esset cernebant; paenitebatque populationis et Tarquinienses exsecrabantur defectionis auctores; nec arma aut bellum quisquam apparare sed pro se quisque legatos mitti iubebat ad petendam erroris veniam. Legati senatum cum adissent, ab senatu reiecti ad populum deos rogaverunt, quorum sacra bello Gallico accepta rite procurassent, ut Romanos florentes ea sui misericordia caperet quae se rebus adfectis quondam populi Romani cepisset; conversique ad delubra Vestae hospitium flaminum Vestaliumque ab se caste ac religiose cultum invocabant: eane meritos crederet quisquam hostes repente sine causa factos? Aut, si quid hostiliter fecissent, consilio id magis quam furore lapsos fecisse, ut sua vetera beneficia, locata praesertim apud tam gratos, novis corrumpere maleficiis florentemque populum Romanum ac felicissimum bello sibi desumerent hostem, cuius adflicti amicitiam cepissent? Ne appellarent consilium, quae vis ac necessitas appellanda esset. Transeuntes agmine infesto per agrum suum Tarquinienses, cum praeter viam nihil petissent, traxisse quosdam agrestium populationis eius, quae sibi crimini detur, comites. Eos seu dedi placeat, dedere se paratos esse, seu supplicio adfici, daturos poenas. Caere, sacrarium populi Romani, deversorium sacerdotum ac receptaculum Romanorum sacrorum, intactum inviolatumque crimine belli hospitio Vestalium cultisque dis darent. Movit populum non tam causa praesens quam vetus meritum, ut maleficii quam beneficii potius immemores essent. Itaque pax populo Caeriti data indutiasque in centum annos factas in senatus consultum referri placuit. In Faliscos eodem noxios crimine vis belli conversa est; sed hostes nusquam inventi. Cum populatione peragrati fines essent, ab oppugnatione urbium temperatum; legionibusque Romam reductis reliquum anni muris turribusque reficiendis consumptum et aedis Apollinis dedicata est.

[21] Extremo anno comitia consularia certamen patrum ac plebis diremit, tribunis negantibus passuros comitia haberi nisi secundum Liciniam legem haberentur, dictatore obstinato tollere potius totum e re publica consulatum quam promiscuum patribus ac plebi facere. Prolatandis igitur comitiis cum dictator magistratu abisset, res ad interregnum rediit. Infestam inde patribus plebem interreges cum

accepissent, ad undecimum interregem seditionibus certatum est. Legis Liciniae patrociniū tribuni iactabant: propior dolor plebi fenoris ingravescentis erat curaeque privatae in certaminibus publicis erumpebant. Quorum taedio patres L. Cornelium Scipionem interregem concordiae causa observare legem Liciniam comitiis consularibus iussere. P. Valerio Publicolae datus e plebe collega C. Marcius Rutulus. Inclinatorum semel in concordiam animis novi consules fenebrem quoque rem, quae distingere una animos videbatur, levare adgressi solutionem alieni aeris in publicam curam verterunt quinqueviris creatis quos mensarios ab dispensatione pecuniae appellarunt. Meriti aequitate curaque sunt, ut per omnium annalium monumenta celebres nominibus essent; fuere autem C. Duillius P. Decius Mus M. Papirius Q. Publilius et T. Aemilius. Qui rem difficillimam tractatu et plerumque parti utrique, semper certe alteri gravem cum alia moderatione tum impendio magis publico quam iactura sustinuerunt. Tarda enim nomina et impeditiora inertia debitorum quam facultatibus aut aerarium mensis cum aere in foro positis dissolvit, ut populo prius caveretur, aut aestimatio aequis rerum pretiis liberavit, ut non modo sine iniuria sed etiam sine querimoniis partis utriusque exhausta vis ingens aeris alieni sit.

Terror inde vanus belli Etrusci, cum coniurasse duodecim populos fama esset, dictatorem dici coegit. Dictus in castris — eo enim ad consules missum senatus consultum est — C. Iulius, cui magister equitum adiectus L. Aemilius. Ceterum foris tranquilla omnia fuere:

[22] Temptatum domi per dictatorem, ut ambo patricii consules crearentur, rem ad interregnum perduxit. Duo interreges, C. Sulpicius et M. Fabius, interpositi obtinere quod dictator frustra tetenderat, mitiore iam plebe ob recens meritum levati aeris alieni, ut ambo patricii consules crearentur. Creati ipse C. Sulpicius Peticus, qui prior interregno abiit, et T. Quinctius Poenus; quidam Caesonem, alii Gaium praenomen Quinctio adiciunt, ad bellum ambo profecti, Faliscum Quinctius, Sulpicius Tarquiniense, nusquam acie congresso hoste cum agris magis quam cum hominibus urendo populandoque gesserunt bella; cuius lentae velut tabis senio victa utriusque pertinacia populi est, ut primum a consulibus, dein permissu eorum ab senatu indutias peterent. In quadraginta annos impetraverunt.

Ita posita duorum bellorum quae imminebant cura, dum aliqua ab

armis quies esset, quia solutio aeris alieni multarum rerum mutaverat dominos, censum agi placuit. Ceterum cum censoribus creandis indicta comitia essent, professus censuram se petere C. Marcius Rutulus, qui primus dictator de plebe fuerat, concordiam ordinum turbavit; quod videbatur quidem tempore alieno fecisse, quia ambo tum forte patricii consules erant, qui rationem eius se habituros negabant; sed et ipse constantia inceptum obtinuit et tribuni omni vi recipaturi ius consularibus comitiis amissum adiuverunt, et cum ipsius viri maiestas nullius honoris fastigium non aequabat, tum per eundem, qui ad dictaturam aperuisset viam, censuram quoque in partem vocari plebes volebat. Nec variatum comitiis est, quin cum Manlio [Naevio censor] Marcius crearetur.

Dictatorem quoque hic annus habuit M. Fabium, nullo terrore belli sed ne Licinia lex comitiis consularibus observaretur. Magister equitum dictatori additus Q. Servilius. Nec tamen dictatura potentior eum consensum patrum consularibus comitiis fecit quam censoriis fuerat.

[23] M. Popilius Laenas a plebe consul, a patribus L. Cornelius Scipio datus.

Fortuna quoque inlustriorem plebeium consulem fecit; nam cum ingentem Gallorum exercitum in agro Latino castra posuisse nuntiatum esset, Scipione gravi morbo implicito Gallicum bellum Popilio extra ordinem datum. Is impigre exercitu scripto, cum omnes extra portam Capenam ad Martis aedem convenire armatos iuniores iussisset signaque eodem quaestores ex aerario deferre, quattuor expletis legionibus, quod superfuit militum P. Valerio Publicolae praetori tradidit, auctor patribus scribendi alterius exercitus, quod ad incertos belli eventus subsidium rei publicae esset. Ipse iam satis omnibus instructis comparatisque ad hostem pergit; cuius ut prius nosceret vires quam periculo ultimo temptaret, in tumulo, quem proximum castris Gallorum capere potuit, vallum ducere coepit. Gens ferox et ingenii avidi ad pugnam cum procul visis Romanorum signis ut extemplo proelium initura explicuisset aciem, postquam neque in aequum demitti agmen vidit et cum loci altitudine tum vallo etiam tegi Romanos, percussos pavore rata, simul opportuniore quod intenti tum maxime operi essent, truci clamore adgreditur. Ab Romanis nec opus intermissum — triarii erant, qui muniebant — et

ab hastatis principibusque, qui pro munitioribus intenti armatique steterunt, proelium initum. Praeter virtutem locus quoque superior adiuvit, ut pila omnia hastaeque non tamquam ex aequo missa vana, quod plerumque fit, caderent sed omnia librata ponderibus figerentur; oneratique telis Galli, quibus aut corpora transfixa aut praegravata inhaerentibus gerebant scuta, cum cursu paene in adversum subissent, primo incerti restitere; dein, cum ipsa cunctatio et his animos minuisset et auxisset hosti, impulsus retro ruere alii super alios stragemque inter se caede ipsa foediorum dare; adeo praecipiti turba obtriti plures quam ferro necati.

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[24] Necdum certa Romanis victoria erat; alia in campum degressis supererat moles. Namque multitudo Gallorum, sensum omnem talis damni exsuperans, velut nova rursus exoriente acie integrum militem adversus victorem hostem ciebat; stetitque suppresso impetu Romanus, et quia iterum fessis subeunda dimicatio erat et quod consul, dum inter primores incautus agitatur, laevo umero matari prope traiecto cesserat parumper ex acie. Iamque ommissa cunctando victoria erat, cum consul vulnere alligato reuectus ad prima signa “quid stas, miles?” inquit; “non cum Latino Sabinoque hoste res est, quem victum armis socium ex hoste facias; in beluas strinximus ferrum; hauriendus aut dandus est sanguis. Propulstis a castris, supina valle praecipites egistis, stratis corporibus hostium superstitis; complete eadem strage campos qua montes replestis. Nolite exspectare dum stantes vos fugiant; inferenda sunt signa et vadendum in hostem.” His adhortationibus iterum coorti pellunt loco primos manipulos Gallorum; cuneis deinde in medium agmen perrumpunt. Inde barbari dissipati, quibus nec certa imperia nec duces essent, vertunt impetum in suos; fusique per campos et praeter castra etiam sua fuga praelati, quod editissimum inter aequales tumulos occurrebat oculis, arcem Albanam petunt. Consul non ultra castra insecutus, quia et vulnus degravabat et subicere exercitum tumulis ab hoste occupatis nolebat, praeda omni castrorum militi data victorem exercitum opulentumque Gallicis spoliis Romam reduxit. Moram triumpho vulnus consulis attulit eademque causa dictatoris desiderium senatui fecit, ut esset qui aegris consulibus comitia haberet. Dictator L. Furius Camillus dictus addito magistro equitum P. Cornelio Scipione reddidit patribus

possessionem pristinam consulatus. Ipse ob id meritum ingenti patrum studio creatus consul collegam Ap. Claudium Crassum dixit.

[25] Prius quam inirent novi consules magistratum, triumphus a Popilio de Gallis actus magno fauore plebis; mussantesque inter se rogitabant num quem plebei consulis paeniteret; simul dictatorem increpabant, qui legis Liciniae spretae mercedem privata cupiditate quam publica iniuria foediorum cepisset, ut se ipse consulem dictator crearet.

Annus multis variisque motibus fuit insignis: Galli ex Albanis montibus, quia hiemis vim pati nequieverant, per campos maritimaque loca vagi populabantur; mare infestum classibus Graecorum erat oraque litoris Antiatis Laurensque tractus et Tiberis ostia, ut praedones maritimi cum terrestribus congressi ancipiti semel proelio decertarint dubiique discesserint in castra Galli, Graeci retro ad naues, victos se an victores putarent. Inter hos longe maximus exstitit terror concilia populorum Latinorum ad lucum Ferentinae habita responsumque haud ambiguum imperantibus milites Romanis datum, absisterent imperare iis quorum auxilio egerent: Latinos pro sua libertate potius quam pro alieno imperio laturos arma. Inter duo simul bella externa defectione etiam sociorum senatus anxius, cum cerneret metu tenendos quos fides non tenuisset, extendere omnes imperii vires consules dilectu habendo iussit: civili quippe standum exercitu esse, quando socialis [coetus] desereret. Vndique non urbana tantum sed etiam agresti iuventute decem legiones scriptae dicuntur quaternum milium et ducenorum peditum equitumque trecenorum, quem nunc novum exercitum, si qua externa vis ingruat, hae vires populi Romani, quas vix terrarum capit orbis, contractae in unum haud facile efficiant; adeo in quae laboramus sola crevimus, diuitias luxuriamque.

Inter cetera tristitia eius anni consul alter Ap. Claudius in ipso belli apparatu moritur; redieratque res ad Camillum, cui unico consuli, vel ob aliam dignationem haud subiciendam dictaturae vel ob omen faustum ad Gallicum tumultum cognominis, dictatorem adrogari haud satis decorum visum est patribus. Consul duabus legionibus urbi praepositis, octo cum L. Pinario praetore diuisis memor paternae virtutis Gallicum sibi bellum extra sortem sumit, praetorem maritimam oram tutari Graecosque arcere litoribus iussit. Et cum in

agrum Pomptinum descendisset, quia neque in campis congregi nulla cogente re volebat et prohibendo populationibus quos raptō vivere necessitas cogeret satis domari credebat hostem, locum idoneum statuis delegit.

[26] Ubi cum stationibus quieti tempus tererent, Gallus processit magnitudine atque armis insignis; quatiensque scutum hasta cum silentium fecisset, provocat per interpretem unum ex Romanis qui secum ferro decernat. M. erat Valerius tribunus militum adulescens, qui haud indigniorem eo decore se quam T. Manlium ratus, prius sciscitatus consulis voluntatem, in medium armatus processit. Minus insigne certamen humanum numine interposito deorum factum; namque conserenti iam manum Romano coruus repente in galea consedit, in hostem versus. Quod primo ut augurium caelo missum laetus accepit tribunus, precatus deinde, si diuus, si diua esset qui sibi praepetem misisset, volens propitius adesset. Dictu mirabile, tenuit non solum ales captam semel sedem sed, quotienscumque certamen initum est, levans se alis os oculosque hostis rostro et unguibus appetit, donec territum prodigii talis visu oculisque simul ac mente turbatum Valerius obtruncat; coruus ex conspectu elatus orientem petit. Hactenus quietae utrimque stationes fuere; postquam spoliare corpus caesi hostis tribunus coepit, nec Galli se statione tenuerunt et Romanorum cursus ad victorem etiam ocior fuit. Ibi circa iacentis Galli corpus contracto certamine pugna atrox concitatur. Iam non manipulis proximarum stationum sed legionibus utrimque effusis res geritur. Camillus laetum militem victoria tribuni, laetum tam praesentibus ac secundis dis ire in proelium iubet; ostentansque insignem spoliis tribunum, “hunc imitare, miles” aiebat, “et circa iacentem ducem sterne Gallorum cateruas.” Di hominesque illi adfuere pugnae depugnatumque haudquaquam certamine ambiguo cum Gallis est; adeo duorum militum eventum, inter quos pugnatum erat, utraque acies animis praeceperat. Inter primos, quorum concursus alios exciuerat, atrox proelium fuit: alia multitudo, priusquam ad coniectum teli veniret, terga vertit. Primo per Volscos Falernumque agrum dissipati sunt; inde Apuliam ac mare inferum petierunt.

Consul contione advocata laudatum tribunum decem bubus aureaque corona donat; ipse iussus ab senatu bellum maritimum

curare cum praetore iunxit castra. Ibi quia res trahi segnitia Graecorum non committentium se in aciem videbantur, dictatorem comitiorum causa T. Manlium Torquatum ex auctoritate senatus dixit. Dictator magistro equitum A. Cornelio Cosso dicto comitia consularia habuit aemulumque decoris sui absentem M. Valerium Coruum — id enim illi deinde cognominis fuit — summo fauore populi, tres et viginti natum annos, consulem renuntiavit. Collega Coruo de plebe M. Popilius Laenas, quartum consul futurus, datus est. Cum Graecis a Camillo nulla memorabilis gesta res; nec illi terra nec Romanus mari bellator erat. Postremo cum litoribus arcerentur, aqua etiam praeter cetera necessaria usui deficiente Italiam reliquere. Cuius populi ea cuiusque gentis classis fuerit nihil certi est. Maxime Siciliae fuisse tyrannos crediderim; nam ulterior Graecia ea tempestate intestino fessa bello iam Macedonum opes horrebat.

[27] Exercitibus dimissis, cum et foris pax et domi concordia ordinum otium esset, ne nimis laetae res essent, pestilentia civitatem adorta coegit senatum imperare decemviris ut libros Sibyllinos inspicerent; eorumque monitu lectisternium fuit. Eodem anno Satricum ab Antiatibus colonia deducta restitutaque urbs quam Latini diruerant. Et cum Carthaginensibus legatis Romae foedus ictum, cum amicitiam ac societatem petentes venissent.

Idem otium domi forisque mansit T. Manlio Torquato [L.f.] C. Plautio consulibus. Semunciarium tantum ex uncario fenus factum et in pensiones aequas triennii, ita ut quarta praesens esset, solutio aeris alieni dispensata est; et sic quoque parte plebis adfecta fides tamen publica privatis difficultatibus potior ad curam senatui fuit. Leuatae maxime res, quia tributo ac dilectu supersessum.

Tertio anno post Satricum restitutum a Volscis M. Valerius Coruus iterum consul cum C. Poetelio factus, cum ex Latio nuntiatum esset legatos ab Antio circumire populos Latinorum ad concitandum bellum, prius quam plus hostium fieret Volscis arma inferre iussus, ad Satricum exercitu infesto pergit. Quo cum Antiates aliique Volsci praeparatis iam ante, si quid ab Roma moveretur, copiis occurrissent, nulla mora inter infensos diutino odio dimicandi facta est. Volsci, ferocior ad rebellandum quam ad bellandum gens, certamine victi fuga effusa Satrici moenia petunt; et ne in muris quidem satis firma spe, cum corona militum cincta iam scalis

caperetur urbs, ad quattuor milia militum praeter multitudinem imbellem sese dedidere. Oppidum dirutum atque incensum: ab aede tantum Matris Matutae abstinuere ignem: praeda omnis militi data. Extra praedam quattuor milia debitorum habita; eos vinctos consul ante currum triumphans egit; venditis deinde magnam pecuniam in aerarium redegit. Sunt qui hanc multitudinem captivam servorum fuisse scribant, idque magis veri simile est quam deditos venisse.

[28] Hos consules secuti sunt M. Fabius Dorsuo Ser. Sulpicius Camerinus. Auruncum inde bellum ab repentina populatione coeptum; metuque ne id factum populi unius consilium omnis nominis Latini esset, dictator — uelut adversus armatum iam Latium — L. Furius creatus magistrum equitum Cn. Manlium Capitolinum dixit; et cum — quod per magnos tumultus fieri solitum erat — iustitio indicto dilectus sine vacationibus habitus esset, legiones quantum maturari potuit in Auruncos ductae. Ibi praedonum magis quam hostium animi inventi; prima itaque acie debellatum est. Dictator tamen, quia et ultro bellum intulerant et sine detractatione se certamini offerebant, deorum quoque opes adhibendas ratus inter ipsam dimicationem aedem Iunoni Monetae vovit; cuius damnatus uoti cum victor Romam revertisset, dictatura se abdicavit. Senatus duumviros ad eam aedem pro amplitudine populi Romani faciendam creari iussit; locus in arce destinatus, quae area aedium M. Manli Capitolini fuerat. Consules dictatoris exercitu ad bellum Volscum usi Soram ex hostibus, incautos adorti, ceperunt.

Anno postquam uota erat aedes Monetae dedicatur C. Marcio Rutulo tertium T. Manlio Torquato iterum consulibus. Prodigium extemplo dedicationem secutum, simile vetusto montis Albani prodigio; namque et lapidibus pluit et nox interdiu visa intendi; librisque inspectis cum plena religione civitas esset, senatui placuit dictatorem feriarum constituendarum causa dici. Dictus P. Valerius Publicola; magister equitum ei Q. Fabius Ambustus datus est. Non tribus tantum supplicatum ire placuit sed finitimos etiam populos, ordoque iis, quo quisque die supplicarent, statutus. Iudicia eo anno populi tristitia in feneratores facta, quibus ab aedilibus dicta dies esset, traduntur; et res haud ulla insigni ad memoriam causa ad interregnum redit. Ex interregno, ut id actum videri posset, ambo patricii consules creati sunt, M. Valerius Corvus tertium A. Cornelius Cossus.

[29] Maiora iam hinc bella et viribus hostium et vel longinquitate regionum vel temporum spatio quibus bellatum est dicentur. Namque eo anno adversus Samnites, gentem opibus armisque validam, mota arma; Samnitium bellum ancipiti Marte gestum Pyrrhus hostis, Pyrrhum Poeni secuti. Quanta rerum moles. Quotiens in extrema periculorum ventum, ut in hanc magnitudinem quae vix sustinetur erigi imperium posset. Belli autem causa cum Samnitibus Romanis, cum societate amicitiaque iuncti essent, extrinsecus venit, non orta inter ipsos est. Samnites Sidicinis iniusta arma, quia viribus plus poterant, cum intulissent, coacti inopes ad opulentiorum auxilium confugere Campanis sese coniungunt. Campani magis nomen ad praesidium sociorum quam vires cum attulissent, fluentes luxu ab duratis usu armorum in Sidicino pulsi agro in se deinde molem omnem belli verterunt. Namque Samnites, omissis Sidicinis ipsam arcem finitimorum [Campanos] adorti, unde aequae facilis victoria, praedae atque gloriae plus esset, Tifata, imminentes Capuae colles, cum praesidio firmo occupassent, descendunt inde quadrato agmine in planitiem quae Capuam Tifataque interiacet. Ibi rursus acie dimicatum; adversoque proelio Campani intra moenia compulsi, cum robore iuventutis suae acciso nulla propinqua spes esset, coacti sunt ab Romanis petere auxilium.

[30] Legati introducti in senatum maxime in hanc sententiam locuti sunt. “Populus nos Campanus legatos ad uos, patres conscripti, misit amicitiam in perpetuum, auxilium in praesens a vobis petitum. Quam si secundis rebus nostris petissemus, sicut coepta celerius, ita infirmiore vinculo contracta esset; tunc enim, ut qui ex aequo nos venisse in amicitiam meminissemus, amici forsitan pariter ac nunc, subiecti atque obnoxii vobis minus essemus; nunc, misericordia vestra conciliati auxilioque in dubiis rebus defensi, beneficium quoque acceptum colamus oportet, ne ingrati atque omni ope diuina humanaque indigni videamur. Neque hercule, quod Samnites priores amici sociique vobis facti sunt, ad id valere arbitror ne nos in amicitiam accipiamur sed ut ii vetustate et gradu honoris nos praestent; neque enim foedere Samnitium, ne qua nova iungeretis foedera, cautum est.

“Fuit quidem apud vos semper satis iusta causa amicitiae, velle eum vobis amicum esse qui vos appeteret: Campani, etsi fortuna

praesens magnifice loqui prohibet, non urbis amplitudine, non agri ubertate ulli populo praeterquam vobis cedentes, haud parva, ut arbitror, accessio bonis rebus vestris in amicitiam venimus vestram. Aequis Volscisque, aeternis hostibus huius urbis, quandocumque se moverint, ab tergo erimus, et quod vos pro salute nostra priores feceritis, id nos pro imperio vestro et gloria semper faciemus. Subactis his gentibus quae inter nos uosque sunt, quod propediem futurum spondet et virtus et fortuna vestra, continens imperium usque ad nos habebitis. Acerbum ac miserum est quod fateri nos fortuna nostra cogit: eo ventum est, patres conscripti, ut aut amicorum aut inimicorum Campani simus. Si defenditis, vestri, si deseritis, Samnitium erimus; Capuam ergo et Campaniam omnem vestris an Samnitium viribus accedere malitis, deliberate.

“Omnibus quidem, Romani, vestram misericordiam, vestrum auxilium aequum est patere, iis tamen maxime, qui ea implorantibus aliis auxilium dum supra vires suas praestant, [ante] omnes ipsi in hanc necessitatem venerunt. Quamquam pugnavimus verbo pro Sidicinis, re pro nobis, cum videremus finitimum populum nefario latrocinio Samnitium peti et, ubi conflagrassent Sidicini, ad nos traiecturum illud incendium esse. Nec enim nunc, quia dolent iniuriam acceptam Samnites sed quia gaudent oblatam sibi esse causam, oppugnatum nos veniunt. An, si ultio irae haec et non occasio cupiditatis explendae esset, parum fuit quod semel in Sidicino agro, iterum in Campania ipsa legiones nostras cedere? Quae est ista tam infesta ira quam per duas acies fusus sanguis explere non potuerit? Adde huc populationem agrorum, praedas hominum atque pecudum actas, incendia villarum ac ruinas, omnia ferro ignique vastata. Hiscine ira expleri non potuit? Sed cupiditas explenda est. Ea ad oppugnandam Capuam rapit; aut delere urbem pulcherrimam aut ipsi possidere volunt. Sed vos potius, Romani, beneficio vestro occupate eam quam illos habere per maleficio sinatis. Non loquor apud recusantem iusta bella populum; sed tamen, si ostenderitis auxilia vestra, ne bello quidem arbitror vobis opus fore. Usque ad nos contemptus Samnitium pervenit, supra non ascendit; itaque umbra vestri auxilii, Romani, tegi possumus, quidquid deinde habuerimus, quidquid ipsi fuerimus, vestrum id omne existimaturi. Vobis arabitur ager Campanus, vobis Capua urbs

frequentabitur; conditorum, parentium, deorum immortalium numero nobis eritis; nulla colonia vestra erit, quae nos obsequio erga vos fideque superet.

“Adnuite, patres conscripti, nutum numenque vestrum invictum Campanis et iubete sperare incolumem Capuam futuram. Qua frequentia omnium generum multitudinis prosequente creditis nos illinc profectos? Quam omnia uotorum lacrimarumque plena reliquisse? In qua nunc exspectatione senatum populumque Campanum, coniuges liberosque nostros esse? Stare omnem multitudinem ad portas viam hinc ferentem prospectantes certum habeo. Quid illis nos, patres conscripti, sollicitis ac pendentibus animi renuntiare iubetis? Alterum responsum salutem victoriam lucem ac libertatem; alterum — ominari horreo quae ferat. Proinde ut aut de vestris futuris sociis atque amicis aut nusquam ullis futuris nobis consulite.”

[31] Semmotis deinde legatis, cum consultus senatus esset, etsi magnae parti urbs maxima opulentissimaque Italiae, uberrimus ager marique propinquus ad varietates annonae horreum populi Romani fore videbatur, tamen tanta utilitate fides antiquior fuit responditque ita ex auctoritate senatus consul. “Auxilio uos, Campani, dignos censet senatus; sed ita vobiscum amicitiam institui par est, ne qua vetustior amicitia ac societas violetur. Samnites nobiscum foedere iuncti sunt; itaque arma, deos prius quam homines violatura, adversus Samnites vobis negamus; legatos, sicut fas iusque est, ad socios atque amicos precatum mittemus, ne qua vobis vis fiat.” Ad ea princeps legationis- sic enim domo mandatum attulerant— “quando quidem” inquit, “nostra tueri adversus vim atque iniuria iusta vi non voltis, vestra certe defendetis; itaque populum Campanum urbemque Capuam, agros, delubra deum, diuina humanaque omnia in vestram, patres conscripti, populique Romani dicionem dedimus, quidquid deinde patiemur dediticii vestri passuri”. Sub haec dicta omnes, manus ad consules tendentes, pleni lacrimarum in vestibulo curiae procubuerunt. Commoti patres vice fortunarum humanarum, si ille praepotens opibus populus, luxuria superbiaque clarus, a quo paulo ante auxilium finitimi petissent, adeo infractos gereret animos, ut se ipse suaque omnia potestatis alienae faceret. Tum iam fides agi visa deditos non prodi; nec facturum aequa Samnitium populum

censebant, si agrum urbemque per deditionem factam populi Romani oppugnarent. Legatos itaque extemplo mitti ad Samnites placuit. Data mandata, ut preces Campanorum, responsum senatus amicitiae Samnitium memor, deditionem postremo factam Samnitibus exponerent; peterent pro societate amicitiaeque, ut dediticiis suis parcerent neque in eum agrum qui populi Romani factus esset hostilia arma inferrent; si leniter agendo parum proficerent, denuntiarent Samnitibus populi Romani senatusque verbis, ut Capua urbe Campanoque agro abstinerent. Haec legatis agentibus in concilio Samnitium adeo est ferociter responsum, ut non solum gesturos se esse dicerent id bellum sed magistratus eorum e curia egressi stantibus legatis praefectos cohortium vocarent iisque clara voce imperarent ut praedatum in agrum Campanum extemplo proficiscerentur.

[32] Hac legatione Romam relata, positis omnium aliarum rerum curis patres fetialibus ad res repetendas missis, belloque, quia non redderentur, sollemni more indicto, decreverunt ut primo quoque tempore de ea re ad populum ferretur; iussuque populi consules ambo cum duobus exercitibus profecti, Valerius in Campaniam, Cornelius in Samnium, ille ad montem Gaurum, hic ad Saticulam castra ponunt. Priori Valerio Samnitium legiones — eo namque omnem belli molem inclinaturam censebant — occurrunt; simul in Campanos stimulabat ira tam promptos nunc ad ferenda, nunc ad accersenda adversus se auxilia. Ut vero castra Romana viderunt, ferociter pro se quisque signum duces poscere, adfirmare eadem fortuna Romanum Campano laturum opem qua Campanus Sidicino tulerit. Valerius levibus certaminibus temptandi hostis causa haud ita multos moratus dies signum pugnae proposuit, paucis suos adhortatus ne novum bellum eos novusque hostis terreret: quidquid ab urbe longius proferrent arma, magis magisque in imbelles gentes eos prodire. Ne Sidicinorum Campanorumque cladibus Samnitium aestimarent virtutem; qualescumque inter se certaverint, necesse fuisse alteram partem vinci. Campanos quidem haud dubie magis nimio luxu fluentibus rebus mollitiaque sua quam vi hostium victos esse. Quid autem esse duo prospera in tot saeculis bella Samnitium adversus tot decora populi Romani, qui triumphos paene plures quam annos ab urbe condita numeret; qui omnia circa se, Sabinos Etruriam

Latinos Hernicos Aequos Volscos Auruncos, domita armis habeat; qui Gallos tot proeliis caesos postremo in mare ac naues fuga compulerit? Cum gloria belli ac virtute sua quemque fretos ire in aciem debere, tum etiam intueri cuius ductu auspicioque ineunda pugna sit, utrum qui, audiendus dumtaxat, magnificus adhortator sit, verbis tantum ferox, operum militarium experts, an qui et ipse tela tractare, procedere ante signa, versari media in mole pugnae sciat. “Facta mea, non dicta uos, milites” inquit, “sequi volo, nec disciplinam modo sed exemplum etiam a me petere. Non factionibus [modo] nec per coitiones usitatas nobilibus sed hac dextra mihi tres consulatus summamque laudem peperit. Fuit cum hoc dici poterat: patricius enim eras et a liberatoribus patriae ortus, et eodem anno familia ista consulatum quo urbs haec consulem habuit: nunc iam nobis patribus vobisque plebei promiscuus consulatus patet nec generis, ut ante, sed virtutis est praemium. Proinde summum quodque spectate, milites, decus. Non, si mihi novum hoc Coruini cognomen dis auctoribus homines dedistis, Publicolarum vetustum familiae nostrae cognomen memoria excessit; semper ego plebem Romanam militiae domique, privatus, in magistratibus parvis magnisque, aequae tribunus ac consul, eodem tenore per omnes deinceps consulatus colo atque colui. Nunc, quod instat, dis bene iuvantibus novum atque integrum de Samnitibus triumphum mecum petite.”

[33] Non alias militi familiarior dux fuit omnia inter infimos militum haud gravate munia obeundo. In ludo praeterea militari, cum velocitatis viriumque inter se aequales certamina ineunt, comiter facilis; vincere ac vinci voltu eodem nec quemquam aspernari parem qui se offerret; factis benignus pro re, dictis haud minus libertatis alienae quam suae dignitatis memor; et, quo nihil popularius est, quibus artibus petierat magistratus, iisdem gerebat. Itaque universus exercitus incredibili alacritate adhortationem prosecutus ducis castris egreditur.

Proelium, ut quod maxime unquam, pari spe utrimque, aequis viribus, cum fiducia sui sine contemptu hostium commissum est. Samnitibus ferociam augebant novae res gestae et paucos ante dies geminata victoria, Romanis contra quadringentorum annorum decora et conditae urbi aequalis victoria; utrisque tamen novus hostis curam

addebat. Pugna indicio fuit quos gesserint animos; namque ita conflixerunt ut aliquamdiu in neutram partem inclinarent acies. Tum consul trepidationem iniciendam ratus, quando vi pelli non poterant, equitibus immissis turbare prima signa hostium conatur. Quos ubi nequiquam tumultuantes in spatio exiguo voluere turmas vidit nec posse aperire in hostes viam, reuectus ad antesignanos legionum, cum desiluisset ex equo, “nostrum” inquit, “peditum illud, milites, est opus; agitedum, ut me videritis, quacumque incessero in aciem hostium, ferro viam facientem, sic pro se quisque obvios sternite; illa omnia, qua nunc erectae micant hastae, patefacta strage vasta cernetis.” Haec dicta dederat, cum equites consulis iussu discurrent in cornua legionibusque in mediam aciem aperiunt viam. Primus omnium consul invadit hostem et cum quo forte contulit gradum obtruncat. Hoc spectaculo accensi dextra laevaue ante se quisque memorandum proelium cient; stant obnixi Samnites, quamquam plura accipiunt quam inferunt volnera.

Aliquamdiu iam pugnatum erat; atrox caedes circa signa Samnitium, fuga ab nulladum parte erat: adeo morte sola vinci destinaverant animis. Itaque Romani cum et fluere iam lassitudine vires sentirent et diei haud multum superesse, accensi ira concitant se in hostem. Tum primum referri pedem atque inclinari rem in fugam apparuit; tum capi, occidi Samnis; nec superfuissent multi, ni nox victoriam magis quam proelium diremisset. Et Romani fatebantur nunquam cum pertinacior hoste conflictum, et Samnites, cum quaereretur quaenam prima causa tam obstinatos mouisset in fugam, oculos sibi Romanorum ardere visos aiebant vesanosque voltus et furentia ora; inde plus quam ex alia ulla re terroris ortum. Quem terrorem non pugnae solum eventu sed nocturna profectione confessi sunt. Postero die vacuis hostium castris Romanus potitur, quo se omnis Campanorum multitudo gratulabunda effudit.

[34] Ceterum hoc gaudium magna prope clade in Samnio foedatum est. Nam ab Saticula profectus Cornelius consul exercitum incaute in saltum caua valle peruium circaque insessum ab hoste induxit nec prius quam recipi tuto signa non poterant imminentem capiti hostem vidit. Dum id morae Samnitibus est quoad totum in vallem infimam dmitteret agmen, P. Decius tribunus militum conspicit unum editum in saltu collem, imminentem hostium castris, aditu arduum impedito

agmini, expeditis haud difficilem. Itaque consuli territo animi “uidesne tu” inquit, “A. Corneli, cacumen illud supra hostem? Arx illa est spei salutisque nostrae, si eam, quoniam caeci reliquere Samnites, impigre capimus. Ne tu mihi plus quam unius legionis principes hastatosque dederis; cum quibus ubi evasero in summum, perge hinc omni liber metu, teque et exercitum serva; neque enim moveri hostis, subiectus nobis ad omnes ictus, sine sua pernicie poterit. Nos deinde aut fortuna populi Romani aut nostra virtus expediet.” Conlaudatus ab consule accepto praesidio vadit occultus per saltum; nec prius ab hoste est visus quam loco quem petebat appropinquavit. Inde admiratione paventibus cunctis, cum omnium in se vertisset oculos, et spatium consuli dedit ad subducendum agmen in aequiorem locum et ipse in summo constitit vertice. Samnites dum huc illuc signa vertunt utriusque rei amissa occasione neque insequi consulem nisi per eandem vallem, in qua paulo ante subiectum eum telis suis habuerant, possunt, nec erigere agmen in captum super se ab Decio tumulum; sed cum ira in hos magis, qui fortunam gerendae rei eripuerant, tum propinquitas loci atque ipsa paucitas incitat; et nunc circumdare undique collem armatis volunt, ut a consule Decium intercludant, nunc viam patefacere, ut degressos in vallem adoriantur. Incertos quid agerent nox oppressit. Decium primum spes tenuit cum subeuntibus in adversum collem ex superiore loco se pugnaturum; deinde admiratio incessit quod nec pugnam inirent nec, si ab eo consilio iniquitate loci deterrentur, opere se valloque circumdarent. Tum centurionibus ad se vocatis: “Quaenam illa inscitia belli ac pigritia est? Aut quonam modo isti ex Sidicinis Campanisque victoriam pepererunt? Huc atque illuc signa moveri ac modo in unum conferri modo educi videtis; opus quidem incipit nemo, cum iam circumdati vallo potuerimus esse. Tum vero nos similes istorum simus, si diutius hic moremur quam commodum sit. Agitedum ite mecum ut, dum lucis aliquid superest, quibus locis praesidia ponant, qua pateat hinc exitus, exploremus.” Haec omnia sagulo gregali amictus centurionibus item manipularium militum habitu ductis? Ne ducem circumire hostes notarent, perlustravit.

[35] Vigiliis deinde dispositis ceteris omnibus tesseram dari iubet, ubi secundae vigiliae bucina datum signum esset, armati cum silentio ad se convenirent. Quo ubi, sicut edictum erat, taciti convenerunt,

“hoc silentium, milites,” inquit, “omisso militari adsensu in me audiendo servandum est. Ubi sententiam meam vobis peregero, tum quibus eadem placebunt in dextram partem taciti transibitis; quae pars maior erit, eo stabitur consilio. Nunc quae mente agitem audite. Non fuga delatos nec inertia relictos hic vos circumvenit hostis: virtute cepistis locum, virtute hinc oportet evadatis. Veniendo huc exercitum egregium populo Romano servastis: erumpendo hinc uosmet ipsos servate; digni estis qui pauci pluribus opem tuleritis, ipsi nullius auxilio egeritis. Cum eo hoste res est, qui hesterno die delendi omnis exercitus fortuna per socordiam usus non sit, hunc tam opportunum collem imminentem capiti suo non ante viderit quam captum a nobis, nos tam paucos tot ipse milibus hominum nec ascensu arcuerit nec tenentes locum, cum diei tantum superesset, vallo circumdederit. Quem videntem ac vigilantem sic eluseritis, sopitum oportet fallatis, immo necesse est; in eo enim loco res sunt nostrae ut vobis ego magis necessitas vestrae index quam consilii auctor sim. Neque enim, maneatis an abeatis hinc, deliberari potest, cum praeter arma et animos armorum memores nihil vobis fortuna reliqui fecerit fameque et siti moriendum sit, si plus quam viros ac Romanos decet ferrum timeamus. Ergo una est salus erumpere hinc atque abire; id aut interdiu aut nocte faciamus oportet. Ecce autem aliud minus dubium; quippe, si lux exspectetur, quae spes est non vallo perpetuo fossaque nos saepturum hostem, qui nunc corporibus suis subiectis undique cinxerit, ut videtis, collem? Atqui si nox opportuna est eruptioni, sicut est, haec profecto noctis aptissima hora est. Signo secundae vigiliae convenistis, quod tempus mortales somno altissimo premit; per corpora sopita vadetis vel silentio incautos fallentes vel sentientibus clamore subito pavorem iniecturi. Me modo sequimini, quem secuti estis; ego eandem quae duxit huc sequar fortunam. Quibus haec salutaria videntur, agitedum in dextram partem pedibus transite.”

[36] Omnes transierunt; vadentemque per intermissa custodiis loca Decium secuti sunt. Iam evaserant media castra, cum superscandens vigilum strata somno corpora miles offenso scuto praebuit sonitum; quo excitatus vigil cum proximum mouisset erectique alios concitarent, ignari ciues an hostes essent, praesidium erumperet an consul castra cepisset, Decius, quoniam non fallerent, clamorem

tollere iussis militibus torpidos somno insuper pavore exanimat, quo praepediti nec arma impigre capere nec obsistere nec insequi poterant. Inter trepidationem tumultumque Samnitium praesidium Romanum obviis custodibus caesis ad castra consulis peruadit.

Aliquantum supererat noctis iamque in tuto videbantur esse, cum Decius “macte virtute” inquit, “milites Romani, este; vestrum iter ac reditum omnia saecula laudibus ferent; sed ad conspiciendam tantam virtutem luce ac die opus est, nec vos digni estis quos cum tanta gloria in castra reduces silentium ac nox tegat; hic lucem quieti opperiamur.” Dictis obtemperatum; atque ubi primum inluxit, praemisso nuntio ad consulem castra ingenti gaudio concitantur; et tessera data incolumes reverti, qui sua corpora pro salute omnium haud dubio periculo obiecissent, pro se quisque obviam effusi laudant, gratulantur, singulos universos servatores suos vocant, dis laudes gratesque agunt, Decium in caelum ferunt. Hic Deci castrensis triumphus fuit incedentis per media castra cum armato praesidio coniectis in eum omnium oculis et omni honore tribunum consuli aequantibus. Ubi ad praetorium ventum est, consul classico ad contionem convocat orsusque meritas Deci laudes interfante ipso Decio distulit contionem; qui auctor omnia posthabendi dum occasio in manibus esset, perpulit consulem ut hostes et nocturno pavore attonitos et circa collem castellatim dissipatos adgrederetur: credere etiam aliquos ad se sequendum emissos per saltum vagari. Iussae legiones arma capere egressaeque castris, cum per exploratores notior iam saltus esset, via patientiore ad hostem ducuntur; quem incautum improuiso adortae, cum palati passim Samnitium milites, plerique inermes, nec coire in unum nec arma capere nec recipere intra vallum se possent, paventem primum intra castra compellunt, deinde castra ipsa turbatis stationibus capiunt. Perfertur circa collem clamor fugatque ex suis quemque praesidiis. Ita magna pars absenti hosti cessit: quos intra vallum egerat pavor — fuere autem ad triginta milia — omnes caesi, castra direpta.

[37] Ita rebus gestis consul advocata contione P. Deci non coeptas solum ante sed cumulas novas virtute laudes peragit et praeter militaria alia dona aurea corona eum et centum bubus eximioque uno albo opimo auratis cornibus donat. Milites, qui in praesidio simul fuerant, duplici frumento in perpetuum, in praesentia bubus priuis

binisque tunicis donati. Secundum consulis donationem legiones gramineam coronam obsidalem, clamore donum approbantes, Decio imponunt; altera corona, eiusdem honoris index, a praesidio suo imposita est. His decoratus insignibus bouem eximium Marti immolavit, centum boues militibus dono dedit qui secum in expeditione fuerant. Iisdem militibus legiones libras farris et sextarios vini contulerunt; omniaque ea ingenti alacritate per clamorem militarem, indicem omnium adsensus, gerebantur.

Tertia pugna ad Suessulam commissa est; quia fugatus a M. Valerio Samnitiū exercitus, omni robore iuventutis domo accito, certamine ultimo fortunam experiri statuit. Ab Suessula nuntii trepidi Capuam, inde equites citati ad Valerium consulem opem oratum veniunt. Confestim signa mota relictisque impedimentis castrorum cum valido praesidio raptim agitur agmen; nec procul ab hoste locum perexiguū, ut quibus praeter equos ceterorum iumentorum calorumque turba abesset, castris cepit.

Samnitiū exercitus, velut haud ulla mora pugnae futura esset, aciem instruit; deinde, postquam nemo obuius ibat, infestis signis ad castra hostium succedit. Ibi ut militem in vallo vidit missique ab omni parte exploratum quam in exiguum orbem contracta castra essent — paucitatem inde hostium colligentes — rettulerunt, fremere omnis acies complendas esse fossas scindendumque vallum et in castra inrumpendum; transactumque ea temeritate bellum foret, ni duces continuissent impetum militum. Ceterum, quia multitudo sua com meatibus gravis et prius sedendo ad Suessulam et tum certaminis mora haud procul ab rerum omnium inopia esset, placuit, dum inclusus paveret hostis, frumentatum per agros militem duci: interim quieto Romano, qui expeditus quantum umeris inter arma geri posset frumenti secum attulisset, defutura omnia.

Consul palatos per agros cum vidisset hostes, stationes infrequentes relictas, paucis milites adhortatus ad castra oppugnanda ducit. Quae cum primo clamore atque impetu cepisset, pluribus hostium in tentoriis suis quam in portis valloque caesis signa captiva in unum locum conferri iussit; relictisque duabus legionibus custodiae et praesidii causa, gravi edicto monitis ut, donec ipse revertisset, praeda abstinerent, profectus agmine instructo, cum praemissus eques velut indagine dissipatos Samnites ageret, caedem

ingentem fecit. Nam neque quo signo coirent inter se neque utrum castra peterent an longiorem intenderent fugam, territis constare poterat; tantumque fugae ac formidinis fuit, ut ad quadraginta milia scutorum- nequaquam tot caesis — et signa militaria cum iis quae in castris capta erant ad centum septuaginta ad consulem deferrentur. Tum in castra hostium reditum ibique omnis praeda militi data.

[38] Huius certaminis fortuna et Faliscos, cum in indutiis essent, foedus petere ab senatu coegit et Latinos iam exercitibus comparatis ab Romano in Paelignum vertit bellum. Neque ita rei gestae fama Italiae se finibus tenuit sed Carthaginienses quoque legatos gratulatum Romam misere cum coronae aureae dono, quae in Capitolio in Iovis cella poneretur; fuit pondo viginti quinque. Consules ambo de Samnitibus triumpharunt sequente Decio insigni cum laude donisque, cum incondito militari ioco haud minus tribuni celebre nomen quam consulum esset.

Campanorum deinde Suessulanorumque auditae legationes, precantibusque datum ut praesidium eo in hiberna mitteretur, quo Samnitium excursions arcerentur.

Iam tum minime salubris militari disciplinae Capua instrumento omnium voluptatum delenitos militum animos avertit a memoria patriae, inibanturque consilia in hibernis eodem scelere adimendae Campanis Capuae per quod illi eam antiquis cultoribus ademissent: neque immerito suum ipsorum exemplum in eos versurum; cur autem potius Campani agrum Italiae uberrimum, dignam agro urbem, qui nec se nec sua tutari possent, quam victor exercitus haberet qui suo sudore ac sanguine inde Samnites depulisset? An aequum esse dediticios suos illa fertilitate atque amoenitate perfrui, se militando fessos in pestilenti atque arido circa urbem solo luctari aut in urbe insidentem labem crescentis in dies fenoris pati?

Haec agitata occultis coniurationibus necdum volgata in omnes consilia invenit novus consul C. Marcius Rutulus, cui Campania sorte provincia evenerat, Q. Servilio collega ad urbem relicto. Itaque cum omnia ea, sicut gesta erant, per tribunos comperta haberet, et aetate et usu doctus quippe qui iam quartum consul esset dictatorque et censor fuisset, optimum ratus differendo spem quandocumque vellent consilii exsequendi militarem impetum frustrari, rumorem dissipat in iisdem oppidis et anno post praesidia hibernatura — diuisa

enim erant per Campaniae urbes manaverantque a Capua consilia in exercitum omnem. Eo laxamento cogitationibus dato quieuit in praesentia seditio.

[39] Consul educto in aestiua milite, dum quietos Samnites habebat, exercitum purgare missionibus turbulentorum hominum instituit, aliis emerita dicendo stipendia esse, alios graves iam aetate aut viribus parum validos; avidam in commeatus mittebantur, singuli primo, deinde et cohortes quaedam, quia procul ab domo ac rebus suis hibernassent; per speciem etiam militarium usuum, cum alii alio mitterentur, magna pars ablegati. Quam multitudinem consul alter Romae praetorque alias ex aliis fingendo moras retinebat. Et primo quidem ignari ludificationis minime inviti domos reuisebant; postquam neque reverti ad signa primos nec ferme alium quam qui in Campania hibernassent praecipueque ex his seditionis auctores mitti viderunt, primum admiratio, deinde haud dubius timor incessit animos consilia sua emanasse: iam quaestiones, iam indicia, iam occulta singulorum supplicia impotensque et crudele consulum ac patrum in se regnum passuros. Haec qui in castris erant occultis sermonibus serunt, neruos coniurationis electos arte consulis cernentes.

Cohors una, cum haud procul Anxure esset, ad Lautulas saltu angusto inter mare ac montes consedit ad excipiendos quos consul aliis atque aliis, ut ante dictum est, causis mittebat. Iam valida admodum numero manus erat nec quicquam ad iusti exercitus formam praeter ducem deerat. Incompositi itaque praedantes in agrum Albanum perveniunt et sub iugo Albae Longae castra vallo cingunt. Perfecto inde opere reliquum diei de imperatore sumendo sentiis decertant, nulli ex praesentibus satis fidentes: quem autem ab Roma posse exciri? Quem patrum aut plebis esse qui aut se tanto periculo sciens offerat aut cui ex iniuria insanientis exercitus causa recte committatur? Postero die cum eadem deliberatio teneret, ex praedatoribus vagis quidam compertum attulerunt T. Quinctium in Tusculano agrum colere, urbis honorumque immemorem. Patriciae hic vir gentis erat; cui cum militiae magna cum gloria actae finem pes alter ex vulnere claudus fecisset, ruri agere vitam procul ambitione ac foro constituit. Nomine audito extemplo agnovere virum et, quod bene verteret, acciri iusserunt. Sed parum spei erat

voluntate quicquam facturum; vim adhiberi ac metum placuit. Itaque silentio noctis cum tectum villae qui ad id missi erant intrassent, somno gravem Quinctium oppressum, nihil medium aut imperium atque honorem aut ubi restitaret mortem ni sequeretur denuntiantes, in castra pertraxerunt. Imperator extemplo adveniēns appellatus, insigniaque honoris exterrito subitae rei miraculo deferunt et ad urbem ducere iubent. Suo magis inde impetu quam consilio ducis conuolsis signis infesto agmine ad lapidem octauum viae, quae nunc Appia est, perveniunt; issentque confestim ad urbem, ni venire contra exercitum dictatoremque adversus se M. Valerium Coruum dictum audissent et magistrum equitum L. Aemilium Mamercum.

[40] Ubi primum in conspectum ventum est [et] arma signaque agnovere, extemplo omnibus memoria patriae iras permulsit. Nondum erant tam fortes ad sanguinem civilem nec praeter externa noverant bella, ultimaque rabies secessio ab suis habebatur; itaque iam duces, iam milites utrimque congressus quaerere ac conloquia: Quinctius, quem armorum etiam pro patria satietas teneret nedum adversus patriam, Coruinus omnes caritate ciues, praecipue milites, et ante alios suum exercitum complexus. [Is] ad conloquium processit. Cognito ei extemplo haud minore ab adversariis verecundia quam ab suis silentium datum.

“Deos” inquit “immortales, milites, vestros meosque ab urbe proficiscens ita adoraui veniamque supplex poposci ut mihi de vobis concordiae partae gloriam non victoriam darent. Satis fuit eritque unde belli decus pariat: hinc pax petenda est. Quod deos immortales inter nuncupanda vota expoposci, eius me compotem voti vos facere potestis, si meminisse voltis non vos in Samnio nec in Volscis sed in Romano solo castra habere, si illos colles quos cernitis patriae vestrae esse, si hunc exercitum civium vestrorum, si me consulem vestrum, cuius ductu auspicioque priore anno bis legiones Samnitium fudistis, bis castra vi cepistis. Ego sum M. Valerius Coruus, milites, cuius vos nobilitatem beneficiis erga vos non iniuriis sensistis, nullius superbae in vos legis, nullius crudelis senatus consulti auctor, in omnibus meis imperiis in me severior quam in uos. Ac si cui genus, si cui sua virtus, si cui etiam maiestas, si cui honores subdere spiritus potuerunt, iis eram natus, id specimen mei dederam, ea aetate consulatum adeptus eram, ut potuerim tres et

viginti annos natus consul patribus quoque ferox esse non solum plebi. Quod meum factum dictumue consulis gravius quam tribuni audistis? Eodem tenore duo insequentes consulatus gessi, eodem haec imperiosa dictatura geretur; ut neque in hos meos et patriae meae milites [sim] mitior quam in uos — horreo dicere — hostes. Ergo vos prius in me strinxeritis ferrum quam in vos ego; istinc signa canent, istinc clamor prius incipiet atque impetus, si dimicandum est. Inducite in animum quod non induxerunt patres auique vestri, non illi qui in Sacrum montem secesserunt, non hi qui postea Auentinum insederunt. Expectate, dum vobis singulis, ut olim Coriolano, matres coniugesque crinibus passis obviae ab urbe veniant. Tum Volscorum legiones, quia Romanum habebant ducem, quieverunt: uos, Romanus exercitus, ne destiteritis impio bello. T. Quincti, quocumque istic loco seu volens seu invitus constitisti, si dimicandum erit, tum tu in novissimos te recipito; fugeris etiam honestius tergumque civi dederis quam pugnaveris contra patriam. Nunc ad pacificandum bene atque honeste inter primos stabis et conloquii huius salutaris interpret fueris. Postulate aequa et ferte; quamquam vel iniquis standum est potius quam impias inter nos conseramus manus.”

T. Quinctius plenus lacrimarum ad suos versus “me quoque” inquit, “milites, si quis usus mei est, meliorem pacis quam belli habetis ducem. Non enim illa modo Volscus aut Samnis sed Romanus verba fecit, vester consul, vester imperator, milites, cuius auspicia pro vobis experti nolite adversus vos velle experiri. Qui pugnarent vobiscum infestius, et alios duces senatus habuit: qui maxime vobis, suis militibus, parceret, cui plurimum uos, imperatori vestro, crederetis, eum elegit. Pacem etiam qui vincere possunt volunt: quid nos velle oportet? Quin omissis ira et spe, fallacibus auctoribus, nos ipsos nostraque omnia cognitae permittimus fidei?”

[41] Approbantibus clamore cunctis T. Quinctius ante signa progressus in potestate dictatoris milites fore dixit; oravit ut causam miserorum civium susciperet susceptamque eadem fide qua rem publicam administrare solitus esset tueretur: sibi se privatim nihil cavere; nolle alibi quam in innocentia spem habere; militibus cauendum, quod apud patres semel plebi, iterum legionibus cautum sit ne fraudi secessio esset.

Quinctio conlaudato, ceteris bonum animum habere iussis,

dictator equo citato ad urbem reuectus auctoribus patribus tulit ad populum in luco Petelino ne cui militum fraudi secessio esset. Oravit etiam bona venia Quirites ne quis eam rem ioco serioue cuiquam exprobraret. Lex quoque sacrata militaris lata est ne cuius militis scripti nomen nisi ipso volente deleteretur; additumque legi ne quis, ubi tribunus militum fuisset, postea ordinum ductor esset. Id propter P. Salonium postulatum est ab coniuratis, qui alternis prope annis et tribunus militum et primus centurio erat, quem nunc primi pili appellant. Huic infensi milites erant, quod semper adversatus novis consiliis fuisset et, ne particeps eorum esset, [qui] ab Lautulis fugisse[n]t. Itaque cum hoc unum propter Salonium ab senatu non impetraretur, tum Saloni obtestatus patres conscriptos ne suum honorem pluris quam concordiam civitatis aestimarent, perpulit ut id quoque ferretur. Aequae impotens postulatum fuit ut de stipendio equitum — merebant autem triplex ea tempestate — aera demerentur, quod adversati coniurationi fuissent.

[42] Praeter haec invenio apud quosdam L. Genucium tribunum plebis tulisse ad plebem ne fenerare liceret; item aliis plebi scitis cautum ne quis eundem magistratum intra decem annos caperet neu duos magistratus uno anno gereret utique liceret consules ambos plebeios creari. Quae si omnia concessa sunt plebi, apparet haud parvas vires defectionem habuisse. Aliis annalibus proditum est neque dictatorem Valerium dictum sed per consules omnem rem actam neque antequam Romam veniretur sed Romae eam multitudinem coniuratorum ad arma consternatam esse nec in T. Quincti villam sed in aedes C. Manli nocte impetum factum eumque a coniuratis comprehensum ut dux fieret; inde ad quartum lapidem profectos loco munito consedissee; nec ab ducibus mentionem concordiae ortam sed repente, eum in aciem armati exercitus processissent, salutationem factam et permixtos dexteras iungere ac complecti inter se lacrimantes milites coepisse coactosque consules, cum viderent aversos a dimicatione militum animos, rettulisse ad patres de concordia reconcilianda. Adeo nihil praeterquam seditionem fuisse eamque compositam inter antiquos rerum auctores constat.

Et huius fama seditionis et susceptum cum Samnitibus grave bellum aliquot populos ab Romana societate avertit, et praeter

Latinorum infidum iam diu foedus Privernates etiam Norbam atque Setiam, finitimas colonias Romanas, incursione subita depopulati sunt

LIBER VIII

[1] Iam consules erant C. Plautius iterum L. Aemilius Mamercus, cum Setini Norbanique Romam nuntii defectionis Priuernatium cum querimoniis acceptae cladis uenerunt. Volscorum item exercitum duce Antiati populo consedissee ad Satricum allatum est. utrumque bellum Plautio sorte euenit. prius ad Priuernum profectus extemplo acie confligit; haud magno certamine deuicti hostes; oppidum captum redditumque Priuernatibus praesidio ualido imposito; agri partes duae ademptae. inde uictor exercitus Satricum contra Antiates ductus. ibi magna utrimque caede atrox proelium fuit; et cum tempestas eos neutro inclinata spe dimicantes diremisset, Romani nihil eo certamine tam ambiguo fessi in posterum diem proelium parant. Volscis recensentibus quos uiros in acie amisissent haudquaquam idem animus ad iterandum periculum fuit; nocte pro uictis Antium agmine trepido sauciis ac parte impedimentorum relictis abierunt. armorum magna uis cum inter caesa hostium corpora tum in castris inuenta est. ea Luae Matri dare se consul dixit finesque hostium usque ad oram maritimam esse depopulatus. alteri consuli Aemilio ingresso Sabellum agrum non castra Samnitium, non legiones usquam oppositae; ferro ignique uastantem agros legati Samnitium pacem orantes adeunt. a quo reiecti ad senatum, potestate facta dicendi, positis ferocibus animis pacem sibi ab Romanis bellicae ius aduersus Sidicinos petierunt: quae se eo iustius petere, quod et in amicitiam populi Romani secundis suis rebus, non aduersis ut Campani, uenissent, et aduersus Sidicinos sumerent arma, suos semper hostes, populi Romani nunquam amicos, qui nec ut Samnites in pace amicitiam nec ut Campani auxilium in bello petissent, nec in fide populi Romani nec in ditione essent. cum de postulatis Samnitium.

[2] T. Aemilius praetor senatum consulisset reddendumque iis foedus patres censuissent, praetor Samnitibus respondit nec, quo minus perpetua cum eis amicitia esset, per populum Romanum stetisse nec contradici quin, quoniam ipsos belli culpa sua contracti taedium ceperit, amicitia de integro reconcilietur; quod ad Sidicinos attineat, nihil intercedi quo minus Samniti populo pacis bellicae

liberum arbitrium sit. foedere icto cum domum reuertissent extemplo inde exercitus Romanus deductus annuo stipendio et trium mensum frumento accepto, quod pepigerat consul ut tempus indutiis daret quoad legati redissent. Samnites copiis iisdem, quibus usi aduersus Romanum bellum fuerant, contra Sidicinos profecti haud in dubia spe erant mature urbis hostium potiundae, cum ab Sidicinis deditio prius ad Romanos coepta fieri est. dein, postquam patres ut seram eam ultimaque tandem necessitate expressam aspernabantur, ad Latinos iam sua sponte in arma motos facta est. ne Campani quidem + adeo iniuriae Samnitium quam beneficii Romanorum memoria praesentior erat + his se armis abstinuere. ex his tot populis unus ingens exercitus duce Latino fines Samnitium ingressus plus populationibus quam proeliis cladum fecit; et quamquam superiores certaminibus Latini erant, haud inuiti, ne saepius dimicandum foret, agro hostium excessere. id spatium Samnitibus datum est Romam legatos mittendi; qui cum adissent senatum, conquesti eadem se foederatos pati quae hostes essent passi, precibus infimis petiere ut satis ducerent Romani uictoriam quam Samnitibus ex Campano Sidicinoque hoste eripuissent; ne uinci etiam se ab ignauissimis populis sinerent; Latinos Campanosque, si sub ditione populi Romani essent, pro imperio arcerent Samniti agro: sin imperium abnuerent, armis coercerent. aduersus haec responsum anceps datum, quia fateri pigebat in potestate sua Latinos iam non esse timebantque ne arguendo abalienarent: Campanorum aliam condicionem esse, qui non foedere sed per deditionem in fidem uenissent; itaque Campanos, seu uelint seu nolint, quieturos; in foedere Latinos nihil esse quod bellare cum quibus ipsi uelint prohibeant.

[3] Quod responsum sicut dubios Samnites quidnam facturum Romanum censerent dimisit, ita Campanos metu abalienauit, Latinos uelut nihil iam non concedentibus Romanis ferociores fecit. itaque per speciem aduersus Samnites belli parandi crebra concilia indicentes omnibus consultationibus inter se principes occulte Romanum coquebant bellum. huic quoque aduersus seruatores suos bello Campanos aderat. sed quamquam omnia de industria celabantur + priusquam mouerentur Romani tolli ab tergo Samnitium hostem uolebant + tamen per quosdam priuatis hospitibus necessitudinibusque coniunctos indicia coniurationis eius Romam emanarunt; iussisque

ante tempus consulibus abdicare se magistratu, quo maturius noui consules aduersus tantam molem belli crearentur, religio incessit ab eis quorum imminutum imperium esset comitia haberi. itaque interregnum initum. duo interreges fuere, M. Valerius ac M. Fabius. creauit consules T. Manlium Torquatum tertium, P. Decium Murem. eo anno Alexandrum Epiri regem in Italiam classem appulisse constat; quod bellum, si prima satis prospera fuissent, haud dubie ad Romanos peruenisset. eadem aetas rerum magni Alexandri est, quem sorore huius ortum in alio tractu orbis, inuictum bellis, iuuenem fortuna morbo exstinxit. ceterum Romani, etsi defectio sociorum nominisque Latini haud dubia erat, tamen tamquam de Samnitibus non de se curam agerent, decem principes Latinorum Romam euocauerunt, quibus imperarent quae uellent. praetores tum duos Latium habebat, L. Annium Setinum et L. Numisium Circeiensem, ambo ex coloniis Romanis, per quos praeter Signiam Velitrasque et ipsas colonias Romanas Volsci etiam exciti ad arma erant; eos nominatim euocari placuit. haud cuiquam dubium erat super qua re accirentur; itaque concilio prius habito praetores quam Romam proficiscerentur euocatos se ab senatu docent Romano et quae actum iri secum credant, quidnam ad ea responderi placeat, referunt.

[4] Cum aliud alii censerent, tum Annius: ‘quamquam ipse ego rettuli quid responderi placeret, tamen magis ad summam rerum nostrarum pertinere arbitror quid agendum nobis quam quid loquendum sit. facile erit explicatis consiliis accommodare rebus uerba. nam si etiam nunc sub umbra foederis aequi seruitutem pati possumus, quid abest quin proditis Sidicinis non Romanorum solum sed Samnitium quoque dicto pareamus respondeamusque Romanis nos, ubi innuerint, posituros arma? sin autem tandem libertatis desiderium remordet animos, si foedus [est], si societas aequatio iuris est, si consanguineos nos Romanorum esse, quod olim pudebat, nunc gloriari licet, si socialis illis exercitus is est quo adiuncto duplicent uires suas, quem discernere ab se consilia bellis propriis ponendis sumendisque nolint, cur non omnia aequantur? cur non alter ab Latinis consul datur? ubi pars uirium, ibi et imperii pars est. est quidem nobis hoc per se haud nimis amplum quippe concedentibus Romam caput Latio esse; sed ut amplum uideri posset, diuturna patientia fecimus. atqui si quando unquam consociandi imperii,

usurpandae libertatis tempus optastis, en hoc tempus adest et uirtute uestra et deum benignitate uobis datum. tempestatis patientiam negando militem; quis dubitat exarsisse eos, cum plus ducentorum annorum morem solueremus? pertulerunt tamen hunc dolorem. bellum nostro nomine cum Paelignis gessimus; qui ne nostrorum quidem finium nobis per nos tuendorum ius antea dabant, nihil intercesserunt. Sidicinos in fidem receptos, Campanos ab se ad nos descisse, exercitus nos parare aduersus Samnites, foederatos suos, audierunt nec mouerunt se ab urbe. unde haec illis tanta modestia nisi a conscientia uirium et nostrarum et suarum? idoneos auctores habeo querentibus de nobis Samnitibus ita responsum ab senatu Romano esse, ut facile appareret ne ipsos quidem iam postulare ut Latium sub Romano imperio sit. usurpate modo postulando quod illi uobis taciti concedunt. si quem hoc metus dicere prohibet, en ego ipse audiente non populo Romano modo senatuque sed Ioue ipso, qui Capitolium incolit, profiteor me dicturum, ut, si nos in foedere ac societate esse uelint, consulem alterum ab nobis senatusque partem accipiant.’ haec ferociter non suadenti solum sed pollicenti clamore et adsensu omnes permiserunt, ut ageret diceretque quae e re publica nominis Latini fideque sua uiderentur.

[5] Vbi est Romam uentum, in Capitolio eis senatus datus est. ibi cum T. Manlius consul egisset cum eis ex auctoritate patrum ne Samnitibus foederatis bellum inferrent, Annius, tamquam uictor armis Capitolium cepisset, non legatus iure gentium tutus loqueretur, ‘tempus erat’ inquit, ‘T. Manli uosque patres conscripti, tandem iam uos nobiscum nihil pro imperio agere, cum florentissimum deum benignitate [nunc] Latium armis uirisque, Samnitibus bello uictis, Sidicinis Campanisque sociis, nunc etiam Volscis adiunctis, uideretis; colonias quoque uestras Latinum Romano praetulisse imperium. sed quoniam uos regno impotenti finem ut imponatis non inducitis in animum, nos, quamquam armis possumus adserere Latium in libertatem, consanguinitati tamen hoc dabimus ut condiciones pacis feramus aequas utrisque, quoniam uires quoque aequari dis immortalibus placuit. consulem alterum Roma, alterum ex Latio creari oportet, senatus partem aequam ex utraque gente esse, unum populum, unam rem publicam fieri; et ut imperii eadem sedes sit idemque omnibus nomen, quoniam ab altera utra parte concedi

necesse est, quod utrisque bene uertat, sit haec sane patria potior et Romani omnes uocemur'. forte ita accidit, ut parem ferociae huius et Romani consulem T. Manlium haberent, qui adeo non tenuit iram ut, si tanta dementia patres conscriptos cepisset ut ab Setino homine leges acciperent, gladio cinctum in senatum uenturum se esse palam diceret et quemcumque in curia Latinum uidisset sua manu interempturum. et conuersus ad simulacrum Iouis, 'audi, Iuppiter, haec scelera' inquit; 'audite, Ius Fasque. peregrinos consules et peregrinum senatum in tuo, Iuppiter, augurato templo captus atque ipse oppressus uisurus es? haecine foedera Tullus, Romanus rex, cum Albanis, patribus uestris, Latini, haec L. Tarquinius uobiscum postea fecit? non uenit in mentem pugna apud Regillum lacum? adeo et cladium ueterum uestrarum et beneficiorum nostrorum erga uos obliti estis?'

[6] Cum consulis uocem subsecuta patrum indignatio esset, proditur memoriae aduersus crebram implorationem deum, quos testes foederum saepius inuocabant consules, uocem Anni spernentis numina Iouis Romani auditam. certe, cum commotus ira se a uestibulo templi citato gradu proriperet, lapsus per gradus capite grauiter offenso impactus imo ita est saxo ut sopiretur. exanimatum auctores quoniam non omnes sunt, mihi quoque in incerto relictum sit, sicut inter foederum ruptorum testationem ingenti fragore caeli procellam effusam; nam et uera esse et apte ad repraesentandam iram deum ficta possunt. Torquatus missus ab senatu ad dimittendos legatos, cum iacentem Annium uidisset, exclamat, ita ut populo patribusque audita uox pariter sit: 'bene habet; di pium mouere bellum. est caeleste numen; es, magne Iuppiter; haud frustra te patrem deum hominum hac sede sacrauimus. quid cessatis, Quirites uosque patres conscripti, arma capere deis ducibus? sic stratas legiones Latinorum dabo, quemadmodum legatum iacentem uidetis.' adsensu populi excepta uox consulis tantum ardoris animis fecit ut legatos proficiscentes cura magistratuum magis, qui iussu consulis prosequerentur, quam ius gentium ab ira impetuque hominum tegeret. consensit et senatus bellum; consulesque duobus scriptis exercitibus per Marsos Paelignosque profecti adiuncto Samnitium exercitu ad Capuam, quo iam Latini sociique conuenerant, castra locant. ibi in quiete utrique consuli eadem dicitur uisa species uiri

maioris quam pro humano habitu augustiorisque, dicentis ex una acie imperatorem, ex altera exercitum Deis Manibus Matrique Terrae deberi; utrius exercitus imperator legiones hostium superque eas se deuouisset, eius populi partisque uictoriam fore. hos ubi nocturnos uisus inter se consules contulerunt, placuit auerruncandae deum irae uictimas caedi; simul ut, si extis eadem quae somnio uisa fuerant portenderentur, alter uter consulum fata impleret. ubi responsa haruspicum insidenti iam animo tacitae religioni congruerunt, tum adhibitis legatis tribunisque et imperiis deum propalam expositis, ne mors uoluntaria consulis exercitum in acie terreret, comparant inter se ut, ab utra parte cedere Romanus exercitus coepisset, inde se consul deuoueret pro populo Romano Quiritibusque. agitatum etiam in consilio est ut, si quando unquam se uero ullum imperio bellum administratum esset, tunc uti disciplina militaris ad priscos redigeretur mores. curam acuebat quod aduersus Latinos bellandum erat, lingua, moribus, armorum genere, institutis ante omnia militaribus congruentes: milites militibus, centurionibus centuriones, tribuni tribunis compares collegaeque iisdem [in] praesidiis, saepe iisdem manipulis permixti fuerant. per haec ne quo errore milites caperentur, edicunt consules ne quis extra ordinem in hostem pugnaret.

[7] Forte inter ceteros turmarum praefectos qui exploratum in omnes partes dimissi erant, T. Manlius consulis filius super castra hostium cum suis turmalibus euasit, ita ut uix teli iactu ab statione proxima abesset. ibi Tusculani erant equites; praeerat Geminus Maecius, uir cum genere inter suos tum factis clarus. is ubi Romanos equites insignemque inter eos praecedentem consulis filium + nam omnes inter se, utique illustres uiri, noti erant + cognouit, ‘unane’ ait ‘turma Romani cum Latinis sociisque bellum gesturi estis? quid interea consules, quid duo exercitus consulares agent?’ ‘aderunt in tempore’ Manlius inquit, ‘et cum illis aderit Iuppiter ipse, foederum a uobis uiolatorum testis, qui plus potest polletque. si ad Regillum lacum ad satietatem uestram pugnauius, hic quoque efficiemus profecto ne nimis acies uobis et conlata signa nobiscum cordi sint.’ ad ea Geminus paulum ab suis equo prouectus: ‘uisne igitur, dum dies ista uenit qua magno conatu exercitus moueatis, interea tu ipse congredi mecum, ut nostro duorum iam hinc euentu cernatur

quantum eques Latinus Romano praestet?’ mouet ferocem animum iuuenis seu ira seu detractandi certaminis pudor seu inexsuperabilis uis fati. oblitus itaque imperii patrii consulumque edicti, praeceps ad id certamen agitur, quo uinceret an uinceretur haud multum interesset. equitibus ceteris uelut ad spectaculum submotis, spatio, quod uacui interiacebat campi, aduersos concitant equos; et cum infestis cuspidibus concurrissent, Manli cuspis super galeam hostis, Maeci trans ceruicem equi elapsa est. circumactis deinde equis, cum prior ad iterandum ictum Manlius consurrexisset, spiculum inter aures equi fixit. ad cuius uolneris sensum cum equus prioribus pedibus erectis magna ui caput quateret, excussit equitem, quem cuspide parmaque innixum attollentem se ab graui casu Manlius ab iugulo, ita ut per costas ferrum emereret, terrae adfixit; spoliisque lectis ad suos reuectus cum ouante gaudio turma in castra atque inde ad praetorium ad patrem tendit, ignarus fati futurique, laus an poena merita esset. ‘ut me omnes’ inquit, ‘pater, tuo sanguine ortum uere ferrent, prouocatus equestria haec spolia capta ex hoste caeso porto.’ quod ubi audiuit consul, extemplo filium auersatus contionem classico aduocari iussit.

[8] Quae ubi frequens conuenit, ‘quandoque’ inquit, ‘tu, T. Manli, neque imperium consulare neque maiestatem patriam ueritus, aduersus edictum nostrum extra ordinem in hostem pugnasti et, quantum in te fuit, disciplinam militarem, qua stetit ad hanc diem Romana res, soluisti meque in eam necessitatem adduxisti, ut aut rei publicae mihi aut mei [meorum] obliuiscendum sit, nos potius nostro delicto plectemur quam res publica tanto suo damno nostra peccata luat; triste exemplum sed in posterum salubre iuuentuti erimus. me quidem cum ingenita caritas liberum tum specimen istud uirtutis deceptum uana imagine decoris in te mouet; sed cum aut morte tua sancienda sint consulum imperia aut impunitate in perpetuum abroganda, nec te quidem, si quid in te nostri sanguinis est, recusare censeam, quin disciplinam militarem culpa tua prolapsam poena restituas + i, lictor, deliga ad palum’. exanimati omnes tam atroci imperio nec aliter quam in se quisque destitutam cernentes securem metu magis quam modestia quieuerunt. itaque uelut demerso ab admiratione animo cum silentio defixi stetissent, repente, postquam ceruice caesa fusus est cruor, tam libero conquestu coortae uoces

sunt, ut neque lamentis neque execrationibus parceretur spoliisque conlectum iuuenis corpus, quantum militaribus studiis funus ullum concelebrari potest, structo extra uallum rogo cremaretur, Manlianaque imperia non in praesentia modo horrenda sed exempli etiam tristes in posterum essent. fecit tamen atrocitas poenae oboedientiores duci militem; et praeterquam quod custodiae uigiliae et ordo stationum intentioris ubique curae erant, in ultimo etiam certamine, cum descensum in aciem est, ea seueritas profuit. fuit autem ciuili maxime bello pugna similis; adeo nihil apud Latinos dissonum ab Romana re praeter animos erat. clipeis antea Romani uti sunt, dein, postquam stipendiarii facti sunt, scuta pro clipeis fecere; et quod antea phalanges similes Macedonicis, hoc postea manipulatim structa acies coepit esse: postremi in plures ordines instruebantur [ordo sexagenos milites, duos centuriones, uexillarium unum habebat]. prima acies hastati erant, manipuli quindecim, distantes inter se modicum spatium; manipulus leues uicenos milites, aliam turbam scutatorum habebat; leues autem, qui hastam tantum gaesaque gererent, uocabantur. haec prima frons in acie florem iuuenum pubescentium ad militiam habebat. robustior inde aetas totidem manipulorum, quibus principibus est nomen, hos sequebantur, scutati omnes, insignibus maxime armis. hoc triginta manipulorum agmen antepilanos appellabant, quia sub signis iam alii quindecim ordines locabantur, ex quibus ordo unusquisque tres partes habebat + earum unam quamque primam pilum uocabant. tribus ex uexillis constabat ordo; sexagenos milites, duos centuriones, uexillarium unum habebat uexillum; centum octoginta sex homines erant. primum uexillum triarios ducebat, ueteranum militem spectatae uirtutis, secundum rorarios, minus roboris aetate factisque, tertium accensos, minimae fiduciae manum; eo et in postremam aciem reiciebantur. ubi his ordinibus exercitus instructus esset, hastati omnium primi pugnam inibant. si hastati profligare hostem non possent, pede presso eos retro cedentes in interualla ordinum principes recipiebant. tum principum pugna erat; hastati sequebantur; triarii sub uexillis considebant, sinistro crure porrecto, scuta innixa umeris, hastas suberecta cuspide in terra fixas, haud secus quam uallo saepta inhorreret acies, tenentes. si apud principes quoque haud satis prospere esset pugnatum a prima acie ad triarios se

sensim referebant; inde rem ad triarios redisse, cum laboratur, prouerbio increbruit. triarii consurgentes, ubi in interualla ordinum suorum principes et hastatos recepissent, extemplo compressis ordinibus uelut claudebant uias unoque continenti agmine, iam nulla spe post relictā, in hostem incidebant; id erat formidolosissimum hosti, cum uelut uictos insecuti nouam repente aciem exsurgentem, auctam numero, cernebant. scribebantur autem quattuor fere legiones quinīs milibus peditum, equitibus in singulas legiones trecentis. alterum tantum ex Latino dilectu adiciebatur, qui ea tempestate hostes erant Romanis eodemque ordine instruxerant aciem; nec uexilla cum uexillis tantum, uniuerſi hastati cum hastatis, principes cum principibus, sed centurio quoque cum centurione, si ordines turbati non essent, concurrendum sibi esse sciebat. duo primi pili ex utraque acie inter triarios erant, Romanus corpore haudquaquam satis ualidus, ceterum strenuus uir peritusque militiae, Latinus uiribus ingens bellatorque primus, notissimi inter se, quia pares semper ordines duxerunt. Romano haud satis fidenti uiribus iam Romae permissum erat ab consulibus, ut subcenturionem sibi quem uellet legeret qui tutaretur eum ab uno destinato hoste; isque iuuenis in acie oblatus ex centurione Latino uictoriam tulit. pugnatum est haud procul radicibus Vesuuii~ montis, qua uia ad Vesperim ferebat.

[9] Romani consules, priusquam educerent in aciem, immolauerunt. Decio caput iocineris a familiari parte caesum haruspex dicitur ostendisse: alioqui acceptam dis hostiam esse; Manlium egregie litasse. ‘atqui bene habet’ inquit Decius, ‘si ab collega litatum est.’ instructis, sicut ante dictum est, ordinibus processere in aciem; Manlius dextro, Decius laeuo cornu praeerat. primo utrimque aequis uiribus, eodem ardore animorum gerebatur res; deinde ab laeuo cornu hastati Romani, non ferentes impressionem Latinorum, se ad principes recepere. in hac trepidatione Decius consul M. Valerium magna uoce inclamat. ‘deorum’ inquit, ‘ope, M. Valeri, opus est; agedum, pontifex publicus populi Romani, praei uerba quibus me pro legionibus deuoeam.’ pontifex eum togam praetextam sumere iussit et uelato capite, manu subter togam ad mentum exserta, super telum subiectum pedibus stantem sic dicere: ‘Iane, Iuppiter, Mars pater, Quirine, Bellona, Lares, Diui Nouensiles, Di Indigetes, Diui, quorum

est potestas nostrorum hostiumque, Dique Manes, uos precor ueneror, ueniam peto feroque, uti populo Romano Quiritium uim uictoriam prosperetis hostesque populi Romani Quiritium terrore formidine morteque adficiatis. sicut uerbis nuncupauī, ita pro re publica [populi Romani] Quiritium, exercitu, legionibus, auxiliis populi Romani Quiritium, legiones auxiliaque hostium mecum Deis Manibus Tellurique deuoueo.’ haec ita precatus lictores ire ad T. Manlium iubet matureque collegae se deuotum pro exercitu nuntiare; ipse incinctus cinctu Gabino, armatus in equum insiluit ac se in medios hostes immisit, conspectus ab utraque acie, aliquanto augustior humano uisu, sicut caelo missus piaculum omnis deorum irae qui pestem ab suis auersam in hostes ferret. ita omnis terror pauorque cum illo latus signa primo Latinorum turbauit, deinde in totam penitus aciem peruasit. euidentissimum id fuit quod, quacumque equo inuectus est, ibi haud secus quam pestifero sidere icti pauebant; ubi uero corruit obrutus telis, inde iam haud dubie consternatae cohortes Latinorum fugam ac uastitatem late fecerunt. simul et Romani exsolutis religione animis, uelut tum primum signo dato coorti pugnam integram ediderunt; nam et rorarii procurrerant inter antepilanos addiderantque uires hastatis ac principibus et triarii genu dextro innixi nutum consulis ad consurgendum exspectabant.

[10] Procedente deinde certamine cum aliis partibus multitudo superaret Latinorum, Manlius consul audito euentu collegae, cum, ut ius fasque erat, lacrimis non minus quam laudibus debitis prosecutus tam memorabilem mortem esset, paulisper addubitauit an consurgendi iam triariis tempus esset; deinde melius ratus integros eos ad ultimum discrimen seruari, accensos ab nouissima acie ante signa procedere iubet. qui ubi subiere, extemplo Latini, tamquam idem aduersarii fecissent, triarios suos excitauerunt; qui aliquamdiu pugna atroci cum et semet ipsi fatigassent et hastas aut praefregissent aut hebetassent, pellerent [ui] tamen hostem, debellatum iam rati peruentumque ad extremam aciem, tum consul triariis ‘consurgite nunc’ inquit, ‘integri aduersus fessos, memores patriae parentumque et coniugum ac liberorum, memores consulis pro uestra uictoria morte occubantis’. ubi triarii consurrexerunt integri refulgentibus armis, noua ex improviso exorta acies, receptis in interualla ordinum antepilanis, clamore sublato principia Latinorum perturbant hastisque

ora fodientes primo robore uirorum caeso per alios manipulos uelut inermes prope intacti euasere tantaque caede perrupere cuneos ut uix quartam partem relinquerent hostium. Samnites quoque sub radicibus montis procul instructi praebuere terrorem Latinis. ceterum inter omnes ciues sociosque praecipua laus eius belli penes consules fuit, quorum alter omnes minas periculaque ab deis superis inferisque in se unum uertit, alter ea uirtute eoque consilio in proelio fuit ut facile conuenerit inter Romanos Latinosque, qui eius pugnae memoriam posteris tradiderunt, utrius partis T. Manlius dux fuisset, eius futuram haud dubie fuisse uictoriam. Latini ex fuga se Minturnas contulerunt. castra secundum proelium capta multique mortales ibi uiui oppressi, maxime Campani. Decii corpus ne eo die inueniretur, nox quaerentes oppressit; postero die inuentum inter maximum hostium stragem, coopertum telis, funusque ei par morti celebrante collega factum est. illud adiciendum uidetur licere consuli dictatorique et praetori, cum legiones hostium deuoueat, non utique se sed quem uelit ex legione Romana scripta ciuem deuouere; si is homo qui deuotus est moritur, probe factum uideri; ni moritur, tum signum septem pedes altum aut maius in terram defodi et piaculum [hostia] caedi; ubi illud signum defossum erit, eo magistratum Romanum escendere fas non esse. sin autem sese deuouere uolet, sicuti Decius deuouit, ni moritur, neque suum neque publicum diuinum pure faciet, siue hostia siue quo alio uolet. qui sese deuouerit, Volcano arma siue cui alii diuo uouere uolet ius est. telo, super quod stans consul precatus est, hostem potiri fas non est; si potiat, Marti suouetaurilibus piaculum fieri.

[11] Haec, etsi omnis diuini humanique moris memoria aboleuit noua peregrinaque omnia priscis ac patriis praeferendo, haud ab re duxi uerbis quoque ipsis, ut tradita nuncupataque sunt, referre. Romanis post proelium demum factum Samnites uenisse subsidio exspectato euentu pugnae apud quosdam auctores inuenio. Latinis quoque ab Lauinio auxilium, dum deliberando terunt tempus, uictis demum ferri coeptum; et, cum iam portis prima signa et pars agminis esset egressa, nuntio allato de clade Latinorum cum conuersis signis retro in urbem rediretur, praetorem eorum nomine Milonium dixisse ferunt pro paulula uia magnam mercedem esse Romanis soluendam. qui Latinorum pugnae superfuerant, multis itineribus dissipati cum se in unum conglobassent, Vescia urbs eis receptaculum fuit. ibi in

conciliis Numisius imperator eorum, adfirmando communem uere Martem belli utramque aciem pari caede prostrauisse uictoriaeque nomen tantum penes Romanos esse, ceteram pro uictis fortunam et illos gerere; funesta duo consulum praetoria, alterum parricidio filii, alterum consulis deuoti caede; trucidatum exercitum omnem, caesos hastatos principesque, stragem et ante signa et post signa factam; triarios postremo rem restituisse. Latinorum etsi pariter accisae copiae sint, tamen supplemento uel Latium propius esse uel Volscos quam Romam; itaque si uideatur eis, se ex Latinis et ex Volscis populis iuuentute propere excita rediturum infesto exercitu Capuam esse Romanosque nihil tum minus quam proelium exspectantes necopinato aduentu perculsurum. fallacibus litteris circa Latium nomenque Volscum missis, quia qui non interfuerant pugnae ad credendum temere faciliores erant, tumultuarius undique exercitus raptim conscriptus conuenit. huic agmini Torquatus consul ad Trifanum + inter Sinuessam Minturnasque is locus est + occurrit. priusquam castris locus caperetur, sarcinis utrimque in aceru coniectis pugnatum debellatumque est; adeo enim accisae res sunt ut consuli uictorem exercitum ad depopulandos agros eorum ducenti dederent se omnes Latini deditionemque eam Campani sequerentur. Latium Capuaque agro multati. Latinus ager Priuernati addito agro et Falernus, qui populi Campani fuerat, usque ad Volturnum flumen plebi Romanae diuiditur. bina in Latino iugera ita ut dodrante ex Priuernati complerent data, terna in Falerno quadrantibus etiam pro longinquitate adiectis. extra poenam fuere Latinorum Laurentes Campanorumque equites, quia non descuerant; cum Laurentibus renouari foedus iussum renouaturque ex eo quotannis post diem decimum Latinarum. equitibus Campanis ciuitas Romana data, monumentoque ut esset, aeneam tabulam in aede Castoris Romae fixerunt. uectigal quoque eis Campanus populos iussus pendere in singulos quotannis + fuere autem mille et sexcenti + denarios nummos quadringenos quinquagenos.

[12] Ita bello gesto, praemiis poenaeque pro cuiusque merito persolutis T. Manlius Romam rediit; cui uenienti seniores tantum obuiam exisse constat, iuuentutem et tunc et omni uita deinde auersatam eum exsecratamque. Antiates in agrum Ostiensem Ardeatem Solonium incursiones fecerunt. Manlius consul quia ipse

per uoletudinem id bellum exsequi nequierat, dictatorem L. Papirium Crassum, qui tum forte erat praetor, dixit; ab eo magister equitum L. Papirius Cursor dictus. nihil memorabile aduersus Antiates ab dictatore gestum est, cum aliquot menses statua in agro Antiati habuisset. anno insigni uictoria de tot ac tam potentibus populis, ad hoc consulum alterius nobili morte, alterius sicut truci ita claro ad memoriam imperio, succedere consules Ti. Aemilius Mamercinus <q.> Publilius Philo, neque in similem materiam rerum, et ipsi aut suarum rerum aut partium in re publica magis quam patriae memores. Latinos ob iram agri amissi rebellantes in campis Fenectanis fuderunt castrisque exuerunt. ibi Publilio, cuius ductu auspicioque res gestae erant, in deditionem accipiente Latinos populos, quorum ibi iuuentus caesa erat, Aemilius ad Pedum exercitum duxit. Pedanos tuebatur Tiburs Praenestinus Veliternusque populus; uenerant et ab Lanuuio Antioque auxilia. ubi cum proeliis quidem superior Romanus esset, ad urbem ipsam Pedum castraque sociorum populorum, quae urbi adiuncta erant, integer labor restaret, bello infecto repente omisso consul, quia collegae decretum triumphum audiuit, ipse quoque triumphi ante uictoriam flagitator Romam rediit. qua cupiditate offensis patribus negantibusque nisi Pedito capto aut dedito triumphum, hinc alienatus ab senatu Aemilius seditiosis tribunatibus similem deinde consulatum gessit. nam neque, quoad fuit consul, criminari apud populum patres destitit, collega haudquaquam aduersante quia et ipse de plebe erat + materiam autem praebebat criminibus ager in Latino Falernoque agro maligne plebei diuisus + et postquam senatus finire imperium consulibus cupiens dictatorem aduersus rebellantes Latinos dici iussit, Aemilius, [tum] cuius fascis erant, collegam dictatorem dixit; ab eo magister equitum Iunius Brutus dictus. dictatura popularis et orationibus in patres criminosis fuit, et quod tres leges secundissimas plebei, aduersas nobilitati tulit: unam, ut plebi scita omnes Quirites tenerent; alteram, ut legum quae comitiis centuriatis ferrentur ante initum suffragium patres auctores fierent; tertiam, ut alter utique ex plebe + cum eo uentum sit ut utrumque plebeium fieri liceret + censor crearetur. plus eo anno domi acceptum cladis ab consulibus ac dictatore quam ex uictoria eorum bellicisque rebus foris auctum imperium patres credebant.

[13] Anno insequenti, L. Furio Camillo C. Maenio consulibus, quo insignitius ommissa res Aemilio, superioris anni consuli, exprobraretur, Pedum armis uirisque et omni ui expugnandum ac delendum senatus fremit coactique noui consules omnibus eam rem praeuerti proficiscuntur. iam Latio is status erat rerum ut neque bellum neque pacem pati possent; ad bellum opes deerant; pacem ob agri adempti dolorem aspernabantur. mediis consiliis standum uidebatur ut oppidis se tenerent + ne lacessitus Romanus causam belli haberet + et, si cuius oppidi obsidio nuntiata esset, undique ex omnibus populis auxilium obsessis ferretur. neque tamen nisi admodum a paucis populis Pedani adiuti sunt. Tiburtes Praenestinique, quorum ager propior erat, Pedum peruenere; Aricinos Lanuinosque et Veliternos Antiatibus Volscis se coniungentes ad Asturae flumen Maenius improuiso adortus fudit. Camillus ad Pedum cum Tiburtibus, maxime ualido exercitu, maiore mole quamquam aeque prospero euentu pugnabat. tumultum maxime repentina inter proelium eruptio oppidanorum fecit; in quos parte exercitus conuersa Camillus non compulit solum eos intra moenia sed eodem etiam die, cum ipsos auxiliaque eorum perculisset, oppidum scalis cepit. placuit inde iam maiore conatu animoque ab unius expugnatione urbis ad perdomandum Latium uictorem circumducere exercitum; nec quieuiere antequam expugnando aut in deditionem accipiendo singulas urbes Latium omne subegere. praesidiis inde dispositis per recepta oppida Romam ad destinatum omnium consensu triumphum decessere. additus triumpho honos ut statuae equestres eis, rara illa aetate res, in foro ponerentur. priusquam comitiis in insequentem annum consules rogarent, Camillus de Latinis populis ad senatum rettulit atque ita disseruit: ‘patres conscripti, quod bello armisque in Latio agendum fuit, id iam deum benignitate ac uirtute militum ad finem uenit. caesi ad Pedum Asturamque sunt exercitus hostium; oppida Latina omnia et Antium ex Volscis aut ui capta aut recepta in deditionem praesidiis tenentur uestris. reliqua consultatio est, quoniam rebellando saepius nos sollicitant, quoniam modo perpetua pace quietos obtineamus. di immortales ita uos potentes huius consilii fecerunt ut, sit Latium deinde an non sit, in uestra manu posuerint; itaque pacem uobis, quod ad Latinos attinet, parare in perpetuum uel saeuendo uel ignoscendo potestis. uultis crudeliter

consulere in deditos uictosque? licet delere omne Latium, uastas inde solitudines facere, unde sociali egregio exercitu per multa bella magnaue saepe usi estis. uoltis exemplo maiorum augere rem Romanam uictos in ciuitatem accipiendo? materia crescendi per summam gloriam suppeditat. certe id firmissimum longe imperium est quo oboedientes gaudent. sed maturato opus est quidquid statuere placet; tot populos inter spem metumque suspensos animi habetis; et uestram itaque de eis curam quam primum absolui et illorum animos, dum exspectatione stupent, seu poena seu beneficio praeoccupari oportet. nostrum fuit efficere ut omnium rerum uobis ad consulendum potestas esset; uestrum est decernere quod optimum uobis reique publicae sit.’

[14] Principes senatus relationem consulis de summa rerum laudare sed, cum aliorum causa alia esset, ita expediri posse consilium dicere, [si] ut pro merito cuiusque statueretur, [si] de singulis nominatim referrent populis. relatum igitur de singulis decretumque. Lanuuinis ciuitas data sacraque sua reddita, cum eo ut aedes lucusque Sospitae Iunonis communis Lanuuinis municipibus cum populo Romano esset. Aricini Nomentanique et Pedani eodem iure quo Lanuuii in ciuitatem accepti. Tusculanis seruata ciuitas quam habebant crimenque rebellionis a publica fraude in paucos auctores uersum. in Veliternos, ueteres ciues Romanos, quod totiens rebellassent, grauiter saeuitum: et muri deiecti et senatus inde abductus iussique trans Tiberim habitare, ut eius qui cis Tiberim deprehensus esset usque ad mille pondo assium clarigatio esset nec priusquam aere persoluto is qui cepisset extra uincula captum haberet. in agrum senatorum coloni missi, quibus adscriptis speciem antiquae frequentiae Velitrae receperunt. et Antium noua colonia missa, cum eo ut Antiatibus permetteretur, si et ipsi adscribi coloni uellent; naues inde longae abactae interdictumque mari Antiati populo est et ciuitas data. Tiburtes Praenestinique agro multati neque ob recens tantum rebellionis commune cum aliis Latinis crimen sed quod taedio imperii Romani cum Gallis, gente efferata, arma quondam consociassent. ceteris Latinis populis conubia commerciaque et concilia inter se ademerunt. Campanis equitum honoris causa, quia cum Latinis rebellare nolissent, Fundanisque et Formianis, quod per fines eorum tuta pacataque semper fuisset uia,

ciuitas sine suffragio data. Cumanos Suessulanosque eiusdem iuris condicionisque cuius Capuam esse placuit. naues Antiatium partim in naualia Romae subductae, partim incensae, rostrisque earum suggestum in foro exstructum adornari placuit, Rostraque id templum appellatum.

[15] C. Sulpicio Longo P. Aelio Paeto consulibus, cum omnia non opes magis Romanae quam beneficiis parta gratia bona pace obtineret, inter Sidicinos Auruncosque bellum ortum. Aurunci, T. Manlio consule in deditionem accepti, nihil deinde mouerant; eo petendi auxilii ab Romanis causa iustior fuit. sed priusquam consules ab urbe + iusserat enim senatus defendi Auruncos + exercitum educerent, fama adfertur Auruncos metu oppidum deseruisse profugosque cum coniugibus ac liberis Suessam communisse, quae nunc Aurunca appellatur, moenia antiqua eorum urbemque ab Sidicinis deletam. ob ea infensus consulibus senatus, quorum cunctatione proditi socii essent, dictatorem dici iussit. dictus C. Claudius Inregillensis magistrum equitum C. Claudium Hortatorem dixit. religio inde iniecta de dictatore et, cum augures uitio creatum uideri dixissent, dictator magisterque equitum se magistratu abdicarunt. eo anno Minucia Vestalis, suspecta primo propter mundiorem iusto cultum, insimulata deinde apud pontifices ab indice seruo, cum decreto eorum iussa esset sacris abstinere familiamque in potestate habere, facto iudicio uiua sub terram ad portam Collinam dextra uiam stratam defossa Scelerato campo; credo ab incesto id ei loco nomen factum. eodem anno Q. Publilius Philo praetor primum de plebe aduersante Sulpicio consule, qui negabat rationem eius se habiturum, est factus senatu, cum in summis imperiis id non obtinuisset, minus in praetura tendente.

[16] Insequens annus, L. Papirio Crasso K. Duillio consulibus, Ausonum magis nouo quam magno bello fuit insignis. ea gens Cales urbem incolebat; Sidicinis finitimis arma coniunxerat; unoque proelio haud sane memorabili duorum populorum exercitus fusus, propinquitate urbium et ad fugam pronior et in fuga ipsa tutior fuit. nec tamen omissa eius belli cura patribus, quia totiens iam Sidicini aut ipsi mouerant bellum aut mouentibus auxilium tulerant aut causa armorum fuerant. itaque omni ope adnisi sunt, ut maximum ea tempestate imperatorem M. Valerium Coruum consulem quartum

facerent; collega additus Coruo M. Atilius Regulus; et ne forte casu erraretur, petatum ab consulibus ut extra sortem Corui ea prouincia esset. exercitu uictore a superioribus consulibus accepto ad Cales, unde bellum ortum erat, profectus, cum hostes ab superioris etiam certaminis memoria pauidos clamore atque impetu primo fudisset, moenia ipsa oppugnare est adgressus. et militum quidem is erat ardor ut iam inde cum scalis succedere ad muros uellent euasurosque contenderent; Coruus, quia id arduum factum erat, labore militum potius quam periculo peragere inceptum uoluit. itaque aggerem et uineas egit turreaque muro admouit, quarum usum forte oblata opportunitas praeuertit. namque M. Fabius, captiuus Romanus, cum per negligentiam custodum festo die uinculis ruptis per murum inter opera Romanorum, religata ad pinnam muri recte suspensus, manibus se demisisset, perpulit imperatorem ut uino epulisque sopitos hostes adgrederetur; nec maiore certamine capti cum urbe Ausones sunt quam acie fusi erant. praeda capta ingens est praesidioque imposito Calibus reductae Romam legiones. consul ex senatus consulto triumphauit et, ne Atilius expers gloriae esset, iussi ambo consules aduersus Sidicinos ducere exercitum. dictatorem ante ex senatus consulto comitorum habendorum causa dixerunt L. Aemilium Mamercinum; is magistrum equitum Q. Publilium Philonem dixit. dictatore comitia habente consules creati sunt T. Veturius Sp. Postumius. etsi belli pars cum Sidicinis restabat, tamen, ut beneficio praeuenirent desiderium plebis, de colonia deducenda Cales rettulerunt; factoque senatus consulto ut duo milia quingenti homines eo scriberentur, tres uiros coloniae deducendae agroque diuidendo creauerunt K. Duillium T. Quinctium M. Fabium.

[17] Noui deinde consules a ueteribus exercitu accepto ingressi hostium fines populando usque ad moenia atque urbem peruenerunt. ibi quia ingenti exercitu comparato Sidicini et ipsi pro extrema spe dimicaturi enixe uidebantur et Samnium fama erat conciri ad bellum, dictator ab consulibus ex auctoritate senatus dictus P. Cornelius Rufinus, magister equitum M. Antonius. religio deinde incessit uitio eos creatos magistratuque se abdicauerunt; et quia pestilentia insecuta est, uelut omnibus eo uitio contactis auspiciis res ad interregnum rediit. ab interregno inito per quintum demum interregem, M. Valerium Coruum, creati consules A. Cornelius

iterum et Cn. Domitius. tranquillis rebus fama Gallici belli pro tumultu ualuit ut dictatorem dici placeret; dictus M. Papirius Crassus et magister equitum P. Valerius Publicola. a quibus cum dilectus intentius quam aduersus finitima bella haberetur, exploratores missi attulerunt qujeta omnia apud Gallos esse. Samnium quoque iam alterum annum turbari nouis consiliis suspectum erat; eo ex agro Sidicino exercitus Romanus non deductus. ceterum Samnites bellum Alexandri Epirensis in Lucanos traxit; qui duo populi aduersus regem escensionem a Paesto facientem signis conlatis pugnaverunt. eo certamine superior Alexander + incertum qua fide culturus, si perinde cetera processissent + pacem cum Romanis fecit. eodem anno census actus nouique ciues censi. tribus propter eos additae Maecia et Scaptia; censores addiderunt Q. Publilius Philo Sp. Postumius. Romani facti Acerrani lege ab L. Papirio praetore lata, qua ciuitas sine suffragio data. haec eo anno domi militiaeque gesta.

[18] Foedus insequens annus seu intemperie caeli seu humana fraude fuit, M. Claudio Marcello C. Valerio consulibus. + Flaccum Potitumque uarie in annalibus cognomen consulis inuenio; ceterum in eo parui refert quid ueri sit +. illud peruelim + nec omnes auctores sunt + proditum falso esse uenenis absumptos quorum mors infamem annum pestilentia fecerit; sicut proditur tamen res, ne cui auctorum fidem abrogauerim, exponenda est. cum primores ciuitatis similibus morbis eodemque ferme omnes euentu morerentur, ancilla quaedam ad Q. Fabium Maximum aedilem curulem indicaturam se causam publicae pestis professa est, si ab eo fides sibi data esset haud futurum noxae indicium. Fabius confestim rem ad consules, consules ad senatum referunt consensusque ordinis fides indici data. tum patefactum muliebri fraude ciuitatem premi matronasque ea uenena coquere et, si sequi extemplo uelint, manifesto deprehendi posse. secuti indicem et coquentes quasdam medicamenta et recondita alia inuenerunt; quibus in forum delatis et ad uiginti matronis, apud quas deprehensa erant, per uiatorem accitis duae ex eis, Cornelia ac Sergia, patriciae utraque gentis, cum ea medicamenta salubria esse contenderent, ab confutante indice bibere iussae ut se falsum commentam arguerent, spatio ad conloquendum sumpto, cum submoto populo [in conspectu omnium] rem ad ceteras rettulissent, haud abnuentibus et illis bibere, epoto [in conspectu omnium]

medicamento suamet ipsae fraude omnes interierunt. comprehensae extemplo earum comites magnum numerum matronarum indicauerunt; ex quibus ad centum septuaginta damnatae; neque de ueneficiis ante eam diem Romae quaesitum est. prodigii ea res loco habita captisque magis mentibus quam consceleratis similis uisa; itaque memoria ex annalibus repetita in secessionibus quondam plebis clauum ab dictatore fixum alienatas[que] discordia mentes hominum eo piaculo compotes sui fecisse, dictatorem clauum figendi causa creari placuit. creatus Cn. Quinctilius magistrum equitum L. Valerium dixit, qui fixo clauo magistratu se abdicauerunt.

[19] Creati consules L. Papirius Crassus iterum L. Plautius Venox; cuius principio anni legati ex Volscis Fabraterni et Lucani Romam uenerunt, orantes ut in fidem reciperentur: si a Samnitium armis defensi essent, se sub imperio populi Romani fideliter atque oboedienter futuros. missi tum ab senatu legati denuntiatumque Samnitibus, ut eorum populorum finibus uim abstinerent; ualuitque ea legatio, non tam quia pacem uolebant Samnites quam quia nondum parati erant ad bellum.

Eodem anno Priuernas bellum initum, cuius socii Fundani, dux etiam fuit Fundanus, Vitruuius Vaccus, uir non domi solum sed etiam Romae clarus; aedes fuere in Palatio eius, quae Vacci prata diruto aedificio publicatoque solo appellata. aduersus hunc uastantem effuse Setinum Norbanumque et Coranum agrum L. Papirius profectus haud procul castris eius consedit. Vitruuius nec ut uallo se teneret aduersus ualidiorem hostem sana constare mens, nec ut longius a castris dimicaret animus suppetere; uix tota extra portam castrorum explicata acie, fugam magis retro quam proelium aut hostem spectante milite, sine consilio, sine audacia depugnat. ut et leui momento nec ambigue est uictus, ita breuitate ipsa loci facilique receptu in tam propinqua castra haud aegre militem a multa caede est tutatus; nec fere quisquam in ipso certamine, pauci in turba fugae extremae, cum in castra ruerent, caesi; primisque tenebris Priuernum inde petitum agmine trepido, ut muris potius quam uallo sese tutarentur. a Priuerni Plautius alter consul peruastatis passim agris praedaeque abacta in agrum Fundanum exercitum inducit. ingredienti fines senatus Fundanorum occurrit; negant se pro Vitruuius sectamque eius secutis precatum uenisse sed pro Fundano populo; quem extra

culpam belli esse ipsum Vitruuium iudicasse, cum receptaculum fugae Priuernum habuerit non patriam [Fundanos]. Priuerni igitur hostes populi Romani quaerendos persequendosque esse, qui simul a Fundanis ac Romanis utriusque patriae immemores defecerint: Fundis pacem esse et animos Romanos et gratam memoriam acceptae ciuitatis. orare se consulem ut bellum ab innoxio populo abstineat; agros, urbem, corpora ipsorum coniugumque ac liberorum suorum in potestate populi Romani esse futuraque. conlaudatis Fundanis consul litterisque Romam missis in officio Fundanos esse ad Priuernum flexit iter. prius animaduersum in eos qui capita coniurationis fuerant a consule scribit Claudius: ad trecentos quinquaginta ex coniuratis uinctos Romam missos eamque deditionem ab senatu non acceptam, quod egentium atque humilium poena defungi uelle Fundanum populum censuerint. Priuernum.

[20] Duobus consularibus exercitibus cum obsideretur, alter consul comitiorum causa Romam reuocatus. carceres eo anno in circo primum statuti. nondum perfunctos cura Priuernatis belli tumultus Gallici fama atrox inuasit, haud ferme unquam neglecta patribus. extemplo igitur consules noui, L. Aemilius Mamercinus et C. Plautius, eo ipso die, Kalendis Quinctilibus, quo magistratum inierunt, comparare inter se prouincias iussi, Mamercinus, cui Gallicum bellum euenerat, scribere exercitum sine ulla uacationis uenia; quin opificum quoque uolgi et sellularii, minime militiae idoneum genus, exciti dicuntur; Veiosque ingens exercitus contractus, ut inde obuiam Gallis iretur; longius discedi, ne alio itinere hostis falleret ad urbem incedens, non placuit. paucos deinde post dies satis explorata temporis eius quiete a Gallis Priuernum omnis conuersa uis. duplex inde fama est: alii ui captam urbem Vitruuiumque uiuum in potestatem uenisse: alii priusquam ultima adhiberetur uis, ipsos se in deditionem consuli caduceum praeferentes permisisse auctores sunt Vitruuiumque ab suis traditum. senatus de Vitruuio Priuernatibusque consultus consulem Plautium dirutis Priuerni muris praesidioque ualido imposito ad triumphum accersit: Vitruuium in carcere adseruari iussit quoad consul redisset, tum uerberatum necari: aedes eius, quae essent in Palatio, diruendas, bona Semoni Sango censuerunt consecranda. quodque aeris ex eis redactum est, ex eo aenei orbes facti positi in sacello Sanguis

aduersus aedem Quirini. de senatu Priuernate ita decretum, ut qui senator Priuerni post defectionem ab Romanis mansisset trans Tiberim lege eadem qua Veliterni habitaret. his ita decretis usque ad triumphum Plauti silentium de Priuernatibus fuit; post triumphum consul necato Vitruuio sociisque eius noxae apud satiatos iam suppliciis nocentium tutam mentionem de Priuernatibus ratus, ‘quoniam auctores defectionis’ inquit, ‘meritas poenas et ab dis immortalibus et a uobis habent, patres conscripti, quid placet de innoxia multitudine fieri? equidem, etsi meae partes exquirendae magis sententiae quam dandae sunt, tamen, cum uideam Priuernates uicinos Samnitibus esse, unde nunc nobis incertissima pax est, quam minimum irarum inter nos illosque relinqui uelim’.

[21] Cum ipsa per se res anceps esset, prout cuiusque ingenium erat atrocius mitiusue suadentibus, tum incertiora omnia unus ex Priuernatibus legis fecit, magis condicionis in qua natus esset quam praesentis necessitatis memor; qui interrogatus a quodam tristioris sententiae auctore quam poenam meritos Priuernates censeret, ‘eam’ inquit ‘quam merentur qui se libertate dignos censent’. cuius cum feroci responso infestiores factos uideret consul eos qui ante Priuernatium causam impugnabant, ut ipse benigna interrogatione mitius responsum eliceret, ‘quid si poenam’ inquit, ‘remittimus uobis, qualem nos pacem uobiscum habituros speremus?’ ‘si bonam dederitis,’ inquit ‘et fidam et perpetuam; si malam, haud diuturnam.’ tum uero minari nec id ambigue Priuernatem quidam et illis uocibus ad rebellandum incitari pacatos populos; pars melior senatus ad molliora responsa trahere et dicere uiri et liberi uocem auditam: an credi posse ullum populum aut hominem denique in ea condicione, cuius eum paeniteat, diutius quam necesse sit mansurum? ibi pacem esse fidam ubi uoluntarii pacati sint, neque eo loco ubi seruitutem esse uelint fidem sperandam esse. in hanc sententiam maxime consul ipse inclinauit animos, identidem ad principes sententiarum consulares, uti exaudiri posset a pluribus, dicendo eos demum qui nihil praeterquam de libertate cogitent dignos esse qui Romani fiant. itaque et in senatu causam obtinere et ex auctoritate patrum latum ad populum est ut Priuernatibus ciuitas daretur. eodem anno Anxur trecenti in coloniam missi sunt; bina iugera agri acceperunt.

[22] Secutus est annus nulla re belli domiue insignis, P. Plautio

Proculo P. Cornelio Scapula consulibus, praeterquam quod Fregellas + Segninorum is ager, deinde Volscorum fuerat + colonia deducta et populo uisceratio data a M. Flauio in funere matris. erant qui per speciem honorandae parentis meritam mercedem populo solutam interpretarentur, quod eum die dicta ab aedilibus crimine stupratae matrisfamiliae absoluisset. data uisceratio in praeteritam iudicii gratiam honoris etiam ei causa fuit tribunatuque plebei proximis comitiis absens petentibus praefertur. Palaepolis fuit haud procul inde ubi nunc Neapolis sita est; duabus urbibus populus idem habitabat. Cumis erant oriundi; Cumani Chalcide Euboica originem trahunt. classe, qua aduecti ab domo fuerant, multum in ora maris eius quod accolunt potuere, primo [in] insulas Aenariam et Pitheculas egressi, deinde in continentem ausi sedes transferre. haec ciuitas cum suis uiribus tum Samnitium infidae aduersus Romanos societati freta, siue pestilentiae quae Romanam urbem adorta nuntiabatur fidens, multa hostilia aduersus Romanos agrum Campanum Falernumque incolentes fecit. igitur L. Cornelio Lentulo Q. Publilio Philone iterum consulibus, fetialibus Palaepolim ad res repetendas missis cum relatum esset a Graecis, gente lingua magis strenua quam factis, ferox responsum, ex auctoritate patrum populus Palaepolitanis bellum fieri iussit. inter consules prouinciis comparatis bello Graeci persequendi Publilio euenerunt; Cornelius altero exercitu Samnitibus, si qua se mouerent, oppositus + fama autem erat defectioni Campanorum imminentes admoturos castra + ; ibi optimum uisum Cornelio statui habere.

[23] Ab utroque consule exiguam spem pacis cum Samnitibus esse certior fit senatus: Publilius duo milia Nolanorum militum et quattuor Samnitium magis Nolanis cogentibus quam uoluntate Graecorum recepta Palaepoli; [miserat; Romae compertum,] Cornelius dilectum indictum a magistratibus uniuersumque Samnium erectum ac uicinos populos, Priuernatem Fundanumque et Formianum, haud ambigue sollicitari. ob haec cum legatos mitti placuisset prius ad Samnites quam bellum fieret, responsum redditur ab Samnitibus ferox. ultro incusabant iniurias Romanorum, neque eo neglegentius ea quae ipsis obicerentur purgabant: haud ullo publico consilio auxiliouie iuuari Graecos nec Fundanum Formianumue a se sollicitatos; quippe minime paenitere se uirium suarum, si bellum placeat. ceterum non

posse dissimulare aegre pati ciuitatem Samnitium quod Fregellas ex Volscis captas dirutasque ab se restituerit Romanus populus coloniamque in Samnitium agro imposuerint, quam coloni eorum Fregellas appellent; eam se contumeliam iniuriamque, ni sibi ab iis qui fecerint dematur, ipsos omni ui depulsuros esse. cum Romanus legatus ad disceptandum eos ad communes socios atque amicos uocaret, 'quid perplexe agimus?' inquit; 'nostra certamina, Romani, non uerba legatorum nec hominum quisquam disceptator sed campus Campanus, in quo concurrendum est, et arma et communis Mars belli decernet. proinde inter Capuam Suessulamque castra castris conferamus et Samnis Romanusne imperio Italiam regat decernamus.' legati Romanorum cum se non quo hostis uocasset sed quo imperatores sui duxissent ituros esse respondissent * * * * iam Publius inter Palaepolim Neapolimque loco opportune capto diremerat hostibus societatem auxilii mutui qua, ut quisque locus premeretur, inter se usi fuerant. itaque cum et comitiorum dies instaret et Publium imminentem hostium muris auocari ab spe capiendae in dies urbis haud e re publica esset, actum cum tribunis est ad populum ferrent ut, cum Q. Publius Philo consulatu abisset, pro consule rem gereret quoad debellatum cum Graecis esset. L. Cornelio, quia ne eum quidem in Samnium iam ingressum reuocari ab impetu belli placebat, litterae missae ut dictatorem comitiorum causa diceret. dixit M. Claudium Marcellum; ab eo magister equitum dictus Sp. Postumius. nec tamen ab dictatore comitia sunt habita, quia uitio creatus esset in disquisitionem uenit. consulti augures uitiosum uideri dictatorem pronuntiauerunt. eam rem tribuni suspectam infamemque criminando fecerunt: nam neque facile fuisse id uitium nosci, cum consul oriens de nocte silentio diceret dictatorem, neque ab consule cuiquam publice priuatimue de ea re scriptum esse nec quemquam mortalium exstare qui se uidisse aut audisse quid dicat quod auspicium dirimeret, neque augures diuinare Romae sedentes potuisse quid in castris consuli uitii obuenisset; cui non apparere, quod plebeius dictator sit, id uitium auguribus uisum? haec aliaque ab tribunis nequiquam iactata; tamen ad interregnum res redit, dilatisque alia atque alia de causa comitiis quartus decimus demum interrex L. Aemilius consules creat C. Poetelium L. Papirium Mugillanum; Cursorem in aliis annalibus inuenio.

[24] Eodem anno Alexandream in Aegypto proditum conditam Alexandrumque Epiri regem ab exsule Lucano interfectum sortes Dodonaei Iouis euentu adfirmasse. accito ab Tarentinis in Italiam data dictio erat, caueret Acherusiam aquam Pandosiamque urbem: ibi fatis eius terminum dari. eoque ocius transmisit in Italiam ut quam maxime procul abesset urbe Pandosia in Epiro et Acheronte amni, quem ex Molosside fluentem in Stagna Inferna accipit Thesprotius sinus. ceterum ut ferme fugiendo in media fata ruitur, cum saepe Bruttias Lucanasque legiones fudisset, Heracleam, Tarentinorum coloniam, ex Lucanis Sipontumque, Bruttiorum Consentiam ac Terinam, alias inde Messapiorum ac Lucanorum cepisset urbes et trecentas familias illustres in Epirum quas obsidum numero haberet misisset, haud procul Pandosia urbe, imminente Lucanis ac Brutiis finibus, tres tumulos aliquantum inter se distantes insedit, ex quibus incursiones in omnem partem agri hostilis faceret; et ducentos ferme Lucanorum exsules circa se pro fidis habebat, ut pleraque eius generis ingenia sunt, cum fortuna mutabilem gerentes fidem. imbres continui campis omnibus inundatis cum interclusissent trifariam exercitum a mutuo inter se auxilio, duo praesidia quae sine rege erant improviso hostium aduentu opprimuntur; deletisque eis ad ipsius obsidionem omnes conuersi. inde ab Lucanis exsulibus ad suos nuntii missi sunt pactoque reditu promissum est regem aut uiuum aut mortuum in potestatem daturus. ceterum cum delectis ipse egregium facinus ausus per medios erumpit hostes et ducem Lucanorum comminus congressum obtruncat; contrahensque suos ex fuga palatos peruenit ad amnem ruinis recentibus pontis, quem uis aequae abstulerat, indicantem iter. quem cum incerto uado transiret agmen, fessus metu ac labore miles, increpans nomen abominandum fluminis, ‘iure Acherus uocaris’ inquit. quod ubi ad aures accedit regis, adiecit extemplo animum fatis suis substititque dubius an transiret. tum Sotimus, minister ex regiis pueris, quid in tanto discrimine periculi cunctaretur interrogans indicat Lucanos insidiis quaerere locum. quos ubi respexit rex procul grege facto uenientes, stringit gladium et per medium amnem transmittit equum; iamque in uadum egressum eminus ueruto Lucanus exsul transfigit. lapsum inde cum inhaerente telo corpus exanime detulit amnis in hostium praesidia. ibi foeda laceratio corporis facta. namque praeciso medio

partem Consentiam misere, pars ipsis retenta ad ludibrium; quae cum iaculis saxisque procul incesceretur, mulier una ultra humanarum irarum fidem saeuienti turbae immixta, ut parumper sustinerent precata, flens ait uirum sibi liberosque captos apud hostes esse; sperare corpore regio utcumque mulcato se suos redempturam. is finis laceratione fuit, sepultumque Consentiae quod membrorum reliquum fuit cura mulieris unius, ossaque Metapontum ad hostes remissa, inde Epirum deuecta ad Cleopatram uxorem sororemque Olympiadem, quarum mater magni Alexandri altera, soror altera fuit. haec de Alexandri Epirensis tristi euentu, quamquam Romano bello fortuna eum abstinuit, tamen, quia in Italia bella gessit, paucis dixisse satis sit.

[25] Eodem anno lectisternium Romae quinto post conditam urbem iisdem quibus ante placandis habitum est dies. noui deinde consules iussu populi cum misissent qui indicerent Samnitibus bellum, ipsi maiore conatu quam aduersus Graecos cuncta parabant; et alia noua nihil tum animo tale agitantibus accesserunt auxilia. Lucani atque Apuli, quibus gentibus nihil ad eam diem cum Romano populo fuerat, in fidem uenerunt, arma uirosque ad bellum pollicentes; foedere ergo in amicitiam accepti. eodem tempore etiam in Samnio res prospere gesta. tria oppida in potestatem uenerunt, Allifae, Callifae, Rufrium, aliusque ager primo aduentu consulum longe lateque est peruastatus. hoc bello tam prospere commisso, alteri quoque bello quo Graeci obsidebantur iam finis aderat. nam praeterquam quod intersaeptis munimentis hostium pars parti abscisa erat, foediora aliquanto intra muros iis quibus hostis territabat patiebantur et uelut capti a suismet ipsis praesidiis indigna iam liberis quoque ac coniugibus et quae captarum urbium extrema sunt [patiebantur]. itaque cum et a Tarento et a Samnitibus fama esset noua auxilia uentura, Samnitium plus quam uellent intra moenia esse rebantur, Tarentinorum iuuentutem, Graeci Graecos, haud minus per quos Samniti Nolanoque quam ut Romanis hostibus resisterent, exspectabant. postremo leuissimum malorum deditio ad Romanos uisa: Charilaus et Nymphius principes ciuitatis communicato inter se consilio partes ad rem agendam diuisere, ut alter ad imperatorem Romanorum transfugeret, alter subsisteret ad praebendam opportunam consilio urbem. Charilaus fuit qui ad Publilium

Philonem uenit et, quod bonum faustum felix Palaepolitanis populoque Romano esset, tradere se ait moenia statuisse. eo facto utrum ab se prodita an seruata patria uideatur, in fide Romana positum esse. sibi priuatim nec pacisci quicquam nec petere; publice petere quam pacisci magis ut, si successisset inceptum, cogitaret populus Romanus potius cum quanto studio periculoque reditum in amicitiam suam esset quam qua stultitia et temeritate de officio decessum. conlaudatus ab imperatore tria milia militum ad occupandam eam partem urbis quam Samnites insidebant accepit; praesidio ei L. Quinctius tribunus militum praepositus.

[26] Eodem tempore et Nymphius praetorem Samnitium arte adgressus perpulerat, ut, quoniam omnis Romanus exercitus aut circa Palaepolim aut in Samnio esset, sineret se classe circumuehi ad Romanum agrum, non oram modo maris sed ipsi urbi propinqua loca depopulaturum; sed ut falleret, nocte proficiscendum esse extemploque naues deducendas. quod quo maturius fieret, omnis iuuentus Samnitium praeter necessarium urbis praesidium ad litus missa. ubi dum Nymphius in tenebris et multitudine semet ipsa impediens, sedulo aliis alia imperia turbans, terit tempus, Charilaus ex composito ab sociis in urbem receptus, cum summa urbis Romano milite implesset, tolli clamorem iussit; ad quem Graeci signo accepto a principibus quieuerunt, Nolani per auersam partem urbis uia Nolam ferente effugiunt. Samnitibus exclusis ab urbe ut expeditior in praesentia fuga, ita foedior postquam periculo euaserunt uisa, quippe qui inermes nulla rerum suarum non relictis inter hostes, ludibrium non externis modo sed etiam popularibus, spoliati atque egentes domos redire. haud ignarus opinionis alterius, qua haec proditio ab Samnitibus facta traditur, cum auctoribus hoc dedi, quibus dignius credi est, tum foedus Neapolitanum + eo enim deinde summa rei Graecorum uenit + similis uero facit ipsos in amicitiam redisse. Publius triumphus decretus, quod satis credebatur obsidione domitos hostes in fidem uenisse. duo singularia haec ei uiro primum contingere, prorogatio imperii non ante in ullo facta et acto honore triumphus.

[27] Aliud subinde bellum cum alterius orae Graecis exortum. namque Tarentini cum rem Palaepolitanam uana spe auxilii aliquamdiu sustinuissent, postquam Romanos urbe potitos accepere,

uelut destituti ac non qui ipsi destituissent, increpare Palaepolitanos, ira atque inuidia in Romanos furere, eo etiam quod Lucanos et Apulos + nam utraque eo anno societas coepta est + in fidem populi Romani uenisse allatum est: quippe propemodum peruentum ad se esse iamque in eo rem fore ut Romani aut hostes aut domini habendi sint. discrimen profecto rerum suarum in bello Samnitium euentuque eius uerti; eam solam gentem restare nec eam ipsam satis ualidam, quando Lucanus defecerit; quem reuocari adhuc impellique ad abolendam societatem Romanam posse, si qua ars serendis discordiis adhibeatur. haec consilia cum apud cupidos rerum nouandarum ualuisent, ex iuuentute quidam Lucanorum pretio adsciti, clari magis inter populares quam honesti, inter se mulcati ipsi uirgis, cum corpora nuda intulissent in ciuium coetum, uociferati sunt se, quod castra Romana ingredi ausi essent, a consulibus uirgis caesos ac prope securi percussos esse. deformis suapte natura res cum speciem iniuriae magis quam doli prae se ferret, concitati homines cogunt clamore suo magistratus senatum uocare; et alii circumstantes concilium bellum in Romanos poscunt, alii ad concitandam in arma multitudinem agrestium discurrunt, tumultuque etiam sanos consternante animos decernitur ut societas cum Samnitibus renouaretur, legatique ad eam rem mittuntur. repentina res quia quam causam nullam tam ne fidem quidem habebat, coacti a Samnitibus et obsides dare et praesidia in loca munita accipere, caeci fraude et ira nihil recusarunt. dilucere deinde breui fraus coepit postquam criminum falsorum auctores Tarentum commigrare; sed amissa omni de se potestate nihil ultra quam ut paeniteret frustra restabat.

[28] Eo anno plebi Romanae uelut aliud initium libertatis factum est quod nequi desierunt; mutatum autem ius ob unius feneratoris simul libidinem, simul crudelitatem insignem. L. Papius is fuit, cui cum se C. Publilius ob aes alienum paternum nexum dedisset, quae aetas formaeque misericordiam elicere poterant, ad libidinem et contumeliam animum accenderunt. [ut] florem aetatis eius fructum aduentitium crediti ratus, primo perlicere adulescentem sermone incesto est conatus; dein, postquam aspernabantur flagitium aures, minis terrare atque identidem admonere fortunae; postremo, cum ingenuitatis magis quam praesentis condicionis memorem uideret, nudari iubet uerberaque adferri. quibus laceratus iuuenis cum se in

publicum proripuisset, libidinem crudelitatemque conquerens feneratoris, ingens uis hominum cum aetatis miseratione atque indignitate iniuriae accensa, tum suae condicionis liberumque suorum respectu, in forum atque inde agmine facto ad curiam concurrit; et cum consules tumultu repentino coacti senatum uocarent, introeuntibus in curiam patribus laceratum iuuenis tergum procumbentes ad singulorum pedes ostentabant. uictum eo die ob impotentem iniuriam unius ingens uinculum fidei iussique consules ferre ad populum ne quis, nisi qui noxam meruisset, donec poenam lueret in compedibus aut in neruo teneretur; pecuniae creditae bona debitoris, non corpus obnoxium esset. ita nexi soluti, cautumque in posterum ne necterentur.

[29] Eodem anno cum satis per se ipsum Samnitium bellum et defectio repens Lucanorum auctoresque defectionis Tarentini sollicitos haberent patres, accessit ut et Vestinus populus Samnitibus sese coniungeret. quae res sicut eo anno sermonibus magis passim hominum iactata quam in publico ullo concilio est, ita insequentis anni consulibus, L. Furio Camillo iterum Iunio Bruto Scaevae, nulla prior potiorque uisa est de qua ad senatum referrent. et quamquam [non] noua res erat, tamen tanta cura patres incessit ut pariter eam susceptam neglectamque timerent, ne aut impunitas eorum lasciuiam superbiaque aut bello poenae expetitae metu propinquo atque ira concirent finitimos populos; et erat genus omne abunde bello Samnitibus par, Marsi Paelignique et Marrucini, quos, si Vestinus attingeretur, omnes habendos hostes. uicit tamen pars quae in praesentia uideri potuit maioris animi quam consilii; sed euentus docuit fortes fortunam iuuare. bellum ex auctoritate patrum populus aduersus Vestinos iussit. prouincia ea Bruto, Samnium Camillo sorte euenit. exercitus utroque ducti et cura tuendorum finium hostes prohibiti coniungere arma. ceterum alterum consulem L. Furium, cui maior moles rerum imposita erat, morbo graui implicitum fortuna bello subtrahit; iussusque dictatorem dicere rei gerendae causa longe clarissimum bello ea tempestate dixit, L. Papirium Cursorem, a quo Q. Fabius Maximus Rullianus magister equitum est dictus, par nobile rebus in eo magistratu gestis, discordia tamen, qua prope ad ultimum dimicationis uentum est, nobilius. ab altero consule in Vestinis multiplex bellum nec usquam uario euentu gestum est. nam et

peruastauit agros et populando atque urendo tecta hostium sataque in aciem inuitos extraxit; et ita proelio uno accidit Vestinorum res, haudquaquam tamen incruento milite suo, ut non in castra solum refugerent hostes sed iam ne uallo quidem ac fossis freti dilaberentur in oppida, situ urbium moenibusque se defensuri. postremo oppida quoque ui expugnare adortus, primo Cutinam ingenti ardore militum a uolnerum ira quod haud fere quisquam integer proelio excesserat, scalis cepit, deinde Cingiliam. utriusque urbis praedam militibus, quod eos neque portae nec muri hostium arcuerant, concessit.

[30] In Samnium incertis itum auspiciis est; cuius rei uitium non in belli euentum, quod prospere gestum est, sed in rabiem atque iras imperatorum uertit. namque Papirius dictator a pullario monitus cum ad auspicium repetendum Romam proficisceretur, magistro equitum denuntiauit ut sese loco teneret neu absente se cum hoste manum consereret. Q. Fabius cum post profectionem dictatoris per exploratores comperisset perinde omnia soluta apud hostes ac si nemo Romanus in Samnio esset, seu ferox adulescens indignitate accensus quod omnia in dictatore uiderentur reposita esse seu occasione bene gerendae rei inductus, exercitu instructo paratoque profectus ad Imbrinium + ita uocant locum + acie cum Samnitibus confligit. ea fortuna pugnae fuit ut nihil relictum sit quo, si adfuisset dictator, res melius geri potuerit; non dux militi, non miles duci defuit. eques etiam auctore L. Cominio tribuno militum, qui aliquotiens impetu capto perrumpere non poterat hostium agmen, detraxit frenos equis atque ita concitatos calcaribus permisit ut sustinere eos nulla uis posset; per arma, per uiros late stragem dedere; secutus pedes impetum equitum turbatis hostibus intulit signa. uiginti milia hostium caesa eo die traduntur. auctores habeo bis cum hoste signa conlata dictatore absente, bis rem egregie gestam; apud antiquissimos scriptores una haec pugna inuenitur; in quibusdam annalibus tota res praetermissa est. magister equitum ut ex tanta caede multis potitus spoliis congesta in ingentem acruum hostilia arma subdito igne concremauit, seu uotum id deorum cuiuspiam fuit seu credere libet Fabio auctori eo factum ne suae gloriae fructum dictator caperet nomenque ibi scriberet aut spolia in triumpho ferret. litterae quoque de re prospere gesta ad senatum non ad dictatorem missae argumentum fuere minime cum eo

communicantis laudes. ita certe dictator id factum accepit, ut laetis aliis uictoria parta prae se ferret iram tristitiamque. misso itaque repente senatu se ex curia proripuit, tum uero non Samnitiū magis legiones quam maiestatem dictatoriam et disciplinam militarem a magistro equitum uictam et euersam dictitans, si illi impune spretum imperium fuisset. itaque plenus minarum iraeque profectus in castra, cum maximis itineribus isset, non tamen praeuenire famam aduentus sui potuit; praecucurrerant enim ab urbe qui nuntiarent dictatorem audidum poenae uenire, alternis paene uerbis T. Manli factum laudantem.

[31] Fabius contione extemplo aduocata obtestatus milites est ut, qua uirtute rem publicam ab infestissimis hostibus defendissent, eadem se cuius ductu auspicioque uicissent ab impotenti crudelitate dictatoris tutarentur: uenire amentem inuidia, iratum uirtuti alienae felicitatique; furere quod se absente res publica egregie gesta esset; malle, si mutare fortunam posset, apud Samnites quam Romanos uictoriam esse; imperium dictitare spretum, tamquam non eadem mente pugnari uetuerit qua pugnatum doleat. et tunc inuidia impedire uirtutem alienam uoluisse cupidissimisque arma ablaturum fuisse militibus, ne se absente moueri possent; et nunc id furere, id aegre pati, quod sine L. Papirio non inermes, non manci milites fuerint, quod se Q. Fabius magistrum equitum duxerit ac non accensum dictatoris. quid illum facturum fuisse, si, quod belli casus ferunt Marsque communis, aduersa pugna euenisset, qui sibi deuictis hostibus, re publica bene gesta ita ut non ab illo unico duce melius geri potuerit, supplicium magistro equitum tunc uictori minetur? neque illum magistro equitum infestiores quam tribunis militum, quam centurionibus, quam militibus esse. si posset, in omnes saeuiturum fuisse: quia id nequeat, in unum saeuire. etenim inuidiam tamquam ignem summa petere; in caput consilii, in ducem incurrere; si se simul cum gloria rei gestae exstinxisset, [tunc uictorem] uelut in capto exercitu dominantem quidquid licuerit in magistro equitum in militibus ausurum. proinde adessent in sua causa omnium libertati. si consensum exercitus eundem qui in proelio fuerit in tuenda uictoria uideat et salutem unius omnibus curae esse, inclinaturum ad clementiorem sententiam animum. postremo se uitam fortunasque suas illorum fidei uirtutisque permittere.

[32] Clamor e tota contione ortus, uti bonum animum haberet: neminem illi uim allaturum saluis legionibus Romanis. haud multo post dictator aduenit classicoque extemplo ad contionem aduocauit. tum silentio facto praeco Q. Fabium magistrum equitum citauit; qui simul ex inferiore loco ad tribunal accessit, tum dictator 'quaero' inquit 'de te, Q. Fabi, cum summum imperium dictatoris sit pareantque ei consules, regia potestas, praetores, iisdem auspiciis quibus consules creati, aequum censeas necne magistrum equitum dicto audientem esse; itemque illud interrogo, cum me incertis auspiciis profectum ab domo scirem, utrum mihi turbatis religionibus res publica in discrimen committenda fuerit an auspicia repetenda ne quid dubiis dis agerem; simul illud, quae dictatori religio impedimento ad rem gerendam fuerit, num ea magister equitum solutus ac liber potuerit esse. sed quid ego haec interrogo, cum, si ego tacitus abissem, tamen tibi ad uoluntatis interpretationem meae dirigenda tua sententia fuerit? quin tu respondes uetuerimne te quicquam rei me absente agere, uetuerimne signa cum hostibus conferre? quo tu imperio meo spreto, incertis auspiciis, turbatis religionibus, aduersus morem militarem disciplinamque maiorum et numen deorum ausus es cum hoste configere. ad haec quae interrogatus es responde; at extra ea caue uocem mittas. accede, lictor.' aduersus [quae] singula cum respondere haud facile esset, et nunc quereretur eundem accusatorem capitis sui ac iudicem esse, modo uitam sibi eripi citius quam gloriam rerum gestarum posse uociferaretur purgaretque se in uicem atque ultro accusaret, tunc Papirius redintegrata ira spoliari magistrum equitum ac uirgas et secures expediri iussit. Fabius fidem militum implorans lacerantibus uestem lictoribus ad triarios tumultum iam [in contione] miscentes sese recepit. inde clamor in totam contionem est perlatus; alibi preces, alibi minae audiebantur. qui proximi forte tribunali steterant, quia subiecti oculis imperatoris noscitari poterant, orabant ut parceret magistro equitum neu cum eo exercitum damnaret; extrema contio et circa Fabium globus increpabant inclementem dictatorem nec procul seditione aberant. ne tribunal quidem satis quietum erat; legati circumstantes sellam orabant ut rem in posterum diem differret et irae suae spatium et consilio tempus daret: satis castigatam adulescentiam Fabi esse, satis deformatam uictoriam; ne ad

extremum finem supplicii tenderet neu unico iuueni neu patri eius, clarissimo uiro, neu Fabiae genti eam iniungeret ignominiam. cum parum precibus, parum causa proficerent, intueri saeuientem contionem iubebant: ita iritatis militum animis subdere ignem ac materiam seditioni non esse aetatis, non prudentiae eius; neminem id Q. Fabio poenam deprecanti suam uitio uersurum sed dictatori, si occaecatus ira infestam multitudinem in se prauo certamine mouisset. postremo, ne id se gratiae dare Q. Fabi crederet, se ius iurandum dare paratos esse non uideri e re publica in Q. Fabium eo tempore animaduerti.

[33] His uocibus cum in se magis incitarent dictatorem quam magistro equitum placarent, iussi de tribunali descendere legati; et silentio nequiquam per praeconem temptato, prae strepitu ac tumultu [cum] nec ipsius dictatoris nec apparitorum eius uox audiretur, nox uelut in proelio certamini finem fecit. magister equitum, iussus postero die adesse, cum omnes adfirmarent infestius Papirium exarsurum, agitatum contentione ipsa exacerbatumque, clam ex castris Romam profugit; et patre auctore M. Fabio, qui ter iam consul dictatorque fuerat, uocato extemplo senatu, cum maxime conquereretur apud patres uim atque iniuriam dictatoris, repente strepitus ante curiam lictorum summouentium auditur et ipse infensus aderat, postquam comperit profectum ex castris, cum expedito equitatu secutus. iteratur deinde contentio et prendi Fabium Papirius iussit. ubi cum deprecantibus primoribus patrum atque uniuerso senatu perstaret in incepto immitis animus, tum pater M. Fabius ‘quando quidem’ inquit ‘apud te nec auctoritas senatus nec aetas mea, cui orbitatem paras, nec uirtus nobilitasque magistri equitum a te ipso nominati ualet nec preces, quae saepe hostem mitigauere, quae deorum iras placant, tribunos plebis appello et prouoco ad populum eumque tibi, fugienti exercitus tui, fugienti senatus iudicium, iudicem fero, qui certe unus plus quam tua dictatura potest polletque. uidero cessurusne prouocationi sis, cui rex Romanus Tullus Hostilius cessit.’ ex curia in contionem itur. quo cum paucis dictator, cum omni agmine principum magister equitum [cum] escendisset, deduci eum de rostris Papirius in partem inferiorem iussit. secutus pater ‘bene agis’ inquit, ‘cum eo nos deduci iussisti unde et priuati uocem mittere possemus.’ ibi primo non tam

perpetuae orationes quam altercatio exaudiebantur; uicit deinde strepitum uox et indignatio Fabi senis increpantis superbiam crudelitatemque Papiri: se quoque dictatorem Romae fuisse nec a se quemquam, ne plebis quidem hominem, non centurionem, non militem, uiolatum; Papirium tamquam ex hostium ducibus, sic ex Romano imperatore uictoriam et triumphum petere. quantum interesse inter moderationem antiquorum et nouam superbiam crudelitatemque. dictatorem Quinctium Cincinnatum in L. Minucium consulem ex obsidione a se ereptum non ultra saeuisse quam ut legatum eum ad exercitum pro consule relinqueret. M. Furium Camillum in L. Furio, qui contempta sua senectute et auctoritate foedissimo cum euentu pugnasset, non solum in praesentia moderatum irae esse ne quid de collega secus populo aut senatui scriberet, sed cum reuertisset potissimum ex tribunis consularibus habuisse quem ex collegis optione ab senatu data socium sibi imperii deligeret. nam populi quidem, penes quem potestas omnium rerum esset, ne iram quidem unquam atrociorē fuisse in eos qui temeritate atque inscitia exercitus amisissent quam ut pecunia eos multaret: capite anquisitum ob rem bello male gestam de imperatore nullo ad eam diem esse. nunc ducibus populi Romani, quae ne uictis quidem bello fas fuerit, uirgas et secures uictoribus et iustissimos meritis triumphos intentari. quid enim tandem passurum fuisse filium suum, si exercitum amisisset, si fusus, fugatus, castris exutus fuisset? quo ultra iram uiolentiamque eius excessuram fuisse quam ut uerberaret necaretque? quam conueniens esse propter Q. Fabium ciuitatem in laetitia uictoria supplicationibus ac gratulationibus esse, eum propter quem deum delubra pateant, arae sacrificiis fument, honore donis cumulentur, nudatum uirgis lacerari in conspectu populi Romani, intuentem Capitolium atque arcem deosque ab se duobus proeliis haud frustra aduocatos. quo id animo exercitum, qui eius ductu auspiciisque uicisset, laturum? quem luctum in castris Romanis, quam laetitiam inter hostes fore. haec simul iurgans, querens, deum hominumque fidem obtestans, et complexus filium plurimis cum lacrimis agebat.

[34] Stabat cum eo senatus maiestas, fauor populi, tribunicium auxilium, memoria absentis exercitus; ex parte altera imperium inuictum populi Romani et disciplina rei militaris et dictatoris

edictum pro numine semper obseruatum et Manliana imperia et posthabita filii caritas publicae utilitati iactabantur: hoc etiam L. Brutum, conditorem Romanae libertatis, antea in duobus liberis fecisse; nunc patres comes et senes faciles de alieno imperio spreto, tamquam rei paruae, disciplinae militaris euersae iuuentuti gratiam facere. se tamen perstaturum in incepto nec ei, qui aduersus edictum suum turbatis religionibus ac dubiis auspiciis pugnasset, quicquam ex iusta poena remissurum. maiestas imperii perpetuane esset non esse in sua potestate: L. Papirium nihil eius deminuturum; optare ne potestas tribunicia, inuiolata ipsa, uiolet intercessione sua Romanum imperium neu populus in se potissimum dictatore uim et ius dictaturae exstinguat. quod si fecisset, non L. Papirium sed tribunos, sed prauum populi iudicium nequiquam posteros accusaturos, cum polluta semel militari disciplina non miles centurionis, non centurio tribuni, non tribunus legati, non legatus consulis, non magister equitum dictatoris pareat imperio, nemo hominum, nemo deorum uerecundiam habeat, non edicta imperatorum, non auspicia obseruentur, sine commeatu uagi milites in pacato, in hostico errent, immemores sacramenti licentia sua se ubi uelint exauctorent, infrequentia deserantur signa, neque conueniatur ad edictum, nec discernatur interdiu nocte, aequo iniquo loco, [iussu] iniussu imperatoris pugnent, et non signa, non ordines seruent, latrocinii modo caeca et fortuita pro sollemni et sacrata militia sit. + ‘horum criminum uos reos in omnia saecula offerte, tribuni plebi; uestra obnoxia capita pro licentia Q. Fabi obicite.’

[35] Stupentes tribunos et suam iam uicem magis anxios quam eius cui auxilium ab se petebatur, liberauit onere consensus populi Romani ad preces et obtestationem uersus ut sibi poenam magistri equitum dictator remitteret. tribuni quoque inclinatam rem in preces subsequuti orare dictatorem insistunt ut ueniam errori humano, ueniam adulescentiae Q. Fabi daret; satis eum poenarum dedisse. iam ipse adulescens, iam pater M. Fabius contentionis obliti procumbere ad genua et iram deprecari dictatoris. tum dictator silentio facto ‘bene habet’ inquit, ‘Quirites; uicit disciplina militaris, uicit imperii maiestas, quae in discrimine fuerunt an ulla post hanc diem essent. non noxae eximitur Q. Fabius, qui contra edictum imperatoris pugnavit, sed noxae damnatus donatur populo Romano, donatur

tribuniciae potestati precarium non iustum auxilium ferenti. uiue, Q. Fabi, felicior hoc consensu ciuitatis ad tuendum te quam qua paulo ante insultabas uictoria; uiue, id facinus ausus, cuius tibi ne parens quidem, si eodem loco fuisset quo fuit L. Papirius, ueniam dedisset. mecum, ut uoles, reuerteris in gratiam; populo Romano, cui uitam debes, nihil maius praestiteris quam si hic tibi dies satis documenti dederit ut bello ac pace pati legitima imperia possis.' cum se nihil morari magistrum equitum pronuntiasset, degressum eum templo laetus senatus, laetior populus, circumfusi ac gratulantes hinc magistro equitum, hinc dictatori, persecuti sunt, firmatumque imperium militare haud minus periculo Q. Fabi quam supplicio miserabili adulescentis Manli uidebatur. forte ita eo anno euenit ut, quotienscumque dictator ab exercitu recessisset, hostes in Samnio mouerentur. ceterum in oculis exemplum erat Q. Fabius M. Valerio legato, qui castris praeerat, ne quam uim hostium magis quam trucem dictatoris iram timeret. itaque frumentatores cum circumuenti ex insidiis caesi loco iniquo essent, creditum uolgo est subueniri eis ab legato potuisse, ni tristia edicta exhorruisset. ea quoque ira alienauit a dictatore militum animos iam ante infensos quod implacabilis Q. Fabio fuisset et, quod suis precibus negasset, eius populo Romano ueniam dedisset.

[36] Postquam dictator praeposito in urbe L. Papirio Crasso, magistro equitum Q. Fabio uetito quicquam pro magistratu agere, in castra rediit, neque ciuibus satis laetus aduentus eius fuit nec hostibus quicquam attulit terroris. namque postero die, seu ignari uenisse dictatorem seu adesset an abesset parui facientes, instructa acie ad castra accesserunt. ceterum tantum momenti in uno uiro L. Papirio fuit ut, si ducis consilia fauor subsecutus militum foret, debellari eo die cum Samnitibus potuisse pro haud dubio habitum sit; ita instruxit aciem [loco ac subsidiis], ita omni arte bellica firmauit; cessatum a milite ac de industria, ut obrectaretur laudibus ducis, impedita uictoria est. plures Samnitium cecidere, plures Romani uulnerati sunt. sensit peritus dux quae res uictoriae obstaret: temperandum ingenium suum esse et seueritatem miscendam comitati. itaque adhibitis legatis ipse circuit saucios milites inserens in tentoria caput, singulosque ut sese haberet rogicans curam eorum nominatim legatis tribunisque et praefectis demandabat. rem per se

popularem ita dextere egit, ut medendis corporibus animi multo prius militum imperatori reconciliarentur nec quicquam ad salubritatem efficacius fuerit quam quod grato animo ea cura accepta est. refecto exercitu cum hoste congressus haud dubia spe sua militumque ita fudit fugauitque Samnites ut ille ultimus eis dies conferendi signa cum dictatore fuerit. incessit deinde qua duxit praedae spes uictor exercitus perlustrauitque hostium agros, nulla arma, nullam uim nec apertam nec insidiis expertus. addebat alacritatem quod dictator praedam omnem edixerat militibus; nec ira magis publica quam priuatum compendium in hostem acuebat. his cladibus subacti Samnites pacem a dictatore petiere; cum quo pacti ut singula uestimenta militibus et annum stipendium darent, cum ire ad senatum iussi essent, secuturos se dictatorem responderunt, unius eius fidei uirtutisque causam suam commendantes. ita deductus ex Samnitibus exercitus.

[37] Dictator triumphans urbem est ingressus; et cum se dictatura abdicare uellet, iussu patrum priusquam abdicaret consules creauit C. Sulpicium Longum iterum Q. Aemilium Cerretanum. Samnites infecta pace quia de condicionibus agebatur indutias annuas ab urbe rettulerunt; nec earum ipsarum sancta fides fuit; adeo, postquam Papirium abisse magistratu nuntiatum est, arrecti ad bellandum animi sunt. C. Sulpicio Q. Aemilio + Aulium quidam annales habent + consulibus ad defectionem Samnitium Apulum nouum bellum accessit. utroque exercitus missi. Sulpicio Samnites, Apuli Aemilio sorte euenerunt. sunt qui non ipsis Apulis bellum inlatum sed socios eius gentis populos ab Samnitium ui atque iniuriis defensos scribant; ceterum fortuna Samnitium, uix a se ipsis eo tempore propulsantium bellum, propius ut sit uero facit non Apulis ab Samnitibus arma inlata sed cum utraque simul gente bellum Romanis fuisse. nec tamen res ulla memorabilis acta; ager Apulus Samniumque euastatum; hostes nec hic nec illic inuenti. Romae nocturnus terror ita ex somno trepidam repente ciuitatem exciuit ut Capitolium atque arx moeniaque et portae plena armatorum fuerint; et cum concursatum clamatumque ad arma omnibus locis esset, prima luce nec auctor nec causa terroris comparuit. eodem anno de Tusculanis Flauia rogatione populi fuit iudicium. M. Flavius tribunus plebis tulit ad populum ut in Tusculanos animaduerneretur, quod eorum ope ac

consilio Veliterni Priuernatesque populo Romano bellum fecissent. populus Tusculanus cum coniugibus ac liberis Romam uenit. ea multitudo ueste mutata et specie reorum tribus circuit genibus se omnium aduoluens; plus itaque misericordia ad poenae ueniam impetrandam quam causa ad crimen purgandum ualuit. tribus omnes praeter Polliam antiquarunt legem: Polliae sententia fuit puberes uerberatos necari, coniuges liberosque sub corona lege belli uenire. memoriam eius irae Tusculanis in poenae tam atrocis auctores mansisse ad patrum aetatem constat nec quemquam ferme ex Pollia tribu candidatum Papiriam ferre solitum.

[38] Insequenti anno, Q. Fabio L. Fulvio consulibus, A. Cornelius Aruina dictator et M. Fabius Ambustus magister equitum, metu grauioris in Samnio belli + conducta enim pretio a finitimis iuuentus dicebatur + intentiore dilectu habito egregium exercitum aduersus Samnites duxerunt. castra in hostico incuriose ita posita tamquam procul abesset hostis, cum subito aduenere Samnitium legiones tanta ferocia ut uallum usque ad stationem Romanam inferrent. nox iam appetebat; id prohibuit munimenta adoriri; nec dissimulabant orta luce postero die facturos. dictator ubi propiorem spe dimicationem uidit, ne militum uirtuti damno locus esset, ignibus crebris relictis qui conspectum hostium frustrarentur, silentio legiones educit; nec tamen fallere propter propinquitatem castrorum potuit. eques extemplo insecutus ita institit agmini ut, donec lucesceret, proelio abstineret; ne pedestres quidem copiae ante lucem castris egressae. eques luce demum ausus incursare in hostem carpendo nouissimos premendoque iniquis ad transitum locis agmen detinuit. interim pedes equitem adsecutus et totis iam copiis Samnis urgebat. tum dictator, postquam sine magno incommodo progredi non poterat, eum ipsum in quo constiterat locum castris dimetari iussit. id uero circumfuso undique equitatu + ut uallum peteretur opusque inciperet + fieri non poterat. itaque ubi neque eundi neque manendi copiam esse uidet, instruit aciem impedimentis ex agmine remotis. instruunt contra et hostes et animis et uiribus pares. auxerat id maxime animos quod ignari loco iniquo, non hosti cessum, uelut fugientes ac territos terribiles ipsi secuti fuerant. id aliquamdiu aequauit pugnam iam pridem desueto Samnite clamorem Romani exercitus pati; et hercule illo die ab hora diei tertia ad octauam ita anceps dicitur certamen

stetisse ut neque clamor, ut primo semel concursu est sublatus, iteratus sit neque signa promota loco retrouere recepta neque recursum ab ulla sit parte. in suo quisque gradu obnixi, urgentes scutis, sine respiratione ac respectu pugnabant; fremitus aequalis tenorque idem pugnae in defatigationem ultimam aut noctem spectabat. iam uiris uires, iam ferro sua uis, iam consilia ducibus deerant, cum subito Samnitium equites, cum turma una longius prouecta acceperant impedimenta Romanorum procul ab armatis sine praesidio, sine munimento stare, auiditate praedae impetum faciunt. quod ubi dictatori trepidus nuntius attulit, 'sine modo' inquit, 'sese praeda praepediant.' alii deinde super alios diripi passim ferrique fortunas militum uociferabantur. tum magistro equitum accito 'uides tu' inquit, 'M. Fabi, ab hostium equite omissam pugnam? haerent impediti impedimentis nostris. adgredere, quod inter praedandum omni multitudini euenit, dissipatos + raros equis insidentes, raros, quibus ferrum in manu sit, inuenies + equosque dum praeda onerant, caede inermes cruentamque illis praedam redde. mihi legiones peditumque pugna curae erunt; penes te equestre sit decus.'

[39] Equitum acies qualis quae esse instructissima potest inuecta in dissipatos impeditosque hostes caede omnia replet. inter sarcinas omissas repente, obiacentes pedibus fugientium consternatorumque equorum, neque pugnae neque fugae satis potentes caeduntur. tum deleto prope equitatu hostium M. Fabius circumductis paululum alis ab tergo pedestrem aciem adoritur. clamor inde nouus accidens et Samnitium terruit animos et dictator, ubi respectantes hostium antesignanos turbataque signa et fluctuantem aciem uidit, tum appellare, tum adhortari milites, tribunos principesque ordinum nominatim ad iterandam secum pugnam uocare. nouato clamore signa inferuntur, et quidquid progrediebantur magis magisque turbatos hostes cernebant. eques ipse iam primis erat in conspectu et Cornelius respiciens ad manipulos militum, quod manu, quod uoce poterat, monstrabat uexilla se suorum parmasque cernere equitum. quod ubi auditum simul uisumque est, adeo repente laboris per diem paene totum tolerati uolnerumque obliti sunt, ut haud secus quam si tum integri e castris signum pugnae acceperant concitauerint se in hostem. nec ultra Samnis tolerare terrorem equitum peditumque uim potuit; partim in medio caesi, partim in fugam dissipati sunt. pedes

restantes ac circumuentos cecidit: ab equite fugientium strages est facta, inter quos et ipse imperator cecidit. hoc demum proelium Samnitium res ita infregit, ut omnibus conciliis fremerent minime id quidem mirum esse, si impio bello et contra foedus suscepto, infestioribus merito deis quam hominibus nihil prospere agerent: expiandum id bellum magna mercede luendumque esse; id referre tantum utrum supplicia noxio paucorum an omnium innoxio praebeant sanguine; audebantque iam quidam nominare auctores armorum. unum maxime nomen per consensum clamantium Brutuli Papi exaudiebatur; uir nobilis potensque erat, haud dubie proximarum indutiarum ruptor. de eo coacti referre praetores decretum fecerunt ut Brutulus Papius Romanis dederetur et cum eo praeda omnis Romana captiuique ut Romam mitterentur quaeque res per fetiales ex foedere repetitae essent secundum ius fasque restituerentur. fetiales Romam, ut censuerunt, missi et corpus Brutuli exanime; ipse morte uoluntaria ignominiae se ac supplicio subtraxit. placuit cum corpore bona quoque eius dedi. nihil tamen earum rerum praeter captiuos ac si qua cognita ex praeda sunt acceptum est; ceterarum rerum inrita fuit deditio. dictator ex senatus consulto triumphauit.

[40] Hoc bellum a consulibus bellatum quidam auctores sunt eosque de Samnitibus triumphasse; Fabium etiam in Apuliam processisse atque inde magnas praedas egisse. nec discrepat quin dictator eo anno A. Cornelius fuerit; id ambigitur belline gerendi causa creatus sit an ut esset qui ludis Romanis, quia L. Plautius praetor graui morbo forte implicitus erat, signum mittendis quadrigis daret functusque eo haud sane memorandi imperii ministerio se dictatura abdicaret. nec facile est aut rem rei aut auctorem auctori praeferre. uitiatam memoriam funebribus laudibus reor falsisque imaginum titulis, dum familiae ad se quaeque famam rerum gestarum honorumque fallente mendacio trahunt; inde certe et singulorum gesta et publica monumenta rerum confusa. nec quisquam aequalis temporibus illis scriptor exstat quo satis certo auctore stetur.

LIBER IX

[1] Sequitur hunc annum nobilis clade Romana Caudina pax T. Veturio Caluino Sp. Postumio consulibus. Samnites eo anno imperatorem C. Pontium Herenni filium habuerunt, patre longe prudentissimo natum, primum ipsum bellatorem ducemque. Is, ubi legati qui ad dedendas res missi erant pace infecta redierunt, “ne nihil actum” inquit “hac legatione censeatis, expiatum est quidquid ex foedere rupto irarum in nos caelestium fuit. Satis scio, quibuscumque dis cordi fuit subigi nos ad necessitatem dedendi res quae ab nobis ex foedere repetitae fuerant, iis non fuisse cordi tam superbe ab Romanis foederis expiationem spretam. Quid enim ultra fieri ad placandos deos mitigandosque homines potuit quam quod nos fecimus? res hostium in praeda captas, quae belli iure nostrae uidebantur, remisimus; auctores belli, quia uiuos non potuimus, perfunctos iam fato dedidimus; bona eorum, ne quid ex contagione noxae remaneret penes nos, Romam portauimus. Quid ultra tibi, Romane, quid foederi, quid dis arbitris foederis debeo? quem tibi tuarum irarum, quem meorum suppliciorum iudicem feram? neminem, neque populum neque priuatam, fugio. Quod si nihil cum potentiore iuris humani relinquitur inopi, at ego ad deos uindices intolerandae superbiae confugiam et precabor, ut iras suas uertant in eos quibus non suae redditae res, non alienae accumulatae satis sint; quorum saeuitiam non mors noxiorum, non deditio exanimatorum corporum, non bona sequentia domini deditio exsatient, [placari nequeant] nisi hauriendum sanguinem laniandaque uiscera nostra praeberimus. Iustum est bellum, Samnites, quibus necessarium, et pia arma, quibus nulla nisi in armis relinquitur spes. Proinde, cum rerum humanarum maximum momentum sit quam propitiis rem, quam aduersis agant dis, pro certo habete priora bella aduersus deos magis quam homines gessisse, hoc quod instat ducibus ipsis dis gesturos.”

[2] Haec non laeta magis quam uera uaticinatus, exercitu educto circa Caudium castra quam potest occultissime locat. Inde ad Calatiam, ubi iam consules Romanos castraque esse audiebat, milites decem pastorum habitu mittit pecoraque diuersos alium alibi haud

procul Romanis pascere iubet praesidiis; ubi inciderint in praedatores, ut idem omnibus sermo constet legiones Samnitium in Apulia esse, Luceriam omnibus copiis circumsedere, nec procul abesse quin ui capiant. Iam is rumor ante de industria uolgatus uenerat ad Romanos, sed fidem auxere captiui eo maxime quod sermo inter omnes congruebat. Haud erat dubium quin Lucernis opem Romanus ferret, bonis ac fidelibus sociis, simul ne Apulia omnis ad praesentem terrorem deficeret: ea modo, qua irent, consultatio fuit. Duae ad Luceriam ferebant uiae, altera praeter oram superi maris, patens apertaue sed quanto tutior tanto fere longior, altera per Furculas Caudinas, breuior; sed ita natus locus est: saltus duo alti angusti siluosique sunt montibus circa perpetuis inter se iuncti. Iacet inter eos satis patens clausus in medio campus herbidus aquosusque, per quem medium iter est; sed antequam uenias ad eum, intrandae primae angustiae sunt et aut eadem qua te insinuaueris retro uia repetenda aut, si ire porro pergas, per alium saltum artiorempeditioremque euadendum. In eum campum uia alia per cauam rupem Romani demisso agmine cum ad alias angustias protinus pergerent, saeptas deiectu arborum saxorumque ingentium obiacente mole inuenere. Cum fraus hostilis apparuisset, praesidium etiam in summo saltu conspicitur. Citati inde retro, qua uenerant, pergunt repetere uiam; eam quoque clausam sua obice armisque inueniunt. Sistunt inde gradum sine ullius imperio stuporque omnium animos ac uelut torpor quidam insolitus membra tenet, intuentesque alii alios, cum alterum quisque compotem magis mentis ac consilii ducerent, diu immobiles silent; deinde, ubi praetoria consulum erigi uidere et expedire quosdam utilia operi, quamquam ludibrio fore munientes perditis rebus ac spe omni adempta cernebant, tamen, ne culpam malis adderent, pro se quisque nec hortante ullo nec imperante ad muniendum uersi castra propter aquam uallo circumdant, sua ipsi opera laboremque inritum, praeterquam quod hostes superbe increpabant, cum miserabili confessione eludentes. Ad consules maestos, ne aduocantes quidem in consilium, quando nec consilio nec auxilio locus esset, sua sponte legati ac tribuni conueniunt militesque ad praetorium uersi opem, quam uix di immortales ferre poterant, ab ducibus exposcunt.

[3] Querentes magis quam consultantes nox oppressit, cum pro

ingenio quisque fremerent, [alius] “per obices uiarum,” alius, “per aduersa montium, per siluas, qua ferri arma poterunt, eamus; modo ad hostem peruenire liceat quem per annos iam prope triginta uincimus: omnia aequa et plana erunt Romano in perfidum Samnitum pugnantem”; alius: “quo aut qua eamus? num montes moliri sede sua paramus? dum haec imminere iuga, qua tu ad hostem uenies? armati, inermes, fortes, ignaui, pariter omnes capti atque uicti sumus; ne ferrum quidem ad bene moriendum oblaturus est hostis; sedens bellum conficiet,” his in uicem sermonibus qua cibi qua quietis immemor nox traducta est. Ne Samnitibus quidem consilium in tam laetis suppetebat rebus; itaque uniuersi Herennium Pontium, patrem imperatoris, per litteras consulendum censent. Iam is grauis annis non militaribus solum sed ciuilibus quoque abscesserat muneribus; in corpore tamen adfecto uigebat uis animi consilii. Is ubi accepit ad Furculas Caudinas inter duos saltus clausos esse exercitus Romanos, consultus ab nuntio filii censuit omnes inde quam primum inuiolatos dimittendos. Quae ubi sprete sententia est iterumque eodem remeante nuntio consulebatur, censuit ad unum omnes interficiendos. Quae ubi tam discordia inter se uelut ex ancipiti oraculo responsa data sunt, quamquam filius ipse in primis iam animum quoque patris consensisse in adfecto corpore rebatur, tamen consensu omnium uictus est ut ipsum in consilium acciret. Nec grauatus senex plaustro in castra dicitur aduectus uocatusque in consilium ita ferme locutus esse, ut nihil sententiae suae mutaret, causas tantum adiceret: priore se consilio, quod optimum duceret, cum potentissimo populo per ingens beneficium perpetuam firmare pacem amicitiamque; altero consilio in multas aetates, quibus amissis duobus exercitibus haud facile receptura uires Romana res esset, bellum differre; tertium nullum consilium esse. Cum filius alique principes percontando exsequerentur, quid si media uia consilii caperetur, ut et dimitterentur incolumes et leges iis iure belli uictis imponerentur, “ista quidem sententia” inquit “ea est, quae neque amicos parat nec inimicos tollit. Seruate modo quos ignominia inritaueritis; ea est Romana gens, quae uicta quiescere nesciat. Viuet semper in pectoribus illorum quidquid istuc praesens necessitas inusserit neque eos ante multiplices poenas expetitas a uobis quiescere sinet,” neutra sententia accepta Herennius domum e castris est auectus.

[4] Et in castris Romanis cum frustra multi conatus ad erumpendum capti essent et iam omnium rerum inopia esset, uicti necessitate legatos mittunt, qui primum pacem aequam peterent; si pacem non impetrarent, uti prouocarent ad pugnam. Tum Pontius debellatum esse respondit; et, quoniam ne uicti quidem ac capti fortunam fateri scirent, inermes cum singulis uestimentis sub iugum missurum; alias condiciones pacis aequas uictis ac uictoribus fore: si agro Samnitium decederetur, coloniae abducerentur, suis inde legibus Romanum ac Samnitem aequo foedere uicturum; his condicionibus paratum se esse foedus cum consulibus ferire; si quid eorum displiceat, legatos redire ad se uetuit. Haec cum legatio renuntiaretur, tantus gemitus omnium subito exortus est tantaque maestitia incessit ut non grauius accepturi uiderentur, si nuntiaretur omnibus eo loco mortem oppetendam esse. Cum diu silentium fuisset nec consules aut pro foedere tam turpi aut contra foedus tam necessarium hiscere possent, L. Lentulus, qui tum princeps legatorum uirtute atque honoribus erat, “patrem meum” inquit, “consules, saepe audiui memorantem se in Capitolio unum non fuisse auctorem senatui redimendae auro a Gallis ciuitatis, quando nec fossa ualloeque ab ignauissimo ad opera ac muniendum hoste clausi essent et erumpere, si non sine magno periculo, tamen sine certa perniciie possent. Quod si, illis ut decurrere ex Capitolio armatis in hostem licuit, quo saepe modo obsessi in obsidentes eruperunt, ita nobis aequo aut iniquo loco dimicandi tantummodo cum hoste copia esset, non mihi paterni animi indoles in consilio dando deesset. Equidem mortem pro patria praeclaram esse fateor et me uel deuouere pro populo Romano legionibusque uel in medios me immittere hostes paratus sum; sed hic patriam uideo, hic quidquid Romanarum legionum est; quae nisi pro se ipsis ad mortem ruere uolunt, quid habent quod morte sua seruent? tecta urbis, dicat aliquis, et moenia et eam turbam a qua urbs incolitur. Immo hercule produntur ea omnia deleta hoc exercitu, non seruantur. Quis enim ea tuebitur? imbellis uidelicet atque inermis multitudo. Tam hercule quam a Gallorum impetu defendit. An a Veiis exercitum Camillumque ducem implorabunt? hic omnes spes opesque sunt, quas seruando patriam seruamus, dedendo ad necem patriam deserimus [ac prodimus]. At foeda atque ignominiosa deditio est. Sed ea caritas patriae est ut tam ignominia eam quam morte

nostra, si opus sit, seruemus. Subeatur ergo ista, quantacumque est, indignitas et pareatur necessitati, quam ne di quidem superant. Ite, consules, redimite armis ciuitatem, quam auro maiores uestri redemerunt.”

[5] Consules profecti ad Pontium in conloquium, cum de foedere uictor agitaret, negarunt iniussu populi foedus fieri posse nec sine fetialibus caerimoniaque alia sollemni. Itaque non, ut uolgo credunt Claudiusque etiam scribit, foedere pax Caudina sed per sponsionem facta est. Quid enim aut sponsoribus in foedere opus esset aut obsidibus, ubi precatione res transigitur, per quem populum fiat quo minus legibus dictis stetur, ut eum ita Iuppiter feriat quemadmodum a fetialibus porcus feriat? spoponderunt consules, legati, quaestores, tribuni militum, nominaque omnium qui spoponderunt exstant, ubi, si ex foedere acta res esset, praeterquam duorum fetialium non exstarent; et propter necessariam foederis dilationem obsides etiam sescenti equites imperati, qui capite luerent, si pacto non staretur. Tempus inde statutum tradendis obsidibus exercituque inermi mittendo. Redintegrauit luctum in castris consulum aduentus, ut uix ab iis abstinerent manus, quorum temeritate in eum locum deducti essent, quorum ignauia foedius inde quam uenissent abituri: illis non ducem locorum, non exploratorem fuisse; beluarum modo caecos in foueam missos. Alii alios intueri; contemplari arma mox tradenda et inermes futuras dexteras obnoxiaque corpora hosti; proponere sibimet ipsi ante oculos iugum hostile et ludibria uictoris et uultus superbos et per armatos inermium iter, inde foedi agminis miserabilem uiam per sociorum urbes, reditum in patriam ad parentes, quo saepe ipsi maioresque eorum triumphantes uenissent: se solos sine uolnere, sine ferro, sine acie uictos; sibi non stringere licuisse gladios, non manum cum hoste conferre; sibi nequiquam arma, nequiquam uires, nequiquam animos datos. Haec frementibus hora fatalis ignominiae aduenit, omnia tristiora experiundo factura quam quae praeceperant animis. Iam primum cum singulis uestimentis inermes extra uallum exire iussi; et primi traditi obsides atque in custodiam abducti. Tum a consulibus abire lictores iussi paludamenta detracta; tantam <id> inter eos qui paulo ante [eos] exsecrantes dedendos lacerandosque censuerant miserationem fecit, ut suae quisque condicionis oblitus ab illa deformatione tantae

maiestatis uelut ab nefando spectaculo auerteret oculos.

[6] Primi consules prope seminudi sub iugum missi; tum ut quisque gradu proximus erat, ita ignominiae obiectus; tum deinceps singulae legiones. Circumstabant armati hostes, exprobrantes eludentesque; gladii etiam plerisque intentati, et uolnerati quidam necatique, si uoltus eorum indignitate rerum acrior uictorem offendisset. Ita traducti sub iugum et quod paene grauius erat per hostium oculos, cum e saltu euasissent, etsi uelut ab inferis extracti tum primum lucem aspicere uisi sunt, tamen ipsa lux ita deforme intuentibus agmen omni morte tristior fuit. Itaque cum ante noctem Capuam peruenire possent, incerti de fide sociorum et quod pudor praepediebat circa uiam haud procul Capua omnium egena corpora humi prostrauerunt. Quod ubi est Capuam nuntiatum, euicit miseratio iusta sociorum superbiam ingenitam Campanis. Confestim insignia sua consulibus, [fasces, lictores,] arma, equos, uestimenta, commeatus militibus benigne mittunt; et uenientibus Capuam cunctus senatus populusque obuiam egressus iustis omnibus hospitalibus priuatisque et publicis fungitur officiis. Neque illis sociorum comitas uoltusque benigni et adloquia non modo sermonem elicere sed ne ut oculos quidem attollerent aut consolantes amicos contra intuerentur efficere poterant; adeo super maerorem pudor quidam fugere conloquia et coetus hominum cogeabat. Postero die cum iuuenes nobiles missi a Capua ut pro ficiscentes ad finem Campanum prosequerentur reuertissent uocatique in curiam percontantibus maioribus natu multo sibi maestiores et abiectiores animi uisos referrent: adeo silens ac prope mutum agmen incessisse; iacere indolem illam Romanam ablatusque cum armis animos; non reddere salutem, [non salutantibus dare responsum,] non hiscere quemquam prae metu potuisse, tamquam ferentibus adhuc ceruicibus iugum sub quod missi essent; habere Samnites uictoriam non praeclaram solum sed etiam perpetuam; cepisse enim eos non Romam, sicut ante Gallos, sed, quod multo bellicosius fuerit, Romanam uirtutem ferociamque, —

[7] Cum haec dicerentur audirenturque et deploratum paene Romanum nomen in concilio sociorum fidelium esset, dicitur [Ofillius] A. Caluius Oui filius, clarus genere factisque, tum etiam aetate uerendus, longe aliter se habere rem dixisse: silentium illud

obstinatum fixosque in terram oculos et surdas ad omnia solacia aures et pudorem intuendae lucis ingentem molem irarum ex alto animo cientis indicia esse; aut Romana se ignorare ingenia aut silentium illud Samnitibus flebiles breui clamores gemitusque excitaturum, Caudinaeque pacis aliquanto Samnitibus quam Romanis tristiores memoriam fore; quippe suos quemque eorum animos habiturum, ubicumque congressuri sint; saltus Caudinos non ubique Samnitibus fore. Iam et Romae sua infamis clades erat. Obsessos primum audierunt; tristior deinde ignominiosae pacis magis quam periculi nuntius fuit. Ad famam obsidionis dilectus haberi coeptus erat; dimissus deinde auxiliorum apparatus, postquam deditionem tam foede factam acceperunt; extemploque sine ulla publica auctoritate consensum in omnem formam luctus est. Tabernae circa forum clausae iustitiumque in foro sua sponte coeptum prius quam indictum; lati clauis, anuli aurei positi; paene maestior exercitu ipso ciuitas esse; nec ducibus solum atque auctoribus sponsoribusque pacis irasci sed innoxios etiam milites odisse et negare urbe tectis accipiendos. Quam concitationem animorum fregit aduentus exercitus etiam iratis miserabilis. Non enim tamquam in patriam reuertentes ex insperato incolumes sed captorum habitu uolituque ingressi sero in urbem ita se in suis quisque tectis abdiderunt, ut postero atque insequentibus diebus nemo eorum forum aut publicum aspicere uellet. Consules in priuato abditi nihil pro magistratu agere nisi quod expressum senatus consulto est ut dictatorem dicerent comitiorum causa. Q. Fabium Ambustum dixerunt et P. Aelium Paetum magistrum equitum; quibus uitio creatis suffecti M. Aemilius Papus dictator, L. Valerius Flaccus magister equitum. Nec per eos comitia habita; et quia taedebat populum omnium magistratuum eius anni, res ad interregnum rediit. Interreges Q. Fabius Maximus M. Valerius Coruus. Is consules creauit Q. Publilium Philonem et L. Papirium Cursorem iterum haud dubio consensu ciuitatis, quod nulli ea tempestate duces clariores essent.

[8] Quo creati sunt die, eo — sic enim placuerat patribus — magistratum inierunt sollemnibusque senatus consultis perfectis de pace Caudina rettulerunt; et Publilius, penes quem fasces erant, “dic, Sp. Postumi” inquit. Qui ubi surrexit, eodem illo uultu quo sub iugum missus erat, “haud sum ignarus” inquit, “consules, ignominiae

non honoris causa me primum excitatum iussumque dicere, non tamquam senatorem sed tamquam reum qua infelicis belli qua ignominiosae pacis. Ego tamen, quando neque de noxa nostra neque de poena rettulistis, omissa defensione, quae non difficillima esset apud haud ignaros fortunarum humanarum necessitatumque, sententiam de eo de quo rettulistis paucis peragam; quae sententia testis erit mihine an legionibus uestris pepercerim, cum me seu turpi seu necessaria sponsione obstrinxi; qua tamen, quando iniussu populi facta est, non tenetur populus Romanus, nec quicquam ex ea praeterquam corpora nostra debentur Samnitibus. Dedamur per fetiales nudi uinctique; exsoluamus religione populum, si qua obligauimus, ne quid diuini humaniue obstet quo minus iustum piumque de integro ineatur bellum. Interea consules exercitum scribere, armare, educere placet, nec prius ingredi hostium fines quam omnia iusta in deditionem nostram perfecta erunt. Vos, di immortales, precor quaesoque, si uobis non fuit cordi Sp. Postumium T. Veturium consules cum Samnitibus prospere bellum gerere, at uos satis habeatis uidisse nos sub iugum missos, uidisse sponsione infami obligatos, uidere nudos uinctosque hostibus deditos, omnem iram hostium nostris capitibus excipientes; novos consules legionesque Romanas ita cum Samnite gerere bellum uelitis, ut omnia ante nos consules bella gesta sunt,” quae ubi dixit, tanta simul admiratio miseratioque uiri incessit homines ut modo uix crederent illum eundem esse Sp. Postumium qui auctor tam foedae pacis fuisset, modo miserarentur quod uir talis etiam praecipuum apud hostes supplicium passurus esset ob iram diremptae pacis. Cum omnes laudibus modo prosequentes uirum in sententiam eius pedibus irent, temptata paulisper intercessio est ab L. Liuius et Q. Maelio tribunis plebis, qui neque exsolui religione populum aiebant deditione sua, nisi omnia Samnitibus qualia apud Caudium fuissent restituerentur, neque se pro eo quod spondendo pacem seruassent exercitum populi Romani poenam ullam meritos esse, neque ad extremum, cum sacrosancti essent, dedi hostibus uiolariue posse.

[9] Tum Postumius “interea dedite” inquit “profanos nos, quos salua religione potestis; dedetis deinde et istos sacrosanctos cum primum magistratu abierint, sed, se me audiatis, priusquam dedantur, hic in comitio uirgis caesos, hanc iam ut intercalatae poenae usuram

habeant. Nam quod deditione nostra negant exsolui religione populum, id istos magis ne dedantur quam quia ita se res habeat dicere, quis adeo iuris fetialium expers est qui ignoret? neque ego infitias eo, patres conscripti, tam sponsiones quam foedera sancta esse apud eos homines apud quos iuxta diuinas religiones fides humana colitur; sed iniussu populi nego quicquam sanciri posse quod populum teneat. An, si eadem superbia, qua sponsionem istam expresserunt nobis Samnites, coegissent nos uerba legitima deditum urbes nuncupare, deditum populum Romanum uos tribuni diceretis et hanc urbem, templa, delubra, fines, aquas Samnitium esse? omitto deditionem, quoniam de sponsione agitur; quid tandem, si spopondissemus urbem hanc relicturum populum Romanum? si incensurum? si magistratus, si senatum, si leges non habiturum? si sub regibus futurum? di meliora, inquis. Atqui non indignitas rerum sponsionis uinculum leuat; si quid est in quo obligari populus possit, in omnia potest. Et ne illud quidem, quod quosdam forsitan moueat, refert, consul an dictator an praetor spoponderit. Et hoc ipsi etiam Samnites iudicauerunt, quibus non fuit satis consules spondere, sed legatos, quaestores, tribunos militum spondere coegerunt. Nec a me nunc quisquam quaesiuerit quid ita spoponderim, cum id nec consulis ius esset nec illis spondere pacem quae mei non erat arbitrii, nec pro uobis qui nihil mandaueratis possem. Nihil ad Caudium, patres conscripti, humanis consiliis gestum est; di immortales et uestris et hostium imperatoribus mentem ademerunt. Nec nos in bello satis cauimus et illi male partam uictoriam male perdiderunt, dum uix locis quibus uicerant credunt, dum quacumque condicione arma uiris in arma natis auferre festinant. An, si sana mens fuisset, difficile illis fuit, dum senes ab domo ad consultandum accersunt, mittere Romam legatos? cum senatu, cum populo de pace ac foedere agere? tridui iter expeditis erat; interea in indutiis res fuisset, donec ab Roma legati aut uictoriam illis certam aut pacem adferrent. Ea demum sponsio esset quam populi iussu spopondissemus. Sed neque uos tulissetis nec nos spopondissemus; nec fas fuit alium rerum exitum esse quam ut illi uelut somnio laetiore quam quod mentes eorum capere possent nequiquam eluderentur, et nostrum exercitum eadem quae impendierat fortuna expeditet, uanam uictoriam uanior inritam faceret pax, sponsio interponeretur quae neminem praeter

sponsorem obligaret. Quid enim uobiscum, patres conscripti, quid cum populo Romano actum est? quis uos appellare potest, quis se a uobis dicere deceptum? hostis an ciuis? hosti nihil spopondistis, ciuem neminem spondere pro uobis iussistis. Nihil ergo uobis nec nobiscum est quibus nihil mandastis, nec cum Samnitibus cum quibus nihil egistis. Samnitibus sponsores nos sumus rei satis locupletes in id quod nostrum est, in id quod praestare possumus, corpora nostra et animos; in haec saeuiant, in haec ferrum, in haec iras acuant. Quod ad tribunos attinet, consulite utrum praesens deditio eorum fieri possit an in diem differatur; nos interim, T. Veturi uosque ceteri, uilia haec capita, luendae sponsionis feramus et nostro supplicio liberemus Romana arma.”

[10] Mouit patres conscriptos cum causa tum auctor, nec ceteros solum sed tribunos etiam plebei, ut se in senatus dicerent fore potestate. Magistratu inde se extemplo abdicauerunt traditique fetialibus cum ceteris Caudium ducendi. Hoc senatus consulto facto lux quaedam adfulsisse ciuitati uisa est. Postumius in ore erat; eum laudibus ad caelum ferebant, deuotioni P. Deci consulis, aliis claris facinoribus aequabant: emersisse ciuitatem ex obnoxia pace illius consilio et opera; ipsum se cruciatibus et hostium irae offerre piaculaque pro populo Romano dare. Arma cuncti spectant et bellum: en unquam futurum, ut congredi armatis cum Samnite liceat? in ciuitate ira odioque ardente dilectus prope omnium uoluntariorum fuit. Rescriptae ex eodem milite nouae legiones ductusque ad Caudium exercitus. Praegressi fetiales ubi ad portam uenere, uestem detrahi pacis sponsoribus iubent, manus post tergum uinciri. Cum apparitor uerecundia maiestatis Postumi laxè uinciret, “quin tu” inquit “adduces lorum, ut iusta fiat deditio?” tum ubi in coetum Samnitium et ad tribunal uentum Ponti est, A. Cornelius Aruina fetialis ita uerba fecit. “quandoque hisce homines iniussu populi Romani Quiritium foedus ictum iri spoponderunt atque ob eam rem noxam nocuerunt, ob eam rem quo populus Romanus scelere impio sit solutus hosce homines uobis dedo,” haec dicenti fetiali Postumius genu femur quanta maxime poterat ui perculit et clara uoce ait se Samnitem ciuem esse, illum legatum [fetialem] a se contra ius gentium uiolatum; eo iustius bellum gesturos.

[11] Tum Pontius “nec ego istam deditionem accipiam” inquit,

“nec Samnites ratam habebunt. Quin tu, Sp. Postumi, si deos esse censes, aut omnia inrita facis aut pacto stas? Samniti populo omnes quos in potestate habuit aut pro iis pax debetur. Sed quid ego te appello, qui te captum uictori cum qua potes fide restituis? populum Romanum appello; quem si sponsionis ad Furculas Caudinas factae paenitet, restituat legiones intra saltum quo saeptae fuerunt. Nemo quemquam deceperit; omnia pro infecto sint; recipiant arma quae per pactionem tradiderunt; redeant in castra sua; quidquid pridie habuerunt quam in conloquium est uentum habeant; tum bellum et fortia consilia placeant, tum sponsio et pax repudietur. Ea fortuna, iis locis quae ante pacis mentionem habuimus geramus bellum; nec populus Romanus consulum sponsionem nec nos fidem populi Romani accusemus. Nunquamne causa defiet cur uicti pacto non stetis? obsides Porsinnae dedistis; furto eos subduxistis. Auro ciuitatem a Gallis redemistis; inter accipiendum aurum caesi sunt. Pacem nobiscum pepigistis ut legiones uobis captas restitueremus; eam pacem inritam facitis. Et semper aliquam fraudi speciem iuris imponitis. Non probat populus Romanus ignominiosa pace legiones seruatas? pacem sibi habeat, legiones captas uictori restituat; hoc fide, hoc foederibus, hoc fetialibus caerimoniis dignum erat. Vt quidem tu quod petisti per pactionem habeas, tot ciues incolumes, ego pacem quam hos tibi remittendo pactus sum non habeam, hoc tu, A. Corneli, hoc uos, fetiales, iuris gentibus dicitis? ego uero istos quos dedi simulatis nec accipio nec dedi arbitror, nec moror quo minus in ciuitatem oblactam sponsione commissa iratis omnibus dis, quorum eluditur numen, redeant. Gerite bellum, quando Sp. Postumius modo legatum [fetialem] genu perculit. Ita di credent Samnitum ciuem Postumium, non ciuem Romanum esse et a Samnite legatum Romanum uiolatum; eo uobis iustum in nos factum esse bellum. Haec ludibria religionum non pudere in lucem proferre et uix pueris dignas ambages senes ac consulares fallendae fidei exquirere. I, lictor, deme uincla Romanis; moratus sit nemo quo minus ubi uisum fuerit abeant,” et illi quidem, forsitan et publica, sua certe liberata fide ab Caudio in castra Romana inuiolati redierunt.

[12] Samnitibus pro superba pace infestissimum cernentibus renatum bellum omnia quae deinde euenerunt non in animis solum sed prope in oculis esse; et sero ac nequiquam laudare senis Ponti

utraque consilia, inter quae se medio lapsos uictoriae possessionem pace incerta mutasse; et beneficii et maleficii occasione amissa pugnatos cum eis quos potuerint in perpetuum uel inimicos tollere uel amicos facere. Adeoque nullodum certamine inclinatis uiribus post Caudinam pacem animi mutauerant, ut clariorem inter Romanos deditio Postumium quam Pontium incruenta uictoria inter Samnites faceret, et geri posse bellum Romani pro uictoria certa haberent, Samnites simul rebellasse et uicisse crederent Romanum. Inter haec Satricani ad Samnites defecerunt, et Fregellae colonia necopinato aduentu Samnitium — fuisse et Satricanos cum iis satis constat — nocte occupata est. Timor inde mutuus utrosque usque ad lucem quietos tenuit; lux pugnae initium fuit, quam aliquamdiu aequam — et quia pro aris ac focus dimicabatur et quia ex tectis adiuuabat imbellis multitudo — tamen Fregellani sustinuerunt; fraus deinde rem inclinauit, quod uocem audiri praeconis passi sunt incolumem abiturum qui arma posuisset. Ea spes remisit a certamine animos et passim arma iactari coepta. Pertinacior pars armata per auersam portam erupit tutiorque eis audacia fuit quam incautus ad credendum ceteris pauor, quos circumdatos igni nequiquam deos fidemque inuocantes Samnites concremauerunt. Consules inter se partiti prouincias, Papirius in Apuliam ad Luceriam pergit, ubi equites Romani obsides ad Caudium dati custodiebantur, Publilius in Samnio substitit aduersus Caudinas legiones. Distendit ea res Samnitium animos, quod nec ad Luceriam ire, ne ab tergo instaret hostis, nec manere, ne Luceria interim amitteretur, satis audebant. Optimum uisum est committere rem fortunae et transigere cum Publilio certamen; itaque in aciem copias educunt.

[13] Aduersus quos Publilius consul cum dimicaturus esset, prius adloquendos milites ratus contionem aduocari iussit; ceterum sicut ingenti alacritate ad praetorium concursum est, ita prae clamore poscentium pugnam nulla adhortatio imperatoris audita est; suus cuique animus memor ignominiae adhortator aderat. Vadunt igitur in proelium urgentes signiferos et, ne mora in concursu pilis emittendis stringendisque inde gladiis esset, pila uelut dato ad id signo abiciunt strictisque gladiis cursu in hostem feruntur. Nihil illic imperatoriae artis ordinibus aut subsidiis locandis fuit; omnia ira militaris prope uesano impetu egit. Itaque non fusi modo hostes sunt sed ne castris

quidem suis fugam impedire ausi Apuliam dissipati petiere; Luceriam tamen coacto rursus in unum agmine est peruentum. Romanos ira eadem, quae per mediam aciem hostium tulerat, et in castra pertulit. Ibi plus quam in acie sanguinis ad caedis factum praedaeque pars maior ira corrupta. Exercitus alter cum Papirio consule locis maritimis peruenerat Arpos per omnia pacata Samnitium magis iniuriis et odio quam beneficio ullo populi Romani; nam Samnites, ea tempestate in montibus uicatim habitantes, campestria et maritima loca contempto cultorum molliore atque, ut euenit fere, locis simili genere ipsi montani atque agrestes depopulabantur. Quae regio si fida Samnitibus fuisset, aut peruenire Arpos exercitus Romanus nequisset aut interiecta [inter Romam et Arpos] penuria rerum omnium exclusos a commeatibus absumpsisset. Tum quoque profectos inde ad Luceriam iuxta obsidentes obsessosque inopia uexauit: omnia ab Arpis Romanis suppeditabantur, ceterum adeo exigue ut militi occupato stationibus uigiliisque et opere eques folliculis in castra ab Arpis frumentum ueheret, interdum occursu hostium cogeretur abiecto ex equo frumento pugnare: obsessis priusquam alter consul uictore exercitu aduenit, et commeatus ex montibus Samnitium inuecti erant et auxilia intromissa. Artiora omnia aduentus Publili fecit, qui obsidione delegata in curam collegae uacuis per agros cuncta infesta commeatibus hostium fecerat. Itaque cum spes nulla esset diutius obsessos inopiam laturos, coacti Samnites, qui ad Luceriam castra habebant, undique contractis uiribus signa cum Papirio conferre.

[14] Per id tempus parantibus utrisque se ad proelium legati Tarentini interueniunt, denuntiantes Samnitibus Romanisque ut bellum omitterent: per utros stetisset quo minus discederetur ab armis, aduersus eos se pro alteris pugnatuuros. Ea legatione Papirius audita perinde ac motus dictis eorum cum collega se communicaturum respondit; accitoque eo, cum tempus omne in apparatu pugnae consumpsisset conlocutus de re haud dubia, signum pugnae proposuit. Agentibus diuina humanaque, quae adsolent cum acie dimicandum est, consulibus Tarentini legati occurrere responsum exspectantes; quibus Papirius ait: “auspicia secunda esse, Tarentini, pullarius nuntiat; litatum praeterea est egregie; auctoribus dis, ut uidetis, ad rem gerendam proficiscimur”. Signa inde ferre

iussit et copias eduxit uanissimam increpans gentem, quae, suarum impotens rerum prae domesticis seditionibus discordiisque, aliis modum pacis ac belli facere aequum censeret. Samnites ex parte altera, cum omnem curam belli remisissent, quia aut pacem uere cupiebant aut expediebat simulare ut Tarentinos sibi conciliarent, cum instructos repente ad pugnam Romanos conspexissent, uociferari se in auctoritate Tarentinorum manere nec descendere in aciem nec extra uallum arma ferre; deceptos potius quodcumque casus ferat passuros quam ut spreuisse pacis auctores Tarentinos uideantur. Accipere se omen consules aiunt et eam precari mentem hostibus ut ne uallum quidem defendant. Ipsi inter se partitis copiis succedunt hostium munimentis et simul undique adorti, cum pars fossas explerent, pars uellerent uallum atque in fossas proruerent, nec uirtus modo insita sed ira etiam exulceratos ignominia stimulare animos, castra inuasere; et pro se quisque non haec Furculas nec Caudium nec saltus inuios esse, ubi errorem fraus superbe uicisset, sed Romanam uirtutem, quam nec uallum nec fossae arcerent, memorantes caedunt pariter resistentes fusosque, inermes atque armatos, seruos liberos, puberes impubes, homines iumentaue; nec ullum superfuisset animal, ni consules receptui signum dedissent auidosque caedis milites e castris hostium imperio ac minis expulissent. Itaque apud infensos ob interpellatam dulcedinem irae confestim oratio habita est, ut doceretur miles minime cuiquam militum consules odio in hostes cecissee aut cessuros; quin duces sicut belli ita insatiabilis supplicii futuros fuisse, ni respectus equitum sescentorum qui Luceriae obsides tenerentur praepedisset animos, ne desperata uenia hostes caecos in supplicia eorum ageret perdere prius quam perire optantes. Laudare ea milites laetariue obuiam itum irae suae esse ac fateri omnia patienda potius quam proderetur salus tot principum Romanae iuuentutis.

[15] Dimissa contione consilium habitum omnibusne copiis Luceriam premerent an altero exercitu et duce Apuli circa, gens dubiae ad id uoluntatis, temptarentur. Publilius consul ad peragrandam profectus Apuliam aliquot expeditione una populos aut ui subegit aut condicionibus in societatem accepit. Papirio quoque, qui obsessor Luceriae restiterat, breui ad spem euentus respondit; nam insessis omnibus uiis per quas commeatus ex Samnio

subuehebantur, fame domiti Samnites qui Luceriae in praesidio erant legatos misere ad consulem Romanum, ut receptis equitibus qui causa belli essent absisteret obsidione. Iis Papirius ita respondit debuisse eos Pontium Herenni filium, quo auctore Romanos sub iugum misissent, consulere quid uictis patiendum censeret; ceterum quoniam ab hostibus in se aequa statui quam in se ipsi ferre maluerint, nuntiare Luceriam iussit arma, sarcinas, iumenta, multitudinem omnem imbellem intra moenia relinquerent; militem se cum singulis uestimentis sub iugum missurum, ulciscensem inlatam, non nouam inferentem ignominiam. Nihil recusatum. Septem milia militum sub iugum missa praedaeque ingens Luceriae capta, receptis omnibus signis armisque quae ad Caudium amissa erant et, quod omnia superabat gaudia, equitibus reciperatis quos pignora pacis custodiendos Luceriam Samnites dederant. Haud ferme alia mutatione subita rerum clarior uictoria populi Romani est, si quidem etiam, quod quibusdam in annalibus inuenio, Pontius Herenni filius, Samnitium imperator, ut expiaret consulum ignominiam, sub iugum cum ceteris est missus. Ceterum id minus miror obscurum esse de hostium duce dedito missoque; id magis mirabile est ambigi Luciusne Cornelius dictator cum L. Papirio Cursore magistro equitum eas res ad Caudium atque inde Luceriam gesserit ultorque unicus Romanae ignominiae haud sciam an iustissimo triumpho ad eam aetatem secundum Furium Camillum triumphauerit an consulum — Papirique praecipuum — id decus sit. Sequitur hunc errorem alius error Cursorne Papirius proximis comitiis cum Q. Aulio Cerretano iterum ob rem bene gestam Luceriae continuato magistratu consul tertium creatus sit an L. Papirius Mugillanus et in cognomine erratum sit.

[16] Conuenit iam inde per consules reliqua belli perfecta. Aulius cum Ferentanis uno secundo proelio debellauit urbemque ipsam, quo se fusa contulerat acies, obsidibus imperatis in deditionem accepit. Pari fortuna consul alter cum Satricanis, qui ciues Romani post Caudinam cladem ad Samnites defecerant praesidiumque eorum in urbem acceperant, rem gessit. Nam cum ad moenia Satrici admotus esset exercitus legatisque missis ad pacem cum precibus petendam triste responsum ab consule redditum esset, nisi praesidio Samnitium interfecto aut tradito ne ad se remearent, plus ea uoce quam armis

inlatis terroris colonis iniectum. Itaque subinde exsequentes quaerendo a consule legati quonam se pacto paucos et infirmos crederet praesidio tam ualido et armato uim allaturos, ab iisdem consilium petere iussi quibus auctoribus praesidium in urbem acceperant, discedunt aegreque impetrato ut de ea re consuli senatum responsaque ad se referri sineret ad suos redeunt. Duae factiones senatum distinebant, una cuius principes erant defectionis a populo Romano auctores, altera fidelium ciuium; certatum ab utrisque tamen est ut ad reconciliandam pacem consuli opera nauaretur. Pars altera, cum praesidium Samnitium, quia nihil satis praeparati erat ad obsidionem tolerandam, excessurum proxima nocte esset, enuntiare consuli satis habuit qua noctis hora quaque porta et quam in uiam egressurus hostis foret; altera, quibus inuitis descitum ad Samnites erat, eadem nocte portam etiam consuli aperuerunt armatosque clam hoste in urbem acceperunt. Ita duplici proditione et praesidium Samnitium insessis circa uiam siluestribus locis necopinato oppressum est, et ab urbe plena hostium clamor sublatus momentoque unius horae caesus Samnis, Satricanus captus, et omnia in potestate consulis erant; qui quaestione habita quorum opera defectio esset facta, quos sontes comperit, uirgis caesos securi percussit praesidioque ualido imposito arma Satricanis ademit. Inde ad triumphum decessisse Romam Papium Cursorem scribunt, qui eo duce Luceriam receptam Samnitesque sub iugum missos auctores sunt. Et fuit uir haud dubie dignus omni bellica laude, non animi solum uigore sed etiam corporis uiribus excellens. Praecipua pedum pernecitas inerat, quae cognomen etiam dedit; uictoremque cursu omnium aetatis suae fuisse ferunt [et] seu uirum ui seu exercitatione multa, cibi uinique eundem capacissimum; nec cum ullo asperiores, quia ipse inuicti ad laborem corporis esset, fuisse militiam pediti pariter equitumque; equites etiam aliquando ausos ab eo petere ut sibi pro re bene gesta laxaret aliquid laboris; quibus ille “ne nihil remissum dicatis, remitto” inquit, “ne utique dorsum demulceatis cum ex equis descendetis”. Et uis erat in eo uiro imperii ingens pariter in socios ciuesque. Praenestinus praetor per timorem segnus ex subsidiis suos duxerat in primam aciem; quem cum inambulans ante tabernaculum uocari iussisset, lictorem expedire securem iussit. Ad quam uocem exanimi stante Praenestino, “agedum, lictor, excide

radicem hanc” inquit “incommodam ambulantibus”, perfusumque ultimi supplicii metu multa dicta dimisit. Haud dubie illa aetate, qua nulla uirtutum feracior fuit, nemo unus erat uir quo magis innixa res Romana staret. Quin eum parem destinant animis magno Alexandro ducem, si arma Asia perdomita in Europam uertisset. —

[17] Nihil minus quaesitum a principio huius operis uideri potest quam ut plus iusto ab rerum ordine declinarem uarietatibusque distinguendo opere et legentibus uelut deuerticula amoena et requiem animo meo quaererem; tamen tanti regis ac ducis mentio, quibus saepe tacitus cogitationibus uolutaui animum, eas euocat in medium, ut quaerere libeat quinam euentus Romanis rebus, si cum Alexandro foret bellatum, futurus fuerit. Plurimum in bello pollere uidentur militum copia et uirtus, ingenia imperatorum, fortuna per omnia humana maxime in res bellicas potens; ea et singula intuenti et uniuersa sicut ab aliis regibus gentibusque, ita ab hoc quoque facile praestant inuictum Romanum imperium. Iam primum, ut ordiar ab ducibus comparandis, haud equidem abnuo egregium ducem fuisse Alexandrum; sed clariorem tamen eum facit quod unus fuit, quod adulescens in incremento rerum, nondum alteram fortunam expertus, decessit. Vt alios reges claros ducesque omittam, magna exempla casuum humanorum, Cyrum, quem maxime Graeci laudibus celebrant, quid nisi longa uita, sicut Magnum modo Pompeium, uertenti praebuit fortunae? recenseam duces Romanos, nec omnes omnium aetatum sed ipsos eos cum quibus consulibus aut dictatoribus Alexandro fuit bellandum, M. Valerium Coruum, C. Marcium Rutulum, C. Sulpicium, T. Manlium Torquatum, Q. Publilium Philonem, L. Papirium Cursorem, Q. Fabium Maximum, duos Decios, L. Volumnium, M^o. Curium? deinceps ingentes sequuntur uiri, si Punicum Romano praeuertisset bellum seniorque in Italiam traiecisset. Horum in quolibet cum indoles eadem quae in Alexandro erat animi ingeniique, tum disciplina militaris, iam inde ab initiis urbis tradita per manus, in artis perpetuis praeceptis ordinatae modum uenerat. Ita reges gesserant bella, ita deinde exactores regum Iunii Valeriique, ita deinceps Fabii, Quinctii, Cornelii, ita Furius Camillus, quem iuuenes ii quibus cum Alexandro dimicandum erat senem uiderant. Militaris opera pugnando obeunti Alexandro — nam ea quoque haud minus clarum eum faciunt —

cessisset uidelicet in acie oblatus par Manlius Torquatus aut Valerius Coruus, insignes ante milites quam duces, cessissent Decii, deuotis corporibus in hostem ruentes, cessisset Papirius Cursor illo corporis robore, illo animi. Victus esset consiliis iuuenis unius, ne singulos nominem, senatus ille, quem qui ex regibus constare dixit unus ueram speciem Romani senatus cepit. Id uero erat periculum, ne sollertius quam quilibet unus ex his quos nominaui castris locum caperet, commeatus expediret, ab insidiis praecaueret, tempus pugnae deligeret, aciem instrueret, subsidiis firmaret. Non cum Dareo rem esse dixisset, quem mulierum ac spadonum agmen trahentem inter purpuram atque aurum oneratum fortunae apparatus suae, praedam uerius quam hostem, nihil aliud quam bene ausus uana contemnere, incruentus deuicit. Longe alius Italiae quam Indiae, per quam temulento agmine comisabundus incessit, uisus illi habitus esset, saltus Apuliae ac montes Lucanos cernenti et uestigia recentia domesticae cladis, ubi auunculus eius nuper, Epiri rex Alexander, absumptus erat.

[18] Et loquimur de Alexandro nondum merso secundis rebus, quarum nemo intolerantior fuit. Qui si ex habitu nouae fortunae nouique, ut ita dicam, ingenii quod sibi uictor induerat spectetur, Dareo magis similis quam Alexandro in Italiam uenisset et exercitum Macedoniae oblitum degenerantemque iam in Persarum mores adduxisset. Referre in tanto rege piget superbam mutationem uestis et desideratas humi iacentium adulationes, etiam uictis Macedonibus graues nedum uictoribus, et foeda supplicia et inter uinum et epulas caedes amicorum et uanitatem ementiendae stirpis. Quid si uini amor in dies fieret acrior? quid si trux ac praeferuida ira? — nec quicquam dubium inter scriptores refero — nullane haec damna imperatoris uirtutibus ducimus? id uero periculum erat, quod leuissimi ex Graecis qui Parthorum quoque contra nomen Romanum gloriae fauent dictitare solent, ne maiestatem nominis Alexandri, quem ne fama quidem illis notum arbitror fuisse, sustinere non potuerit populus Romanus; et aduersus quem Athenis, in ciuitate fracta Macedonum armis, cernente tum maxime prope fumantes Thebarum ruinas, contionari libere ausi sunt homines, id quod ex monumentis orationum patet, aduersus eum nemo ex tot proceribus Romanis uocem liberam missurus fuerit. Quantalibet magnitudo hominis

concipiatur animo; unius tamen ea magnitudo hominis erit collecta paulo plus decem annorum felicitate; quam qui eo extollunt quod populus Romanus etsi nullo bello multis tamen proeliis uictus sit, Alexandro nullius pugnae non secunda fortuna fuerit, non intellegunt se hominis res gestas, et eius iuuenis, cum populi iam octingentesimum bellantis annum rebus conferre. Miremur si, cum ex hac parte saecula plura numerentur quam ex illa anni, plus in tam longo spatio quam in aetate tredecim annorum fortuna uariauerit? quin tu homines cum homine, [et] duces cum duce, fortunam cum fortuna confers? quot Romanos duces nominem quibus nunquam aduersa fortuna pugnae fuit? paginas in annalibus magistratuumque fastis percurrere licet consulum dictatorumque quorum nec uirtutis nec fortunae ullo die populum Romanum paenituit. Et quo sint mirabiliores quam Alexander aut quisquam rex, denos uicenosque dies quidam dictaturam, nemo plus quam annum consulatum gessit; ab tribunis plebis dilectus impediti sunt; post tempus ad bella ierunt, ante tempus comitiorum causa reuocati sunt; in ipso conatu rerum circumegit se annus; collegae nunc temeritas, nunc prauitas impedimento aut damno fuit; male gestis rebus alterius successum est; tironem aut mala disciplina institutum exercitum acceperunt. At hercule reges non liberi solum impedimentis omnibus sed domini rerum temporumque trahunt consiliis cuncta, non sequuntur. Inuictus ergo Alexander cum inuictis ducibus bella gessisset et eadem fortunae pignora in discrimen detulisset; immo etiam eo plus periculi subisset quod Macedones unum Alexandrum habuissent, multis casibus non solum obnoxium sed etiam offerentem se, Romani multi fuissent Alexandro uel gloria uel rerum magnitudine pares, quorum suo quisque fato sine publico discrimine uiueret morereturque.

[19] Restat ut copiae copiis comparentur uel numero uel militum genere uel multitudine auxiliorum. Censebantur eius aetatis lustris ducena quinquagena milia capitum. Itaque in omni defectione sociorum Latini nominis urbano prope dilectu decem scribebantur legiones; quaterni quinque exercitus saepe per eos annos in Etruria, in Vmbria Gallis hostibus adiunctis, in Samnio, in Lucanis gerebat bellum. Latium deinde omne cum Sabinis et Volscis et Aequis et omni Campania et parte Vmbriae Etruriaequae et Picentibus et Marsis Paelignisque ac Vestinis atque Apulis, adiuncta omni ora Graecorum

inferi maris a Thuriis Neapolim et Cumas et inde Antio atque Ostiis
tenus Samnites aut socios ualidos Romanis aut fractos bello
inuenisset hostes. Ipse traiecisset mare cum ueteranis Macedonibus
non plus triginta milibus hominum et quattuor milibus equitum,
maxime Thessalorum; hoc enim roboris erat. Persas Indos aliasque si
adiunxisset gentes, impedimentum maius quam auxilium traheret.
Adde quod Romanis ad manum domi supplementum esset,
Alexandro, quod postea Hannibali accidit, alieno in agro bellanti
exercitus consenuisset. Arma clupeus sarisaeque illis; Romano
scutum, maius corpori tegumentum, et pilum, haud paulo quam hasta
uehementius ictu missuque telum. Statarius uterque miles, ordines
seruans; sed illa phalanx immobilis et unius generis, Romana acies
distinctior, ex pluribus partibus constans, facilis partienti, quacumque
opus esset, facilis iungenti. Iam in opere quis par Romano miles?
quis ad tolerandum laborem melior? uno proelio uictus Alexander
bello uictus esset: Romanum, quem Caudium, quem Cannae non
fregerunt, quae fregisset acies? ne ille saepe, etiamsi prima prospere
euenissent, Persas et Indos et imbellem Asiam quaesisset et cum
feminis sibi bellum fuisse dixisset, quod Epiri regem Alexandrum
mortifero uolnere ictum dixisse ferunt, sortem bellorum in Asia
gestorum ab hoc ipso iuvene cum sua conferentem. Equidem cum per
annos quattuor et uiginti primo Punico bello classibus certatum cum
Poenis recordor, uix aetatem Alexandri suffecturam fuisse reor ad
unum bellum. Et forsitan, cum et foederibus uetustis iuncta res
Punica Romanae esset et timor par aduersus communem hostem duas
potentissimas armis uirisque urbes armaret, [et] simul Punico
Romanoque obrutus bello esset. Non quidem Alexandro duce nec
integris Macedonum rebus sed experti tamen sunt Romani
Macedonem hostem aduersus Antiochum Philippum Persen non
modo cum clade ulla sed ne cum periculo quidem suo. Absit inuidia
uerbo et ciuilia bella sileant: nunquam ab equite hoste, nunquam a
pedite, nunquam aperta acie, nunquam aequis, utique nunquam
nostris locis laborauimus: equitem, sagittas, saltus impeditos, auia
commeatibus loca grauis armis miles timere potest. Mille acies
grauiores quam Macedonum atque Alexandri auertit auertetque,
modo sit perpetuus huius qua uiuimus pacis amor et ciuilis cura
concordiae. —

[20] M. Foliis Flaccina inde et L. Plautius Venox consules facti. Eo anno ab frequentibus Samnitiū populis de foedere renouando legati cum senatum humi strati mouissent, reiecti ad populum haudquaquam tam efficaces habebant preces. Itaque de foedere negatum; indutiae biennii, cum per aliquot dies fatigassent singulos precibus, impetratae. Et ex Apulia Teanenses Canusinique populationibus fessi obsidibus L. Plautio consuli datis in deditionem uenerunt. Eodem anno primum praefecti Capuam creari coepti legibus ab L. Furio praetore datis, cum utrumque ipsi pro remedio aegris rebus discordia intestina petissent; et duae Romae additae tribus, Ventina ac Falerna. Inclinatorum semel in Apulia rebus Teates quoque Apuli ad nouos consules, C. Iunium Bubulcum Q. Aemiliū Barbulam, foedus petitum uenerunt, pacis per omnem Apuliam praestandae populo Romano auctores. Id audacter spondendo impetrauere ut foedus daretur neque ut aequo tamen foedere sed ut in ditione populi Romani essent. Apulia perdomita — nam Forento quoque, ualido oppido, Iunius potitus erat — in Lucanos perrectum; inde repentino aduentu Aemili consulis Nerulum ui captum. Et postquam res Capuae stabilitas Romana disciplina fama per socios uolgauit, Antiatibus quoque, qui se sine legibus certis, sine magistratibus agere querebantur, dati ab senatu ad iura statuenda ipsius coloniae patroni; nec arma modo sed iura etiam Romana late pollebant.

[21] C. Iunius Bubulcus et Q. Aemilius Barbula consules exitu anni non consulibus ab se creatis, Sp. Nautio et M. Popilio, ceterum dictatori L. Aemilio legiones tradiderant; is cum L. Fuluio magistro equitum Saticulam oppugnare adortus rebellandi causam Samnitibus dedit. Duplex inde terror inlatus Romanis: hinc Samnis magno exercitu coacto ad eximendos obsidione socios haud procul castris Romanorum castra posuit; hinc Saticulani magno cum tumultu patefactis repente portis in stationes hostium incurrerunt. Inde pars utraque, spe alieni magis auxilii quam uiribus freta suis, iusto mox proelio inito Romanos urgent et quamquam anceps dimicatio erat, tamen utrumque tutam aciem dictator habuit, quia et locum haud facilem ad circumueniendum cepit et diuersa statuit signa. Infestior tamen in erumpentes incessit nec magno certamine intra moenia compulit; tum totam aciem in Samnites obuertit. Ibi plus certaminis

fuit; uictoria sicut sera ita nec dubia nec uaria fuit. Fusi in castra Samnites exstinctis nocte ignibus tacito agmine abeunt et spe abiecta Saticulae tuendae Plisticam ipsi, socios Romanorum, ut parem dolorem hosti redderent, circumsidunt.

[22] Anno circumacto bellum deinceps ab dictatore Q. Fabio gestum est. Consules noui, sicut superiores, Romae manserunt; Fabius ad accipiendum ab Aemilio exercitum ad Saticulam cum supplemento uenit. Neque enim Samnites ad Plisticam manserant sed accitis ab domo nouis militibus multitudine freti castra eodem quo antea loco posuerunt lacessentesque proelio Romanos auertere ab obsidione conabantur. Eo intentius dictator in moenia hostium uersus id bellum tantum ducere quod urbem oppugnabat, securior ab Samnitibus agere stationibus modo oppositis ne qua in castra uis fieret. Eo ferocius adequitare Samnites uallo neque otium pati; et cum iam prope in portis castrorum esset hostis, nihil consulto dictatore magister equitum Q. Aulius Cerretanus magno tumultu cum omnibus turmis equitum euectus summouit hostem. Tum in minime pertinaci genere pugnae sic fortuna exercuit opes ut insignes utrimque clades et clara ipsorum ducum ederet funera. Prior Samnitium imperator aegre patiens, quo tam ferociter adequitasset, inde se fundi fugarique, orando hortandoque equites proelium iterauit; in quem insignem inter suos cientem pugnam magister equitum Romanus infesta cuspide ita permisit equum ut uno ictu exanimem equo praecipitaret. Nec, ut fit, ad ducis casum perculsa magis quam inritata est multitudo; omnes qui circa erant in Aulium temere inuectum per hostium turmas tela coniecerunt; fratri praecipuum decus ulti Samnitium imperatoris <di> dederunt. Is uictorem detractum ex equo magistrum equitum plenus maeroris atque irae trucidauit, nec multum afuit quin corpore etiam, quia inter hostiles ceciderat turmas, Samnites potirentur. Sed extemplo ad pedes descensum ab Romanis est coactique idem Samnites facere; et repentina acies circa corpora ducum pedestre proelium iniit, quo haud dubie superat Romanus, reciperatumque Auli corpus mixta cum dolore laetitia uictores in castra referunt. Samnites duce amisso et per equestre certamen temptatis uiribus, omissa Saticula, quam nequiquam defendi rebantur, ad Plisticae obsidionem redeunt intraque paucos dies Saticula Romanus per deditionem, Plistica per

uim Samnis potitur.

[23] Mutata inde belli sedes est; ad Soram ex Samnio Apuliaque traductae legiones. Sora ad Samnites defecerat interfectis colonis Romanorum. Quo cum prior Romanus exercitus ad ulciscendam ciuium necem recipierandamque coloniam magnis itineribus praeuenisset sparsi per uias speculatores sequi legiones Samnitium nec iam procul abesse alii super alios nuntiarent, obuiam itum hosti atque ad fuga alterius partis sed nox incertos uicti uictoresne essent diremit. Inuenio apud quosdam aduersam eam pugnam Romanis fuisse atque in ea cecidisse Q. Aulium magistrum equitum. Suffectus in locum Auli C. Fabius magister equitum cum exercitu nouo ab Roma aduenit et per praemissos nuntios consulto dictatore ubi subsisteret quoue tempore et qua ex parte hostem adgrederetur, substitit occultus ad omnia satis exploratis consiliis. Dictator cum per aliquot dies post pugnam continuisset suos intra uallum obsessi magis quam obsidentis modo, signum repente pugnae proposuit et efficacius ratus ad accendendos uirorum fortium animos nullam alibi quam in semet ipso cuiquam relictam spem de magistro equitum nouoque exercitu militem celauit et, tamquam nulla nisi in eruptione spes esset, “locis” inquit “angustis, milites, deprehensi, nisi quam uictoria patefecerimus uiam nullam habemus. Statura nostra munimento satis tuta sunt sed inopia eadem infesta; nam et circa omnia defecerunt unde subuehi commeatus poterant et, si homines iuuare uelint, iniqua loca sunt. Itaque non frustrabor ego uos castra hic relinquendo, in quae infecta uictoria sicut pristino die uos recipiatis. Armis munimenta, non munimentis arma tuta esse debent. Castra habeant repetantque quibus operae est trahere bellum: nos omnium rerum respectum praeterquam uictoriae nobis abscidamus. Ferte signa in hostem; ubi extra uallum agmen excesserit, castra quibus imperatum est incendant; damna uestra, milites, omnium circa qui defecerunt populorum praeda sarcientur,” et oratione dictatoris, quae necessitatis ultimae index erat, milites accensi uadunt in hostem, et respectus ipse ardentium castrorum, quamquam proximis tantum — ita enim iusserat dictator — ignis est subditus, haud paruum fuit inritamentum. Itaque uelut uecordes inlati signa primo impetu hostium turbant; et in tempore, postquam ardentia procul uidit castra magister equitum — id conuenerat signum — hostium

terga inuadit. Ita circumuenti Samnites, qua potest quisque, fugam per diuersa petunt; ingens multitudo in unum metu conglobata ac semet ipsam turba impediens in medio caesa. Castra hostium capta direptaque, quorum praeda onustum militem in Romana castra dictator reducit, haudquaquam tam uictoria laetum quam quod praeter exiguam deformatam incendio partem cetera contra spem salua inuenit.

[24] Ad Soram inde reditum; nouique consules M. Poetelius C. Sulpicius exercitum ab dictatore Fabio accipiunt magna parte ueterum militum dimissa nouisque cohortibus in supplementum adductis. Ceterum cum propter difficilem urbis situm nec oppugnandi satis certa ratio iniretur et aut tempore longinqua aut praeceps periculo uictoria esset, Soranus transfuga clam ex oppido profectus, cum ad uigiles Romanos penetrasset, duci se extemplo ad consules iubet deductusque traditurum urbem promittit. Visus inde, cum quonam modo id praestaturus esset percontantes doceret, haud uana adferre, perpulit prope adiuncta moenibus Romana castra ut sex milia ab oppido remouerentur: fore ut minus intentae in custodiam urbis diurnae stationes ac nocturnae uigiliae essent. Ipse insequenti nocte sub oppido siluestribus locis cohortibus insidere iussis decem milites delectos secum per ardua ac prope inuia in arcem ducit, pluribus quam pro numero uirorum missilibus telis eo conlatis; ad hoc saxa erant et temere iacentia, ut fit in aspretis, et de industria etiam quo locus tutior esset ab oppidanis congesta. Vbi cum constituisset Romanos semitamque angustam et arduam erectam ex oppido in arcem ostendisset, “hoc quidem ascensu” inquit, “uel tres armati quamlibet multitudinem arcuerint; uos et decem numero et, quod plus est, Romani Romanorumque fortissimi uiri estis. Et locus pro uobis et nox erit, quae omnia ex incerto maiora territis ostentat. Ego iam terrore omnia implebo; uos arcem intenti tenete”. Decurrit inde, quanto maxime poterat cum tumultu “ad arma” et “pro uestram fidem, ciues” clamitans; “arx ab hostibus capta est; defendite, ite,” haec incidens principum foribus, haec obuiis, haec excurrentibus in publicum pavidis increpat. Acceptum ab uno pauorem plures per urbem ferunt. Trepidi magistratus missis ad arcem exploratoribus cum tela et armatos tenere arcem multiplicato numero audirent, auertunt animos a spe reciperae arcis. Fuga cuncta complentur

portaeque ab semisomnis ac maxima parte inermibus refringuntur, quarum per unam praesidium Romanum clamore excitatum inrumpit et concursantes per uias pauidos caedit. Iam Sora capta erat, cum consules prima luce aduenere et quos reliquos fortuna ex nocturna caede ac fuga fecerat in deditionem accipiunt. Ex his ducentos uiginti quinque, qui omnium consensu destinabantur et infandae colonorum caedis et defectionis auctores, uinctos Romam deducunt; ceteram multitudinem incolumem praesidio imposito Sorae relinquunt. Omnes qui Romam deducti erant uirgis in foro caesi ac securi percussi summo gaudio plebis, cuius maxime intererat tutam ubique quae passim in colonias mitteretur multitudinem esse.

[25] Consules ab Sora profecti in agros atque urbes Ausonum bellum intulerunt. Mota namque omnia aduentu Samnitium cum apud Lautulas dimicatum est fuerant, coniurationesque circa Campaniam passim factae nec Capua ipsa crimine caruit; quin Romam quoque et ad principum quosdam inquirendo uentum est. Ceterum Ausonum gens proditione urbium sicut Sora in potestatem uenit. Ausona et Minturnae et Vescia urbes erant, ex quibus principes iuuentutis duodecim numero in proditionem urbium suarum coniurati ad consules ueniunt. Docent suos iam pridem exoptantes Samnitium aduentum, simul ad Lautulas pugnatum audierint, pro uictis Romanos habuisse, iuuentute, armis Samnitem iuuisse; fugatis inde Samnitibus incerta pace agere nec claudentes portas Romanis, ne arcessant bellum, et obstinatos claudere si exercitus admoueatur; in ea fluctuatione animorum opprimi incautos posse. His auctoribus mota propius castra missique eodem tempore circa tria oppida milites, partim armati qui occulti propinqua moenibus insiderent loca, partim togati tectis ueste gladiis qui sub lucem apertis portis urbes ingrederentur. Ab his simul custodes trucidari coepti, simul datum signum armatis ut ex insidiis concurrerent. Ita portae occupatae triaque oppida eadem hora eodemque consilio capta; sed quia absentibus ducibus impetus est factus, nullus modus caedibus fuit deletaque Ausonum gens uix certo defectionis crimine perinde ac si interneciuo bello certasset.

[26] Eodem anno prodito hostibus Romano praesidio Luceria Samnitium facta; nec diu proditoribus impunita res fuit. Haud procul inde exercitus Romanus erat, cuius primo impetu urbs sita in plano

capitur. Lucerini ac Samnites ad internecionem caesi; eoque ira processit ut Romae quoque, cum de colonis mittendis Luceriam consuleretur senatus, multi delendam urbem censerent. Praeter odium, quod execrabile in bis captos erat, longinquitas quoque abhorrere a relegandis tam procul ab domo ciuibus inter tam infestas gentes cogebat. Vicit tamen sententia ut mitterentur coloni; duo milia et quingenti missi. Eodem anno, cum omnia infida Romanis essent, Capuae quoque occultae principum coniurationes factae. De quibus cum ad senatum relatum esset, haudquaquam neglecta res: quaestiones decretae dictatoremque quaestionibus exercendis dici placuit. C. Maenius dictus; is M. Folium magistrum equitum dixit. Ingens erat magistratus eius terror; itaque siue timoris seu conscientiae ui, Caluuius Ouium Nouiumque — ea capita coniurationis fuerant — priusquam nominarentur apud dictatorem, mors haud dubie ab ipsis conscita iudicio subtraxit. Deinde, ut quaestioni Campanae materia decessit, uersa Romam interpretando res: non nominatim qui Capuae sed in uniuersum qui usquam coissent coniurassentue aduersus rem publicam quaeri senatum iussisse et coitiones honorum adipiscendorum causa factas aduersus rem publicam esse. Latioque et re et personis quaestio fieri haud abnuente dictatore sine fine ulla quaestionis suae ius esse. Postulabantur ergo nobiles homines appellantisque tribunos nemo erat auxilio quin nomina reciperentur. Inde nobilitas, nec ii modo in quos crimen intendebatur sed uniuersi, simul negare nobilium id crimen esse quibus, si nulla obstetur fraude, pateat uia ad honorem, sed hominum nouorum; ipsos adeo dictatorem magistrumque equitum reos magis quam quaesitores idoneos eius criminis esse intellecturosque ita id esse simul magistratu abissent. Tum enim uero Maenius, iam famae magis quam imperii memor, progressus in contionem ita uerba fecit: “et omnes ante actae uitae uos conscios habeo, Quirites, et hic ipse honos delatus ad me testis est innocentiae meae; neque enim, quod saepe alias, quia ita tempora postulabant rei publicae, qui bello clarissimus esset, sed qui maxime procul ab his coitionibus uitam egisset, dictator deligendus exercendis quaestionibus fuit. Sed, quoniam quidam nobiles homines — qua de causa uos existimare quam me pro magistratu quicquam incompertum dicere melius est — primum ipsas expugnare

quaestiones omni ope adnisi sunt; dein, postquam ad id parum potentes erant, ne causam dicerent, in praesidia aduersariorum, appellationem et tribunicium auxilium, patricii confugerunt; postremo repulsi inde — adeo omnia tutiora quam ut innocentiam suam purgarent uisa — in nos intruerunt, et priuatis dictatorem poscere reum uere cundiae non fuit; — ut omnes di hominesque sciant ab illis etiam quae non possint temptari ne rationem uitae reddant, me obuam ire crimini et offerre me inimicis reum, dictatura me abduco. Vos quaeso, consules, si uobis datum ab senatu negotium fuerit, in me primum et hunc M. Folium quaestiones exerceatis, ut appareat innocentia nostra nos, non maiestate honoris tutos a criminationibus istis esse,” abdicat inde se dictatura et post eum confestim Folius magisterio equitum; primique apud consules — iis enim ab senatu mandata res est — rei facti aduersus nobilium testimonia egregie absoluuntur. Publilius etiam Philo multiplicatis summis honoribus post res tot domi belloque gestas, ceterum inuisus nobilitati, causam dixit absolutusque est. Nec diutius, ut fit, quam dum recens erat quaestio per clara nomina reorum uiguit: inde labi coepit ad uiliora capita, donec coitionibus factionibusque aduersus quas comparata erat oppressa est.

[27] Earum fama rerum, magis tamen spes Campanae defectionis, in quam coniuratum erat, Samnites in Apuliam uersos rursus ad Caudium reuocauit, ut inde ex propinquo, si qui motus occasionem aperiret, Capuam Romanis eriperent. Eo consules cum ualido exercitu uenerunt. Et primo circa saltus, cum utrimque ad hostem iniqua uia esset, cunctati sunt; deinde Samnites per aperta loca breui circuitu in loca plana [Campanos campos] agmen demittunt ibique primum castra in conspectum hostibus data, deinde leuibus proeliis equitum saepius quam peditum utrimque periculum factum; nec aut euentus eorum Romanum aut morae, qua trahebant bellum, paenitebat. Samnitium contra ducibus et carpi paruis cottidie damnis et senescere dilatione belli uires suae uidebantur. Itaque in aciem procedunt equitibus in cornua diuisis, quibus praeceptum erat intentiores ad respectum castrorum, ne qua eo uis fieret, quam ad proelium starent: aciem peditum tutam fore. Consul Sulpicius in dextro, Poetelius in laeuo cornu consistunt. Dextra pars, qua et Samnites raris ordinibus aut ad circumeundos hostes aut ne ipsi

circumirentur constiterant, latius patefacta stetit; sinistris, praeterquam quod confertiores steterant, repentino consilio Poeteli consulis additae uires, qui subsidiarias cohortes, quae integrae ad longioris pugnae casus reseruabantur, in primam aciem extemplo emisit uniuersique hostem primo impetu uiribus impulit. Commota pedestri acie Samnitium eques in pugnam succedit. In hunc transuerso agmine inter duas acies se inferentem Romanus equitatus concitat equos signaque et ordines peditum atque equitum confundit, donec uniuersam ab ea parte auertit aciem. In eo cornu non Poetelius solus sed Sulpicius etiam hortator adfuerat, auectus ab suis nondum conserentibus manus ad clamorem a sinistra parte prius exortum. Vnde haud dubiam uictoriam cernens cum ad suum cornu tenderet cum mille ducentis uiris, dissimilem ibi fortunam inuenit, Romanos loco pulsos, uictorem hostem signa in percussos inferentem. Ceterum omnia mutauit repente consulis aduentus; nam et conspectu ducis reffectus militum est animus, et maius quam pro numero auxilium aduenerat fortes uiri, et partis alterius uictoria audita mox uisa etiam proelium restituit. Tota deinde iam uincere acie Romanus et omisso certamine caedi capique Samnites, nisi qui Maleuentum, cui nunc urbi Beneuentum nomen est, perfugerunt. Ad triginta milia caesa aut capta Samnitium proditum memoriae est.

[28] Consules egregia uictoria parta protinus inde ad Bouianum oppugnandum legiones ducunt; ibique hiberna egerunt, donec ab nouis consulibus, L. Papirio Cursore quintum C. Iunio Bubulco iterum nominatus dictator C. Poetelius cum M. Folio magistro equitum exercitum accepit. Is, cum audisset arcem Fregellanam ab Samnitibus captam, omisso Bouiano ad Fregellas pergit; unde nocturna Samnitium fuga sine certamine receptis Fregellis praesidioque ualido imposito in Campaniam reditum maxime ad Nolam armis repetendam. Eo se intra moenia sub aduentum dictatoris et Samnitium omnis multitudo et Nolana agrestis contulerat. Dictator urbis situ circumspecto, quo apertior aditus ad moenia esset, omnia aedificia — et frequenter ibi habitabatur — circumiecta muris incendit; nec ita multo post siue a Poetelio dictatore siue ab C. Iunio consule — nam utrumque traditur — Nola est capta. Qui captae decus Nolae ad consulem trahunt, adiciunt Atinam et Calatiam ab eodem captas, Poetelium autem pestilentia

orta clauis figendi causa dictatorem dictum. Suessa et Pontiae eodem anno coloniae deductae sunt. Suessa Auruncorum fuerat; Volsci Pontias, insulam sitam in conspectu litoris sui, incoluerant. Et Interamnam Sucasinam ut deduceretur colonia, senatus consultum factum est; sed triumuiros creauere ac misere colonorum quattuor milia insequentes consules M. Valerius P. Decius.

[29] [M. Valerio P. Decio coss.] profligato fere Samnitium bello, priusquam ea cura decederet patribus Romanis, Etrusci belli fama exorta est; nec erat ea tempestate gens alia, cuius secundum Gallicos tumultus arma terribiliora essent cum propinquitate agri tum multitudine hominum. Itaque altero consule in Samnio reliquias belli persequente P. Decius, qui grauiter aeger Romae restiterat, auctore senatu dictatorem C. Iunium Bubulcum dixit. Is, prout rei magnitudo postulabat, omnes iuniores sacramento adigit, arma quaeque alia res poscit summa industria parat; nec tantis apparatus elatus de inferendo bello agitatur, quieturus haud dubie, nisi ultro arma Etrusci inferrent. Eadem in comparando cohibendoque bello consilia et apud Etruscos fuere; neutri finibus egressi. Et censura clara eo anno Ap. Claudii et C. Plautii fuit; memoriae tamen felicioris ad posterum nomen Appii, quod uiam muniuit et aquam in urbem duxit; eaque unus perfecit quia ob infamem atque inuidiosam senatus lectionem uerecundia uictus collega magistratu se abdicauerat, Appius iam inde antiquitus insitam pertinaciam familiae gerendo solus censuram obtinuit. Eodem Appio auctore Potitia gens, cuius ad Aram Maximam Herculis familiare sacerdotium fuerat, seruos publicos ministerii delegandi causa sollempnia eius sacri docuerat. Traditur inde, dictum mirabile et quod dimouendis statu suo sacris religionem facere posset, cum duodecim familiae ea tempestate Potitiorum essent, puberes ad triginta, omnes intra annum cum stirpe extinctos; nec nomen tantum Potitiorum interisse sed censorem etiam [Appium] memori deum ira post aliquot annos luminibus captum.

[30] Itaque consules, qui eum annum secuti sunt, C. Iunius Bubulcus tertium et Q. Aemilius Barbula iterum, initio anni questi apud populum deformatum ordinem praua lectione senatus, quae potiores aliquot lectis praeteriti essent, negauerunt eam lectionem se, quae sine recti prauique discrimine ad gratiam ac libidinem facta esset, obseruatuos et senatum extemplo citauerunt eo ordine qui ante

censores Ap. Claudium et C. Plautium fuerat. Et duo imperia eo anno dari coepta per populum, utraque pertinentia ad rem militarem: unum, ut tribuni militum seni deni in quattuor legiones a populo crearentur, quae antea perquam paucis suffragio populi relictis locis dictatorum et consulum ferme fuerant beneficia — tulere eam rogationem tribuni plebei L. Atilius C. Marcius — : alterum, ut duumuiros nauales classis ornandae reficiendaeque causa idem populus iuberet; lator huius plebi sciti fuit M. Decius tribunus plebis. Eiusdem anni rem dictu paruam praeterirem, ni ad religionem uisa esset pertinere. Tibicines, quia prohibiti a proximis censoribus erant in aede Iouis uesci quod traditum antiquitus erat, aegre passi Tibur uno agmine abierunt, adeo ut nemo in urbe esset qui sacrificiis praecineret. Eius rei religio tenuit senatum legatosque Tibur miserunt: [ut] darent operam ut ii homines Romanis restituerentur. Tiburtini benigne polliciti primum accitos eos in curiam hortati sunt uti reuerterentur Romam; postquam perpelli nequibant, consilio haud abhorrente ab ingeniis hominum eos adgrediuntur. Die festo alii alios per speciem celebrandarum cantu epularum [causa] inuitant, et uino, cuius auidum ferme id genus est, oneratos sopiunt atque ita in plastra somno uinctos coniciunt ac Romam deportant; nec prius sensere quam plastris in foro relictis plenos crapulae eos lux oppressit. Tunc concursus populi factus, impetratoque ut manerent, datum ut triduum quotannis ornati cum cantu atque hac quae nunc sollemnis est licentia per urbem uagarentur, restitutumque in aede uescendi ius iis qui sacris praecinerent. Haec inter duorum ingentium bellorum curam gerebantur.

[31] Consules inter se prouincias partiti: Iunio Samnites, Aemilio nouum bellum Etruria sorte obuinit. In Samnio Cluuiarum praesidium Romanum, quia nequiuerat ui capi, obsessum fame in deditionem acceperant Samnites uerberibusque foedum in modum laceratos occiderant deditos. Huic infensus crudelitati Iunius, nihil antiquius oppugnatione Cluuiana ratus, quo die adgressus est moenia, ui cepit atque omnes puberes interfecit. Inde uictor exercitus Bouianum ductus; caput hoc erat Pentrorum Samnitium, longe ditissimum atque opulentissimum armis uirisque. Ibi, quia haud tantum irarum erat, spe praedae milites accensi oppido potiuntur. Minus itaque saeuitum in hostes est, praedae plus paene quam ex

omni Samnio unquam egestum benigneque omnis militi concessa. Et postquam praepotentem armis Romanum nec acies subsistere ullae nec castra nec urbes poterant, omnium principum in Samnio eo curae sunt intentae ut insidiis quaeretur locus, si qua licentia populando effusus exercitus excipi ac circumueniri posset. Transfugae agrestes et captiui quidam, pars forte, pars consilio oblatis, congruentia ad consulem adferentes — quae et uera erant — pecoris uim ingentem in saltum auium compulsam esse, perpulerunt ut praedatum eo expeditae ducerentur legiones. Ibi ingens hostium exercitus itinera occultus insederat et, postquam intrasse Romanos uidit saltum, repente exortus cum clamore ac tumultu incautos inuadit. Et primo noua res trepidationem fecit, dum arma capiunt, sarcinas congerunt in medium; dein postquam, ut quisque liberauerat se onere aptaueratque armis, ad signa undique coibant et, notis ordinibus in uetere disciplina militiae iam sine praecepto ullius sua sponte struebatur acies, consul ad ancipitem maxime pugnam aduectus desilit ex equo et Iouem Martemque atque alios testatur deos se nullam suam gloriam inde sed praedam militi quaerentem in eum locum deuenisse neque in se aliud quam nimiam ditandi ex hoste militis curam reprehendi posse; ab eo se dedecore nullam rem aliam quam uirtutem militum uindicaturam. Coniterentur modo uno animo omnes inuadere hostem uictum acie, castris exutum, nudatum urbibus, ultimam spem furto insidiarum temptantem et loco non armis fretum. Sed quem esse iam uirtuti Romanae inexpugnabilem locum? Fregellana arx Soranaque et ubicumque iniquo successum erat loco memorabantur. His accensus miles, omnium immemor difficultatum, uadit aduersus imminentem hostium aciem. Ibi paulum laboris fuit, dum in aduersum cliuum erigitur agmen; ceterum postquam prima signa planitiem summam ceperunt sensitque acies aequo se iam institisse loco, uersus extemplo est terror in insidiatores easdemque latebras, quibus se paulo ante texerant, palati atque inermes fuga repetebant. Sed loca difficilia hosti quaesita ipsos tum sua fraude impediabant. Itaque ergo perpaucis effugium patuit; caesa ad uiginti milia hominum; uictorque Romanus ad oblatam ab hoste praedam pecorum discurrit.

[32] Dum haec geruntur in Samnio, iam omnes Etruriae populi praeter Arretinos ad arma ierant, ab oppugnando Sutrio, quae urbs

socia Romanis uelut claustra Etruriae erat, ingens orsi bellum. Eo alter consulum Aemilius cum exercitu ad liberandos obsidione socios uenit. Aduenientibus Romanis Sutrini commeatus benigne in castra ante urbem posita aduexere. Etrusci diem primum consultando maturarent traherentne bellum traduxerunt: postero die, ubi celeriora quam tutiora consilia magis placuere ducibus, sole orto signum pugnae propositum est armatique in aciem procedunt. Quod postquam consuli nuntiatum est, extemplo tesseram dari iubet ut prandeat miles firmatisque cibo uiribus arma capiat. Dicto paretur. Consul ubi armatos paratosque uidit, signa extra uallum proferri iussit et haud procul hoste instruxit aciem. Aliquamdiu intenti utrimque steterunt exspectantes ut ab aduersariis clamor et pugna inciperet, et prius sol meridie se inclinauit quam telum hinc aut illinc emissum est: inde, ne infecta re abiretur, clamor ab Etruscis oritur concinuntque tubae et signa inferuntur. Nec segnius a Romanis pugna initur. Concurrunt infensis animis; numero hostis, uirtute Romanus superat; anceps proelium multos utrimque et fortissimum quemque absumit nec prius inclinata res est quam secunda acies Romana ad prima signa, integri fessis, successerunt, Etrusci, quia nullis recentibus subsidiis fulta prima acies fuit, ante signa circaque omnes ceciderunt. Nullo unquam proelio fugae minus nec plus caedis fuisset, ni obstinatos mori Tuscos nox texisset, ita ut uictores priusquam uicti pugnandi finem facerent. Post occasum solis signum receptui datum est; nocte ab utroque in castra reditum. Nec deinde quicquam eo anno rei memoria dignae apud Sutrium gestum est, quia et ex hostium exercitu prima tota acies deleta uno proelio fuerat subsidiariis modo relictis, uix quod satis esset ad castrorum praesidium, et apud Romanos tantum uolnerum fuit ut plures post proelium saucii decesserint quam ceciderant in acie.

[33] Q. Fabius, insequentis anni consul, bellum ad Sutrium excepit; collega Fabio C. Marcius Rutulus datus est; ceterum et Fabius supplementum ab Roma adduxit et nouus exercitus domo accitus Etruscis uenit. Permulti anni iam erant cum inter patricos magistratus tribunosque nulla certamina fuerant, cum ex ea familia, quae uelut fatales cum tribunis ac plebe erat, certamen oritur. Ap. Claudius censor circumactis decem et octo mensibus, quod Aemilia lege finitum censurae spatium temporis erat, cum C. Plautius collega

eius magistratu se abdicasset, nulla ui compelli ut abdicaret potuit. P. Sempronius erat tribunus plebis, qui finiendae censurae inter legitimum tempus actionem susceperat, non popularem magis quam iustam nec in uolguis quam optimo cuique gratiorem. Is cum identidem legem Aemiliam recitaret auctoremque eius Mam. Aemilium dictatorem laudibus ferret, qui quinquennalem ante [censuram] et longinquitate potestatem dominantem intra sex mensum et anni coegisset spatium, “dic agedum” inquit, “Appi Claudii, quidnam facturus fueris, si eo tempore quo C. Furius et M. Geganius censores fuerunt censor fuisses,” negare Appius interrogationem tribuni magno opere ad causam pertinere suam; nam, etsi tenuerit lex Aemilia eos censores, quorum in magistratu lata esset, quia post illos censores creatos eam legem populus iussisset, quodque postremum iussisset id ius ratumque esset, non tamen aut se aut eorum quemquam, qui post eam legem latam creati censores essent, teneri ea lege potuisse.

[34] Haec sine ullius adsensu cauillante Appio “en” inquit, “Quirites, illius Appi progenies, qui decemuirum in annum creatus altero anno se ipse creauit, tertio nec ab se nec ab ullo creatus priuatus fasces et imperium obtinuit, nec ante continuando abstinit magistratu quam obruerent eum male parta, male gesta, male retenta imperia. Haec est eadem familia, Quirites, cuius ui atque iniuriis compulsi, extorres patria Sacrum montem cepistis; haec, aduersus quam tribuniciū auxilium uobis comparastis; haec, propter quam duo exercitus Auentinum insedistis; haec, quae fenebres leges, haec, quae agrarias semper impugnauit; haec conubia patrum et plebis interruptit; haec plebi ad curules magistratus iter obsaeptis. Hoc est nomen multo quam Tarquiniorum infestius uestrae libertati. Itane tandem, Appi Claudii? cum centesimus iam annus sit ab Mam. Aemilio dictatore, tot censores fuerunt, nobilissimi fortissimique uiri, nemo eorum duodecim tabulas legit? nemo id ius esse, quod postremo populus iussisset, scit? immo uero omnes sciuerunt et ideo Aemiliae potius legi paruerunt quam illi antiquae qua primum censores creati erant, quia hanc postremam iusserat populus et quia, ubi duae contrariae leges sunt, semper antiquae obrogat noua. An hoc dicis, Appi, non teneri Aemilia lege populum? an populum teneri, te unum ex legem esse? tenuit Aemilia lex uiolentos illos censores, C.

Furium et M. Geganium, qui quid iste magistratus in re publica mali facere posset indicarunt, cum ira finitae potestatis Mam. Aemilium, principem aetatis suae belli domique, aerarium fecerunt; tenuit deinceps omnes censores intra centum annorum spatium; tenet C. Plautium, collegam tuum iisdem auspiciis, eodem iure creatum. An hunc non, ut qui optimo iure censor creatus esset, populus creauit? tu unus eximius es in quo hoc praecipuum ac singulare ualeat? quem tu regem sacrificiorum crees? amplexus regni nomen, ut qui optimo iure rex Romae creatus sit, creatum se dicet. Quem semestri dictatura, quem interregno quinque dierum contentum fore putes? quem clauis figendi aut ludorum causa dictatorem audacter crees? quam isti stolidos ac socordes uideri creditis eos qui intra uicesimum diem ingentibus rebus gestis dictatura se abdicauerunt aut qui uitio creati abierunt magistratu. Quid ego antiqua repetam? nuper intra decem annos C. Maenius dictator, quia, cum quaestiones seuerius quam quibusdam potentibus tutum erat exerceret, contagio eius quod quaerebat ipse criminis obiectata ab inimicis est, ut priuatus obuiam iret crimini, dictatura se abdicauit. Nolo ego istam in te modestiam; ne degeneraueris a familia imperiosissima [superbissima]; non die, non hora citius quam necesse est magistratu abieris, modo ne excedas finitum tempus. Satis est aut diem aut mensem censurae adicere? triennium, inquit, et sex menses ultra quam licet Aemilia lege censuram geram, et solus geram. Hoc quidem iam regno simile est. An collegam subrogabis, quem ne in demortui quidem locum subrogari fas est? paenitet enim, quod antiquissimum sollemne et solum ab ipso, cui fit, institutum deo ab nobilissimis antistitibus eius sacri ad seruorum ministerium religiosus censor deduxisti, gens antiquior originibus urbis huius, hospitio deorum immortalium sancta, propter te ac tuam censuram intra annum ab stirpe exstincta est, nisi uniuersam rem publicam eo nefario obstrinxeris, quod ominari etiam reformidat animus. Vrbs eo lustris capta est, quo demortuo collega C. Iulio [censore], L. Papirius Cursor, ne abiret magistratu, M. Cornelium Maluginensem collegam subrogauit. Et quanto modestior illius cupiditas fuit quam tua, Appi? nec solus nec ultra finitum lege tempus L. Papirius censuram gessit; tamen neminem inuenit qui se postea auctorem sequeretur; omnes deinceps censores post mortem collegae se magistratu abdicarunt. Te nec quod

dies exit censurae nec quod collega magistratu abiit nec lex nec pudor coercet: uirtutem in superbia, in audacia, in contemptu deorum hominumque ponis. Ego te, Appi Claudii, pro istius magistratus maiestate ac uerecundia quem gessisti, non modo manu uiolatum sed ne uerbo quidem inclementiori a me appellatum uellem; sed et haec quae adhuc egi peruicacia tua et superbia coegit me loqui, et, nisi Aemiliae legi parueris, in uincula duci iubebo nec, cum ita comparatum a maioribus sit ut comitiis censoriis, nisi duo confecerint legitima suffragia, non renuntiato altero comitia differantur, ego te, qui solus censor creari non possis, solum censuram gerere nunc patiar,” haec taliaque cum dixisset, prendi censorem et in uincula duci iussit. Approbantibus sex tribunis actionem collegae, tres appellanti Appio auxilio fuerunt; summaque inuidia omnium ordinum solus censuram gessit.

[35] Dum ea Romae geruntur, iam Sutrium ab Etruscis obsidebatur consulique Fabio imis montibus ducenti ad ferendam opem sociis temptandasque munitiones, si qua posset, acies hostium instructa occurrit; quorum ingentem multitudinem cum ostenderet subiecta late planities, consul, ut loco paucitatem suorum adiuuaret, flectit paululum in cliuos agmen — aspreta erant strata saxis — inde signa in hostem obuertit. Etrusci omnium praeterquam multitudinis suae qua sola freti erant immemores proelium ineunt adeo raptim et auide, ut abiectis missilibus quo celerius manus consererent stringerent gladios uadentes in hostem. Romanus contra nunc tela, nunc saxa, quibus eos adfatim locus ipse armabat, ingerere. Igitur scuta galeaeque ictae cum etiam quos non uulnerauerant turbarent — neque subire erat facile ad propio rem pugnam neque missilia habebant quibus eminus rem gererent — stantes et expositos ad ictus cum iam satis nihil tegeret, quosdam etiam pedem referentes fluctuantemque et instabilem aciem redintegrato clamore strictis gladiis hastati et principes inuadunt. Eum impetum non tulerunt Etrusci uersisque signis fuga effusa castra repetunt; sed equites Romani praeuecti per obliqua campi cum se fugientibus obtulissent, omisso ad castra itinere montes petunt; inde inermi paene agmine ac uexato uulneribus in siluam Ciminiam penetratum. Romanus multis milibus Etruscorum caesis, duodequadraginta signis militaribus captis, castris etiam hostium cum praeda ingenti potitur. Tum de

persequendo hoste agitari coeptum.

[36] Silua erat Ciminia magis tum inuia atque horrenda quam nuper fuere Germanici saltus, nulli ad eam diem ne mercatorum quidem adita. Eam intrare haud fere quisquam praeter ducem ipsum audebat; aliis omnibus cladis Caudinae nondum memoria aboleuerat. Tum ex iis qui aderant, consulis frater — M. Fabium, Caesonem alii, C. Claudium quidam matre eadem qua consulem genitum, tradunt — speculatum se iturum professus breuique omnia certa allaturum. Caere educatus apud hospites, Etruscis inde litteris eruditus erat linguamque Etruscam probe nouerat. Habeo auctores uolgo tum Romanos pueros, sicut nunc Graecis, ita Etruscis litteris erudiri solitos; sed propius est uero praecipuum aliquid fuisse in eo qui se tam audaci simulatione hostibus immiscuerit. Seruus ei dicitur comes unus fuisse, nutritus una eoque haud ignarus linguae eiusdem; nec quicquam aliud proficiscentes quam summatim regionis quae intranda erat naturam ac nomina principum in populis acceperere, ne qua inter conloquia insigni nota haesitantes deprendi possent. Iere pastorali habitu, agrestibus telis, falcibus gaesisque binis armati. Sed neque commercium linguae nec uestis armorumue habitus sic eos texit quam quod abhorrebat ab fide quemquam externum Ciminios saltus intraturum. Vsque ad Camertes Vmbros penetrasse dicuntur; ibi qui essent fateri Romanum ausum; introductumque in senatum con sulis uerbis egisse de societate amicitiaque atque inde comi hospitio acceptum nuntiare Romanis iussum commeatum exercitui dierum triginta praesto fore, si ea loca intrasset, iuuentutemque Camertium Vmbrorum in armis paratam imperio futuram. Haec cum relata consuli essent, impedimentis prima uigilia praemissis, legionibus post impedimenta ire iussis ipse substitit cum equitatu et luce orta postero die obequitauit stationibus hostium, quae extra saltum dispositae erant; et cum satis diu tenuisset hostem, in castra sese recepit portaque altera egressus ante noctem agmen adsequitur. Postero die luce prima iuga Ciminii montis tenebat; inde contemplatus opulenta Etruriae arua milites emittit. Ingenti iam abacta praeda tumultuariiae agrestium Etruscorum cohortes, repente a principibus regionis eius concitatae, Romanis occurrunt adeo incompositae ut uindices praedarum prope ipsi praedae fuerint. Caesis fugatisque his, late depopulato agro uictor Romanus

opulentusque rerum omnium copia in castra rediit. Eo forte quinque legati cum duobus tribunis plebis uenerant denuntiatum Fabio senatus uerbis ne saltum Ciminium transiret. Laetati serius se quam ut impedire bellum possent uenisse, nuntii uictoriae Romam reuertuntur.

[37] Hac expeditione consulis motum latius erat quam profligatum bellum; uastationem namque sub Ciminii montis radicibus iacens ora senserat conciueratque indignatione non Etruriae modo populos sed Vmbriae finitima. Itaque quantus non unquam antea exercitus ad Sutrium uenit; neque e siluis tantummodo promota castra sed etiam auiditate dimicandi quam primum in campos delata acies. Deinde instructa primo suo stare loco, relicto hostibus ad instruendum contra spatio: dein, postquam detractare hostem sensere pugnam, ad uallum subeunt. Vbi postquam stationes quoque receptas intra munimenta sensere, clamor repente circa duces ortus, ut eo sibi e castris cibaria eius diei deferri iuberent: mansuros se sub armis et aut nocte aut certe luce prima castra hostium inuasuros. Nihilo quietior Romanus exercitus imperio ducis continetur. Decima erat fere diei hora cum cibum capere consul milites iubet; praecipit ut in armis sint quacumque diei noctisue hora signum dederit. Paucis milites adloquitur; Samnitium bella extollit, eleuat Etruscos; nec hostem hosti nec multitudinem multitudini comparandam ait; esse praeterea telum aliud occultum; scituros in tempore; interea taceri opus esse. His ambagibus prodi simulabat hostes, quo animus militum multitudine territus restitueretur; et, quod sine munimento consederant, ueri similis erat quod simulabatur. Curati cibo corpora quieti dant et quarta fere uigilia sine tumultu excitati arma capiunt. Dolabrae calonibus diuiduntur ad uallum proruendum fossasque implendas. Intra munimenta instruitur acies; delectae cohortes ad portarum exitus conlocantur. Dato deinde signo paulo ante lucem, quod aestiuis noctibus sopitae maxime quietis tempus est, proruto uallo erupit acies, stratos passim inuadit hostes; alios immobiles, alios semisomnos in cubilibus suis, maximam partem ad arma trepidantes caedes oppressit. Paucis armandi se datum spatium est; eos ipsos non signum certum, non ducem sequentes fundit Romanus fugatosque persequitur. Ad castra, ad siluas diuersi tendebant. Siluae tutius dedere refugium; nam castra in campis sita eodem die

capiuntur. Aurum argentumque iussum referri ad consulem; cetera praeda militis fuit. Caesa aut capta eo die hostium milia ad sexaginta. Eam tam claram pugnam trans Ciminiam siluam ad Perusiam pugnatam quidam auctores sunt metuque in magno ciuitatem fuisse ne interclusus exercitus tam infesto saltu coortis undique Tuscis Vmbrisque opprimeretur. Sed ubicumque pugnatum est, res Romana superior fuit. Itaque a Perugia et Cortona et Arretio, quae ferme capita Etruriae populorum ea tempestate erant, legati pacem foedusque ab Romanis petentes indutias in triginta annos impetrauerunt.

[38] Dum haec in Etruria geruntur, consul alter C. Marcius Rutulus Allifas de Samnitibus ui cepit. Multa alia castella uicique aut deleta hostiliter aut integra in potestatem uenere. Per idem tempus et classis Romana a P. Cornelio, quem senatus maritimae orae praefecerat, in Campaniam acta cum adpulsa Pompeios esset, socii inde nauales ad depopulandum agrum Nucerinum profecti, proximis raptim uastatis unde reditus tutus ad naues esset, dulcedine, ut fit, praedae longius progressi exciuiere hostes. Palatis per agros nemo obuius fuit, cum occidione occidi possent; redeuntes agmine incauto haud procul nauibus adsecuti agrestes exuerunt praeda, partem etiam occiderunt; quae superfuit caedi trepida multitudo ad naues compulsa est. Profectio Q. Fabi trans Ciminiam siluam quantum Romae terrorem fecerat, tam laetam famam in Samnium ad hostes tulerat interclusum Romanum exercitum obsideri; cladisque imaginem Furculas Caudinas memorabant: eadem temeritate auidam ulteriorum semper gentem in saltus inuios deductam, saeptam non hostium magis armis quam locorum iniquitatibus esse. Iam gaudium inuidia quadam miscebatur, quod belli Romani decus ab Samnitibus fortuna ad Etruscos auertisset. Itaque armis uirisque ad obterendum C. Marcium consulem concurrunt, protinus inde Etruriam per Marsos ac Sabinos petituri, si Marcius dimicandi potestatem non faciat. Obuius iis consul fuit. Dimicatum proelio utrimque atroci atque incerto euentu est et, cum anceps caedes fuisset, aduersae tamen rei fama in Romanos uertit ob amissos quosdam equestris ordinis tribunosque militum atque unum legatum et, quod insigne maxime fuit, consulis ipsius uolnus. Ob haec etiam aucta fama, ut solet, ingens terror patres inuasit dictatoremque dici placebat; nec, quin Cursor Papirius

diceretur, in quo tum summa rei bellicae ponebatur, dubium cuiquam erat. Sed nec in Samnium nuntium perferri omnibus infestis tuto posse nec uiuere Marcium consulem satis fidebant. Alter consul Fabius infestus priuatim Papirio erat; quae ne ira obstaret bono publico, legatos ex consularium numero mittendos ad eum senatus censuit, qui sua quoque eum, non publica solum auctoritate mouerent ut memoriam simultatum patriae remitteret. Profecti legati ad Fabium cum senatus consultum tradidissent adiecissentque orationem conuenientem mandatis, consul demissis in terram oculis tacitus ab incertis quidnam acturus esset legatis recessit; nocte deinde silentio, ut mos est, L. Papirium dictatorem dixit. Cui cum ob animum egregie uictum legati gratias agerent, obstinatum silentium obtinuit ac sine responso ac mentione facti sui legatos dimisit, ut appareret insignem dolorem ingenti comprimi animo. Papirius C. Iunium Bubulcum magistrum equitum dixit; atque ei legem curiatam de imperio ferenti triste omen diem diffidit, quod Faucia curia fuit principium, duabus insignis cladibus, captae urbis et Caudinae pacis, quod utroque anno eiusdem curiae fuerat principium. Macer Licinius tertia etiam clade, quae ad Cremeram accepta est, abominandam eam curiam facit.

[39] Dictator postero die auspiciis repetitis pertulit legem; et profectus cum legionibus ad terrorem traducti siluam Ciminiam exercitus nuper scriptis ad Longum iam peruenit acceptisque a Marcio consule ueteribus militibus in aciem copias eduxit. Nec hostes detractare uisi pugnam. Instructos deinde armatosque, cum ab neutris proelium inciperet, nox oppressit. Quietis aliquamdiu nec quis diffidentes uiribus nec hostem spernentes, statim in propinquo habuere. Nam et cum Vmbrorum exercitu acie depugnatum est; fusi tamen magis quam caesi hostes, quia coeptam acriter non tolerarunt pugnam; et ad Vadimonis lacum Etrusci lege sacrata coacto exercitu, cum uir uirum legisset, quantis nunquam alias ante simul copiis simul animis dimicarunt; tantoque irarum certamine gesta res est ut ab neutra parte emissa sint tela. Gladiis pugna coepit et acerrime commissa ipso certamine, quod aliquamdiu anceps fuit, accensa est, ut non cum Etruscis totiens uictis sed cum aliqua noua gente uideretur dimicatio esse. Nihil ab ulla parte mouetur fugae; cadunt antesignani et, ne nudentur propugnatoribus signa, fit ex secunda

prima acies. Ab ultimis deinde subsidiis cietur miles; adeoque ad ultimum laboris ac periculi uentum est ut equites Romani omissis equis ad primos ordines peditum per arma, per corpora euaserint. Ea uelut noua inter fessos exorta acies turbauit signa Etruscorum; secuta deinde impetum eorum, utcumque adfecta erat, cetera multitudo tandem perrumpit ordines hostium. Tunc uinci pertinacia coepta et auerti manipuli quidam; et, ut semel dedere hi terga, etiam <ceteri> certiores capessere fugam. Ille primum dies fortuna uetere abundantes Etruscorum fregit opes; caesum in acie quod roboris fuit: castra eo impetu capta direptaque.

[40] Pari subinde periculo gloriaeque euentu bellum in Samnitibus erat, qui, praeter ceteros belli apparatus, ut acies sua fulgeret nouis armorum insignibus fecerunt. Duo exercitus erant; scuta alterius auro, alterius argento caelauerunt; forma erat scuti: summum latius, qua pectus atque umeri teguntur, fastigio aequali; ad imum cuneatior mobilitatis causa. Spongia pectori tegumentum et sinistrum crus ocrea tectum. Galeae cristatae, quae speciem magnitudini corporum adderent. Tunicae auratis militibus uersicolores, argentatis linteae candidae. His dextrum cornu datum: illi in sinistro consistunt. Notus iam Romanis apparatus insignium armorum fuerat doctique a ducibus erant horridum militem esse debere, non caelatum auro et argento sed ferro et animis fretum: quippe illa praedam uerius quam arma esse, nitentia ante rem, deformia inter sanguinem et uolnera. Virtutem esse militis decus: et omnia illa uictoriam sequi et ditem hostem quamuis pauperis uictoris praemium esse. His Cursor uocibus instinctos milites in proelium ducit. Dextro ipse cornu consistit, sinistro praefecit magistrum equitum. Simul est concursus, ingens fuit cum hoste certamen, non segnus inter dictatorem et magistrum equitum ab utraque parte uictoria inciperet. Prior forte Iunius commouit hostem, laeuo dextrum cornu, sacros more Samnitum milites eoque candida ueste et paribus candore armis insignes; eos se Orco mactare Iunius dictitans, cum intulisset signa, turbauit ordines et haud dubie impulit aciem. Quod ubi sensit dictator, “ab laeuo cornu uictoria incipiet” inquit “et dextrum cornu, dictatoris acies, alienam pugnam sequetur, non partem maximam uictoriae trahet?” concitat milites; nec peditum uirtuti equites aut legatorum studia ducibus cedunt. M. Valerius a dextro, P. Decius ab laeuo cornu,

ambo consulares, ad equites in cornibus positos euehuntur adhortatique eos, ut partem secum capesserent decoris, in transuersa latera hostium incurrunt. Is nouus additus terror cum ex parte utraque circumuasisset aciem et ad terrorem hostium legiones Romanae redintegrato clamore intulissent gradum, tum fuga ab Samnitibus coepta. Iam strage hominum armorumque insignium campi repleri; ac primo pauidos Samnites castra sua acceperere, deinde ne ea quidem retenta; captis direptisque ante noctem iniectus ignis. Dictator ex senatus consulto triumphauit, cuius triumpho longe maximam speciem captiua arma praebuere. Tantum magnificentiae uisum in his, ut aurata scuta dominis argentariarum ad forum ornandum diuiderentur. Inde natum initium dicitur fori ornandi ab aedilibus cum tensae ducerentur. Et Romani quidem ad honorem deum insignibus armis hostium usi sunt: Campani ad superbiam et odio Samnitium gladiatores, quod spectaculum inter epulas erat, eo ornato armarunt Samnitiumque nomine compellarunt. Eodem anno cum reliquiis Etruscorum ad Perusiam, quae et ipsa indutiarum fidem ruperat, Fabius consul nec dubia nec difficili uictoria dimicat. Ipsum oppidum — nam ad moenia uictor accessit — cepisset, ni legati dedentes urbem exissent. Praesidio Perusiae imposito, legationibus Etruriae amicitiam petentibus prae se Romam ad senatum missis consul praestantiore etiam quam dictator uictoria triumphans urbem est inuectus; quin etiam deuictorum Samnitium decus magna ex parte ad legatos, P. Decium et M. Valerium, est uersum, quos populos proximis comitiis ingenti consensu consulem alterum, alterum praetorem declarauit.

[41] Fabio ob egregie perdomitam Etruriam continuatur consulatus; Decio collega datur. Valerius praetor quartum creatus. Consules partiti prouincias; Etruria Decio, Samnium Fabio euenit. Profectus ad Nuceriam Alfaternam, cum pacem petentes, quod uti ea cum daretur noluisent, aspernatus esset, oppugnando ad deditionem subegit. Cum Samnitibus acie dimicatum. Haud magno certamine hostes uicti; neque eius pugnae memoria tradita foret, ni Marsi eo primum proelio cum Romanis bellassent. Secuti Marsorum defectionem Paeligni eandem fortunam habuerunt. Decio quoque, alteri consuli, secunda belli fortuna erat. Tarquiniensem metu subegerat frumentum exercitui praebere atque indutias in quadraginta annos petere.

Volsiniensium castella aliquot ui cepit; quaedam ex his diruit ne receptaculo hostibus essent; circumferendoque passim bello tantum terrorem sui fecit ut nomen omne Etruscum foedus ab consule peteret. Ac de eo quidem nihil impetratum; indutiae annuae datae. Stipendium exercitu Romano ab hoste in eum annum pensum et binae tunicae in militem exactae; ea merces indutiarum fuit. Tranquillas res iam Etruscis turbauit repentina defectio Vmbrorum, gentis integrae a cladibus belli, nisi quod transitum exercitus ager senserat. Ii concitata omni iuuentute sua et magna parte Etruscorum ad rebellionem compulsa tantum exercitum fecerant ut relicto post se in Etruria Decio ad oppugnandam inde Romam ituros, magnifice de se ac contemptim de Romanis loquentes, iactarent. Quod inceptum eorum ubi ad Decium consulem perlatum est, ad urbem ex Etruria magnis itineribus pergit et in agro Pupiniensi ad famam intentus hostium consedit. Nec Romae spernebatur Vmbrorum bellum; et ipsae minae metum fecerant expertis Gallica clade quam intutam urbem incolerent. Itaque legati ad Fabium consulem missi sunt, ut, si quid laxamenti a bello Samnitium esset, in Vmbriam propere exercitum duceret. Dicto paruit consul magnisque itineribus ad Meuaniam, ubi tum copiae Vmbrorum erant, perrexit. Repens aduentus consulis, quem procul Vmbria in Samnio bello alio occupatum crediderant, ita exterruit Vmbros ut alii recedendum ad urbes munitas, quidam omittendum bellum censerent; plaga una — Materinam ipsi appellant — non continuit modo ceteros in armis sed confestim ad certamen egit. Castra uallantem Fabium adorti sunt. Quos ubi effusos ruere in munimenta consul uidit, reuocatos milites ab opere, prout loci natura tempusque patiebatur, ita instruxit; cohortatusque praedicatione uera qua in Tuscis, qua in Samnio partorum decorum, exiguum appendicem Etrusci belli conficere iubet et uocis impiae poenas expetere, qua se urbem Romanam oppugnaturus minati sunt. Haec tanta sunt alacritate militum audita ut clamor sua sponte ortus loquentem interpellauerit ducem. Ante imperium deinde concentu tubarum ac cornuum cursu effuso in hostem feruntur. Non tamquam in uiros aut armatos incurrunt; mirabilia dictu, signa primo eripi coepta signiferis, deinde ipsi signiferi trahi ad consulem armatique milites ex acie in aciem transferri et, sicubi est certamen, scutis magis quam gladiis geritur

res; umbonibus incussaue ala sternuntur hostes. Plus capitur hominum quam caeditur atque una uox ponere arma iubentium per totam fertur aciem. Itaque inter ipsum certamen facta deditio est a primis auctoribus belli. Postero insequentibusque diebus et ceteri Vmbrorum populi deduntur: Oriculani sponsione in amicitiam accepti.

[42] Fabius, alienae sortis uictor belli, in suam prouinciam exercitum reduxit. Itaque ei ob res tam feliciter gestas, sicut priore anno populus continuauerat consulatum, ita senatus in insequentem annum, quo Ap. Claudius L. Volumnius consules fuerunt, prorogauit maxime Appio aduersante imperium. Appium censorem petisse consulatum comitiaque eius ab L. Furio tribuno plebis interpellata, donec se censura abdicarit, in quibusdam annalibus inuenio. Creatus consul, cum collegae nouum bellum, Sallentini hostes decernerentur, Romae mansit ut urbanis artibus opes augetet quando belli decus penes alios esset. Volumnium prouinciae haud paenituit. Multa secunda proelia fecit; aliquot urbes hostium ui cepit. Praedae erat largitor et benignitatem per se gratam comitate adiuuabat militemque his artibus fecerat et periculi et laboris audum. Q. Fabius pro consule ad urbem Allifas cum Samnitium exercitu signis conlatis confligit. Minime ambigua res fuit; fusi hostes atque in castra compulsi; nec castra forent retenta, ni exiguum superfuisset diei; ante noctem tamen sunt circumsessa et nocte custodita ne quis elabi posset. Postero die uixdum luce certa deditio fieri coepta et pacti qui Samnitium forent ut cum singulis uestimentis emitterentur; ii omnes sub iugum missi. Sociis Samnitium nihil cautum; ad septem milia sub corona ueniere. Qui se ciuem Hernicum dixerat seorsus in custodia habitus; eos omnes Fabius Romam ad senatum misit; et cum quaesitum esset dilectu an uoluntarii pro Samnitibus aduersus Romanos bellarent, per Latinos populos custodiendi dantur, iussique eam integram rem noui consules P. Cornelius Aruina Q. Marcius Tremulus — hi enim iam creati erant — ad senatum referre. Id aegre passi Hernici; concilium populorum omnium habentibus Anagninis in circo quem Maritimum uocant, praeter Aletrinatem Ferentinatempque et Verulanum omnes Hernici nominis populo Romano bellum indixerunt.

[43] In Samnio quoque, quia decesserat inde Fabius, noui motus

exorti. Calatia et Sora praesidiaque quae in his Romana erant expugnata et in captiuorum corpora militum foede saeuitum. Itaque eo P. Cornelius cum exercitu missus. Marcio noui hostes — iam enim Anagninis Hernicisque aliis bellum iussum erat — decernuntur. Primo ita omnia opportuna loca hostes inter consulum castra inter ceperunt ut peruadere expeditus nuntius non posset et per aliquot dies incerti rerum omnium suspensique de statu alterius uterque consul ageret, Romamque is metus manaret, adeo ut omnes iuniores sacramento adigerentur atque ad subita rerum duo iusti scriberentur exercitus. Ceterum Hernicum bellum nequaquam pro praesenti terrore ac uetusta gentis gloria fuit: nihil usquam dictu dignum ausi, trinis castris intra paucos dies exuti, triginta dierum indutias ita ut ad senatum Romam legatos mitterent pacti sunt bimestri stipendio frumentoque et singulis in militem tunicis. Ab senatu ad Marcium reiecti, cui senatus consulto permissum de Hernicis erat; isque eam gentem in deditionem accepit. Et in Samnio alter consul superior uiribus, locis impeditior erat. Omnia itinera obsaepserant hostes saltusque peruos ceperant ne qua subuehi commeatus possent; neque eos, cum cottidie signa in aciem consul proferret, elicere ad certamen poterat, satisque apparebat neque Samnitum certamen praesens nec Romanum dilationem belli laturum. Aduentus Marci, qui Hernicis subactis maturauit collegae uenire auxilio, moram certaminis hosti exemit. Nam ut qui ne alteri quidem exercitui se ad certamen credidissent pares, coniungi utique passi duos consulares exercitus nihil crederent superesse spei, aduenientem incomposito agmine Marcium adgrediuntur. Raptim conlatae sarcinae in medium et, prout tempus patiebatur, instructa acies. Clamor primum in statiuam perlatus, dein spectus procul puluis tumultum apud alterum consulem in castris fecit; isque confestim arma capere iussis raptimque eductis in aciem militibus transuersam hostium aciem atque alio certamine occupatam inuadit, clamitans summum flagitium fore, si alterum exercitum utriusque uictoriae compotem sinerent fieri nec ad se sui belli uindicarent decus. Qua impetum dederat, perrumpit aciemque per mediam in castra hostium tendit et uacua defensoribus capit atque incendit. Quae ubi flagrantia Marcianus miles conspexit et hostes respexere, tum passim fuga coepta Samnitium fieri; sed omnia obtinet caedes nec in ullam partem tutum perfugium est. Iam triginta

milibus hostium caesis signum receptui consules dederant colligebantque in unum copias inuicem inter se gratantes, cum repente uisae procul hostium nouae cohortes, quae in supplementum scriptae fuerant, integrare caedem. In quas nec iussu consulum nec signo accepto uictores uadunt, malo tirocinio imbuendum Samnitum clamitantes. Indulgent consules legionum ardori, ut qui probe scirent nouum militem hostium inter percussos fuga ueteranos ne temptando quidem satis certamini fore. Nec eos opinio fefellit: omnes Samnitum copiae, ueteres nouaeque, montes proximos fuga capiunt. Eo et Romana erigitur acies, nec quicquam satis tuti loci uictis est et de iugis, quae ceperant, funduntur; iamque una uoce omnes pacem petebant. Tum trium mensum frumento imperato et annuo stipendio ac singulis in militem tunicis ad senatum pacis oratores missi. Cornelius in Samnio relictus: Marcius de Hernicis triumphans in urbem rediit statuaque equestris in foro decreta est, quae ante templum Castoris posita est. Hernicorum tribus populis, Aletrinati Verulano Ferentinati, quia maluerunt quam ciuitatem, suae leges redditae conubiumque inter ipsos, quod aliquamdiu soli Hernicorum habuerunt, permissum. Anagninis quique arma Romanis intulerant ciuitas sine suffragii latione data: concilia conubiaque adempta et magistratibus praeter quam sacrorum curatione interdictum. Eodem anno aedes Salutis a C. Iunio Bubulco censore locata est, quam consul bello Samnitum uouerat. Ab eodem collegaque eius M. Valerio Maximo uiae per agros publica impensa factae. Et cum Carthaginensibus eodem anno foedus tertio renouatum legatisque eorum, qui ad id uenerant, comiter munera missa.

[44] Dictatorem idem annus habuit P. Cornelium Scipionem cum magistro equitum P. Decio Mure. Ab his, propter quae creati erant, comitia consularia habita, quia neuter consulum potuerat bello abesse. Creati consules L. Postumius Ti. Minucius. Hos consules Piso Q. Fabio et P. Decio suggerit biennio exempto, quo Claudium Volumniumque et Cornelium cum Marcio consules factos tradidimus. Memoriane fugerit in annalibus digerendis an consulto binos consules, falsos ratus, transcenderit, incertum est. Eodem anno in campum Stellatem agri Campani Samnitum incursiones factae. Itaque ambo consules in Samnium missi cum diuersas regiones, Tifernum Postumius, Bouianum Minucius petisset, Postumi prius

ductu ad Tifernum pugnatum. Alii haud dubie Samnites uictos ac uiginti milia hominum capta tradunt, alii Marte aequo discessum et Postumium metum simulantem nocturno itinere clam in montes copias abduxisse, hostes secutos duo milia inde locis munitis et ipsos consedissee. Consul ut statiuua tuta copiosaue — et ita erant — petisse uideretur, postquam et munimentis castra firmauit et omni apparatu rerum utilium instruxit, relicto firmo praesidio de uigilia tertia, qua duci proxime potest, expeditas legiones ad collegam, et ipsum aduersus alios sedentem, ducit. Ibi auctore Postumio Minucius cum hostibus signa confert; et cum anceps proelium in multum diei processisset, tum Postumius integris legionibus defessam iam aciem hostium improuiso inuadit. Itaque cum lassitudo ac uolnera fugam quoque praepedissent, occidione occisi hostes, signa unum et uiginti capta, atque inde ad castra Postumi perrectum. Ibi duo uictores exercitus perculsum iam fama hostem adorti fundunt fugantque; signa militaria sex et uiginti capta et imperator Samnitium Statius Gellius multique alii mortales et castra utraque capta. Et Bouianum urbs postero die coepta oppugnari breui capitur magnaue gloria rerum gestarum consules triumpharunt. Minucium consulem, cum uolnere graui relatum in castra, mortuum quidam auctores sunt, et M. Fuluium in locum eius consulem suffectum et ab eo, cum ad exercitum Minuci missus esset, Bouianum captum. Eo anno Sora Arpinum Cesennia recepta ab Samnitibus; Herculis magnum simulacrum in Capitolio positum dedicatumque.

[45] P. Sulpicio Sauerione P. Sempronio Sopho consulibus Samnites, seu finem seu dilationem belli quaerentes, legatos de pace Romam misere. Quibus suppliciter agentibus responsum est, nisi saepe bellum parantes pacem petissent Samnites, oratione ultro citro habita de pace transigi potuisse: nunc, quando uerba uana ad id locorum fuerint, rebus standum esse. P. Sempronium consulem cum exercitu breui in Samnio fore; eum, ad bellum pacemne inclinent animi, falli non posse; comperta omnia senatui relaturum; decedentem ex Samnio consulem legati sequerentur. Eo anno cum pacatum Samnium exercitus Romanus benigne praebito commeatu peragrasset, foedus antiquum Samnitibus redditum. Ad Aequos inde, ueteres hostes, ceterum per multos annos sub specie infidae pacis quietos, uersa arma Romana, quod incolumi Hernico nomine

missitauerant simul cum iis Samniti auxilia et post Hernicos subactos uniuersa prope gens sine dissimulatione consilii publici ad hostes descuerat; et postquam icto Romae cum Samnitibus foedere fetiales uenerant res repetitum, temptationem aiebant esse ut terrore incusso belli Romanos se fieri paterentur; quod quanto opere optandum foret, Hernicos docuisse, cum quibus licuerit suas leges Romanae ciuitati praeoptauerint; quibus legendi quid mallent copia non fuerit, pro poena necessariam ciuitatem fore. Ob haec uolgo in conciliis iactata populus Romanus bellum fieri Aequis iussit; consulesque ambo ad nouum profecti bellum quattuor milia a castris hostium consederunt. Aequorum exercitus, ut qui suo nomine permultos annos imbelles egissent, tumultuario similis sine ducibus certis, sine imperio trepidare. Alius exeundum in aciem, alii castra tuenda censent: mouet plerosque uastatio futura agrorum ac deinceps cum leuibus praesidiis urbium relictarum excidia. Itaque postquam inter multas sententias una, quae omissa cura communium ad respectum suarum quemque rerum uertit, est audita, ut prima uigilia diuersi e castris ad deportanda omnia tuendosque moenibus in urbes abirent, cuncti eam sententiam ingenti adsensu acceperunt. Palatis hostibus per agros prima luce Romani signis prolatis in acie consistunt et, ubi nemo obuius ibat, pleno gradu ad castra hostium tendunt; ceterum postquam ibi neque stationes pro portis nec quemquam in uallo nec fremitum consuetum castrorum animaduenterunt, insolito silentio moti metu insidiarum subsistunt. Transgressi deinde uallum cum deserta omnia inuenissent pergunt hostem uestigiis sequi; sed uestigia in omnes aequae ferentia partes, ut in dilapsis passim, primo errorem faciebant. Post per exploratores compertis hostium consiliis, ad singulas urbes circumferendo bello unum et triginta oppida intra dies quinquaginta, omnia oppugnando, ceperunt; quorum pleraque diruta atque incensa nomenque Aequorum prope ad internecionem deletum. De Aequis triumphatum; exemploque eorum clades fuit, ut Marrucini Marsi Paeligni Frentani mitterent Romam oratores pacis petendae amicitiaeque. His populis foedus petentibus datum.

[46] Eodem anno Cn. Flavius Cn. Filius scribe, patre libertino humili fortuna ortus, ceterum callidus uir et facundus, aedilis curulis fuit. Inuenio in quibusdam annalibus, cum appareret aedilibus fierique se pro tribu aedilem uideret neque accipi nomen quia

scriptum faceret, tabulam posuisse et iurasse se scriptum non facturum; quem aliquanto ante desisse scriptum facere arguit Macer Licinius tribunatu ante gesto triumuiratibusque, nocturno altero, altero coloniae deducendae. Ceterum, id quod haud discrepat, contumacia aduersus contemnentes humilitatem suam nobiles certauit; ciuile ius, repositum in penetralibus pontificum, euolgauit fastosque circa forum in albo proposuit, ut quando lege agi posset sciretur; aedem Concordiae in area Volcani summa inuidia nobilium dedicauit; coactusque consensu populi Cornelius Barbatus pontifex maximus uerba praeire, cum more maiorum negaret nisi consulem aut imperatorem posse templum dedicare. Itaque ex auctoritate senatus latum ad populum est ne quis templum aramue iniussu senatus aut tribunorum plebei partis maioris dedicaret. — haud memorabilem rem per se, nisi documentum sit aduersus superbiam nobilium plebeiae libertatis, referam. Ad collegam aegrum uisendi causa Flauius cum uenisset consensuque nobilium adulescentium, qui ibi adsidebant, adurrectum ei non esset, curulem adferri sellam eo iussit ac sede honoris sui anxios inuidia inimicos spectauit. — ceterum Flauium dixerat aedilem forensis factio, Ap. Claudii censura uires nacta, qui senatum primus libertinorum filiis lectis inquinauerat et, posteaquam eam lectionem nemo ratam habuit nec in curia adeptus erat quas petierat opes urbanas, humilibus per omnes tribus diuisis forum et campum corripit; tantumque Flauii comitia indignitatis habuerunt ut plerique nobilium anulos aureos et phaleras deponerent. Ex eo tempore in duas partes discessit ciuitas; aliud integer populus, fautor et cultor bonorum, aliud forensis factio tenebat, donec Q. Fabius et P. Decius censores facti et Fabius simul concordiae causa, simul ne humillimorum in manu comitia essent, omnem forensem turbam excretam in quattuor tribus coniecit urbanasque eas appellauit. Adeoque eam rem acceptam gratis animis ferunt ut Maximi cognomen, quod tot uictoriis non pepererat hac ordinum temperatione pareret. Ab eodem institutum dicitur ut equites idibus Quinctilibus transueherentur.

LIBER X

[1] L. Genucio Ser. Cornelio consulibus ab externis ferme bellis otium fuit. Soram atque Albam coloniae deductae. Albam in Aequos sex milia colonorum scripta: Sora agri Volsci fuerat sed possederant Samnites; eo quattuor milia hominum missa. Eodem anno Arpinatibus Trebulanisque ciuitas data. Frusinates tertia parte agri damnati, quod Hernicos ab eis sollicitatos compertum, capitaque coniurationis eius quaestione ab consulibus ex senatus consulto habita uirgis caesi ac securi percussi. Tamen ne prorsus imbellem agerent annum, parua expeditio in Vmbria facta est, quod nuntiabatur ex spelunca quadam excursiones armatorum in agros fieri. In eam speluncam penetratum cum signis est et ex ea, loco obscuro, multa uulnera accepta maximeque lapidum ictu, donec altero specus eius ore — nam peruius erat — inuento utraeque fauces congestis lignis accensae. Ita intus fumo ac uapore ad duo milia armatorum, ruentia nouissime in ipsas flammās, dum euadere tendunt, absumpta. M. Liuio Dentre <M.> Aemilio consulibus redintegratum Aequicum bellum. Coloniam aegre patientes uelut arcem suis finibus impositam, summa ui expugnare adorti ab ipsis colonis pelluntur. Ceterum tantum Romae terrorem fecere, quia uix credibile erat tam adfectis rebus solos per se Aequos ad bellum coortos, ut tumultus eius causa dictator diceretur C. Iunius Bubulcus. Cum M. Titinio magistro equitum profectus primo congressu Aequos subegit ac die octauo triumphans in urbem cum redisset aedem Salutis, quam consul uouerat censor locauerat, dictator dedicauit.

[2] Eodem anno classis Graecorum Cleonymo duce Lacedaemonio ad Italiae litora adpulsa Thurias urbem in Sallentinis cepit. Aduersus hunc hostem consul Aemilius missus proelio uno fugatum compulit in naues; Thuria reddita ueteri cultori Sallentinoque agro pax parta. — Iunium Bubulcum dictatorem missum in Sallentinos in quibusdam annalibus inuenio et Cleonymum, priusquam conflagrandum esset cum Romanis, Italia excessisse — . Circumuectus inde Brundisii promunturium medioque sinu Hadriatico uentis latus, cum laeua importuosa Italiae litora, dextra Illyrii Liburnique et Histri, gentes ferae et magna ex parte latrociniis maritimis infames, terrent,

penitus ad litora Venetorum peruenit. Expositis paucis qui loca explorarent, cum audisset tenue praetentum litus esse, quod transgressis stagna ab tergo sint inrigua aestibus maritimis, agros haud procul [proximos] campestres cerni, ulteriora colles uideri; esse ostium fluminis praealti quo circumagi naues in stationem tutam <possint> [uidisse], — Meduacus amnis erat — , eo inuectam classem subire flumine aduerso iussit. Grauiissimas nauium non pertulit alueus fluminis; in leuiora nauigia transgressa multitudo armatorum ad frequentes agros tribus maritimis Patauinorum uicis colentibus eam oram peruenit. Ibi egressi praesidio leui nauibus relicto uicos expugnant, inflammant tecta, hominum pecudumque praedas agunt, et dulcedine praedandi longius usque a nauibus procedunt. Haec ubi Patauium sunt nuntiata — semper autem eos in armis accolae Galli habebant — in duas partes iuuentutem diuidunt. Altera in regionem qua effusa populatio nuntiabatur, altera, ne cui praedonum obuia fieret, altero itinere ad stationem nauium — milia autem quattuordecim ab oppido aberat — ducta. In naues ignaris custodibus interemptis impetus factus territique nautae coguntur naues in alteram ripam amnis traicere. Et in terra prosperum aequae in palatos praedatores proelium fuerat refugientibusque ad stationem Graecis Veneti obsistunt; ita in medio circumuenti hostes caesique: pars capti classem indicant regemque Cleonymum tria milia abesse. Inde captiuis proximo uico in custodiam datis pars fluuiatiles naues, ad superanda uada stagnorum apte planis alueis fabricatas, pars captiua nauigia armatis complent profectique ad classem immobiles naues et loca ignota plus quam hostem timentes circumuadunt; fugientesque in altum acrius quam repugnantes usque ad ostium amnis persecuti captis quibusdam incensisque nauibus hostium, quas trepidatio in uada intulerat, uictores reuertuntur. Cleonymus uix quinta parte nauium incolumi, nulla regione maris Hadriatici prospere adita discessit. Rostra nauium spoliaque Laconum, in aede Iunonis ueteri fixa, multi supersunt qui uiderunt Pataui. Monumentum naualis pugnae eo die quo pugnatum est quotannis sollemni certamine nauium in oppidi medio exercetur.

[3] Eodem anno Romae cum Vestinis petentibus amicitiam ictum est foedus. Multiplex deinde exortus terror. Etruriam rebellare ab Arretinorum seditionibus motu orto nuntiabatur, ubi Cilnium genus

praepotens diuitiarum inuidia pelli armis coeptum; simul Marsos agrum ui tueri, in quem colonia est Carseoli deducta [erat] quattuor milibus hominum scriptis. Itaque propter eos tumultus dictus M. Valerius Maximus dictator magistrum equitum sibi legit M. Aemilium Paulum. — id magis credo quam Q. Fabium ea aetate atque eis honoribus Valerio subiectum; ceterum ex Maximi cognomine ortum errorem haud abnuerim. — profectus dictator cum exercitu proelio uno Marsos fundit. Compulsis deinde in urbes munitas, Miloniam, Plestinam, Fresiliam intra dies paucos cepit et parte agri multatis Marsis foedus restituit. Tum in Etruscos uersum bellum; et, cum dictator auspicioꝝ repetendorum causa profectus Romam esset, magister equitum pabulatum egressus ex insidiis circumuenitur signisque aliquot amissis foeda militum caede ac fuga in castra est compulsus. — qui terror non eo tantum a Fabio abhorret quod, si qua alia arte cognomen suum aequauit, tum maxime bellicis laudibus, sed etiam quod memor Papirianae saeuitiae nunquam ut dictatoris iniussu dimicaret adduci potuisset.

[4] Nuntiata ea clades Romam maiorem quam res erat terrorem exciuit; nam ut exercitu deleto ita iustitium indictum, custodiae in portis, uigiliae uicatim exactae, arma, tela in muros congesta. Omnibus iunioribus sacramento adactis dictator ad exercitum missus omnia spe tranquilliora et composita magistri equitum cura, castra in tutiorem locum redacta, cohortes quae signa amiserant extra uallum sine tentoriis destitutas inuenit, exercitum audum pugnae, quo maturius ignominia aboleretur. Itaque confestim castra inde in agrum Rusellanum promouit. Eo et hostes secuti, quamquam ex bene gesta re summam et in aperto certamine uirium spem habebant, tamen insidiis quoque, quas feliciter experti erant, hostem temptant. Tecta semiruta uici per uastationem agrorum deusti haud procul castris Romanorum aberant. Ibi abditis armatis pecus in conspectu praesidii Romani, cui praeerat Cn. Fuluius legatus, propulsum. Ad quam inlecebram cum moueretur nemo ab Romana statione, pastorum unus progressus sub ipsas munitiones inclamat alios, cunctanter ab ruinis uici pecus propellentes, quid cessarent cum per media castra Romana tuto agere possent. Haec cum legato Caerites quidam interpretarentur et per omnes manipulos militum indignatio ingens esset nec tamen iniussu mouere auderent, iubet peritos linguae attendere animum,

pastorum sermo agresti an urbano propior esset. Cum referrent sonum linguae et corporum habitum et nitorem cultiora quam pastoralia esse, “ite igitur, dicite” inquit, “detegant nequiquam conditas insidias: omnia scire Romanum nec magis iam dolo capi quam armis uinci posse,” haec ubi audita sunt et ad eos qui consederant in insidiis perlata, consurrectum repente ex latebris est et in patentem ad conspectum undique campum prolata signa. uisa legato maior acies quam quae ab suo praesidio sustineri posset; itaque propere ad dictatorem auxilia accitum mittit; interea ipse impetus hostium sustinet.

[5] Nuntio allato dictator signa ferri ac sequi iubet armatos; sed celeriora prope omnia imperio erant; rapta extemplo signa armaque, et uix ab impetu et cursu tenebantur. Cum ira ab accepta nuper clade stimulabat, tum concitior accidens clamor ab increcente certamine. urgent itaque alii alios hortanturque signiferos ut ocius eant. Quo magis festinantes uidet dictator, eo impensius retentat agmen ac sensim incedere iubet. Etrusci contra, principio exciti pugnae, omnibus copiis aderant; et super alios alii nuntiant dictatori omnes legiones Etruscorum capessisse pugnam nec iam ab suis resisti posse, et ipse cernit ex superiore loco in quanto discrimine praesidium esset. Ceterum satis fretus esse etiam nunc tolerando certamini legatum nec se procul abesse periculi uindicem, quam maxime uult fatigari hostem ut integris adoriatur uiribus fessos. Quamquam lente procedunt, iam tamen ad impetum capiundum, equiti utique, modicum erat spatium. Prima incedebant signa legionum, ne quid occultum aut repentinum hostis timeret; sed reliquerat interualla inter ordines peditum, qua satis laxo spatio equi permitti possent. Pariter sustulit clamorem acies et emissus eques libero cursu in hostem inuehitur incompressisque aduersus equestrem procellam subitum pauorem offundit. Itaque, ut prope serum auxilium iam paene circumuentis, ita uniuersa requies data est. Integri acceperunt pugnam nec ea ipsa longa aut anceps fuit. Fusi hostes castra repetunt inferentibusque iam signa Romanis cedunt et in ultimam castrorum partem conglobantur. Haerent fugientes in angustiis portarum; pars magna aggerem uallumque conscendit, si aut ex superiore loco tueri se aut superare aliqua et euadere posset. Forte quodam loco male densatus agger pondere superstantium in fossam procubuit atque ea,

cum deos pandere uiam fugae conclamassent, plures inermes quam armati euadunt. Hoc proelio fractae iterum Etruscorum uires, et pacto annuo stipendio et duum mensum frumento permissum ab dictatore ut de pace legatos mitterent Romam. Pax negata, indutiae biennii datae. Dictator triumphans in urbem rediit. — habeo auctores sine ullo memorabili proelio pacatam ab dictatore Etruriam esse seditionibus tantum Arretinorum compositis et Cilnio genere cum plebe in gratiam reducto. — consul ex dictatura factus M. Valerius. Non petentem atque adeo etiam absentem creatum tradidere quidam et per interregem ea comitia facta; id unum non ambigitur consulatum cum Apuleio Pansa gessisse.

[6] M. Valerio et Q. Apuleio consulibus satis pacatae foris res fuere: Etruscum aduersae belli res et indutiae quietum tenebant; Samnitem multorum annorum cladibus domitum hauddum foederis noui paenitebat; Romae quoque plebem quietam exonerata[m deducta] in colonias multitudo praestabat. Tamen ne undique tranquillae res essent, certamen iniectum inter primores ciuitatis, patricos plebeiosque, ab tribunis plebis Q. Et Cn. Ogulniis, qui undique criminandorum patrum apud plebem occasionibus quaesitis, postquam alia frustra temptata erant, eam actionem susceperunt qua non infimam plebem accenderent sed ipsa capita plebis, consulares triumphalesque plebeios, quorum honoribus nihil praeter sacerdotia, quae nondum promiscua erant, deesset. Rogationem ergo promulgarunt ut, cum quattuor augures, quattuor pontifices ea tempestate essent placeretque augeri sacerdotum numerum, quattuor pontifices, quinque augures, de plebe omnes, adlegerentur. — quemadmodum ad quattuor augurum numerum nisi morte duorum id redigi collegium potuerit, non inuenio, cum inter augures constet impari numerum debere esse, ut tres antiquae tribus, Ramnes, Titienses, Luceres, suum quaeque augurem habeant aut, si pluribus sit opus, pari inter se numero sacerdotes multiplicent; sicut multiplicati sunt cum ad quattuor quinque adiecti nouem numerum, ut terni in singulas essent, expleuerunt. — ceterum quia de plebe adlegebantur, iuxta eam rem aegre passi patres quam cum consulatum uolgari uiderent. Simulabant ad deos id magis quam ad se pertinere: ipsos uisuros ne sacra sua polluantur; id se optare tantum ne qua in rem publicam clades ueniat. Minus autem tetendere,

adsueti iam in tali genere certaminum uinci; et cernebant aduersarios non, id quod olim uix sperauerint, adfectantes magnos honores sed omnia iam in quorum spem dubiam erat certatum adeptos, multiplices consulatus censurasque et triumphos.

[7] Certatum tamen suadenda dissuadendaque lege inter Ap. Claudium maxime ferunt et inter P. Decium Murem. Qui cum eadem ferme de iure patrum ac plebis quae pro lege Licinia quondam contraque eam dicta erant cum plebeiis consulatus rogabatur disseruissent, rettulisse dicitur Decius parentis sui speciem, qualem eum multi qui in contione erant uiderant, incinctum Gabino cultu super telum stantem, quo se habitu pro populo ac legionibus Romanis deuouisset: tum P. Decium consulem purum piumque deis immortalibus uisum aequae ac si T. Manlius collega eius deuoueretur; eundem P. Decium qui sacra publica populi Romani faceret legi rite non potuisse? id esse periculum ne suas preces minus audirent di quam Ap. Claudi? castius eum sacra priuata facere et religiosius deos colere quam se? quem paenitere uotorum quae pro re publica nuncupauerint tot consules plebei, tot dictatores, aut ad exercitus euntes aut inter ipsa bella? numerarentur duces eorum annorum, quibus plebeiorum ductu et auspicio res geri coeptae sint; numerarentur triumphi; iam ne nobilitatis quidem suae plebeios paenitere. Pro certo habere, si quod repens bellum oriat, non plus spei fore senatui populoque Romano in patriciis quam in plebeiis ducibus. “quod cum ita se habeat, cui deorum hominumue indignum uideri potest” inquit, “eos uiros, quos uos sellis curulibus, toga praetexta, tunica palmata, et toga picta et corona triumphali laureaue honoraritis, quorum domos spoliis hostium adfixis insignes inter alias feceritis, pontificalia atque auguralia insignia adicere? qui Iouis optimi maximi ornatu decoratus, curru aurato per urbem uectus in Capitolium ascenderit, is <non> conspiciatur cum capide ac lituo, <cum> capite uelato uictimam caedet auguriumue ex arce capiet? cuius <in> imaginis titulo consulatus censuraque et triumphus aequo animo legetur, si auguratum aut pontificatum adieceritis, non sustinebunt legentium oculi? equidem — pace dixerim deum — eos nos iam populi Romani beneficio esse spero, qui sacerdotiis non minus reddamus dignatione nostra honoris quam acceperimus et deorum magis quam nostra causa expetamus ut quos priuatim

colimus publice colamus.

[8] Quid autem ego sic adhuc egi, tamquam integra sit causa patriciorum de sacerdotiis et non iam in possessione unius amplissimi simus sacerdotii? decemuiros sacris faciundis, carminum Sibyllae ac fatorum populi huius interpretes, antistites eosdem Apollinaris sacri caerimoniarumque aliarum plebeios uidemus; nec aut tum patriciis ulla iniuria facta est, cum duumuiris sacris faciundis adiectus est propter plebeios numerus, et nunc tribunus, uir fortis ac strenuus, quinque augurum loca, quattuor pontificum adiecit, in quae plebei nominentur, non ut uos, Appi, uestro loco pellant sed ut adiuent uos homines plebei diuinis quoque rebus procurandis, sicut in ceteris humanis pro parte uirili adiuuant. Noli erubescere, Appi, collegam in sacerdotio habere, quem in censura, quem in consulatu collegam habere potuisti, cuius tam dictatoris magister equitum quam magistri equitum dictator esse potes. Sabinum aduenam, principem nobilitati uestrae, seu Attium Clausum seu Ap. Claudium mauoltis, illi antiqui patricii in suum numerum acceperunt: ne fastidieris nos in sacerdotum numerum accipere. Multa nobiscum decora adferimus, immo omnia eadem quae uos superbos fecerunt. L. Sextius primus de plebe consul est factus, C. Licinius Stolo primus magister equitum, C. Marcius Rutulus primus et dictator et censor, Q. Publilius Philo primus praetor. Semper ista audita sunt eadem penes uos auspicia esse, uos solos gentem habere, uos solos iustum imperium et auspiciū domi militiaeque; aequae adhuc prosperum plebeium et patricium fuit porroque erit. En unquam fando audistis patricos primo esse factos non de caelo demissos sed qui patrem ciere possent, id est, nihil ultra quam ingenuos? consulem iam patrem ciere possum auumque iam poterit filius meus. Nihil est aliud in re, Quirites, nisi ut omnia negata adipiscamur; certamen tantum patricii petunt nec curant quem euentum certaminum habeant. Ego hanc legem, quod bonum faustum felixque sit uobis ac rei publicae, uti rogas, iubendam censeo.”

[9] Vocare tribus extemplo populus iubebat apparebatque accipi legem; ille tamen dies intercessione est sublatus. Postero die deterritis tribunis ingenti consensu accepta est. Pontifices creantur suasor legis P. Decius Mus P. Sempronius Sophus C. Marcius Rutulus M. Liuius Denter; quinque augures item de plebe, C.

Genucius P. Aelius Paetus M. Minucius Faesus C. Marcius T. Publilius. Ita octo pontificum, nouem augurum numerus factus. Eodem anno M. Valerius consul de prouocatione legem tulit diligentius sanctam. Tertio ea tum post reges exactos lata est, semper a familia eadem. Causam renouandae saepius haud aliam fuisse reor quam quod plus paucorum opes quam libertas plebis poterat. Porcia tamen lex sola pro tergo ciuium lata uidetur, quod graui poena, si quis uerberasset necassetue ciuem Romanum, sanxit; Valeria lex cum eum qui prouocasset uirgis caedi securique necari uetuisset, si quis aduersus ea fecisset, nihil ultra quam “improbe factum” adiecit. Id, qui tum pudor hominum erat, uisum, credo, uinculum satis ualidum legis: nunc uix serio ita minetur quisquam. Bellum ab eodem consule haudquaquam memorabile aduersus rebellantes Aequeos, cum praeter animos feroces nihil ex antiqua fortuna haberent, gestum est. Alter consul Appuleius in Vmbria Nequinum oppidum circumscivit. Locus erat arduus atque in parte una praecipuus, ubi nunc Narnia sita est, nec ui nec munimento capi poterat. Itaque eam infectam rem M. Fuluius Paetus T. Manlius Torquatus noui consules acceperunt. In eum annum cum Q. Fabium consulem non petentem omnes dicerent centuriae, ipsum auctorem fuisse Macer Licinius ac Tubero tradunt differendi sibi consulatus in bellicosiorum annum: eo anno maiori se usui rei publicae fore urbano gesto magistratu; ita nec dissimulantem quid mallet nec petentem tamen, aedilem curulem cum L. Papirio Cursore factum. Id ne pro certo ponerem uetustior annalium auctor Piso effecit, qui eo anno aediles curules fuisse tradit Cn. Domitium Cn. Filium Calpurnium et Sp. Caruilium Q. Filium Maximum. Id credo cognomen errorem in aedilibus fecisse secutamque fabulam mixtam ex aediliciis et consularibus comitiis, conuenientem errori. Et lustrum eo anno conditum a P. Sempronio Sopho et P. Sulpicio Saurerione censoribus tribusque additae duae, Aniensis ac Terentina. Haec Romae gesta.

[10] Ceterum ad Nequinum oppidum cum segni obsidione tempus tereretur, duo ex oppidanis, quorum erant aedificia iuncta muro, specu facto ad stationes Romanas itinere occulto perueniunt; inde ad consulem deducti praesidium armatum se intra moenia et muros accepturos confirmant. Nec aspernanda res uisa neque incaute credenda. Cum altero eorum — nam alter obses retentus — duo

exploratores per cuniculum missi; per quos satis comperta re trecenti armati transfuga duce in urbem ingressi nocte portam, quae proxima erat, cepere. Qua refracta consul exercitusque Romanus sine certamine urbem inuasere. Ita Nequinum in dicionem populi Romani uenit. Colonia eo aduersus Vmbros missa a flumine Narnia appellata; exercitus cum magna praeda Romam reductus. Eodem anno ab Etruscis aduersus indutias paratum bellum; sed eos alia molientes Gallorum ingens exercitus fines ingressus paulisper a proposito auertit. Pecunia deinde, qua multum poterant, freti, socios ex hostibus facere Gallos conantur ut eo adiuncto exercitu cum Romanis bellarent. De societate haud abnuunt barbari: de mercede agitur. Qua pacta acceptaque cum parata cetera ad bellum essent sequique Etruscus iuberet, infitias eunt mercedem se belli Romanis inferendi pactos: quidquid acceperint accepisse, ne agrum Etruscum uastarent armisque lacerarent cultores; militaturos tamen se, si utique Etrusci uelint, sed nulla alia mercede quam ut in partem agri accipiantur tandemque aliqua sede certa consistent. Multa de eo concilia populorum Etruriae habita nec perfici quicquam potuit, non tam quia imminui agrum quam quia accolae sibi quisque adiungere tam efferatae gentis homines horrebat. Ita dimissi Galli pecuniam ingentem sine labore ac periculo partam rettulerunt. Romae terrorem praebuit fama Gallici tumultus ad bellum Etruscum adiecti; eo minus cunctanter foedus ictum cum Picenti populo est.

[11] T. Manlio consuli prouincia Etruria sorte euenit; qui uixdum ingressus hostium fines, cum exerceretur inter equites, ab rapido cursu circumagendo equo effusus extemplo prope exspirauit; tertius ab eo casu dies finis uitae consuli fuit. Quo uelut omine belli accepto deos pro se commisisse bellum memorantes Etrusci sustulere animos. Romae cum desiderio uiri tum incommoditate temporis tristis nuntius fuit. Consulis subrogandi comitia ex sententia principum habita: M. Valerium consulem omnes [sententiae] centuriae[que] dixere, ut patres ab iubendo dictatore deterruerint, quem senatus dictatorem dici iussurus fuerat. Tum extemplo in Etruriam ad legiones proficisci iussit. Aduentus eius compressit Etruscos adeo ut nemo extra munimenta egredi auderet timorque ipsorum obsidioni similis esset; neque illos nouus consul uastandis agris urendisque tectis, cum passim non uillae solum sed frequentes

quoque uici incendiis fumarent, elicere ad certamen potuit. Cum hoc segnius bellum opinione esset, alterius belli, quod multis in uicem cladibus haud immerito terribile erat, fama, Picentium nouorum sociorum indicio, exorta est: Samnites arma et rebellionem spectare seque ab iis sollicitatos esse. Picentibus gratiae actae et magna pars curae patribus ab Etruria in Samnites uersa est. Caritas etiam annonae sollicitam ciuitatem habuit uentumque ad inopiae ultimum foret, ut scripsere quibus aedilem fuisse eo anno Fabium Maximum placet, ni eius uiri cura, qualis in bellicis rebus multis tempestatibus fuerat, talis domi tum in annonae dispensatione praeparando ac conuehendo frumento fuisset. Eo anno — nec traditur causa — interregnum initum. Interreges fuere Ap. Claudius, dein P. Sulpicius. Is comitia consularia habuit; creauit L. Cornelium Scipionem Cn. Fuluium consules. Principio huius anni oratores Lucanorum ad nouos consules uenerunt questum, quia condicionibus perlicere se nequiuissent ad societatem armorum, Samnites infesto exercitu ingressos fines suos uastare belloque ad bellum cogere. Lucano populo satis superque erratum quondam: nunc ita obstinatos animos esse ut omnia ferre ac pati tolerabilius ducant quam ut unquam postea nomen Romanum uiolent. Orare patres ut et Lucanos in fidem accipiant et uim atque iniuriam ab se Samnitium arceant; se, quamquam bello cum Samnitibus suscepto necessaria iam facta aduersus Romanos fides sit, tamen obsides dare paratos esse.

[12] Breuis consultatio senatus fuit; ad unum omnes iungendum foedus cum Lucanis resque repetendas ab Samnitibus censent. Benigne responsum Lucanis ictumque foedus. Fetiales missi, qui Samnitem decedere agro sociorum ac deducere exercitum finibus Lucanis iuberent; quibus obuiam missi ab Samnitibus qui denuntiarent, si quod adissent in Samnio concilium, haud inuiolatos abituros. Haec postquam audita sunt Romae, bellum Samnitibus et patres censuerunt et populus iussit. Consules inter se prouincias partiti sunt: Scipioni Etruria, Fuluius Samnites obuenerunt, diuersique ad suum quisque bellum proficiscuntur. Scipioni segne bellum et simile prioris anni militiae exspectanti hostes ad Volaterras instructo agmine occurrerunt. Pugnatum maiore parte diei magna utrimque caede; nox incertis qua data uictoria esset interuenit. Lux insequens uictorem uictumque ostendit; nam Etrusci silentio noctis castra

reliquerunt. Romanus egressus in aciem, ubi profectione hostium concessam uictoriam uidet, progressus ad castra uacuis cum plurima praeda — nam et statua et trepide deserta fuerant — potitur. Inde in Faliscum agrum copiis reductis, cum impedimenta Faleriis cum modico praesidio reliquisset, expedito agmine ad populandos hostium fines incedit. Omnia ferro ignique uastantur; praedae undique actae. Nec solum modo uastum hosti relictum sed castellis etiam uicisque inlatus ignis: urbibus oppugnandis temperatum, in quas timor Etruscos compulerat. Cn. Fului consulis clara pugna in Samnio ad Bouianum haudquaquam ambiguae uictoriae fuit. Bouianum inde adgressus nec ita multo post Aufidenam ui cepit.

[13] Eodem anno Carseolos colonia in agrum Aequicolorum deducta. Fuluius consul de Samnitibus triumphauit. Cum comitia consularia instarent, fama exorta Etruscos Samnitesque ingentes conscribere exercitus; palam omnibus conciliis uexari principes Etruscorum, quod non Gallos quacumque condicione traxerint ad bellum; increpari magistratus Samnitium, quod exercitum aduersus Lucanum hostem comparatum obiecerint Romanis; itaque suis sociorumque uiribus consurgere hostes ad bellum et haudquaquam pari defungendum esse certamine. Hic terror, cum illustres uiri consulatum peterent, omnes in Q. Fabium Maximum primo non petentem, deinde, ut inclinata studia uidit, etiam recusantem conuertit: quid se iam senem ac perfunctum laboribus laborumque praemiis sollicitarent? nec corporis nec animi uigorem remanere eundem, et fortunam ipsam uereri, ne cui deorum nimia iam in se et constantior quam uelint humanae res uideatur. Et se gloriae seniorum succreuisse et ad suam gloriam consurgentes alios laetum adspicere; nec honores magnos fortissimis uiris Romae nec honoribus deesse fortes uiros. Acuebat hac moderatione tam iusta studia; quae uerecundia legum restinguenda ratus, legem recitari iussit, qua intra decem annos eundem consulem refici non liceret. uix prae strepitu audita lex est tribunique plebis nihil id impedimenti futurum aiebant; se ad populum latus uti legibus solueretur. Et ille quidem in recusando perstabat: quid ergo attineret leges ferri, quibus per eosdem qui tulissent fraus fieret? iam regi leges, non regere. Populus nihilo minus suffragia inibat et, ut quaeque intro uocata erat centuria, consulem haud dubie Fabium dicebat. Tum demum consensu

ciuitatis uictus, “dei approbent” inquit, “quod agitis acturique estis, Quirites. Ceterum, quoniam in me quod uos uoltis facturi estis, in collega sit meae apud uos gratiae locus: P. Decium, expertum mihi concordii collegio uirum, dignum uobis, dignum parente suo, quaeso mecum consulem faciatis”. Iusta suffragatio uisa. Omnes quae supererant centuriae Q. Fabium P. Decium consules dixerunt. Eo anno plerisque dies dicta ab aedilibus, quia plus quam quod lege finitum erat agri possiderent; nec quisquam ferme est purgatus uinculumque ingens immodicae cupiditatis iniectum est.

[14] Consules noui, Q. Fabius Maximus quartum et P. Decius Mus tertium, cum inter se agitarent uti alter Samnites hostes, alter Etruscos deligeret, quantaque in hanc aut in illam prouinciam copiae satis et uter ad utrum bellum dux idoneus magis esset, ab Sutrio et Nepete et Faleriis legati, auctores concilii Etruriae populorum de petenda pace haberi, totam belli molem in Samnium auerterunt. Profecti consules, quo expeditiores commeatus essent et incertior hostis qua uenturum bellum foret, Fabius per Soranum, Decius per Sidicinum agrum in Samnium legiones ducunt. ubi in hostium fines uentum est, uterque populabundus effuso agmine incedit. Explorant tamen latius quam populantur; igitur non fefellere ad Tifernum hostes in occulta ualle instructi, quam ingressos Romanos superiore ex loco adoriri parabant. Fabius impedimentis in locum tutum remotis praesidioque modico imposito praemonitis militibus adesse certamen, quadrato agmine ad praedictas hostium latebras succedit. Samnites desperato improuiso tumultu, quando in apertum semel discrimen euasura esset res, et ipsi acie iusta maluerunt concurrere. Itaque in aequum descendunt ac fortunae se maiore animo quam spe committunt; ceterum, siue quia ex omnium Samnitium populis quodcumque roboris fuerat contraxerant seu quia discrimen summae rerum angebat animos, aliquantum quoque aperta pugna praeuerunt terroris. Fabius ubi nulla ex parte hostem loco moueri uidit, Maximum filium et M. Valerium tribunos militum, cum quibus ad primam aciem procurrerat, ire ad equites iubet et adhortari ut, si quando unquam equestri ope adiutam rem publicam meminerint, illo die adnitantur ut ordinis eius gloriam inuictam praestent: peditum certamine immobilem hostem restare; omnem reliquam spem in impetu esse equitum. Et ipsos nominatim iuuenes,

pari comitate utrumque, nunc laudibus, nunc promissis onerat. Ceterum quando, ne ea quoque temptata uis proficeret, consilio grassandum, si nihil uires iuuarent, ratus, Scipionem legatum hastatos primae legionis subtrahere ex acie et ad montes proximos quam posset occultissime circumducere iubet; inde ascensu abdito a conspectu erigere in montes agmen auersoque hosti ab tergo repente se ostendere. Equites ducibus tribunis haud multo plus hostibus quam suis, ex improviso ante signa euecti, prae buerunt tumultus. Aduersus incitatas turmas stetit immota Samnitium acies nec parte ulla pelli aut perrumpi potuit; et postquam inritum inceptum erat, recepti post signa proelio excesserunt. Creuit ex eo hostium animus nec sustinere frons prima tam longum certamen increscentemque fiducia sui uim potuisset, ni secunda acies iussu consulis in primum successisset. Ibi integrae uires sistunt inuehentem se iam Samnitem; et tempore inprovisa ex montibus signa clamorque sublatus non uero tantum metu terruere Samnitium animos; nam et Fabius Decium collegam appropinquare exclamauit, et pro se quisque miles adesse alterum consulem, adesse legiones gaudio alacres fremunt; errorque utilis Romanis oblatus fugae formidinisque Samnites impleuit maxime territos ne ab altero exercitu integro intactoque fessi opprimerentur. Et quia passim in fugam dissipati sunt, minor caedes quam pro tanta uictoria fuit: tria milia et quadringenti caesi, capti octingenti ferme et triginta; signa militaria capta tria et uiginti.

[15] Samnitibus Apuli se ante proelium coniunxissent, ni P. Decius consul iis ad Maleuentum castra obiecisset, extractos deinde ad certamen fudisset. Ibi quoque plus fugae fuit quam caedis; duo milia Apulorum caesa; spretoque eo hoste Decius in Samnium legiones duxit. Ibi duo consulares exercitus diuersis uagati partibus omnia spatio quinque mensum euastarunt. Quinque et quadraginta loca in Samnio fuere, in quibus Deci castra fuerunt, alterius consulis sex et octoginta; nec ualli tantum ac fossarum uestigia relictas sed multo alia illis insigniora monumenta uastitatis circa regionumque depopularum. Fabius etiam urbem Cimetram cepit. Ibi capta armatorum duo milia nongenti, caesi pugnae ferme nongenti triginta. Inde comitiorum causa Romam profectus maturauit eam rem agere. Cum primo uocatae Q. Fabium consulem dicerent omnes centuriae, Ap. Claudius, consularis candidatus, uir acer et

ambitiosus, non sui magis honoris causa quam ut patricii reciperarent duo consularia loca, cum suis tum totius nobilitatis uiribus incubuit ut se cum Q. Fabio consulem dicerent. Fabius primo de se eadem fere quae priore anno dicendo abnuere. Circumstare sellam omnis nobilitas; orare ut ex caeno plebeio consulatum extraheret maiestatemque pristinam cum honori tum patriciis gentibus redderet. Fabius silentio facto media oratione studia hominum sedauit; facturum enim se fuisse dixit ut duorum patriciorum nomina reciperet, si alium quam se consulem fieri uideret; nunc se suam rationem comitiis, cum contra leges futurum sit, pessimo exemplo non habiturum. Ita L. Volumnius de plebe cum Ap. Claudio consul est factus, priore item consulatu inter se comparati. Nobilitas obiectare Fabio fugisse eum Ap. Claudium collegam, eloquentia ciuilibusque artibus haud dubie praestantem.

[16] Comitiis perfectis ueteres consules iussi bellum in Samnio gerere prorogato in sex menses imperio. Itaque insequenti quoque anno L. Volumnio Ap. Claudio consulibus P. Decius, qui consul in Samnio relictus a collega fuerat, proconsul idem populari non destitit agros, donec Samnitium exercitum nusquam se proelio committentem postremo expulit finibus. Etruriam pulsi petierunt et, quod legationibus nequiquam saepe temptauerant, id se tanto agmine armatorum mixtis terrore precibus acturos efficacius rati, postulauerunt principum Etruriae concilium. Quo coacto, per quot annos pro libertate dimicent cum Romanis, exponunt: omnia expertos esse si suismet ipsorum uiribus tolerare tantam molem belli possent; temptasse etiam haud magni momenti finitimarum gentium auxilia. Petisse pacem a populo Romano, cum bellum tolerare non possent; rebellasse, quod pax seruientibus grauior quam liberis bellum esset; unam sibi spem reliquam in Etruscis restare. Scire gentem Italiae opulentissimam armis, uiris, pecunia esse; habere accolae Gallos, inter ferrum et arma natos, feroces cum suo apte ingenio tum aduersus Romanum populum, quem captum a se auroque redemptum, haud uana iactantes, memorent. Nihil abesse, si sit animus Etruscis qui Porsinnae quondam maioribusque eorum fuerit, quin Romanos omni agro cis Tiberim pulsos dimicare pro salute sua non de intolerando Italiae regno cogant. Samnitem illis exercitum paratum, instructum armis, stipendio uenisse, et confestim

secuturos, uel si ad ipsam Romanam urbem oppugnandam ducant.

[17] Haec eos in Etruria iactantes molientesque bellum domi Romanum urebat. Nam P. Decius, ubi comperit per exploratores profectum Samnitium exercitum, aduocato consilio “quid per agros” inquit “uagamur uicatim circumferentes bellum? quin urbes et moenia adgredimur? nullus iam exercitus Samnio praesidet; cessere finibus ac sibimet ipsi exsilium consciuere”. Adprobantibus cunctis ad Murgantiam, ualidam urbem, oppugnandam ducit; tantusque ardor militum fuit et caritate ducis et spe maioris quam ex agrestibus populationibus praedae ut uno die ui atque armis urbem caperent. Ibi duo milia Samnitium et centum pugnantes circumuenti captique et alia praeda ingens capta est. Quae ne impedimentis grauibz agmen oneraret, conuocari milites Decius iubet. “hacine” inquit “uictoria sola aut hac praeda contenti estis futuri? uoltis uos pro uirtute spes gerere? omnes Samnitium urbes fortunaeque in urbibus relictas uestrae sunt, quando legiones eorum tot proeliis fusas postremo finibus expulistis. uendite ista et inlicite lucro mercatorem ut sequatur agmen; ego subinde suggeram quae uendatis. Ad Romuleam urbem hinc eamus, ubi uos labor haud maior, praeda maior manet,” diuendita praeda ultro adhortantes imperatorem ad Romuleam pergunt. Ibi quoque sine opere, sine tormentis, simul admota sunt signa, nulla ui deterriti a muris, qua cuique proximum fuit, scalis raptim admotis in moenia euasere. Captum oppidum ac direptum est; ad duo milia et trecenti occisi et sex milia hominum capta, et miles ingenti praeda potitus, quam uendere sicut priorem coactus; Ferentinum inde, quamquam nihil quietis dabatur, tamen summa alacritate est ductus. Ceterum ibi plus laboris ac periculi fuit: et defensa summa ui moenia sunt et locus erat munimento naturaque tutus; sed euicit omnia adsuetus praedae miles. Ad tria milia hostium circa muros caesa; praeda militis fuit. Huius oppugnatarum urbium decoris pars maior in quibusdam annalibus ad Maximum trahitur; Murgantiam ab Decio, a Fabio Ferentinum Romuleamque oppugnatas tradunt. Sunt qui nouorum consulum hanc gloriam faciant, quidam non amborum sed alterius, L. Volumni: ei Samnium prouinciam euenisse.

[18] Dum ea in Samnio cuiuscumque ductu auspicioque geruntur, Romanis in Etruria interim bellum ingens multis ex gentibus

concitur, cuius auctor Gellius Egnatius ex Samnitibus erat. Tusci fere omnes consciuerant bellum; traxerat contagio proximos Vmbriae populos et Gallica auxilia mercede sollicitabantur; omnis ea multitudo ad castra Samnitium conueniebat. Qui tumultus repens postquam est Romam perlatus, cum iam L. Volumnius consul cum legione secunda ac tertia sociorumque milibus quindecim profectus in Samnium esset, Ap. Claudium primo quoque tempore in Etruriam ire placuit. Duae Romanae legiones secutae, prima et quarta, et sociorum duodecim milia; castra haud procul ab hoste posita. Ceterum magis eo profectum est quod mature uentum erat ut quosdam spectantes iam arma Etruriae populos metus Romani nominis comprimeret, quam quod ductu consulis quicquam ibi satis scite aut fortunate gestum sit: multa proelia locis et temporibus iniquis commissa spesque in dies grauiorem hostem faciebat, et iam prope erat ut nec duci milites nec militibus dux satis fideret. Litteras ad collegam accersendum ex Samnio missas in trinis annalibus inuenio; piget tamen in certo ponere, cum ea ipsa inter consules populi Romani, iam iterum eodem honore fungentes, disceptatio fuerit, Appio abnuente missas, Volumnio adfirmante Appi se litteris accitum. Iam Volumnius in Samnio tria castella ceperat, in quibus ad tria milia hostium caesa erant, dimidium fere eius captum, et Lucanorum seditiones a plebeiis et egentibus ducibus ortas summa optimatum uoluntate per Q. Fabium, pro consule missum eo cum uetere exercitu, compresserat. Decio populandos hostium agros relinquit, ipse cum suis copiis in Etruriam ad collegam pergit. Quem aduenientem laeti omnes acceperunt: Appium ex conscientia sua credo animum habuisse — haud immerito iratum si nihil scripserat, inliberali et ingrato animo, si eguerat ope, dissimulantem. uix enim salute mutua reddita, cum obuiam egressus esset, “satin salue” inquit, “L. Volumni? ut sese in Samnio res habent? quae te causa ut prouincia tua excederes induxit?” Volumnius in Samnio res prosperas esse ait, litteris eius accitum uenisse; quae si falsae fuerint nec usus sui sit in Etruriam, extemplo conuersis signis abiturum. “tu uero abeas” inquit, “neque te quisquam moratur; etenim minime consentaneum est, cum bello tuo forsitan uix sufficias, huc te ad opem ferendam aliis gloriari uenisse,” bene, hercules, uerteret, dicere Volumnius; malle frustra operam insumptam quam quicquam

incidisse cur non satis esset Etruriae unus consularis exercitus.

[19] Digredientes iam consules legati tribunique ex Appiano exercitu circumsistunt. Pars imperatorem suum orare ne collegae auxilium, quod acciendum ultro fuerit, sua sponte oblatam sperneretur; plures abeunti Volumnio obsistere; obtestari ne prauo cum collega certamine rem publicam prodat: si qua clades incidisset, desertori magis quam deserto noxae fore; eo rem adductam ut omne rei bene aut secus gestae in Etruria decus dedecusque ad L. Volumnium sit delegatum; neminem quaesiturum quae uerba Appi sed quae fortuna exercitus fuerit; dimitti ab Appio eum sed a re publica et ab exercitu retineri; experiretur modo uoluntatem militum. Haec monendo obtestandoque prope restitantes consules in contionem pertraxerunt. Ibi orationes longiores habitae in eandem ferme sententiam, in quam inter paucos certatum uerbis fuerat; et cum Volumnius, causa superior, ne infacundus quidem aduersus eximiam eloquentiam collegae uisus esset, cauillansque Appius sibi acceptum referre diceret debere, quod ex muto atque elingui facundum etiam consulem haberent — priore consulatu, primis utique mensibus, hiscere eum nequisse, nunc iam populares orationes serere —, “quam mallet” inquit Volumnius, “tu a me strenue facere quam ego abs te scite loqui didicissem,” postremo condicionem ferre, quae decretura sit, non orator — neque enim id desiderare rem publicam — sed imperator uter sit melior. Etruriam et Samnium prouincias esse; utram mallet eligeret; suo exercitu se uel in Etruria uel in Samnio rem gesturum. Tum militum clamor ortus, ut simul ambo bellum Etruscum susciperent. Quo animaduerso consensu Volumnius “quoniam in collegae uoluntate interpretanda” inquit “errauit, non committam ut quid uos uelitis obscurum sit: manere an abire me uelitis clamore significate,” tum uero tantus est clamor exortus ut hostes e castris exciret. Armis arreptis in aciem descendunt. Et Volumnius signa canere ac uexilla efferri castris iussit; Appium addubitasse ferunt cernentem seu pugnante seu quieto se fore collegae uictoriam; deinde ueritum ne suae quoque legiones Volumnium sequerentur, et ipsum flagitantibus suis signum dedisse. Ab neutra parte satis commode instructi fuerunt; nam et Samnitium dux Gellius Egnatius pabulatum cum cohortibus paucis ierat suoque impetu magis milites quam cuiusquam ductu aut imperio pugnam

capessabant et Romani exercitus nec pariter ambo ducti nec satis temporis ad instruendum fuit. Prius concurrit Volumnius quam Appius ad hostem perueniret; itaque fronte inaequali concursus est; et uelut sorte quadam mutante aduetos inter se hostes Etrusci Volumnio, Samnites parumper cunctati, quia dux aberat, Appio occurrere. Dicitur Appius in medio pugnae discrimine, ita ut inter prima signa manibus ad caelum sublatis conspiceretur, ita precatus esse: “Bellona, si hodie nobis uictoriam duis, ast ego tibi templum uoueo,” haec precatus uelut instigante dea et ipse collegae et exercitus uirtutem aequauit ducis: imperatoria opera exsequuntur et milites; ne ab altera parte prius uictoria incipiat adnuntur. Ergo fundunt fugantque hostes, maiorem molem haud facile sustinentes quam cum qua manus conserere adueti fuerant. urgendo cedentes insequendoque effusos compulere ad castra; ibi interuentu Gelli cohortiumque Sabellarum paulisper recruduit pugna. His quoque mox fuis iam a uictoribus castra oppugnabantur; et cum Volumnius ipse portae signa inferret, Appius Bellonam uicttricem identidem celebrans accenderet militum animos, per uallum, per fossas inruperunt. Castra capta direptaque; praeda ingens parta et militi concessa est. Septem milia octingenti hostium occisi, duo milia et centum uiginti capti.

[20] Dum ambo consules omnisque Romana uis in Etruscum bellum magis inclinat, in Samnio noui exercitus exorti ad populandos imperii Romani fines per Vescinos in Campaniam Falernumque agrum transcendunt ingentesque praedas faciunt. Volumnium magnis itineribus in Samnium redeuntem — iam enim Fabio Decioque prorogati imperii finis aderat — fama de Samnitium exercitu populationibusque Campani agri ad tuendos socios conuertit. ut in Calenum [agrum] uenit, et ipse cernit recentia cladis uestigia et Caleni narrant tantum iam praedae hostes trahere ut uix explicare agmen possint; itaque iam propalam duces loqui extemplo eundem in Samnium esse, ut relictis ibi praeda in expeditionem redeant nec tam oneratum agmen dimicationibus committant. Ea quamquam similia ueris erant, certius tamen exploranda ratus dimittit equites, qui uagos praedatores in agro palantes intercipient; ex quibus inquirendo cognoscit ad Volturnum flumen sedere hostem, inde tertia uigilia moturum; iter in Samnium esse. His satis exploratis profectus tanto

interuallo ab hostibus consedit ut nec aduentus suus propinquitate nimia nosci posset et egredientem e castris hostem opprimeret. Aliquanto ante lucem ad castra accessit gnarosque Oscae linguae exploratum quid agatur mittit. Intermixti hostibus, quod facile erat in nocturna trepidatione, cognoscunt infrequentia armatis signa egressa, praedam praedaeque custodes exire, immobile agmen et sua quemque molientem nullo [inter alios] consensu nec satis certo imperio. Tempus adgrediendi aptissimum uisum est; et iam lux appetebat; itaque signa canere iussit agmenque hostium adgreditur. Samnites praeda impediti, infrequentes armati, pars addere gradum ac prae se agere praedam, pars stare incerti utrum progredi an regredi in castra tutius foret; inter cunctationem opprimuntur et Romani iam transcenderant uallum caedesque ac tumultus erat in castris. Samnitium agmen, praeterquam hostili tumultu, captiuorum etiam repentina defectione turbatum erat, qui partim ipsi soluti uinctos soluebant, partim arma in sarcinis deligata rapiebant tumultumque proelio ipso terribiliorem intermixti agmini praebebant. Memorandum deinde edidere facinus; nam Staium Minatium ducem adeuntem ordines hortantemque inuadunt; dissipatis inde equitibus qui cum eo aderant ipsum circumsistunt insidentemque equo captum ad consulem Romanum rapiunt. Reuocata eo tumultu prima signa Samnitium proeliumque iam profligatum integratum est; nec diutius sustineri potuit. Caesa ad sex milia hominum, duo milia et quingenti capti — in eis tribuni militum quattuor — signa militaria triginta, et, quod laetissimum uictoribus fuit, captiuorum recepta septem milia et quadringenti, praeda ingens sociorum; accitque edicto domini ad res suas noscendas recipiendasque praestituta die. Quarum rerum non exstitit dominus, militi concessae; coactique uendere praedam ne alibi quam in armis animum haberent.

[21] Magnum ea populatio Campani agri tumultum Romae praebuerat; et per eos forte dies ex Etruria allatum erat post deductum inde Volumnianum exercitum Etruriam concitam in arma et Gellium Egnatium, Samnitium ducem, et Vmbros ad defectionem uocari et Gallos pretio ingenti sollicitari. His nuntiis senatus conterritus iustitium indici, dilectum omnis generis hominum haberi iussit. Nec ingenui modo aut iuniores sacramento adacti sunt sed seniorum etiam cohortes factae libertinique centuriati; et

defendendae urbis consilia agitabantur summaeque rerum praetor P. Sempronius praeerat. Ceterum parte curae exonerarunt senatum L. Volumni consulis litterae, quibus caesos fusosque populatores Campaniae cognitum est. Itaque et supplicationes ob rem bene gestam consulis nomine decernunt et iustitium remittitur quod fuerat dies duodeuiginti; supplicatioque perlaeta fuit. Tum de praesidio regionis depopulatae ab Samnitibus agitari coeptum; itaque placuit ut duae coloniae circa Vescinum et Falernum agrum deducerentur, una ad ostium Liris fluuii, quae Minturnae appellata, altera in saltu Vescino, Falernum contingente agrum, ubi Sinope dicitur Graeca urbs fuisse, Sinuessa deinde ab colonis Romanis appellata. Tribunis plebis negotium datum est, ut plebei scito iuberetur P. Sempronius praetor triumuiros in ea loca colonis deducendis creare; nec qui nomina darent facile inueniebantur, quia in stationem se prope perpetuam infestae regionis, non in agros mitti rebantur. Auertit ab eis curis senatum Etruriae ingrauescens bellum et crebrae litterae Appi monentis ne regionis eius motum neglegerent: quattuor gentes conferre arma, Etruscos, Samnites, Vmbros, Gallos; iam castra bifariam facta esse, quia unus locus capere tantam multitudinem non possit. Ob haec et — iam appetebat tempus — comitiorum causa L. Volumnius consul Romam reuocatus; qui priusquam ad suffragium centurias uocaret, in contionem aduocato populo multa de magnitudine belli Etrusci disseruit: iam tum, cum ipse ibi cum collega rem pariter gesserit, fuisse tantum bellum ut nec duce uno nec exercitu geri potuerit; accessisse postea dici Vmbros et ingentem exercitum Gallorum; aduersus quattuor populos duces consules illo die deligi meminissent. Se, nisi confideret eum consensu populi Romani consulem declaratum iri qui haud dubie tum primus omnium ductor habeatur, dictatorem fuisse extemplo dicturum.

[22] Nemini dubium erat quin Fabius quintum omnium consensu destinaretur; eumque et praerogatiuae et primo uocatae omnes centuriae consulem cum L. Volumnio dicebant. Fabi oratio fuit, qualis biennio ante; deinde, ut uincebatur consensu, uersa postremo ad collegam P. Decium poscendum: id senectuti suae adminiculum fore. Censura duobusque consulatibus simul gestis expertum se nihil concordii collegio firmitus ad rem publicam tuendam esse. Nouo imperii socio uix iam adsuescere senilem animum posse; cum

moribus notis facilius se communicaturum consilia. Subscripsit orationi eius consul cum meritis P. Deci laudibus, tum quae ex concordia consultum bona quaeque ex discordia mala in administratione rerum militarium euenirent memorando, quam prope ultimum discrimen suis et collegae certaminibus nuper uentum foret admonendo: Decium Fabiumque qui uno animo, una mente uiuerent esse praeterea uiros natos militiae, factis magnos, ad uerborum linguaeque certamina rudes. Ea ingenia consularia esse: callidos sollertesque, iuris atque eloquentiae consultos, qualis Ap. Claudius esset, urbi ac foro praesides habendos praetoresque ad reddenda iura creandos esse. His agendis dies est consumptus. Postridie ad praescriptum consulis et consularia et praetoria comitia habita. Consules creati Q. Fabius et P. Decius, Ap. Claudius praetor, omnes absentes; et L. Volumnio ex senatus consulto et scito plebis prorogatum in annum imperium est.

[23] Eo anno prodigia multa fuerunt, quorum auerruncandorum causa supplicationes in biduum senatus decreuit; publice uinum ac tus praebitum; supplicatum iere frequentes uiri feminaeque. Insignem supplicationem fecit certamen in sacello Pudicitiae Patriciae, quae in foro bouario est ad aedem rotundam Herculis, inter matronas ortum. Verginiam Auli filiam, patriciam plebeio nuptam, L. Volumnio consuli, matronae quod e patribus enupsisset sacris arcuerant. Breuis altercatio inde ex iracundia muliebri in contentionem animorum exarsit, cum se Verginia et patriciam et pudicam in Patriciae Pudicitiae templum ingressam, ut uni nuptam ad quem uirgo deducta sit, nec se uiri honorumue eius ac rerum gestarum paenitere uero gloriaretur. Facto deinde egregio magnifica uerba adauxit. In uico Longo ubi habitabat, ex parte aedium quod satis esset loci modico sacello exclusit aramque ibi posuit et conuocatis plebeiis matronis conquesta iniuriam patriciarum, “hanc ego aram” inquit “Pudicitiae Plebeiae dedico; uosque hortor ut, quod certamen uirtutis uiros in hac ciuitate tenet, hoc pudicitiae inter matronas sit detisque operam ut haec ara quam illa, si quid potest, sanctius et a castioribus coli dicatur,” eodem ferme ritu et haec ara quo illa antiquior culta est, ut nulla nisi spectatae pudicitiae matrona et quae uni uiro nupta fuisset ius sacrificandi haberet; uolgata dein religio a pollutis, nec matronis solum sed omnis ordinis feminis, postremo in obliuionem uenit.

Eodem anno Cn. Et Q. Ogulnii aediles curules aliquot feneratoribus diem dixerunt; quorum bonis multatis ex eo quod in publicum redactum est aenea in Capitolio limina et trium mensarum argentea uasa in cella Iouis Iouemque in culmine cum quadrigis et ad ficum Ruminalem simulacra infantium conditorum urbis sub uberibus lupae posuerunt semitamque saxo quadrato a Capena porta ad Martis strauerunt. Et ab aedilibus plebeiis L. Aelio Paeto et C. Fulvio Curuo ex multaticia item pecunia, quam exegerunt pecuariis damnatis, ludi facti pateraeque aureae ad Cereris positae.

[24] Q. Inde Fabius quintum et P. Decius quartum consulatum ineunt, tribus consulatibus censuraque collegae, nec gloria magis rerum, quae ingens erat, quam concordia inter se clari. Quae ne perpetua esset, ordinum magis quam ipsorum inter se certamen interuenisse reor, patriciis tendentibus ut Fabius in Etruriam extra ordinem prouinciam haberet, plebeiis auctoribus Decio ut ad sortem rem uocaret. Fuit certe contentio in senatu et, postquam ibi Fabius plus poterat, reuocata res ad populum est. In contione, ut inter militares uiros et factis potius quam dictis fretos, pauca uerba habita. Fabius, quam arborem consequisset, sub ea legere alium fructum indignum esse dicere; se aperuisse Ciminiam siluam uiamque per deuos saltus Romano bello fecisse. Quid se id aetatis sollicitassent, si alio duce gesturi bellum essent? nimirum aduersarium se, non socium imperii legisse — sensim exprobrat — et inuidisse Decium concordibus collegis tribus. Postremo se tendere nihil ultra quam ut, si dignum prouincia ducerent, in eam mitterent; in senatus arbitrio se fuisse et in potestate populi futurum. P. Decius senatus iniuriam querebatur: quoad potuerint, patres adnisos ne plebeiis aditus ad magnos honores esset; postquam ipsa uirtus peruicerit ne in ullo genere hominum inhonorata esset, quaeri quemadmodum inrita sint non suffragia modo populi sed arbitria etiam fortunae et in paucorum potestatem uertantur. Omnes ante se consules sortitos prouincias esse: nunc extra sortem Fabio senatum prouinciam dare, — si honoris eius causa, ita eum de se deque re publica meritum esse ut faueat Q. Fabi gloriae quae modo non sua contumelia splendeat. Cui autem dubium esse, ubi unum bellum sit asperum ac difficile, cum id alteri extra sortem mandetur, quin alter consul pro superuacaneo atque inutili habeatur? gloriari Fabium rebus in Etruria gestis; uelle

et P. Decium gloriari; et forsitan, quem ille obrutum ignem reliquerit, ita ut totiens nouum ex improviso incendium daret, eum se exstincturum. Postremo se collegae honores praemiaque concessurum uerecundia aetatis eius maiestatisque; cum periculum, cum dimicatio proposita sit, neque cedere sua sponte neque cessurum. Et si nihil aliud ex eo certamine tulerit, illud certe laturum ut quod populi sit populus iubeat potius quam patres gratificentur. Iouem optimum maximum deosque immortales se precari, ut ita sortem aequam sibi cum collega dent si eandem uirtutem felicitatemque in bello administrando daturi sint. Certe et id natura aequum et exemplo utile esse et ad famam populi Romani pertinere, eos consules esse quorum utrolibet duce bellum Etruscum geri recte possit. Fabius nihil aliud precatus populum Romanum quam ut, priusquam intro uocarentur ad suffragium tribus, Ap. Claudii praetoris allatas ex Etruria litteras audirent, comitio abiit. Nec minore populi consensu quam senatus prouincia Etruria extra sortem Fabio decreta est.

[25] Concursus inde ad consulem factus omnium ferme iuniorum et pro se quisque nomina dabant; tanta cupido erat sub eo duce stipendia faciendi. Qua circumfusus turba “quattuor milia” inquit, “peditum et sescentos equites dumtaxat scribere in animo est; hodierno et crastino die qui nomina dederitis mecum ducam. Maiori mihi curae est ut omnes locupletes reducam quam ut multis rem geram militibus,” profectus apto exercitu et eo plus fiducia ac spei gerente quod non desiderata multitudo erat, ad oppidum Aharnam, unde haud procul hostes erant, ad castra Appii praetoris pergit. Paucis citra milibus lignatores ei cum praesidio occurrunt; qui ut lictores praegredi uiderunt Fabiumque esse consulem acceperunt, laeti atque alacres dis populoque Romano grates agunt quod eum sibi imperatorem misissent. Circumfusi deinde cum consulem salutarent, quaerit Fabius quo pergerent, respondentibusque lignatum se ire, “ain tandem?” inquit, “num castra uallata non habetis?” ad hoc cum succlamatum esset duplici quidem uallo et fossa et tamen in ingenti metu esse, “habetis igitur” inquit, “adfatis lignorum; redite et uellite uallum”. Redeunt in castra terroremque ibi uellentes uallum et iis qui in castris remanserant militibus et ipsi Appio fecerunt; tum pro se quisque alii aliis dicere consulis se Q. Fabii facere iussu. Postero inde

die castra mota et Appius praetor Romam dimissus. Inde nusquam statua Romanis fuere. Negabat utile esse uno loco sedere exercitum; itineribus ac mutatione locorum mobiliorem ac salubriorem esse; fiebant autem itinera quanta fieri sinebat hiemps haudum exacta. uere inde primo relicta secunda legione ad Clusium, quod Camars olim appellabant, praepositoque castris L. Scipione pro praetore Romam ipse ad consultandum de bello rediit, siue ipse sponte sua, quia bellum ei maius in conspectu erat quam quantum esse famae crediderat siue senatus consulto accitus; nam in utrumque auctores sunt. Ab Ap. Claudio praetore retractum quidam uideri uolunt, cum in senatu et apud populum, id quod per litteras adsidue fecerat, terrorem belli Etrusci augeret: non suffecturum ducem unum nec exercitum unum aduersus quattuor populos; periculum esse, siue iuncti unum premant siue diuersi gerant bellum, ne ad omnia simul obire unus non possit. Duas se ibi legiones Romanas reliquisse et minus quinque milia peditum equitumque cum Fabio uenisse. Sibi placere P. Decium consulem primo quoque tempore in Etruriam ad collegam proficisci, L. Volumnio Samnium prouinciam dari; si consul malit in suam prouinciam ire, Volumnium in Etruriam ad consulem cum exercitu iusto consulari proficisci. Cum magnam partem moueret oratio praetoris, P. Decium censuisse ferunt, ut omnia integra ac libera Q. Fabio seruarentur, donec uel ipse, si per commodum rei publicae posset, Romam uenisset uel aliquem ex legatis misisset, a quo disceret senatus quantum in Etruria belli esset quantisque administrandum copiis et quot per duces esset.

[26] Fabius, ut Romam rediit, et in senatu et productus ad populum mediam orationem habuit, ut nec augere nec minuere uideretur belli famam magisque in altero adsumendo duce aliorum indulgere timori quam suo aut rei publicae periculo consulere: ceterum si sibi adiutorem belli sociumque imperii darent, quonam modo se obliuisci P. Deci consulis per tot collegia experti posse? neminem omnium secum coniungi malle; et copiarum satis sibi cum P. Decio et nunquam nimium hostium fore. Sin collega quid aliud malit, at sibi L. Volumnium darent adiutorem. Omnium rerum arbitrium et a populo et a senatu et ab ipso collega Fabio permissum est; et cum P. Decius se in Samnium uel in Etruriam proficisci paratum esse ostendisset, tanta laetitia ac gratulatio fuit ut praeciperetur uictoria

animis triumphusque non bellum decretum consulibus uideretur. Inuenio apud quosdam extemplo consulatu inito profectos in Etruriam Fabium Deciumque sine ulla mentione sortis prouinciarum certaminumque inter collegas quae exposui. Sunt <qui>, quibus ne haec quidem <certamina> exponere satis fuerit, adiecerint et Appi criminationes de Fabio absente ad populum et pertinaciam aduersus praesentem consulem praetoris contentionemque aliam inter collegas tendente Decio ut suae quisque prouinciae sortem tueretur. Constare res incipit ex eo tempore quo profecti ambo consules ad bellum sunt. Ceterum antequam consules in Etruriam peruenirent, Senones Galli multitudine ingenti ad Clusium uenerunt legionem Romanam castraque oppugnaturi. Scipio, qui castris praeerat, loco adiuuandam paucitatem suorum militum ratus, in collem, qui inter urbem et castra erat, aciem erexit; sed, ut in re subita, parum explorato itinere ad iugum perrexit, quod hostes ceperant parte alia adgressi. Ita caesa ab tergo legio atque in medio, cum hostis undique urgeret, circumuenta. Deletam quoque ibi legionem, ita ut nuntius non superesset, quidam auctores sunt, nec ante ad consules, qui iam haud procul a Clusio aberant, famam eius cladis perlatam quam in conspectu fuere Gallorum equites, pectoribus equorum suspensa gestantes capita et lanceis infixas ouantesque moris sui carmine. — sunt qui Vmbros fuisse non Gallos tradant, nec tantum cladis acceptum et circumuentis pabulatoribus cum L. Manlio Torquato legato Scipionem propraetorem subsidium e castris tulisse uictoresque Vmbros redintegrato proelio uictos esse captiuosque eis ac praedam adeptam. Similius uero est a Gallo hoste quam Vmbro eam cladem acceptam, quod cum saepe alias tum eo anno Gallici tumultus praecipuus terror ciuitatem tenuit. — itaque praeterquam quod ambo consules profecti ad bellum erant cum quattuor legionibus et magno equitatu Romano Campanisque mille equitibus delectis, ad id bellum missis, et sociorum nominisque Latini maiore exercitu quam Romano, alii duo exercitus haud procul urbe Etruriae oppositi, unus in Falisco, alter in Vaticano agro. Cn. Fuluius et L. Postumius Megellus, propraetores ambo, statim in eis locis habere iussi.

[27] Consules ad hostes transgresso Appennino in agrum Sentinatem peruenerunt; ibi quattuor milium ferme interuallo castra posita. Inter hostes deinde consultationes habitae atque ita conuenit

ne unis castris miscerentur omnes neue in aciem descenderet simul; Samnitibus Galli, Etruscis Vmbri adiecti. Dies indicta pugnae; Samniti Gallisque delegata pugna; inter ipsum certamen Etrusci Vmbrique iussi castra Romana oppugnare. Haec consilia turbarunt transfugae Clusini tres clam nocte ad Fabium consulem transgressi, qui editis hostium consiliis dimissi cum donis, ut subinde ut quaeque res noua decreta esset exploratum perferrent. Consules Fuluio ut ex Falisco, Postumio ut ex Vaticano exercitum ad Clusium admoueant summaque uī fines hostium depopulentur, scribunt. Huius populationis fama Etruscos ex agro Sentinate ad suos fines tuendos mouit. Instare inde consules, ut absentibus iis pugnaretur. Per biduum lacesiere proelio hostem; biduo nihil dignum dictu actum; pauci utrimque cecidere, magisque iniritati sunt ad iustum certamen animi quam ad discrimen summa rerum adducta. Tertio die descensum in campum omnibus copiis est. Cum instructae acies starent, cerua fugiens lupum e montibus exacta per campos inter duas acies decurrit; inde diuersae ferae, cerua ad Gallos, lupus ad Romanos cursum deflexit. Lupo data inter ordines uia; ceruam Galli confixere. Tum ex antesignanis Romanus miles “illac fuga” inquit “et caedes uertit, ubi sacram Dianae feram iacentem uidetis; hinc uictor Martius lupus, integer et intactus, gentis nos Martiae et conditoris nostri admonuit,” dextro cornu Galli, sinistro Samnites constiterunt. Aduersus Samnites Q. Fabius primam ac tertiam legionem pro dextro cornu, aduersus Gallos pro sinistro Decius quintam et sextam instruxit; secunda et quarta cum L. Volumnio proconsule in Samnio gerebant bellum. Primo concursu adeo aequis uiribus gesta res est ut, si adfuissent Etrusci et Vmbri aut in acie aut in castris, quocumque se inclinassent, accipienda clades fuerit.

[28] Ceterum quamquam communis adhuc Mars belli erat necdum discrimen fortuna fecerat qua datura uires esset, haudquaquam similis pugna in dextro laeuoque cornu erat. Romani apud Fabium arcebant magis quam inferebant pugnam extrahebaturque in quam maxime serum diei certamen, quia ita persuasum erat duci et Samnites et Gallos primo impetu feroces esse, quos sustinere satis sit; longiore certamine sensim residere Samnitium animos, Gallorum quidem etiam corpora intolerantissima laboris atque aestus fluere, primaque eorum proelia plus quam uirorum, postrema minus quam

feminarum esse. In id tempus igitur, quo uinci solebat hostis, quam integerrimas uires militi seruabat. Ferocior Decius et aetate et uigore animi, quantumcumque uirium habuit certamine primo effudit. Et quia lentior uidebatur pedestris pugna, equitatum in pugnam concitat et ipse fortissimae iuuenum turmae immixtus orat proceres iuuentutis, in hostem ut secum impetum faciant: duplicem illorum gloriam fore, si ab laeuo cornu et ab equite uictoria incipiat. Bis auertere Gallicum equitatum; iterum longius euectos et iam inter media peditum agmina proelium cientes nouum pugnae conterruit genus; essedis carrisque superstans armatus hostis ingenti sonitu equorum rotarumque aduenit et insolitos eius tumultus Romanorum conterruit equos. Ita uictorem equitatum uelut lymphaticus pauor dissipat; sternit inde ruentes equos uirosque improvida fuga. Turbata hinc etiam signa legionum multique impetu equorum ac uehiculorum raptorum per agmen obtriti antesignani; et insecuta, simul territos hostes uidit, Gallica acies nullum spatium respirandi recipiendique se dedit. uociferari Decius quo fugerent quamue in fuga spem haberent; obsistere cedentibus ac reuocare fusos; deinde, ut nulla ui perculsos sustinere poterat, patrem P. Decium nomine compellans, “quid ultra moror” inquit “familiare fatum? datum hoc nostro generi est ut luendis periculis publicis piacula simus. Iam ego mecum hostium legiones mactandas Telluri ac Dis Manibus dabo,” haec locutus M. Liuium pontificem, quem descendens in aciem digredi uetuerat ab se, praeire iussit uerba quibus se legionesque hostium pro exercitu populi Romani Quiritium deuoueret. Deuotus inde eadem precatione eodemque habitu quo pater P. Decius ad Vesperim bello Latino se iusserat deuoueri, cum secundum sollemnes precationes adiecisset prae se agere sese formidinem ac fugam caedemque ac cruorem, caelestium inferorum iras, contacturum funebribus diris signa tela arma hostium, locumque eundem suae pestis ac Gallorum ac Samnitium fore, — haec exsecratus in se hostesque, qua confertissimam cernebat Gallorum aciem, concitat equum inferensque se ipse infestis telis est interfectus.

[29] Vix humanae inde opis uideri pugna potuit. Romani duce amisso, quae res terrori alias esse solet, sistere fugam ac nouam de integro uelle instaurare pugnam; Galli et maxime globus circumstans consulis corpus uelut alienata mente uana in cassum iactare tela;

torpere quidam et nec pugnae meminisse nec fugae. At ex parte altera pontifex Liuius, cui lictores Decius tradiderat iusseratque pro praetore esse, uociferari uicisse Romanos defunctos consulis fato; Gallos Samnitesque Telluris Matris ac Deorum Manium esse; rapere ad se ac uocare Decium deuotam secum aciem furiarumque ac formidinis plena omnia ad hostes esse. Superueniunt deinde his restituentibus pugnam L. Cornelius Scipio et C. Marcius, cum subsidiis ex nouissima acie iussu Q. Fabi consulis ad praesidium collegae missi. Ibi auditur P. Deci euentus, ingens hortamen ad omnia pro re publica audenda. Itaque cum Galli structis ante se scutis conferti starent nec facilis pede conlato uideretur pugna, iussu legatorum collecta humi pila, quae strata inter duas acies iacebant, atque in testudinem hostium coniecta; quibus plerisque in scuta uerutisque raris in corpora ipsa fixis sternitur cuneus ita ut magna pars integris corporibus attoniti conciderent. Haec in sinistro cornu Romanorum fortuna uariauerat. Fabius in dextro primo, ut ante dictum est, cunctando extraxerat diem; dein, postquam nec clamor hostium nec impetus nec tela missa eandem uim habere uisa, praefectis equitum iussis ad latus Samnitium circumducere alas, ut signo dato in transuersos quanto maximo possent impetu incurrerent, sensim suos signa inferre iussit et commouere hostem. Postquam non resisti uidit et haud dubiam lassitudinem esse, tum collectis omnibus subsidiis, quae ad id tempus reseruauerat, et legiones concitauit et signum ad inuadendos hostes equitibus dedit. Nec sustinuerunt Samnites impetum praeterque aciem ipsam Gallorum relictis in dimicatione sociis ad castra effuso cursu ferebantur: Galli testudine facta conferti stabant. Tum Fabius audita morte collegae Campanorum alam, quingentos fere equites, excedere acie iubet et circumuectos ab tergo Gallicam inuadere aciem; tertiae deinde legionis subsequi principes et, qua turbatum agmen hostium uiderent impetu equitum, instare ac territos caedere. Ipse aedem Ioui Victori spoliaque hostium cum uouisset, ad castra Samnitium perrexit, quo multitudo omnis consternata agebatur. Sub ipso uallo, quia tantam multitudinem portae non recepere, temptata ab exclusis turba suorum pugna est; ibi Gellius Egnatius, imperator Samnitium, cecidit; compulsi deinde intra uallum Samnites paruoque certamine capta castra et Galli ab tergo circumuenti. Caesa eo die hostium uiginti

quinque milia, octo capta; nec incruenta uictoria fuit; nam ex P. Deci exercitu caesa septem milia, ex Fabi mille septingenti. Fabius dimissis ad quaerendum collegae corpus spolia hostium coniecta in aceruum Ioui Victori cremauit. Consulis corpus eo die, quia obrutum superstratis Gallorum cumulis erat, inueniri non potuit; postero die inuentum relatumque est cum multis militum lacrimis. Intermissa inde omnium aliarum rerum cura Fabius collegae funus omni honore laudibusque meritis celebrat.

[30] Et in Etruria per eosdem dies ab Cn. Fulvio propraetore res ex sententia gesta et praeter ingentem inlatam populationibus agrorum hosti cladem pugnatum etiam egregie est Perusinorumque et Clusinorum caesa amplius milia tria et signa militaria ad uiginti capta. Samnitium agmen cum per Paelignum agrum fugeret, circumuentum a Paelignis est; ex milibus quinque ad mille caesi. Magna eius diei, quo in Sentinati agro bellatum, fama est etiam uero stanti; sed superiecere quidam augendo fidem, qui in hostium exercitu peditum sexiens centena milia, equitum sex et quadraginta milia, mille carpentorum scripsere fuisse, scilicet cum Vmbris Tuscisque, quos et ipsos pugnae adfuisse; et ut Romanorum quoque augerent copias, L. Volumnium pro consule ducem consulibus exercitumque eius legionibus consulum adiciunt. In pluribus annalibus duorum ea consulum propria uictoria est, Volumnius in Samnio interim res gerit Samnitiumque exercitum in Tifernum montem compulsum, non deterritus iniquitate loci, fundit fugatque. Q. Fabius Deciano exercitu relicto in Etruriae praesidio, suis legionibus deductis ad urbem de Gallis Etruscisque ac Samnitibus triumphauit. Milites triumphantem secuti sunt. Celebrata inconditis militaribus non magis uictoria Q. Fabi quam mors praeclara P. Deci est excitataque memoria parentis, aequata euentu publico priuatoque, filii laudibus. Data ex praeda militibus aeris octogeni bini sagaque et tunicae, praemia illa tempestate militiae haudquaquam spernenda.

[31] His ita rebus gestis nec in Samnitibus adhuc nec in Etruria pax erat; nam et Perusinis auctoribus post deductum ab consule exercitum rebellatum fuerat et Samnites praedatum in agrum Vescinum Formianumque et parte alia in Aeserninum quaeque Volturmo adiacent flumini descendere. Aduersus eos Ap. Claudius praetor cum exercitu Deciano missus. Fabius in Etruria rebellante

denuo quattuor milia et quingentos Perusinorum occidit, cepit ad mille septingentos quadraginta, qui redempti singuli aeris trecentis decem; praeda alia omnis militibus concessa. Samnitium legiones, cum partem Ap. Claudius praetor, partem L. Volumnius pro consule sequeretur, in agrum Stellatem conuenerunt; ibi ad Caiatiam omnes considunt et Appius Volumniusque castra coniungunt. Pugnatum infestissimis animis, hinc ira stimulante aduersus rebellantes totiens, illinc ab ultima iam dimicantibus spe. Caesa ergo Samnitium sedecim milia trecenti, capta duo milia septingenti; ex Romano exercitu cecidere duo milia septingenti. Felix annus bellicis rebus, pestilentia grauis prodigiisque sollicitus; nam et terram multifariam pluuisse et in exercitu Ap. Claudii plerosque fulminibus ictos nuntiatum est; librique ob haec aditi. Eo anno Q. Fabius Gurgis consulis filius aliquot matronas ad populum stupri damnatas pecunia multauit; ex multatio aere Veneris aedem quae prope Circum est faciendam curauit. Supersunt etiam nunc Samnitium bella, quae continua per quartum iam uolumen annumque sextum et quadragesimum a M. Valerio A. Cornelio consulibus, qui primi Samnio arma intulerunt, agimus; et ne tot annorum clades utriusque gentis laboresque actos nunc referam, quibus nequiuissent tamen dura illa pectora uinci, proximo anno Samnites in Sentinati agro, in Paelignis, ad Tifernum, Stellatibus campis, suis ipsi legionibus, mixti alienis, ab quattuor exercitibus, quattuor ducibus Romanis caesi fuerant; imperatorem clarissimum gentis suae amiserant; socios belli, Etruscos, Umbros, Gallos, in eadem fortuna uidebant qua ipsi erant; nec suis nec externis uiribus iam stare poterant, tamen bello non abstinebant. Adeo ne infeliciter quidem defensae libertatis taedebat et uinci quam non temptare uictoriam malebant. Quinam sit ille quem pigeat longinquitatis bellorum scribendo legendoque quae gerentes non fatigauerunt?

[32] Q. Fabium P. Decium L. Postumius Megellus et M. Atilius Regulus consules secuti sunt. Samnium ambobus decreta prouincia est, quia tres scriptos hostium exercitus, uno Etruriam, altero populationes Campaniae repeti, tertium tuendis parari finibus, fama erat. Postumium ualetudo aduersa Romae tenuit; Atilius extemplo profectus, ut in Samnio hostes — ita enim placuerat patribus — nondum egressos opprimeret. uelut ex composito ibi obuium habuere

hostem, ubi et intrare ipsi Samnitium agrum prohiberentur et egredi inde in pacata sociorumque populi Romani fines Samnitem prohiberent. Cum castra castris conlata essent, quod uix Romanus totiens uictor auderet, ausi Samnites sunt — tantum desperatio ultima temeritatis facit — castra Romana oppugnare, et quamquam non uenit ad finem tam audax inceptum, tamen haud omnino uanum fuit. Nebula erat ad multum diei densa adeo ut lucis usum eriperet non prospectu modo extra uallum adempto sed propinquo etiam congregientium inter se conspectu. Hac uelut latebra insidiarum freti Samnites uixdum satis certa luce et eam ipsam premente caligine ad stationem Romanam in porta segniter agentem uigilias perueniunt. Improviso oppressis nec animi satis ad resistendum nec uirium fuit. Ab tergo castrorum decumana porta impetus factus; itaque captum quaestorium quaestorque ibi L. Opimius Pansa occisus. Conclamatum inde ad arma.

[33] Consul tumultu excitus cohortes duas sociorum, Lucanam Suessanamque, quae proximae forte erant, tueri praetorium iubet; manipulos legionum principali uia inducit. uixdum satis aptatis armis in ordines eunt et clamore magis quam oculis hostem noscunt nec quantus numerus sit aestimari potest. Cedunt primo incerti fortunae suae et hostem introrsum in media castra accipiunt; inde, cum consul uociferaretur expulsine extra uallum castra deinde sua oppugnaturi essent [rogitans], clamore sublato conixi primo resistunt, deinde inferunt pedem urgentque et impulsos semel terrore eodem [agunt] quo coeperunt expellunt extra portam uallumque. Inde pergere ac persequi, quia turbida lux metum circa insidiarum faciebat, non ausi, liberatis castris contenti receperunt se intra uallum trecentis ferme hostium occisis. Romanorum stationis primae [uigiliumque] et eorum qui circa quaestorium oppressi periire ad septingentos triginta. Animos inde Samnitibus non infelix audacia auxit et non modo proferre inde castra Romanum sed ne pabulari quidem per agros suos patiebantur; retro in pacatum Soranum agrum pabulatores ibant. Quarum rerum fama, tumultuosior etiam quam res erant, perlata Romam coegit L. Postumium consulem uixdum ualidum proficisci ex urbe. Prius tamen quam exiret militibus edicto Soram iussis conuenire ipse aedem Victoriae, quam aedilis curulis ex multatitia pecunia faciendam curauerat, dedicauit. Ita ad exercitum profectus,

ab Sora in Samnium ad castra collegae perrexit. Inde postquam Samnites diffusi duobus exercitibus resisti posse recesserunt, diuersi consules ad uastandos agros urbesque oppugnandas discedunt.

[34] Postumius Miloniam oppugnare adortus ui primo atque impetu, dein postquam ea parum procedebant opere ac uineis demum iniunctis muro cepit. Ibi capta iam urbe ab hora quarta usque ad octauam fere horam omnibus partibus urbis diu incerto euentu pugnatum est; postremo potitur oppido Romanus. Samnitium caesi tria milia ducenti, capti quattuor milia septingenti praeter praedam aliam. Inde Feritrum ductae legiones, unde oppidani cum omnibus rebus suis quae ferri agique potuerunt nocte per auersam portam silentio excesserunt. Igitur, simul aduenit consul, primo ita compositus instructusque moenibus successit, tamquam idem quod ad Miloniam fuerat certaminis foret; deinde, ut silentium uastum in urbe nec arma nec uiros in turribus ac muris uidit, audum inuadendi deserta moenia militem detinet, ne quam occultam in fraudem incautus rueret; duas turmas sociorum Latini nominis circumequitare moenia atque explorare omnia iubet. Equites portam unam alteramque eadem regione in propinquo patentes conspiciunt itineribusque iis uestigia nocturnae hostium fugae. Adequitant deinde sensim portis urbemque ex tuto rectis itineribus peruiam conspiciunt et consuli referunt excessum urbe; solitudine haud dubia id perspicuum esse et recentibus uestigiis fugae ac strage rerum in trepidatione nocturna relictarum passim. His auditis consul ad eam partem urbis quam adierant equites circumducit agmen. Constitutis haud procul porta signis quinque equites iubet intrare urbem et modicum spatium progressos tres manere eodem loco si tuta uideantur, duos explorata ad se referre. Qui ubi redierunt rettuleruntque eo se progressos unde in omnes partes circumspectus esset longe lateque silentium ac solitudinem uidisse, extemplo consul cohortes expeditas in urbem induxit, ceteros interim castra communire iussit. Ingressi milites refractis foribus paucos graues aetate aut inualidos inueniunt relictaque quae migratu difficilia essent. Ea direpta; et cognitum ex captiuis est communi consilio aliquot circa urbes conscisse fugam; suos prima uigilia profectos; credere eandem in aliis urbibus solitudinem inuenturos. Dictis captiuorum fides exstitit; desertis oppidis consul potitur.

[35] Alteri consuli M. Atilio nequaquam tam facile bellum fuit. Cum ad Luceriam duceret legiones quam oppugnari ab Samnitibus audierat, ad finem Lucerinum ei hostis obuius fuit. Ibi ira uires aequauit; proelium uarium et anceps fuit, tristius tamen euentu Romanis, et quia insueti erant uinci et quia digredientes magis quam in ipso certamine senserunt quantum in sua parte plus uolnerum ac caedis fuisset. Itaque is terror in castris ortus, qui si pugnantes cepisset, insignis accepta clades foret; tum quoque sollicita nox fuit iam inuasurum castra Samnitum credentibus aut prima luce cum uictoribus conserendas manus. Minus cladis, ceterum non plus animorum ad hostes erat. ubi primum inluxit, abire sine certamine cupiunt. Sed uia una et ea ipsa praeter hostes erat; qua ingressi praebuere speciem recta tendentium ad castra oppugnanda. Consul arma capere milites iubet et sequi se extra uallum; legatis, tribunis, praefectis sociorum imperat quod apud quemque facto opus est. Omnes adfirmant se quidem omnia facturos sed militum iacere animos; tota nocte inter uolnera et gemitus morientium uigilatum esse; si ante lucem ad castra uentum foret, tantum pauoris fuisse ut relicturi signa fuerint; nunc pudore a fuga contineri, alioqui pro uictis esse. Quae ubi consul accepit, sibimet ipsi circumeundos adloquendosque milites ratus, ut ad quosque uenerat, cunctantes arma capere increpabat: quid cessarent tergiuersarenturque? hostem in castra uenturum nisi illi extra castra exissent, et pro tentoriis suis pugnaturos si pro uallo nollent. Armatis ac dimicantibus dubiam uictoriam esse; qui nudus atque inermis hostem maneat, ei aut mortem aut seruitutem patiendam. Haec iurganti increpantique respondebant confectos se pugna hesternae esse; nec uirium quicquam nec sanguinis superesse; maiorem multitudinem hostium apparere quam pridie fuerit. Inter haec appropinquabat agmen; et iam breuiore interuallo certiora intuentes uallum secum portare Samnitum adfirmant nec dubium esse quin castra circumuallaturi sint. Tunc enim uero consul indignum facinus esse uociferari tantam contumeliam ignominiamque ab ignauissimo accipi hoste. “etiamne circumsedebimur” inquit “in castris, ut fame potius per ignominiam quam ferro, si necesse est, per uirtutem moriamur?” facerent — quod di bene uerterent — quod se dignum quisque ducerent; consulem M. Atilium uel solum, si nemo alius sequatur, iturum aduersus hostes

casurumque inter signa Samnitium potius quam circumuallari castra Romana uideat. Dicta consulis legati tribunisque et omnes turmae equitum et centuriones primorum ordinum approbauere. Tum pudore uictus miles segniter arma capit, segniter e castris egreditur longo agmine nec continenti; maesti ac prope uicti procedunt aduersus hostem nec spe nec animo certiozem. Itaque simul conspecta sunt Romana signa, extemplo a primo Samnitium agmine ad nouissimum fremitus perfertur exire, id quod timuerint, ad impediendum iter Romanos; nullam inde ne fugae quidem patere uiam; illo loco aut cadendum esse aut stratis hostibus per corpora eorum euadendum.

[36] In medium sarcinas coniciunt; armati suis quisque ordinibus instruunt aciem. Iam exiguum inter duas acies erat spatium, et stabant exspectantes, dum ab hostibus prius impetus, prius clamor inciperet. Neutris animus est ad pugnandum, diuersique integri atque intacti abissent, ni cedenti instaturum alterum timuissent. Sua sponte inter inuitos tergiuersantesque segnis pugna clamore incerto atque impari coepit; nec uestigio quisquam mouebatur. Tum consul Romanus, ut rem excitaret, equitum paucas turmas extra ordinem immisit; quorum cum plerique delapsi ex equis essent, et alii turbati et a Samnitium acie ad opprimendos eos qui ceciderant et ad suos tuendos ab Romanis procursum est. Inde paulum inritata pugna est; sed aliquanto et impigre magis et plures procurrerant Samnites et turbatus eques sua ipse subsidia territis equis proculcauit. Hinc fuga coepta totam auertit aciem Romanam; iamque in terga fugientium Samnites pugnabant, cum consul equo praeuectus ad portam castrorum ac statione equitum ibi opposita edicto ut quicumque ad uallum tenderet, siue ille Romanus siue Samnis esset, pro hoste haberent, haec ipse minitans obstitit profuse tendentibus suis in castra. “quo pergis” inquit, “miles? et hic arma et uiros inuenies nec uiuo consule tuo nisi uictor castra intrabis; proinde elige cum ciue an hoste pugnare malis,” haec dicente consule equites infestis cuspidibus circumfunduntur ac peditem in pugnam redire iubent. Non uirtus solum consulis sed fors etiam adiuuit, quod non institerunt Samnites spatiumque circumagendi signa uertendique aciem a castris in hostem fuit. Tum alii alios hortari ut repeterent pugnam; centuriones ab signiferis rapta signa inferre et ostendere suis paucos et ordinibus incompositis effuse uenire hostes. Inter haec

consul manus ad caelum attollens uoce clara, ita ut exaudiretur, templum Ioui Statori uouet, si constitisset a fuga Romana acies redintegratoque proelio cecidisset uicissetque legiones Samnitium. Omnes undique adnisi ad restituendam pugnam, duces, milites, peditum equitumque uis. Numen etiam deorum respexisse nomen Romanum uisum; adeo facile inclinata res repulsique a castris hostes, mox etiam redacti ad eum locum in quo commissa pugna erat. Ibi obiacente sarcinarum cumulo, quas coniecerant in medium, haesere impediti; deinde, ne diriperentur res, orbem armatorum sarcinis circumdant. Tum uero eos a fronte urgere pedites, ab tergo circumuecti equites; ita in medio caesi captique. Captiuorum numerus fuit septem milium octingentorum, qui omnes nudi sub iugum missi; caesos rettulere ad quattuor milia octingentos. Ne Romanis quidem laeta uictoria fuit; recensente consule biduo acceptam cladem amissorum militum numerus relatus septem milium octingentorum. Dum haec in Apulia gerebantur, altero exercitu Samnites Interamnam, coloniam Romanam, quae uia Latina est, occupare conati urbem non tenuerunt; agros depopulati cum praedam aliam inde mixtam hominum atque pecudum colonosque captos agerent, in uictorem incidunt consulem ab Luceria redeuntem nec praedam solum amittunt sed ipsi longo atque impedito agmine incompositi caeduntur. Consul Interamnam edicto dominis ad res suas noscendas recipiendasque reuocatis et exercitu ibi relicto comitiorum causa Romam est profectus. Cui de triumpho agenti negatus honos et ob amissa tot milia militum et quod captiuos sine pactione sub iugum misisset.

[37] Consul alter Postumius, quia in Samnitibus materia belli deerat, Etruriam transducto exercitu, primum peruastauerat Volsiniensem agrum; dein cum egressis ad tuendos fines haud procul moenibus ipsorum depugnat; duo milia octingenti Etruscorum caesi; ceteros propinquitas urbis tutata est. In Rusellanum agrum exercitus traductus; ibi non agri tantum uastati sed oppidum etiam expugnatum; capta amplius duo milia hominum, minus duo milia circa muros caesa. Pax tamen clarior maiorque quam bellum in Etruria eo anno fuerat parta est. Tres ualidissimae urbes, Etruriae capita, Volsinii, Perusia, Arretium, pacem petiere; et uestimentis militum frumentoque pacti cum consule, ut mitti Romam oratores

liceret, indutias in quadraginta annos impetrauerunt. Multa praesens quingentum milium aeris in singulas ciuitates imposita. Ob hasce res gestas consul cum triumphum ab senatu moris magis causa quam spe impetrandi petisset uideretque alios quod tardius ab urbe exisset, alios quod iniussu senatus ex Samnio in Etruriam transisset, partim suos inimicos, partim collegae amicos ad solacium aequatae repulsae sibi quoque negare triumphum, “non ita” inquit, “patres conscripti, uestrae maiestatis meminero ut me consulem esse obliuiscar. Eodem iure imperii quo bella gessi, bellis feliciter gestis, Samnio atque Etruria subactis, uictoria et pace parta triumphabo,” ita senatum reliquit. Inde inter tribunos plebis contentio orta; pars intercessuros ne nouo exemplo triumpharet aiebat, pars auxilio se aduersus collegas triumphanti futuros. Iactata res ad populum est uocatusque eo consul cum M. Horatium L. Valerium consules, C. Marcium Rutulum nuper, patrem eius qui tunc censor esset, non ex auctoritate senatus sed iussu populi triumphasse diceret, adiciebat se quoque laturum fuisse ad populum, ni sciret mancipia nobilium, tribunos plebis, legem impedituros; uoluntatem sibi ac fauorem consentientis populi pro omnibus iussis esse ac futura; posteroque die auxilio tribunorum plebis trium aduersus intercessionem septem tribunorum et consensum senatus celebrante populo diem triumphauit. Et huius anni parum constans memoria est. Postumium auctor est Claudius in Samnio captis aliquot urbibus in Apulia fusum fugatumque saucium ipsum cum paucis Luceriam compulsum: ab Atilio in Etruria res gestas eumque triumphasse. Fabius ambo consules in Samnio et ad Luceriam res gessisse scribit traductumque in Etruriam exercitum — sed ab utro consule non adiecit — et ad Luceriam utrimque multos occisos inque ea pugna Iouis Statoris aedem uotam, ut Romulus ante uouerat; sed fanum tantum, id est locus templo effatus, fuerat; ceterum hoc demum anno ut aedem etiam fieri senatus iuberet bis eiusdem uoti damnata re publica in religionem uenit.

[38] Sequitur hunc annum et consul insignis, L. Papirius Cursor, qua paterna gloria, qua sua, et bellum ingens uictoriaeque quantam de Samnitibus nemo ad eam diem praeter L. Papirium patrem consulis pepererat. Et forte eodem conatu apparatuque omni opulentia insignium armorum bellum adornauerant; et deorum etiam adhibuerunt opes ritu quodam sacramenti uetusto uelut initiatis

militibus, dilectu per omne Samnium habito noua lege, ut qui iuniorum non conuenisset ad imperatorum edictum quique iniussu abisset caput Ioui sacraretur. Tum exercitus omnis Aquiloniam est indictus. Ad sexaginta milia militum quod roboris in Samnio erat conuenerunt. Ibi mediis fere castris locus est consaeptus cratibus pluteisque et linteis contextus, patens ducentos maxime pedes in omnes pariter partes. Ibi ex libro uetere linteo lecto sacrificatum sacerdote Ouio Paccio quodam, homine magno natu, qui se id sacrum petere adfirmabat ex uetusta Samnitium religione, qua quondam usi maiores eorum fuissent cum adimendae Etruscis Capuae clandestinum cepissent consilium. Sacrificio perfecto per uiatorem imperator acciri iubebat nobilissimum quemque genere factisque; singuli introducebantur. Erat cum alius apparatus sacri qui perfundere religione animum posset, tum in loco circa omni contexto arae in medio uictimaeque circa caesae et circumstantes centuriones strictis gladiis. Admouebatur altaribus magis ut uictima quam ut sacri particeps adigebaturque iure iurando quae uisa auditaque in eo loco essent non enuntiaturum. Iurare cogeant diro quodam carmine, in exsecrationem capitis familiaeque et stirpis composito, nisi isset in proelium quo imperatores duxissent et si aut ipse ex acie fugisset aut si quem fugientem uidisset non extemplo occidisset. Id primo quidam abnuentes iuratuos se obtruncati circa altaria sunt; iacentes deinde inter stragem uictimarum documento ceteris fuere ne abnuerent. Primoribus Samnitium ea detestatione obstrictis, decem nominatis ab imperatore, eis dictum, ut uir uirum legerent donec sedecim milium numerum confecissent. Ea legio linteata ab integumento consaepti, <in> quo sacrata nobilitas erat, appellata est; his arma insignia data et cristatae galeae, ut inter ceteros eminerent. Paulo plus uiginti milium alius exercitus fuit nec corporum specie nec gloria belli nec apparatu linteatae legioni dispar. Hic hominum numerus, quod roboris erat, <ad> Aquiloniam consedit.

[39] Consules profecti ab urbe, prior Sp. Caruilius, cui ueteres legiones, quas M. Atilius superioris anni consul in agro Interamnati reliquerat, decretae erant. Cum eis in Samnium profectus, dum hostes operati superstitionibus concilia secreta agunt, Amiternum oppidum de Samnitibus ui cepit. Caesa ibi milia hominum duo ferme atque octingenti, capta quattuor milia ducenti septuaginta. Papirius nouo

exercitu — ita enim decretum erat — scripto Duroniam urbem expugnauit; minus quam collega cepit hominum, plus aliquanto occidit; praeda opulenta utrobique est parta. Inde peruagati Samnium consules maxime depopulato Atinate agro, Caruilius ad Cominium, Papirius ad Aquiloniam, ubi summa rei Samnitium erat, peruenit. Ibi aliquamdiu nec cessatum ab armis est neque nauiter pugnatum; lacessendo quietos, resistentibus cedendo, comminandoque magis quam inferendo pugnam dies absumebatur. Quodcum <que Comini> inciperetur remittereturque, omnium rerum etiam paruorum euentus proferebatur in dies. Altera Romana castra [quae] uiginti milium spatio aberant, et absentis collegae consilia omnibus gerendis intererant rebus; intentiorque Caruilius, quo in maiore discrimine res uertebatur, in Aquiloniam quam ad Cominium quod obsidebat erat. L. Papirius, iam per omnia ad dimicandum satis paratus, nuntium ad collegam mittit sibi in animo esse postero die, si per auspicia liceret, configere cum hoste; opus esse et illum quanta maxima ui posset Cominium oppugnare, ne quid laxamenti sit Samnitibus ad subsidia Aquiloniam mittenda. Diem ad proficiscendum nuntius habuit; nocte rediit approbare collegam consulta referens. Papirius nuntio misso extemplo contionem habuit; multa de uniuerso genere belli, multa de praesenti hostium apparatu, uana magis specie quam efficaci ad euentum, disseruit: non enim cristas uolnera facere; et per picta atque aurata scuta transire Romanum pilum et candore tunicarum fulgentem aciem ubi res ferro geratur cruentari. Auream olim atque argenteam Samnitium aciem a parente suo occidione occisam spoliaque ea honestiora uictori hosti quam ipsis arma fuisse. Datum hoc forsani nomini familiaeque suae ut aduersus maximos conatus Samnitium opponerentur duces spoliaque ea referrent quae insignia publicis etiam locis decorandis essent deos immortales adesse propter totiens petita foedera, totiens rupta; tum si qua coniectura mentis diuinae sit, nulli unquam exercitui fuisse infestiores quam qui nefando sacro mixta hominum pecudumque caede respersus, ancipiti deum irae deuotus, hinc foederum cum Romanis ictorum testes deos, hinc iuris iurandi aduersus foedera suscepti execrationes horrens, inuitus iurauerit, oderit sacramentum, uno tempore deos, ciues, hostes metuat.

[40] Haec comperta perfugarum indiciis cum apud infensos iam sua

sponte milites disseruisset, simul diuinæ humanæque spei pleni clamore consentienti pugnam poscunt; paenitet in posterum diem dilatum certamen; moram diei noctisque oderunt. Tertia uigilia noctis iam relatis litteris a collega Papirius silentio surgit et pullarium in auspicium mittit. Nullum erat genus hominum in castris intactum cupiditate pugnae; summi infimique aequè intenti erant; dux militum, miles ducis ardorem spectabat. Is ardor omnium etiam ad eos qui auspicio intererant peruenit; nam cum pulli non pascerentur, pullarius auspicium mentiri ausus tripudium solistimum consuli nuntiauit. Consul laetus auspicium egregium esse et deis auctoribus rem gesturos pronuntiat signumque pugnae proponit. Exeunti iam forte in aciem nuntiat perfuga uiginti cohortes Samnitium — quadringenariae ferme erant — Cominium profectas. Quod ne ignoraret collega, extemplo nuntium mittit; ipse signa ocius proferri iubet. Subsidia suis quæque locis et praefectos subsidiis attribuerat; dextro cornu L. Volumnium, sinistro L. Scipionem, equitibus legatos alios, C. Caedicium et <T.> Trebonium, praefecit; Sp. Nautium mulos detractis clitellis cum <tribus> cohortibus alariis in tumultum conspectum propere circumducere iubet atque inde inter ipsam dimicationem quanto maxime posset motu pulueris se ostendere. Dum his intentus imperator erat, altercatio inter pullarios orta de auspicio eius diei exauditaque ab equitibus Romanis, qui rem haud spernendam rati Sp. Papirio, fratris filio consulis, ambigi de auspicio renuntiauerunt. Iuuenis ante doctrinam deos spernentem natus rem inquisitam ne quid incompertum deferret ad consulem detulit. Cui ille: “tu quidem macte uirtute diligentiaque esto; ceterum qui auspicio adest, si quid falsi nuntiat, in semet ipsum religionem recipit; mihi quidem tripudium nuntiatum, populo Romano exercituique egregium auspicium est,” centurionibus deinde imperauit uti pullarios inter prima signa constituerent. Promouent et Samnites signa; insequitur acies ornata armataque, ut hostibus quoque magnificum spectaculum esset. Priusquam clamor tolleretur concurrereturque, emissio temere pilo ictus pullarius ante signa cecidit; quod ubi consuli nuntiatum est, “di in proelio sunt” inquit; “habet poenam noxium caput,” ante consulem haec dicentem coruus uoce clara occinuit; quo laetus augurio consul, adfirmans nunquam humanis rebus magis praesentes interfuisse deos, signa canere et

clamorem tolli iussit.

[41] Proelium commissum atrox, ceterum longe disparibus animis. Romanos ira, spes, ardor certaminis auidos hostium sanguinis in proelium rapit; Samnitium magnam partem necessitas ac religio inuitos magis resistere quam inferre pugnam cogit; nec sustinuissent primum clamorem atque impetum Romanorum, per aliquot iam annos uinci adsueti, ni potentior alius metus insidens pectoribus a fuga retineret. Quippe in oculis erat omnis ille occulti paratus sacri et armati sacerdotes et promiscua hominum pecudumque strages et respersae fando nefandoque sanguine arae et dira exsecratio ac furiale carmen, detestandae familiae stirpique compositum; iis uinculis fugae obstricti stabant ciuem magis quam hostem timentes. Instare Romanus a cornu utroque, a media acie et caedere deorum hominumque attonitos metu; repugnatur segniter, ut ab iis quos timor moraretur a fuga. Iam prope ad signa caedes peruenerat, cum ex transuerso puluis uelut ingentis agminis incessu motus apparuit; Sp. Nautius — Octauium Maecium quidam eum tradunt — dux alaribus cohortibus erat; puluerem maiorem quam pro numero excitabant; insidentes mulis calones frondosos ramos per terram trahebant. Arma signaque per turbidam lucem in primo apparebant; post altior densiorque puluis equitum speciem cogentium agmen dabat fefellitque non Samnites modo sed etiam Romanos; et consul adfirmavit errorem clamitans inter prima signa ita ut uox etiam ad hostes accideret, captum Cominium, uictorem collegam adesse; adniterentur uincere priusquam gloria alterius exercitus foret. Haec insidens equo; inde tribunis centurionibusque imperat ut uiam equitibus patefaciant; ipse Trebonio Caedicioque praedixerat, ubi se cuspidem erectam quatientem uidissent, quanta maxima ui possent concitarent equites in hostem. Ad nutum omnia, ut ex ante praeparato, fiunt; panduntur inter ordines uiae; prouolat eques atque infestis cuspidibus in medium agmen hostium ruit perrumpitque ordines quacumque impetum dedit. Instant Volumnius et Scipio et perculsos sternunt. Tum, iam deorum hominumque uicta ui, funduntur linteatae cohortes; pariter iurati iniuratique fugiunt nec quemquam praeter hostes metuunt. Peditum agmen quod superfuit pugnae in castra aut Aquiloniam compulsum est; nobilitas equitesque Bouianum perfugerunt. Equites eques sequitur, peditem pedes;

diuersa cornua dextrum ad castra Samnitium, laeuum ad urbem tendit. Prior aliquanto Volumnius castra cepit; ad urbem Scipioni maiore resistitur ui, non quia plus animi uictis est sed melius muri quam uallum armatos arcent; inde lapidibus propulsant hostem. Scipio, nisi in primo pauore priusquam colligerentur animi transacta res esset, lentiore fore munitae urbis oppugnationem ratus, interrogat milites satin aequo animo paterentur ab altero cornu castra capta esse, se uictores pelli a portis urbis. Reclamantibus uniuersis primus ipse scuto super caput elato pergit ad portam; secuti alii testudine facta in urbem perrumpunt deturbatisque Samnitibus quae circa portam erant muri occupauere; penetrare in interiora urbis, quia pauci admodum erant, non audent.

[42] Haec primo ignorare consul et intentus recipiendo exercitui esse; iam enim praeceps in occasum sol erat et appetens nox periculosa et suspecta omnia etiam uictoribus faciebat. Progressus longius ab dextra capta castra uidet, ab laeua clamorem in urbe mixtum pugnantium ac pauentium fremitu esse; et tum forte certamen ad portam erat. Aduectus deinde equo propius, ut suos in muris uidet nec iam integri quicquam esse, quoniam temeritate paucorum magnae rei parta occasio esset, acciri quas receperat copias signaque in urbem inferri iussit. Ingressi proxima ex parte quia nox appropinquabat quieuerunt; nocte oppidum ab hostibus desertum est. Caesa illo die ad Aquiloniam Samnitium milia uiginti trecenti quadraginta, capta tria milia octingenti et septuaginta, signa militaria nonaginta septem. Ceterum illud memoriae traditur non ferme alium ducem laetorem in acie uisum seu suoapte ingenio seu fiducia bene gerundae rei. Ab eodem robore animi neque controuerso auspicio reuocari a proelio potuit et in ipso discrimine quo templa deis immortalibus uoueri mos erat uouerat Ioui Victori, si legiones hostium fudisset, pocillum mulsi priusquam temetum biberet sese facturum. Id uotum dis cordi fuit et auspicia in bonum uerterunt.

[43] Eadem fortuna ab altero consule ad Cominium gesta res. Prima luce ad moenia omnibus copiis admotis corona cinxit urbem subsidiaque firma ne qua eruptio fieret portis opposuit. Iam signum dantem eum nuntius a collega trepidus de uiginti cohortium aduentu et ab impetu moratus est et partem copiarum reuocare instructam intentamque ad oppugnandum coegit. D. Brutum Scaeuam legatum

cum legione prima et decem cohortibus alariis equitatuque ire aduersus subsidium hostium iussit: quocumque in loco fuisset obuius, obsisteret ac moraretur manumque, si forte ita res posceret, conferret, modo ne ad Cominium eae copiae admoueri possent. Ipse scalas ferri ad muros ab omni parte urbis iussit ac testudine ad portas successit; simul et refringebantur portae et uis undique in muros fiebat. Samnites sicut, antequam in muris uiderent armatos, satis animi habuerunt ad prohibendos urbis aditu hostes, ita, postquam iam non ex interuallo nec missilibus sed comminus gerebatur res et qui aegre successerant ex plano in muros, loco quem magis timuerant uicto, facile in hostem imparem ex aequo pugnabant, relictis turribus murisque in forum omnes compulsi paulisper inde temptauerunt extremam pugnae fortunam; deinde abiectis armis ad undecim milia hominum et quadringenti in fidem consulis uenerunt; caesa ad quattuor milia octingenti octoginta. Sic ad Cominium, sic ad Aquiloniam gesta res; in medio inter duas urbes spatio, ubi tertia exspectata erat pugna, hostes non inuenti. Septem milia passuum cum abessent a Cominio, reuocati ab suis neutri proelio occurrerunt. Primis ferme tenebris, cum in conspectu iam castra, iam Aquiloniam habuissent, clamor eos utrimque par accidens sustinuit; deinde regione castrorum, quae incensa ab Romanis erant, flamma late fusa certioris cladis indicio progredi longius prohibuit; eo ipso loco temere sub armis strati passim inquietum omne tempus noctis exspectando timendoque lucem egere. Prima luce incerti quam in partem intenderent iter repente in fugam consternantur conspecti ab equitibus, qui egressos nocte ab oppido Samnites persecuti uiderant multitudinem non uallo, non stationibus firmatam. Conspecta et ex muris Aquiloniae ea multitudo erat iamque etiam legionariae cohortes sequebantur; ceterum nec pedes fugientes persequi potuit et ab equite nouissimi agminis ducenti ferme et octoginta interfecti; arma multa pauidi ac signa militaria duodeuiginti reliquere; alio agmine incolumi, ut ex tanta trepidatione, Bouianum peruentum est.

[44] Laetitiam utriusque exercitus Romani auxit et ab altera parte feliciter gesta res. uterque ex alterius sententia consul captum oppidum diripiendum militi dedit, exhaustis deinde tectis ignem iniecit; eodemque die Aquilonia et Cominium deflagrare et consules cum gratulatione mutua legionum suaeque castra coniungere.

In conspectu duorum exercituum et Caruilius suos pro cuiusque merito laudauit donauitque et Papirius, apud quem multiplex in acie, circa castra, circa urbem fuerat certamen, Sp. Nautium, Sp. Papirium, fratris filium, et quattuor centuriones manipulumque hastatorum armillis aureisque coronis donauit, Nautium propter expeditionem qua magni agminis modo terruerat hostes, iuuenem Papirium propter nauatam cum equitatu et in proelio operam et nocte qua fugam infestam Samnitibus ab Aquilonia clam egressis fecit, centuriones militesque quia primi portam murumque Aquiloniae ceperant; equites omnes ob insignem multis locis operam corniculis armillisque argenteis donat. Consilium inde habitum [cum] iamne tempus esset deducendi ab Samnio exercitus aut utriusque aut certe alterius; optimum uisum, quo magis fractae res Samnitium essent, eo pertinacius et infestius agere cetera et persequi ut perdomitum Samnium insequentibus consulibus tradi posset: quando iam nullus esset hostium exercitus qui signis conlatis dimicaturus uideretur, unum superesse belli genus, urbium oppugnationes, quarum per excidia militem locupletare praeda et hostem pro aris ac focus dimicantem conficere possent. Itaque litteris missis ad senatum populumque Romanum de rebus ab se gestis diuersi Papirius ad Saepinum, Caruilius ad Veliam oppugnandam legiones ducunt.

[45] Litterae consulum ingenti laetitia et in curia et in contione auditaе, et quadridui supplicatione publicum gaudium priuatis studiis celebratum est. Nec populo Romano magna solum sed peropportuna etiam ea uictoria fuit, quia per idem forte tempus rebellasse Etruscos allatum est; subibat cogitatio animum quonam modo tolerabilis futura Etruria fuisset si quid in Samnio aduersi euenisset, quae coniuratione Samnitium erecta, quoniam ambo consules omnisque Romana uis auersa in Samnium esset, occupationem populi Romani pro occasione rebellandi habuisset. Legationes sociorum, a M. Atilio praetore in senatum introductae, querebantur uri ac uastari agros a finitimis Etruscis quod desciscere a populo Romano nollent obtestabanturque patres conscriptos ut se a ui atque iniuria communium hostium tutarentur. Responsum legatis curae senatui futurum ne socios fidei suae paeniteret: Etruscorum propediem eandem fortunam quam Samnitium fore. Segnius tamen, quod ad Etruriam attinebat, acta res esset, ni Faliscos quoque, qui per multos

annos in amicitia fuerant, allatum foret arma Etruscis iunxisse. Huius propinquitas populi acuit curam patribus ut fetiales mittendos ad res repetendas censerent; quibus non redditis ex auctoritate patrum iussu populi bellum Faliscis indictum est iussique consules sortiri uter ex Samnio in Etruriam cum exercitu transiret. Iam Caruilius Veliam et Palumbinum et Herculaneum ex Samnitibus ceperat, Veliam intra paucos dies, Palumbinum eodem quo ad muros accessit. Ad Herculaneum etiam signis conlatis ancipiti proelio et cum maiore sua quam hostium iactura dimicauit; castris deinde positis moenibus hostem inclusit; oppugnatum oppidum captumque. In his tribus urbibus capta aut caesa ad decem milia hominum, ita ut paruo admodum plures caperentur. Sortientibus prouincias consulibus Etruria Caruilio euenit secundum uota militum, qui uim frigoris iam in Samnio non patiebantur. Papirio ad Saepinum maior uis hostium restitit. Saepe in acie, saepe in agmine, saepe circa ipsam urbem aduersus eruptiones hostium pugnatum, nec obsidio sed bellum ex aequo erat; non enim muris magis se Samnites quam armis ac uiris moenia tutabantur. Tandem pugnando in obsidionem iustam coegit hostes obsidendoque ui atque operibus urbem expugnauit. Itaque ab ira plus caedis editum capta urbe; septem milia quadringenti caesi, capta minus tria milia hominum. Praeda, quae plurima fuit congestis Samnitium rebus in urbes paucas, militi concessa est.

[46] Niues iam omnia opleuerant nec durari extra tecta poterat; itaque consul exercitum de Samnio deduxit. uenienti Romam triumphus omnium consensu est delatus. Triumphauit in magistratu insigni, ut illorum temporum habitus erat, triumpho. Pedites equitesque insignes donis transiere ac transuecti sunt; multae ciuicae coronae uallaresque ac murales conspectae; inspectata spolia Samnitium et decore ac pulchritudine paternis spoliis, quae nota frequenti publicorum ornatu locorum erant, comparabantur; nobiles aliquot captiui, clari suis patrumque factis, ducti. Aeris grauis traucta uiciens centum milia et quingenta triginta tria milia; id aes redactum ex captiuis dicebatur; argenti, quod captum ex urbibus erat, pondo mille octingenta triginta. Omne aes argentumque in aerarium conditum, militibus nihil datum ex praeda est; auctaque ea inuidia est ad plebem, quod tributum etiam in stipendium militum conlatum est cum, si spreta gloria fuisset captiuae pecuniae in aerarium inlatae, et

militi tum <donum> dari ex praeda et stipendium militare praestari potuisset. Aedem Quirini dedicauit — quam in ipsa dimicatione uotam apud neminem ueterem auctorem inuenio, neque hercule tam exiguo tempore perficere potuisset — ab dictatore patre uotam filius consul dedicauit exornauitque hostium spoliis; quorum tanta multitudo fuit ut non templum tantum forumque iis ornaretur sed sociis etiam coloniisque finitimis ad templorum locorumque publicorum ornatum diuiderentur. Ab triumpho exercitum in agrum Vescinum, quia regio ea infesta ab Samnitibus erat, hibernatum duxit. Inter haec Caruilius consul in Etruria Troilum primum oppugnare adortus quadringentos septuaginta ditissimos, pecunia grandi pactos ut abire inde liceret, dimisit; ceteram multitudinem oppidumque ipsum ui cepit. Inde quinque castella locis sita munitis expugnauit. Caesa ibi hostium duo milia quadringenti, minus duo milia capti. Et Faliscis pacem petentibus annuas indutias dedit, pactus centum milia grauis aeris et stipendium eius anni militibus. His rebus actis ad triumphum decessit, ut minus clarum de Samnitibus quam collegae triumphus fuerat, ita cumulo Etrusci belli aequatum. Aeris grauis tulit in aerarium trecenta octoginta milia; reliquo aere aedem Fortis Fortunae de manubiis faciendam locauit prope aedem eius deae ab rege Ser. Tullio dedicatam; et militibus ex praeda centenos binos asses et alterum tantum centurionibus atque equitibus, malignitate collegae gratius accipientibus munus, diuisit. Fauor consulis tutatus ad populum est L. Postumium legatum eius, qui dicta die a M. Scantio tribuno plebis fugerat in legatione, ut fama ferebat, populi iudicium; iactarique magis quam peragi accusatio eius poterat.

[47] Exacto iam anno noui tribuni plebis magistratum inierant; hisque ipsis, quia uitio creati erant, quinque post dies alii suffecti. Lustrum conditum eo anno est a P. Cornelio Aruina C. Marcio Rutulo censoribus; censa capitum milia ducenta sexaginta duo trecenta uiginti unum. Censores uicesimi sexti a primis censoribus, lustrum undeuicesimum fuit. Eodem anno coronati primum ob res bello bene gestas ludos Romanos spectarunt palmaeque tum primum translato e Graeco more uictoribus datae. Eodem anno, ab aedilibus curulibus qui eos ludos fecerunt, damnatis aliquot pecuariis, uia a Martis silice ad Bouillas perstrata est. Comitia consularia L. Papirius

habuit; creavit consules Q. Fabium Maximi filium Gurgitem et D. Iunium Brutum Scaevam. Ipse Papirius praetor factus. Multis rebus laetus annus uix ad solacium unius mali, pestilentiae urentis simul urbem atque agros, suffecit; portentoque iam similis clades erat, et libri aditi quinam finis aut quod remedium eius mali ab dis daretur. Inuentum in libris Aesculapium ab Epidauro Romam arcessendum; neque eo anno, quia bello occupati consules erant, quicquam de ea re actum praeterquam quod unum diem Aesculapio supplicatio habita est.

LIBER XXI

[1] In parte operis mei licet mihi praefari, quod in principio summae totius professi plerique sunt rerum scriptores, bellum maxime omnium memorabile quae unquam gesta sint me scripturum, quod Hannibale duce Carthaginenses cum populo Romano gessere. Nam neque ualidiores opibus ullae inter se ciuitates gentesque contulerunt arma neque his ipsis tantum unquam uirium aut roboris fuit; et haud ignotas belli artes inter sese sed expertas primo Punico conferebant bello, et adeo uaria fortuna belli ancepsque Mars fuit ut propius periculum fuerint qui uicerunt. Odiis etiam prope maioribus certarunt quam uiribus, Romanis indignantibus quod uictoribus uicti ultro inferrent arma, Poenis quod superbe auareque crederent imperitatum uictis esse. Fama est etiam Hannibalem annorum ferme nouem, pueriliter blandientem patri Hamilcari ut duceretur in Hispaniam, cum perfecto Africo bello exercitum eo traiecturus sacrificaret, altaribus admotum tactis sacris iure iurando adactum se cum primum posset hostem fore populo Romano. Angebant ingentis spiritus uirum Sicilia Sardiniaque amissae: nam et Siciliam nimis celeri desperatione rerum concessam et Sardiniam inter motum Africae fraude Romanorum, stipendio etiam insuper imposito, interceptam.

[2] His anxius curis ita se Africo bello quod fuit sub recentem Romanam pacem per quinque annos, ita deinde nouem annis in Hispania augendo Punico imperio gessit ut appareret maius eum quam quod gereret agitare in animo bellum et, si diutius uixisset, Hamilcare duce Poenos arma Italiae inlaturos fuisse quae Hannibalis ductu intulerunt. Mors Hamilcaris peropportuna et pueritia Hannibalis distulerunt bellum. Medius Hasdrubal inter patrem ac filium octo ferme annos imperium obtinuit, flore aetatis, uti ferunt, primo Hamilcari conciliatus, gener inde ob aliam indolem profecto animi adscitus et, quia gener erat, factionis Barcinae opibus, quae apud milites plebemque plus quam modicae erant, haud sane uoluntate principum, in imperio positus. Is plura consilio quam ui gerens, hospitibus magis regulorum conciliandisque per amicitiam principum nouis gentibus quam bello aut armis rem Carthaginensem auxit. Ceterum nihilo ei pax tutior fuit; barbarus eum quidam palam

ob iram interfecti ab eo domini obtruncavit; comprehensusque ab circumstantibus haud alio quam si euasisset uultu, tormentis quoque cum laceraretur, eo fuit habitu oris ut superante laetitia dolores ridentis etiam speciem praebuerit. Cum hoc Hasdrubale, quia mirae artis in sollicitandis gentibus imperioque suo iungendis fuerat, foedus renouauerat populus Romanus ut finis utriusque imperii esset amnis Hiberus Saguntinisque mediis inter imperia duorum populorum libertas seruaretur.

[3] In Hasdrubalis locum haud dubia res fuit quin[am successurus esset;] praerogatiuam militarem qua extemplo iuuenis Hannibal in praetorium delatus imperatorque ingenti omnium clamore atque adsensu appellatus [erat, a senatu comprobaretur. Fauor] etiam plebis sequebatur. Hunc uixdum puberem Hasdrubal litteris ad se accersierat, actaque res etiam in senatu fuerat. Barcinis nitentibus ut adsuesceret militiae Hannibal atque in paternas succederet opes Hanno, alterius factionis princeps, “et aequum postulare uidetur” inquit, “Hasdrubal, et ego tamen non censeo quod petit tribuendum.” Cum admiratione tam ancipitis sententiae in se omnes conuertisset, “flore[m] aetatis” inquit, “Hasdrubal, quem ipse patri Hannibalis fruendum praebuit, iusto iure eum a filio repeti censet; nos tamen minime decet iuuentutem nostram pro militari rudimento adsuefacere libidini praetorum. An hoc timemus ne Hamilcaris filius nimis sero imperia immodica et regni paterni speciem uideat et, cuius regis genere hereditarii sint relictis exercitus nostri, eius filio parum mature seruiamus? Ego istum iuuenem domi tenendum sub legibus, sub magistratibus, docendum uiuere aequo iure cum ceteris censeo, ne quandoque paruus hic ignis incendium ingens exsuscitet.”

[4] Pauci ac ferme optimus quisque Hannoni adsentiebantur; sed, ut plerumque fit, maior pars meliorem uicit. Missus Hannibal in Hispaniam primo statim aduentu omnem exercitum in se conuertit; Hamilcarem iuuenem redditum sibi ueteres milites credere; eundem uigorem in uultu uimque in oculis, habitum oris lineamenta[m]que intueri. Dein breui effecit ut pater in se minimum momentum ad fauorem conciliandum esset. Nunquam ingenium idem ad res diuersissimas, parendum atque imparandum, habilis fuit. Itaque haud facile discerneres utrum imperatori an exercitui carior esset; neque Hasdrubal alium quemquam praeficere malle ubi quid fortiter

ac strenue agendum esset, neque milites alio duce plus confidere aut audere. Plurimum audaciae ad pericula capessenda, plurimum consilii inter ipsa pericula erat. Nullo labore aut corpus fatigari aut animus uinci poterat. Caloris ac frigoris patientia par; cibi potionisque desiderio naturali, non uoluptate modus finitus; uigiliarum somnique nec die nec nocte discriminata tempora; id quod gerendis rebus superesset quieti datum; ea neque molli strato neque silentio accersita; multi saepe militari sagulo opertum humi iacentem inter custodias stationesque militum conspexerunt. Vestitus nihil inter aequales excellens: arma atque equi conspiciebantur. Equitum peditumque idem longe primus erat; princeps in proelium ibat, ultimus conserto proelio excedebat. Has tantas uiri uirtutes ingentia uitia aequabant, inhumana crudelitas, perfidia plus quam Punica, nihil ueri, nihil sancti, nullus deum metus, nullum ius iurandum, nulla religio. Cum hac indole uirtutum atque uitiorum triennio sub Hasdrubale imperatore meruit, nulla re quae agenda uidendaque magno futuro duci esset praetermissa.

[5] Ceterum ex quo die dux est declaratus, uelut Italia ei provincia decreta bellumque Romanum mandatum esset, nihil prolatandum ratus ne se quoque, ut patrem Hamilcarem, deinde Hasdrubalem, cunctantem casus aliquis opprimeret, Saguntinis inferre bellum statuit. Quibus oppugnandis quia haud dubie Romana arma mouebantur, in Olcadum prius fines — ultra Hiberum ea gens in parte magis quam in dicione Carthaginiensium erat — induxit exercitum, ut non petisse Saguntinos sed rerum serie finitimis domitis gentibus iungendoque tractus ad id bellum uideri posset. Cartalam, urbem opulentam, caput gentis eius, expugnat diripitque; quo metu percussae minores ciuitates stipendio imposito imperium accepere. Victor exercitus opulentusque praeda Carthaginem Nouam in hiberna est deductus. Ibi large partiendo praedam stipendioque praeterito cum fide exsoluendo cunctis ciuium sociorumque animis in se firmatis uere primo in Vaccaeos promotum bellum. Hermandica et Arbocala, eorum urbes, ui captae. Arbocala et uirtute et multitudine oppidanorum diu defensa; ab Hermandica profugi exsilibus Olcadum, priore aestate domitae gentis, cum se iunxissent, concitant Carpetanos adortique Hannibalem regressum ex Vaccaeis haud procul Tago flumine agmen graue praeda turbauere. Hannibal proelio

abstinuit castrisque super ripam positis, cum prima quies silentiumque ab hostibus fuit, amnem uado traiecit ualloque ita praeducto ut locum ad transgrediendum hostes haberent inuadere eos transeuntes statuit. Equitibus praecepit ut, cum ingressos aquam uiderent, adorirentur impeditum agmen; in ripa elephantos — quadraginta autem erant — disponit. Carpetanorum cum appendicibus Olcadum Vaccaeorumque centum milia fuere, inuicta acies si aequo dimicaretur campo. Itaque et ingenio feroces et multitudine freti et, quod metu cessisse credebant hostem, id morari uictoriam rati quod interesset amnis, clamore sublato passim sine ullius imperio qua cuique proximum est in amnem ruunt. Et ex parte altera ripae uis ingens equitum in flumen immissa, medioque alueo haudquaquam pari certamine concursus, quippe ubi pedes instabilis ac uix uado fidens uel ab inermi equite, equo temere acto, perueri posset, eques corpore armisque liber, equo uel per medios gurgites stabili, comminus eminusque rem gereret. Pars magna flumine absumpta; quidam uerticose amni delati in hostes ab elephantis obtriti sunt. Postremi, quibus regressus in suam ripam tutior fuit, ex uaria trepidatione cum in unum colligerentur, priusquam a tanto pauore reciperent animos, Hannibal agmine quadrato amnem ingressus fugam ex ripa fecit uastatisque agris intra paucos dies Carpetanos quoque in deditionem accepit; et iam omnia trans Hiberum praeter Saguntinos Carthaginiensium erant.

[6] Cum Saguntinis bellum nondum erat; ceterum iam belli causa certamina cum finitimis serebantur, maxime Turdetanis. Quibus cum adesset idem qui litis erat sator, nec certamen iuris sed uim quaeri appareret, legati a Saguntinis Romam missi auxilium ad bellum iam haud dubie imminens orantes. Consules tunc Romae erant P. Cornelius Scipio et Ti. Sempronius Longus. Qui cum legatis in senatum introductis de re publica rettulissent placuissetque mitti legatos in Hispaniam ad res sociorum inspiciendas, quibus si uideretur digna causa, et Hannibali denuntiarent ut ab Saguntinis, sociis populi Romani, abstineret et Carthaginem in Africam traicerent ac sociorum populi Romani querimonias deferrent — hac legatione decreta necdum missa, omnium spe celerius Saguntum oppugnari allatum est. Tunc relata de integro res ad senatum est; alii prouincias consulibus Hispaniam atque Africam decernentes terra

marique rem gerendam censebant, alii totum in Hispaniam Hannibalemque intenderant bellum; erant qui non temere mouendam rem tantam exspectandosque ex Hispania legatos censerent. Haec sententia, quae tutissima uidebatur, uicit; legatique eo maturius missi, P. Valerius Flaccus et Q. Baebius Tamphilus, Saguntum ad Hannibalem atque inde Carthaginem si non absisteretur bello ad ducem ipsum in poenam foederis rupti deprecandum.

[7] Dum ea Romani parant consultantque, iam Saguntum summa ui oppugnabatur. Ciuitas ea longe opulentissima ultra Hiberum fuit, sita passus mille ferme a mari. Oriundi a Zacyntho insula dicuntur mixtique etiam ab Ardea Rutulorum quidam generis; ceterum in tantas breui creuerant opes seu maritimis seu terrestribus fructibus seu multitudinis incremento seu disciplinae sanctitate qua fidem socialem usque ad perniciem suam coluerunt. Hannibal infesto exercitu ingressus fines, peruastatis passim agris urbem tripertito adgreditur. Angulus muri erat in planiorem patentioremque quam cetera circa uallem uergens; aduersus eum uineas agere instituit per quas aries moenibus admoueri posset. Sed ut locus procul muro satis aequus agendis uineis fuit, ita haudquaquam prospere, postquam ad effectum operis uentum est, coeptis succedebat. Et turris ingens imminabat et murus, ut in suspecto loco, supra ceterae modum altitudinis emunitus erat, et iuuentus delecta ubi plurimum periculi ac timoris ostendebatur ibi ui maiore obsistebant. Ac primo missilibus summouere hostem nec quicquam satis tutum munientibus pati; deinde iam non pro moenibus modo atque turri tela micare, sed ad erumpendum etiam in stationes operaque hostium animus erat; quibus tumultuariis certaminibus haud ferme plures Saguntini cadebant quam Poeni. Vt uero Hannibal ipse, dum murum incautius subit, aduersum femur tragula grauius ictus cecidit, tanta circa fuga ac trepidatio fuit ut non multum abesset quin opera ac uineae desererentur.

[8] Obsidio deinde per paucos dies magis quam oppugnatio fuit dum uolnus ducis curaretur; per quod tempus ut quies certaminum erat ita ab apparatu operum ac munitionum nihil cessatum. Itaque acrius de integro coortum est bellum pluribusque partibus, uix accipientibus quibusdam opera locis, uineae coeptae agi admouerique aries. Abundabat multitudine hominum Poenus; ad

centum enim quinquaginta milia habuisse in armis satis creditur; oppidani ad omnia tuenda atque obeunda multifariam distineri coepti non sufficiebant. Itaque iam feriebantur arietibus muri quassataeque multae partes erant; una continentibus ruinis nudauerat urbem; tres deinceps turre quantunque inter eas muri erat cum fragore ingenti prociderunt. Captum oppidum ea ruina crediderant Poeni, qua, uelut si pariter utrosque murus texisset, ita utrimque in pugnam procursum est. Nihil tumultuariæ pugnae simile erat, quales in oppugnationibus urbium per occasionem partis alterius conseri solent, sed iustae acies, uelut patenti campo, inter ruinas muri tectaque urbis modico distantia interuallo constiterant. Hinc spes, hinc desperatio animos inritat, Poeno cepisse iam se urbem si paulum adnitatur credente, Saguntinis pro nudata moenibus patria corpora opponentibus nec ullo pedem referente ne in relictum a se locum hostem immitteret. Itaque quo acrius et confertim magis utrimque pugnabatur, eo plures uulnerabantur nullo inter arma corporaque uano intercidente telo. Phalarica erat Saguntinis missile telum hastili abiegno et cetera tereti praeterquam ad extremum unde ferrum exstabat; id, sicut in pilo, quadratum stuppa circumligabant linebantque pice; ferrum autem tres longum habebat pedes ut cum armis transfigere corpus posset. Sed id maxime, etiamsi haesisset in scuto nec penetrasset in corpus, pauorem faciebat quod, cum medium accensum mitteretur conceptumque ipso motu multo maiorem ignem ferret, arma omitti cogeat nudumque militem ad insequentes ictus praebebat.

[9] Cum diu anceps fuisset certamen et Saguntinis quia praeter spem resisterent creuissent animi, Poenus quia non uicisset pro uicto esset, clamorem repente oppidani tollunt hostemque in ruinas muri expellunt, inde impeditum trepidantemque exturbant, postremo fusum fugatumque in castra redigunt. Interim ab Roma legatos uenisse nuntiatum est; quibus obuiam ad mare missi ab Hannibale qui dicerent nec tuto eos adituros inter tot tam effrenatarum gentium arma nec Hannibali in tanto discrimine rerum operae esse legationes audire. Apparebat non admissos protinus Carthaginem ituros. Litteras igitur nuntiosque ad principes factionis Barcinæ praemittit ut praepararent suorum animos ne quid pars altera gratificari populo Romano posset.

[10] Itaque, praeterquam quod admissi auditique sunt, ea quoque

uana atque inrita legatio fuit. Hanno unus aduersus senatum causam foederis magno silentio propter auctoritatem suam, non cum adsensu audientium egit, per deos foederum arbitros ac testes obtestans ne Romanum cum Saguntino suscitarent bellum; monuisse, praedixisse se ne Hamilcaris progeniem ad exercitum mitterent; non manes, non stirpem eius conquiescere uiri, nec unquam donec sanguinis nominisque Barcini quisquam supersit quietura Romana foedera. “Tuuenem flagrantem cupidine regni uiamque unam ad id cernentem si ex bellis bella serendo succinctus armis legionibusque uiuat, uelut materiam igni praebentes, ad exercitus misistis. Aluistis ergo hoc incendium quo nunc ardetis. Saguntum uestri circumsedent exercitus unde arcentur foedere; mox Carthaginem circumsedebunt Romanae legiones ducibus iisdem dis per quos priore bello rupta foedera suntulti. Vtrum hostem an uos an fortunam utriusque populi ignoratis? Legatos ab sociis et pro sociis uenientes bonus imperator uester in castra non admisit; ius gentium sustulit; hi tamen, unde ne hostium quidem legati arcentur, pulsati, ad uos uenerunt. Res ex foedere repetuntur; publica fraus absit: auctorem culpaee et reum criminis deposcunt. Quo lenius agunt, segnius incipiunt, eo cum coeperint uereor ne perseuerantius saeuiant. Aegates insulas Erycemque ante oculos proponite, quae terra marique per quattuor et uiginti annos passi sitis. Nec puer hic dux erat sed pater ipse Hamilcar, Mars alter, ut isti uolunt. Sed Tarento, id est Italia, non abstinueramus ex foedere, sicut nunc Sagunto non abstinemus; uicerunt ergo di hominesque et, id de quo uerbis ambigebatur uter populus foedus rupisset, euentus belli uelut aequus iudex, unde ius stabat, ei uictoriam dedit. Carthagini nunc Hannibal uineas turresque admouet: Carthaginis moenia quatit ariete. Sagunti ruinae — falsus utinam uates sim — nostris capitibus incident, susceptumque cum Saguntinis bellum habendum cum Romanis est. dedemus ergo Hannibalem? Dicit aliquis. Scio meam leuem esse in eo auctoritatem propter paternas inimicitias; sed et Hamilcarem eo perisse laetatus sum quod, si ille uiueret, bellum iam haberemus cum Romanis, et hunc iuuenem tamquam furiam facemque huius belli odi ac detestor; nec dedendum solum id piaculum rupti foederis, sed si nemo deposcit, deuehendum in ultimas maris terrarumque oras, ablegandum eo unde nec ad nos nomen famaue eius accedere neque

ille sollicitare quietae ciuitatis statum possit, ego ita censeo. Legatos extemplo Romam mittendos qui senatui satisfaciant, alios qui Hannibali nuntient ut exercitum ab Sagunto abducat ipsumque Hannibalem ex foedere Romanis dedant, tertiam legationem ad res Saguntinis reddendas decerno.”

[11] Cum Hanno perorasset, nemini omnium certare oratione cum eo necesse fuit; adeo prope omnis senatus Hannibalis erat, infestiusque locutum arguebant Hannonem quam Flaccum Valerium, legatum Romanum. Responsum inde legatis Romanis est bellum ortum ab Saguntinis, non ab Hannibale esse; populum Romanum iniuste facere, si Saguntinos uetustissimae Carthaginensium societati praeponat. Dum Romani tempus terunt legationibus mittendis, Hannibal, quia fessum militem proeliis operibusque habebat, paucorum iis dierum quietem dedit stationibus ad custodiam uinearum aliorumque operum dispositis. Interim animos eorum nunc ira in hostes stimulando, nunc spe praemiorum accendit; ut uero pro contione praedam captae urbis edixit militum fore, adeo accensi omnes sunt ut, si extemplo signum datum esset, nulla ui resisti uideretur posse. Saguntini ut a proeliis quietem habuerant nec lacessentes nec lacessiti per aliquot dies, ita non nocte, non die unquam cessauerant ab opere, ut nouum murum ab ea parte qua patefactum oppidum ruinis erat reficerent. Inde oppugnatio eos aliquanto atrocior quam ante adorta est, nec qua primum aut potissimum parte ferrent opem, cum omnia uariis clamoribus streperent, satis scire poterant. Ipse Hannibal qua turris mobilis, omnia munimenta urbis superans altitudine, agebatur hortator aderat. Quae cum admota catapultis ballistisque per omnia tabulata dispositis muros defensoribus nudasset, tum Hannibal occasionem ratus, quingentos ferme Afros cum dolabris ad subruendum ab imo murum mittit; nec erat difficile opus, quod caementa non calce durata erant sed interlita luto, structurae antiquae genere. Itaque latius quam qua caederetur ruebat perque patentia ruinis agmina armatorum in urbem uadebant. Locum quoque editum capiunt, conlatisque eo catapultis ballistisque ut castellum in ipsa urbe uelut arcem imminuentem haberent muro circumdant; et Saguntini murum interiorum ab nondum capta parte urbis ducunt. Vtrimque summa ui et muniunt et pugnant; sed interiora tuendo minorem in dies urbem

Saguntini faciunt. Simul crescit inopia omnium longa obsidione et minuitur exspectatio externae opis, cum tam procul Romani, unica spes, circa omnia hostium essent. Paulisper tamen adfectos animos recreauit repentina profectio Hannibalis in Oretanos Carpetanosque, qui duo populi, dilectus acerbitate consternati, retentis conquisitoribus metum defectionis cum praebuissent, oppressi celeritate Hannibalis omiserunt mota arma.

[12] Nec Sagunti oppugnatio segnior erat Maharbale Himilconis filio — eum praefecerat Hannibal — ita impigre rem agente ut ducem abesse nec ciues nec hostes sentirent. Is et proelia aliquot secunda fecit et tribus arietibus aliquantum muri discussit strataque omnia recentibus ruinis aduenienti Hannibali ostendit. Itaque ad ipsam arcem extemplo ductus exercitus atroxque proelium cum multorum utrimque caede initum et pars arcis capta est. Temptata deinde per duos est exigua pacis spes, Alconem Saguntinum et Alorcum Hispanum. Alco insciis Saguntinis, precibus aliquid moturum ratus, cum ad Hannibalem noctu transisset, postquam nihil lacrimae mouebant condicionesque tristes, ut ab irato uictore, ferebantur, transfuga ex oratore factus apud hostem mansit, moriturum adfirmans qui sub condicionibus iis de pace ageret. Postulabatur autem, redderent res Turdetanis traditoque omni auro atque argento egressi urbe cum singulis uestimentis ibi habitarent ubi Poenus iussisset. Has pacis leges abnuente Alcone accepturos Saguntinos, Alorcus, uinci animos ubi alia uincantur adfirmans, se pacis eius interpretem fore pollicetur; erat autem tum miles Hannibalis, ceterum publice Saguntinis amicus atque hospes. Traditio palam telo custodibus hostium transgressus munimenta ad praetorem Saguntinum — et ipse ita iubebat — est deductus. Quo cum extemplo concursus omnis generis hominum esset factus, submota cetera multitudine senatus Alorco datus est, cuius talis oratio fuit:

[13] “Si ciuis uester Alco, sicut ad pacem petendam ad Hannibalem uenit, ita pacis condiciones ab Hannibale ad uos rettulisset, superuacaneum hoc mihi fuisset iter, quo nec orator Hannibalis nec transfuga ad uos ueni; sed cum ille aut uestra aut sua culpa manserit apud hostem — sua, si metum simulauit: uestra, si periculum est apud uos uera referentibus — ego, ne ignoraretis esse et salutis

aliquas et pacis uobis condiciones, pro uetusto hospitio quod mihi uobiscum est ad uos ueni. Vestra autem causa me nec ullius alterius loqui quae loquor apud uos uel ea fides sit quod neque dum uestris uiribus restitistis neque dum auxilia ab Romanis sperastis pacis unquam apud uos mentionem feci. Postquam nec ab Romanis uobis ulla est spes nec uestra uos iam aut arma aut moenia satis defendunt, pacem adfero ad uos magis necessariam quam aequam. Cuius ita aliqua spes est, si eam, quemadmodum ut uictor fert Hannibal, sic uos ut uicti audiatis; si non id quod amittitur in damno, cum omnia uictoris sint, sed quidquid relinquitur pro munere habituri estis. Urbem uobis, quam ex magna parte dirutam, captam fere totam habet, adimit: agros relinquit, locum adsignaturus in quo nouum oppidum aedificetis. Aurum et argentum omne, publicum priuatumque, ad se iubet deferri: corpora uestra coniugum ac liberorum uestrorum seruat inuiolata, si inermes cum binis uestimentis uelit ab Sagunto exire. Haec uictor hostis imperat; haec quamquam sunt grauia atque acerba, fortuna uestra uobis suadet. Equidem haud despero, cum omnium potestas ei facta sit, aliquid ex his rebus remissurum; sed uel haec patienda censeo potius quam trucidari corpora uestra, rapi trahique ante ora uestra coniuges ac liberos belli iure sinatis.”

[14] Ad haec audienda cum circumfusa paulatim multitudine permixtum senatui esset populi concilium, repente primores secessione facta priusquam responsum daretur argentum aurumque omne ex publico priuatoque in forum conlatum in ignem ad id raptim factum conicientes eodem plerique semet ipsi praecipitauerunt. Cum ex eo pavor ac trepidatio totam urbem peruasisset, alius insuper tumultus ex arce auditur. Turris diu quassata prociderat, perque ruinam eius cohors Poenorum impetu facto cum signum imperatori dedisset nudatam stationibus custodiisque solitis hostium esse urbem, non cunctandum in tali occasione ratus Hannibal, totis uiribus adgressus urbem momento cepit, signo dato ut omnes puberes interficerentur. Quod imperium crudele, ceterum prope necessarium cognitum ipso euentu est; cui enim parci potuit ex iis qui aut inclusi cum coniugibus ac liberis domos super se ipsos concremauerunt aut armati nullum ante finem pugnae quam morientes fecerunt?

[15] Captum oppidum est cum ingenti praeda. Quamquam pleraque

ab dominis de industria corrupta erant et in caedibus uix ullum discrimen aetatis ira fecerat et captiui militum praeda fuerant, tamen et ex pretio rerum uenditarum aliquantum pecuniae redactum esse constat et multam pretiosam supellectilem uestemque missam Carthaginem. Octauo mense quam coeptum oppugnari captum Saguntum quidam scripsere; inde Carthaginem Nouam in hiberna Hannibalem concessisse; quinto deinde mense quam ab Carthagine profectus sit in Italiam peruenisse. Quae si ita sunt, fieri non potuit ut P. Cornelius Ti. Sempronius consules fuerint, ad quos et principio oppugnationis legati Saguntini missi sint et qui in suo magistratu cum Hannibale, alter ad Ticinum amnem, ambo aliquanto post ad Trebiam pugnaverint. Aut omnia breuiora aliquanto fuere aut Saguntum principio anni, quo P. Cornelius Ti. Sempronius consules fuerunt, non coeptum oppugnari est sed captum. Nam excessisse pugna ad Trebiam in annum Cn. Seruili et C. Flamini non potest, quia C. Flaminius Arimini consulatum iniit, creatus a Ti. Sempronio consule, qui post pugnam ad Trebiam ad creandos consules Romam cum uenisset comitiis perfectis ad exercitum in hiberna rediit.

[16] Sub idem fere tempus et legati qui redierant ab Carthagine Romam rettulerunt omnia hostilia esse, et Sagunti excidium nuntiatum est; tantusque simul maeror patres misericordiaeque sociorum peremptorum indigne et pudor non lati auxilii et ira in Carthaginienses metusque de summa rerum cepit, uelut si iam ad portas hostis esset, ut tot uno tempore motibus animi turbati trepidarent magis quam consulerent: nam neque hostem acriorem bellicosioremqe secum congressum nec rem Romanam tam desidem unquam fuisse atque imbellem. Sardos Corsosque et Histros atque Illyrios lacessisse magis quam exercuisse Romana arma et cum Gallis tumultuatum uerius quam belligeratum: Poenum hostem ueteranum, trium et uiginti annorum militia durissima inter Hispanas gentes semper uictorem, duci acerrimo adsuetum, recentem ab excidio opulentissimae urbis, Hiberum transire; trahere secum tot excitos Hispanorum populos; conciturum auidas semper armorum Gallicas gentes; cum orbe terrarum bellum gerendum in Italia ac pro moenibus Romanis esse.

[17] Nominatae iam antea consulibus prouinciae erant; tum sortiri iussi. Cornelio Hispania, Sempronio Africa cum Sicilia euenit. Sex in

eum annum decretae legiones et socium quantum ipsis uideretur et classis quanta parari posset. Quattuor et uiginti peditum Romanorum milia scripta et mille octingenti equites, sociorum quadraginta milia peditum, quattuor milia et quadringenti equites; naues ducentae uiginti quinqueres, celoces uiginti deducti. Latum inde ad populum uellent iuberent populo Carthaginiensi bellum indici; eiusque belli causa supplicatio per urbem habita atque adorati di, ut bene ac feliciter eueniret quod bellum populus Romanus iussisset. Inter consules ita copiae diuisae: Sempronio datae legiones duae — ea quaterna milia erant peditum et treceni equites — et sociorum sedecim milia peditum, equites mille octingenti; naues longae centum sexaginta, celoces duodecim. Cum his terrestribus maritimisque copiis Ti. Sempronius missus in Siciliam, ita in Africam transmissurus si ad arcendum Italia Poenum consul alter satis esset. Cornelio minus copiarum datum, quia L. Manlius praetor et ipse cum haud inualido praesidio in Galliam mittebatur; nauium maxime Cornelio numerus deminutus; sexaginta quinqueres datae — neque enim mari uenturum aut ea parte belli dimicaturum hostem credebant — et duae Romanae legiones cum suo iusto equitatu et quattuordecim milibus sociorum peditum, equitibus mille sescentis. Duas legiones Romanas et decem milia sociorum peditum, mille equites socios, sescentos Romanos Gallia prouincia eodem uersa in Punicum bellum habuit.

[18] His ita comparatis, ut omnia iusta ante bellum fierent, legatos maiores natu, Q. Fabium M. Liuium L. Aemilium C. Licinium Q. Baebium in Africam mittunt ad percontandos Carthaginienses publicone consilio Hannibal Saguntum oppugnasset, et si id quod facturi uidebantur faterentur ac defenderent publico consilio factum, ut indicerent populo Carthaginiensi bellum. Romani postquam Carthaginem uenerunt, cum senatus datus esset et Q. Fabius nihil ultra quam unum quod mandatum erat percontatus esset, tum ex Carthaginiensibus unus: “Praeceptum uestrum, Romani, et prior legatio fuit, cum Hannibalem tamquam suo consilio Saguntum oppugnantem deposcebatis; ceterum haec legatio uerbis adhuc lenior est, re asperior. Tunc enim Hannibal et insimulabatur et deposcebatur; nunc ab nobis et confessio culpae exprimitur et ut a confessis res extemplo repetuntur. Ego autem non priuato publicone consilio Saguntum

oppugnatum sit quaerendum censeam sed utrum iure an iniuria; nostra enim haec quaestio atque animaduersio in ciuem nostrum est quid nostro aut suo fecerit arbitrio: uobiscum una disceptatio est licueritne per foedus fieri. Itaque quoniam discerni placet quid publico consilio, quid sua sponte imperatores faciant, nobis uobiscum foedus est a C. Lutatio consule ictum in quo, cum caueretur utrorumque sociis, nihil de Saguntinis — necdum enim erant socii uestri — cautum est. At enim eo foedere quod cum Hasdrubale ictum est Saguntini excipiuntur. Aduersus quod ego nihil dicturus sum nisi quod a uobis didici. Vos enim, quod C. Lutatius consul primo nobiscum foedus icit, quia neque auctoritate patrum nec populi iussu ictum erat, negastis uos eo teneri; itaque aliud de integro foedus publico consilio ictum est. Si uos non tenent foedera uestra nisi ex auctoritate aut iussu uestro icta, ne nos quidem Hasdrubalis foedus quod nobis insciis icit obligare potuit. Proinde omittite Sagunti atque Hiberi mentionem facere et quod diu parturit animus uester aliquando pariat.” Tum Romanus sinu ex toga facto, “hic” inquit, “uobis bellum et pacem portamus; utrum placet sumite.” Sub hanc uocem haud minus ferociter, daret utrum uellet, succlamatum est; et cum is iterum sinu effuso bellum dare dixisset, accipere se omnes responderunt et quibus acciperent animis iisdem se gesturos.

[19] Haec directa percontatio ac denuntiatio belli magis ex dignitate populi Romani uisa est quam de foederum iure uerbis disceptare, cum ante, tum maxime Sagunto excisa. Nam si uerborum disceptationis res esset, quid foedus Hasdrubalis cum Lutati priore foedere, quod mutatum est, comparandum erat, cum in Lutati foedere diserte additum esset ita id ratum fore si populus censuisset, in Hasdrubalis foedere nec exceptum tale quicquam fuerit et tot annorum silentio ita uiuo eo comprobatum sit foedus ut ne mortuo quidem auctore quicquam mutaretur? Quamquam, etsi priore foedere staretur, satis cautum erat Saguntinis sociis utrorumque exceptis; nam neque additum erat “iis qui tunc essent” nec “ne qui postea adsumerentur”. Et cum adsumere nouos liceret socios, quis aequum censeret aut ob nulla quemquam merita in amicitiam recipi aut receptos in fidem non defendi, tantum ne Carthaginensium socii aut sollicitarentur ad defectionem aut sua sponte desciscentes

reciperentur? Legati Romani ab Carthagine, sicut iis Romae imperatum erat, in Hispaniam ut adirent ciuitates ut in societatem perlicerent aut auerterent a Poenis traiecerunt. Ad Bargusios primum uenerunt, a quibus benigne excepti, quia taedebat imperii Punici, multos trans Hiberum populos ad cupidinem nouae fortunae erexerunt. Inde est uentum ad Volcianos, quorum celebre per Hispaniam responsum ceteros populos ab societate Romana auertit. Ita enim maximus natu ex iis in concilio respondit: “Quae uerecundia est, Romani, postulare uos uti uestram Carthaginiensium amicitiae praeponamus, cum qui id fecerunt [Saguntini] crudelius quam Poenus hostis perdidit uos socii prodideritis? Ibi quaeratis socios censeo ubi Saguntina clades ignota est; Hispanis populis sicut lugubre, ita insigne documentum Sagunti ruinae erunt ne quis fidei Romanae aut societati confidat.” Inde extemplo abire finibus Volcianorum iussi ab nullo deinde concilio Hispaniae benigniora uerba tulere. Ita nequiquam peragrata Hispania in Galliam transeunt.

[20] In iis noua terribilisque species uisa est, quod armati — ita mos gentis erat — in concilium uenerunt. Cum uerbis extollentes gloriam uirtutemque populi Romani ac magnitudinem imperii petissent ne Poeno bellum Italiae inferenti per agros urbesque suas transitum darent, tantus cum fremitu risus dicitur ortus ut uix a magistratibus maioribusque natu iuuentus sedaretur; adeo stolidi impudensque postulatio uisa est censere, ne in Italiam transmittant Galli bellum, ipsos id auertere in se agrosque suos pro alienis populandos obicere. Sedato tandem fremitu responsum legatis est neque Romanorum in se meritum esse neque Carthaginiensium iniuriam ob quae aut pro Romanis aut aduersus Poenos sumant arma; contra ea audire sese gentis suae homines agro finibusque Italiae pelli a populo Romano stipendiumque pendere et cetera indigna pati. Eadem ferme in ceteris Galliae conciliis dicta auditaque, nec hospitale quicquam pacatumue satis prius auditum quam Massiliam uenere. Ibi omnia ab sociis inquisita cum cura ac fide cognita: praeoccupatos iam ante ab Hannibale Gallorum animos esse; sed ne illi quidem ipsi satis mitem gentem fore — adeo ferocia atque indomita ingenia esse — ni subinde auro, cuius audidissima gens est, principum animi concilientur. Ita peragratis Hispaniae et Galliae populis legati Romam redeunt haud ita multo post quam consules in

prouincias profecti erant. Ciuitatem omnem in expectationem belli erectam inuenerunt, satis constante fama iam Hiberum Poenos tramisisse.

[21] Hannibal Sagunto capto Carthaginem Nouam in hiberna concesserat, ibique auditis quae Romae quaeque Carthagine acta decretaque forent, seque non ducem solum sed etiam causam esse belli, partitis diuenditisque reliquiis praedae nihil ultra differendum ratus, Hispani generis milites conuocat. “Credo ego uos” inquit, “socii, et ipsos cernere pacatis omnibus Hispaniae populis aut finiendam nobis militiam exercitusque dimittendos esse aut in alias terras transferendum bellum; ita enim hae gentes non pacis solum sed etiam uictoriae bonis floreunt, si ex aliis gentibus praedam et gloriam quaeremus. itaque cum longinqua ab domo instet militia incertumque sit quando domos uestras et quae cuique ibi cara sunt uisuri sitis, si quis uestrum suos inuisere uolt, commeatum do. Primo uere edico adsitis, ut dis bene iuuantibus bellum ingentis gloriae praedaeque futurum incipiamus.” Omnibus fere uisendi domos oblata ultro potestas grata erat, et iam desiderantibus suos et longius in futurum prouidentibus desiderium. Per totum tempus hiemis quies inter labores aut iam exhaustos aut mox exhauriendos renouauit corpora animosque ad omnia de integro patienda; uere primo ad edictum conuenere. Hannibal cum recensisset omnium gentium auxilia, Gades profectus Herculi uota exsoluit nouisque se obligat uotis, si cetera prospera euenissent. Inde partiens curas simul [in] inferendum atque arcendum bellum, ne, dum ipse terrestri per Hispaniam Galliasque itinere Italiam peteret, nuda apertaue Romanis Africa ab Sicilia esset, ualido praesidio firmare eam statuit; pro eo supplementum ipse ex Africa maxime iaculatorum leuium armis petiit, ut Afri in Hispania, in Africa Hispani, melior procul ab domo futurus uterque miles, uelut mutuis pigneribus obligati stipendia facerent. Tredecim milia octingentos quinquaginta pedites caetratos misit in Africam et funditores Baliares octingentos septuaginta, equites mixtos ex multis gentibus mille ducentos. Has copias partim Carthagini praesidio esse, partim distribui per Africam iubet. Simul conquisitoribus in ciuitates missis quattuor milia conscripta delectae iuuentutis, praesidium eosdem et obsides, duci Carthaginem iubet.

[22] Neque Hispaniam neglegendam ratus, atque id eo minus quod haud ignarus erat circumitam ab Romanis eam legatis ad sollicitandos principum animos, Hasdrubali fratri, uiro impigro, eam prouinciam destinat firmatque eum Africis maxime praesidiis, peditum Afrorum undecim milibus octingentis quinquaginta, Liguribus trecentis, Baliaribus [quingentis]. Ad haec peditum auxilia additi equites Libyphoenices, mixtum Punicum Afris genus, quadringenti [quinquaginta] et Numidae Maurique accolae Oceani ad mille octingenti et parua Ilergetum manus ex Hispania, ducenti equites, et, ne quod terrestris deesset auxilii genus, elephanti uiginti unus. Classis praeterea data tuendae maritimae orae, quia qua parte belli uicerant ea tum quoque rem gesturos Romanos credi poterat, quinquaginta quinqueremes, quadriremes duae, triremes quinque; sed aptae instructaeque remigio triginta et duae quinqueremes erant et triremes quinque. Ab Gadibus Carthaginem ad hiberna exercitus rediit; atque inde profectus praeter Onussam urbem ad Hiberum maritima ora ducit. Ibi fama est in quiete uisum ab eo iuuenem diuina specie qui se ab Ioue diceret ducem in Italiam Hannibali missum; proinde sequeretur neque usquam a se deflecteret oculos. Pavidum primo, nusquam circumspicientem aut respicientem, secutum; deinde cura ingenii humani cum, quidnam id esset quod respicere uetitus esset, agigaret animo, temperare oculis nequiuisset; tum uidisse post sese serpentem mira magnitudine cum ingenti arborum ac uirgultorum strage ferri ac post insequi cum fragore caeli nimbum. Tum quae moles ea quidue prodigii esset quaerentem, audisse uastitatem Italiae esse; pergeret porro ire nec ultra inquireret sineretque fata in occulto esse.

[23] Hoc uisu laetus tripertito Hiberum copias traiecit, praemissis qui Gallorum animos, qua traducendus exercitus erat, donis conciliarent Alpiumque transitus specularentur. Nonaginta milia peditum, duodecim milia equitum Hiberum traduxit. Ilergetes inde Bargusiosque et Ausetanos et Lacetaniam, quae subiecta Pyrenaeis montibus est, subegit oraeque huic omni praefecit Hannonem, ut fauces quae Hispanias Galliis iungunt in potestate essent. Decem milia peditum Hannoni ad praesidium obtinendae regionis data et mille equites. Postquam per Pyrenaeum saltum traduci exercitus est coeptus rumorque per barbaros manauit certior de bello Romano, tria

milia inde Carpetanorum peditum iter auerterunt. Constabat non tam bello motos quam longinquitate uiae insuperabilique Alpium transitu. Hannibal quia reuocare aut ui retinere eos anceps erat, ne ceterorum etiam feroces animi irritarentur, supra septem milia hominum domos remisit, quos et ipse grauari militia senserat, Carpetanos quoque ab se dimissos simulans.

[24] Inde, ne mora atque otium animos sollicitaret, cum reliquis copiis Pyrenaeum transgreditur et ad oppidum Iliberrim castra locat. Galli quamquam Italiae bellum inferri audiebant, tamen, quia ui subactos trans Pyrenaeum Hispanos fama erat praesidiaque ualida imposita, metu seruitutis ad arma consternati Ruscinonem aliquot populi conueniunt. Quod ubi Hannibali nuntiatum est, moram magis quam bellum metuens, oratores ad regulos eorum misit, conloqui semet ipsum cum iis uelle; et uel illi propius Iliberrim accederent uel se Ruscinonem processurum, ut ex propinquo congressus facilius esset; nam et accepturum eos in castra sua se laetum nec cunctanter se ipsum ad eos uenturum; hospitem enim se Galliae non hostem aduenisse, nec stricturum ante gladium, si per Gallos liceat, quam in Italiam uenisset. Et per nuntios quidem haec; ut uero reguli Gallorum castris ad Iliberrim extemplo motis haud grauante ad Poenum uenerunt, capti donis cum bona pace exercitum per fines suos praeter Ruscinonem oppidum transmiserunt.

[25] In Italiam interim nihil ultra quam Hiberum transisse Hannibalem a Massiliensium legatis Romam perlatum erat, cum, perinde ac si Alpes iam transisset, Boii sollicitatis Insubribus defecerunt, nec tam ob ueteres in populum Romanum iras quam quod nuper circa Padum Placentiam Cremonamque colonias in agrum Gallicum deductas aegre patiebantur. Itaque armis repente arreptis, in eum ipsum agrum impetu facto tantum terroris ac tumultus fecerunt ut non agrestis modo multitudo sed ipsi triumuiroi Romani, qui ad agrum uenerant adsignandum, diffusi Placentiae moenibus Mutinam confugerint, C. Lutatius, C. Seruilius, M. Annius. Lutati nomen haud dubium est; pro Annio Seruilioque M'. Acilium et C. Herennium habent quidam annales, alii P. Cornelium Asinam et C. Papirium Masonem. Id quoque dubium est legati ad expostulandum missi ad Boios uiolati sint [incertum] an in triumuiros agrum metantes impetus sit factus. Mutinae cum

obsiderentur et gens ad oppugnandarum urbium artes rudis, pigerrima eadem ad militaria opera, segnis intactis adsideret muris, simulari coeptum de pace agi; euocatique ab Gallorum principibus legati ad conloquium non contra ius modo gentium sed uiolata etiam quae data in id tempus erat fide comprehenduntur, negantibus Gallis, nisi obsides sibi redderentur, eos dimissuros. Cum haec de legatis nuntiata essent et Mutina praesidiumque in periculo esset, L. Manlius praetor ira accensus effusum agmen ad Mutinam ducit. Siluae tunc circa uiam erant, plerisque incultis. Ibi inexplorato profectus in insidias praecipitat multaue cum caede suorum aegre in apertos campos emersit. Ibi castra communita et, quia Gallis ad temptanda ea defuit spes, refecti sunt militum animi, quamquam ad [quingentos] cecidisse satis constabat. Iter deinde de integro coeptum nec, dum per patentia loca ducebatur agmen, apparuit hostis; ubi rursus siluae intratae, tum postremos adorti cum magna trepidatione ac pauore omnium septingentos milites occiderunt, sex signa ademere. Finis et Gallis territandi et pauendi fuit Romanis ut ex saltu inuio atque impedito euasere. Inde apertis locis facile tutantes agmen Romani Tannetum, uicum propinquum Pado, contendere. Ibi se munimento ad tempus commeatibusque fluminis et Brixianorum etiam Gallorum auxilio aduersus crescentem in dies multitudinem hostium tutabantur.

[26] Qui tumultus repens postquam est Romam perlatus et Punicum insuper Gallico bellum auctum patres acceperunt, C. Atilium praetorem cum una legione Romana et quinque milibus sociorum, dilectu nouo a consule conscriptis, auxilium ferre Manlio iubent; qui sine ullo certamine — abscesserant enim metu hostes — Tannetum peruenit. Et P. Cornelius, in locum eius quae missa cum praetore erat scripta legione noua, profectus ab urbe sexaginta longis nauibus praeter oram Etruriae Ligurumque et inde Saluum montes peruenit Massiliam et ad proximum ostium Rhodani — pluribus enim diuisis amnis in mare decurrit — castra locat, uixdum satis credens Hannibalem superasse Pyrenaeos montes. Quem ut de Rhodani quoque transitu agitare animaduertit, incertus quonam ei loco occurreret necdum satis refectis ab iactatione maritima militibus trecentos interim delectos equites ducibus Massiliensibus et auxiliariis Gallis ad exploranda omnia uisendosque ex tuto hostes praemittit. Hannibal ceteris metu aut pretio pacatis iam in Volcarum

peruenerat agrum, gentis ualidae. Colunt autem circa utramque ripam Rhodani; sed diffusi citeriore agro arceri Poenum posse, ut flumen pro munimento haberent, omnibus ferme suis trans Rhodanum traiectis ulteriorem ripam [amnis] armis obtinebant. Ceteros accolae fluminis Hannibal et eorum ipsorum quos sedes suae tenuerant simul perlicet donis ad naues undique contrahendas fabricandasque; simul et ipsi traici exercitum leuarique quam primum regionem suam tanta hominum urgente turba cupiebant. Itaque ingens coacta uis nauium est lintriumque temere ad uicinalem usum paratarum; nouasque alias primum Galli incohantes cauabant ex singulis arboribus, deinde et ipsi milites simul copia materiae, simul facilitate operis inducti, alueos informes, nihil dummodo innare aquae et capere onera possent curantes, raptim quibus se suaque transueherent faciebant.

[27] Iamque omnibus satis comparatis ad traiciendum terrebant ex aduerso hostes omnem ripam equites uirique obtinentes. Quos ut auerteret, Hannonem Bomilcaris filium uigilia prima noctis cum parte copiarum, maxime Hispanis, aduerso flumine ire iter unius diei iubet et, ubi primum possit quam occultissime traiecto amni, circumducere agmen ut cum opus facto sit adoriatur ab tergo hostes. Ad id dati duces Galli edocent inde milia quinque et uiginti ferme supra paruae insulae circumfusum amnem latiore ubi diuidebatur eoque minus alto alueo transitum ostendere. Ibi raptim caesa materia ratesque fabricatae in quibus equi uirique et alia onera traicerentur. Hispani sine ulla mole in utres uestimentis coniectis ipsi caetris superpositis incubantes flumen tranauere. Et alius exercitus ratibus iunctis traiectus, castris prope flumen positus, nocturno itinere atque operis labore fessus quiete unius diei reficitur, intento duce ad consilium opportune exsequendum. Postero die profecti, ex loco edito fumo significant transisse et haud procul abesse; quod ubi accepit Hannibal, ne tempori deesset dat signum ad traiciendum. Iam paratas aptatasque habebat pedes lintres, eques fere propter equos naves. Nauium agmen ad excipiendum aduersi impetum fluminis parte superiore transmittens tranquillitatem infra traicientibus lintribus praebebat; equorum pars magna nantes loris a puppibus trahebantur, praeter eos quos instratos frenatosque ut extemplo egresso in ripam equiti usui essent imposuerant in naues.

[28] Galli occursant in ripa cum uariis ululatibus cantuque moris

sui, quatientes scuta super capita uibrantesque dextris tela, quamquam et ex aduerso terrebat tanta uis nauium cum ingenti sono fluminis et clamore uario nautarum militumque, et qui nitebantur perrumpere impetum fluminis et qui ex altera ripa traicientes suos hortabantur. Iam satis pauentes aduerso tumultu terribilior ab tergo adortus clamor, castris ab Hannone captis. Mox et ipse aderat ancepsque terror circumstabat, et e nauibus tanta ui armatorum in terram euadente et ab tergo improuisa premente acie. Galli postquam utroque uim facere conati pellebantur, qua patere uisum maxime iter perrumpunt trepidique in uicos passim suos diffugiunt. Hannibal ceteris copiis per otium traiectis spernens iam Gallicos tumultus castra locat. Elephantorum traiciendorum uaria consilia fuisse credo; certe uariata memoria actae rei. Quidam congregatis ad ripam elephantis tradunt ferocissimum ex iis inritatum ab rectore suo, cum refugientem in aquam nantem sequeretur, traxisse gregem, ut quemque timentem altitudinem destitueret uadum, impetu ipso fluminis in alteram ripam rapiente. Ceterum magis constat ratibus traiectos; id ut tutius consilium ante rem foret, ita acta re ad fidem pronius est. Ratem unam ducentos longam pedes, quinquaginta latam a terra in amnem porrexerunt, quam, ne secunda aqua deferretur, pluribus ualidis retinaculis parte superiore ripae religatam pontis in modum humo iniecta constrauerunt ut beluae audacter uelut per solum ingrederentur. Altera ratis aequae lata, longa pedes centum, ad traiciendum flumen apta, huic copulata est; tres tum elephanti per stabilem ratem tamquam uiam praegredientibus feminis acti ubi in minorem adplicatam transgressi sunt, extemplo resolutis quibus leuiter adnexa erat uinculis, ab actuariis aliquot nauibus ad alteram ripam pertrahitur; ita primis expositis, alii deinde repetiti ac traiecti sunt. Nihil sane trepidabant, donec continenti uelut ponte agerentur; primus erat pauor cum soluta ab ceteris rate in altum raperentur. Ibi urgentes inter se, cedentibus extremis ab aqua, trepidationis aliquantum edebant donec quietem ipse timor circumspectantibus aquam fecisset. Excidere etiam saeuientes quidam in flumen; sed pondere ipso stabiles, deiectis rectoribus, quaerendis pedetemptim uadis in terram euasere.

[29] Dum elephanti traiciuntur, interim Hannibal Numidas equites quingentos ad castra Romana miserat speculatum ubi et quantae

copiae essent et quid pararent. Huic alae equitum missi, ut ante dictum est, ab ostio Rhodani trecenti Romanorum equites occurrunt. Proelium atrocius quam pro numero pugnantium editur; nam praeter multa uolnera caedes etiam prope par utrimque fuit, fugaque et pauor Numidarum Romanis iam admodum fessis uictoriam dedit. Victores ad centum sexaginta, nec omnes Romani sed pars Gallorum, uicti amplius ducenti ceciderunt. Hoc principium simul omenque belli ut summae rerum prosperum euentum, ita haud sane incruentam ancipitisque certaminis uictoriam Romanis portendit. Vt re ita gesta ad utrumque ducem sui redierunt, nec Scipioni stare sententia poterat nisi ut ex consiliis coeptisque hostis et ipse conatus caperet, et Hannibalem, incertum utrum coeptum in Italiam intenderet iter an cum eo qui primus se obtulisset Romanus exercitus manus consereret, auertit a praesenti certamine Boiorum legatorum regulique Magali aduentus, qui se duces itinerum, socios periculi fore adfirmantes, integro bello nusquam ante libatis uiribus Italiam adgrediendam censent. Multitudo timebat quidem hostem nondum oblitterata memoria superioris belli; sed magis iter immensum Alpesque, rem fama utique inexpertis horrendam, metuebat.

[30] Itaque Hannibal, postquam ipsi sententia stetit pergere ire atque Italiam petere, aduocata contione uarie militum uersat animos castigando adhortandoque: mirari se quinam pectora semper impauida repens terror inuaserit. Per tot annos uincentes eos stipendia facere neque ante Hispania excessisse quam omnes gentesque et terrae quas duo diuersa maria amplectantur Carthaginiensium essent. Indignatos deinde quod quicumque Saguntum obsedissent uelut ob noxam sibi dedi postulare populus Romanus, Hiberum traiecisse ad delendum nomen Romanorum liberandumque orbem terrarum. Tum nemini uisum id longum, cum ab occasu solis ad exortus intenderent iter: nunc, postquam multo maiorem partem itineris emensam cernant, Pyrenaeum saltum inter ferocissimas gentes superatum, Rhodanum, tantum amnem, tot milibus Gallorum prohibentibus, domita etiam ipsius fluminis ui traiectum, in conspectu Alpes habeant quarum alterum latus Italiae sit, in ipsis portis hostium fatigatos subsistere, quid Alpes aliud esse credentes quam montium altitudines? Fingerent altiores Pyrenaei iugis: nullas profecto terras caelum contingere nec inexsuperabiles

humano generi esse. Alpes quidem habitari, coli, gignere atque alere animantes; peruias paucis esse, esse et exercitibus. Eos ipsos quos cernant legatos non pinnis sublime elatos Alpes transgressos. Ne maiores quidem eorum indigenas sed aduenas Italiae cultores has ipsas Alpes ingentibus saepe agminibus cum liberis ac coniugibus migrantium modo tuto transmisisse. Militi quidem armato nihil secum praeter instrumenta belli portanti quid inuium aut inexsuperabile esse? Saguntum ut caperetur, quid per octo menses periculi, quid laboris exhaustum esse? Romam, caput orbis terrarum, petentibus quicquam adeo asperum atque arduum uideri quod inceptum moretur? Cepisse quondam Gallos ea quae adiri posse Poenus desperet; proinde aut cederent animo atque uirtute genti per eos dies totiens ab se uictae aut itineris finem sperent campum interiacentem Tiberi ac moenibus Romanis.

[31] His adhortationibus incitatos corpora curare atque ad iter se parare iubet. Postero die profectus aduersa ripa Rhodani mediterranea Galliae petit, non quia rector ad Alpes uia esset, sed quantum a mari recessisset minus obuium fore Romanum credens, cum quo priusquam in Italiam uentum foret non erat in animo manus conserere. Quartis castris ad Insulam peruenit. Ibi Isara Rhodanusque amnes diuersis ex Alpibus decurrentes, agri aliquantum amplexi confluunt in unum in mediis campis; Insulae nomen inditum. Incolunt prope Allobroges, gens iam inde nulla Gallica gente opibus aut fama inferior. Tum discors erat. Regni certamine ambigebant fratres; maior et qui prius imperitarat, Braneus nomine, minore a fratre et coetu iuniorum qui iure minus, ui plus poterant, pellebatur. Huius seditionis peropportuna disceptatio cum ad Hannibalem delata esset, arbiter regni factus, quod ea senatus principumque sententia fuerat, imperium maiori restituit. Ob id meritum commeatu copiaque rerum omnium, maxime uestis, est adiutus, quam infames frigoribus Alpes praeparari cogeant. Sedatis certaminibus Allobrogum cum iam Alpes peteret, non recta regione iter instituit sed ad laeuam in Tricastinos flexit; inde per extremam oram Vocontiorum agri tendit in Trigorios, haud usquam impedita uia priusquam ad Druentiam flumen peruenit. Is et ipse Alpinus amnis longe omnium Galliae fluminum difficillimus transitu est; nam cum aquae uim uehat ingentem, non tamen nauium patiens est, quia nullis coercitus ripis,

pluribus simul neque iisdem alueis fluens, noua semper [per] uada nouosque gurgites — et ob eadem pediti quoque incerta uia est — ad hoc saxa glareosa uoluens, nihil stabile nec tutum ingredienti praebet; et tum forte imbris auctus ingentem transgredientibus tumultum fecit, cum super cetera trepidatione ipsi sua atque incertis clamoribus turbarentur.

[32] P. Cornelius consul, triduo fere postquam Hannibal a ripa Rhodani mouit, quadrato agmine ad castra hostium uenerat, nullam dimicandi moram factururus; ceterum ubi deserta munimenta nec facile se tantum praegressos adsecuturum uidet, ad mare ac naues rediit, tutius faciliusque ita descendenti ab Alpibus Hannibali occursurus. Ne tamen nuda auxiliis Romanis Hispania esset, quam prouinciam sortitus erat, Cn. Scipionem fratrem cum maxima parte copiarum aduersus Hasdrubalem misit, non ad tuendos tantummodo ueteres socios conciliandosque nouos sed etiam ad pellendum Hispania Hasdrubalem. Ipse cum admodum exiguis copiis Genuam repetit, eo qui circa Padum erat exercitu Italiam defensurus. Hannibal ab Druentia campestri maxime itinere ad Alpes cum bona pace incolentium ea loca Gallorum peruenit. Tum, quamquam fama prius, qua incerta in maius uero ferri solent, praecepta res erat, tamen ex propinquo uisa montium altitudo niuesque caelo prope immixtae, tecta informia imposita rupibus, pecora iumentaue torrida frigore, homines intonsi et inculti, animalia inanimaque omnia rigentia gelu, cetera uisu quam dictu foediora terrorem renouarunt. Erigentibus in primos agmen cliuos apparuerunt imminentes tumulos insidentes montani, qui, si ualles occultiores insedissent, coorti ad pugnam repente ingentem fugam stragemque dedissent. Hannibal consistere signa iussit; Gallisque ad uisenda loca praemissis, postquam comperit transitum ea non esse, castra inter confragosa omnia praeruptaque quam extentissima potest ualle locat. Tum per eosdem Gallos, haud sane multum lingua moribusque abhorrentes, cum se immiscuissent conloquiis montanorum, edoctus interdum tantum obsideri saltum, nocte in sua quemque dilabi tecta, luce prima subiit tumulos, ut ex aperto atque interdum uim per angustias factururus. Die deinde simulando aliud quam quod parabatur consumpto, cum eodem quo constiterant loco castra communissent, ubi primum degressos tumulis montanos laxatasque sensit custodias, pluribus

ignibus quam pro numero manentium in speciem factis impedimentisque cum equite relictis et maxima parte peditum, ipse cum expeditis, acerrimo quoque uiro, raptim angustias euadit iisque ipsis tumultis quos hostes tenuerant consedit.

[33] Prima deinde luce castra mota et agmen reliquum incedere coepit. Iam montani signo dato ex castellis ad stationem solitam conueniebant, cum repente conspiciunt alios arce occupata sua super caput imminentes, alios uia transire hostes. Vtraque simul obiecta res oculis animisque immobiles parumper eos defixit; deinde, ut trepidationem in angustiis suoque ipsum tumultu misceri agmen uidere, equis maxime consternatis, quidquid adiecissent ipsi terroris satis ad perniciem fore rati, peruersis rupibus iuxta, inuia ac deuia adsueti decurrunt. Tum uero simul ab hostibus, simul ab iniquitate locorum Poeni oppugnabantur plusque inter ipsos, sibi quoque tendente ut periculo primus euaderet, quam cum hostibus certaminis erat. Et equi maxime infestum agmen faciebant, qui et clamoribus dissonis quos nemora etiam percussaeque ualles augebant terrii trepidabant, et icti forte aut uulnerati adeo consternabantur, ut stragem ingentem simul hominum ac sarcinarum omnis generis facerent; multosque turba, cum praecipites deruptaeque utrimque angustiae essent, in immensum altitudinis deiecit, quosdam et armatos; et ruinae maxime modo iumenta cum oneribus deuoluebantur. Quae quamquam foeda uisu erant, stetit parumper tamen Hannibal ac suos continuit, ne tumultum ac trepidationem augeret; deinde, postquam interrumpi agmen uidit periculumque esse, ne exutum impedimentis exercitum nequiquam incolumem traduxisset, decurrit ex superiore loco et, cum impetu ipso fudisset hostem, suis quoque tumultum auxit. Sed is tumultus momento temporis, postquam liberata itinera fuga montanorum erant, sedatur, nec per otium modo sed prope silentio mox omnes traducti. Castellum inde, quod caput eius regionis erat, uiculosque circumiectos capit et capt[o c]livo ac pecoribus per triduum exercitum aluit; et, quia nec montanis primo percussis nec loco magno opere impediabantur, aliquantum eo triduo uiae confecit.

[34] Peruentum inde ad frequentem cultoribus alium, ut inter montanos, populum. Ibi non bello aperto sed suis artibus, fraude et insidiis, est prope circumuentus. Magno natu principes castellorum

oratores ad Poenum ueniunt, alienis malis, utili exemplo, doctos memorantes amicitiam malle quam uim experiri Poenorum; itaque oboedienter imperata facturos; commeatum itinerisque duces et ad fidem promissorum obsides acciperet. Hannibal nec temere credendo nec asperando, ne repudiati aperte hostes fierent, benigne cum respondisset, obsidibus quos dabant acceptis et commeatu quem in uiam ipsi detulerant usus, nequaquam ut inter pacatos composito agmine duces eorum sequitur. Primum agmen elephanti et equites erant; ipse post cum robore peditum circumspectans sollicitus omnia incedebat. Vbi in angustiore uiam et ex parte altera subiectam iugo insuper imminenti uentum est, undique ex insidiis barbari a fronte ab tergo coorti, comminus eminus petunt, saxa ingentia in agmen deuoluunt. Maxima ab tergo uis hominum urgebat. In eos uersa peditum acies haud dubium fecit quin, nisi firmata extrema agminis fuissent, ingens in eo saltu accipienda clades fuerit. Tunc quoque ad extremum periculi ac prope perniciem uentum est; nam dum cunctatur Hannibal demittere agmen in angustias, quia non, ut ipse equitibus praesidio erat, ita peditibus quicquam ab tergo auxilii reliquerat, occursantes per obliqua montani interrupto medio agmine uiam insedere, noxque una Hannibali sine equitibus atque impedimentis acta est.

[35] Postero die iam segnius intercurrentibus barbaris iunctae copiae saltusque haud sine clade, maiore tamen iumentorum quam hominum pernicie, superatus. Inde montani pauciores iam et latrocinii magis quam belli more concursabant modo in primum, modo in nouissimum agmen, utcumque aut locus opportunitatem daret aut progressi moratiue aliquam occasionem fecissent. Elephanti sicut per artas [praecipites] uias magna mora agebantur, ita tutum ab hostibus quacumque incederent, quia insuetis adeundi propius metus erat, agmen praebebant. Nono die in iugum Alpium peruentum est per inuia pleraque et errores, quos aut ducentium fraus aut, ubi fides iis non esset, temere initae ualles a coniectantibus iter faciebant. Biduum in iugo statua habita fessisque labore ac pugnando quies data militibus; iumenta quoque aliquot, quae prolapsa in rupibus erant, sequendo uestigia agminis in castra peruenere. Fessis taedio tot malorum niuis etiam casus, occidente iam sidere Vergiliarum, ingentem terrorem adiecit. Per omnia niue oppleta cum signis prima

luce motis segniter agmen incederet pigritiaque et desperatio in omnium uultu emineret, praegressus signa Hannibal in promunturio quodam, unde longe ac late prospectus erat, consistere iussis militibus Italiam ostentat subiectosque Alpinis montibus Circumpadanos campos, moeniaque eos tum transcendere non Italiae modo sed etiam urbis Romanae; cetera plana, procliua fore; uno aut summum altero proelio arcem et caput Italiae in manu ac potestate habituros. Procedere inde agmen coepit iam nihil ne hostibus quidem praeter parua furta per occasionem temptantibus. Ceterum iter multo quam in adscensu fuerat — ut pleraque Alpium ab Italia sicut breuiora ita arrectiora sunt — difficilius fuit; omnis enim ferme uia praeceps, angusta, lubrica erat, ut neque sustinere se ab lapsu possent nec qui paulum titubassent haerere adflicti uestigio suo, alique super alios et iumenta in homines occiderent.

[36] Ventum deinde ad multo angustiores rupes atque ita rectis saxis ut aegre expeditus miles temptabundus manibusque retinens uirgulta ac stirpes circa eminentes demittere sese posset. Natura locus iam ante praeceps recenti lapsu terrae in pedum mille admodum altitudinem abruptus erat. Ibi cum uelut ad finem uiae equites constitissent, miranti Hannibali quae res moraretur agmen nuntiatur rupes inuiam esse. Digressus deinde ipse ad locum uisendum. Haud dubia res uisa quin per inuia circa nec trita antea, quamuis longo ambitu, circumduceret agmen. Ea uero uia insuperabilis fuit; nam cum super ueterem niuem intactam noua modicae altitudinis esset, molli nec praealtae facile pedes ingredientium insistebant; ut uero tot hominum iumentorumque incessu dilapsa est, per nudam infra glaciem fluentemque tabem liquescentis niuis ingrediebantur. Taetra ibi luctatio erat, [ut a lubrica] glacie non recipiente uestigium et in prono citius pedes fallente, ut, seu manibus in adsurgendo seu genu se adiuuissent, ipsis adminiculis prolapsis iterum corruerent; nec stirpes circa radicesue ad quas pede aut manu quisquam eniti posset erant; ita in leui tantum glacie tabidaque niue uolutabantur. Iumenta secabant interdum etiam infimam ingredientia niuem et prolapsa iactandis grauius in conitendo ungulis penitus perfringebant, ut pleraque uelut pedica capta haerent in dura et alta concreta glacie.

[37] Tandem nequiquam iumentis atque hominibus fatigatis castra

in iugo posita, aegerrime ad id ipsum loco purgato; tantum niuis fodiendum atque egerendum fuit. Inde ad rupem muniendam per quam unam uia esse poterat milites ducti, cum caedendum esset saxum, arboribus circa immanibus deiectis detruncatisque struem ingentem lignorum faciunt eamque, cum et uis uenti apta faciendo igni coorta esset, succendunt ardentiaque saxa infuso aceto putrefaciunt. Ita torridam incendio rupem ferro pandunt molliuntque anfractibus modicis cliuos ut non iumenta solum sed elephanti etiam deduci possent. Quadriduum circa rupem consumptum, iumentis prope fame absumptis; nuda enim fere cacumina sunt et, si quid est pabuli, obruunt niues. Inferiora uallis apricos quosdam colles habent riuosque prope siluas et iam humano cultu digniora loca. Ibi iumenta in pabulum missa et quies muniendo fessis hominibus data. Triduo inde ad planum descensum et iam locis mollioribus et accolarum ingeniis.

[38] Hoc maxime modo in Italiam peruentum est quinto mense a Carthagine Noua, ut quidam auctores sunt, quinto decimo die Alpibus superatis. Quantae copiae transgresso in Italiam Hannibali fuerint nequaquam inter auctores constat. Qui plurimum, centum milia peditum, uiginti equitum fuisse scribunt; qui minimum, uiginti milia peditum, sex equitum. L. Cincius Alimentus, qui captum se ab Hannibale scribit, maxime auctor moueret, nisi confunderet numerum Gallis Liguribusque additis; cum his octoginta milia peditum, decem equitum adducta — in Italia magis adfluxisse ueri simile est et ita quidam auctores sunt; — ex ipso autem audisse Hannibale, postquam Rhodanum transierit triginta sex milia hominum ingentemque numerum equorum et aliorum iumentorum amisisse. Taurini Semigalli proxima gens erat in Italiam degresso. Id cum inter omnes constet, eo magis miror ambigi quam Alpes transierit et uolgo credere Poenino — atque inde nomen ei iugo Alpium inditum — transgressum, Coelum per Cremonis iugum dicere transisse; qui ambo saltus eum non in Taurinos sed per Salassos montanos ad Libuos Gallos deduxerint. Nec ueri simile est ea tum ad Galliam patuisse itinera; utique quae ad Poeninum ferunt obsaepa gentibus semigermanis fuissent. Neque hercule [nomen] montibus his, si quem forte id mouet, ab transitu Poenorum ullo Sedunoueragri, incolae iugi eius, norint inditum sed ab eo quem in

summo sacratum uertice Poeninum montani appellant.

[39] Peroportune ad principia rerum Taurinis, proximae genti, aduersus Insubres motum bellum erat. Sed armare exercitum Hannibal ut parti alteri auxilio esset, in reficiendo maxime sentientem contracta ante mala, non poterat; otium enim ex labore, copia ex inopia, cultus ex inluuie tabeque squalida et prope efferata corpora uarie mouebat. Ea P. Cornelio consuli causa fuit, cum Pisas nauibus uenisset, exercitu a Manlio Atilioque accepto tirone et in nouis ignominiis trepido ad Padum festinandi ut cum hoste nondum refecto manus consereret. Sed cum Placentiam consul uenit, iam ex statuiis mouerat Hannibal Taurinorumque unam urbem, caput gentis eius, quia uolentes in amicitiam non ueniebant, ui expugnarat; iunxissetque sibi non metu solum sed etiam uoluntate Gallos accolae Padi, ni eos circumspectantes defectionis tempus subito aduentu consul oppressisset. Et Hannibal mouit ex Taurinis, incertos quae pars sequenda esset Gallos praesentem secuturos esse ratus. Iam prope in conspectu erant exercitus conuenerantque duces sicuti inter se nondum satis noti, ita iam imbutus uterque quadam admiratione alterius. Nam Hannibalis et apud Romanos iam ante Sagunti excidium celeberrimum nomen erat, et Scipionem Hannibal eo ipso quod aduersus se dux potissimum lectus esset praestantem uirum credebat; et auxerant inter se opinionem, Scipio, quod relictus in Gallia obuius fuerat in Italiam transgresso Hannibali, Hannibal et conatu tam audaci traiciendarum Alpium et effectum. Occupauit tamen Scipio Padum traicere et ad Ticinum amnem motis castris, priusquam educeret in aciem, adhortandorum militum causa talem orationem est exorsus.

[40] “Si eum exercitum, milites, educerem in aciem quem in Gallia mecum habui, supersedissem loqui apud uos; quid enim adhortari referret aut eos equites qui equitatum hostium ad Rhodanum flumen egregie uicissent, aut eas legiones cum quibus fugientem hunc ipsum hostem secutus confessionem cedentis ac detractantis certamen pro uictoria habui? Nunc quia ille exercitus, Hispaniae prouinciae scriptus, ibi cum fratre Cn. Scipione meis auspiciis rem gerit ubi eum gerere senatus populusque Romanus uoluit, ego, ut consulem ducem aduersus Hannibalem ac Poenos haberetis, ipse me huic uoluntario certamini obtuli, nouo imperatori apud nouos milites pauca uerba

facienda sunt. Ne genus belli neuē hostem ignoretis, cum iis est uobis, milites, pugnandum quos terra marique priore bello uicistis, a quibus stipendium per uiginti annos exegistis, a quibus capta belli praemia Siciliam ac Sardiniam habetis. Erit igitur in hoc certamine is uobis illisque animus qui uictoribus et uictis esse solet. Nec nunc illi quia audent sed quia necesse est pugnaturi sunt, qui plures paene perierint quam supersint; nisi creditis, qui exercitu incolumi pugnam detractauere, eos duabus partibus peditum equitumque in transitu Alpium amissis plus spei nactos esse. At enim pauci quidem sunt sed uigentes animis corporibusque, quorum robora ac uires uix sustinere uis ulla possit. Effigies immo, umbrae hominum, fame, frigore, inluuie, squalore enecti, contusi ac debilitati inter saxa rupesque; ad hoc praeusti artus, niue rigentes nerui, membra torrida gelu, quassata fractaque arma, claudi ac debiles equi. Cum hoc equite, cum hoc pedito pugnaturi estis; reliquias extremas hostis, non hostem habetis, ac nihil magis uereor quam ne cui, uos cum pugnaueritis, Alpes uicisse Hannibalem uideantur. Sed ita forsitan decuit, cum foederum ruptore duce ac populo deos ipsos sine ulla humana ope committere ac profligare bellum, nos, qui secundum deos uiolati sumus, commissum ac profligatum conficere.

[41] Non uereor ne quis me haec uestri adhortandi causa magnifice loqui existimet, ipsum aliter animo adfectum esse. Licuit in Hispaniam, prouinciam meam, quo iam profectus eram, cum exercitu ire meo, ubi et fratrem consilii participem ac periculi socium haberem et Hasdrubalem potius quam Hannibalem hostem et minorem haud dubie molem belli; tamen, cum praeterueherer nauibus Galliae oram, ad famam huius hostis in terram egressus, praemisso equitatu ad Rhodanum moui castra. Equestri proelio, qua parte copiarum conserendi manum fortuna data est, hostem fudi; peditum agmen, quod in modum fugientium raptim agebatur, quia adsequi terra non poteram, [neque] regressus ad naues [erat] quanta maxime potui celeritate tanto maris terrarumque circuitu, in radicibus prope Alpium huic timendo hosti obuius fui. Vtrum, cum declinare certamen, improuidus incidisse uideor an occurrere in uestigiis eius, lacessere ac trahere ad decernendum? Experiri iuuat utrum alios repente Carthaginienses per uiginti annos terra ediderit an iidem sint qui ad Aegates pugnauerunt insulas et quos ab Eryce duodeuicenis

denariis aestimatos emisistis, et utrum Hannibal hic sit aemulus itinerum Herculis, ut ipse fert, an uestigialis stipendiariusque et seruus populi Romani a patre relictus. Quem nisi Saguntinum scelus agitare, respiceret profecto, si non patriam uictam, domum certe patremque et foedera Hamilcaris scripta manu, qui iussus ab consule nostro praesidium deduxit ab Eryce, qui graues impositas uictis Carthaginiensibus leges fremens maerensque accepit, qui decedens Sicilia stipendium populo Romano dare pactus est. Itaque uos ego, milites, non eo solum animo quo aduersus alios hostes soletis, pugnare uelim, sed cum indignatione quadam atque ira, uelut si seruos uideatis uestros arma repente contra uos ferentes. Licuit ad Erycem clausos ultimo supplicio humanorum, fame interficere; licuit uictricem classem in Africam traicere atque intra paucos dies sine ullo certamine Carthaginem delere; ueniam dedimus precantibus, emisimus ex obsidione, pacem cum uictis fecimus, tutelae deinde nostrae duximus, cum Africo bello urgerentur. Pro his impertitis furiosum iuuenem sequentes oppugnatum patriam nostram ueniunt. Atque utinam pro decore tantum hoc uobis et non pro salute esset certamen. Non de possessione Siciliae ac Sardiniae, de quibus quondam agebatur, sed pro Italia uobis est pugnandum. Nec est alius ab tergo exercitus qui, nisi nos uincimus, hosti obsistat, nec Alpes aliae sunt, quas dum superant, comparari noua possint praesidia; hic est obstandum, milites, uelut si ante Romana moenia pugnemus. Vnusquisque se non corpus suum sed coniugem ac liberos paruos armis protegere putet; nec domesticas solum agitet curas sed identidem hoc animo reputet nostras nunc intueri manus senatum populumque Romanum: qualis nostra uis uirtusque fuerit, talem deinde fortunam illius urbis ac Romani imperii fore.”

[42] Haec apud Romanos consul. Hannibal rebus prius quam uerbis adhortandos milites ratus, circumdato ad spectaculum exercitu captiuos montanos uinctos in medio statuit armisque Gallicis ante pedes eorum proiectis interrogare interpretem iussit, ecquis, si uinculis leuaretur armaque et equum uictor acciperet, decertare ferro uellet. Cum ad unum omnes ferrum pugnamque poscerent et deiecta in id sors esset, se quisque eum optabat quem fortuna in id certamen legeret, et, [ut] cuiusque sors exciderat, alacer, inter gratulantes gaudio exsultans, cum sui moris tripudiis arma raptim capiebat. Vbi

uero dimicarent, is habitus animorum non inter eiusdem modo condicionis homines erat sed etiam inter spectantes uolgo, ut non uincentium magis quam bene morientium fortuna laudaretur.

[43] Cum sic aliquot spectatis paribus adfectos dimisisset, contione inde aduocata ita apud eos locutus fertur. “Si, quem animum in alienae sortis exemplo paulo ante habuistis, eundem mox in aestimanda fortuna uestra habueritis, uicimus, milites; neque enim spectaculum modo illud sed quaedam ueluti imago uestrae condicionis erat. Ac nescio an maiora uincula maioresque necessitates uobis quam captiuis uestris fortuna circumdederit. Dextra laeuaque duo maria claudunt nullam ne ad effugium quidem nauem habentes; circa Padus amnis, maior [Padus] ac uiolentior Rhodano, ab tergo Alpes urgent, uix integris uobis ac uigentibus transitae. Hic uincendum aut moriendum, milites, est, ubi primum hosti occurristis. Et eadem fortuna, quae necessitatem pugnandi imposuit, praemia uobis ea uictoribus proponit quibus ampliora homines ne ab dis quidem immortalibus optare solent. Si Siciliam tantum ac Sardiniam parentibus nostris ereptas nostra uirtute recipaturi essemus, satis tamen ampla pretia essent: quidquid Romani tot triumphis partum congestumque possident, id omne uestrum cum ipsis dominis futurum est; in hanc tam opimam mercedem, agite dum, dis bene iuuantibus arma capite. Satis adhuc in uastis Lusitaniae Celtiberiaeque montibus pecora consecrando nullum emolumentum tot laborum periculorumque uestrorum uidistis; tempus est iam opulenta uos ac ditia stipendia facere et magna operae pretia mereri, tantum itineris per tot montes fluminaque et tot armatas gentes emensos. Hic uobis terminum laborum fortuna dedit; hic dignam mercedem emeritis stipendiis dabit. Nec, quam magni nominis bellum est, tam difficilem existimaritis uictoriam fore; saepe et contemptus hostis cruentum certamen edidit et incliti populi regesque perleui momento uicti sunt. Nam dempto hoc uno fulgore nominis Romani, quid est cur illi uobis comparandi sint? Vt uiginti annorum militiam uestram cum illa uirtute, cum illa fortuna taceam, ab Herculis columnis, ab Oceano terminisque ultimis terrarum per tot ferocissimos Hispaniae et Galliae populos uincentes huc peruenistis; pugnabitis cum exercitu tirone, hac ipsa aestate caeso, uicto, circumssesso a Gallis, ignoto

adhuc duci suo ignorantique ducem. An me in praetorio patris, clarissimi imperatoris, prope natum, certe eductum, domitorem Hispaniae Galliaeque, uictorem eundem non Alpinarum modo gentium sed ipsarum, quod multo maius est, Alpium, cum semenstri hoc conferam duce, desertore exercitus sui? Cui si quis demptis signis Poenos Romanosque hodie ostendat, ignoraturum certum habeo utrius exercitus sit consul. Non ego illud parui aestimo, milites, quod nemo est uestrum cuius non ante oculos ipse saepe militare aliquod ediderim facinus, cui non idem ego uirtutis spectator ac testis notata temporibus locisque referre sua possim decora. Cum laudatis a me miliens donatisque, alumnus prius omnium uestrum quam imperator, procedam in aciem aduersus ignotos inter se ignorantesque.

[44] Quocumque circumtuli oculos, plena omnia uideo animorum ac roboris, ueteranum peditem, generosissimarum gentium equites frenatos infrenatosque, uos socios fidelissimos fortissimosque, uos, Carthaginienses, cum ob patriam, tum ob iram iustissimam pugnatos. Inferimus bellum infestisque signis descendimus in Italiam, tanto audacius fortiusque pugnaturi quam hostis, quanto maior spes, maior est animus inferentis uim quam arcantis. Accendit praeterea et stimulat animos dolor, iniuria, indignitas. Ad supplicium depoposcerunt me ducem primum, deinde uos omnes qui Saguntum oppugnassetis; deditos ultimis cruciatibus adfecturi fuerunt. Crudelissima ac superbissima gens sua omnia suique arbitrii facit; cum quibus bellum, cum quibus pacem habeamus, se modum imponere aequum censeat. Circumscribit includitque nos terminis montium fluminumque, quos non excedamus, neque eos, quos statuit, terminos obseruat: “Ne transieris Hiberum; ne quid rei tibi sit cum Saguntinis.” Ad Hiberum est Saguntum? “Nusquam te uestigio moueris.” Parum est quod ueterrimas prouincias meas, Siciliam ac Sardiniam, [ademisti?] Adimis etiam Hispanias et, si inde cessero, in Africam transcendes. [Transcendes] dico? Duos consules huius anni, unum in Africam, alterum in Hispaniam miserunt. Nihil usquam nobis relictum est nisi quod armis uindicarimus. Illis timidis et ignauis esse licet, qui respectum habent, quos sua terra, suus ager per tuta ac pacata itinera fugientes accipiant: uobis necesse est fortibus uiris esse et, omnibus inter uictoriam mortemue certa desperatione

abruptis, aut uincere aut, si fortuna dubitabit, in proelio potius quam in fuga mortem oppetere. Si hoc [bene fixum] omnibus destinatum in animo est, iterum dicam, uicistis; nullum contemptu m[ortis incitamentum] ad uincendum homini ab dis immortalibus acrius datum est.”

[45] His adhortationibus cum utrimque ad certamen accensi militum animi essent, Romani ponte Ticinum iungunt tutandique pontis causa castellum insuper imponunt: Poenus hostibus opere occupatis Maharbalem cum ala Numidarum, equitibus quingentis, ad depopulandos sociorum populi Romani agros mittit; Gallis parci quam maxime iubet principumque animos ad defectionem sollicitari. Ponte perfecto traductus Romanus exercitus in agrum Insubrium quinque milia passuum ab Victumulis consedit. Ibi Hannibal castra habebat; reuocatoque propere Maharbale atque equitibus cum instare certamen cerneret, nihil unquam satis dictum praemonitumque ad cohortandos milites ratus, uocatis ad contionem certa praemia pronuntiat in quorum spem pugnarent: agrum sese daturum esse in Italia, Africa, Hispania, ubi quisque uelit, immunem ipsi qui accepisset liberisque; qui pecuniam quam agrum maluisset, ei se argento satisfacturum; qui sociorum ciues Carthaginienses fieri uellent, potestatem facturum; qui domos redire mallent, daturum se operam ne cuius suorum popularium mutatum secum fortunam esse uellent. Seruis quoque dominos prosecutis libertatem proponit binaque pro his mancipia dominis se redditurum. Eaque ut rata scirent fore, agnum laeua manu, dextra silicem retinens, si falleret, Iouem ceterosque precatur deos ita se mactarent quemadmodum ipse agnum mactasset, et secundum precationem caput pecudis saxo elisit. Tum uero omnes, uelut dis auctoribus in spem suam quisque acceptis, id morae quod nondum pugnarent ad potienda sperata rati, proelium uno animo et uoce una poscunt.

[46] Apud Romanos haudquaquam tanta alacritas erat, super cetera recentibus etiam territos prodigiis; nam et lupo intrauerat castra laniatisque obuiis ipse intactus euaserat, [et] examen apum in arbore praetorio imminente consederat. Quibus procuratis Scipio cum equitatu iaculatoribusque expeditis profectus ad castra hostium exque propinquo copias, quantae et cuius generis essent, speculandas obuius fit Hannibali et ipsi cum equitibus ad exploranda circa loca

progresso. Neutri alteros primo cernebant; densior deinde incessu tot hominum [et] equorum oriens pulvis signum propinquantium hostium fuit. Consistit utrumque agmen et ad proelium sese expediebant. Scipio iaculatores et Gallos equites in fronte locat, Romanos sociorumque quod roboris fuit in subsidiis; Hannibal frenatos equites in medium accipit, cornua Numidis firmat. Vixdum clamore sublato iaculatores fugerunt inter subsidia ac secundam aciem. Inde equitum certamen erat aliquamdiu anceps; dein quia turbabant equos pedites intermixti, multis labentibus ex equis aut desilientibus ubi suos premi circumuentos uidissent, iam magna ex parte ad pedes pugna abierat, donec Numidae qui in cornibus erant circumuecti paulum ab tergo se ostenderunt. Is pavor perculit Romanos, auxitque pauorem consulis uolnus periculumque intercurso tum primum pubescentis filii propulsatum. Hic erit iuuenis penes quem perfecti huiusce belli laus est, Africanus ob egregiam uictoriam de Hannibale Poenisque appellatus. Fuga tamen effusa iaculatorum maxime fuit quos primos Numidae inuaserunt; alius confertus equitatus consulem in medium acceptum, non armis modo sed etiam corporibus suis protegens, in castra nusquam trepide neque effuse cedendo reduxit. Seruati consulis decus Coelius ad seruum natione Ligurem delegat; malim equidem de filio uerum esse, quod et plures tradidere auctores et fama obtinuit.

[47] Hoc primum cum Hannibale proelium fuit; quo facile apparuit et equitatu meliorem Poenum esse et ob id campos patentes, quales sunt inter Padum Alpesque, bello gerendo Romanis aptos non esse. Itaque proxima nocte iussis militibus uasa silentio colligere castra ab Ticino mota festinatumque ad Padum est ut ratibus, quibus iunxerat flumen, nondum resolutis sine tumultu atque insectatione hostis copias traiceret. Prius Placentiam peruenere quam satis sciret Hannibal ab Ticino profectos; tamen ad sescentos moratorum in citeriore ripa Padi segniter ratem soluentes cepit. Transire pontem non potuit, ut extrema resoluta erant tota rate in secundam aquam labente. Coelius auctor est Magonem cum equitatu et Hispanis peditibus flumen extemplo tranasse, ipsum Hannibalem per superiora Padi uada exercitum traduxisse, elephantis in ordinem ad sustinendum impetum fluminis oppositis. Ea peritis amnis eius uix fidem fecerint; nam neque equites armis equisque saluis tantam uim

fluminis superasse ueri simile est, ut iam Hispanos omnes inflati trauexerint utres, et multorum dierum circuitu Padi uada petenda fuerunt qua exercitus grauis impedimentis traduci posset. Potiores apud me auctores sunt qui biduo uix locum rate iungendo flumini inuentum tradunt; ea cum Magone equites [et] Hispanorum expeditos praemissos. Dum Hannibal, circa flumen legationibus Gallorum audiendis moratus, traicit grauius peditum agmen, interim Mago equitesque ab transitu fluminis diei unius itinere Placentiam ad hostes contendunt. Hannibal paucis post diebus sex milia a Placentia castra communiuit et postero die in conspectu hostium acie directa potestatem pugnae fecit.

[48] Insequenti nocte caedes in castris Romanis, tumultu tamen quam re maior, ab auxiliariis Gallis facta est. Ad duo milia peditum et ducenti equites uigilibus ad portas trucidatis ad Hannibalem transfugiunt; quos Poenus benigne adlocutus et spe ingentium donorum accensos in ciuitates quemque suas ad sollicitandos popularium animos dimisit. Scipio caedem eam signum defectionis omnium Gallorum esse ratus contactosque eo scelere uelut iniecta rabie ad arma ituros, quamquam grauis adhuc uolnere erat, tamen quarta uigilia noctis insequentis tacito agmine profectus, ad Trebiam fluuium iam in loca altiora collesque impeditiores equiti castra mouet. Minus quam ad Ticinum fefellit; missisque Hannibal primum Numidis, deinde omni equitatu turbasset utique nouissimum agmen, ni auiditate praedae in uacua Romana castra Numidae deuertissent. Ibi dum perscrutantes loca omnia castrorum nullo satis digno morae pretio tempus terunt, emissus hostis est de manibus; et cum iam transgressos Trebiam Romanos metantesque castra conspexissent, paucos moratorum occiderunt citra flumen interceptos. Scipio, nec uexationem uolneris in uia iactati ultra patiens et collegam — iam enim et reuocatum ex Sicilia audierat — ratus exspectandum, locum qui prope flumen tutissimus statuis est uisus delectum communiit. Nec procul inde Hannibal cum consedisset, quantum uictoria equestri elatus, tantum anxius inopia quae per hostium agros euntem, nusquam praeparatis commeatibus, maior in dies excipiebat, ad Clastidium uicum, quo magnum frumenti numerum congesserant Romani, mittit. Ibi cum uim pararent, spes facta prodicionis; nec sane magno pretio, nummis aureis quadringentis, Dasio Brundisino

praefecto praesidii corrupto traditur Hannibali Clastidium. Id horreum fuit Poenis sedentibus ad Trebiam. In captiuos ex tradito praesidio, ut fama clementiae in principio rerum colligeretur, nihil saeuitum est.

[49] Cum ad Trebiam terrestre constitisset bellum, interim circa Siciliam insulasque Italiae imminentes et a Sempronio consule et ante aduentum eius terra marique res gestae. Viginti quinqueremes cum mille armatis ad depopulandam oram Italiae a Carthaginiensibus missae; nouem Liparas, octo ad insulam Volcani tenuerunt, tres in fretum auertit aestus. Ad eas conspectas a Messana duodecim naues ab Hierone rege Syracusanorum missae, qui tum forte Messanae erat consulem Romanum opperiens, nullo repugnante captas naues Messanam in portum deduxerunt. Cognitum ex captiuis praeter uiginti naues, cuius ipsi classis essent, in Italiam missas, quinque et triginta alias quinqueremes Siciliam petere ad sollicitandos ueteres socios; Lilybaei occupandi praecipuam curam esse; credere eadem tempestate qua ipsi disiecti forent eam quoque classem ad Aegates insulas deiectam. Haec, sicut audita erant, rex M. Aemilio praetori, cuius Sicilia prouincia erat, perscribit monetque [et] Lilybaeum firmo teneret praesidio. Extemplo et circa a praetore ad ciuitates missi legati tribunique suos ad curam custodiae intendere, et ante omnia Lilybaeum tueri apparatu belli, edicto proposito ut socii nauales decem dierum cocta cibaria ad naues deferrent et ubi signum datum esset ne quis moram conscendendi faceret, perque omnem oram qui ex speculis prospicerent aduentantem hostium classem missis. Itaque quamquam de industria morati cursum nauium erant Carthaginienses ut ante lucem accederent Lilybaeum, praesensum tamen est quia et luna pernox erat et sublatis armamentis ueniebant. Extemplo datum signum ex speculis et in oppido ad arma conclamatum est et in naues consensum; pars militum in muris portarumque in stationibus, pars in nauibus erant. Et Carthaginienses, quia rem fore haud cum imparatis cernebant, usque ad lucem portu se abstinerunt, demendis armamentis eo tempore aptandaque ad pugnam classe absumpto. Vbi inluxit, recepere classem in altum ut spatium pugnae esset exitumque liberum e portu naues hostium haberent. Nec Romani detractauere pugnam et memoria circa ea ipsa loca gestarum rerum freti et militum multitudine ac uirtute.

[50] Vbi in altum euecti sunt, Romanus conserere pugnam et ex propinquo uires conferre uelle; contra eludere Poenus et arte non uirum gerere nauiumque quam uirorum aut armorum malle certamen facere. Nam ut sociis naualibus adfatim instructam classem, ita inopem milite habebant et, sicubi conserta nauis esset, haudquaquam par numerus armatorum ex ea pugnabat. Quod ubi animaduersum est, et Romanis multitudo sua auxit animum et paucitas illis minuit. Extemplo septem naues Punicae circumuentae: fugam ceterae ceperunt. Mille et septingenti fuere in nauibus captis milites nautaeque, in his tres nobiles Carthaginiensium. Classis Romana incolumis, una tantum perforata naui sed ea quoque ipsa reduce, in portum rediit. Secundum hanc pugnam, nondum gnaris eius qui Messanae erant Ti. Sempronius consul Messanam uenit. Ei fretum intranti rex Hiero classem ornatam obuiam duxit, transgressusque ex regia in praetoriam nauem, gratulatus sospitem cum exercitu et nauibus aduenisse precatusque prosperum ac felicem in Siciliam transitum, statum deinde insulae et Carthaginiensium conata exposuit pollicitusque est, quo animo priore bello populum Romanum iuuenis adiuuisset, eo senem adiuturum; frumentum uestimentaue sese legionibus consulis sociisque naualibus gratis praebiturum; grande periculum Lilybaeo maritimisque ciuitatibus esse et quibusdam uolentibus nouas res fore. Ob haec consuli nihil cunctandum uisum quin Lilybaeum classe peteret. Et rex regiaque classis una profecti. Nauigantes inde pugnatum ad Lilybaeum fusasque et captas hostium naues accepere.

[51] A Lilybaeo consul, Hierone cum classe regia dimisso relictoque praetore ad tuendam Siciliae oram, ipse in insulam Melitam, quae a Carthaginiensibus tenebatur, traiecit. Aduenienti Hamilcar Gisgonis filius, praefectus praesidii, cum paulo minus duobus milibus militum oppidumque cum insula traditur. Inde post paucos dies reditum Lilybaeum captiuique et a consule et a praetore, praeter insignes nobilitate uiros, sub corona uenierunt. Postquam ab ea parte satis tutam Siciliam censebat consul, ad insulas Volcani, quia fama erat stare ibi Punicam classem, traiecit; nec quisquam hostium circa eas insulas inuentus; iam forte transmiserant ad uastandam Italiae oram depopulatoque Vibonensi agro urbem etiam terrebant. Repetenti Siciliam consuli escensio hostium in agrum

Vibonensem facta nuntiatur, litteraeque ab senatu de transitu in Italiam Hannibalis et ut primo quoque tempore collegae ferret auxilium missae traduntur. Multis simul anxius curis exercitum extemplo in naues impositum Ariminum mari supero misit, Sex. Pomponio legato cum uiginti quinque longis nauibus Vibonensem agrum maritimamque oram Italiae tuendam attribuit, M. Aemilio praetori quinquaginta nauium classem expleuit. Ipse compositis Siciliae rebus decem nauibus oram Italiae legens Ariminum peruenit. Inde cum exercitu suo profectus ad Trebiam flumen collegae coniungitur.

[52] Iam ambo consules et quidquid Romanarum uirium erat Hannibali oppositum aut illis copiis defendi posse Romanum imperium aut spem nullam aliam esse satis declarabat. Tamen consul alter, equestri proelio uno et uolnere suo comminutus, trahi rem malebat; recentis animi alter eoque ferocior nullam dilationem patiebatur. Quod inter Trebiam Padumque agri est Galli tum incolebant, in duorum praepotentium populorum certamine per ambiguum fauorem haud dubie gratiam uictoris spectantes. Id Romani, modo ne quid mouerent, aequo satis, Poenus periniquo animo ferebat, ab Gallis accitum se uenisse ad liberandos eos dictitans. Ob eam iram, simul ut praeda militem aleret, duo milia peditum et mille equites, Numidas plerosque, mixtos quosdam et Gallos, populari omnem deinceps agrum usque ad Padi ripas iussit. Egentes ope Galli, cum ad id dubios seruassent animos, coacti ab auctoribus iniuriae ad uindices futuros declinant legatisque ad consulem missis auxilium Romanorum terrae ob nimiam cultorum fidem in Romanos laboranti orant. Cornelio nec causa nec tempus agenda rei placebat suspectaque ei gens erat cum ob infida multa facinora, tum, ut alia uetustate obsoleuissent, ob recentem Boiorum perfidiam: Sempronius contra continendis in fide sociis maximum uinculum esse primos qui eguissent ope defensos censebat. Tum collega cunctante equitatum suum mille peditum, iaculatoribus ferme, admixtis ad defendendum Gallicum agrum trans Trebiam mittit. Sparsos et incompositos, ad hoc graues praeda plerosque cum inopinato inuasissent, ingentem terrorem caedemque ac fugam usque ad castra stationesque hostium fecere; unde multitudine effusa pulsus, rursus subsidio suorum proelium restituere. Varia inde pugna [inter

recedentes in]sequentesque, cumque ad extremum aequassent certamen, maior tamen hostium [cum caedes esset, penes] Romanos fama uictoriae fuit.

[53] Ceterum nemini omnium maior ea iustiorque quam ipsi consuli uideri; gaudio efferri, qua parte copiarum alter consul uictus foret, ea se uicisse: restitutos ac refectos militibus animos nec quemquam esse praeter collegam qui dilatam dimicationem uellet; eum, animo magis quam corpore aegrum memoria uolneris aciem ac tela horrere. Sed non esse cum aegro senescendum. Quid enim ultra differri aut teri tempus? Quem tertium consulem, quem alium exercitum exspectari? Castra Carthaginiensium in Italia ac prope in conspectu urbis esse. Non Siciliam ac Sardiniam, uictis ademptas, nec cis Hiberum Hispaniam peti sed solo patrio terraque in qua geniti forent pelli Romanos. “Quantum ingemiscant” inquit “patres nostri, circa moenia Carthaginis bellare soliti, si uideant nos, progeniem suam, duos consules consularesque exercitus, in media Italia pauentes intra castra, Poenum quod inter Alpes Appenninumque agri sit suae dicionis fecisse?” Haec adsidens aegro collegae, haec in praetorio prope contionabundus agere. Stimulabat et tempus propinquum comitiorum, ne in nouos consules bellum differretur, et occasio in se unum uertendae gloriae, dum aeger collega erat. Itaque nequiquam dissentiente Cornelio parari ad propinquum certamen milites iubet. Hannibal cum quid optimum foret hosti cerneret, uix ullam spem habebat temere atque improuide quicquam consules acturos; cum alterius ingenium, fama prius, deinde re cognitum, percitum ac ferox sciret esse ferociusque factum prospero cum praedatoribus suis certamine crederet, adesse gerendae rei fortunam haud diffidebat. Cuius ne quod praetermitteret tempus, sollicitus intentusque erat, dum tiro hostium miles esset, dum meliorem ex ducibus inutilem uolnus faceret, dum Gallorum animi uigerent, quorum ingentem multitudinem sciebat segnius secuturam quanto longius ab domo traherentur. Cum ob haec taliaque speraret propinquum certamen et facere, si cessaretur, cuperet speculatoresque Galli, ad ea exploranda quae uellet tutiores quia in utrisque castris militabant, paratos pugnae esse Romanos rettulissent, locum insidiis circumspectare Poenus coepit.

[54] Erat in medio riuus praealtis utrimque clausus ripis et circa

obsitus palustribus herbis et quibus inculta ferme uestiuntur, uirgultis uepribusque. Quem ubi equites quoque tegendo satis latebrosus locum circumuectus ipse oculis perlustrauit, “hic erit locus” Magoni fratri ait “quem teneas. Delige centenos uiros ex omni peditum atque equitum cum quibus ad me uigilia prima uenias; nunc corpora curare tempus est.” Ita praetorium missum. Mox cum delectis Mago aderat. “Robora uirorum cerno” inquit Hannibal; “sed uti numero etiam, non animis modo ualeatis, singulis uobis nouenos ex turmis manipulisque uestri similes eligit. Mago locum monstrabit quem insideatis; hostem caecum ad has belli artes habetis.” Ita [cum] mille equitibus Magone, mille peditibus dimisso Hannibal prima luce Numidas equites transgressos Trebiam flumen obequitare iubet hostium portis iaculandoque in stationes elicere ad pugnam hostem, iniecto deinde certamine cedendo sensim citra flumen pertrahere. Haec mandata Numidis: ceteris ducibus peditum equitumque praeceptum ut prandere omnes iuberent, armatos deinde instratisque equis signum exspectare. Sempronius ad tumultum Numidarum primum omnem equitatum, ferox ea parte uirium, deinde sex milia peditum, postremo omnes copias ad destinatum iam ante consilio audis certaminis eduxit. Erat forte brumae tempus et niualis dies in locis Alpibus Appenninoque interiectis, propinquitate etiam fluminum ac paludum praegelidis. Ad hoc raptim eductis hominibus atque equis, non capto ante cibo, non ope ulla ad arcendum frigus adhibita, nihil caloris inerat, et quidquid aerae fluminis appropinquabant, adflabat acrior frigoris uis. Vt uero refugientes Numidas insequentes aquam ingressi sunt — et erat pectoribus tenuis aucta nocturno imbri — tum utique egressis rigere omnibus corpora ut uix armorum tenendorum potentia esset, et simul lassitudine et procedente iam die fame etiam deficere.

[55] Hannibalis interim miles ignibus ante tentoria factis oleoque per manipulos, ut mollirent artus, misso et cibo per otium capto, ubi transgressos flumen hostes nuntiatum est, alacer animis corporibusque arma capit atque in aciem procedit. Baliares locat ante signa [ac] leuem armaturam, octo ferme milia hominum, dein grauiorem armis peditem, quod uirium, quod roboris erat; in cornibus circumfudit decem milia equitum et ab cornibus in utramque partem diuersos elephantos statuit. Consul effuse sequentes equites, cum ab resistentibus subito Numidis incauti exciperentur, signo receptui dato

reuocatos circumdedit peditibus. Duodeuiginti milia Romani erant, socium nominis Latini uiginti, auxilia praeterea Cenomanorum; ea sola in fide manserat Gallica gens. Iis copiis concursus est. Proelium a Baliaribus ortum est; quibus cum maiore robore legiones obsisterent, diducta propere in cornua leuis armatura est, quae res effecit ut equitatus Romanus extemplo urgeretur. Nam cum uix iam per se resisterent decem milibus equitum quattuor milia et fessi integris plerisque, obruti sunt insuper uelut nube iaculorum a Baliaribus coniecta. Ad hoc elephanti eminentes ab extremis cornibus, equis maxime non uisu modo sed odore insolito territis, fugam late faciebant. Pedestris pugna par animis magis quam uiribus erat, quas recentes Poenus paulo ante curatis corporibus in proelium attulerat; contraieiuna fessaque corpora Romanis et rigentia gelu torpebant. Restitissent tamen animis, si cum peditum solum foret pugnatum; sed et Baliares pulso equite iaculabantur in latera et elephanti iam in mediam peditum aciem sese tulerant et Mago Numidaeque, simul latebras eorum improuida praeterlata acies est, exorti ab tergo ingentem tumultum ac terrorem fecere. Tamen in tot circumstantibus malis mansit aliquamdiu immota acies, maxime praeter spem omnium aduersus elephantos. Eos uelites ad id ipsum locati uerutis coniectis et auertere et insecuti auersos sub caudis, quae maxime molli cute uulnera accipiunt, fodiebant.

[56] Trepidantesque et prope iam in suos consternatos e media acie in extremam ad sinistram cornu aduersus Gallos auxiliares agi iussit Hannibal. Ibi extemplo haud dubiam fecere fugam; nouus quoque terror additus Romanis ut fusa auxilia sua uiderunt. Itaque cum iam in orbem pugnarent, decem milia ferme hominum — cum alia euadere nequissent — media Afrorum acie quae Gallicis auxiliis firmata erat, cum ingenti caede hostium perripere et, cum neque in castra reditus esset flumine interclusus neque prae imbri satis decernere possent quae suis opem ferrent, Placentiam recto itinere perrexere. Plures deinde in omnes partes eruptiones factae; et qui flumen petiere, aut gurgitibus absumpti sunt aut inter cunctationem ingrediendi ab hostibus oppressi. Qui passim per agros fuga sparsi erant uestigia cedentis sequentes agminis Placentiam contendere; aliis timor hostium audaciam ingrediendi flumen fecit, transgressique in castra peruenerunt. Imber niue mixtus et intoleranda uis frigoris et

homines multos et iumenta et elephantos prope omnes absumpsit. Finis insequendi hostis Poenis flumen Trebia fuit, et ita torpentes gelu in castra redire ut uix laetitiam uictoriae sentirent. Itaque nocte insequenti, cum praesidium castrorum et quod reliquum [ex fuga semermium] ex magna parte militum erat ratibus Trebiam traicerent, aut nihil sensere obstrepente pluua aut, quia iam moueri nequibant prae lassitudine ac uolneribus, sentire sese dissimularunt, quietisque Poenis tacito agmine ab Scipione consule exercitus Placentiam est perductus, inde Pado traiectus Cremonam, ne duorum exercituum hibernis una colonia premeretur.

[57] Romam tantus terror ex hac clade perlatus est ut iam ad urbem Romanam crederent infestis signis hostem uenturum nec quicquam spei aut auxilii esse quo portis moenibusque uim arcerent: uno consule ad Ticinum uicto, altero ex Sicilia reuocato, duobus consulibus, duobus consularibus exercitibus uictis quos alios duces, quas alias legiones esse quae arcessantur? Ita territis Sempronius consul aduenit, ingenti periculo per effusos passim ad praedandum hostium equites audacia magis quam consilio aut spe fallendi resistenduae, si non falleret, transgressus. Is, quod unum maxime in praesentia desiderabatur, comitiis consularibus habitis in hiberna rediit. Creati consules Cn. Seruilius et C. Flaminius. Ceterum ne hiberna quidem Romanis quieti erant uagantibus passim Numidis equitibus et, [ut] quaeque his impeditiora erant, Celtiberis Lusitanisque. Omnes igitur undique clausi commeatus erant, nisi quos Pado naues subueherent. Emporium prope Placentiam fuit et opere magno munitum et ualido firmatum praesidio. Eius castelli oppugnandi spe cum equitibus ac leui armatura profectus Hannibal, cum plurimum in celando incepto ad effectum spei habuisset, nocte adortus non fefellit uigiles. Tantis repente clamor est sublatus ut Placentiae quoque audiretur. Itaque sub lucem cum equitatu consul aderat iussis quadrato agmine legionibus sequi. Equestre interim proelium commissum; in quo, quia saucius Hannibal pugna excessit, pauore hostibus iniecto defensum egregie praesidium est. Paucorum inde dierum quiete sumpta et uixdum satis percurato uolnere, ad Victumulas oppugnandas ire pergit. Id emporium Romanis Gallico bello fuerat; munitum inde locum frequentauerant accolae mixti undique ex finitimis populis, et tum terror populationum eo plerosque

ex agris compulerat. Huius generis multitudo fama impigre defensi ad Placentiam praesidii accensa armis arreptis obuiam Hannibali procedit. Magis agmina quam acies in uia concurrerunt, et cum ex altera parte nihil praeter inconditam turbam esset, in altera et dux militi et duci miles fidens, ad triginta quinque milia hominum a paucis fusa. Postero die deditione facta praesidium intra moenia acceperere; iussique arma tradere cum dicto paruissent, signum repente uictoribus datur, ut tamquam ui captam urbem diriperent; neque ulla, quae in tali re memorabilis scribentibus uideri solet, praetermissa clades est; adeo omne libidinis crudelitatisque et inhumanae superbiae editum in miseros exemplum est. Hae fuere hibernae expeditiones Hannibalis.

[58] Haud longi inde temporis, dum intolerabilia frigora erant, quies militi data est; et ad prima ac dubia signa ueris profectus ex hibernis in Etruriam ducit, eam quoque gentem, sicut Gallos Liguresque, aut ui aut uoluntate adiuncturus. Transeuntem Appenninum adeo atrox adorta tempestas est, ut Alpium prope foeditatem superauerit. Vento mixtus imber cum ferretur in ipsa ora, primo, quia aut arma omittenda erant aut contra enitentes uertice intorti adfligebantur, constitere; dein, cum iam spiritum includeret nec reciprocare animam sineret, auersi a uento parumper consedere. Tum uero ingenti sono caelum strepere et inter horrendos fragores micare ignes; capti auribus et oculis metu omnes torpere; tandem effuso imbre, cum eo magis accensa uis uenti esset, ipso illo quo deprensi erant loco castra ponere necessarium uisum est. Id uero laboris uelut de integro initium fuit; nam nec explicare quicquam nec statuere poterant nec quod statutum esset manebat omnia perscindente uento et rapiente. Et mox aqua leuata uento cum super gelida montium iuga concreta esset, tantum niuosae grandinis deiecit ut omnibus omissis procumberent homines tegminibus suis magis obruti quam tecti; tantaque uis frigoris insecuta est ut ex illa miserabili hominum iumentorumque strage cum se quisque attollere ac leuare uellet, diu nequiret, quia torpentibus rigore neruis uix flectere artus poterant. Deinde, ut tandem agitando sese mouere ac recipere animos et raris locis ignis fieri est coeptus, ad alienam opem quisque inops tendere. Biduum eo loco uelut obsessi mansere; multi homines, multa iumenta, elephanti quoque ex iis qui proelio ad

Trebiā facto superfuerant septem absumpti.

[59] Degressus Appennino retro ad Placentiam castra mouit et ad decem milia progressus consedit. Postero die duodecim milia peditum, quinque equitum aduersus hostem ducit; nec Sempronius consul — iam enim redierat ab Roma — detractauit certamen. Atque eo die tria milia passuum inter bina castra fuere; postero die ingentibus animis uario euentu pugnatum est. Primo concursu adeo res Romana superior fuit ut non acie uincerent solum sed pulsos hostes in castra persequerentur, mox castra quoque oppugnarent. Hannibal paucis propugnatoribus in uallo portisque positis, ceteros confertos in media castra recepit intentosque signum ad erumpendum exspectare iubet. Iam nona ferme diei hora erat, cum Romanus nequiquam fatigato milite, postquam nulla spes erat potiundi castris, signum receptui dedit. Quod ubi Hannibal accepit laxatamque pugnam et recessum a castris uidit, extemplo equitibus dextra laeuaque emissis in hostem ipse cum peditum robore mediis castris erupit. Pugna raro magis ulla saeua aut utriusque partis pernicie clarior fuisset, si extendi eam dies in longum spatium siuisset; nox accensum ingentibus animis proelium diremit. Itaque acrior concursus fuit quam caedes et, sicut aequata ferme pugna erat, ita clade pari discessum est. Ab neutra parte sescentis plus peditibus et dimidium eius equitum cecidit; sed maior Romanis quam pro numero iactura fuit, quia equestris ordinis aliquot et tribuni militum quinque et praefecti sociorum tres sunt interfecti. Secundum eam pugnam Hannibal in Ligures, Sempronius Lucam concessit. Venienti in Ligures Hannibali per insidias intercepti duo quaestores Romani, C. Fuluius et L. Lucretius, cum duobus tribunis militum et quinque equestris ordinis, senatorum ferme liberis, quo magis ratam fore cum iis pacem societatemque crederet, traduntur.

[60] Dum haec in Italia geruntur, Cn. Cornelius Scipio in Hispaniam cum classe et exercitu missus, cum ab ostio Rhodani profectus Pyrenaeosque montes circumuectus Emporias appulisset classem, exposito ibi exercitu orsus a Laetanis omnem oram usque ad Hiberum flumen partim renouandis societatibus partim nouis instituendis Romanae dicionis fecit. Inde conciliata clementiae fama non ad maritimos modo populos sed in mediterraneis quoque ac montanis ad ferociores iam gentes ualuit; nec pax modo apud eos sed

societas etiam armorum parta est, ualidaeque aliquot auxiliorum cohortes ex iis conscriptae sunt. Hannonis cis Hiberum prouincia erat; eum reliquerat Hannibal ad regionis eius praesidium. Itaque priusquam alienarentur omnia obuiam eundum ratus, castris in conspectu hostium positis in aciem eduxit. Nec Romano differendum certamen uisum, quippe qui sciret cum Hannone et Hasdrubale sibi dimicandum esse malletque aduersus singulos separatim quam aduersus duos simul rem gerere. Nec magni certaminis ea dimicatio fuit. Sex milia hostium caesa, duo capta cum praesidio castrorum; nam et castra expugnata sunt atque ipse dux cum aliquot principibus capiuntur; et Cissis, propinquum castris oppidum, expugnatur. Ceterum praeda oppidi parui pretii rerum fuit, supellex barbarica ac uilium mancipiorum; castra militem ditauere, non eius modo exercitus qui uictus erat sed et eius qui cum Hannibale in Italia militabat, omnibus fere caris rebus, ne grauius impedimenta ferentibus essent, citra Pyrenaeum relictis.

[61] Priusquam certa huius cladis fama accideret, transgressus Hiberum Hasdrubal cum octo milibus peditum, mille equitum, tamquam ad primum aduentum Romanorum occursurus, postquam perditas res ad Cissim amissaque castra accepit, iter ad mare conuertit. Haud procul Tarracone classicos milites naualesque socios uagos palantesque per agros, quod ferme fit ut secundae res negligentiam creent, equite passim dimisso cum magna caede, maiore fuga ad naues compellit; nec diutius circa ea loca morari ausus, ne ab Scipione opprimeretur, trans Hiberum sese recepit. Et Scipio raptim ad famam nouorum hostium agmine acto, cum in paucos praefectos nauium animaduertisset, praesidio Tarracone modico relicto Emporias cum classe rediit. Vixdum digresso eo Hasdrubal aderat et Ilergetum populo, qui obsides Scipioni dederat, ad defectionem impulso cum eorum ipsorum iuuentute agros fidelium Romanis sociorum uastat; excito deinde Scipione hibernis toto cis Hiberum rursus cedit agro. Scipio relictam ab auctore defectionis Ilergetum gentem cum infesto exercitu inuasisset, compulsis omnibus Atanagrum urbem, quae caput eius populi erat, circumsegit, intraque dies paucos pluribus quam ante obsidibus imperatis Ilergetes pecunia etiam multatos in ius dicionemque recepit. Inde in Ausetanos prope Hiberum, socios et ipsos Poenorum,

procedit atque urbe eorum obsessa Lacetanos auxilium finitimis ferentes nocte haud procul iam urbe, cum intrare uellent, excepit insidiis. Caesa ad duodecim milia; exuti prope omnes armis domos passim palantes per agros diffugere; nec obsessos alia ulla res quam iniqua oppugnantibus hiemps tutabatur. Triginta dies obsidio fuit, per quos raro unquam nix minus quattuor pedes alta iacuit adeoque pluteos ac uineas Romanorum operuerat ut ea sola ignibus aliquotiens coniectis ab hoste etiam tutamentum fuerit. Postremo cum Amusicus princeps eorum ad Hasdrubalem profugisset, uiginti argenti talentis pacti deduntur. Tarraconem in hiberna reditum est.

[62] Romae aut circa urbem multa ea hieme prodigia facta aut, quod euenire solet motis semel in religionem animis, multa nuntiata et temere credita sunt, in quis ingenuum infantem semenstem in foro holitorio triumphum clamasse, et [in] foro boario bouem in tertiam contignationem sua sponte escendisse atque inde tumultu habitatorum territum sese deiecisse, et nauium speciem de caelo adfuisse, et aedem Spei, quae est in foro holitorio, fulmine ictam, et Lanuui hastam se commouisse et coruum in aedem Iunonis deuolasse atque in ipso puluinari consedissee, et in agro Amiternino multis locis hominum specie procul candida ueste uisos nec cum ullo congressos, et in Piceno lapidibus pluuisse, et Caere sortes extenuatas, et in Gallia lupum uigili gladium ex uagina raptum abstulisse. Ob cetera prodigia libros adire decemuirii iussi; quod autem lapidibus pluisset in Piceno, nouendiale sacrum edictum; et subinde aliis procurandis prope tota ciuitas operata fuit. Iam primum omnium urbs lustrata est hostiaeque maiores quibus editum est dis caesae, et donum ex auri pondo quadraginta Lanuuium Iunoni portatum est et signum aeneum matronae Iunoni in Auentino dedicauerunt, et lectisternium Caere, ubi sortes attenuatae erant, imperatum, et supplicatio Fortunae in Algido; Romae quoque et lectisternium Iuuentati et supplicatio ad aedem Herculis nominatim, deinde uniuerso populo circa omnia puluinnaria indicta, et Genio maiores hostiae caesae quinque, et C. Atilius Serranus praetor uota suscipere iussus, si in decem annos res publica eodem stetisset statu. Haec procurata uotaeque ex libris Sibyllinis magna ex parte leuauerant religione animos.

[63] Consulum designatorum alter Flaminius, cui eae legiones quae Placentiae hibernabant sorte eueniant, edictum et litteras ad

consulem misit ut is exercitus idibus Martiis Arimini adesset in castris. Hic in prouincia consulatum inire consilium erat memori ueterum certaminum cum patribus, quae tribunus plebis et quae postea consul prius de consulatu qui abrogabatur, dein de triumpho habuerat, inuisus etiam patribus ob nouam legem, quam Q. Claudius tribunus plebis aduersus senatum atque uno patrum adiuuante C. Flaminio tulerat, ne quis senator cuiue senator pater fuisset maritimam nauem, quae plus quam trecentarum amphorarum esset, haberet. Id satis habitum ad fructus ex agris uectandos; quaestus omnis patribus indecorus uisus. Res per summam contentionem acta inuidiam apud nobilitatem suasori legis Flaminio, fauorem apud plebem alterumque inde consulatum peperit. Ob haec ratus auspiciis ementiendis Latinarumque feriarum mora et consularibus aliis impedimentis retenturos se in urbe, simulato itinere priuatus clam in prouinciam abiit. Ea res ubi palam facta est, nouam insuper iram infestis iam ante patribus mouit: non cum senatu modo sed iam cum dis immortalibus C. Flaminium bellum gerere. Consulem ante inauspicato factum reuocantibus ex ipsa acie dis atque hominibus non paruissse; nunc conscientia spretorum et Capitolium et sollemnem uotorum nuncupationem fugisse, ne die initi magistratus Iouis optimi maximi templum adiret, ne senatum inuisus ipse et sibi uni inuisum uideret consuleretque, ne Latinas indiceret Iouique Latiari sollemne sacrum in monte faceret, ne auspicato profectus in Capitolium ad uota nuncupanda, paludatus inde cum lictoribus in prouinciam iret. Lixae modo sine insignibus, sine lictoribus profectum clam, furtim, haud aliter quam si exsilii causa solum uertisset. Magis pro maiestate uidelicet imperii Arimini quam Romae magistratum initurum et in deuersorio hospitali quam apud penates suos praetextam sumpturum. Reuocandum uniuersi retrahendumque censuerunt et cogendum omnibus prius praesentem in deos hominesque fungi officiis quam ad exercitum et in prouinciam iret. In eam legationem — legatos enim mitti placuit — Q. Terentius et M. Antistius profecti nihilo magis eum mouerunt quam priore consulatu litterae mouerant ab senatu missae. Paucos post dies magistratum iniiit, immolantique ei uitulus iam ictus e manibus sacrificantium sese cum proripuisset, multos circumstantes cruore respersit; fuga procul etiam maior apud ignaros quid trepidaretur et concursatio fuit. Id a

plerisque in omen magni terroris acceptum. Legionibus inde duabus a Sempronio prioris anni consule, duabus a C. Atilio praetore acceptis Etruriam per Appennini tramites exercitus duci est coeptus.

LIBER XXII

[1] Iam uer appetebat; itaque Hannibal ex hibernis mouit, et nequiquam ante conatus transcendere Appenninum intolerandis frigoribus et cum ingenti periculo moratus ac metu. Galli, quos praedae populationumque conciuerat spes, postquam pro eo ut ipsi ex alieno agro raperent agerentque, suas terras sedem belli esse premique utriusque partis exercituum hibernis uidere, uerterunt retro in Hannibalem ab Romanis odia; petitusque saepe principum insidiis, ipsorum inter se fraude, eadem leuitate qua consenserant consensum indicantium, seruatus erat et mutando nunc uestem nunc tegumenta capitis errore etiam sese ab insidiis munierat. Ceterum hic quoque ei timor causa fuit maturius mouendi ex hibernis. Per idem tempus Cn. Seruilius consul Romae idibus Martiis magistratum iniit. Ibi cum de re publica rettulisset, redintegrata in C. Flaminium inuidia est: duos se consules creasse, unum habere; quod enim illi iustum imperium, quod auspicium esse? Magistratus id a domo, publicis priuatisque penatibus, Latinis feriis actis, sacrificio in monte perfecto, uotis rite in Capitolio nuncupatis, secum ferre; nec priuatum auspicia sequi nec sine auspiciis profectum in externo ea solo noua atque integra concipere posse. Augebant metum prodigia ex pluribus simul locis nuntiata: in Sicilia militibus aliquot spicula, in Sardinia autem in muro circumeunti uigilias equiti scipionem quem manu tenuerit arsisse et litora crebris ignibus fulsisse et scuta duo sanguine sudasse, et milites quosdam ictos fulminibus et solis orbem minui uisum, et Praeneste ardentis lapides caelo cecidisse, et Arpis parmas in caelo uisas pugnantemque cum luna solem, et Capenae duas interdiu lunas ortas, et aquas Caeretes sanguine mixtas fluxisse fontemque ipsum Herculis cruentis manasse respersum maculis, et in Antiati metentibus cruentas in corbem spicas cecidisse, et Faleriis caelum findi uelut magno hiatu uisum quaque patuerit ingens lumen effulsisse; sortes sua sponte attenuatas unamque excidisse ita scriptam: “Mauors telum suum concutit”, et per idem tempus Romae signum Martis Appia uia ac simulacra luporum sudasse, et Capuae speciem caeli ardentis fuisse lunaeque inter imbrem cadentis. Inde minoribus etiam dictu prodigiis fides habita: capras lanatas

quibusdam factas, et gallinam in marem, gallum in feminam sese uertisse. His, sicut erant nuntiata, expositis auctoribusque in curiam introductis consul de religione patres consuluit. Decretum ut ea prodigia partim maioribus hostiis, partim lactentibus procurarentur et uti supplicatio per triduum ad omnia puluinaria haberetur; cetera, cum decemuiri libros inspexissent, ut ita fierent quemadmodum cordi esse [di sibi] diuinis carminibus praefarentur. Decemuirorum monitu decretum est Ioui primum donum fulmen aureum pondo quinquaginta fieret, Iunoni Mineruaeque ex argento dona darentur et Iunoni reginae in Auentino Iunonique Sospitae Lanuui maioribus hostiis sacrificaretur, matronaeque pecunia conlata quantum conferre cuique commodum esset donum Iunoni reginae in Auentinum ferrent lectisterniumque fieret, et ut libertinae et ipsae unde Feroniae donum daretur pecuniam pro facultatibus suis conferrent. Haec ubi facta, decemuiri Ardeae in foro maioribus hostiis sacrificarunt. Postremo Decembri iam mense ad aedem Saturni Romae immolatum est, lectisterniumque imperatum — et eum lectum senatores strauerunt — et conuiuium publicum, ac per urbem Saturnalia diem ac noctem clamata, populusque eum diem festum habere ac seruare in perpetuum iussus.

[2] Dum consul placandis Romae dis habendoque dilectu dat operam, Hannibal profectus ex hibernis, quia iam Flaminium consulem Arretium peruenisse fama erat, cum aliud longius, ceterum commodius ostenderetur iter, propiorem uiam per paludes petit, qua fluuius Arnus per eos dies solito magis inundauerat. Hispanos et Afros — id omne ueterani erat robur exercitus — admixtis ipsorum impedimentis necubi consistere coactis necessaria ad usus deessent, primos ire iussit; sequi Gallos, ut id agminis medium esset; nouissimos ire equites; Magonem inde cum expeditis Numidis cogere agmen, maxime Gallos, si taedio laboris longaeque uiae — ut est mollis ad talia gens — dilaberentur aut subsisterent, cohibentem. primi, qua modo praeirent duces, per praealtas fluuii ac profundas uoragines, hausti paene limo immergentesque se, tamen signa sequebantur. Galli neque sustinere se prolapsi neque adsurgere ex uoragimbus poterant, neque aut corpora animis aut animos spe sustinebant, alii fessa aegre trahentes membra, alii, ubi semel uictis taedio animis procubuissent, inter iumenta et ipsa iacentia passim

morientes; maximeque omnium uigiliae conficiebant per quadriduum iam et tres noctes toleratae. Cum omnia obtinentibus aquis nihil ubi in sicco fessa sternerent corpora inueniri posset, cumulatis in aqua sarcinis insuper incumbabant, [aut] Iumentorum itinere toto prostratorum passim acerui tantum quod exstaret aqua quaerentibus ad quietem parui temporis necessarium cubile dabant. Ipse Hannibal aeger oculis ex uerna primum intemperie uariante calores frigoraque, elephanto, qui unus superfuerat, quo altius ab aqua exstaret, uectus, uigiliis tamen et nocturno umore palustrique caelo grauante caput et quia medendi nec locus nec tempus erat altero oculo capitur.

[3] Multis hominibus iumentisque foede amissis cum tandem e paludibus emersisset, ubi primum in sicco potuit, castra locat, certumque per praemissos exploratores habuit exercitum Romanum circa Arreti moenia esse. Consul deinde consilia atque animum et situm regionum itineraque et copias ad commeatus expediendos et cetera quae cognosse in rem erat summa omnia cum cura inquirendo exsequebatur. Regio erat in primis Italiae fertilis, Etrusci campi, qui Faesulas inter Arretiumque iacent, frumenti ac pecoris et omnium copia rerum opulenti; consul ferox ab consulatu priore et non modo legum aut patrum maiestatis sed ne deorum quidem satis metuens; hanc insitam ingenio eius temeritatem fortuna prospero ciuilibus bellicisque rebus successu aluerat. Itaque satis apparebat nec deos nec homines consulentem ferociter omnia ac praepropere acturum; quoque pronior esset in uitia sua, agitare eum atque inritare Poenus parat, et laeua relicto hoste Faesulas praeteriens medio Etruriae agro praedatum profectus, quantam maximam uastitatem potest caedibus incendiisque consuli procul ostendit. Flaminius, qui ne quieto quidem hoste ipse quieturus erat, tum uero, postquam res sociorum ante oculos prope suos ferri agique uidit, suum id dedecus ratus per mediam iam Italiam uagari Poenum atque obsistente nullo ad ipsa Romana moenia ire oppugnanda, ceteris omnibus in consilio salutaria magis quam speciosa suadentibus: collegam exspectandum, ut coniunctis exercitibus communi animo consilioque rem gererent, interim equitatu auxiliisque leuium armorum ab effusa praedandi licentia hostem cohibendum, — iratus se ex consilio proripuit, signumque simul itineris pugnaeque cum [iussisset pronuntiari] “immo Arreti ante moenia sedeamus” inquit, “hic enim patria et

penates sunt. Hannibal emissus e manibus perpopuletur Italiam uastandoque et urendo omnia ad Romana moenia perueniat, nec ante nos hinc mouerimus quam, sicut olim Camillum ab Veis, C. Flaminium ab Arretio patres acciuerint”. Haec simul increpans cum ocus signa conuelli iuberet et ipse in equum insiluisset, equus repente corruit consulemque lapsum super caput effudit. Territis omnibus qui circa erant uelut foedo omine incipiendae rei, insuper nuntiatur signum omni ui moliente signifero conuelli nequire. Conuersus ad nuntium “num litteras quoque” inquit “ab senatu adfers quae me rem gerere uetant? Abi, nuntia, effodiant signum, si ad conuellendum manus prae metu obtorpuerit”. Incedere inde agmen coepit primoribus, superquam quod dissenserant ab consilio, territis etiam duplici prodigio, milite in uolgius laeto ferocia ducis, cum spem magis ipsam quam causam spei intueretur.

[4] Hannibal quod agri est inter Cortonam urbem Trasumennumque lacum omni clade belli peruastat, quo magis iram hosti ad uindicandas sociorum iniurias acuat; et iam peruenerant ad loca nata insidiis, ubi maxime montes Cortonenses in Trasumennum sidunt. Via tantum interest perangusta, uelut ad [id] Ipsum de industria relicto spatio; deinde paulo latior patescit campus; inde colles adsurgunt. Ibi castra in aperto locat, ubi ipse cum Afris modo Hispanisque consideret; Baliares ceteramque leuem armaturam post montes circumducit; equites ad ipsas fauces saltus tumultis apte tegentibus locat, ut, ubi intrassent Romani, obiecto equitatu clausa omnia lacu ac montibus essent. Flaminius cum pridie solis occasu ad lacum peruenisset, inexplorato postero die uixdum satis certa luce angustiis superatis, postquam in patentiore campum pandi agmen coepit, id tantum hostium quod ex aduerso erat conspexit: ab tergo ac super caput deceptae insidiae. Poenus ubi, id quod petierat, clausum lacu ac montibus et circumfusus suis copiis habuit hostem, signum omnibus dat simul inuadendi. Qui ubi, qua cuique proximum fuit, decucurrerunt, eo magis Romanis subita atque improuisa res fuit, quod orta ex lacu nebula campo quam montibus densior sederat agminaque hostium ex pluribus collibus ipsa inter se satis conspecta eoque magis pariter decucurrerant. Romanus clamore prius undique orto quam satis cerneret se circumuentum esse sensit, et ante in frontem lateraque pugnari coeptum est quam satis instrueretur acies

aut expediri arma stringique gladii possent.

[5] Consul percussis omnibus ipse satis ut in re trepida impavidus, turbatos ordines, uertente se quoque ad dissonos clamores, instruit ut tempus locusque patitur, et quacumque adire audirique potest, adhortatur ac stare ac pugnare iubet: nec enim inde uotis aut imploratione deum sed ui ac uirtute euadendum esse; per medias acies ferro uiam fieri et quo timoris minus sit, eo minus ferme periculi esse. Ceterum prae strepitu ac tumultu nec consilium nec imperium accipi poterat, tantumque aberat ut sua signa atque ordines et locum noscerent, ut uix ad arma capienda aptandaque pugnae competeret animus, opprimerenturque quidam onerati magis iis quam tecti. Et erat in tanta caligine maior usus aurium quam oculorum. Ad gemitus uolnerum ictusque corporum aut armorum et mixtos strepentium pauentiumque clamores circumferebant ora oculosque. Alii fugientes pugnantium globo inlati haerebant; alios redeuntes in pugnam auertebat fugientium agmen. Deinde, ubi in omnes partes nequiquam impetus capti et ab lateribus montes ac lacus, a fronte et ab tergo hostium acies claudebat apparuitque nullam nisi in dextera ferroque salutis spem esse, tum sibi quisque dux adhortatorque factus ad rem gerendam, et noua de integro exorta pugna est, non illa ordinata per principes hastatosque ac triarios nec ut pro signis antesignani, post signa alia pugnaret acies nec ut in sua legione miles aut cohorte aut manipulo esset; fors conglobat et animus suus cuique ante aut post pugnandi ordinem dabat tantusque fuit ardor animorum, adeo intentus pugnae animus, ut eum motum terrae qui multarum urbium Italiae magnas partes prostrauit auertitque cursu rapidos amnes, mare fluminibus inuexit, montes lapsu ingenti proruit, nemo pugnantium senserit.

[6] Tres ferme horas pugnatum est et ubique atrociter; circa consulem tamen acrior infestiorque pugna est. Eum et robora uirorum sequebantur et ipse, quacumque in parte premi ac laborare senserat suos, impigre ferebat opem, insignemque armis et hostes summa ui petebant et tuebantur ciues, donec Insuber eques — Ducario nomen erat — facie quoque noscitans consulem, “[En]” inquit “hic est” popularibus suis, “qui legiones nostras cecidit agrosque et urbem est depopulatus; iam ego hanc uictimam manibus peremptorum foede ciuium dabo”. Subditisque calcaribus equo per

confertissimam hostium turbam impetum facit obtruncatoque prius armigero, qui se infesto uenienti obuam obiecerat, consulem lancea transfixit; spoliare cupientem triarii obiectis scutis arcuere. Magnae partis fuga inde primum coepit; et iam nec lacus nec montes pauori obstabant; per omnia arta praeruptaque uelut caeci euadunt, armaque et uiri super alium alii praecipitantur. Pars magna, ubi locus fugae deest, per prima uada paludis in aquam progressi, quoad capitibus [umeris] exstare possunt, sese immergunt; fuere quos inconsultus pavor nando etiam capessere fugam impulerit; quae ubi immensa ac sine spe erat, aut deficientibus animis hauriebantur gurgitibus aut nequiquam fessi uada retro aegerrime repetebant atque ibi ab ingressis aquam hostium equitibus passim trucidabantur. Sex milia ferme primi agminis per aduersos hostes eruptione impigre facta, ignari omnium quae post se agerentur, ex saltu euasere et, cum in tumultu quodam constitissent, clamorem modo ac sonum armorum audientes, quae fortuna pugnae esset neque scire nec perspicere prae caligine poterant. Inclinata denique re, cum incalescente sole dispulsa nebula aperuisset diem, tum liquida iam luce montes campique perditas res stratamque ostendere foede Romanam aciem. Itaque ne in conspectos procul immitteretur eques, sublatis raptim signis quam citatissimo poterant agmine sese abripuerunt. Postero die cum super cetera extrema fames etiam instaret, fidem dante Maharbale, qui cum omnibus equestribus copiis nocte consecutus erat, si arma tradidissent, abire cum singulis uestimentis passurum, sese dediderunt; quae Punica religione seruata fides ab Hannibale est atque in uincula omnes coniecti.

[7] Haec est nobilis ad Trasumennum pugna atque inter paucas memorata populi Romani clades. Quindecim milia Romanorum in acie caesa sunt; decem milia sparsa fuga per omnem Etruriam auersis itineribus urbem petiere; duo milia quingenti hostium in acie, multi postea [utrimque] ex uolneribus periere. Multiplex caedes utrimque facta traditur ab aliis; ego praeterquam quod nihil auctum ex uano uelim, quo nimis inclinant ferme scribentium animi, Fabium, aequalem temporibus huiusce belli, potissimum auctorem habui. Hannibal captiuorum qui Latini nominis essent sine pretio dimissis, Romanis in uincula datis, segregata ex hostium coaceruatorum cumulis corpora suorum cum sepeliri iussisset, Flamini quoque

corpus funeris causa magna cum cura inquisitum non inuenit. Romae ad primum nuntium cladis eius cum ingenti terrore ac tumultu concursus in forum populi est factus. Matronae uagae per uias, quae repens clades allata quaeue fortuna exercitus esset, obuios percontantur; et cum frequentis contionis modo turba in comitium et curiam uersa magistratus uocaret, tandem haud multo ante solis occasum M. Pomponius praetor “pugna” inquit “magna uicti sumus”. Et quamquam nihil certius ex eo auditum est, tamen alius ab alio impleti rumoribus domos referunt: consulem cum magna parte copiarum caesum; superesse paucos aut fuga passim per Etruriam sparsos aut captos ab hoste. Quot casus exercitus uicti fuerant, tot in curas distracti animi eorum erant quorum propinqui sub C. Flamini consule meruerant, ignorantium quae cuiusque suorum fortuna esset; nec quisquam satis certum habet quid aut speret aut timeat. Postero ac deinceps aliquot diebus ad portas maior prope mulierum quam uirorum multitudo stetit, aut suorum aliquem aut nuntios de iis opperiens; circumfundebanturque obuuiis sciscitantes neque auelli, utique ab notis, priusquam ordine omnia inquisissent, poterant. Inde uarios uultus digredientium ab nuntiis cerneret, ut cuique laeta aut tristia nuntiabantur, gratulantesque aut consolantes redeuntibus domos circumfusos. Feminarum praecipue et gaudia insignia erant et luctus. Vnam in ipsa porta sospiti filio repente oblatam in complexu eius exspirasse ferunt; alteram, cui mors filii falso nuntiata erat, maestam sedentem domi, ad primum conspectum redeuntis filii gaudio nimio exanimatam. Senatum praetores per dies aliquot ab orto usque ad occidentem solem in curia retinent, consultants quonam duce aut quibus copiis resisti uictoribus Poenis posset.

[8] Priusquam satis certa consilia essent, repens alia nuntiatur clades, quattuor milia equitum cum C. Centenio propraetore missa ad collegam ab Seruilio consule in Umbria, quo post pugnam ad Trasumennum auditam auerterant iter, ab Hannibale circumuenta. Eius rei fama uarie homines adfecit. Pars occupatis maiore aegritudine animis leuem ex comparatione priorum ducere recentem equitum iacturam; pars non id quod acciderat per se aestimare sed, ut in adfecto corpore quamuis leuis causa magis quam [in] ualido grauior sentiretur, ita tum aegrae et adfectae ciuitati quodcumque aduersi inciderit, non rerum magnitudine sed uiribus extenuatis, quae

nihil quod adgrauaret pati possent, aestimandum esse. itaque ad remedium iam diu neque desideratum nec adhibitum, dictatorem dicendum, ciuitas confugit; et quia et consul aberat, a quo uno dici posse uidebatur, nec per occupatam armis Punicis Italiam facile erat aut nuntium aut litteras mitti [nec dictatorem populus creare poterat], quod nunquam ante eam diem factum erat, dictatorem populus creauit Q. Fabium Maximum et magistrum equitum M. Minucium Rufum; iisque negotium ab senatu datum, ut muros turresque urbis firmarent et praesidia disponderent, quibus locis uideretur, pontesque rescinderent fluminum: pro urbe dimicandum esse ac penatibus quando Italiam tueri nequissent.

[9] Hannibal recto itinere per Vmbriam usque ad Spoletium uenit. Inde, cum perpopulato agro urbem oppugnare adortus esset, cum magna caede suorum repulsus, coniectans ex unius coloniae minus prospere temptatae uiribus quanta moles Romanae urbis esset, in agrum Picenum auertit iter, non copia solum omnis generis frugum abundantem sed refertum praeda, quam effuse audiuit atque egentes rapiebant. Ibi per dies aliquot statiuam habitam refectusque miles hibernis itineribus ac palustri uia proelioque magis ad euentum secundo quam leui aut facili adfectus. Vbi satis quietis datum praeda ac populationibus magis quam otio aut requie gaudentibus, profectus Praetutianum Hadrianumque agrum, Marsos inde Marrucinosque et Paelignos deuastat circaque Arpos et Luceriam proximam Apuliae regionem. Cn. Seruilius consul leuibus proeliis cum Gallis factis et uno oppido ignobili expugnato, postquam de collegae exercitusque caede audiuit, iam moenibus patriae metuens ne abesset in discrimine extremo, ad urbem iter intendit. Q. Fabius Maximus dictator iterum quo die magistratum iniit uocato senatu, ab dis orsus, cum edocuisset patres plus negligentia caerimoniarum quam temeritate atque incitiis peccatum a C. Flamini consule esse quaeque piacula irae deum essent ipsos deos consulendos esse, peruicit ut, quod non ferme decernitur nisi cum taetra prodigia nuntiata sunt, decemuiris libros Sibyllinos adire iuberentur. Qui inspectis fatalibus libris rettulerunt patribus, quod eius belli causa uotum Marti foret, id non rite factum de integro atque amplius faciundum esse, et Ioui ludos magnos et aedes Veneri Erycinae ac Menti uouendas esse, et supplicationem lectisterniumque habendum, et uer sacrum uouendum si bellatum

prosperes resque publica in eodem quo ante bellum fuisset statu permansisset. Senatus, quoniam Fabium belli cura occupatura esset, M. Aemilium praetorem, ex collegii pontificum sententia omnia ea ut mature fiant, curare iubet.

[10] His senatus consultis perfectis, L. Cornelius Lentulus pontifex maximus consulente collegium praetore omnium primum populum consulendum de uere sacro censet: iniussu populi uoueri non posse. Rogatus in haec uerba populus: “Velitis iubeatisne haec sic fieri? Si res publica populi Romani Quiritium ad quinquennium proximum, sicut uelim [uou]eamque, salua seruata erit hisce duellis, quod duellum populo Romano cum Carthaginensi est quaeque duella cum Gallis sunt qui cis Alpes sunt, tum donum duit populus Romanus Quiritium quod uer attulerit ex suillo ouillo caprino bouillo grege quaeque profana erunt Ioui fieri, ex qua die senatus populusque iusserit. Qui faciet, quando uolet quaque lege uolet facito; quo modo faxit probe factum esto. Si id moritur quod fieri oportebit, profanum esto, neque scelus esto. Si quis rumpet occidetue insciens, ne fraus esto. Si quis clepsit, ne populo scelus esto neue cui cleptum erit. Si atro die faxit insciens, probe factum esto. Si nocte siue luce, si seruus siue liber faxit, probe factum esto. Si antidea senatus populusque iusserit fieri ac faxitur, eo populus solutus liber esto”. Eiusdem rei causa ludi magni uoti aeris trecentis triginta tribus milibus, [trecentis triginta tribus] triente, praeterea bubus Ioui trecentis, multis aliis diuis bubus albis atque ceteris hostiis. Votis rite nuncupatis supplicatio edicta; supplicatumque iere cum coniugibus ac liberis non urbana multitudo tantum sed agrestium etiam, quos in aliqua sua fortuna publica quoque contingebat cura. Tum lectisternium per triduum habitum decemuiris sacrorum curantibus: sex puluinaria in conspectu fuerunt, Ioui ac Iunoni unum, alterum Neptuno ac Mineruae, tertium Marti ac Veneri, quartum Apollini ac Dianae, quintum Volcano ac Vestae, sextum Mercurio et Cereri. Tum aedes uotae. Veneri Erycinae aedem Q. Fabius Maximus dictator uouit, quia ita ex fatalibus libris editum erat ut is uoueret cuius maximum imperium in ciuitate esset; Menti aedem T. Otacilius praetor uouit.

[11] Ita rebus diuinis peractis, tum de bello reque [de] publica dictator rettulit quibus quotue legionibus uictori hosti obuiam eundum esse patres censerent. Decretum ut ab Cn. Seruilio consule

exercitum acciperet; scriberet praeterea ex ciuibus sociisque quantum equitum ac peditum uideretur; cetera omnia ageret faceretque ut e re publica duceret. Fabius duas legiones se adiecturum ad Seruilianum exercitum dixit. Iis per magistrum equitum scriptis Tibur diem ad conueniendum edixit. Edictoquoque proposito ut, quibus oppida castellaque immunita essent, ut ii commigrarent in loca tuta, ex agris quoque demigrarent omnes regionis eius qua iturus Hannibal esset tectis prius incensis ac frugibus corruptis ne cuius rei copia esset, ipse uia Flaminia profectus obuiam consuli exercituque, cum ad Tiberim circa Oriculum prospexisset agmen consulemque cum equitibus ad se progredientem, [substitit] uiatore misso qui consuli nuntiaret ut sine lictoribus ad dictatorem ueniret. Qui cum dicto paruisset congressusque eorum ingentem speciem dictaturae apud ciues sociosque uetustate iam prope oblitos eius imperii fecisset, litterae ab urbe allatae sunt naues onerarias commeatum ab Ostia in Hispaniam ad exercitum portantes a classe Punica circa portum Cosanum captas esse. Itaque extemplo consul Ostiam proficisci iussus nauibusque quae ad urbem Romanam aut Ostiae essent completis milite ac naualibus sociis persequi hostium classem ac litora Italiae tutari. Magna uis hominum conscripta Romae erat; libertini etiam, quibus liberi essent et aetas militaris, in uerba iurauerant. Ex hoc urbano exercitu, qui minores quinque et triginta annis erant, in naues impositi, alii ut urbi praesiderent relict.

[12] Dictator exercitu consulis accepto a Fuluius Flacco legato per agrum Sabinum Tibur, quo diem ad conueniendum edixerat nouis militibus, uenit. inde Praeneste ac transuersis limitibus in uiam Latinam est egressus, unde itineribus summa cum cura exploratis ad hostem ducit, nullo loco, nisi quantum necessitas cogeret, fortunae se commissurus. Quo primum die haud procul Arpis in conspectu hostium posuit castra, nulla mora facta quin Poenus educeret in aciem copiamque pugnandi faceret. Sed ubi quieti omnia apud hostes nec castra ullo tumultu mota uidet, increpans quidem uictos tandem illos Martios animos Romanis, debellatumque et concessum propalam de uirtute ac gloria esse, in castra rediit; ceterum tacita cura animum incessit quod cum duce haudquaquam Flamini Sempronique simili futura sibi res esset ac tum demum edocti malis Romani parem Hannibali ducem quaesissent. Et prudentiam quidem [non uim]

dictatoris extemplo timuit; constantiam haudum expertus, agitare ac temptare animum mouendo crebro castra populandoque in oculis eius agros sociorum coepit, et modo citato agmine ex conspectu abibat, modo repente in aliquo flexu uiae, si excipere degressum in aequum posset, occultus subsistebat. Fabius per loca alta agmen ducebat, modico ab hoste interuallo ut neque omitteret eum neque congrediretur. Castris, nisi quantum usus necessarii cogerent, tenebatur miles; pabulum et ligna nec pauci petebant nec passim; equitum levisque armaturae statio, composita instructaque in subitos tumultus, et suo militi tuta omnia et infesta effusis hostium populatoribus praebebat; neque uniuerso periculo summa rerum committebatur et parua momenta leuium certaminum ex tuto coeptorum, finitimo receptu, adsuefaciebant territum pristinis cladibus militem minus iam tandem aut uirtutis aut fortunae paenitere suae. Sed non Hannibalem magis infestum tam sanis consiliis habebat quam magistrum equitum, qui nihil aliud quam quod impar erat imperio morae ad rem publicam praecipitandam habebat. Ferox rapidusque consiliis ac lingua immodicus, primo inter paucos, dein propalam in uolgos, pro cunctatore segnem, pro cauto timidum, adfingens uicina uirtutibus uitia, compellabat, premendoque superiorem, quae pessima ars nimis prosperis multorum successibus creuit, sese extollebat.

[13] Hannibal ex Hirpinis in Samnium transit, Beneuentanum depopulatur agrum, Telesiam urbem capit, inritat etiam de industria Romanum ducem, si forte accensum tot indignitatibus [cladibus] sociorum detrahare ad aequum certamen possit. Inter multitudinem sociorum Italici generis, qui ad Trasumennum capti ab Hannibale dimissique fuerant, tres Campani equites erant, multis iam tum inlecti donis promissisque Hannibalis ad conciliandos popularium animos. Hi nuntiantes si in Campaniam exercitum admouisset Capuae potiendae copiam fore, cum res maior quam auctores esset, dubium Hannibalem alternisque fidentem ac diffidentem tamen ut Campaniam ex Samnio peteret mouerunt. Monitos etiam atque etiam promissa rebus adfirmarent iussosque cum pluribus et aliquibus principum redire ad se dimisit. Ipse imperat duci ut se in agrum Casinatem ducat, edoctus a peritis regionum, si eum saltum occupasset, exitum Romano ad opem ferendam sociis interclusurum;

sed Punicum abhorrens ab Latinorum nominum [locutione os, Casilinum] pro Casino dux ut acciperet, fecit, auersusque ab suo itinere per Allifanum Caiatinumque et Calenum agrum in campum Stellatam descendit. Vbi cum montibus fluminibusque clausam regionem circumspexisset, uocatum ducem percontatur ubi terrarum esset. cum is Casilini eo die mansurum eum dixisset, tum demum cognitus est error et Casinum longe inde alia regione esse; uirgisque caeso duce et ad reliquorum terrorem in crucem sublato, castris communis Maharbalem cum equitibus in agrum Falernum praedatum dimisit. Vsque ad aquas Sinuessanas populatio ea peruenit. Ingentem cladem, fugam [tamen] terroremque latius Numidae fecerunt; nec tamen is terror, cum omnia bello flagrarent, fide socios dimouit, uidelicet quia iusto et moderato regebantur imperio nec abnuebant, quod unum uinculum fidei est, melioribus parere.

[14] Vt uero, [post]quam ad Volturnum flumen castra sunt posita, exurebatur amoenissimus Italiae ager uillaeque passim incendiis fumabant, per iuga Massici montis Fabio ducente, tum prope de integro seditio [ac de seditione] accensa; [quieti fuerant] enim per paucos dies, quia, cum celerius solito ductum agmen esset, festinari ad prohibendam populationibus Campaniam crediderant. Vt uero in extrema iuga Massici montis uentum est [et] hostes sub oculis erant Falerni agri colonorumque Sinuessae tecta urentes, nec ulla erat mentio pugnae, “spectatum huc” inquit Minucius, “ad rem fruendam oculis, sociorum caedes et incendia uenimus? Nec, si nullius alterius nos ne ciuium quidem horum pudet, quos Sinuessam colonos patres nostri miserunt, ut ab Samnite hoste tuta haec ora esset, quam nunc non uicinus Samnis urit sed Poenus aduena, ab extremis orbis terrarum terminis nostra cunctatione et socordia iam huc progressus? Tantum pro. Degeneramus a patribus nostris ut, praeter quam [per] oram illi [suam] Punicas uagari classes dedecus esse imperii sui duxerint, eam nunc plenam hostium Numidarumque ac Maurorum iam factam uideamus? Qui modo Saguntum oppugnari indignando non homines tantum sed foedera et deos ciebamus, scandentem moenia Romanae coloniae Hannibalem laeti spectamus. Fumus ex incendiis uillarum agrorumque in oculos atque ora uenit; strepunt aures clamoribus plorantium sociorum, saepius nostram quam

deorum inuocantium opem; nos hic pecorum modo per aestiuos saltus deuiasque calles exercitum ducimus, conditi nubibus silisque. Si hoc modo peragrando cacumina saltusque M. Furius recipere a Gallis urbem uoluisset, quo hic nouus Camillus, nobis dictator unicus in rebus adfectis quaesitus, Italiam ab Hannibale recipere parat, Gallorum Roma esset, quam uereor ne sic cunctantibus nobis Hannibali ac Poenis totiens seruauerint maiores nostri. Sed uir ac uere Romanus, quo die dictatorem eum ex auctoritate patrum iussuque populi dictum Veios allatum est, cum esset satis altum Ianiculum ubi sedens prospectaret hostem, descendit in aequum atque illo ipso die media in urbe, qua nunc busta Gallica sunt, et postero die citra Gabios cecidit Gallorum legiones. Quid? Post multos annos cum ad Furculas Caudinas ab Samnite hoste sub iugum missi sumus, utrum tandem L. Papirius Cursor iuga Samni perlustrando an Luceriam premendo obsidendoque et lacessendo uictorem hostem depulsum ab Romanis ceruicibus iugum superbo Samniti imposuit? Modo C. Lutatio quae alia res quam celeritas uictoriam dedit, quod postero die quam hostem uidit classem grauem commeatibus, impeditam suomet ipsam instrumento atque apparatu, oppressit? Stultitia est sedendo aut uotis debellari credere posse. Arma capias oportet et descendas in aequum et uir cum uiro congrediari. Audendo atque agendo res Romana creuit, non his segnibus consiliis quae timidi cauta uocant”. Haec uelut contionanti Minucio circumfundebatur tribunorum equitumque Romanorum multitudo, et ad aures quoque militum dicta ferocia euoluebantur; ac si militaris suffragii res esset, haud dubie ferebant Minucium Fabio duci praelaturos.

[15] Fabius pariter in suos haud minus quam in hostes intentus, prius ab illis inuictum animum praestat. Quamquam probe scit non in castris modo suis sed iam etiam Romae infamem suam cunctationem esse, obstinatus tamen tenore eodem consiliorum aestatis reliquum extraxit, ut Hannibal destitutus ab spe summa ope petiti certaminis iam hibernis locum circumspectaret, quia ea regio praesentis erat copiae, non perpetuae, arbusta uineaeque et consita omnia magis amoenis quam necessariis fructibus. Haec per exploratores relata Fabio. Cum satis sciret per easdem angustias quibus intrauerat Falernum agrum rediturum, Calliculam montem et Casilinum

occupat modicis praesidiis, quae urbs Volturno flumine dirempta Falernum a Campano agro diuidit; ipse iugis iisdem exercitum reducit, misso exploratum cum quadringentis equitibus sociorum L. Hostilio Mancino. Qui ex turba iuuenum audientium saepe ferociter contionantem magistrum equitum, progressus primo exploratoris modo ut ex tuto specularetur hostem, ubi uagos passim per uicos Numidas [peruastantes uidit,] per occasionem etiam paucos occidit, extemplo occupatus certamine est animus excideruntque praecepta dictatoris, qui quantum tuto posset progressum prius recipere sese iusserat quam in conspectum hostium ueniret. Numidae alii atque alii, occursantes refugientesque, ad castra prope eum cum fatigatione equorum atque hominum pertraxere. Inde Carthalo, penes quem summa equestris imperii erat, concitatis equis inuectus, cum priusquam ad coniectum teli ueniret auertisset hostes, quinque ferme milia continenti cursu secutus est fugientes. Mancinus postquam nec hostem desistere sequi nec spem uidit effugiendi esse, cohortatus suos in proelium rediit, omni parte uirium impar. Itaque ipse et delecti equitum circumuenti occiduntur; ceteri effuso rursus cursu Cales primum, inde prope inuiis callibus ad dictatorem perfugerunt. Eo forte die Minucius se coniunxerat Fabio missus ad firmandum praesidio saltum, qui super Tarracinam in artas coactus fauces imminet mari, ne ab Sinuessa Poenus Appiae limite peruenire in agrum Romanum posset. Coniunctis exercitibus dictator ac magister equitum castra in uiam deferunt qua Hannibal ducturus erat; duo inde milia hostes aberant.

[16] Postero die Poeni quod uiae inter bina castra erat agmine compleuere. cum Romani sub ipso constitissent uallo haud dubie aequiore loco, successit tamen Poenus cum expeditis equitibusque ad lacesendum hostem. Carptim Poeni et procursando recipiendoque sese pugnauere; restitit suo loco Romana acies; lenta pugna et ex dictatoris magis quam Hannibalis uoluntate fuit. Ducenti ab Romanis, octingenti hostium cecidere. Inclusus inde uidere Hannibal uia ad Casilinum obsessa, cum Capua et Samnium et tantum ab tergo diuitum sociorum Romanis commeatus subueheret, Poenus inter Formiana saxa ac Literni harenas stagnaque et per horridas siluas hibernaturus esset; nec Hannibalem fefellit suis se artibus peti. Itaque cum per Casilinum euadere non posset petendique montes et iugum

Calliculae superandum esset, necubi Romanus inclusum uallibus agmen adgrederetur, ludibrium oculorum specie terribile ad frustrandum hostem commentus, principio noctis furtim succedere ad montes statuit. Fallacis consilii talis apparatus fuit. Faces undique ex agris collectae fascesque uirgarum atque aridi sarmenti praeligantur cornibus boum, quos domitos indomitosque multos inter ceteram agrestem praedam agebat. Ad duo milia ferme boum effecta, Hasdrubalique negotium datum ut nocte id armentum accensis cornibus ad montes ageret, maxime, si posset, super saltus ab hoste insessos.

[17] Primis tenebris silentio mota castra; boues aliquanto ante signa acti. Vbi ad radices montium uiasque angustas uentum est, signum extemplo datur, ut accensis cornibus armenta in aduersos concitentur montes; et metus ipse relucetis flammae a capite calorque iam ad uiuum ad imaque cornua ueniens uelut stimulatos furore agebat boues. Quo repente discursu, haud secus quam siluis montibusque accensis, omnia circum uirgulta ardere; capitumque inrita quassatio excitans flammam hominum passim discurrentium speciem praebebat. Qui ad transitum saltus insidendum locati erant, ubi in summis montibus ac super se quosdam ignes conspexere, circumuentos se esse rati praesidio excessere. Qua minime densae micabant flammae, uelut tutissimum iter petentes summa montium iuga, tamen in quosdam boues palatos a suis gregibus inciderunt. Et primo cum procul cernerent, ueluti flammam spirantium miraculo attoniti constiterunt; deinde ut humana apparuit fraus, tum uero insidias rati esse, cum maiore tumultu concitant se in fugam. Leui quoque armaturae hostium incurrere; ceterum nox aequato timore neutros pugnam incipientes ad lucem tenuit. Interea toto agmine Hannibal transducto per saltum et quibusdam in ipso saltu hostium oppressis in agro Allifano posuit castra.

[18] Hunc tumultum sensit Fabius; ceterum et insidias esse ratus et ab nocturno utique abhorrens certamine, suos munimentis tenuit. Luce prima sub iugo montis proelium fuit, quo interclusam ab suis leuem armaturam facile (etenim numero aliquantum praestabant) Romani superassent, nisi Hispanorum cohors ad id ipsum remissa ab Hannibale superuenisset. Ea adsuetior montibus et ad concursandum inter saxa rupesque aptior ac leuior cum uelocitate corporum, tum

armorum habitu, campestrum hostem, grauem armis statariumque, pugnae genere facile elusit. Ita haudquaquam pari certamine digressi, Hispani fere omnes incolumes, Romani aliquot suis amissis in castra contenderunt. Fabius quoque mouit castra transgressusque saltum super Allifas loco alto ac munito consedit. Tum per Samnium Romam se petere simulans Hannibal usque in Paelignos populabundus rediit; Fabius medius inter hostium agmen urbemque Romam iugis ducebat nec absistens nec congregiendi. Ex Paelignis Poenus flexit iter retroque Apuliam repetens Gereonium peruenit, urbem metu, quia conlapsa ruinis pars moenium erat, ab suis desertam: dictator in Larinate agro castra communiit. Inde sacrorum causa Romam reuocatus, non imperio modo sed consilio etiam ac prope precibus agens cum magistro equitum, ut plus consilio quam fortunae confidat et se potius ducem quam Sempronium Flaminiūque imitetur: ne nihil actum censeret extracta prope aestate per ludificationem hostis; medicos quoque plus interdum quiete quam mouendo atque agendo proficere; haud paruam rem esse ab totiens uictore hoste uinci desisse ac respirasse ab continuis cladibus, — haec nequiquam praemonito magistro equitum Romam est profectus.

[19] Principio aestatis qua haec gerebantur in Hispania quoque terra marique coeptum bellum est. Hasdrubal ad eum nauium numerum, quem a fratre instructum paratumque acceperat, decem adiecit; quadraginta nauium classem Himilconi tradit atque ita Carthagine profectus nauibus prope terram, exercitum in litore ducebat, paratus conflare quacumque parte copiarum hostis occurrisset. Cn. Scipio postquam mouisse ex hibernis hostem audiuit, primo idem consilii fuit; deinde minus terra propter ingentem famam nouorum auxiliorum concurrere ausus, delecto milite ad naues imposito quinque et triginta nauium classe ire obuiam hosti pergit. altero ab Tarracone die [ad] stationem decem milia passuum distantem ab ostio Hiberi amnis peruenit. Inde duae Massiliensium speculatoriae praemissae rettulere, classem Punicam stare in ostio fluminis castraque in ripa posita. Itaque ut improuidos incautosque uniuerso simul offuso terrore opprimeret, sublati ancoris ad hostem uadit. Multas et locis altis positas turres Hispania habet, quibus et speculis et propugnaculis aduersus latrones utuntur. Inde primo conspectis

hostium nauibus datum signum Hasdrubali est, tumultusque prius in terra et castris quam ad mare et ad naues est ortus, nondum aut pulsu remorum strepituque alio nautico exaudito aut aperientibus classem promunturiis, cum repente eques alius super alium ab Hasdrubale missus uagos in litore quietosque in tentoriis suis, nihil minus quam hostem aut proelium eo die expectantes, conscendere naues propere atque arma capere iubet: classem Romanam iam haud procul portu esse. haec equites dimissi passim imperabant; mox Hasdrubal ipse cum omni exercitu aderat, uarioque omnia tumultu strepunt ruentibus in naues simul remigibus militibusque, fugientium magis e terra quam in pugnam euntium modo. Vixdum omnes conscenderant cum alii resolutis oris in ancoras euehuntur, alii, ne quid teneat, ancoralia incidunt; raptimque omnia [ac] praepropere agendo militum apparatu nautica ministeria impediuntur, trepidatione nautarum capere et aptare arma miles prohibetur. Et iam Romanus non appropinquabat modo sed direxerat etiam in pugnam naues. itaque non ab hoste et proelio magis Poeni quam suomet ipsi tumultu turbati, temptata uerius pugna quam inita in fugam auerterunt classem; et, cum aduersi amnis os lato agmini et tam multis simul uenientibus haud sane intrabile esset, in litus passim naues egerunt, atque alii uadis, alii sicco litore excepti, partim armati, partim inermes ad instructam per litus aciem suorum perfugere; duae tamen primo concursu captae erant Punicae naues, quattuor suppressae.

[20] Romani, quamquam terra hostium erat armatamque aciem toto praetentam in litore cernebant, haud cunctanter insecuti trepidam hostium classem naues omnes, quae non aut perfregerant proras litori inlisas aut carinas fixerant uadis, religatas puppibus in altum extraxere; ad quinque et uiginti naues e quadraginta cepere. Neque id pulcherrimum eius uictoriae fuit sed quod una leui pugna toto eius orae mari potiti erant. Itaque ad Onusam classe prouecti; escensio ab nauibus in terram facta. Cum urbem ui cepissent captamque diripuissent, Carthaginem inde petunt, atque omnem agrum circa depopulati postremo tecta quoque coniuncta muro portisque incenderunt. Inde iam praeda grauis ad Longunticam peruenit classis, ubi uis magna sparti [erat] ad rem nauticam congesta ab Hasdrubale. Quod satis in usum fuit sublato ceterum omne incensum est. Nec continentis modo praelecta est ora, sed in Ebusum insulam

transmissum. Ibi urbe, quae caput insulae est, biduum nequiquam summo labore oppugnata, ubi in spem inritam frustra teri tempus animaduersum est, ad populationem agri uersi, direptis aliquot incensisque uicis maiore quam ex continenti praeda parta cum in naues se recepissent, ex Baliaribus insulis legati pacem petentes ad Scipionem uenerunt. Inde flexa retro classis reditumque in citeriora prouinciae, quo omnium populorum, qui [cis] Hiberum incolunt, multorum et ultimae Hispaniae legati concurrerunt; sed qui uere dicionis imperiique Romani facti sunt obsidibus datis, populi amplius fuere centum uiginti. Igitur terrestribus quoque copiis satis fidens Romanus usque ad saltum Castulonensem est progressus; Hasdrubal in Lusitaniam ac propius Oceanum concessit.

[21] Quietum inde fore uidebatur reliquum aestatis tempus fuissetque per Poenum hostem; sed praeterquam quod ipsorum Hispanorum inquieta auidaue in nouas res sunt ingenia, Mandonius Indibilisque, qui antea Ilergetum regulus fuerat, postquam Romani ab saltu recessere ad maritimam oram, concitis popularibus in agrum pacatum sociorum Romanorum ad populandum uenerunt. Aduersus eos tribuni militum cum expeditis auxiliis a Scipione missi, leui certamine ut tumultuariam manum fudere mille hominibus occisis, quibusdam captis, magnaue parte armis exuta. Hic tamen tumultus cedentem ad Oceanum Hasdrubalem cis Hiberum ad socios tutandos retraxit. Castra Punica in agro Ilergauonensium, castra Romana ad Nouam Classem erant cum fama repens alio auertit bellum. Celtiberi, qui principes regionis suae legatos [obuiam antea miserant] obsidesque dederant Romanis, nuntio misso a Scipione exciti arma capiunt prouinciamque Carthaginensium ualido exercitu inuadunt. Tria oppida ui expugnant; inde cum ipso Hasdrubale duobus proeliis egregie pugnantes, quindecim milia hostium occiderunt, quattuor milia cum multis militaribus signis capiunt.

[22] Hoc statu rerum in Hispania P. Scipio in prouinciam uenit, prorogato post consulatum imperio ab senatu missus, cum triginta longis nauibus et octo milibus militum magnoque commeatu aducto. Ea classis ingens agmine onerariarum procul uisa cum magna laetitia ciuium sociorumque portum Tarraconis ex alto tenuit. Ibi milite exposito profectus Scipio fratri se coniungit, ac deinde communi animo consilioque gerebant bellum. occupatis igitur

Carthaginiensibus Celtiberico bello haud cunctanter Hiberum transgrediuntur nec ullo uiso hostes Saguntum pergunt ire, quod ibi obsides totius Hispaniae traditos ab Hannibale fama erat modico in arce custodiri praesidio. Id unum pignus inclinatos ad Romanam societatem omnium Hispaniae populorum animos morabatur, ne sanguine liberum suorum culpa defectionis lueretur. Eo uinculo Hispaniam uir unus sollerti magis quam fideli consilio exsoluit. Abelux erat Sagunti nobilis Hispanus, fidus ante Poenis; tum, qualia plerumque sunt barbarorum ingenia, cum fortuna mutauerat fidem. Ceterum transfugam sine magnae rei proditione uenientem ad hostes nihil aliud quam unum uile atque infame corpus esse ratus, id agebat ut quam maximum emolumentum nouis sociis esset. circumspectis igitur omnibus quae fortuna potestatis eius poterat facere, obsidibus potissimum tradendis animum adiecit, eam unam rem maxime ratus conciliaturam Romanis principum Hispaniae amicitiam. Sed cum iniussu Bostaris praefecti satis sciret nihil obsidum custodes facturos esse, Bostarem ipsum arte adgreditur. Castra extra urbem in ipso litore habebat Bostar ut aditum ea parte intercluderet Romanis. Ibi eum in secretum abductum, uelut ignorantem, monet quo statu sit res: metum continuisse ad eam diem Hispanorum animos, quia procul Romani abessent; nunc cis Hiberum castra Romana esse, arcem tutam perfugiumque nouas uolentibus res; itaque quos metus non teneat beneficio et gratia deuinciendos esse. miranti Bostari percontantique quodnam id subitum tantae rei donum posset esse, “obsides” inquit, “in ciuitates remitte. Id et priuatim parentibus, quorum maximum nomen in ciuitatibus est suis, et publice populis gratum erit. Volt sibi quisque credi et habita fides ipsam plerumque obligat fidem. ministerium restituendorum domos obsidum mihimet deposco ipse, ut opera quoque impensa consilium adiuuem meum et rei suapte natura gratiae quantam insuper gratiam possim adiciam”. Homini non ad cetera Punica ingenia callido ut persuasit, nocte clam progressus ad hostium stationes, conuentis quibusdam auxiliariis Hispanis et ab his ad Scipionem perductus, quid adferret expromit et fide accepta dataque ac loco et tempore constituto ad obsides tradendos Saguntum redit. Diem insequentem absumpsit cum Bostare mandatis ad rem agendam accipiendis. Dimissus, cum se nocte iturum ut custodias hostium falleret constituisset, ad

compositam cum iis horam excitatis custodibus puerorum profectus, ueluti ignarus in praeparatas sua fraude insidias ducit. In castra Romana perducti; cetera omnia de reddendis obsidibus, sicut cum Bostare constitutum erat, acta per eundem ordinem quo si Carthaginiensium nomine sic ageretur. maior aliquanto Romanorum gratia fuit in re pari quam quanta futura Carthaginiensium fuerat. Illos enim graues [superbos] In rebus secundis expertos fortuna et timor mitigasse uideri poterat: Romanus primo aduentu, incognitus ante, ab re clementi liberalique initium fecerat et Abelux, uir prudens, haud frustra uidebatur socios mutasse. Itaque ingenti consensu defectionem omnes spectare; armaque extemplo mota forent, ni hiemps, quae Romanos quoque et Carthaginenses concedere in tecta coegit, interuenisset.

[23] Haec in Hispania [quoque] secunda aestate Punici belli gesta, cum in Italia paulum interualli cladibus Romanis sollers cunctatio Fabi fecisset; quae ut Hannibalem non mediocri sollicitum cura habebat, tandem eum militiae magistrum delegisse Romanos cernentem, qui bellum ratione, non fortuna gereret, ita contempta erat inter ciues armatos pariter togatosque utique postquam absente eo temeritate magistri equitum laeto uerius dixerim quam prospero euentu pugnatum fuerat. Accesserant duae res ad augendam inuidiam dictatoris, una fraude ac dolo Hannibalis quod, cum a perfugis ei monstratus ager dictatoris esset, omnibus circa solo aequatis ab uno eo ferrum ignemque et uim omnem [hostium] abstineri iussit ut occulti alicuius pacti ea merces uideri posset, altera ipsius facto, primo forsitan dubio quia non exspectata in eo senatus auctoritas est, ad extremum haud ambigue in maximam laudem uerso. In permutandis captiuis, quod sic primo Punico bello factum erat, conuenerat inter duces Romanum Poenumque ut, quae pars plus reciperet quam daret, argenti pondo bina et selibras in militem praestaret. Ducentis quadraginta septem cum plures Romanus quam Poenus recepisset argentumque pro eis debitum, saepe iactata in senatu re, quoniam non consulisset patres, tardius erogaretur, inuiolatum ab hoste agrum misso Romam Quinto filio uendidit, fidemque publicam impendio priuato exsoluit. Hannibal pro Gereoni moenibus, cuius urbis captae atque incensae ab se in usum horreorum pauca reliquerat tecta, in statuiis erat. Inde frumentatum duas

exercitus partes mittebat; cum tertia ipse expedita in statione erat, simul castris praesidio et circumspectans necunde impetus in frumentatores fieret.

[24] Romanus tunc exercitus in agro Larinati erat; praeerat Minucius magister equitum profecto, sicut ante dictum est, ad urbem dictatore. ceterum castra, quae in monte alto ac tuto loco posita fuerant, iam in planum deferuntur; agitabanturque pro ingenio ducis consilia calidiora, ut impetus aut in frumentatores palatos aut in castra relictas cum leui praesidio fieret. Nec Hannibalem fefellit cum duce mutatam esse belli rationem et ferocius quam consultius rem hostes gesturos; ipse autem, quod minime quis crederet cum hostis propius esset, tertiam partem militum frumentatum duabus in castris retentis dimisit; dein castra ipsa propius hostem mouit, duo ferme a Gereonio milia, in tumultum hosti conspectum, ut intentum [se] sciret esse ad frumentatores, si qua uis fieret, tutandos. propior inde ei atque ipsis imminens Romanorum castris tumulus apparuit; ad quem capiendum si luce palam iretur quia haud dubie hostis breuiore uia praeuenturus erat, nocte clam missi Numidae ceperunt. Quos tenentes locum contempta paucitate Romani postero die cum deiecissent, ipsi eo transferunt castra. [tum ut] Itaque exiguum spatii uallum a uallo aberat et id ipsum totum ut prope compleuerat Romana acies, simul et per auersa castra [e castris Hannibalis] equitatus cum leui armatura emissus in frumentatores late caedem fugamque hostium palatorum fecit. Nec acie certare Hannibal ausus, quia tanta paucitate — pars exercitus aberat iam fame [grauante] — uix castra, si oppugnarentur, tutari poterat; iamque artibus Fabi sedendo et cunctando bellum gerebat receperatque suos in priora castra, quae pro Gereoni moenibus erant. Iusta quoque acie et conlatis signis dimicatum quidam auctores sunt; primo concursu Poenum usque ad castra fusum; inde eruptione facta repente uersum terrorem in Romanos; Numeri Decimi Samnitis deinde aduentu proelium restitutum. Hunc, principem genere ac diuitiis, non Bouiani modo — unde erat — sed toto Samnio, iussu dictatoris octo milia peditum et equites ad [quingentos] ducentem in castra, ab tergo cum apparuisset Hannibali, speciem parti utrique praeuisse noui praesidii cum Q. Fabio ab Roma uenientis. Hannibalem, insidiarum quoque aliquid timentem, recepisse suos; Romanum insecutum adiuuante

Samnite duo castella eo die expugnasse. Sex milia hostium caesa, quinque admodum Romanorum; tamen in tam pari prope clade famam [uanam] egregiae uictoriae cum uanioribus litteris magistri equitum Romam perlatam.

[25] De iis rebus persaepe et in senatu et in contione actum est. Cum laeta ciuitate dictator unus nihil nec famae nec litteris crederet, ut uera omnia essent, secunda se magis quam aduersa timere diceret, tum M. Metilius tribunus plebis id unum enim uero ferendum esse negat, non praesentem solum dictatorem obstitisse rei bene gerendae sed absentem etiam gestae obstare [et in ducendo bello] ac sedulo tempus terere quo diutius in magistratu sit solusque et Romae et in exercitu imperium habeat. Quippe consulum alterum in acie cecidisse, alterum specie classis Punicae persequendae procul ab Italia ablegatum; duos praetores Sicilia atque Sardinia occupatos, quarum neutra hoc tempore prouincia praetore egeat; M. Minucium magistrum equitum, ne hostem uideret, ne quid rei bellicae gereret, prope in custodia habitum. Itaque hercule non Samnium modo, quo iam tamquam trans Hiberum agro Poenis concessum sit, sed et Campanum Calenumque et Falernum agrum peruastatos esse sedente Casilini dictatore et legionibus populi Romani agrum suum tutante. Exercitum cupientem pugnare et magistrum equitum clausos prope intra uallum retentos; tamquam hostibus captiuis arma adempta. Tandem, ut abscesserit inde dictator, ut obsidione liberatos, extra uallum egressos fudisse ac fugasse hostes. Quas ob res, si antiquus animus plebei Romanae esset, audaciter se laturum fuisse de abrogando Q. Fabi imperio; nunc modicam rogationem promulgaturum de aequando magistri equitum et dictatoris iure. Nec tamen ne ita quidem prius mittendum ad exercitum Q. Fabium quam consulem in locum C. Flamini suffecisset. Dictator contionibus se abstinuit in actione minime populari. Ne in senatu quidem satis aequis auribus audiebatur tunc, cum hostem uerbis extolleret biennique clades per temeritatem atque inscientiam ducum acceptas referret, magistro equitum, quod contra dictum suum pugnasset, rationem diceret reddendam esse. Si penes se summa imperii consilii sit, propediem effecturum ut sciant homines bono imperatore haud magni fortunam momenti esse, mentem rationemque dominari, et in tempore et sine ignominia seruasse

exercitum quam multa milia hostium occidisse maiorem gloriam esse. Huius generis orationibus frustra habitis et consule creato M. Atilio Regulo ne praesens de iure imperii dimicaret, pridie quam rogationis ferendae dies adesset, nocte ad exercitum abiit. Luce orta cum plebis concilium esset, magis tacita inuidia dictatoris fauorque magistri equitum animos uersabat quam satis audebant homines ad suadendum quod uolgo placebat prodire, et fauore superante auctoritas tamen rogationi deerat. Vnus inuentus est suasor legis C. Terentius Varro, qui priore anno praetor fuerat, loco non humili solum sed etiam sordido ortus. Patrem lanium fuisse ferunt, ipsum institorem mercis, filioque hoc ipso in seruilia eius artis ministeria usum.

[26] Is iuuenis, ut primum ex eo genere quaestus pecunia a patre relicta animos ad spem liberalioris fortunae fecit, togaque et forum placuere, proclamando pro sordidis hominibus causisque aduersus rem et famam bonorum primum in notitiam populi, deinde ad honores peruenit, quaesturaque et duabus aedilitatibus, plebeia et curuli, postremo et praetura, perfunctus, iam ad consulatus spem cum attolleret animos, haud parum callide auram fauoris popularis ex dictatoria inuidia petit scitique plebis unus gratiam tulit. Omnes eam rogationem, quique Romae quique in exercitu erant, aequi atque iniqui, praeter ipsum dictatorem in contumeliam eius latam acceperunt. Ipse, qua grauitate animi criminantes se ad multitudinem inimicos tulerat, eadem et populi in se saeuientis iniuriam tulit; acceptisque in ipso itinere litteris [s. C.] de aequato imperio, satis fidens haudquaquam cum imperii iure artem imperandi aequatam, cum inuicto a ciuibus hostibusque animo ad exercitum rediit.

[27] Minucius uero cum iam ante uix tolerabilis fuisset rebus secundis ac fauore uolgi, tum utique immodice immodesteque non Hannibale magis uicto ab se quam Q. Fabio gloriari: illum in rebus asperis unicum ducem ac parem quaesitum Hannibali, maiorem minori, dictatorem magistro equitum, quod nulla memoria habeat annalium, iussu populi aequatum in eadem ciuitate, in qua magistri equitum uirgas ac secures dictatoris tremere atque horrere soliti sint; tantum suam felicitatem uirtutemque enituisse. ergo secuturum se fortunam suam, si dictator in cunctatione ac segnitie deorum hominumque iudicio damnata perstaret. Itaque quo die primum

congressus est cum Q. Fabio, statuendum omnium primum ait esse quemadmodum imperio aequato utantur: se optimum ducere aut diebus alternis aut, si maiora interualla placerent, partitis temporibus alterius summum ius imperiumque esse, ut par hosti non solum consilio sed uiribus etiam esset, si quam occasionem rei gerendae habuisset. Q. Fabio haudquaquam id placere: omnia fortunam eam habitura quamcumque temeritas collegae habuisset; sibi communicatum cum alio, non ademptum imperium esse; itaque se nunquam uolentem parte, qua posset, rerum consilio gerendarum cessurum, nec se tempora aut dies imperii cum eo, exercitum diuisurum suisque consiliis, quoniam omnia non liceret, quae posset seruaturum. Ita obtinuit ut legiones, sicut consulibus mos esset, inter [se] diuiderent. Prima et quarta Minucio, secunda et tertia Fabio euenerunt. Item equites pari numero sociumque et Latini nominis auxilia diuiserunt. Castris quoque separari magister equitum uoluit.

[28] Duplex inde Hannibali gaudium fuit; neque enim quicquam eorum quae apud hostes agerentur eum fallebat et perfugis multa [non] Indicantibus et per suos explorantem: nam et liberam Minuci temeritatem se suo modo captaturum et sollertiae Fabi dimidium uirium decessisse. Tumulus erat inter castra Minuci et Poenorum, quem qui occupasset haud dubie iniquiorem erat hosti locum facturus. Eum non tam capere sine certamine uolebat Hannibal, quamquam id operae pretium erat, quam causam certaminis cum Minucio, quem semper occurrurum ad obsistendum satis sciebat, contrahere. Ager omnis medius erat prima specie inutilis insidiatori, quia non modo siluestre quicquam sed ne uepribus quidem uestitum habebat, re ipsa natus tegendis insidiis, eo magis quod in nuda ualle nulla talis fraus timeri poterat; et erant in anfractibus cauae rupes, ut quaedam earum ducenos armatos possent capere. In has latebras, quot quemque locum apte insidere poterant, quinque milia conduntur peditum equitumque. Necubi tamen aut motus alicuius temere egressi aut fulgor armorum fraudem in ualle tam aperta detegeret, missis paucis prima luce ad capiendum quem ante diximus tumulum auertit oculos hostium. Primo statim conspectu contempta paucitas ac sibi quisque deposcere pellendos inde hostes ac locum capiendum; dux ipse inter stolidissimos ferocissimosque ad arma uocat et uanis minis increpat hostem. Principio leuem armaturam emittit, deinde

conferto agmine [mitti] equites; postremo, cum hostibus quoque subsidia mitti uideret, instructis legionibus procedit. et Hannibal laborantibus suis alia atque alia accrescente certamine mittens auxilia peditum equitumque iam iustam expleuerat aciem, ac totis utrimque uiribus certatur. Prima leuis armatura Romanorum, praeoccupatum [ex] inferiore loco succedens tumultum, pulsa detrusaque terrorem in succedentem intulit equitem et ad signa legionum refugit. Peditum acies inter percussos impauida sola erat uidebaturque, si iusta ac directa pugna esset, haudquaquam impar futura; tantum animorum fecerat prospere ante paucos dies res gesta; sed exorti repente insidiatores eum tumultum terroremque in latera utrimque ab tergoque incursantes fecerunt ut neque animus ad pugnam neque ad fugam spes cuiquam superesset.

[29] Tum Fabius, primo clamore pauentium audito, dein conspecta procul turbata acie, “ita est” inquit; “non celerius quam timui deprensit fortuna temeritatem. Fabio aequatus imperio Hannibalem et uirtute et fortuna superiorem uidet. Sed aliud iurgandi suscensendique tempus erit: nunc signa extra uallum proferte; uictoriam hosti extorqueamus, confessionem erroris ciuibus”. Iam magna ex parte caesis aliis, aliis circumspectantibus fugam, Fabiana se acies repente uelut caelo demissa ad auxilium ostendit. Itaque priusquam ad coniectum teli ueniret aut manum consereret, et suos a fuga effusa et ab nimis feroci pugna hostes continuit. Qui solutis ordinibus uage dissipati erant undique confugerunt ad integram aciem; qui plures simul terga dederant conuersi in hostem uoluentesque orbem nunc sensim referre pedem, nunc conglobati restare. Ac iam prope una acies facta erat uicti atque integri exercitus inferebantque signa in hostem, cum Poenus receptui cecinit, palam ferente Hannibale ab se Minucium, se ab Fabio uictum. Ita per uariam fortunam diei maiore parte exacta cum in castra reditum esset, Minucius conuocatis militibus “saepe ego” inquit, “audiui, milites, eum primum esse uirum qui ipse consulat quid in rem sit, secundum eum qui bene monenti oboediat; qui nec ipse consulere nec alteri parere sciat, eum extremi ingenii esse. Nobis quoniam prima animi ingeniique negata sors est, secundam ac mediam teneamus et, dum imperare discimus, parere prudenti in animum inducamus. Castra cum Fabio iungamus. Ad praetorium eius signa

cum tulerimus, ubi ego eum parentem appellauero, quod beneficio eius erga nos ac maiestate eius dignum est, uos, milites, eos quorum uos modo arma dexterarum texerunt patronos salutabitis, et, si nihil aliud, gratorum certe nobis animorum gloriam dies hic dederit.”

[30] Signo dato conclamatur inde ut colligantur uasa. Profecti et agmine incedentes in dictatoris castra in admirationem et ipsum et omnes qui circa erant conuerterunt. Vt constituta sunt ante tribunal signa, progressus ante alios magister equitum, cum patrem Fabium appellasset circumfususque militum eius totum agmen patronos consalutasset, “parentibus” inquit, “meis, dictator, quibus te modo nomine quod fando possum aequaui, uitam tantum debeo, tibi cum meam salutem, tum omnium horum. Itaque plebei scitum, quo oneratus [sum] magis quam honoratus, primus antiquo abrogoque et, quod exercitibus his tuis quod tibi mihiue seruato ac conseruatori sit felix, sub imperium auspiciumque tuum redeo et signa haec legionesque restituo. tu, quaeso, placatus me magisterium equitum, hos ordines suos quemque tenere iubeas”. Tum dextrae interiuinctae militesque contione dimissa ab notis ignotisque benigne atque hospitaliter inuitati laetusque dies ex admodum tristi paulo ante ac prope execrabili factus. Romae, ut est perlata fama rei gestae, dein litteris non magis ipsorum imperatorum quam uolgo militum ex utroque exercitu adfirmata, pro se quisque Maximum laudibus ad caelum ferre. Par gloria apud Hannibalem hostesque Poenos erat; ac tum demum sentire cum Romanis atque in Italia bellum esse; nam biennio ante adeo et duces Romanos et milites spreuerant, ut uix cum eadem gente bellum esse crederent cuius terribilem [eam] famam a patribus acceperant. Hannibalem quoque ex acie redeuntem dixisse ferunt tandem eam nubem, quae sedere in iugis montium solita sit, cum procella imbrem dedisse.

[31] Dum haec geruntur in Italia, Cn. Seruilius Geminus consul cum classe [centum uiginti] nauium circumuectus Sardiniae et Corsicae oram, et obsidibus utrimque acceptis in Africam transmisit et, priusquam in continentem escensiones faceret, Menige insula uastata et ab incolentibus Cercinam, ne et ipsorum ureretur diripereturque ager, decem talentis argenti acceptis ad litora Africae accessit copiasque exposuit. Inde ad populandum agrum ducti milites naualesque socii iuxta effusi ac si [in] insulis cultorum egentibus

praedarentur. Itaque in insidias temere inlati, cum a frequentibus palantes et locorum ignari ab gnaris circumuenirentur, cum multa caede ac foeda fuga retro ad naues compulsi sunt. Ad mille hominum cum Ti. Sempronio Blaeso quaestore amissum, classis ab litoribus hostium plenis trepide soluta in Siciliam cursum tenuit, traditaque Lilybaei T. Otacilio praetori, ut ab legato eius P. Cincio Romam reduceretur. Ipse per Siciliam pedibus profectus freto in Italiam traiecit, litteris Q. Fabi accitus et ipse et collega eius M. Atilius, ut exercitus ab se exacto iam prope semenstri imperio acciperent. Omnium prope annales Fabium dictatorem aduersus Hannibalem rem gessisse tradunt; Caelius etiam eum primum a populo creatum dictatorem scribit. Sed et Caelium et ceteros fugit uni consuli Cn. Seruilio, qui tum procul in Gallia prouincia aberat, ius fuisse dicendi dictatoris; quam moram quia exspectare territa iam clade ciuitas non poterat, eo decursum esse ut a populo crearetur qui pro dictatore esset; res inde gestas gloriamque insignem ducis et augentes titulum imaginis posteros, ut qui pro dictatore [creatus erat, dictator] crederetur, facile obtinuisse.

[32] Consules Atilius Fabiano, Geminus Seruilius Minuciano exercitu accepto, hibernaculis mature communitis, [quod reli]quum autumnus erat Fabi artibus cum summa inter se concordia bellum gesserunt. Frumentatum exeunti Hannibali diuersis locis opportuni aderant, carpentes agmen palatosque excipientes; in casum uniuersae dimicationis, quam omnibus artibus petebat hostis, non ueniebant, adeoque inopia est coactus Hannibal ut, nisi cum fugae specie abundum timuisset, Galliam repetiturus fuerit, nulla spe relicta alendi exercitus in eis locis si insequentes consules eisdem artibus bellum gererent. Cum ad Gereonium iam hieme impediante constitisset bellum, Neapolitani legati Romam uenere. Ab iis quadraginta paterae aureae magni ponderis in curiam inlatae atque ita uerba facta ut dicerent: scire sese populi [Romani] aerarium bello exhauriri et, cum iuxta pro urbibus agrisque sociorum ac pro capite atque arce Italiae urbe Romana atque imperio geratur, aequum censuisse Neapolitanos, quod auri sibi cum ad templorum ornatum tum ad subsidium fortunae a maioribus relictum foret, eo iuuare populum Romanum. Si quam opem in sese crederent, eodem studio fuisse oblaturus. Gratum sibi patres Romanos populumque facturum

si omnes res Neapolitanorum suas duxissent, dignosque iudicauerint ab quibus donum animo ac uoluntate eorum qui libentes darent quam re maius ampliusque acciperent. Legatis gratiae actae pro munificentia curaque; patera, quae ponderis minimi fuit, accepta.

[33] Per eosdem dies speculator Carthaginienſis, qui per biennium fefellerat, Romae deprensus praecisisque manibus dimissus, et serui quinque et uiginti in crucem acti, quod in campo Martio coniurassent; indici data libertas et aeris grauis uiginti milia. Legati et ad Philippum Macedonum regem missi ad deposcendum Demetrium Pharium, qui bello uictus ad eum fugisset, et alii [in] Ligures ad expostulandum quod Poenum opibus auxiliisque suis iuuissent, simul ad uisendum ex propinquo quae in Boiis atque Insubribus gererentur. Ad Pinnem quoque regem in Illyrios legati missi ad stipendium, cuius dies exierat, poscendum aut, si diem proferri uellet, obsides accipiendos. Adeo, etsi bellum ingens in ceruicibus erat, nullius usquam terrarum rei cura Romanos, ne longinquae quidem effugiebat. In religionem etiam uenit aedem Concordiae, quam per seditionem militarem biennio ante L. Manlius praetor in Gallia uouisset, locatam ad id tempus non esse. Itaque duumiri ad eam rem creati a M. Aemilio praetore urbano, C. Pupius et Caeso Quinctius Flamininus, aedem in arce faciendam locauerunt. Ab eodem praetore ex senatus consulto litterae ad consules missae ut, si iis uideretur, alter eorum ad consules creandos Romam ueniret; se in eam diem quam iussissent comitia edicturum. Ad haec a consulibus rescriptum sine detrimento rei publicae abscedi non posse ab hoste; itaque per interregem comitia habenda esse potius quam consul alter a bello auocaretur. Patribus rectius uisum est dictatorem a consule dici comitiorum habendorum causa. Dictus L. Veturius Philo M. Pomponium Mathonem magistrum equitum dixit. Iis uitio creatis iussisque die quarto decimo se magistratu abdicare, ad interregnum res rediit.

[34] Consulibus prorogatum in annum imperium. Interreges proditi sunt a patribus C. Claudius Appi filius Cento, inde P. Cornelius Asina. In eius interregno comitia habita magno certamine patrum ac plebis. C. Terentio Varroni, quem sui generis hominem, plebi insectatione principum popularibusque artibus conciliatum, ab Q. Fabi opibus et dictatorio imperio concusso aliena inuidia

splendentem uolgens extrahere ad consulatum nitebatur, patres summa ope obstabant ne se insectando sibi aequari adsuescerent homines. Q. Baebius Herennius tribunus plebis, cognatus C. Terenti, criminando non senatum modo sed etiam augures, quod dictatorem prohibuissent comitia perficere, per inuidiam eorum fauorem candidato suo conciliabat: ab hominibus nobilibus, per multos annos bellum quaerentibus, Hannibalem in Italiam adductum; ab iisdem, cum debellari possit, fraude bellum trahi. Cum quattuor legionibus uniuersis pugnari posse apparuisset eo quod M. Minucius absente Fabio prospere pugnasset, duas legiones hosti ad caedem obiectas, deinde ex ipsa caede ereptas ut pater patronusque appellaretur qui prius uincere prohibuisset Romanos quam uinci. Consules deinde Fabianis artibus, cum debellare possent, bellum traxisse. Id foedus inter omnes nobiles ictum nec finem ante belli habituros quam consulem uere plebeium, id est, hominem nouum fecissent; nam plebeios nobiles iam eisdem initiatos esse sacris et contemnere plebem, ex quo contemni patribus desierint, coepisse. Cui non apparere id actum et quaesitum esse ut interregnum iniretur, ut in patrum potestate comitia essent? Id consules ambos ad exercitum morando quaesisse; id postea, quia inuitis iis dictator esset dictus comitiorum causa, expugnatum esse ut uitiosus dictator per augures fieret. Habere igitur interregnum eos; consulatum unum certe plebis Romanae esse; populum liberum habiturum ac daturum ei qui [magis] uere uincere quam diu imperare malit.

[35] Cum his orationibus accensa plebs esset, tribus patriciis petentibus, P. Cornelio Merenda L. Manlio Volsone M. Aemilio Lepido, duobus nobilium iam familiarum plebeiis, C. Atilio Serrano et Q. Aelio Paeto, quorum alter pontifex, alter augur erat, C. Terentius consul unus creatur, ut in manu eius essent comitia rogando collegae. Tum experta nobilitas parum fuisse uirium in competitoribus eius, L. Aemilium Paulum, qui cum M. Liuio consul fuerat et damnatione collegae sui prope ambustus euaserat, infestum plebei, diu ac multum recusantem ad petitionem compellit. Is proximo comitali die concedentibus omnibus, qui cum Varrone certauerant, par magis in aduersandum quam collega datur consuli. Inde praetorum comitia habita. Creati M. Pomponius Matho et P. Furius [Philus]; Philo Romae iuri dicundo urbana sors, Pomponio

inter ciues Romanos et peregrinos euenit; additi duo praetores, M. Claudius Marcellus in Siciliam, L. Postumius Albinus in Galliam. Omnes absentes creati sunt nec cuiquam eorum praeter Terentium consulem mandatus honos quem non iam antea gessisset, praeteritis aliquot fortibus ac strenuis uiris, quia in tali tempore nulli nouus magistratus uidebatur mandandus.

[36] Exercitus quoque multiplicati sunt; quantae autem copiae peditum equitumque additae sint adeo et numero et genere copiarum uariant auctores, ut uix quicquam satis certum adfirmare ausus sim. Decem milia nouorum militum alii scripta in supplementum, alii nouas quattuor legiones ut octo legionibus rem gererent; numero quoque peditum equitumque legiones auctas milibus peditum et centenis equitibus in singulas adiectis, ut quina milia peditum, treceni equites essent, socii duplicem numerum equitum darent, peditis aequarent, septem et octoginta milia armatorum et ducentos in castris Romanis [fuisse] cum pugnatum ad Cannas est quidam auctores sunt. Illud haudquaquam discrepat maiore conatu atque impetu rem actam quam prioribus annis, quia spem posse uinci hostem dictator praebuerat. Ceterum priusquam signa ab urbe nouae legiones mouerent, decemuiri libros adire atque inspicere iussi propter territos uolgo homines nouis prodigiis. Nam et Romae in Auentino et Ariciae nuntiatum erat sub idem tempus lapidibus pluuisse, et multo cruore signa in Sabinis, Caeretes aquas [fonte callidos] manasse; id quidem etiam, quod saepius acciderat, magis terrebat; et in uia fornicata, quae ad Campum erat, aliquot homines de caelo tacti exanimatique fuerant. Ea prodigia ex libris procurata. Legati a Paesto pateras aureas Romam attulerunt. Iis, sicut Neapolitanis, gratiae actae, aurum non acceptum.

[37] Per eosdem dies ab Hierone classis Ostia cum magno commeatu accessit. legati in senatum introducti nuntiarunt caedem C. Flamini consulis exercitusque allatam adeo aegre tulisse regem Hieronem ut nulla sua propria regnique sui clade moueri magis potuerit. Itaque, quamquam probe sciat magnitudinem populi Romani admirabiliorem prope aduersis rebus quam secundis esse, tamen se omnia quibus a bonis fidelibusque sociis bella iuuari soleant misisse; quae ne accipere abnuant magno opere se patres conscriptos orare. Iam omnium primum ominis causa Victoriam auream pondo

ducentum ac uiginti adferre sese. Acciperent eam tenerentque et haberent propriam et perpetuam. Aduexisse etiam trecenta milia modium tritici, ducenta hordei, ne commeatus deessent, et quantum praeterea opus esset quo iussissent subuecturos. Milite atque equite scire nisi Romano Latinique nominis non uti populum Romanum: leuium armorum auxilia etiam externa uidisse in castris Romanis. Itaque misisse mille sagittariorum ac funditorum, aptam manum aduersus Baliares ac Mauros pugnacesque alias missili telo gentes. Ad ea dona consilium quoque addebant ut praetor, cui prouincia Sicilia euenisset, classem in Africam traiceret, ut et hostes in terra sua bellum haberent minusque laxamenti daretur iis ad auxilia Hannibali summittenda. Ab senatu ita responsum regi est: uirum bonum egregiumque socium Hieronem esse atque uno tenore, ex quo in amicitiam populi Romani uenerit, fidem coluisse ac rem Romanam omni tempore ac loco munifice adiuuisse. Id perinde ac deberet gratum populo Romano esse. aurum et a ciuitatibus quibusdam allatum, gratia rei accepta, non accepisse populum Romanum; Victoriam omenque accipere sedemque ei se diuae dare dicare Capitolium, templum Iouis optimi maximi, in ea arce urbis Romanae sacratam uolentem propitiamque, firmam ac stabilem fore populo Romano. Funditores sagittarii et frumentum traditum consulibus. quinquereemes ad [quingenta] nauium classem quae cum T. Otacilio propratore in Sicilia erat quinque et uiginti additae, permissumque est ut, si e re publica censeret esse, in Africam traiceret.

[38] Dilectu perfecto consules paucos morati dies dum ab sociis ac nomine Latino uenirent milites. Tum, quod nunquam antea factum erat, iure iurando ab tribunis militum adacti milites; nam ad eam diem nihil praeter sacramentum fuerat iussu consulum conuenturos neque iniussu abituros; et ubi ad decuriandum aut centuriandum conuenissent, sua uoluntate ipsi inter sese decuriati equites, centuriati pedites coniurabant sese fugae atque formidinis ergo non abituros neque ex ordine recessuros nisi teli sumendi aut petendi et aut hostis ferendi aut ciuis seruandi causa. Id ex uoluntario inter ipsos foedere ad tribunos ac legitimam iuris iurandi adactionem translatum. Contiones, priusquam ab urbe signa mouerentur, consulis Varronis multae ac feroces fuere denuntiantis bellum arcessitum in Italiam ab

nobilibus mansurumque in uisceribus rei publicae, si plures Fabios imperatores haberet, se quo die hostem uidisset perfecturum. Collegae eius Pauli una, pridie quam ex urbe proficisceretur, contio fuit, uerior quam gravior populo, qua nihil inclementer in Varronem dictum nisi id modo mirari se quidni qui dux priusquam aut suum aut hostium exercitum locorum situm naturam regionis nosset, iam nunc togatus in urbe sciret quae sibi agenda armato forent, [et] diem quoque praedicere posset qua cum hoste signis conlatis esset dimicaturus: se, quae consilia magis res dent hominibus quam homines rebus, ea ante tempus immatura non praecepturum; optare ut quae caute ac consulte gesta essent satis prospere euenirent; temeritatem, praeterquam quod stulta sit, infelicem etiam ad id locorum fuisse. Et sua sponte apparebat tuta celeribus consiliis praepositurum, et, quo id constantius perseueraret, Q. Fabius Maximus sic eum proficiscentem adlocutus fertur.

[39] “Si aut collegam, id quod mallet, tui similem, L. Aemili, haberes aut tu collegae tui esses similis, superuacanea esset oratio mea; nam et duo boni consules, etiam me indicente, omnia e re publica fide uestra faceretis, et mali nec mea uerba auribus uestris nec consilia animis acciperetis. Nunc et collegam tuum et te talem uirum intuenti mihi tecum omnis oratio est, quem uideo nequiquam et uirum bonum et ciuem fore, si altera parte claudente re publica malis consiliis idem ac bonis iuris et potestatis erit. erras enim, L. Paule, si tibi minus certaminis cum C. Terentio quam cum Hannibale futurum censes; nescio an infestior hic aduersarius quam ille hostis maneat; cum illo in acie tantum, cum hoc omnibus locis ac temporibus certaturus es; aduersus Hannibalem legionesque eius tuis equitibus ac peditibus pugnandum tibi est, Varro dux tuis militibus te est oppugnaturus. Ominis etiam tibi causa absit C. Flamini memoria. Tamen ille consul demum et in prouincia et ad exercitum coepit furere: hic, priusquam peteret consulatum, deinde in petendo consulatu, nunc quoque consul, priusquam castra uideat aut hostem, insanit. Et qui tantas iam nunc procellas proelia atque acies iactando inter togatos ciet, quid inter armatam iuuentutem censes facturum et ubi extemplo res uerba sequitur? Atqui si hic, quod facturum se denuntiat, extemplo pugnauerit, aut ego rem militarem, belli hoc genus, hostem hunc ignoro, aut nobilior alius Trasumenno locus

nostris cladibus erit. Nec gloriandi tempus aduersus unum est, et ego contemnendo potius quam appetendo gloriam modum excesserim; sed ita res se habet: una ratio belli gerendi aduersus Hannibalem est qua ego gessi. Nec euentus modo hoc docet — stultorum iste magister est — sed eadem ratio, quae fuit futuraque donec res eadem manebunt, immutabilis est. In Italia bellum gerimus, in sede ac solo nostro; omnia circa plena ciuium ac sociorum sunt; armis, uiris, equis, commeatibus iuuant iuuabuntque, — id iam fidei documentum in aduersis rebus nostris dederunt; meliores, prudentiores, constantiores nos tempus diesque facit. Hannibal contra in aliena, in hostili est terra inter omnia inimica infestaque, procul ab domo, ab patria; neque illi terra neque mari est pax; nullae eum urbes accipiunt, nulla moenia; nihil usquam sui uidet, in diem rapto uiuit; partem uix tertiam exercitus eius habet quem Hiberum amnem traiecit; plures fame quam ferro absumpti; nec his paucis iam uictus suppeditat. Dubitas ergo quin sedendo superaturi simus eum qui senescat in dies, non commeatus, non supplementum, non pecuniam habeat? Quamdiu pro Gereoni, castelli Apuliae inopis, tamquam pro Carthaginis moenibus sedet? Ne aduersus te quidem de me gloriabor: Seruilius atque Atilius, proximi consules, uide quemadmodum eum ludificati sint. Haec una salutis est uia, L. Paule, quam difficilem infestamque ciues tibi magis quam hostes facient. Idem enim tui quod hostium milites uolent; idem Varro consul Romanus quod Hannibal Poenus imperator cupiet. Duobus ducibus unus resistas oportet. Resistes autem, aduersus famam rumoresque hominum si satis firmus steteris, si te neque collegae uana gloria neque tua falsa infamia mouerit. Veritatem laborare nimis saepe aiunt, exstingui nunquam. Gloriam qui spreuerit, ueram habebit. Sine timidum pro cauto, tardum pro considerato, imbellem pro perito belli uocent. Malo te sapiens hostis metuat quam stulti ciues laudent. Omnia audentem contemnet Hannibal, nihil temere agentem metuet. Nec ego ut nihil agatur [hortor] sed ut agentem te ratio ducat, non fortuna; tuae potestatis semper tu tuaque omnia sint; armatus intentusque sis; neque occasione tuae desis neque suam occasionem hosti des. Omnia non properanti clara certaue erunt; festinatio improuida est et caeca.”

[40] Aduersus ea consulis oratio haud sane laeta fuit, magis fatentis

ea quae diceret uera quam facilia factu esse; dictatori magistrum equitum intolerabilem fuisse; quid consuli aduersus collegam seditiosum ac temerarium uirium atque auctoritatis fore? Se populare incendium priore consulatu semustum effugisse; optare ut omnia prospere euenirent; sed si quid aduersi caderet, hostium se telis potius quam suffragiis iratorum ciuium caput obiecturum. Ab hoc sermone profectum Paulum tradunt prosequentibus primoribus patrum: plebeium consulem sua plebes prosecuta, turba conspectior cum dignitates deessent. Vt in castra uenerunt, permixto nouo exercitu ac uetere, castris bifariam factis, ut noua minora essent propius Hannibalem, in ueteribus maior pars et omne robur uirium esset, consulum anni prioris M. Atilium, aetatem excusantem, Romam miserunt, Geminum Seruilium in minoribus castris legioni Romanae et socium peditum equitumque duobus milibus praeficiunt. Hannibal quamquam parte dimidia auctas hostium copias cernebat, tamen aduentu consulum mire gaudere. Non solum enim nihil ex raptis in diem commeatibus superabat sed ne unde raperet quidem quicquam reliqui erat, omni undique frumento, postquam ager parum tutus erat, in urbes munitas conuecto, ut uix decem dierum, quod compertum postea est, frumentum superesset Hispanorumque ob inopiam transitio parata fuerit, si maturitas temporum exspectata foret.

[41] Ceterum temeritati consulis ac praepropero ingenio materiam etiam fortuna dedit, quod in prohibendis praedatoribus tumultuario proelio ac procursu magis militum quam ex praeparato aut iussu imperatorum orto haudquaquam par Poenis dimicatio fuit. Ad mille et septingenti caesi, non plus centum Romanorum sociorumque occisis. Ceterum uictoribus effuse sequentibus metu insidiarum obstitit Paulus consul, cuius eo die — nam alternis imperitabant — imperium erat, Varrone indignante ac uociferante emissum hostem e manibus debellarique ni cessatum foret potuisse. Hannibal id damnum haud aegerrime pati; quin potius credere uelut inescatam temeritatem ferocioris consulis ac nouorum maxime militum esse. Et omnia ei hostium haud secus quam sua nota erant: dissimiles discordesque imperitare, duas prope partes tironum militum in exercitu esse. Itaque locum et tempus insidiis aptum se habere ratus, nocte proxima nihil praeter arma ferente secum milite castra plena

omnis fortunae publicae priuataeque relinquit, transque proximos montes laeua pedites instructos condit, dextra equites, impedimenta per conuallem mediam traducit, ut diripiendis uelut desertis fuga dominorum castris occupatum impeditumque hostem opprimeret. Crebri relictis in castris ignes, ut fides fieret dum ipse longius spatium fuga praeciperet falsa imagine castrorum, sicut Fabium priore anno frustratus esset, tenere in locis consules uoluisse.

[42] Vbi inluxit, subductae primo stationes, deinde propius adeuntibus insolitum silentium admirationem fecit. Tum satis comperta solitudine in castris concursus fit ad praetoria consulum nuntiantium fugam hostium adeo trepidam ut tabernaculis stantibus castra reliquerint, quoque fuga obscurior esset, crebros etiam relictos ignes. Clamor inde ortus ut signa proferri iuberent ducerentque ad persequendos hostes ac protinus castra diripienda et consul alter uelut unus turbae militaris erat: Paulus etiam atque etiam dicere prouidendum praecauendumque esse; postremo, cum aliter neque seditionem neque ducem seditionis sustinere posset, Marium Statilium praefectum cum turma Lucana exploratum mittit. Qui ubi adequitauit portis, subsistere extra munimenta ceteris iussis ipse cum duobus equitibus uallum intrauit speculatusque omnia cum cura renuntiat insidias profecto esse: ignes in parte castrorum quae uergat in hostem relictos; tabernacula aperta et omnia cara in promptu relictas; argentum quibusdam locis temere per uias uel[ut] obiectum ad praedam uidisse. Quae ad deterrendos a cupiditate animos nuntiata erant, ea accenderunt, et clamore orto a militibus, ni signum detur, sine ducibus ituros, haudquaquam dux defuit; nam extemplo Varro signum dedit proficiscendi. Paulus, cum ei sua sponte cunctanti pulli quoque auspicio non addixissent, nuntiari iam efferenti porta signa collegae iussit. Quod quamquam Varro aegre est passus, Flamini tamen recens casus Claudique consulis primo Punico bello memorata naualis clades religionem animo incussit. Di prope ipsi eo die magis distulere quam prohibere imminentem pestem Romanis; nam forte ita euenit ut, cum referri signa in castra iubenti consuli milites non parerent, serui duo Formiani unus, alter Sidicini equitis, qui Seruilio atque Atilio consulibus inter pabulatores excepti a Numidis fuerant, profugerent eo die ad dominos; deductique ad consules nuntiant omnem exercitum Hannibalis trans proximos

montes sedere in insidiis. Horum opportunus aduentus consules imperii potentes fecit, cum ambitio alterius suam primum apud eos praua indulgentia maiestatem soluisset.

[43] Hannibal postquam motos magis inconsulte Romanos quam ad ultimum temere euectos uidit, nequiquam detecta fraude in castra rediit. Ibi plures dies propter inopiam frumenti manere nequit, nouaque consilia in dies non apud milites solum mixtos ex conluuione omnium gentium sed etiam apud ducem ipsum oriebantur. Nam cum initio fremitus, deinde aperta uociferatio fuisset exposcentium stipendium debitum querentiumque annonam primo, postremo famem, et mercennarios milites, maxime Hispani generis, de transitione cepisse consilium fama esset, ipse etiam interdum Hannibal de fuga in Galliam dicitur agitasse ita ut relicto peditatu omni cum equitibus se proriperet. Cum haec consilia atque hic habitus animorum esset in castris, mouere inde statuit in calidiora atque eo maturiora messibus Apuliae loca, simul ut, quo longius ab hoste recessisset, eo transfugia impeditiora leuibus ingeniis essent. Profectus est nocte ignibus similiter factis tabernaculisque paucis in speciem relictis, ut insidiarum par priori metus contineret Romanos. Sed per eundem Lucanum Statilium omnibus ultra castra transque montes exploratis, cum relatum esset uisum procul hostium agmen, tum de insequendo eo consilia agitari coepta. Cum utriusque consulis eadem quae ante semper fuisset sententia, ceterum Varroni fere omnes, Paulo nemo praeter Seruilius, prioris anni consulem, adsentiretur, [ex] maioris partis sententia ad nobilitandas clade Romana Cannas urgente fato profecti sunt. Prope eum uicum Hannibal castra posuerat auersa a Volturno uento, qui campis torridis siccitate nubes pulueris uehit. Id cum ipsis castris percommodum fuit, tum salutare praecipue futurum erat cum aciem dirigerent, ipsi auersi terga tantum adflante uento in occaecatum puluere offuso hostem pugnaturi.

[44] Consules satis exploratis itineribus sequentes Poenum, ut uentum ad Cannas est et in conspectu Poenum habebant, bina castra communiunt, eodem ferme interuallo quo ad Gereonium sicut ante copiis diuisis. Aufidus amnis, utrisque castris adfluens, aditum aquatoribus ex sua cuiusque opportunitate haud sine certamine dabat; ex minoribus tamen castris, quae posita trans Aufidum erant, liberius

aquabantur Romani, quia ripa ulterior nullum habebat hostium praesidium. Hannibal spem nanctus locis natis ad equestrem pugnam, qua parte uirum inuictus erat, facturos copiam pugnandi consules, dirigit aciem lacessitque Numidarum procursatione hostes. Inde rursus sollicitari seditione militari ac discordia consulum Romana castra, cum Paulus Sempronique et Flamini temeritatem Varroni Varro speciosum timidis ac segnibus ducibus exemplum Fabium obiceret testareturque deos hominesque hic nullam penes se culpam esse, quod Hannibal iam uel[ut] usu cepisset Italiam; se constrictum a collega teneri; ferrum atque arma iratis et pugnare cupientibus adimi militibus; ille, si quid proiectis ac proditis ad inconsultam atque improvidam pugnam legionibus accideret, se omnis culpa exsortem, omnis euentus participem fore diceret; uideret ut quibus lingua prompta ac temeraria, aequae in pugna uigerent manus.

[45] Dum altercationibus magis quam consiliis tempus teritur, Hannibal ex acie, quam ad multum diei tenuerat instructam, cum in castra ceteras reciperet copias, Numidas ad inuadendos ex minoribus castris Romanorum aquatores trans flumen mittit. Quam inconditam turbam cum uixdum in ripam egressi clamore ac tumultu fugassent, in stationem quoque pro uallo locatam atque ipsas prope portas euecti sunt. Id uero indignum uisum ab tumultuario auxilio iam etiam castra Romana terreri, ut ea modo una causa ne extemplo transirent flumen dirigerentque aciem tenuerit Romanos quod summa imperii eo die penes Paulum fuerit. Itaque postero die Varro, cui sors eius diei imperii erat, nihil consulto collega signum proposuit instructasque copias flumen traduxit, sequente Paulo quia magis non probare quam non adiuuare consilium poterat. Transgressi flumen eas quoque quas in castris minoribus habuerant copias suis adiungunt atque ita instructa acie in dextro cornu — id erat flumini propius — Romanos equites locant, deinde pedites: laeuum cornu extremi equites sociorum, intra pedites, ad medium iuncti legionibus Romanis, tenuerunt: iaculatores ex ceteris leuium armorum auxiliis prima acies facta. Consules cornua tenuerunt, Terentius laeuum, Aemilius dextrum: Gemino Seruilio media pugna tuenda data.

[46] Hannibal luce prima Baliaribus leuique alia armatura praemissa transgressus flumen, ut quosque traduxerat, ita in acie locabat, Gallos Hispanosque equites prope ripam laeuo in cornu

aduersus Romanum equitatum; dextrum cornu Numidis equitibus datum media acie peditibus firmata ita ut Afrorum utraque cornua essent, interponerentur his medii Galli atque Hispani. Afros Romanam [magna ex parte] crederes aciem; ita armati erant armis et ad Trebiam ceterum magna ex parte ad Trasumennum captis. Gallis Hispanisque scuta eiusdem formae fere erant, dispaes ac dissimiles gladii, Gallis praelongi ac sine mucronibus, Hispano, punctim magis quam caesim adueto petere hostem, breuitate habiles et cum mucronibus. Ante alios habitus gentium harum cum magnitudine corporum, tum specie terribilis erat: Galli super umbilicum erant nudi: Hispani linteis praetextis purpura tunicis, candore miro fulgentibus, constiterant. Numerus omnium peditum qui tum stetere in acie milium fuit quadraginta, decem equitum. Duces cornibus praeerant sinistro Hasdrubal, dextro Maharbal; mediam aciem Hannibal ipse cum fratre Magone tenuit. Sol seu de industria ita locatis seu quod forte ita stetere peropportune utrique parti obliquus erat Romanis in meridiem, Poenis in septentrionem uersis; uentus — Volturnum regionis incolae uocant — aduersus Romanis coortus multo puluere in ipsa ora uoluendo prospectum ademit.

[47] Clamore sublato procursum ab auxiliis et pugna leuibz primum armis commissum; deinde equitum Gallorum Hispanorumque laeuum cornu cum dextro Romano concurrit, minime equestris more pugnae; frontibus enim aduersis concurrendum erat, quia nullo circa ad euagandum relicto spatio hinc amnis, hinc peditum acies claudebant. In directum utrimque nitentes, stantibus ac confertis postremo turba equis uir uirum amplexus detrahebat equo. Pedestre magna iam ex parte certamen factum erat; acrius tamen quam diutius pugnatum est pulsique Romani equites terga uertunt. Sub equestris finem certaminis coorta est peditum pugna, primo et uiribus et animis par dum constabant ordines Gallis Hispanisque; tandem Romani, diu ac saepe conisi, aequa fronte acieque densa impulere hostium cuneum nimis tenuem eoque parum ualidum, a cetera prominentem acie. Impulsis deinde ac trepide referentibus pedem institere ac tenore uno per praeceps pauore fugientium agmen in mediam primum aciem inlati, postremo nullo resistente ad subsidia Afrorum peruenerunt, qui utrumque reductis alis constiterant media, qua Galli Hispanique steterant, aliquantum prominente acie. Qui cuneus ut

pulsus aequauit frontem primum, deinde cedendo etiam sinum in medio dedit, Afri circa iam cornua fecerant inruentibusque incaute in medium Romanis circumdedere alas; mox cornua extendendo clausere et ab tergo hostes. Hinc Romani, defuncti nequiquam [de] proelio uno, omissis Gallis Hispanisque, quorum terga ceciderant, [et] aduersus Afros integram pugnam ineunt, non tantum [in] eo iniquam quod inclusi aduersus circumfusus sed etiam quod fessi cum recentibus ac uegetis pugnabant.

[48] Iam et sinistro cornu Romanis, ubi sociorum equites aduersus Numidas steterant, consertum proelium erat, segne primo et a Punica coeptum fraude. Quingenti ferme Numidae, praeter solita arma telaque gladios occultos sub loricis habentes, specie transfugarum cum ab suis parmas post terga habentes adequitassent, repente ex equis desiliunt parmisque et iaculis ante pedes hostium proiectis in mediam aciem accepti ductique ad ultimos considerare ab tergo iubentur. Ac dum proelium ab omni parte conseritur, quieti manserunt; postquam omnium animos oculosque occupauerat certamen, tum arreptis scutis, quae passim inter acervos caesorum corporum strata erant, auersam adoriuntur Romanam aciem, tergaque ferientes ac poplites caedentes stragem ingentem ac maiorem aliquanto pauorem ac tumultum fecerunt. Cum alibi terror ac fuga, alibi pertinax in mala iam spe proelium esset, Hasdrubal qui ea parte praeerat, subductos ex media acie Numidas, quia segnis eorum cum aduersis pugna erat, ad persequendos passim fugientes mittit, Hispanos et Gallos pedites Afris prope iam fessis caede magis quam pugna adiungit.

[49] Parte altera pugnae Paulus, quamquam primo statim proelio funda grauius ictus fuerat, tamen et occurrit saepe cum confertis Hannibali et aliquot locis proelium restituit, protegentibus eum equitibus Romanis, omissis postremo equis, quia consulem et ad regendum equum uires deficiebant. Tum denuntianti cuidam iussisse consulem ad pedes descendere equites dixisse Hannibalem ferunt: “quam mallet, uinctos mihi traderet”. Equitum pedestre proelium, quale iam haud dubia hostium uictoria, fuit, cum uicti mori in uestigio mallent quam fugere, uictores morantibus uictoriam irati trucidarent quos pellere non poterant. Pepulerunt tamen iam paucos superantes et labore ac uulneribus fessos. Inde dissipati omnes sunt,

equosque ad fugam qui poterant repetebant. Cn. Lentulus tribunus militum cum praeteruehens equo sedentem in saxo cruore oppletum consulem uidisset, “L. Aemili” inquit, “quem unum insontem culpae cladis hodiernae dei respicere debent, cape hunc equum, dum et tibi uirium aliquid superest [et] comes ego te tollere possum ac protegere. Ne funestam hanc pugnam morte consulis feceris; etiam sine hoc lacrimarum satis luctusque est”. Ad ea consul: “tu quidem, Cn. Corneli, macte uirtute esto; sed caue, frustra miserando exiguum tempus e manibus hostium euadendi absumas. Abi, nuntia publice patribus urbem Romanam muniant ac priusquam uictor hostis adueniat praesidiis firment; priuatim Q. Fabio L. Aemilium praeceptorum eius memorem et uixisse [et] adhuc et mori. Me in hac strage militum meorum patere expirare, ne aut reus iterum e consulatu sim [aut] accusator collegae existam ut alieno crimine innocentiam meam protegam.” Haec eos agentes prius turba fugientium ciuium, deinde hostes oppressere; consulem ignorantes quis esset obruere telis, Lentulum in tumultu abripuit equus. Tum undique effuse fugiunt. Septem milia hominum in minora castra, decem in maiora, duo ferme in uicum ipsum Cannas perfugerunt, qui extemplo a Carthalone atque equitibus nullo munimento tegente uicum circumuenti sunt. Consul alter, seu forte seu consilio nulli fugientium insertus agmini, cum quinquaginta fere equitibus Venusiam perfugit. Quadraginta quinque milia quingenti pedites, duo milia septingenti equites, et tantadem prope ciuium sociorumque pars, caesi dicuntur; in his ambo consulum quaestores, L. Atilius et L. Furius Bibaculus, et undetriginta tribuni militum, consulares quidam praetoriiue et aedilicii — inter eos Cn. Seruilius Geminus et M. Minucius numerant, qui magister equitum priore anno, [consul] aliquot annis ante fuerat — octoginta praeterea aut senatores aut qui eos magistratus gessissent unde in senatum legi deberent cum sua uoluntate milites in legionibus facti essent. Capta eo proelio tria milia peditum et equites mille et quingenti dicuntur.

[50] Haec est pugna [Cannensis], Alliensi cladi nobilitate par, ceterum ut illis quae post pugnam accidere leuior, quia ab hoste est cessatum, sic strage exercitus grauior foediorque. Fuga namque ad Alliam sicut urbem prodidit, ita exercitum seruauit: ad Cannas fugientem consulem uix quinquaginta secuti sunt, alterius morientis

prope totus exercitus fuit. Binis in castris cum multitudo semiermis sine ducibus esset, nuntium qui in maioribus erant mittunt, dum proelio, deinde ex laetitia epulis fatigatos quies nocturna hostes premeret ut ad se transirent: uno agmine Canusium abituros esse. eam sententiam alii totam aspernari; cur enim illos, qui se arcessant, ipsos non uenire, cum aequae coniungi possent? Quia uidelicet plena hostium omnia in medio essent, et aliorum quam sua corpora tanto periculo mallent obicere. Aliis non tam sententia displicere quam animus deesse: P. Sempronius Tuditanus tribunus militum “capi ergo mauoltis” inquit, “ab auarissimo et crudelissimo hoste aestimarique capita uestra et exquiri pretia ab interrogantibus Romanus ciuis sis an Latinus socius, et ex tua contumelia et miseria alteri honos quaeratur? Non tu, si quidem L. Aemili consulis, qui se bene mori quam turpiter uiuere maluit, et tot fortissimorum uiuorum qui circa eum cumulati iacent ciues estis. Sed antequam opprimit lux maioraque hostium agmina obsaepiunt iter, per hos, qui inordinati atque incompositi obstrepunt portis, erumpamus. Ferro atque audacia uia fit quamuis per confertos hostes. Cuneo quidem hoc laxum atque solum agmen, ut si nihil obstet, disicias. Itaque ite mecum qui et uosmet ipsos et rem publicam saluam uoltis”. Haec ubi dicta dedit, stringit gladium cuneoque facto per medios uadit hostes et, cum in latus dextrum quod patebat Numidae iacularentur, translatis in dextrum scutis in maiora castra ad sescenti euaserunt atque inde protinus alio magno agmine adiuncto Canusium incolumes perueniunt. Haec apud uictos magis impetu animorum, quos ingenium suum cuique aut fors dabat, quam ex consilio ipsorum aut imperio cuiusquam agebatur.

[51] Hannibali uictori cum ceteri circumfusi gratularentur suaderentque ut, tanto perfunctus bello, diei quod reliquum esset noctisque insequentis quietem et ipse sibi sumeret et fessis daret militibus, Maharbal praefectus equitum, minime cessandum ratus, “immo ut quid hac pugna sit actum scias, die quinto” inquit, “uictor in Capitolio epulaberis. Sequere; cum equite, ut prius uenisse quam uenturum sciant, praecedam.” Hannibali nimis laeta res est uisa maiorque quam ut eam statim capere animo posset. Itaque uoluntatem se laudare Maharbalis ait; ad consilium pensandum temporis opus esse. Tum Maharbal: “non omnia nimirum eidem di

dedere. Vincere scis, Hannibal; uictoria uti nescis,” mora eius diei satis creditur saluti fuisse urbi atque imperio. Postero die ubi primum inluxit, ad spolia legenda foedamque etiam hostibus spectandam stragem insistunt. Iacebant tot Romanorum milia, pedites passim equitesque, ut quem cuique fors aut pugna iunxerat aut fuga; adsurgentes quidam ex strage media cruenti, quos stricta matutino frigore excitauerant uolnera, ab hoste oppressi sunt; quosdam et iacentes uiuos succisis feminibus poplitibusque inuenerunt nudantes ceruicem iugulumque et reliquum sanguinem iubentes haurire; inuenti quidam sunt mersis in effossam terram capitibus quos sibi ipsos fecisse foueas obruentesque ora superiecta humo interclusisse spiritum apparebat. Praecipue conuertit omnes subtractus Numida mortuo superincubanti Romano uiuus naso auribusque laceratis, cum manibus ad capiendum telum inutilibus, in rabiem ira uersa laniando dentibus hostem exspirasset.

[52] Spoliis ad multum diei lectis, Hannibal ad minora ducit castra oppugnanda et omnium primum brachio obiecto [a] flumine eos excludit; ceterum omnibus labore, uigiliis, uolneribus etiam fessis maturior ipsius spe deditio est facta. Pacti ut arma atque equos traderent, in capita Romana trecenis nummis quadrigatis, in socios ducenis, in seruos centenis et ut eo pretio persoluto cum singulis abirent uestimentis, in castra hostes acceperunt traditique in custodiam omnes sunt, seorsum ciues sociique. dum ibi tempus teritur, interea cum ex maioribus castris, quibus satis uirium aut animi fuit, ad quattuor milia hominum et ducenti equites, alii agmine, alii palati passim per agros, quod haud minus tutum erat, Canusium perfugissent, castra ipsa ab sauciis timidisque eadem condicione qua altera tradita hosti. Praeda ingens parta est, et praeter equos uirosque et si quid argenti (quod plurimum in phaleris equorum erat; nam ad uescendum facto perexiguo, utique militantes, utebantur) omnis cetera praeda diripienda data est. Tum sepeliendi causa conferri in unum corpora suorum iussit; ad octo milia fuisse dicuntur fortissimorum uirorum. consulem quoque Romanum conquisitum sepultumque quidam auctores sunt. Eos qui Canusium perfugerant mulier Apula nomine Busa, genere clara ac diuitiis, moenibus tantum tectisque a Canusinis acceptos, frumento, ueste, uiatico etiam iuuit, pro qua ei munificentia postea bello perfecto ab senatu honores habiti

sunt.

[53] Ceterum cum ibi tribuni militum quattuor essent, Fabius Maximus de legione prima, cuius pater priore anno dictator fuerat, et de legione secunda L. Publicius Bibulus et P. Cornelius Scipio et de legione tertia Ap. Claudius Pulcher, qui proxime aedilis fuerat, omnium consensu ad P. Scipionem admodum adulescentem et ad Ap. Claudium summa imperii delata est. Quibus consultantibus inter paucos de summa rerum nuntiat P. Furius Philus, consularis uiri filius, nequiquam eos perditam spem fouere; desperatam complorataque rem esse publicam; nobiles iuuenes quosdam, quorum principem L. Caecilium Metellum, mare ac naues spectare, ut deserta Italia ad regum aliquem transfugiant. Quod malum, praeterquam atrox, super tot clades etiam nouum, cum stupore ac miraculo torpidos defixisset qui aderant et consilium aduocandum de eo censerent, negat consilii rem esse [Scipio] Iuuenis, fatalis dux huiusce belli: audendum atque agendum, non consultandum ait in tanto malo esse. Irent secum extemplo armati qui rem publicam saluam uellent; nulla uerius quam ubi ea cogitentur hostium castra esse. Pergit ire sequentibus paucis in hospitium Metelli et, cum concilium ibi iuuenum de quibus allatum erat inuenisset, stricto super capita consultantium gladio, “ex mei animi sententia” inquit, “ut ego rem publicam populi Romani non deseram neque alium ciuem Romanum deserere patiar; si sciens fallo, tum me, Iuppiter optime maxime, domum, familiam remque meam pessimo leto adficias. In haec uerba, L. Caecili, iures postulo, ceterique qui adestis. Qui non iurauerit in se hunc gladium strictum esse sciat”. Haud secus pauidi quam si uictorem Hannibalem cernerent, iurant omnes custodiendosque semet ipsos Scipioni tradunt.

[54] Eo tempore quo haec Canusi agebantur Venusiam ad consulem ad quattuor milia et quingenti pedites equitesque, qui sparsi fuga per agros fuerant, peruenere. Eos omnes Venusini per familias benigne accipiendos curandosque cum diuisissent, in singulos equites togas et tunicas et quadrigatos nummos quinos uicenos, et pediti denos et arma quibus deerant dederunt, ceteraque publice ac priuatim hospitaliter facta certatumque ne a muliere Canusina populus Venusinus officiis uinceretur. Sed grauius onus Busae multitudo faciebat; et iam ad decem milia hominum erant, Appiusque et Scipio,

postquam incolumem esse alterum consulem acceperunt, nuntium extemplo mittunt quantaecumque secum peditum equitumque copiae essent sciscitatumque simul utrum Venusiam adduci exercitum an manere iuberet Canusi. Varro ipse Canusium copias traduxit; et iam aliqua species consularis exercitus erat moenibusque se certe, si non armis, ab hoste uidebantur defensuri. Romam ne has quidem reliquias superesse ciuium sociorumque sed occisione occisum cum duobus [consularibus ducibus] exercitum deletasque omnes copias allatum fuerat. Nunquam salua urbe tantum pauoris tumultusque intra moenia Romana fuit. Itaque succumbam oneri neque adgrediar narrare quae edissertando minora uero faciam. consule exercituque ad Trasumennum priore anno amisso non uolnus super uolnus sed multiplex clades, cum duobus consulibus duo consulares exercitus amissi nuntiabantur nec ulla iam castra Romana nec ducem nec militem esse; Hannibalis Apuliam, Samnium ac iam prope totam Italiam factam. Nulla profecto alia gens tanta mole cladis non obruta esset. compares cladem ad Aegates insulas Carthaginiensium proelio nauali acceptam, qua fracti Sicilia ac Sardinia cessere, inde uectigales ac stipendiarios fieri se passi sunt, aut pugnam aduersam in Africa, cui postea hic ipse Hannibal succubuit; nulla ex parte comparandae sunt nisi quod minore animo latae sunt.

[55] P. Furius Philus et M. Pomponius praetores senatum in curiam Hostiliam uocauerunt, ut de urbis custodia consulerent; neque enim dubitabant deletis exercitibus hostem ad oppugnandam Romam, quod unum opus belli restaret, uenturum. Cum in malis sicuti ingentibus ita ignotis ne consilium quidem satis expedirent obstreperetque clamor lamentantium mulierum et nondum palam facto uiui mortuique et per omnes paene domos promiscue complorarentur, tum Q. Fabius Maximus censuit equites expeditos et Appia et Latina uia mittendos, qui obuios percontando — aliquos profecto ex fuga passim dissipatos fore — referant quae fortuna consulum atque exercituum sit et, si quid di immortales miseriti imperii reliquum Romani nominis fecerint, ubi eae copiae sint; quo se Hannibal post proelium contulerit, quid paret, quid agat acturusque sit. Haec exploranda noscendaque per impigros iuuenes esse; illud per patres ipsos agendum, quoniam magistratuum parum sit, ut tumultum ac trepidationem in urbe tollant, matronas publico

arceant continerique intra suum quamque limen cogant, comploratus familiarum coerceant, silentium per urbem faciant, nuntios rerum omnium ad praetores deducendos curent, suae quisque fortunae domi auctorem expectent, custodesque praeterea ad portas ponant qui prohibeant quemquam egredi urbe cogantque homines nullam nisi urbe ac moenibus saluis salutem sperare. Vbi conticuerit [recte] tumultus, tum in curiam patres reuocandos consulendumque de urbis custodia esse.

[56] Cum in hanc sententiam pedibus omnes issent summotaque foro [a] magistratibus turba patres diuersi ad sedandos tumultus discessissent, tum demum litterae a C. Terentio consule allatae sunt: L. Aemilium consulem exercitumque caesum; sese Canusi esse, reliquias tantae cladis uelut ex naufragio colligentem; ad decem milia militum ferme esse inpositorum inordinatorumque; Poenum sedere ad Cannas, in captiuorum pretiis praedaeque alia nec uictoris animo nec magni ducis more nundinantem. Tum priuatae quoque per domos clades uolgatae sunt adeoque totam urbem oppleuit luctus ut sacrum anniuersarium Cereris intermissum sit, quia nec lugentibus id facere est fas nec ulla in illa tempestate matrona expers luctus fuerat. Itaque ne ob eandem causam alia quoque sacra publica aut priuata desererentur, senatus consulto diebus triginta luctus est finitus. Ceterum cum sedato urbis tumultu reuocati in curiam patres essent, aliae insuper ex Sicilia litterae allatae sunt ab T. Otacilio propraetore, regnum Hieronis classe Punica uastari; cui cum opem imploranti ferre uellent [praefecti ab se missi], nuntiatum his esse aliam classem ad Aegates insulas stare paratam instructamque, ut, ubi se uersum ad tuendam Syracusanam oram Poeni sensissent, Lilybaeum extemplo prouinciamque aliam Romanam adgrederentur; itaque classe opus esse, si regem socium Siciliamque tueri uellent.

[57] Litteris consulis praetorisque [lectis censuere patres] M. Claudium, qui classi ad Ostiam stanti praeesset, Canusium ad exercitum mittendum scribendumque consuli et, cum praetori exercitum tradidisset, primo quoque tempore, quantum per commodum rei publicae fieri posset, Romam ueniret. Territi etiam super tantas clades cum ceteris prodigiis, tum quod duae Vestales eo anno, Opimia atque Floronia, stupri compertae et altera sub terra, uti mos est, ad portam Collinam necata fuerat, altera sibimet ipsa

mortem consciuerat; L. Cantilius scriba pontificius, quos nunc minores pontifices appellant, qui cum Floronia stuprum fecerat, a pontifice maximo eo usque uirgis in comitio caesus erat ut inter uerbera exspiraret. hoc nefas cum inter tot, ut fit, clades in prodigium uersum esset, decemuiri libros adire iussi sunt et Q. Fabius Pictor Delphos ad oraculum missus est sciscitatum quibus precibus supplicisque deos possent placare et quaenam futura finis tantis cladibus foret. Interim ex fatalibus libris sacrificia aliquot extraordinaria facta, inter quae Gallus et Galla, Graecus et Graeca in foro bouario sub terram uiui demissi sunt in locum saxo consaeptum, iam ante hostiis humanis, minime Romano sacro, imbutum. Placatis satis, ut rebantur, deis M. Claudius Marcellus ab Ostia mille et quingentos milites quos in classem scriptos habebat Romam, ut urbi praesidio essent, mittit; ipse legione classica — ea legio tertia erat — cum tribunis militum Teanum Sidicinum praemissa, classe tradita P. Furio Philo collegae paucos post dies Canusium magnis itineribus contendit. Inde dictator ex auctoritate patrum dictus M. Iunius et Ti. Sempronius magister equitum dilectu edicto iuniores ab annis septemdecim et quosdam praetextatos scribunt; quattuor ex his legiones et mille equites effecti. Item ad socios Latinumque nomen ad milites ex formula accipiendos mittunt. Arma, tela, alia parari iubent et uetera spolia hostium detrahunt templis porticibusque. Et aliam formam noui dilectus inopia liberorum capitum ac necessitas dedit: octo milia iuuenum ualidorum ex seruitiis, prius sciscitantes singulos uellentne militare, empta publice armauerunt. Hic miles magis placuit, cum pretio minore redimendi captiuos copia fieret.

[58] Namque Hannibal secundum tam prosperam ad Cannas pugnam uictoris magis quam bellum gerentis intentus curis, cum captiuis productis segregatisque socios, sicut ante ad Trebiam Trasumenumque lacum, benigne adlocutus sine pretio dimisisset, Romanos quoque uocatos, quod nunquam alias antea, satis miti sermone adloquitur: non internecium sibi esse cum Romanis bellum; de dignitate atque imperio certare. Et patres uirtuti Romanae cessisse et se id adniti ut suae in uicem simul felicitati et uirtuti cedatur. Itaque redimendi se captiuis copiam facere; pretium fore in capita equiti quingenos quadrigatos nummos, trecenos pediti, seruo centenos. Quamquam aliquantum adiciebatur equitibus ad id pretium

quo pepigerant dedentes se, laeti tamen quamcumque condicionem paciscendi acceperunt. Placuit suffragio ipsorum decem deligi qui Romam ad senatum irent, nec pignus aliud fidei quam ut iurarent se redituros acceptum. Missus cum his Carthalo, nobilis Carthaginienensis, qui, si forte ad pacem inclinaret animus, condiciones ferret. Cum egressi castris essent, unus ex iis, minime Romani ingenii homo uelut aliquid oblitus, iuris iurandi soluendi causa cum in castra redisset, ante noctem comites adsequitur. Vbi Romam uenire eos nuntiatum est, Carthaloni obuiam lictor missus, qui dictatoris uerbis nuntiaret ut ante noctem excederet finibus Romanis.

[59] Legatis captiuorum senatus ab dictatore datus est, quorum princeps: “M. Iuni uosque, patres conscripti” inquit, “nemo nostrum ignorat nulli unquam ciuitati uiliores fuisse captiuos quam nostrae; ceterum, nisi nobis plus iusto nostra placet causa, non alii unquam minus neglegendi uobis quam nos in hostium potestatem uenerunt. Non enim in acie per timorem arma tradidimus sed cum prope ad noctem superstantes cumulis caesorum corporum proelium extraxissemus, in castra recepimus nos; diei reliquum ac noctem insequentem, fessi labore ac uolneribus, uallum sumus tutati; postero die, cum circumsessi ab exercitu uictore aqua arceremur nec ulla iam per confertos hostes erumpendi spes esset nec esse nefas duceremus quinquaginta milibus hominum ex acie nostra trucidatis aliquem ex Cannensi pugna Romanum militem restare, tunc demum pacti sumus pretium quo redempti dimitteremur, arma in quibus nihil iam auxilii erat hosti tradidimus. Maiores quoque acceperamus se a Gallis auro redemisse et patres uestros, asperrimos illos ad condiciones pacis, legatos tamen [ad] captiuorum redimendorum gratia Tarentum misisse. Atqui et [ad] Alliam cum Gallis et ad Heracleam cum Pyrrho utraque non tam clade infamis quam pauore et fuga pugna fuit: Cannenses campos acerui Romanorum corporum tegunt, nec supersumus pugnae nisi in quibus trucidandis et ferrum et uires hostem defecerunt. Sunt etiam de nostris quidam qui ne in acie quidem fuerunt sed praesidio castris relictis, cum castra traderentur, in potestatem hostium uenerunt. Haud equidem ullius ciuis et commilitonis fortunae aut condicioni inuideo, nec premendo alium me extulisse uelim: ne illi quidem, nisi pernicitatis pedum et cursus aliquod praemium est, qui plerique inermes ex acie fugientes non

prius quam Venusiae aut Canusii constiterunt, se nobis merito praetulerint gloriatique sint in se plus quam in nobis praesidii rei publicae esse. Sed illis et bonis ac fortibus militibus utemini et nobis etiam promptioribus pro patria, quod beneficio uestro redempti atque in patriam restituti fuerimus. Dilectum ex omni aetate et fortuna habetis; octo milia seruorum audio armari. Non minor numerus noster est nec maiore pretio redimi possumus quam ii emuntur; nam si conferam nos cum illis, iniuriam nomini Romano faciam. Illud etiam in tali consilio animaduertendum uobis censeam, patres conscripti, si iam duriores esse uelitis, quod nullo nostro merito faciatis, cui nos hosti relicturi sitis. Pyrrho uidelicet, qui [uos] hospitem numero captiuos habuit? An barbaro ac Poeno, qui utrum auarior an crudelior sit uix existimari potest? Si uideatis catenas, squalorem, deformitatem ciuium uestrorum, non minus profecto uos ea species moueat quam si ex altera parte cernatis stratas Cannensibus campis legiones uestras. Intueri potestis sollicitudinem et lacrimas in uestibulo curiae stantium cognatorum nostrorum exspectantiumque responsum uestrum. Cum ii pro nobis proque iis qui absunt ita suspensi ac solliciti sint, quem censetis animum ipsorum esse quorum in discrimine uita libertasque est? Si, mediusfidius, ipse in nos mitis Hannibal contra naturam suam esse uelit, nihil tamen nobis uita opus esse censeamus cum indigni ut redimeremur a uobis uisi simus. Rediere Romam quondam remissi a Pyrrho sine pretio captiui; sed rediere cum legatis, primoribus ciuitatis, ad redimendos sese missis. Redeam ego in patriam trecentis nummis non aestimatus ciuis? Suum quisque animum, patres conscripti. Scio in discrimine esse uitam corpusque meum; magis me famae periculum mouet, ne a uobis damnati ac repulsi abeamus; neque enim uos pretio pepercisse homines credent.”

[60] Vbi is finem fecit, extemplo ab ea turba, quae in comitio erat, clamor flebilis est sublatus manusque ad curiam tendebant orantes ut sibi liberos, fratres, cognatos redderent. Feminas quoque metus ac necessitas in foro [ac] turbae uirorum immiscuerat. Senatus summotis arbitris consuli coeptus. Ibi cum sententiis uariaretur et alii redimendos de publico, alii nullam publice impensam faciendam nec prohibendos ex priuato redimi; si quibus argentum in praesentia deesset, dandam ex aerario pecuniam mutuam praedibusque ac

praediis cauendum populo censerent, tum T. Manlius Torquatus, priscae ac nimis durae, ut plerisque uidebatur, seueritatis, interrogatus sententiam ita locutus fertur: “si tantummodo postulassent legati pro iis qui in hostium potestate sunt ut redimerentur, sine ullius insectatione eorum breui sententiam peregissem; quid enim aliud quam admonendi essetis ut morem traditum a patribus necessario ad rem militarem exemplo seruaretis? Nunc autem, cum prope gloriati sint quod se hostibus dediderint, praeferrique non captis modo in acie ab hostibus sed etiam iis qui Venusiam Canusiumque peruenerunt atque ipsi C. Terentio consuli aequum censuerint, nihil uos eorum, patres conscripti, quae illic acta sunt ignorare patiar. Atque utinam haec, quae apud uos acturus sum, Canusii apud ipsum exercitum agerem, optimum testem ignauiae cuiusque et uirtutis, aut unus hic saltem adesset P. Sempronius, quem si isti ducem secuti essent, milites hodie in castris Romanis non captiui in hostium potestate essent. Sed cum fessis pugnando hostibus, tum uictoria laetis et ipsis plerique regressis in castra sua, noctem ad erumpendum liberam habuissent et septem milia armatorum hominum erumpere etiam [per] confertos hostes possent, neque per se ipsi id facere conati sunt neque alium sequi uoluerunt. Nocte prope tota P. Sempronius Tuditanus non destitit monere, adhortari eos, dum paucitas hostium circa castra, dum quies ac silentium esset, dum nox inceptum tegere posset, se ducem sequerentur: ante lucem peruenire in tuta loca, in sociorum urbes posse. Si ut auorum memoria P. Decius tribunus militum in Samnio, si ut nobis adulescentibus priore Punico bello Calpurnius Flamma trecentis uoluntariis, cum ad tumulum eos capiendum situm inter medios duceret hostes, dixit “moriatur, milites, et morte nostra eripiamus ex obsidione circumuentas legiones”, si hoc P. Sempronius diceret, nec uiros quidem nec Romanos uos duceret, si nemo tantae uirtutis exstisset comes. Viam non ad gloriam magis quam ad salutem ferentem demonstrat; reduces in patriam ad parentes, ad coniuges ac liberos facit. Vt seruemini, deest uobis animus: quid, si moriendum pro patria esset, faceretis? Quinquaginta milia ciuium sociorumque circa uos eo ipso die caesa iacent. Si tot exempla uirtutis non mouent, nihil unquam mouebit; si tanta clades uilem uitam non fecit, nulla faciet. Liberi atque incolumes desiderate

patriam; immo desiderate, dum patria est, dum ciues eius estis. Sero nunc desideratis, deminuti capite, [abalienati iure ciuium] serui Carthaginiensium facti. Pretio redituri estis eo unde ignauia ac nequitia abistis? P. Sempronium ciuem uestrum non audistis arma capere ac sequi se iubentem; Hannibalem post paulo audistis castra prodi et arma tradi iubentem. Quam[quam quid] ego ignauiam istorum accuso, cum scelus possim accusare? Non modo enim sequi recusarunt bene monentem sed obsistere ac retinere conati sunt, ni strictis gladiis uiri fortissimi inertes summouissent. Prius, inquam, P. Sempronio per ciuium agmen quam per hostium fuit erumpendum. Hos ciues patria desideret, quorum si ceteri similes fuissent, neminem hodie ex iis qui ad Cannas pugnauerunt ciuem haberet? Ex milibus septem armatorum sescenti exstiterunt qui erumpere auderent, qui in patriam liberi atque armati redirent, neque his sescentis hostes obstitere; quam tutum iter duarum prope legionum agmini futurum censetis fuisse? Haberetis hodie uiginti milia armatorum Canusii fortia, fidelia, patres conscripti. Nunc autem quemadmodum hi boni fidelesque — nam “fortes” ne ipsi quidem dixerint - ciues esse possunt? Nisi quis credere potest aut adfuisse erumpentibus qui, ne erumperent, obsistere conati sunt, aut non inuidere eos cum incolumitati, tum gloriae illorum per uirtutem partae, cum sibi timorem ignauiamque seruitutis ignominiosae causam esse sciant. Maluerunt in tentoriis latentes simul lucem atque hostem exspectare, cum silentio noctis erumpendi occasio esset. [at] ad erumpendum e castris defuit animus, ad tutanda fortiter castra animum habuerunt; dies noctesque aliquot obsessi uallum armis, se ipsi tutati uallo sunt; tandem ultima ausi passique, cum omnia subsidia uitae deessent adfectisque fame uiribus arma iam sustinere nequirent, necessitatibus magis humanis quam armis uicti sunt. Orto sole ab hostibus ad uallum accessum; ante secundam horam, nullam fortunam certaminis experti, tradiderunt arma ac se ipsos. Haec uobis istorum per biduum militia fuit. Cum in acie stare ac pugnare decuerat, [cum] In castra refugerunt; cum pro uallo pugnandum erat, castra tradiderunt, neque in acie neque in castris utiles. Et uos redimam? Cum erumpere e castris oportet, cunctamini ac manetis; cum manere [et] castra tutari armis necesse est, et castra et arma et uos ipsos traditis hosti. Ego non magis istos redimendos, patres

conscripti, censeo quam illos dedendos Hannibali qui per medios hostes e castris eruperunt ac per summam uirtutem se patriae restituerunt.”

[61] Postquam Manlius dixit, quamquam patrum quoque plerosque captiui cognitione attingebant, praeter exemplum ciuitatis minime in captiuos iam inde antiquitus indulgentis, pecuniae quoque summa homines mouit, quia nec aerarium exhauriri, magna iam summa erogata in seruos ad militiam emendos armandosque, nec Hannibalem, maxime huiusce rei, ut fama erat, egentem, locupletari uolebant. Cum triste responsum non redimi captiuos redditum esset nouusque super ueterem luctus tot iactura ciuium adiectus esset, cum magnis fletibus questibus legatos ad portam prosecuti sunt. Vnus ex iis domum abiit, quod fallaci reditu in castra iure iurando se exsoluisset. quod ubi innotuit relatumque ad senatum est, omnes censuerunt comprehendendum et custodibus publice datis deducendum ad Hannibalem esse. Est et alia de captiuis fama: decem primos uenisse; de eis cum dubitatum in senatu essetmitterentur in urbem necne, ita admissos esse ne tamen iis senatus daretur; morantibus deinde longius omnium spe alios tres insuper legatos uenisse, L. Scribonium et C. Calpurnium et L. Manlium; tum demum ab cognato Scriboni tribuno plebis de redimendis captiuis relatum esse nec censuisse redimendos senatum; et nouos legatos tres ad Hannibalem reuertisse, decem ueteres remansisse, quod per causam recognoscendi nomina captiuorum ad Hannibalem ex itinere regressi religione sese exsoluissent; de iis dedendis magna contentione actum in senatu esse uictosque paucis sententiis qui dedendos censuerint; ceterum proximis censoribus adeo omnibus notis ignominiisque confectos esse ut quidam eorum mortem sibi ipsi extemplo consciuerint, ceteri non foro solum omni deinde uita sed prope luce ac publico caruerint. Mirari magis adeo discrepare inter auctores quam quid ueri sit discernere queas. Quanto autem maior ea clades superioribus cladibus fuerit uel ea res indicio [est quod fides socio]rum, quae ad eam diem firma steterat, tum labare coepit nulla profecto alia de re quam quod desperauerant de imperio. Defecere autem ad Poenos hi populi: Atellani, Calatini, Hirpini, Apulorum pars, Samnites praeter Pentros, Bruttii omnes, Lucani, praeter hos Vzentini, et Graecorum omnis ferme ora, Tarentini, Metapontini,

Crotonienses Locrique, et Cisalpini omnes Galli. Nec tamen eae clades defectionesque sociorum mouerunt ut pacis usquam mentio apud Romanos fieret neque ante consulis Romam aduentum nec postquam is rediit renouauitque memoriam acceptae cladis; quo in tempore ipso adeo magno animo ciuitas fuit ut consuli ex tanta clade, cuius ipse causa maxima fuisset, redeunti et obuiam itum frequenter ab omnibus ordinibus sit et gratiae actae quod de re publica non desperasset; qui si Carthaginiensium ductor fuisset, nihil recusandum supplicii foret.

LIBER XXIII

[1] Hannibal post Cannensem pugnam [castraque] capta ac direpta confestim ex Apulia in Samnium mouerat, accitus in Hirpinos a Statio [Trebio] pollicente se Compsam traditurum. Compsanus erat Trebius nobilis inter suos; sed premebat eum Mopsiorum factio, familiae per gratiam Romanorum potentis. Post famam Cannensis pugnae uolgatumque Trebi sermonibus aduentum Hannibalis cum Mopsiani urbe excessissent, sine certamine tradita urbs Poeno praesidiumque acceptum est. Ibi praeda omni atque impedimentis relictis, exercitu partito Magonem regionis eius urbes aut deficientes ab Romanis accipere aut detractantes cogere ad defectionem iubet, ipse per agrum Campanum mare inferum petit, oppugnaturus Neapolim, ut urbem maritimam haberet. Vbi fines Neapolitanorum intrauit, Numidas partim in insidiis — et pleraeque cauae sunt uiae sinusque occulti — quacumque apte poterat disposuit, alios prae se actam praedam ex agris ostentantes obequitare portis iussit. In quos, quia nec multi et incompositi uidebantur, cum turma equitum erupisset, ab cedentibus consulto tracta in insidias circumuenta est; nec euasisset quisquam, ni mare propinquum et haud procul litore naues, piscatoriae pleraeque, conspectae peritis nandi dedissent effugium. Aliquot tamen eo proelio nobiles iuuenes capti caesique, inter quos et Hegeas, praefectus equitum, intemperantius cedentes secutus cecidit. Ab urbe oppugnanda Poenum absterruere conspecta moenia haudquaquam prompta oppugnanti.

[2] Inde Capuam flectit iter, luxuriantem longa felicitate atque indulgentia fortunae, maxime tamen inter corrupta omnia licentia plebis sine modo libertatem exercentis. Senatum et sibi et plebi obnoxium Pacuius Calauius fecerat, nobilis idem ac popularis homo, ceterum malis artibus nactus opes. Is cum eo forte anno, quo res male gesta ad Trasumenum est, in summo magistratu esset, iam diu infestam senatui plebem ratus per occasionem nouandi res magnum ausuram facinus ut, si in ea loca Hannibal cum uictore exercitu uenisset, trucidato senatu traderet Capuam Poenis, improbus homo sed non ad extremum perditus, cum mallet incolumi quam euersa re publica dominari, nullam autem incolumem esse orbatam

publico consilio crederet, rationem iniit qua et senatum seruaret et obnoxium sibi ac plebi faceret. Vocato senatu cum sibi defectionis ab Romanis consilium placitum nullo modo, nisi necessarium fuisset, praefatus esset, quippe qui liberos ex Ap. Claudii filia haberet filiamque Romam nuptum M. Liuium dedisset; ceterum maiorem multo rem magisque timendam instare; non enim per defectionem ad tollendum ex ciuitate senatum plebem spectare sed per caedem senatus uacuam rem publicam tradere Hannibali ac Poenis uelle; eo se periculo posse liberare eos si permittant sibi et certaminum in re publica oblitum credant, — cum omnes uicti metu permetterent, “claudam” inquit “in curia uos et, tamquam et ipse cogitati facinoris particeps, approbando consilia quibus nequiquam aduersarer uiam saluti uestrae inueniam. In hoc fidem, quam uultis ipsi, accipite.” Fide data egressus claudii curiam iubet praesidiumque in uestibulo relinquit ne quis adire curiam iniussu suo neue inde egredi possit.

[3] Tum uocato ad contionem populo “quod saepe” inquit “optastis, Campani, ut supplicii sumendi uobis ex improbo ac detestabili senatu potestas esset, eam non per tumultum expugnantes domos singulorum, quas praesidiis clientium seruorumque tuentur, cum summo uestro periculo, sed tutam habetis ac liberam; clausos omnes in curia accipite, solos, inermes. Nec quicquam raptim aut forte temere egeritis; de singulorum capite uobis ius sententiae dicendae faciam, ut quas quisque meritis est poenas pendat; sed ante omnia ita uos irae indulgere oportet, ut potius ira salutem atque utilitatem uestram habeatis. Etenim hos, ut opinor, odistis senatores, non senatum omnino habere non uultis; quippe aut rex, quod abominandum, aut, quod unum liberae ciuitatis consilium est, senatus habendus est. Itaque duae res simul agenda uobis sunt, ut et ueterem senatum tollatis et nouum cooptetis. Citari singulos senatores iubebo de quorum capite uos consulam; quod de quoque censueritis fiet; sed prius in eius locum uirum fortem ac strenuum nouum senatorem cooptabitis quam de noxio supplicium sumatur.” Inde consedit et nominibus in urnam coniectis citari quod primum sorte nomen excidit ipsumque e curia produci iussit. Vbi auditum est nomen, malum et improbum pro se quisque clamare et supplicio dignum. Tum Pacuuius: “uideo quae de hoc sententia sit; date igitur pro malo atque improbo bonum senatorem et iustum.” Primo

silentium erat inopia potioris subiciundi; deinde cum aliquis ommissa uerecundia quempiam nominasset, multo maior extemplo clamor oriebatur, cum alii negarent nosse, alii nunc probra, nunc humilitatem sordidamque inopiam et pudendae artis aut quaestus genus obicerent. Hoc multo magis in secundo ac tertio citato senatore est factum, ut ipsius paenitere homines appareret, quem autem in eius substituerent locum deesse, quia nec eosdem nominari attinebat, nihil aliud quam ad audienda probra nominatos, et multo humiliores obscurioresque ceteri erant eis qui primi memoriae occurrebant. Ita dilabi homines, notissimum quodque malum maxime tolerabile dicentes esse iubentesque senatum ex custodia dimitti.

[4] Hoc modo Pacuuius cum obnoxium uitae beneficio senatum multo sibi magis quam plebi fecisset, sine armis iam omnibus concedentibus dominabatur. Hinc senatores ommissa dignitatis libertatisque memoria plebem adulari; salutare, benigne inuitare, apparatis accipere epulis, eas causas suscipere, ei semper parti adesse, secundum eam litem iudices dare quae magis popularis aptiorque in uolgens fauori conciliando esset; iam uero nihil in senatu agi aliter quam si plebis ibi esset concilium. Prona semper ciuitas in luxuriam non ingeniorum modo uitio sed affluentia copia uoluptatum et illecebris omnis amoenitatis maritimae terrestrisque, tum uero ita obsequio principum et licentia plebei lasciuiare ut nec libidini nec sumptibus modus esset. Ad contemptum legum, magistratuum, senatus accessit tum, post Cannensem cladem, ut, cuius aliqua uerecundia erat, Romanum quoque spernerent imperium. Id modo erat in mora ne extemplo deficerent, quod conubium uetustum multas familias claras ac potentes Romanis miscuerat, et, quod maximum uinculum erat, trecenti equites, nobilissimus quisque Campanorum, cum militarent aliquando apud Romanos in praesidia Sicularum urbium delecti ab Romanis ac missi.

[5] Horum parentes cognatique aegre peruicerunt ut legati ad consulem Romanum mitterentur. Ii nondum Canusium profectum sed Venusiae cum paucis ac semiermibus consulem inuenerunt, quam poterant maxime miserabilem bonis sociis, superbis atque infidelibus, ut erant Campani, spernendum. Et auxit rerum suarum suique contemptum consul nimis detegendo cladem nudandoque. Nam cum legati aegre ferre senatum populumque Campanum aduersi

quicquam euenisse Romanis nuntiassent pollicerenturque omnia quae ad bellum opus essent, “morem magis” inquit “loquendi cum sociis seruastis, Campani, iubentes quae opus essent ad bellum imperare, quam conuenienter ad praesentem fortunae nostrae statum locuti estis. Quid enim nobis ad Cannas relictum est ut, quasi aliquid habeamus, id quod deest expleri ab sociis uelimus? Pedites uobis imperemus tamquam equites habeamus? Pecuniam deesse dicamus tamquam ea tantum desit? Nihil, ne quod suppleremus quidem, nobis reliquit fortuna. Legiones, equitatus, arma, signa, equi uirique, pecunia, commeatus aut in acie aut binis postero die amissis castris perierunt. Itaque non iuuetis nos in bello oportet, Campani, sed paene bellum pro nobis suscipiatis. Veniat in mentem, ut trepidos quondam maiores uestros intra moenia compulsos, nec Samnitum modo hostem sed etiam Sidicinum pauentes, receptos in fidem [ad] Saticulam defenderimus coeptumque propter uos cum Samnitibus bellum per centum prope annos uariante fortuna euentum tulerimus. Adicite ad haec, quod foedus aequum deditis, quod leges uestras, quod ad extremum, id quod ante Cannensem certe cladem maximum fuit, ciuitatem nostram magnae parti uestrum dedimus communicauimusque uobiscum. Itaque communem uos hanc cladem quae accepta est credere, Campani, oportet, communem patriam tuendam arbitrari esse. Non cum Samnite aut Etrusco res est ut quod a nobis ablatum sit in Italia tamen imperium maneat; Poenus hostis ne Africae quidem indigenam ab ultimis terrarum oris, freto Oceani Herculisque columnis, expertem omnis iuris et condicionis et linguae prope humanae militem trahit. Hunc natura et moribus immitem ferumque insuper dux ipse efferauit, pontibus ac molibus ex humanorum corporum strue faciendis et, quod proloqui etiam piget, uesci corporibus humanis docendo. His infandis pastos epulis, quos contingere etiam nefas sit, uidere atque habere dominos et ex Africa et a Carthagine iura petere et Italiam Numidarum ac Maurorum pati prouinciam esse, cui non, genito modo in Italia, detestabile sit? Pulchrum erit, Campani, prolapsam clade Romanum imperium uestra fide, uestris uiribus retentum ac recipratum esse. Triginta milia peditum, quattuor milia equitum arbitror ex Campania scribi posse; iam pecuniae adfatim est frumentique. Si parem fortunae uestrae fidem habetis, nec Hannibal se uicisse sentiet nec Romani

uictos esse.”

[6] [Ab] hac oratione consulis dimissis redeuntibusque domum legatis unus ex iis Vibius Virrius tempus uenisse ait, quo Campani non agrum solum ab Romanis quondam per iniuriam ademptum recipere sed imperio etiam Italiae potiri possint; foedus enim cum Hannibale quibus uelint legibus facturos; neque controuersiam fore quin, cum ipse confecto bello Hannibal uictor in Africam decedat exercitumque deportet, Italiae imperium Campanis relinquatur. Haec Virrio loquenti assensi omnes ita renuntiant legationem uti deletum omnibus uideretur nomen Romanum. Extemplo plebes ad defectionem ac pars maior senatus spectare; extracta tamen auctoritatibus seniorum per paucos dies est res. Postremo uicit sententia plurium ut iidem legati qui ad consulem Romanum ierant ad Hannibalem mitterentur. Quo priusquam iretur certumque defectionis consilium esset, Romam legatos missos a Campanis in quibusdam annalibus inuenio, postulantes ut alter consul Campanus fieret, si rem Romanam adiuuari uellent; indignatione orta summoueri a curia iussos esse, missumque lictorem qui ex urbe educeret eos atque eo die manere extra fines Romanos iuberet. Quia nimis compar Latinorum quondam postulatio erat Coeliusque et alii id haud sine causa praetermiserint scriptores, ponere pro certo sum ueritus.

[7] Legati ad Hannibalem uenerunt pacemque cum eo condicionibus fecerunt ne quis imperator magistratusue Poenorum ius ullum in ciuem Campanum haberet neue ciuis Campanus inuitus militaret munusue faceret; ut suae leges, sui magistratus Capuae essent; ut trecentos ex Romanis captiuis Poenus daret Campanis, quos ipsi elegissent, cum quibus equitum Campanorum, qui in Sicilia stipendia facerent, permutatio fieret. Haec pacta: illa insuper quam quae pacta erant facinora Campani ediderunt: nam praefectos socium ciuesque Romanos alios, partim aliquo militiae munere occupatos, partim priuatis negotiis implicitos, plebs repente omnes comprehensos uelut custodiae causa balneis includi iussit, ubi feruore atque aestu anima interclusa foedum in modum exspirarent. Ea ne fierent neu legatio mitteretur ad Poenum, summa ope Decius Magius, uir cui ad summam auctoritatem nihil praeter sanam ciuium mentem defuit, restiterat. Vt uero praesidium mitti ab Hannibale

audiuit, Pyrrhi superbam dominationem miserabilemque Tarentinorum seruitutem exempla referens, primo ne reciperetur praesidium palam uociferatus est, deinde ut receptum aut eiceretur aut, si malum facinus quod a uetustissimis sociis consanguineisque defecissent forti ac memorabili facinore purgare uellent, ut interfecto Punico praesidio restituerent Romanis se. Haec — nec enim occulta agebantur — cum relata Hannibali essent, primo misit qui uocarent Magium ad sese in castra; deinde, cum is ferociter negasset se iturum nec enim Hannibali ius esse in ciuem Campanum, concitatus ira Poenus comprehendi hominem uinctumque attrahi ad sese iussit. Veritus deinde ne quid inter uim tumultus atque ex concitatione animorum inconsulti certaminis oreretur, ipse praemisso nuntio ad Marium Blossium, praetorem Campanum, postero die se Capuae futurum, proficiscitur e castris cum modico praesidio. Marius contione aduocata edicit, ut frequentes cum coniugibus ac liberis obuiam irent Hannibali. Ab uniuersis id non obedienter modo sed enixe, fauore etiam uolgi et studio uisendi tot iam uictoriis clarum imperatorem, factum est. Decius Magius nec obuiam egressus est nec, quo timorem aliquem ex conscientia significare posset, priuatim se tenuit; in foro cum filio clientibusque paucis otiose inambulauit trepidante tota ciuitate ad excipiendum Poenum uisendumque. Hannibal ingressus urbem senatum extemplo postulat, precantibusque inde primoribus Campanorum ne quid eo die seriae rei gereret diemque ut ipse, aduentu suo festum, laetus ac libens celebraret, quamquam praeceps ingenio in iram erat, tamen, ne quid in principio negaret, uisenda urbe magnam partem diei consumpsit.

[8] Deuersatus est apud Ninnios Celeres, Sthenium Pacuiumque, inclitos nobilitate ac diuitiis. Eo Pacuius Caluius, de quo ante dictum est, princeps factionis eius quae traxerat rem ad Poenos, filium iuuenem adduxit abstractum ab Deci Magi latere, cum quo ferocissime pro Romana societate aduersus Punicum foedus steterat, nec eum aut inclinata in partem alteram ciuitas aut patria maiestas sententia depulerat. Huic tum pater iuueni Hannibalem deprecando magis quam purgando placauit, uictusque patris precibus lacrimisque etiam ad cenam eum cum patre uocari iussit, cui conuiuio neminem Campanum praeterquam hospites Vibelliumque Tauream, insignem bello uirum, adhibiturus erat. Epulari coeperunt de die, et conuiuium

non ex more Punico aut militari disciplina esse sed, ut in ciuitate atque etiam domo diti ac luxuriosa, omnibus uoluptatum inlecebris instructum. Vnus nec dominorum inuitatione nec ipsius interdum Hannibalis Calaius filius perlici ad uinum potuit, ipse uoletudinem excusans patre animi quoque eius haud mirabilem perturbationem causante. Solis ferme occasu patrem Calaium ex conuiuio egressum secutus filius, ubi in secretum — hortus erat posticis aedium partibus — peruenerunt, “consilium” inquit “adfero, pater, quo non ueniam solum peccati, quod defecimus ad Hannibalem, impetraturi ab Romanis sed in multo maiore dignitate et gratia simus Campani [futuri] quam unquam fuimus. Cum mirabundus pater quidnam id esset consilii quaereret, toga reiecta ab umero latus succinctum gladio nudat. “Iam ego” inquit “sanguine Hannibalis sanciam Romanum foedus. Te id prius scire uolui, si forte abesse, dum facinus patratur, malles.”

[9] Quae ubi uidit audiuitque senex, uelut si iam agendis quae audiebat interesset, amens metu “per ego te” inquit, “fili, quaecumque iura liberos iungunt parentibus, precor quaesoque ne ante oculos patris facere et pati omnia infanda uelis. Paucae horae sunt intra quas iurantes per quidquid deorum est, dextrae dextras iungentes, fidem obstrinximus — ut sacratas fide manus, digressi a conloquio, extemplo in eum armaremus? Ab hospitali mensa surgis, ad quam tertius Campanorum adhibitus es ab Hannibale, — ut eam ipsam mensam cruentares hospitis sanguine? Hannibalem pater filio meo potui placare, filium Hannibali non possum? Sed sit nihil sancti, non fides, non religio, non pietas; audeantur infanda, si non perniciem nobis cum scelere ferunt. Vnus adgressurus es Hannibalem? Quid illa turba tot liberorum seruorumque? Quid in unum intenti omnium oculi? Quid tot dextrae? Torpescent in amentia illa? Voltum ipsius Hannibalis, quem armati exercitus sustinere n[equeunt], quem horret populus Romanus, tu sustinebis? Vt alia auxilia desint, me ipsum ferire corpus meum opponentem pro corpore Hannibalis sustinebis? Atqui per meum pectus petendus ille tibi transfigendusque est. Sed hic te deterreri sine potius quam illic uinci. Valeant preces apud te meae, sicut pro te hodie ualuerunt.” Lacrimantem inde iuuenem cernens medium complectitur atque osculo haerens non ante precibus abstitit quam peruicit, ut gladium

poneret fidemque daret nihil facturum tale. Tum iuuenis “ego quidem” inquit, “quam patriae debeo pietatem exsoluam patri. Tuam doleo uicem, cui ter proditae patriae sustinendum est crimen, semel cum defectionem inisti ab Romanis, iterum cum pacis cum Hannibale fuisti auctor, tertio hodie, cum restituendae Romanis Capuae mora atque impedimentum es. Tu, patria, ferrum, quo pro te armatus hanc arcem hostium inii, quoniam parens extorquet, recipe.” Haec cum dixisset, gladium in publicum trans maceriam horti abiecit et, quo minus res suspecta esset, se ipse conuiuio reddidit.

[10] Postero die senatus frequens datus Hannibali; ubi prima eius oratio perblanda ac benigna fuit, qua gratias egit Campanis quod amicitiam suam Romanae societati praeposuisent, [et] inter cetera magnifica promissa pollicitus breui caput Italiae omni Capuam fore iuraque inde cum ceteris populis Romanum etiam petiturum. Vnum esse exsortem Punicae amicitiae foederisque secum facti, quem neque esse Campanum neque dici debere, Magium Decium; eum postulare ut sibi dedatur, ac se praesente de eo referatur senatusque consultum fiat. Omnes in eam sententiam ierunt, quamquam magnae parti et uir indignus ea calamitate et haud paruo initio minui uidebatur ius libertatis. Egressus curia in templo magistratuum consedit comprehendique Decium Magium atque ante pedes destitutum causam dicere iussit. Qui cum manente ferocia animi negaret lege foederis id cogi posse, tum iniectae catenae ducique ante lictorem in castra est iussus. Quoad capite aperto est ductus, contionabundus incessit, ad circumfusam undique multitudinem uociferans: “habetis libertatem, Campani, quam petistis. Foro medio, luce clara, uidentibus uobis nulli Campanorum secundus uinctus ad mortem rapior. Quid uiolentius capta Capua fieret? Ite obuiam Hannibali, exornate urbem diemque aduentus eius consecrate, ut hunc triumphum de ciue uestro spectetis.” Haec uociferanti, cum moueri uolgens uideretur, obuolutum caput est ociusque rapi extra portam iussus. Ita in castra perducitur extemploque impositus in nauem et Carthaginem missus, ne motu aliquo Capuae ex indignitate rei orto senatum quoque paeniteret dediti principis et legatione missa ad repetendum eum aut negando rem quam primam peterent offendendi sibi noui socii auttribuendo habendus Capuae esset seditionis ac turbarum auctor. Nauem Cyrenas detulit tempestas,

quae tum in ditione regum erant. Ibi cum Magius ad statuam Ptolomaei regis confugisset, deportatus a custodibus Alexandream ad Ptolomaeum, cum eum docuisset contra ius foederis uinctum se ab Hannibale esse, uinclis liberatur, permissumque ut rediret seu Romam seu Capuam mallet. Nec Magius Capuam sibi tutam dicere et Romam eo tempore quo inter Romanos Campanosque bellum sit transfugae magis quam hospitis fore domicilium; nusquam malle quam in regno eius uiuere quem uindicem atque auctorem habeat libertatis.

[11] Dum haec geruntur, Q. Fabius Pictor legatus a Delphis Romam rediit responsumque ex scripto recitauit. Diui diuinaeque in eo erant quibus quoque modo supplicaretur; tum: “si ita faxitis, Romani, uestrae res meliores facilioresque erunt magisque ex sententia res publica uestra uobis procedet uictoriaque duelli populi Romani erit. Pythio Apollini re publica uestra bene gesta seruataque lucris meritis donum mittitote deque praeda manubiis spoliisque honorem habetote; lasciuiam a uobis prohibetote.” Haec ubi ex Graeco carmine interpretata recitauit, tum dixit se oraculo egressum extemplo iis omnibus diuis rem diuinam tunc ac uino fecisse, iussumque ab templi antistite, sicut coronatus laurea corona et oraculum adisset et rem diuinam fecisset, ita coronatum nauem adscendere nec ante deponere eam quam Romam peruenisset; se, quaecumque imperata sint, cum summa religione ac diligentia exsecutum coronam Romae in aram Apollinis deposuisse. Senatus decreuit ut eae res diuinae supplicationesque primo quoque tempore cum cura fierent. Dum haec Romae atque [in] Italia geruntur, nuntius uictoriae ad Cannas Carthaginem uenerat Mago Hamilcaris filius, non ex ipsa acie a fratre missus sed retentus aliquot dies in recipiendis ciuitatibus Bruttiorum quae deficiebant. Is, cum ei senatus datus esset, res gestas in Italia a fratre exponit: cum sex imperatoribus eum, quorum quattuor consules, duo dictator ac magister equitum fuerint, cum sex consularibus exercitibus acie conflixisse; occidisse supra ducenta milia hostium, supra quinquaginta milia cepisse. Ex quattuor consulibus duos occidisse; ex duobus saucium alterum, alterum toto amisso exercitu uix cum quinquaginta hominibus effugisse. Magistrum equitum, quae consularis potestas sit, fusum fugatum; dictatorem, quia se in aciem

nunquam commiserit, unicum haberi imperatorem. Bruttios Apulosque, partim Samnitium ac Lucanorum defecisse ad Poenos. Capuam, quod caput non Campaniae modo sed post adflictam rem Romanam Cannensi pugna Italiae sit, Hannibali se tradidisse. Pro his tantis totque uictoriis uerum esse grates deis immortalibus agi haberique.

[12] Ad fidem deinde tam laetarum rerum effundi in uestibulo curiae iussit anulos aureos, qui tantus acruus fuit ut metientibus dimidium supra tres modios explesse sint quidam auctores: fama tenuit quae propior uero est, haud plus fuisse modio. Adiecit deinde uerbis, quo maioris cladis indicium esset, neminem nisi equitem, atque eorum ipsorum primores, id gerere insigne. Summa fuit orationis, quo propius spem belli perficiendi sit, eo magis omni ope iuuandum Hannibalem esse; procul enim ab domo militiam esse, in media hostium terra; magnam uim frumenti pecuniae absumi, et tot acies, ut hostium exercitus delesse, ita uictoris etiam copias parte aliqua minuisse; mittendum igitur supplementum esse, mittendam in stipendium pecuniam frumentumque tam bene meritis de nomine Punico militibus. Secundum haec dicta Magonis laetis omnibus, Himilco, uir factionis Barcinae, locum Hannonis increpandi esse ratus, “quid est, Hanno?” Inquit; “etiam nunc paenitet belli suscepti aduersus Romanos? Iube dedi Hannibalem; ueta in tam prosperis rebus grates deis immortalibus agi; audiamus Romanum senatorem in Carthaginensium curia.” Tum Hanno: “tacuissem hodie, patres conscripti, ne quid in communi omnium gaudio minus laetum quod esset uobis loquerer; nunc interroganti senatori, paeniteatne adhuc suscepti aduersus Romanos belli, si reticeam, aut superbus aut obnoxius uidear, quorum alterum est hominis alienae libertatis obliti, alterum suae. Respondeam” inquit “Himilconi non desisse paenitere me belli neque desitutum ante inuictum uestrum imperatorem incusare quam finitum aliqua tolerabili condicione bellum uidero; nec mihi pacis antiquae desiderium ulla alia res quam pax noua finiet. Itaque ista quae modo Mago iactauit Himilconi ceterisque Hannibalis satellitibus iam laeta sunt: mihi possunt laeta esse, quia res bello bene gestae, si uolumus fortuna uti, pacem nobis aequiorem dabunt; nam si praetermittimus hoc tempus quo magis dare quam accipere possumus uideri pacem, uereor ne haec quoque laetitia

luxuriet nobis ac uana euadat. Quae tamen nunc quoque qualis est? Occidi exercitus hostium; mittite milites mihi. Quid aliud rogares, si esses uictus? Hostium cepi bina castra, praedae uidelicet plena et commeatum; frumentum et pecuniam date. Quid aliud, si spoliatus, si exutus castris esses, peteres? Et ne omnia ipse mirer — mihi quoque enim, quoniam respondi Himilconi, interrogare ius fasque est — uelim seu Himilco seu Mago respondeat, cum ad internecionem Romani imperii pugnatum ad Cannas sit constetque in defectione totam Italiam esse, primum, ecquis Latini nominis populus defecerit ad nos, deinde, ecquis homo ex quinque et triginta tribubus ad Hannibalem transfugerit.” Cum utrumque Mago negasset, “hostium quidem ergo” inquit “adhuc nimis multum superest. Sed multitudo ea quid animorum quidue spei habeat scire uelim.”

[13] Cum id nescire Mago diceret, “nihil facilius scitu est” inquit. “Ecquos legatos ad Hannibalem Romani miserunt de pace? Ecquam denique mentionem pacis Romae factam esse allatum ad uos est?” Cum id quoque negasset, “bellum igitur” inquit “tam integrum habemus quam habuimus qua die Hannibal in Italiam est transgressus. Quam uaria uictoria priore [Punico] bello fuerit plerique qui meminerimus supersumus. Nunquam terra marique magis prosperae res nostrae uisae sunt quam ante consules C. Lutatium et A. Postumium fuerunt; Lutatio et Postumio consulibus deuicti ad Aegates insulas sumus. Quod si, id quod di omen auertant, nunc quoque fortuna aliquid uariauerit, tum pacem speratis cum uincemur, quam nunc cum uincimus dat nemo? Ego, si quis de pace consulet seu deferenda hostibus seu accipienda, habeo quid sententiae dicam; si de iis quae Mago postulat refertis, nec uictoribus mitti attinere puto et frustrantibus nos falsa atque inani spe multo minus censeo mittenda esse.” Haud multos mouit Hannonis oratio; nam et simultas cum familia Barcina leuiorem auctorem faciebat et occupati animi praesenti laetitia nihil quo uanius fieret gaudium suum auribus admittebant debellatumque mox fore, si adniti paulum uoluissent, rebantur. Itaque ingenti consensu fit senatus consultum ut Hannibali quattuor milia Numidarum in supplementum mitterentur et quadraginta elephanti et argenti talenta, + dictatorque + cum Magone in Hispaniam praemissus est ad conducenda uiginti milia peditum, quattuor milia equitum, quibus exercitus qui in Italia quique in

Hispania erant, supplerentur.

[14] Ceterum haec, ut in secundis rebus, segniter otioseque gesta; Romanos praeter insitam industriam animis fortuna etiam cunctari prohibebat. Nam nec consul ulli rei quae per eum agenda esset deerat, et dictator M. Iunius Pera, rebus diuinis perfectis latoque, ut solet, ad populum ut equum escendere liceret, praeter duas urbanas legiones quae principio anni a consulibus conscriptae fuerant et seruorum dilectum cohortesque ex agro Piceno et Gallico collectas, ad ultimum prope desperatae rei publicae auxilium — cum honesta utilibus cedunt — descendit edixitque qui capitalem fraudem ausi quique pecuniae iudicati in uinculis essent, qui eorum apud se milites fierent, eos noxa pecuniaque sese exsolui iussurum. Ea sex milia hominum Gallicis spoliis, quae triumpho C. Flamini tralata erant, armauit, itaque cum uiginti quinque milibus armatorum ab urbe proficiscitur. Hannibal Capua recepta, cum iterum Neapolitanorum animos partim spe, partim metu nequiquam temptasset, in agrum Nolanum exercitum traducit, ut non hostiliter statim, quia non desperabat uoluntariam deditionem, ita, si morarentur spem, nihil eorum quae pati aut timere possent praetermissurus. Senatus ac maxime primores eius in societate Romana cum fide perstare; plebs nouarum, ut solet, rerum atque Hannibalis tota esse metumque agrorum populationis et patienda in obsidione multa grauia indignaque proponere animo; neque auctores defectionis deerant. Itaque ubi senatum metus cepit, si propalam tenderent, resisti multitudini concitatae non posse, secunda simulando dilationem mali inueniunt. Placere enim sibi defectionem ad Hannibalem simulant; quibus autem condicionibus in foedus amicitiamque nouam transeant, parum constare. Ita spatio sumpto legatos propere ad praetorem Romanum M[arcellum] Claudium, qui Casilini cum exercitu erat, mittunt docentque quanto in discrimine sit Nolana res: agrum Hannibalis esse et Poenorum, urbem extemplo futuram ni subueniatur; concedendo plebei senatum ubi uelint defecturos se, ne deficere praefestinent effecisse. Marcellus conlaudatis Nolanis eadem simulatione extrahi rem in suum aduentum iussit; interim celari quae secum acta essent spemque omnem auxilii Romani. Ipse a Casilino Caiatiam petit atque inde Volturmo amni traiecto per agrum Saticulanum Trebrianumque super Suessulam per montes Nola-

peruenit.

[15] Sub aduentum praetoris Romani Poenus agro Nolano excessit et ad mare proxime Neapolim descendit, cupidus maritimi oppidi potiundi, quo cursus nauibus tutus ex Africa esset; ceterum postquam Neapolim a praefecto Romano teneri accepit — M. Iunius Silanus erat, ab ipsis Neapolitanis accitus — Neapoli quoque, sicut Nola, omissa petit Nuceriam. Eam cum aliquamdiu circumsedisset, saepe ui, saepe sollicitandis nequiquam nunc plebe, nunc principibus, fame demum in deditionem accepit, pactus ut inermes cum singulis abirent uestimentis. Deinde ut qui a principio mitis omnibus Italicis praeter Romanos uideri uellet, praemia atque honores qui remanserint ac militare secum uoluissent proposuit. Nec ea spe quemquam tenuit; dilapsi omnes, quocumque hospitia aut fortuitus animi impetus tulit, per Campaniae urbes, maxime Nola Neapolimque. Cum ferme triginta senatores, ac forte primus quisque, Capuam petissent, exclusi inde, quod portas Hannibali clausissent, Cumas se contulerunt. Nucerina praeda militi data est, urbs direpta atque incensa. Nola Marcellus non sui magis fiducia praesidii quam uoluntate principum habebat; plebs timebatur et ante omnes L. Bantius, quem conscientia temptatae defectionis ac metus a praetore Romano nunc ad proditionem patriae, nunc, si ad id fortuna defuisset, ad transfugiendum stimulabat. Erat iuuenis acer et sociorum ea tempestate prope nobilissimus eques. Seminecem eum ad Cannas in aceruo caesorum corporum inuentum curatumque benigne, etiam cum donis Hannibal domum remiserat. Ob eius gratiam meriti rem Nolanam in ius dicionemque dare uoluerat Poeno, anxiumque eum et sollicitum cura nouandi res praetor cernebat. Ceterum cum aut poena cohibendus esset aut beneficio conciliandus, sibi adsumpsisse quam hosti ademisse fortem ac strenuum maluit socium, accitumque ad se benigne appellat: multos eum inuidos inter populares habere inde existimatu facile esse quod nemo ciuis Nolanus sibi indicauerit quam multa eius egregia facinora militaria essent; sed qui in Romanis militauerit castris, non posse obscuram eius uirtutem esse. Multos sibi qui cum eo stipendia fecerint, referre qui uir esset ille quaeque et quotiens pericula pro salute ac dignitate populi Romani adisset, utique Cannensi proelio non prius pugna abstiterit quam prope exsanguis ruina superincidentium uirorum equorum armorumque sit

oppressus. “Itaque macte uirtute esto” inquit. “Apud me tibi omnis honos atque omne praemium erit et, quo frequentior mecum fueris, senties eam rem tibi dignitati atque emolumento esse.” Laetoque iuueni promissis equum eximium dono dat bigatosque quingentos quaestorem numerare iubet; lictoribus imperat ut eum se adire quotiens uelit patiantur.

[16] Hac comitate Marcelli ferocis iuuenis animus adeo est mollitus ut nemo inde sociorum rem Romanam fortius ac fidelius iuuerit. Cum Hannibal ad portas esset — Nolum enim rursus a Nuceria mouit castra — plebesque Nolana de integro ad defectionem spectaret, Marcellus sub aduentum hostium intra muros se recepit, non castris metuens sed ne prodendae urbis occasionem nimis multis in eam imminentibus daret. Instrui deinde utrimque acies coeptae, Romanorum pro moenibus Nolae, Poenorum ante castra sua. Proelia hinc parua inter urbem castraque et uario euentu fiebant, quia duces nec prohibere paucos temere prouocantes nec dare signum uniuersae pugnae uolebant. In hac cotidiana duorum exercituum statione principes Nolanorum nuntiant Marcello nocturna conloquia inter plebem ac Poenos fieri statutumque esse ut, cum Romana acies egressa portis foret, impedimenta eorum ac sarcinas diriperent, clauderent deinde portas murosque occuparent, ut potentes rerum suarum atque urbis Poenum inde pro Romano acciperent. Haec ubi nuntiata Marcello sunt, conlaudatis senatoribus Nolanis, priusquam aliqui motus in urbe oreretur, fortunam pugnae experiri statuit. Ad tres portas in hostes uersas tripertito exercitum instruxit; impedimenta subsequi iussit, calones lixasque et inualidos milites uallum ferre. Media porta robora legionum et Romanos equites, duabus circa portis nouos milites leuemque armaturam ac sociorum equites statuit. Nolani muros portasque adire uetiti subsidiaque destinata impedimentis data, ne occupatis proelio legionibus in ea impetus fieret. Ita instructi intra portas stabant. Hannibali sub signis, id quod per aliquot dies fecerat, ad multum diei in acie stanti primo miraculo esse quod nec exercitus Romanus porta egrederetur nec armatus quisquam in muris esset. Ratus deinde prodita conloquia esse metuque resides factos, partem militum in castra remittit iussos propere apparatus omnem oppugnandae urbis in primam aciem adferre, satis fidens, si cunctantibus instaret, tumultum aliquem in

urbe plebem moturam. Dum in sua quisque ministeria discursu trepidat ad prima signa succeditque ad muros acies, patefacta repente porta Marcellus signa canere clamoremque tolli ac pedites primum, deinde equites, quanto maximo possent impetu in hostem erumpere iubet. Satis terroris tumultusque in aciem mediam intulerant, cum duabus circa portis P. Valerius Flaccus et C. Aurelius legati in cornua hostium erupere. Addidere clamorem lixae calonesque et alia turba custodiae impedimentorum adposita, ut paucitatem maxime spernentibus Poenis ingentis repente exercitus speciem fecerit. Vix equidem ausim adfirmare, quod quidam auctores sunt, duo milia et octingentos hostium caesos non plus quingentis Romanorum amissis; sed, siue tanta siue minor uictoria fuit, ingens eo die res ac nescio an maxima illo bello gesta sit; non uinci enim ab Hannibale [uincantibus] difficilior fuit quam postea uincere.

[17] Hannibal spe potiundae Nolae adempta cum Acerras recessisset, Marcellus extemplo clausis portis custodibusque dispositis ne quis egrederetur quaestionem in foro de iis qui clam in conloquiis hostium fuerant habuit. Supra septuaginta damnatos proditoris securi percussit bonaque eorum iussit publica populi Romani esse et summa rerum senatui tradita cum exercitu omni profectus supra Suessulam castris positus consedit. Poenus Acerras primum ad uoluntariam deditionem conatus perlicere, inde postquam obstinatos uidet, obsidere atque oppugnare parat. Ceterum Acerranis plus animi quam uirium erat; itaque desperata tutela urbis, ut circumuallari moenia uiderunt, priusquam continuarentur hostium opera, per intermissa munimenta neglectasque custodias silentio noctis dilapsi, per uias inuiasque qua quemque aut consilium aut error tulit, in urbes Campaniae, quas satis certum erat non mutasse fidem, perfugerunt. Hannibal Acerris direptis atque incensis, cum a Casilino dictatorem Romanum legionesque acciri nuntiassent, ne quid noui tam propinquis hostium castris Capuae quoque occurreret, exercitum ad Casilinum ducit. Casilinum eo tempore quingenti Praenestini habebant cum paucis Romanis Latinique nominis, quos eodem audita Cannensis clades contulerat. Hi, non confecto Praeneste ad diem dilectu, serius profecti domo cum Casilinum ante famam aduersae pugnae uenissent et aliis adgregantibus sese Romanis sociisque, profecti a Casilino cum satis magno agmine irent, auertit eos retro

Casilinum nuntius Cannensis pugnae. Ibi cum dies aliquot, suspecti Campanis timentesque, cauendis ac struendis in uicem insidiis traduxissent, ut de Capuae defectione agi accipique Hannibalem satis pro certo habuere, interfectis nocte oppidanis partem urbis, quae cis Volturnum est — eo enim diuiditur amni — occupauere idque praesidii Casilini habebant Romani. Additur et Perusina cohors, homines quadringenti sexaginta, eodem nuntio quo Praenestini paucos ante dies, Casilinum compulsi. Et satis ferme armatorum ad tam exigua moenia et flumine altera parte cincta tuenda erat: penuria frumenti, nimium etiam ut uideretur hominum, efficiebat.

[18] Hannibal cum iam inde haud procul esset, Gaetulorum cum praefecto nomine Isalca praemittit ac primo, si fiat conloquii copia, uerbis benignis ad portas aperiundas praesidiumque accipiendum perlicere iubet: si in pertinacia perstent, ui rem gerere ac temptare si qua parte inuadere urbem possit. Vbi ad moenia accessere, quia silentium erat, solitudo uisa; metuque concessum barbarus ratus moliri portas et claustra refringere parat, cum patefactis repente portis cohortes duae, ad id ipsum instructae intus, ingenti cum tumultu erumpunt stragemque hostium faciunt. Ita primis repulsis Maharbal cum maiore robore uirorum missus nec ipse eruptionem cohortium sustinuit. Postremo Hannibal castris ante ipsa moenia oppositis paruam urbem paruamque praesidium summa ui atque omnibus copiis oppugnare parat, ac dum instat lacessitque corona undique circumdatis moenibus, aliquot milites et promptissimum quemque e muro turribusque ictos amisit. Semel ultro erumpentes agmine elephantorum opposito prope interclusit trepidosque compulsi in urbem satis multis ut ex tanta paucitate interfectis; plures cecidissent ni nox proelio interuenisset. Postero die omnium animi ad oppugnandum accenduntur, utique postquam corona aurea muralis proposita est atque ipse dux castelli plano loco positi segnem oppugnationem Sagunti expugnatoribus exprobrabat, Cannarum Trasmennique et Trebiae singulos admonens uniuersosque. Inde uineae quoque coeptae agi cuniculique; nec ad uarios conatus hostium aut uis ulla aut ars deerat sociis Romanorum. Propugnacula aduersus uineas statuere, transuersis cuniculis hostium cuniculos excipere, et palam et clam coeptis obuiam ire, donec pudor etiam Hannibalem ab incepto auertit, castrisque communitis ac praesidio

modico imposito, ne omissa res uideretur, in hiberna Capuam concessit. Ibi partem maiorem hiemis exercitum in tectis habuit, aduersus omnia humana mala saepe ac diu duratum, bonis inexpertum atque insuetum. Itaque, quos nulla mali uicerat uis, perdidere nimia bona ac uoluptates immodicae, et eo impensius quod audius ex insolentia in eas se merserant. Somnus enim et uinum et epulae et scorta balineaque et otium consuetudine in dies blandius ita eneruauerunt corpora animosque ut magis deinde praeteritae uictoriae eos quam praesentes tutarentur uires, maiusque id peccatum ducis apud peritos artium militarium haberetur quam quod non ex Cannensi acie protinus ad urbem Romanam duxisset; illa enim cunctatio distulisse modo uictoriam uideri potuit, hic error uires ademisse ad uincendum. Itaque hercule, uelut si cum alio exercitu a Capua exiret, nihil usquam pristinae disciplinae tenuit. Nam et redierunt plerique scortis impliciti et, ubi primum sub pellibus haberi coepti sunt, uiaque et alius militaris labor excepit, tironum modo corporibus animisque deficiebant, et deinde per omne aestiuorum tempus magna pars sine commeatibus ab signis dilabebantur neque aliae latebrae quam Capua desertoribus erant.

[19] Ceterum mitescere iam hieme educto ex hibernis milite Casilinum redit, ubi, quamquam ab oppugnatione cessatum erat, obsidio tamen continua oppidanos praesidiumque ad ultimum inopiae adduxerat. Castris Romanis Ti. Sempronius praeerat dictatore auspiciorum repetendorum causa profecto Romam. Marcellum et ipsum cupientem ferre auxilium obsessis et Volturnus amnis inflatus aquis et preces Nolanorum Acerranorumque tenebant, Campanos timentium si praesidium Romanum abscississet. Gracchus adsidens tantum Casilino, quia praedictum erat dictatoris ne quid absente eo rei gereret, nihil mouebat, quamquam quae facile omnem patientiam uincerent nuntiabantur a Casilino; nam et praecipitasse se quosdam non tolerantes famem constabat et stare inermes in muris, nuda corpora ad missilium telorum ictus praebentes. Ea aegre patiens Gracchus, cum neque pugnam conserere dictatoris iniussu auderet — pugnandum autem esse, si palam frumentum importaret, uidebat — neque clam importandi spes esset, farre ex agris circa undique conuecto cum complura dolia complisset, nuntium ad magistratum Casilinum misit ut exciperent

dolia quae amnis deferret. Insequenti nocte intentis omnibus in flumen ac spem ab nuntio Romano factam dolia medio missa amni defluerunt; aequaliter inter omnes frumentum diuisum. Id postero quoque die ac tertio factum est; nocte et mittebantur et perueniebant; eo custodias hostium fallebant. Imbribus deinde continuis citatior solito amnis transuerso uertice dolia impulit ad ripam quam hostes seruabant. Ibi haerentia inter obnata ripis salicta conspiciuntur, nuntiatumque Hannibali est et deinde intentiore custodia cautum ne quid falleret Volturno ad urbem missum. Nuces tamen fusae ab Romanis castris, cum medio amni ad Casilinum defluerent, cratibus excipiebantur. Postremo ad id uentum inopiae est, ut lora detractasque scutis pelles, ubi feruida mollissent aqua, mandere conarentur nec muribus alioque animali abstinerent et omne herbarum radicisque genus aggeribus infimis muri eruerent. Et cum hostes obarassent quidquid herbidi terreni extra murum erat, raporum semen iniecerunt, ut Hannibal “eone usque dum ea nascuntur ad Casilinum sessurus sum?” Exclamaret; et qui nullam antea pactionem auribus admiserat, tum demum agi secum est passus de redemptione liberorum capitum. Septunces auri in singulos pretium conuenit. Fide accepta tradiderunt sese. Donec omne aurum persolutum est, in uinculis habiti; tum remissi summa cum fide. Id uerius est quam ab equite in abeuntes immisso interfectos. Praenestini maxima pars fuere. Ex quingentis septuaginta qui in praesidio fuerunt, minus dimidium ferrum famesque absumpsit: ceteri incolumes Praeneste cum praetore suo M. Anicio — scriba is antea fuerat — redierunt. Statua eius indictio fuit, Praeneste in foro statuta, loricata, amicta toga, uelato capite, [et tria signa] cum titulo lamnae aeneae inscripto, M. Anicium pro militibus qui Casilini in praesidio fuerint uotum soluisse. Idem titulus tribus signis in aede Fortunae positus fuit subiectus.

[20] Casilinum oppidum redditum Campanis est, firmatum septingentorum militum de exercitu Hannibalis praesidio, ne, ubi Poenus inde abscessisset, Romani oppugnarent. Praenestinis militibus senatus Romanus duplex stipendium et quinquennii militiae uacationem decreuit; ciuitate cum donarentur ob uirtutem, non mutauerunt. Perusinorum casus obscurior fama est, quia nec ipsorum monumento ullo est illustratus nec decreto Romanorum. Eodem

tempore Petelinos, qui uni ex Bruttiiis manserant in amicitia Romana, non Carthaginienses modo qui regionem obtinebant sed Bruttii quoque ceteri ob separata ab se consilia oppugnabant. Quibus cum obsistere malis nequirent Petelini, legatos Romam ad praesidium petendum miserunt. Quorum preces lacrimaeque in questus enim flebiles, cum sibimet ipsi consulere iussi sunt, sese in uestibulo curiae profuderunt — ingentem misericordiam patribus ac populo mouerunt, consultique iterum a M. Aemilio praetore patres circumspectis omnibus imperii uiribus fateri coacti nihil iam longinquis sociis in se praesidii esse, redire domum fideque ad ultimum expleta consulere sibimet ipsos in reliquum [pro] praesenti fortuna iusserunt. Haec postquam renuntiata legatio Petelinis est, tantus repente maeror pauorque senatum eorum cepit ut pars profugiendi qua quisque posset ac deserendae urbis auctores essent, pars, quando deserti a ueteribus sociis essent, adiungendi se ceteris Bruttiiis ac per eos dedendi Hannibali. Vicit tamen ea pars quae nihil raptim nec temere agendum consulendumque de integro censuit. Relata postero die per minorem trepidationem re tenuerunt optimates ut conuectis omnibus ex agris urbem ac muros firmarent.

[21] Per idem fere tempus litterae ex Sicilia Sardiniaque Romam allatae. Priores ex Sicilia T. Otacili propraetoris in senatu recitatae sunt: P. Furium praetorem cum classe ex Africa Lilybaeum uenisse; ipsum grauiter saucium in discrimine ultimo uitae esse; militi ac naualibus sociis neque stipendium neque frumentum ad diem dari neque unde detur esse; magno opere suadere ut quam primum ea mittantur, sibique, si ita uideatur, ex nouis praetoribus successorem mittant. Eademque ferme de stipendio frumentoque ab A. Cornelio Mammula propraetore ex Sardinia scripta. Responsum utrique non esse unde mitteretur, iussique ipsi classibus atque exercitibus suis consulere. T. Otacilius ad unicum subsidium populi Romani, Hieronem, legatos cum misisset, in stipendium quanti argenti opus fuit et sex mensum frumentum accepit; Cornelio in Sardinia ciuitates sociae benigne contulerunt. Et Romae quoque propter penuriam argenti triumuiroi mensarii rogatione M. Minucii tribuni plebis facti, L. Aemilius Papus, qui consul censorque fuerat, et M. Atilius Regulus, qui bis consul fuerat, et L. Scribonius Libo, qui tum tribunus plebis erat. Et duumuiri creati M. et C. Atilii aedem

Concordiae, quam L. Manlius praetor uouerat, dedicauerunt; et tres pontifices creati, Q. Caecilius Metellus et Q. Fabius Maximus et Q. Fuluius Flaccus, in locum P. Scantini demortui et L. Aemili Pauli consulis et Q. Aeli Paeti, qui ceciderant pugna Cannensi.

[22] Cum cetera quae continuis cladibus fortuna minuerat, quantum consiliis humanis adsequi poterant, patres explessent, tandem se quoque et solitudinem curiae paucitatemque conuenientium ad publicum consilium respexerunt; neque enim post L. Aemilium et C. Flaminium censores senatus lectus fuerat, cum tantum senatorum aduersae pugnae, ad hoc sui quemque casus per quinquennium absumpsissent. Cum de ea re M. Aemilius praetor, dictatore post Casilinum amissum profecto iam ad exercitum, exposcentibus cunctis rettulisset, tum Sp. Caruilius cum longa oratione non solum inopiam sed paucitatem etiam ciuium ex quibus in patres legerentur conquestus esset, explendi senatus causa et iungendi artius Latini nominis cum populo Romano magno opere se suadere dixit ut ex singulis populis Latinorum binis senatoribus, [quibus] patres Romani censuissent, ciuitas daretur, atque [inde] in demortuorum locum in senatum legerentur. Eam sententiam haud aequioribus animis quam ipsorum quondam postulatum Latinorum patres audierunt; et cum fremitus indignantium tota curia esset et praecipue T. Manlius esse etiam nunc eius stirpis uirum diceret ex qua quondam in Capitolio consul minatus esset quem Latinum in curia uidisset eum sua manu se interfectorum, Q. Fabius Maximus nunquam rei ullius alieniore tempore mentionem factam in senatu dicit quam inter tam suspensos sociorum animos incertamque fidem id iactum quod insuper sollicitaret eos; eam unius hominis temerariam uocem silentio omnium exstinguendam esse et, si quid unquam arcani sanctiue ad silendum in curia fuerit, id omnium maxime tegendum, occulendum, obliuiscendum, pro non dicto habendum esse. Ita eius rei oppressa mentio est. Dictatorem, qui censor ante fuisset uetustissimusque ex iis qui uiuerent censoriis esset, creari placuit qui senatum legeret, accirique C. Terentium consulem ad dictatorem dicendum iusserunt. Qui ex Apulia relicto ibi praesidio cum magnis itineribus Romam redisset, nocte proxima, ut mos erat, M. Fabium Buteonem ex senatus consulto sine magistro equitum dictatorem in sex menses dixit.

[23] Is ubi cum lictoribus in rostra escendit, neque duos dictatores tempore uno, quod nunquam antea factum esset, probare se dixit, neque dictatorem sine magistro equitum, nec censoriam uim uni permissam et eidem iterum, nec dictatori, nisi rei gerendae causa creato, in sex menses datum imperium. Quae immoderata fors, tempus ac necessitas fecerit, iis se modum impositurum; nam neque senatu quemquam moturum ex iis quos C. Flaminius L. Aemilius censores in senatum legissent; transcribi tantum recitarique eos iussurum, ne penes unum hominem iudicium arbitriumque de fama ac moribus senatoriis fuerit; et ita in demortuorum locum sublecturum ut ordo ordini, non homo homini praelatus uideretur. Recitato uetere senatu, inde primos in demortuorum locum legit qui post L. Aemilium C. Flaminium censores curulem magistratum cepissent necdum in senatum lecti essent, ut quisque eorum primus creatus erat; tum legit qui aediles, tribuni plebis, quaestoresue fuerant; tum ex iis qui [non] magistratus cepissent, qui spolia ex hoste fixa domi haberent aut ciuicam coronam acceperant. Ita centum septuaginta septem cum ingenti adprobatione hominum in senatum lectis, extemplo se magistratu abdicauit priuatusque de rostris descendit lictoribus abire iussis, turbaeque se immiscuit priuatas agentium res, tempus hoc sedulo terens ne deducendi sui causa populum de foro abduceret. Neque tamen elanguit cura hominum ea mora frequentesque eum domum deduxerunt. Consul nocte insequenti ad exercitum redit non facto certiore senatu ne comitiorum causa in urbe retineretur.

[24] Postero die consultus a M. Pomponio praetore senatus decreuit dictatori scribendum uti, si e re publica censeret esse, ad consules subrogandos ueniret cum magistro equitum et praetore M. Marcello, ut ex iis praesentibus noscere patres possent quo statu res publica esset consiliaque ex rebus caperent. Qui acciti erant, omnes uenerunt relictis legatis qui legionibus praessent. Dictator de se pauca ac modice locutus in magistrum equitum Ti. Sempronium Gracchum magnam partem gloriae uertit comitiaque edixit, quibus L. Postumius tertium absens, qui tum Galliam prouinciam obtinebat, et Ti. Sempronius Gracchus, qui tum magister equitum et aedilis curulis erat, consules creantur. Praetores inde creati M. Valerius Laeuinus iterum, Ap. Claudius Pulcher, Q. Fuluius Flaccus, Q. Mucius

Scaeuola. Dictator creatis magistratibus Teanum in hiberna ad exercitum redit relicto magistro equitum Romae, qui, cum post paucos dies magistratum initurus esset, de exercitibus scribendis comparandisque in annum patres consuleret. Cum eae res maxime agerentur, noua clades nuntiata aliam super aliam cumulante in eum annum fortuna, L. Postumium consulem designatum in Gallia ipsum atque exercitum deletos. Silua erat uasta- Litanam Galli uocabant — qua exercitum traducturus erat. Eius siluae dextra laeuaque circa uiam Galli arbores ita inciderunt ut immotae starent, momento leui impulsae occiderent. Legiones duas Romanas habebat Postumius, sociumque ab supero mari tantum conscripserat ut uiginti quinque milia armatorum in agros hostium induxerit. Galli oram extremae siluae cum circumsedissent, ubi intrauit agmen saltum, tum extremas arborum succisarum impellunt; quae alia in aliam, instabilem per se ac male haerentem, incidentes ancipiti strage arma, uiros, equos obruerunt, ut uix decem homines effugerent. Nam cum exanimati plerique essent arborum truncis fragmentisque ramorum, ceteram multitudinem inopinato malo trepidam Galli saltum omnem armati circumsedentes interfecerunt paucis e tanto numero captis, qui pontem fluminis petentes obsesso ante ab hostibus ponte interclusi sunt. Ibi Postumius omni ui ne caperetur dimicans occubuit. Spolia corporis caputque praecisum ducis Boii ouantes templo quod sanctissimum est apud eos intulere. Purgato inde capite, ut mos iis est, caluam auro caelauere, idque sacrum uas iis erat quo sollemnibus libarent poculumque idem sacerdoti esset ac templi antistitibus. Praeda quoque haud minor Gallis quam uictoria fuit; nam etsi magna pars animalium strage siluae oppressa erat, tamen ceterae res, quia nihil dissipatum fuga est, stratae per omnem iacentis agminis ordinem inuentae sunt.

[25] Hac nuntiata clade cum per dies multos in tanto pauore fuisset ciuitas ut tabernis clausis uelut nocturna solitudine per urbem acta senatus aedilibus negotium daret ut urbem circumirent aperirique tabernas et maestitiae publicae speciem urbi demi iuberent, tum Ti. Sempronius senatum habuit consolatusque patres est, et adhortatus ne qui Cannensi ruinae non succubuissent ad minores calamitates animos summitterent: quod ad Carthaginienses hostes Hannibalemque attineret, prospera modo essent, sicut speraret,

futura, Gallicum bellum et omitti tuto et differri posse ultionemque eam fraudis in deorum ac populi Romani potestate fore: de hoste Poeno exercitibusque, per quos id bellum gereretur, consultandum atque agendum. Ipse primum quid peditum equitumque, quid ciuium, quid sociorum in exercitu esset dictatoris, disseruit; tum Marcellus suarum copiarum summam exposuit. Quid in Apulia cum C. Terentio consule esset a peritis quaesitum est nec unde duo consulares exercitus satis firmi ad tantum bellum efficerentur inibatur ratio. Itaque Galliam, quamquam stimulabat iusta ira, omitti eo anno placuit. Exercitus dictatoris consuli decretus est. De exercitu M. Marcelli, qui eorum ex fuga Cannensi essent, in Siciliam eos traduci atque ibi militare donec in Italia bellum esset placuit; eodem ex dictatoris legionibus reici militem minimi quemque roboris nullo praestituto militiae tempore nisi quod stipendiorum legitimorum esset. Duae legiones urbanae alteri consuli, qui in locum L. Postumi suffectus esset, decretae sunt eumque, cum primum saluis auspiciis posset, creari placuit; legiones praeterea duas primo quoque tempore ex Sicilia acciri, atque inde consulem, cui legiones urbanae euenissent, militum sumere quantum opus esset; C. Terentio consuli prorogari in annum imperium neque de eo exercitu quem ad praesidium Apuliae haberet quicquam minui.

[26] Dum haec in Italia geruntur apparanturque, nihilo segnius in Hispania bellum erat sed ad eam diem magis prosperum Romanis. P. et Cn. Scipionibus inter se partitis copias ut Gnaeus terra, Publius nauibus rem gereret, Hasdrubal, Poenorum imperator, neutri parti uirium satis fidens, procul ab hoste interuallo ac locis tutus tenebat se, quoad multum ac diu obtestanti quattuor milia peditum et quingenti equites in supplementum missi ex Africa sunt. Tum refecta tandem spe, castra propius hostem mouit classemque et ipse instrui pararique iubet ad insulas maritimamque oram tutandam. In ipso impetu mouendarum de integro rerum perculit eum praefectorum nauium transitio, qui post classem ad Hiberum per pauorem desertam grauiter increpiti nunquam deinde satis fidi aut duci aut Carthaginiensium rebus fuerant. Fecerant hi transfugae motum in Tartesiorum gente, descuerantque his auctoribus urbes aliquot; una etiam ab ipsis ui capta fuerat. In eam gentem uersum ab Romanis bellum est, infestoque exercitu Hasdrubal ingressus agrum hostium

pro captae ante dies paucos urbis moenibus Chalbum, nobilem Tartesiorum ducem, cum ualido exercitu castris se tenentem, adgredi statuit. Praemissa igitur leui armatura quae eliceret hostes ad certamen, equitum partem ad populandum per agros passim dimisit [et] ut palantes exciperent. Simul et ad castra tumultus erat et per agros fugaque et caedes; deinde undique diuersis itineribus cum in castra se recepissent, adeo repente decessit animis pauor ut non ad munimenta modo defendenda satis animorum esset sed etiam ad lacessendum proelio hostem. Erumpunt igitur agmine e castris, tripudiantes more suo, repentinaque eorum audacia terrorem hosti paulo ante ultro lacessenti incussit. Itaque et ipse Hasdrubal in collem satis arduum, flumine etiam obiecto tutum, copias subducit et praemissam leuem armaturam equitesque palatos eodem recipit, nec aut colli aut flumini satis fidens, castra uallo permunit. In hoc alterno pauore certamina aliquot sunt contracta; nec Numida Hispano eques par fuit nec iaculator Maurus caetrato, uelocitate pari, robore animi uiriumque aliquantum praestanti.

[27] Postquam neque elicere Poenum ad certamen obuersati castris poterant neque castrorum oppugnatio facilis erat, urbem Ascuam, quo fines hostium ingrediens Hasdrubal frumentum commeatusque alios conuexerat, ui capiunt omnique circa agro potiuntur; nec iam aut in agmine aut in castris ullo imperio contineri. Quam ubi neglegentiam ex re, ut fit, bene gesta oriri senserat Hasdrubal, cohortatus milites ut palatos sine signis hostes adgrederentur, degressus colle pergit ire acie instructa ad castra. Quem ut adesse tumultuose nuntii refugientes ex speculis stationibusque attulere, ad arma conclamatum est. Vt quisque arma ceperat, sine imperio, sine signo, incompositi, inordinati in proelium ruunt. Iam primi conseruerant manus, cum alii cateruatim currerent, alii nondum e castris exissent; tamen primo ipsa audacia terruere hostem; deinde rari in confertos inlati, cum paucitas parum tuta esset, respicere alii alios et undique pulsi coire in orbem, et, dum corpora corporibus applicant armaque armis iungunt, in artum compulsi, cum uix mouendis armis satis spatii esset, corona hostium cincti ad multum diei caeduntur; exigua pars eruptione facta siluas ac montes petit. Parique terrore et castra sunt deserta et uniuersa gens postero die in deditionem uenit. Nec diu in pacto mansit; nam subinde ab

Carthagine allatum est ut Hasdrubal primo quoque tempore in Italiam exercitum duceret, quae uulgata res per Hispaniam omnium ferme animos ad Romanos auertit. Itaque Hasdrubal extemplo litteras Carthaginem mittit, indicans quanto fama profectionis suae damno fuisset: si uero inde pergeret, priusquam Hiberum transiret Romanorum Hispaniam fore; nam praeterquam quod nec praesidium nec ducem haberet quem relinqueret pro se, eos imperatores esse Romanos quibus uix aequis uiribus resisti possit. Itaque si ulla Hispaniae cura esset, successorem sibi cum ualido exercitu mitterent; cui si omnia prospere euenirent, non tamen otiosam prouinciam fore.

[28] Eae litterae quamquam primo admodum mouerunt senatum, tamen, quia Italiae cura prior potiorque erat, nihil de Hasdrubale neque de copiis eius mutatum est: Himilco cum exercitu iusto et aucta classe ad retinendam terra marique ac tuendam Hispaniam est missus. Qui ut pedestres naualesque copias traiecit, castris communis nauibusque subductis et uallo circumdatis cum equitibus delectis ipse, quantum maxime accelerare poterat, per dubios infestisque populos iuxta intentus ad Hasdrubalem peruenit. Cum decreta senatus mandataque exposuisset atque edoctus fuisset ipse in uicem quemadmodum tractandum bellum in Hispania foret, retro in sua castra rediit, nulla re quam celeritate tutior, quod undique abierat antequam consentirent. Hasdrubal priusquam moueret castra pecunias imperat populis omnibus suae dicionis, satis gnarus Hannibalem transitus quosdam pretio mercatum nec auxilia Gallica aliter quam conducta habuisse; inopem tantum iter ingressum uix penetraturum ad Alpes fuisse. Pecuniis igitur raptim exactis ad Hiberum descendit. Decreta Carthaginiensium et Hasdrubalis iter ubi ad Romanos sunt perlata, omnibus omissis rebus ambo duces iunctis copiis ire obuiam coeptis atque obsistere parant, rati, si Hannibali, uix per se ipsi tolerando Italiae hosti, Hasdrubal dux atque Hispaniensis exercitus esset iunctus, illum finem Romani imperii fore. His anxii curis ad Hiberum contrahunt copias et transito amne, cum diu consultassent utrum castra castris conferrent an satis haberent sociis Carthaginiensium oppugnandis morari ab itinere proposito hostem, urbem a propinquo flumine Hiberam appellatam, opulentissimam ea tempestate regionis eius, oppugnare parant. Quod ubi sensit Hasdrubal, pro ope ferenda sociis pergit ire ipse ad urbem

deditam nuper in fidem Romanorum oppugnandam. Ita iam coepta obsidio omissa ab Romanis est et in ipsum Hasdrubalem uersum bellum.

[29] Quinque milium interuallo castra distantia habuere paucos dies nec sine leuibus proeliis nec ut in aciem exirent: tandem uno eodemque die uelut ex composito utrimque signum pugnae propositum est atque omnibus copiis in campum descensum. Triplex stetit Romana acies; uelutum pars inter antesignanos locata, pars post signa accepta; equites cornua cinxere. Hasdrubal mediam aciem Hispanis firmat; in cornibus, dextro Poenos locat, laeuo Afros mercenariorumque auxilia; equitum Numidas Poenorum peditibus, ceteros Afris, pro cornibus apponit. Nec omnes Numidae in dextro locati cornu sed quibus desultorum in modum binos trahentibus equos inter acerrimam saepe pugnam in recentem equum ex fesso armatis transultare mos erat; tanta uelocitas ipsis tamque docile equorum genus est. Cum hoc modo instructi starent, imperatorum utriusque partis haud ferme dispares spes erant; nam ne multum quidem aut numero aut genere militum hi aut illi praestabant; militibus longe dispar animus erat. Romanis enim, quamquam procul a patria pugnarent, facile persuaserant duces pro Italia atque urbe Romana eos pugnare; itaque, uelut quibus reditus in patriam [in] eo discrimine pugnae uerteretur, obstinauerant animis uincere aut mori. Minus pertinaces uiros habebat altera acies; nam maxima pars Hispani erant, qui uinci in Hispania quam uictores in Italiam trahi malebant. Primo igitur concursu, cum uix pila coniecta essent, rettulit pedem media acies inferentibusque se magno impetu Romanis uertit terga. Nihilo segnius [in] cornibus proelium fuit. Hinc Poenus, hinc Afer urget, et uelut in circumuentos proelio ancipiti pugnant; sed cum in medium tota iam coisset Romana acies, satis uirium ad dimouenda hostium cornua habuit. Ita duo diuersa proelia erant. Vtroque Romani, ut qui pulsus iam ante mediis et numero et robore uirorum praestarent, haud dubie superant. Magna uis hominum ibi occisa et, nisi Hispani uixdum conserto proelio tam effuse fugissent, perpauci ex tota superfuissent acie. Equestris pugna nulla admodum fuit, quia, simul inclinatam mediam aciem Mauri Numidaeque uidere, extemplo fuga effusa nuda cornua elephantis quoque prae se actis deseruere. Et Hasdrubal usque ad ultimum euentum pugnae

moratus e media caede cum paucis effugit. Castra Romani cepere atque diripere. Ea pugna si qua dubia [in] Hispania erant Romanis adiunxit, Hasdrubalique non modo in Italiam traducendi exercitus sed ne manendi quidem satis tuto in Hispania spes reliqua erat. Quae posteaquam litteris Scipionum Romae uolgata sunt, non tam uictoria quam prohibito Hasdrubalis in Italiam transitu laetabantur.

[30] Dum haec in Hispania geruntur, Petelia in Bruttii aliquot post mensibus quam coepta oppugnari erat ab Himilcone praefecto Hannibalis expugnata est. Multo sanguine ac uulneribus ea Poenis uictoria stetit nec ulla magis uis obsessos quam fames expugnauit. Absumptis enim frugum alimentis carnisque omnis generis quadrupedum suetae [insuetae]que postremo coriis herbisque et radicibus et corticibus teneris strictisque foliis uixere nec ante quam uires ad standum in muris ferendaque arma deerant expugnati sunt. Recepta Petelia Poenus ad Consentiam copias traducit, quam minus pertinaciter defensam intra paucos dies in deditionem accepit. Iisdem ferme diebus et Bruttiorum exercitus Crotonem, Graecam urbem, circumscdit, opulentam quondam armis uirisque, tum iam adeo multis magnisque cladibus adffictam ut omnis aetatis minus duo milia ciuium superessent. Itaque urbe a defensoribus uasta facile potiti hostes sunt: arx tantum retenta, in quam inter tumultum captae urbis e media caede quidam effugere. Et Locrenses descuiere ad Bruttios Poenosque prodita multitudine a principibus. Regini tantummodo regionis eius et in fide erga Romanos et potestatis suae ad ultimum manserunt. In Siciliam quoque eadem inclinatio animorum peruenit et ne domus quidem Hieronis tota ab defectione abstinuit. Namque Gelo, maximus stirpis, contempta simul senectute patris simul post Cannensem cladem Romana societate ad Poenos defecit, mouissetque in Sicilia res, nisi mors, adeo opportuna ut patrem quoque suspicione aspergeret, armantem eum multitudinem sollicitantemque socios absumpsisset. Haec eo anno in Italia, in Africa, in Sicilia, in Hispania uario euentu acta. Exitu anni Q. Fabius Maximus a senatu postulauit ut aedem Veneris Erycinae, quam dictator uouisset, dedicare liceret. Senatus decreuit ut Ti. Sempronius, consul designatus, cum [primum magistratum] inisset, ad populum ferret ut Q. Fabium duumuirum esse iuberent aedis dedicandae causa. Et M. Aemilio Lepido, qui bis consul augurque

fuerat, filii tres, Lucius, Marcus, Quintus, ludos funebres per triduum et gladiatorum paria duo et uiginti [per triduum] in foro dederunt. Aediles curules C. Laetorius et Ti. Sempronius Gracchus, consul designatus, qui in aedilitate magister equitum fuerat, ludos Romanos fecerunt, qui per triduum instaurati sunt. Plebei ludi aedilium M. Aurelii Cottae et M. Claudii Marcelli ter instaurati. Circumacto tertio anno Punici belli, Ti. Sempronius consul idibus Martiis magistratum init. Praetores Q. Fuluius Flaccus, qui antea consul censorque fuerat, urbanam, M. Valerius Laeuinus peregrinam sortem in iurisdictione habuit; Ap. Claudius Pulcher Siciliam, Q. Mucius Scaeuola Sardiniam sortiti sunt. M. Marcello pro consule imperium esse populus iussit, quod post Cannensem cladem unus Romanorum imperatorum in Italia prospere rem gessisset.

[31] Senatus quo die primum est in Capitolio consultus decreuit ut quod eo anno duplex tributum imperaretur simplex confestim exigeretur, ex quo stipendium praesens omnibus militibus daretur praeterquam qui milites ad Cannas fuissent. De exercitibus ita decreuerunt ut duabus legionibus urbanis Ti. Sempronius consul Cales ad conueniendum diem ediceret; inde eae legiones in castra Claudiana supra Suessulam deducerentur. Quae ibi legiones essent — erant autem Cannensis maxime exercitus — eas Ap. Claudius Pulcher praetor in Siciliam traiceret quaeque in Sicilia essent Romam deportarentur. Ad exercitum cui ad conueniendum Cales edicta dies erat M. Claudius Marcellus missus, isque iussus in castra Claudiana deducere urbanas legiones. Ad ueterem exercitum accipiendum deducendumque inde in Siciliam Ti. Maecilius Croto legatus ab Ap. Claudio est missus. Taciti primo exspectauerant homines uti consul comitia collegae creando haberet; deinde ubi ablegatum uelut de industria M. Marcellum uiderunt, quem maxime consulem in eum annum ob egregie in praetura res gestas creari uolebant, fremitus in curia ortus. Quod ubi sensit, consul “utrumque” inquit “e re publica fuit, patres conscripti, et M. Claudium ad permutandos exercitus in Campaniam proficisci et comitia non prius edici quam is inde confecto quod mandatum est negotio reuertisset, ut uos consulem, quem tempus rei publicae postularet, quem maxime uoltis, haberetis.” Ita de comitiis donec rediit Marcellus silentium fuit. Interea duumiri creati sunt Q. Fabius Maximus et T. Otacilius

Crassus aedibus dedicandis, Menti Otacilius, Fabius Veneri Erycinae; utraque in Capitolio est, canali uno discretae. Et de trecentis equitibus Campanis qui in Sicilia cum fide stipendiis emeritis Romam uenerant latum ad populum ut ciues Romani essent; item uti municipes Cumani essent pridie quam populus Campanus a populo Romano defecisset. Maxime ut hoc ferretur mouerat quod quorum hominum essent scire se ipsi negabant uetere patria relicta, in eam in quam redierant nondum adsciti. Postquam Marcellus ab exercitu rediit, comitia consuli uni rogando in locum L. Postumi edicuntur. Creatur ingenti consensu Marcellus qui extemplo magistratum occiperet. Cui ineunti consulatum cum tonuisset, uocati augures uitio creatum uideri pronuntiauerunt; uolgoque patres ita fama ferebant, quod tum primum duo plebei consules facti essent, id deis cordi non esse. In locum Marcelli, ubi is se magistratu abdicauit, suffectus Q. Fabius Maximus tertium. Mare arsit eo anno; ad Sinuessam bos eculeum peperit; signa Lanuui ad Iunonis Sospitae cruore manauere lapidibusque circa id templum pluit, ob quem imbrem nouendiale, ut adsolet, sacrum fuit; ceteraque prodigia cum cura expiata.

[32] Consules exercitus inter sese diuiserunt. Fabio exercitus Teani, cui M. Iunius dictator praefuerat, euenit; Sempronio uolones qui ibi erant et sociorum uiginti quinque milia, M. Valerio praetori legiones quae ex Sicilia redissent decretae; M. Claudius pro consule ad eum exercitum qui supra Suessulam Nolae praesideret missus; praetores in Siciliam ac Sardiniam profecti. Consules edixerunt, quotiens in senatum uocassent, uti senatores quibusque in senatu dicere sententiam liceret ad portam Capenam conuenirent. Praetores quorum iuris dictio erat tribunalia ad Piscinam publicam posuerunt; eo uadimonia fieri iusserunt ibique eo anno ius dictum est. Interim Carthaginem, unde Mago, frater Hannibalis, duodecim milia peditum et mille quingentos equites, uiginti elephantos, mille argenti talenta in Italiam transmissurus erat cum praesidio sexaginta nauium longarum, nuntius adfertur in Hispania rem male gestam omnesque ferme eius prouinciae populos ad Romanos defecisse. Erant qui Magonem cum classe ea copiisque omissa Italia in Hispaniam auerterent, cum Sardiniae recipiendae repentina spes adfulsit: paruum ibi exercitum Romanum esse; ueterem praetorem inde A.

Cornelium prouinciae peritum decedere, nouum exspectari; ad hoc fessos iam animos Sardorum esse diuturnitate imperii Romani, et proximo iis anno acerbe atque auare imperatum; graui tributo et conlatione iniqua frumenti pressos; nihil deesse aliud quam auctorem ad quem deficerent. Haec clandestina legatio per principes missa erat, maxime eam rem moliente Hampsicora, qui tum auctoritate atque opibus longe primus erat. His nuntiis prope uno tempore turbati erectique Magonem cum classe sua copiisque in Hispaniam mittunt, in Sardiniam Hasdrubalem deligunt ducem et tantum ferme copiarum quantum Magoni decernunt. Et Romae consules transactis rebus quae in urbe agendaerant mouebant iam sese ad bellum. Ti. Sempronius militibus Sinuessam diem ad conueniendum edixit, et Q. Fabius consulto prius senatu ut frumenta omnes ex agris ante kalendas Iunias primas in urbes munitas conueherent; qui non inuexisset eius se agrum populaturum, seruos sub hasta uenditurum, uillas incensurum. Ne praetoribus quidem qui ad ius dicendum creati erant uacatio a belli administratione data est. Valerium praetorem in Apuliam ire placuit ad exercitum a Terentio accipiendum; cum ex Sicilia legiones uenissent, iis potissimum uti ad regionis eius praesidium, Terentianum [exercitum Tarentum] mitti cum aliquo legatorum; et uiginti quinque naues datae quibus oram maritimam inter Brundisium ac Tarentum tutari posset. Par nauium numerus Q. Fuluius praetori urbano decretus ad suburbana litora tutanda. C. Terentio proconsuli negotium datum ut in Piceno agro conquisitionem militum haberet locisque iis praesidio esset. Et T. Otacilius Crassus, postquam aedem Mentis in Capitolio dedicauit, in Siciliam cum imperio qui classi praeesset missus.

[33] In hanc dimicationem duorum opulentissimorum in terris populorum omnes reges gentesque animos intenderant, inter quos Philippus Macedonum rex eo magis quod propior Italiae ac mari tantum Ionio discretus erat. Is ubi primum fama accepit Hannibalem Alpes transgressum, ut bello inter Romanum Poenumque orto laetatus erat, ita utrius populi mallet uictoriam esse incertis adhuc uiribus fluctuatus animo fuerat. Postquam tertia iam pugna, tertia uictoria cum Poenis erat, ad fortunam inclinauit legatosque ad Hannibalem misit; qui uitantes portus Brundisium Tarentinumque, quia custodiis nauium Romanarum tenebantur, ad Laciniae Iunonis

templum in terram egressi sunt. Inde per Apuliam petentes Capuam media in praesidia Romana inlati sunt deductique ad Valerium Laeuinum praetorem, circa Luceriam castra habentem. Ibi intrepide Xenophanes, legationis princeps, a Philippo rege se missum ait ad amicitiam societatemque iungendam cum populo Romano; mandata habere ad consules ac senatum populumque Romanum. Praetor inter defectiones ueterum sociorum noua societate tam clari regis laetus admodum hostes pro hospitibus comiter accepit. Dat qui prosequantur; itinera cum cura demonstrat [et] quae loca quosque saltus aut Romanus aut hostes teneant. Xenophanes per praesidia Romana in Campaniam, inde qua proximum fuit in castra Hannibalis peruenit foedusque cum eo atque amicitiam iungit legibus his: ut Philippus rex quam maxima classe — ducentas autem naues uidebatur effecturus — in Italiam traiceret et uastaret maritimam oram, bellum pro parte sua terra marique gereret; ubi debellatum esset, Italia omnis cum ipsa urbe Roma Carthaginensium atque Hannibalis esset praedaeque omnis Hannibali cederet; perdomita Italia nauigarent in Graeciam bellumque cum quibus regi placeret gererent; quae ciuitates continentis quaeque insulae ad Macedoniam uergunt, eae Philippi regniue eius essent.

[34] In has ferme leges inter Poenum ducem legatosque Macedonum ictum foedus; missique cum iis ad regis ipsius firmandam fidem legati, Gisgo et Bostar et Mago, eodem ad Iunonis Laciniae, ubi nauis occulta in statione erat, perueniunt. Inde profecti cum altum tenerent, conspecti a classe Romana sunt quae praesidio erat Calabriae litoribus; Valeriusque Flaccus cercuros ad persequendam retrahendamque nauem cum misisset, primo fugere regii conati, deinde, ubi celeritate uinci senserunt, tradunt se Romanis et ad praefectum classis adducti, cum quaereret qui et unde et quo tenderent cursum, Xenophanes primo satis iam semel felix mendacium struere, a Philippo se ad Romanos missum ad M. Valerium, ad quem unum iter tutum fuerit, peruenisse, Campaniam superare nequisse, saeptam hostium praesidiis. Deinde ut Punicus cultus habitusque suspectos legatos fecit Hannibalis interrogatosque sermo prodidit, tum comitibus eorum seductis ac metu territis, litterae quoque ab Hannibale ad Philippum inuentae et pacta inter regem Macedonum Poenumque ducem. Quibus satis cognitis

optimum uisum est captiuos comitesque eorum Romam ad senatum aut [ad] consules ubicunque essent, quam primum deportare. Ad id celerrimae quinque naues delectae ac L. Valerius Antias, qui praeesset, missus, eique mandatum ut in omnes naues legatos separatim custodiendos diuideret daretque operam ne quod iis conloquium inter se neue quae communicatio consilii esset. Per idem tempus Romae cum A. Cornelius Mammula, ex Sardinia prouincia decedens, rettulisset qui status rerum in insula esset: bellum ac defectionem omnes spectare; Q. Mucium qui successisset sibi, grauitate caeli aquarumque aduenientem exceptum, non tam in periculosum quam longum morbum implicitum, diu ad belli munia sustinenda inutilem fore, exercitumque ibi ut satis firmum pacatae prouinciae praesidem esse, ita parum bello quod motum iri uideretur, decreuerunt patres ut Q. Fuluius Flaccus quinque milia peditum, quadringentos equites scriberet eamque legionem primo quoque tempore in Sardiniam traiciendam curaret, mitteretque cum imperio quem ipsi uideretur, qui rem gereret quoad Mucius conualuisset. Ad eam rem missus est T. Manlius Torquatus, qui bis consul et censor fuerat subegeratque in consulatu Sardos. Sub idem fere tempus et a Carthagine in Sardiniam classis missa duce Hasdrubale, cui Caluo cognomen erat, foeda tempestate uexata ad Baliares insulas deicitur, ibique — adeo non armamenta modo sed etiam aluei nauium quassati erant — subductae naues dum reficiuntur aliquantum temporis triuerunt.

[35] In Italia cum post Cannensem pugnam fractis partis alterius uiribus, alterius mollitis animis, segnius bellum esset, Campani per se adorti sunt rem Cumanam suae dicionis facere, primo sollicitantes ut ab Romanis deficerent; ubi id parum processit, dolum ad capiendos eos comparant. [erat] Campanis omnibus statum sacrificium ad Hamas. Eo senatum Campanum uenturum certiores Cumanos fecerunt petieruntque ut et Cumanus eo senatus ueniret ad consultandum communiter ut eisdem uterque populus socios hostesque haberet; praesidium ibi armatum se habituros ne quid ab Romano Poenoue periculi esset. Cumani, quamquam suspecta fraus erat, nihil abnuere, ita tegi fallax consilium posse rati. Interim Ti. Sempronius consul Romanus Sinuessae, quo ad conueniendum diem edixerat, exercitu lustrato transgressus Volturnum flumen circa

Liternum posuit castra. Ibi quia otiosa statua erant, crebro decurrere milites cogebat ut tirones — ea maxima pars uolonum erant — adsuescerent signa sequi et in acie agnoscere ordines suos. Inter quae maxima erat cura duci — itaque legatis tribunisque praeceperat — ne qua exprobratio cuiquam ueteris fortunae discordiam inter ordines sereret; uetus miles tironi, liber uoloni sese exaequare sineret; omnes satis honestos generososque ducerent quibus arma sua signaque populus Romanus commisisset; quae fortuna coegisset ita fieri, eandem cogere tueri factum. Ea non maiore cura praecepta ab ducibus sunt quam a militibus obseruata breuique tanta concordia coaluerant omnium animi ut prope in obliuionem ueniret qua ex condicione quisque esset miles factus. Haec agenti Graccho legati Cumanī nuntiarunt quae a Campanis legatio paucos ante dies uenisset et quid iis ipsi respondissent: triduo post eum diem festum esse; non senatum solum omnem ibi futurum sed castra etiam et exercitum Campanum. Gracchus iussis Cumanis omnia ex agris in urbem conuehere et manere intra muros, ipse pridie quam statum sacrificium Campanis esset Cumas mouet castra. Hamae inde tria milia passuum absunt. Iam Campani eo frequentes ex composito conuenerant, nec procul inde in occulto Marius Alfius medix tuticus — [is] summus magistratus erat Campanis — cum quattuordecim milibus armatorum habebat castra, sacrificio adparando et inter id instruendae fraudi aliquanto intentior quam muniendis castris aut ulli militari operi. [triduum sacrificatum ad Hamas.] nocturnum erat sacrum, ita ut ante mediam noctem compleretur. Huic Gracchus insidiandum tempori ratus, custodibus ad portas positis, ne quis enuntiare posset coepta, et ab decima diei hora coactis militibus corpora curare somnoque operam dare, ut primis tenebris conuenire ad signum possent, uigilia ferme prima tolli iussit signa, silentique profectus agmine cum ad Hamas media nocte peruenisset, castra Campana ut in peruigilio neglecta simul omnibus portis inuadit; alios somno stratos, alios perpetrato sacro inermes redeuntes obtruncat. Hominum eo tumultu nocturno caesa plus duo milia cum ipso duce Mario Alfio; capta sunt signa militaria quattuor et triginta.

[36] Gracchus minus centum militum iactura castris hostium potitus Cumas se propere recepit, ab Hannibale metuens, qui super Capuam in Tifatis habebat castra. Nec eum prouida futuri fefellit

opinio. Nam simul Capuam ea clades est nuntiata, ratus Hannibal ab re bene gesta insolenter laetum exercitum tironum, magna ex parte seruorum, spoliante uictos praedasque agentem ad Hamas se inuenturum, citatum agmen praeter Capuam rapit obuiosque ex fuga Campanorum dato praesidio Capuam duci, saucios uehiculis portari iubet. Ipse Hamis uacua ab hostibus castra nec quicquam praeter recentis uestigia caedis strataque passim corpora sociorum inuenit. Auctores erant quidam ut protinus inde Cumas duceret urbemque oppugnaret. Id quamquam haud modice Hannibal cupiebat, ut, quia Neapolim non potuerat, Cumas saltem maritimam urbem haberet, tamen, quia praeter arma nihil secum miles raptim acto agmine extulerat, retro in castra super Tifata se recepit. Inde fatigatus Campanorum precibus sequenti die cum omni apparatu oppugnandae urbis Cumas redit perpopulatoque agro Cumano mille passus ab urbe castra locat, cum Gracchus magis uerecundia in tali necessitate deserendi socios implorantes fidem suam populiue Romani substitisset quam satis fidens exercitui. Nec alter consul Fabius, qui ad Cales castra habebat, Volturnum flumen traducere audebat exercitum, occupatus primo auspiciis repetendis, dein prodigiis quae alia super alia nuntiabantur; expiantique ea haud facile litari haruspices respondebant.

[37] Eae causae cum Fabium tenerent, Sempronius in obsidione erat et iam operibus oppugnabatur. Aduersus ligneam ingentem admotam urbi aliam turrem ex ipso muro excitauit consul Romanus, aliquanto altiore, quia muro satis per se alto subiectis ualidis publicis pro solo usus erat. Inde primum saxis sudibusque et ceteris missilibus propugnatores moenia atque urbem tuebantur; postremo, ubi promouendo adiunctam muro uiderunt turrem, facibus ardentibus plurimum simul ignem coniecerunt. Quo incendio trepida armatorum multitudo cum de turre sese praecipitaret, eruptio ex oppido simul duabus portis stationes hostium fudit fugauitque in castra ut eo die obsesso quam obsidenti similior esset Poenus. Ad mille trecenti Carthaginiensium caesi et undesexaginta uiui capti, qui circa muros et in stationibus solute ac neglegenter agentes, cum nihil minus quam eruptionem timuissent, ex improuiso oppressi fuerant. Gracchus, priusquam se hostes ab repentino pauore colligerent, receptui signum dedit ac suos intra muros recepit. Postero die Hannibal, laetum

secunda re consulem iusto proelio ratus certaturum, aciem inter castra atque urbem instruxit; ceterum postquam neminem moueri ab solita custodia urbis uidit nec committi quicquam temerariae spei, ad Tifata redit infecta re. Quibus diebus Cumae liberatae sunt obsidione, iisdem diebus et in Lucanis ad Grumentum Ti. Sempronius, cui Longo cognomen erat, cum Hannone Poeno prospere pugnat. Supra duo milia hominum occidit et ducentos octoginta milites [amisit], signa militaria ad quadraginta unum cepit. Pulsus finibus Lucanis Hanno retro in Bruttios sese recepit. Et ex Hirpinis oppida tria, quae a populo Romano defecerant ui recepta per M. Valerium praetorem, Vercellium, Vescellium, Sicilinum, et auctores defectionis securi percussi. Supra quinque milia captiuorum sub hasta uenierunt; praeda alia militi concessa, exercitusque Luceriam reductus.

[38] Dum haec in Lucanis atque in Hirpinis geruntur, quinque naues, quae Macedonum atque Poenorum captos legatos Romam portabant, ab supero mari ad inferum circumuectae prope omnem Italiae oram, cum praeter Cumas uelis ferrentur neque hostium an sociorum essent satis sciretur, Gracchus obuiam ex classe sua naues misit. Cum percontando in uicem cognitum esset consulem Cumis esse, naues Cumas adpulsae captiuique ad consulem deducti et litterae datae. Consul litteris Philippi atque Hannibalis perlectis consignata omnia ad senatum itinere terrestri misit, nauibus deuehi legatos iussit. Cum eodem fere die litterae legatique Romam uenissent et percontatione facta dicta cum scriptis congruerent, primo grauis cura patres incessit, cernentes quanta uix tolerantibus Punicum bellum Macedonici belli moles instaret; cui tamen adeo non succubuerunt ut extemplo agigaretur quemadmodum ultro inferendo bello auerterent ab Italia hostem. Captiuis in uincula condi iussis comitibusque eorum sub hasta uenditis, ad naues uiginti quinque, quibus P. Valerius Flaccus praefectus praeerat, uiginti [quinque] [paratis] alias decernunt. His comparatis deductisque et additis quinque nauibus, quae aduexerant captiuos legatos, triginta naues ab Ostia Tarentum profectae, iussusque P. Valerius militibus Varronianis, quibus L. Apustius legatus Tarenti praeerat, in naues impositis quinquaginta quinque nauium classe non tueri modo Italiae oram sed explorare de Macedonico bello; si congruentia litteris legatorumque indiciis Philippi consilia essent, ut M. Valerium

praetorem litteris certiores faceret, isque L. Apustio legato exercitui praeposito Tarentum ad classem profectus primo quoque tempore in Macedoniam transmitteret daretque operam ut Philippum in regno contineret. Pecunia ad classem tuendam bellumque Macedonicum ea decreta est, quae Ap. Claudio in Siciliam missa erat ut redderetur Hieroni regi; ea per L. Antistium legatum Tarentum est deuecta. Simul ab Hierone missa ducenta milia modium tritici et hordei centum.

[39] Dum haec Romani parant aguntque, ad Philippum captiua nauis una ex iis quae Romam missae erant, ex cursu refugit; inde scitum legatos cum litteris captos. Itaque ignarus rex quae cum Hannibale legatis suis conuenissent quaeque legati eius ad se allaturi fuissent, legationem aliam cum eisdem mandatis mittit. Legati ad Hannibalem missi Heraclitus [cui Scotino cognomen erat] et Crito Boeotus et Sositheus Magnes. Hi prospere tulerunt ac rettulerunt mandata; sed prius se aestas circumegit quam mouere ac moliri quicquam rex posset. - tantum nauis una capta cum legatis momenti fecit ad dilationem imminentis Romanis belli. Et circa Capuam transgresso Volturnum Fabio post expiata tandem prodigia ambo consules rem gerebant. Combulteriam et Trebulam et Austiculam urbes, quae ad Poenum defecerant Fabius ui cepit, praesidiaque in his Hannibalis Campanique permulti capti. [Et] Nolae, sicut priore anno, senatus Romanorum, plebs Hannibalis erat, consiliaque occulta de caede principum et proditione urbis inibantur. Quibus ne incepta procederent, inter Capuam castraque Hannibalis, quae in Tifatis erant, traducto exercitu Fabius super Suessulam in castris Claudianis consedit; inde M. Marcellum propraetorem cum iis copiis quas habebat Nolam in praesidium misit.

[40] Et in Sardinia res per T. Manlium praetorem administrari coeptae, quae omissae erant postquam Q. Mucius praetor graui morbo est implicitus. Manlius nauibus longis ad Carales subductis naualibusque sociis armatis ut terra rem gereret et a praetore exercitu accepto, duo et uiginti milia peditum, mille ducentos equites confecit. Cum his equitum peditumque copiis profectus in agrum hostium haud procul ab Hampsicorae castris castra posuit. Hampsicora tum forte profectus erat in Pellitos Sardos ad iuuentutem armandam qua copias augeret; filius nomine Hostus castris praeerat.

Is adulescentia ferox temere proelio inito fusus fugatusque. Ad tria milia Sardorum eo proelio caesa, octingenti ferme uiui capti; alius exercitus primo per agros siluasque fuga palatus, dein, quo ducem fugisse fama erat, ad urbem nomine Cornum, caput eius regionis, confugit; debellatumque eo proelio in Sardinia esset, ni classis Punica cum duce Hasdrubale, quae tempestate deiecta ad Baliares erat, in tempore ad spem rebellandi aduenisset. Manlius post famam adpulsae Punicae classis Carales se recepit; ea occasio Hampsicorae data est Poeno se iungendi. Hasdrubal copiis in terram expositis et classe remissa Carthaginem duce Hampsicora ad sociorum populi Romani agrum populandum profectus, Carales peruenturus erat, ni Manlius obuio exercitu ab effusa eum populatione continuisset. Primo castra castris modico interuallo sunt obiecta; deinde per procursationes leuia certamina uario euentu inita; postremo descensum in aciem. Signis conlatis iusto proelio per quattuor horas pugnatum. Diu pugnam ancipitem Poeni, Sardis facile uinci adsuetis, fecerunt; postremo et ipsi, cum omnia circa strage ac fuga Sardorum repleta essent, fusi; ceterum terga dantes circumducto cornu quo pepulerat Sardos inclusit Romanus. Caedes inde magis quam pugna fuit. Duodecim milia hostium caesa, Sardorum simul Poenorumque, ferme tria milia et septingenti capti et signa militaria septem et uiginti.

[41] Ante omnia claram et memorabilem pugnam fecit Hasdrubal imperator captus et Hanno et Mago, nobiles Carthaginienses, Mago ex gente Barcina, propinqua cognatione Hannibali iunctus, Hanno auctor rebellionis Sardis bellique eius haud dubie concitor. Nec Sardorum duces minus nobilem eam pugnam cladibus suis fecerunt; nam et filius Hampsicorae Hostus in acie cecidit, et Hampsicora cum paucis equitibus fugiens, ut super adflictas res necem quoque filii audiuit, nocte, ne cuius interuentus coepta impediret, mortem sibi consciuit. Ceteris urbs Cornus eadem quae ante fugae receptaculum fuit; quam Manlius uictore exercitu adgressus intra dies paucos recepit. Deinde aliae quoque ciuitates quae ad Hampsicoram Poenosque defecerant obsidibus datis dediderunt sese; quibus stipendio frumentoque imperato pro cuiusque aut uiribus aut delicto Carales exercitum reduxit. Ibi nauibus longis deductis impositoque quem secum aduexerat milite Romam nauigat Sardiniamque

perdomitam nuntiat patribus; et stipendium quaestoribus, frumentum aedilibus, captiuos Q. Fuluius praetori tradit. Per idem tempus T. Otacilius praetor ab Lilybaeo classi in Africam transuectus depopulatusque agrum Carthaginiensem, cum Sardiniam inde peteret, quo fama erat Hasdrubalem a Baliaribus nuper traiecisse, classi Africam repetenti occurrit, leuique certamine in alto commisso septem inde naues cum sociis naualibus cepit. Ceteras metus haud secus quam tempestas passim disiecit. Per eosdem forte dies et Bomilcar cum militibus ad supplementum Carthagine missis elephantisque et commeatu Locros accessit. Quem ut incautum opprimeret Ap. Claudius, per simulationem prouinciae circumeundae Messanam raptim exercitu ducto [uento] aestuque suo Locros traiecit. Iam inde Bomilcar ad Hannonem in Bruttios profectus erat et Locrenses portas Romanis clausurunt; Appius magno conatu nulla re gesta Messanam repetit. Eadem aestate Marcellus ab Nola quam praesidio obtinebat crebras excursions in agrum Hirpinum et Samnites Caudinos fecit adeoque omnia ferro atque igni uastauit ut antiquarum cladum Samnio memoriam renouaret.

[42] Itaque extemplo legati ad Hannibalem missi simul ex utraque gente ita Poenum adlocuti sunt. "Hostes populi Romani, Hannibal, fuimus primum per nos ipsi quoad nostra arma, nostrae uires nos tutari poterant. Postquam his parum fidebamus, Pyrrho regi nos adiunximus; a quo relictis pacem necessariam accepimus fuimusque in ea per annos prope quinquaginta ad id tempus quo tu in Italiam uenisti. Tua nos non magis uirtus fortunaque quam unica comitas ac benignitas erga ciues nostros quos captos nobis remisisti ita conciliauit tibi ut te saluo atque incolumi amico non modo populum Romanum sed ne deos quidem iratos, si fas est dici, timeremus. At hercule non solum incolumi et uictore sed praesente te, cum ploratum prope coniugum ac liberorum nostrorum exaudire et flagrantia tecta posses conspicere, ita sumus aliquoties hac aestate deuastati ut M. Marcellus, non Hannibal, uicisset ad Cannas uideatur glorianturque Romani te, ad unum modo ictum uigentem, uelut aculeo emisso torpere. Per annos [centum] cum populo Romano bellum gessimus, nullo externo adiuti nec duce nec exercitu nisi quod per biennium Pyrrhus nostro magis milite suas auxit uires quam suis uiribus nos defendit. Non ego secundis rebus nostris gloriabor

duos consules ac duos consulares exercitus ab nobis sub iugum missos et si qua alia aut laeta aut gloriosa nobis euenerunt. Quae aspera aduersaque tunc acciderunt, minore indignatione referre possumus quam quae hodie eueniunt. Magni dictatores cum magistris equitum, bini consules cum binis consularibus exercitibus ingrediebantur fines nostros; ante explorato et subsidiis positis et sub signis ad populandum ducebant; nunc propaetoris unius et parui ad tuendam Nola praesidii praeda sumus; iam ne manipulatim quidem sed latronum modo percursant totis finibus nostris neglegentius quam si in Romano uagarentur agro. Causa autem haec est quod neque tu defendis et nostra iuuentus, quae si domi esset tutaretur, omnis sub signis militat tuis. Nec te nec exercitum tuum norim nisi, a quo tot acies Romanas fusas stratasque esse sciam, ei facile esse dicam opprimere populos nostros uagos sine signis palatos quo quemque trahit quamuis uana praedae spes. Numidarum paucorum illi quidem praeda erunt, praesidiumque mis[eris sim]ul nobis et Nola ademeris, si modo, quos ut socios haberes dignos duxisti, haud indignos iudicas quos in fidem receptos tuearis.”

[43] Ad ea Hannibal respondit omnia simul facere Hirpinos Samnitesque et indicare clades suas et petere praesidium et queri indefensos se neglectosque; indicandum autem primum fuisse, dein petendum praesidium, postremo ni impetraretur, tum denique querendum frustra opem imploratam. Exercitum sese non in agrum Hirpinum Samnitemue, ne et ipse oneri esset, sed in proxima loca sociorum populi Romani adducturum. Iis populandis et militem suum repleturum se et metu procul ab his summoturum hostes. Quod ad bellum Romanum attineret, si Trasumenni quam Trebiae, si Cannarum quam Trasumenni pugna nobilior esset, Cannarum se quoque memoriam obscuram maiore et clariore uictoria facturum. Cum hoc responso muneribusque amplis legatos dimisit; ipse praesidio modico relicto in Tifatis profectus cetero exercitu ire Nola pergit. Eodem Hanno ex Bruttiiis cum supplemento Carthagine aduecto atque elephantis uenit. Castris haud procul positos longe alia omnia inquirenti comperta sunt quam quae a legatis sociorum audierat. Nihil enim Marcellus ita egerat ut aut fortunae aut temere hosti commissum dici posset. Explorato cum firmisque praesidiis tuto receptu praedatum ierat omniaque uelut aduersus

praesentem Hannibalem cauta prouisaque fuerunt. Tum, ubi sensit hostem aduentare, copias intra moenia tenuit; per muros inambulare senatores Nolanos iussit et omnia circa explorare quae apud hostes fierent. Ex his Hanno, cum ad murum successisset, Herennium Bassum et Herium Pettium ad conloquium euocatos permissuque Marcelli egressos per interpretem adloquitur. Hannibalis uirtutem fortunamque extollit: populi Romani obterit senescentem cum uiribus maiestatem; quae si paria essent ut quondam fuissent, tamen expertis quam graue Romanum imperium sociis, quanta indulgentia Hannibalis etiam in captiuos omnes Italici nominis fuisset, Punicam Romanae societatem atque amicitiam praeoptandam esse. Si ambo consules cum suis exercitibus ad Nola essent, tamen non magis pares Hannibali futuros quam ad Cannas fuissent, nedum praetor unus cum paucis et nouis militibus Nola tutari possit. Ipsorum quam Hannibalis [magis] interesse capta an tradita Nola poteretur; potiturum enim ut Capua Nuceriaque potitus esset; sed quid inter Capuae ac Nuceriae fortunam interesset ipsos prope in medio sitos Nolanos scire. Nolle ominari quae captae urbi cessura forent et potius spondere, si Marcellum cum praesidio ac Nola tradidissent, neminem alium quam ipsos legem qua in societatem amicitiamque Hannibalis uenirent dicturum.

[44] Ad ea Herennius Bassus respondit multos annos iam inter Romanum Nolanumque populum amicitiam esse, cuius neutros ad eam diem paenitere et sibi, si cum fortuna mutanda fides fuerit, sero iam esse mutare. An dedituris se Hannibali fuisse accersendum Romanorum praesidium? Cum iis qui ad sese tuendos uenissent omnia sibi et esse consociata et ad ultimum fore. Hoc conloquium abstulit spem Hannibali per prodicionem recipiendae Nola. Itaque corona oppidum circumdedit ut simul ab omni parte moenia adgrederetur. Quem ut successisse muris Marcellus uidit, instructa intra portam acie cum magno tumultu erupit. Aliquot primo impetu perculsi caesique sunt; dein concursu ad pugnantes facto aequatisque uiribus atrox esse coepit pugna, memorabilisque inter paucas fuisset ni ingentibus procellis effusus imber diremisset pugnantes. Eo die commisso modico certamine atque inritatis animis in urbem Romani, Poeni in castra receperunt sese; tamen Poenorum prima eruptione perculsi ceciderunt haud plus quam triginta, Romani quinquaginta.

Imber continens per noctem totam usque ad horam tertiam diei insequentis tenuit. Itaque, quamquam utraque pars auidi certaminis erant, eo die tenuerunt sese tamen munimentis. Tertio die Hannibal partem copiarum praedatum in agrum Nolanum misit. Quod ubi animaduertit Marcellus, extemplo in aciem copias eduxit; neque Hannibal detrectauit. Mille fere passuum inter urbem erant castraque; eo spatio — et sunt omnia campi circa Nola — concurrerunt. Clamor ex parte utraque sublatus proximos ex cohortibus iis quae in agros praedatum exierant ad proelium iam commissum reuocauit. Et Nolani aciem Romanam auxerunt, quos conlaudatos Marcellus in subsidiis stare et saucios ex acie efferre iussit, pugna abstinere ne ab se signum accepissent.

[45] Proelium erat anceps; summa ui et duces hortabantur et milites pugnabant. Marcellus uictis ante diem tertium, fugatis ante paucos dies a Cumis, pulsus priore anno ab Nola ab eodem se duce, milite alio, instare iubet: non omnes esse in acie; praedantes uagari in agro; sed qui pugnent marcere Campana luxuria, uino et scortis omnibusque lustris per totam hiemem confectos. Abisse illam uim uigoremque, delapsa esse robora corporum animorumque quibus Pyrenaei Alpiumque superata sint iuga. Reliquias illorum uirorum uix arma membraque sustinentes pugnare. Capuam Hannibali Cannas fuisse: ibi uirtutem bellicam, ibi militarem disciplinam, ibi praeteriti temporis famam, ibi spem futuri extinctam. Cum haec exprobrando hosti Marcellus suorum militum animos erigeret, Hannibal multo grauioribus probis increpabat: arma signaque eadem se noscere quae ad Trebiam Trasumenumque, postremo ad Cannas uiderit habueritque; militem alium profecto se in hiberna Capuam duxisse, alium inde eduxisse. “Legatumne Romanum et legionis unius atque alae magno certamine uix toleratis pugnam, quos binae acies consulares nunquam sustinuerunt? Marcellus tirone milite ac Nolanis subsidiis inultus nos iam iterum lacessit. Vbi ille miles meus est, qui derepto ex equo C. Flaminio consuli caput abstulit? Vbi, qui L. Paulum ad Cannas occidit? Ferrum nunc hebet? An dextrae torpent? An quid prodigii est aliud? Qui pauci plures uincere soliti estis, nunc paucis plures uix restatis. Romam uos expugnaturus, si quis duceret, fortes lingua iactabatis. En, minor res est: hic experiri uim uirtutemque uolo. Expugnate Nola, campestris urbem, non

flumine, non mari saeptam. Hinc uos ex tam opulenta urbe praeda spoliisque onustos uel ducam quo uoletis uel sequar.”

[46] Nec bene nec male dicta profuerunt ad confirmandos animos. Cum omni parte pellerentur, Romanisque crescerent animi, non duce solum adhortante sed Nolanis etiam per clamorem fauoris indicem accendentibus ardorem pugnae, terga Poeni dederunt atque in castra compulsi sunt. Quae oppugnare cupientes milites Romanos Marcellus Nola reduxit cum magno gaudio et gratulatione etiam plebis quae ante inclinior ad Poenos fuerat. Hostium plus quinque milia caesa eo die, uiui capti sescenti et signa militaria unde uiginti et duo elephanti; quattuor in acie occisi; Romanorum minus mille interfecti. Posterum diem indutiis tacitis sepeliendo utrimque caesos in acie consumpserunt. Spolia hostium Marcellus Volcano uotum cremauit. Tertio post die ob iram, credo, aliquam aut spem liberalioris militiae ducenti septuaginta duo equites, mixti Numidae [et] Hispani, ad Marcellum transfugerunt. Eorum forti fidelique opera in eo bello usi sunt saepe Romani. Ager Hispanis in Hispania et Numidis in Africa post bellum uirtutis causa datus est. Hannibal ab Nola remisso in Bruttios Hannone cum quibus uenerat copiis ipse Apuliae hiberna petit circaque Arpos consedit. Q. Fabius ut profectum in Apuliam Hannibalem audiuit, frumento ab Nola Neapolique in ea castra conuecto quae super Suessulam erant, munimentisque firmatis et praesidio quod per hiberna ad tenendum locum satis esset relicto ipse Capuam propius mouit castra agrumque Campanum ferro ignique est depopulatus, donec coacti sunt Campani, nihil admodum uiribus suis fidentes, egredi portis et castra ante urbem in aperto communire. Sex milia armatorum habebant, peditem imbellem, equitatu plus poterant; itaque equestribus proeliis lacescebant hostem. Inter multos nobiles equites Campanos Cerrinus Vibellius erat, cognomine Taurea. Cuius indidem erat, longe omnium Campanorum fortissimus eques adeo ut, cum apud Romanos militaret, unus eum Romanus Claudius Asellus gloria equestri aequaret. Tunc Taurea cum diu perlustrans oculis obequittasset hostium turmis, tandem silentio facto ubi esset Claudius Asellus quaesiuit et, quoniam uerbis secum de uirtute ambigere solitus esset, cur non ferro decerneret daretque opima spolia uictus aut uictor caperet.

[47] Haec ubi Asello sunt nuntiata in castra, id modo moratus ut consulem percontaretur liceretne extra ordinem in prouocantem hostem pugnare, permissu eius arma extemplo cepit, prouectusque ante stationes equo Tauream nomine compellauit congregique ubi uellet iussit. Hinc Romani ad spectaculum pugnae eius frequentes exierant, et Campani non uallum modo castrorum sed moenia etiam urbis prospectantes repleuerunt. Cum iam ante ferocibus dictis rem nobilitassent, infestis hastis concitarunt equos; dein libero spatio inter se ludificantes sine uolnere pugnam extrahere. Tum Campanus Romano “equorum” inquit “hoc non equitum erit certamen, nisi e campo in cauam hanc uiam demittimus equos. Ibi nullo ad euagandum spatio comminus conserentur manus”. Dicto prope citius equum in uiam Claudius egit. Taurea, uerbis ferocior quam re, “minime, sis,” inquit “cantherium in fossam”; quae uox in rusticum inde prouerbum prodita est. Claudius cum ea uia longe perequitasset [quia] nullo obui hoste in campum rursus euectus, increpans ignauiam hostis, cum magno gaudio et gratulatione uictor in castra redit. Huic pugnae equestri rem — quam uera sit communis existimatio est — mirabilem certe adiciunt quidam annales: cum refugientem ad urbem Tauream Claudius sequeretur, patenti hostium portae inuectum per alteram, stupentibus miraculo hostibus, intactum euasisse.

[48] Quieta inde statiuu fuere ac retro etiam consul mouit castra ut sementem Campani facerent, nec ante uiolauit agrum Campanum quam iam altae in segetibus herbae pabulum praeberere poterant. Id conuexit in Claudiana castra super Suessulam ibique hiberna aedificauit. M. Claudio proconsuli imperauit, ut retento Nolaee necessario ad tuendam urbem praesidio ceteros milites dimitteret Romam ne oneri sociis et sumptui rei publicae essent. Et Ti. Gracchus a Cumis Luceriam in Apuliam legiones cum duxisset, M. Valerium inde praetorem Brundisium cum eo quem Luceriae habuerat exercitu misit tuerique oram agri Sallentini et prouidere quod ad Philippum bellumque Macedonicum attineret iussit. Exitu aestatis eius qua haec gesta perscripsimus litterae a P. et Cn. Scipionibus uenerunt quantas quamque prosperas in Hispania res gessissent; sed pecuniam in stipendium uestimentaue et frumentum exercitui et sociis naualibus omnia deesse. Quod ad stipendium

attineat, si aerarium inops sit, se aliquam rationem inituros quomodo ab Hispanis sumatur; cetera utique ab Roma mittenda esse, nec aliter aut exercitum aut prouinciam teneri posse. Litteris recitatis nemo omnium erat quin et uera scribi et postulari aequa fateretur; sed occurrebat animis quantos exercitus terrestres naualesque tuerentur quantaque noua classis mox paranda esset si bellum Macedonicum moueretur: Siciliam ac Sardiniam, quae ante bellum uestigiales fuissent, uix praesides prouinciarum exercitus alere; tributo sumptus suppeditari; [eum] ipsum tributum conferentium numerum tantis exercituum stragibus et ad Trasumennum lacum et ad Cannas imminutum; qui superessent pauci, si multiplici grauarentur stipendio, alia perituros peste. Itaque nisi fide staretur, rem publicam opibus non staturam. Prodeundum in contionem Fuluius praetori esse, indicandas populo publicas necessitates cohortandosque qui redempturis auxissent patrimonia, ut rei publicae, ex qua creuissent, tempus commodarent, conducerentque ea lege praebenda quae ad exercitum Hispaniensem opus essent, ut, cum pecunia in aerario esset, iis primis solueretur. Haec praetor in contione; [diemque] edixit quo uestimenta frumentum Hispaniensi exercitui praebenda quaeque alia opus essent naualibus sociis esset locaturus.

[49] Vbi ea dies uenit, ad conducendum tres societates aderant hominum undeuginti, quorum duo postulata fuere, unum ut militia uacarent dum in eo publico essent, alterum ut quae in naues imposuissent ab hostium tempestatisque ui publico periculo essent. Vtroque impetrato conduxerunt priuataque pecunia res publica administrata est. Ii mores eaque caritas patriae per omnes ordines uelut tenore uno pertinebat. Quemadmodum conducta omnia magno animo sunt, sic summa fide praebita, nec quicquam [parcius milites quam] si ex opulento aerario, ut quondam, alerentur. Cum hi commeatus uenerunt, Iliturgi oppidum ab Hasdrubale ac Magone et Hannibale Bomilcaris filio ob defectionem ad Romanos oppugnabatur. Inter haec trina castra hostium Scipiones cum in urbem sociorum magno certamine ac strage obsistentium peruenissent, frumentum, cuius inopia erat, aduexerunt, cohortatique oppidanos, ut eodem animo moenia tutarentur quo pro se pugnantes Romanum exercitum uidissent, ad castra maxima oppugnanda, quibus Hasdrubal praeerat, ducunt. Eodem et duo duces et duo

exercitus Carthaginiensium, ibi rem summam agi cernentes, conuenerunt. Itaque eruptione e castris pugnatum est. Sexaginta hostium milia eo die in pugna fuerunt, sedecim circa [ab] Romanis; tamen adeo haud dubia uictoria fuit, ut plures numero quam ipsi erant Romani hostium occiderint, ceperint amplius tria milia hominum, paulo minus mille equorum, undesexaginta militaria signa, septem elephantos, quinque in proelio occisis, trinisque eo die castris potiti sint. Iliturgi obsidione liberato ad Intibili oppugnandum Punici exercitus traducti suppletis copiis ex prouincia, ut quae maxime omnium belli auida, modo praeda aut merces esset, et tum iuuentute abundante. Iterum signis conlatis eadem fortuna utriusque partis pugnatum. Supra tredecim milia hostium caesa, supra duo milia capta cum signis duobus et quadraginta et nouem elephantis. Tum uero omnes prope Hispaniae populi ad Romanos defecerunt, multoque maiores ea aestate in Hispania quam in Italia res gestae.

LIBER XXIV

[1] Vt ex Campania in Bruttios reditum est, Hanno adiutoribus et ducibus Bruttiis Graecas urbes temptauit, eo facilius in societate manentes Romana quod Bruttios, quos et oderant et metuebant, Carthaginensium partis factos cernebant. Regium primum temptatum est diesque aliquot ibi nequiquam absumpti. interim Locrenses frumentum lignaque et cetera necessaria usibus ex agris in urbem rapere, etiam ne quid relictum praedae hostibus esset, et in dies maior omnibus portis multitudo effundi; postremo sescenti modo relictis in urbe erant qui reficere muros portas telaque in propugnacula congerere cogebantur. in permixtam omnium aetatum ordinumque multitudinem et uagantem in agris magna ex parte inermem Hamilcar Poenos equites emisit, qui uiolare quemquam uetiti, tantum ut ab urbe excluderent fuga dissipatos, turmas obiecere. dux ipse loco superiore capto unde agros urbemque posset conspiciere, Bruttiorum cohortem adire muros atque euocare principes Locrensiū ad conloquium iussit et pollicentes amicitiam Hannibalis adhortari ad urbem tradendam. Bruttiis in conloquio nullius rei primo fides est; deinde ut Poenus apparuit in collibus et refugientes pauci aliam omnem multitudinem in potestate hostium esse adferebant, tum metu uicti consulturos se populum responderunt; aduocataque extemplo contione, cum et leuissimus quisque nouas res nouamque societatem mallent et, quorum propinqui extra urbem interclusi ab hostibus erant, uelut obsidibus datis pigneratos haberent animos, pauci magis taciti probarent constantem fidem quam propalam tueri auderent, haud dubio in speciem consensu fit ad Poenos deditio. L. Atilio, praefecto praesidii, quique cum eo milites Romani erant clam in portum deductis atque impositis in naues ut Regium deueherentur Hamilcarem Poenosque ea condicione ut foedus extemplo aequis legibus fieret in urbem acceperunt; cuius rei prope non seruata fides deditis est, cum Poenus dolo dimissum Romanum incusaret, Locrenses profugisse ipsum causarentur. insecuti etiam equites sunt, si quo casu in freto aestus morari aut deferre naues in terram posset. et eos quidem quos sequebantur non sunt adepti: alias a Messana traicientes freto Regium naues conspexerunt. milites erant Romani a

Claudio praetore missi ad obtinendam urbem praesidio. itaque Regio extemplo abscissum est. Locrensibus iussu Hannibalis data pax ut liberi suis legibus uiuerent, urbs pateret Poenis, portus in potestate Locrensi esset, societas eo iure staret ut Poenus Locrensem Locrensisque Poenum pace ac bello iuuaret.

[2] Sic a freto Poeni reducti frementibus Bruttii quod Regium ac Locros, quas urbes direpturos se destinauerant, intactas reliquissent. itaque per se ipsi conscriptis armatisque iuuentutis suae quindecim milibus ad Crotonem oppugnandum pergunt ire, Graecam et ipsam urbem et maritimam, plurimum accessurum opibus, si in ora maris urbem portu ac moenibus ualidam tenuissent, credentes. ea cura agebat quod neque non accersere ad auxilium Poenos satis audebant, ne quid non pro sociis egisse uiderentur et, si Poenus rursus magis arbiter pacis quam adiutor belli fuisset, ne in libertatem Crotonis, sicut ante Locrorum, frustra pugnaretur. itaque optimum uisum est ad Hannibalem mitti legatos cauerique ab eo ut receptus Croto Bruttiorum esset. Hannibal cum praesentium eam consultationem esse respondisset et ad Hannonem eos reiecisset, ab Hannone nihil certi ablatum; nec enim diripi uolebat nobilem atque opulentam urbem et sperabat, cum Bruttius oppugnaret, Poenos nec probare nec iuuare eam oppugnationem appareret, eo maturius ad se defecturos. Crotone nec consilium unum inter populares nec uoluntas erat. unus uelut morbus inuaserat omnes Italiae ciuitates ut plebes ab optimatibus dissentirent, senatus Romanis faueret, plebs ad Poenos rem traheret. eam dissensionem in urbe perfuga nuntiat Bruttii: Aristomachum esse principem plebis tradendaeque auctorem urbis, et in uasta urbe lateque moenibus disiectis raras stationes custodiasque senatorum esse; quacumque custodiant plebis homines, ea patere aditum. auctore ac duce perfuga Bruttii corona cinxerunt urbem acceptique ab plebe primo impetu omnem praeter arcem cepere. arcem optimates tenebant praeparato iam ante ad talem casum perfugio. eodem Aristomachus perfugit, tamquam Poenis, non Bruttii auctor urbis tradendae fuisset.

[3] Urbs Croto murum in circuitu patentem duodecim milia passuum habuit ante Pyrrhi in Italiam aduentum; post uastitatem eo bello factam uix pars dimidia habitabatur; flumen, quod medio oppido fluxerat, extra frequentia tectis loca praeterfluebat, <erat> et

arx procul eis quae habitabantur. sex milia aberat in<de> [urbe nobili] templum, ipsa urbe [erat] nobilius, Lacinae Iunonis, sanctum omnibus circa populis; lucus ibi frequenti silua et proceris abietis arboribus saeptus laeta in medio pascua habuit, ubi omnis generis sacrum deae pecus pascebatur sine ullo pastore, separatimque greges sui cuiusque generis nocte remeabant ad stabula, nunquam insidiis ferarum, non fraude uiolati hominum. magni igitur fructus ex eo pecore capti columnaque inde aurea solida facta et sacrata est; inclitumque templum diuitiis etiam, non tantum sanctitate fuit. ac miracula aliqua adfinguntur ut plerumque tam insignibus locis: fama est aram esse in uestibulo templi cuius cinerem nullo unquam moueri uento. sed arx Crotonis, una parte imminens mari, altera uergente in agrum, situ tantum naturali quondam munita, postea et muro cincta est qua per auersas rupes ab Dionysio Siciliae tyranno per dolum fuerat capta. ea tum arce satis ut uidebatur tuta Crotoniatum optimates tenebant se circumsedente cum Brutiis eos etiam plebe sua. postremo Brutii, cum suis uiribus inexpugnabilem uiderent arcem, coacti necessitate Hannonis auxilium implorant. is condicionibus ad deditionem compellere Crotoniates conatus ut coloniam Bruttiorum eo deduci antiquamque frequentiam recipere uastam ac desertam bellis urbem paterentur, omnium neminem praeter Aristomachum mouit. morituros se adfirmabant citius quam immixti Brutiis in alienos ritus mores legesque ac mox linguam etiam uerterentur. Aristomachus unus, quando nec suadendo ad deditionem satis ualebat nec, sicut urbem prodiderat, locum prodendae arcis inueniebat, transfugit ad Hannonem. Locrenses breui post legati, cum permissu Hannonis arcem intrassent, persuadent ut traduci se in Locros paterentur nec ultima experiri uellent; iam hoc ut sibi liceret impetrauerant et ab Hannibale missis ad is ipsum legatis. ita Crotone excessum est deductique Crotoniatiae ad mare naues conscendunt; Locros omnis multitudo abeunt. in Apulia ne hiemps quidem queta inter Romanos atque Hannibalem erat. Luceriae Sempronius consul, Hannibal haud procul Arpis hibernabat. inter eos leuia proelia ex occasione aut opportunitate huius aut illius partis oriebantur meliorque eis Romanus et in dies cautior tutiorque ab insidiis fiebat.

[4] In Sicilia Romanis omnia mutauerat mors Hieronis regnumque

ad Hieronymum nepotem eius translatum, puerum uixdum libertatem, nedum dominationem modice laturum. eam aetatem, id ingenium tutores atque amici ad praecipitandum in omnia uitia acceperunt. quae ita futura cernens Hiero ultima senecta uoluisse dicitur liberas Syracusas relinquere, ne sub dominatu puerili per ludibrium bonis artibus partum firmatumque interiret regnum. huic consilio eius summa ope obstitere filiae, nomen regium penes puerum futurum ratae, regimen rerum omnium penes se uirosque suos Adran<odorum et Zoippum, qui tut>orum primi relinquebantur. non facile erat nonagesimum iam agenti annum, circumssesso dies noctesque muliebribus blanditiis, liberare animum et conuertere ad publicam <a> priuata curam. itaque tutores modo quindecim puero relinquit, quos precatus est moriens ut fidem erga populum Romanum quinquaginta annos ab se cultam inuiolatam seruarent iuuenemque suis potissimum uestigiis insistere uellent et disciplinae, in qua eductus esset. haec mandata. cum exspirasset, tutores testamento prolato pueroque in contionem producto — erat autem quindecim tum ferme annorum — paucis, qui per contionem ad excitandos clamores dispositi erant, adprobantibus testamentum, ceteris uelut patre amisso in orba ciuitate omnia timentibus~~. funus fit regium magis amore ciuium et caritate quam cura suorum celebre. breui deinde ceteros tutores summouet Adranodorus, iuuenem iam esse dictitans Hieronymum ac regni potentem; deponendoque tutelam ipse, quae cum pluribus communis erat, in se unum omnium uires conuertit.

[5] Vix quidem uel bono moderatoque regi facilis erat fauor apud Syracusanos, succedenti tantae caritati Hieronis; uerum enimuero Hieronymus, uelut suis uitiiis desiderabilem efficere uellet auum, primo statim conspectu omnia quam disparia essent ostendit. nam qui per tot annos Hieronem filiumque eius Gelonem nec uestis habitu nec alio ullo insigni differentes a ceteris ciuibus uidissent, ei conspexere purpuram ac diadema ac satellites armatos, quadrigisque etiam alborum equorum interdum ex regia procedentem more Dionysi tyranni. hunc tam superbum adparatum habitumque conuenientes sequebantur contemptus omnium hominum, superbae aures, contumeliosa dicta, rari aditus non alienis modo sed tutoribus etiam, libidines nouae, inhumana crudelitas. itaque tantus omnes terror

inuaserat ut quidam ex tutoribus aut morte uoluntaria aut fuga praeuerterent metum suppliciorum. tres ex iis quibus solis aditus in domum familiarior erat, Adranodorus et Zoippus, generi Hieronis, et Thraso quidam, de aliis quidem rebus haud magno opere audiebantur; tendendo autem duo ad Carthaginienses, Thraso ad societatem Romanam, certamine ac studiis interdum in se conuertebant animum adulescentis, cum coniuratio in tyranni caput facta indicatur per Callonem quendam, aequalem Hieronymi et iam inde a puero in omnia familiaria iura adsuetum. index unum ex coniuratis Theodotum, a quo ipse appellatus erat, nominare potuit. qui comprehensus extemplo traditusque Adranodoro torquendus, de se ipse haud cunctanter fassus conscios celabat; postremo cum omnibus intolerandis patientiae humanae cruciatibus laceraretur, uictum malis se simulans auertit ab consciis in insontes indicium, Thrasonem esse auctorem consilii mentitus, nec nisi tam potenti duce confisos rem tantam ausuros <fuisse; addit socios> ab latere tyranni quorum capita uilissima fingenti inter dolores gemitusque occurrere. maxime animo tyranni credibile indicium Thraso nominatus fecit; itaque extemplo traditur ad supplicium adiectique poenae ceteri iuxta insontes. consociorum nemo, cum diu socius consilii torqueretur, aut latuit aut fugit; tantum illis in uirtute ac fide Theodoti fiducia fuit tantumque ipsi Theodoto uirum ad arcana occultanda.

[6] Ita, quod unum uinculum cum Romanis societatis erat, Thrasone sublato e medio extemplo haud dubie ad defectionem res spectabat, legatique ad Hannibalem missi ac remissi ab eo cum Hannibale, nobili adulescente, Hippocrates et Epicydes, nati Carthagine sed oriundi ab Syracusis exsule auo, Poeni ipsi materno genere. per hos iuncta societas Hannibali ac Syracusano tyranno nec inuito Hannibale apud tyrannum manserunt. Ap. Claudius praetor, cuius Sicilia prouincia erat, ubi ea accepit, extemplo legatos ad Hieronymum misit. qui cum sese ad renouandam societatem quae cum auo fuisset uenisse dicerent, per ludibrium auditi dimissique sunt ab quaerente per iocum Hieronymo quae fortuna eis pugnae ad Cannas fuisset; uix credibilia enim legatos Hannibalis narrare; uelle quid ueri sit scire, ut ex eo utram spem sequatur consilium capiat. Romani, cum serio legationes audire coepisset redituros se ad eum dicentes esse, monito magis eo quam rogato ne fidem temere mutaret

proficiscuntur. Hieronymus legatos Carthaginem misit ad foedus ex societate cum Hannibale pacta faciendum. conuenit ut, cum Romanos Sicilia expulissent — id autem breui fore, si naues atque exercitum misissent —, Himera amnis, qui ferme <mediam> diuidit, finis regni Syracusani ac Punici imperii esset. aliam deinde, inflatus adsentationibus eorum qui eum non Hieronis tantum sed Pyrrhi etiam regis, materni aui, iubebant meminisse, legationem misit, qua aequum censebat Sicilia sibi omni cedi, Italiae imperium proprium quaeri Carthaginensi populo. hanc leuitatem ac iactationem animi neque mirabantur in iuvene furioso neque arguebant, dummodo auerterent eum ab Romanis.

[7] Sed omnia in eo praecipitia ad exitium fuerunt. nam cum praemissis Hippocrate atque Epicyde cum binis milibus armatorum ad temptandas urbes quae praesidiis tenebantur Romanis, et ipse in Leontinos cum cetero omni exercitu — erant autem ad quindecim milia peditum equitumque — profectus esset, liberas aedes coniurati — et omnes forte militabant — imminentes uiae angustae qua descendere ad forum rex solebat sumpserunt. ibi cum instructi armatique ceteri transitum exspectantes starent, uni ex eis — Dinomeni fuit nomen —, quia custos corporis erat, partes datae sunt ut, cum adpropinquaret ianuae rex, per causam aliquam in angustiis sustineret ab tergo agmen. ita ut conuenerat factum est. tamquam laxaret elatum pedem ab stricto nodo, moratus turbam Dinomenes tantum interualli fecit ut, cum in praetereuntem sine armatis regem impetus fieret, confoderetur aliquot prius uolneribus quam succurri posset. clamore et tumultu audito in Dinomenem iam haud dubie obstantem tela coniciuntur, inter quae tamen duobus acceptis uolneribus euasit. fuga satellitum, ut iacentem uidere regem, facta est; interfectores pars in forum ad multitudinem laetam libertate, pars Syracusas pergunt ad praeoccupanda Adranodori regionumque aliorum consilia. incerto rerum statu Ap. Claudius bellum oriens ex propinquo cum cerneret, senatum litteris certiore fecit Siciliam Carthaginensi populo et Hannibali conciliari, ipse aduersus Syracusana consilia <ad> prouinciae regnique fines omnia conuertit praesidia. exitu anni eius Q. Fabius ex auctoritate senatus Puteolos, per bellum coeptum frequentari emporium, communiit praesidiumque imposuit. inde Romam comitiorum causa ueniens in

eum quem primum diem comitalem habuit comitia edixit atque ex itinere praeter urbem in campum descendit. eo die cum sors praerogatiuae Aniensi iuniorum exisset eaque T. Otacilium M. Aemilium Regillum consules diceret, tum Q. Fabius silentio facto tali oratione est usus:

[8] ‘Si aut pacem in Italia aut <id> bellum eumque hostem haberemus in quo negligentiae laxior locus esset, qui uestris studiis, quae in campum ad mandandos quibus uelitis honores adfertis, moram ullam offerret, is mihi parum meminisse uideretur uestrae libertatis; sed cum in hoc bello, in hoc hoste nunquam ab ullo duce sine ingenti nostra clade erratum sit, eadem uos cura qua in aciem armati descenditis inire suffragium ad creando consules decet et sibi quemque dicere: “Hannibali imperatori parem consulem nomino,” hoc anno ad Capuam Uibellio Taureae, Campano summo equiti, prouocanti summus Romanus eques Asellus Claudius est oppositus. aduersus Gallum quondam prouocantem in ponte Anienis T. Manlium fidentem et animo et uiribus misere maiores nostri. eandem causam haud multis annis post fuisse non negauerim cur M. Ualerio non diffideretur aduersus similiter prouocantem ad certamen arma capienti Gallum. quemadmodum pedites equitesque optamus ut ualidiores, si minus, ut pares hosti habeamus, ita duci hostium parem imperatorem quaeramus. cum qui est summus in ciuitate dux eum legerimus, tamen repente lectus, in annum creatus aduersus ueterem ac perpetuum imperatorem comparabitur, nullis neque temporis nec iuris inclusum angustiis quo minus ita omnia gerat administretque ut tempora postulabunt belli; nobis autem in adparatu ipso ac tantum incohantibus res annus circumagitur. quoniam quales uiros creare uos consules deceat satis est dictum, restat ut pauca de eis in quos praerogatiuae fauor inclinauit dicam. M. Aemilius Regillus flamen est Quirinalis, quem neque mittere a sacris neque retinere possumus ut non deum aut belli deseramus curam. <T.> Otacilius sororis meae filiam uxorem atque ex ea liberos habet; ceterum non ea uestra in me maioresque meos merita sunt ut non potioem priuatis necessitudinibus rem publicam habeam. quilibet nautarum uectorumque tranquillo mari gubernare potest; ubi saeua orta tempestas est ac turbato mari rapitur uento nauis, tum uiro et gubernatore opus est. non tranquillo nauigamus sed iam aliquot

procellis summersi paene sumus; itaque quis ad gubernacula sedeat summa cura prouidendum ac praecauendum uobis est. in minore te experti, T. Otacili, re sumus; haud sane cur ad maiora tibi fidamus documenti quicquam dedisti. classem hoc anno, cui tu praefuisti, trium rerum causa parauimus, ut Africae oram popularetur, ut tuta nobis Italiae litora essent, ante omnia ne supplementum cum stipendio commeatuque ab Carthagine Hannibali transportaretur. create consulem T. Otacilium, non dico si omnia haec, sed si aliquid eorum rei publicae praestitit. sin autem te classem obtinente, ea etiam uelut pacato mari quibus <non erat opus> Hannibali tuta atque integra ab domo uenerunt, si ora Italiae infestior hoc anno quam Africae fuit, quid dicere potes cur te potissimum ducem Hannibali hosti <hi> opponant? si consul esses, dictatorem dicendum exemplo maiorum nostrorum censeremus, nec tu id indignari posses aliquem in ciuitate Romana meliorem bello haberi quam te. magis nullius interest quam tua, T. Otacili, non imponi ceruicibus tuis onus sub quo concidas. ego magno opere suadeo, Quirites, eodem animo quo si stantibus uobis in acie armatis repente deligendi duo imperatores essent quorum ductu atque auspicio dimicaretis, hodie quoque consules creetis quibus sacramento liberi uestri dicant, ad quorum edictum conueniant, sub quorum tutela atque cura militent. lacus Trasumennus et Cannae tristitia ad recordationem exempla sed ad praecauenda similia [utiles] documento sunt. praeco, Aniensem iuniorum in suffragium reuoca.'

[9] Cum T. Otacilius ferociter eum continuare consulatum uelle uociferaretur atque obstreperet, lictores ad eum accedere consul iussit et, quia urbem non inierat protinus in campum ex itinere profectus, admonuit cum securibus sibi fasces praeferri. interim praerogatiua suffragium init creatique in ea consules Q. Fabius Maximus quartum M. Marcellus tertium. eosdem consules ceterae centuriae sine uariatione ulla dixerunt; et praetor unus reffectus Q. Fuluius Flaccus, noui alii creati, T. Otacilius Crassus iterum, Q. Fabius consulis filius qui tum aedilis curulis erat, P. Cornelius Lentulus. comitiis praetorum perfectis senatus consultum factum, ut Q. Fuluius extra ordinem urbana prouincia esset isque potissimum consulibus ad bellum profectis urbi praeesset. aquae magnae bis eo anno fuerunt Tiberisque agros inundauit cum magna strage tectorum pecorumque

et hominum pernicie. quinto anno secundi Punici belli Q. Fabius Maximus quartum M. Claudius Marcellus tertium consulatum ineuntes plus solito conuerterant in se ciuitatis animos; multis enim annis tale consulum par non fuerat. referebant senes sic Maximum Rullum cum P. Decio ad bellum Gallicum, sic postea Papirium Caruiliūque aduersus Samnites Bruttiosque et Lucanum cum Tarentino populum consules declaratos. absens Marcellus consul creatus, cum ad exercitum esset; praesenti Fabio atque ipsi comitia habenti consulatus continuatus. tempus ac necessitas belli ac discrimen summae rerum faciebant ne quis aut exemplum exquireret aut suspectum cupiditatis imperii consulem haberet; quin laudabant potius magnitudinem animi quod, cum summo imperatore esse opus rei publicae sciret seque eum haud dubie esse, minoris inuidiam suam, si qua ea re oreretur, quam utilitatem rei publicae fecisset.

[10] Quo die magistratum inierunt consules, senatus in Capitolio est habitus decretumque omnium primum ut consules sortirentur compararentue inter se uter censoribus creandis comitia haberet priusquam ad exercitum proficisceretur. prorogatum deinde imperium omnibus qui ad exercitus erant iussique in prouinciis manere, Ti. Gracchus Luceriae, ubi cum uolunū exercitu erat, C. Terentius Uarro in agro Piceno, M. Pomponius in Gallico; et praetorum prioris anni pro praetoribus, Q. Mucius obtineret Sardiniam, M. Ualerius ad Brundisium orae maritimae, intentus aduersus omnes motus Philippi Macedonum regis, praesset. P. Cornelio Lentulo praetori Sicilia decreta prouincia, T. Otacilio classis eadem quam aduersus Carthaginenses priore anno habuisset. prodigia eo anno multa nuntiata sunt, quae quo magis credebant simplices ac religiosi homines, eo plura nuntiabantur: Lanuui in aede intus Sospitae Iunonis coruos nidum fecisse; in Apulia palmam uiridem arsisse; Mantuae stagnum effusum Mincio amni cruentum uisum; et Calibus creta et Romae in foro bouario sanguine pluuisse; et in uico Insteio fontem sub terra tanta ui aquarum fluxisse ut serias doliaque quae in eo loco erant prouoluta uelut impetu torrentis tulerit; tacta de caelo atrium publicum in Capitolio, aedem in campo Uolcani, Uacunae in Sabinis publicamque uiam, murum ac portam Gabiis. iam alia uolgata miracula erant: hastam Martis Praeneste sua sponte promotam; bouem in Sicilia locutum; infantem in utero matris

in Marrucinis 'io triumphe' clamasse; ex muliere Spoleti uirum factum; Hadriae aram in caelo speciesque hominum circum eam cum candida ueste uisas esse. quin Romae quoque in ipsa urbe, secundum apum examen in foro uisum — quod mirabile est, quia rarum — , adfirmantes quidam legiones se armatas in Ianiculo uidere concitauerunt ciuitatem ad arma, cum qui in Ianiculo essent negarent quemquam ibi praeter aduetos collis eius cultores apparuisse. haec prodigia hostiis maioribus procurata sunt ex haruspicum responso et supplicatio omnibus deis quorum puluinaria Romae essent indicta est.

[11] Perpetratis quae ad pacem deum pertinebant, de re publica belloque gerendo et quantum copiarum et ubi quaeque essent consules ad senatum rettulerunt. duodeuiginti legionibus bellum geri placuit; binas consules sibi sumere, binis Galliam Siciliamque ac Sardiniam obtineri; duabus Q. Fabium praetorem Apuliae, duabus uolonum Ti. Gracchum circa Luceriam praeesse; singulas C. Terentio proconsuli ad Picenum et M. Ualerio ad classem circa Brundisium relinqui, duas urbi praesidio esse. hic ut numerus legionum expleretur, sex nouae legiones erant scribendae. eas primo quoque tempore consules scribere iussi et classem parare, ut cum eis nauibus quae pro Calabriae litoribus in statione essent, centum quinquaginta longarum classis nauium eo anno expleretur. dilectu habito et centum nauibus nouis deductis Q. Fabius comitia censoribus creandis habuit; creati M. Atilius Regulus et P. Furius Philus. cum increbresceret rumor bellum in Sicilia esse, T. Otacilius eo cum classe proficisci iussus est. cum deessent nautae, consules ex senatus consulto edixerunt ut, qui L. Aemilio C. Flaminio censoribus milibus aeris quinquaginta ipse aut pater eius census fuisset usque ad centum milia aut cui postea tanta res esset facta, nautam unum cum sex mensum stipendio daret; qui supra centum milia usque ad trecenta milia, tres nautas cum stipendio annuo; qui supra trecenta milia usque ad deciens aeris, quinque nautas; qui supra deciens, septem; senatores octo nautas cum annuo stipendio darent. ex hoc edicto dati nautae, armati instructique ab dominis, cum triginta dierum coctis cibariis naues conscenderunt. tum primum est factum ut classis Romana sociis naualibus priuata impensa paratis compleretur.

[12] Hic maior solito apparatus praecipue conterruit Campanos ne ab obsidione Capuae bellum eius anni Romani inciperent. itaque legatos ad Hannibalem oratum miserunt ut Capuam exercitum admoueret: ad eam oppugnandam nouos exercitus scribi Romae nec ullius urbis defectioni magis infensos eorum animos esse. id quia tam trepide nuntiabant, maturandum Hannibal ratus ne praeuenirent Romani, profectus Arpis ad Tifata in ueteribus castris super Capuam consedit. inde Numidis Hispanisque ad praesidium simul castrorum simul Capuae relictis cum cetero exercitu ad lacum Auerni per speciem sacrificandi, re ipsa ut temptaret Puteolos quodque ibi praesidii erat, descendit. Maximus, postquam Hannibalem Arpis profectum et regredi in Campaniam allatum est, nec die nec nocte intermisso itinere ad exercitum redit, et Ti. Gracchum ab Luceria Beneuentum copias admouere, Q. Fabium praetorem — is filius consulis erat — <ad> Luceriam Graccho succedere iubet. in Siciliam eodem tempore duo praetores profecti, P. Cornelius ad exercitum, T. Otacilius qui maritimae orae reique nauali praeesset; et ceteri in suas quisque prouincias profecti, et quibus prorogatum imperium erat easdem quas priori anno regiones obtinuerunt.

[1313] Ad Hannibalem, cum ad lacum Auerni esset, quinque nobiles iuuenes ab Tarento uenerunt, partim ad Trasumennum lacum, partim ad Cannas capti dimissique domos cum eadem comitate qua usus aduersus omnes Romanorum socios Poenus fuerat. ei memores beneficiorum eius perpulisse magnam partem se iuuentutis Tarentinae referunt ut Hannibalis amicitiam ac societatem quam populi Romani mallent, legatosque ab suis missos rogare Hannibalem ut exercitum propius Tarentum admoueat: si signa eius, si castra conspecta a Tarento sint, haud ullam intercessuram moram quin <in deditionem ueniat> urbs; in potestate iuniorum plebem, in manu plebis rem Tarentinam esse. Hannibal conlaudatos eos oneratosque ingentibus promissis domum ad coepta maturanda redire iubet; se in tempore adfuturum esse. hac cum spe dimissi Tarentini. ipsum ingens cupido incesserat Tarenti potiundi. urbem esse uidebat cum opulentam nobilemque, tum maritimam et in Macedoniam opportune uersam regemque Philippum hunc portum, si transiret in Italiam, Brundisium cum Romani haberent, petiturum. sacro inde perpetrato ad quod uenerat et, dum ibi moratur, peruastato agro

Cumano usque ad Miseni promunturium Puteolos repente agmen conuertit ad opprimendum praesidium Romanum. sex milia hominum erant et locus munimento quoque, non natura modo tutus. triduum ibi moratus Poenus ab omni parte temptato praesidio, deinde, ut nihil procedebat, ad populandum agrum Neapolitanum magis ira quam potiundae urbis spe processit. aduentu eius in propinquum agrum mota Nolana est plebs, iam diu auersa ab Romanis et infesta senatui suo. itaque legati ad arcessendum Hannibalem cum haud dubio promisso tradendae urbis uenerunt. praeuenit inceptum eorum Marcellus consul a primoribus accitus. die uno Suessulam a Calibus, cum Uolturnus amnis traicientem moratus esset, contenderat; inde proxima nocte sex milia peditum, equites trecentos, qui praesidio senatui essent, Nola intromisit. et uti a consule omnia impigre facta sunt ad praeoccupandam Nola, ita Hannibal tempus terebat, bis iam ante nequiquam temptata re segnior ad credendum Nolanis factus.

[14] Iisdem diebus et Q. Fabius consul ad Casilinum temptandum, quod praesidio Punico tenebatur, uenit et ad Beneuentum uelut ex composito parte altera Hanno ex Bruttiiis cum magna peditum equitumque manu, altera Ti. Gracchus ab Luceria accessit. qui primo oppidum intrauit, deinde, ut Hannonem tria milia ferme ab urbe ad Calorem fluuium castra posuisse et inde agrum populari audiuit, et ipse egressus moenibus mille ferme passus ab hoste castra locat. ibi contionem militum habuit. legiones magna ex parte uolonum habebat, qui iam alterum annum libertatem tacite mereri quam postulare palam maluerant. senserat tamen hibernis egrediens murmur in agmine esse quaerentium, en unquam liberi militaturi essent, scripseratque senatui non tam quid desiderarent quam quid meruissent: bona fortique opera eorum se ad eam diem usum neque ad exemplum iusti militis quicquam eis praeter libertatem deesse. de eo permissum ipsi erat faceret quod e re publica duceret esse. itaque priusquam cum hoste manum consereret, pronuntiat tempus uenisse eis libertatis quam diu sperassent potiundae; postero die signis conlatis dimicaturum puro ac patenti campo, ubi sine ullo insidiarum metu uera uirtute geri res posset. qui caput hostis rettulisset, eum se extemplo liberum iussurum esse; qui loco cessisset, in eum seruili supplicio animaduersurum; suam cuique fortunam in manu esse.

libertatis auctorem eis non se fore solum sed consulem M. Marcellum, sed uniuersos patres, quos consultos ab se de libertate eorum sibi permisisse. litteras inde consulis ac senatus consultum recitauit, ad quae clamor cum ingenti adsensu est sublatus. pugnam poscebant signumque ut daret extemplo ferociter instabant. Gracchus proelio in posterum diem pronuntiato contionem dimisit: milites laeti, praecipue quibus merces nauatae in unum diem operae libertas futura erat, armis expediendis diei reliquum consumunt.

[15] Postero die ubi signa coeperunt canere, primi omnium parati instructique ad praetorium conueniunt. sole orto Gracchus in aciem copias educit nec hostes moram dimicandi fecerunt. septendecim milia peditum erant, maxima ex parte Bruttii ac Lucani, equites mille ducenti, inter quos pauci admodum Italici, ceteri Numidae fere omnes Maurique. pugnatum est et acriter et diu; quattuor horis neutro inclinata est pugna nec alia magis Romanum impediēbat res quam capita hostium pretia libertatis facta. nam ut quisque hostem impigre occiderat, primum capite aegre inter turbam tumultumque abscidendo terebat tempus; deinde occupata dextra tenendo caput fortissimus quisque puginator esse desierat, segnibus ac timidis tradita pugna erat. quod ubi tribuni militum Graccho nuntiauerunt, neminem stantem iam uolnerari hostem, carnificari iacentes et in dextris militum pro gladiis humana capita esse, signum dari propere iussit proicerent capita inuaderentque hostem: claram satis et insignem uirtutem esse nec dubiam libertatem futuram strenuis uiris. tum redintegrata pugna est et eques etiam in hostes emissus; quibus cum impigre Numidae concurrissent nec segnior equitum quam peditum pugna esset, iterum in dubium adducta res. cum utrimque duces, Romanus Bruttium Lucanumque totiens a maioribus suis uictos subactosque, Poenus mancipia Romana et ex ergastulo militem uerbis obtereret, postremo pronuntiat Gracchus esse nihil quod de libertate sperarent, nisi eo die fusi fugatique hostes essent.

[16] Ea demum uox ita animos accendit ut renouato clamore uelut alii repente facti tanta ui se in hostem intulerint, ut sustineri ultra non possent. primo antesignani Poenorum, dein signa perturbata, postremo tota impulsā acies; inde haud dubie terga data ruuntque fugientes in castra adeo pauidi trepidique ut ne in portis quidem aut uallo quisquam restiterit ac prope continenti agmine Romani insecuti

nouum de integro proelium inclusi hostium uallo ediderint. ibi sicut pugna impeditior in angustiis, ita caedes atrocior fuit; et adiuuere captiui, qui rapto inter tumultum ferro conglobati et ab tergo ceciderunt Poenos et fugam impelierunt. itaque minus duo milia hominum ex tanto exercitu, et ea maior pars equitum, cum ipso duce effugerunt; alii omnes caesi aut capti; capta et signa duodequadraginta. ex uictoribus duo milia ferme cecidere. praeda omnis, praeterquam hominum captorum, militi concessa est; et pecus exceptum est quod intra dies triginta domini cognouissent. cum praeda onusti in castra redissent, quattuor milia ferme uolonum militum, quae pugnauerant segnius nec in castra inruperant simul, metu poenae collem haud procul castris ceperunt. postero die per tribunos militum inde deducti, contione militum aduocata a Graccho superueniunt. ubi cum proconsul ueteres milites primum, prout cuiusque uirtus atque opera in ea pugna fuerat, militaribus donis donasset, tunc quod ad uolones attineret omnes ait malle laudatos a se, dignos indignosque, quam quemquam eo die castigatum esse; quod bonum faustum felixque rei publicae ipsisque esset, omnes eos liberos esse iubere. ad quam uocem cum clamor ingenti alacritate sublatus esset ac nunc complexi inter se gratulantesque, nunc manus ad caelum tollentes bona omnia populo Romano Gracchoque ipsi precarentur, tum Gracchus ‘priusquam omnes iure libertatis aequassem’ inquit, ‘neminem nota strenui aut ignaui militis notasse uolui; nunc exsoluta iam fide publica, ne discrimen omne uirtutis ignauiaeque pereat, nomina eorum qui detractatae pugnae memores secessionem paulo ante fecerunt referri ad me iubebo citatosque singulos iure iurando adigam, nisi quis morbus causa erit, non aliter quam stantes cibum potionemque quoad stipendia facient capturos esse. hanc multam ita aequo animo feretis, si reputabitis nulla ignauiae nota leuiore uos designari potuisse.’ signum deinde colligendi uasa dedit; militesque praedam portantes agentesque per lasciuiam ac iocum ita ludibundi Beneuentum rediere ut ab epulis per celebrem festumque diem actis non ex acie reuerti uiderentur. Beneuentani omnes turba effusa cum obuiam ad portas exissent, complecti milites, gratulari, uocare in hospitium. apparatus conuiuia omnibus in propatulo aedium fuerant; ad ea inuitabant Gracchumque orabant ut epulari permetteret militibus; et Gracchus ita permisit in

publico epularentur omnes ante suas quisque fores. prolata omnia. pilleati aut lana alba uelatis capitibus uolones epulati sunt, alii accubantes, alii stantes qui simul ministrabant uestiebanturque. digna res uisa ut simulacrum celebrati eius diei Gracchus, postquam Romam rediit, pingi iuberet in aede Libertatis quam pater eius in Auentino ex multatitia pecunia faciendam curauit dedicauitque.

[17] Dum haec ad Beneuentum geruntur, Hannibal depopulatus agrum Neapolitanum ad Nola castra mouet. quem ubi aduentare consul sensit, Pomponio praetore cum eo exercitu qui super Suessulam in castris erat accito ire obuiam hosti parat nec moram dimicandi facere. C. Claudium Neronem cum robore equitum silentio noctis per auersam maxime ab hoste portam emittit circumuectumque occulte subsequi sensim agmen hostium iubet et, cum coortum proelium uideret, ab tergo se obicere. id errore uiarum an exiguitate temporis Nero exsequi non potuerit incertum est. absente eo cum proelium commissum esset, superior quidem haud dubie Romanus erat; sed quia equites non adfuere in tempore, ratio compositae rei turbata est. non ausus insequi cedentes Marcellus uincens suis signum receptui dedit. plus tamen duo milia hostium eo die caesa traduntur, Romani minus quadringenti. solis fere occasu Nero diem noctemque nequiquam fatigatis equis hominibusque, ne uiso quidem hoste rediens, adeo grauiter est ab consule increpitus ut per eum stetisse diceretur quo minus accepta ad Cannas redderetur hosti clades. postero die Romanus in aciem descendit, Poenus tacita etiam confessione uictus castris se tenuit. tertio die silentio noctis omissa spe Nolae potiundae, rei nunquam prospere temptatae, Tarentum ad certiore spem prodicionis proficiscitur.

[18] Nec minore animo res Romana domi quam militiae gerebatur. censores, uacui ab operum locandorum cura propter inopiam aerarii, ad mores hominum regendos animum aduerterunt castigandaque uitia quae, uelut diutinis morbis aegra corpora ex sese gignunt, eo enata bello erant. primum eos citauerunt qui post Cannensem <cladem a re publica defecisse> dicebantur. princeps eorum M. Caecilius Metellus quaestor tum forte erat. iusso deinde eo ceterisque eiusdem noxae reis causam dicere cum purgari nequissent, pronuntiarunt uerba orationemque eos aduersus rem publicam habuisse, quo coniuratio deserendae Italiae causa fieret. secundum

eos citati nimis callidi exsoluendi iuris iurandi interpretes, qui captiuorum ex itinere regressi clam in castra Hannibalis solutum quod iurauerant redituros rebantur. his superioribusque illis equi adempti qui publicum equum habebant, tribuque moti aerarii omnes facti. neque senatu modo aut equestri ordine regendo cura se censorum tenuit. nomina omnium ex iuniorum tabulis excerpserunt qui quadriennio non militassent, quibus neque uacatio iusta militiae neque morbus causa fuisset. et ea supra duo milia nominum in aerarios relata tribuque omnes moti; additumque tam truci censoriae notae triste senatus consultum, ut ei omnes quos censores notassent pedibus mererent mitterenturque in Siciliam ad Cannensis exercitus reliquias, cui militum generi non prius quam pulsus Italia hostis esset finitum stipendiorum tempus erat. cum censores ob inopiam aerarii se iam locationibus abstinerent aedium sacrarum tuendarum curuliumque equorum praebendorum ac similium his rerum, conuenere ad eos frequentes qui hastae huius generis adsueuerant hortarique censores ut omnia perinde agerent locarent ac si pecunia in aerario esset: neminem nisi bello confecto pecuniam ab aerario petiturum esse. conuenere deinde domini eorum quos Ti. Sempronius ad Beneuentum manu emiserat arcessitosque se ab triumuiris mensariis esse dixerunt ut pretia seruorum acciperent; ceterum non antequam bello confecto accepturos esse. cum haec inclinatio animorum plebis ad sustinendam inopiam aerarii fieret, pecuniae quoque pupillares primo, deinde uiduarum coeptae conferri, nusquam eas tutius sanctiusque deponere credentibus qui deferebant quam in publica fide; inde si quid emptum paratumque pupillis ac uiduis foret, a quaestore perscribebatur. manauit ea priuatorum benignitas ex urbe etiam in castra, ut non eques, non centurio stipendium acciperet, mercennariumque increpantes uocarent qui accepiisset.

[19] Q. Fabius consul ad Casilinum castra habebat, quod duum milium Campanorum et septingentorum militum Hannibalis tenebatur praesidio. praeerat Staius Metius, missus ab Cn. Magio Atellano, qui eo anno medix tuticus erat seruitiaeque et plebem promiscue armarat ut castra Romana inuaderet intento consule ad Casilinum oppugnandum. nihil eorum Fabium fefellit. itaque Nola ad collegam mittit: altero exercitu dum Casilinum oppugnatur opus esse qui Campanis opponatur; uel ipse relicto Nolae praesidio

modico ueniret uel, si eum Nola teneret necdum securae res ab Hannibale essent, se Ti. Gracchum proconsulem a Beneuento accitutum. hoc nuntio Marcellus duobus militum milibus Nolae in praesidio relictis cum cetero exercitu Casilinum uenit, aduentuque eius Campani iam mouentes sese quieuerunt. ita ab duobus consulibus Casilinum oppugnari coepit. ubi cum multa succedentes temere moenibus Romani milites acciperent uolnera neque satis inceptum succederet, Fabius omittendam rem paruum ac iuxta magnis difficilem abscedendumque inde censebat, cum res maiores instarent; Marcellus multa magnis ducibus sicut non adgredienda, ita semel adgressis non dimittenda esse dicendo, quia magna famae momenta in utramque partem fierent, tenuit ne inrito incepto abiretur. uineae inde omniaque alia operum machinationumque genera cum admouerentur Campanique Fabium orarent ut abire Capuam tuto liceret, paucis egressis Marcellus portam qua egrediebantur occupauit caedesque promiscue omnium circa portam primo, deinde inruptione facta etiam in urbe fieri coepta est. quinquaginta fere primo egressi Campanorum, cum ad Fabium confugissent, praesidio eius Capuam peruenerunt: Casilinum inter conloquia cunctationemque petentium fidem per occasionem captum est, captiuique Campanorum quique Hannibalis militum erant Romam missi atque ibi in carcere inclusi sunt: oppidanorum turba per finitimos populos in custodiam diuisa.

[20] Quibus diebus a Casilino re bene gesta recessum est, eis Gracchus in Lucanis aliquot cohortes in ea regione conscriptas cum praefecto socium in agros hostium praedatum misit. eos effuse palatos Hanno adortus haud multo minorem quam ad Beneuentum acceperat reddidit hosti cladem atque in Bruttios raptim ne Gracchus adsequeretur concessit. consules Marcellus retro unde uenerat Nolam rediit, Fabius in Samnites ad populandos agros recipiendasque armis quae defecerant urbes processit. Caudinus Samnis grauius deuastatus: perusti late agri, praedae pecudum hominumque actae; oppida ui capta Compulteria, Telesia, Compsa inde, Fugifulae et Orbitanium ex Lucanis, Blanda et Apulorum Aecae oppugnatae. milia hostium in his urbibus uiginti quinque capta aut occisa et recepti perfugae trecenti septuaginta; quos cum Romam misisset consul, uirgis in comitio caesi omnes ac de saxo deiecti. haec a Q.

Fabio intra paucos dies gesta; Marcellum ab gerundis rebus ualeudo aduersa Nolae tenuit. et a praetore Q. Fabio, cui circa Luceriam prouincia erat, Acuca oppidum per eos dies ui captum statiuoque ad Ardoneas communita. dum haec in aliis locis ab Romanis geruntur, iam Tarentum peruenerat Hannibal cum maxima omnium quacunque ierat clade; in Tarentino demum agro pacatum incedere agmen coepit. nihil ibi uiolatum neque usquam uia excessum est, apparebatque non id modestia militum aut ducis nisi ad conciliandos animos Tarentinorum fieri. ceterum cum prope moenibus accessisset, nullo ad conspectum primum agminis, ut rebatur, motu facto castra ab urbe ferme passus mille locat. Tarenti triduo ante quam Hannibal ad moenia accederet a M. Ualerio propraetore, qui classi ad Brundisium praeerat, missus M. Liuius impigre conscripta iuuentute dispositisque ad omnes portas circaque muros qua res postulabat stationibus, die ac nocte iuxta intentus neque hostibus neque dubiis sociis loci quicquam praebuit ad temptandum[que]. diebus aliquot frustra ibi absumptis Hannibal, cum eorum nemo qui ad lacum Auerni adissent aut ipsi uenirent aut nuntium litterasue mitterent, uana promissa se temere secutum cernens castra inde mouit, tum quoque intacto agro Tarentino quamquam simulata lenitas nihildum profuerat, tamen spe labefactandae fidei haud absistens. Salapiam ut uenit, frumentum ex agris Metapontino atque Heracleensi — iam enim aestas exacta erat et hibernis placebat locus — comportat. praedatum inde Numidae Maurique per Sallentinum agrum proximosque Apuliae saltus dimissi; unde ceterae praedae haud multum, equorum greges maxime abacti, e quibus ad quattuor milia domanda equitibus diuisa.

[21] Romani, cum bellum nequaquam contemnendum in Sicilia oreretur, morsque tyranni duces magis impigros dedisset Syracusanis quam causam aut animos mutasset, M. Marcello alteri consulum eam prouinciam decernunt. secundum Hieronymi caedem primo tumultuatum in Leontinis apud milites fuerat uociferatumque ferociter parentandum regi sanguine coniuratorum esse. deinde libertatis restitutae dulce auditu nomen crebro usurpatum, spe facta ex pecunia regia largitionis militiaeque fungendae potioribus ducibus; et relata tyranni foeda scelera foedioresque libidines adeo mutauere animos ut insepultum iacere corpus paulo ante desiderati

regis paterentur. cum ceteri ex coniuratis ad exercitum obtinendum remansissent, Theodotus et Sosis regiis equis quanto maximo cursu poterant, ut ignaros omnium regiones opprimerent, Syracusas contendunt. ceterum praeuenerat non fama solum, qua nihil in talibus rebus est celerius, sed nuntius etiam ex regiis seruis. itaque Adranodorus et Insulam et arcem et alia quae poterat quaeque opportuna erant praesidiis firmarat. Hexapylo Theodotus ac Sosis post solis occasum iam obscura luce inuecti, cum cruentam regiam uestem atque insigne capitis ostentarent, trauecti per Tycham simul ad libertatem simul ad arma uocantes, in Achradinam conuenire iubent. multitudo pars procurrit in uias, pars in uestibulis stat, pars ex tectis fenestrisque prospectant et quid rei sit rogitant. omnia luminibus conlucent strepituque uario complentur. armati locis patentibus congregantur; inermes ex Olympii Iouis templo spolia Gallorum Illyriorumque, dono data Hieroni a populo Romano fixaque ab eo, detrahunt, precantes Iouem ut uolens propitius praebeat sacra arma pro patria, pro deum delubris, pro libertate sese armantibus. haec quoque multitudo stationibus per principes regionum urbis dispositis adiungitur. in Insula inter cetera Adranodorus praesidiis firmarat horrea publica. locus saxo quadrato saeptus atque arcis in modum emunitus capitur ab iuuentute quae praesidio eius loci attributa erat mittuntque nuntios in Achradinam horrea frumentumque in senatus potestate esse.

[22] Luce prima populus omnis, armatus inermisque, in Achradinam ad curiam conuenit. ibi pro Concordiae ara, quae in eo sita loco erat, ex principibus unus nomine Polyaeus contionem et liberam et moderatam habuit: seruitii onus indignitatesque homines expertos aduersus notum malum inritatos esse: discordia ciuilis quas importet clades, audisse magis a patribus Syracusanos quam ipsos uidisse. arma quod impigre ceperint, laudare: magis laudaturum, si non utantur nisi ultima necessitate coacti. in praesentia legatos ad Adranodorum mitti placere qui denuntient ut in potestate senatus ac populi sit, portas Insulae aperiat, reddat praesidium. si tutelam alieni regni suum regnum uelit facere, eundem se censere multo acrius ab Adranodoro quam ab Hieronymo repeti libertatem. ab hac contione legati missi sunt. senatus inde haberi coeptus est, quod sicut regnante Hierone manserat publicum consilium, ita post mortem eius ante eam

diem nulla de re neque conuocati neque consulti fuerant. ut uentum ad Adranodorum est, ipsum quidem mouebat et ciuium consensus et cum aliae occupatae urbis partes, tum pars Insulae uel munitissima prodita atque alienata; sed euocatum eum ab legatis Damarata uxor, filia Hieronis, inflata adhuc regiis animis ac muliebri spiritu, admonet saepe usurpatae Dionysi tyranni uocis, qua pedibus tractum, non insidentem equo relinquere tyrannidem dixerit debere: facile esse momento quo quis uelit cedere possessione magnae fortunae; facere et parare eam difficile atque arduum esse. spatium sumeret ad consultandum ab legatis; eo uteretur ad arcessendos ex Leontinis milites, quibus si pecuniam regiam pollicitus esset, omnia in potestate eius futura. haec muliebria consilia Adranodorus neque tota aspernatus est neque extemplo accepit, tutiorem ad opes adfectandas ratus esse uiam, si in praesentia tempori cessisset. itaque legatos renuntiare iussit futurum se in senatus ac populi potestate. postero die luce prima patefactis Insulae portis in forum Achradinae uenit. ibi in aram Concordiae, ex qua pridie Polyaeus contionatus erat, escendit orationemque eam orsus est qua primum cunctationis suae ueniam petiuit: se enim clausas habuisse portas, non separantem suas res a publicis sed strictis semel gladiis timentem qui finis caedibus esset futurus, utrum, quod satis libertati foret, contenti nece tyranni essent an quicumque aut propinquitate aut adfinitate aut aliquis ministeriis regiam contigissent alienae culpa rei trucidarentur. postquam animaduernerit eos qui liberassent patriam seruare etiam liberatam uelle atque undique consuli in medium, non dubitasse quin et corpus suum et cetera omnia, quae suae fidei tutelaeque essent, quoniam eum qui mandasset suus furor absumpsisset, patriae restitueret. conuersus deinde ad interfectores tyranni ac nomine appellans Theodotum ac Sosin, ‘facinus’ inquit ‘memorabile fecistis; sed, mihi credite, incohata uestra gloria, nondum perfecta est periculumque ingens manet, nisi paci et concordiae consulitis, ne libera efferatur res <publica>.’

[23] Post hanc orationem claues portarum pecuniaeque regiae ante pedes eorum posuit. atque illo quidem die dimissi ex contione laeti circa fana omnia deum supplicauerunt cum coniugibus ac liberis; postero die comitia praetoribus creandis habita. creatus in primis Adranodorus, ceteri magna ex parte interfectores tyranni. duos etiam

absentes, Sopatrum ac Dinomenen, fecerunt; qui, auditis iis quae Syracusis acta erant pecuniam regiam quae in Leontinis erat Syracusas deuectam quaestoribus ad id ipsum creatis tradiderunt. et ea quae in Insula erat Achradinam tralata est; murique ea pars quae ab cetera urbe nimis firmo munimento intersaepiebat Insulam consensu omnium deiecta est. secutae et ceterae res hanc inclinationem animorum ad libertatem[que]. Hippocrates atque Epicydes audita morte tyranni, quam Hippocrates etiam nuntio interfecto celare uoluerat, deserti a militibus, quia id tutissimum ex praesentibus uidebatur, Syracusas rediere; ubi ne suspecti obuersarentur tamquam nouandi res aliquam occasionem quaerentes, praetores primum, dein per eos senatum adeunt. ab Hannibale se missos praedicant ad Hieronymum tamquam amicum ac socium paruisse imperio eius cuius imperator suus uoluerit. uelle ad Hannibalem redire; ceterum, cum iter tutum non sit uagantibus passim per totam Siciliam Romanis, petere ut praesidii dent aliquid quo Locros in Italiam perducantur; gratiam magnam eos parua opera apud Hannibalem inituros. facile res impetrata; abire enim duces regios cum peritos militiae, tum egentes eosdem atque audaces cupiebant; sed quod uolebant non quam maturato opus erat nauiter expediebant. interim iuuenes militares et adsueti militibus nunc apud eos ipsos, nunc apud transfugas, quorum maxima pars ex naualibus sociis Romanorum erat, nunc etiam apud infimae plebis homines crimina serebant in senatum optimatesque: illud moliri clam eos atque struere ut Syracusae per speciem reconciliatae societatis in ditione Romanorum sint, dein factio ac pauci auctores foederis renouati dominantur.

[24] His audiendis credendisque opportuna multitudo maior in dies Syracusas confluebat nec Epicydi solum spem nouandarum rerum sed Adranodoro etiam praebebat. qui fessus tandem uxoris uocibus monentis nunc illud esse tempus occupandi res, dum turbata omnia noua atque incondita libertate essent, dum regiis stipendiis pastus obuersaretur miles, dum ab Hannibale missi duces adsueti militibus iuuare possent incepta, cum Themisto, cui Gelonis filia nupta erat, rem consociatam paucos post dies Aristoni cuidam tragico actori, cui et alia arcana committere adsuerat, incaute aperit. huic et genus et fortuna honesta erant nec ars, quia nihil tale apud Graecos pudori est,

ea deformabat; itaque fidem potiore ratum quam patriae debebat, indicium ad praetores defert. qui ubi rem haud uanam esse certis indiciis compererunt, consultis senioribus et <ex> auctoritate eorum praesidio ad fores posito ingressos curiam Themistum atque Adranodorum interfecerunt; et cum tumultus ab re in speciem atrocioris causam aliis ignorantibus ortus esset, silentio tandem facto indicem in curiam introduxerunt. qui cum ordine omnia edocuisset — principium coniurationis factum ab Harmoniae Gelonis filiae nuptiis quibus Themisto iuncta esset; Afrorum Hispanorumque auxiliares instructos ad caedem praetorum principumque aliorum bonaque eorum praedae futura interfectoribus pronuntiatum; iam mercennariorum manum, adsuetam imperiis Adranodori, paratam fuisse ad Insulam rursus occupandam, — singula deinde quae per quosque agerentur totamque uiris armisque instructam coniurationem ante oculos posuit. et senatui quidem tam iure caesi quam Hieronymus uidebantur: ante curiam uariae atque incertae rerum multitudinis clamor erat. quam ferociter minitantem in uestibulo curiae corpora coniuratorum eo metu compresserunt ut silentes integram plebem in contionem sequerentur. Sopatro mandatum ab senatu et a collegis ut uerba faceret.

[25] Is tamquam reos ageret, ab ante acta uita orsus, quaecumque post Hieronis mortem scelestae atque impie factae essent, Adranodorum ac Themistum arguit fecisse: quid enim sua sponte [fecisse] Hieronymum, puerum ac uixdum pubescentem, facere potuisse? tutores ac magistros eius sub aliena inuidia regnasse. itaque aut ante Hieronymum aut certe cum Hieronymo perire eos debuisset. at illos debitos iam morti destinatosque, alia noua scelera post mortem tyranni molitos, palam primo cum clausis Adranodorus Insulae portis hereditatem regni creuerit et quae procurator tenuerat pro domino possederit; proditus deinde ab eis qui in Insula erant circumsessus ab uniuersa ciuitate quae Achradinam tenuerit nequiquam palam atque aperte petitum regnum clam et dolo adfectare conatus sit, et ne beneficio quidem atque honore potuerit uinci, cum inter liberatores patriae insidiator ipse libertatis creatus esset praetor. sed animos eis regiones regias coniuges fecisse, alteri Hieronis, alteri Gelonis filias nuptas. sub hanc uocem ex omnibus partibus contionis clamor oritur nullam earum uiuere debere nec

quemquam superesse tyrannorum stirpis. ea natura multitudinis est: aut seruit humiliter aut superbe dominatur; libertatem, quae media est, nec struere modice nec habere sciunt; et non ferme desunt irarum indulgentes ministri, qui auidos atque intemperantes suppliciorum animos ad sanguinem et caedes inritent. sicut tum extemplo praetores rogationem promulgarunt — acceptaque paene prius quam promulgata est — ut omnes regiae stirpis interficerentur; missique a praetoribus Damaratam Hieronis et Harmoniam Gelonis filiam, coniuges Adranodori et Themisti, interfecerunt.

[26] Heraclia erat filia Hieronis, uxor Zoippi, qui legatus ab Hieronymo ad regem Ptolomaeum missus uoluntarium consciuerat exsilium. ea cum ad se quoque ueniri praescisset, in sacrarium ad penates confugit cum duabus filiabus uirginibus, resolutis crinibus miserabilique alio habitu, et ad ea addidit preces, nunc <per deos, nunc> per memoriam Hieronis patris Gelonisque fratris ne se innoxiam inuidia Hieronymi conflagrare sinerent: nihil se ex regno illius praeter exsilium uiri habere; neque fortunam suam eandem uiuo Hieronymo fuisse quam sororis neque interfecto eo causam eandem esse. quid quod si Adranodoro consilia processissent, illa cum uiro fuerit regnatura, sibi cum ceteris seruiendum? si quis Zoippo nuntiet interfectum Hieronymum ac liberatas Syracusas, cui dubium esse quin extemplo conscensurus sit nauem atque in patriam rediturus? quantum spes hominum falli. in liberata patria coniugem eius ac liberos de uita dimicare, quid obstantes libertati aut legibus? quod ab se cuiquam periculum, a sola ac prope uidua et puellis in orbitate degentibus esse? at enim periculi quidem nihil ab se timeri, inuisam tamen stirpem regiam esse. ablegarent ergo procul ab Syracusis Siciliaque et asportari Alexandriam iuberent, ad uirum uxorem, ad patrem filias. auersis auribus animisque ~cassae, ne tempus tererent, ferrum quosdam expedientes cernebat; tum omissis pro se precibus, puellis ut saltem parcerent orare institit, a qua aetate etiam hostes iratos abstinere; ne tyrannos ulciscendo quae odissent scelera ipsi imitarentur. inter haec abstractam a penetralibus iugulant. in uirgines deinde respersas matris cruore impetum faciunt, quae alienata mente simul luctu metuque uelut captae furore eo cursu se ex sacrario proripuerunt ut, si effugium patuisset in publicum, impleturae urbem tumultu fuerint. tum quoque haud magno aedium

spatio inter medios tot armatos aliquotiens integro corpore euaserunt tenentibusque, cum tot ac tam ualidae eluctandae manus essent, sese eripuerunt. tandem uolneribus confectae, cum omnia replerent sanguine, exanimis conruerunt. caedem per se miserabilem miserabiliorem casus fecit, quod paulo post nuntius uenit mutatis repente ad misericordiam animis ne interficerentur. ira deinde ex misericordia orta, quod adeo festinatum ad supplicium neque locus paenitendi aut regressus ab ira relictus esset. itaque fremere multitudo et in locum Adranodori ac Themisti — nam ambo praetores fuerant — comitia poscere quae nequaquam ex sententia praetorum futura essent.

[27] Statutus est comitiis dies; quo necopinantibus omnibus unus ex ultima turba Epicyden nominauit, tum inde alius Hippocratem. crebriores deinde hae uoces et cum haud dubio adsensu multitudinis esse; et erat confusa contio non populari modo sed militari quoque turba, magna ex parte etiam perfugis qui omnia nouare cupiebant permixtis. praetores dissimulare primo extrahenda re; sed postremo, uicti consensu et seditionem metuentes, pronuntiant eos praetores. nec illi primo statim creati nudare quid uellent, quamquam aegre ferebant et de indutiis dierum decem legatos isse ad Ap. Claudium et impetratis eis alios qui de foedere antiquo renouando agerent missos. ad Murgantiam tum classem nauium centum Romanus habebat, quonam euaderent motus ex caedibus tyrannorum orti Syracusis quoque eos ageret noua atque insolita libertas operiens. per eosdem dies cum ad Marcellum uenientem in Siciliam legati Syracusani missi ab Appio essent, auditis condicionibus pacis Marcellus, posse rem conuenire ratus, et ipse legatos Syracusas qui coram cum praetoribus de renouando foedere agerent misit. et iam ibi nequaquam eadem quies ac tranquillitas erat. postquam Punicam classem accessisse Pachynum allatum est, dempto timore Hippocrates et Epicydes nunc apud mercennarios milites, nunc apud transfugas prodi Romano Syracusas criminabantur. ut uero Appius naues ad ostium portus, quid~ aliae partis hominibus animus accederet, in statione habere coepit, ingens in speciem criminibus uanis accesserat fides; ac primo etiam tumultuose decurrerat multitudo ad prohibendos si in terram egrederentur.

[28] In hac turbatione rerum in contionem uocari placuit; ubi cum

alii alio tenderent nec procul seditione res esset, Apollonides, principum unus, orationem salutarem ut in tali tempore habuit: nec spem salutis nec perniciem propiorem unquam ciuitati ulli fuisse. si enim uno animo omnes uel ad Romanos uel ad Carthaginienses inclinent, nullius ciuitatis statum fortunatiorem ac beatiorem fore; si alii alio trahant res, non inter Poenos Romanosque bellum atrocius fore quam inter ipsos Syracusanos, cum intra eosdem muros pars utraque suos exercitus, sua arma, suos habitura sit duces. itaque, ut idem omnes sentiant, summa ui agendum esse. utra societas sit utilior, eam longe minorem ac leuioris momenti consultationem esse; sed tamen Hieronis potius quam Hieronymi auctoritatem sequendam in sociis legendis, uel quinquaginta annis feliciter expertam amicitiam nunc incognitae, quondam infideli praeferendam. esse etiam momenti aliquid ad consilium quod Carthaginiensibus ita pax negari possit, ut non utique in praesentia bellum cum eis geratur; cum Romanis extemplo aut pacem aut bellum habendum. quo minus cupiditatis ac studii uisa est oratio habere, eo plus auctoritatis habuit. adiectum est praetoribus ac delectis senatorum militare etiam consilium; iussi et duces ordinum praefectique auxiliorum simul consulere. cum saepe acta res esset magnis certaminibus, postremo, quia belli cum Romanis gerendi ratio nulla apparebat, pacem fieri placuit mittique legatos ad rem cum eis confirmandam.

[29] Dies haud ita multi intercesserunt, cum ex Leontinis legati praesidium finibus suis orantes uenerunt; quae legatio peropportuna uisa ad multitudinem inconditam ac tumultuosam exonerandam ducesque eius ablegandos. Hippocrates praetor ducere eo transfugas iussus; secuti multi ex mercennariis auxiliis quattuor milia armatorum effecerunt. et mittentibus et missis ea laeta expeditio fuit; nam et illis, quod iam diu cupiebant, nouandi res occasio data est, et hi sentinam quandam urbis rati exhaustam laetabantur. ceterum leuauerunt modo in praesentia uelut corpus aegrum quo mox in grauiorem morbum recideret. Hippocrates enim finitima prouinciae Romanae primo furtiuis excursionibus uastare coepit; deinde, cum ad tuendos sociorum agros missum ab Appio praesidium esset, omnibus copiis impetum in oppositam stationem cum caede multorum fecit. quae cum essent nuntiata Marcello, legatos extemplo Syracusas misit, qui pacis fidem ruptam esse dicerent nec belli defuturam

unquam causam, nisi Hippocrates atque Epicydes non ab Syracusis modo sed tota procul Sicilia ablegarentur. Epicydes, ne aut reus criminis absentis fratris praesens esset aut deesset pro parte sua concitando bello, profectus et ipse in Leontinos, quia satis eos aduersus populum Romanum concitados cernebat, auertere etiam ab Syracusanis coepit: nam ita eos pacem pepigisse cum Romanis ut quicumque populi sub regibus fuissent ei suae dicionis essent, nec iam libertate contentos esse nisi etiam regnent ac dominantur. renuntiandum igitur eis esse Leontinos quoque aequum censere liberos se esse, uel quod in solo urbis suae tyrannus ceciderit uel quod ibi primum conclamatum ad libertatem relictisque regiis ducibus ad Syracusanos concursum <sit>. itaque aut eximendum id de foedere esse aut legem eam foederis non accipiendam. facile multitudini persuasum; legatisque Syracusanorum et de caede stationis Romanae querentibus et Hippocratem atque Epicydem abire seu Locros seu quo alio mallent, dummodo Sicilia cederent, iubentibus ferociter responsum est: neque mandasse sese Syracusanis ut pacem pro se cum Romanis facerent neque teneri alienis foederibus. haec ad Romanos Syracusani detulerunt, abnuentes Leontinos in sua potestate esse: itaque integro secum foedere bellum Romanos cum iis gesturos neque sese defuturos ei bello, ita ut in potestatem redacti suae rursus dicionis essent, sicut pax conuenisset.

[30] Marcellus cum omni exercitu profectus in Leontinos Appio quoque accito ut altera parte adgrederetur, tanto ardore militum est usus ab ira inter condiciones pacis interfectae stationis ut primo impetu urbem expugnarent. Hippocrates atque Epicydes postquam capi muros refringique portas uidere, in arcem sese cum paucis recepere; inde clam nocte Herbesum perfugiunt. Syracusanis octo milium armatorum agmine profectis domo ad Mylan flumen nuntius occurrit captam urbem esse, cetera falsa mixta ueris ferens: caedem promiscuam militum atque oppidanorum factam nec quicquam puberum arbitrari superesse; direptam urbem, bona locupletium donata. ad nuntium tam atrocem constitit agmen concitatisque omnibus duces — erant autem Sosis ac Dinomenes — quid agerent consultabant. terroris speciem haud uanam mendacio praebuerant uerberati ac securi percussi transfugae ad duo milia hominum; ceterum Leontinorum militumque aliorum nemo post captam urbem

uiolatus fuerat suaeque omnia eis, nisi quae primus tumultus captae urbis absumpserat, restituebantur. nec ut Leontinos irent, proditos ad caedem commilitones querentes percelli potuere, nec ut eodem loco certiores nuntium exspectarent. cum ad defectionem inclinos animos cernerent praetores sed eum motum haud diuturnum fore si duces amentiae sublatis essent, exercitum ducunt Megara, ipsi cum paucis equitibus Herbesum proficiscuntur spe territis omnibus per prodicionem urbis potiundae. quod ubi frustra eis fuit inceptum, ui agendum rati postero die Megaris castra mouent, ut Herbesum omnibus copiis oppugnarent. Hippocrates et Epicydes non tam tutum prima specie quam unum spe undique abscisa consilium esse rati, ut se militibus permitterent et adsuetis magna ex parte sibi et tum fama caedis commilitonum accensis, obuiam agmini procedunt. prima forte signa sescentorum Cretensium erant, qui apud Hieronymum meruerant sub eis et Hannibalis beneficium habebant, capti ad Trasumennum inter Romanorum auxilia dimissique. quos ubi ex signis armorumque habitu cognouere Hippocrates atque Epicydes, ramos oleae ac uelamenta alia supplicum porrigentes orare ut reciperent sese, receptos tutarentur neu proderent Syracusanis, a quibus ipsi mox trucidandi populo Romano dederentur.

[31] Enimuero conclamant bonum ut animum haberent; omnem se cum illis fortunam subituros. inter hoc colloquium signa constiterant tenebaturque agmen, necdum quae morae causa foret peruenerat ad duces. postquam Hippocraten atque Epicyden ~peruasit rumor fremitusque toto agmine erat haud dubie approbantium aduentum eorum, extemplo praetores citatis equis ad prima signa perrexerunt. qui mos ille, quae licentia Cretensium esset rogitantes, colloquia serendi cum hoste iniussuque praetorum miscendi eos agmini suo, comprehendi inique catenas iusserunt Hippocrati. ad quam uocem tantus extemplo primum a Cretensibus clamor est ortus, deinde exceptus ab aliis, ut facile, si ultra tenderent, appareret eis timendum esse. solliciti incertique rerum suarum Megara, unde profecti erant, referri signa iubent nuntiosque de statu praesenti Syracusas mittunt. fraudem quoque Hippocrates addit inclinis ad omnem suspicionem animis et Cretensium quibusdam ad itinera insidenda missis uelut interceptas litteras quas ipse composuerat, recitat: 'praetores Syracusani consuli Marcello.' secundum salutem, ut adsolet,

scriptum erat recte eum atque ordine fecisse quod in Leontinis nulli pepercisset; sed omnium mercennariorum militum eandem esse causam nec unquam Syracusas quieturas donec quicquam externorum auxiliorum aut in urbe aut in exercitu suo esset. itaque daret operam, ut eos qui cum suis praetoribus castra ad Megara haberent in suam potestatem redigeret ac supplicio eorum liberaret tandem Syracusas. haec cum recitata essent, cum tanto clamore ad arma discursum est ut praetores inter tumultum pauidi abequitauerint Syracusas. et ne fuga quidem eorum seditio compressa est impetusque in Syracusanos milites fiebant nec ab ullo temperatum foret, ni Epicydes atque Hippocrates irae multitudinis obuiam issent, non a misericordia aut humano consilio sed ne spem reditus praeciderent sibi, et cum ipsos simul milites fidos haberent simul obsides, tum cognatos quoque eorum atque amicos tanto merito primum, dein pignore sibi conciliarent. expertique quam uana aut leui aura mobile uolgus esset, militem nanci ex eo numero qui in Leontinis circumsessi erant, subornant, ut Syracusas perferret nuntium conuenientem eis quae ad Mylas falso nuntiata erant, auctoremque se exhibendo ac uelut uisa quae dubia erant narrando concitaret iras hominum.

[32] Huic non apud uolgum modo fides fuit sed senatum quoque in curiam introductus mouit. haud uani quidam homines palam ferre perbene detectam in Leontinis esse auaritiam et crudelitatem Romanorum; eadem, si intrassent Syracusas, aut foediora etiam, quo maius ibi auaritiae praemium esset, facturos fuisse. itaque claudendas cuncti portas et custodiendam urbem censere; sed non ab iisdem omnes timere nec eosdem odisse. ad militare genus omne partemque magnam plebis inuisum esse nomen Romanum; praetores optimatumque pauci, quamquam inflati uano nuntio erant, tamen ad propius praesentiusque malum cautiore esse. et iam ad Hexapylum erant Hippocrates atque Epicydes serebanturque conloquia per propinquos popularium qui in exercitu erant, ut portas aperirent sinerentque communem patriam defendi ab impetu Romanorum. iam unis foribus Hexapyli apertis coepti erant recipi cum praetores interuenerunt. et primo imperio minisque, deinde auctoritate deterrendo, postremo, ut omnia uana erant, obliti maiestatis precibus agebant ne proderent patriam tyranni ante satellitibus et tum

corruptoribus exercitus. sed surdae ad omnia aures concitatae multitudinis erant nec minore intus ui quam foris portae effringebantur, effractisque omnibus toto Hexapylo agmen receptum est. praetores in Achradinam cum iuuentute popularium confugiunt. mercennarii milites perfugaeque et quidquid regionum militum Syracusis erat agmen hostium augment. ita Achradina quoque primo impetu capitur, praetorumque nisi qui inter tumultum effugerunt omnes interficiuntur. nox caedibus finem fecit. postero die serui ad pilleum uocati et carcere uincti emissi; confusaque haec omnis multitudo Hippocraten atque Epicyden creant praetores; Syracusaeque, cum breue tempus libertas adfulsisset, in antiquam seruitutem recciderant.

[33] Haec nuntiata cum essent Romanis, ex Leontinis mota sunt extemplo castra ad Syracusas. et ab Appio legati per portum missi forte in quinqueremi erant. praemissa quadriremis cum intrasset fauces portus, capitur; legati aegre effugerunt; et iam non modo pacis sed ne belli quidem iura relictas erant, cum Romanus exercitus ad Olympium — Iouis id templum est — mille et quingentos passus ab urbe castra posuit. inde quoque legatos praemitti placuit; quibus, ne intrarent urbem, extra portam Hippocrates atque Epicydes obuiam cum suis processerunt. Romanus orator non bellum se Syracusanis sed opem auxiliumque adferre ait, et eis qui ex media caede elapsi perfugerint ad se, et eis qui metu oppressi foediorum non exsilio solum sed etiam morte seruitutem patiantur; nec caedem nefandam sociorum inultam Romanos passuros. itaque si eis qui ad se perfugerint tutus in patriam reditus pateat et caedis auctores dedantur et libertas legesque <suas> Syracusanis restituantur, nihil armis opus esse; si ea non fiant, quicumque in mora sit bello persecuturos. ad ea Epicydes, si qua ad se mandata haberent, responsum eis ait se daturos fuisse; cum in eorum ad quos uenerint manu res Syracusana esset, tum reuerterentur. si bello lacerarent, ipsa re intellecturos nequaquam idem esse Syracusas ac Leontinos oppugnare. ita legatis relictis portas clausit. inde terra marique simul coeptae oppugnari Syracusae, terra ab Hexapylo, mari ab Achradina, cuius murus fluctu adluitur; et quia, sicut Leontinos terrore ac primo impetu ceperant, non diffidebant uastam disiectamque spatio urbem parte aliqua se inuasuros, omnem apparatus oppugnandarum urbium muris

admouerunt.

[34] Et habuisset tanto impetu coepta res fortunam, nisi unus homo Syracusis ea tempestate fuisset. Archimedes is erat, unicus spectator caeli siderumque, mirabilior tamen inuentor ac machinator bellicorum tormentorum operumque quibus <si quid> hostes ingenti mole agerent ipse perleui momento ludificaretur. murum per inaequales ductum colles, pleraque alta et difficilia aditu, summissa quaedam et quae planis uallibus adiri possent, ut cuique aptum uisum est loco, ita genere omni tormentorum instruxit. Achradinae murum, qui, ut ante dictum est, mari adluitur, sexaginta quinquereimis Marcellus oppugnabat. ex ceteris nauibus sagittarii funditoresque et uelites etiam, quorum telum ad remittendum inhabile imperitis est, uix quemquam sine uolnere consistere in muro patiebantur; hi, quia spatio missilibus opus est, procul muro tenebant naues: iunctae aliae binae quinquereimes demptis interioribus remis ut latus lateri applicaretur, cum exteriore ordine remorum uelut una nauis agerentur, turres contabulatas machinamentaue alia quatiendis muris portabant. aduersus hunc naualem apparatus Archimedes uariae magnitudinis tormenta in muris disposuit. in eas quae procul erant naues saxa ingenti pondere emittebat; propiores leuioribus eoque magis crebris petebat telis; postremo, ut sui uolnere intacti tela in hostem ingererent, murum ab imo ad summum crebris cubitalibus fere cauis aperuit, per quae caua pars sagittis, pars scorpionibus modicis ex occulto petebant hostem. [quae] propius quaedam subibant naues quo interiores ictibus tormentorum essent; in eas tollenone super murum eminente ferrea manus firmae catenae inligata cum iniecta prorae esset grauique libramento plumbum recelleret ad solum, suspensa prora nauem in puppim statuebat; dein remissa subito uelut ex muro cadentem nauem cum ingenti trepidatione nautarum ita undae adfligebant ut etiamsi recta recciderat, aliquantum aquae acciperet. ita maritima oppugnatio est elusa omnisque spes eo uersa ut totis uiribus terra adgrederentur. sed ea quoque pars eodem omni apparatu tormentorum instructa erat Hieronis impensis curaue per multos annos, Archimedis unica arte. natura etiam adiuuabat loci, quod saxum, cui imposita muri fundamenta sunt, magna parte ita procliue est ut non solum missa tormento sed etiam quae pondere suo prouoluta essent, grauiter in

hostem inciderent. eadem causa ad subeundum arduum aditum instabilemque ingressum praebebat. ita consilio habito, quando omnis conatus ludibrio esset, absistere oppugnatione atque obsidendo tantum arcere terra marique commeatibus hostem placuit.

[35] interim Marcellus cum tertia fere parte exercitus ad recipiendas urbes profectus quae in motu rerum ad Carthaginienses defecerant, Helorum atque Herbesum dedentibus ipsis recipit, Megara ui capta diruit ac diripuit ad reliquorum ac maxime Syracusanorum terrorem. per idem fere tempus et Himilco, qui ad Pachyni promunturium classem diu tenuerat, ad Heracleam, quam uocant Minoam, quinque et uiginti milia peditum, tria equitum, duodecim elephantos exposuit, nequaquam cum quantis copiis ante tenuerat ad Pachynum classem; sed, postquam ab Hippocrate occupatae Syracusae erant, profectus Carthaginem adiutusque ibi et ab legatis Hippocratis et litteris Hannibalis, qui uenisse tempus aiebat Siciliae per summum decus repetendae, et ipse haud uanus praesens monitor facile perpulerat ut quantae maxime possent peditum equitumque copiae in Siciliam traicerentur. adueniens Heracleam, intra paucos inde dies Agrigentum recepit; aliarumque ciuitatum quae partis Carthaginiensium erant adeo accensae sunt spes ad pellendos Sicilia Romanos ut postremo etiam qui obsidebantur Syracusis animos sustulerint; et, parte copiarum satis defendi urbem posse rati, ita inter se munera belli partiti sunt ut Epicydes praeesset custodiae urbis, Hippocrates Himilconi coniunctus bellum aduersus consulem Romanum gereret. cum decem milibus peditum, quingentis equitibus nocte per intermissa custodiis loca profectus castra circa Acrillas urbem ponebat. munientibus superuenit Marcellus ab Agrigento iam occupato, cum frustra eo praeuenire hostem festinans tetendisset, rediens, nihil minus ratus quam illo tempore ac loco Syracusanum sibi exercitum obuium fore; sed tamen metu Himilconis Poenorumque, ut quibus nequaquam eis copiis quas habebat par esset, quam poterat maxime intentus atque agmine ad omnes casus composito ibat.

[36] forte ea cura [q.] aduersus Poenos praeparata aduersus Siculos usui fuit. castris ponendis incompositos ac dispersos nactus eos et plerosque inermes quod peditum fuit circumuenit; eques leui certamine inito cum Hippocrate Acras perfugit. ea pugna deficientes

ab Romanis cum cohibuisset Siculos, Marcellus Syracusas redit; et post paucos dies Himilco adiuncto Hippocrate ad flumen Anapum octo ferme inde milia castra posuit. sub idem fere tempus et naues longae quinque et quinquaginta Carthaginiensium cum Bomilcare in magnum portum Syracusas ex alto decurrere, et Romana item classis, triginta quinqueremes, legionem primam Panormi exposuere; uersumque ab Italia bellum — adeo uterque populus in Siciliam intentus — fuisse uideri poterat. legionem Romanam quae exposita Panormi erat uenientem Syracusas praedae haud dubie sibi futuram Himilco ratus uia decipitur. mediterraneo namque Poenus itinere duxit; legio maritimis locis classe prosequente ad Ap. Claudium Pachynum cum parte copiarum obuiam progressum peruenit. nec diutius Poeni ad Syracusas morati sunt: et Bomilcar, simul parum fidens nauibus suis duplici facile numero classem habentibus Romanis simul inutili mora cernens nihil aliud ab suis quam inopiam adgrauari sociorum, uelis in altum datis in Africam transmisit, et Himilco, secutus nequiquam Marcellum Syracusas, si qua priusquam maioribus copiis iungeretur occasio pugnandi esset, postquam ea nulla contigerat tutumque ad Syracusas et munimento et uiribus hostem cernebat, ne frustra adsidendo spectandoque obsidionem sociorum tempus tereret, castra inde mouit, ut quocumque uocasset defectionis ab Romano spes admoueret exercitum ac praesens suas res fouentibus adderet animos. Murgantiam primum prodito ab ipsis praesidio Romano recipit, ubi frumenti magna uis commeatusque omnis generis conuecti erant Romanis.

[37] ad hanc defectionem erecti sunt et aliarum ciuitatum animi praesidiaque Romana aut pellebantur arcibus aut prodita per fraudem opprimebantur. Henna, excelso loco ac praerupto undique sita, cum loco inexpugnabilis erat, tum praesidium in arce ualidum praefectumque praesidii haud sane opportunum insidiantibus habebat. L. Pinarius erat, uir acer et qui plus in eo ne posset decipi quam in fide Siculorum reponeret; et tum intenderant eum ad cauendi omnia curam tot auditae proditiones defectionesque urbium et clades praesidiorum. itaque nocte dieque iuxta parata instructaque omnia custodiis ac uigiliis erant nec ab armis aut loco suo miles abscedebat. quod ubi Hennensium principes, iam pacti cum Himilcone de proditione praesidii, animaduenterunt, nulli occasioni fraudis

Romanum patere, palam erat agendum: urbem arcemque suae potestatis aiunt debere esse, si liberi in societatem, non serui in custodiam traditi essent Romanis. itaque claes portarum reddi sibi aequum censent: bonis sociis fidem suam maximum uinculum esse et ita sibi populum Romanum senatumque gratias habiturum, si uolentes ac non coacti mansissent in amicitia. ad ea Romanus se in praesidio impositum esse dicere ab imperatore suo claesque portarum et custodiam arcis ab eo accepisse, quae nec suo nec Hennensium arbitrio haberet sed eius qui commisisset. praesidio decedere apud Romanos capital esse et nece liberorum etiam suorum eam <noxiam> parentes sanxisse. consulem Marcellum haud procul esse; ad eum mitterent legatos cuius iuris atque arbitrii esset. se uero negare illi missuros testatique, si uerbis nihil agerent, uindictam aliquam libertatis suae quaesituros. tum Pinarius: at illi si ad consulem grauarentur mittere, sibi saltem darent populi concilium, ut sciretur utrum paucorum ea denuntiatio an uniuersae ciuitatis esset. consensa in posterum diem contio.

[38] postquam ab eo conloquio in arcem sese recepit, conuocatis militibus ‘credo ego uos audisse, milites’ inquit, ‘quemadmodum praesidia Romana ab Siculis circumuenta et oppressa sint per hos dies. eam uos fraudem deum primo benignitate, dein uestra ipsi uirtute dies noctesque perstando ac peruigilando in armis uitastis. utinam reliquum tempus nec patiendo infanda nec faciendo traduci possit. haec occulta in fraude cautio est qua usi adhuc sumus; cui quoniam parum succedit, aperte ac propalam claes portarum reposcunt; quas simul tradiderimus, Carthaginensium extemplo Henna erit foediusque hic trucidabimur quam Murgantiae praesidium interfectum est. noctem unam aegre ad consultandum sumpsimus, qua uos certiores periculi instantis facerem. orta luce contionem habituri sunt ad criminandum me concitandumque in uos populum. itaque crastino die aut uestro aut Hennensium sanguine Henna inundabitur. nec praeoccupati spem ullam nec occupantes periculi quicquam habebitis; qui prior strinxerit ferrum, eius uictoria erit. intenti ergo omnes armatique signum exspectabitis. ego in contione ero et tempus, quoad omnia instructa sint, loquendo altercandoque traham. cum toga signum dederimus, tum mihi undique clamore sublato turbam inuadite ac sternite omnia ferro; et caute quisquam supersit cuius

aut uis aut fraus timeri possit. uos, Ceres mater ac Proserpina, precor, ceteri superi infernique di, qui hanc urbem, hos sacratos lacus lucosque colitis, ut ita nobis uolentes propitii adsitis, si uitandae, non inferendae fraudis causa hoc consilii capimus. pluribus uos, milites, hortarer, si cum armatis dimicatio futura esset; inermes, incautos ad satietatem trucidabitis; et consulis castra in propinquo sunt, ne quid ab Himilcone et Carthaginensibus timeri possit.'

[39] ab hac adhortatione dimissi corpora curant. postero die alii aliis locis ad obsidenda itinera claudendosque oppositi exitus; pars maxima super theatrum circaque, adsueta et ante spectaculo contionum, consistunt. productus ad populum a magistratibus praefectus Romanus cum consulis de ea re ius ac potestatem esse, non suam et pleraque eadem quae pridie dixisset, et primo sensim ~ac plus~ reddere clauces, dein iam una uoce id omnes iuberent cunctantique et differenti ferociter minitarentur nec uiderentur ultra uim ultimam dilatari, tum praefectus toga signum, ut conuenerat, dedit militesque intenti dudum ac parati alii superne in auersam contionem clamore sublato decurrunt, alii ad exitum theatri conferti obsistunt. caeduntur Hennenses cauea inclusi coaceruanturque non caede solum sed etiam fuga, cum super aliorum <alii> capita ruerent <et> integris saucii, uiui mortuis incidentes cumularentur. inde passim discurretur, et urbis captae modo fugaque et caedes omnia tenet nihilo remissiore militum ira quod turbam inermem caedebant quam si periculum par et ardor certaminis eos inritaret. ita Henna aut malo aut necessario facinore retenta. Marcellus nec factum improbavit et praedam Hennensium militibus concessit, ratus timore fore deterritos proditoribus praesidiorum Siculos. atque ea clades, ut urbis in media Sicilia sitae claraeque uel ob insignem munimento naturali locum uel ob sacrata omnia uestigiis raptae quondam Proserpinae, prope uno die omnem Siciliam peruasit et, quia caede infanda rebantur non hominum tantum sed etiam deorum sedem uiolatam esse, tum uero qui etiam ante dubii fuerant defecere ad Poenos. Hippocrates inde Murgantiam, Himilco Agrigentum sese recepit, cum acciti a proditoribus nequiquam ad Hennam exercitum admouissent. Marcellus retro in Leontinos redit frumentoque et com meatibus aliis in castra conuectis, praesidio modico ibi relicto, ad Syracusas obsidendas uenit. inde Ap. Claudio Romam ad

consulatum petendum misso T. Quinctium Crispinum in eius locum classi castrisque praeficit ueteribus; ipse hibernacula quinque milia passuum <ab> Hexapylo — Leonta uocant locum — communiit aedificauitque. haec in Sicilia usque ad principium hiemis gesta.

[40] eadem aestate et cum Philippo rege, quod iam ante suspectum fuerat, motum bellum est. legati ab Oricum ad M. Ualerium praetorem uenerunt, praesidentem classi Brundisio Calabriaeque circa litoribus, nuntiantes Philippum primum Apolloniam temptasse, lembis biremibus centum uiginti flumine aduerso subuectum; deinde, ut ea res tardior spe fuerit, ad Oricum clam nocte exercitum admouisse eamque urbem, sitam in plano, neque moenibus neque uiris atque armis ualidam, primo impetu oppressam esse. haec nuntiantes orabant ut opem ferret hostemque haud dubium Romanis mari ac terra maritimis urbibus arceret, quae ob nullam aliam causam nisi quod imminerent Italiae, peterentur. M. Ualerius duorum milium praesidio relicto <praeposito>que eis P. Ualerio legato cum classe instructa parataque et, quod longae naues militum capere non poterant, in onerarias impositis altero die Oricum peruenit; urbemque eam leui tenente praesidio quod <rex> recedens inde reliquerat haud magno certamine recepit. legati eo ab Apollonia uenerunt, nuntiantes in obsidione sese, quod deficere ab Romanis nollent, esse neque sustinere ultra uim Macedonum posse, nisi praesidium mittatur Romanum. facturum se quae uellent pollicitus, duo milia delectorum militum nauibus longis mittit ad ostium fluminis cum praefecto socium Q. Naeuio Crista, uiro impigro et perito militiae. is expositis in terram militibus nauibusque Oricum retro unde uenerat ad ceteram classem remissis milites procul a flumine per uiam minime ab regiis obsessam duxit et nocte, ita ut nemo hostium sentiret, urbem est ingressus. diem insequentem quieuere dum praefectus iuuentutem Apolloniatium armaque et urbis uires inspiceret. ubi ea uisa inspectaque satis animorum fecere simulque ab exploratoribus comperit quanta socordia ac neglegentia apud hostes esset, silentio noctis ab urbe sine ullo tumultu egressus castra hostium adeo neglecta atque aperta intrauit, ut satis constaret prius mille hominum uallum intrasse quam quisquam sentiret ac, si caede abstinuissent, peruenire ad tabernaculum regium potuisse. caedes proximorum portae excitauit hostes. inde tantus terror pauorque omnes occupauit

ut non modo alius quisquam arma caperet aut castris pellere hostem conaretur, sed etiam ipse rex, sicut somno excitus erat, prope seminudus fugiens, militi quoque nedum regi uix decoro habitu ad flumen nauesque perfugerit. eodem et alia turba effusa est. paulo minus tria milia militum in castris aut capta aut occisa; plus tamen hominum aliquanto captum quam caesum est. castris direptis Apolloniatae catapultas ballistas tormentaue alia quae oppugnandae urbi comparata erant ad tuenda moenia, si quando similis fortuna uenisset, Apolloniam deuexere: cetera omnis praeda castrorum Romanis concessa est. haec cum Oricum essent nuntiata, M. Ualerius classem extemplo ad ostium fluminis duxit, ne nauibus capessere fugam rex posset. itaque Philippus, neque terrestri neque nauali certamini satis fore parem se fidens, subductis nauibus atque incensis terra Macedoniam petit, magna ex parte inermi exercitu spoliatoque. Romana classis cum M. Ualerio Orici hibernauit.

[41] eodem anno in Hispania uarie res gestae. nam priusquam Romani amnem Hiberum transirent, ingentes copias Hispanorum Mago et Hasdrubal fuderunt; defecissetque ab Romanis ulterior Hispania, ni P. Cornelius raptim traducto exercitu Hiberum dubiis sociorum animis in tempore aduenisset. primo ad Castrum Album — locus est insignis caede magni Hamilcaris — castra Romani habuere. arx erat munita et conuexerant ante frumentum; tamen, quia omnia circa hostium plena erant agmenque Romanum impune incursatum ab equitibus hostium fuerat et ad duo milia aut moratorum aut palantium per agros interfecta, cessere inde Romani propius pacata loca et ad montem Uictoriae castra communiuere. eo Cn. Scipio cum omnibus copiis et Hasdrubal Gisgonis filius, tertius Carthaginensium dux, cum exercitu iusto aduenit contraque castra Romana trans fluuium omnes consedere. P. Scipio cum expeditis clam profectus ad loca circa uisenda haud fefellit hostes oppressissentque eum in patentibus campis, ni tumultum in propinquo cepisset. ibi quoque circumsessus aduentu fratris obsidione eximitur. Castulo, urbs Hispaniae ualida ac nobilis et adeo coniuncta societate Poenis ut uxor inde Hannibali esset, ad Romanos defecit. Carthaginenses Iliturgim oppugnare adorti, quia praesidium ibi Romanum erat; uidebanturque inopia maxime eum locum expugnaturi. Cn. Scipio, ut sociis praesidioque ferret opem, cum legione expedita profectus inter bina

castra cum magna caede hostium urbem est ingressus et postero die eruptione aequae felici pugnavit. supra duodecim milia hominum caesa duobus proeliis; plus mille hominum captum cum sex et triginta militaribus signis. ita ab Iliturgi recessum est. Bigerra inde urbs — socia et haec Romanorum erat — a Carthaginensibus oppugnari coepta est. eam obsidionem sine certamine adueniens Cn. Scipio soluit.

[42] ad Mundam exinde castra Punica mota et Romani eo confestim secuti sunt. ibi signis conlatis pugnatum per quattuor ferme horas egregieque uincens Romanis signum receptum est datum, quod Cn. Scipionis femur tragula confixum erat pauciorque circa eum ceperat milites ne mortiferum esset uolnus. ceterum haud dubium fuit quin, nisi ea mora interuenisset, castra eo die Punica capi potuerint; nam non milites solum sed elephantum etiam usque ad uallum acti erant, superque ipsas <fossas> nouem et triginta elephantum pilis confixi. hoc quoque proelio ad duodecim milia hominum dicuntur caesa, prope tria capta cum signis militaribus septem et quinquaginta. ad Auringem inde urbem Poeni recessere et, ut territum instaret, secutus Romanus. ibi iterum Scipio lecticula in aciem inlatus conflavit nec dubia uictoria fuit; minus tamen dimidio hostium quam antea, quia pauciores superfuerant qui pugnarent, occisum. sed gens nata instaurandis reparandisque bellis Magone ad conquisitionem militum a fratre misso breui repleuit exercitum animosque ad temptandum de integro certamen fecit. Galli plerique milites, iique pro parte totiens intra paucos dies uicti, iisdem animis quibus priores eodemque euentu pugnaere. plus octo milia hominum caesa, haud multo minus quam mille captum et signa militaria quinquaginta octo. et spolia plurima Gallica fuere, aurei torques armillaeque, magnus numerus; duo etiam insignes reguli Gallorum — Moeniapto et Uismaro nomina erant — eo proelio ceciderunt. octo elephantum capti, tres occisi. cum tam prosperae res in Hispania essent, uerecundia Romanos tandem cepit Saguntum oppidum, quae causa belli esset, octauum iam annum sub hostium potestate esse. itaque id oppidum ui pulso praesidio Punico receperunt cultoribusque antiquis quos ex iis uis reliquerat belli restituerunt; et Turdetanos, qui contraxerant eis cum Carthaginensibus bellum, in potestatem redactos sub corona

uendiderunt urbemque eorum deleuerunt.

[43] haec in Hispania Q. Fabio M. Claudio consulibus gesta. Romae cum tribuni plebis noui magistratum inissent, extemplo censoribus P. Furio et M. Atilio a <M.> Metello tribuno plebis dies dicta ad populum est — quaestorem eum proximo anno adempto equo tribu mouerant atque aerarium fecerant propter coniurationem deserendae Italiae ad Cannas factam — sed nouem tribunorum auxilio uetiti causam in magistratu dicere dimissique [fuerant]. ne lustrum perficerent, mors prohibuit P. Furii; M. Atilius magistratu se abdicauit. comitia consularia habita ab Q. Fabio Maximo consule. creati consules ambo absentes, Q. Fabius Maximus, consulis filius, et Ti. Sempronius Gracchus iterum. praetores fiunt duo qui tum aediles curules erant, P. Sempronius Tuditanus et Cn. Fuluius Centumalus, et <cum illis M. Atilius et> M. Aemilius Lepidus. ludos scenicos per quadriduum eo anno primum factos ab curulibus aedilibus memoriae proditur. aedilis Tuditanus hic erit, qui ad Cannas pauore aliis in tanta clade torpentibus per medios hostes duxit. his comitiis perfectis auctore Q. Fabio consule designati consules Romam accersiti magistratum inierunt, senatumque de bello ac prouinciis suis praetorumque et de exercitibus quibus quique praeessent consuluerunt;

[44] itaque prouinciae atque exercitus diuisi: bellum cum Hannibale consulibus mandatum et exercituum unus quem ipse Sempronius habuerat, alter quem Fabius consul; eae binae erant legiones. M. Aemilius praetor, cuius peregrina sors erat, iurisdictione M. Atilio collegae, praetori urbano, mandata Luceriam prouinciam haberet legionesque duas quibus Q. Fabius, qui tum consul erat, praetor praefuerat. P. Sempronio prouincia Ariminum, Cn. Fuluius Suessula cum binis item legionibus euenerunt ut Fuluius urbanas legiones duceret, Tuditanus a M. Pomponio acciperet. prorogata imperia prouinciaeque, M. Claudio Sicilia finibus eis quibus regnum Hieronis fuisset, <P.> Lentulo propraetori prouincia uetus, T. Otacilio classis — exercitus nulli additi noui — ; M. Ualerio Graecia Macedoniaque cum legione et classe quam haberet; Q. Mucio cum uetere exercitu — duae autem legiones erant — Sardinia; C. Terentio, <cum> legione una cui iam praeerat, Picenum. scribi praeterea duae urbanae legiones iussae et uiginti milia sociorum. his

ducibus, his copiis aduersus multa simul aut mota aut suspecta bella munierunt Romanum imperium. consules duabus urbanis legionibus scriptis supplementoque in alias lecto priusquam ab urbe mouerent prodigia procurarunt quae nuntiata erant. murus ac porta Caietae et Ariciae etiam Iouis aedes de caelo tacta fuerat. et alia ludibria oculorum auriumque credita pro ueris: nauium longarum species in flumine Tarracinae quae nullae erant uisae et in Iouis Uicilini templo, quod in Compsano agro est, arma concrepuisse et flumen Amiterni cruentum fluxisse. his procuratis ex decreto pontificum profecti consules Sempronius in Lucanos, in Apuliam Fabius. pater filio legatus ad Suessulam in castra uenit. cum obuiam filius progrediretur lictoresque uerecundia maiestatis eius taciti anteirent, praeter undecim fascies equo praeuectus senex, ut consul animaduertere proximum lictorem iussit et is ut descenderet ex equo inclamauit, tum demum desiliens ‘experiri’ inquit ‘uolui, fili,

[45] satin scires consulem te esse’. in ea castra Dasius Altinius Arpinus clam nocte cum tribus seruis uenit promittens, si sibi praemio foret, se Arpos proditorem esse. eam rem ad consilium <cum> rettulisset Fabius, aliis pro transfuga uerberandus necandusque uideri ancipitis animi communis hostis, qui post Cannensem cladem, tamquam cum fortuna fidem stare oporteret, ad Hannibalem descisset traxissetque ad defectionem Arpos; tum, quia res Romana contra spem uotaque eius uelut resurgere ab stirpibus uideatur, nouam referre prodicionem proditis polliceatur, aliunde ipse stet semper, aliunde sentiat, infidus socius, uanus hostis; id ad Faleriorum Pyrrhique proditorem tertium transfugis documentum esset. contra ea consulis pater Fabius temporum oblitos homines in medio ardore belli tamquam in pace libera de quoque arbitria agere aiebat; qui, cum illud potius agendum atque cogitandum sit si quo modo fieri possit ne qui socii a populo Romano desciscant, id non cogitent, documentum autem dicant statui oportere si quis respiscat et antiquam societatem respiciat. quod si abire ab Romanis liceat, redire ad eos non liceat, cui dubium esse quin breui deserta ab sociis Romana res foederibus Punicis omnia in Italia iuncta uisura sit? se tamen non eum esse qui Altinio fidei quicquam censeat habendum; sed mediam secuturum consilii uiam. neque eum pro hoste neque pro socio in praesentia habitum libera custodia haud procul a castris

placere in aliqua fida ciuitate [eum] seruari per belli tempus; perpetrato bello tum consultandum utrum prior defectio plus merita sit poenae an hic reditus ueniae. Fabio adsensum est Calenisque legatis traditus et ipse et comites; et auri satis magnum pondus quod secum tum attulerat ei seruari iussum. Calibus eum interdiu solutum custodes sequebantur, nocte clausum adseruabant. Arpis domi primum desiderari quaerique est coeptus; dein fama per totam urbem uolgata tumultum, ut principe amisso, fecit, metuque rerum nouarum extemplo nuntii missi. quibus nequaquam offensus Poenus, quia et ipsum ut ambiguae fidei uirum suspectum iam pridem habebat et causam nactus erat tam ditis hominis bona possidendi uendendique; ceterum, ut irae magis quam auaritiae datum crederent homines, crudelitatem quoque aueritatis addidit coniugemque eius ac liberos in castra accitos, quaestione prius habita primum de fuga Altini, dein quantum auri argentique domi relictum esset, satis cognitis omnibus uiuos combussit.

[46] Fabius ab Suessula profectus Arpos primum institit oppugnare. ubi cum a quingentis fere passibus castra posuisset, contemplatus ex propinquo situm urbis moeniaque, quae pars tutissima moenibus erat, quia maxime neglectam custodia uidit, ea potissimum adgredi statuit. comparatis omnibus quae ad urbes oppugnandas usui sunt centurionum robora ex toto exercitu delegit tribunosque uiros fortes eis praefecit et milites sescentos, quantum satis uisum est, attribuit eosque, ubi quartae uigiliae signum cecinisset, ad eum locum scalas iussit ferre. porta ibi humilis et angusta erat infrequenti uia per desertam partem urbis. iam portam scalis prius transgressos [murum] aperire ex interiore parte aut claustra refringere iubet et tenentes partem urbis cornu signum dare ut ceterae copiae admouerentur: parata omnia atque instructa sese habiturum. ea impigre facta; et quod impedimentum agentibus fore uidebatur, id maxime ad fallendum adiunxit. imber ab nocte media coortus custodes uigilesque dilapsos e stationibus subfugere in tecta coegit, sonituque primo largioris procellae strepitum molientium portam exaudiri prohibuit, lentior deinde aequaliorque accidens auribus magnam partem hominum sopiuit. postquam portam tenebant, cornicines in uia paribus interuallis dispositos canere iubent ut consulem excirent. id ubi factum ex composito est, signa efferri consul iubet ac paulo ante

lucem per effractam portam urbem ingreditur.

[47] tum demum hostes excitati sunt iam et imbre conquiescente et propinqua luce. praesidium in urbe erat Hannibalis, quinque milia ferme armatorum, et ipsi Arpini tria milia hominum armarant. eos primos Poeni, ne quid ab tergo fraudis esset, hosti opposuerunt. pugnatum primo in tenebris angustisque uiis est. cum Romani non uias tantum sed tecta etiam proxima portam occupassent ne peti superne ac uulnerari possent, cogniti inter se quidam Arpinique et Romani atque inde conloquia coepta fieri, percontantibus Romanis quid sibi uellent Arpini, quam ob noxam Romanorum aut quod meritum Poenorum pro alienigenis ac barbaris Italici aduersus ueteres socios Romanos bellum gererent et uestigalem ac stipendiariam Italiam Africae facerent, Arpinis purgantibus ignaros omnium se uenum a principibus datos Poeno, captos oppressosque a paucis esse. initio orto plures cum pluribus conloqui; postremo praetor Arpinus ab suis ad consulem deductus fideque data inter signa aciesque Arpini repente pro Romanis aduersus Carthaginiensem arma uerterunt. Hispani quoque, paulo minus mille homines, nihil praeterea cum consule pacti quam ut sine fraude Punicum emitteretur praesidium, ad consulem transtulerunt signa. Carthaginiensibus portae patefactae emissique cum fide incolumes ad Hannibalem Salapiam uenerunt: Arpi sine clade ullius praeterquam unius ueteris proditoris, noui perfugae, restituti ad Romanos. Hispanis duplicia cibaria dari iussa operaque eorum forti ac fideli persaepe res publica usa est. cum consul alter in Apulia, alter in Lucanis esset, equites centum duodecim nobiles Campani, per speciem praedandi ex hostium agro permissu magistratuum ab Capua profecti, ad castra Romana, quae super Suessulam erant, uenerunt; stationi militum qui essent dixerunt: conloqui sese cum praetore uelle. Cn. Fuluius castris praeerat; cui ubi nuntiatum est, decem ex eo numero iussis inermibus deduci ad se, ubi quae postularent audiuit — nihil autem aliud petebant quam ut, Capua recepta bona sibi restituerentur — , in fidem omnes accepti. et ab altero praetore Sempronio Tuditano oppidum Atrinum expugnatum; amplius septem milia hominum capta et aeris argentique signati aliquantum. Romae foedum incendium per duas noctes ac diem unum tenuit. solo aequata omnia inter Salinas ac portam Carmentalem cum

Aequimaelio Iugarioque uico et templis Fortunae ac matris Matutae; et extra portam late uagatus ignis sacra profanaque multa absumpsit.

[48] eodem anno P. et Cn. Cornelii, cum in Hispania res prosperae essent multosque et ueteres reciperent socios et nouos adicerent, in Africam quoque spem extenderunt. Syphax erat rex Numidarum, subito Carthaginiensibus hostis factus; ad eum centuriones tres legatos miserunt qui cum eo amicitiam societatemque facerent et pollicerentur, si perseueraret urgere bello Carthaginienses, gratam eam rem fore senatui populoque Romano et adnisiuros ut in tempore et bene cumulatam gratiam referant. grata ea legatio barbaro fuit; conlocutusque cum legatis de ratione belli gerundi, ut ueterum militum uerba audiuit, quam multarum rerum ipse ignarus esset ex comparatione tam ordinatae disciplinae animum aduertit. tum primum ut pro bonis ac fidelibus sociis facerent, orauit ut duo legationem referrent ad imperatores suos, unus apud sese magister rei militaris restaret: rudem ad pedestria bella Numidarum gentem esse, equis tantum habilem; ita iam inde a principiis gentis maiores suos bella gessisse, ita se a pueris insuetos; sed habere hostem pedestri fidentem Marte, cui si aequari robore uirium uelit, et sibi pedites comparandos esse. et ad id multitudine hominum regnum abundare sed armandi ornandique et instruendi eos artem ignorare. omnia uelut forte congregata turba uasta ac temeraria esse. facturos se in praesentia quod uellet legati respondent, fide accepta ut remitteret extemplo eum, si imperatores sui non comprobassent factum. Q. Statorio nomen fuit, qui ad regem remansit. cum duobus Romanis rex tres a Numidis legatos in Hispaniam misit ad accipiendam fidem ab imperatoribus Romanis. iisdem mandauit ut protinus Numidas qui intra praesidia Carthaginiensium auxiliares essent ad transitionem perlicerent. et Statorius ex multa iuuentute regi pedites conscripsit ordinatosque proxime morem Romanum instruendo et decurrendo signa sequi et seruare ordines docuit, et operi aliisque iustis militaribus ita adsuefecit ut breui rex non equiti magis fideret quam pediti conlatisque aequo campo signis iusto proelio Carthaginiensem hostem superaret. Romanis quoque in Hispania legatorum regis aduentus magno emolumento fuit; namque ad famam eorum transitiones crebrae ab Numidis coeptae fieri. ita cum Syphace Romanis coepta amicitia est. quod ubi Carthaginienses acceperunt,

extemplo ad Galam in parte altera Numidia — Maesuli ea gens uocatur — regnantem legatos mittunt.

[49] filium Gala Masinissam habebat septem decem annos natum, ceterum iuuenem ea indole ut iam tum appareret maius regnum opulentiusque quam quod acceperisset facturum. legati, quoniam Syphax se Romanis iunxisset ut potentior societate eorum aduersus reges populosque Africae esset, docent melius fore Galae quoque Carthaginiensibus iungi quam primum antequam Syphax in Hispaniam aut Romani in Africam transeant; opprimi Syphacem nihildum praeter nomen ex foedere Romano habentem posse. facile persuasum Galae filio deposcente id bellum ut mitteret exercitum; qui Carthaginiensibus legionibus coniunctus magno proelio Syphacem deuicit. triginta milia eo proelio hominum caesa dicuntur. Syphax cum paucis equitibus in Maurusios ex acie Numidas — extremi prope Oceanum aduersus Gades colunt — refugit, adfluentibusque ad famam eius undique barbaris ingentes breui copias armauit, cum quibus in Hispaniam angusto diremptam freto traiceret. <eo> Masinissa cum uictore exercitu aduenit; isque ibi cum Syphace ingenti gloria per se sine ullis Carthaginiensium opibus gessit bellum. in Hispania nihil memorabile gestum praeterquam quod Celtiberum iuuentutem eadem mercede qua pacta cum Carthaginiensibus erat imperatores Romani ad se perduxerunt, et nobilissimos Hispanos supra trecentos in Italiam ad sollicitandos populares qui inter auxilia Hannibalis erant miserunt. id modo eius anni in Hispania ad memoriam insigne est quod mercennarium militem in castris neminem antequam tum Celtiberos Romani habuerunt.

LIBER XXV

[1] Dum haec in Africa atque in Hispania geruntur, Hannibal in agro Sallentino aestatem consumpsit spe per prodicionem urbis Tarentinorum potiundae. ipsorum interim Sallentinorum ignobiles urbes ad eum defecerunt. eodem tempore in Bruttis ex duodecim populis, qui anno priore ad Poenos descuerant, Consentini et Tauriani in fidem populi Romani redierunt et plures redissent, ni T. Pomponius Ueientanus, praefectus socium, prosperis aliquot populationibus in agro Bruttio iusti ducis speciem nactus, tumultuario exercitu coacto cum Hannone conflixisset. magna ibi uis hominum sed inconditae turbae agrestium seruorumque caesa aut capta est: minimum iacturae fuit quod praefectus inter ceteros est captus, et tum temerariae pugnae auctor et ante publicanus omnibus malis artibus et rei publicae et societatibus infidus damnosusque. Sempronius consul in Lucanis multa proelia parua, haud ullum dignum memoratu fecit et ignobilia oppida Lucanorum aliquot expugnauit. quo diutius trahebatur bellum et uariabant secundae aduersaeque res non fortunam magis quam animos hominum, tanta religio, et ea magna ex parte externa, ciuitatem incessit ut aut homines aut dei repente alii uiderentur facti. nec iam in secreto modo atque intra parietes abolebantur Romani ritus, sed in publico etiam ac foro Capitolioque mulierum turba erat nec sacrificantium nec precantium deos patrio more. sacrificuli ac uates ceperant hominum mentes quorum numerum auxit rustica plebs, ex incultis diutino bello infestisque agris egestate et metu in urbem compulsa; et quaestus ex alieno errore facilis, quem uelut concessae artis usu exercebant. primo secretae bonorum indignationes exaudiebantur; deinde ad patres etiam ac publicam querimoniam excessit res. incusati grauius ab senatu aediles triumuirique capitales quod non prohiberent, cum emouere eam multitudinem e foro ac disicere apparatus sacrorum conati essent, haud procul afuit quin uiolarentur. ubi potentius iam esse id malum apparuit quam ut minores per magistratus sedaretur, M. Aemilio praetori [urb.] negotium ab senatu datum est ut eis religionibus populum liberaret. is et in contione senatus consultum recitauit et edixit ut quicumque libros uaticinos precationesue aut

artem sacrificandi conscriptam haberet eos libros omnes litterasque ad se ante kalendas Apriles deferret neu quis in publico sacroue loco nouo aut externo ritu sacrificaret.

[2] Aliquot publici sacerdotes mortui eo anno sunt, L. Cornelius Lentulus pontifex maximus et C. Papirius C. filius Masso pontifex et P. Furius Philus augur et C. Papirius L. filius Masso decemuir sacrorum. in Lentuli locum M. Cornelius Cethegus, in Papiri Cn. Seruilius Caepio pontifices suffecti sunt; augur creatus L. Quinctius Flaminius, decemuir sacrorum L. Cornelius Lentulus. comitiorum consularium iam appetebat tempus; sed quia consules a bello intentos auocare non placebat, Ti. Sempronius consul comitiorum causa dictatorem dixit C. Claudium Centonem. ab eo magister equitum est dictus Q. Fuluius Flaccus. dictator primo comitiali die creauit consules Q. Fuluium Flaccum, magistrum equitum, et Ap. Claudium Pulchrum, cui Sicilia prouincia in praetura fuerat. tum praetores creati Cn. Fuluius Flaccus <C.> Claudius Nero M. Iunius Silanus P. Cornelius Sulla. comitiis perfectis dictator magistratu abiit. aedilis curulis fuit eo anno cum M. Cornelio Cethego P. Cornelius Scipio, cui post Africano fuit cognomen. huic petenti aedilitatem cum obsisterent tribuni plebis, negantes rationem eius habendam esse quod nondum ad petendum legitima aetas esset, 'si me' inquit 'omnes Quirites aedilem facere uolunt, satis annorum habeo.' tanto inde fauore ad suffragium ferendum in tribus discursum est ut tribuni repente incepto destiterint. aedilicia largitio haec fuit, ludi Romani pro temporis illius copiis magnifice facti et diem unum instaurati, et congii olei in uicos singulos dati. L. Uillius Tappulus et M. Fundanius Fundulus, aediles plebei, aliquot matronas apud populum probri accusarunt; quasdam ex eis damnatas in exsilium egerunt. ludi plebei per biduum instaurati et Iouis epulum fuit ludorum causa.

[3] Q. Fuluius Flaccus tertium, Ap. Claudius consulatum ineunt; et praetores prouincias sortiti sunt, P. Cornelius Sulla urbanam et peregrinam, quae duorum ante sors fuerat, Cn. Fuluius Flaccus Apuliam, C. Claudius Nero Suessulam, M. Iunius Silanus Tuscos. consulibus bellum cum Hannibale et binae legiones decretae; alter a Q. Fabio superioris anni consule, alter a Fulvio Centumalo acciperet; praetorum Fului Flacci quae Luceriae sub Aemilio praetore, Neronis Claudii quae in Piceno sub C. Terentio fuissent legiones essent;

supplementum in eas ipsi scriberent sibi; M. Iunio in Tuscos legiones urbanae prioris anni datae. Ti. Sempronio Graccho et P. Sempronio Tuditano imperium prouinciaeque Lucani et Gallia cum suis exercitibus prorogatae; item P. Lentulo qua uetus prouincia in Sicilia esset, M. Marcello Syracusae et qua Hieronis regnum fuisset, T. Otacilio classis, Graecia M. Ualerio, Sardinia Q. Mucio Scaeuolae, Hispaniae P. et Cn. Corneliis. ad ueteres exercitus duae urbanae legiones a consulibus scriptae summaque trium et uiginti legionum eo anno effecta est.

Dilectum consulum M. Postumii Pyrgensis cum magno prope motu rerum factum impediit. publicanus erat Postumius, qui multis annis parem fraude auaritiaque neminem in ciuitate habuerat praeter T. Pomponium Ueientanum, quem populantem temere agros in Lucanis ductu Hannonis priore anno ceperant Carthaginienses. hi, quia publicum periculum erat a ui tempestatis in iis quae portarentur ad exercitus et ementiti erant falsa naufragia et ea ipsa quae uera renuntiauerant fraude ipsorum facta erant, non casu. in ueteres quassasque naues paucis et parui pretii rebus impositis, cum mersissent eas in alto exceptis in praeparatas scaphas nautis, multiplices fuisse merces ementiebantur. ea fraus indicata M. Aemilio praetori priore anno fuerat ac per eum ad senatum delata nec tamen ullo senatus consulto notata, quia patres ordinem publicanorum in tali tempore offensum nolebant. populus seuerior uindex fraudis erat; excitatique tandem duo tribuni plebis, Sp. et L. Caruili, cum rem inuisam infamemque cernerent, ducentum milium aeris multam M. Postumio dixerunt. cui certandae cum dies aduenisset conciliumque tam frequens plebis adesset ut multitudinem area Capitolii uix caperet, perorata causa una spes uidebatur esse si C. Seruilius Casca tribunus plebis, qui propinquus cognatusque Postumio erat, priusquam ad suffragium tribus uocarentur, intercessisset. testibus datis tribuni populum submouerunt sitellaque lata est ut sortirentur ubi Latini suffragium ferrent. interim publicani Cascae instare ut concilio diem eximeret; populus reclamare; et forte in cornu primus sedebat Casca, cui simul metus pudorque animum uersabat. cum in eo parum praesidii esset, turbandae rei causa publicani per uacuum submoto locum cuneo inruperunt iurgantes simul cum populo tribunisque. nec procul dimicatione res erat cum

Fulvius consul tribunis ‘nonne uidetis’ inquit ‘uos in ordinem coactos esse et rem ad seditionem spectare, ni propere dimittitis plebis concilium?’

[4] Plebe dimissa senatus uocatur et consules referunt de concilio plebis turbato ui atque audacia publicanorum: M. Furium Camillum, cuius exsilium ruina urbis secutura fuerit, damnari se ab iratis ciuibus passum esse; decemuiros ante eum, quorum legibus ad eam diem uiuerent, multos postea principes ciuitatis iudicium de se populi passos; Postumium Pyrgensem suffragium populo Romano extorsisse, concilium plebis sustulisse, tribunos in ordinem coegisse, contra populum Romanum aciem instruxisse, locum occupasse ut tribunos a plebe intercluderet, tribus in suffragium uocari prohiberet. nihil aliud a caede ac dimicatione continuisse homines nisi patientiam magistratuum, quod cesserint in praesentia furori atque audaciae paucorum uincique se ac populum Romanum passi sint et comitia, quae reus ui atque armis prohibiturus erat, ne causa quaerentibus dimicationem daretur, uoluntate ipsi sua sustulerint. haec cum ab optimo quoque pro atrocitate rei accepta essent uimque eam contra rem publicam et pernicioso exemplo factam senatus decresset, confestim Caruili tribuni plebis omitta multae certatione rei capitalis diem Postumio dixerunt ac ni uades daret prendi a uiatore atque in carcerem duci iusserunt. Postumius uadibus datis non adfuit. tribuni plebem rogauerunt plebesque ita sciuit, si M. Postumius ante kalendas Maias non prodisset citatusque eo die non respondisset neque excusatus esset, uideri eum in exsilio esse bonaque eius uenire, ipsi aqua et igni placere interdicti. singulis deinde eorum qui turbae ac tumultus concitatores fuerant, rei capitalis diem dicere ac uades poscere coeperunt. primo non dantes, deinde etiam eos qui dare possent in carcerem coniciebant; cuius rei periculum uitantes plerique in exsiliu abierunt.

[5] Hunc fraus publicanorum, deinde fraudem audacia protegens exitum habuit. comitia inde pontifici maximo creando sunt habita; ea comitia nouus pontifex M. Cornelius Cethegus habuit. tres ingenti certamine petierunt, Q. Fulvius Flaccus consul, qui et ante bis consul et censor fuerat, et T. Manlius Torquatus, et ipse duobus consulatibus et censura insignis, et <P.> Licinius Crassus, qui aedilitatem curulem petiturus erat. hic senes honoratosque iuuenis in eo certamine uicit.

ante hunc intra centum annos et uiginti nemo praeter P. Cornelium Calussam pontifex maximus creatus fuerat qui sella curuli non sedisset. consules dilectum cum aegre conficerent, quod inopia iuniorum non facile in utrumque ut et nouae urbanae legiones et supplementum ueteribus scriberetur sufficebat, senatus absistere eos incepto uetuit et triumuiros binos creari iussit, alteros qui citra, alteros qui ultra quinquagesimum lapidem in pagis forisque et conciliabulis omnem copiam ingenuorum inspicerent et, si qui roboris satis ad ferenda arma habere uiderentur, etiamsi nondum militari aetate essent, milites facerent; tribuni plebis, si iis uideretur, ad populum ferrent ut, qui minores septendecim annis sacramento dixissent, iis perinde stipendia procederent ac si septendecim annorum aut maiores milites facti essent. ex hoc senatus consulto creati triumuiroi bini conquisitionem ingenuorum per agros habuerunt.

Eodem tempore ex Sicilia litterae M. Marcelli de postulatis militum qui cum P. Lentulo militabant in senatu recitatae sunt. Cannensis reliquiae cladis hic exercitus erat, relegatus in Siciliam, sicut ante dictum est, ne ante Punici belli finem in Italiam reportarentur.

[6] Hi permissu Lentuli primores equitum centurionumque et robora ex legionibus peditum legatos in hiberna ad M. Marcellum miserunt, e quibus unus potestate dicendi facta: ‘consulem te, M. Marcelle, in Italia adissemus, cum primum de nobis, etsi non iniquum, certe triste senatus consultum factum est, nisi hoc sperassemus in prouinciam nos morte regum turbatam ad graue bellum aduersus Siculos simul Poenosque mitti, et sanguine nostro uulneribusque nos senatui satisfacturos esse, sicut patrum memoria qui capti a Pyrrho ad Heracleam erant aduersus Pyrrhum ipsum pugnantes satisfecerunt. quamquam quod ob meritum nostrum suscensuistis, patres conscripti, nobis aut suscensetis? ambo mihi consules et uniuersum senatum intueri uideor, cum te, M. Marcelle, intueor, quem si ad Cannas consulem habuissemus, melior et rei publicae et nostra fortuna esset. sine, quaeso, priusquam de condicione nostra queror, noxam cuius arguimur nos purgare. si non deum ira nec fato, cuius lege immobilis rerum humanarum ordo seritur, sed culpa periimus ad Cannas, cuius tandem ea culpa fuit? militum an imperatorum? equidem miles nihil unquam dicam de

imperatore meo, cui praesertim gratias sciam ab senatu actas quod non desperauerit de re publica, cui post fugam Cannensem per omnes annos prorogatum imperium. ceteros item ex reliquiis cladis eius, quos tribunos militum habuimus, honores petere et gerere et prouincias obtinere audiuius. an uobis uestrisque liberis ignoscitis facile, patres conscripti, in haec uilia capita saeuitis? et consuli primoribusque aliis ciuitatis fugere, cum spes alia nulla esset, turpe non fuit, milites utique morituros in aciem misistis? ad Alliam prope omnis exercitus fugit; ad Furculas Caudinas ne expertus quidem certamen arma tradidit hosti, ut alias pudendas clades exercituum taceam; tamen tantum afuit ab eo ut ulla ignominia iis exercitibus quaereretur ut et urbs Roma per eum exercitum qui ab Allia Ueios transfugerat reciperaretur, et Caudinae legiones quae sine armis redierant Romam armatae remissae in Samnium eundem illum hostem sub iugum miserint, qui hac sua ignominia laetatus fuerat. Cannensem uero quisquam exercitum fugae aut pauoris insimulare potest, ubi plus quinquaginta milia hominum ceciderunt, unde consul cum equitibus septuaginta fugit, unde nemo superest nisi quem hostis caedendo fessus reliquit? cum captiuis redemptio negabatur, nos uolgo homines laudabant quod rei publicae nos reseruassemus quod ad consulem Uenusiam redissemus et speciem iusti exercitus fecissemus; nunc deteriore condicione sumus quam apud patres nostros fuerunt captiui. quippe illis arma tantum atque ordo militandi locusque, in quo tenderent in castris, est mutatus, quae tamen semel nauata rei publicae opera et uno felici proelio reciperarunt; nemo eorum relegatus in exilium est, nemini spes emerendi stipendia adempta; hostis denique est datus, cum quo dimicantes aut uitam semel aut ignominiam finirent; nos, quibus, nisi quod commisimus ut quisquam ex Cannensi acie miles Romanus superesset, nihil obici potest, non solum a patria procul Italiaque sed ab hoste etiam relegati sumus, ubi senescamus in exilio ne qua spes, ne qua occasio abolendae ignominiae, ne qua placandae ciuium irae, ne qua denique bene moriendi sit. neque ignominiae finem nec uirtutis praemium petimus; modo experiri animum et uirtutem exercere liceat. laborem et periculum petimus, ut uirorum, ut militum officio fungamur. bellum in Sicilia iam alterum annum ingenti dimicatione geritur; urbes alias Poenus, alias Romanus expugnat; peditum, equitum acies

concurrunt; ad Syracusas terra marique geritur res; clamorem pugnantium crepitumque armorum exaudimus resides ipsi ac segnes, tamquam nec manus nec arma habeamus. seruorum legionibus Ti. Sempronius consul totiens iam cum hoste signis conlatis pugnavit; operae pretium habent libertatem ciuitatemque. pro seruis saltem ad hoc bellum emptis uobis simus; congredi cum hoste liceat et pugnando quaerere libertatem. uis tu mari, uis terra, uis acie, uis urbibus oppugnandis experiri uirtutem? asperrima quaeque ad laborem periculumque deposcimus, ut quod ad Cannas faciundum fuit quam primum fiat, quoniam quidquid postea uiximus id omne destinatum ignominiae est.'

[7] Sub haec dicta ad genua Marcelli procubuerunt. Marcellus id nec iuris nec potestatis suae esse dixit; senatui scripturum se omniaque de sententia patrum facturum esse. eae litterae ad novos consules allatae ac per eos in senatu recitatae sunt; consultusque de iis litteris ita decreuit senatus: militibus, qui ad Cannas commilitones suos pugnantes deseruissent, senatum nihil uidere cur res publica committenda esset. si M. Claudio proconsuli aliter uideretur, faceret quod e re publica fideque sua duceret, dum ne quis eorum munere uacaret neu dono militari uirtutis ergo donaretur neu in Italiam reportaretur donec hostis in terra Italia esset. comitia deinde a praetore urbano de senatus sententia plebique scitu sunt habita, quibus creatis sunt quinqueuiri muris turribus reficiendis et triumuiro bini, uni sacris conquirendis donisque persignandis, alteri reficiendis aedibus Fortunae et matris Matutae intra portam Carmentalem et Spei extra portam, quae priore anno incendio consumptae fuerant. tempestates foedae fuere; in Albano monte biduum continenter lapidibus pluuit; tacta de caelo multa, duae in Capitolio aedes, uallum in castris multis locis supra Suessulam, et duo uigiles exanimati; murus turresque quaedam Cumis non ictae modo fulminibus sed etiam decussae. Reate saxum ingens uisum uolitare, sol rubere solito magis sanguineoque similis. horum prodigiorum causa diem unum supplicatio fuit et per aliquot dies consules rebus diuinis operam dederunt et per eosdem dies sacrum nouendiale fuit. cum Tarentinorum defectio iam diu et in spe Hannibali et in suspitione Romanis esset, causa forte extrinsecus maturandae eius interuenit. Phileas Tarentinus diu iam per speciem legationis Romae

cum esset, uir inquieti animi et minime otium, quo tum diutino senescere uidebatur, patientis, aditum sibi ad obsides Thurinos <et> Tarentinos inuenit. custodiebantur in atrio Libertatis minore cura, quia nec ipsis nec ciuitatibus eorum fallere Romanos expediebat. hos crebris conloquiis sollicitatos corruptis aedituis duobus cum primis tenebris custodia eduxisset, ipse comes occulti itineris factus profugit. luce prima uolgata per urbem fuga est missique qui sequerentur ab Tarracina comprehensos omnes retraxerunt. deducti in comitium uirgisque approbante populo caesi de saxo deiciuntur.

[8] Huius atrocitas poenae duarum nobilissimarum in Italia Graecarum ciuitatum animos irritauit cum publice, tum etiam singulos priuatim ut quisque tam foede interemptos aut propinquitatem aut amicitia contingebat. ex iis tredecim fere nobiles iuuenes Tarentini coniurauerunt, quorum principes Nico et Philemenus erant. hi priusquam aliquid mouerent conloquendum cum Hannibale rati, nocte per speciem uenandi urbe egressi ad eum proficiscuntur; et cum haud procul castris abessent, ceteri silua prope uiam sese occuluerunt, Nico et Philemenus progressi ad stationes comprehensique, ultro id petentes, ad Hannibalem deducti sunt. qui cum et causas consilii sui et quid pararent exposuissent, conlaudati oneratique promissis iubentur, ut fidem popularibus facerent, praedandi causa se urbe egressos, pecora Carthaginiensium quae pastum propulsa essent ad urbem agere; tuto ac sine certamine id facturos promissum est. conspecta ea praeda iuuenum est minusque iterum ac saepius id eos audere miraculo fuit. congressi cum Hannibale rursus fide sanxerunt liberos Tarentinos leges <suas> suaeque omnia habituros neque ullum uestigium Poeno pensuros praesidiumue inuitos recepturos; prodita praesidia Carthaginiensium fore. haec ubi conuenerunt, tunc uero Philemenus consuetudinem nocte egrediundi redeundique in urbem frequentiore facere. et erat uenandi studio insignis, canesque et alius apparatus sequebatur, captumque ferme aliquid aut ab hoste ex praeparato allatum reportans donabat aut praefecto aut custodibus portarum; nocte maxime commeare propter metum hostium credebant. ubi iam eo consuetudinis adducta res est ut, quocumque noctis tempore sibilo dedisset signum, porta aperiretur, tempus agenda rei Hannibali uisum est. tridui uiam aberat; ubi, quo minus mirum esset uno

eodemque loco statua eum tam diu habere, aegrum simulabat. Romanis quoque, qui in praesidio Tarenti erant, suspecta esse iam segnis mora eius desierat.

[9] Ceterum postquam Tarentum ire constituit, decem milibus peditum atque equitum, quos in expeditionem uelocitate corporum ac leuitate armorum aptissimos esse ratus est, electis, quarta uigilia noctis signa mouit, praemissisque octoginta fere Numidis equitibus praecepit ut discurrerent circa uias perlustrarentque omnia oculis, ne quis agrestium procul spectator agminis falleret; praegressos retraherent, obuios occiderent, ut praedonum magis quam exercitus accolis species esset. ipse raptim agmine acto quindecim ferme milium spatio castra ab Tarento posuit; et ne ibi quidem nuntiato quo pergerent, tantum conuocatos milites monuit uia omnes irent nec deuerti quemquam aut excedere ordine agminis paterentur et in primis intenti ad imperia accipienda essent neu quid nisi ducum iussu facerent; se in tempore editurum quae uellet agi. eadem ferme hora Tarentum fama praeuenerat Numidas equites paucos populari agros terroremque late agrestibus iniecisse. ad quem nuntium nihil ultra motus praefectus Romanus quam ut partem equitum postero die luce prima iuberet exire ad arcendum populationibus hostem; in cetera adeo nihil ab eo intenta cura est ut contra pro argumento fuerit illa procursatio Numidarum Hannibalem exercitumque <e> castris non mouisse.

Hannibal concubia nocte mouit. dux Philemenus erat cum solito captae uenationis onere; ceteri proditores ea quae composita erant exspectabant. conuenerat autem ut Philemenus portula adsueta uenationem inferens armatos induceret, parte alia portam Temenitida adiret Hannibal; ea mediterranea regio est orientem spectans; busta aliquantum intra moenia includunt. cum portae adpropinquaret, editus ex composito ignis ab Hannibale est refulsitque idem redditum ab Nicone signum; extinctae deinde utrimque flammae sunt. Hannibal silentio ducebat ad portam. Nico ex improviso adortus sopitos uigiles in cubilibus suis obruncat portamque aperit. Hannibal cum peditum agmine ingreditur, equites subsistere iubet ut, quo res postulet occurrere libero campo possent. et Philemenus portulae parte alia, qua commeare adsuerat, adpropinquabat. nota uox eius et familiare iam signum cum excitasset uigilem, dicenti uix sustineri

grandis bestiae onus portula aperitur. inferentes aprum duos iuuenes secutus ipse cum expedito uenatore uigilem, incautius miraculo magnitudinis in eos qui ferebant uersum, uenabulo traicit. ingressi deinde triginta fere armati ceteros uigiles obtruncant refringuntque portam proximam et agmen sub signis confestim inrupit. inde cum silentio in forum ducti Hannibali sese coniunxerunt. tum duo milia Gallorum Poenus in tres diuisa partes per urbem dimittit; Tarentinos <iis addit duces binos>; itinera quam maxime frequentia occupari iubet, tumultu orto Romanos passim caedi, oppidanis parci. sed ut fieri id posset, praecipit iuuenibus Tarentinis ut, ubi quem suorum procul uidissent, quiescere ac silere ac bono animo esse iuberent.

[10] Iam tumultus erat clamorque qualis esse in capta urbe solet; sed quid rei esset nemo satis pro certo scire. Tarentini Romanos ad diripiendam urbem credere coortos; Romanis seditio aliqua cum fraude uideri ab oppidanis mota. praefectus primo excitatus tumultu in portum effugit; inde acceptus scapha in arcem circumuehitur. errorem et tuba audita ex theatro faciebat; nam et Romana erat, a proditoribus ad hoc ipsum praeparata, et insciter a Graeco inflata quis aut quibus signum daret incertum efficiebat. ubi inluxit, et Romanis Punica et Gallica arma cognita [tum] dubitationem exemerunt, et Graeci Romanos passim caede stratos cernentes, ab Hannibale captam urbem senserunt. postquam lux certior erat et Romani qui caedibus superfuerant in arcem confugerant conticiscebatque paulatim tumultus, tum Hannibal Tarentinos sine armis conuocari iubet. conuenere omnes, praeterquam qui cedentes in arcem Romanos ad omnem adeundam simul fortunam persecuti fuerant. ibi Hannibal benigne adlocutus Tarentinos testatusque quae praestitisset ciuibus eorum quos ad Trasumennum aut ad Cannas cepisset, simul in dominationem superbam Romanorum inuectus, recipere se in domos suas quemque iussit et foribus nomen suum inscribere; se domos eas quae inscriptae non essent signo extemplo dato diripi iussurum; si quis in hospitio ciuis Romani — uacuas autem tenebant domo — nomen inscripsisset, eum se pro hoste habiturum. contione dimissa cum titulis notatae fores discrimen pacatae ab hostili domo fecissent, signo dato ad diripienda hospitia Romana passim discursus est; et fuit praedae aliquantum.

[11] Postero die ad oppugnandam arcem ducit; quam cum et <a>

mari, quo in paene insulae modum pars maior circumluitur, praealtis rupibus et ab ipsa urbe muro et fossa ingenti saeptam uideret eoque nec ui nec operibus expugnabilem esse, ne aut se ipsum cura tuendi Tarentinos a maioribus rebus moraretur aut in relictos sine ualido praesidio Tarentinos impetum ex arce cum uellent Romani facerent, uallo urbem ab arce intersaeptam statuit, non sine illa etiam spe cum prohibentibus opus Romanis manum posse conseri et, si ferocius procurrissent, magna caede ita attenuari praesidii uires ut facile per se ipsi Tarentini urbem ab iis tueri possent. ubi coeptum opus est, patefacta repente porta impetum in munientes fecerunt Romani pellicque se statio passa est quae pro opere erat, ut successu cresceret audacia pluresque et longius pulsos persequerentur. tum signo dato coorti undique Poeni sunt, quos instructos ad hoc Hannibal tenuerat; nec sustinere impetum Romani; sed ab effusa fuga loci angustiae eos impeditaque alia opere iam coepto, alia apparatu operis morabantur; plurimi in fossam praecipitauere occisique sunt plures in fuga quam in pugna. inde et opus nullo prohibente fieri coeptum. fossa ingens ducta et uallum intra eam erigitur modicoque post interuallo murum etiam eadem regione addere parat, ut uel sine praesidio tueri se aduersus Romanos possent. reliquit tamen modicum praesidium, simul ut in perficiendo muro adiuuaret: ipse profectus cum ceteris copiis ad Galaesum flumen — quinque milia ab urbe abest — posuit castra.

Ex his statius regressus ad inspiciendum quod opus aliquantum opinione eius celerius creuerat, spem cepit etiam arcem expugnari posse. et est non altitudine, ut ceterae, tuta sed loco plano posita et ab urbe muro tantum ac fossa diuisa. cum iam machinationum omni genere et operibus oppugnaretur, missum a Metaponto praesidium Romanis fecit animum ut nocte ex improviso opera hostium inuaderent. alia disiecerunt, alia igni corruerunt, isque finis Hannibali fuit ea parte arcem oppugnandi. reliqua erat in obsidione spes nec ea satis efficax, quia arcem tenentes, quae in paene insula posita imminet faucibus portus, mare liberum habebant, urbs contra exclusa maritimis commeatibus propiusque inopiam erant obsidentes quam obsessi. Hannibal conuocatis principibus Tarentinis omnes praesentes difficultates exposuit: neque arcis tam munitae expugnandae cernere uiam neque in obsidione quicquam habere spei

donec mari hostes potiantur; quod si naues sint, quibus commeatus inuehi prohibeat, extemplo aut abscessuros aut dedituros se hostes. adsentiebantur Tarentini; ceterum ei qui consilium adferret opem quoque in eam rem adferendam censebant esse. Punicas enim naues ex Sicilia accitas id posse facere: suas, quae sinu exiguo intus inclusae essent, cum claustra portus hostis haberet, quem ad modum inde in apertum mare euasuras? 'euadent' inquit Hannibal. 'multa, quae impedita natura sunt, consilio expediuntur. urbem in campo sitam habetis; planae et satis latae uiae patent in omnes partes. uia, quae ex portu per mediam urbem ad mare transmissa est, plaustis transueham naues haud magna mole et mare nostrum erit, quo nunc hostes potiuntur, et illinc mari, hinc terra circumsedebimus arcem; immo breui aut relictam ab hostibus aut cum ipsis hostibus capiemus.' haec oratio non spem modo effectus sed ingentem etiam ducis admirationem fecit. contracta extemplo undique plaustra iunctaque inter se et machinae ad subducendas naues admotae munitumque inter quo faciliora plaustra minorque moles in transitu esset. iumenta inde et homines contracti et opus impigre coeptum; paucosque post dies classis instructa ac parata circumuehitur arcem et ante os ipsum portus ancoras iacit. hunc statum rerum Hannibal Tarenti relinquit, regressus ipse in hiberna. ceterum defectio Tarentinorum utrum priore anno an hoc facta sit, in diuersum auctores trahunt; plures propioresque aetate memoriae rerum hoc anno factam tradunt.

[12] Romae consules praetoresque usque <ad> ante diem quintum kalendas Maias Latinae tenuerunt; eo die perpetrato sacro in monte in suas quisque prouincias proficiscuntur. religio deinde noua obiecta est ex carminibus Marcianis. uates hic Marcius inlustris fuerat, et cum conquisitio priore anno ex senatus consulto talium librorum fieret, in M. Aemili praetoris [urbem], qui eam rem agebat, manus uenerant; is protinus nouo praetori Sullae tradiderat. ex huius Marci duobus carminibus alterius post rem actam editi comperto auctoritas euentu alteri quoque, cuius nondum tempus uenerat, adferebat fidem. priore carmine Cannensis praedicta clades in haec fere uerba erat: 'amnem, Troiugena, fuge Cannam, ne te alienigenae cogant in campo Diomedis conserere manus. sed neque credes tu mihi, donec complexis sanguine campum, multaue milia occisa tua deferet

amnis in pontum magnum ex terra frugifera; piscibus atque auibus ferisque quae incolunt terras iis fuit esca caro tua; nam mihi ita Iuppiter fatus est.’ et Diomedis Argiui campos et Cannam flumen ii qui militauerant in iis locis iuxta atque ipsam cladem agnoscebant. tum alterum carmen recitatum, non eo tantum obscurius quia incertiora futura praeteritis sunt sed perplexius etiam scripturae genere. ‘hostes, Romani, si ex agro expellere uoltis, uomicam quae gentium uenit longe, Apollini uouendos censeo ludos qui quotannis comiter Apollini fiant; cum populus dederit ex publico partem, priuati uti conferant pro se atque suis; iis ludis faciendis praesit praetor is quis ius populo plebeique dabit summum; decemuiri Graeco ritu hostiis sacra faciant. hoc si recte facietis, gaudebitis semper fietque res uestra melior; nam is deum exstinguet perduelles uestros qui uestros campos pascit placide.’ ad id carmen expiandum diem unum sumpserunt; postero die senatus consultum factum est ut decemuiri libros de ludis Apollini reque diuina facienda inspicerent. ea cum inspecta relataque ad senatum essent, censuerunt patres Apollini ludos uouendos faciendosque et quando ludi facti essent, duodecim milia aeris praetori ad rem diuinam et duas hostias maiores dandas. alterum senatus consultum factum est ut decemuiri sacrum Graeco ritu facerent hisce hostiis, Apollini boue aurato et capris duabus albis auratis, Latonae boue femina aurata. ludos praetor in circo maximo cum facturus esset, edixit ut populus per eos ludos stipem Apollini quantam commodum esset conferret. haec est origo ludorum Apollinarium, uictoriae, non ualetudinis ergo ut plerique rentur, uotorum factorumque. populus coronatus spectauit, matronae supplicauere; uolgo apertis ianuis in propatulo epulati sunt celeberrique dies omni caerimoniarum genere fuit.

[13] Cum Hannibal circa Tarentum, consules ambo in Samnio essent sed circumsessuri Capuam uiderentur, quod malum diuturnae obsidionis esse solet, iam famem Campani sentiebant, quia sementem facere prohibuerant eos Romani exercitus. itaque legatos ad Hannibalem miserunt orantes ut priusquam consules in agros suos educerent legiones uiaeque omnes hostium praesidiis insiderentur, frumentum ex propinquis locis conuehi iuberet Capuam. Hannibal Hannonem ex Bruttiiis cum exercitu in Campaniam transire et dare operam ut frumenti copia fieret Campanis iussit. Hanno ex Bruttiiis

profectus cum exercitu, uitabundus castra hostium consulesque qui in Samnio erant, cum Beneuento iam appropinquaret, tria milia passuum ab ipsa urbe loco edito castra posuit; inde ex sociis circa populis quo aestate comportatum erat deuehi frumentum in castra iussit praesidiis datis quae commeatus eos prosequerentur. Capuam inde nuntium misit qua die in castris ad accipiendum frumentum praesto essent omni undique genere uehiculorum iumentorumque ex agris contracto. id pro cetera socordia neglegentiaque a Campanis actum; paulo plus quadringenta uehicula missa et pauca praeterea iumenta. ob id castigatis ab Hannone quod ne fames quidem, quae mutas accenderet bestias, curam eorum stimulare posset alia producta dies ad frumentum maiore apparatu petendum. ea omnia, sicut acta erant, cum enuntiata Beneuentanis essent, legatos decem extemplo ad consules — circa Bouianum castra Romanorum erant — miserunt. qui cum auditis quae ad Capuam agerentur inter se comparassent ut alter in Campaniam exercitum duceret, Fuluius, cui ea prouincia obuenerat, profectus nocte Beneuenti moenia est ingressus. ex propinquo cognoscit Hannonem cum exercitus parte profectum frumentatum; per quaestorem Campanis datum frumentum; duo milia plaustorum, inconditam inermemque aliam turbam aduenisse; per tumultum ac trepidationem omnia agi, castrorumque formam et militarem ordinem immixtis agrestibus [iis] externis sublatum.

His satis compertis, consul militibus edicit, signa tantum armaque in proximam noctem expedirent; castra Punica oppugnanda esse. quarta uigilia profecti sarcinis omnibus impedimentisque Beneuenti relictis, paulo ante lucem cum ad castra peruenissent, tantum pauoris iniecerunt ut, si in plano castra posita essent, haud dubie primo impetu capi potuerint. altitudo loci et munimenta defendere quae nulla ex parte adiri nisi arduo ac difficili adscensu poterant. luce prima proelium ingens accensum est. nec uallum modo tutantur Poeni sed, ut quibus locus aequior esset, deturbant nitentes per ardua hostes.

[14] Vincit tamen omnia pertinax uirtus, et aliquot simul partibus ad uallum ac fossas peruentum est sed cum multis uolneribus ac militum pernicie. itaque conuocatis <legatis> tribunisque militum consul absistendum temerario incepto ait; tutius sibi uideri reduci eo die exercitum Beneuentum, dein postero <castra> castris hostium

iungi, ne exire inde Campani neue Hanno regredi posset; id quo facilius obtineatur, collegam quoque et exercitum eius se acciturum totumque eo uersuros bellum. haec consilia ducis, cum iam receptui caneret, clamor militum aspernantium tam segne imperium disiecit. proxima forte [hostium] erat cohors Paeligna, cuius praefectus Uibius Accaus arreptum uexillum trans uallum hostium traiecit. exsecratus inde seque et cohortem si eius uexilli hostes potiti essent, princeps ipse per fossam uallumque in castra inrupit. iamque intra uallum Paeligni pugnabant, cum altera parte, Ualerio Flacco tribuno militum tertiae legionis exprobrante Romanis ignauiam qui sociis captorum castrorum concederent decus, T. Pedanius princeps primus centurio, cum signifero signum ademisset, ‘iam hoc signum et hic centurio’ inquit ‘intra uallum hostium erit; sequantur qui capi signum ab hoste prohibitori sunt.’ manipulares sui primum transcendentem fossam, dein legio tota secuta est. iam et consul ad conspectum transgredientium uallum mutato consilio ab reuocando[que] ad incitandos hortandosque uersus milites, ostendere in quanto discrimine ac periculo fortissima cohors sociorum et ciuium legio esset. itaque pro se quisque omnes per aequa atque iniqua loca, cum undique tela conicerentur armaque et corpora hostes obicerent, peruadunt inrumpuntque; multi uolnerati etiam quos uires et sanguis desereret, ut intra uallum hostium caderent nitebantur; capta itaque momento temporis uelut in plano sita nec permunita castra. caedes inde, non iam pugna erat omnibus intra uallum permixtis. supra sex milia hostium occisa, supra septem milia capitum cum frumentatoribus Campanis omnique plaustorum et iumentorum apparatu capta; et alia ingens praeda fuit quam Hanno, populabundus passim cum isset, ex sociorum populi Romani agris traxerat. inde deletis hostium castris Beneuentum reditum praedamque ibi ambo consules — nam et Ap. Claudius eo post paucos dies uenit — uendiderunt diuiseruntque. et donati quorum opera castra hostium capta erant, ante alios Accaus Paelignus et T. Pedanius, princeps tertiae legionis. Hanno ab Cominio Ocrito, quo nuntiata castrorum clades est, cum paucis frumentatoribus quos forte secum habuerat fugae magis quam itineris modo in Bruttios rediit.

[15] Et [legati] Campani, audita sua pariter sociorumque clade legatos ad Hannibalem miserunt qui nuntiarent duos consules ad

Beneuentum esse, diei iter a Capua; tantum non ad portas et muros bellum esse; ni propere subueniat, celerius Capuam quam Arpos in potestatem hostium uenturam. ne Tarentum quidem, non modo arcem, tanti debere esse ut Capuam, quam Carthagini aequare sit solitus, desertam indefensamque populo Romano tradat. Hannibal, curae sibi fore rem Campanam pollicitus, in praesentia duo milia equitum cum legatis mittit quo praesidio agros populationibus possent prohibere.

Romanis interim, sicut aliarum rerum, arcis Tarentinae praesidiique quod ibi obsideretur cura est. C. Seruilius legatus, ex auctoritate patrum a P. Cornelio praetore in Etruriam ad frumentum coemendum missus, cum aliquot nauibus onustis in portum Tarentinum inter hostium custodias peruenit. cuius aduentu qui ante in exigua spe uocati saepe ad transitionem ab hostibus per conloquia erant ultro ad transeundum hostes uocabant sollicitabantque. et erat satis ualidum praesidium traductis ad arcem Tarenti tuendam qui Metaponti erant militibus. itaque Metapontini extemplo metu quo tenebantur liberati ad Hannibalem defecere. hoc idem eadem ora maris et Thurini fecerunt. mouit eos non Tarentinorum magis defectio Metapontinorumque, quibus indidem ex Achaia oriundi etiam cognatione iuncti erant, quam ira in Romanos propter obsides nuper interfectos. eorum amici cognatique litteras ac nuntios ad Hannonem Magonemque, qui in propinquo in Brutiis erant, miserunt, si exercitum ad moenia admouissent, se in potestatem eorum urbem tradituros esse. M. Atinius Thuriis cum modico praesidio praeerat, quem facile elici ad certamen temere ineundum rebantur posse, non militum quos perpaucos habebat fiducia quam iuuentutis Thurinae; eam ex industria centuriauerat armaueratque ad tales casus. diuisis copiis inter se duces Poeni cum agrum Thurinum ingressi essent, Hanno cum peditum agmine infestis signis ire ad urbem pergit, Mago cum equitatu tectus collibus ap<te ad> tegendas insidias oppositis subsistit. Atinius peditum tantum agmine per exploratores comperto in aciem copias educit, et fraudis intestinae et hostium insidiarum ignarus. pedestre proelium fuit persegne paucis in prima acie pugnantibus Romanis, Thurinis exspectantibus magis quam adiuuantibus euentum; et Carthaginiensium acies de industria pedem referebat, ut ad terga collis ab equite suo insessi hostem

incautum pertraheret. quo ubi est uentum, coorti cum clamore equites prope inconditam Thurinorum turbam nec satis fido animo unde pugnabat stantem extemplo in fugam auerterunt. Romani, quamquam circumuentos hinc pedes, hinc eques urgebat, tamen aliquamdiu pugnam traxere; postremo et ipsi terga uertunt atque ad urbem fugiunt. ibi proditores conglobati cum popularium agmen patentibus portis acceperunt, ubi Romanos fusos ad urbem ferri uiderunt, conclamant instare Poenum permixtosque et hostes urbem inuasuros ni propere portas claudant. ita exclusos Romanos praebuere hosti ad caedem; Atinius tamen cum paucis receptus. seditio inde paulisper tenuit, cum [inde] alii cedendum fortunae et tradendam urbem uictoribus censerent. ceterum, ut plerumque, fortuna et consilia mala uicerunt; Atinio cum suis ad mare ac naues deducto, magis quia ipsi ob imperium in se mite ac iustum consultum uolebant quam respectu Romanorum, Carthaginienses in urbem accipiunt. consules a Beneuento in Campanum agrum legiones ducunt non ad frumenta modo, quae iam in herbis erant, corrumpenda sed ad Capuam oppugnandam, nobilem se consulatum tam opulentiae urbis excidio rati facturos, simul et ingens flagitium imperio dempturos, quod urbi tam propinquae tertium annum impunita defectio esset. ceterum ne Beneuentum sine praesidio esset et ut ad subita belli, si Hannibal, quod facturum haud dubitabant, ad opem ferendam sociis Capuam uenisset, equitis uim sustinere possent, Ti. Gracchum ex Lucanis cum equitatu ac leui armatura Beneuentum uenire iubent; legionibus statuisque ad obtinendas res in Lucanis aliquem praeficeret.

[16] Graccho, priusquam ex Lucanis moueret, sacrificanti triste prodigium factum est. ad exta sacrificio perpetrato angues duo ex occulto adlapsi adedere iocur conspectique repente ex oculis abierunt. et cum haruspicum monitu sacrificium instauraretur atque intentius exta seruarentur, iterum ac tertium tradunt libato[que] iocinere intactos angues abisse. cum haruspices ad imperatorem id pertinere prodigium praemonuissent et ab occultis cauendum hominibus consultisque, nulla tamen prouidentia fatum imminens moueri potuit. Flauus Lucanus fuit, caput partis eius Lucanorum, cum pars ad Hannibalem defecisset, quae cum Romanis stabat; et iam annuo in magistratu erat, ab iisdem illis creatus praetor. is mutata repente uoluntate locum gratiae apud Poenum quaerens,

neque transire ipse neque trahere ad defectionem Lucanos satis habuit, nisi imperatoris et eiusdem hospitis proditi capite ac sanguine foedus cum hostibus sanxisset. ad Magonem, qui in Brutiis praeerat, clam in conloquium uenit fideque ab eo accepta, si Romanum iis imperatorem tradidisset, liberos cum suis legibus uenturos in amicitiam Lucanos, deducit Poenum in locum <quo cum> paucis Gracchum adducturum ait: Mago ibi pedites equitesque armatos — et capere eas latebras ingentem numerum — occuleret. loco satis inspecto atque undique explorato dies composita gerendae rei est. Flauus ad Romanum imperatorem uenit. rem se ait magnam incohasse, ad quam perficiendam ipsius Gracchi opera opus esse: omnium populorum praetoribus, qui ad Poenum in illo communi Italiae motu descissent, persuasisse ut redirent in amicitiam Romanorum, quando res quoque Romana, quae prope exitium clade Cannensi uenisset, in dies melior atque auctior fieret, Hannibalis uis senesceret ac prope ad nihilum uenisset: ueteri delicto haud implacabiles fore Romanos; nullam unquam gentem magis exorabilem promptioremque ueniae dandae fuisse; quotiens rebellionem etiam maiorum suorum ignotum? haec ab se suis dicta; ceterum ab ipso Graccho eadem haec audire malle eos praesentisque contingere dextram <et> id pignus fidei secum ferre: locum se concilio iis dixisse a conspectu amotum, haud procul castris Romanis; ibi paucis uerbis transigi rem posse ut omne nomen Lucanum in fide ac societate Romana sit. Gracchus fraudem et sermoni et rei abesse ratus ac similitudine ueri captus, cum lictoribus ac turma equitum e castris profectus duce hospite <in> insidias praecipitat. hostes subito exorti; et, ne dubia proditio esset, Flauus iis se adiungit. tela undique in Gracchum atque equites coniciuntur. Gracchus ex equo desilit; idem ceteros facere iubet hortaturque ut, quod unum reliquum fortuna fecerit, id cohonestent uirtute: reliquum autem quid esse paucis a multitudine in ualle silua ac montibus saepta circumuentis praeter mortem? id referre, utrum praebentes corpora pecorum modo inulti trucidentur an toti a patiendo exspectandoque euentu in impetum atque iram uersi, agentes audentesque, perfusi hostium cruore, inter exspirantium inimicorum cumulata armaque et corpora cadant. Lucanum proditorem ac transfugam omnes peterent; qui eam uictimam prae se ad inferos

misisset, eum decus eximium, egregium solatium suae morti inuenturum. inter haec dicta paludamento circa laeuum brachium intorto — nam ne scuta quidem secum extulerant — in hostes impetum fecit. maior quam pro numero hominum editur pugna. iaculis maxime aperta corpora Romanorum; et, cum undique ex altioribus locis in cauam uallem coniectus esset, transfiguntur. Gracchum iam nudatum praesidio uiuum capere Poeni nituntur; ceterum conspicatus Lucanum hospitem inter hostes adeo infestus confertos inuasit ut parci ei sine multorum perniciem non posset. exanimum eum Mago extemplo ad Hannibalem misit ponique cum captis simul fascibus ante tribunal imperatoris iussit. haec si uera fama est, Gracchus in Lucanis ad campos qui Ueteres uocantur periit.

[17] Sunt qui in agro Beneuentano prope Calorem fluuium contendant a castris cum lictoribus ac tribus seruis lauandi causa progressum, cum forte inter salicta innata ripis laterent hostes, nudum atque inermem saxisque quae uoluit amnis propugnantem interfectum. sunt qui haruspicum monitu quingentos passus a castris progressum, uti loco puro ea quae ante dicta prodigia sunt procuraret, ab insidentibus forte locum duabus turmis Numidarum circumuentum scribant. adeo nec locus nec ratio mortis in uiro tam claro et insigni constat. funeris quoque Gracchi uaria est fama. alii in castris Romanis sepultum ab suis, alii ab Hannibale — et ea uolgatior fama est — tradunt in uestibulo Punicorum castrorum rogam exstructum esse, armatum exercitum decucurrisse cum tripudiis Hispanorum motibusque armorum et corporum suae cuique genti adsueta, ipso Hannibale omni rerum uerborumque honore exsequias celebrante. haec tradunt qui in Lucanis rei gestae auctores sunt. si illis qui ad Calorem fluuium interfectum memorant credere uelis, capitis tantum Gracchi hostes potiti sunt; eo delato ad Hannibalem missus ab eo confestim Carthalo, qui in castra Romana ad Cn. Cornelium quaestorem deferret; is funus imperatoris in castris celebrantibus cum exercitu Beneuentanis fecit.

[18] Consules agrum Campanum ingressi cum passim popularentur, eruptione oppidanorum et Magonis cum equitatu terri et trepidi ad signa milites palatos passim reuocarunt, et uixdum instructa acie fusi supra mille et quingentos milites amiserunt. inde ingens ferocia superbae suoapte ingenio genti creuit multisque proeliis

lacessebant Romanos; sed intentiores ad cauendum consules una pugna fecerat incaute atque inconsulte inita. restituit tamen his animos et illis minuit audaciam parua una res; sed in bello nihil tam leue est quod non magnae interdum rei momentum faciat. T. Quinctio Crispino Badius Campanus hospes erat perfamiliari hospitio iunctus. creuerat consuetudo, quod aeger Romae apud Crispinum Badius ante defectionem Campanam liberaliter comiterque curatus fuerat. is tum Badius progressus ante stationes quae pro porta stabant uocari Crispinum iussit. quod ubi est Crispino nuntiatum, ratus conloquium amicum ac familiare quaeri, manente memoria etiam in discidio publicorum foederum priuati iuris, paulum a ceteris processit. postquam in conspectum uenere, 'prouoco te' inquit 'ad pugnam, Crispine' Badius; 'conscendamus equos summotisque aliis uter bello melior sit decernamus.' ad ea Crispinus nec sibi nec illi ait hostes deesse in quibus uirtutem ostendant; se, etiamsi in acie occurrerit, declinaturum, ne hospitali caede dextram uiolet; conuersusque abibat. enimuero ferocius tum Campanus increpare mollitiam ignauiamque et se digna probra in insontem iacere, hospitem hostem appellans simulantemque parcere cui sciat parem se non esse. si parum publicis foederibus ruptis dirempta simul et priuata iura esse putet, Badium Campanum T. Quinctio Crispino Romano palam duobus exercitibus audientibus renuntiare hospitium. nihil sibi cum eo consociatum, nihil foederatum, hosti cum hoste, cuius patriam ac penates publicos priuatosque oppugnatum uenisset. si uir esset, congrediretur. diu cunctantem Crispinum perpulere turmales ne impune insultare Campanum pateretur. itaque tantum moratus dum imperatores consuleret permitterentne sibi extra ordinem in prouocantem hostem pugnare, permissu eorum arma cepit equumque conscendit et Badium nomine compellans ad pugnam euocauit. nulla mora a Campano facta est; infestis equis concurrerunt. Crispinus supra scutum sinistrum umerum Badio hasta transfixit, superque delapsus cum uolnere ex equo desiluit ut pedes iacentem conficeret. Badius priusquam opprimeretur parma atque equo relicto ad suos aufugit; Crispinus equum armaque capta et cruentam cuspidem insignis spoliis ostentans cum magna laude et gratulatione militum ad consules est deductus laudatusque ibi magnifice et donis donatus.

[19] Hannibal ex agro Beneuentano castra ad Capuam cum mouisset, tertio post die quam uenit copias in aciem eduxit, haudquaquam dubius, quod Campanis absente se paucos ante dies secunda fuisset pugna, quin multo minus se suumque totiens uictorem exercitum sustinere Romani possent. ceterum postquam pugnari coeptum est, equitum maxime incursu, cum iaculis obrueretur, laborabat Romana acies, donec signum equitibus datum est ut in hostem admitterent equos. ita equestre proelium erat, cum procul uisus Sempronianus exercitus, cui Cn. Cornelius quaestor praeerat, utrique parti parem metum praeiuit ne hostes noui aduentarent. uelut ex composito utrimque signum receptui datum reductique in castra prope aequo Marte discesserunt; plures tamen ab Romanis primo incursu equitum ceciderunt. inde consules, ut auerterent Capua Hannibalem, nocte quae secuta est diuersi, Fuluius in agrum Cumanum, Claudius in Lucanos abiit. postero die cum uacua castra Romanorum esse nuntiatum Hannibali esset et duobus agminibus diuersos abiisse, incertus primo utrum sequeretur Appium institit sequi. ille circumducto hoste qua uoluit alio itinere ad Capuam rediit.

Hannibali alia in his locis bene gerendae rei fortuna oblata est. M. Centenius fuit cognomine Paenula, insignis inter primi pili centuriones et magnitudine corporis et animo. is, perfunctus militia, per P. Corneliū Sullam praetorem in senatum introductus petit a patribus uti sibi quinque milia militum darentur: se peritum et hostis et regionum breui operae pretium facturum et quibus artibus ad id locorum nostri et duces et exercitus capti forent iis aduersus inuentorem usurum. id non promissum magis stolide quam stolide creditum tamquam eadem militares et imperatoriae artes essent. data pro quinque octo milia militum, pars dimidia ciues, pars socii; et ipse aliquantum uoluntariorum in itinere ex agris conciuat ac prope duplicato exercitu in Lucanos peruenit, ubi Hannibal nequiquam secutus Claudium substiterat. haud dubia res erat, quippe inter Hannibalem ducem et centurionem exercitusque alterum uincendo ueteranum, alterum nouum totum, magna ex parte etiam tumultuarium ac semermem. ut conspecta inter se agmina sunt et neutra pars detractauit pugnam, extemplo instructae acies. pugnatum tamen ~ut in nulla pari re~ duas amplius horas concitata, donec dux

stetit, Romana acie. postquam is non pro uetere fama solum sed etiam metu futuri dedecoris, si sua temeritate contractae cladi superesset, obiectans se hostium telis cecidit, fusa extemplo est Romana acies; sed adeo ne fugae quidem iter patuit omnibus uiis ab equite inessis, ut ex tanta multitudine uix mille euaserint, ceteri passim alii alia peste absumpti sint.

[20] Capua a consulibus iterum summa ui obsideri coepta est, quaeque in eam rem opus erant comportabantur parabanturque. Casilinum frumentum conuectum; ad Uolturni ostium, ubi nunc urbs est, castellum communitum, <ibique et Puteolis — iam> ante Fabius Maximus munierat — praesidium impositum ut mare proximum et flumen in potestate essent. in ea duo maritima castella frumentum, quod ex Sardinia nuper missum erat quodque M. Iunius praetor ex Etruria coemerat, ab Ostia conuectum est ut exercitui per hiemem copia esset. ceterum super eam cladem quae in Lucanis accepta erat uolonum quoque exercitus, qui uiuo Graccho summa fide stipendia fecerat, uelut exauctoratus morte ducis ab signis discessit.

Hannibal non Capuam neglectam neque in tanto discrimine desertos uolebat socios; sed prospero ex temeritate unius Romani ducis successu in alterius ducis exercitusque opprimendi occasionem imminebat. Cn. Fuluium praetorem Apuli legati nuntiabant primo, dum urbes quasdam Apulorum quae ad Hannibalem descuiissent oppugnaret, intentius rem egisse: postea nimio successu et ipsum et milites praeda impletos in tantam licentiam socordiamque effusos ut nulla disciplina militiae esset. cum saepe alias, tum paucis diebus ante expertus qualis sub inscio duce exercitus esset in Apuliam castra mouit.

[21] Circa Herdoneam Romanae legiones et praetor Fuluius erat. quo ubi allatum est hostes aduentare, prope est factum ut iniussu praetoris signis conuolsis in aciem exirent; nec res magis ulla tenuit quam spes haud dubia suo id arbitrio ubi uellent facturos. nocte insequenti Hannibal, cum tumultuatum in castris et plerosque ferociter, signum ut daret, instituisse duci ad arma uocantes sciret, haud dubius prosperae pugnae occasionem dari, tria milia expeditorum militum in uillis circa uepribusque et siluis disponit, qui signo dato simul omnes e latebris existerent, et Magonem ac duo ferme milia equitum qua fugam inclinaturam credebat omnia itinera

insidere iubet. his nocte praeparatis, prima luce in aciem copias educit; nec Fuluius est cunctatus, non tam sua ulla spe quam militum impetu fortuito tractus. itaque eadem temeritate qua processum in aciem est instruitur ipsa acies ad libidinem militum forte procurentium consistentiumque quo loco ipsorum tulisset animus, deinde per libidinem aut metum deserentium locum. prima legio et sinistra ala in primo instructae et in longitudinem porrecta acies. clamantibus tribunis nihil introrsus roboris ac uirium esse et quacumque impetum fecissent hostes perrupturos, nihil quod salutare esset non modo ad animum sed ne ad aures quidem admittebat. et Hannibal haudquaquam similis dux neque simili exercitu neque ita instructo aderat. ergo ne clamorem quidem atque impetum primum eorum Romani sustinere. dux stultitia et temeritate Centenio par, animo haudquaquam comparandus, ubi rem inclinatham ac trepidantes suos uidet, equo arrepto cum ducentis ferme equitibus effugit; cetera a fronte pulsa, inde a tergo atque alis circumuenta acies eo usque est caesa ut ex duodeuiginti milibus hominum duo milia haud amplius euaserint. castris hostes potiti sunt.

[22] Hae clades, super aliam alia, Romam cum essent nuntiatae, ingens quidem et luctus et pavor ciuitatem cepit; sed tamen quia consules, ubi summa rerum esset, ad id locorum prospere rem gererent, minus his cladibus commouebantur. legatos ad consules mittunt C. Laetorium M. Metilium qui nuntiarent, ut reliquias duorum exercituum cum cura colligerent, darentque operam ne per metum ac desperationem hosti se dederent, id quod post Cannensem accidisset cladem, et ut desertores de exercitu uolonum conquirerent. idem negotii P. Cornelio datum, cui et dilectus mandatus erat; isque per fora conciliabulaque edixit ut conquisitio uolonum fieret iique ad signa reducerentur. haec omnia intentissima cura acta.

Ap. Claudius consul D. Iunio ad ostium Uolturni, M. Aurelio Cotta Puteolis praeposito qui, ut quaeque naues ex Etruria ac Sardinia accessissent, extemplo in castra mitterent frumentum, ipse ad Capuam regressus Q. Fuluium collegam inuenit Casilino omnia deportantem molientemque ad oppugnandam Capuam. tum ambo circumsederunt urbem et Claudium Neronem praetorem ab Suessula ex Claudianis castris exciuerunt. is quoque modico ibi praesidio ad tenendum locum relicto ceteris omnibus copiis ad Capuam descendit.

ita tria praetoria circa Capuam erecta; tres exercitus diuersis partibus opus adgressi fossa ualloque circumdare urbem parant et castella excitant modicis interuallis, multisque simul locis cum prohibentibus opera Campanis eo euentu pugnant ut postremo portis muroque se contineret Campanus. prius tamen quam haec continuarentur opera, legati ad Hannibalem missi qui quererentur desertam ab eo Capuam ac prope redditam Romanis obtestarenturque ut tunc saltem opem non circumsessis modo sed etiam circumuallatis ferret. consulibus litterae a P. Cornelio praetore missae ut, priusquam clauderent Capuam operibus, potestatem Campanis facerent ut qui eorum uellent exirent a Capua suasque res secum ferrent: liberos fore suaque omnia habituros qui ante idus Martias exissent; post eam diem quique exissent quique ibi mansissent hostium futuros numero. ea pronuntiata Campanis atque ita spreta ut ultro contumelias dicerent minarenturque. Hannibal ab Herdonea Tarentum duxerat legiones, spe aut ui aut dolo arcis Tarentinae potiundae; quod ubi parum processit, ad Brundisium flexit iter, prodi id oppidum ratus. ibi quoque cum frustra tereret tempus, legati Campani ad eum uenerunt querentes simul orantesque; quibus Hannibal magnifice respondit et antea se soluisse obsidionem et nunc aduentum suum consules non laturos. cum hac spe dimissi legati uix regredi Capuam iam duplici fossa ualloque cinctam potuerunt.

[23] Cum maxime Capua circumuallaretur, Syracusarum oppugnatio ad finem uenit, praeterquam ui ac uirtute ducis exercitusque, intestina etiam proditione adiuta. namque Marcellus initio ueris incertus utrum Agrigentum ad Himilconem et Hippocraten uerteret bellum an obsidione Syracusas premeret, quamquam nec ui capi uidebat posse inexpugnabilem terrestri ac maritimo situ urbem nec fame, ut quam prope liberi a Carthagine commeatus alerent, tamen, ne quid inexpertum relinqueret, transfugas Syracusanos — erant autem apud Romanos aliqui nobilissimi uiri, inter defectionem ab Romanis, quia ab nouis consiliis abhorrebant, pulsus — conloquiis suae partis temptare hominum animos iussit et fidem dare, si traditae forent Syracusae, liberos eos ac suis legibus uicturos esse. non erat conloquii copia, quia multorum animi suspecti omnium curam oculosque eo uerterant ne quid falleret tale admissum. seruus unus exsulum, pro transfuga

intromissus in urbem, conuentis paucis initium conloquendi de tali re fecit. deinde in piscatoria quidam naue retibus operti circumuectique ita ad castra Romana conlocutique cum transfugis et iidem saepius eodem modo et alii atque alii; postremo ad octoginta facti. et cum iam composita omnia ad prodicionem essent, indicio delato ad Epicyden per Attalum quendam indignantem sibi rem creditam non esse, necati omnes cum cruciati sunt.

Alia subinde spes, postquam haec uana euaserat, excepit. Damippus quidam Lacedaemonius, missus ab Syracusis ad Philippum regem, captus ab Romanis nauibus erat. huius utique redimendi et Epicydae cura erat ingens, nec abnuit Marcellus iam tum Aetolorum, quibus socii Lacedaemonii erant, amicitiam adfectantibus Romanis. ad conloquium de redemptione eius missis medius maxime atque utrisque opportunus locus ad portum Trogilorum propter turrim, quam uocant Galeagram, est uisus. quo cum saepius commearent, unus ex Romanis, ex propinquo murum contemplans, numerando lapides aestimandoque ipse secum quid in fronte paterent singuli, altitudinem muri quantum proxime coniectura poterat permensus humilioremque aliquanto pristina opinione sua et ceterorum omnium ratus esse et uel mediocribus scalis superabilem, ad Marcellum rem defert. haud spernenda uisa; sed cum adiri locus, quia ob id ipsum intentius custodiebatur, non posset, occasio quaerebatur; quam obtulit transfuga nuntians diem festum Dianae per triduum agi et, quia alia in obsidione desint, uino largius epulas celebrari et ab Epicyde praebito uniuersae plebei et per tribus a principibus diuiso. quod ubi accepit Marcellus, cum paucis tribunorum militum conlocutus, electisque per eos ad rem tantam agendam audendamque idoneis centurionibus militibusque et scalis in occulto comparatis ceteris signum dari iubet, ut mature corpora curarent quietique darent: nocte in expeditionem eundum esse. inde ubi id temporis uisum quo <de> die epulatis iam uini satias principiumque somni esset, signi unius milites ferre scalas iussit; et ad mille fere armati tenui agmine per silentium eo deducti. ubi sine strepitu ac tumultu primi euaserunt in murum, secuti ordine alii, cum priorum audacia dubiis etiam animum faceret.

[24] Iam mille armatorum <muri> ceperant partem, cum ceterae admotae <sunt copiae> pluribusque scalis in murum euadebant,

signo ab Hexapylo dato quo per ingentem solitudinem erat peruentum, quia magna pars in turribus epulati aut sopiti uino erant aut semigraues potabant; paucos tamen eorum oppressos in cubilibus interfecerunt. prope Hexapylon est portula; ea magna ui refringi coepta et e muro ex composito tuba datum signum erat et iam undique non furtim sed ui aperta gerebatur res. quippe ad Epipolas, frequentem custodiis locum, peruentum erat terrendique magis hostes erant quam fallendi, sicut territi sunt. nam simulac tubarum est auditus cantus clamorque tenentium muros partemque urbis omnia teneri custodes rati alii per murum fugere, alii salire de muro praecipitarique turba pauentium. magna pars tamen ignara tanti mali erat et grauatis omnibus uino somnoque et in uastae magnitudinis urbe partium sensu non satis pertinente in omnia. sub lucem Hexapylo effracto Marcellus omnibus copiis urbem ingressus excitauit conuertitque omnes ad arma capienda opemque si quam possent iam captae prope urbi ferendam. Epicydes ab Insula, quam ipsi Nasson uocant, citato profectus agmine, haud dubius quin paucos, per negligentiam custodum transgressos murum, expulsurus foret, occurrentibus pauidis tumultum augere eos dictitans et maiora ac terribiora uero adferre, postquam conspexit omnia circa Epipolas armis completa, lacessito tantum hoste paucis missilibus retro in Achradinam agmen conuertit, non tam uim multitudinemque hostium metuens quam ne qua intestina fraus per occasionem oreretur clausasque inter tumultum Achradinae atque Insulae inueniret portas. Marcellus ut moenia ingressus ex superioribus locis urbem omnium ferme illa tempestate pulcherrimam subiectam oculis uidit, inlacrimasse dicitur partim gaudio tantae perpetratae rei, partim uetusta gloria urbis. Atheniensium classes demersae et duo ingentes exercitus cum duobus clarissimis ducibus deleti occurrebant et tot bella cum Carthaginiensibus tanto cum discrimine gesta, tot tam opulenti tyranni regesque, praeter ceteros Hiero, cum recentissimae memoriae rex, tum ante omnia quae uirtus ei fortunaque sua dederat beneficiis in populum Romanum insignis. ea cum uniuersa occurrerent animo subiretque cogitatio iam illa momento horae arsura omnia et ad cineres reditura, priusquam signa Achradinam admoueret, praemittit Syracusanos qui intra praesidia Romana, ut ante dictum est, fuerant, ut adloquio leni perlicerent hostes ad

dedendam urbem.

[25] Tenebant Achradinae portas murosque maxime transfugae, quibus nulla erat per condiciones ueniae spes; ei nec adire muros nec adloqui quemquam passi. itaque Marcellus, postquam id inceptum inritum fuit, ad Euryalum signa referri iussit. tumulus est in extrema parte urbis auersus a mari uiaeque imminens ferenti in agros mediterraneaue insulae, percommode situs ad commeatus excipiendos. praeerat huic arci Philodemus Argiuus, ab Epicyde impositus, ad quem missus a Marcello Sosis, unus ex interfectoribus tyranni, cum longo sermone habito dilatus per frustrationem esset, rettulit Marcello tempus eum ad deliberandum sumpsisse. cum is diem de die differret dum Hippocrates atque Himilco admouerent castra [legiones], haud dubius, si in arcem accepisset eos, deleri Romanum exercitum inclusum muris posse, Marcellus, ut Euryalum neque tradi neque capi uidit posse, inter Neapolim et Tycham — nomina ea partium urbis et instar urbium sunt — posuit castra, timens ne, si frequentia intrasset loca, contineri ab discursu miles auidus praedae non posset. legati eo ab Tycha et Neapoli cum infulis et uelamentis uenerunt, precantes ut a caedibus et ab incendiis parceretur. de quorum precibus quam postulatis magis consilio habito Marcellus ex omnium sententia edixit militibus ne quis liberum corpus uiolaret: cetera praedae futura. castra obiectu parietum pro muro saepta; portis regione platearum patentibus stationes praesidiaque disposuit, ne quis in discursu militum impetus in castra fieri posset. inde signo dato milites discurrerunt; refractisque foribus cum omnia terrore ac tumultu streperent, a caedibus tamen temperatum est; rapinis nullus ante modus fuit quam omnia diuturna felicitate cumulata bona egresserunt. inter haec et Philodemus, cum spes auxilii nulla esset, fide accepta ut inuiolatus ad Epicyden rediret, deducto praesidio tradidit tumulum Romanis. auersis omnibus ad tumultum ex parte captae urbis Bomilcar noctem eam nactus, qua propter uim tempestatis stare ad ancoram in salo Romana classis non posset, cum triginta quinque nauibus ex portu Syracusano profectus libero mari uela in altum dedit quinque et quinquaginta nauibus Epicydae et Syracusanis relictis; edoctisque Carthaginiensibus in quanto res Syracusana discrimine esset cum centum nauibus post paucos dies redit, multis, ut fama est, donis ex

Hieronis gaza ab Epicyde donatus.

[26] Marcellus Euryalo recepto praesidioque addito una cura liber erat ne qua ab tergo uis hostium in arcem accepta inclusos impeditosque moenibus suos turbaret. Achradinam inde trinis castris per idonea dispositis loca, spe ad inopiam omnium rerum inclusos redacturum, circumsegit. cum per aliquot dies quietae stationes utrimque fuissent, repente aduentus Hippocratis et Himilconis ut ultro undique oppugnarentur Romani fecit. nam et Hippocrates castris ad magnum portum communis signoque iis dato qui Achradinam tenebant castra uetera Romanorum adortus est, quibus Crispinus praeerat, et Epicydes eruptionem in stationes Marcelli fecit et classis Punica litori quod inter urbem et castra Romana erat adpulsa est, ne quid praesidii Crispino summitti a Marcello posset. tumultum tamen maiorem hostes praebuerunt quam certamen; nam et Crispinus Hippocraten non reppulit tantum munimentis sed insecutus etiam est trepide fugientem, et Epicyden Marcellus in urbem compulit; satisque iam etiam in posterum uidebatur prouisum ne quid ab repentinis eorum excursionibus periculi foret. accessit et ad <haec> pestilentia, commune malum, quod facile utrorumque animos auerteret a belli consiliis. nam tempore autumnii et locis natura grauib, multo tamen magis extra urbem quam in urbe, intoleranda uis aestus per utraque castra omnium ferme corpora mouit. ac primo temporis ac loci uitio et aegri erant et moriebantur; postea curatio ipsa et contactus aegrorum uolgabat morbos, ut aut neglecti desertique qui incidissent morerentur aut adsidentes curantesque eadem ui morbi repletos secum traherent, cotidianaque funera et mors ob oculos esset et undique dies noctesque ploratus audirentur. postremo ita adsuetudine mali efferauerant animos, ut non modo lacrimis iustoque comploratu prosequerentur mortuos sed ne efferrent quidem aut sepelirent, iacerentque strata exanimata corpora in conspectu similem mortem exspectantium, mortuique aegros, aegri ualidos cum metu, tum tabe ac pestifero odore corporum conficerent; et ut ferro potius morerentur, quidam inuadebant soli hostium stationes. multo tamen uis maior pestis Poenorum castra quam Romana <adfecerat; nam Romani> diu circumsedendo Syracusas caelo aquisque adsuerant magis. ex hostium exercitu Siculi, ut primum uidere ex grauitate loci uolgari morbos, in suas quisque

propinquas urbes dilapsi sunt; at Carthaginienses, quibus nusquam receptus erat, cum ipsis ducibus Hippocrate atque Himilcone ad internecionem omnes perierunt. Marcellus, ut tanta uis ingruerat mali, traduxerat in urbem suos, infirmaque corpora tecta et umbrae recreauerant; multi tamen ex Romano exercitu eadem peste absumpti sunt.

[27] Deleto terrestri Punico exercitu Siculi, qui Hippocratis milites fuerant, . . . haud magna oppida, ceterum et situ et munimentis tuta; tria milia alterum ab Syracusis, alterum quindecim abest; eo et commeatus e ciuitatibus suis comportabant et auxilia accersebant. interea Bomilcar iterum cum classe profectus Carthaginem, ita exposita fortuna sociorum, ut spem faceret non ipsis modo salutarem opem ferri posse sed Romanos quoque in capta quodam modo urbe capi, perpulit ut onerarias naues quam plurimas omni copia rerum onustas secum mitterent classemque suam auferrent. igitur centum triginta nauibus longis, septingentis onerariis profectus a Carthagine satis prosperos uentos ad traiciendum in Siciliam habuit; sed iidem uenti superare eum Pachynum prohibebant. Bomilcaris aduentus fama primo, dein praeter spem mora cum gaudium et metum in uicem Romanis Syracusanisque praeuisset, Epicydes metuens ne, si pergerent iidem qui tum tenebant ab ortu solis flare per dies plures uenti, classis Punica Africam repeteret, tradita Achradina mercennariorum militum ducibus ad Bomilcarem nauigat. classem in statione uersa in Africam habentem atque timentem nauale proelium, non tam quod impar uiribus aut numero nauium esset — quippe etiam plures habebat — quam quod uenti aptiores Romanae quam suae classi flarent, perpulit tamen ut fortunam naualis certaminis experiri uellet. et Marcellus, cum et Siculum exercitum ex tota insula conciri uideret et cum ingenti commeatu classem Punicam aduentare, ne simul terra marique inclusus urbe hostium urgeretur, quamquam impar numero nauium erat, prohibere aditu Syracusarum Bomilcarem constituit. duae classes infestae circa promunturium Pachynum stabant, ubi prima tranquillitas maris in altum euexisset, concursurae. itaque cadente iam Euro, qui per dies aliquot saeuierat, prior Bomilcar mouit; cuius primo classis petere altum uisa est, quo facilius superaret promunturium; ceterum postquam tendere ad se Romanas naues uidit, incertum qua subita territus re, Bomilcar uela

in altum dedit missisque nuntiis Heracleam qui onerarias retro Africam repetere iuberent ipse Siciliam praeteruectus Tarentum petit. Epicydes, a tanta repente destitutus spe, ne in obsidionem magna ex parte captae urbis rediret, Agrigentum nauigat, exspectaturus magis euentum quam inde quicquam moturus.

[28] Quae ubi in castra Siculorum sunt nuntiata Epicyden Syracusis excessisse, a Carthaginiensibus relictam insulam et prope iterum traditam Romanis, legatos de condicionibus dedendae urbis explorata prius per conloquia uoluntate eorum qui obsidebantur ad Marcellum mittunt. cum haud ferme discreparet, quin quae ubique regum fuissent Romanorum essent, Siculis cetera cum libertate ac legibus suis seruarentur, euocatis ad conloquium iis quibus ab Epicyde creditae res erant, missos se simul ad Marcellum, simul ad eos ab exercitu Siculorum aiunt, ut una omnium qui obsiderentur quique extra obsidionem fuissent fortuna esset neue alteri proprie sibi paciscerentur quicquam. recepti deinde ab iis, ut necessarios hospitesque adloquerentur, expositis quae pacta iam cum Marcello haberent, oblata spe salutis perpulere eos ut secum praefectos Epicydis Polyclitum et Philistionem et Epicyden, cui Sindon cognomen erat, adgrederentur. interfectis iis et multitudine ad contionem uocata inopiam quaeque ipsi inter se fremere occulte soliti erant conquesti, quamquam tot mala urgerent, negarunt fortunam accusandam esse quod in ipsorum esset potestate quam diu ea paterentur; Romanis causam oppugnandi Syracusas fuisse caritatem Syracusanorum, non odium; nam ut occupatas res ab satellitibus Hannibalis, deinde Hieronymi, Hippocrate atque Epicyde, audierint, tum bellum mouisse et obsidere urbem coepisse, ut crudeles tyrannos eius, non ut ipsam urbem expugnarent. Hippocrate uero interempto, Epicyde intercluso ab Syracusis et praefectis eius occisis, Carthaginiensibus omni possessione Siciliae terra marique pulsas quam superesse causam Romanis cur non, perinde ac si Hiero ipse uiueret unicus Romanae amicitiae cultor, incolumes Syracusas esse uelint? itaque nec urbi nec hominibus aliud periculum quam ab semet ipsis esse, si occasionem reconciliandi se Romanis praetermisissent; eam autem, qualis illo momento horae sit, nullam deinde fore, si simul liberatas ~ab impotentibus tyrannis apparuisset~.

[29] Omnium ingenti adsensu audita ea oratio est. praetores tamen

prius creari quam legatos nominari placuit; ex ipsorum deinde praetorum numero missi oratores ad Marcellum, quorum princeps 'neque primo' inquit 'Syracusani a uobis defecimus sed Hieronymus, nequaquam tam in uos impius quam in nos, nec postea pacem tyranni caede compositam Syracusanus quisquam sed satellites regii Hippocrates atque Epicydes oppressis nobis hinc metu hinc fraude turbauerunt. nec quisquam dicere potest aliquando nobis libertatis tempus fuisse quod pacis uobiscum non fuerit. nunc certe caede eorum qui oppressas tenebant Syracusas cum primum nostri arbitrii esse coepimus, extemplo uenimus ad tradenda arma, dedendos nos, urbem, moenia, nullam recusandam fortunam quae imposita a uobis fuerit. gloriam captae nobilissimae pulcherrimaeque urbis Graecarum dei tibi dederunt, Marcelle. quidquid unquam terra marique memorandum gessimus, id tui triumphi titulo accedit. famaene credi uelis quanta urbs a te capta sit quam posteris quoque eam spectaculo esse, quo quisquis terra, quisquis mari uenerit nunc nostra de Atheniensibus Carthaginiensibusque tropaea, nunc tua de nobis ostendat incolumesque Syracusas familiae uestrae sub clientela nominis Marcellorum tutelaque habendas tradas? ne plus apud uos Hieronymi quam Hieronis memoria momenti faciat. diutius ille multo amicus fuit quam hic hostis, et illius benefacta etiam re sensistis, huius amentia ad perniciem tantum ipsius ualuit.' omnia et impetrabilia et tuta erant apud Romanos: inter ipsos plus belli ac periculi erat. namque transfugae, tradi se Romanis rati, mercennariorum quoque militum auxilia in eundem compulere metum; arreptisque armis praetores primum obtruncant, inde ad caedem Syracusanorum discurrunt quosque fors obtulit irati interfecere atque omnia quae in promptu erant diripuerunt. tum, ne sine ducibus essent, sex praefectos creauere ut terni Achradae ac Nasso praeessent. sedato tandem tumultu exsequentibus sciscitando quae acta cum Romanis essent, dilucere id quod erat coepit aliam suam ac perfugarum causam esse.

[30] In tempore legati a Marcello redierunt, falsa eos suspicione incitados memorantes nec causam expetendae poenae eorum ullam Romanis esse. erat e tribus Achradae praefectis Hispanus Moericus nomine. ad eum inter comites legatorum de industria unus ex Hispanorum auxiliaribus est missus, qui sine arbitris Moericum

nactus primum, quo in statu reliquisset Hispaniam — et nuper inde uenerat — exponit: omnia Romanis ibi obtineri armis. posse eum, si operae pretium faciat, principem popularium esse, seu militare cum Romanis seu in patriam reuerti libeat: contra, si malle obsideri pergat, quam spem esse terra marique clauso? motus his Moericus, cum legatos ad Marcellum mitti placuisset, fratrem inter eos mittit, qui per eundem illum Hispanum secretus ab aliis ad Marcellum deductus, cum fidem accepisset composuissetque agenda ordinem rei, Achradinam redit. tum Moericus, ut ab suspicione proditoris auerteret omnium animos, negat sibi placere legatos commeari ultro citroque: neque recipiendum quemquam neque mittendum et, quo intentius custodiae seruentur, opportuna diuidenda praefectis esse, ut suae quisque partis tutandae reus sit. omnes adsensi sunt. partibus diuidendis ipsi regio euenit ab Arethusa fonte usque ad ostium magni portus: id ut scirent Romani fecit. itaque Marcellus nocte nauem onerariam cum armatis remulco quadriremis trahi ad Achradinam iussit exponique milites regione portae quae prope fontem Arethusam est. hoc cum quarta uigilia factum esset expositosque milites porta, ut conuenerat, recepisset Moericus, luce prima Marcellus omnibus copiis moenia Achradinae adgreditur ita ut non eos solum qui Achradinam tenebant in se conuerteret, sed ab Nasso etiam agmina armatorum concurrerent relictis stationibus suis ad uim et impetum Romanorum arcendum. in hoc tumultu actuariarum naues, instructae iam ante circumuectaeque ad Nassum, armatos exponunt qui improuiso adorti semiplenas stationes et adapertas fores portae, qua paulo ante excurrerant armati, haud magno certamine Nassum cepere desertam trepidatione et fuga custodum. neque in ullis minus praesidii aut pertinaciae ad manendum quam in transfugis fuit, quia ne suis quidem satis credentes e medio certamine effugerunt. Marcellus ut uidit captam esse Nassum et Achradinae regionem unam teneri Moericumque cum praesidio suis adiunctum, receptui cecinit, ne regiae opes, quarum fama maior quam res erat, diriperentur.

[31] Suppresso impetu militum, ut iis qui in Achradina erant transfugis spatium locusque fugae datus est, Syracusani tandem liberi metu portis Achradinae apertis oratores ad Marcellum mittunt, nihil petentes aliud quam incolumitatem sibi liberisque suis. Marcellus

consilio aduocato et adhibitis etiam Syracusanis qui per seditiones pulsi ab domo intra praesidia Romana fuerant, respondit non plura per annos quinquaginta benefacta Hieronis quam paucis his annis maleficia eorum qui Syracusas tenuerint erga populum Romanum esse; sed pleraque eorum quo debuerint reccidisse foederumque ruptorum ipsos ab se grauiore multo quam populus Romanus uoluerit poenas exegisse. se quidem tertium annum circumsedere Syracusas, non ut populus Romanus seruam ciuitatem haberet sed ne transfugarum duces captam et oppressam tenerent. quid potuerint Syracusani facere, exemplo uel eos esse Syracusanorum qui intra praesidia Romana fuerint uel Hispanum ducem Moericum qui praesidium tradiderit uel ipsorum Syracusanorum postremo serum quidem, sed forte consilium. sibi omnium laborum periculorumque circa moenia Syracusana terra marique tam diu exhaustorum nequaquam tantum fructum esse quod capere <sibi contigerit, quantum si seruare> Syracusas potuisset. inde quaestor cum praesidio ad Nassum ad accipiendam pecuniam regiam custodiendamque missus. urbs diripienda militi data est custodibus diuisis per domos eorum qui intra praesidia Romana fuerant. cum multa irae, multa auaritiae foeda exempla ederentur, Archimeden memoriae proditum est in tanto tumultu, quantum captae urbis in <uiis> discursus diripientium militum ciere poterat, intentum formis quas in puluere descripserat ab ignaro milite quis esset interfectum; aegre id Marcellum tulisse sepulturaeque curam habitam, et propinquis etiam inquisitis honori praesidioque nomen ac memoriam eius fuisse. hoc maxime modo Syracusae captae; in quibus praedae tantum fuit, quantum uix capta Carthagine tum fuisset cum qua uiribus aequis certabatur.

Paucis ante diebus quam Syracusae caperentur T. Otacilius cum quinquaginta octo Uticam ab Lilybaeo transmisit, et cum ante lucem portum intrasset, onerarias frumento onustas cepit, egressusque in terram depopulatus est aliquantum agri circa Uticam praedamque omnis generis retro ad naues egit. Lilybaeum tertio die quam inde profectus erat, cum centum triginta onerariis nauibus frumento praedaeque onustis rediit idque frumentum extemplo Syracusas misit, quod ni tam in tempore subuenisset, uictoribus uictisque pariter perniciose fames instabat.

[32] Eadem aestate in Hispania, cum biennio ferme nihil admodum memorabile factum esset consiliisque magis quam armis bellum gereretur, Romani imperatores egressi hibernis copias coniunxerunt. ibi consilium aduocatum omniumque in unum congruerunt sententiae, quando ad id locorum id modo actum esset ut Hasdrubalem tendentem in Italiam retinerent, tempus esse id iam agi ut bellum in Hispania finiretur; et satis ad id uirium credebant accessisse uiginti milia Celtiberorum ea hieme ad arma excita. tres exercitus erant. Hasdrubal Gisgonis filius et Mago coniunctis castris quinque ferme dierum iter ab Romanis aberant. propior erat Hamilcaris filius Hasdrubal, uetus in Hispania imperator; ad urbem nomine Amtorgim exercitum habebat. eum uolebant prius opprimi duces Romani; et spes erat satis superque ad id uirium esse; illa restabat cura, ne fuso eo perculsi alter Hasdrubal et Mago in auios saltus montesque recipientes sese bellum extraherent. optimum igitur rati diuisis bifariam copiis totius simul Hispaniae amplecti bellum, ita inter se diuiserunt ut P. Cornelius duas partes exercitus Romanorum sociorumque aduersus Magonem duceret atque Hasdrubalem, Cn. Cornelius cum tertia parte ueteris exercitus Celtiberis adiunctis cum Hasdrubale Barcino bellum gereret. una profecti ambo duces exercitusque Celtiberis praegredientibus ad urbem Amtorgim in conspectu hostium dirimente amni ponunt castra. ibi Cn. Scipio cum quibus ante dictum est copiis substitit, P. Scipio profectus ad destinatam belli partem.

[33] Hasdrubal postquam animaduertit exiguum Romanum exercitum in castris et spem omnem in Celtiberorum auxiliis esse, peritus omnis barbaricae et praecipue omnium earum gentium in quibus per tot annos militabat perfidiae, facili lingua, cum utraque castra plena Hispanorum essent, per occulta conloquia paciscitur magna mercede cum Celtiberorum principibus ut copias inde abducant. nec atrox uisum facinus — non enim ut in Romanos uerterent arma agebatur —, et merces quanta uel pro bello satis esset dabatur ne bellum gererent, et cum quies ipsa, tum reditus domum fructusque uidendi suos suaque grata uolgo erant. itaque non ducibus facilius quam multitudini persuasum est. simul ne metus quidem ab Romanis erat, quippe tam paucis, si ui retinerent. id quidem cauendum semper Romanis ducibus erit exemplaue haec uere pro

documentis habenda, ne ita externis credant auxiliis ut non plus sui roboris suarumque proprie uirium in castris habeant. signis repente sublatis Celtiberi abeunt, nihil aliud quaerentibus causam obtestantibusque ut manerent Romanis respondentes quam domestico se auocari bello. Scipio, postquam socii nec precibus nec ui retineri poterant, nec se aut parem sine illis hosti esse aut fratri rursus coniungi uidit posse, nec ullum aliud salutare consilium in promptu esse, retro quantum posset cedere statuit, in id omni cura intentus necubi hosti aequo se committeret loco, qui transgressus flumen prope uestigiis abeuntium insistebat.

[34] Per eosdem dies P. Scipionem par terror, periculum maius ab nouo hoste urgebat. Masinissa erat iuuenis, eo tempore socius Carthaginiensium, quem deinde clarum potentemque Romana fecit amicitia. is tum cum equitatu Numidarum et aduenienti P. Scipioni occurrit et deinde adsidue dies noctesque infestus aderat, ut non uagos tantum procul a castris lignatum pabulatumque progressos exciperet sed ipsis obequitaret castris inuectusque in medias saepe stationes omnia ingenti tumultu turbaret. noctibus quoque saepe incursu repentino in portis ualloque trepidatum est nec aut locus aut tempus ullum uacuum a metu ac sollicitudine erat Romanis, compulsique intra uallum adempto rerum omnium usu. cum prope iusta obsidio esset futuramque artiore eam appareret, si se Indibilis, quem cum septem milibus et quingentis Suessetanorum aduentare fama erat, Poenis coniunxisset, dux cautus et prouidens Scipio uictus necessitatibus temerarium capit consilium, ut nocte Indibili obuiam iret et quocumque occurrisset loco proelium consereret. relicto igitur modico praesidio in castris praepositoque Ti. Fonteio legato media nocte profectus cum obuic hostibus manus conseruit. agmina magis quam acies pugnabant; superior tamen, ut in tumultuaria pugna, Romanus erat. ceterum et equites Numidae repente, quos fefellisse se dux ratus erat, ab lateribus circumfusi magnum terrorem intulere, <et> contracto aduersus Numidas certamine nouo tertius insuper aduenit hostis, duces Poeni adsecuti ab tergo iam pugnantes; ancepsque proelium Romanos circumsteterat incertos in quem potissimum hostem quamue in partem conferti eruptionem facerent. pugnanti hortantique imperatori et offerenti se ubi plurimus labor erat latus dextrum lancea traicitur; cuneusque is hostium, qui in confertos

circa ducem impetum fecerat, ut exanimem labentem ex equo Scipionem uidit, alacres gaudio cum clamore per totam aciem nuntiantes discurrunt imperatorem Romanum cecidisse. ea peruagata passim uox, ut et hostes haud dubie pro uictoribus et Romani pro uictis essent, fecit. fuga confestim ex acie duce amisso fieri coepta est; ceterum ut ad erumpendum inter Numidas leuiumque armorum alia auxilia haud difficilis erat, ita effugere tantum equitum aequantiumque equos uelocitate peditum uix poterant caesique prope plures in fuga quam in pugna sunt; nec superfuisset quisquam ni praecipiti iam ad uesperum die nox interuenisset.

[35] Haud segniter inde duces Poeni fortuna usi confestim e proelio, uix necessaria quiete data militibus ad Hasdrubalem Hamilcaris citatum agmen rapiunt non dubia spe, <si> se coniunxissent, debellari posse. quo ubi est uentum, inter exercitus ducesque uictoria recenti laetos gratulatio ingens facta, imperatore tanto cum omni exercitu deleta et alteram pro haud dubia parem uictoriam exspectantes. ad Romanos nondum quidem fama tantae cladis peruenerat, sed maestum quoddam silentium erat et tacita diuinatio, qualis iam praesagientibus animis imminenti mali esse solet. imperator ipse, praeterquam quod ab sociis se desertum, hostium tantum auctas copias sentiebat, coniectura etiam et ratione ad suspicionem acceptae cladis quam ad ullam bonam spem pronior erat: quonam modo enim Hasdrubalem ac Magonem, nisi defunctos suo bello, sine certamine adducere exercitus potuisset? quomodo autem non obstitisse aut ab tergo secutum fratrem, ut, si prohibere quo minus in unum coirent et duces et exercitus hostium non posset, ipse certe cum fratre coniungeret copias? his anxius curis id modo esse salutare in praesens credebat, cedere inde quantum posset; exinde una nocte ignaris hostibus et ob id quietis aliquantum emensus est iter. luce ut senserunt profectos, hostes praemissis Numidis quam poterant maxime citato agmine sequi coeperunt. ante noctem adsecuti Numidae, nunc ab tergo, nunc in latera incursantes, consistere coegerunt ac tutari agmen; quantum possent tamen tuto ut simul pugnarent procederentque, Scipio hortabatur, priusquam pedestres copiae adsequerentur.

[36] Ceterum nunc agendo, nunc sustinendo agmen cum aliquamdiu haud multum procederetur et nox iam instaret, reuocat e

proelio suos Scipio et collectos in tumulum quendam non quidem satis tutum, praesertim agmini perculso, editiorem tamen quam cetera circa erant, subducit. ibi primo impedimentis et equitatu in medium receptis circumdati pedites haud difficulter impetus incursantium Numidarum arcebant; dein, postquam toto agmine tres imperatores cum tribus iustis exercitibus aderant apparebatque, parum armis ad tuendum locum sine munimento ualituros esse, circumspectare atque agitare dux coepit si quo modo posset uallum circummicere. sed erat adeo nudus tumulus et asperi soli, ut nec uirgulta uallo caedendo nec terra caespiti faciendo aut ducendae fossae aliue ulli operi apta inueniri posset; nec natura quicquam satis arduum aut abscisum erat, quod hosti aditum adscensumue difficilem praeberet; omnia fastigio leni subuexa. ut tamen aliquam imaginem ualli obicerent, clitellas inligatas oneribus uelut struentes ad altitudinem solitam circumdabant, cumulo sarcinarum omnis generis obiecto, ubi ad moliendum clitellae defuerant.

Punici exercitus postquam aduenere, in tumulum quidem perfacile agmen erexere; munitionis facies noua primo eos uelut miraculo quodam tenuit, cum duces undique uociferarentur quid starent et non ludibrium illud, uix feminis puerisque morandis satis ualidum, distraherent diriperentque? captum hostem teneri, latentem post sarcinas. haec contemptim duces increpabant; ceterum neque transilire nec moliri onera obiecta nec caedere stipatas clitellas ipsisque obrutas sarcinis facile erat. at trudibus cum amoliti obiecta onera armatis dedissent uiam pluribusque idem partibus fieret, capta iam undique castra erant. pauci a multis perculsique a uictoribus passim caedebantur; magna pars tamen militum, cum in propinquas refugisset siluas, in castra P. Scipionis, quibus Ti. Fonteius legatus praeerat, perfugerunt. Cn. Scipionem alii in tumulto primo impetu hostium caesum tradunt, alii cum paucis in propinquam castris turrim perfugisse; hanc igni circumdatam atque ita exustis foribus, quas nulla moliri potuerant ui, captam omnesque intus cum ipso imperatore occisos. anno octauo postquam in Hispaniam uenerat, Cn. Scipio undetricesimo die post fratris mortem est interfectus. luctus ex morte eorum non Romae maior quam per totam Hispaniam fuit; quin apud ciues partem doloris et exercitus amissi et alienata prouincia et publica trahebat clades; Hispaniae ipsos lugebant desiderabantque

duces, Gnaeum magis, quod diutius praefuerat iis priorque et fauorem occupauerat et specimen iustitiae temperantiaeque Romanae primus dederat.

[37] Cum deleti exercitus amissaeque Hispaniae uiderentur, uir unus res perditas restituit. erat in exercitu L. Marcius Septimi filius, eques Romanus, impiger iuuenis animique et ingenii aliquanto quam pro fortuna in qua erat natus maioris. ad summam indolem accesserat Cn. Scipionis disciplina, sub qua per tot annos omnes militiae artes edoctus fuerat. <is> et ex fuga collectis militibus et quibusdam de praesidiis deductis haud contemnendum exercitum fecerat iunxeratque cum Ti. Fonteio, P. Scipionis legato. sed tantum praestitit eques Romanus auctoritate inter milites atque honore, ut castris citra Hiberum communitis cum ducem exercitus comitiis militaribus creari placuisset, subeuntes alii aliis in custodiam ualli stationesque, donec per omnes suffragium iret, ad L. Marcium cuncti summam imperii detulerint. omne inde tempus — exiguum id fuit — muniendis castris conuehendisque commeatibus consumpsit, et omnia imperia milites cum impigre, tum haudquaquam abiecto animo exsequebantur. ceterum postquam Hasdrubalem Gisgonis uenientem ad reliquias belli delendas transisse Hiberum et adpropinquare adlatum est signumque pugnae propositum ab nouo duce milites uiderunt, recordati quos paulo ante imperatores habuissent quibusque et ducibus et copiis freti prodire in pugnam soliti essent, flere omnes repente et offensare capita et alii manus ad caelum tendere deos incusantes, alii strati humi suum quisque nominatim ducem implorare. neque sedari lamentatio poterat excitantibus centurionibus manipulares et ipso mulcente et increpante Marcio, quod in muliebres et inutiles se proiecissent fletus potius quam ad tutandos semet ipsos et rem publicam secum acuerent animos et ne inultos imperatores suos iacere sinerent; cum subito clamor tubarumque sonus — iam enim prope uallum hostes erant — exauditur. inde uerso repente in iram luctu discurrunt ad arma ac uelut accensi rabie discurrunt ad portas et in hostem neglegenter atque incomposite uenientem incurrunt. extemplo improvisa res pauorem incutit Poenis mirabundique unde tot hostes subito exorti prope deleta exercitu forent, unde tanta audacia, tanta fiducia sui uictis ac fugatis, quis imperator duobus Scipionibus caesis exstisset,

quis castris praeesset, quis signum dedisset pugnae — ad haec tot tam necopinata primo omnium incerti stupentesque referunt pedem, dein ualida impressione pulsī terga uertunt. et aut fugientium caedes foeda fuisset aut temerarius periculosusque sequentium impetus, nī Marcius propere receptui dedisset signum obsistensque ad prima signa et quosdam ipse retinens concitatam repressisset aciem. inde in castra auidos adhuc caedisque et sanguinis reduxit. Carthaginienses trepide primo ab hostium uallo acti, postquam neminem insequi uiderunt, metu substitisse rati, contemptim rursus et sedato gradu in castra abeunt. par neglegentia in castris custodiendis fuit; nam etsi propinquus hostis erat, tamen reliquias eum esse duorum exercituum ante paucos dies deletorum succurrebat. ob hoc cum omnia neglecta apud hostes essent, exploratis iis Marcius ad consilium prima specie temerarium magis quam audax animum adiecit ut ultro castra hostium oppugnaret, facilius esse ratus unius Hasdrubalis expugnari castra quam, si se rursus tres exercitus ac tres duces iunxissent, sua defendi; simul aut, si successisset coeptis, erecturum se adflictas res aut, si pulsus esset, tamen ultro inferendo arma contemptum sui dempturum.

[38] Ne tamen subita res et nocturnus terror et iam non suae fortunae consilium perturbaret, adloquendos adhortandosque sibi milites ratus, contione aduocata ita disseruit: ‘uel mea erga imperatores nostros uiuos mortuosque pietas uel praesens omnium nostrum, milites, fortuna fidem cuius facere potest mihi hoc imperium, ut amplum iudicio uestro, ita re ipsa graue ac sollicitum esse. quo enim tempore, nisi metus maerorem obstupefaceret, uix ita compos mei essem ut aliqua solacia inuenire aegro animo possem, cogor uestram omnium uicem, quod difficillimum in luctu est, unus consulere. et ne tum quidem, ubi quonam modo has reliquias duorum exercituum patriae conseruare possim cogitandum est, auertere animum ab adsiduo maerore licet. praesto est enim acerba memoria et Scipiones me ambo dies noctesque curis insomniisque agitant et excitant saepe somno, neu se neu inuictos per octo annos in his terris milites suos, commilitones uestros, neu rem publicam patiar inultam, et suam disciplinam suaque instituta sequi iubent et, ut imperiis uiuorum nemo oboedientior me uno fuerit, ita post mortem suam, quod quaque in re facturos illos fuisse maxime censeam, id optimum

ducere. uos quoque uelim, milites, non lamentis lacrimisque tamquam extinctos prosequi — uiuunt uigentque fama rerum gestarum — sed, quotienscumque occurret memoria illorum, uelut si adhortantes signumque dantes uideatis eos, ita proelia inire. nec alia profecto species hesterno die oblata oculis animisque uestris memorabile illud edidit proelium, quo documentum dedistis hostibus non cum Scipionibus extinctum esse nomen Romanum et, cuius populi uis atque uirtus non obruta sit Cannensi clade, ex omni profecto saeuitia fortunae emersurum esse.

Nunc, quia tantum ausi estis sponte uestra, experiri libet quantum audeatis duce uestro auctore. non enim hesterno die, cum signum receptui dedi sequentibus effuse uobis turbatum hostem, frangere audaciam uestram sed differre in maiorem gloriam atque opportunitatem uolui, ut postmodo praeparati incautos, armati inermes atque etiam sopitos per occasionem adgredi possetis. nec huius occasionis spem, milites, forte temere sed ex re ipsa conceptam habeo. a uobis quoque profecto si quis quaerat quonam modo pauci a multis, uicti a uictoribus castra tutati sitis? nihil aliud respondeatis quam id ipsum timentes uos omnia et operibus firmata habuisse et ipsos paratos instructosque fuisse. et ita se res habet: ad id quod ne timeatur fortuna facit minime tuti sunt homines, quia quod neglexeris incautum atque apertum habeas. nihil omnium nunc minus metuunt hostes quam ne, obsessi modo ipsi atque oppugnati, castra sua ultro oppugnemus. audeamus quod credi non potest ausuros nos; eo ipso quod difficillimum uidetur facilius erit. tertia uigilia noctis silenti agmine ducam uos. exploratum habeo non uigiliarum ordinem, non stationes iustas esse. clamor in portis auditus et primus impetus castra ceperit. tum inter torpidos somno pauentesque ad necopinatum tumultum et inermes in cubilibus suis oppressos illa caedes edatur a qua uos hesterno die reuocatos aegre ferebatis. scio audax uideri consilium; sed in rebus asperis et tenui spe fortissima quaeque consilia tutissima sunt, quia, si in occasionis momento cuius praeteruolat opportunitas cunctatus paulum fueris, nequiquam mox omissam quaeras. unus exercitus in propinquo est, duo haud procul absunt. nunc adgredientibus spes aliqua est, — et iam temptastis uestras atque illorum uires: si diem proferimus et hesternae eruptionis fama contemni desierimus, periculum est ne omnes duces,

omnes copiae conueniant. tres deinde duces, tres exercitus sustinebimus hostium quos Cn. Scipio incolumi exercitu non sustinuit? ut diuidendo copias periere duces nostri, ita separatim ac diuisi opprimi possunt hostes. alia belli gerendi uia nulla est. proinde nihil praeter noctis proximae opportunitatem expectemus. ite, deis bene iuuantibus, corpora curate, ut integri uigentesque eodem animo in castra hostium inrumpatis quo uestra tutati estis.’ laeti et audiere ab nouo duce nouum consilium et quo audacius erat magis placebat. reliquum diei expediendis armis et curatione corporum consumptum et maior pars noctis quieti data est. quarta uigilia mouere.

[39] Erant ultra proxima castra sex milium interuallo distantes aliae copiae Poenorum. uallis caua intererat, condensa arboribus; in huius siluae medio ferme spatio cohors Romana arte Punica abditur et equites. ita medio itinere intercepto ceterae copiae silenti agmine ad proximos hostes ductae et, cum statio nulla pro portis neque in uallo custodiae essent, uelut in sua castra nullo usquam obsistente penetrauerunt. inde signa canunt et tollitur clamor. pars semisomnos hostes caedunt, pars ignes casis stramento arido tectis iniciunt, pars portas occupant ut fugam intercludant. hostes simul ignis, clamor, caedes, uelut alienatos sensibus, nec audire nec prouidere quicquam sinunt. incidunt inermes inter cateruas armatorum. alii ruunt ad portas, alii obsaepitis itineribus super uallum saliant et ut quisque euaserat protinus ad castra altera fugiunt, ubi ab cohorte et equitibus ex occulto procurentibus circumuenti caesique ad unum omnes sunt; quamquam, etiamsi quis ex ea caede effugisset, adeo raptim a captis propioribus castris in altera transcursum castra ab Romanis est, ut praeuenire nuntius cladis non posset. ibi uero, quo longius ab hoste aberant et quia sub lucem pabulatum lignatumque et praedatum quidam dilapsi fuerant, neglecta magis omnia ac soluta inuenere, arma tantum in stationibus posita, milites inermes aut humi sedentes accubantesque aut obambulantes ante uallum portasque. cum his tam securis solutisque Romani calentes adhuc ab recenti pugna ferocesque uictoria proelium ineunt. itaque nequaquam resisti in portis potuit; intra portas concursu ex totis castris ad primum clamorem et tumultum facto atrox proelium oritur; diuque tenuisset, ni cruenta scuta Romanorum uisa indicium alterius cladis Poenis atque inde pauorem iniecissent. hic terror in fugam auertit omnes

effusique qua iter est, nisi quos caedes oppressit, exuuntur castris. ita nocte ac die bina castra hostium oppugnata ductu L. Marcii. ad triginta septem milia hostium caesa auctor est Claudius, qui annales Acilianos ex Graeco in Latinum sermonem uertit; captos ad mille octingentos triginta, praedam ingentem partam; in ea fuisse clipeum argenteum pondo centum triginta septem cum imagine Barcini Hasdrubalis. Ualerius Antias una castra Magonis capta tradit, septem milia caesa hostium; altero proelio eruptione pugnatum cum Hasdrubale, decem milia occisa, quattuor milia trecentos triginta captos. Piso quinque milia hominum, cum Mago cedentes nostros effuse sequeretur, caesa ex insidiis scribit. apud omnes magnum nomen Marcii ducis est; et uerae gloriae eius etiam miracula addunt flammam ei contionanti fusam e capite sine ipsius sensu cum magno pauore circumstantium militum; monumentumque uictoriae eius de Poenis usque ad incensum Capitolium fuisse in templo clipeum, Marcium appellatum, cum imagine Hasdrubalis. — quietae deinde aliquamdiu in Hispania res fuere, utrisque post tantas in uicem acceptas inlatasque clades cunctantibus periculum summae rerum facere.

[40] Dum haec in Hispania geruntur, Marcellus captis Syracusis, cum cetera in Sicilia tanta fide atque integritate composuisset ut non modo suam gloriam sed etiam maiestatem populi Romani augeret, ornamenta urbis, signa tabulasque quibus abundabant Syracusae, Romam deuexit, hostium quidem illa spolia et parta belli iure; ceterum inde primum initium mirandi Graecarum artium opera licentiaeque hinc sacra profanaque omnia uolgo spoliandi factum est, quae postremo in Romanos deos, templum id ipsum primum quod a Marcello eximie ornatum est, uertit. uisebantur enim ab externis ad portam Capenam dedicata a M. Marcello templa propter excellentia eius generis ornamenta, quorum perexigua pars comparet.

Legationes omnium ferme ciuitatum Siciliae ad eum conueniebant. dispar ut causa earum, ita condicio erat. qui ante captas Syracusas aut non descuerant aut redierant in amicitiam ut socii fideles accepti cultique; quos metus post captas Syracusas dediderat ut uicti a uictore leges acceperunt. erant tamen haud paruae reliquiae belli circa Agrigentum Romanis, Epicydes et Hanno, duces reliqui prioris belli, et tertius nouus ab Hannibale in locum

Hippocratis missus, Libyphoenicum generis Hippacritanus — Muttinen populares uocabant — , uir impiger et sub Hannibale magistro omnes belli artes edoctus. huic ab Epicyde et Hannone Numidae dati auxiliares, cum quibus ita peruagatus est hostium agros, ita socios ad retinendos in fide animos eorum ferendo in tempore cuique auxilium adiit, ut breui tempore totam Siciliam impleret nominis sui nec spes alia maior apud fauentes rebus Carthaginiensium esset. itaque inclusi ad <id> tempus moenibus Agrigenti dux Poenus Syracusanusque, non consilio Muttinis quam fiducia magis ausi egredi extra muros ad Himeram amnem posuerunt castra. quod ubi perlatum ad Marcellum est, extemplo copias mouit et ab hoste quattuor ferme milium interuallo consedit, quid agerent pararentue exspectaturus. sed nullum neque locum neque tempus cunctationi consilioe dedit Muttines, transgressus amnem ac stationibus hostium cum ingenti terrore ac tumultu inuectus. postero die prope iusto proelio compulit hostes intra munimenta. inde reuocatus seditione Numidarum in castris facta, cum trecenti ferme eorum Heracleam Minoam concessissent, ad mitigandos reuocandosque eos profectus magno opere monuisse duces dicitur ne absente se cum hoste manus consererent. id ambo aegre passi duces, magis Hanno, iam ante anxius gloria eius: Muttinem sibi modum facere, degenerem Afrum imperatori Carthaginiensi misso ab senatu populoque? is perpulit cunctantem Epicyden ut transgressi flumen in aciem exirent: nam si Muttinem opperirentur et secunda pugnae fortuna euenisset, haud dubie Muttinis gloriam fore.

[41] Enimuero indignum ratus Marcellus se, qui Hannibalem subnixum uictoria Cannensi ab Nola reppulisset, his terra marique uictis ab se hostibus cedere, arma propere capere milites et efferri signa iubet. instruenti exercitum decem effusis equis aduolant ex hostium acie Numidae nuntiantes populares suos, primum ea seditione motos qua trecenti ex numero suo concesserint Heracleam, dein quod praefectum suum ab obtrectantibus ducibus gloriae eius sub ipsam certaminis diem ablegatum uideant, quieturos in pugna. gens fallax promissi fidem praestitit. itaque et Romanis creuit animus nuntio celeri per ordines misso destitutum ab equite hostem esse quem maxime timuerant, et territi hostes, praeterquam quod maxima parte uirium suarum non iuuabantur, timore etiam incusso ne ab

suomet ipsi equite oppugnarentur. itaque haud magni certaminis fuit; primus clamor atque impetus rem decreuit. Numidae cum in concursu quieti stetissent in cornibus, ut terga dantes suos uiderunt, fugae tantum parumper comites facti, postquam omnes Agrigentum trepido agmine petentes uiderunt, ipsi metu obsidionis passim in ciuitates proximas dilapsi. multa milia hominum caesa; capta <sex milia> et octo elephanti. haec ultima in Sicilia Marcelli pugna fuit; uictor inde Syracusas rediit.

Iam ferme in exitu annus erat; itaque senatus Romae decreuit ut P. Cornelius praetor litteras Capuam ad consules mitteret, dum Hannibal procul abesset nec ulla magni discriminis res ad Capuam gereretur, alter eorum, si ita uideretur, ad magistratus subrogandos Romam ueniret. litteris acceptis inter se consules compararunt ut Claudius comitia perficeret, Fuluius ad Capuam maneret. consules Claudius creauit Cn. Fuluium Centumalum et P. Sulpicium Serui filium Galbam, qui nullum antea curulem magistratum gessisset. praetores deinde creati <L. Cornelius Lentulus M.> Cornelius Cethegus C. Sulpicius <C. Calpurnius> Piso. Pisoni iurisdictio urbana, Sulpicio Sicilia, Cethego Apulia Lentulo Sardinia euenit. consulibus prorogatum in annum imperium est.

LIBER XXVI

[1] Cn. Fuluius Centumalus P. Sulpicius Galba consules cum idibus Martiis magistratum inissent, senatu in Capitolium uocato, de re publica, de administratione belli, de prouinciis exercitibusque patres consuluerunt. Q. Fuluius Ap. Claudio, prioris anni consulibus, prorogatum imperium est atque exercitus quos habebant decreti, adiectumque ne a Capua quam obsidebant abscederent priusquam expugnassent. ea tum cura maxime intentos habebat Romanos, non ab ira tantum, quae in nullam unquam ciuitatem iustior fuit, quam quod urbs tam nobilis ac potens, sicut defectione sua traxerat aliquot populos, ita recepta inclinatura rursus animos uidebatur ad ueteris imperii respectum. et praetoribus prioris anni M. Iunio in Etruria, P. Sempronio in Gallia cum binis legionibus quas habuerant prorogatum est imperium. prorogatum et M. Marcello, ut pro consule in Sicilia reliqua belli perficeret eo exercitu quem haberet: si supplemento opus esset, suppleret de legionibus quibus P. Cornelius pro praetore in Sicilia praeesset, dum ne quem militem legeret ex eo numero quibus senatus missionem redditumque in patriam negasset ante belli finem. C. Sulpicio cui Sicilia euenerat duae legiones quas P. Cornelius habuisset decretae et supplementum de exercitu Cn. Fului, qui priore anno in Apulia foede caesus fugatusque erat. huic generi militum senatus eundem, quem Cannensibus, finem statuerat militiae. additum etiam utrorumque ignominiae est ne in oppidis hibernarent neue hiberna propius ullam urbem decem milibus passuum aedificarent. L. Cornelio in Sardinia duae legiones datae quibus Q. Mucius praefuerat; supplementum si opus esset consules scribere iussi. T. Otacilio et M. Ualerio Siciliae Graeciaeque orae cum legionibus classibusque quibus praeerant decretae; quinquaginta Graecia cum legione una, centum Sicilia cum duabus legionibus habebat naues. tribus et uiginti legionibus Romanis eo anno bellum terra marique est gestum.

[2] Principio eius anni cum de litteris L. Marci referretur, res gestae magnificae senatui uisae: titulus honoris, quod imperio non populi iussu, non ex auctoritate patrum dato 'propraetor senatui' scripserat, magnam partem hominum offendebat: rem mali exempli

esse imperatores legi ab exercitibus et sollemne auspicandorum comitiorum in castra et prouincias procul ab legibus magistratibusque ad militarem temeritatem transferri. et cum quidam referendum ad senatum censerent, melius uisum differri eam consultationem donec proficiscerentur equites qui ab Marcio litteras attulerant. rescribi de frumento et uestimentis exercitus placuit eam utramque rem curae fore senatui; adscribi autem 'propraetori L. Marcio' non placuit, ne id ipsum quod consultationi reliquerant pro praeiudicato ferret. dimissis equitibus, de nulla re prius consules rettulerunt, omniumque in unum sententiae congruebant agendum cum tribunis plebis esse, primo quoque tempore ad plebem ferrent quem cum imperio mitti placeret in Hispaniam ad eum exercitum cui Cn. Scipio imperator praefuisset. ea res cum tribunis acta promulgataque est; sed aliud certamen occupauerat animos. C. Sempronius Blaesus die dicta Cn. Fuluium ob exercitum in Apulia amissum in contionibus uexabat, multos imperatores temeritate atque inscitia exercitum in locum praecipitem duxisse dictitans, neminem praeter Cn. Fuluium ante corrupisse omnibus uitiis legiones suas quam proderet. itaque uere dici posse prius eos perisse quam uiderent hostem, nec ab Hannibale, sed ab imperatore suo uictos esse. neminem cum suffragium ineat satis cernere cui imperium, cui exercitum permittat. quid interfuisse inter Ti. Sempronium <et Cn. Fuluium? Ti. Sempronium> cum ei seruorum exercitus datus esset breui effecisse disciplina atque imperio ut nemo eorum generis ac sanguinis sui memor in acie esset <sed> praesidio sociis, hostibus terrori essent; Cumas Beneuentum aliasque urbes eos uelut e faucibus Hannibalis ereptas populo Romano restituisse: Cn. Fuluium Quiritium Romanorum exercitum, honeste genitos, liberaliter educatos, seruilibus uitiis imbuisse. ergo effecisse ut feroces et inquieti inter socios, ignaui et imbelles inter hostes essent, nec impetum modo Poenorum sed ne clamorem quidem sustinere possent. nec hercule mirum esse <cessisse> milites in acie cum primus omnium imperator fugeret: magis mirari se aliquos stantes cecidisse et non omnes comites Cn. Fului fuisse pauoris ac fugae. C. Flaminius, L. Paulum, L. Postumium, Cn. ac P. Scipiones cadere in acie maluisse quam deserere circumuentos exercitus: Cn. Fuluium prope unum nuntium deleti exercitus Romam redisse. facinus

indignum esse Cannensem exercitum quod ex acie fugerit in Siciliam deportatum ne prius inde dimittatur quam hostis ex Italia decesserit et hoc idem in Cn. Fului legionibus nuper decretum, Cn. Fulvio fugam ex proelio ipsius temeritate commisso impunitam esse et eum in ganea lustrisque ubi iuuentam egerit senectutem acturum, milites qui nihil aliud peccauerint quam quod imperatoris similes fuerint relegatos prope in exsilium ignominiosam pati militiam; adeo imparem libertatem Romae diti ac pauperi, honorato atque inhonorato esse.

[3] Reus ab se culpam in milites transferebat: eos ferociter pugnam poscentes, productos in aciem non eo quo uoluerint, quia serum diei fuerit, sed postero die, et tempore et loco aequo instructos, seu famam seu uim hostium non sustinuisse. cum effuse omnes fugerent, se quoque turba ablatum, ut Uarronem Cannensi pugna, ut multos alios imperatores. qui autem solum se restantem prodesse rei publicae, nisi si mors sua remedio publicis cladibus futura esset, potuisset? non se inopia commeatus [non] in loca iniqua incaute deductum, non agmine inexplorato euntem insidiis circumuentum: ui aperta armis acie uictum. nec suorum animos nec hostium in potestate habuisse: suum cuique ingenium audaciam aut pauorem facere. bis est accusatus pecuniaque anquisitum. tertio testibus datis cum, praeterquam quod omnibus probis onerabatur, iurati permulti dicerent fugae pauorisque initium a praetore ortum, ab eo desertos milites cum haud uanum timorem ducis crederent terga dedisse, tanta ira accensa est ut capite anquirendum contio succlamaret. de eo quoque nouum certamen ortum; nam cum bis pecunia anquisisset, tertio capitis se anquirere diceret, tribuni plebis appellati collegae negarunt se in mora esse quo minus, quod ei more maiorum permissum esset, seu legibus seu moribus mallet, anquireret quoad uel capitis uel pecuniae iudicasset priuato. tum Sempronius perduellionis se iudicare Cn. Fulvio dixit, diemque comitiis ab C. Calpurnio praetore urbano petit. inde alia spes ab reo temptata est, si adesse in iudicio Q. Fuluius frater posset, florens tum et fama rerum gestarum et propinqua spe Capuae potiundae. id cum per litteras miserabiliter pro fratris capite scriptas petisset Fuluius negassentque patres e re publica esse abscedi a Capua, postquam dies comitorum aderat, Cn. Fuluius exsulatum Tarquinius abiit. id ei iustum exsilium

esse sciuit plebs.

[4] Inter haec uis omnis belli uersa in Capuam erat; obsidebatur tamen acrius quam oppugnabatur, nec aut famem tolerare seruitia ac plebs poterant aut mittere nuntios ad Hannibalem per custodias tam artas. inuentus est Numida qui acceptis litteris euasurum se professus praestaret promissum. per media Romana castra nocte egressus spem accendit Campanis dum aliquid uirium supereset ab omni parte eruptionem temptandi. ceterum in multis certaminibus equestria proelia ferme prospera faciebant, pedites superabantur; sed nequaquam tam laetum uincere quam triste uinci ulla parte erat ab obsesso et prope expugnato hoste. inita tandem ratio est ut quod uiribus deerat arte aequaretur. ex omnibus legionibus electi sunt iuuenes maxime uigore ac leuitate corporum ueloces; eis parmae breuiore quam equestres et septena iacula quaternos longa pedes data, praefixa ferro quale hastis uelitaribus inest. eos singulos in equos suos accipientes equites adsuefecerunt et uehi post sese et desilire perniciter ubi datum signum esset. postquam adsuetudine cotidiana satis intrepide fieri uisum est, in campum qui medius inter castra murumque erat aduersus instructos Campanorum equites processerunt, et ubi ad coniectum teli uentum est signo dato uelites desiliunt. pedestris inde acies ex equitatu repente in hostium equites incurrit iaculaque cum impetu alia super alia emittunt; quibus plurimis in equos uirosque passim coniectis permultos uolnerauerunt; pauoris tamen plus ex re noua atque inopinata iniectum est, et in perculsum hostem equites inuecti fugam stragemque eorum usque ad portas fecerunt. inde equitatu quoque superior Romana res fuit; institutum ut uelites in legionibus essent. auctorem peditum equiti immiscendorum centurionem Q. Nauium ferunt honorique id ei apud imperatorem fuisse.

[5] Cum in hoc statu ad Capuam res essent, Hannibalem diuersum Tarentinae arcis potiundae Capuaeque retinendae trahebant curae. uicit tamen respectus Capuae in quam omnium sociorum hostiumque conuersos uidebat animos, documento futurae qualemcunque euentum defectio ab Romanis habuisset. igitur magna parte impedimentorum relictis in Brutiis et omni grauiore armatu, cum delectis peditum equitumque quam poterat aptissimus ad maturandum iter in Campaniam contendit; secuti tamen tam raptim

euntem tres et triginta elephanti. in ualle occulta post Tifata, montem imminentem Capuae, consedit. adueniens cum castellum Calatiam praesidio ui pulso cepisset, in circumsedentes Capuam se uertit, praemissisque nuntiis Capuam quo tempore castra Romana adgressurus esset ut eodem et illi ad eruptionem parati portis omnibus se effunderent, ingentem praebuit terrorem; nam alia parte ipse adortus est, alia Campani omnes, equites peditesque, et cum iis Punicum praesidium cui Bostar et Hanno praeerant erupit. Romani ut in re trepida, ne ad unam concurrento partem aliquid indefensi relinquerent, ita inter sese copias partiti sunt: Ap. Claudius Campanis, Fuluius Hannibali est oppositus; C. Nero proprætor cum equitibus sex legionum uia quae Suessulam fert, C. Fuluius Flaccus legatus cum sociali equitatu constitit e regione Uolturni amnis. proelium non solito modo clamore ac tumultu est coeptum; sed ad alium uirorum equorum armorumque sonum disposita in muris Campanorum imbellis multitudo tantum cum aeris crepitu qualis in defectu lunae silenti nocte cieri solet edidit clamorem ut auerteret etiam pugnantium animos. Campanos facile a uallo Appius arcebat: maior uis ab altera parte Fuluium Hannibal et Poeni urgebant. legio ibi sexta loco cessit; qua pulsa, cohors Hispanorum cum tribus elephantis usque ad uallum peruasit; ruperatque mediam aciem Romanorum et in ancipiti spe ac periculo erat utrum in castra perrumperet an intercluderetur a suis. quem pauorem legionis periculumque castrorum Fuluius ubi uidit, Q. Nauium primoresque alios centurionum hortatur ut cohortem hostium sub uallo pugnantem inuadant: in summo discrimine rem uerti; aut uiam dandam iis esse — et minore conatu quam condensam aciem rupissent in castra inrupturos — aut conficiendos sub uallo esse; nec magni certaminis rem fore; paucos esse et ab suis interclusos; et quae dum pauet Romanus interrupta acies uideatur, eam si se utrimque in hostem uertat ancipiti pugna medios circumuenturam. Nauius ubi haec imperatoris dicta accepit, secundi hastati signum ademptum signifero in hostes infert, iacturum in medios eos minitans ni se propere sequantur milites et partem capessant pugnae. ingens corpus erat et arma honestabant; et sublatum alte signum conuerterat ad spectaculum ciues hostesque. ceterum postquam iam ad signa peruenerat Hispanorum, tum undique in eum tragulae coniectae et

prope tota in unum acies uersa; sed neque multitudo hostium neque telorum uis arcere impetum eius uiri potuerunt.

[6] Et M. Atilius legatus primi principis ex eadem legione signum inferre in cohortem Hispanorum coepit; et qui castris praeerant, L. Porcius Licinus et T. Popillius legati, pro uallo acriter propugnant elephantosque transgredientes in ipso uallo conficiunt. quorum corporibus cum oppleta fossa esset, uelut aggere aut ponte iniecto transitum hostibus dedit; ibi per stragem iacentium elephantorum atrox edita caedes. altera in parte castrorum iam impulsus erant Campani Punicumque praesidium et sub ipsa porta Capuae quae Uolturnum fert pugnabatur; neque tam armati inrumpentibus Romanis resistebant quam porta ballistis scorpionibusque instructa missilibus procul hostes arcebat. et suppressit impetum Romanorum uolnus imperatoris Ap. Claudii, cui suos ante prima signa adhortanti sub laeui umero summum pectus gaeso ictum est. magna uis tamen hostium ante portam est caesa, ceteri trepidi in urbem compulsi. et Hannibal postquam cohortis Hispanorum stragem uidit summaque uia castra hostium defendi, omisso oppugnatione recipere signa et conuertere agmen peditum obiecto ab tergo equitatu ne hostis instaret coepit. legionum ardor ingens ad hostem insequendum fuit: Flaccus receptui cani iussit, satis ad utrumque profectum ratus ut et Campani quam haud multum in Hannibale praesidii esset, et ipse Hannibal sentiret. caesa eo die, qui huius pugnae auctores sunt, octo milia hominum de Hannibalis exercitu, tria ex Campanis tradunt, signaque Carthaginensibus quindecim adempta, duodeviginti Campanis. apud alios nequaquam tantam molem pugnae inueni plusque pauoris quam certaminis fuisse, cum inopinato in castra Romana Numidae Hispanique cum elephantis inrupissent, elephantis per media castra uadentes stragem tabernaculorum ingenti sonitu ac fugam abruptantium uincula iumentorum facerent; fraudem quoque super tumultum adiectam, immissis ab Hannibale qui habitu Italico gnari Latinae linguae iuberent consulum uerbis quoniam amissa castra essent pro se quemque militum in proximos montes fugere; sed eam celeriter cognitam fraudem oppressamque magna caede hostium; elephantos igni e castris exactos. hoc ultimum, utcumque initum finitumque est, ante deditionem Capuae proelium fuit. medius tuticus, qui summus magistratus apud Campanos est, eo anno Seppius

Loesius erat, loco obscuro tenuique fortuna ortus. matrem eius quondam pro pupillo eo procurantem familiare ostentum cum respondisset haruspex summum quod esset imperium Capuae peruenturum ad eum puerum, nihil ad eam spem adgnoscentem dixisse ferunt: ‘ne tu perditas res Campanorum narras, ubi summus honos ad filium meum perueniet.’ ea ludificatio ueri et ipsa in uerum uertit; nam cum fame ferroque urgerentur nec spes ulla superesset sisti <posse iis qui nati> in spem honorum erant honores detractantibus, Loesius querendo desertam ac proditam a primoribus Capuam, summum magistratum ultimus omnium Campanorum cepit.

[7] Ceterum Hannibal, ut nec hostes elici amplius ad pugnam uidit neque per castra eorum perrumpi ad Capuam posse, ne suos quoque commeatus intercluderent noui consules, abscedere inrito incepto et mouere a Capua statuit castra. multa secum quonam inde ire pergeret uoluenti subiit animum impetus caput ipsum belli Romam petendi, cuius rei semper cupitae praetermissam occasionem post Cannensem pugnam et alii fremebant et ipse non dissimulabat: necopinato pauore ac tumultu non esse desperandum aliquam partem urbis occupari posse, et si Roma in discrimine esset, Capuam extemplo omissuros aut ambo imperatores Romanos aut alterum ex iis; et si diuisissent copias, utrumque infirmiores factum aut sibi aut Campanis bene gerendae rei fortunam daturus esse. una ea cura angebat ne ubi abscessisset extemplo dederentur Campani. Numidam promptum ad omnia audenda donis pellicit ut litteris acceptis specie transfugae castra Romana ingressus, altera parte clam Capuam peruat. litterae autem erant adhortatione plenae: profectionem suam quae salutaris illis foret abstracturam ad defendendam Romam ab oppugnanda Capua duces atque exercitus Romanos; ne desponderent animos; tolerando paucos dies totam soluturos obsidionem. inde naues in flumine Uolturno comprehensas subigi ad id quod iam ante praesidii causa fecerat castellum iussit. quarum ubi tantam copiam esse ut una nocte traici posset exercitus allatum est, cibariis decem dierum praeparatis deductas nocte ad fluuium legiones ante lucem traiecit.

[8] Id priusquam fieret ita futurum compertum ex transfugis Fuluius Flaccus senatui Romam cum scripsisset, uarie animi hominum pro cuiusque ingenio adfecti sunt. ut in re tam trepida senatu extemplo uocato, P. Cornelius cui Asinae cognomen erat

omnes duces exercitusque ex tota Italia, neque Capuae neque ullius alterius rei memor, ad urbis praesidium reuocabat. Fabius Maximus abscedi a Capua terrerique et circumagi ad nutus comminationesque Hannibalis flagitiosum ducebat: qui ad Cannas uictor ire tamen ad urbem ausus non esset, eum a Capua repulsum spem potiundae urbis Romae cepisse. non ad Romam obsidendam, sed ad Capuae liberandam obsidionem ire. Romam cum eo exercitu qui ad urbem esset Iouem foederum ruptorum ab Hannibale testem deosque alios defensuros esse. has diuersas sententias media sententia P. Ualeri Flacci uicit, qui utriusque rei memor imperatoribus qui ad Capuam essent scribendum censuit quid ad urbem praesidii esset; quantas autem Hannibal copias duceret aut quanto exercitu ad Capuam obsidendam opus esset, ipsos scire. si ita Romam e ducibus alter et exercitus pars mitti posset, ut ab reliquo et duce et exercitu Capua recte obsideretur, inter se compararent Claudius Fuluiusque utri obsidenda Capua, utri ad prohibendam obsidione patriam Romam ueniundum esset. hoc senatus consulto Capuam perlato Q. Fuluius proconsul, cui collega ex uolnere aegro redeundum Romam erat, e tribus exercitibus milite electo ad quindecim milia peditum mille equites Uolturnum traducit. inde cum Hannibalem Latina uia iturum satis comperisset, ipse per Appiae municipia quaeque propter eam uiam sunt, Setiam, Coram, Lauinium praemisit ut commeatus paratos et in urbibus haberent et ex agris deuiis in uiam proferrent, praesidiaque in urbes contraherent ut sua cuique res publica in manu esset.

[9] Hannibal quo die Uolturnum est transgressus, haud procul a flumine castra posuit: postero die praeter Cales in agrum Sidicinum peruenit. ibi diem unum populando moratus per Suessanum Allifanumque et Casinatem agrum uia Latina ducit. sub Casino biduo statiuia habita et passim populationes factae. inde praeter Interamnam Aquinumque in Fregellanum agrum ad Lirim fluuium uentum, ubi intercisum pontem a Fregellanis morandi itineris causa inuenit. et Fuluium Uolturnus tenuerat amnis, nauibus ab Hannibale incensis, rates ad traiciendum exercitum in magna inopia materiae aegre comparantem. traiecto ratibus exercitu, reliquum Fuluius expeditum iter, non per urbes modo sed circa uiam expositis benigne commeatibus, erat; alacresque milites alius alium ut adderet gradum

memor ad defendendam iri patriam hortabantur. Romam Fregellanus nuntius diem noctemque itinere continuato ingentem attulit terrorem. tumultuosius quam allatam erat <uolgatum periculum dis>cursu hominum adfingentium uana auditis totam urbem concitat. ploratus mulierum non ex priuatis solum domibus exaudiebatur, sed undique matronae in publicum effusae circa deum delubra discurrunt crinibus passis aras uerrentes, nixae genibus, supinas manus ad caelum ac deos tendentes orantesque ut urbem Romanam e manibus hostium eriperent matresque Romanas et liberos paruos inuiolatos seruarent. senatus magistratibus in foro praesto est si quid consulere uelint. alii accipiunt imperia disceduntque ad suas quisque officiorum partes: alii offerunt se si quo usus operae sit. praesidia in arce, in Capitolio, in muris, circa urbem, in monte etiam Albano atque arce Aefulana ponuntur. inter hunc tumultum Q. Fuluium proconsulem profectum cum exercitu Capua adfertur; cui ne minueretur imperium si in urbem uenisset, decernit senatus ut Q. Fuluius par cum consulibus imperium esset. Hannibal, infestius perpopulato agro Fregellano propter intercisos pontes, per Frusinatem Ferentinatempque et Anagninum agrum in Labicanum uenit, inde Algidum Tusculum petiit, nec receptus moenibus infra Tusculum dextrorsus Gabios descendit. inde in Pupiniam exercitu demisso octo milia passuum ab Roma posuit castra. quo propius hostis accedebat, eo maior caedes fiebat fugientium praecedentibus Numidis, pluresque omnium generum atque aetatum capiebantur.

[10] In hoc tumultu Fuluius Flaccus porta Capena cum exercitu Romam ingressus, media urbe per Carinas Esquilias contendit; inde egressus inter Esquilinam Collinamque portam posuit castra. aediles plebis commeatum eo comportarunt; consules senatusque in castra uenerunt; ibi de summa republica consultatum. placuit consules circa portas Collinam Esquilinamque ponere castra; C. Calpurnium praetorem urbanum Capitolio atque arci praeesse, et senatum frequentem in foro contineri si quid in tam subitis rebus consulto opus esset. inter haec Hannibal ad Anienem fluuium tria milia passuum ab urbe castra admouit. ibi statuis positis ipse cum duobus milibus equitum ad portam Collinam usque ad Herculis templum est progressus atque unde proxime poterat moenia situmque urbis obequitans contemplabatur. id eum tam licenter atque otiose facere

Flacco indignum uisum est; itaque immisit equites summouerique atque in castra redigi hostium equitatum iussit. cum commissum proelium esset, consules transfugas Numidarum, qui tum in Auentino ad mille et ducenti erant, media urbe transire Esquilias iusserunt, nullos aptiores inter conualles tectaque hortorum et sepulcra et cauas undique uias ad pugnandum futuros rati. quos cum ex arce Capitolioque cliuo Publicio in equis decurrentes quidam uidissent, captum Auentinum conclamauerunt. ea res tantum tumultum ac fugam praeuit ut nisi castra Punica extra urbem fuissent, effusura se omnis puida multitudo fuerit: tunc in domos atque in tecta refugiebant, uagosque in uiis suos pro hostibus lapidibus telisque incessebant. nec comprimi tumultus aperirique error poterat refertis itineribus agrestium turba pecorumque quae repentinus pauor in urbem compulerat. equestre proelium secundum fuit summotique hostes sunt. et quia multis locis comprimendi tumultus erant qui temere oriebantur, placuit omnes qui dictatores consules censorsue fuissent cum imperio esse, donec recessisset a muris hostis. et diei quod reliquum fuit et nocte insequenti multi temere excitati tumultus sunt compressique.

[11] Postero die transgressus Anienem Hannibal in aciem omnes copias eduxit; nec Flaccus consulesque certamen detractauere. instructis utrimque exercitibus in eius pugnae casum in qua urbs Roma uictori praemium esset, imber ingens grandine mixtus ita utramque aciem turbauit ut uix armis retentis in castra sese receperint, nullius rei minore quam hostium metu. et postero die eodem loco acies instructas eadem tempestas diremit; ubi recepissent se in castra, mira serenitas cum tranquillitate oriebatur. in religionem ea res apud Poenos uersa est, auditaque uox Hannibalis fertur potiundae sibi urbis Romae modo mentem non dari, modo fortunam. minuere etiam spem eius duae aliae, parua magnaue, res, magna illa quod cum ipse ad moenia urbis Romae armatus sederet milites sub uexillis in supplementum Hispaniae profectos audiit, parua autem quod per eos dies eum forte agrum in quo ipse castra haberet uenisse nihil ob id deminuto pretio cognitum ex quodam captiuo est. id uero adeo superbum atque indignum uisum eius soli quod ipse bello captum possideret haberetque inuentum Romae emptorem ut extemplo uocato praecone tabernas argentarias quae circa forum

Romanum essent iusserit uenire. his motus ad Tutiam fluuium castra rettulit sex milia passuum ab urbe. inde ad lucum Feroniae pergit ire, templum ea tempestate inclutum diuitiis. Capenates alique qui accolae eius erant primitias frugum eo donaque alia pro copia portantes multo auro argentoque id exornatum habebant. iis omnibus donis tum spoliatum templum; aeris acerui cum rudera milites religione inducti iacerent post profectionem Hannibalis magni inuenti. — huius populatio templi haud dubia inter scriptores est. Coelius Romam euntem ab Ereto deuertisse eo Hannibalem tradit, iterque eius ab Reate Cutiliisque et ab Amiterno orditur: ex Campania in Samnium, inde in Paelignos peruenisse, praeterque oppidum Sulmonem in Marrucinos transisse; inde Albensi agro in Marsos, hinc Amiternum Forulosque uicum uenisse. neque ibi error est quod tanti <ducis tanti>que exercitus uestigia intra tam breuis aevi memoriam potuerint confundi — isse enim ea constat — : tantum id interest ueneritne eo itinere ad urbem an ab urbe in Campaniam redierit.

[12] Ceterum non quantum Romanis pertinaciae ad premendam obsidione Capuam fuit, tantum ad defendendam Hannibali. namque <per Samnium Apuliamque> et Lucanos in Bruttium agrum ad fretum ac Regium eo cursu contendit ut prope repentino aduentu incautos oppresserit. Capua etsi nihilo segnus obsessa per eos dies fuerat, tamen aduentum Flacci sensit, et admiratio orta est non simul regressum Hannibalem. inde per colloquia intellexerunt relictos se desertosque et spem Capuae retinendae deploratam apud Poenos esse. accessit edictum proconsulum ex senatus consulto propositum uolgaratumque apud hostes ut qui ciuis Campanus ante certam diem transisset sine fraude esset. nec ulla facta est transitio, metu magis eos quam fide continente quia maiora in defectione deliquerant quam quibus ignosci posset. ceterum quemadmodum nemo priuato consilio ad hostem transibat, ita nihil salutare in medium consulebatur. nobilitas rem publicam deseruerat, neque in senatum cogi poterant; in magistratu erat qui non sibi honorem adiecisset, sed indignitate sua uim ac ius magistratui quem gerebat dempsisset. iam ne in foro quidem aut publico loco principum quisquam apparebat; domibus inclusi patriae occasum cum suo exitio in dies expectabant. summa curae omnis in Bostarem Hannonemque, praefectos praesidii Punici,

uersa erat, suo non sociorum periculo sollicitos. ii conscriptis ad Hannibalem litteris non libere modo, sed etiam aspere, quibus non Capuam solam traditam in manum hostibus, sed se quoque et praesidium in omnes cruciatus proditos incusabant: abisse eum in Bruttios uelut auertentem sese ne Capua in oculis eius caperetur. at hercule Romanos ne oppugnatione quidem urbis Romanae abstrahi a Capua obsidenda potuisse; tanto constantiorem inimicum Romanum quam amicum Poenum esse. si redeat Capuam bellumque omne eo uertat, et se et Campanos paratos eruptioni fore. non cum Reginis neque Tarentinis bellum gesturos transisse Alpes: ubi Romanae legiones sint, ibi et Carthaginiensium exercitus debere esse. sic ad Cannas, sic ad Trasumennum rem bene gestam, coeundo conferundoque cum hoste castra, fortunam temptando. in hanc sententiam litterae conscriptae Numidis, proposita mercede eam professis operam, dantur. ii specie transfugarum cum ad Flaccum in castra uenissent ut inde tempore capto abirent, famesque quae tam diu Capuae erat nulli non probabilem causam transitionis faceret, mulier repente Campana in castra uenit, scortum transfugarum unius, indicatque imperatori Romano Numidas fraude composita transisse litterasque ad Hannibalem ferre: id unum ex iis qui sibi rem aperuisset arguere sese paratam esse. productus primo satis constanter ignorare se mulierem simulabat: paulatim dein conuictus ueris cum tormenta posci et parari uideret, fassus id ita esse litteraeque prolatae. additum etiam indicio quod celabatur et alios specie transfugarum Numidas uagari in castris Romanis. ii supra septuaginta comprehensi et cum transfugis nouis mulcati uirgis manibusque praecisis Capuam rediguntur.

[13] Conspectum tam triste supplicium fregit animos Campanorum. concursus ad curiam populi factus coegit Loesium senatum uocare; et primoribus qui iam diu publicis consiliis aberant propalam minabantur nisi uenirent in senatum circa domos eorum ituros se et in publicum omnes ui extracturos esse. is timor frequentem senatum magistratui praebuit. ibi cum ceteri de legatis mittendis ad imperatores Romanos agerent, Uibius Uirrius, qui defectionis auctor ab Romanis fuerat, interrogatus sententiam, negat eos qui de legatis et de pace ac deditione loquantur meminisse nec quid facturi fuerint si Romanos in potestate habuissent nec quid ipsis patiendum sit.

‘quid? uos’ inquit ‘eam deditionem fore censetis qua quondam, ut aduersus Samnites auxilium impetraremus, nos nostraque omnia Romanis dedidimus? iam e memoria excessit, quo tempore et in qua fortuna a populo Romano defecerimus? iam, quemadmodum in defectione praesidium, quod poterat emitte, per cruciatum et ad contumeliam necarimus? quotiens in obsidentes, quam inimice eruperimus, castra oppugnauimus, Hannibalem uocauerimus ad opprimendos eos? hoc quod recentissimum est, ad oppugnandam Romam hinc eum miserimus? age contra, quae illi infeste in nos fecerint repetite, ut ex eo quid speretis habeatis. cum hostis alienigena in Italia esset et Hannibal hostis et cuncta bello arderent, omissis omnibus, omisso ipso Hannibale, ambo consules et duo consulares exercitus ad Capuam oppugnandam miserunt. alterum annum circumuallatos inclusosque nos fame macerant, et ipsi nobiscum ultima pericula et grauissimos labores perpessi, circa uallum ac fossas saepe trucidati ac prope ad extremum castris exuti. sed omitto haec — uetus atque usitata res est in oppugnanda hostium urbe labores ac pericula pati — : illud irae atque odii <inexpiabilis> execrabilisque indicium est. Hannibal ingentibus copiis peditum equitumque castra oppugnauit et ex parte cepit: tanto periculo nihil moti sunt ab obsidione. profectus trans Uolturnum perussit Calenum agrum: nihil tanta sociorum clade auocati sunt. ad ipsam urbem Romam infesta signa ferri iussit: eam quoque tempestatem imminentem spreuerunt. transgressus Anienem tria milia passuum ab urbe castra posuit, postremo ad moenia ipsa et ad portas accessit; Romam se adepturum eis, nisi omitterent Capuam, ostendit: non omiserunt. feras bestias caeco impetu ac rabie concitatas, si ad cubilia et catulos earum ire pergas, ad opem suis ferendam auertas: Romanos Roma circumsessi coniuges, liberi, quorum ploratus hinc prope exaudiebantur, arae foci deum delubra sepulcra maiorum temerata ac uiolata a Capua non auerterunt; tanta auditas supplicii expetendi, tanta sanguinis nostri hauriendi est sitis. nec iniuria forsitan; nos quoque idem fecissemus, si data fortuna esset. itaque quoniam aliter dis immortalibus est uisum, cum mortem ne recusare quidem debeam, cruciatus contumeliasque quas parat hostis dum liber, dum mei potens sum, effugere morte praeterquam honesta, etiam leni possum. non uidebo Ap. Claudium et Q. Fuluium uictoria

insolenti subnixos, neque uinctus per urbem Romanam triumphī spectaculum trahar, ut deinde ~in carcerem~ aut ad palum deligatus, lacerato uirgis tergo, ceruicem securi Romanae subiciam; nec dirui incendiue patriam uidebo, nec rapi ad stuprum matres Campanas uirginesque et ingenuos pueros. Albam unde ipsi oriundi erant a fundamentis proruerunt, ne stirpis, ne memoria originum suarum exstaret: nedum eos Capuae parsuros credam, cui infestiores quam Carthagini sunt. itaque quibus uestrum ante fato cedere quam haec tot tam acerba uideant in animo est, iis apud me hodie epulae instructae parataeque sunt. satiatis uino ciboque poculum idem quod mihi datum fuerit circumferetur; ea potio corpus a cruciatu, animum a contumeliis, oculos aures a uidendis audiendisque omnibus acerbis indignisque quae manent uictos uindicabit. parati erunt qui magno rogo in propatulo aedium accenso corpora exanima iniciant. haec una uia et honesta et libera ad mortem. et ipsi uirtutem mirabuntur hostes et Hannibal fortes socios sciet ab se desertos ac proditos esse.’

[14] Hanc orationem Uirri plures cum adsensu audierunt quam forti animo id quod probabant exsequi potuerunt. maior pars senatus, multis saepe bellis expertam populi Romani clementiam haud diffidentes sibi quoque placabilem fore, legatos ad dedendam Romanis Capuam decreuerunt miseruntque. Uibium Uirrium septem et uiginti ferme senatores domum secuti sunt, epulatique cum eo et quantum facere potuerant alienatis mentibus uino ab imminentis sensu mali, uenenum omnes sumpserunt; inde misso conuiuio dextris inter se datis ultimoque complexu conlacrimantes suum patriaeque casum, alii ut eodem rogo cremarentur manserunt, alii domos digressi sunt. impletae cibus uinoque uenae minus efficacem in maturanda morte uim ueneni fecerunt; itaque noctem totam plerique eorum et diei insequentis partem cum animam egissent, omnes tamen prius quam aperirentur hostibus portae exspirarunt. postero die porta Iouis, quae aduersus castra Romana erat, iussu proconsulum aperta est. ea intromissa legio una et duae alae cum C. Fuluio legato. is cum omnium primum arma telaque quae Capuae erant ad se conferenda curasset, custodiis ad omnes portas dispositis ne quis exire aut emitti posset, praesidium Punicum comprehendit, senatum Campanum ire in castra ad imperatores Romanos iussit. quo cum uenissent, extemplo iis omnibus catenae iniectae, iussique ad quaestores deferre

quod auri atque argenti haberent. auri pondo duo milia septuaginta fuit, argenti triginta milia pondo et mille ducenta. senatores quinque et uiginti Cales in custodiam, duodetriginta Teanum missi, quorum de sententia maxime descitum ab Romanis constabat.

[15] De supplicio Campani senatus haudquaquam inter Fuluium Claudiumque conueniebat. facilis impetrandae ueniae Claudius, Fului durior sententia erat. itaque Appius Romam ad senatum arbitrium eius rei totum reiciebat: percontandi etiam aequum esse potestatem fieri patribus, num communicassent consilia cum aliquis sociorum Latini nominis [municipiorum] et num ope eorum in bello forent adiuti. id uero minime committendum esse Fuluius dicere ut sollicitarentur criminibus dubiis sociorum fidelium animi, et subicerentur indicibus quis neque <quid dicerent neque> quid facerent quicquam unquam pensi fuisset; itaque se eam quaestionem oppressurum exstincturumque. ab hoc sermone cum digressi essent, et Appius quamuis ferociter loquentem collegam non dubitaret tamen litteras super tanta re ab Roma exspectaturum, Fuluius, ne id ipsum impedimentum incepto foret, dimittens praetorium tribunis militum ac praefectis socium imperauit uti duobus milibus equitum delectis denuntiarent ut ad tertiam bucinam praesto essent. cum hoc equitatu nocte Teanum profectus, prima luce portam intrauit atque in forum perrexit; concursuque ad primum equitum ingressum facto magistratum Sidicinum citari iussit imperauitque ut produceret Campanos quos in custodia haberet. producti omnes uirgisque caesi ac securi percussi. inde citato equo Cales percurrit; ubi cum in tribunali consedisset productique Campani deligarentur ad palum, eques citus ab Roma uenit litterasque a C. Calpurnio praetore Fuluius et senatus consultum tradit. murmur ab tribunali totam contionem peruasit differri rem integram ad patres de Campanis; et Fuluius, id ita esse ratus acceptas litteras neque resolutas cum in gremio reposuisset, praeconi imperauit ut lictorem lege agere iuberet. ita de iis quoque qui Calibus erant sumptum supplicium. tum litterae lectae senatusque consultum, serum ad impediendam rem actam quae summa ope appropinquata erat ne impedi posset. consurgentem iam Fuluium Taurea Uibellius Campanus per mediam uadens turbam nomine inclamauit, et cum mirabundus quidnam sese uellet resedisset Flaccus, ‘me quoque’ inquit ‘iube occidi ut gloriari possis

multo fortiozem quam ipse es uirum abs te occisum esse.’ cum Flaccus negaret profecto satis compotem mentis esse, modo prohiberi etiam se si id uellet senatus consulto diceret, tum Uibellius ‘quando quidem’ inquit ‘capta patria propinquis amicisque amissis, cum ipse manu mea coniugem liberosque interfecerim ne quid indigni paterentur, mihi ne mortis quidem copia eadem est quae his ciuibz meis, petatur a uirtute inuisae huius uitae uindicta.’ atque ita gladio quem ueste texerat per aduersum pectus transfixus, ante pedes imperatoris moribundus procubuit.

[16] Quia et quod ad supplicium attinet Campanorum et pleraque alia de Flacci unius sententia acta erant, mortuum Ap. Claudium sub deditionem Capuae quidam tradunt; hunc quoque ipsum Tauream neque sua sponte uenisse Cales neque sua manu interfectum, sed dum inter ceteros ad palum deligatur, quia parum inter strepitus exaudiri possent quae uociferaretur silentium fieri Flaccum iussisse; tum Tauream illa quae ante memorata sunt dixisse, uirum se fortissimum ab nequaquam pari ad uirtutem occidi; sub haec dicta iussu proconsulis praeconem ita pronuntiasse: ‘lictor, uiro forti adde uirgas et in eum primum lege age.’ lectum quoque senatus consultum priusquam securi feriret quidam auctores sunt, sed quia adscriptum in senatus consulto fuerit si ei uideretur integram rem ad senatum reiceret, interpretatum esse quid magis e re publica duceret aestimationem sibi permissam. Capuam a Calibus reditum est, Atellaque et Calatia in deditionem acceptae; ibi quoque in eos qui capita rerum erant animaduersum. ita ad septuaginta principes senatus interfecti, trecenti ferme nobiles Campani in carcerem conditi, alii per sociorum Latini nominis urbes in custodias dati, uariis casibus interierunt: multitudo alia ciuium Campanorum uenum data. de urbe agroque reliqua consultatio fuit, quibusdam delendam censentibus urbem praeualidam propinquam inimicam. ceterum praesens utilitas uicit; nam propter agrum, quem omni fertilitate terrae satis constabat primum in Italia esse, urbs seruata est ut esset aliqua aratorum sedes. urbi frequentandae multitudo incolarum libertinorumque et institorum opificumque retenta: ager omnis et tecta publica populi Romani facta. ceterum habitari tantum tamquam urbem Capuam frequentarique placuit, corpus nullum ciuitatis nec senatum nec plebis concilium nec magistratus esse: sine consilio

publico, sine imperio multitudinem nullius rei inter se sociam ad consensum inhabilem fore; praefectum ad iura reddenda ab Roma quotannis missuros. ita ad Capuam res compositae consilio ab omni parte laudabili. seuere et celeriter in maxime noxios animaduersum; multitudo ciuium dissipata in nullam spem reditus; non saeuitum incendiis ruinisque in tecta innoxia murosque, et cum emolumento quaesita etiam apud socios lenitatis species incolumitate urbis nobilissimae opulentissimaeque, cuius ruinis omnis Campania, omnes qui Campaniam circa accolunt populi ingemuissent; confessio expressa hosti quanta uis in Romanis ad expetendas poenas ab infidelibus sociis et quam nihil in Hannibale auxilii ad receptos in fidem tuendos esset.

[17] Romani patres perfuncti quod ad Capuam attinebat cura, C. Neroni ex iis duabus legionibus quas ad Capuam habuerat sex milia peditum et trecentos equites quos ipse legisset et socium Latini nominis peditum numerum parem et octingentos equites decernunt. eum exercitum Puteolis in naues impositum Nero in Hispaniam transportauit. cum Tarraconem nauibus uenisset, expositisque ibi copiis et nauibus subductis socios quoque nauales multitudinis augendae causa armasset, profectus ad Hiberum flumen exercitum ab Ti. Fonteio et L. Marcio accepit. inde pergit ad hostes ire. Hasdrubal Hamilcaris ad Lapides Atros castra habebat; in Ausetanis is locus est inter oppida Iliturgim et Mentissam. huius saltus fauces Nero occupauit. Hasdrubal, ne in arto res esset, caduceatorem misit qui promitteret si inde missus foret se omnem exercitum ex Hispania deportaturum. quam rem cum laeto animo Romanus accepisset, diem posterum Hasdrubal conloquio petiuit ut coram leges conscriberentur de tradendis arcibus urbium dieque statuenda ad quam praesidia deducerentur suaeque omnia sine fraude Poeni deportarent. quod ubi impetrauit, extemplo primis tenebris atque inde tota nocte quod grauissimum exercitus erat Hasdrubal quacunque posset euadere e saltu iussit. data sedulo opera est ne multi ea nocte exirent, ut ipsa paucitas cum ad hostem silentio fallendum aptior, tum ad euadendum per artas semitas ac difficiles esset. uentum insequenti die ad conloquium est; sed loquendo plura scribendoque dedita opera quae in rem non essent die consumpto, in posterum dilatum est. addita insequens nox spatium dedit et alios emittendi; nec postero die res

finem inuenit. ita aliquot dies disceptando palam de legibus noctesque emittendis clam e castris Carthaginiensibus absumptae. et postquam pars maior emissa exercitus erat, iam ne iis quidem quae ultro dicta erant stabatur; minusque ac minus, cum timore simul fide decrescente, conueniebat. iam ferme pedestres omnes copiae euaserant e saltu cum prima luce densa nebula saltum omnem camposque circa intexit. quod ubi sensit Hasdrubal, mittit ad Neronem qui in posterum diem conloquium differret: illum diem religiosum Carthaginiensibus ad agendum quicquam rei seriae esse. ne tum quidem suspecta fraus cum esset, data uenia eius diei, extemploque Hasdrubal cum equitatu elephantisque castris egressus sine ullo tumultu in tutum euasit. hora ferme quarta dispulsa sole nebula aperuit diem, uacuaque hostium castra conspexerunt Romani tum demum Claudius Punicam fraudem adgnosces ut se dolo captum sensit, proficiscentem institit sequi paratus confluere acie. sed hostis detractabat pugnam; leuia tamen proelia inter extremum Punicum agmen praecursoresque Romanorum fiebant.

[18] Inter haec Hispaniae populi nec qui post cladem acceptam defecerant redibant ad Romanos, nec ulli noui deficiebant; et Romae senatui populoque post receptam Capuam non Italiae iam maior quam Hispaniae cura erat. et exercitum augeri et imperatorem mitti placebat; nec tam quem mitterent satis constabat quam illud, ubi duo summi imperatores intra dies triginta cecidissent, qui in locum duorum succederet extraordinaria cura deligendum esse. cum alii alium nominarent, postremum eo decursum est ut proconsuli creando in Hispaniam comitia haberentur; diemque comitiis consules edixerunt. primo exspectauerant ut qui se tanto imperio dignos crederent nomina profiterentur; quae ut destituta exspectatio est, redintegratus luctus acceptae cladis desideriumque imperatorum amissorum. maesta itaque ciuitas prope inops consilii comitiorum die tamen in campum descendit; atque in magistratus uersi circumspectant ora principum aliorum alios intuentium fremuntque adeo perditas res desperatumque de re publica esse ut nemo audeat in Hispaniam imperium accipere, cum subito P. Cornelius <Publi filius eius> qui in Hispania ceciderat, [filius] quattuor et uiginti ferme annos natus, professus se petere, in superiore unde conspici posset loco constitit. in quem postquam omnium ora conuersa sunt, clamore

ac fauore ominati extemplo sunt felix faustumque imperium. iussi deinde inire suffragium ad unum omnes non centuriae modo, sed etiam homines P. Scipioni imperium esse in Hispania iusserunt. ceterum post rem actam ut iam resederat impetus animorum ardorque, silentium subito ortum et tacita cogitatio quidnam egissent; nonne fauor plus ualuisset quam ratio. aetatis maxime paenitebat; quidam fortunam etiam domus horrebant nomenque ex funestis duabus familiis in eas prouincias ubi inter sepulcra patris patruisque res gerendae essent proficiscentis.

[19] Quam ubi ab re tanto impetu acta sollicitudinem curamque hominum animaduertit, aduocata contione ita de aetate sua imperioque mandato et bello quod gerendum esset magno elatoque animo disseruit, ut ardorem eum qui resederat excitaret rursus nouaretque et impleret homines certioris spei quam quantam fides promissi humani aut ratio ex fiducia rerum subicere solet. fuit enim Scipio non ueris tantum uirtutibus mirabilis, sed arte quoque quadam ab iuuenta in ostentationem earum compositus, pleraque apud multitudinem aut per nocturnas uisa species aut uelut diuinitus mente monita agens, siue et ipse capti quadam superstitione animi, siue ut imperia consiliaque uelut sorte oraculi missa sine cunctatione exsequerentur. ad hoc iam inde ab initio praeparans animos, ex quo togam uirilem sumpsit nullo die prius ullam publicam priuatamque rem egit quam in Capitolium iret ingressusque aedem consideret et plerumque solus in secreto ibi tempus tereret. hic mos per omnem uitam seruatus seu consulto seu temere uolgatae opinioni fidem apud quosdam fecit stirpis eum diuinae uirum esse, rettulitque famam in Alexandro magno prius uolgatam, et uanitate et fabula parem, anguis immanis concubitu conceptum, et in cubiculo matris eius uisam persaepe prodigii eius speciem interuentuque hominum euolutam repente atque ex oculis elapsam. his miraculis nunquam ab ipso elusa fides est; quin potius aucta arte quadam nec abnuendi tale quicquam nec palam adfirmandi. multa alia eiusdem generis, alia uera, alia adsimulata, admirationis humanae in eo iuvene excesserant modum; quibus freta tunc ciuitas aetati haudquaquam maturae tantam rerum molem tantumque imperium permisit. ad eas copias quas ex uetere exercitu Hispania habebat, quaeque a Puteolis cum C. Nerone traiectae erant, decem milia militum et mille equites adduntur, et M.

Iunius Silanus propraetor adiutor ad res gerendas datus est. ita cum triginta nauium classe — omnes autem quinqueremes erant — Ostiis Tiberinis profectus praeter oram Tusci maris, Alpesque et Gallicum sinum et deinde Pyrenaei circumuectus promuntorium, Emporiis urbe Graeca — oriundi et ipsi a Phocaea sunt — copias exposuit. inde sequi nauibus iussis Tarraconem pedibus profectus conuentum omnium sociorum — etenim legationes ad famam eius ex omni se prouincia effuderant — habuit. naues ibi subduci iussit, remissis quattuor triremibus Massiliensium quae officii causa ab domo prosecutae fuerant. responsa inde legationibus suspensis uarietate tot casuum dare coepit, ita elato ab ingenti uirtutum suarum fiducia animo ut nullum ferox uerbum excideret ingensque omnibus quae diceret cum maiestas inesset tum fides.

[20] Profectus ab Tarracone et ciuitates sociorum et hiberna exercitus adiit, collaudauitque milites quod duabus tantis deinceps cladibus icti prouinciam obtinuissent, nec fructum secundarum rerum sentire hostes passi omni cis Hiberum agro eos arcuissent, sociosque cum fide tutati essent. Marcium secum habebat cum tanto honore, ut facile appareret nihil minus uereri quam ne quis obstaret gloriae suae. successit inde Neroni Silanus, et in hiberna milites noui deducti. Scipio omnibus quae adeunda agendaque erant mature aditis peractisque Tarraconem concessit. nihilo minor fama apud hostes Scipionis erat quam apud ciues sociosque, et diuinatio quaedam futuri, quo minus ratio timoris reddi poterat oborti temere, maiorem inferens metum. in hiberna diuersi concesserant, Hasdrubal Gisgonis usque ad Oceanum et Gades, Mago in mediterranea maxime supra Castulonensem saltum; Hasdrubal Hamilcaris filius proximus Hiberno circa Saguntum hibernauit. aestatis eius extremo qua capta est Capua et Scipio in Hispaniam uenit, Punica classis ex Sicilia Tarentum accita ad arcendos commeatus praesidii Romani quod in arce Tarentina erat, clauserat quidem omnes ad arcem a mari aditus, sed adsidendo diutius artiores annonam sociis quam hosti faciebat; non enim tantum subuehi oppidanis per pacata litora apertosque portus praesidio nauium Punicarum poterat quantum frumenti classis ipsa turba nauali mixta ex omni genere hominum absumebat, ut arcis praesidium etiam sine inuecto quia pauci erant ex ante praeparato sustentari posset, Tarentinis classique ne inuectum quidem sufficeret.

tandem maiore gratia quam uenerat classis dimissa est; annona haud multum laxauerat quia remoto maritimo praesidio subuehi frumentum non poterat.

[21] Eiusdem aetatis exitu M. Marcellus ex Sicilia prouincia cum ad urbem uenisset, a C. Calpurnio praetore senatus ei ad aedem Bellonae datus est. ibi cum de rebus ab se gestis disseruisset, questus leniter non suam magis quam militum uicem quod prouincia confecta exercitum deportare non licuisset, postulauit ut triumphanti urbem inire liceret. id non impetrauit. cum multis uerbis actum esset utrum minus conueniret cuius nomine absentis ob res prospere ductu eius gestas supplicatio decreta foret et dis immortalibus habitus honos ei praesenti negare triumphum, an quem tradere exercitum successorii iussissent — quod nisi manente in prouincia bello non decerneretur — eum quasi debellato triumphare cum exercitus testis meriti atque immeriti triumphii abesset, medium uisum ut ouans urbem iniret. tribuni plebis ex auctoritate senatus ad populum tulerunt ut M. Marcello quo die urbem ouans iniret imperium esset. pridie quam urbem iniret in monte Albano triumphauit; inde ouans multam prae se praedam in urbem intulit. cum simulacro captarum Syracusarum catapultae ballistaeque et alia omnia instrumenta belli lata et pacis diuturnae regiaeque opulentiae ornamenta, argenti aerisque fabrefacti uis, alia supellex pretiosaque uestis et multa nobilia signa, quibus inter primas Graeciae urbes Syracusae ornatae fuerant. Punicae quoque uictoriae signum octo ducti elephantii, et non minimum fuere spectaculum cum coronis aureis praecedentes Sosis Syracusanus et Moericus Hispanus, quorum altero duce nocturno Syracusas introitum erat, alter Nassum quodque ibi praesidii erat prodiderat. his ambobus ciuitas data et quingena iugera agri, Sosidi in agro Syracusano qui aut regius aut hostium populi Romani fuisset et aedes Syracusis cuius uellet eorum in quos belli iure animaduersum esset, Moerico Hispanisque qui cum eo transierant urbs agerque in Sicilia ex iis qui a populo Romano defecissent, iussa dari. id M. Cornelio mandatum ut ubi ei uideretur urbem agrumque eis adsignaret. in eodem agro Belligeni, per quem inlectus ad transitionem Moericus erat, quadringenta iugera agri decreta. post profectionem ex Sicilia Marcelli Punica classis octo milia peditum, tria Numidarum equitum exposuit. ad eos Murgentia et Ergetium urbes defece>re. secutae

defectionem earum Hybla et Macella et ignobiliores quaedam aliae; et Numidae praefecto Muttine uagi per totam Siciliam sociorum populi Romani agros urebant. super haec exercitus Romanus iratus, partim quod cum imperatore non deuctus ex prouincia esset, partim quod in oppidis hibernare uetiti erant, segni fungebantur militia, magisque eis auctor ad seditionem quam animus deerat. inter has difficultates M. Cornelius praetor et militum animos nunc consolando nunc castigando sedauit, et ciuitates omnes quae defecerant in dicionem redegit; atque ex iis Murgentiam Hispanis quibus urbs agerque debebatur ex senatus consulto attribuit.

[22] Consules cum ambo Apuliam prouinciam haberent, minusque iam terroris a Poenis et Hannibale esset, sortiri iussi Apuliam Macedoniamque prouincias. Sulpicio Macedonia euenit isque Laeuino successit. Fuluius Romam comitiorum causa arcessitus cum comitia consulibus rogandis haberet, praerogatiua Uoturia iuniorum T. Manlium Torquatum et T. Otacilium <consules dixit. cum ad Manlium>, qui praesens erat, gratulandi causa turba coiret, nec dubius esset consensus populi, magna circumfusus turba ad tribunal consulis uenit, petitque ut pauca sua uerba audiret centuriamque quae tulisset suffragium reuocari iuberet. erectis omnibus expectatione quidnam postulaturus esset, oculorum ualetudinem excusauit: impudentem et gubernatorem et imperatorem esse qui, cum alienis oculis ei omnia agenda sint, postulet sibi aliorum capita ac fortunas committi; proinde si uideretur ei, redire in suffragium Uoturiam iuniorum iuberet et meminisse in consulibus creandis belli quod in Italia sit temporumque rei publicae; uixdum requiesse aures a strepitu et tumultu hostili, quo paucos ante menses cesserint prope moenia Romana. post haec cum centuria frequens succlamasset nihil se mutare sententiae eosdemque consules dicturos esse, tum Torquatus ‘neque ego uestros’ inquit ‘mores consul ferre potero neque uos imperium meum. redite in suffragium et cogitate bellum Punicum in Italia et hostium ducem Hannibalem esse.’ tum centuria et auctoritate mota uiri et admirantium circa fremitu, petiit a consule ut Uoturiam seniorum citaret: uelle sese cum maioribus natu conloqui et ex auctoritate eorum consules dicere. citatis Uoturiae senioribus, datum secreto in Ouili cum iis conloquendi tempus. seniores de tribus consulendum dixerunt esse, duobus plenis iam

honorum, Q. Fabio et M. Marcello, et si utique nouum aliquem aduersus Poenos consulem creari uellent, M. Ualerio Laeuino; egregie aduersus Philippum regem terra marique rem gessisse. ita de tribus consultatione data, senioribus dimissis iuniores suffragium ineunt. M. Claudium, fulgentem tum Sicilia domita, et M. Ualerium absentes consules dixerunt. auctoritatem praerogatiuae omnes centuriae secutae sunt. eludant nunc antiqua mirantes: non equidem, si qua sit sapientium ciuitas quam docti fingunt magis quam norunt, aut principes grauiores temperantioresque a cupidine imperii aut multitudinem melius moratam censeam fieri posse. centuriam uero iuniorum seniores consulere uoluisse quibus imperium suffragio mandaret, uix ut ueri simile sit parentium quoque hoc saeculo uilis leuisque apud liberos auctoritas fecit.

[23] Praetoria inde comitia habita. P. Manlius Uolso et L. Manlius Acidinus et C. Laetorius et L. Cincius Alimentus creati sunt. forte ita incidit ut comitiis perfectis nuntiaretur T. Otacilium, quem T. Manlio nisi interpellatus ordo comitiorum esset collegam absentem daturus fuisse uidebatur populus, mortuum in Sicilia esse. ludi Apollinares et priore anno fuerant et eo anno ut fierent referente Calpurnio praetore senatus decreuit ut in perpetuum uouerentur. eodem anno prodigia aliquot uisa nuntiataque sunt. in aede Concordiae Uictoria quae in culmine erat fulmine icta decussaque ad Uictorias quae in antefixis erant haesit neque inde procidit; et Anagniae et Fregellis nuntiatum est murum portasque de caelo tacta, et in foro Subertano sanguinis riuos per diem totum fluxisse, et Ereti lapidibus pluuisse, et Reate mulam peperisse. ea prodigia hostiis maioribus sunt procurata et obsecratio in unum diem populo indicta et nouendiale sacrum. sacerdotes publici aliquot eo anno demortui sunt nouique suffecti: in locum M'. Aemili Numidae decemui sacrorum M. Aemilius Lepidus, in locum M. Pomponi Mathonis pontificis C. Liuius, in locum Sp. Caruili Maximi auguris M. Seruilius. T. Otacilius Crassus pontifex quia exacto anno mortuus erat, ideo nominatio in locum eius non est facta. C. Claudius flamen Dialis quod exta perperam dederat flamonio abiit.

[24] Per idem tempus M. Ualerius Laeuinus temptatis prius per secreta conloquia principum animis ad indictum ante ad id ipsum concilium Aetolorum classe expedita uenit. ubi cum Syracusas

Capuamque captas in fidem in Italia <Sicilia>que rerum secundarum ostentasset, adiecissetque iam inde a maioribus traditum morem Romanis colendi socios, ex quibus alios in ciuitatem atque aequum secum ius acceperant, alios in ea fortuna haberent ut socii esse quam ciues mallerent: Aetolos eo in maiore futuros honore quod gentium transmarinarum in amicitiam primi uenissent; Philippum eis et Macedonas graues accolae esse, quorum se uim ac spiritus et iam fregisse et eo redacturum esse ut non iis modo urbibus quas per uim ademisset Aetolis excedant, sed ipsam Macedoniam infestam habeant; et Acarnanas quos aegre ferrent Aetoli a corpore suo diremptos restitutum se in antiquam formulam iuris ac dicionis eorum; — haec dicta promissaque a Romano imperatore Scopas, qui tum praetor gentis erat, et Dorimachus princeps Aetolorum adfirmauerunt auctoritate sua, minore cum uerecundia et maiore cum fide uim maiestatemque populi Romani extollentes. maxime tamen spes potiundae mouebat Acarnaniae. igitur conscriptae condiciones quibus in amicitiam societatemque populi Romani uenirent; additumque ut, si placeret uellentque, eodem iure amicitiae Elei Lacedaemoniique et Attalus et Pleuratus et Scerdilaedus essent, Asiae Attalus, hi Thracum et Illyriorum reges; bellum ut extemplo Aetoli cum Philippo terra gererent; nauibus ne minus uiginti quinque quinquereimis adiuuaret Romanus; urbium Corcyrae tenus ab Aetolia incipienti solum tectaque et muri cum agris Aetolorum, alia omnis praeda populi Romani esset, darentque operam Romani ut Acarnaniam Aetoli haberent; si Aetoli pacem cum Philippo facerent, foederi adscriberent ita ratam fore pacem si Philippus arma ab Romanis sociisque quique eorum dicionis essent abstinuisset; item si populus Romanus foedere iungeretur regi, ut cauere ne ius ei belli inferendi Aetolis sociisque eorum esset. haec conuenerunt, conscriptaque biennio post Olympiae ab Aetolis, in Capitolio ab Romanis, ut testata sacris monumentis essent sunt posita. morae causa fuerant retenti Romae diutius legati Aetolorum; nec tamen impedimento id rebus gerendis fuit. et Aetoli extemplo mouerunt aduersus Philippum bellum, et Laeuinus Zacynthum — parua insula est propinqua Aetoliae; urbem unam eodem quo ipsa est nomine habet; eam praeter arcem ui cepit — et Oeniadas Nassumque Acarnanum captas Aetolis contribuit; Philippum quoque satis

implicatum bello finitimo ratus ne Italiam Poenosque et pacta cum Hannibale posset respicere, Corcyram ipse se recepit.

[25] Philippo Aetolorum defectio Pellae hibernanti allata est. itaque quia primo uere moturus exercitum in Graeciam erat, Illyrios finitimasque eis urbes ab tergo metu quietas ut Macedonia haberet, expeditionem subitam in Oricinorum atque Apolloniatium fines fecit, egressosque Apolloniatas cum magno terrore ac pauore compulit intra muros. uastatis proximis Illyrici in Pelagoniam eadem celeritate uertit iter; inde Dardanorum urbem Sintiam, in Macedoniam transitum Dardanis facturam, cepit. his raptim actis, memor Aetolici iunctique cum eo Romani belli per Pelagoniam et Lyncum et Bottiaeam in Thessaliam descendit — ad bellum secum aduersus Aetolos capessendum incitari posse homines credebat — et relicto ad fauces Thessaliae Perseo cum quattuor milibus armatorum ad arcendos aditu Aetolos, ipse priusquam maioribus occuparetur rebus in Macedoniam atque inde in Thraciam exercitum ac Maedos duxit. incurrere ea gens in Macedoniam solita erat, ubi regem occupatum externo bello ac sine praesidio esse regnum sensisset. ad frangendas igitur <uires gentis simul> uastare agros et urbem Iamphorynnam, caput arcemque Maedicae, oppugnare coepit. Scopas ubi profectum in Thraciam regem occupatumque ibi bello audiuit, armata omni iuuentute Aetolorum bellum inferre Acarnaniae parat. aduersus quos Acarnanum gens, et uiribus impar et iam Oeniadas Nassumque amissa cernens Romanaque insuper arma ingruere, ira magis instruit quam consilio bellum. coniugibus liberisque et senioribus super sexaginta annos in propinquam Epirum missis, ab quindecim ad sexaginta annos coniurant nisi uictores se non redituros; qui uictus acie excessisset, eum ne quis urbe tecto mensa lare reciperet, diram execrationem in populares, obtestationem quam sanctissimam potuerunt aduersus hospites composuerunt; precatique simul Epirotas sunt ut qui suorum in acie cecidissent eos uno tumulo contegerent, adicerentque humatis titulum: ‘hic siti sunt Acarnanes, qui aduersus uim atque iniuriam Aetolorum pro patria pugnantes mortem occubuerunt.’ per haec incitatis animis castra in extremis finibus suis obuia hosti posuerunt. nuntiis ad Philippum missis quanto res in discrimine esset, omittere Philippum id quod in manibus erat coegerunt bellum, Iamphorynna per deditionem recepta et prospero

alio successu rerum. Aetolorum impetum tardauerat primo coniurationis fama Acarnanicae; deinde auditus Philippi aduentus regredi etiam in intimos coegit fines. nec Philippus, quanquam ne opprimerentur Acarnanes itineribus magnis ierat, ultra Dium est progressus; inde cum audisset reditum Aetolorum ex Acarnania, et ipse Pellam rediit.

[26] Laeuinus ueris principio a Corcyra profectus nauibus superato Leucata promuntorio cum uenisset Naupactum, Anticyram inde se petiturum edixit ut praesto ibi Scopas Aetolique essent. sita Anticyra est in Locride laeua parte sinum Corinthiacum intranti; breue terra iter eo, breuis nauigatio ab Naupacto est. tertio ferme post die utrimque oppugnari coepta est; grauior a mari oppugnatio erat quia et tormenta machinaeque omnis generis in nauibus erant et Romani inde oppugnabant. itaque intra paucos dies recepta urbs per deditionem Aetolis traditur: praeda ex pacto Romanis cessit. litterae Laeuino redditae consulem eum absentem declaratum et successorem uenire P. Sulpicium; ceterum diuturno ibi morbo implicitus serius spe omnium Romam uenit. M. Marcellus cum idibus Martiis consulatum inisset, senatum eo die moris modo causa habuit professus nihil se absente collega neque de re publica neque de prouinciis acturum: scire se frequentes Siculos prope urbem in uillis obtrectatorum suorum esse; quibus tantum abesse ut per se non liceat palam Romae crimina edita [ficta] ab inimicis uolgare, ut ni simularent aliquem sibi timorem absente collega dicendi de consule esse, ipse eis extemplo daturus senatum fuerit. ubi quidem collega uenisset non passurum quicquam prius agi quam ut Siculi in senatum introducantur. dilectum prope a M. Cornelio per totam Siciliam habitum ut quam plurimi questum de se Romam uenirent; eundem litteris falsis urbem implese bellum in Sicilia esse ut suam laudem minuat. moderati animi gloriam eo die adeptus consul senatum dimisit, ac prope iustitium omnium rerum futurum uidebatur donec alter consul ad urbem uenisset. otium, ut solet, excitauit plebis rumores. belli diuturnitatem et uastatos agros circa urbem, qua infesto agmine isset Hannibal, exhaustam dilectibus Italiam et prope quotannis caesos exercitus querebantur, et consules bellicosos ambo uiros acresque nimis et feroces creatos qui uel in pace tranquilla bellum excitare possent, nedum in bello respirare ciuitatem forent

passuri.

[27] Interrupit hos sermones nocte quae pridie Quinquatrus fuit pluribus simul locis circa forum incendium ortum. eodem tempore septem tabernae quae postea quinque, et argentariae quae nunc nouae appellantur, arsere; comprehensa postea priuata aedificia — neque enim tum basilicae erant — comprehensae lautumiae forumque piscatorium et atrium regium; aedis Uestae uix defensa est tredecim maxime seruorum opera, qui in publicum redempti ac manu missi sunt. nocte ac die continuatum incendium fuit, nec ulli dubium erat humana id fraude factum esse quod pluribus simul locis et iis diuersis ignes coorti essent. itaque consul ex auctoritate senatus pro contione edixit qui, quorum opera id conflatum incendium, profiteretur, praemium fore libero pecuniam, seruo libertatem. eo praemio inductus Campanorum Calauiorum seruus — Manus ei nomen erat — indicauit dominos et quinque praeterea iuuenes nobiles Campanos quorum parentes a Q. Fuluiο securi percussi erant id incendium fecisse, uolgoque facturos alia ni comprehendantur. comprehensi ipsi familiaeque eorum. et primo eleuabatur index indiciumque: pridie eum uerberibus castigatum ab dominis discessisse; per iram ac leuitatem ex re fortuita crimen commentum. ceterum ut coram coarguebantur et quaestio ex ministris facinoris foro medio haberi coepta est, fassi omnes, atque in dominos seruosque conscios animaduersum est; indici libertas data et uiginti milia aeris. consuli Laeuino Capuam praetereunti circumfusa multitudo Campanorum est obsecrantium cum lacrimis ut sibi Romam ad senatum ire liceret oratum, si qua misericordia tandem flecti possent, ne se ad ultimum perditum irent nomenque Campanorum a Q. Flacco deleri sinerent. Flaccus sibi priuatam simultatem cum Campanis negare ullam esse: publicas inimicitias ~hostilis~ et esse et futuras, quoad eo animo esse erga populum Romanum sciret; nullam enim in terris gentem esse, nullum infestiozem populum nomini Romano. ideo se moenibus inclusos tenere eos, quia si qui euasissent aliqua, uelut feras bestias per agros uagari et laniare et trucidare quodcunque obuium detur; alios ad Hannibalem transfugisse, alios ad Romam incendendam profectos. inuenturum in semusto foro consulem uestigia sceleris Campanorum; Uestae aedem petitam et aeternos ignes et conditum in penetrali

fatale pignus imperii Romani. se minime censere tutum esse Campanis potestatem intrandi Romana moenia fieri. Laeuinus Campanos, iure iurando a Flacco adactos quinto die quam ab senatu responsum acceperant Capuam redituros, sequi se Romam iussit. hac circumfusus multitudo, simul Siculis obuiam egressis secutisque Romam, praebuit <dolentis speciem duarum> clarissimarum urbium excidio, ac celeberrimis uiris uictos bello accusatores in urbem adducentis. de re publica tamen primum ac de prouinciis ambo consules ad senatum rettulere.

[28] Ibi Laeuinus, quo statu Macedonia et Graecia, Aetoli, Acarnanes Locrique essent, quasque ibi res ipse egisset terra marique, exposuit: Philippum inferentem bellum Aetolis in Macedoniam retro ab se compulsam ad intima penitus regni abisse, legionemque inde deduci posse; classem satis esse ad arcendum Italia regem. haec de se deque prouincia, cui praefuerat, consul: tum de prouinciis communis relatio fuit. decreuere patres ut alteri consulum Italia bellumque cum Hannibale prouincia esset, alter classem cui T. Otacilius praefuisset Siciliamque prouinciam cum L. Cincio praetore obtineret. exercitus eis duo decreti qui in Etruria Galliaque essent; eae quattuor erant legiones; urbanae duae superioris anni in Etruriam, duae quibus Sulpicius consul praefuisset in Galliam mitterentur. Galliae et legionibus praeeset quem consul cuius Italia prouincia esset praefecisset: in Etruriam C. Calpurnius post praeturam prorogato in annum imperio missus. et Q. Fuluius Capua prouincia decreta prorogatumque in annum imperium; exercitus ciuium sociorumque minui iussus ut ex duabus legionibus una legio, quinque milia peditum et trecenti equites essent, dimissis qui plurima stipendia haberent, et sociorum septem milia peditum et trecenti equites relinquerentur, eadem ratione stipendiorum habita in ueteribus militibus dimittendis. Cn. Fuluius consuli superioris anni nec de prouincia Apulia nec de exercitu quem habuerat quicquam mutatum; tantum in annum prorogatum imperium est. P. Sulpicius collega eius omnem exercitum praeter socios nauales iussus dimittere est. item ex Sicilia exercitus cui M. Cornelius praeeset ubi consul in prouinciam uenisset dimitti iussus. L. Cincio praetori ad obtinendam Siciliam Cannenses milites dati, duarum instar legionum. totidem legiones in Sardiniam P. Manlio Uolsoni praetori decretae, quibus L.

Cornelius in eadem prouincia priore anno praefuerat. urbanas legiones ita scribere consules iussi ne quem militem facerent qui in exercitu M. Claudii M. Ualerii Q. Fului fuisset, neue eo anno plures quam una et uiginti Romanae legiones essent.

[29] His senatus consultis perfectis sortiti prouincias consules. Sicilia et classis Marcellae, Italia cum bello aduersus Hannibalem Laeuino euenit. quae sors, uelut iterum captis Syracusis, ita exanimauit Siculos, exspectatione sortis in consulum conspectu stantes, ut comploratio eorum flebilesque uoces et extemplo oculos hominum conuerterint et postmodo sermones praebuerint. circumibant enim senatorum <domos> cum ueste sordida, adfirmantes se non modo suam quosque patriam, sed totam Siciliam relicturos si eo Marcellus iterum cum imperio redisset. nullo suo merito eum ante implacabilem in se fuisse: quid iratum quod Romam de se questum uenisse Siculos sciat facturum? obrui Aetnae ignibus aut mergi freto satius illi insulae esse quam uelut dedi noxae inimico. hae Siculorum querellae domos primum nobilium circumlatae celebrataeque sermonibus, quos partim misericordia Siculorum, partim inuidia Marcelli excitabat, in senatum etiam peruenerunt. postulatum a consulibus est ut de permutandis prouinciis senatum consulerent. Marcellus si iam auditi ab senatu Siculi essent aliam forsitan futuram fuisse sententiam suam dicere: nunc ne quis timore frenari eos dicere posset quo minus de eo libere querantur in cuius potestate mox futuri sint, si collegae nihil intersit mutare se prouinciam paratum esse, deprecari senatus praeiudicium; nam cum extra sortem collegae optionem dari prouinciae iniquum fuerit, quanto maiorem iniuriam, immo contumeliam esse, sortem suam ad eum transferri? ita senatus cum quid placeret magis ostendisset quam decreuisset, dimittitur. inter ipsos consules permutatio prouinciarum rapiente fato Marcellum ad Hannibalem facta est, ut ex quo primus post <aduersissimas haud> aduersae pugnae gloriam ceperat, in eius laudem postremus Romanorum imperatorum prosperis tum maxime bellicis rebus caderet.

[30] Permutatis prouinciis Siculi in senatum introducti multa de Hieronis regis fide perpetua erga populum Romanum uerba fecerunt, in gratiam publicam auertentes: Hieronymum ac postea Hippocraten atque Epicyden tyrannos cum ob alia, tum propter defectionem ab

Romanis ad Hannibalem inuisos fuisse sibi. ob eam causam et Hieronymum a principibus iuuentutis prope publico consilio interfectum, et in Epicydis Hippocratisque caedem septuaginta nobilissimorum iuuenum coniurationem factam; quos Marcelli mora destitutos quia ad praedictum tempus exercitum ad Syracusas non admouisset indicio facto omnes ab tyrannis interfectos. eam quoque Hippocratis et Epicydis tyrannidem Marcellum excitasse Leontinis crudeliter direptis. nunquam deinde principes Syracusanorum desisse ad Marcellum transire pollicerique se urbem cum uellet ei tradituros; sed eum primo ui capere maluisse; dein cum id neque terra neque mari omnia expertus potuisset, auctores traditarum Syracusarum fabrum aerarium Sosim et Moericum Hispanum quam principes Syracusanorum habere, totiens id nequiquam ultro offerentes, praeoptasse, quo scilicet iustiore de causa uetustissimos socios populi Romani trucidaret ac diriperet. si non Hieronymus ad Hannibalem defecisset, sed populus Syracusanus et senatus, si portas Marcello Syracusani publice et non oppressis Syracusanis tyranni eorum Hippocrates et Epicydes clausissent, si Carthaginiensium animis bellum cum populo Romano gessissent, quid ultra quam quod fecerit nisi ut deleret Syracusas facere hostiliter Marcellum potuisse? certe praeter moenia et tecta exhausta urbis ac refracta ac spoliata deum delubra dis ipsis ornamentisque eorum ablatis nihil relictum Syracusis esse. bona quoque multis adempta ita ut ne nudo quidem solo reliquiis direptae fortunae alere sese ac suos possent. orare se patres conscriptos ut si nequeant omnia, saltem quae compareant cognoscique possint restitui dominis iubeant. talia conquestos cum excedere ex templo ut de postulatis eorum patres consuli possent Laeuinus iussisset, ‘maneant immo’ inquit Marcellus, ‘ut coram iis respondeam, quando ea condicione pro uobis, patres conscripti, bella gerimus ut uictos armis accusatores habeamus duae<que> captae hoc anno urbes Capua Fuluium reum, Marcellum Syracusae habeant.’

[31] Reductis in curiam legatis tum consul ‘non adeo maiestatis’ inquit ‘populi Romani imperiique huius oblitus sum, patres conscripti, ut, si de meo crimine ambigeretur, consul dicturus causam accusantibus Graecis fuerim; sed non quid ego fecerim in disquisitionem uenit, quem quidquid in hostibus feci ius belli defendit, sed quid isti pati debuerint. qui si non fuerunt hostes, nihil

interest nunc an uiuo Hierone Syracusas uiolauerim; sin autem descuerunt a populo Romano, si legatos nostros ferro atque armis petierunt, urbem ac moenia clausurunt exercituque Carthaginiensium aduersus nos tutati sunt, quis passos esse hostilia cum fecerint indignatur? tradentes urbem principes Syracusanorum auersatus sum; Sosim et Moericum Hispanum quibus tantam crederem rem potiores habui. non estis extremi Syracusanorum, quippe qui aliis humilitatem obiciatis: quis est uestrum qui se mihi portas aperturum, qui armatos milites meos in urbem accepturum promiserit? odistis et exsecramini eos qui fecerunt, et ne hic quidem contumeliis in eos dicendis parcitis; tantum abest ut et ipsi tale quicquam facturi fueritis. ipsa humilitas eorum, patres conscripti, quam isti obiciunt maximo argumento est me neminem qui nauatam operam rei publicae nostrae uellet auersatum esse. et antequam obsiderem Syracusas, nunc legatis mittendis, nunc ad conloquium eundo temptaui pacem, et posteaquam neque legatos uiolandi uerecundia erat nec mihi ipsi congresso ad portas cum principibus responsum dabatur, multis terra marique exhaustis laboribus tandem ui atque armis Syracusas cepi. quae captis acciderint apud Hannibalem et Carthaginienses uictos iustius quam apud uictoris populi senatum quererentur. ego, patres conscripti, Syracusas spoliatas si negaturus essem, nunquam spoliis earum urbem Romam exornarem. quae autem singulis uictor aut ademi aut dedi, cum belli iure tum ex cuiusque merito satis scio me fecisse. ea uos rata habeatis, patres conscripti, necne, magis rei publicae interest quam mea. quippe mea fides exsoluta est: ad rem publicam pertinet ne acta mea rescindendo alios in posterum segniores duces faciatis. et quoniam coram et Siculorum et mea uerba audistis, patres conscripti, simul templo excedemus, ut me absente liberius consuli senatus possit.' ita dimissi Siculi et ipse in Capitolium ad dilectum discessit.

[32] Consul alter de postulatis Siculorum ad patres rettulit. ibi cum diu sentiis certatum esset et magna pars senatus, principe eius sententiae T. Manlio Torquato, cum tyrannis bellum gerendum fuisse censerent hostibus et Syracusanorum et populi Romani, et urbem recipi, non capi, et receptam legibus antiquis et libertate stabiliri, non fessam miseranda seruitute bello affligi; inter tyrannorum et ducis Romani certamina praemium uictoris in medio positam urbem

pulcherrimam ac nobilissimam perisse, horreum atque aerarium quondam populi Romani, cuius munificentia ac donis multis tempestatibus, hoc denique ipso Punico bello adiuta ornataque res publica esset; si ab inferis exsistat rex Hiero fidissimus imperii Romani cultor, quo ore aut Syracusas aut Romam ei ostendi posse, cum, ubi semirutam ac spoliata patriam respexerit, ingrediens Romam in uestibulo urbis, prope in porta, spolia patriae suae uisurus sit? — haec taliaque cum ad inuidiam consulis miserationemque Siculorum dicerentur, mitius tamen decreuerunt patres: acta M. Marcelli quae is gerens bellum uictorque egisset rata habenda esse, in reliquum curae senatui fore rem Syracusanam, mandatuosque consuli Laeuino ut quod sine iactura rei publicae fieri posset fortunis eius ciuitatis consuleret. missis duobus senatoribus in Capitolium ad consulem uti rediret in curiam et introductis Siculis, senatus consultum recitatum est; legatique benigne appellati ac dimissi ad genua se Marcelli consulis proiecerunt obsecrantes ut quae deplorandae ac leuandae calamitatis causa dixissent ueniam eis daret, et in fidem clientelamque se urbemque Syracusas acciperet. potens senatus consulto consul clementer appellatos eos dimisit.

[33] Campanis deinde senatus datus est, quorum oratio miserabilior, causa durior erat. neque enim meritas poenas negare poterant, nec tyranni erant in quos culpam conferrent, sed satis pensum poenarum tot ueneno absumptis, tot securi percussis senatoribus credebant: paucos nobilium superstites esse, quos nec sua conscientia ut quicquam de se grauius consulerent impulerit nec uictoris ira capitis damnauerit; eos libertatem sibi suisque et bonorum aliquam partem orare ciues Romanos, adfinitatibus plerosque et propinquis iam cognationibus ex conubio uetusto iunctos. summotis deinde e templo paulisper dubitatum an arcessendus a Capua Q. Fuluius esset — mortuus enim post captam Claudius consul erat — ut coram imperatore qui res gessisset, sicut inter Marcellum Siculosque disceptatum fuerat, disceptaretur. dein cum M. Atilium C. Fuluium fratrem Flacci legatos eius et Q. Minucium et L. Ueturium Philonem item Claudii legatos qui omnibus gerendis rebus adfuerant in senatu uiderent nec Fuluium auocari a Capua nec differri Campanos uellent, interrogatus sententiam M. Atilius Regulus, cuius ex iis qui ad Capuam fuerant maxima

auctoritas erat, 'in consilio' inquit 'arbitror me fuisse consulibus Capua capta cum quaereretur ecqui Campanorum bene meritus de re publica nostra esset. duas mulieres compertum est Uestiam Oppiam Atellanam Capuae habitantem et Paculam Cluuiam quae quondam quaestum corpore fecisset, illam cottidie sacrificasse pro salute et uictoria populi Romani, hanc captiuis egentibus alimenta clam suppeditasse: ceterorum omnium Campanorum eundem erga nos animum quem Carthaginiensium fuisse, securique percussos a Q. Fulvio fuisse magis quorum dignitas inter alios quam quorum culpa eminebat. per senatum agi de Campanis, qui ciues Romani sunt, iniussu populi non uideo posse, idque et apud maiores nostros in Satricanis factum esse cum defecissent ut M. Antistius tribunus plebis prius rogationem ferret sciscereturque plebs uti senatui de Satricanis sententiae dicendae ius esset. itaque censeo cum tribunis plebis agendum esse ut eorum unus pluresue rogationem ferant ad plebem qua nobis statuendi de Campanis ius fiat.' L. Atilius tribunus plebis ex auctoritate senatus plebem in haec uerba rogauit: 'omnes Campani Atellani Calatini Sabatini qui se dediderunt in arbitrium dicionemque populi Romani <Q.> Fulvio proconsuli, quosque una secum dedidere quaeque una secum dedidere agrum urbemque diuina humanaque utensiliaque siue quid aliud dediderunt, de iis rebus quid fieri uelit uos rogo, Quirites.' Plebes sic iussit: 'quod senatus iuratus, maxima pars, censeat, qui adsient, id uolumus iubemusque.'

[34] Ex hoc plebei scito senatus consultus Oppiae Cluuiaeque primum bona ac libertatem restituit: si qua alia praemia petere ab senatu uellent, uenire eas Romam. Campanis in familias singulas decreta facta quae non operae pretium est omnia enumerare: aliorum bona publicanda, ipsos liberosque eorum et coniuges uendendas, extra filias quae enupsissent priusquam in populi Romani potestatem uenirent: alios in uincula condendos ac de iis posterius consulendum: aliorum Campanorum summam etiam census distinxerunt publicanda necne bona essent: pecua captiua praeter equos et mancipia praeter puberes uirilis sexus et omnia quae solo non continerentur restituenda censuerunt dominis. Campanos omnes Atellanos Calatinos Sabatinos, extra quam qui eorum aut ipsi aut parentes eorum apud hostes essent, liberos esse iusserunt, ita ut nemo eorum ciuis Romanus aut Latini nominis esset, neue quis eorum qui Capuae

fuisset dum portae clausae essent in urbe agroue Campano intra certam diem maneret; locus ubi habitarent trans Tiberim qui non contingeret Tiberim daretur: qui nec Capuae nec in urbe Campana quae a populo Romano defecisset per bellum fuissent, eos cis Lirim amnem Romam uersus, qui ad Romanos transissent priusquam Capuam Hannibal ueniret, cis Uolturnum emouendos censuerunt, ne quis eorum propius mare quindecim milibus passuum agrum aedificiumue haberet. qui eorum trans Tiberim emoti essent, ne ipsi posterius eorum uspiam pararent haberentue nisi in Ueiente Sutrimo Nepesino agro, dum ne cui maior quam quinquaginta iugerum agri modus esset. senatorum omnium quique magistratus Capuae Atellae Calatiae gessissent bona uenire Capuae iusserunt: libera corpora quae uenum dari placuerat Romam mitti ac Romae uenire. signa statuas aeneas quae capta de hostibus dicerentur, quae eorum sacra ac profana essent ad pontificum collegium reiecerunt. ob haec decreta maestiores aliquanto quam Romam uenerant Campanos dimiserunt; nec iam Q. Fului saeuitiam in sese, sed iniquitatem deum atque execrabilem fortunam suam incusabant.

[35] Dimissis Siculis Campanisque dilectus habitus. scripto deinde exercitu de remigum supplemento agi coeptum; in quam rem cum neque hominum satis nec ex qua pararentur stipendiumque acciperent pecuniae quicquam ea tempestate in publico esset, edixerunt consules ut priuatim ex censu ordinibusque, sicut antea, remiges darent cum stipendio cibariisque dierum triginta. ad id edictum tantus fremitus hominum, tanta indignatio fuit ut magis dux quam materia seditioni deesset: secundum Siculos Campanosque plebem Romanam perdendam lacerandamque sibi consules sumpsisse. per tot annos tributo exhaustos nihil reliqui praeter terram nudam ac uastam habere. tecta hostes incendisse, seruos agri cultores rem publicam abduxisse, nunc ad militiam paruo aere emendo, nunc remiges imperando; si quid cui argenti aerisue fuerit, stipendio remigum et tributis annuis ablatum. se ut dent quod non habeant nulla ui nullo imperio cogi posse. bona sua uenderent; in corpora quae reliqua essent saeuirent; ne unde redimantur quidem quicquam superesse. haec non in occulto, sed propalam in foro atque oculis ipsorum consulum ingens turba circumfusi fremebant; nec eos sedare consules nunc castigando, nunc consolando poterant. spatium deinde

iis tridui se dare ad cogitandum dixerunt; quo ipsi ad rem inspiciendam <et> expediendam usi sunt. senatum postero die habuerunt de remigum supplemento; ubi cum multa disseruissent cur aequa plebis recusatio esset, uerterunt orationem eo ut dicerent priuatis id seu aequum seu iniquum onus iniungendum esse; nam unde, cum pecunia in aerario non esset, paraturos nauales socios? quomodo autem sine classibus aut Siciliam obtineri aut Italia Philippum arceri posse aut tuta Italiae litora esse?

[36] Cum in hac difficultate rerum consilium haereret ac prope torpor quidam occupasset hominum mentes, tum Laeuinus consul: magistratus senatui et senatum populo, sicut honore praestet, ita ad omnia quae dura atque aspera essent subeunda ducem debere esse. ‘si quid iniungere inferiori uelis, id prius in te ac tuos si ipse iuris statueris, facilius omnes obedientes habeas; nec impensa grauis est, cum <ex> ea plus quam pro uirili parte sibi quemque capere principum uident. itaque <si> classes habere atque ornare uolumus populum Romanum, priuatos sine recusatione remiges dare, nobismet ipsis primum imperemus. aurum argentum <aes> signatum omne senatores crastino die in publicum conferamus, ita ut anulos sibi quisque et coniugi et liberis, et filio bullam et quibus uxor filiaeue sunt singulas uncias pondo auri relinquant: argenti qui curuli sella sederunt equi ornamenta et libras pondo, ut salinum patellamque deorum causa habere possint: ceteri senatores libram argenti tantum: aeris signati quina milia in singulos patres familiae relinquamus: ceterum omne aurum argentum aes signatum ad triumuiros mensarios extemplo deferamus nullo ante senatus consulto facto, ut uoluntaria conlatio et certamen adiuuandae rei publicae excitet ad aemulandum animos primum equestris ordinis, dein reliquae plebis. hanc unam uiam multa inter nos conlocuti consules inuenimus; ingredimini dis bene iuuantibus. res publica incolumis et priuatas res facile saluas praestat: publica prodendo tua nequiquam serues.’ in haec tanto animo consensum est ut gratiae ultro consulibus agerentur. senatu inde misso pro se quisque aurum argentum et aes in publicum conferunt, tanto certamine iniecto ut prima aut inter primos nomina sua uellent in publicis tabulis esse ut nec triumuiroi accipiundo nec scribae referendo sufficerent. hunc consensum senatus equester ordo est secutus, equestris ordinis plebs.

ita sine edicto, sine coercitione magistratus nec remige in supplementum nec stipendio res publica eguit; paratisque omnibus ad bellum consules in prouincias profecti sunt.

[37] Neque aliud tempus belli fuit quo Carthaginienses Romanique pariter uariis casibus immixti magis in ancipiti spe ac metu fuerint. nam Romanis et in prouinciis hinc in Hispania aduersae res, hinc prosperae in Sicilia luctum et laetitiam miscuerant, et in Italia cum Tarentum amissum damno et dolori, tum arx cum praesidio retenta praeter spem gaudio fuit, et terrorem subitum pauoremque urbis Romae obsessae et oppugnatae Capua post dies paucos capta in laetitiam uertit. transmarinae quoque res quadam uice pensatae: Philippus hostis tempore haud satis opportuno factus, Aetoli noui adsciti socii Attalusque Asiae rex, iam uelut despondente fortuna Romanis imperium orientis. Carthaginienses quoque Capuae amissae Tarentum captum aequabant, et ut ad moenia urbis Romanae nullo prohibente se peruenisse in gloria ponebant, ita pigebat inriti incepti, pudebatque adeo se spretos ut sedentibus ipsis ad Romana moenia alia porta exercitus Romanus in Hispaniam duceretur. ipsae quoque Hispaniae quo propius spem uenerant tantis duobus ducibus exercitibusque caesis debellatum ibi ac pulsos inde Romanos esse, eo plus ab L. Marcio tumultuario duce ad uanum et inritum uictoriam redactam esse indignationis praebebant. ita aequante fortuna suspensa omnia utrisque erant, integra spe, integro metu, uelut illo tempore primum bellum inciperent.

[38] Hannibalem ante omnia angebat quod Capua pertinacius oppugnata ab Romanis quam defensa ab se multorum Italiae populorum animos auerterat, quos neque omnes tenere praesidiis nisi uellet in multas paruasque partes carpere exercitum quod minime tum expediebat poterat, nec deductis praesidiis spei liberam uel obnoxiam timori sociorum relinquere fidem. praeceps in auaritiam et crudelitatem animus ad spolianda quae tueri nequibat, ut uastata hosti relinquerentur, inclinauit. id foedum consilium cum incepto tum etiam exitu fuit. neque enim indigna patientium modo abalienabantur animi, sed ceterorum etiam; quippe ad plures exemplum ~quam~pertinebat; nec consul Romanus temptandis urbibus sicunde spes aliqua se ostendisset deerat. Salapiae principes erant Dasius et Blattius, Dasius Hannibali amicus; Blattius quantum ex tuto poterat

rem Romanam fouebat et per occultos nuntios spem prodicionis fecerat Marcello; sed sine adiutore Dasio res transigi non poterat. multum ac diu cunctatus, et tum quoque magis inopia consilii potioris quam spe effectus, Dasium appellabat; at ille, cum ab re auersus, tum aemulo potentatus inimicus, rem Hannibali aperit. arcesso utroque Hannibal cum pro tribunali quaedam ageret mox de Blattio cogniturus, starentque summoto populo accusator et reus, Blattius de prodicione Dasium appellat. enimvero ille, uelut in manifesta re, exclamat sub oculis Hannibalis secum de prodicione agi. Hannibali atque eis qui aderant quo audacior res erat, minus similis ueri uisa est: aemulationem profecto atque odium esse, et id crimen adferri quod, quia testem habere non posset, liberius fingenti esset. ita inde dimissi sunt. nec Blattius ante abstinit tam audaci incepto quam idem obtundendo, docendoque quam ea res ipsis patriaeque salutaris esset, peruicit ut praesidium Punicum — <quingenti> autem Numidae erant — Salapiaque traderetur Marcello. nec sine caede multa tradi potuit. longe fortissimi equitum toto Punico exercitu erant. itaque, quamquam improuisa res fuit nec usus equorum in urbe erat, tamen armis inter tumultum captis et eruptionem temptauerunt et, cum euadere nequirent, pugnantes ad ultimum occubuerunt, nec plus quinquaginta ex his in potestatem hostium uiui uenerunt. plusque aliquanto damni haec ala equitum amissa Hannibali quam Salapia fuit; nec deinde unquam Poenus, quo longe plurimum ualuerat, equitatu superior fuit.

[39] Per idem tempus cum in arce Tarentina uix inopia tolerabilis esset, spem omnem praesidium quod ibi erat Romanum praefectusque praesidii atque arcis M. Liuius in comitatibus ab Sicilia missis habebant, qui ut tuto praeterueherentur oram Italiae, classis uiginti ferme nauium Regii stabat. praeerat classi comitatibusque D. Quinctius, obscuro genere ortus, ceterum multis fortibus factis militari gloria inlustris. primo quinque naues, quarum maximae duae triremes, a Marcello ei traditae erant [habuit]: postea rem impigre saepe gerenti tres additae quinqueres: postremo ipse a sociis Reginisque et a Uelia et a Paesto debitas ex foedere exigendo classem uiginti nauium, sicut ante dictum est, efficit. huic ab Regio profectae classi Democrates cum pari nauium Tarentinarum numero quindecim milia ferme ab urbe ad Sapiportem obuius fuit. uelis tum

forte improuidus futuri certaminis Romanus ueniebat; sed circa Crotonem Sybarimque suppleuerat remigio naues, instructamque et armatam egregie pro magnitudine nauium classem habebat; et tum forte sub idem tempus et uenti uis omnis cecidit et hostes in conspectu fuere ut ad componenda armamenta expediendumque remigem ac militem ad imminens certamen satis temporis esset. raro alias tantis animis iustae concurrerunt classes, quippe cum in maioris discrimen rei quam ipsae erant pugnarent, Tarentini ut reciperata urbe ab Romanis post centesimum prope annum, arcem etiam liberarent, spe commeatus quoque hostibus si nauali proelio possessionem maris ademissent interclusuros, Romani ut retenta possessione arcis ostenderent non ui ac uirtute, sed proditione ac furto Tarentum amissum. itaque ex utraque parte signo dato cum rostris concurrissent neque retro nauem inhiherent nec dirimi ab se hostem paterentur quam quis indeptus nauem erat ferrea iniecta manu, ita conserebant ex propinquo pugnam ut non missilibus tantum, sed gladiis etiam prope conlato pede gereretur res. prorae inter se iunctae haerebant, puppes alieno remigio circumagebantur; ita in arto stipatae erant naues ut uix ullum telum in mari uanum intercideret; frontibus uelut pedestris acies urgebant peruiaeque naues pugnantibus erant. insignis tamen inter ceteras pugna fuit duarum quae primae agminum concurrerant inter se. in Romana naue ipse Quinctius erat, in Tarentina Nico cui Perconi fuit cognomen, non publico modo sed priuato etiam odio inuisus atque infestus Romanis quod eius factionis erat quae Tarentum Hannibali prodiderat. hic Quinctium simul pugnantem hortantemque suos, incautum hasta transfigit. ille ut praeceps cum armis procidit ante proram, uictor Tarentinus in turbatam duce amisso nauem impigre transgressus cum summouisset hostes et prora iam Tarentinorum esset, puppim male conglobati tuerentur Romani, repente et alia a puppe triremis hostium apparuit; ita in medio circumuenta Romana nauis capitur. hinc ceteris terror iniectus uti praetoriam nauem captam uidere, fugientesque passim aliae in alto mersae, aliae in terram remis abreptae mox praedae fuere Thurinis Metapontinisque. ex onerariis quae cum commeatu sequebantur, perpaucae in potestatem hostium uenere; aliae ad incertos uentos hinc atque illinc obliqua transferentes uela, in altum euectae sunt. nequaquam pari

fortuna per eos dies Tarenti res gesta. nam ad quattuor milia hominum frumentatum egressa cum in agris passim uagarentur, Liuius qui arcis praesidioque Romano praeerat, intentus in omnes occasiones gerendae rei, C. Persium impigrum uirum cum duobus milibus et <quingentis> armatorum ex arce emisit, qui uage effusos per agros palatosque adortus cum diu passim cecidisset, paucos ex multis, trepida fuga incidentes semiapertis portarum foribus, in urbem compulit ne<que multum afuit quin> urbs eodem impetu caperetur. ita aequatae res ad Tarentum, Romanis uictoribus <terra>, Carthaginiensibus mari. frumenti spes, quae in oculis fuerat, utrosque frustrata pariter.

[40] Per idem tempus Laeuinus consul iam magna parte anni circumacta in Siciliam ueteribus nouisque sociis expectatus cum uenisset, primum ac potissimum omnium ratus Syracusis noua pace inconditas componere res, Agrigentum inde, quod belli reliquum erat tenebaturque a Carthaginiensium ualido praesidio, duxit legiones. et adfuit fortuna incepto. Hanno erat imperator Carthaginiensium, sed omnem in Muttine Numidisque spem repositam habebant. per totam Siciliam uagus praedas agebat ex sociis Romanorum neque intercludi ab Agrigento ui aut arte ulla nec quin erumperet ubi uellet prohiberi poterat. haec eius gloria quia iam imperatoris quoque famae officiebat, postremo in inuidiam uertit ut ne bene gestae quidem res iam Hannoni propter auctorem satis laetae essent. postremo praefecturam eius filio suo dedit, ratus cum imperio auctoritatem quoque ei inter Numidas erepturum. quod longe aliter euenit; nam ueterem fauorem eius sua insuper inuidia auxit; neque ille indignitatem iniuriae tulit confestimque ad Laeuinum occultos nuntios misit de tradendo Agrigento. per quos ut est facta fides compositusque rei gerendae modus, portam ad mare ferentem Numidae cum occupassent pulsus inde custodibus aut caesis Romanos ad id ipsum missos in urbem acceperunt. et cum agmine iam in media urbis ac forum magno tumultu iretur, ratus Hanno non aliud quam tumultum ac secessionem, id quod et ante acciderat, Numidarum esse, ad comprimendam seditionem processit. atque ille cum ei multitudo maior quam Numidarum procul uisa et clamor Romanus haudquaquam ignotus ad aures accidisset, priusquam ad ictum teli ueniret capessit fugam. per auersam portam emissus

adsumpto comite Epicyde cum paucis ad mare peruenit; nactique opportune paruum nauigium, relictis hostibus Sicilia de qua per tot annos certatum erat, in Africam traiecerunt. alia multitudo Poenorum Siculorumque ne temptato quidem certamine cum caeci in fugam ruerent clausique exitus essent circa portas caesa. oppido recepto Laeuinus qui capita rerum Agrigenti erant uirgis caesos securi percussit, ceteros praedamque uendidit; omnem pecuniam Romam misit. fama Agrigentinorum cladis Siciliam cum peruasisset, omnia repente ad Romanos inclinauerunt. prodita breui sunt uiginti oppida, sex ui capta: uoluntaria deditione in fidem uenerunt ad quadraginta. quarum ciuitatum principibus cum pro cuiusque merito consul pretia poenasque exsoluisset, coegissetque Siculos positis tandem armis ad agrum colendum animos conuertere, ut esset non incolarum modo alimentis frugifera insula, sed urbis Romae atque Italiae, id quod multis saepe tempestatibus fecerat, annonam leuaret, ab Agathyrna inconditam multitudinem secum in Italiam transuexit. quattuor milia hominum erant, mixti ex omni conluuione exsules obaerati capitalia ausi plerique cum in ciuitatibus suis ac sub legibus uixerant, et postquam eos ex uariis causis fortuna similis conglobauerat Agathyrnam per latrocinia ac rapinam tolerantes uitam. hos neque relinquere Laeuinus in insula tum primum noua pace coalescente uelut materiam nouandis rebus satis tutum ratus est, et Reginis usui futuri erant ad populandum Bruttium agrum adsuetam latrociniiis quaerentibus manum. et quod ad Siciliam attinet eo anno debellatum est.

[41] In Hispania principio ueris P. Scipio nauibus deductis euocatisque edicto Tarraconem sociorum auxiliis classem onerariasque ostium inde Hiberi fluminis petere iubet. eodem legiones ex hibernis conuenire cum iussisset, ipse cum quinque milibus sociorum ab Tarracone profectus ad exercitum est. quo cum uenisset adloquendos maxime ueteres milites qui tantis superfuerunt cladibus ratus, contione aduocata ita disseruit: 'nemo ante me nouus imperator militibus suis priusquam opera eorum usus esset gratias agere iure ac merito potuit: me uobis priusquam prouinciam aut castra uiderem obligauit fortuna, primum quod ea pietate erga patrem patruumque meum uiuos mortuosque fuistis, deinde quod amissam tanta clade prouinciae possessionem integram et populo Romano et

successori mihi uirtute uestra obtinuistis. sed cum iam benignitate deum id paremus atque agamus non ut ipsi maneamus in Hispania sed ne Poeni maneant, nec ut pro ripa Hiberi stantes arceamus transitu hostes sed ut ultro transeamus transferamusque bellum, uereor ne cui uestrum maius id audaciusque consilium quam aut pro memoria cladum nuper acceptarum aut pro aetate mea uideatur. aduersae pugnae in Hispania nullius in animo quam meo minus obliterari possunt, quippe cui pater et patruus intra triginta dierum spatium ut aliud super aliud cumularetur familiae nostrae funus interfecti sunt; sed ut familiaris paene orbitas ac solitudo frangit animum, ita publica cum fortuna tum uirtus desperare de summa rerum prohibet. ea fato quodam data nobis sors est ut magnis omnibus bellis uicti uicerimus. uetera omitto, Porsennam Gallos Samnites: a Punicis bellis incipiam. quot classes, quot duces, quot exercitus priore bello amissi sunt? iam quid hoc bello memorem? omnibus aut ipse adfui cladibus aut quibus afui, maxime unus omnium eas sensi. Trebia Trasumennus Cannae quid aliud sunt quam monumenta occisorum exercituum consulumque Romanorum? adde defectionem Italiae, Siciliae maioris partis, Sardiniae; adde ultimum terrorem ac pauorem, castra Punica inter Anienem ac moenia Romana posita et uisum prope in portis uictorem Hannibalem. in hac ruina rerum stetit una integra atque immobilis uirtus populi Romani; haec omnia strata humi erexit ac sustulit. uos omnium primi, milites, post Cannensem cladem uadenti Hasdrubali ad Alpes Italiamque, qui si se cum fratre coniunxisset nullum iam nomen esset populi Romani, ductu auspicioque patris mei obstitistis; et hae secundae res illas aduersas sustinuerunt. nunc benignitate deum omnia secunda prospera in dies laetiora ac meliora in Italia Siciliaque geruntur. in Sicilia Syracusae, Agrigentum captum, pulsae tota insula hostes, receptaque prouincia in dicionem populi Romani est: in Italia Arpi recepti, Capua capta. iter omne ab urbe Roma trepida fuga emensus Hannibal, in extremum angulum agri Bruttii compulsus nihil iam maius precatur deos quam ut incolumi cedere atque abire ex hostium terra liceat. quid igitur minus conueniat, milites, quam cum aliae super alias clades cumularentur ac di prope ipsi cum Hannibale starent, uos hic cum parentibus meis — aequentur enim etiam honore nominis — sustinuisse labantem fortunam populi Romani, nunc

eosdem quia illic omnia secunda laetaque sunt animis deficere? nuper quoque quae acciderunt, utinam tam sine meo luctu quam~~. nunc di immortales imperii Romani praesides qui centuriis omnibus ut mihi imperium iuberent dari fuere auctores, iidem auguriis auspiciisque et per nocturnos etiam uisus omnia laeta ac prospera portendunt. animus quoque meus, maximus mihi ad hoc tempus uates, praesagit nostram Hispaniam esse, breui extorre hinc omne Punicum nomen maria terrasque foeda fuga impleturum. quod mens sua sponte diuinat, idem subicit ratio haud fallax. uexati ab iis socii nostram fidem per legatos implorant. tres duces discordantes prope ut defecerint alii ab aliis, trifariam exercitum in diuersissimas regiones distraxere. eadem in illos ingruit fortuna quae nuper nos adflixit; nam et deseruntur ab sociis, ut prius ab Celtiberis nos, et diduxere exercitus quae patri patruoque meo causa exitii fuit; nec discordia intestina coire eos in unum sinet neque singuli nobis resistere poterunt. uos modo, milites, fauete nomini Scipionum, suboli imperatorum uestrorum uelut accisis recrescenti stirpibus. agite, ueteres milites, nouum exercitum nouumque ducem traducite Hiberum, traducite in terras cum multis fortibus factis saepe a uobis peragratas. breui faciam ut, quemadmodum nunc noscitis in me patris patruique similitudinem oris uoltusque et lineamenta corporis, ita ingenii fidei uirtutisque effigiem uobis reddam ut reuixisse aut renatum sibi quisque Scipionem imperatorem dicat.’

[42] Hac oratione accensis militum animis relicto ad praesidium regionis eius M. Silano cum tribus milibus peditum et trecentis equitibus ceteras omnes copias — erant autem uiginti quinque milia peditum, duo milia quingenti equites — Hiberum traiecit. ibi quibusdam suadentibus ut quoniam in tres tam diuersas regiones discessissent Punici exercitus, proximum adgrederetur, periculum esse ratus ne eo facto in unum omnes contraheret nec par esset unus tot exercitibus, Carthaginem Nouam interim oppugnare statuit urbem cum ipsam opulentam suis opibus tum hostium omni bellico apparatu plenam — ibi arma, ibi pecunia, ibi totius Hispaniae obsides erant — sitam praeterea cum opportune ad traiciendum in Africam tum super portum satis amplum quantaeuis classi et nescio an unum in Hispaniae ora qua nostro adiacet mari. nemo omnium quo iretur sciebat praeter C. Laelium. is classe circummissus ita moderari

cursum nauium iussus erat ut eodem tempore Scipio ab terra exercitum ostenderet et classis portum intraret. septimo die ab Hiberno Carthaginem uentum est simul terra marique. castra ab regione urbis qua in septentrionem uersa est posita; his ab tergo — nam frons natura tuta erat — uallum obiectum. etenim sita Carthago sic est. sinus est maris media fere Hispaniae ora, maxime Africo uento oppositus, <ad duo milia> et quingentos passus introrsus retractus, paululo plus passuum <mille et ducentos> in latitudinem patens. huius in ostio sinus parua insula obiecta ab alto portum ab omnibus uentis praeterquam Africo tutum facit. ab intimo sinu paeneinsula excurrit, tumulus is ipse in quo condita urbs est, ab ortu solis et a meridie cincta mari: ab occasu stagnum claudit paulum etiam ad septentrionem fusum, incertae altitudinis utcumque exaestuatur aut deficit mare. continenti urbem iugum ducentos fere et quinquaginta passus patens coniungit. unde cum tam parui operis munitio esset, non obiecit uallum imperator Romanus, seu fiduciam hosti superbe ostentans siue ut subeunti saepe ad moenia urbis recursus pateret.

[43] Cetera quae munienda erant cum perfecisset, naues etiam in portu uelut maritimam quoque ostentans obsidionem instruxit; circumuectusque classem cum monuisset praefectos nauium ut uigilias nocturnas intenti seruarent, omnia ubique primo obsessum hostem conari, regressus in castra ut consilii sui rationem quod ab urbe potissimum oppugnanda bellum orsus esset militibus ostenderet et spem potiundae cohortando faceret, contione aduocata ita disseruit: ‘ad urbem unam oppugnandam si quis uos adductos credit, is magis operis uestri quam emolumenti rationem exactam, milites, habet; oppugnabitis enim uere moenia unius urbis, sed in una urbe uniuersam ceperitis Hispaniam. hic sunt obsides omnium nobilium regum populorumque, qui simul in potestate uestra erunt, extemplo omnia quae nunc sub Carthaginensibus sunt in dicionem tradent; hic pecunia omnis hostium, sine qua neque illi gerere bellum possunt, quippe qui mercennarios exercitus alant, et quae nobis maximo usui ad conciliandos animos barbarorum erit; hic tormenta arma omnis apparatus belli est, qui simul et uos instruet et hostes nudabit. potiemur praeterea cum pulcherrima opulentissimaque urbe tum opportunissima portu egregio unde terra marique quae belli usus poscunt suppeditentur; quae cum magna ipsi habebimus tum

dempserimus hostibus multo maiora. haec illis arx, hoc horreum aerarium armamentarium, hoc omnium rerum receptaculum est; huc rectus ex Africa cursus est; haec una inter Pyrenaeum et Gades statio; hinc omni Hispaniae imminet Africa.~~

[44] ~~armauerat. cum terra marique instrui oppugnationem uideret et ipse copias ita disponit. oppidanorum duo milia ab ea parte qua castra Romana erant opponit: quingentis militibus arcem insidit, quingentos tumulo urbis in orientem uerso imponit: multitudinem aliam quo clamor, quo subita uocasset res intentam ad omnia occurrere iubet. patefacta deinde porta eos quos in uia ferente ad castra hostium instruxerat emittit. Romani duce ipso praecipiente parumper cessere, ut propiores subsidiis in certamine ipso summittendis essent. et primo haud impares stetere acies; subsidia deinde identidem summissa e castris non auerterunt solum in fugam hostes, sed adeo effusis institerunt ut nisi receptui cecinisset permixti fugientibus inrupturi fuisse in urbem uiderentur. trepidatio uero non in proelio maior quam tota urbe fuit; multae stationes pauore atque fuga desertae sunt relictique muri cum qua cuique erat proximum desiluissent. quod ubi egressus Scipio in tumulum quem Mercuri uocant animaduertit multis partibus nudata defensoribus moenia esse, omnes e castris excitos ire ad oppugnandam urbem et ferre scalas iubet. ipse trium prae se iuuenum ualidorum scutis oppositis — ingens enim iam uis omnis generis telorum e muris uolabat — ad urbem succedit; hortatur imperat quae in rem sunt, quodque plurimum ad accendendos militum animos intererat, testis spectatorque uirtutis atque ignauiae cuiusque adest. itaque in uolnera ac tela ruunt; neque illos muri neque superstantes armati arcere queunt quin certatim adscendant. et ab nauibus eodem tempore ea quae mari adluitur pars urbis oppugnari coepta est. ceterum tumultus inde maior quam uis adhiberi poterat. dum applicant, dum raptim exponunt scalas militesque dum qua cuique proximum est in terram euadere properant, ipsa festinatione et certamine alii alios impediunt.

[45] Inter haec repleuerat iam Poenus armatis muros, et uis magna ex ingenti copia congesta telorum suppeditabat; sed neque uiri nec tela nec quicquam aliud aequae quam moenia ipsa sese defendebant. rarae enim scalae altitudini aequari poterant, et quo quaeque altiores, eo infirmiores erant. itaque cum summus quisque euadere non posset,

subirent tamen alii, onere ipso frangebantur. quidam stantibus scalis cum altitudo caliginem oculis offudisset, ad terram delati sunt. et cum passim homines scalaeque ruerent et ipso successu audacia atque alacritas hostium cresceret, signum receptui datum est; quod spem non praesentis modo ab tanto certamine ac labore quietis obsessis, sed etiam in posterum dedit scalis et corona capi urbem non posse: opera et difficilia esse et tempus datura ad ferendam opem imperatoribus suis. uix prior tumultus conticuerat cum Scipio ab defessis iam uolneratisque recentes integrosque alios accipere scalas iubet et ui maiore adgredi urbem. ipse ut ei nuntiatum est aestum decedere, quod per piscatores Tarraconenses, nunc leuibus cumbis, nunc ubi eae siderent uadis peruagatos stagnum, compertum habebat facilem pedibus ad murum transitum dari, eo secum armatos quingentos duxit. medium ferme diei erat, et ad id, quod sua sponte cedente in mare aestu trahebatur aqua, acer etiam septentrio ortus inclinatum stagnum eodem quo aestus ferebat et adeo nudauerat uada ut alibi umbilico tenuis aqua esset, alibi genua uix superaret. hoc cura ac ratione compertum in prodigium ac deos uertens Scipio qui ad transitum Romanis mare uerterent et stagna auferrent uiasque ante nunquam initas humano uestigio aperirent, Neptunum iubebat ducem itineris sequi ac medio stagno euadere ad moenia.

[46] Ab terra ingens labor succedentibus erat; nec altitudine tantum moenium impediabantur, sed quod ~euntes~ ad ancipites utrimque ictus subiectos habebant Romanos, ut latera infestiora subeuntibus quam aduersa corpora essent. at parte ~in alia quingentis et per stagnum facilis transitus et in murum adscensus inde fuit; nam neque opere emunitus erat ut ubi ipsius loci ac stagni praesidio satis creditum foret, nec ulla armatorum statio aut custodia opposita intentis omnibus ad opem eo ferendam unde periculum ostendebatur. ubi urbem sine certamine intrauere, pergunt inde quanto maximo cursu poterant ad eam portam circa quam omne contractum certamen erat; in quod adeo intenti omnium non animi solum fuere sed etiam oculi auresque pugnantium spectantiumque et adhortantium pugnantes ut nemo ante ab tergo senserit captam urbem quam tela in auersos inciderunt et utrimque ancipitem hostem habebant. tunc turbatis defensoribus metu et moenia capta et porta intus forisque pariter refringi coepta; et mox caedendo confectis ac distractis ne iter

impediretur foribus armati impetum fecerunt. magna multitudo et muros transcendebat; sed hi passim ad caedem oppidanorum uersi; illa quae portam ingressa erat iusta acies cum ducibus, cum ordinibus media urbe usque in forum processit. inde cum duobus itineribus fugientes uideret hostes, alios ad tumulum in orientem uersum qui tenebatur quingentorum militum praesidio, alios in arcem in quam et ipse Mago cum omnibus fere armatis qui muris pulsati fuerant refugerat, partem copiarum ad tumulum expugnandum mittit, partem ipse ad arcem ducit. et tumulus primo impetu est captus, et Mago arcem conatus defendere, cum omnia hostium plena uideret neque spem ullam esse, se arcemque et praesidium dedit. quoad dedita arx est, caedes tota urbe passim factae nec ulli puberum qui obuius fuit parcebatur: tum signo dato caedibus finis factus, ad praedam uictores uersi, quae ingens omnis generis fuit.

[47] Liberorum capitum uirile secus ad decem milia capta; inde qui ciues Nouae Carthaginis erant dimisit urbemque et sua omnia quae reliqua eis bellum fecerat restituit. opifices ad duo milia hominum erant; eos publicos fore populi Romani edixit, cum spe propinqua libertatis si ad ministeria belli enixe operam nauassent. ceteram multitudinem incolarum iuuenum ac ualidorum seruorum in classem ad supplementum remigum dedit; et auxerat nauibus octo captiuis classem. extra hanc multitudinem Hispanorum obsides erant, quorum perinde ac si sociorum liberi essent cura habita. captus et apparatus ingens belli; catapultae maximae formae centum uiginti, minores ducentae octoginta una; ballistae maiores uiginti tres, minores quinquaginta duae; scorpionum maiorum minorumque et armorum telorumque ingens numerus; signa militaria septuaginta quattuor. et auri argenti relata ad imperatorem magna uis: paterae aureae fuerunt ducentae septuaginta sex, librales ferme omnes pondo; argenti infecti signatique decem et octo milia et trecenta pondo, uasorum argenteorum magnus numerus; haec omnia C. Flaminio quaestori appensa adnumerataque sunt; tritici quadringenta milia modium, hordei ducenta septuaginta. naues onerariae sexaginta tres in portu expugnatae captaeque, quaedam cum suis oneribus, frumento, armis, aere praeterea ferroque et linteis et sparto et nauali alia materia ad classem aedificandam, ut minimum omnium inter tantas opes belli captas Carthago ipsa fuerit.

[48] Eo die Scipio C. Laelio cum sociis naualibus urbem custodire iusso ipse in castra legiones reduxit fessosque milites omnibus uno die belli operibus, quippe qui et acie dimicassent et capienda urbe tantum laboris periculique adissent et capta cum iis qui in arcem confugerant iniquo etiam loco pugnassent, curare corpora iussit. postero die militibus naualibusque sociis conuocatis primum dis immortalibus laudes gratesque egit, qui se non urbis solum opulentissimae omnium in Hispania uno die compotem fecissent, sed ante eo conguessissent omnis Africae atque Hispaniae opes, ut neque hostibus quicquam relinqueretur et sibi ac suis omnia superessent. militum deinde uirtutem conlaudauit quod eos non eruptio hostium, non altitudo moenium, non inexplorata stagni uada, non castellum in alto tumulo situm, non munitissima arx deterruisset quo minus transcenderent omnia perrumperentque. itaque quamquam omnibus omnia deberet, praecipuum muralis coronae decus eius esse qui primus murum adscendisset; profiteretur qui se dignum eo duceret dono. duo professi sunt, Q. Trebellius, centurio legionis quartae, et Sex. Digitius, socius naualis. nec ipsi tam inter se acriter contendebant quam studia excitauerant uterque sui corporis hominum. sociis C. Laelius, praefectus classis, legionariis M. Sempronius Tuditanus aderat. ea contentio cum prope seditionem ueniret, Scipio tres recuperatores cum se daturum pronuntiasset qui cognita causa testibusque auditis iudicarent uter prior in oppidum transcendisset, C. Laelio et M. Sempronio, aduocatis partis utriusque, P. Cornelium Caudinum de medio adiecit eosque tres recuperatores considerare et causam cognoscere iussit. cum res eo maiore ageretur certamine quod amoti tantae dignitatis non tam aduocati quam moderatores studiorum fuerant, C. Laelius relicto consilio ad tribunal ad Scipionem accedit, eumque docet rem sine modo ac modestria agi, ac proper esse ut manus inter se conferant. Ceterum, etiam si vis absit, nihilo minus detestabili exemplo rem agi, quippe ubi fraude ac periurio decus petatur virtutis. Satre hinc legionarios milites, hinc classicos, per omnis deos paratos iurare magis quae velint quam quae sciant vera esse, et obstringere periurio non se solum suumque caput, sed signa militaria et aquilas sacramentique religionem. Haec se ad eum de sententia P. Cornelii et M. Sempronii deferre. Scipio conlaudato Laelio ad contionem advocavit pronuntiavitque se satis

compertum habere Q. Trebellium et Sex. Digitium pariter in murum escendisse, seque eos ambos virtutis causa coronis muralibus donare. Tum reliquos prout cuiusque meritum virtusque erat donavit; ante omnis C. Laelium praefectum classis et omni genere laudis sibimet ipse aequavit et corona aurea ac triginta bubus donavit.

[49] Tum obsides ciuitatum Hispaniae uocari iussit; quorum quantus numerus fuerit piget scribere, quippe ubi alibi trecentos ferme, alibi tria milia septingentos uiginti quattuor fuisse inueniam. Aeque et alia inter auctores discrepant. Praesidium Punicum alius decem, alius septem, alius haud plus quam duum milium fuisse scribit. Capta alibi decem milia capitum, alibi supra quinque et uiginti inuenias. Scorpiones maiores minoresque ad sexaginta captos scripserim, si auctorem Graecum sequar Silenum; si ualerium Antiatem, maior scorpionum sex milia, minorum tredecim milia; adeo nullus mentiendi modus est. Ne de ducibus quidem conuenit. Plerique Laelium praefuisse classi, sunt qui M. Iulium Silanum dicant; Arinen praefuisse Punico praesidio deditumque Romanis Antias ualerius, Magonem alii scriptores tradunt. Non de numero nauium captarum, non de pondere auri atque argenti et redacta pecunia conuenit; si aliquis adsentiri necesse est, media simillima ueri sunt. Ceterum, uocatis obsidibus primum uniuersos bonum animum habere iussit: uenisse enim eos in populi Romani potestatem, qui beneficio quam metu obligare homines malit exterisque gentes fide ac societate iunctas habere quam tristi subiectas seruitio. Deinde acceptis nominibus ciuitatum recensuit captiuos quot cuiusque populi essent, et nuntios domum misit ut ad suos quisque recipiendos ueniret. Si quarum forte ciuitatum legati aderant, eis praesentibus suos restituit: ceterorum curam benigne tuendorum C. Flaminio quaestori attribuit. Inter haec e media turba obsidum mulier magno natu, Mandonii uxor, qui frater Indibilis Ilergetum reguli erant, flens ad pedes imperatoris procubuit obtestarique coepit ut curam cultumque feminarum impensius custodibus commendaret. Cum Scipio nihil defuturum iis profecto diceret, tum rursus mulier: "Haud magni ista facimus" inquit; "quid enim huic fortunae non satis est? Alia me cura aetatem harum intuentem Deum nam ipsa iam extra periculum iniuriae muliebris sum Deum stimulat." Et aetate et forma florentes circa eam Indibilis filiae erant

aliaeque nobilitate pari, quae omnes eam pro parente colebant. Tum Scipio: “Meae populiue Romani disciplinae causae facerem” inquit, “ne quid quod sanctum usquam esset apud nos uiolaretur: nunc ut id curem impensius, uestra quoque uirtus dignitasque facit quae ne in malis quidem oblitae decoris matronalis estis”. Spectatae deinde integritatis uiro tradidit eas tuerique haud secus uerecunde ac modeste quam hospitum coniuges ac matres iussit.

[50] Captiua deinde a militibus adducitur ad eum adulta uirgo, adeo eximia forma ut quacumque incedebat conuerteret omnium oculos. Scipio percontatus patriam parentesque, inter cetera accepit desponsam eam principi Celtiberorum: adulescenti Allucio nomen erat. Extemplo igitur parentibus sponsoque ab domo accitis, cum interim audiret deperire eum sponsae amore, ubi primum uenit, accuratiore eum sermone quam parentes adloquitur. “Iuuenis”, inquit, “iuuenem appello, quo minor sit inter nos huius sermonis uerecundia. Ego cum sponsa tua capta a militibus nostris ad me ducta esset audiremque tibi eam cordi esse, et forma faceret fidem, quia ipse, si frui liceret ludo aetatis, praesertim in recto et legitimo amore, et non res publica animum nostrum occupasset, ueniam mihi dari sponsam impensius amanti uellem, tuo cuius possum amori faueo. Fuit sponsa tua apud me eadem qua apud soceros tuos parentesque suos uerecundia; seruata tibi est, ut inuiolatum et dignum me teque dari tibi donum posset. Hanc mercedem unam pro eo munere paciscor: amicus populo Romano sis et, si me uirum bonum credis esse quales patrem patruumque meum iam ante hae gentes norant, scias multos nostri similes in ciuitate Romana esse, nec ullum in terris hodie populum dici posse quem minus tibi hostem tuisque esse uelis aut amicum malis.” Cum adulescens, simul pudore et gaudio perfusus, dextram Scipionis tenens deos omnes inuocaret ad gratiam illi pro se referendam, quoniam sibi nequaquam satis facultatis pro suo animo atque illius erga se merito esset, parentes inde cognatique uirgines appellati; qui, quoniam gratis sibi redderetur, uirgo ad quam redimendam satis magnum attulissent auri pondus, orare Scipionem ut id ab se donum acciperet coeperunt, haud minorem eius rei apud se gratiam futuram esse adfirmantes quam redditae inuiolatae foret uirginis. Scipio quando tanto opere peterent accepturum se pollicitus, poni ante pedes iussit uocatoque ad se Allucio. “Super dotem” inquit

“quam accepturus a socero es, haec tibi a me dotalia dona accedent”; aurumque tollere ac sibi habere iussit. His laetus donis honoribusque dimissus domum, impleuit populares laudibus meritis Scipionis: uenisse dis simillimum iuuenem, uincens omnia cum armis, tum benignitate ac beneficiis. Itaque dilectu clientium habito cum delectis mille et quadringentis equitibus intra paucos dies ad Scipionem reuertit.

[51] Scipio retentum secum Laelium, dum captiuos obsidesque et praedam ex consilio eius disponderet, satis omnibus rebus compositis, data quinquere <et> captiuis + cum Magone et quindecim fere senatoribus qui simul cum eo capti erant in naues sex impositis nuntium uictoriae Romam mittit. Ipse paucos dies quibus morari Carthagine statuerat, exercendis naualibus pedestribusque copiis absumpsit. Primo die legiones in armis quattuor milium spatio decurrerunt; secundo die arma curare et tergere ante tentoria iussi; tertio die rudibus inter se in modum iustae pugnae concurrerunt praepilatisque missilibus iaculati sunt; quarto die quies data; quinto iterum in armis decursum est. Hunc ordinem laboris quietisque quoad Carthagine morati sunt seruauerunt. Remigium classicique milites tranquillo in altum euecti, agilitatem nauium simulacris naualis pugnae experiebantur. Haec extra urbem terra marique corpora simul animosque ad bellum acuebant; urbs ipsa strepebat apparatu belli fabris omnium generum in publicam officinam inclusis. Dux cuncta pari cura obibat: nunc in classe ac nauali erat, nunc cum legionibus decurrebat: nunc operibus adspiciendis tempus dabat, quaeque in officinis quaeque in armamentario ac naualibus fabrorum multitudo plurima in singulos dies certamine ingenti faciebat. His ita incohatis refectionisque quae quassata erant muri dispositisque praesidiis ad custodiam urbis, Tarraconem est profectus, a multis legationibus protinus in uia aditus, quas partim dato responso ex itinere dimisit, partim distulit Tarraconem, quo omnibus nouis ueteribusque sociis edixerat conuentum. Et cuncti fere qui cis Hiberum incolunt populi, multi etiam ulterioris prouinciae conuenerunt. Carthaginensium duces primo ex industria famam captae Carthaginis compresserunt: deinde, ut clarior res erat quam ut tegi ac dissimulari posset, eleuabant uerbis: necopinato aduentu ac prope furto unius diei urbem unam Hispaniae interceptam, cuius rei

tam paruae praemio elatum insolentem iuuenem immodico gaudio speciem magnae uictoriae imposuisse: at ubi adpropinquare tres duces, tres uictores hostium exercitus audisset, occursuram ei extemplo domesticorum funerum memoriam. Haec in uolgius iactabant, haudquaquam ipsi ignari quantum sibi ad omnia uirum Carthagine amissa decessisset.

LIBER XXVII

[1] Hic status rerum in Hispania erat. in Italia consul Marcellus Salapia per prodicionem recepta Marmoreas et Meles de Samnitibus ui cepit. ad tria milia militum ibi Hannibalis, quae praesidii causa relicta erant, oppressa: praeda — et aliquantum eius fuit — militi concessa. tritici quoque ducenta quadraginta milia modium et centum decem milia hordei inuenta. ceterum nequaquam inde tantum gaudium fuit quanta clades intra paucos dies accepta est haud procul Herdonea urbe. castra ibi Cn. Fuluius proconsul habebat spe recipiendae Herdoneae, quae post Cannensem cladem ab Romanis defecerat, nec loco satis tuto posita nec praesidiis firmata. negligentiam insitam ingenio ducis augebat spes ea quod labare iis aduersus Poenum fidem senserat, postquam Salapia amissa excessisse iis locis in Bruttios Hannibalem auditum est. ea omnia ab Herdonea per occultos nuntios delata Hannibali simul curam sociae retinendae urbis et spem fecere incautum hostem adgrediendi. exercitu expedito ita ut famam prope praeueniret magnis itineribus ad Herdoneam contendit et, quo plus terroris hosti obiceret, acie instructa accessit. par audacia Romanus, consilio et uiribus impar, copiis raptim eductis confligit. quinta legio et sinistra ala acriter pugnam inierunt; ceterum Hannibal signo equitibus dato ut, cum pedestres acies occupassent praesenti certamine oculos animosque, circumuecti pars castra hostium, pars terga trepidantium inuaderent, ipse Cn. Fului similitudinem nominis — quia Cn. Fuluium praetorem biennio ante in iisdem deuicerat locis — increpans, similem euentum pugnae fore adfirmabat. neque ea spes uana fuit. nam cum comminus acie et peditum certamine multi cecidissent Romanorum, starent tamen ordines signaque, equestris tumultus a tergo, simul a castris clamor hostilis auditus sextam [ante] legionem, quae in secunda acie posita prior ab Numidis turbata est, quintam deinde atque eos qui ad prima signa erant auertit; pars in fugam effusi, pars in medio caesi, ubi et ipse Cn. Fuluius cum undecim tribunis militum cecidit. Romanorum sociorumque quot caesa in eo proelio milia sint, quis pro certo adfirmet, cum tredecim milia alibi, alibi haud plus quam septem inueniam? castris praedaque uictor potitur. Herdoneam, quia

et defecturam fuisse ad Romanos comperit nec mansuram in fide, si inde abscessisset, multitudine omni Metapontum ac Thurios traducta, incendit: occidit principes qui cum Fulvio conloquia occulta habuisse comperti sunt. Romani qui ex tanta clade euaserant diuersis itineribus semermes ad Marcellum consulem in Samnium perfugerunt.

[2] Marcellus nihil admodum tanta clade territus litteras Romam ad senatum de duce et exercitu ad Herdoneam amisso scribit: ceterum eundem se, qui post Cannensem pugnam ferocem uictoria Hannibalem contuderit, ire aduersus eum, breuem illi laetitiam qua exsultet facturum. et Romae quidem cum luctus ingens ex praeterito, tum timor in futurum erat: consul ex Samnio in Lucanos transgressus ad Numistrone in conspectu Hannibalis loco plano, cum Poenus collem teneret, posuit castra. addidit et aliam fidentis speciem, quod prior in aciem eduxit; nec detractauit Hannibal, ut signa portis efferri uidit. ita tamen aciem instruxerunt ut Poenus dextrum cornu in collem erigeret, Romani sinistrum ad oppidum adplicarent. ab Romanis prima legio et dextra ala, ab Hannibale Hispani milites et funditores Baliares, elephanti quoque commisso iam certamine in proelium acti; diu pugna neutro inclinata stetit. ab hora tertia cum ad noctem pugnam extendissent, fessaeque pugnando primae acies essent, primae legioni tertia, dextrae alae sinistra subit, et apud hostes integri a fessis pugnam acceperunt. nouum atque atrox proelium ex iam segni repente exarsit, recentibus animis corporibusque; sed nox incerta uictoria diremit pugnantes. postero die Romani ab sole orto in multum diei steterunt in acie; ubi nemo hostium aduersus prodit, spolia per otium legere et congestos in unum locum cremare suos. nocte insequenti Hannibal silentio mouit castra et in Apuliam abiit. Marcellus, ubi lux fugam hostium aperuit, sauciis cum praesidio modico Numistrone relictis praepositoque iis L. Furio Purpurione, tribuno militum, uestigiis institit sequi. ad Uenusiam adeptus eum est. ibi per dies aliquot cum ab stationibus procursaretur, mixta equitum peditumque tumultuosa magis proelia quam magna et ferme omnia Romanis secunda fuere. inde per Apuliam ducti exercitus sine ullo memorando certamine, cum Hannibal nocte signa moueret locum insidiis quaerens, Marcellus nisi certa luce et explorato ante non sequeretur.

[3] Capuae interim Flaccus dum bonis principum uendendis, agro

qui publicatus erat locando — locauit autem omnem frumento — tempus terit, ne deesset materia in Campanos saeuiendi, nouum in occulto gliscens per indicium protractum est facinus. milites aedificiis emotos, simul ut cum agro tecta urbis fruenda locarentur, simul metuens ne suum quoque exercitum sicut Hannibalis nimia urbis amoenitas emolliret, in portis murisque sibimet ipsos tecta militariter coegerat aedificare; erant autem pleraque ex cratibus ac tabulis facta, alia harundine texta, stramento intacta, omne uelut de industria alimentum ignis. haec noctis una hora omnia ut incenderent, centum septuaginta Campani principibus Blossiis fratribus coniurauerunt. indicio eius rei ex familia Blossiorum facto, portis repente iussu proconsulis clausis cum ad arma signo dato milites concurrissent, comprehensi omnes qui in noxa erant, et quaestione acriter habita damnati necatique; indicibus libertas et aeris dena milia data. Nucerinos et Acerranos, querentes ubi habitarent non esse, Acerris ex parte incensis, Nuceria deleta, Romam Fuluius ad senatum misit. Acerranis permissum, ut aedificarent, quae incensa erant: Nucerini Atellam quia id maluerant, Atellanis Calatiam migrare iussis, traducti. inter multas magnasque res, quae nunc secundae, nunc aduersae occupabant cogitationes hominum, ne Tarentinae quidem arcis excidit memoria. M. Ogulnius et P. Aquilius in Etruriam legati ad frumentum coemendum quod Tarentum portaretur profecti, et mille milites de exercitu urbano, par numerus Romanorum sociorumque, eodem in praesidium cum frumento missi.

[4] Iam aestas in exitu erat comitiorumque consularium instabat tempus; sed litterae Marcelli, negantis e re publica esse uestigium abscedi ab Hannibale cui cedenti certamenque abnuenti grauis ipse instaret, patribus curam iniecerant ne aut consulem tum maxime res agentem a bello auocarent aut in annum consules deessent. optimum uisum est, quamquam extra Italiam esset, Ualerium potius consulem ex Sicilia reuocari. ad eum litterae iussu senatus ab L. Manlio praetore urbano missae cum litteris consulis M. Marcelli, ut ex iis nosceret quae causa patribus eum potius quam collegam reuocandi ex prouincia esset. eo fere tempore legati ab rege Syphace Romam uenerunt, quae is prospera proelia cum Carthaginiensibus fecisset, memorantes: regem nec inimiciorem ulli populo quam Carthaginiensi nec amiciorem quam Romano esse adfirmabant;

misisse eum antea legatos in Hispaniam ad Cn. et P. Cornelios imperatores Romanos: nunc ab ipso uelut fonte petere Romanam amicitiam uoluisse. senatus non legatis modo benigne respondit, sed et ipse legatos cum donis ad regem misit, L. Genucium, P. Poetelium, P. Popillium. dona tulere togam et tunicam purpuream, sellam eburneam, pateram ex quinque pondo auri factam. protinus et alios Africae regulos iussi adire; iis quoque quae darentur portata, togae praetextae et terna pondo paterae aureae. et Alexandream ad Ptolomaeum et Cleopatram reges M. Atilius et M'. Acilius, legati ad commemorandam renouandamque amicitiam missi, dona tulere, regi togam et tunicam purpuream cum sella eburnea, reginae pallam pictam cum amiculo purpureo.

Multa ea aestate qua haec facta sunt ex propinquis urbibus agrisque nuntiata sunt prodigia: Tusculi agnum cum ubere lactenti natum, Iouis aedis culmen fulmine ictum ac prope omni tecto nudatum; iisdem ferme diebus Anagniae terram ante portam ictam diem ac noctem sine ullo ignis alimento arsisse, et aues ad compitum Anagninum in luco Dianae nidos in arboribus reliquisse; Tarracinae in mari haud procul portu angues magnitudinis mirae lasciuientium piscium modo exsultasse; Tarquiniis porcum cum ore humano genitum, et in agro Capenate ad lucum Feroniae quattuor signa sanguine multo diem ac noctem sudasse. haec prodigia hostiis maioribus procurata decreto pontificum; et supplicatio diem unum Romae ad omnia puluinaria, alterum in Capenati agro ad Feroniae lucum indicta.

[5] M. Ualerius consul litteris excitus, prouincia exercituque mandato L. Cincio praetori, M. Ualerio Messalla praefecto classis cum parte nauium in Africam praedatum simul speculatumque quae populus Carthaginiensis ageret pararetque misso, ipse decem nauibus Romam profectus cum prospere peruenisset, senatum extemplo habuit, ubi de suis rebus gestis commemorauit: cum annos prope sexaginta in Sicilia terra marique magnis saepe cladibus bellatum esset, se eam prouinciam confecisse. neminem Carthaginiensem in Sicilia esse; neminem Siculum non esse; qui fugati metu inde afuerint, omnes in urbes, in agros suos reductos arare, serere; desertam recoli terram, tandem frugiferam ipsis cultoribus populoque Romano pace ac bello fidissimum annonae subsidium. exim Muttine,

et si quorum aliorum merita erga populum Romanum erant in senatum introductis honores omnibus ad exsoluendam fidem a consule habiti. Muttines etiam ciuis Romanus factus, rogatione ab tribunis plebis ex auctoritate patrum ad plebem lata.

Dum haec Romae geruntur, M. Ualerius quinquaginta nauibus cum ante lucem ad Africam accessisset, improviso in agrum Uticensem escensionem fecit; eumque late depopulatus multis mortalibus cum alia omnis generis praeda captis ad naues redit et ad Siciliam tramisit, tertio decimo die quam profectus inde erat Lilybaeum reuectus. ex captiuis quaestione habita haec comperta consuliue Laeuino omnia ordine perscripta ut sciret quo in statu res Africae essent: quinque milia Numidarum cum Masinissa, Galae filio, acerrimo iuvene, Carthagine esse, et alios per totam Africam milites mercede conduci qui in Hispaniam ad Hasdrubalem traicerentur, ut is quam maximo exercitu primo quoque tempore in Italiam transgressus iungeret se Hannibali; in eo positam uictoriam credere Carthaginienses; classem praeterea ingentem apparari ad Siciliam repetendam eamque se credere breui traiecturam. haec recitata a consule ita mouere senatum ut non exspectanda comitia consuli censeret, sed dictatore comitiorum habendorum causa dicto extemplo in prouinciam redeundum. illa disceptatio tenebat quod consul in Sicilia se M. Ualerium Messallam qui tum classi praeesset dictatorem dicturum esse aiebat, patres extra Romanum agrum — eum autem Italia terminari — negabant dictatorem dici posse. M. Lucretius tribunus plebis cum de ea re consuleret, ita decreuit senatus ut consul priusquam ab urbe discederet populum rogaret quem dictatorem dici placeret, eumque quem populus iussisset diceret dictatorem; si consul noluisset, praetor populum rogaret; si ne is quidem uellet, tum tribuni ad plebem ferrent. cum consul se populum rogaturum negasset quod suae potestatis esset, praetoremque uetuisset rogare, tribuni plebem rogarunt, plebesque sciuit ut Q. Fuluius, qui tum ad Capuam erat, dictator diceretur. sed quo die id plebis concilium futurum erat, consul clam nocte in Siciliam abiit; destitutique patres litteras ad M. Claudium mittendas censuerunt ut desertae ab collega rei publicae subueniret diceretque quem populus iussisset dictatorem. ita a M. Claudio consule Q. Fuluius dictator dictus, et ex eodem plebis scito ab Q. Fuluius dictatore P. Licinius

Crassus pontifex maximus magister equitum dictus.

[6] Dictator postquam Romam uenit, C. Sempronium Blaesum legatum quem ad Capuam habuerat in Etruriam prouinciam ad exercitum misit in locum C. Calpurni praetoris, quem ut Capuae exercituique suo praeesset litteris exciuit. ipse comitia in quem diem primum potuit edixit; quae certamine inter tribunos dictatoremque iniecto perfici non potuerunt. Galeria iuniorum, quae sorte praerogatiua erat, Q. Fuluium et Q. Fabium consules dixerat, eodemque iure uocatae inclinassent ni se tribuni plebis C. et L. Arrenii interposuissent, qui neque magistratum continuari satis ciuile esse aiebant et multo foedioris exempli eum ipsum creari qui comitia haberet; itaque si suum nomen dictator acciperet, se comitiis intercessuros: si aliorum praeterquam ipsius ratio haberetur, comitiis se moram non facere. dictator causam comitiorum auctoritate senatus, plebis scito, exemplis tutabatur: namque Cn. Seruilio consule cum C. Flaminius alter consul ad Trasumennum cecidisset, ex auctoritate patrum ad plebem latum plebemque sciuisse ut, quoad bellum in Italia esset, ex iis qui consules fuissent quos et quotiens uellet reficiendi consules populo ius esset; exemplaue in eam rem se habere, uetus L. Postumi Megelli, qui interrex iis comitiis quae ipse habuisset consul cum C. Iunio Bubulco creatus esset, recens Q. Fabi, qui sibi continuari consulatum nisi id bono publico fieret profecto nunquam sisset. his orationibus cum diu certatum esset, postremo ita inter dictatorem ac tribunos conuenit ut eo quod censuisset senatus staretur. patribus id tempus rei publicae uisum est ut per ueteres et expertos bellicae peritos imperatores res publica gereretur; itaque moram fieri comitiis non placere. concedentibus tribunis, comitia habita; declarati consules Q. Fabius Maximus quintum, Q. Fuluius Flaccus quartum. praetores inde creati L. Ueturius Philo, T. Quinctius Crispinus, C. Hostilius Tubulus, C. Aurunculeius. magistratibus in annum creatis Q. Fuluius dictatura se abdicauit.

Extremo aetatis huius classis Punica nauium quadraginta cum praefecto Hamilcare in Sardiniam traiecta, Olbiensem primo, dein postquam ibi P. Manlius Uolso praetor cum exercitu apparuit circumacta inde ad alterum insulae latus Caralitanum agrum uastauit, et cum praeda omnis generis in Africam redit.

Sacerdotes Romani eo anno mortui aliquot suffectique. C.

Seruilius pontifex factus in locum T. Otacili Crassi, Ti. Sempronius Ti. filius Longus augur factus in locum T. Otacili Crassi. decemuir item sacris faciundis in locum Ti. Semproni C. filii Longi Ti. Sempronius Ti. filius Longus suffectus. M. Marcius rex sacrorum mortuus est et M. Aemilius Papus maximus curio; neque in eorum locum sacerdotes eo anno suffecti.

Et censores hic annus habuit L. Ueturium Philonem et P. Licinium Crassum, maximum pontificem. Crassus Licinius nec consul nec praetor ante fuerat quam censor est factus: ex aedilitate gradum ad censuram fecit. sed hi censores neque senatum legerunt neque quicquam publicae rei egerunt: mors diremit L. Ueturi; inde et Licinius censura se abdicauit. aediles curules L. Ueturius et P. Licinius Uarus ludos Romanos diem unum instaurarunt: aediles plebei Q. Catius et L. Porcius Licinus ex multaticio argento signa aenea ad Cereris dedere et ludos pro temporis eius copia magnifici apparatus fecerunt.

[7] Exitu anni huius C. Laelius legatus Scipionis die quarto et tricensimo quam a Tarracone profectus erat Romam uenit; isque cum agmine captiuorum ingressus urbem magnum concursum hominum fecit. postero die in senatum introductus captam Carthaginem caput Hispaniae uno die, receptasque aliquot urbes quae defecissent nouasque in societatem adscitas exposuit; ex captiuis comperta iis fere congruentia quae in litteris fuerant M. Ualeri Messallae. maxime mouit patres Hasdrubalis transitus in Italiam, uix Hannibali atque eius armis obsistentem. productus et in contionem Laelius eadem edisseruit. senatus ob res feliciter a P. Scipione gestas supplicationem in unum diem decreuit; C. Laelium primo quoque tempore cum quibus uenerat nauibus redire in Hispaniam iussit. — Carthaginis expugnationem in hunc annum contuli multis auctoribus, haud nescius quosdam esse qui anno insequenti captam tradiderint, quod mihi minus simile ueri uisum est annum integrum Scipionem nihil gerendo in Hispania consumpsisse. Q. Fabio Maximo quintum Q. Fuluius Flacco quartum consulibus, idibus Martiis, quo die magistratum inierunt, Italia ambobus prouincia decreta, regionibus tamen partitum imperium: Fabius ad Tarentum, Fuluius in Lucanis ac Brutiis rem gereret. M. Claudio prorogatum in annum imperium. praetores sortiti prouincias, C. Hostilius Tubulus urbanam, L.

Ueturius Philo peregrinam cum Gallia, T. Quinctius Crispinus Capuam, C. Aurunculeius Sardiniam. exercitus ita per prouincias diuisi: Fului duae legiones quas in Sicilia M. Ualerius Laeuinus haberet, Fabio, quibus in Etruria C. Calpurnius praefuisset: urbanus exercitus ut in Etruriam succederet: C. Calpurnius eidem praeesset prouinciae exercituique: Capuam exercitumque quem Q. Fuluius habuisset T. Quinctius obtineret: C. Hostilius ab C. Laetorio propraetore prouinciam exercitumque qui tum Arimini erat acciperet. M. Marcello quibus consul rem gesserat legiones decretae; M. Ualerio cum L. Cincio — iis quoque enim prorogatum in Sicilia imperium — Cannensis exercitus datus, eumque supplere ex militibus qui ex legionibus Cn. Fului superessent iussi. conquisitos eos consules in Siciliam miserunt; additaque eadem militiae ignominia sub qua Cannenses militabant quique ex praetoris Cn. Fului exercitu ob similis iram fugae missi eo ab senatu fuerant. C. Aurunculeio eadem in Sardinia legiones quibus P. Manlius Uolso eam prouinciam obtinuerat decretae. P. Sulpicio eadem legione eademque classe Macedoniam obtinere iusso prorogatum in annum imperium. triginta quinqueremes ex Sicilia Tarentum ad Q. Fabium consulem mitti iussae: cetera classe placere praedatum in Africam aut ipsum M. Ualerium Laeuinum traicere aut mittere seu L. Cincium seu M. Ualerium Messallam uellet. nec de Hispania quicquam mutatum nisi quod non in annum Scipioni Silanoque, sed donec reuocati ab senatu forent prorogatum imperium est. ita prouinciae exercitumque in eum annum partita imperia.

[8] Inter maiorum rerum curas comitia maximi curionis, cum in locum M. Aemili sacerdos crearetur, uetus excitauerunt certamen, patriciis negantibus C. Mamili Atelli, qui unus ex plebe petebat, habendam rationem esse quia nemo ante eum nisi ex patribus id sacerdotium habuisset. tribuni appellati ad senatum <rem> reiecerunt: senatus populi potestatem fecit: ita primus ex plebe creatus maximus curio C. Mamilius Atellus. et flaminem Diale inuitum inaugurari coegit P. Licinius pontifex maximus C. Ualerium Flaccum; decemuirum sacris faciundis creatus in locum Q. Muci Scaeuolae demortui C. Laetorius. causam inaugurari coacti flaminis libens reticuissem, ni ex mala fama in bonam uertisset. ob adulescentiam neglegentem luxuriosamque C. Flaccus flamen captus

a P. Licinio pontifice maximo erat, L. Flacco fratri germano cognatisque aliis ob eadem uitia inuisus. is ut animum eius cura sacrorum et caerimoniarum cepit, ita repente exiit antiquos mores ut nemo tota iuuentute haberetur prior nec probatior primoribus patrum, suis pariter alienisque, esset. huius famae consensu elatus ad iustam fiduciam sui rem intermissam per multos annos ob indignitatem flaminum priorum repetiuit, ut in senatum introiret. ingressum eum curiam cum P. Licinius praetor inde eduxisset, tribunos plebis appellauit. flamen uetustum ius sacerdotii repetebat: datum id cum toga praetexta et sella curuli ei flamonio esse. praetor non exoletis uetustate annalium exemplis stare ius, sed recentissimae cuiusque consuetudinis usu uolebat: nec patrum nec auorum memoria Dilem quemquam id ius usurpasse. tribuni rem inertia flaminum oblitteratam ipsis, non sacerdotio damno fuisse cum aequum censuissent, ne ipso quidem contra tendente praetore, magno adsensu patrum plebisque flaminem in senatum introduxerunt, omnibus ita existimantibus magis sanctitate uitae quam sacerdotii iure eam rem flaminem obtinuisse. consules priusquam in prouincias irent, duas urbanas legiones in supplementum quantum opus erat ceteris exercitibus militum scripserunt. urbanum ueterem exercitum Fuluius consul C. Fuluius Flacco legato — frater hic consulis erat — in Etruriam dedit ducendum et legiones quae in Etruria erant Romam deducendas. et Fabius consul reliquias exercitus Fuluii conquisitas — fuere autem ad quattuor milia trecenti quadraginta quattuor — Q. Maximum filium ducere in Siciliam ad M. Ualerium proconsulem iussit, atque ab eo duas legiones et triginta quinquereemes accipere. nihil eae deductae ex insula legiones minuerunt nec uiribus nec specie eius prouinciae praesidium; nam cum praeter egregie suppletas duas ueteres legiones transfugarum etiam Numidarum equitum peditumque magnam uim haberet, Siculos quoque qui in exercitu Epicydis aut Poenorum fuerant, belli peritos uiros, milites scripsit. ea externa auxilia cum singulis Romanis legionibus adiunxisset, duorum speciem exercituum seruauit; altero L. Cincium partem insulae, regnum qua Hieronis fuerat, tueri iussit: altero ipse ceteram insulam tuebatur diuisam quondam Romani Punicique imperii finibus, classe quoque nauium septuaginta partita ut omni ambitu litorum praesidio orae maritimae essent. ipse cum Mutinis

equitatu prouinciam peragrabat ut uiseret agros cultaque ab incultis notaret et perinde dominos laudaret castigaretque. ita tantum ea cura frumenti prouenit ut et Romam mitteret et Catinam conueheret unde exercitui qui ad Tarentum aestiua acturus esset posset praeberi.

[9] Ceterum transportati milites in Siciliam — et erant maior pars Latini nominis sociorumque — prope magni motus causa fuere; adeo ex paruis saepe magnarum momenta rerum pendent. fremitus enim inter Latinos sociosque in conciliis ortus, decimum annum dilectibus stipendiis se exhaustos esse; quotannis ferme clade magna pugnare; alios in acie occidi, alios morbo absumi; magis perire sibi ciuem qui ab Romano miles lectus sit quam qui ab Poeno captus: quippe ab hoste gratis remitti in patriam, ab Romanis extra Italiam in exilium uerius quam in militiam ablegari. octauum iam ibi annum senescere Cannensem militem, moriturum ante quam Italia hostis, quippe nunc cum maxime florens uiribus, excedat. si ueteres milites non redeant in patriam, noui legantur, breui neminem superfuturum. itaque quod propediem res ipsa negatura sit, priusquam ad ultimam solitudinem atque egestatem perueniant, negandum populo Romano esse. si consentientes in hoc socios uideant Romani, profecto de pace cum Carthaginienis iungenda cogituros: aliter nunquam uiuo Hannibale sine bello Italiam fore. haec acta in conciliis.

Triginta tum coloniae populi Romani erant; ex iis duodecim, cum omnium legationes Romae essent, negauerunt consulibus esse unde milites pecuniamque darent. eae fuere Ardea, Nepete, Sutrium, Alba, Carseoli, Sora, Suessa, Circeii, Setia, Cales, Narnia, Interamna. noua re consules icti cum abstertere eos a tam detestabili consilio uellent, castigando increpandoque plus quam leniter agendo profecturos rati, eos ausos esse consulibus dicere aiebant quod consules ut in senatu pronuntiarent in animum inducere non possent; non enim detractationem eam munerum militiae, sed apertam defectionem a populo Romano esse. redirent itaque propere in colonias et tamquam integra re, locuti magis quam ausi tantum nefas, cum suis consulerent. admonerent non Campanos neque Tarentinos esse eos sed Romanos, inde oriundos, inde in colonias atque in agrum bello captum stirpis augendae causa missos. quae liberi parentibus deberent, ea illos Romanis debere, si ulla pietas, si memoria antiquae patriae esset. consulerent igitur de integro; nam tum quidem quae

temere agitassent, ea prodendi imperii Romani, tradendae Hannibali uictoriae esse. cum alternis haec consules diu iactassent, nihil moti legati neque se quid domum renuntiarent habere dixerunt neque senatum suum quid noui consuleret, ubi nec miles qui legeretur nec pecunia quae daretur in stipendium esset. cum obstinatos eos uiderent consules, rem ad senatum detulerunt, ubi tantus pauor animis hominum est iniectus ut magna pars actum de imperio diceret: idem alias colonias facturas, idem socios; consensisse omnes ad prodendam Hannibali urbem Romanam.

[10] Consules hortari et consolari senatum et dicere alias colonias in fide atque officio pristino fore: eas quoque ipsas quae officio decesserint si legati circa eas colonias mittantur qui castigent, non qui precentur, uerecundiam imperii habituras esse. permissum ab senatu iis cum esset, agerent facerentque ut e re publica ducerent, pertemptatis prius aliarum coloniarum animis citauerunt legatos quaesiueruntque ab iis ecquid milites ex formula paratos haberent. pro duodeuiginti coloniis M. Sextilius Fregellanus respondit et milites paratos ex formula esse, et si pluribus opus esset plures daturus, et quidquid aliud imperaret uelletque populus Romanus enixe facturos; ad id sibi neque opes deesse, animum etiam superesse. consules parum sibi uideri praefati pro merito eorum sua uoce conlaudari [eos] nisi uniuersi patres iis in curia gratias egissent, sequi in senatum eos iusserunt. senatus quam poterat honoratissimo decreto adlocutos eos, mandat consulibus ut ad populum quoque eos producerent, et inter multa alia praeclara quae ipsis maioribusque suis praestitissent recens etiam meritum eorum in rem publicam commemorarent. ne nunc quidem post tot saecula sileantur fraudulenturue laude sua: Signini fuere et Norbani Saticulani et Fregellani et Lucerini et Uenusini et Brundisini et Hadriani et Firmani et Ariminenses, et ab altero mari Pontiani et Paestani et Cosani, et mediterranei Beneuentani et Aesernini et Spoletini et Placentini et Cremonenses. harum coloniarum subsidio tum imperium populi Romani stetit, iisque gratiae in senatu et apud populum actae. duodecim aliarum coloniarum quae detractauerunt imperium mentionem fieri patres uetuerunt, neque illos dimitti neque retineri neque appellari a consulibus; ea tacita castigatio maxime ex dignitate populi Romani uisa est.

Cetera expedientibus quae ad bellum opus erant consulibus, aurum uicesimarium quod in sanctiore aerario ad ultimos casus seruabatur promi placuit. prompta ad quattuor milia pondo auri. inde quingena pondo data consulibus et M. Marcello et P. Sulpicio proconsulibus et L. Ueturio praetori qui Galliam prouinciam erat sortitus, additumque Fabio consuli centum pondo auri praecipuum quod in arcem Tarentinam portaretur; cetero auro usi sunt ad uestimenta praesenti pecunia locanda exercitui qui in Hispania bellum secunda sua fama ducisque gerebat.

[11] Prodigia quoque priusquam ab urbe consules proficiscerentur procurari placuit. in Albano monte tacta de caelo erant signum Iouis arborque templo propinqua, et Ostiae lacus, et Capuae murus Fortunaeque aedis, et Sinuessae murus portaque. haec de caelo tacta: cruentam etiam fluxisse aquam Albanam quidam auctores erant, et Romae intus in cella aedis Fortis Fortunae de capite signum quod in corona erat in manum sponte sua prolapsum. et Priuerni satis constabat bouem locutum uolturiumque frequenti foro in tabernam deuolasse, et Sinuessae natum ambiguo inter marem ac feminam sexu infantem, quos androgynos uolgos, ut pleraque, faciliore ad duplicanda uerba Graeco sermone appellat, et lacte pluuisse et cum elephanti capite puerum natum. ea prodigia hostiis maioribus procurata, et supplicatio circa omnia puluinaria, obsecratio in unum diem indicta; et decretum ut C. Hostilius praetor ludos Apollini sicut iis annis uoti factique erant uoueret faceretque. per eos dies et censoribus creandis Q. Fuluius consul comitia habuit. creati censores ambo qui nondum consules fuerant, M. Cornelius Cethegus P. Sempronius Tuditanus. ii censores ut agrum Campanum fruendum locarent ex auctoritate patrum latum ad plebem est plebesque sciuit. senatus lectionem contentio inter censores de principe legendo tenuit. Sempronii lectio erat; ceterum Cornelius morem traditum a patribus sequendum aiebat ut qui primus censor ex iis qui uiuerent fuisset, eum principem legerent; is T. Manlius Torquatus erat; Sempronius cui di sortem legendi dedissent ei ius liberum eosdem dedisse deos; se id suo arbitrio facturum lecturumque Q. Fabium Maximum quem tum principem Romanae ciuitatis esse uel Hannibale iudice uicturus esset. cum diu certatum uerbis esset, concedente collega lectus a Sempronio princeps in senatum Q. Fabius Maximus consul. inde

alius lectus senatus octo praeteritis, inter quos M. Caecilius Metellus erat, infamis auctor deserendae Italiae post Cannensem cladem. in equestribus quoque notis eadem seruata causa, sed erant perpauci quos ea infamia attingeret; illis omnibus — et multi erant — adempti equi qui Cannensium legionum equites in Sicilia erant. addiderunt acerbitati etiam tempus, ne praeterita stipendia procederent iis quae equo publico emeruerant, sed dena stipendia equis priuatis facerent. magnum praeterea numerum eorum conquisiuerunt qui equo merere deberent, atque ex iis qui principio eius belli septemdecim annos nati fuerant neque militauerant omnes aerarios fecerunt. locauerunt inde reficienda quae circa forum incendio consumpta erant, septem tabernas, macellum, atrium regium.

[12] Transactis omnibus quae Romae agenda erant consules ad bellum profecti. prior Fuluius praegressus Capuam: post paucos dies consecutus Fabius, qui et collegam coram obtestatus et per litteras Marcellum ut quam acerrimo bello detinerent Hannibalem dum ipse Tarentum oppugnaret — ea urbe adempta hosti iam undique pulso, nec ubi consisteret nec quid fidum respiceret habenti, ne remorandi quidem causam in Italia fore — Regium etiam nuntium mittit ad praefectum praesidii quod ab Laeuino consule aduersus Bruttios ibi locatum erat, octo milia hominum, pars maxima ab Agathyrna, sicut ante dictum est, ex Sicilia traducta, rapto uiuere hominum adsuetorum; additi erant Bruttiorum indidem perfugae, et audacia et audendi omnia necessitatibus pares. hanc manum ad Bruttium primum agrum depopulandum duci iussit, inde ad Cauloniam urbem oppugnandam. imperata non impigre solum sed etiam auide exsecuti direptis fugatisque cultoribus agri summa ui urbem oppugnabant.

Marcellus et consulis litteris excitus et quia ita induxerat in animum neminem ducem Romanum tam parem Hannibali quam se esse, ubi primum in agris pabuli copia fuit ex hibernis profectus ad Canusium Hannibali occurrit. sollicitabat ad defectionem Canusinos Poenus; ceterum ut appropinquare Marcellum audiuit, castra inde mouit. aperta erat regio, sine ullis ad insidias latebris; itaque in loca saltuosa cedere inde coepit. Marcellus uestigiis instabat castraque castris conferebat, et opere perfecto extemplo in aciem legiones educebat. Hannibal turmatim per equites peditumque iaculatores leuia certamina serens casum uniuersae pugnae non necessarium

ducebat. tractus est tamen ad id quod uitabat certamen. nocte praegressum adsequitur locis planis ac patentibus Marcellus; castra inde ponentem pugnando undique in munitores operibus prohibet. ita signa conlata pugnatumque totis copiis, et cum iam nox instaret Marte aequo discessum est. castra exiguo distantia spatio raptim ante noctem permunita. postero die luce prima Marcellus in aciem copias eduxit; nec Hannibal detractauit certamen, multis uerbis adhortatus milites ut memores Trasumenni Cannarumque contunderent ferociam hostis: urgere atque instare eum; non iter quietos facere, non castra ponere pati, non respirare aut circumspicere; cottidie simul orientem solem et Romanam aciem in campis uidendam esse; si uno proelio haud incruentus abeat, quietius deinde tranquilliusque eum bellaturum. his inritati adhortationibus simulque taedio ferociae hostium cottidie instantium lacessentiumque acriter proelium ineunt. pugnatum amplius duabus horis est. cedere inde ab Romanis dextra ala et extraordinarii coepere. quod ubi Marcellus uidit, duodeuicesimam legionem in primam aciem inducit. dum alii trepide cedunt, alii segniter subeunt, turbata tota acies est, dein prorsus fusa, et uincente pudorem metu terga dabant. cecidere in pugna fugaque ad duo milia et septingenti ciuium sociorumque; in iis quattuor Romani centuriones, duo tribuni militum, M. Licinius et M. Heluius. signa militaria quattuor de ala prima quae fugit, duo de legione quae cedentibus sociis successerat amissa.

[13] Marcellus postquam in castra reditum est, contionem adeo saeuam atque acerbam apud milites habuit ut proelio per diem totum infeliciter tolerato tristior iis irati ducis oratio esset. ‘dis immortalibus, ut in tali re, laudes gratesque’ inquit ‘ago quod uictor hostis cum tanto pauore incidentibus uobis in uallum portasque non ipsa castra est adgressus; deseruissetis profecto eodem terrore castra quo omisistis pugnam. qui paor hic, qui terror, quae repente qui et cum quibus pugnaretis obliuio animos cepit? nempe iidem sunt hi hostes quod uincendo et uictos sequendo priorem aetatem absumpsistis, quibus dies noctesque fugientibus per hos dies institistis, quos leuibis proeliis fatigastis, quos hesterno die nec iter facere nec castra ponere passi estis. omitto ea quibus gloriari potestis: cuius et ipsius pudere ac paenitere uos oportet referam — nempe aequis manibus hesterno die diremistis pugnam. quid haec nox, quid

hic dies attulit? uestrae iis copiae imminutae sunt an illorum auctae? non equidem mihi cum exercitu meo loqui uideor nec cum Romanis militibus: corpora tantum atque arma eadem sunt. an si eosdem animos habuissetis, terga uestra uidisset hostis? signa alicui manipulo aut cohorti ademisset? adhuc caesis legionibus Romanis gloriabatur: uos illi hodierno die primum fugati exercitus dedistis decus.’ clamor inde ortus ut ueniam eius diei daret: ubi uellet deinde experiretur militum suorum animos. ‘ego uero experiar,’ inquit ‘milites, et uos crastino die in aciem educam ut uictores potius quam uicti ueniam impetretis quam petitis.’ cohortibus quae signa amiserant hordeum dari iussit, centurionesque manipulorum quorum signa amissa fuerant dstrictis gladiis discinctos destituit; et ut postero die omnes pedites equites armati adessent edixit. ita contio dimissa fatentium iure ac merito sese increpitos neque illo die uirum quemquam in acie Romana fuisse praeter unum ducem, cui aut morte satisfaciendum aut egregia uictoria esset.

Postero die ornati [armatique] ad edictum aderant. imperator eos conlaudat pronuntiatque a quibus orta pridie fuga esset cohortesque quae signa amisissent se in primam aciem inducturum; edicere iam sese omnibus pugnandum ac uincendum esse et adnitendum singulis uniuersisque ne prius hesternae fugae quam hodiernae uictoriae fama Romam perueniat. inde cibo corpora firmare iussi ut si longior pugna esset uiribus sufficerent. ubi omnia dicta factaque sunt quibus excitarentur animi militum in aciem procedunt.

[14] Quod ubi Hannibali nuntiatum est, ‘cum eo nimirum’ inquit ‘hoste res est qui nec bonam nec malam ferre fortunam possit. seu uicit, ferociter instat uictis: seu uictus est, instaurat cum uictoribus certamen.’ signa inde canere iussit et copias educit. pugnatum utrimque aliquanto quam pridie acrius est Poenis ad obtinendum hesternum decus adnitentibus, Romanis ad demendam ignominiam. sinistra ala ab Romanis et cohortes quae amiserant signa in prima acie pugnabant et legio duodeuicesima ab dextro cornu instructa. L. Cornelius Lentulus et C. Claudius Nero legati cornibus praeerant: Marcellus mediam aciem hortator testisque praesens firmabat. ab Hannibale Hispani primam obtinebant frontem — et id roboris in omni exercitu erat. cum anceps diu pugna esset, Hannibal elephantos in primam aciem induci iussit, si quem inicere ea res tumultum ac

pauorem posset. et primo turbarunt signa ordinesque, et partim occulcatis, partim dissipatis terrore qui circa erant nudauerant una parte aciem, latiusque fuga manasset ni C. Decimius Flauus tribunus militum signo arrepto primi hastati manipulum eius signi sequi se iussisset. duxit ubi maxime tumultum conglobatae beluae faciebant pilaque in eas conici iussit. haesere omnia tela haud difficili ex propinquo in tanta corpora ictu et tum conferta turba; sed ut non omnes uolnerati sunt, ita in quorum tergis infixi stetere pila, ut est genus anceps, in fugam uersi etiam integros auertere. tum iam non unus manipulus, sed pro se quisque miles qui modo adsequi agmen fugientium elephantorum poterat, pila conicere. eo magis ruere in suos beluae tantoque maiorem stragem edere quam inter hostes ediderant, quanto acrius pavor consternatam agit quam insidentis magistri imperio regitur. in perturbatam transcursu beluarum aciem signa inferunt Romani pedites et haud magno certamine dissipatos trepidantesque auertunt. tum in fugientes equitatum immittit Marcellus, nec ante finis sequendi est factus quam in castra pauentes compulsi sunt. nam super alia quae terrorem trepidationemque facerent, elephantum quoque duo in ipsa porta corruerant, coactique erant milites per fossam uallumque ruere in castra. ibi maxima hostium caedes facta; caesa ad octo milia hominum, quinque elephantum. nec Romanis incruenta uictoria fuit: mille ferme et septingenti de duabus legionibus et sociorum supra mille et trecentos occisi; uolnerati permulti ciuium sociorumque. Hannibal nocte proxima castra mouit: cupientem insequi Marcellum prohibuit multitudo sauciorum.

[15] Speculatores qui prosequerentur agmen missi postero die rettulerunt Bruttios Hannibalem petere.

Iisdem ferme diebus et ad Q. Fuluium consulem Hirpini et Lucani et Uolceientes traditis praesidiis Hannibalis quae in urbibus habebant dediderunt sese, clementerque a consule cum uerborum tantum castigatione ob errorem praeteritum accepti sunt, et Bruttiiis similis spes ueniae facta est, cum ab iis Uibius et Paccius fratres, longe nobilissimi gentis eius, eandem quae data Lucanis erat condicionem deditionis petentes uenissent.

Q. Fabius consul oppidum in Sallentinis Manduriam ui cepit; ibi ad quattuor milia hominum capta et ceterae praedae aliquantum. inde

Tarentum profectus in ipsis faucibus portus posuit castra. naues quas Laeuinus tutandis commeatibus habuerat partim machinationibus onerat apparatuque moenium oppugnandorum, partim tormentis et saxis omnique missilium telorum genere instruit, onerarias quoque, non eas solum quae remis agerentur, ut alii machinas scalasque ad muros ferrent, alii procul ex nauibus uolnerarent moenium propugnatores. hae naues ab aperto mari ut urbem adgrederentur instructae parataeque sunt; et erat liberum mare classe Punica cum Philippus oppugnare Aetolos pararet Corcyram tramissa. in Brutiis interim Cauloniae oppugnatores sub aduentu Hannibalis ne opprimerentur in tumultum a praesenti impetu tutum, ad cetera inopem, concessere.

Fabium Tarentum obsidentem leue dictu momentum ad rem ingentem potiundam adiuuit. praesidium Bruttiorum datum ab Hannibale Tarentini habebant. eius praesidii praefectus deperibat amore mulierculae cuius frater in exercitu Fabi consulis erat. is certior litteris sororis factus de noua consuetudine aduenae locupletis atque inter populares tam honorati, spem nactus per sororem quolibet impelli amantem posse, quid speraret ad consulem detulit. quae cum haud uana cogitatio uisa esset pro perfuga iussus Tarentum transire, ac per sororem praefecto conciliatus primo occulte temptando animum, dein satis explorata leuitate blanditiis muliebribus perpulit eum ad proditionem custodiae loci cui praepositus erat. ubi et ratio agenda rei et tempus conuenit, miles nocte per interualla stationum clam ex urbe emissus ea quae acta erant quaeque ut agerentur conuenerat ad consulem refert.

Fabius uigilia prima dato signo iis qui in arce erant quique custodiam portus habebant, ipse circumito portu ab regione urbis in orientem uersa occultus consedit. canere inde tubae simul ab arce simul a portu et ab nauibus quae ab aperto mari adpulsae erant, clamorque undique cum ingenti tumultu unde minimum periculi erat de industria ortus. consul interim silentio continebat suos. igitur Democrates, qui praefectus antea classis fuerat, forte illi loco praepositus, postquam quieta omnia circa se uidit, alias partes eo tumultu personare ut captae urbis interdum excitaretur clamor, ueritus ne inter cunctationem suam consul aliquam uim faceret ac signa inferret, praesidium ad arcem unde maxime terribilis accidebat

sonus traducit. Fabius cum et ex temporis spatio et ex silentio ipso quod, ubi paulo ante strepebant excitantes uocantesque ad arma, inde nulla accidebat uox, deductas custodias sensisset, ferri scalas ad eam partem muri qua Bruttiorum cohortem praesidium agitare prodicionis conciliator nuntiauerat iubet. ea primum captus est murus adiuuantibus recipientibusque Bruttiis, et transcensum in urbem est; inde et proxima refracta porta ut frequenti agmine signa inferrentur. tum clamore sublato sub ortum ferme lucis nullo obuio armato in forum perueniunt, omnesque undique qui ad arcem portumque pugnabant in se conuerterunt.

[16] Proelium in aditu fori maiore impetu quam perseuerantia commissum est. non animo, non armis, non arte belli, non uigore ac uiribus corporis par Romano Tarentinus erat; igitur pilis tantum coniectis, prius paene quam consererent manus terga dederunt, dilapsique per nota urbis itinera in suas amicorumque domos. duo ex ducibus Nico et Democrates fortiter pugnantes cecidere. Philemenus, qui prodicionis ad Hannibalem auctor fuerat, cum citato equo ex proelio auectus esset, uagus paulo post equus [errans] per urbem cognitus, corpus nusquam inuentum est; creditum uolgo est in puteum apertum ex equo praecipitasse. Carthalonem autem praefectum Punici praesidii cum commemoratione paterni hospitii positis armis uenientem ad consulem miles obuio obtruncat. alii alios [passim] sine discrimine armatos inermes caedunt, Carthaginienses Tarentinosque pariter. Bruttii quoque multi passim interfecti, seu per errorem seu uetere in eos insito odio seu ad prodicionis famam ut ui potius atque armis captum Tarentum uideretur extinguendam. tum ab caede ad diripiendam urbem discursum. triginta milia seruiliū capitum dicuntur capta, argenti uis ingens facti signatique, auri tria milia octoginta pondo, signa tabulae prope ut Syracusarum ornamenta aequauerint. sed maiore animo generis eius praeda abstinuit Fabius quam Marcellus; ~qui interroganti scribae~ quid fieri signis uellet ingentis magnitudinis — di sunt, suo quisque habitu in modum pignantium formati — deos iratos Tarentinis relinqui iussit. murus inde qui urbem ab arce dirimebat dirutus est ac disiectus.

Dum haec Tarenti aguntur, Hannibal iis qui Cauloniam obsidebant in deditionem acceptis, audita oppugnatione Tarenti dies noctesque

cursim agmine acto cum festinans ad opem ferendam captam urbem audisset, 'et Romani suum Hannibalem' inquit 'habent; eadem qua ceperamus arte Tarentum amisimus.' ne tamen fugientis modo conuertisse agmen uideretur, quo constiterat loco quinque milia ferme ab urbe posuit castra; ibi paucos moratus dies Metapontum sese recepit. inde duos Metapontinos cum litteris principum eius ciuitatis ad Fabium Tarentum mittit, fidem ab consule accepturos impunita priora fore si Metapontum cum praesidio Punico prodidissent. Fabius uera quae adferrent esse ratus, diem qua accessurus esset Metapontum constituit litterasque ad principes dedit, quae ad Hannibalem delatae sunt. enimuero laetus successu fraudis si ne Fabius quidem dolo inuictus fuisset, haud procul Metaponto insidias ponit. Fabio auspicanti priusquam egrederetur ab Tarento, aues semel atque iterum non addixerunt. hostia quoque caesa consulenti deos haruspex cauendum a fraude hostili et ab insidiis praedixit. Metapontini postquam ad constitutum non uenerat diem remissi ut cunctantem hortarentur ac repente comprehensi, metu grauioris quaestionis detegunt insidias.

[17] Aestatis eius principio qua haec agebantur, P. Scipio in Hispania cum hiemem totam reconciliandis barbarorum animis partim donis, partim remissione obsidum captiuorumque absumpsisset, Edesco ad eum clarus inter duces Hispanos uenit. erant coniunx liberique eius apud Romanos; sed praeter eam causam etiam uelut fortuita inclinatio animorum quae Hispaniam omnem auerterat ad Romanum a Punico imperio traxit eum. eadem causa Indibili Mandonioque fuit, haud dubie omnis Hispaniae principibus, cum omni popularium manu relicto Hasdrubale secedendi in imminentes castris eius tumulos unde per continentia iuga tutus receptus ad Romanos esset. Hasdrubal cum hostium res tantis augescere incrementis cerneret, suas imminui ac fore ut, nisi audendo aliquid moueret, qua coepissent ruerent, dimicare quam primum statuit. Scipio audior etiam certaminis erat cum a spe quam successus rerum augebat tum quod priusquam iungerentur hostium exercitus cum uno dimicare duce exercituque quam simul cum uniuersis malebat. ceterum etiamsi cum pluribus pariter dimicandum foret, arte quadam copias auxerat. nam cum uideret nullum esse nauium usum, quia uacua omnis Hispaniae ora classibus Punicis erat, subductis nauibus

Tarracone nauales socios terrestribus copiis addidit; et armorum affatim erat <et> captorum Carthagine et quae post captam eam fecerat tanto opificum numero incluso.

Cum iis copiis Scipio ueris principio ab Tarracone egressus — iam enim et Laelius redierat ab Roma, sine quo nihil maioris rei motum uolebat — ducere ad hostem pergit. per omnia pacata eunti, ut cuiusque populi fines transiret prosequentibus excipientibusque sociis, Indibilis et Mandonius cum suis copiis occurrerent. Indibilis pro utroque locutus haudquaquam <ut> barbarus stolide incauteue, sed potius cum uerecundia <ac> grauitate, propiorque excusanti transitionem ut necessariam quam glorianti eam uelut primam occasionem raptam; scire enim se transfugae nomen execrabile ueteribus sociis, nouis suspectum esse; neque eum se reprehendere morem hominum si tam anceps odium causa, non nomen faciat. merita inde sua in duces Carthaginenses commemorauit, auaritiam contra eorum superbiamque et omnis generis iniurias in se atque populares. itaque corpus dumtaxat suum ad id tempus apud eos fuisse: animum iam pridem ibi esse ubi ius ac fas crederent coli; ad deos quoque confugere supplices qui nequeant hominum uim atque iniurias pati. se id Scipionem orare ut transitio sibi nec fraudi apud eum nec honori sit. quales ex hac die experiundo cognorit, perinde operae eorum pretium faceret. ita prorsus respondet facturum Romanus, nec pro transfugis habiturum qui non duxerint societatem ratam ubi nec diuini quicquam nec humani sanctum esset. productae deinde in conspectum iis coniuges liberique lacrimantibus gaudio redduntur, atque eo die in hospitium abducti: postero die foedere accepta fides dimissique ad copias adducendas. iisdem deinde castris tendebant donec ducibus iis ad hostem peruentum est.

[18] Proximus Carthaginensium exercitus Hasdrubalis prope urbem Baeculam erat. pro castris equitum stationes habebant. in eas uelites antesignanique et qui primi agminis erant aduenientes ex itinere priusquam castris locum acciperent, adeo contemptim impetum fecerunt ut facile appareret quid utrique parti animorum esset. in castra trepida fuga compulsi equites sunt signaque Romana portis prope ipsis inlata. atque illo quidem die inritatis tantum ad certamen animis castra Romani posuerunt: nocte Hasdrubal in tumultum copias recipit plano campo in summo patentem; fluuius ab

tergo, ante circaque uelut ripa praeceps oram eius omnem cingebat. suberat et altera inferior summissa fastigio planities; eam quoque altera crepido haud facilius in adscensum ambibat. in hunc inferiorem campum postero die Hasdrubal postquam stantem pro castris hostium aciem uidit, equites Numidas leuiumque armorum Baliares et Afros demisit.

Scipio circumuectus ordines signaque ostendebat hostem praedamnata spe aequo dimicandi campo captantem tumulos, loci fiducia non uirtutis armorumque stare in conspectu; sed altiora moenia habuisse Carthaginem, quae transcendisset miles Romanus; nec tumulos nec arcem, ne mare quidem armis obstitisse suis. ad id fore altitudines quas cepissent hostibus ut per praecipitia et praeupta salientes fugerent; eam quoque se illis fugam clausurum. cohortesque duas alteram tenere fauces uallis per quam deferretur amnis iubet, alteram uiam insidere quae ab orbe per tumuli obliqua in agros ferret. ipse expeditos qui pridie stationes hostium pepulerant ad leuem armaturam infimo stantem supercilio ducit. per aspreta primum, nihil aliud quam uia impediti, iere; deinde ut sub ictum uenerunt, telorum primo omnis generis uis ingens effusa in eos est; ipsi contra saxa quae locus strata passim, omnia ferme missilia, praebet ingerere, non milites solum, sed etiam turba calorum immixta armatis.

Ceterum quamquam adscensus difficilis erat et prope obruebantur telis saxisque, adsuetudine tamen succedendi muros et pertinacia animi subierunt primi. qui simul cepere aliquid aequi loci ubi firmo consisterent gradu, leuem et concursatorem hostem atque interuallo tutum cum procul missilibus pugna eluditur, instabilem eundem ad cominus conserendas manus, expulerunt loco et cum caede magna in aciem altiore superstantem tumulo impegere. inde Scipio iussis aduersus mediam euadere aciem uictoribus ceteras copias cum Laelio diuidit, atque eum parte dextra tumuli circumire donec mollioris adscensus uiam inueniret iubet: ipse ab laeua, circuitu haud magno, in transuersos hostes incurrit. inde primo turbata acies est dum ad circumsonantem undique clamorem flectere cornua et obuerrere ordines uolunt. hoc tumultu et Laelius subiit; et dum pedem referunt ne ab tergo uulnerentur, laxata prima acies locusque ad euadendum et mediis datus est, qui per tam iniquum locum stantibus integris ordinibus elephantisque ante signa locatis nunquam euasissent. cum

ab omni parte caedes fieret Scipio, qui laeuo cornu in dextrum incucurrerat, maxime in nuda latera hostium pugnabat; et iam ne fugae quidem patebat locus; nam et stationes utrimque Romanae dextra laeuaque insederant uias, et porta castrorum ducis principumque fuga clausa erat, addita trepidatione elephantorum quos territos aequae atque hostes timebant. caesa igitur ad octo milia hominum.

[19] Hasdrubal iam ante quam dimicaret pecunia rapta elephantisque praemissis, quam plurimos poterat de fuga excipiens praeter Tagum flumen ad Pyrenaeum tendit. Scipio castris hostium potitus cum praeter libera capita omnem praedam militibus concessisset, in recensendis captiuis decem milia peditum, duo milia equitum inuenit. ex his Hispanos sine pretio omnes domum dimisit, Afros uendere quaestorem iussit. circumfusa inde multitudo Hispanorum et ante deditorum et pridie captorum regem eum ingenti consensu appellauit. tum Scipio silentio per praeconem facto sibi maximum nomen imperatoris esse dixit quo se milites sui appellassent: regium nomen alibi magnum, Romae intolerabile esse. regalem animum in se esse, si id in hominis ingenio amplissimum ducerent, taciti iudicaret: uocis usurpatione abstinere. sensere etiam barbari magnitudinem animi, cuius miraculo nominis alii mortales stuperent id ex tam alto fastigio aspernantis. dona inde regulis principibusque Hispanorum diuisa, et ex magna copia captorum equorum trecentos quos uellet eligere Indibilem iussit.

Cum Afros uenderet iussu imperatoris quaestor, puerum adultum inter eos forma insigni cum audisset regii generis esse, ad Scipionem misit. quem cum percontaretur Scipio quis et cuias et cur id aetatis in castris fuisset, Numidam esse ait, Massiuam populares uocare: orbum a patre relictum apud maternum auum Galam, regem Numidarum, eductum, cum auunculo Masinissa, qui nuper cum equitatu subsidio Carthaginensibus uenisset, in Hispaniam traiecisse; prohibitum propter aetatem a Masinissa nunquam ante proelium inisse: eo die quo pugnatum cum Romanis esset incio auunculo clam armis equoque sumpto in aciem exisse; ibi prolapso equo effusum in praeceps captum ab Romanis esse. Scipio cum adseruari Numidam iussisset, quae pro tribunali agenda erant peragit; inde cum se in praetorium recepisset, uocatum eum interrogat

uelletne ad Masinissam reuerti. cum effusis gaudio lacrimis cupere uero diceret, tum puero anulum aureum tunicam lato clauo cum Hispano sagulo et aurea fibula equumque ornatum donat, iussisque prosequi quoad uellet equitibus dimisit.

[20] De bello inde consilium habitum; et auctoribus quibusdam ut confestim Hasdrubalem consequeretur, anceps id ratus ne Mago atque alter Hasdrubal cum eo iungerent copias, praesidio tantum ad insidendum Pyrenaeum misso ipse reliquum aestatis recipiendis in fidem Hispaniae populis absumpsit.

Paucis post proelium factum ad Baeculam diebus cum Scipio rediens iam Tarraconem saltu Castulonensi excessisset, Hasdrubal Gisgonis filius et Mago imperatores ex ulteriore Hispania ad Hasdrubalem uenere, serum post male gestam rem auxilium, consilio in cetera exsequenda belli haud parum opportuni. ibi conferentibus quid in cuiusque prouinciae regione animorum Hispanis esset, unus Hasdrubal Gisgonis ultimam Hispaniae oram quae ad Oceanum et Gades uergit ignaram adhuc Romanorum esse eoque Carthaginiensibus satis fidam censebat: inter Hasdrubalem alterum et Magonem constabat beneficiis Scipionis occupatos omnium animos publice priuatimque esse nec transitionibus finem ante fore quam omnes Hispani milites aut in ultima Hispaniae amoti aut traducti in Galliam forent. itaque etiam si senatus Carthaginiensium non censuisset, eundum tamen Hasdrubali fuisse in Italiam ubi belli caput rerumque summa esset, simul ut Hispanos omnes procul ab nomine Scipionis ex Hispania abduceret. exercitum eius cum transitionibus tum aduerso proelio imminutum Hispanis repleti militibus, et Magonem Hasdrubali Gisgonis filio tradito exercitu ipsum cum grandi pecunia ad conducenda mercede auxilia in Baliares traicere; Hasdrubalem Gisgonis cum exercitu penitus in Lusitaniam abire, nec cum Romano manus conserere; Masinissae ex omni equitatu quod roboris esset tria milia equitum expleri, eumque uagum per citeriorem Hispaniam sociis opem ferre, hostium oppida atque agros populari; — his decretis, ad exsequenda quae statuerant duces digressi. haec eo anno in Hispania acta. Romae fama Scipionis in dies crescere, Fabio Tarentum captum astu magis quam uirtute gloriae tamen esse, Fului senescere fama, Marcellus etiam aduerso rumore esse, superquam quod primo male pugnauerat, quia uagante

per Italiam Hannibale media aestate Uenusiam in tecta milites abduxisset. inimicus erat ei C. Publicius Bibulus tribunus plebis. is iam a prima pugna quae aduersa fuerat adsiduis contionibus infamem inuisumque plebei Claudium fecerat, et iam de imperio abrogando eius agebat cum tamen necessarii Claudii obtinuerunt ut relicto Uenusiae legato Marcellus Romam rediret ad purganda ea quae inimici obicerent nec de imperio eius abrogando absente ipso ageretur. forte sub idem tempus et Marcellus ad deprecandam ignominiam et Q. Fuluius consul comitiorum causa Romam uenit.

[21] Actum de imperio Marcelli in circo Flamini est ingenti concursu plebisque et omnium ordinum. accusauit tribunus plebis non Marcellum modo, sed omnem nobilitatem: fraude eorum et cunctatione fieri ut Hannibal decimum iam annum Italiam prouinciam habeat, diutius ibi quam Carthagine uixerit; habere fructum imperii prorogati Marcello populum Romanum; bis caesum exercitum eius aestiua Uenusiae sub tectis agere. hanc tribuni orationem ita obruit Marcellus commemoratione rerum suarum ut non rogatio solum de imperio eius abrogando antiquaretur, sed postero die consulem eum ingenti consensu centuriae omnes crearent. additur collega T. Quinctius Crispinus, qui tum praetor erat. postero die praetores creati P. Licinius Crassus Diues pontifex maximus, P. Licinius Uarus Sex. Iulius Caesar Q. Claudius.

Comitiorum ipsorum diebus sollicita ciuitas de Etruriae defectione fuit. principium eius rei ab Arretinis fieri C. Calpurnius scripserat, qui eam prouinciam pro praetore obtinebat. itaque confestim eo missus Marcellus consul designatus, qui rem inspiceret ac, si digna uideretur, exercitu accito bellum ex Apulia in Etruriam transferret. eo metu compressi Etrusci quieuerunt. Tarentinorum legatis pacem petentibus cum libertate ac legibus suis responsum ab senatu est ut redirent cum Fabius consul Romam uenisset.

Ludi et Romani et plebei eo anno in singulos dies instaurati. aediles curules fuere L. Cornelius Caudinus et Ser. Sulpicius Galba, plebei C. Seruilius et Q. Caecilius Metellus. Seruilius negabant iure aut tribunum plebis fuisse aut aedilem esse, quod patrem eius, quem triumuirum agrarium occisum a Boiis circa Mutinam esse opinio per nouem annos fuerat, uiuere atque in hostium potestate esse satis constabat.

[22] Undecimo anno Punici belli consulatum inierunt M. Marcellus quintum — ut numeretur consulatus quem uitio creatus non gessit — et T. Quinctius Crispinus. utrisque consulibus Italia decreta prouincia est et duo consulum prioris anni exercitus — tertius Uenusiae tum erat, cui Marcellus prae fuerat — ita ut ex tribus eligerent duo quos uellent, tertius ei traderetur qui Tarentum et Sallentini prouincia euenisset. ceterae prouinciae ita diuisae: praetoribus, P. Licinio Uaro urbana, P. Licinio Crasso pontifici maximo peregrina et quo senatus censuisset, Sex. Iulio Caesari Sicilia, Q. Claudio [Flamini] Tarentum. prorogatum imperium in annum est Q. Fuluius Flaccus ut prouinciam Capuam quae T. Quincti praetoris fuerat cum una legione obtineret. prorogatum et C. Hostilio Tubulus est ut pro praetore in Etruriam ad duas legiones succederet C. Calpurnius. prorogatum et L. Ueturio Philoni est ut pro praetore Galliam eandem prouinciam cum iisdem duabus legionibus obtineret quibus praetor obtinuisset. quod in L. Ueturio, idem in C. Aurunculeio decretum ab senatu, latumque de prorogando imperio ad populum est qui praetor Sardiniam prouinciam cum duabus legionibus obtinuerat. additae ei ad praesidium prouinciae quinquaginta longae naues quas P. Scipio ex Hispania misisset. et P. Scipioni et M. Silano suae Hispaniae suique exercitus in annum decreti. Scipio ex octoginta nauibus quas aut secum ex Italia adductas aut captas Carthagine habebat quinquaginta in Sardiniam transmittere iussus, quia fama erat magnum naualem apparatus eo anno Carthagine esse: ducentis nauibus omnem oram Italiae Siciliae Sardiniaeque impleturos. et in Sicilia ita diuisa res est: Sex. Caesari exercitus Cannensis datus est: M. Ualerius Laeuinus — ei quoque enim prorogatum imperium est — classem quae ad Siciliam erat nauium septuaginta obtineret; adderet eo triginta naues quae ad Tarentum priore anno fuerant; cum ea centum nauium classe si uideretur ei praedatum in Africam traiceret. et P. Sulpicius ut eadem classe Macedoniam Graeciamque prouinciam haberet prorogatum in annum imperium est. de duabus quae ad urbem Romam fuerant legionibus nihil mutatum. supplementum quo opus esset ut scriberent consulibus permissum. una et uiginti legionibus eo anno defensum imperium Romanum est. et P. Licinio Uaro praetori urbano negotium datum ut naues longas triginta ueteres reficeret quae Ostiae erant et uiginti nouas naues sociis naualibus compleret, ut quinquaginta

nauium classe oram maris uicinam urbi Romanae tueri posset. C. Calpurnius uetitus ab Arretio mouere exercitum nisi cum successor uenisset; idem et Tubulo imperatum ut inde praecipue caueret ne qua noua consilia orerentur.

[23] Praetores in prouincias profecti: consules religio tenebat quod prodigiis aliquot nuntiatis non facile litabant. et ex Campania nuntiata erant Capuae duas aedes, Fortunae et Martis, et sepulcra aliquot de caelo tacta, Cumis — adeo minimis etiam rebus praua religio inserit deos — mures in aede Iouis aurum rosisse, Casini examen apium ingens in foro consedissee; et Ostiae murum portamque de caelo tactam, Caere uolturium uolasse in aedem Iouis, Uolsiniis sanguine lacum manasse. horum prodigiorum causa diem unum supplicatio fuit. per dies aliquot hostiae maiores sine litatione caesae diuque non impetrata pax deum. in capita consulum re publica incolumi exitiabilis prodigiorum euentus uertit.

Ludi Apollinares Q. Fului Ap. Claudio consulibus a P. Cornelio Sulla praetore urbano primum facti erant; inde omnes deinceps praetores urbani fecerant; sed in unum annum uoueabant dieque incerta faciebant. eo anno pestilentia grauis incidit in urbem agrosque, quae tamen magis in longos morbos quam in peritiales euasit. eius pestilentiae causa et supplicatum per compita tota urbe est et P. Licinius Uarus praetor urbanus legem ferre ad populum iussus ut ii ludi in perpetuum in statam diem uouerentur. ipse primus ita uouit, fecitque ante diem tertium nonas Quinctiles. is dies deinde sollemnis seruatus.

[24] De Arretinis et fama in dies grauior et cura crescere patribus. itaque C. Hostilio scriptum est ne differret obsides ab Arretinis accipere, et cui traderet Romam deducendos C. Terentius Uarro cum imperio missus. qui ut uenit, extemplo Hostilius legionem unam quae ante urbem castra habebat signa in urbem ferre iussit praesidiaque locis idoneis disposuit; tum in forum citatis senatoribus obsides imperauit. cum senatus biduum ad considerandum [tempus] peteret, aut ipsos extemplo dare aut se postero die senatorum omnes liberos sumpturum edixit. inde portas custodire iussi tribuni militum praefectique socium et centuriones ne quis nocte urbe exiret. id segnius neglegentiusque factum; septem principes senatus priusquam custodiae in portis locarentur ante noctem cum liberis euaserunt.

postero die luce prima cum senatus in forum citari coeptus esset desiderati, bonaque eorum uenierunt: a ceteris senatoribus centum uiginti obsides liberi ipsorum accepti traditique C. Terentio Romam deducendi. is omnia suspectiora quam ante fuerant in senatu fecit. itaque tamquam imminente Etrusco tumultu, legionem unam, alteram ex urbanis, Arretium ducere iussus ipse C. Terentius eamque habere in praesidio urbis: C. Hostilium cum cetero exercitu placet totam prouinciam peragrarere et cauere ne qua occasio nouare cupientibus res daretur. C. Terentius ut Arretium cum legione uenit, clauēs portarum cum magistratus poposcisset, negantibus iis comparere fraude amotas magis ratus quam negligentia intercidisse ipse alias clauēs omnibus portis imposuit cauitque cum cura ut omnia in potestate sua essent; Hostilium intentius monuit, ut in eo spem non moturos quicquam Etruscos poneret, si ne quid moueri posset praecauisset.

[25] De Tarentinis inde magna contentione in senatu actum coram Fabio, defendente ipso quos ceperat armis, aliis infensis et plerisque aequantibus eos Campanorum noxae poenaeque. senatus consultum in sententiam M'. Acilii factum est ut oppidum praesidio custodiretur Tarentinique omnes intra moenia continerentur, res integra postea referretur cum tranquillior status Italiae esset. et de M. Liui praefecto arcis Tarentinae haud minore certamine actum est, aliis senatus consulto notantibus praefectum quod eius socordia Tarentum proditum hosti esset, aliis praemia decernentibus quod per quinquennium arcem tutatus esset maximeque unius eius opera receptum Tarentum foret, mediis ad censores non ad senatum notionem de eo pertinere dicentibus, cuius sententiae et Fabius fuit. adiecit tamen, fateri se opera Liui Tarentum receptum quod amici eius uolgo in senatu iactassent; neque enim recipiundum fuisse nisi amissum foret.

Consulum alter T. Quinctius Crispinus ad exercitum quem Q. Fuluius Flaccus habuerat cum supplemento in Lucanos est profectus. Marcellum aliae atque aliae obiectae animo religiones tenebant, in quibus quod cum bello Gallico ad Clastidium aedem Honori et Uirtuti uouisset dedicatio eius a pontificibus impediabatur, quod negabant unam cellam amplius quam uni deo recte dedicari, quia si de caelo tacta aut prodigii aliquid in ea factum esset difficilis procuratio foret, quod utri deo res diuina fieret sciri non posset;

neque enim duobus nisi certis deis rite una hostia fieri. ita addita Uirtutis aedes adproperato opere; neque tamen ab ipso aedes eae dedicatae sunt. tum demum ad exercitum quem priore anno Uenusiae reliquerat cum supplemento proficiscitur.

Locros in Bruttiis Crispinus oppugnare conatus quia magnam famam attulisse Fabio Tarentum rebatur, omne genus tormentorum machinarumque ex Sicilia arcessierat; et naues indidem accitae erant quae uergentem ad mare partem urbis oppugnarent. ea omissa oppugnatio est quia Lacinium Hannibal admouerat copias, et collegam eduxisse iam a Uenusia exercitum fama erat, cui coniungi uolebat. itaque in Apuliam ex Bruttiis reditum, et inter Uenusiam Bantiamque minus trium milium passuum interuallo consules binis castris consederant. in eandem regionem et Hannibal rediit auerso ab Locris bello. ibi consules ambo ingenio feroces prope cottidie in aciem exire haud dubia spe, si duobus exercitibus consularibus iunctis commisisset sese hostis, debellari posse.

[26] Hannibal, quia cum Marcello bis priore anno congressus uicerat uictusque erat, ut cum eodem si dimicandum foret nec spem nec metum ex uano haberet, ita duobus consulibus haudquaquam sese parem futurum censebat; itaque totus in suas artes uersus insidiis locum quaerebat. leuia tamen proelia inter bina castra uario euentu fiebant. quibus cum extrahi aestatem posse consules crederent, nihilo minus oppugnari Locros posse rati L. Cincio ut ex Sicilia Locros cum classe traiceret scribunt; et ut ab terra quoque oppugnari moenia possent, ab Tarento partem exercitus qui in praesidio erat duci eo iusserunt. ea ita futura per quosdam Thurinos comperta Hannibali cum essent, mittit ad insidendam ab Tarento uiam. ibi sub tumultu Peteliae tria milia equitum, duo peditum in occulto locata; in quae inexplorato euntes Romani cum incidissent, ad duo milia armatorum caesa, mille et quingenti ferme uiui capti, alii dissipati fuga per agros saltusque Tarentum rediere.

Tumulus erat siluestris inter Punica et Romana castra ab neutris primo occupatus, quia Romani qualis pars eius quae uergeret ad hostium castra esset ignorabant, Hannibal insidiis quam castris aptiorem eum crediderat. itaque nocte ad id missas aliquot Numidarum turmas medio in saltu condiderat, quorum interdiu nemo ab statione mouebatur ne aut arma aut ipsi procul conspicerentur.

fremebant uolgo in castris Romanis occupandum eum tumulum esse et castello firmandum ne, si occupatus ab Hannibale foret, uelut in ceruicibus haberet hostem. mouit ea res Marcellum, et collegae ‘quinimus’ inquit ‘ipsi cum equitibus paucis exploratum? subiecta res oculis certius dabit consilium.’ adsentienti Crispino, cum equitibus ducentis uiginti, ex quibus quadraginta Fregellani, ceteri Etrusci erant, proficiscuntur; secuti tribuni militum M. Marcellus consulis filius et A. Manlius, simul et duo praefecti socium L. Arrenius et M’. Aulius. immolasse eo die quidam prodidere memoriae consulem Marcellum et prima hostia caesa iocur sine capite inuentum, in secunda omnia comparuisse quae adsolent, auctum etiam uisum in capite; nec id sane haruspici placuisse quod secundum trunca et turpia exta nimis laeta apparuissent.

[27] ceterum consulem Marcellum tanta cupiditas tenebat dimicandi cum Hannibale ut numquam satis castra castris conlata diceret; tum quoque uallo egrediens signum dedit ut ad locum miles esset paratus, ut si collis in quem speculatum irent placuisset, uasa conligerent et sequerentur.

Exiguum campi ante castra erat; inde in collem aperta undique et conspecta ferebat uia. Numidis speculator nequaquam in spem tantae rei positus sed si quos uagos pabuli aut lignorum causa longius a castris progressos possent excipere, signum dat ut pariter ab suis quisque latebris exorerentur. non ante apparuere quibus obuiis ab iugo ipso consurgendum erat quam circumiere qui ab tergo intercluderent uiam; tum undique omnes exorti, et clamore sublato impetum fecere. cum in ea ualle consules essent ut neque euadere possent in iugum occupatum ab hoste nec receptum ab tergo circumuenti haberent, extrahi tamen diutius certamen potuisset ni coepta ab Etruscis fuga pauorem ceteris iniecisset. non tamen omisere pugnam deserti ab Etruscis Fregellani donec integri consules hortando ipsique ex parte pugnando rem sustinebant; sed postquam uolneratos ambo consules, Marcellum etiam transfixum lancea prolabentem ex equo moribundum uidere, tum et ipsi — perpauci autem supererant — cum Crispino consule duobus iaculis icto et Marcello adulescente saucio et ipso effugerunt. interfectus A. Manlius tribunus militum, et ex duobus praefectis socium M’. Aulius occisus, <L.> Arrenius captus; et lictores consulum quinque uiui in

hostium potestatem uenerunt, ceteri aut interfecti aut cum consule effugerunt; equitum tres et quadraginta aut in proelio aut in fuga ceciderunt, duodeuiginti uiui capti. tumultuatum et in castris fuerat, ut consulibus irent subsidio, cum consulem et filium alterius consulis saucios exiguasque infelicis expeditionis reliquias ad castra uenientes cernunt. mors Marcelli cum alioqui miserabilis fuit, tum quod nec pro aetate — iam enim maior sexaginta annis erat — neque pro ueteris prudentia ducis tam improuide se collegamque et prope totam rem publicam in praeceps dederat.

Multos circa unam rem ambitus fecerim si quae de Marcelli morte uariant auctores, omnia exsequi uelim. ut omittam alios, Coelius triplicem gestae rei ~ordinem edit, unam traditam fama, alteram scriptam in laudatione filii, qui rei gestae interfuerit, tertiam quam ipse pro inquisita ac sibi comperta affert. ceterum ita fama uariat ut tamen plerique loci speculandi causa castris egressum, omnes insidiis circumuentum tradant.

[28] Hannibal magnum terrorem hostibus morte consulis unius, uolnere alterius iniectum esse ratus, ne cui deesset occasione castra in tumultum in quo pugnatum erat extemplo transfert; ibi inuentum Marcelli corpus sepelit. Crispinus et morte collegae et suo uolnere territus, silentio insequentis noctis profectus, quos proximos nactus est montes, in iis loco alto et tuto undique castra posuit. ibi duo duces sagaciter moti sunt, alter ad inferendam, alter ad cauendam fraudem. anulis Marcelli simul cum corpore Hannibal potitus erat. eius signi errore ne qui dolus necteretur a Poeno metuens Crispinus circa ciuitates proximas miserat nuntios occisum collegam esse anulisque eius hostem potitum: ne quibus litteris crederent nomine Marcelli compositis. paulo ante hic nuntius consulis Salapiam uenerat quam litterae ab Hannibale allatae sunt Marcelli nomine compositae se nocte quae diem illum secutura esset Salapiam uenturum: parati milites essent qui in praesidio erant, si quo opera eorum opus esset. sensere Salapitani fraudem; et ab ira non defectionis modo sed etiam equitum interfectorum rati occasionem supplicii peti, remisso retro nuntio — perfuga autem Romanus erat — ut sine arbitro milites quae uellent agerent, oppidanos per muros urbisque opportuna loca in stationibus disponunt; custodias uigiliasque in eam noctem intentius instruunt; circa portam qua uenturum hostem rebantur quod roboris

in praesidio erat opponunt. Hannibal quarta uigilia ferme ad urbem accessit. primi agminis erant perfugae Romanorum et arma Romana habebant. ii ubi ad portam est uentum Latine omnes loquentes excitant uigiles apeririue portam iubent: consulem adesse. uigiles uelut ad uocem eorum excitati tumultuari trepidare moliri portam. cataracta [deiecta] clausa erat; eam partim uectibus leuant, partim funibus subducunt, in tantum altitudinis ut subire recti possent. uixdum satis patebat iter cum perfugae certatim ruunt per portam; et cum sescenti ferme intrassent, remisso fune quo suspensa erat cataracta magno sonitu cecidit. Salapitani alii perfugas neglegenter ex itinere suspensa humeris, ut inter pacatos, gerentes arma inuadunt, alii e turribus portae murisque saxis sudibus pilis absterrent hostem. ita inde Hannibal suamet ipse fraude captus abiit, profectusque ad Locrorum soluendam obsidionem, qua <cingebat urbem L.> Cincius summa ui operibus tormentorumque omni genere ex Sicilia aduecto oppugnans. Magoni iam haud ferme fidenti retenturum defensurumque se urbem, prima spes morte nuntiata Marcelli adfulsit. secutus inde nuntius Hannibalem Numidarum equitatu praemisso ipsum quantum adcelerare posset cum peditum agmine sequi. itaque ubi primum Numidas edito e speculis signo aduentare sensit, et ipse patefacta repente porta ferox in hostes erumpit. et primo, magis quia improuiso id fecerat quam quod par uiribus esset, anceps certamen erat; deinde ut superuenere Numidae, tantus pauor Romanis est iniectus ut passim ad mare ac naues fugerent relictis operibus machinisque quibus muros quatiebant. ita aduentu Hannibalis soluta Locrorum obsidio est.

[29] Crispinus postquam in Bruttios profectum Hannibalem sensit, exercitum cui collega praefuerat M. Marcellum tribunum militum Uenusiam abducere iussit: ipse cum legionibus suis Capuam profectus uix lecticae agitationem prae grauitate uolnerum patiens, Romam litteras de morte collegae scripsit quantoque ipse in discrimine esset: se comitiorum causa non posse Romam uenire quia nec uiae laborem passurus uideretur et de Tarento sollicitus esset ne ex Brutiis Hannibal eo conuerteret agmen; legatos opus esse ad se mitti uiros prudentes cum quibus quae uellet de re publica loqueretur. hae litterae recitatae magnum et luctum morte alterius consulis et metum de altero fecerunt. itaque et Q. Fabium filium ad exercitum

Uenusiam miserunt, et ad consulem tres legati missi Sex. Iulius Caesar L. Licinius Pollio L. Cincius Alimentus cum paucis ante diebus ex Sicilia redisset. hi nuntiare consuli iussi ut si ad comitia ipse uenire Romam non posset dictatorem in agro Romano diceret comitiorum causa; si consul Tarentum profectus esset, Q. Claudium praetorem placere in eam regionem inde abducere legiones in qua plurimas sociorum urbes tueri posset.

Eadem aestate M. Ualerius cum classe centum nauium ex Sicilia in Africam tramisit, et ad Clupeam urbem escensione facta agrum late nullo ferme obuio armato uastauit. inde ad naues raptim praedatores recepti, quia repente fama accidit classem Punicam aduentare. octoginta erant et tres naues. cum his haud procul Clupea prospere pugnat Romanus. duodeuiginti nauibus captis, fugatis aliis cum magna terrestri nautalique praeda Lilybaeum rediit. eadem aestate et Philippus implorantibus Achaeis auxilium tulit, quos et Machanidas tyrannus Lacedaemoniorum finitimo bello urebat et Aetoli, nauibus per fretum quod Naupactum et Patras interfluit — Rhion incolae uocant — exercitu traiecto, depopulati erant. Attalum quoque regem Asiae, quia Aetoli summum gentis suae magistratum ad eum proximo ~anno~ concilio detulerant, fama erat in Europam traiecturum.

[30] Ob haec Philippo in Graeciam descendenti ad Lamiam urbem Aetoli duce Pyrrhia, qui praetor in eum annum cum absente Attalo creatus erat, occurrerunt. habebant et ab Attalo auxilia secum et mille ferme ex Romana classe a P. Sulpicio missos. aduersus hunc ducem atque has copias Philippus bis prospero euentu pugnavit; mille admodum hostium utraque pugna occidit. inde cum Aetoli metu compulsi Lamiae urbis moenibus tenerent sese, Philippus ad Phalara exercitum duxit; in Maliaco sinu is locus est, quondam frequenter habitatus propter egregium portum tutasque circa stationes et aliam opportunitatem maritimam terrestremque. eo legati ab rege Aegypti Ptolomaeo Rhodiisque et Atheniensibus et Chiis uenerunt ad dirimendum inter Philippum atque Aetolos bellum. adhibitus ab Aetolis et ex finitimis pacificator Amynder, rex Athamanum. omnium autem non tanta pro Aetolis cura erat, ferociori quam pro ingeniis Graecorum gente, quam ne Philippus regnumque eius rebus Graeciae, graue libertati futurum, immisceretur. de pace dilata

consultatio est in concilium Achaeorum, concilioque ei et locus et dies certa indicta; interim triginta dierum indutiae impetratae. profectus inde rex per Thessaliam Boeotiamque Chalcidem Euboeae uenit ut Attalum, quem classe Euboeam petiturum audierat, portibus et litorum adpulsu arceret. inde praesidio relicto aduersus Attalum si forte interim traiecisset, profectus ipse cum paucis equitum levisque armaturae Argos uenit. ibi curatione Heraeorum Nemeorumque suffragiis populi ad eum delata quia se Macedonum reges ex ea ciuitate oriundos referunt, Heraeis peractis ab ipso ludicro extemplo Aegium profectus est ad indictum multo ante sociorum concilium. ibi de Aetolico finiendo bello actum ne causa aut Romanis aut Attalo intrandi Graeciam esset. sed ea omnia uixdum indutiarum tempore circumacto Aetoli turbauere postquam et Attalum Aeginam uenisse et Romanam classem stare ad Naupactum audiuerunt. uocati enim in concilium Achaeorum, in quo et eae legationes erant quae ad Phalara egerant de pace, primum questi sunt quaedam parua contra fidem conuentionis tempore indutiarum facta; postremo negarunt dirimi bellum posse nisi Messeniis Achaei Pylum redderent, Romanis restitueretur Atintania, Scerdilaedo et Pleurato Ardiaei. enimvero indignum ratus Philippus uictos uictori sibi ultro condiciones ferre, ne antea quidem se aut de pace audisse aut indutias pepigisse dixit spem ullam habentem quieturos Aetolos, sed uti omnes socios testes haberet se pacis, illos belli causam quaesisse. ita infecta pace concilium dimisit quattuor milibus armatorum relictis ad praesidium Achaeorum et quinque longis nauibus acceptis, quas si adiecisset missae nuper ad se classi Carthaginensium et ex Bithynia ab rege Prusia uenientibus nauibus, statuerat nauali proelio lacessere Romanos iam diu in regione ea potentes maris. ipse ab eo concilio Argos regressus; iam enim Nemeorum appetebat tempus, quae celebrari uolebat praesentia sua.

[31] Occupato rege apparatu ludorum et per dies festos licentius quam inter belli tempora remittente animum P. Sulpicius ab Naupacto profectus classem adpulit inter Sicyonem et Corinthum agrumque nobilissimae fertilitatis effuse uastauit. fama eius rei Philippum ab ludis exciuit; raptimque cum equitatu profectus iussis subsequi peditibus, palatos passim per agros grauesque praeda ut qui nihil tale metuerent adortus Romanos compulit in naues. classis

Romana haudquaquam laeta praeda Naupactum redit: Philippo ludorum quoque qui reliqui erant celebritatem quantaecumque, de Romanis tamen, uictoriae partae fama auxerat, laetitiaque ingenti celebrati festi dies, eo magis etiam quod populariter dempto capitis insigni purpuraque atque alio regio habitu aequauerat ceteris se in speciem, quo nihil gratius est ciuitatibus liberis; praebuissetque haud dubiam eo facto spem libertatis nisi omnia intoleranda libidine foeda ac deformia effecisset. uagabatur autem cum uno aut altero comite per maritas domos dies noctesque, et summittendo se in priuatum fastigium quo minus conspectus eo solutior erat, et libertatem, cum aliis uanam ostendisset, totam in suam licentiam uerterat. neque enim omnia emebat aut eblandiebatur, sed uim etiam flagitiis adhibebat, periculosumque et uiris et parentibus erat moram incommoda seueritate libidini regiae fecisse; uni etiam principi Achaeorum Arato adempta uxor nomine Polycratia ac spe regiarum nuptiarum in Macedoniam asportata fuerat.

Per haec flagitia sollemni Nemeorum peracto paucisque additis diebus, Dymas est profectus ad praesidium Aetolorum quod ab Eleis accitum acceptumque in urbem erat eiciendum. Cycliadas — penes eum summa imperii erat — Achaeique ad Dymas regi occurrere, et Eleorum accensi odio quod a ceteris Achaeis dissentirent, et infensi Aetolis quos Romanum quoque aduersus se mouisse bellum credebant. profecti ab Dymis coniuncto exercitu transeunt Larisum amnem, qui Eleum agrum ab Dymaeo dirimit.

[32] Primum diem quo fines hostium ingressi sunt populando absumpserunt; postero die acie instructa ad urbem accesserunt praemissis equitibus qui obequitando portis promptum ad excursiones genus lacerarent Aetolorum. ignorabant Sulpicium cum quindecim nauibus ab Naupacto Cyllenen traiecisse et expositis in terram quattuor milibus armatorum silentio noctis ne conspici agmen posset intrasse Elim. itaque improuisa res ingentem iniecit terrorem postquam inter Aetolos Eleosque Romana signa atque arma cognouere. et primo recipere suos uoluerat rex; deinde contracto iam inter Aetolos et Tralles — Illyriorum id est genus — certamine cum urgeri uideret suos, et ipse rex cum equitatu in cohortem Romanam incurrit. ibi equus pilo traiectus cum prolapsus super caput regem effudisset, atrox pugna utrimque accensa est, et ab Romanis impetu

in regem facto et protegentibus regiis. insignis et ipsius pugna fuit cum pedes inter equites coactus esset proelium inire; dein cum iam impar certamen esset caderentque circa eum multi et uulnerarentur, raptus ab suis atque alteri equo iniectus fugit. eo die castra quinque milia passuum ab urbe Eleorum posuit; postero die ad propinquum Eleorum castellum — Pyrgum uocant — copias omnes eduxit, quo agrestium multitudinem cum pecoribus metu populationum compulsam audierat. eam inconditam inermemque multitudinem primo statim terrore adueniens cepit; compensaueratque ea praeda quod ignominiae ad Elim acceptum fuerat. diuidenti praedam captiuosque — fuere autem quattuor milia hominum, pecorisque omnis generis ad uiginti milia — nuntius ex Macedonia uenit Aeropum quendam corrupto arcis praesidiique praefecto Lychnidum cepisse; tenere et Dassaretiorum quosdam uicos et Dardanos etiam concire. omisso igitur Achaico atque Aetolico bello, relictis tamen duobus milibus et quingentis omnis generis armatorum cum Menippo et Polyphanta ducibus ad praesidium sociorum, profectus ab Dymis per Achaia Boeotiamque et Euboeam decimis castris Demetriadem in Thessaliam peruenit.

[33] Ibi alii maiorem adferentes tumultum nuntii occurrunt, Dardanos in Macedoniam effusos Orestidem iam tenere ac descendisse in Argestaeum campum, famamque inter barbaros celebrem esse Philippum occisum. expeditione ea qua cum populatoribus agri ad Sicyonem pugnavit, in arborem inlatus impetu equi ad eminentem ramum cornu alterum galeae praefregit; id inuentum ab Aetolo quodam perlatumque in Aetoliam ad Scerdilaedum, cui notum erat insigne galeae, famam interfecti regis uolgauit. post profectionem ex Achaia regis Sulpicius Aeginam classe profectus cum Attalo sese coniunxit. Achaei cum Aetolis Eleisque haud procul Messene prosperam pugnam fecerunt. Attalus rex et P. Sulpicius Aeginae hibernarunt.

Exitu huius anni T. Quinctius consul, dictatore comitiorum ludorumque faciendorum causa dicto T. Manlio Torquato, ex uulnere moritur; alii Tarenti, alii in Campania mortuum tradunt; ita quod nullo ante bello acciderat, duo consules sine memorando proelio interfecti uelut orbam rem publicam reliquerant. dictator Manlius magistrum equitum C. Seruilius — tum aedilis curulis erat — dixit.

senatus quo die primum est habitus ludos magnos facere dictatorem iussit, quos M. Aemilius praetor urbanus C. Flaminio, Cn. Seruilio consulibus fecerat et in quinquennium uouerat; tum dictator et fecit ludos et in insequens lustrum uouit. ceterum cum duo consulares exercitus tam prope hostem sine ducibus essent, omnibus aliis omissis una praecipua cura patres populumque incessit consules primo quoque tempore creandi et ut eos crearent potissimum quorum uirtus satis tuta a fraude Punica esset: cum toto eo bello damnosa praepropera ac feruida ingenia imperatorum fuissent, tum eo ipso anno consules nimia cupiditate conserendi cum hoste manum in necopinatam fraudem lapsos esse; ceterum deos immortales, miseritos nominis Romani, pepercisse innoxiiis exercitibus, temeritatem consulum ipsorum capitibus damnassee.

[34] Cum circumspicerent patres quosnam consules facerent, longe ante alios eminebat C. Claudius Nero. ei collega quaerebatur; et uirum quidem eum egregium ducebant, sed promptiorem acrioremque quam tempora belli postularent aut hostis Hannibal; temperandum acre ingenium [eius] moderato et prudenti uiro adiuncto collega censebant. M. Liuius erat, multis ante annis ex consulatu populi iudicio damnatus, quam ignominiam adeo aegre tulerat ut rus migrarit et per multos annos et urbe et omni coetu careret hominum. octauo ferme post damnationem anno M. Claudius Marcellus et M. Ualerius Laeuinus consules reduxerant eum in urbem; sed erat ueste obsoleta capilloque et barba promissa, prae se ferens in uultu habituque insignem memoriam ignominiae acceptae. L. Ueturius et P. Licinius censores eum tonderi et squalorem deponere et in senatum uenire fungique aliis publicis muneribus coegerunt; sed tum quoque aut uerbo adsentiebatur aut pedibus in sententiam ibat donec cognati hominis eum causa M. Liuii Macati, cum fama eius ageretur, stantem coegit in senatu sententiam dicere. tunc ex tanto interuallo auditus conuertit ora hominum in se, causamque sermonibus praeiuit indigno iniuriam a populo factam magnoque id damno fuisse quod tam graui bello nec opera nec consilio talis uiri usa res publica esset: C. Neroni neque Q. Fabium neque M. Ualerium Laeuinum dari collegam posse quia duos patricos creari non liceret; eandem causam in T. Manlio esse praeterquam quod recusasset delatum consulatum recusaturusque

esset; egregium par consulum fore, si M. Liuium C. Claudio collegam adiunxissent. nec populus mentionem eius rei ortam a patribus est aspernatus. unus eam rem in ciuitate is cui deferebatur honos abnuebat, leuitatem ciuitatis accusans: sordidati rei non miseritos candidam togam inuito offerre; eodem honores poenasque congeri. si uirum bonum ducerent, quid ita pro malo ac noxio damnassent? si noxium comperissent, quid ita male credito priore consulatu alterum crederent? haec taliaque arguentem et querentem castigabant patres, et M. Furium memorantes reuocatum de exilio patriam pulsam sede sua restituisse — ut parentium saeuitiam, sic patriae patiando ac ferendo leniendam esse — , adnisi omnes cum <C.> Claudio M. Liuium consulem fecerunt.

[35] Post diem tertium eius diei praetorum comitia habita. praetores creati L. Porcius Licinus C. Mamilius C. et A. Hostilii Catones. comitiis perfectis ludisque factis dictator et magister equitum magistratu abierunt. C. Terentius Uarro in Etruriam pro praetore missus ut ex ea prouincia C. Hostilius Tarentum ad eum exercitum iret quem T. Quinctius consul habuerat; et L. Manlius trans mare legatus iret uiseretque quae res ibi gererentur; simul quod Olympiae ludicrum ea aestate futurum erat quod maximo coetu Graeciae celebraretur, ut si tuto per hostem posset adiret id concilium ut qui Siculi bello ibi profugi aut Tarentini ciues relegati ab Hannibale essent, domos redirent scirentque sua omnia iis quae ante bellum habuissent reddere populum Romanum.

Quia periculosissimus annus imminere uidebatur neque consules in re publica erant, in consules designatos omnes uersi quam primum eos sortiri prouincias et praesciscere quam quisque eorum prouinciam, quem hostem haberet uolebant. de reconciliatione etiam gratiae eorum in senatu actum est principio facto a Q. Fabio Maximo; inimicitiae autem nobiles inter eos erant et acerbiores eas indignioresque Liuius sua calamitas fecerat quod spretum se in ea fortuna credebat. itaque is magis implacabilis erat et nihil opus esse reconciliatione aiebat: acrius et intentius omnia gesturos timentes ne crescendi ex se inimico collegae potestas fieret. uicit tamen auctoritas senatus ut positis simultatibus communi animo consilioque administrarent rem publicam. prouinciae iis non permixtae regionibus, sicut superioribus annis, sed diuersae extremis Italiae

finibus, alteri aduersus Hannibalem Bruttii et Lucani, alteri Gallia aduersus Hasdrubalem quem iam Alpibus adpropinquare fama erat, decreta; exercitum e duobus qui in Gallia quique in Etruria esset addito urbano eligeret quem mallet, qui Galliam esset sortitus: cui Bruttii prouincia euenisset, nouis legionibus urbanis scriptis utrius mallet consulum prioris anni exercitum sumeret; relictum a consule exercitum Q. Fuluius proconsul acciperet eique in annum imperium esset. et C. Hostilio, cui pro Etruria Tarentum mutauerant prouinciam, pro Tarento Capuam mutauerunt; legio una data cui Fuluius proximo anno praefuerat.

[36] De Hasdrubalis aduentu in Italiam cura in dies crescebat. Massiliensium primum legati nuntiauerant eum in Galliam transgressum erectosque aduentu eius, quia magnum pondus auri attulisse diceretur ad mercede auxilia conducenda, Gallorum animos. missi deinde cum iis legati ab Roma Sex. Antistius et M. Raecius ad rem inspiciendam rettulerant misisse se cum Massiliensibus ducibus qui per hospites eorum principes Gallorum omnia explorata referrent; pro comperto habere Hasdrubalem ingenti iam coacto exercitu proximo uere Alpes traiecturum, nec tum eum quicquam aliud morari nisi quod clausae hieme Alpes essent. in locum M. Marcelli P. Aelius Paetus augur creatus inauguratusque, et Cn. Cornelius Dolabella rex sacrorum inauguratus est in locum M. Marci qui biennio ante mortuus erat. hoc eodem anno et lustrum conditum est a censoribus P. Sempronio Tuditano et M. Cornelio Cethego. censa ciuium capita centum triginta septem milia centum octo, minor aliquanto numerus quam qui ante bellum fuerat. eo anno primum ex quo Hannibal in Italiam uenisset comitium tectum esse memoriae proditum est, et ludos Romanos semel instauratos ab aedilibus curulibus Q. Metello et C. Seruilio. et plebeiis ludis biduum instauratum a C. Mamilio et M. Caecilio Metello aedilibus plebis; et tria signa ad Cereris iidem dederunt; et Iouis epulum fuit ludorum causa. consulatum inde ineunt C. Claudius Nero et M. Liuius iterum, qui quia iam designati prouincias sortiti erant, praetores sortiti iusserunt. C. Hostilio iurisdictio urbana euenit; addita et peregrina, ut tres in prouincias exire possent. A. Hostilio Sardinia, C. Mamilio Sicilia, L. Porcio Gallia euenit. summa legionum trium et uiginti ita per prouincias diuisa: binae consulum essent, quattuor Hispania haberet, binas tres

praetores, in Sicilia et Sardinia et Gallia, duas C. Terentius in Etruria, duas Q. Fulvius in Bruttiiis, duas Q. Claudius circa Tarentum et Sallentinis, unam C. Hostilius Tubulus Capuae; duae urbanae ut scriberentur. primis quattuor legionibus populus tribunos creavit: in ceteras consules miserunt.

[37] Priusquam consules proficiscerentur nouendiale sacrum fuit quia Ueiis de caelo lapidauerat. sub unius prodigii, ut fit, mentionem alia quoque nuntiata: Minturnis aedem Iouis et lucum Maricae, item Atellae murum et portam de caelo tactam; Minturnenses, terribilius quod esset, adiciebant sanguinis riuum in porta fluxisse; et Capuae lupus nocte portam ingressus uigilem laniauera. haec procurata hostiis maioribus prodigia et supplicatio diem unum fuit ex decreto pontificum. inde iterum nouendiale instauratum quod in Armilustro lapidibus uisum pluere. liberatas religione mentes turbauit rursus nuntiatum Frusinone natum esse infantem quadrimo parem nec magnitudine tam mirandum quam quod is quoque, ut Sinuessae biennio ante, incertus mas an femina esset natus erat. id uero haruspices ex Etruria acciti foedum ac turpe prodigium dicere: extorrem agro Romano, procul terrae contactu, alto mergendum. uiuum in arcam condidere prouectumque in mare proiecerunt. decreuere item pontifices ut uirgines ter nouenae per urbem euntes carmen canerent. id cum in Iouis Statoris aede discerent conditum ab Liuio poeta carmen, tacta de caelo aedis in Auentino Iunonis reginae; prodigiumque id ad matronas pertinere haruspices cum respondissent donoque diuam placandam esse, aedilium curulium edicto in Capitolium conuocatae quibus in urbe Romana intraque decimum lapidem ab urbe domicilia essent, ipsae inter se quinque et uiginti delegerunt ad quas ex dotibus stipem conferrent; inde donum peluis aurea facta lataque in Auentinum, pureque et caste a matronis sacrificatum. confestim ad aliud sacrificium eidem diuae ab decemuiris edicta dies, cuius ordo talis fuit. ab aede Apollinis boues feminae albae duae porta Carmentali in urbem ductae; post eas duo signa cupressea Iunonis reginae portabantur; tum septem et uiginti uirgines, longam indutae uestem, carmen in Iunonem reginam canentes ibant, illa tempestate forsitan laudabile rudibus ingeniis, nunc abhorrens et inconditum si referatur; uirginum ordinem sequebantur decemuii coronati laurea praetextatique. a porta Iugario

uico in forum uenere; in foro pompa constitit et per manus reste data uirgines sonum uocis pulsu pedum modulantes incesse-
runt. inde uico Tusco Uelabroque per bouarium forum in cliuum Publicium atque aedem Iunonis reginae perrectum. ibi duae hostiae ab decemuiris immolatae et simulacra cupressea in aedem inlata.

[38] Deis rite placatis dilectum consules habebant acrius intentiusque quam prioribus annis quisquam meminerat habitum; nam et belli terror duplicatus noui hostis in Italiam aduentu et minus iuuentutis erat unde scriberent milites. itaque colonos etiam maritimos, qui sacrosanctam uacationem dicebantur habere, dare milites coge-
bant. quibus recusantibus edixere in diem certam ut quo quisque iure uacationem haberet ad senatum deferret. ea die ad senatum hi populi uenerunt, Ostiensis Alsiensis Antias Anxurnas Minturnensis Sinuessanus, et ab supero mari Senensis. cum uacationes suas quisque populus recitaret, nullius cum in Italia hostis esset praeter Antiatem Ostiensemque uacatio obseruata est; et earum coloniarum iuniores iure iurando adacti supra dies triginta non pernoctaturos se extra moenia coloniae suae donec hostis in Italia esset.

Cum omnes censerent primo quoque tempore consulibus eundum ad bellum — nam et Hasdrubali occurrendum esse descendenti ab Alpibus ne Gallos Cisalpinos neue Etruriam erectam in spem rerum nouarum sollicitaret, et Hannibalem suo proprio occupandum bello ne emergere ex Bruttis atque obuiam ire fratri posset — , Liuius cunctabatur parum fidens suarum prouinciarum exercitibus: collegam ex duobus consularibus egregiis exercitibus et tertio cui Q. Claudius Tarenti praeesset electionem habere; intuleratque mentionem de uolonibus reuocandis ad signa. senatus liberam potestatem consulibus fecit et supplendi unde uellent et eligendi de omnibus exercitibus quos uellent permutandique ex prouinciis quos e re publica censerent esse traducendos. ea omnia cum summa concordia consulum acta. uolones in undeuicensimam et uicensimam legiones scripti. magni roboris auxilia ex Hispania quoque a P. Scipione M. Liuius missa quidam ad id bellum auctores sunt, octo milia Hispanorum Gallorumque et duo milia de legione militum, equitum mille octingentos mixtos Numidas Hispanosque; M. Lucretium has copias nauibus aduexisse; et sagittariorum funditorumque ad tria

milia ex Sicilia C. Mamilium misisse.

[39] Auxerunt Romae tumultum litterae ex Gallia allatae ab L. Porcio praetore: Hasdrubalem mouisse ex hibernis et iam Alpes transire; octo milia Ligurum conscripta armataque coniunctura se transgresso in Italiam esse nisi mitteretur in Ligures qui eos bello occuparet; se cum inualido exercitu quoad tutum putaret progressurum. hae litterae consules raptim confecto dilectu maturius quam constituerant exire in prouincias coegerunt ea mente ut uterque hostem in sua prouincia contineret neque coniungi aut conferre in unum uires pateretur. plurimum in eam rem adiuit opinio Hannibalis quod, etsi ea aestate transiturum in Italiam fratrem crediderat, recordando quae ipse in transitu nunc Rhodani nunc Alpium cum hominibus locisque pugnando per quinque menses exhausisset, haudquaquam tam facilem maturumque transitum exspectabat; ea tardius mouendi ex hibernis causa fuit. ceterum Hasdrubali et sua et aliorum spe omnia celeriora atque expeditiora fuere. non enim receperunt modo Aruerni eum deincepsque aliae Gallicae atque Alpinae gentes, sed etiam secutae sunt ad bellum; et cum per munita pleraque transitu fratris quae antea inuia fuerant ducebat, tum etiam duodecim annorum adsuetudine peruiis Alpibus factis inter mitiora iam transibant hominum ingenia. inuisitati namque antea alienigenis nec uidere ipsi aduenam in sua terra adsueti, omni generi humano insociabiles erant; et primo ignari quo Poenus pergeret suas rupes suaeque castella et pecorum hominumque praedam peti crediderant; fama deinde Punici belli quo duodecimum annum Italia urebatur satis edocuerat uiam tantum Alpes esse; duas praeualidas urbes magno inter se maris terrarumque spatio discretas de imperio et opibus certare.

Hae causae aperuerant Alpes Hasdrubali. ceterum quod celeritate itineris profectum erat, id mora ad Placentiam dum frustra obsidet magis quam oppugnat corruptit. crediderat campestris oppidi facilem expugnationem esse, et nobilitas coloniae induxerat eum, magnum se excidio eius urbis terrorem ceteris ratum iniecturum. non ipse se solum ea oppugnatione impediit, sed Hannibalem post famam transitus eius tanto spe sua celeriore iam mouentem ex hibernis continuerat, quippe reputantem non solum quam lenta urbium oppugnatione esset sed etiam quam ipse frustra eandem illam coloniam

ab Trebia uictor regressus temptasset.

[40] Consules diuersis itineribus profecti ab urbe uelut in duo pariter bella distenderant curas hominum, simul recordantium quas primus aduentus Hannibalis intulisset Italiae clades, simul cum illa angeret cura, quos tam propitios urbi atque imperio fore deos ut eodem tempore utrobique res publica prospere gereretur? adhuc aduersa secundis pensando rem ad id tempus extractam esse. cum in Italia ad Trasumennum et Cannas praecipitasset Romana res, prospera bella in Hispania prolapsam eam erexisse; postea, cum in Hispania alia super aliam clades duobus egregiis ducibus amissis duos exercitus ex parte delesset, multa secunda in Italia Siciliaque gesta quassatam rem publicam excepsisse; et ipsum interuallum loci, quod in ultimis terrarum oris alterum bellum gereretur, spatium dedisse ad respirandum. nunc duo bella in Italiam accepta, duo celeberrimi nominis duces circumstare urbem Romanam, et unum in locum totam periculi molem, omne onus incubuisse. qui eorum prior uicisset, intra paucos dies castra cum altero iuncturum. terrebat et proximus annus lugubris duorum consulum funeribus. his anxii curis homines digredientes in prouincias consules persecuti sunt. memoriae proditum est plenum adhuc irae in ciues M. Liuium ad bellum proficiscentem monenti Q. Fabio ne priusquam genus hostium cognosset temere manum consereret, respondisse ubi primum hostium agmen conspexisset pugnaturum. cum quaereretur quae causa festinandi esset, ‘aut ex hoste egregiam gloriam’ inquit ‘aut ex ciuibus uictis gaudium meritum certe, etsi non honestum, capiam’.

Priusquam Claudius consul in prouinciam perueniret per extremum finem agri ~Larinatis ducentem in Sallentinos exercitum Hannibalem expeditis cohortibus adortus C. Hostilius Tubulus in composito agmini terribilem tumultum intulit; ad quattuor milia hominum occidit, nouem signa militaria cepit. mouerat ex hibernis ad famam hostis Q. Claudius, qui per urbes agri Sallentini castra disposita habebat. itaque ne cum duobus exercitibus simul confligeret Hannibal nocte castra ex agro Tarentino mouit atque in Bruttios concessit. Claudius in Sallentinos agmen conuertit, Hostilius Capuam petens obuius ad Uenusiam fuit consuli Claudio. ibi ex utroque exercitu electa peditum quadraginta milia, duo milia et

quingenti equites, quibus consul aduersus Hannibalem rem gereret: reliquas copias Hostilius Capuam ducere iussus ut Q. Fuluio proconsuli traderet.

[41] Hannibal undique contracto exercitu quem in hibernis aut in praesidiis agri Bruttii habuerat, in Lucanos ad Grumentum uenit spe recipiendi oppida quae per metum ad Romanos defecissent. eodem a Uenusia consul Romanus exploratis itineribus contendit et mille fere et quingentos passus castra locat ab hoste. Grumentum moenibus prope iniunctum uidebatur Poenorum uallum; quingenti passus intererant. castra Punica ac Romana interiacebat campus: colles imminebant nudi sinistro lateri Carthaginensium, dextro Romanorum, neutris suspecti quod nihil siluae neque ad insidias latebrarum habebant. in medio campo ab stationibus procursantes certamina haud satis digna dictu serebant. id modo Romanum quaerere apparebat ne abire hostem pateretur: Hannibal inde euadere cupiens totis uiribus in aciem descendebat. tum consul ingenio hostis usus, quo minus in tam apertis collibus timeri insidiae poterant, quinque cohortes additis quinque manipulis nocte iugum superare et in auersis collibus considerare iubet: tempus exsurgendi ex insidiis et adgrediendi hostem Ti. Claudium Asellum tribunum militum et P. Claudium praefectum socium edocet, quos cum iis mittebat. ipse luce prima copias omnes peditum equitumque in aciem eduxit. paulo post et ab Hannibale signum pugnae propositum est clamorque in castris ad arma discurrentium est sublatus; inde eques pedesque certatim portis ruere ac palati per campum properare ad hostes. quos ubi effusos consul uidet, tribuno militum tertiae legionis C. Aurunculeio imperat ut equites legionis quanto maximo impetu possit in hostem emittat: ita pecorum modo incompositos toto passim se campo fudisse ut sterni obterique priusquam instruantur possint.

[42] Nondum Hannibal e castris exierat cum pugnantium clamorem audiuit; itaque excitus tumultu raptim ad hostem copias agit. iam primos occupauerat equestris terror; peditum etiam prima legio et dextra ala proelium inibat. incompositi hostes, ut quemque aut pediti aut equiti casus obtulit, ita conserunt manus. crescit pugna subsidiis et procurrentium ad certamen numero augetur; pugnaeque — quod nisi in uetere exercitu et duce ueteri haud facile est — inter tumultum ac terrorem instruxisset Hannibal, ni cohortium ac

manipulorum decurrentium per colles clamor ab tergo auditus metum ne intercluderentur a castris inieciisset. inde paupor incussus et fuga passim fieri coepta est; minorque caedes fuit, quia propinquitas castrorum breuiorem fugam percussis fecit. equites enim tergo inhaerebant; in transuersa latera inuaserant cohortes secundis collibus uia nuda ac facili decurrentes. tamen supra octo milia hominum occisa, [supra] septingenti capti; signa militaria nouem adempta; elephanti etiam, quorum nullus usus in repentina ac tumultuaria pugna fuerat, quattuor occisi, duo capti. circa quingentos Romanorum sociorumque uictores ceciderunt.

Postero die Poenus quieuit: Romanus, in aciem copiis eductis postquam neminem signa contra efferre uidit, spolia legi caesorum hostium et suorum corpora conlata in unum sepeliri iussit. inde insequentibus continuis diebus aliquot ita institit portis ut prope inferre signa uideretur, donec Hannibal tertia uigilia crebris ignibus tabernaculisque quae pars castrorum ad hostes uergebat et Numidis paucis qui in uallo portisque se ostenderent relictis profectus Apuliam petere intendit. ubi inluxit, successit uallo Romana acies, et Numidae ex composito paulisper in portis se uallocke ostentauere, frustratique aliquamdiu hostes citatis equis agmen suorum adsequuntur. consul ubi silentium in castris et ne paucos quidem qui prima luce obambulauerant parte ulla cernebat, duobus equitibus speculatum in castra praemissis postquam satis tuta omnia esse exploratum est, inferri signa iussit; tantumque ibi moratus dum milites ad praedam discurrunt receptui deinde cecinit multoque ante noctem copias reduxit. postero die prima luce profectus magnis itineribus famam et uestigia agminis sequens haud procul Uenusia hostem adsequitur. ibi quoque tumultuaria pugna fuit; supra duo milia Poenorum caesa. inde nocturnis montanisq; itineribus Poenus ne locum pugnandi daret Metapontum petiit. Hanno inde — is enim praesidio eius loci praefuerat — in Bruttios cum paucis ad exercitum nouum comparandum missus: Hannibal copiis eius ad suas additis Uenusiam retro quibus uenerat itineribus repetit atque inde Canusium procedit. nunquam Nero uestigiis hostis abstiterat et Q. Fuluium, cum Metapontum ipse proficisceretur, in Lucanos ne regio ea sine praesidio esset arcessierat.

[43] Inter haec ab Hasdrubale postquam a Placentiae obsidione

abscessit quattuor Galli equites, duo Numidae cum litteris missi ad Hannibalem cum per medios hostes totam ferme longitudinem Italiae emensi essent, dum Metapontum cedentem Hannibalem sequuntur incertis itineribus Tarentum delati, a uagis per agros pabulatoribus Romanis ad Q. Claudium propraetorem deducuntur. eum primo incertis implicantes responsis ut metus tormentorum admotus fateri uera coegit, edocuerunt litteras se ab Hasdrubale ad Hannibalem ferre. cum iis litteris, sicut erant, signatis L. Uerginio tribuno militum ducendi ad Claudium consulem traduntur; duae simul turmae Samnitium praesidii causa missae. qui ubi ad consulem peruenerunt litteraeque lectae per interpretem sunt et ex captiuis percontatio facta, tum Claudius non id tempus esse rei publicae ratus quo consiliis ordinariis prouinciae suae quisque finibus per exercitus suos cum hoste destinato ab senatu bellum gereret — audendum ac nouandum aliquid improuisum, inopinatum, quod coeptum non minorem apud ciues quam hostes terrorem faceret, perpetratum in magnam laetitiam ex magno metu uerteret — , litteris Hasdrubalis Romam ad senatum missis simul et ipse patres conscriptos quid pararet edocet; monet ut cum in Umbria se occursurum Hasdrubal fratri scribat legionem a Capua Romam arcessant, dilectum Romae habeant, exercitum urbanum ad Narniam hosti opponant. haec senatu scripta. praemissi item per agrum Larinatem Marrucinum Frentanum Praetutianum, qua exercitum ducturus erat, ut omnes ex agris urbibusque commeatus paratos militi ad uescendum in uiam deferrent, equos iumentaue alia producerent ut uehiculorum fessis copia esset. ipse de toto exercitu ciuium sociorumque quod roboris erat delegit, sex milia peditum, mille equites; pronuntiat occupare se in Lucanis proximam urbem Punicumque in ea praesidium uelle; ut ad iter parati omnes essent. profectus nocte flexit in Picenum. et consul quidem quantis maximis itineribus poterat ad collegam ducebat, relicto Q. Catio legato qui castris praeesset.

[44] Romae haud minus terroris ac tumultus erat quam fuerat quadriennio ante cum castra Punica obiecta Romanis moenibus portisque fuerant. neque satis constabat animis tam audax iter consulis laudarent uituperarentne; apparebat, quo nihil iniquius est, ex euentu famam habiturum: castra prope Hannibalem hostem relicta sine duce cum exercitu cui detractum foret omne quod roboris, quod

floris fuerit; et consulem in Lucanos ostendisse iter cum Picenum et Galliam peteret, castra relinquentem nulla alia re tutiora quam errore hostis qui ducem inde atque exercitus partem abisse ignoraret. quid futurum, si id palam fiat et aut insequi Neronem cum sex milibus armatorum profectum Hannibal toto exercitu uelit aut castra inuadere praedae relictæ, sine uiribus, sine imperio, sine auspicio? ueteres eius belli clades, duo consules proximo anno interfecti terrebant: et ea omnia accidisse cum unus imperator, unus exercitus hostium in Italia esset: nunc duo bella Punica facta, duos ingentes exercitus, duos prope Hannibales in Italia esse. quippe et Hasdrubalem patre eodem Hamilcare genitum, aequè impigrum ducem, per tot annos in Hispania Romano exercitatum bello, gemina uictoria insignem, duobus exercitibus cum clarissimis ducibus deletis. nam itineris quidem celeritate ex Hispania et concitatis ad arma Gallicis gentibus multo magis quam Hannibalem ipsum gloriari posse; quippe in iis locis hunc coegisse exercitum quibus ille maiorem partem militum fame ac frigore, quæ miserrima mortis genera sint, amisisset. adiciebant etiam periti rerum Hispaniæ haud cum ignoto eum duce C. Nerone congressurum sed quem in saltu impedito deprensus forte haud secus quam puerum conscribendis fallacibus condicionibus pacis frustratus elusisset. omnia maiora etiam uero praesidia hostium, minora sua, metu interprete semper in deteriora inclinato, ducebant.

[45] Nero postquam iam tantum interualli ab hoste fecerat ut detegi consilium satis tutum esset, paucis milites adloquitur. negat ullius consilium imperatoris in speciem audacius, re ipsa tutius fuisse quam suum: ad certam eos se uictoriam ducere; quippe ad quod bellum collega non ante quam ad satietatem ipsius peditum atque equitum datae ab senatu copiae fuissent, maiores instructioresque quam si aduersus ipsum Hannibalem iret, profectus sit, eos ipsos quantumcumque uirium momentum addiderint rem omnem inclinaturos. auditum modo in acie — nam ne ante audiatur, daturum operam — alterum consulem et alterum exercitum aduenisse haud dubiam uictoriam facturum. famam bellum conficere et parua momenta in spem metumque impellere animos. gloriae quidem ex re bene gesta partæ fructum prope omnem ipsos laturos; semper quod postremum adiectum sit id rem totam uideri traxisse. cernere ipsos quo concursu, qua admiratione, quo fauore hominum iter suum

celebretur.

Et hercule per instructa omnia ordinibus uirorum mulierumque undique ex agris effusorum inter uota ac preces et laudes ibant. illos praesidia rei publicae, uindices urbis Romanae imperiique appellabant: in illorum armis dextrisque suam liberorumque suorum salutem ac libertatem repositam esse. deos omnes deasque precabantur ut illis faustum iter, felix pugna, matura ex hostibus uictoria esset, damnarenturque ipsi uotorum quae pro iis suscepissent ut, quemadmodum nunc solliciti prosequerentur eos, ita paucos post dies laeti ouantibus uictoria obuiam irent. inuitare inde pro se quisque et offerre et fatigare precibus ut quae ipsis iumentisque usui essent ab se potissimum sumerent; benigne omnia cumulata dare. modestia certare milites ne quid ultra usum necessarium sumerent; nihil morari, nec ab signis absistere cibum capientes; diem ac noctem ire; uix quod satis ad naturale desiderium corporum esset quieti dare. et ad collegam praemissi erant qui nuntiarent aduentum percontarenturque clam an palam, interdiu an noctu uenire sese uellet, iisdem an aliis considerare castris. nocte clam ingredi uisum est.

[46] Tessera per castra ab Liuio consule data erat ut tribunus tribunum, centurio centurionem, eques equitem, pedes peditem acciperet: neque enim dilatari castra opus esse, ne hostis aduentum alterius consulis sentiret; et coartatio plurium in angusto tendentium facilius futura erat quod Claudianus exercitus nihil ferme praeter arma secum in expeditionem tulerat. ceterum in ipso itinere auctum uoluntariis agmen erat, offerentibus ultro sese et ueteribus militibus perfunctis iam militia et iuuenibus, quos certatim nomina dantes, si quorum corporis species roburque uirium aptum militiae uidebatur, conscripserat. ad Senam castra alterius consulis erant, et quingentos ferme [inde] passus Hasdrubal aberat. itaque cum iam appropinquaret, tectus montibus substitit Nero ne ante noctem castra ingrederetur. silentio ingressi ab sui quisque ordinis hominibus in tentoria abducti cum summa omnium laetitia hospitaliter excipiuntur. postero die consilium habitum, cui et L. Porcius Licinus praetor adfuit. castra iuncta consulum castris habebat, et ante aduentum eorum per loca alta ducendo exercitum cum modo insideret angustos saltus ut transitum clauderet, modo ab latere aut ab tergo carperet agmen, ludificatus hostem omnibus artibus belli fuerat; is tum in

consilio aderat. multorum eo inclinant sententiae ut, dum fessum uia ac uigiliis reficeret militem Nero, simul et ad noscendum hostem paucos sibi sumeret dies, tempus pugnandi differretur. Nero non suadere modo sed summa ope orare institit ne consilium suum quod tutum celeritas fecisset temerarium morando facerent; errore qui non diuturnus futurus esset uelut torpentem Hannibalem nec castra sua sine duce relictis adgredi nec ad sequendum se iter intendisse. antequam se moueat deleri exercitum Hasdrubalis posse redirique in Apuliam. qui prolatando spatium hosti det, eum et illa castra prodere Hannibali et aperire in Galliam iter ut per otium ubi uelit Hasdrubali coniungatur. extemplo signum dandum et exeundum in aciem abutendumque errore hostium absentium praesentiumque dum neque illi sciant cum paucioribus nec hi cum pluribus et ualidioribus rem esse. consilio dimisso signum pugnae proponitur confestimque in aciem procedunt.

[47] Iam hostes ante castra instructi stabant. moram pugnae attulit quod Hasdrubal prouectus ante signa cum paucis equitibus scuta uetera hostium notauit quae ante non uiderat et strigosiores equos; multitudo quoque maior solita uisa est. suspicatus enim id quod erat, receptui propere cecinit ac misit ad flumen unde aquabantur ubi et excipi aliqui possent et notari oculis si qui forte adustioris coloris ut ex recenti uia essent; simul circumuehi procul castra iubet specularique num auctum aliqua parte sit uallum, et ut attendant semel bisne signum canat in castris. ea cum ordine relata omnia essent, castra nihil aucta errorem faciebant; bina erant, sicut ante aduentum consulis alterius fuerant, una M. Liui, altera L. Porci; neutris quicquam quo latius tenderetur ad munimenta adiectum. illud ueterem ducem adsuetumque Romano hosti mouit quod semel in praetoriis castris signum, bis in consularibus referebant cecinisse; duos profecto consules esse, et quonam modo alter ab Hannibale abscessisset cura angebat. minime id quod erat suspicari poterat, tantae rei frustratione Hannibalem elusum ut ubi dux, ubi exercitus esset cum quo castra coniuncta habuerit ignoraret: profecto haud mediocri clade absterritum insequi non ausum; magno opere uereri ne perditis rebus serum ipse auxilium uenisset Romanisque eadem iam fortuna in Italia quae in Hispania esset. interdum litteras suas ad eum non peruenisse credere interceptisque iis consulem ad sese

opprimendum accelerasse. his anxius curis, extinctis ignibus, uigilia prima dato signo ut taciti uasa conligerent, signa ferri iussit. in trepidatione et nocturno tumultu duces parum intente adseruati, alter in destinatis iam ante animo latebris subsedit, alter per uada nota Metaurum flumen tranauit. ita desertum ab ducibus agmen primo per agros palatur, fessique aliquot somno ac uigiliis sternunt corpora passim atque infrequentia relinquunt signa. Hasdrubal dum lux uiam ostenderet ripa fluminis signa ferri iubet, et per tortuosi amnis sinus flexusque cum errorem uoluens haud multum processisset, ubi prima lux transitum opportunum ostendisset transiturus erat. sed cum, quantum a mari abscedebat, tanto altioribus coercentibus amnem ripis non inueniret uada, diem terendo spatium dedit ad insequendum sese hosti.

[48] Nero primum cum omni equitatu aduenit: Porcius deinde adsecutus cum leui armatura. qui cum fessum agmen carperent ab omni parte incursarentque, et iam omisso itinere quod fugae simile erat castra metari Poenus in tumulto super fluminis ripam uellet, aduenit Liuius peditum omnibus copiis non itineris modo sed ad conserendum extemplo proelium instructis armatisque. sed ubi omnes copias coniunxerunt directaque acies est, Claudius dextro in cornu, Liuius ab sinistro pugnam instruit: media acies praetori tuenda data. Hasdrubal omissa munitione castrorum postquam pugnandum uidit, in prima acie ante signa elephantos conlocat: circa eos laeue in cornu aduersus Claudium Gallos opponit, haud tantum iis fidens quantum ab hoste timeri eos credebat: ipse dextrum cornu aduersus M. Liuium sibi atque Hispanis — et ibi maxime in uetere milite spem habebat — sumpsit: Ligures in medio post elephantos positi. sed longior quam latior acies erat; Gallos prominens collis tegebat; ea frons quam Hispani tenebant cum sinistro Romanorum cornu concurrat: dextra omnis acies extra proelium eminens cessabat; collis oppositus arcebat ne aut a fronte aut ab latere adgrederentur.

Inter Liuium Hasdrubalemque ingens contractum certamen erat, atroxque caedes utrimque edebatur. ibi duces ambo, ibi pars maior peditum equitumque Romanorum, ibi Hispani uetus miles peritusque Romanae pugnae, et Ligures durum in armis genus. eodem uersi elephantum, qui primo impetu turbauerant antesignanos et iam signa mouerant loco; deinde crescente certamine et clamore impotentius

iam regi et inter duas acies uersari uelut incerti quorum essent, haud dissimiliter nauibus sine gubernaculo uagis. Claudius 'quid ergo praecipiti cursu tam longum iter emensi sumus?' clamitans militibus cum in aduersum collem frustra signa erigere conatus esset, postquam ea regione penetrari ad hostem non uidebat posse, cohortes aliquot subductas e dextro cornu, ubi stationem magis segnem quam pugnam futuram cernebat, post aciem circumducit, et non hostibus modo sed etiam suis inopinantibus in sinistrum <euectus in dextrum> hostium latus incurrit; tantaque celeritas fuit ut cum ostendissent se ab latere mox in terga iam pugnarent. ita ex omnibus partibus, ab fronte, ab latere, ab tergo, trucidantur Hispani Liguresque; et ad Gallos iam caedes peruenerat. ibi minimum certaminis fuit; nam et pars magna ab signis aberant nocte dilapsi stratique somno passim per agros, et qui aderant itinere ac uigiliis fessi, intolerantissima laboris corpora, uix arma umeris gerebant; et iam diei medium erat, sitisque et calor hiantes caedendos capiendosque adfatim praebebat.

[49] Elephanti plures ab ipsis rectoribus quam ab hoste interfecti. fabrilis scalprum cum malleo habebant; id, ubi saeuire beluae ac ruere in suos coeperant, magister inter aures positum ipsa in compage qua iungitur capiti ceruix quanto maximo poterat ictu adigebat. ea celerrima uia mortis in tantae molis belua inuenta erat ubi regendi spem ui uicissent, primusque id Hasdrubal instituerat, dux cum saepe alias memorabilis tum illa praecipue pugna. ille pugnantes hortando pariterque obeundo pericula sustinuit; ille fessos abnuentesque taedio et labore nunc precando, nunc castigando accendit; ille fugientes reuocauit omissamque pugnam aliquot locis restituit; postremo cum haud dubie fortuna hostium esset, ne superstes tanto exercitui suum nomen secuto esset concitato equo se in cohortem Romanam immisit; ibi, ut patre Hamilcare et Hannibale fratre dignum erat, pugnans cecidit.

Nunquam eo bello una acie tantum hostium interfectum est, redditaque aequa Cannensi clades uel ducis uel exercitus interitu uidebatur. quinquaginta septem milia hostium occisa, capta quinque milia et quadringenti; magna praeda alia cum omnis generis tum auri etiam argenteae; ciuium etiam Romanorum qui capti apud hostes erant supra quattuor milia capitum recepta. id solatii fuit pro amissis eo proelio militibus. nam haudquaquam incruenta uictoria fuit: octo

ferme milia Romanorum sociorumque occisa, adeoque etiam uictores sanguinis caedisque ceperat satias ut postero die cum esset nuntiatum Liuiο consuli Gallos Cisalpinos Liguresque qui aut proelio non adfuissent aut inter caedem effugissent uno agmine abire sine certo duce sine signis sine ordine ullo aut imperio; posse, si una equitum ala mittatur, omnes deleri; ‘quin supersint’ inquit ‘aliqui nuntii et hostium cladis et nostrae uirtutis.’

[50] Nero ea nocte quae secuta est pugnam <profectus in Apuliam> citatiore quam inde uenerat agmine, die sexto ad statua sua atque ad hostem peruenit. iter eius frequentia minore — nemo enim praecesserat nuntius — laetitia uero tanta uix ut compotes mentium prae gaudio essent celebratum est. nam Romae neuter animi habitus satis dici enarrarique potest, nec quo incerta exspectatione euentus ciuitas fuerat nec quo uictoriae famam accepit. nunquam per omnes dies ex quo Claudium consulem profectum fama attulit ab orto sole ad occidentem aut senator quisquam a curia atque ab magistratibus abscessit aut populus e foro; matronae quia nihil in ipsis opis erat in preces obtestationesque uersae per omnia delubra uagae suppliciiis uotisque fatigare deos. tam sollicitae ac suspensae ciuitati fama incerta primo accidit duos Narnienses equites in castra quae in faucibus Umbriae opposita erant uenisse ex proelio nuntiantes caesos hostes. et primo magis auribus quam animis id acceptum erat, ut maius laetiusque quam quod mente capere aut satis credere possent; et ipsa celeritas fidem impediēbat quod biduo ante pugnatum dicebatur. litterae deinde ab L. Manlio Acidino missae ex castris adferuntur de Narniensium equitum aduentu. hae litterae per forum ad tribunal praetoris latae senatum curia exciuerunt; tantoque certamine ac tumultu populi ad fores curiae concursus est ut adire nuntius non posset, sed traheretur a percontantibus uociferantibusque ut in rostris prius quam in senatu litterae recitarentur. tandem summoti et coerciti a magistratibus, dispensarique laetitia inter impotentes eius animos potuit. in senatu primum, deinde in contione litterae recitatae sunt; et pro cuiusque ingenio aliis iam certum gaudium, aliis nulla ante futura fides erat quam legatos consulumue litteras audissent.

[51] Ipsos deinde adpropinquare legatos allatum est. tunc enim uero omnis aetas currere obuii, primus quisque oculis auribusque haurire

tantum gaudium cupientes. ad Muluium usque pontem continens agmen peruenit. legati — erant L. Ueturius Philo P. Licinius Uarus Q. Caecilius Metellus — circumfusi omnis generis hominum frequentia in forum peruenerunt, cum alii ipsos, alii comites eorum quae acta essent percontarentur; et ut quisque audierat exercitum hostium imperatoremque occisum, legiones Romanas incolumes, saluos consules esse, extemplo aliis porro impertiebant gaudium suum. cum aegre in curiam peruentum esset, multo aegrius summoti turba ne patribus misceretur, litterae in senatu recitatae sunt. inde traducti in contionem legati. L. Ueturius litteris recitatis, ipse planius omnia quae acta erant exposuit cum ingenti adsensu, postremo etiam clamore uniuersae contionis cum uix gaudium animis caperent. discursum inde ab aliis circa templa deum ut grates agerent, ab aliis domos ut coniugibus liberisque tam laetum nuntium impertirent. senatus quod M. Liuius et C. Claudius consules incolumi exercitu ducem hostium legionesque occidissent supplicationem in triduum decreuit. eam supplicationem C. Hostilius praetor pro contione edixit, celebrataque a uiris feminisque est. omnia templa per totum triduum aequalem turbam habuere, cum matronae amplissima ueste cum liberis perinde ac si debellatum foret omni solutae metu deis immortalibus grates agerent. statum quoque ciuitatis ea uictoria mouit, ut iam inde haud secus quam in pace res inter se contrahere uendendo, emendo, mutuum dando argentum creditumque soluendo auderent. C. Claudius consul cum in castra redisset, caput Hasdrubalis quod seruatum cum cura attulerat proici ante hostium stationes, captiuosque Afros uinctos ut erant ostendi, duos etiam ex iis solutos ire ad Hannibalem et expromere quae acta essent iussit. Hannibal tanto simul publico familiarique ictus luctu, adgnosceret se fortunam Carthaginis fertur dixisse; castrisque inde motis ut omnia auxilia quae diffusa latius tueri non poterat in extremum Italiae angulum Bruttios contraheret, et Metapontinos ciuitatem uniuersam excitos sedibus suis et Lucanorum qui suae dicionis erant in Bruttium agrum traduxit.

LIBER XXVIII

[1] Cum transitu Hasdrubalis quantum in Italiam declinauerat belli tantum leuatae Hispaniae uiderentur, renatum ibi subito par priori bellum est. Hispanias ea tempestate sic habebant Romani Poenique: Hasdrubal Gisgonis filius ad Oceanum penitus Gadesque concesserat: nostri maris ora omnisque ferme Hispania qua in orientem uergit Scipionis ac Romanae dicionis erat. nouus imperator Hanno in locum Barcini Hasdrubalis nouo cum exercitu ex Africa transgressus Magonique iunctus cum in Celtiberia, quae media inter duo maria est, breui magnum hominum numerum armasset, Scipio aduersus eum M. Silanum cum decem haud amplius milibus militum, equitibus quingentis misit. Silanus quantis maximis potuit itineribus — impediabant autem et asperitates uiarum et angustiae saltibus crebris, ut pleraque Hispaniae sunt, inclusae — tamen non solum nuntios sed etiam famam aduentus sui praegressus, ducibus indidem ex Celtiberia transfugis ad hostem peruenit. eisdem auctoribus compertum est cum decem circiter milia ab hoste abessent bina castra circa uiam qua irent esse; laeua Celtiberos nouum exercitum, supra nouem milia hominum, dextra Punica tenere castra; ea stationibus uigiliis omni iusta militari custodia tuta et firma esse: illa altera soluta neglectaque, ut barbarorum et tironum et minus timentium quod in sua terra essent.

Ea prius adgredienda ratus Silanus signa quam maxime ad laeuam iubebat ferri, necunde ab stationibus Punicis conspiceretur; ipse praemissis speculatoribus citato agmine ad hostem pergit.

[2] Tria milia ferme aberat, cum hauddum quisquam hostium senserat; confragosa loca, et obsiti uirgultis tegebant colles. ibi in caua ualle atque ob id occulta considerare militem et cibum capere iubet; interim speculatores transfugarum dicta adfirmantes uenerunt; tum sarcinis in medium coniectis arma Romani capiunt acieque iusta in pugnam uadunt. mille passuum aberant, cum ab hoste conspecti sunt trepidarique repente coeptum; et Mago ex castris citato equo ad primum clamorem et tumultum aduehitur. erant in Celtiberorum exercitu quattuor milia scutata et ducenti equites; hanc iustam legionem — et id ferme roboris erat — in prima acie locat: ceteros

leuem armaturam in subsidiis posuit. cum ita instructos educeret e castris, uixdum in egressos uallo [eos] Romani pila coniecerunt. subsidunt Hispani aduersus emissa tela ab hoste, inde ad mittenda ipsi consurgunt; quae cum Romani conferti, ut solent, densatis exceperant scutis, tum pes cum pede conlatus et gladiis geri res coepta est. ceterum asperitas locorum et Celtiberis, quibus in proelio concursare mos est, uelocitatem inutilem faciebat, et haud iniqua eadem erat Romanis stabili pugnae adsuetis, nisi quod angustiae et internata uirgulta ordines dirimebant et singuli binique uelut cum paribus conserere pugnam cogeabantur. quod ad fugam impedimento hostibus erat, id ad caedem eos uelut uinctos praebebat; et iam ferme omnibus scutatis Celtiberorum interfectis leuis armatura et Carthaginienses, qui ex alteris castris subsidio uenerant, perculsi caedebantur. duo haud amplius milia peditum et equitatus omnis uix inito proelio cum Magone effugerunt: Hanno alter imperator cum eis qui postremi iam profligato proelio aduenerant uiuus capitur. Magonem fugientem equitatus ferme omnis et quod ueterum peditum erat secuti, decimo die in Gaditanam prouinciam ad Hasdrubalem peruenerunt: Celtiberi nouus miles in proximas dilapsi siluas inde domos diffugerunt.

Peropportuna uictoria nequaquam tantum iam conflatum bellum, quanta futuri materia belli, si licuisset iis Celtiberorum gente excita et alios ad arma sollicitare populos, oppressa erat. itaque conlaudato benigne Silano Scipio spem debellandi si nihil eam ipse cunctando moratus esset nactus, ad id quod reliquum belli erat in ultimam Hispaniam aduersus Hasdrubalem pergit. Poenus cum castra tum forte in Baetica ad sociorum animos continendos in fide haberet, signis repente sublatis fugae magis quam itineris modo penitus ad Oceanum et Gades ducit. ceterum, quoad continuisset exercitum, propositum bello se fore ratus, antequam freto Gades traiceret exercitum omnem passim in ciuitates diuisit ut et muris se ipsi et armis muros tutarentur.

[3] Scipio ubi animaduertit dissipatum passim bellum, et circumferre ad singulas urbes arma diutini magis quam magni esse operis, retro uertit iter. ne tamen hostibus eam relinqueret regionem, L. Scipionem fratrem cum decem milibus peditum, mille equitum ad oppugnandam opulentissimam in iis locis urbem — Orongin barbari

appellabant — mittit. sita in Maesessum finibus est, Hispanae gentis; ager frugifer; argentum etiam incolae fodiunt. ea arx fuerat Hasdrubali ad excursiones circa mediterraneos populos faciendas. Scipio castris prope urbem positus, priusquam circumvallaret urbem misit ad portas qui ex propinquo adloquio animos temptarent suaderentque ut amicitiam potius quam uim experirentur Romanorum. ubi nihil pacati respondebatur, fossa duplicique uallo circumdata urbe in tres partes exercitum diuidit ut una semper pars quietis interim duabus oppugnaret. prima pars cum adorta ~oppugnare est,~ atrox sane et anceps proelium fuit; non subire, non scalas ferre ad muros prae incidentibus telis facile erat; etiam qui erexerant ad murum scalas, alii furcis ad id ipsum factis detrudebantur, in alios lupi superne ferrei iniecti ut in periculo essent ne suspensi in murum extraherentur. quod ubi animaduertit Scipio nimia paucitate suorum exaequatum certamen esse et iam eo superare hostem quod ex muro pugnaret, duabus simul partibus prima recepta urbem est adgressus. quae res tantum pauoris iniecit fessis iam cum primis pugnando, ut et oppidani moenia repentina fuga desererent et Punicum praesidium metu ne prodita urbs esset relictis stationibus in unum se conligeret.

Timor inde oppidanos incessit ne, si hostis urbem intrasset, sine discrimine Poenus an Hispanus esset obuuii passim caederentur; itaque patefacta repente porta frequentes ex oppido sese eiecerunt, scuta prae se tenentes ne tela procul conicerentur, dexteras nudas ostentantes ut gladios abiecisse appareret. id utrum parum ex interuallo sit conspectum an dolus aliquis suspectus fuerit incompertum est; impetus hostilis in transfugas factus, nec secus quam aduersa acies caesi; eademque porta signa infesta urbi inlata. et aliis partibus securibus dolabrisque caedebantur portae et refringebantur, et ut quisque intrauerat eques, ad forum occupandum — ita enim praeceptum erat — citato equo pergebat. additum erat et triariorum equiti praesidium; legionarii ceteras partes urbis peruadunt. direptione et caede obuiorum, nisi qui armis se tuebantur, abstinerunt. Carthaginienses omnes in custodiam dati sunt, oppidanorum quoque trecenti ferme qui clauserant portas; ceteris traditum oppidum, suae redditae res. cecidere in urbis eius oppugnatione hostium duo milia ferme, Romanorum haud amplius

nonaginta.

[4] Laeta et ipsis qui rem gessere urbis eius expugnatio fuit et imperatori ceteroque exercitui; et speciosum aduentum suum ingentem turbam captiuorum prae se agentes fecerunt. Scipio conlaudato fratre cum quanto poterat uerborum honore Carthagini ab se captae captam ab eo Orongin aequasset, quia et hiemps instabat ut nec temptare Gades nec disiectum passim per prouinciam exercitum Hasdrubalis consecrari posset, in citeriorem Hispaniam omnes suas copias reduxit; dimissisque in hiberna legionibus L. Scipione fratre Romam misso et Hannone hostium imperatore ceterisque nobilibus captiuis ipse Tarraconem concessit.

Eodem anno classis Romana cum M. Ualerio Laeuino proconsule ex Sicilia in Africam transmissa in Uticensi Carthaginensiue agro late populationes fecit. extremis finibus Carthaginensium circa ipsa moenia Uticae praedae actae sunt. repetentibus Siciliam classis Punica — septuaginta erant longae naues — occurrit; septemdecim naues ex iis captae sunt, quattuor in alto mersae; cetera fusa ac fugata classis. terra marique uictor Romanus cum magna omnis generis praeda Lilybaeum repetit. tuto inde mari pulsus hostium nauibus magni commeatus frumenti Romam subuecti.

[5] Principio aetatis eius qua haec sunt gesta P. Sulpicius proconsul et Attalus rex cum Aeginae sicut ante dictum est hibernassent, Lemnum inde classe iuncta — Romanae quinque et uiginti quinqueremes, regiae quinque et triginta — transmiserunt. et Philippus ut, seu terra seu mari obuiam eundum hosti foret, paratus ad omnes conatus esset, ipse Demetriadem ad mare descendit, Larisam diem ad conueniendum exercitui edixit. undique ab sociis legationes Demetriadem ad famam regis conuenerunt. sustulerant enim animos Aetoli cum ab Romana societate tum post Attali aduentum finitimosque depopulabantur; nec Acarnanes solum Boeotique et qui Euboeam incolunt in magno metu erant, sed Achaei quoque, quos super Aetolicum bellum Machanidas etiam Lacedaemonius tyrannus haud procul Argiuorum fine positus castris terreat. hi omnes suis quisque urbibus quae pericula terra marique portenderentur memorantes auxilia regem orabant. ne ex regno quidem ipsius tranquillae nuntiabantur res: et Scerdilaedum Pleuratumque motos esse, et Thracum maxime Maedos, si quod

longinquum bellum regem occupasset, proxima Macedoniae incursuros. Boeoti quidem et interiores Graeciae populi Thermopylarum saltum, ubi angustae fauces coartant iter, fossa ualloeque intercludi ab Aetolis nuntiabant ne transitum ad sociorum urbes tuendas Philippo darent.

Vel segnem ducem tot excitare tumultus circumfusi poterant. legationes dimittit pollicitus prout tempus ac res sineret omnibus laturum auxilium. in praesentia quae maxime urgebat res, Peparethum praesidium urbi mittit, unde allatum erat Attalum ab Lemno classe transmissa omnem circum urbem agrum depopulatum. Polyphantam cum modica manu in Boeotiam, Menippum item quendam ex regiis ducibus cum mille peltatis — pelta caetrae haud dissimilis est — Chalcidem mittit; additi quingenti Agrianum ut omnes insulae partes tueri posset. ipse Scotussam est profectus eodemque ab Larisa Macedonum copias traduci iussit. eo nuntiatum est concilium Aetolis Heracleam indictum regemque Attalum ad consultandum de summa belli uenturum. hunc conuentum ut turbaret subito aduentu, magnis itineribus Heracleam duxit. et concilio quidem dimisso [iam] uenit; segetibus tamen, quae iam prope maturitatem erant, maxime in sinu Aenianum euastatis Scotussam copias reducit. ibi exercitu omni relicto, cum cohorte regia Demetriadem sese recepit. inde ut ad omnes hostium motus posset occurrere, in Phocidem atque Euboeam et Peparethum mittit qui loca alta eligerent unde editi ignes apparerent: ipse in Tisaeo — mons est in altitudinem ingentem cacuminis editi — speculam posuit ut ignibus procul sublatis signum, ubi quid molirentur hostes, momento temporis acciperet.

Romanus imperator et Attalus rex a Peparetho Nicaeam traiecerunt; inde classem in Euboeam ad urbem Oreum tramittunt, quae ab Demetriaco sinu Chalcidem et Euripum petenti ad laeuam prima urbium Euboeae posita est. ita inter Attalum ac Sulpicium conuenit ut Romani a mari, regii a terra oppugnarent.

[6] Quadriduo postquam adpulsa classis est, urbem adgressi sunt. id tempus occultis cum Platore, qui a Philippo praepositus urbi erat, conloquiis absumptum est. duas arces urbs habet, unam imminuentem mari; altera urbis media est. cuniculo inde uia ad mare ducit, quam a mari turris quinque tabulatorum egregium propugnaculum claudebat.

ibi primo atrocissimum contractum est certamen, et turre instructa omni genere telorum et tormentis machinisque ad oppugnandam eam ex nauibus expositis. cum omnium animos oculosque id certamen auertisset, porta maritimae arcis Plator Romanos accepit momentoque arx occupata est. oppidani pulsi inde in mediam urbem ad alteram tendere arcem; et ibi positi erant qui fores portae obicerent. ita exclusi in medio caeduntur capiunturque. Macedonum praesidium conglobatum sub arcis muro stetit, nec fuga effuse petita nec pertinaciter proelio inito. eos Plator uenia ab Sulpicio impetrata in naues impositos ad Demetrium Phthiotidis exposuit; ipse ad Attalum se recepit.

Sulpicius tam facili ad Oreum successu elatus Chalcidem inde protinus uictrici classe petit, ubi haudquaquam ad spem euentus respondit. ex patenti utrimque coactum in angustias mare speciem intuenti primo gemini portus in ora duos uersi praebuerit; sed haud facile alia infestior classi statio est. nam et uenti ab utriusque terrae praealtis montibus subiti ac procellosi deiciunt, et fretum ipsum Euripi non septiens die, sicut fama fert, temporibus statis reciprocatur, sed temere in modum uenti nunc huc nunc illuc uerso mari, uelut monte praecipiti deuolutus torrens rapitur. ita nec nocte nec die quies nauibus datur. cum classem tam infesta statio accepit, tum et oppidum, alia parte clausum mari, alia ab terra egregie munitum praesidioque ualido firmatum et praecipue fide praefectorum principumque, quae fluxa et uana apud Oreum fuerat, stabile atque inexpugnabile fuit. id prudenter, ut in temere suscepta re, Romanus fecit quod circumspectis difficultatibus ne frustra tempus tereret celeriter abstinit incepto classemque inde ad Cynum Locridis — emporium id est urbis Opuntiorum mille passuum a mari sitae — traiecit.

[7] Philippum et ignes ab Oreo editi monuerant sed serius Platoris fraude ex specula elati; et impari tum maritimis uiribus haud facilis erat in insulam classi accessus; ita re per cunctationem omissa ad Chalcidis auxilium, ubi signum accepit, impigre est motus. nam et ipsa Chalcis, quamquam eiusdem insulae urbs est, tamen adeo arto interscinditur freto, ut ponte continenti iungatur terraque aditum faciliorem quam mari habeat. igitur Philippus ab Demetriade Scotussam, inde de tertia uigilia profectus, deiecto praesidio fuisque

Aetolis qui saltum Thermopylarum insidebant cum trepidos hostes Heracleam compulisset, ipse uno die Phocidis Elatiam milia amplius sexaginta contendit. eodem ferme die ab Attalo rege Opuntiorum urbs capta diripiebatur — concesserat eam regi praedam Sulpicius, quia Oreum paucos ante dies ab Romano milite, expertibus regiis, direptum fuerat. cum Romana classis Oreum sese recepisset, Attalus ignarus aduentus Philippi pecuniis a principibus exigendis terebat tempus, adeoque improuisa res fuit ut, nisi Cretensium quidam forte pabulatum ab urbe longius progressi agmen hostium procul conspexissent, opprimi potuerit. Attalus inermis atque incompositus cursu effuso mare ac naues petit, et molientibus ab terra naues Philippus superuenit tumultumque etiam ex terra nauticis praebuit. inde Opuntem rediit, deos hominesque accusans quod tantae rei fortunam ex oculis prope raptam amisisset. Opuntii quoque ab eadem ira increpiti quod, cum trahere obsidionem in aduentum suum potuissent, uiso statim hoste prope in uoluntariam deditionem concessissent.

Compositis circa Opuntem rebus Toronen est profectus. et Attalus primo Oreum se recepit; inde, cum fama accidisset Prusian Bithyniae regem in fines regni sui transgressum, omissis Romanis rebus atque Aetolico bello in Asiam traiecit. et Sulpicius Aeginam classem recipit, unde initio ueris profectus erat. haud maiore certamine quam Opuntem Attalus ceperat, Philippus Toronen cepit. incolebant urbem eam profugi ab Thebis Phthioticis; urbe sua capta a Philippo cum in fidem Aetolorum perfugissent, sedem iis Aetoli eam dederant urbis uastae ac desertae priore eiusdem Philippi bello. tum ab Torone, sicut paulo ante dictum est, recepta profectus Tithronion et Drumias, Doridis parua atque ignobilia oppida, cepit. inde Elatiam iussis ibi se opperiri Ptolomaei Rhodiorumque legatis uenit. ubi cum de finiando Aetolico bello ageretur — adfuerant enim legati nuper Heracleae concilio Romanorum Aetolorumque — nuntius adfertur Machanidam Olympiorum sollemne ludicrum parantes Eleos adgredi statuisset. praeuertendum id ratus legatis cum benigno responso dimissis — se neque causam eius belli fuisse nec moram, si modo aequa et honesta condicione liceat, paci facturum — cum expedito agmine profectus per Boeotiam Megara atque inde Corinthum descendit, unde com meatibus sumptis Phliunta Pheneumque petit. et iam cum

Heraeam uenisset, audito Machanidam fama aduentus sui territum refugisse Lacedaemonem, Aegium se ad concilium Achaeorum recepit, simul classem Punicam, ut mari quoque aliquid posset accitam, ibi ratus se inuenturum. paucis ante diebus inde ~Oxeas traiecerant Poeni, inde portus Acarnanum petierant, cum ab Oreo profectum Attalum Romanosque audissent, ueriti ne in se iretur et intra Rhium — fauces eae sunt Corinthii sinus — opprimerentur.

[8] Philippus maerebat quidem et angebatur cum ad omnia ipse raptim isset nulli tamen se rei in tempore occurrisset, et rapientem omnia ex oculis elusisse celeritatem suam fortunam; in concilio autem dissimulans aegritudinem elato animo disseruit, testatus deos hominesque se nullo loco nec tempore defuisse quin ubi hostium arma concrepuissent eo quanta maxima posset celeritate tenderet: sed uix rationem iniri posse utrum a se audacius an fugacius ab hostibus geratur bellum. sic ab Opunte Attalum, sic Sulpicium ab Chalcide, sic eis ipsis diebus Machanidam e manibus suis elapsam. sed non semper felicem esse fugam nec pro difficili id bellum habendum in quo, si modo congressus cum hoste sis, uiceris. quod primum esset, confessionem se hostium habere nequaquam pares esse sibi: breui et uictoriam haud dubiam habiturum, nec meliore euentu eos secum quam spe pugnaturus.

Laeti regem socii audierunt. reddidit inde Achaeis Heraeam et Triphuliam, Alipheram autem Megalopolitis quod suorum fuisse finium satis probabant restituit. inde nauibus acceptis ab Achaeis — erant autem tres quadriremes et biremes totidem — Anticyram traiecit. inde quinquereimis septem et lembis uiginti amplius, quos ut adiungeret Carthaginensium classi miserat in Corinthium sinum, profectus ad Eruthras Aetolorum, quae prope Eupalium sunt, escensionem fecit. haud fefellit Aetolos; nam hominum quod aut in agris aut in propinquis castellis Potidaniae atque Apolloniae fuit in siluas montesque refugit: pecora quae inter festinationem abigi nequierant sunt direpta et in naues compulsa. cum iis ceteraque praeda Nicia praetore Achaeorum Aegium misso cum Corinthum petisset, pedestres inde copias per Boeotiam terra duci iussit: ipse ab Cenchreis praeter terram Atticam super Sunium nauigans inter medias prope hostium classes, Chalcidem peruenit. inde conlaudata fide ac uirtute quod neque timor nec spes flexisset eorum animos,

hortatusque in posterum ut eadem constantia permanerent in societate si suam quam Oritanorum atque Opuntiorum fortunam mallent, ab Chalcide Oreum nauigat, principumque iis qui fugere capta urbe quam se Romanis tradere maluerant summa rerum et custodia urbis permissa ipse Demetriadem ab Euboea, unde primum ad opem ferendam sociis profectus erat, traiecit. Cassandreae deinde centum nauium longarum carinis positis contractaque ad effectum eius operis multitudine fabrorum naualium, quia res in Graecia tranquillas et profectio Attali fecerat et in tempore laborantibus sociis latum ab se auxilium, retro in regnum concessit ut Dardanis bellum inferret.

[9] Extremo aetatis eius qua haec in Graecia gesta sunt, cum Q. Fabius Maximus filius legatus ab M. Liuius consule Romam ad senatum nuntiasset consulem satis praesidii Galliae prouinciae credere L. Porcium cum suis legionibus esse, decedere se inde ac deduci exercitum consularem posse, patres non M. Liuium tantum redire ad urbem sed collegam quoque eius C. Claudium iusserunt. id modo in decreto interfuit quod M. Liuii exercitum reduci, Neronis legiones Hannibali oppositas manere in prouincia iusserunt. inter consules ita per litteras conuenit ut, quemadmodum uno animo rem publicam gessissent, ita quamquam ex diuersis regionibus conuenirent uno tempore ad urbem accederent; Praeneste qui prior uenisset, collegam ibi opperiri iussus. forte ita euenit ut eodem die ambo Praeneste uenirent. inde praemisso edicto ut triduo post frequens senatus ad aedem Bellonae adesset, omni multitudine obuiam effusa ad urbem accessere. non salutabant modo uniuersi circumfusi, sed contingere pro se quisque uictrices dexteras consulum cupientes, alii gratulabantur, alii gratias agebant quod eorum opera incolumis res publica esset. in senatu cum more omnium imperatorum expositis rebus ab se gestis postulassent ut pro re publica fortiter feliciterque administrata et dis immortalibus haberetur honos et ipsis triumphantibus urbem inire liceret, se uero ea quae postularent decernere patres merito deorum primum, dein secundum deos consulum responderunt; et supplicatione amborum nomine et triumpho utrique decreto, inter ipsos, ne cum bellum communi animo gessissent triumphum separarent, ita conuenit, quoniam et in prouincia M. Liuii res gesta esset et eo die quo

pugnatum foret eius forte auspiciu fuisset et exercitus Liuianus deductus Romam uenisset, Neronis deduci de prouincia non potuisset, ut M. Liuium quadrigis urbem ineuntem milites sequerentur, C. Claudius equo sine militibus inueheretur.

Ita consociatus triumphus cum utrique, tum magis ei qui quantum merito anteibat tantum honore collegae cesserat, gloriam auxit. illum equitem aiebant sex dierum spatio transcurrisse longitudinem Italiae, et eo die cum Hasdrubale in Gallia signis conlatis pugnasse quo eum castra aduersus sese in Apulia posita habere Hannibal credidisset. ita unum consulem pro utraque parte Italiae aduersus ~duos duces~ duos imperatores hinc consilium suum hinc corpus opposuisse. nomen Neronis satis fuisse ad continendum castris Hannibalem; Hasdrubalem uero qua alia re quam aduentu eius obrutum atque exstinctum esse? itaque iret alter consul sublimis curru multiugis si uellet equis: uno equo per urbem uerum triumphum uehi, Neronemque etiamsi pedes incedat uel parta eo bello uel spreta eo triumpho gloria memorabilem fore. hi sermones spectantium Neronem usque in Capitolium persecuti sunt. pecuniae in aerarium tulerunt sestertium triciens, octoginta milia aeris. militibus M. Liuius quinquagenos senos asses diuisit; tantundem C. Claudius absentibus militibus suis est pollicitus cum ad exercitum redisset. notatum est eo die plura carmina militaribus iocis in C. Claudium quam in consulem suum iactata; equites L. Ueturium et Q. Caecilium legatos magnis tulisse laudibus hortatosque esse plebem ut eos consules in proximum annum crearent; adiecisse equitum praerogatiuae auctoritatem consules postero die in contione quam forti fidelique duorum praecipue legatorum opera usi essent commemorantes.

[10] Cum comitiorum tempus appeteret et per dictatorem comitia haberi placuisset, C. Claudius consul M. Liuium collegam dictatorem dixit, Liuius Q. Caecilium magistrum equitum. a M. Liuiio dictatore creati consules L. Ueturius Q. Caecilius, is ipse qui tum erat magister equitum. inde praetorum comitia habita; creati C. Seruilius M. Caecilius Metellus Ti. Claudius Asellus Q. Mamilius Turrinus, qui tum aedilis plebis erat. comitiis perfectis dictator, magistratu abdicato dimissoque exercitu, in Etruriam prouinciam ex senatus consulto est profectus ad quaestiones habendas qui Etruscorum Umbrorumue populi defectionis ab Romanis ad Hasdrubalem sub

aduentum eius consilia agitassent quique eum auxiliis aut commeatu aut ope aliqua iuuissent. haec eo anno domi militiaeque gesta.

Ludi Romani ter toti instaurati ab aedilibus curulibus Cn. Seruilio Caepione Ser. Cornelio Lentulo; item ludi plebei semel toti instaurati ab aedilibus plebis M. Pomponio Mathone et Q. Mamilio Turrino.

Tertio decimo anno Punici belli L. Ueturio Philone et Q. Caecilio Metello consulibus, Bruttii ambobus ut cum Hannibale bellum gererent prouincia decreta. praetores exinde sortiti sunt M. Caecilius Metellus urbanam, Q. Mamilius peregrinam, C. Seruilius Siciliam, Ti. Claudius Sardiniam. exercitus ita diuisi: consulum alteri quem C. Claudius prioris anni consul, alteri quem Q. Claudius propaetor — eae binae legiones erant — habuisset exercitum: in Etruria duas uolunum legiones a C. Terentio propaetore M. Liuius proconsul, cui prorogatum in annum imperium erat, acciperet, et Q. Mamilius ut collegae iurisdictione tradita Galliam cum exercitu cui L. Porcius praetor praefuerat obtineret decretum est, iussusque populari agros Gallorum qui ad Poenos sub aduentum Hasdrubalis defecissent. C. Seruilio cum Cannensibus duabus legionibus, sicut C. Mamilius tenuerat, Sicilia tuenda data. ex Sardinia uetus exercitus, cui A. Hostilius praefuerat, deportatus; nouam legionem quam Ti. Claudius traiceret secum consules conscripserunt. Q. Claudio ut Tarentum, C. Hostilio Tubulo ut Capuam prouinciam haberet prorogatum in annum imperium est. M. Ualerius proconsul, qui tuendae circa Siciliam maritimae orae praefuerat, triginta nauibus C. Seruilio praetori traditis cum cetera omni classe redire ad urbem iussus.

[11] In ciuitate tanto discrimine belli sollicita cum omnium secundorum aduersorumque causas in deos uerterent, multa prodigia nuntiabantur: Tarracinae Iouis aedem, Satrici Matris Matutae de caelo tactam; Satricanos haud minus terrebant in aedem Iouis foribus ipsis duo perlapsi angues; ab Antio nuntiatum est cruentas spicas metentibus uisas esse; Caere porcus biceps et agnus mas idem feminaque natus erat; et Albae duo soles uisos ferebant et nocte Fregellis lucem obortam; et bos in agro Romano locutus et ara Neptuni multo manasse sudore in circo Flaminio dicebatur; et aedes Cereris Salutis Quirini de caelo tactae. prodigia consules hostiis maioribus procurare iussi et supplicationem unum diem habere — ea

ex senatus consulto facta — : plus omnibus aut nuntiatis peregre aut uisis domi prodigiis terruit animos hominum ignis in aede Uestae exstinctus, caesaque flagro est Uestalis cuius custodia eius noctis fuerat iussu P. Licini pontificis. id quamquam nihil portendentibus dis ceterum neglegentia humana acciderat, tamen et hostiis maioribus procurari et supplicationem ad Uestae haberi placuit.

Priusquam proficiscerentur consules ad bellum moniti a senatu sunt ut in agros reducendae plebis curam haberent: deum benignitate summotum bellum ab urbe Romana et Latio esse et posse sine metu in agris habitari; minime conuenire Siciliae quam Italiae colendae maiorem curam esse. sed res haudquaquam erat populo facilis et liberis cultoribus bello absumptis et inopia seruitiorum et pecore direpto uillisque dirutis aut incensis; magna tamen pars auctoritate consulum compulsa in agros remigrauit. mouerant autem huiusce rei mentionem Placentinorum et Cremonensium legati querentes agrum suum ab accolis Gallis incursari ac uastari, magnamque partem colonorum suorum dilapsam esse, et iam infrequentes se urbes, agrum uastum ac desertum habere. Mamilio praetori mandatum ut colonias ab hoste tueretur: consules ex senatus consulto edixerunt ut qui ciues Cremonenses atque Placentini essent ante certam diem in colonias reuerterentur.

Principio deinde ueris et ipsi ad bellum profecti sunt. Q. Caecilius consul exercitum ab C. Nerone, L. Ueturius a Q. Claudio propraetore accepit, nouisque militibus quos ipse conscripserat suppleuit. in Consentinum agrum consules exercitum duxerunt, passimque depopulati, cum agmen iam graue praeda esset, in saltu angusto a Brutiis iaculatoribusque Numidis turbati sunt ita ut non praeda tantum sed armati quoque in periculo fuerint. maior tamen tumultus quam pugna fuit, et praemissa praeda incolumes legiones in loca culta euasere. inde in Lucanos profecti; ea sine certamine tota gens in dicionem populi Romani rediit.

[12] Cum Hannibale nihil eo anno rei gestum est. nam neque ipse se obtulit in tam recenti uolnere publico priuatoque neque lacessierunt quietum Romani; tantam inesse uim etsi omnia alia circa eum ruerent in uno illo duce censebant. ac nescio an mirabilior aduersis quam secundis rebus fuerit, quippe qui cum in hostium terra per annos tredecim, tam procul ab domo, uaria fortuna bellum

gereret, exercitu non suo ciuili sed mixto ex conluuione omnium gentium, quibus non lex, non mos, non lingua communis, alius habitus, alia uestis, alia arma, alii ritus, alia sacra, alii prope di essent, ita quodam uno uinculo copulauerit eos ut nulla nec inter ipsos nec aduersus ducem seditio exstiterit, cum et pecunia saepe in stipendium et commeatus in hostium agro deesset, quorum inopia priore Punico bello multa infanda inter duces militesque commissa fuerant. post Hasdrubalis uero exercitum cum duce in quibus spes omnis reposita uictoriae fuerat deletum cedendoque in angulum Bruttium cetera Italia concessum, cui non uideatur mirabile nullum motum in castris factum? nam ad cetera id quoque accesserat ut ne alendi quidem exercitus nisi ex Bruttio agro spes esset, qui ut omnis coleretur exiguus tamen tanto alendo exercitui erat; tum magnam partem iuuentutis abstractam a cultu agrorum bellum occupauerat et mos uitio etiam insitus genti per latrocinia militiam exercendi; nec ab domo quicquam mittebatur, de Hispania retinenda sollicitis tamquam omnia prospera in Italia essent.

In Hispania res quadam ex parte eandem fortunam, quadam longe disparem habebant; eandem quod proelio uicti Carthaginienses duce amisso in ultimam Hispaniae oram usque ad Oceanum compulsi erant, disparem autem quod Hispania non quam Italia modo sed quam ulla pars terrarum bello reparando aptior erat locorum hominumque ingeniis. itaque ergo prima Romanis inita prouinciarum, quae quidem continentis sint, postrema omnium nostra demum aetate ductu auspicioque Augusti Caesaris perdomita est. ibi tum Hasdrubal Gisgonis, maximus clarissimusque eo bello secundum Barcinos dux, regressus ab Gadibus rebellandi spe, adiuuante Magone Hamilcaris filio dilectibus per ulteriorem Hispaniam habitis ad quinquaginta milia peditum, quattuor milia et quingentos equites armauit. de equestribus copiis ferme inter auctores conuenit: peditum septuaginta milia quidam adducta ad Silpiam urbem scribunt. ibi super campos patentes duo duces Poeni ea mente ne detractarent certamen consederunt.

[13] Scipio cum ad eum fama tanti comparati exercitus perlata esset, neque Romanis legionibus tantae se parem multitudini ratus ut non in speciem saltem opponerentur barbarorum auxilia, neque in iis tamen tantum uirium ponendum ut mutando fidem, quae cladis causa

fuisset patri patruoque, magnum momentum facerent, praemisso Silano ad Culcham, duodetriginta oppidis regnantem, ut equites peditesque ab eo quos se per hiemem conscripturum pollicitus erat acciperet, ipse ab Tarracone profectus protinus ab sociis qui accolunt uiam modica contrahendo auxilia Castulonem peruenit. eo adducta ab Silano auxilia, tria milia peditum et quingenti equites. inde ad Baeculam urbem processum cum omni exercitu ciuium, sociorum, peditum equitumque quinque et quadraginta milibus. castra ponentes eos Mago et Masinissa cum omni equitatu adgressi sunt, turbassentque munientes ni abditi post tumultum opportune ad id positum ab Scipione equites improuiso in effusos incurrissent. ii promptissimum quemque et proxime uallum atque in ipsos munitores primum inuectum uixdum proelio inito fuderunt: cum ceteris, qui sub signis atque ordine agminis incesserant, longior et diu ambigua pugna fuit. sed cum ab stationibus primum expeditae cohortes, deinde ex opere deducti milites atque arma capere iussi plures usque et integri fessis subirent magnumque iam agmen armatorum a castris in proelium rueret, terga haud dubie uertunt Poeni Numidaeque. et primo turmatim abibant, nihil propter pauorem festinationemue confusis ordinibus; dein, postquam acrius ultimis incidebat Romanus neque sustineri impetus poterat, nihil iam ordinum memores passim qua cuique proximum fuit in fugam effunduntur. et quamquam eo proelio aliquantum et Romanis aucti et deminuti hostibus animi erant, tamen nunquam per aliquot insequentes dies ab excursionibus equitum leuisque armaturae cessatum est.

[14] Ubi satis temptatae per haec leuia certamina uires sunt, prior Hasdrubal in aciem copias eduxit, deinde et Romani processere; sed utraque acies pro uallo stetit instructa, et cum ab neutris pugna coepta esset, iam die ad occasum inclinante a Poeno prius, deinde ab Romano in castra copiae reductae. hoc idem per dies aliquot factum. prior semper Poenus copias castris educebat, prior fessis stando signum receptui dabat; ab neutra parte procursum telumue missum aut uox ulla orta. mediam aciem hinc Romani illinc Carthaginienses mixti Afris, cornua socii tenebant — erant autem utrisque Hispani — ; pro cornibus ante Punicam aciem elephantum castellorum procul speciem praebebant. iam hoc in utrisque castris sermonis erat, ita ut instructi stetissent pugnatuos; medias acies, Romanum Poenumque,

quos inter belli causa esset, pari robore animorum armorumque concursuros. Scipio ubi hoc obstinate credi animaduertit, omnia de industria in eum diem quo pugnaturus erat mutauit. tesseram uesperi per castra dedit ut ante lucem uiri equique curati pransi essent, armatus eques frenatos instratosque teneret equos.

Vixdum satis certa luce equitatum omnem cum leui armatura in stationes Punicas immisit; inde confestim ipse cum graui agmine legionum procedit, praeter opinionem destinata suorum hostiumque Romano milite cornibus firmatis, sociis in mediam aciem acceptis. Hasdrubal clamore equitum excitatus ut ex tabernaculo prosiluit tumultumque ante uallum et trepidationem suorum et procul signa legionum fulgentia plenosque hostium campos uidit, equitatum omnem extemplo in equites emittit; ipse cum peditum agmine castris egreditur, nec ex ordine solito quicquam acie instruenda mutat. equitum iam diu anceps pugna erat nec ipsa per se decerni poterat quia pulsus, quod prope in uicem fiebat, in aciem peditum tutus receptus erat; sed ubi iam haud plus quingentos passus acies inter sese aberant, signo receptui dato Scipio patefactisque ordinibus equitatum omnem leuemque armaturam in medium acceptam diuisamque in partes duas in subsidiis post cornua locat. inde ubi incipiendae iam pugnae tempus erat, Hispanos — ea media acies fuit — presso gradu incedere iubet; ipse e dextro cornu — ibi namque praeerat — nuntium ad Silanum et Marcium mittit ut cornu extenderent in sinistram partem quemadmodum se tendentem ad dextram uidissent, et cum expeditis peditum equitumque prius pugnam consererent cum hoste quam coire inter se mediae acies possent. ita diductis cornibus cum ternis peditum cohortibus ternisque equitum turmis, ad hoc uelitibus, citato gradu in hostem ducebant sequentibus in obliquum aliis; sinus in medio erat, qua segnius Hispanorum signa incedebant. et iam conflixerant cornua cum quod roboris in acie hostium erat, Poeni ueterani Afrique, nondum ad teli coniectum uenissent, neque in cornua ut adiuuarent pugnautes discurrere auderent ne aperirent mediam aciem uenienti ex aduerso hosti. cornua ancipiti proelio urgebantur; eques leuisque armatura <ac> uelites circumductis alis in latera incurrebant: cohortes a fronte urgebant ut abrumperent cornua a cetera acie;

[15] Et cum ab omni parte haudquaquam par pugna erat, tum quod

turba Baliarium tironumque Hispanorum Romano Latinoque militi obiecta erat. et procedente iam die uires etiam deficere Hasdrubalis exercitum coeperant, oppressos matutino tumultu coactosque priusquam cibo corpora firmarent raptim in aciem exire; et ad id sedulo diem extraxerat Scipio ut sera pugna esset; nam ab septima demum hora peditum signa cornibus incucurrerunt; ad medias acies aliquanto serius peruenit pugna, ita ut prius aestus a meridiano sole laborque standi sub armis et simul fames sitisque corpora adficerent quam manus cum hoste consererent. itaque steterunt scutis innixi. iam super cetera elephanti etiam tumultuoso genere pugnae equitum uelut et leuis armaturae consternati e cornibus in mediam aciem sese intulerant. fessi igitur corporibus animisque rettulere pedem, ordines tamen seruantes haud secus quam si imperio ducis cederet integra acies.

Sed cum eo ipso acrius ubi inclinatam sensere rem uictores se undique inueherent, nec facile impetus sustineri posset quamquam retinebat obsistebatque cedentibus Hasdrubal ab tergo esse colles tutumque receptum si modice se reciperent clamitans, tamen uincente metu uerecundiam cum proximus quisque hostem cederet, terga extemplo data, atque in fugam sese omnes effuderunt. ac primo consistere signa in radicibus collium ac reuocare in ordines militem coeperant cunctantibus in aduersum collem erigere aciem Romanis; deinde ut inferri impigre signa uiderunt, integrata fuga in castra pauidi compelluntur. nec procul uallo Romanus aberat; cepissetque tanto impetu castra nisi ex uehementi sole, qualis inter graues imbre nubes effulget, tanta uis aquae deiecta esset ut uix in castra sua receperint se uictores, quosdam etiam religio ceperit ulterius quicquam eo die conandi. Carthaginienses, quamquam fessos labore ac uulneribus nox imberque ad necessariam quietem uocabat, tamen quia metus et periculum cessandi non dabat tempus prima luce oppugnaturis hostibus castra, saxis undique circa ex propinquis uallibus congestis augent uallum, munimento sese quando in armis parum praesidii foret defensuri; sed transitio sociorum fuga ut tutior mora uideretur fecit. principium defectionis ab Attene regulo Turdetanorum factum est; is cum magna popularium manu transfugit; inde duo munita oppida cum praesidiis tradita a praefectis Romano; et ne latius inclinatissimae semel ad defectionem animis serperet

res, silentio proximae noctis Hasdrubal castra mouet.

[16] Scipio, ut prima luce qui in stationibus erant rettulerunt profectos hostes, praemisso equitatu signa ferri iubet; adeoque citato agmine ducti sunt ut, si uia recta uestigia sequentes issent, haud dubie adsecuturi fuerint: ducibus est creditum breuius aliud esse iter ad Baetim fluuium ut transeuntes adgrederentur. Hasdrubal clauso transitu fluminis ad Oceanum flectit, et iam inde fugientium modo effusi abibant; itaque ab legionibus Romanis aliquantum interualli fecit. eques leuisque armatura nunc ab tergo nunc ab lateribus occurrendo fatigabat morabaturque, sed cum ad crebros tumultus signa consisterent et nunc equestria nunc cum uelitibus auxiliisque peditum proelia consererent, superuenerunt legiones. inde non iam pugna sed trucidatio uelut pecorum fieri donec ipse dux fugae auctor in proximos colles cum sex millibus ferme semermium euasit; ceteri caesi captique. castra tumultuaria raptim Poeni tumulto editissimo communiuerunt, atque inde cum hostis nequiquam subire iniquo adscensu conatus esset haud difficulter sese tutati sunt. sed obsidio in loco nudo atque inopi uix in paucos dies tolerabilis erat; itaque transitiones ad hostem fiebant. postremo dux ipse nauibus accitis — nec procul inde aberat mare — nocte relicto exercitu Gades perfugit. Scipio fuga ducis hostium audita decem milia peditum mille equites relinquit Silano ad castrorum obsidionem; ipse cum ceteris copiis septuagensimis castris, protinus causis regulorum ciuitatiumque cognoscendis ut praemia ad ueram meritorum aestimationem tribui possent, Tarraconem rediit. post profectionem eius Masinissa cum Silano clam congressus, ut ad noua consilia gentem quoque suam oboedientem haberet cum paucis popularibus in Africam traiecit, non tam euidenti eo tempore subitae mutationis causa quam documento post id tempus constantissimae ad ultimam senectam fidei ne tum quidem eum sine probabili causa fecisse. Mago inde remissis ab Hasdrubale nauibus Gades petit; ceteri deserti ab ducibus, pars transitione, pars fuga dissipati per proximas ciuitates sunt, nulla numero aut uiribus manus insignis.

Hoc maxime modo ductu atque auspicio P. Scipionis pulsi Hispania Carthaginienses sunt, quarto decimo anno post bellum initum, quinto quam P. Scipio prouinciam et exercitum accepit. haud multo post Silanus debellatum referens Tarraconem ad Scipionem

rediit.

[17] L. Scipio cum multis nobilibus captiuis nuntius receptae Hispaniae Romam est missus. et cum ceteri laetitia gloriaque ingenti eam rem uolgo ferrent, unus qui gesserat, inexplabilis uirtutis ueraeque laudis, paruum instar eorum quae spe ac magnitudine animi concepisset receptas Hispanias ducebat. iam Africam magnamque Carthaginem et in suum decus nomenque uelut consummatam eius belli gloriam spectabat. itaque praemoliendas sibi ratus iam res conciliandosque regum gentiumque animos, Syphacem primum regem statuit temptare. Masaesuliorum is rex erat. Masaesulii, gens adfinis Mauris, in regionem Hispaniae maxime qua sita Noua Carthago est spectant. foedus ea tempestate regi cum Carthaginensibus erat, quod haud grauius ei sanctiusque quam uolgo barbaris, quibus ex fortuna pendet fides, ratus fore, oratorem ad eum C. Laelium cum donis mittit. quibus barbarus laetus et quia res tum prosperae ubique Romanis, Poenis in Italia aduersae in Hispania nullae iam erant, amicitiam se Romanorum accipere adnuit: firmandae eius fidem nec dare nec accipere nisi cum ipso coram duce Romano. ita Laelius in id modo fide ab rege accepta tutum aduentum fore, ad Scipionem redit.

Magnum in omnia momentum Syphax adfectanti res Africae erat, opulentissimus eius terrae rex, bello iam expertus ipsos Carthaginienses, finibus etiam regni apte ad Hispaniam quod freto exiguo dirimuntur positus. dignam itaque rem Scipio ratus quae, quoniam non aliter posset, magno periculo peteretur, L. Marcio Tarracone M. Silano Carthagine Noua, quo pedibus ab Tarracone itineribus magnis ierat, ad praesidium Hispaniae relictis ipse cum C. Laelio duabus quinquereimis ab Carthagine profectus tranquillo mari plurimum remis, interdum et leni adiuuante uento, in Africam traiecit. forte ita incidit ut eo ipso tempore Hasdrubal, pulsus Hispania, septem triremibus portum inuectus, ancoris positus terrae applicaret naues cum conspectae duae quinqueres, haud cuiquam dubio quin hostium essent opprimique a pluribus priusquam portum intrarent possent, nihil aliud quam tumultum ac trepidationem simul militum ac nautarum nequiquam armaque et naues expedientium fecerunt. percussa enim ex alto uela paulo acriori uento prius in portum intulerunt quinqueres quam Poeni ancoras molirentur; nec

ultra tumultum ciere quisquam in regio portu audebat. ita in terram prior Hasdrubal, mox Scipio et Laelius egressi ad regem pergunt.

[18] Magnificumque id Syphaci — nec erat aliter — uisum duorum opulentissimorum ea tempestate duces populorum uno die suam pacem amicitiamque petentes uenisse.

Utrumque in hospitium inuitat, et quoniam fors eos sub uno tecto esse atque ad eosdem penates uoluisset, contrahere in conloquium dirimendarum simultatium causa est conatus, Scipione abnuente aut priuatim sibi ullum cum Poeno odium esse quod conloquendo finiret, aut de re publica quicquam se cum hoste agere iniussu senatus posse. illud magno opere tendente rege, ne alter hospitum exclusus mensa uideretur, ut in animum induceret ad easdem uenire epulas haud abnuuit, cenatumque simul apud regem est; eodem etiam lecto Scipio atque Hasdrubal quia ita cordi erat regi accubuerunt. tanta autem inerat comitas Scipioni atque ad omnia naturalis ingenii dexteritas ut non Syphacem modo, barbarum insuetumque moribus Romanis, sed hostem etiam infestissimum facunde adloquendo sibi conciliarit. mirabiliorem sibi eum congresso coram uisum prae se ferebat quam bello rebus gestis, nec dubitare quin Syphax regnumque eius iam in Romanorum essent potestate; eam artem illi uiro ad conciliandos animos esse. itaque non quo modo Hispaniae amissae sint quaerendum magis Carthaginiensibus esse quam quo modo Africam retineant cogitandum. non peregrinabundum neque circa amoenas oras uagantem tantum ducem Romanum, relictam prouincia nouae ditionis relictis exercitibus, duabus nauibus in Africam traiecisse et commisisse sese in hostilem terram, in potestatem regiam, in fidem inexpertam, sed potiundae Africae spem adfectantem. hoc eum iam pridem uolutare in animo, hoc palam fremere quod non quemadmodum Hannibal in Italia sic Scipio in Africa bellum gereret. Scipio, foedere icto cum Syphace, profectus ex Africa dubiisque et plerumque saeuis in alto iactatus uentis die quarto Nouae Carthaginis portum tenuit.

[19] Hispaniae sicut a bello Punico quietae erant, ita quasdam ciuitates propter conscientiam culpae metu magis quam fide quietas esse apparebat, quarum maxime insignes et magnitudine et noxa Iliturgi et Castulo erant. Castulo, cum prosperis rebus socii fuissent, post caesos cum exercitibus Scipiones defecerat ad Poenos:

Iliturgitani prodendis qui ex illa clade ad eos perfugerant interficiendisque scelus etiam defectioni addiderant. in eos populos primo aduentu cum dubiae Hispaniae essent merito magis quam utiliter saeuitum foret: tunc iam tranquillis rebus quia tempus expetendae poenae uidebatur uenisse, accitum ab Tarracone L. Marcium cum tertia parte copiarum ad Castulonem oppugnandum mittit, ipse cum cetero exercitu quintis fere ad Iliturgin castris peruenit. clausae erant portae omniaque instructa et parata ad oppugnationem arcendam; adeo conscientia quid se meritos scirent pro indicto eis bello fuerat. hinc et hortari milites Scipio orsus est: ipsos claudendo portas indicasse Hispanos quid ut timerent meriti essent. itaque multo infestioribus animis cum eis quam cum Carthaginiensibus bellum gerendum esse; quippe cum illis prope sine ira de imperio et gloria certari, ab his perfidiae et crudelitatis et sceleris poenas expetendas. euenisse tempus quo et nefandam commilitonum necem et in semet ipsos, si eodem fuga delati forent, instructam fraudem ulciscerentur, et in omne tempus graui documento sancirent ne quis unquam Romanum ciuem militemque in ulla fortuna opportunum iniuriae duceret.

Ab hac cohortatione ducis incitati scalas electis per manipulos uiris diuidunt, partitoque exercitu ita ut parti alteri Laelius praeesset legatus, duobus simul locis ancipiti terrore urbem adgrediuntur. non dux unus aut plures principes oppidanos, sed suus ipsorum ex conscientia culpa metus ad defendendam impigre urbem hortatur. et meminerant et admonebant alios supplicium ex se non uictoriam peti: ubi quisque mortem oppeteret, id referre, utrum in pugna et in acie, ubi Mars communis et uictum saepe erigeret et adfligeret uictorem, an postmodo cremata et diruta urbe, ante ora captarum coniugum liberorumque, inter uerbera et uincula, omnia foeda atque indigna passi exspirarent. igitur non militaris modo aetas aut uiri tantum, sed feminae puerique super animi corporisque uires adsunt, pugnantibus tela ministrant, saxa in muros munientibus gerunt. non libertas solum agebatur, quae uirorum fortium tantum pectora acuit, sed ultima omnibus supplicia et foeda mors ob oculos erat. accendebantur animi et certamine laboris ac periculi atque ipso inter se conspectu. itaque tanto ardore certamen initum est ut domitor ille totius Hispaniae exercitus ab unius oppidi iuuentute saepe repulsus a

muris haud satis decoro proelio trepidaret. id ubi uidit Scipio, ueritus ne uanis tot conatibus suorum et hostibus cresceret animus et segnior miles fieret, sibimet conandum ac partem periculi capessendam esse ratus increpita ignauia militum ferri scalas iubet et se ipsum si ceteri cunctentur escensurum minatur. iam subierat haud mediocri periculo moenia cum clamor undique ab sollicitis uicem imperatoris militibus sublatus, scalaeque multis simul partibus erigi coeptae; et ex altera parte Laelius institit. tum uicta oppidanorum uis deiectisque propugnatoribus occupantur muri. arx etiam ab ea parte qua inexpugnabilis uidebatur inter tumultum capta est:

[20] Transfugae Afri, qui tum inter auxilia Romana erant, et oppidanis in ea tuenda unde periculum uidebatur uersis et Romanis subeuntibus qua adire poterant, conspexerunt editissimam urbis partem, quia rupe praealta tegebatur, neque opere ullo munitam et ab defensoribus uacuum. leuium corporum homines et multa exercitatione perniciousum, clauos secum ferreos portantes, qua per inaequaliter eminentia rupis poterant scandunt. sicubi nimis arduum et leue saxum occurrebat, clauos per modica interualla figentes cum uelut gradus fecissent, primi insequentes extrahentes manu, postremi subleuant eos qui prae se irent, in summum euadunt. inde decurrunt cum clamore in urbem iam captam ab Romanis. tum uero apparuit ab ira et ab odio urbem oppugnatam esse. nemo capiendi uiuos, nemo patentibus ad direptionem omnibus praedae memor est; trucidant inermes iuxta atque armatos, feminas pariter ac uiros; usque ad infantium caedem ira crudelis peruenit. ignem deinde tectis iniciunt ac diruunt quae incendio absumi nequeunt; adeo uestigia quoque urbis extinguere ac delere memoriam hostium sedis cordi est.

Castulonem inde Scipio exercitum ducit, quam urbem non Hispani modo conuenae sed Punici etiam exercitus ex dissipata passim fuga reliquiae tutabantur. sed aduentum Scipionis praeuenerat fama cladis Iliturgitanorum terrorque inde ac desperatio inuaserat; et in diuersis causis cum sibi quisque consultum sine alterius respectu uellet, primo tacita suspicio, deinde aperta discordia secessionem inter Carthaginienses atque Hispanos fecit. his Cerdubelus propalam deditionis auctor, Himilco Punicis auxiliariis praeerat; quos urbemque clam fide accepta Cerdubelus Romano prodit. mitior ea

uictoria fuit; nec tantundem noxae admissum erat et aliquantum irae lenierat uoluntaria deditio.

[21] Marcius inde in barbaros si qui nondum perdomiti erant sub ius dicionemque redigendos missus. Scipio Carthaginem ad uota soluenda dis munusque gladiatorium, quod mortis causa patris patruique parauerat, edendum rediit. gladiatorum spectaculum fuit non ex eo genere hominum ex quo lanistis comparare mos est, seruorum de catasta ac liberorum qui uenalem sanguinem habent: uoluntaria omnis et gratuita opera pugnantium fuit. nam alii missi ab regulis sunt ad specimen insitae genti uirtutis ostendendum, alii ipsi professi se pugnuros in gratiam ducis, alios aemulatio et certamen ut prouocarent prouocatique haud abnuerent traxit; quidam quas disceptando controuersias finire nequierant aut noluerant, pacto inter se ut uictorem res sequeretur, ferro decreuerunt. neque obscuri generis homines sed clari inlustresque, Corbis et Orsua, patruales fratres, de principatu ciuitatis quam Ibem uocabant ambigentes ferro se certaturos professi sunt. Corbis maior erat aetate: Orsuae pater princeps proxime fuerat a fratre maiore post mortem eius principatu accepto. cum uerbis disceptare Scipio uellet ac sedare iras, negatum id ambo dicere cognatis communibus, nec alium deorum hominumue quam Martem se iudicem habituros esse. robore maior, minor flore aetatis ferox, mortem in certamine quam ut alter alterius imperio subiceretur praeoptantes cum dirimi ab tanta rabie nequirent, insigne spectaculum exercitui praebuere documentumque quantum cupiditas imperii malum inter mortales esset. maior usu armorum et astu facile stolidas uires minoris superauit. huic gladiatorum spectaculo ludi funebres additi pro copia prouinciali et castrensi apparatu.

[22] Res interim nihilo minus ab legatis gerebantur. Marcius superato Baete amni, quem incolae Certim appellant, duas opulentas ciuitates sine certamine in deditionem accepit. Astapa urbs erat Carthaginensium semper partis; neque id tam dignum ira erat quam quod extra necessitates belli praecipuum in Romanos gerebant odium. nec urbem aut situ aut munimento tutam habebant quae ferociores iis animos faceret; sed ingenia incolarum latrocinio laeta ut excursions in finitimum agrum sociorum populi Romani facerent impulerant et uagos milites Romanos lixasque et mercatores exciperent. magnum etiam comitatum, quia paucis parum tutum

fuerat, transgredientem fines positis insidiis circumuentum iniquo loco interfecerant. ad hanc urbem oppugnandam cum admotus exercitus esset, oppidani conscientia scelerum, quia nec deditio tuta ad tam infestos uidebatur neque spes moenibus aut armis tuendae salutis erat, facinus in se ac suos foedum ac ferum consciscunt. locum in foro destinant quo pretiosissima rerum suarum congererent. super eum cumulum coniuges ac liberos considerare cum iussissent, ligna circa exstruunt fascisque uirgultorum coniciunt. quinquaginta deinde armatis iuuenibus praecipiunt ut, donec incertus euentus pugnae esset, praesidium eo loco fortunarum suarum corporumque quae cariora fortunis essent seruarent; si rem inclinatam uiderent atque in eo iam esse ut urbs caperetur, scirent omnes quos euntes in proelium cernerent mortem in ipsa pugna obituros; illos se per deos superos inferosque orare ut memores libertatis, quae illo die aut morte honesta aut seruitute infami finienda esset, nihil relinquerent in quod saeuire iratus hostis posset; ferrum ignemque in manibus esse; amicae ac fideles potius ea quae peritura forent absumerent manus quam insultarent superbo ludibrio hostes. his adhortationibus exsecratio dira adiecta si quem a proposito spes mollitiae animi flexisset.

Inde concitato agmine patentibus portis ingenti cum tumultu erumpunt; neque erat ulla satis firma statio opposita, quia nihil minus quam ut egredi moenibus auderent timeri poterat. perpaucae equitum turmae leuisque armatura repente e castris ad id ipsum emissa occurrit. acrior impetu atque animis quam compositior ordine ullo pugna fuit. itaque pulsus eques qui primus se hosti obtulerat terrorem intulit leui armaturae; pugnatumque sub ipso uallo foret, ni robur legionum perexiguo ad instruendum dato tempore aciem direxisset. ibi quoque trepidatum parumper circa signa est cum caeci furore in uulnera ac ferrum uecordi audacia ruerent; dein uetus miles, aduersus temerarios impetus pertinax, caede primorum insequentes suppressit. conatus paulo post ultro inferre pedem, ut neminem cedere atque obstinatos mori in uestigio quemque suo uidit, patefacta acie, quod ut facere posset multitudo armatorum facile suppeditabat, cornua hostium amplexus, in orbem pugnantes ad unum omnes occidit.

[23] Atque haec tamen hostium iratorum <in morem> ac tum maxime dimicantium iure belli in armatos repugnantesque edebantur:

foedior alia in urbe trucidatio erat cum turbam feminarum puerorumque imbellem inermem ciues sui caederent et in succensum rogum semianima pleraque inicerent corpora riuique sanguinis flammam orientem restinguerent: postremo ipsi caede misera suorum fatigati cum armis medio incendio se iniecerunt. iam caedi perpetratae uictores Romani superuenerunt. ac primo conspectu tam foedae rei mirabundi parumper obstipuerunt; dein cum aurum argentumque cumulo rerum aliarum interfulgens auiditate ingenii humani rapere ex igni uellent, correpti alii flamma sunt, alii ambusti adflatu uaporis, cum receptus primis urgente ab tergo ingenti turba non esset. ita Astapa sine praeda militum ferro ignique absumpta est. Marcius ceteris eius regionis metu in deditionem acceptis uictorem exercitum Carthaginem ad Scipionem reduxit.

Per eos ipsos dies perfugae a Gadibus uenerunt pollicentes urbem Punicumque praesidium quod in ea urbe esset et imperatorem praesidii cum classe prodituros. Mago ibi ex fuga substiterat, nauibusque in Oceano conlectis aliquantum auxiliorum et trans fretum ex Africa ora et ex proximis Hispaniae locis per Hannonem praefectum coegerat. fide accepta dataque perfugis, et Marcius eo cum expeditis cohortibus et Laelius cum septem triremibus quinquere mi una est missus ut terra marique communi consilio rem gererent.

[24] Scipio ipse graui morbo implicitus, grauiore tamen fama cum ad id quisque quod audierat insita hominibus libidine alendi de industria rumores adiceret aliquid, prouinciam omnem ac maxime longinqua eius turbauit; apparuitque quantam excitatura molem uera fuisset clades cum uanus rumor tantas procellas exciuisset. non socii in fide, non exercitus in officio mansit. Mandonius et Indibilis, quibus quia regnum sibi Hispaniae pulsus inde Carthaginensibus destinarant animis nihil pro spe contigerat, concitatis popularibus — Lacetani autem erant — et iuuentute Celtiberorum excita agrum Suessetanum Sedetanumque sociorum populi Romani hostiliter depopulati sunt.

Ciuiilis alius furor in castris ad Sucronem ortus; octo ibi milia militum erant, praesidium gentibus quae cis Hiberum incolunt impositum. motae autem eorum mentes sunt non tum primum cum de uita imperatoris rumores dubii allati sunt, sed iam ante licentia ex

diutino, ut fit, otio conlecta, et nonnihil quod in hostico laxius raptu suetis uiuere artiores in pace res erant. ac primo sermones tantum occulti serebantur: si bellum in prouincia esset, quid sese inter pacatos facere? si debellatum iam et confecta prouincia esset, cur in Italiam non reuehi? flagitatum quoque stipendium procacius quam ex more et modestia militari erat, et ab custodibus probra in circumeuntes uigilias tribunos iacta, et noctu quidam praedatum in agrum circa pacatum ierant; postremo interdum ac propalam sine comatu ab signis abibant. omnia libidine ac licentia militum, nihil instituto aut disciplina militiae aut imperio eorum qui praeerant gerebatur. forma tamen Romanorum castrorum constabat una ea spe quod tribunos ex contagione furoris haud expertes seditionis defectionisque rati fore, et iura reddere in principiis sinebant et signum ab eis petebant et in stationes ac uigilias ordine ibant; et ut uim imperii abstulerant, ita speciem dicto parentum ultro sibi ipsi imperantes seruabant.

Erupit deinde seditio, postquam reprehendere atque improbare tribunos ea quae fierent et conari obuiam ire et propalam abnuere furoris eorum se futuros socios senserunt. fugatis itaque ex principiis ac post paulo e castris tribunis ad principes seditionis gregarios milites C. Albium Calenum et C. Atrium Umbrum delatum omnium consensu imperium est; qui nequaquam tribuniciis contenti ornamentis, insignia etiam summi imperii, fasces securesque, attractare ausi; neque eis uenit in mentem suis tergis suis ceruicibus uirgas illas securesque imminere quas ad metum aliorum praeferrent. mors Scipionis falso credita occaecabat animos, sub cuius uolгатam iam famam non dubitabant totam Hispaniam arsuram bello: in eo tumultu et sociis pecunias imperari et diripi propinquas urbes posse; et turbatis rebus cum omnia omnes auderent minus insignia fore quae ipsi fecissent.

[25] Cum alios subinde recentes nuntios non mortis modo sed etiam funeris exspectarent, neque superueniret quisquam euanesceretque temere ortus rumor, tum primi auctores requiri coepti; et subtrahente se quoque ut credidisse potius temere quam finxisse rem talem uideri posset, destituti duces iam sua ipsi insignia et pro uana imagine imperii quod gererent ueram iustamque mox in se uersuram potestatem horrebant. stupente ita seditione cum uiuere

primo, mox etiam ualere Scipionem certi auctores adferrent, tribuni militum septem ab ipso Scipione missi superuenerunt. ad quorum primum aduentum exasperati animi: mox ipsis placido sermone permulcentibus notos cum quibus congressi erant, leniti sunt. circumeuntes enim tentoria primo, deinde in principiis praetorioque ubi sermones inter se serentium circulos uidissent adloquebantur, percontantes magis quae causa irae consternationisque subitae foret quam factum accusantes. uolgo stipendium non datum ad diem iactabatur, et cum eodem tempore quo scelus Iliturgitanum exstisset post duorum imperatorum duorumque exercituum stragem sua uirtute defensum nomen Romanum ac retenta prouincia esset, Iliturgitanos poenam noxae meritam habere, suis recte factis gratiam qui exsoluat non esse. talia querentes aequa orare seque ea relatuos ad imperatorem respondebant; laetari quod nihil tristius nec insanabilius esset; et P. Scipionem deum benignitate et rem publicam esse gratiae referendae.

Scipionem, bellis adsuetum, ad seditionum procellas rudem, sollicitum habebat res ne aut exercitus peccando aut ipse puniendo modum excederet. in praesentia, ut coepisset, leniter agi placuit et missis circa stipendiarias ciuitates exactoribus stipendii spem propinquam facere; et edictum subinde propositum ut ad stipendium petendum conuenirent Carthaginem, seu carptim partes seu uniuersi mallent. tranquillam seditionem iam per se languescentem repentina quies rebellantium Hispanorum fecit; redierant enim in fines omisso incepto Mandonius et Indibilis, postquam uiuere Scipionem allatum est; nec iam erat aut ciuis aut externus cum quo furorem suum consociarent. omnia circumspectantes [consilia] nihil reliqui habebant praeter unum tutissimum a malis consiliis receptum, ut imperatoris uel iustae irae uel non desperandae clementiae sese committerent: etiam hostibus eum ignouisse cum quibus ferro dimicasset: suam seditionem sine uolnere, sine sanguine fuisse nec ipsam atrocem nec atroci poena dignam — ut ingenia humana sunt ad suam cuique leuandam culpam nimio plus facunda. illa dubitatio erat singulaene cohortes an uniuersi ad stipendium petendum irent. inclinauit sententia, quod tutius censebant, uniuersos ire.

[26] Per eosdem dies quibus haec illi consultabant consilium de iis Carthagini erat, certabaturque sentiis utrum in auctores tantum

seditionis — erant autem ii numero haud plus quam quinque et triginta — animaduerneretur, an plurium supplicio uindicanda tam foedi exempli defectio magis quam seditio esset. uicit sententia lenior ut unde culpa orta esset ibi poena consisteret: ad multitudinem castigationem satis esse. consilio dimisso, ut id actum uideretur, expeditio aduersus Mandonium Indibilemque edicitur exercitui qui Carthagine erat et cibaria dierum aliquot parare iubentur. tribunis septem qui et antea Sucronem ad leniendam seditionem ierant obuiam exercitui missis quina nomina principum seditionis edita sunt, ut eos per idoneos homines benigno uultu ac sermone in hospitium inuitatos sopitosque uino uincirent. haud procul iam Carthagine aberant cum ex obuuiis auditum postero die omnem exercitum cum M. Silano in Lacetanos proficisci non metu modo omni qui tacitus insidebat animis liberauit eos, sed laetitiam ingentem fecit quod magis habituri solum imperatorem quam ipsi futuri in potestate eius essent. sub occasum solis urbem ingressi sunt exercitumque alterum parantem omnia ad iter uiderunt. excepti sermonibus de industria compositis — laetum opportunumque aduentum eorum imperatori esse quod sub ipsam profectionem alterius exercitus uenissent — corpora curant. ab tribunis sine ullo tumultu auctores seditionis per idoneos homines perducti in hospitia comprehensi ac uincti sunt. uigilia quarta impedimenta exercitus cuius simulabatur iter proficisci coepere: sub lucem signa mota, et ad portam retentum agmen custodesque circa omnes portas missi ne quis urbe egrederetur. uocati deinde ad contionem qui pridie uenerant, ferociter in forum ad tribunal imperatoris ut ultro territuri succlamationibus concurrunt. simul et imperator in tribunal escendit et reducti armati a portis inermi contioni se ab tergo circumfuderunt. tum omnis ferocia concidit et, ut postea fatebantur, nihil aequae eos terruit quam praeter spem robur et colos imperatoris, quem adfectum uisuros crediderant, uultusque qualem ne in acie quidem aiebant meminisse. sedit tacitus paulisper donec nuntiatum est deductos in forum auctores seditionis et parata omnia esse.

[27] Tum silentio per praeconem facto ita coepit: ‘nunquam mihi defuturam orationem qua exercitum meum adloquerer credidi, non quo uerba unquam potius quam res exercuerim, sed quia prope a pueritia in castris habitus adsueram militaribus ingeniis: apud uos

quemadmodum loquar nec consilium nec oratio suppeditat, quos ne quo nomine quidem appellare debeam scio. ciues? qui a patria uestra descistis. an milites? qui imperium auspiciumque abnuistis, sacramenti religionem rupistis. hostes? corpora, ora, uestitum, habitum ciuium adgnosco: facta, dicta, consilia, animos hostium uideo. quid enim uos, nisi quod Ilergetes et Lacetani, aut optastis aliud aut sperastis? et illi tamen Mandonium atque Indibilem, regiae nobilitatis uiros, duces furoris secuti sunt: uos auspicium et imperium ad Umbrum Atrium et Calenum Albium detulistis. negate uos id omnes fecisse aut factum uoluisse, milites; paucorum eum furorem atque amentiam esse libenter credam, negantibus; nec enim ea sunt commissa quae, uolgata in omnem exercitum, sine piaculis ingentibus expiari possint.

‘Inuitus ea tamquam uolnera attingo; sed nisi tacta tractataque sanari non possunt. equidem pulsus Hispania Carthaginensibus nullum locum tota prouincia nullos homines credebam esse ubi uita inuisa esset mea; sic me non solum aduersus socios gesseram sed etiam aduersus hostes: in castris en meis — quantum opinio fefellit. — fama mortis meae non accepta solum sed etiam expectata est. non quod ego uulgari facinus per omnes uelim — equidem si totum exercitum meum mortem mihi optasse crederem hic statim ante oculos uestros morerer, nec me uita iuuaret inuisa ciuibus et militibus meis. sed multitudo omnis sicut natura maris per se immobilis est, [et] uenti et aurae cient; ita aut tranquillum aut procellae in uobis sunt; et causa atque origo omnis furoris penes auctores est, uos contagione insanistis; qui mihi ne hodie quidem scire uidemini quo amentiae progressi sitis, quid facinoris in me, quid in patriam parentesque ac liberos uestros, quid in deos sacramenti testes, quid aduersus auspicia sub quibus militatis, quid aduersus morem militiae disciplinamque maiorum, quid aduersus summi imperii maiestatem ausi sitis.

‘De me ipso taceo — temere potius quam auide credideritis, is denique ego sim cuius imperii taedere exercitum minime mirandum sit — : patria quid de uobis meruerat, quam cum Mandonio et Indibili consociando consilia prodebatis? quid populus Romanus, cum imperium ablatum ab tribunis suffragio populi creatis ad homines priuatos detulistis, cum eo ipso non contenti si pro tribunis

illos haberetis, fasces imperatoris uestri ad eos quibus seruus cui imperarent nunquam fuerat, Romanus exercitus detulistis? in praetorio tetenderunt Albius et Atrius; classicum apud eos cecinit; signum ab iis petatum est; sederunt in tribunali P. Scipionis; lictor apparuit; summoto incesserunt; fasces cum securibus praelatis sunt. lapides pluere et fulmina iaci de caelo et insuetos fetus animalia edere uos portenta esse putatis: hoc est portentum quod nullis hostiis nullis supplicationibus sine sanguine eorum qui tantum ausi facinus sunt expiari possit.

[28] 'Atque ego, quamquam nullum scelus rationem habet, tamen, ut in re nefaria, quae mens, quod consilium uestrum fuerit scire uelim. Regium quondam in praesidium missa legio interfectis per scelus principibus ciuitatis urbem opulentam per decem annos tenuit, propter quod facinus tota legio, milia hominum quattuor, in foro Romae securi percussi sunt. sed illi primum non Atrium Umbrum semilixam, nominis etiam abominandi ducem, sed D. Uibellium tribunum militum secuti sunt, nec cum Pyrrho nec cum Samnitibus aut Lucanis, hostibus populi Romani, se coniunxerunt: uos cum Mandonio et Indibili et consilia communicastis et arma consociaturi fuistis. illi, sicut Campani Capuam Tuscis ueteribus cultoribus ademptam, Mamertini in Sicilia Messanam, sic Regium habituri perpetuam sedem erant, nec populum Romanum nec socios populi Romani ultro lacessituri bello: Sucronemne uos domicilium habituri eratis? ubi si uos decedens confecta prouincia imperator relinquerem, deum hominumque fidem implorare debebatis quod non redieritis ad coniuges liberosque uestros.

'Sed horum quoque memoriam, sicut patriae meique, eieceritis ex animis uestris: uiam consilii scelerati sed non ad ultimum dementis exsequi uolo; mene uiuo et cetero incolumi exercitu, cum quo ego die uno Carthaginem cepi, cum quo quattuor imperatores quattuor exercitus Carthaginensium fudi, fugauī, Hispania expuli, uos octo milia hominum, minoris certe omnes pretii quam Albius et Atrius sunt quibus uos subiecistis, Hispaniam prouinciam populo Romano erepturi eratis? amolior et amoueo nomen meum; nihil ultra facile creditam mortem meam a uobis uiolatus sim: quid? si ego morerer, mecum exspiratura res publica, mecum casurum imperium populi Romani erat? ne istuc Iuppiter optimus maximus sirit, urbem

auspicato dis auctoribus in aeternum conditam huic fragili et mortali corpori aequalem esse. Flaminio, Paulo, Graccho, Postumio Albino, M. Marcello, T. Quinctio Crispino, Cn. Fulvio, Scipionibus meis, tot tam praeclaris imperatoribus uno bello absumptis superstes est populus Romanus, eritque mille aliis nunc ferro nunc morbo morientibus: meo unius funere elata esset res publica? uos ipsi hic in Hispania patre et patruo meo duobus imperatoribus interfectis Septimum Marcium ducem uobis aduersus exsultantes recenti uictoria Poenos delegistis. et sic loquor tamquam sine duce Hispaniae futurae fuerint: M. Silanus eodem iure eodem imperio mecum in prouinciam missus, L. Scipio frater meus et C. Laelius legati, uindices maiestatis imperii deessent? utrum exercitus exercitui, an duces ducibus, an dignitas, an causa comparari poterat? quibus si omnibus superiores essetis, arma contra patriam contra ciues uestros ferretis? Africam Italiae, Carthaginem urbi Romanae imperare uelletis? quam ob noxam patriae?

[29] Coriolanum quondam damnatio iniusta, miserum et indignum exsilium ut iret ad oppugnandam patriam impulit; reuocauit tamen a publico parricidio priuata pietas: uos qui dolor, quae ira incitauit? stipendiumne diebus paucis imperatore aegro serius numeratum satis digna causa fuit cur patriae indiceretis bellum, cur ad Ilergetes descisceretis a populo Romano, cur nihil diuinarum humanarumue rerum inuiolatum uobis esset?

‘Insanistis profecto, milites, nec maior in corpus meum uis morbi quam in uestras mentes inuasit. horret animus referre quid crediderint homines, quid sperauerint, quid optauerint: auferat omnia inrita obliuio, si potest: si non, utcumque silentium tegat. non negauerim tristem atrocemque uobis uisam orationem meam: quanto creditis facta uestra atrociora esse quam dicta mea? et me ea quae fecistis pati aequum censetis: uos ne dici quidem omnia aequo animo fertis? sed ne ea quidem ipsa ultra exprobrabuntur. utinam tam facile uos obliuiscamini eorum quam ego obliuiscar. itaque quod ad uniuersos uos attinet, si erroris paenitet, satis superque poenarum habeo: Albius Calenus et Atrius Umber et ceteri nefariae seditionis auctores sanguine luent quod admiserunt. uobis supplicii eorum spectaculum non modo non acerbum sed laetum etiam, si sana mens rediit, debet esse; de nullis enim quam de uobis infestius aut inimicius

consuluerunt.’

Vix finem dicendi fecerat cum ex praeparato simul omnium rerum terror oculis auribusque est offusus. exercitus, qui corona contionem circumdederat, gladiis ad scuta concrepuit; praeconis audita uox citantis nomina damnatorum in consilio; nudi in medium protrahebantur et simul omnis apparatus supplicii expromebatur. deligati ad palum uirgisque caesi et securi percussi, adeo torpentibus metu qui aderant ut non modo ferocior uox aduersus atrocitatem poenae sed ne gemitus quidem exaudiretur. tracti inde de medio omnes, purgatoque loco citati milites nominatim apud tribunos militum in uerba P. Scipionis iurarunt stipendiumque ad nomen singulis persolutum est. hunc finem exitumque seditio militum coepta apud Sucronem habuit.

[30] Per idem tempus ad Baetim fluuium Hanno praefectus Magonis missus a Gadibus cum parua manu Afrorum, mercede Hispanos sollicitando ad quattuor milia iuuenum armauit. castris deinde exutus ab L. Marcio, maxima parte militum inter tumultum captorum castrorum, quibusdam etiam in fuga amissis, palatos persequente equite, cum paucis ipse effugit.

Dum haec ad Baetim fluuium geruntur, Laelius interim freto in Oceanum euectus ad Carteiam classe accessit. urbs ea in ora Oceani sita est, ubi primum e faucibus angustis panditur mare. Gades sine certamine per prodicionem recipiendi, ultro qui eam rem pollicerentur in castra Romana uenientibus, spes, sicut ante dictum est, fuerat. sed patefacta immatura proditio est, comprehensosque omnes Mago Adherbali praetori Carthaginem deuehendos tradit. Adherbal coniuratis in quinqueremem impositis praemissaque ea, quia tardior quam triremis erat, ipse cum octo triremibus modico interuallo sequitur. iam fretum intrabat quinquere mis cum Laelius et ipse in quinquere mi ex portu Carteiae sequentibus septem triremibus euectus in Adherbalem ac triremes inuehitur, quinquere mem satis credens deprensam rapido in freto in aduersum aestum reciprocari non posse. Poenus in re subita parumper incertus trepidauit utrum quinquere mem sequeretur an in hostes rostra conuerteret. ipsa cunctatio facultatem detractandae pugnae ademit; iam enim sub ictu teli erant et undique instabant hostes. aestus quoque arbitrium moderandi naues ademerat; neque erat nauali pugna similis, quippe

ubi nihil uoluntarium, nihil artis aut consilii esset. una natura freti aestusque totius certaminis potens suis, alienis nauibus nequiquam remigio in contrarium tendentes inuehebat; et fugientem nauem uideres, uertice retro intortam uictoribus inlatam, et sequentem, si in contrarium tractum incidisset maris, fugientis modo sese auertentem. iam in ipsa pugna haec cum infesta rostro peteret hostium nauem, obliqua ipsa ictum alterius rostri accipiebat: illa cum transversa obiceretur hosti, repente intorta in proram circumagebatur. cum inter triremes fortuna regente anceps proelium misceretur, quinquereimis Romana seu pondere tenacior seu pluribus remorum ordinibus scindentibus uertices cum facilius regeretur, duas triremes suppressit, unius, praelata impetu, lateris alterius remos detersit; ceterasque quas indepta esset mulcasset, ni cum reliquis quinque nauibus Adherbal uelis in Africam transmisisset.

[31] Laelius uictor Carteiam reuectus. auditis quae acta Gadibus erant — patefactam prodicionem coniuratosque missos Carthaginem, spem ad inritum redactam qua uenissent — nuntiis ad L. Marcium missis nisi si terere frustra tempus sedendo ad Gades uellent redeundum ad imperatorem esse, adsentiente Marcio paucos post dies ambo Carthaginem rediere. ad quorum discessum non respirauit modo Mago cum terra marique ancipiti metu urgeretur, sed etiam audita rebellione Ilergetum spem reciperae Hispaniae nactus nuntios Carthaginem ad senatum mittit qui simul seditionem ciuilem in castris Romanis simul defectionem sociorum in maius uerbis extollentes hortentur ut auxilia mitterent quibus traditum a patribus imperium Hispaniae repeti posset. Mandonius et Indibilis in fines regressi paulisper dum quidnam de seditione statueretur scirent suspensi quieuerunt, si ciuium errori ignosceretur non diffidentes sibi quoque ignosci posse. postquam uolgata est atrocitas supplicii suam quoque noxam pari poena aestimatam rati, uocatis rursus ad arma popularibus contractisque quae ante habuerant auxiliis, in Sedetanum agrum, ubi principio defectionis statua habuerant, cum uiginti milibus peditum duobus milibus equitum et quingentis transcenderunt.

[32] Scipio cum fide soluendi pariter omnibus noxiis innoxiiisque stipendii tum uoltu ac sermone in omnes placato facile reconciliatis militum animis, priusquam castra ab Carthagine moueret contione

aduocata multis uerbis in perfidiam rebellantium regulorum inuectus, nequaquam eodem animo se ire professus est ad uindicandum id scelus quo ciuilem errorem nuper sanauerit. tum se haud secus quam uiscera secantem sua cum gemitu et lacrimis triginta hominum capitibus expiasse octo milium seu imprudentiam seu noxam: nunc laeto et erecto animo ad caedem Ilergetum ire. non enim eos neque natos in eadem terra nec ulla secum societate iunctos esse; eam quae sola fuerit fidei atque amicitiae ipsos per scelus rupisse. in exercitu suo se, praeterquam quod omnes ciues aut socios Latinique nominis uideat, etiam eo moueri quod nemo fere sit miles qui non aut a patruo suo Cn. Scipione, qui primus Romani nominis in eam prouinciam uenerit, aut a patre consule aut a se sit ex Italia aduectus. Scipionum nomini auspiciisque omnes adsuetos, quos secum in patriam ad meritum triumphum deducere uelit, quos consulatum petenti uelut si omnium communis agatur honos adfuturos speret.

Quod ad expeditionem attineat quae instet, immemorem esse rerum suarum gestarum qui id bellum ducat. Magonis hercule sibi qui extra orbem terrarum in circumfusam Oceano insulam cum paucis perfugerit nauibus maiorem curam esse quam Ilergetum; quippe illic et ducem Carthaginiensem et quantumcumque Punicum praesidium esse, hic latrones latronumque duces, quibus ut ad populandos finitimorum agros tectaque urenda et rapienda pecora aliqua uis sit, ita in acie ac signis conlatis nullam esse; magis uelocitate ad fugam quam armis fretos pugnatuos esse. itaque non quod ullum inde periculum aut semen maioris belli uideat, ideo se priusquam prouincia decedat opprimendos Ilergetes duxisse, sed primum ne impunita tam scelerata defectio esset, deinde ne quis in prouincia simul uirtute tanta et felicitate perdomita relictus hostis dici posset. proinde dis bene iuuantibus sequerentur, non tam ad bellum gerendum — neque enim cum pari hoste certamen esse — quam ad expetendas ab hominibus scelestis poenas.

[33] Ab hac oratione dimissos ad iter se comparare in diem posterum iubet profectusque decimis castris peruenit ad Hiberum flumen. inde superato amni die quarto in conspectu hostium posuit castra. campus ante montibus circa saeptus erat. in eam uallem Scipio cum pecora rapta pleraque ex ipsorum hostium agris propelli ad inritandam feritatem barbarorum iussisset, uelites subsidio misit, a

quibus ubi per procursationem commissa pugna esset Laelium cum equitatu impetum ex occulto facere iubet. mons opportune prominens equitum insidias texit nec ulla mora pugnae facta est. Hispani in conspecta procul pecora, uelites in Hispanos praeda occupatos incurrere. primo missilibus territauere; deinde missis leuibus telis, quae inritare magis quam decernere pugnam poterant, gladios nudant et conlato pede res coepta geri est; ancepsque pedestre certamen erat ni equites superuenissent. neque ex aduerso tantum inlati obuios obtriuere, sed circumuecti etiam quidam per infima cliui ab tergo se ut plerosque intercluderent obiecerunt, maiorque caedes fuit quam quantam edere leuia per excursions proelia solent.

Ira magis accensa aduerso proelio barbaris est quam imminuti animi. itaque ne perculsi uiderentur prima luce postero die in aciem processere. non capiebat omnes copias angusta, sicut ante dictum est, ualles; duae ferme peditum partes omnis equitatus in aciem descendit: quod reliquum peditum erat obliquo constituerunt colle. Scipio pro se esse loci angustias ratus et quod in arto pugna Romano aptior quam Hispano militi futura uidebatur et quod in eum locum detracta hostium acies esset qui non omnem multitudinem eorum caperet, nouo etiam consilio adiecit animum; equitem nec se posse circumdare cornibus in tam angusto spatio, et hosti, quem cum pedite deduxisset inutilem fore. itaque imperat Laelio ut per colles quam occultissimo itinere circumducat equites segregetque quantum possit equestrem a pedestri pugnam: ipse omnia signa peditum in hostes uertit; quattuor cohortes in fronte statuit quia latius pandere aciem non poterat. moram pugnandi nullam fecit ut ipso certamine auerteret ab conspectu transeuntium per colles equitum; neque ante circumductos sentire quam tumultum equestris pugnae ab tergo accepere. ita duo diuersa proelia erant; duae peditum acies, duo equitatus per longitudinem campi, quia misceri ex genere utroque proelium angustiae non patiebantur, pugnabant. Hispanorum cum neque pedes equiti neque eques pediti auxilio esset, pedes fiducia equitis temere commissus campo caederetur, eques circumuentus nec peditem a fronte — iam enim stratae pedestres copiae erant — nec ab tergo equitem sustineret, et ipsi cum diu in orbem sese stantibus equis defendissent ad unum omnes caesi sunt, nec quisquam peditum equitumue superfuit qui in ualle pugnauerunt. tertia pars, quae in

colle ad spectaculum magis tutum quam ad partem pugnae capessendam steterat, et locum et tempus ad fugiendum habuit. inter eos et reguli ipsi fugerunt priusquam tota circumueniretur acies inter tumultum elapsi.

[34] Castra eodem die Hispanorum, praeter ceteram praedam, cum tribus ferme milibus hominum capiuntur. Romani sociique ad mille et ducenti in eo proelio ceciderunt; uulnerata amplius tria milia hominum. minus cruenta uictoria fuisset si patientiore campo et ad fugam capessendam facili foret pugnatum.

Indibilis abiectis belli consiliis nihil tutius in afflictis rebus experta fide et clementia Scipionis ratus, Mandonium fratrem ad eum mittit; qui aduolutus genibus fatalem rabiem temporis eius accusat cum uelut contagione quadam pestifera non Ilergetes modo et Lacetani sed castra quoque Romana insanierint. suam quidem et fratris et reliquorum popularium eam condicionem esse ut aut, si ita uideatur, reddant spiritum P. Scipioni ab eodem illo acceptum, aut seruati bis uni debitam uitam pro eo in perpetuum deuoueant. antea in causa sua fiduciam sibi fuisse nondum experta clementia eius: nunc contra nullam in causa, omnem in misericordia uictoris spem positam habere. mos uetustus erat Romanis, cum quo nec foedere nec aequis legibus iungeretur amicitia, non prius imperio in eum tamquam pacatum uti quam omnia diuina humanaque dedidisset, obsides accepti, arma adempta, praesidia urbibus imposita forent. Scipio multis inuectus in praesentem Mandonium absentemque Indibilem uerbis, illos quidem merito perisse ipsorum maleficio ait, uicturos suo atque populi Romani beneficio. ceterum se neque arma iis adempturum <neque obsides imperaturum> — quippe ea pignera timentium rebellionem esse: se libera arma relinquere, solutos animos — neque [se] in obsides innoxios sed in ipsos, si defecerint, saeuiturum, nec ab inermi sed ab armato hoste poenas expetiturum. utramque fortunam expertis permittere sese utrum propitios an iratos habere Romanos mallent. ita dimissus Mandonius pecunia tantummodo imperata ex qua stipendium militi praestari posset. ipse Marcio in ulteriorem Hispaniam praemisso, Silano Tarraconem remisso paucos moratus dies dum imperatam pecuniam Ilergetes pernumerarent, cum expeditis Marcium iam adpropinquantem Oceano adsequitur.

[35] Incohata res iam ante de Masinissa aliis atque aliis de causis dilata erat, quod Numida cum ipso utique congredi Scipione uolebat atque eius dextra fidem sancire; ea tum itineris tam longi ac tam deuui causa Scipioni fuit. Masinissa cum Gadibus esset, certior aduentare eum a Marcio factus, causando corrumpi equos inclusos in insula penuriamque omnium rerum et facere ceteris et ipsos sentire, ad hoc equitem marcescere desidia, <Magonem> perpulit ut se traicere in continentem ad depopulandos proximos Hispaniae agros pateretur. transgressus tres principes Numidarum praemittit ad tempus locumque conloquio statuendum. duos pro obsidibus retineri ab Scipione iubet: remisso tertio qui quo iussus erat adduceret Masinissam, cum paucis in conloquium uenerunt. ceperat iam ante Numidam ex fama rerum gestarum admiratio uiri, substitueratque animo speciem quoque corporis amplam ac magnificam; ceterum maior praesentis ueneratio cepit, et praeterquam quod suapte natura multa maiestas inerat, adornabat promissa caesaries habitusque corporis non cultus munditiis sed uirilis uere ac militaris, et aetas erat in medio uirium robore, quod plenius nitidiusque ex morbo uelut renouatus flos iuuentae faciebat.

Prope attonitus ipso congressu Numida gratias de fratris filio remisso agit. ex eo tempore adfirmat eam se quaesisse occasionem quam tandem oblatam deum immortalium beneficio non omiserit. cupere se illi populoque Romano operam nauare ita ut nemo unus externus magis enixe adiuuerit rem Romanam. id se, etiamsi iam pridem uellet, minus praestare in Hispania terra aliena atque ignota potuisse; in qua autem genitus educatusque in spem paterni regni esset, facile praestaturum. si quidem eundem Scipionem ducem in Africam Romani mittant, satis sperare perbreuis aevi Carthaginem esse. laetus eum Scipio uidit audiuitque cum caput rerum in omni hostium equitatu Masinissam fuisse sciret, et ipse iuuenis specimen animi prae se ferret. fide data acceptaque profectus retro Tarraconem est. Masinissa permissu Romanorum ne sine causa traiecisse in continentem uideretur populatus proximos agros, Gades rediit.

[36] Magoni desperatis in Hispania rebus, in quarum spem seditio primum militaris, deinde defectio Indibilis animos eius sustulerant, paranti traicere in Africam nuntiatum ab Carthagine est iubere senatum ut classem quam Gadibus haberet in Italiam traiceret;

conducta ibi Gallorum ac Ligurum quanta maxima posset iuuentute coniungeret se Hannibali neu senescere bellum maximo impetu maiore fortuna coeptum sineret. ad eam rem et a Carthagine pecunia Magoni aduecta est, et ipse quantam potuit a Gaditanis exegit, non aerario modo eorum sed etiam templis spoliatis et priuatim omnibus coactis aurum argentumque in publicum conferre.

Cum praeterueheretur Hispaniae oram, haud procul Carthagine Noua expositis in terram militibus proximos depopulatur agros; inde ad urbem classem adpulit. ibi cum interdiu milites in nauibus tenuisset, nocte in litus expositos ad partem eam muri qua capta Carthago ab Romanis fuerat ducit, nec praesidio satis ualido urbem teneri ratus et aliquos oppidanorum ad spem nouandi res aliquid moturos. ceterum nuntii ex agris trepidi simul populationem agrestiumque fugam et hostium aduentum attulerant, et uisa interdiu classis erat, nec sine causa electam ante urbem stationem apparebat; itaque instructi armatique intra portam ad stagnum ac mare uersam continebantur. ubi effusi hostes, mixta inter milites naualis turba, ad muros tumultu maiore quam ui subierunt, patefacta repente porta Romani cum clamore erumpunt, turbatosque hostes et ad primum incursum coniectumque telorum auersos usque ad litus cum multa caede persequuntur; nec nisi naues litori adpulsae trepidos acceperant superfuisset fugae aut pugnae quisquam. in ipsis quoque trepidatum nauibus est dum ne hostes cum suis simul inrumperent trahunt scalas, orasque et ancoras ne in moliendo mora esset praecidunt; multique adnantes nauibus, incerto prae tenebris quid aut peterent aut uitarent, foede interierunt. postero die cum classis inde retro ad Oceanum unde uenerat fugisset, ad octingenti homines caesi inter murum litusque et ad duo milia armorum inuenta.

[37] Mago cum Gades repetisset, exclusus inde ad Cimbios — haud procul a Gadibus is locus abest — classe adpulsa, mittendis legatis querendoque quod portae sibi socio atque amico clausae forent, purgantibus iis multitudinis concursu factum infestae ob directa quaedam ab conscendentibus naues militibus, ad conloquium sufetes eorum, qui summus Poenis est magistratus, cum quaestore elicit, laceratosque uerberibus cruci adfigi iussit. inde nauibus ad Pityusam insulam centum milia ferme a continenti — Poeni tum eam incolebant — traiecit. itaque classis bona cum pace accepta est, nec

commeatus modo benigne praebiti sed in supplementum classis iuuentus armaque data; quorum fiducia Poenus in Baliares insulas — quinquaginta inde milia absunt — tramisit.

Duae sunt Baliares insulae, maior altera atque opulentior armis uirisque; et portum habet, ubi commode hibernaturum se — et iam extremum autumnus erat — censebat. ceterum haud secus quam si Romani eam insulam incolerent hostiliter classi occursum est. fundis ut nunc plurimum, ita tum solo eo telo utebantur, nec quisquam alterius gentis unus tantum ea arte quantum inter omnes alios Baliares excellunt. itaque tanta uis lapidum creberrimae grandinis modo in propinquantem iam terrae classem effusa est ut intrare portum non ausi auerterent in altum naues. in minorem inde Baliarium insulam traiecerunt, fertilem agro, uiris armis haud aequae ualidam. itaque egressi nauibus super portum loco munito castra locant; ac sine certamine urbe agroque potiti, duobus milibus auxilium inde conscriptis missisque Carthaginem, ad hibernandum naues subduxerunt. post Magonis ab Oceani ora discessum Gaditani Romanis deduntur.

[38] Haec in Hispania P. Scipionis ductu auspicioque gesta. ipse L. Lentulo et L. Manlio Acidino propraetoribus prouincia tradita decem nauibus Romam rediit, et senatu extra urbem dato in aede Bellonae quas res in Hispania gessisset disseruit, quotiens signis conlatis dimicasset, quot oppida ex hostibus ui cepisset, quas gentes in dicionem populi Romani redeget; aduersus quattuor se imperatores, quattuor uictores exercitus in Hispaniam isse; neminem Carthaginensem in iis terris reliquisse. ob has res gestas magis temptata est triumphus spes quam petita pertinaciter, quia neminem ad eam diem triumphasse qui sine magistratu res gessisset constabat. senatu misso urbem est ingressus, argenteque prae se in aerarium tulit quattuordecim milia pondo trecenta quadraginta duo et signati argenti magnum numerum. comitia inde creandis consulibus habuit L. Ueturius Philo, centuriaeque omnes ingenti fauore P. Cornelium Scipionem consulem dixerunt; collega additur ei P. Licinius Crassus pontifex maximus. ceterum comitia maiore quam ulla per id bellum celebrata frequentia proditum memoriae est. conuenerant undique non suffragandi modo sed etiam spectandi causa P. Scipionis, concurrebantque et domum frequentes et in Capitolium ad

immolantem eum cum centum bubus uotis in Hispania Ioui sacrificaret; spondebantque animis, sicut C. Lutatius superius bellum Punicum finisset, ita id quod instaret P. Cornelium finiturum, atque uti Hispania omni Poenos expulisset, sic Italia pulsura esse; Africamque ei perinde ac debellatum in Italia foret prouinciam destinabant. praetoria inde comitia habita. creati duo qui tum aediles plebis erant, Sp. Lucretius et Cn. Octavius, et ex priuatis Cn. Seruilius Caepio et L. Aemilius Papus.

Quarto decimo anno Punici belli P. Cornelius Scipio et P. Licinius Crassus ut consulatum inierunt, nominatae consulibus prouinciae sunt, Sicilia Scipioni extra sortem, concedente collega quia cura sacrorum pontificem maximum in Italia retinebat, Bruttii Crasso. tum praetoriae prouinciae in sortem coniectae. urbana Cn. Seruilio obtigit, Ariminum — ita Galliam appellabant — Sp. Lucretio, Sicilia L. Aemilio, Cn. Octauius Sardinia.

Senatus in Capitolio habitus. ibi referente P. Scipione senatus consultum factum est ut quos ludos inter seditionem militarem in Hispania uouisset, ex ea pecunia quam ipse in aerarium detulisset faceret.

[39] Tum Saguntinorum legatos in senatum introduxit. ex eis maximus natu: 'etsi nihil ultra malorum est, patres conscripti, quam quod passi sumus ut ad ultimum fidem uobis praestaremus, tamen ea uestra merita imperatorumque uestrorum erga nos fuerunt ut nos cladumstrarum non paeniteat. bellum propter nos suscepistis; susceptum quartum decimum annum tam pertinaciter geritis ut saepe ad ultimum discrimen et ipsi ueneritis et populum Carthaginiensem adduxeritis. cum in Italia tam atrox bellum et Hannibalem hostem haberetis, consulem cum exercitu in Hispaniam uelut ad conciliandas reliquias naufragii nostri misistis. P. et Cn. Cornelii ex quo in prouinciam uenerunt nullo tempore destiterunt quae nobis secunda quaeque aduersa hostibus nostris essent facere. iam omnium primum oppidum nobis restituerunt; per omnem Hispaniam ciues nostros uenum datos, dimissis qui conquirerent, ex seruitute in libertatem restituerunt. cum iam prope esset ut optabilem ex miserrima fortunam haberemus, P. et Cn. Cornelii imperatores uestri luctuosius nobis prope quam uobis perierunt.

'Tum uero ad hoc retracti ex distantibus locis in sedem antiquam

uidebamur ut iterum periremus et alterum excidium patriae uideremus — nec ad perniciem nostram Carthaginensi utique aut duce aut exercitu opus esse: ab Turdulis nos ueterrimis hostibus, qui prioris quoque excidii causa nobis fuerant, exstingui posse — cum ex insperato repente misistis nobis hunc P. Scipionem, quem fortunatissimi omnium Saguntinorum uidemur quia consulem declaratum uidemus ac uidisse nos ciuibus nostris renuntiaturi sumus, spem, opem, salutem nostram; qui cum plurimas hostium uestrorum cepisset in Hispania urbes, ubique ex captorum numero excretos Saguntinos in patriam remisit; postremo Turdetaniam, adeo infestam nobis ut illa gente incolumi stare Saguntum non posset, ita bello adflixit ut non modo nobis sed — absit uerbo inuidia — ne posteris quidem timenda nostris esset. deletam urbem cernimus eorum quorum in gratiam Saguntum deleuerat Hannibal; uestigal ex agro eorum capimus quod nobis non fructu iucundius est quam ultione. ob haec, quibus maiora nec sperare nec optare ab dis immortalibus poteramus, gratias actum nos decem legatos Saguntinus senatus populusque ad uos misit; simul gratulatum quod ita res hos annos in Hispania atque Italia gessistis ut Hispaniam non Hiberno amne tenus sed qua terrarum ultimas finit Oceanus domitam armis habeatis, Italiae nisi quatenus uallum castrorum cingit nihil reliqueritis Poeno. Ioui optimo maximo, praesidi Capitoline arcis, non grates tantum ob haec agere iussi sumus sed donum hoc etiam, si uos permetteretis, coronam auream in Capitolium uictoriae ergo ferre. id uti permittatis quaesumus, utique, si uobis ita uidetur, quae nobis imperatores uestri commoda tribuerunt, ea rata atque perpetua auctoritate uestra faciatis.’

Senatus legatis Saguntinis respondit et dirutum et restitutum Saguntum fidei socialis utrimque seruatae documentum omnibus gentibus fore; suos imperatores recte et ordine et ex uoluntate senatus fecisse quod Saguntum restituerint ciuesque Saguntinos seruitio exemerint; quaeque alia eis benigne fecerint, ea senatum ita uoluisse fieri; donum permittere ut in Capitolio ponerent. locus inde lautiaque legatis praeberi iussa et muneris ergo in singulos dari ne minus dena milia aeris. legationes deinde ceterae in senatum introductae auditaque; et petentibus Saguntinis ut quatenus tuto possent Italiam spectatum irent, duces dati litteraeque per oppida missae ut Hispanos

comiter acciperent. tum de re publica, de exercitibus scribendis, de prouinciis relatum.

[40] Cum Africam nouam prouinciam extra sortem P. Scipioni destinari homines fama ferrent, et ipse nulla iam modica gloria contentus non ad gerendum modo bellum sed ad finiendum diceret se consulem declaratum, neque id aliter fieri posse quam si ipse in Africam exercitum transportasset, et acturum se id per populum aperte ferret si senatus aduersaretur, — id consilium haudquaquam primoribus patrum cum placeret, ceteri per metum aut ambitionem mussarent, Q. Fabius Maximus rogatus sententiam: ‘scio multis uestrum uideri, patres conscripti, rem actam hodierno die agi et frustra habiturum orationem qui tamquam de integra re de Africa prouincia sententiam dixerit. ego autem primum illud ignoro quemadmodum iam certa prouincia Africa consulis, uiri fortis ac strenui, sit, quam nec senatus censuit in hunc annum prouinciam esse nec populus iussit. deinde, si est, consulem peccare arbitror qui de re transacta simulando se referre senatum ludibrio habet, non senatorem qui de quo consulitur suo loco dicit sententiam. atque ego certum habeo dissentienti mihi ab ista festinatione in Africam traiciendi duarum rerum subeundam opinionem esse, unius, insitae ingenio meo cunctationis, quam metum pigritiamque homines adulescentes sane appellent, dum ne paeniteat adhuc aliorum speciosiora primo adspectu consilia semper uisa, mea usu meliora; alterius, obtractationis atque inuidiae aduersus crescentem in dies gloriam fortissimi consulis. a qua suspicione si me neque uita acta et mores mei neque dictatura cum quinque consulatibus tantumque gloriae belli domique partae uindicat ut propius fastidium eius sim quam desiderium, aetas saltem liberet. quae enim mihi aemulatio cum eo esse potest qui ne filio quidem meo aequalis sit? me dictatorem cum uigerem adhuc uiribus et in cursu maximarum rerum essem recusantem nemo aut in senatu aut apud populum audiuit quo minus insectanti me magistro equitum, quod fando nunquam ante auditum erat, imperium mecum aequaretur; rebus quam uerbis adsequi malui ut qui aliquorum iudicio mihi comparatus erat sua mox confessione me sibi praeferret; nedum ego perfunctus honoribus certamina mihi atque aemulationem cum adulescente florentissimo proponam; uidelicet ut mihi iam uiuendo non solum rebus gerendis fesso, si huic

negata fuerit, Africa prouincia decernatur. cum ea gloria quae parta est uiuendum atque moriendum est. uincere ego prohibui Hannibalem ut a uobis quorum uigent nunc uires etiam uinci posset.

[41] ‘Illud te mihi ignoscere, P. Corneli, aequum erit, si cum in me ipso nunquam pluris famam hominum quam rem publicam fecerim, ne tuam quidem gloriam bono publico praeponam. quamquam si aut bellum nullum in Italia aut is hostis esset ex quo uicto nihil gloriae quaereretur, qui te in Italia retineret, etsi id bono publico faceret, simul cum bello materiam gloriae tuae isse ereptum uideri posset. cum uero Hannibal hostis incolumi exercitu quartum decimum annum Italiam obsideat, paenitebit te, P. Corneli, gloriae tuae si hostem eum qui tot funerum tot cladum nobis causa fuit tu consul Italia expuleris et, sicut penes C. Lutatium prioris Punici perpetrati belli titulus fuit, ita penes te huius fuerit? nisi aut Hamilcar Hannibali dux est praefendus aut illud bellum huic, aut uictoria illa maior clariorque quam haec — modo contingat ut te consule uincamus — futura est? a Drepanis aut Eryce detraxisse Hamilcarem quam Italia expulisse Poenos atque Hannibalem malis? ne tu quidem, etsi magis partam quam speratam gloriam amplecteris, Hispania potius quam Italia bello liberata gloriatus fueris.

‘Nondum is est Hannibal, quem non magis timuisse uideatur quam contempsisse qui aliud bellum maluerit. quin igitur ad hoc accingeris nec per istos circuitus, ut cum in Africam traieceris secuturum te illuc Hannibalem speres, potius quam recto hinc itinere, ubi Hannibal est, eo bellum intendis? egregiam istam palmam belli Punici patrati petis? hoc et natura prius est, tua cum defenderis aliena ire oppugnatum. pax ante in Italia quam bellum in Africa sit, et nobis prius decedat timor quam ultro aliis inferatur. si utrumque tuo ductu auspicioque fieri potest, Hannibale hic uicto, illic Carthaginem expugna: si alterautra uictoria nouis consulibus relinquenda est, prior cum maior clariorque tum causa etiam insequentis fuerit. nam nunc quidem, praeterquam quod et in Italia et in Africa duos diuersos exercitus alere aerarium non potest, praeterquam quod unde classes tueamur unde com meatibus sufficiamus praebendis nihil reliqui est, quid? periculi tandem quantum adeatur quem fallit? P. Licinius in Italia, P. Scipio bellum in Africa geret. quid? si — quod omnes di omen auertant et dicere etiam reformidat animus, sed quae acciderunt

accidere possunt — uictor Hannibal ire ad urbem perget, tum demum te consulem ex Africa, sicut Q. Fuluium a Capua, arcessemus? quid? quod in Africa quoque Mars communis belli erit? domus tibi tua, pater patruusque intra triginta dies cum exercitibus caesi documento sint, ubi per aliquot annos maximis rebus terra marique gerendis amplissimum nomen apud exteras gentes populi Romani uestraeque familiae fecerant. dies me deficiat si reges imperatoresque temere in hostium terram transgressos cum maximis cladibus suis exercituumque suorum enumerare uelim. Athenienses, prudentissima ciuitas, bello domi relicto, auctore aeque impigro ac nobili iuvene, magna classe in Siciliam tramissa, una pugna nauali florentem rem publicam suam in perpetuum adflixerunt.

[42] ‘Externa et nimis antiqua repeto. Africa eadem ista et M. Atilius, insigne utriusque fortunae exemplum, nobis documento sint. ne tibi, P. Corneli, cum ex alto Africam conspexeris, ludus et iocus fuisse Hispaniae tuae uidebuntur. quid enim simile? pacato mari praeter oram Italiae Galliaeque uectus Emporias in urbem sociorum classem adpulisti; expositos milites per tutissima omnia ad socios et amicos populi Romani Tarraconem duxisti; ab Tarracone deinde iter per praesidia Romana; circa Hiberum exercitus patris patruique tui post amissos imperatores ferociores calamitate ipsa facti, et dux tumultuarius quidem ille L. Marcius et militari suffragio ad tempus lectus, ceterum si nobilitas ac iusti honores adornarent, claris imperatoribus qualibet arte belli par; oppugnata per summum otium Carthago nullo trium Punicorum exercituum socios defendente; cetera — neque ea eleuo — nullo tamen modo Africo bello comparanda, ubi non portus ullus classi nostrae apertus, non ager pacatus, non ciuitas socia, non rex amicus, non consistendi usquam locus, non procedendi; quacumque circumspexeris hostilia omnia atque infesta.

‘An Syphaci Numidisque credis? satis sit semel creditum; non semper temeritas est felix, et fraus fidem in paruīs sibi praestruit ut, cum operae pretium sit, cum mercede magna fallat. non hostis patrem patruumque tuum armis prius quam Celtiberi socii fraude circumuenerunt; nec tibi ipsi a Magone et Hasdrubale hostium ducibus quantum ab Indibili et Mandonio in fidem acceptis periculi fuit. Numidis tu credere potes, defectionem militum tuorum

expertus? et Syphax et Masinissa se quam Carthaginienses malunt potentissimos in Africa esse, Carthaginienses quam quemquam alium. nunc illos aemulatio inter sese et omnes causae certaminum acuunt quia procul externus metus est: ostende Romana arma et exercitum alienigenam; iam uelut ad commune restinguendum incendium concurrent. aliter iidem illi Carthaginienses Hispaniam defenderunt, aliter moenia patriae, templa deum, aras et focos defendent cum euntes in proelium pauida prosequetur coniunx et parui liberi occursabunt.

‘Quid porro, si satis confisi Carthaginienses consensu Africae, fide sociorum regum, moenibus suis, cum tuo exercitusque tui praesidio nudatam Italiam uiderint, ultro ipsi nouum exercitum in Italiam aut ex Africa miserint, aut Magonem, quem a Baliaribus classe transmissa iam praeter oram Ligurum Alpinorum uectari constat, Hannibali se coniungere iusserint? nempe in eodem terrore erimus in quo nuper fuimus cum Hasdrubal in Italiam transcendit, quem tu, qui non solum Carthaginem sed omnem Africam exercitu tuo es clausurus, e manibus tuis in Italiam emisisti. uictum a te dices; eo quidem minus uellem — et id tua non rei publicae solum causa — iter datum uicto in Italiam esse. patere nos omnia quae prospera tibi ac populi Romani imperio euenere tuo consilio adsignare, aduersa casibus incertis belli et fortunae relegare: quo melior fortiorque es, eo magis talem praesidem sibi patria tua atque uniuersa Italia retinet. non potes ne ipse quidem dissimulare, ubi Hannibal sit, ibi caput atque arcem huius belli esse, quippe qui prae te feras eam tibi causam traiciendi in Africam esse ut Hannibalem eo trahas. siue igitur hic siue illic, cum Hannibale est tibi futura res.

‘Utrum tandem ergo firmior eris in Africa solus an hic tuo collegaeque exercitu coniuncto? ne Claudius quidem et Liuius consules tam recenti exemplo quantum id intersit documento sunt? quid? Hannibalem utrum tandem extremus angulus agri Bruttii, frustra iam diu poscentem ab domo auxilia, an propinqua Carthago et tota socia Africa potentiolem armis uirisque faciet? quod istud consilium est, ibi malle decernere ubi tuae dimidio minores copiae sint, hostium multo maiores, quam ubi duobus exercitibus aduersus unum tot proeliis et tam diuturna ac graui militia fessum pugnandum sit? quam compar consilium tuum parentis tui consilio sit reputa. ille

consul profectus in Hispaniam, ut Hannibali ab Alpibus descendenti occurreret in Italiam ex prouincia rediit: tu cum Hannibal in Italia sit relinquere Italiam paras, non quia rei publicae utile sed quia tibi id amplum et gloriosum censes esse — sicut cum prouincia et exercitu relicto sine lege sine senatus consulto duabus nauibus populi Romani imperator fortunam publicam et maiestatem imperii, quae tum in tuo capite periclitabantur, commisisti. ego, patres conscripti, P. Cornelium rei publicae nobisque, non sibi ipsi priuatim creatum consulem existimo, exercitusque ad custodiam urbis atque Italiae scriptos esse, non quos regio more per superbiam consules quo terrarum uelint traiciant.’

[43] Cum oratione ad tempus parata Fabius, tum auctoritate et inueteratae prudentiae fama magnam partem senatus et seniores maxime <cum> mouisset, pluresque consilium senis quam animum adulescentia ferocem laudarent, Scipio ita locutus fertur: ‘et ipse Q. Fabius principio orationis, patres conscripti, commemorauit in sententia sua posse obtractationem suspectam esse; cuius ego rei non tam ipse ausim tantum uirum insimulare quam ea suspicio, uitio orationis an rei, haud sane purgata est. sic enim honores suos et famam rerum gestarum extulit uerbis ad exstinguendum inuidiae crimen tamquam mihi ab infimo quoque periculum sit ne mecum aemuletur, et non ab eo qui, quia super ceteros excellat, quo me quoque niti non dissimulo, me sibi aequari nolit. sic senem se perfunctumque et me infra aetatem filii etiam sui posuit tamquam non longius quam quantum uitae humanae spatium est cupiditas gloriae extendatur maximaque pars eius in memoriam ac posteritatem promineat. maximo cuique id accidere animo certum habeo ut se non cum praesentibus modo sed cum omnis aevi claris uiris comparent. equidem haud dissimulo me tuas, Q. Fabi, laudes non adsequi solum uelle sed — bona uenia tua dixerim — , si possim, etiam exsuperare. illud nec tibi in me nec mihi in minoribus natu animi sit ut nolimus quemquam nostri similem euadere ciuem; id enim non eorum modo quibus inuiderimus sed rei publicae et paene omnis generis humani detrimentum est.

‘Commemorauit quantum essem periculi aditurus si in Africam traicerem, ut meam quoque, non solum rei publicae et exercitus uicem uideretur sollicitus. unde haec repente cura de me exorta? cum

pater patruusque meus interfecti, cum duo exercitus eorum prope occidione occisi essent, cum amissae Hispaniae, cum quattuor exercitus Poenorum quattuorque duces omnia metu armisque tenerent, cum quaesitus ad id bellum imperator nemo se ostenderet praeter me, nemo profiteri nomen ausus esset, cum mihi quattuor et uiginti annos nato detulisset imperium populus Romanus, quid ita tum nemo aetatem meam, uim hostium, difficultatem belli, patris patruique recentem cladem commemorabat? utrum maior aliqua nunc in Africa calamitas accepta est quam tunc in Hispania erat? an maiores nunc sunt exercitus in Africa et duces plures melioresque quam tunc in Hispania fuerunt? an aetas mea tunc maturior bello gerendo fuit quam nunc est? an cum Carthaginensi hoste in Hispania quam in Africa bellum geri aptius est? facile est post fusos fugatosque quattuor exercitus Punicos, post tot urbes ui captas aut metu subactas in dicionem, post perdomita omnia usque ad Oceanum, tot regulos, tot saeuas gentes, post receptam totam Hispaniam ita ut uestigium belli nullum reliquum sit, eleuare meas res gestas, tam hercule quam, si uictor ex Africa redierim, ea ipsa eleuare quae nunc retinendi mei causa ut terribilia eadem uideantur uerbis extolluntur.

‘Negat aditum esse in Africam, negat ullos patere portus. M. Atilium captum in Africa commemorat, tamquam M. Atilius primo accessu ad Africam offenderit, neque recordatur illi ipsi tam infelici imperatori patuisse tamen portus Africae, et res egregie primo anno gessisse et quantum ad Carthaginienses duces attinet inuictum ad ultimum permansisse. nihil igitur me isto exemplo terrueris. si hoc bello non priore, si nuper et non annis ante quadraginta ista ita clades accepta foret, qui ego minus in Africam Regulo capto quam Scipionibus occisis in Hispaniam traicerem? nec felicius Xanthippum Lacedaemonium Carthagini quam me patriae meae sinerem natum esse, cresceretque mihi ex eo ipso fiducia quod possit in hominis unius uirtute tantum momenti esse. at etiam Athenienses audiendi sunt temere in Siciliam omisso domi bello transgressi. cur ergo, quoniam Graecas fabulas enarrare uacat, non Agathoclem potius, Syracusanum regem, cum diu Sicilia Punico bello ureretur, transgressum in hanc eandem Africam auertisse eo bellum unde uenerat refers?’

[44] ‘Sed quid, ultro metum inferre hosti et ab se remoto periculo alium in discrimen adducere quale sit, ueteribus externisque exemplis admonere opus est? maius praesentiusue ullum exemplum esse quam Hannibal potest? multum interest alienos populere fines an tuos uri excindi uideas; plus animi est inferenti periculum quam propulsanti. ad hoc maior ignotarum rerum est terror: bona malaque hostium ex propinquo ingressus fines adspicias. non sperauerat Hannibal fore ut tot in Italia populi ad se deficerent: defecerunt post Cannensem cladem: quanto minus quicquam in Africa Carthaginiensibus firmum aut stabile est infidis sociis, grauibus ac superbis dominis. ad hoc nos, etiam deserti ab sociis, uiribus nostris milite Romano stetimus: Carthaginiensi nihil ciuilis roboris est: mercede paratos milites habent, Afros Numidasque, leuissima fidei mutandae ingenia. hic modo nihil morae sit, una et traiecisse me audietis et ardere bello Africam et molientem hinc Hannibalem et obsideri Carthaginem. laetiores et frequentiores ex Africa exspectate nuntios quam ex Hispania accipiebatis. has mihi spes subicit fortuna populi Romani, di foederis ab hoste uiolati testes, Syphax et Masinissa reges quorum ego fidei ita innitar ut bene tutus a perfidia sim.

‘Multa quae nunc ex interuallo non apparent bellum aperiet: id est uiri et ducis, non deesse fortunae praebenti se et oblata casu flectere ad consilium. habebo, Q. Fabi, parem quem das Hannibalem; sed illum ego potius traham quam ille me retineat. in sua terra cogam pugnare eum, et Carthago potius praemium uictoriae erit quam semiruta Bruttiorum castella. ne quid interim dum traicio, dum expono exercitum in Africa, dum castra ad Carthaginem promoueo, res publica hic detrimenti capiat, quod tu, Q. Fabi, cum uictor tota uolitaret Italia Hannibal potuisti praestare, hoc uide ne contumeliosum sit concusso iam et paene fracto Hannibale negare posse P. Licinium consulem, uirum fortissimum, praestare, qui ne a sacris absit pontifex maximus ideo in sortem tam longinquae prouinciae non uenit. si hercules nihilo maturius hoc quo ego censeo modo perficeretur bellum, tamen ad dignitatem populi Romani famamque apud reges gentesque externas pertinebat, non ad defendendam modo Italiam sed ad inferenda etiam Africae arma uideri nobis animum esse, nec hoc credi uolgarique quod Hannibal

ausus sit neminem ducem Romanum audere, et priore Punico bello cum de Sicilia certaretur totiens Africam ab nostris exercitibusque et classibus oppugnatam, nunc cum de Italia certetur Africam pacatam esse. requiescat aliquando uexata tam diu Italia: uratur euasteturque in uicem Africa. castra Romana potius Carthaginis portis immineant quam nos iterum uallum hostium ex moenibus nostris uideamus. Africa sit reliqui belli sedes; illuc terror fugaque, populatio agrorum, defectio sociorum, ceterae belli clades, quae in nos per quattuordecim annos ingruerunt, uertantur.

‘Quae ad rem publicam pertinent et bellum quod instat et prouincias de quibus agitur dixisse satis est: illa longa oratio nec ad uos pertinens sit, si quemadmodum Q. Fabius meas res gestas in Hispania eleuauit sic ego contra gloriam eius eludere et meam uerbis extollere uelim. neutrum faciam, patres conscripti, et si nulla alia re, modestia certe et temperando linguae adulescens senem uicero. ita et uixi et gessi res ut tacitus ea opinione quam uestra sponte conceptam animis haberetis facile contentus essem.’

[45] Minus aequis animis auditus est Scipio quia uolgatum erat si apud senatum non obtinuisset ut prouincia Africa sibi decerneretur, ad populum extemplo laturum. itaque Q. Fuluius, qui consul quater et censor fuerat, postulauit a consule ut palam in senatu diceret permetteretne patribus ut de prouinciis decernerent staturusque eo esset quod censuissent an ad populum laturus. cum Scipio respondiisset se quod e re publica esset facturum, tum Fuluius: ‘non ego ignarus quid responsurus facturusue esses quaesiui, quippe cum prae te feras temptare te magis quam consulere senatum et ni prouinciam tibi quam uolueris extemplo decernamus paratam rogationem habeas. itaque a uobis, tribuni plebis, postulo’ inquit ‘ut sententiam mihi ideo non dicenti quod, etsi in meam sententiam discedatur, non sit ratum habiturus consul auxilio sitis.’ inde altercatio orta cum consul negaret aequum esse tribunos intercedere quo minus suo quisque loco rogatus sententiam diceret. tribuni ita decreuerunt: ‘si consul senatui de prouinciis permittit, stari eo quod senatus censuerit placet, nec de ea re ferri ad populum patiemur; si non permittit, qui de ea re sententiam recusabit dicere auxilio erimus.’

Consul diem ad conloquendum cum collega petit; postero die

permissum senatui est. prouinciae ita decretae: alteri consuli Sicilia et triginta rostratae naues quas C. Seruilius superiore anno habuisset; permissumque ut in Africam, si id e re publica esse censeret, traiceret; alteri Bruttii et bellum cum Hannibale, cum eo exercitu quem~~. L. Ueturius et Q. Caecilius sortirentur inter se compararentue uter in Brutiis duabus legionibus quas consul reliquisset rem gereret, imperiumque in annum prorogaretur cui ea prouincia euenisset. et ceteris ~praeter consules praetoresque qui exercitibus prouinciisque praefuturi~ erant prorogata imperia. Q. Caecilio sorti euenit ut cum consule in Brutiis aduersus Hannibalem bellum gereret.

Ludi deinde Scipionis magna frequentia et fauore spectantium celebrati. Legati Delphos ad donum ex praeda Hasdrubalis portandum missi M. Pomponius Matho et Q. Catus. Tulerunt coronam auream ducentum pondo et simulacra spoliolum ex mille pondo argenti facta.

Scipio cum ut dilectum haberet neque impetrasset neque magnopere tetendisset, ut uoluntarios ducere sibi milites liceret tenuit et, quia impensae negauerat rei publicae futuram classem, ut quae ab sociis darentur ad nouas fabricandas naues acciperet. Etruriae primum populi pro suis quisque facultatibus consulem adiuturos polliciti: Caerites frumentum sociis naualibus commeatumque omnis generis, Populonenses ferrum, Tarquinienses lintea in uela, Volaterrani interamenta nauium et frumentum, Arretini tria milia scutorum, galeas totidem, pila gaesa hastas longas, milium quinquaginta summam pari cuiusque generis numero expleturos, secures rutra falces alueolos molas quantum in quadraginta longas naues opus esset, tritici centum uiginti milia modium et in uaticum decurionibus remigibusque conlaturos; Perusini Clusini Rusellani abietem in fabricandas naues et frumenti magnum numerum; abiete <et> ex publicis siluis est usus. Umbriae populi et praeter hos Nursini et Reatini et Amiternini Sabinusque omnis ager milites polliciti. Marsi Paeligni Marrucinique multi uoluntarii nomina in classem dederunt. Camertes cum aequo foedere cum Romanis essent cohortem armatam sescentorum hominum miserunt. Triginta nauium carinae, uiginti quinqueres decem quadriremes, cum essent posirae ipse ita institit operi ut die quadragensimo quinto quam ex

siluis detracta materia erat naues instructae armataeque in aquam deductae sint.

[46] Profectus in Siciliam est triginta nauibus longis, uoluntariorum septem ferme milibus in naues impositis. Et P. Licinius in Bruttios ad duos exercitus consulares uenit. Ex iis eum sibi sumpsit quem L. Veturius consul habuerat: Metello ut quibus praefuisset legionibus iis praeesset, facilius cum adsueto imperio rem gesturum ratus, permisit. Et praetores diuersi in prouincias profecti. Et quia pecunia ad bellum deerat, agri Campani regionem a fossa Graeca ad mare uersam uendere quaestores iussi, indicio quoque permissio qui ager ciuis Campani fuisset, uti is publicus populi Romani esset; indici praemium constitutum, quantae pecuniae ager indicatus esset pars decima. Et Cn. Seruilio praetori urbano negotium datum ut Campani ciues, ubi cuique ex senatus consulto liceret habitare, ibi habitarent, animaduerneretque in eos qui alibi habitarent.

Eadem aestate Mago Hamilcaris filius ex minore Baliarium insula, ubi hibernarat, iuuentute lecta in classem imposita in Italiam triginta ferme rostratis nauibus et multis onerariis duodecim milia peditum duo ferme equitum traiecit, Genuamque nullis praesidiis maritimam oram tutantibus repentino aduentu cepit. Inde ad oram Ligurum Alpinorum, si quos ibi motus facere posset, classem adpulit. Ingauni-Ligurum ea gens est — bellum ea tempestate gerebant cum Epanteriis Montanis. Igitur Poenus Sauone oppido Alpino praeda deposita et decem longis nauibus in statione ad praesidium relictis, ceteris Carthaginem missis ad tuendam maritimam oram quia fama erat Scipionem traiecturum, ipse societate cum Ingaunis quorum gratiam malebat composita Montanos instituit oppugnare. Et crescebat exercitus in dies ad famam nominis eius Gallis undique confluentibus. Ea <res> litteris cognita Sp. Lucreti, ne frustra Hasdrubale cum exercitu deleto biennio ante forent laetati si par aliud inde bellum duce tantum mutato oreretur, curam ingentem accendit patribus. Itaque et M. Liuium proconsulem ex Etruria uolonum exercitum admouere Ariminum iusserunt, et Cn. Seruilio praetori negotium datum ut, si e re publica censeret esse, duas urbanas legiones imperio cui uideretur dato ex urbe duci iuberet. M. Valerius Laeuinus Arretium eas legiones duxit.

Iisdem diebus naues onerariae Poenorum ad octoginta circa

Sardiniam ab Cn. Octauio, qui prouinciae praeerat, captae; eas Coelius frumento misso ad Hannibalem commeatuque onustas, Valerius praedam Etruscam Ligurumque et Montanorum captiuos Carthaginem portantes captas tradit. In Bruttiis nihil ferme anno eo memorabile gestum. Pestilentia inceserat pari clade in Romanos Poenosque, nisi quod Punicum exercitum super morbum etiam fames adfecit. Propter Iunonis Lacinae templum aestatem Hannibal egit, ibique aram condidit dedicauitque cum ingenti rerum ab se gestarum titulo Punicis Graccisque litteris insculpto.

LIBER XXIX

[1] Scipio postquam in Siciliam uenit, uoluntarios milites ordinauit centuriauitque. ex iis trecentos iuuenes, florentes aetate et uirum robore insignes, inermes circa se habebat, ignorantes quem ad usum neque centuriati neque armati seruarentur. tum ex totius Siciliae iuniorum numero principes genere et fortuna trecentos equites qui secum in Africam traicerent legit, diemque iis qua equis armisque instructi atque ornati adessent edixit. grauis ea militia, procul domo, terra marique multos labores magna pericula allatura uidebatur; neque ipsos modo sed parentes cognatosque eorum ea cura angebat. ubi dies quae dicta erat aduenit, arma equosque ostenderunt. tum Scipio renuntiari sibi dixit quosdam equites Siculorum tamquam grauem et duram horrere eam militiam: si qui ita animati essent, malle eos sibi iam tum fateri quam postmodo querentes segnes atque inutiles milites rei publicae esse; expromerent quid sentirent; cum bona uenia se auditurum. ubi ex iis unus ausus est dicere se prorsus, si sibi utrum uellet liberum esset, nolle militare, tum Scipio ei: ‘quoniam igitur, adulescens, quid sentires non dissimulasti, uicarium tibi expediam cui tu arma equumque et cetera instrumenta militiae tradas et tecum hinc extemplo domum ducas exerceas docendum cures equo armisque.’ laeto condicionem accipienti unum ex trecentis quos inermes habebat tradit. ubi hoc modo exauctoratum equitem cum gratia imperatoris ceteri uiderunt, se quisque excusare et uicarium accipere. ita trecentis Siculis Romani equites substituti sine publica impensa. docendorum atque exercendorum curam Siculi habuerunt, quia edictum imperatoris erat ipsum militaturum qui ita non fecisset. egregiam hanc alam equitum euasisse ferunt multisque proeliis rem publicam adiuuuisse.

Legiones inde cum inspiceret, plurimorum stipendiorum ex iis milites delegit, maxime qui sub duce Marcello militauerant, quos cum optima disciplina institutos credebat tum etiam ab longa Syracusarum obsidione peritissimos esse urbium oppugnandarum; nihil enim paruum sed Carthagini iam excidia agitabat animo. inde exercitum per oppida dispertit; frumentum Siculorum ciuitatibus imperat, ex Italia aduecto parcit; ueteres naues reficit et cum iis C.

Laelium in Africam praedatum mittit; nouas Panhormi subducit, quia ex uiridi materia raptim factae erant, ut in sicco hibernarent.

Praeparatis omnibus ad bellum Syracusas, nondum ex magnis belli motibus satis tranquillas, uenit. Graeci res a quibusdam Italici generis eadem ui qua per bellum ceperant retinentibus, concessas sibi ab senatu repetebant. omnium primum ratus tueri publicam fidem, partim edicto, partim iudiciis etiam in pertinaces ad obtinendam iniuriam redditis suas res Syracusanis restituit. non ipsis tantum ea res sed omnibus Siciliae populis grata fuit, eoque enixius ad bellum adiuerunt.

Eadem aestate in Hispania coortum ingens bellum conciente Ilergete Indibili nulla alia de causa quam per admirationem Scipionis contemptu imperatorum aliorum orto: eum superesse unum ducem Romanis ceteris ab Hannibale interfectis [rebantur]; eo nec in Hispaniam caesis Scipionibus alium quem mitterent habuisse, et postquam in Italia grauius bellum urgeret, aduersus Hannibalem eum arcessitum. praeterquam quod nomina tantum ducum in Hispania Romani habeant, exercitum quoque inde ueterem deductum; trepida omnia et inconditam turbam tironum esse. nunquam talem occasionem liberandae Hispaniae fore. seruitum ad eam diem aut Carthaginiensibus aut Romanis, nec in uicem his aut illis sed interdum utrisque simul. pulsos ab Romanis Carthaginienses: ab Hispanis, si consentirent, pelli Romanos posse, ut ab omni externo imperio soluta in perpetuum Hispania in patrios rediret mores ritusque. haec taliaque dicendo non populares modo sed Ausetanos quoque, uicinam gentem, concitat et alios finitimos sibi atque illis populos. itaque intra paucos dies triginta milia peditum quattuor ferme equitum in Sedetanum agrum, quo edictum erat, conuenerunt.

[2] Romani quoque imperatores L. Lentulus et L. Manlius Acidinus, ne glisceret prima neglegendo bellum, iunctis et ipsi exercitibus per agrum Ausetanum hostico tamquam pacato clementer ductis militibus ad sedem hostium peruenere et trium milium spatio procul a castris eorum posuerunt castra. primo per legatos nequiquam temptatum ut discederetur ab armis; dein cum in pabulatores Romanos impetus repente ab equitibus Hispanis factus esset, summisso ab statione Romana equitatu equestre proelium fuit haud sane memorando in partem ullam euentu. sole oriente postero die

armati instructique omnes mille ferme passus procul a castris Romanis aciem ostendere. medii Ausetani erant; cornua dextrum Ilergetes, laeuum ignobiles tenebant Hispani populi; inter cornua et mediam aciem interualla patentia satis late fecerant qua equitatum, ubi tempus esset, emitterent. et Romani more suo exercitum cum instruxissent, id modo hostium imitati sunt ut inter legiones et ipsi patentes equiti relinquerent uias. ceterum Lentulus ei parti usum equitis fore ratus quae prior in dehiscentem interuallis hostium aciem equites emisisset, Ser. Cornelio tribuno militum imperat equites per patentes in hostium acie uias permittere equos iubeat. ipse coepta parum prospere pedestri pugna tantum moratus dum cedenti duodecimae legioni, quae in laeuo cornu aduersus Ilergetes locata erat, tertiam decimam legionem ex subsidiis in primam aciem firmamentum ducit, postquam aequata ibi pugna est, ad L. Manlium inter prima signa hortantem ac subsidia quibus res postulabat locis inducentem uenit; indicat tuta ab laeuo cornu esse; iam missum ab se Cornelium procella equestri hostes circumfusurum.

Vix haec dicta dederat cum Romani equites in medios inuecti hostes simul pedestres acies turbarunt, simul equitibus Hispanorum uiam immittendi equos clauserunt. itaque omissa pugna equestri ad pedes Hispani descenderunt. Romani imperatores ut turbatos hostium ordines et trepidationem pauoremque et fluctuantia uiderunt signa, hortantur orant milites ut percussos inuadant neu restitui aciem patiantur. non sustinuissent tam infestum impetum barbari, ni regulus ipse Indibilis cum equitibus ad pedes degressis ante prima signa peditum se obiecisset. ibi aliquamdiu atrox pugna stetit; tandem postquam ii qui circa regem seminecem restantem deinde pilo terrae adfixum pugnabant obruti telis occubuerunt, tum fuga passim coepta. plures caesi, quia equos conscendendi equitibus spatium non fuerat, et quia percussis acriter institerunt Romani; nec ante abscessum est quam castris quoque exuerunt hostem. tredecim milia Hispanorum caesa eo die, mille octingenti ferme capti: Romanorum sociorumque paulo amplius ducenti, maxime in laeuo cornu, ceciderunt. pulsī castris Hispani aut qui ex proelio effugerant, sparsi primo per agros, deinde in suas quisque ciuitates redierunt.

[3] Tum a Mandonio euocati in concilium conquestique ibi clades suas increpitis auctoribus belli legatos mittendos ad arma tradenda

deditionemque faciendam censuere. quibus culpam in auctorem belli Indibilem ceterosque principes quorum plerique in acie cecidissent conferentibus tradentibusque arma et dedentibus sese, responsum est in deditionem ita accipi eos si Mandonium ceterosque belli concitores tradidissent uiuos; si minus, exercitum se in agrum Ilergetum Ausetanorumque et deinceps aliorum populorum inducturos. haec dicta legatis renuntiataque in concilium. ibi Mandonius ceterique principes comprehensi et traditi ad supplicium. Hispaniae populis reddita pax; stipendium eius anni duplex et frumentum sex mensum imperatum sagaque et togae exercitui, et obsides ab triginta ferme populis accepti.

Ita Hispaniae rebellantis tumultu haud magno motu intra paucos dies concito et compresso, in Africam omnis terror uersus. C. Laelius nocte ad Hipponem Regium cum accessisset, luce prima ad populandum agrum sub signis milites sociosque in auxilium nauales duxit. omnibus pacis modo incuriose agentibus magna clades inlata; nuntiique trepidi Carthaginem terrore ingenti compleuere classem Romanam Scipionemque imperatorem — et fama fuerat iam in Siciliam transgressum — aduenisse. nec quot naues uidissent nec quanta manus agros popularetur satis gnari omnia in maius metu augente accipiebant. itaque primo terror pauorque, dein maestitia animos incessit: tantum fortunam mutasse ut qui modo ipsi exercitum ante moenia Romana habuissent uictores stratisque tot hostium exercitibus omnes Italiae populos aut ui aut uoluntate in deditionem acceperant, ii uerso Marte Africae populationes et obsidionem Carthaginis uisuri forent, nequaquam pari ad patienda ea robore ac Romani fuissent. illis Romanam plebem, illis Latium iuuentutem praeuisse maiorem semper frequentioreque pro tot caesis exercitibus subolescentem: suam plebem imbellem in urbe, imbellem in agris esse; mercede parari auxilia ex Afris, gente ad omnem auram spei mobili atque infida. iam reges, Syphacem post conloquium cum Scipione alienatum, Masinissam aperta defectione infestissimum hostem. nihil usquam spei, nihil auxilii esse. nec Magonem ex Gallia mouere tumultus quicquam nec coniungere sese Hannibali, et Hannibalem ipsum iam et fama senescere et uiribus.

[4] In haec deflenda prolapsos ab recenti nuntio animos rursus terror instans reuocauit ad consultandum quonam modo obuiam

praesentibus periculis iretur. dilectus raptim in urbe agrisque haberi placet; mittere ad conducenda Afrorum auxilia; munire urbem, frumentum conuehere, tela arma parare; instruere naues ac mittere ad Hipponem aduersus Romanam classem. iam haec agentibus nuntius tandem uenit Laelium non Scipionem, copiasque quantae ad incursiones agrorum satis sint transuectas; summae belli molem adhuc in Sicilia esse. ita respiratum mittique ad Syphacem legationes aliosque regulos firmandae societatis causa coeptae. ad Philippum quoque missi qui ducenta argenti talenta pollicerentur ut in Siciliam aut in Italiam traiceret. missi et ad suos imperatores in Italiam ut omni terrore Scipionem retinerent; ad Magonem non legati modo sed uiginti quinque longae naues, sex milia peditum, octingenti equites, septem elephanti, ad hoc magna pecunia ad conducenda auxilia quibus fretus propius urbem Romanam exercitum admoueret coniungeretque se Hannibali.

Haec Carthagini parabant agitabantque, cum ad Laelium praedas ingentes ex agro inermi ac nudo praesidiis agentem Masinissa fama Romanae classis excitus cum equitibus paucis uenit. is segniter rem agi ab Scipione questus, quod non exercitum iam in Africam traiecisset percussis Carthaginiensibus, Syphace impedito finitimis bellis; quem certum habere, si spatium ad sua ut uelit componenda detur, nihil sincera fide cum Romanis acturum. hortaretur stimulet Scipionem ne cessaret; se, quamquam regno pulsus esset, cum haud contemnendis copiis adfuturum peditum equitumque. nec ipsi Laelio morandum in Africa esse; classem credere profectam a Carthagine cum qua absente Scipione non satis tutum esset contrahi certamen.

[5] Ab hoc sermone dimisso Masinissa Laelius postero die naues praeda onustas ab Hipponem soluit, reuectusque in Siciliam mandata Masinissae Scipioni exposuit. iisdem ferme diebus naues quae ab Carthagine ad Magonem missae erant inter Albingaunos Ligures Genuamque accesserunt. in iis locis tum forte Mago tenebat classem; qui legatorum auditis uerbis iubentium exercitus quam maximos comparare, extemplo Gallorum et Ligurum — namque utriusque gentis ingens ibi multitudo erat — concilium habuit; et missum se ad eos uindicandos in libertatem ait et, ut ipsi cernant, mitti sibi ab domo praesidia; sed quantis uiribus quanto exercitu id bellum geratur, in eorum potestate esse. duos exercitus Romanos, unum in

Gallia, alterum in Etruria esse; satis scire Sp. Lucretium se cum M. Liuiio iuncturum; multa milia armanda esse ut duobus ducibus duobus exercitibus Romanis resistatur. Galli summam ad id suam uoluntatem esse dicere; sed cum una castra Romana intra fines, altera in finitima terra Etruria prope in conspectu habeant, si palam fiat auxiliis adiutum ab sese Poenum, extemplo infestos utrumque exercitus in agrum suum incursuros. ea ab Gallis desideraret quibus occulte adiuuari posset: Liguribus, quod procul agro urbibusque eorum castra Romana sint, libera consilia esse; illos armare iuuentutem et capessere pro parte bellum aequum esse. Ligures haud abnuere: tempus modo duorum mensum petere ad dilectus habendos. interim Mago milites Gallos dimissis clam per agros eorum mercede conducere; commeatus quoque omnis generis occulte ad eum a Gallicis populis mittebantur. M. Liuius exercitum uolunt ex Etruria in Galliam traducit, iunctusque Lucretio, si se Mago ex Liguribus propius urbem moueat, obuiam ire parat, si Poenus sub angulo Alpium quietus se contineat, et ipse in eadem statione circa Ariminum Italiae praesidio futurus.

[6] Post reditum ex Africa C. Laeli et Scipione stimulo Masinissae adhortationibus et militibus praedam ex hostium terra cernentibus tota classe efferri accensis ad traiciendum quam primum, interuenit maiori minor cogitatio Locros urbem recipiendi, quae sub defectionem Italiae descuerat et ipsa ad Poenos. spes autem adfectandae eius rei ex minima re adfulsit. atrociniis magis quam iusto bello in Brutiis gerebantur res, principio ab Numidis facto et Brutiis non societate magis Punica quam suoapte ingenio congruentibus in eum morem; postremo Romani quoque milites iam contagione quadam rapto gaudentes, quantum per duces licebat, excursions in hostium agros facere. ab iis egressi quidam urbe Locrenses circumuenti Regiumque abstracti fuerant. in eo captiuorum numero fabri quidam fuere, adsueta forte apud Poenos mercede opus in arce Locrorum facere. hi cogniti ab Locrensi principibus qui pulsati ab aduersa factione, quae Hannibali Locros tradiderat, Regium se contulerant, cum cetera percontantibus, ut mos est qui diu absunt, quae domi agerentur exposuissent, spem fecerunt si redempti ac remissi forent arcem se iis tradituros; ibi se habitare fidemque sibi rerum omnium inter Carthaginenses esse. itaque, ut

qui simul desiderio patriae angerentur simul cupiditate inimicos ulciscendi arderent, redemptis extemplo iis remissisque cum ordinem agenda rei composuissent signaque quae procul edita obseruarent, ipsi ad Scipionem Syracusas profecti, apud quem pars exsulum erat, referentes ibi promissa captiuorum cum spem ab effectu haud abhorrentem consuli fecissent, tribuni militum cum iis M. Sergius et P. Matienus missi iussique ab Regio tria milia militum Locros ducere; et Q. Pleminio propraetori scriptum ut rei agenda adesset.

Profecti ab Regio, scalas ad editam altitudinem arcis fabricatas portantes, media ferme nocte ex eo loco unde conuenerat signum dedere proditoribus arcis; qui parati intentique et ipsi scalas ad id ipsum factas cum demisissent pluribusque simul locis scandentes accepissent, priusquam clamor oreretur in uigiles Poenorum, ut in nullo tali metu sopitos, impetus est factus. quorum gemitus primo morientium exauditus, deinde subita consternatio ex somno et tumultus cum causa ignoraretur, postremo certior res aliis excitantibus alios. iamque ad arma pro se quisque uocabat: hostes in arce esse et caedi uigiles; oppressique forent Romani nequaquam numero pares, ni clamor ab iis qui extra arcem erant sublatus incertum unde accidisset omnia uana augente nocturno tumultu fecisset. itaque uelut plena iam hostium arce territi Poeni omisso certamine in alteram arcem — duae sunt haud multum inter se distantes — confugiunt. oppidani urbem habebant, uictoribus praemium in medio positam; ex arcibus duabus proeliis cottidie leuibus certabatur. Q. Pleminius Romano, Hamilcar Punico praesidio praeerat. arcessentes ex propinquis locis subsidia copias augebant: ipse postremo ueniebat Hannibal, nec sustinuissent Romani nisi Locrensi multitudine, exacerbata superbia atque auaritia Poenorum, ad Romanos inclinasset.

[7] Scipioni ut nuntiatum est in maiore discrimine Locris rem uerti ipsumque Hannibalem aduentare, ne praesidio etiam periclitaretur haud facili inde receptu, et ipse a Messana L. Scipione fratre in praesidio ibi relicto cum primum aestu fretum inclinatum est ~naues mari secundo misit. et Hannibal a Buloto amni — haud procul is ab urbe Locris abest — nuntio praemisso ut sui luce prima summa ui proelium cum Romanis ac Locrensibus consererent dum ipse auersis omnibus in eum tumultum ab tergo urbem incautam adgrederetur,

ubi luce coeptam inuenit pugnam, ipse nec in arcem se includere, turba locum artum impediturus, uoluit, neque scalas quibus scanderet muros attulerat. sarcinis in acervum coniectis cum haud procul muris ad terrorem hostium aciem ostendisset, cum equitibus Numidis circumequitabat urbem, dum scalae quaeque alia ad oppugnandum opus erant parantur, ad uisendum qua maxime parte adgrederetur: progressus ad murum scorpione icto qui proximus eum forte steterat, territus inde tam periculoso casu receptui canere cum iussisset, castra procul ab ictu teli communit. classis Romana a Messana Locros aliquot horis multo die superante accessit; expositi omnes e nauibus et ante occasum solis urbem ingressi sunt.

Postero die coepta ex arce a Poenis pugna, et Hannibal iam scalis aliisque omnibus ad oppugnationem paratis subibat muros cum repente in eum nihil minus quam tale quicquam timentem patefacta porta erumpunt Romani. ad ducentos, improuidos cum inuasissent, occidunt: ceteros Hannibal, ut consulem adesse sensit, in castra recipit, nuntioque misso ad eos qui in arce erant ut sibimet ipsi consulerent nocte motis castris abiit. et qui in arce erant igni iniecto tectis quae tenebant ut is tumultus hostem moraretur, agmen suorum fugae simili cursu ante noctem adsecuti sunt.

[8] Scipio ut et arcem relictam ab hostibus et uacua uidit castra, uocatos ad contionem Locrenses grauiter ob defectionem incusauit; de auctoribus supplicium sumpsit bonaque eorum alterius factionis principibus ob egregiam fidem aduersus Romanos concessit. publice nec dare nec eripere se quicquam Locrensis dixit; Romam mitterent legatos; quam senatus aequum censuisset, eam fortunam habituros. illud satis scire, etsi male de populo Romano meriti essent, in meliore statu sub iratis Romanis futuros quam sub amicis Carthaginiensibus fuerint. ipse Plemio legato praesidioque quod arcem ceperat ad tuendam urbem relicto, cum quibus uenerat copiis Messanam traiecit.

Ita superbe et crudeliter habiti Locrenses ab Carthaginiensibus post defectionem ab Romanis fuerant ut modicas iniurias non aequo modo animo pati sed prope libenti possent; uerum enimuero tantum Plemius Hamilcarem praesidii praefectum, tantum praesidiarii milites Romani Poenos scelere atque auaritia superauerunt ut non armis sed uitii uideretur certari. nihil omnium quae inopi inuisas

opes potentioris faciunt praetermissum in oppidanos est ab duce aut a militibus; in corpora ipsorum, in liberos, in coniuges infandae contumeliae editae. iam auaritia ne sacrorum quidem spoliatioe abstinuit; nec alia modo templa uiolata sed Proserpinae etiam intacti omni aetate thesauri, praeterquam quod a Pyrrho, qui cum magno piaculo sacrilegii sui manubias rettulit, spoliati dicebantur. ergo sicut ante regiae naues laceratae naufragiis nihil in terram integri praeter sacram pecuniam deae quam asportabant extulerant, tum quoque alio genere cladis eadem illa pecunia omnibus contactis ea uiolatione templi furorem obiecit atque inter se ducem in ducem, militem in militem rabie hostili uertit.

[9] Summae rei Pleminius praeerat; militum pars sub eo quam ipse ab Regio adduxerat, pars sub tribunis erat. rapto poculo argenteo ex oppidani domo Plemini miles fugiens sequentibus quorum erat, obuius forte Sergio et Matieno tribunis militum fuit; cui cum iussu tribunorum ademptum poculum esset, iurgium inde et clamor, pugna postremo orta inter Plemini milites tribunorumque, ut suis quisque opportunus aduenerat multitudine simul ac tumultu crescente. uicti Plemini milites cum ad Pleminium cruorem ac uulnera ostentantes non sine uociferatione atque indignatione concurrissent probra in eum ipsum iactata in iurgiis referentes, accensus ira domo sese proripuit uocatosque tribunos nudari ac uirgas expediri iubet. dum spoliandis iis — repugnabant enim militumque fidem implorabant — tempus teritur, repente milites feroces recenti uictoria ex omnibus locis, uelut aduersus hostes ad arma conclamatum esset, concurrerunt; et cum uiolata iam uirgis corpora tribunorum uidissent, tum uero in multo impotentiore subito rabiem accensi sine respectu non maiestatis modo sed etiam humanitatis, in legatum impetum lictoribus prius indignum in modum mulcatis faciunt. tum ipsum ab suis interceptum et seclusum hostiliter lacerant et prope exsanguem naso auribusque mutilatis relinquunt.

His Messanam nuntiatis Scipio post paucos dies Locros hexere aduectus cum causam Plemini et tribunorum audisset, Pleminio noxa liberato relictoque in eiusdem loci praesidio, tribunis sontibus iudicatis et in uincla coniectis ut Romam ad senatum mitterentur, Messanam atque inde Syracusas rediit. Pleminius impotens irae, neglectam ab Scipione et nimis leuiter latam suam iniuriam ratus nec

quemquam aestimare alium eam litem posse nisi qui atrocitatem eius patiendo sensisset, tribunos attrahi ad se iussit, laceratosque omnibus quae pati corpus ullum potest suppliciis interfecit, nec satius uiuorum poena insepultos proiecit. simili crudelitate et in Locrensiū principes est usus quos ad conquerendas iniurias ad P. Scipionem profectos audiuit; et quae antea per libidinem atque auaritiā foeda exempla in socios ediderat, tunc ab ira multiplicia edere, infamiae atque inuidiae non sibi modo sed etiam imperatori esse.

[10] Iam comitiū appetebat tempus cum a P. Licinio consule litterae Romam allatae se exercitumque suum graui morbo adflicti, nec sisti potuisse nisi eadem uis mali aut grauior etiam in hostes ingruisset; itaque quoniam ipse uenire ad comitia non posset, si ita patribus uideretur, se Q. Caecilium Metellum dictatorem comitiū causa dicturum. exercitum Q. Caecili dimitti e re publica esse; [nam] neque usum eius ullum in praesentia esse, cum Hannibal iam in hiberna suos receperit, et tanta incesserit in ea castra uis morbi ut nisi mature dimittantur nemo omnium superfuturus uideatur. ea consuli a patribus facienda ut e re publica fideque sua duceret permissa. ciuitatem eo tempore repens religio inuaserat inuento carmine in libris Sibyllinis propter crebrius eo anno de caelo lapidatum inspectis, quandoque hostis alienigena terrae Italiae bellum intulisset eum pelli Italia uincique posse si mater Idaea a Pessinunte Romam aduecta foret. id carmen ab decemuiris inuentum eo magis patres mouit quod et legati qui donum Delphos portauerant referebant et sacrificantibus ipsis Pythio Apollini omnia laeta fuisse et responsum oraculo editum maiorem multo uictoriam quam cuius ex spoliis dona portarent adesse populo Romano. in eiusdem spei summam conferebant P. Scipionis uelut praesagientem animum de fine belli quod depoposcisset prouinciam Africam. itaque quo maturius fatis omnibus oraculisque portendentis sese uictoriae compotes fierent, id cogitare atque agitare quae ratio transportandae Romam deae esset.

[11] Nullas dum in Asia socias ciuitates habebat populus Romanus; tamen memores Aesculapium quoque ex Graecia quondam haud dum ullo foedere sociata uoletudinis populi causa arcessitum, tunc iam cum Attalo rege propter commune aduersus Philippum bellum coeptam amicitiam esse — facturum eum quae posset populi Romani

causa — , legatos ad eum decernunt M. Ualerium Laeuinum qui bis consul fuerat ac res in Graecia gesserat, M. Caecilium Metellum praetorium, Ser. Sulpicium Galbam aedilicium, duos quaestorios Cn. Tremelium Flaccum et M. Ualerium Faltonem. iis quinque naues quinquereemes ut ex dignitate populi Romani adirent eas terras ad quas concilianda maiestas nomini Romano esset decernunt. legati Asiam petentes protinus Delphos cum escendissent, oraculum adierunt consulentes ad quod negotium domo missi essent perficiendi eius quam sibi spem populoque Romano portenderet. responsum esse ferunt per Attalum regem compotes eius fore quod peterent: cum Romam deam deuexissent, tum curarent ut eam qui uir optimus Romae esset hospitio exciperet. Pergamum ad regem uenerunt. is legatos comiter acceptos Pessinuntem in Phrygiam deduxit sacrumque iis lapidem quam matrem deum esse incolae dicebant tradidit ac deportare Romam iussit. praemissus ab legatis M. Ualerius Falto nuntiauit deam apportari; quaerendum uirum optimum in ciuitate esse qui eam rite hospitio acciperet. Q. Caecilius Metellus dictator ab consule in Brutiis comitiorum causa dictus exercitusque eius dimissus, magister equitum L. Ueturius Philo. comitia per dictatorem habita. consules facti M. Cornelius Cethegus P. Sempronius Tuditanus absens cum prouinciam Graeciam haberet. praetores inde creati Ti. Claudius Nero M. Marcius Ralla L. Scribonius Libo M. Pomponius Matho. comitiis peractis dictator sese magistratu abdicauit.

Ludi Romani ter, plebeii septiens instaurati. curules erant aediles Cn. et L. Cornelii Lentuli. Lucius Hispaniam prouinciam habebat; absens creatus absens eum honorem gessit. Ti. Claudius Asellus et M. Iunius Pennus plebeii aediles fuerunt. aedem Uirtutis eo anno ad portam Capenam M. Marcellus dedicauit septimo decimo anno postquam a patre eius primo consulatu uota in Gallia ad Clastidium fuerat. et flamen Martialis eo anno est mortuus M. Aemilius Regillus.

[12] Neglectae eo biennio res in Graecia erant. itaque Philippus Aetolos desertos ab Romanis, cui uni fidebant auxilio, quibus uoluit condicionibus ad petendam et paciscendam subegit pacem. quod nisi omni ui perficere maturasset, bellantem eum cum Aetolis P. Sempronius proconsul, successor imperii missus Sulpicio cum decem milibus peditum et mille equitibus et triginta quinque rostratis

nauibus, haud paruum momentum ad opem ferendam sociis, oppressisset. uixdum pace facta nuntius regi uenit Romanos Dyrrachium uenisse Parthinosque et propinquas alias gentes motas esse ad spem nouandi res Dimallumque oppugnari. eo se auerterant Romani ab Aetolorum quo missi erant auxilio, irati quod sine auctoritate sua aduersus foedus cum rege pacem fecissent. ea cum audisset Philippus ne qui motus maior in finitimis gentibus populisque oreretur magnis itineribus Apolloniam contendit, quo Sempronius se receperat misso Laetorio legato cum parte copiarum et quindecim nauibus in Aetoliam ad uisendas res pacemque si posset turbendam. Philippus agros Apolloniatum uastauit et ad urbem admotis copiis potestatem pugnae Romano fecit; quem postquam quietum muros tantummodo tueri uidit, nec satis fidens uiribus ut urbem oppugnaret et cum Romanis quoque, sicut cum Aetolis, cupiens pacem si posset, si minus, indutias facere, nihil ultra inritatis nouo certamine odiis in regnum se recepit.

Per idem tempus taedio diutini belli Epirotae temptata prius Romanorum uoluntate legatos de pace communi ad Philippum misere, satis confidere conuenturam eam adfirmantes si ad conloquium cum P. Sempronio imperatore Romano uenisset. facile impetratum — neque enim ne ipsius quidem regis abhorrebat animus — ut in Epirum transiret. Phoenice urbs est Epiri; ibi prius conlocutus rex cum Aeropo et Derda et Philippo, Epirotarum praetoribus, postea cum P. Sempronio congregitur. adfuit conloquio Amynder Athamanum rex, et magistratus alii Epirotarum et Acarnanum. primus Philippus praetor uerba facit et petit simul ab rege et ab imperatore Romano ut finem belli facerent darentque eam Epirotis ueniam. P. Sempronius condiciones pacis dixit ut Parthini et Dimallum et Bargullum et Eugenium Romanorum essent, Atintania, si missis Romam legatis ab senatu impetrasset, ut Macedoniae accederet. in eas condiciones cum pax conueniret, ab rege foederi adscripti Prusia Bithyniae rex, Achaei Boeoti Thessali Acarnanes Epirotae: ab Romanis Ilienses, Attalus rex, Pleuratus, Nabis Lacedaemoniorum tyrannus, Elei Messenii Athenienses. haec conscripta consignataque sunt, et in duos menses indutiae factae donec Romam mitterentur legati ut populus in has condiciones pacem iuberet; iusseruntque omnes tribus, quia uerso in Africam

bello omnibus aliis in praesentia leuari bellis uolebant. P. Sempronius pace facta ad consulatum Romam decessit.

[13] M. Cornelio P. Sempronio consulibus — quintus decimus is annus belli Punici erat — prouinciae Cornelio Etruria cum uetere exercitu, Sempronio Bruttii ut nouas scriberet legiones decretae: praetoribus M. Marcio urbana, L. Scribonio Liboni peregrina et eidem Gallia, M. Pomponio Mathoni Sicilia, Ti. Claudio Neroni Sardinia euenit. P. Scipioni cum eo exercitu, cum ea classe quam habebat, prorogatum in annum imperium est; item P. Licinio ut Bruttios duabus legionibus obtineret quoad eum in prouincia cum imperio morari consuli e re publica uisum esset. et M. Liuius et Sp. Lucretius cum binis legionibus quibus aduersus Magonem Galliae praesidio fuissent prorogatum imperium est, et Cn. Octauio ut cum Sardiniam legionemque Ti. Claudio tradidisset ipse nauibus longis quadraginta maritimam oram, quibus finibus senatus censuisset, tutaretur. M. Pomponio praetori in Sicilia Cannensis exercitus duae legiones decretae; T. Quinctius Tarentum, C. Hostilius Tubulus Capuam pro praetoribus, sicut priore anno, cum uetere uterque praesidio obtinerent. de Hispaniae imperio, quos in eam prouinciam duos pro consulibus mitti placeret latum ad populum est. omnes tribus eosdem L. Cornelium Lentulum et L. Manlium Acidinum pro consulibus, sicut priore anno tenuissent, obtinere eas prouincias iusserunt. consules dilectum habere instituerunt et ad nouas scribendas in Bruttios legiones et in ceterorum — ita enim iussi ab senatu erant — exercituum supplementum.

[14] Quamquam nondum aperte Africa prouincia decreta erat occultantibus id, credo, patribus ne praesciscerent Carthaginienses, tamen in eam spem erecta ciuitas erat in Africa eo anno bellatum iri finemque bello Punico adesse. impleuerat ea res superstitionum animos, pronique et ad nuntianda et ad credenda prodigia erant; eo plura uolgabantur: duos soles uisos, et nocte interluxisse, et facem Setia ab ortu solis ad occidentem porrigi uisam: Tarracinae portam, Anagniae et portam et multis locis murum de caelo tactum: in aede Iunonis Sospitae Lanuii cum horrendo fragore strepitum editum. eorum procurandorum causa diem unum supplicatio fuit, et nouendiale sacrum quod de caelo lapidatum esset factum. eo accessit consultatio de matre Idaea accipienda, quam, praeterquam quod M.

Ualerius unus ex legatis praegressus actutum in Italia fore nuntiauerat, recens nuntius aderat Tarracinae iam esse. haud paruae rei iudicium senatum tenebat qui uir optimus in ciuitate esset; ueram certe uictoriam eius rei sibi quisque mallet quam ulla imperia honoresue suffragio seu patrum seu plebis delatos. P. Scipionem Cn. filium eius qui in Hispania ceciderat, adulescentem nondum quaestorium, iudicauerunt in tota ciuitate uirum bonorum optimum esse. — id quibus uirtutibus inducti ita iudicarint, sicut traditum a proximis memoriae temporum illorum scriptoribus libens posteris traderem, ita meas opiniones coniectando rem uetustate obrutam non interponam. P. Cornelius cum omnibus matronis Ostiam obuiam ire deae iussus; isque eam de naue acciperet et in terram elatam traderet ferendam matronis. postquam nauis ad ostium amnis Tiberini accessit, sicut erat iussus, in salum naue euectus ab sacerdotibus deam accepit extulitque in terram. matronae primores ciuitatis, inter quas unius Claudiae Quintae insigne est nomen, acceperunt; cui dubia, ut traditur, antea fama clariorem ad posterum tam religioso ministerio pudicitiam fecit. eae per manus, succedentes deinde aliae aliis, omni obuiam effusa ciuitate, turibulis ante ianuas positae qua praeferebatur atque accenso ture precantibus ut uolens propitiaque urbem Romanam iniret, in aedem Uictoriae quae est in Palatio pertulere deam pridie idus Apriles; isque dies festus fuit. populus frequens dona deae in Palatium tulit, lectisterniumque et ludi fuere, Megalesia appellata.

[15] Cum de supplemento legionum quae in prouinciis erant ageretur, tempus esse a quibusdam senatoribus subiectum est quae dubiis in rebus utcumque tolerata essent, ea dempto iam tandem deum benignitate metu non ultra pati. erectis exspectatione patribus subiecerunt colonias Latinas duodecim quae Q. Fabio et Q. Fuluius consulibus abnuissent milites dare, eas annum iam ferme sextum uacationem militiae quasi honoris et beneficii causa habere cum interim boni obediensque socii pro fide atque obsequio in populum Romanum continuis omnium annorum dilectibus exhausti essent. sub hanc uocem non memoria magis patribus renouata rei prope iam oblitteratae quam ira inritata est. itaque nihil prius referre consules passi, decreuerunt ut consules magistratus denosque principes Nepete Sutrio Ardea Calibus Alba Carseolis Sora Suessa Setia Circeiis

Narnia Interamna — hae namque coloniae in ea causa erant — Romam excirent; iis imperarent, quantum quaeque earum coloniarum militum plurimum dedisset populo Romano ex quo hostes in Italia essent, duplicatum eius summae numerum peditum daret et equites centenos uicenos; si qua eum numerum equitum explere non posset pro equite uno tres pedites liceret dare; pedites equitesque quam locupletissimi legerentur mitterenturque ubicumque extra Italiam supplemento opus esset. si qui ex iis recusarent, retineri eius coloniae magistratus legatosque placere neque si postularent senatum dari priusquam imperata fecissent. stipendium praeterea iis coloniis in milia aeris asses singulos imperari exigique quotannis, censumque in iis coloniis agi ex formula ab Romanis censoribus data; dari autem placere eandem quam populo Romano; deferrique Romam ab iuratis censoribus coloniarum priusquam magistratu abirent. ex hoc senatus consulto accitis Romam magistratibus primoribusque earum coloniarum consules cum milites stipendiumque imperassent, alii aliis magis recusare ac reclamare: negare tantum militum effici posse: uix si simplum ex formula imperetur enisuros: orare atque obsecrare ut sibi senatum adire ac deprecari liceret: nihil se quare perire merito deberent admisisse; sed si pereundum etiam foret, neque suum delictum neque iram populi Romani ut plus militum darent quam haberent posse efficere. consules obstinati legatos manere Romae iubent, magistratus ire domum ad dilectus habendos: nisi summa militum quae imperata esset Romam adducta neminem iis senatum daturum. ita praecisa spe senatum adeundi deprecandique dilectus in iis duodecim coloniis per longam uacationem numero iuniorum aucto haud difficulter est perfectus.

[16] Altera item res prope aequae longo neglecta silentio relata a M. Ualerio Laeuino est qui priuatis conlatas pecunias se ac M. Claudio consulibus reddi tandem aequum esse dixit; nec mirari quemquam debere in publica obligata fide suam praecipuam curam esse; nam praeterquam quod aliquid proprie ad consulem eius anni quo conlatae pecuniae essent pertineret, etiam se auctorem ita conferendi fuisse inopi aerario nec plebe ad tributum sufficiente. grata ea patribus admonitio fuit; iussisque referre consulibus decreuerunt ut tribus pensionibus ea pecunia solueretur; primam praesentem ii qui tum essent, duas tertii et quinti consules numerarent.

Omnes deinde alias curas una occupauit postquam Locrensiū clades, quae ignoratae ad eam diem fuerant, legatorum aduentu uolgatae sunt; nec tam Plemīni scelus quam Scipionis in eo aut ambitio aut negligentia iras hominū inritauit. decem legati Locrensiū obsiti squalore et sordibus in comitio sedentibus consulibus uelamenta supplicum, ramos oleae, ut Graecis mos est, porgentes ante tribunal cum flebili uociferatione humi procubuerunt. quaerentibus consulibus Locrenses se dixerunt esse, ea passos a Q. Plemīnio legato Romanisque militibus quae pati ne Carthaginienses quidem uelit populus Romanus; orare uti sibi patres adeundi deplorandique aerumnas suas potestatem facerent.

[17] Senatu dato, maximus natu ex iis: 'scio, quanti aestimentur nostrae apud uos querellae, patres conscripti, plurimum in eo momenti esse si probe sciatis et quomodo proditi Locri Hannibali sint et quomodo pulso Hannibalis praesidio restituti in dicionem uestram; quippe si et culpa defectionis procul a publico consilio absit, et reditum in uestram dicionem appareat non uoluntate solum sed ope etiam ac uirtute nostra, magis indignemini bonis ac fidelibus sociis tam indignas tam atroces iniurias ab legato uestro militibusque fieri. sed ego causam utriusque defectionis nostrae in aliud tempus differendam arbitror esse duarum rerum gratia; unius ut coram P. Scipione, qui Locros recepit <et> omnium nobis recte perperamque factorum est testis, agatur; alterius quod qualescumque sumus tamen haec quae passi sumus pati non debuimus. non possumus dissimulare, patres conscripti, nos cum praesidium Punicum in arce nostra haberemus, multa foeda et indigna et a praefecto praesidii Hamilcare et ab Numidis Afrisque passos esse; sed quid illa sunt, conlata cum iis quae hodie patimur? cum bona uenia, quaeso, audiatis, patres conscripti, id quod inuitus eloquar. in discrimine est nunc humanum omne genus, utrum uos an Carthaginienses principes orbis terrarum uideat. si ex iis quae Locrenses aut ab illis passi sumus aut a uestro praesidio nunc cum maxime patimur aestimandum Romanum ac Punicum imperium sit, nemo non illos sibi quam uos dominos praeoptet. et tamen uidete quemadmodum in uos Locrenses animati sint. cum a Carthaginiensibus iniurias tanto minores acciperemus, ad uestrum imperatorem confugimus: cum a uestro praesidio plus quam hostilia patiamur, nusquam alio quam ad

uos querellas detulimus. aut uos respicietis perditas res nostras, patres conscripti, aut ne ab dis quidem immortalibus quod precemur quicquam superest.

‘Q. Pleminius legatus missus est cum praesidio ad recipiendos a Carthaginienisibis Locros et cum eodem ibi relictus est praesidio. in hoc legato uestro — dant enim animum ad loquendum libere ultimae miseriae — nec hominis quicquam est, patres conscripti, praeter figuram et speciem neque Romani ciuis praeter habitum uestitumque et sonum Latinae linguae; pestis ac belua immanis, quales fretum quondam quo ab Sicilia diuidimur ad perniciem nauigantium circumsedissee fabulae ferunt. ac si scelus libidinemque et auaritiam solus ipse exercere in socios uestros satis haberet, unam profundam quidem uoraginem tamen patientia nostra expleremus: nunc omnes centuriones militesque uestros — adeo in promiscuo licentiam atque improbitatem esse uoluit — Pleminius fecit; omnes rapiunt, spoliant, uerberant, uolnerant, occidunt; constuprant matronas, uirgines, ingenuos raptos ex complexu parentum. cottidie capitur urbs nostra, cottidie diripitur; dies noctesque omnia passim mulierum puerorumque qui rapiuntur atque asportantur ploratibus sonant. miretur qui sciat, quomodo aut nos ad patiendum sufficiamus aut illos qui faciunt nondum tantarum iniuriarum satietas ceperit. neque ego exsequi possum nec uobis operae est audire singula quae passi sumus: communiter omnia amplectar. nego domum ullam Locris, nego quemquam hominem expertem iniuriae esse; nego ullum genus sceleris, libidinis, auaritiae superesse quod in ullo qui pati potuerit praetermissum sit. uix ratio iniri potest uter casus ciuitati sit detestabilior, cum hostes bello urbem cepere an cum exitiabilis tyrannus ui atque armis oppressit. omnia quae captae urbes patiuntur passi sumus et cum maxime patimur, patres conscripti; omnia quae crudelissimi atque importunissimi tyranni scelera in oppressos ciues edunt Pleminius in nos liberosque nostros et coniuges edidit.

[18] ‘Unum est de quo nominatim et nos queri religio infixae animis cogat et uos audire et exsoluere rem publicam uestram religione, si ita uobis uidebitur, uelimus, patres conscripti; uidimus enim cum quanta caerimonia non uestros solum colatis deos sed etiam externos accipiatis. fanum est apud nos Proserpinae, de cuius sanctitate templi credo aliquam famam ad uos peruenisse Pyrrhi bello, qui cum ex

Sicilia rediens Locros classe praeterueheretur, inter alia foeda quae propter fidem erga uos in ciuitatem nostram facinora edidit, thesauros quoque Proserpinae intactos ad eam diem spoliauit atque ita pecunia in naues imposita ipse terra est profectus. quid ergo euenit, patres conscripti? classis postero die foedissima tempestate lacerata omnesque naues quae sacram pecuniam habuerunt in litora nostra eiectae sunt; qua tanta clade edoctus tandem deos esse, superbissimus rex pecuniam omnem conquisitam in thesauros Proserpinae referri iussit. nec tamen illi unquam postea prosperi quicquam euenit, pulsusque Italia ignobili atque inhonesta morte temere nocte ingressus Argos occubuit. haec cum audisset legatus uester tribunique militum et mille alia quae non augendae religionis causa sed praesenti deae numine saepe comperta nobis maioribusque nostris referebantur, ausi sunt nihilominus sacrilegas admouere manus intactis illis thesauris et nefanda praeda se ipsos ac domos contaminare suas et milites uestros. quibus per uos fidemque uestram, patres conscripti, priusquam eorum scelus expietis neque in Italia neque in Africa quicquam rei gesseritis, ne quod piaculi commiserunt non suo solum sanguine sed etiam publica clade luant.

‘Quamquam ne nunc quidem, patres conscripti, aut in ducibus aut in militibus uestris cessat ira deae. aliquotiens iam inter se signis conlatis concurrerunt. dux alterius partis Pleminius, alterius duo tribuni militum erant. non acrius cum Carthaginensibus quam inter se ipsi ferro dimicauerunt, praeuissentque occasionem furore suo Locros recipiendi Hannibali nisi accitus ab nobis Scipio interuenisset. at hercule milites contactos sacrilegio furor agitat, in ducibus ipsis puniendis nullum deae numen apparuit. immo ibi praesens maxime fuit. uirgis caesi tribuni ab legato sunt: legatus deinde insidiis tribunorum interceptus, praeterquam quod toto corpore laceratus, naso quoque auribusque decisis exsanguis est relictus; recreatus dein legatus ex uolneribus tribunos militum in uincla coniectos, dein uerberatos seruilibus omnibus suppliciis cruciando occidit, mortuos deinde prohibuit sepeliri.

‘Has dea poenas a templi sui spoliatoribus habet, nec ante desinet omnibus eos agitare furiis quam reposita sacra pecunia in thesauris fuerit. maiores quondam nostri graui Crotoniensium bello, quia extra urbem templum est, transferre in urbem eam pecuniam uoluerunt;

noctu audita ex delubro uox est: abstinerent manus, deam sua defensuram. quia mouendi inde thesauros religio incussa erat, muro circumdari templum uoluerunt; ad aliquantum iam altitudinis excitata erant moenia cum subito conlapsa ruina sunt. sed et nunc et tunc et saepe alias dea suam sedem suumque templum aut tutata est aut a uiolatoribus grauiam piacula exegit: nostras iniurias nec potest nec possit alius ulcisci quam uos, patres conscripti. ad uos uestramque fidem supplices confugimus. nihil nostra interest utrum sub illo legato sub illo praesidio Locros esse sinatis an irato Hannibali et Poenis ad supplicium dedatis. non postulamus ut extemplo nobis, ut de absente, ut indicta causa credatis: ueniat, coram ipse audiat, ipse diluat. si quicquam sceleris quod homo in homines edere potest in nos praetermisit, non recusamus quin et nos omnia eadem iterum si pati possumus patiamur et ille omni diuino humanoque liberetur scelere.'

[19] Haec cum ab legatis dicta essent quaeissetque ab iis Q. Fabius detulissentne eas querellas ad P. Scipionem, responderunt missos legatos esse sed eum belli apparatu occupatum esse et in Africam aut iam traiecisse aut intra paucos dies traiecturum; et legati gratia quanta esset apud imperatorem expertos esse cum inter eum et tribunos cognita causa tribunos in uincla coniecero, legatum aequae sententiae aut magis etiam in ea potestate reliquerit. iussis excedere templo legatis, non Pleminius modo sed etiam Scipio principum orationibus lacerari. ante omnes Q. Fabius natum eum ad corrumpendam disciplinam militarem arguere: sic et in Hispania plus prope per seditionem militum quam bello amissum; externo et regio more et indulgere licentiae militum et saeuire in eos. sententiam deinde aequae truem orationi adiecit: Pleminium legatum uinctum Romam deportari placere et ex uinculis causam dicere ac, si uera forent quae Locrenses quererentur, in carcere necari bonaque eius publicari: P. Scipionem quod de prouincia decessisset iniussu senatus reuocari, agique cum tribunis plebis ut de imperio eius abrogando ferrent ad populum: Locrensibus coram senatum respondere quas iniurias sibi factas quererentur eas neque senatum neque populum Romanum factas uelle; uiros bonos sociosque et amicos eos appellari; liberos coniuges quaeque alia erepta essent restitui: pecuniam quanta ex thesauris Proserpinae sublata esset conquiri

duplamque pecuniam in thesauros reponi, et sacrum piaculare fieri ita ut prius ad collegium pontificum referretur, quod sacri thesauri moti aperti uiolati essent, quae piacula, quibus dis, quibus hostiis fieri placeret: milites qui Locris essent omnes in Siciliam transportari: quattuor cohortes sociorum Latini nominis in praesidium Locros adduci.

Perrogari eo die sententiae accensis studiis pro Scipione et aduersus Scipionem non potuere. praeter Plemini facinus Locrensiumpque cladem ipsius etiam imperatoris non Romanus modo sed ne militaris quidem cultus iactabatur: cum pallio crepidisque inambulare in gymnasio; libellis eum palaestraeque operam dare; aequ[e] [segniter] molliter cohortem totam Syracusarum amoenitate frui; Carthaginem atque Hannibalem excidisse de memoria; exercitum omnem licentia corruptum, qualis Sucrone in Hispania fuerit, qualis nunc Locris, sociis magis quam hosti metuendum.

[20] Haec quamquam partim uera partim mixta eoque similia ueris iactabantur, tamen uicit Q. Metelli sententia qui de ceteris Maximo adsensus de Scipionis causa dissensit: qui enim conuenire quem modo ciuitas iuuenem admodum unum reciperae Hispaniae delegerit ducem, quem recepta ab hostibus Hispania ad imponendum Punico bello finem creauerit consulem, spe destinauerit Hannibalem ex Italia retracturum, Africam subacturum, eum repente, tamquam Q. Pleminium, indicta causa prope damnatum ex prouincia reuocari, cum ea quae in se nefarie facta Locrenses quererentur ne praesente quidem Scipione facta dicerent, neque aliud quam patientia aut pudor quod legato pepercisset insimulari posset? sibi placere M. Pomponium praetorem, cui Sicilia prouincia sorti euenisset, triduo proximo in prouinciam proficisci: consules decem legatos quos iis uideretur ex senatu legere quos cum praetore mitterent, et duos tribunos plebei atque aedilem; cum eo consilio praetorem cognoscere; si ea quae Locrenses facta quererentur iussu aut uoluntate P. Scipionis facta essent, ut eum de prouincia decedere iuberent; si P. Scipio iam in Africam traiecisset, tribuni plebis atque aedilis cum duobus legatis quos maxime idoneos praetor censuisset in Africam proficiscerentur, tribuni atque aedilis qui reducerent inde Scipionem, legati qui exercitui praessent donec nouus imperator ad eum exercitum uenisset: si M. Pomponius et decem legati

comperissent neque iussu neque uoluntate P. Scipionis ea facta esse, ut ad exercitum Scipio maneret bellumque ut proposuisset gereret. hoc facto senatus consulto, cum tribunis plebis actum est aut compararent inter se aut sorte legerent qui duo cum praetore ac legatis irent: ad collegium pontificum relatum de expiandis quae Locris in templo Proserpinae tacta ac uiolata elataque inde essent.

Tribuni plebis cum praetore et decem legatis profecti M. Claudius Marcellus et M. Cincius Alimentus; aedilis plebis datus est quem, si aut in Sicilia praetori dicto audiens non esset Scipio aut iam in Africam traiecisset, prendere tribuni iuberent, ac iure sacrosanctae potestatis reducerent. prius Locros ire quam Messanam consilium erat.

[21] Ceterum duplex fama est quod ad Pleminium attinet. alii auditis quae Romae acta essent in exilium Neapolim euntem forte in Q. Metellum unum ex legatis incidisse et ab eo Regium ui retractum tradunt: alii ab ipso Scipione legatum cum triginta nobilissimis equitum missum qui Q. Pleminium in catenas et cum eo seditionis principes conicerent. ii omnes seu ante Scipionis seu tum praetoris iussu traditi in custodiam Reginis sunt.

Praetor legatique Locros profecti primam, sicuti mandatum erat, religionis curam habuere; omnem enim sacram pecuniam quaeque apud Pleminium quaeque apud milites erat conquisitam, cum ea quam ipsi secum attulerant, in thesauris reposuerunt ac piaculare sacrum fecerunt. tum uocatos ad contionem milites praetor signa extra urbem efferre iubet castraque in campo locat cum graui edicto si quis miles aut in urbe restitisset aut secum extulisset quod suum non esset: Locrensibus se permittere ut quod sui quisque cognosset prenderet, si quid non compareret repeteret; ante omnia libera corpora placere sine mora Locrensibus restitui; non leui defuncturum poena qui non restituisset. Locrensiū deinde contionem habuit atque iis libertatem legesque suas populum Romanum senatumque restituere dixit; si qui Pleminium aliumue quem accusare uellet, Regium se sequeretur: si de P. Scipione publice queri uellent ea quae Locris nefarie in deos hominesque facta essent iussu aut uoluntate P. Scipionis facta esse, legatos mitterent Messanam; ibi se cum consilio cogniturum. Locrenses praetori legatisque, senatui ac populo Romano gratias egerunt: se ad Pleminium accusandum ituros:

Scipionem, quamquam parum iniuriis ciuitatis suae doluerit, eum esse uirum quem amicum sibi quam inimicum malint esse; pro certo se habere neque iussu neque uoluntate P. Scipionis tot tam nefanda commissa, sed aut Pleminio nimium [aut] sibi parum creditum, aut natura insitum quibusdam esse ut magis peccari nolint quam satis animi ad uindicanda peccata habeant. et praetori et consilio haud mediocre onus demptum erat de Scipione cognoscendi. Pleminium et ad duo et triginta homines cum eo damnauerunt atque in catenis Romam miserunt. ipsi ad Scipionem profecti sunt ut ea quoque quae uulgata sermonibus erant de cultu ac desidia imperatoris solutaque disciplina militiae comperta oculis referrent Romam.

[22] Venientibus iis Syracusas Scipio res, non uerba ad purgandum sese parauit. exercitum omnem eo conuenire, classem expediri iussit, tamquam dimicandum eo die terra marique cum Carthaginiensibus esset. quo die uenerunt hospitio comiter acceptis, postero die terrestrem naualemque exercitum, non instructos modo sed hos decurrentes, classem in portu simulacrum et ipsam edentem naualis pugnae ostendit; tum circa armamentaria et horrea bellicae alium apparatus uisendum praetor legatique ducti. tantaque admiratio singularum uniuersarumque rerum incussa ut satis crederent aut illo duce atque exercitu uinci Carthaginiensem populum aut alio nullo posse, iuberentque quod di bene uerterent traicere et spei conceptae quo die illum omnes centuriae priorem consulem dixissent primo quoque tempore compotem populum Romanum facere; adeoque laetis inde animis profecti sunt, tamquam uictoriam non belli magnificum apparatus nuntiaturi Romam essent.

Pleminius quique in eadem causa erant postquam Romam est uentum extemplo in carcerem conditi. ac primo producti ad populum ab tribunis apud praeoccupatos Locrensiū clade animos nullum misericordiae locum habuerunt: postea cum saepius producerentur, iam senescente inuidia molliabantur irae; et ipsa deformitas Plemini memoriaque absentis Scipionis fauorem ad uolgum conciliabat. mortuus tamen prius in uinclis est quam iudicium de eo populi perficeretur.

Hunc Pleminium Clodius Licinus in libro tertio rerum Romanarum refert ludis uotiui quos Romae Africanus iterum consul faciebat conatum per quosdam quos pretio corruperat aliquot locis

urbem incendere ut effringendi carceris fugiendique haberet occasionem; patefacto dein scelere delegatum in Tullianum ex senatus consulto.

De Scipione nusquam nisi in senatu actum, ubi omnes legatique et tribuni classem exercitum ducemque uerbis extollentes effecerunt ut senatus censeret primo quoque tempore in Africam traiciendum Scipionique permetteretur ut ex iis exercitibus qui in Sicilia essent ipse eligeret quos in Africam secum traiceret, quos prouinciae relinqueret praesidio.

[23] Dum haec apud Romanos geruntur, Carthaginienses quoque cum speculis per omnia promunturia positis percontantes pauentesque ad singulos nuntios sollicitam hiemem egissent, haud paruum et ipsi tuendae Africae momentum adiecerunt societatem Syphacis regis, cuius maxime fiducia traiecturum in Africam Romanum crediderant. erat Hasdrubali Gisgonis filio non hospitium modo cum rege, de quo ante dictum est cum ex Hispania forte in idem tempus Scipio atque Hasdrubal conuenerunt, sed mentio quoque incohata adfinitatis ut rex duceret filiam Hasdrubalis. ad eam rem consummandam tempusque nuptiis statuendum — iam enim et nubilus erat uirgo — profectus Hasdrubal ut accensum cupiditate — et sunt ante omnes barbaros Numidae effusi in uenerem — sensit, uirginem a Carthagine arcessit maturatque nuptias; et inter aliam gratulationem ut publicum quoque foedus priuato adiceretur societas inter populum Carthaginiensem regemque, data ultro citroque fide eosdem amicos inimicosque habituros, iure iurando adfirmatur.

Ceterum Hasdrubal, memor et cum Scipione initae regi societatis et quam uana et mutabilia barbarorum ingenia essent, ueritus ne, si traiecisset in Africam Scipio, paruum uinculum eae nuptiae essent, dum accensum recenti amore Numidam habet perpellit blanditiis quoque puellae adhibitis ut legatos in Siciliam ad Scipionem mittat per quos moneat eum ne prioribus suis promissis fretus in Africam traiciat; se et nuptiis cuius Carthaginiensis, filiae Hasdrubalis quem uiderit apud se in hospitio, et publico etiam foedere cum populo Carthaginiensi iunctum optare primum ut procul ab Africa, sicut adhuc fecerint, bellum Romani cum Carthaginiensibus gerant, ne sibi interesse certaminibus eorum armaque aut haec aut illa abnuentem alteram societatem sequi necesse sit: si non abstineat Africa Scipio et

Carthagini exercitum admoueat, sibi necessarium fore et pro terra Africa in qua et ipse sit genitus et pro patria coniugis suae proque parente ac penatibus dimicare.

[24] Cum his mandatis ab rege legati ad Scipionem missi Syracusis eum conuenerunt. Scipio quamquam magno momento rerum in Africa gerendarum magnaque spe destitutus erat, legatis propere priusquam res uolgaretur remissis in Africam litteras dat ad regem quibus etiam atque etiam monet eum ne iura hospitii secum neu cum populo Romano initae societatis neu fas fidem dexteras deos testes atque arbitros conuentorum fallat. ceterum quando neque celari aduentus Numidarum poterat — uagati enim in urbe obuersatique praetorio erant — et, si sileretur quid petentes uenissent, periculum erat ne uera eo ipso quod celarentur sua sponte magis emanarent, timorque in exercitum incederet ne simul cum rege et Carthaginensibus foret bellandum, auertit a uero falsis praeoccupando mentes hominum, et uocatis ad contionem militibus non ultra esse cunctandum ait; instare ut in Africam quam primum traiciat socios reges. Masinissam prius ipsum ad C. Laelium uenisse querentem quod cunctando tempus tereretur: nunc Syphacem mittere legatos idem admirantem quae tam diuturnae morae sit causa postulantemque ut aut traiciatur tandem in Africam exercitus aut, si mutata consilia sint, certior fiat ut et ipse sibi ac regno suo possit consulere. itaque satis iam omnibus instructis apparatisque et re iam non ultra recipiente cunctationem, in animo sibi esse Lilybaeum classe traducta eodemque omnibus peditum equitumque copiis contractis quae prima dies cursum nauibus daret dis bene iuantibus in Africam traicere. litteras ad M. Pomponium mittit ut, si ei uideretur, Lilybaeum ueniret ut communiter consulerent quas potissimum legiones et quantum militum numerum in Africam traiceret. item circum oram omnem maritimam misit ut naues onerariae compensae Lilybaeum omnes contraherentur.

Quicquid militum nauiumque in Sicilia erat cum Lilybaeum conuenisset et nec urbs multitudinem hominum neque portus naues caperet, tantus omnibus ardor erat in Africam traiciendi ut non ad bellum duci uiderentur sed ad certa uictoriae praemia. praecipue qui superabant ex Cannensi exercitu milites illo non alio duce credebant nauata rei publicae opera finire se militiam ignominiosam posse. et

Scipio minime id genus militum aspernabatur, ut qui neque ad Cannas ignauia eorum cladem acceptam sciret neque ullos aequae ueteres milites in exercitu Romano esse expertosque non uariis proeliis modo sed urbibus etiam oppugnandis. quinta et sexta Cannenses erant legiones. eas se traiecturum in Africam cum dixisset, singulos milites inspexit, relictisque quos non idoneos credebat in locum eorum subiecit quos secum ex Italia adduxerat, suppleuitque ita eas legiones ut singulae sena milia et ducentos pedites, trecenos haberent equites. sociorum item Latini nominis pedites equitesque de exercitu Cannensi legit.

[25] Quantum militum in Africam transportatum sit non paruo numero inter auctores discrepat. alibi decem milia peditum duo milia et ducentos equites, alibi sedecim milia peditum mille et sescentos equites, alibi parte plus dimidia rem auctam, quinque et triginta milia peditum equitumque in naues imposita <inuenio>. quidam non adiecere numerum, inter quos me ipse in re dubia poni malim. Coelius ut abstinet numero, ita ad immensum multitudinis speciem auget: uolucres ad terram delapsas clamore militum ait tantamque multitudinem conscendisse naues ut nemo mortalium aut in Italia aut in Sicilia relinqui uideretur.

Milites ut naues ordine ac sine tumultu conscenderent ipse eam sibi curam sumpsit: nauticos C. Laelius, qui classis praefectus erat, in nauibus ante conscendere coactos continuit: commeatus imponendi M. Pomponio praetori cura data: quinque et quadraginta dierum cibaria, e quibus quindecim dierum cocta, imposita. ut omnes iam in nauibus erant, scaphas circummisit ut ex omnibus nauibus gubernatoresque et magistri nauium et bini milites in forum conuenirent ad imperia accipienda. postquam conuenerunt, primum ab iis quaesiuit si aquam hominibus iumentisque in totidem dies quot frumentum imposuissent. ubi responderunt aquam dierum quinque et quadraginta in nauibus esse, tum edixit militibus ut silentium quieti nautis sine certamine ad ministeria exsequenda bene oboedientes praestarent. cum uiginti rostratis se ac L. Scipionem ab dextro cornu, ab laeua totidem rostratas et C. Laelium praefectum classis cum M. Porcio Catone — quaestor is tum erat — onerariis futurum praesidio. lumina in nauibus singula rostratae, bina onerariae haberent: in praetoria naue insigne nocturnum trium luminum fore. Emporia ut

peterent gubernatoribus edixit. — fertilissimus ager eoque abundans omnium copia rerum est regio, et imbelles — quod plerumque in uberi agro euenit — barbari sunt priusque quam ab Carthagine subueniretur opprimi uidebantur posse. — iis editis imperiis redire ad naues iussi et postero die bis bene iuuantibus signo dato soluere naues.

[26] Multae classes Romanae e Sicilia atque ipso illo portu profectae erant; ceterum non eo bello solum — nec id mirum; praedatum enim tantummodo pleraeque classes ierant — sed ne priore quidem ulla profectio tanti spectaculi fuit; quamquam, si magnitudine classis aestimares, et bini consules cum binis exercitibus ante traiecerant et prope totidem rostratae in illis classibus fuerant quot onerariis Scipio tum traiciebat; nam praeter quadraginta longas naues quadringentis ferme onerariis exercitum trauexit. sed et bellum bello secundum priore ut atrocius Romanis uideretur, cum quod in Italia bellabatur tum ingentes strages tot exercituum simul caesis ducibus effecerant, et Scipio dux partim factis fortibus partim suapte fortuna quadam ~ingenti~ ad incrementa gloriae celebratus conuerterat animos, simul et mens ipsa traiciendi, nulli ante eo bello duci temptata, quod ad Hannibalem detrahendum ex Italia transferendumque et finiendum in Africa bellum se transire uolgauerat. concurrerat ad spectaculum in portum omnis turba non habitantium modo Lilybaei sed legationum omnium ex Sicilia quae et ad prosequendum Scipionem officii causa conuenerant et praetorem prouinciae M. Pomponium secutae fuerant; ad hoc legiones quae in Sicilia relinquebantur ad prosequendos commilitones processerant; nec classis modo prospectantibus e terra, sed terra etiam omnis circa referta turba spectaculo nauigantibus erat.

[27] Ubi influxit, Scipio e praetoria naue silentio per praeconem facto ‘diui diuaeque’ inquit ‘qui maria terrasque colitis, uos precor quae soque uti quae in meo imperio gesta sunt geruntur postque gerentur, ea mihi populo plebique Romanae sociis nominique Latino qui populi Romani quique meam sectam imperium auspiciumque terra mari amnibusque sequuntur bene uerruncent, eaque uos omnia bene iuuetis, bonis auctibus auxitis; saluos incolumesque uictis perduellibus uictores spoliis decoratos praeda onustos triumphantesque mecum domos reduces sistatis; inimicorum

hostiumque ulciscendorum copiam faxitis; quaeque populus Carthaginiensis in ciuitatem nostram facere molitus est, ea ut mihi populoque Romano in ciuitatem Carthaginiensium exempla edendi facultatem detis.’

Secundum has preces cruda exta caesa uictima, uti mos est, in mare proiecit tubaque signum dedit proficiscendi. uento secundo uehementi satis prouecti celeriter e conspectu terrae ablati sunt; et a meridie nebula ocepit ita uix ut concursus nauium inter se uitarent; lenior uentus in alto factus. noctem insequentem eadem caligo obtinuit: sole orto est discussa, et addita uis uento. iam terram cernebant. haud ita multo post gubernator Scipioni ait non plus quinque milia passuum Africam abesse; Mercuri promunturium se cernere; si iubeat eo dirigi, iam in portu fore omnem classem. Scipio, ut in conspectu terra fuit, precatus deos uti bono rei publicae suoque Africam uiderit, dare uela et alium infra nauibus accessum petere iubet. uento eodem ferebantur; ceterum nebula sub idem ferme tempus quo pridie exorta conspectum terrae ademit et uentus premente nebula cecidit. nox deinde incertiora omnia fecit; itaque ancoras ne aut inter se concurrerent naues aut terrae inferrentur iecere. ubi inluxit, uentus idem coortus nebula disiecta aperuit omnia Africae litora. Scipio quod esset proximum promuntorium percontatus cum Pulchri promunturium id uocari audisset, ‘placet omen,’ inquit ‘huc dirigite naues.’ eo classis decurrit, copiaeque omnes in terram expositae sunt.

Prosperam nauigationem sine terrore ac tumultu fuisse permultis Graecis Latinisque auctoribus credidi. Coelius unus praeterquam quod non mersas fluctibus naues ceteros omnes caelestes maritimosque terrores, postremo abreptam tempestate ab Africa classem ad insulam Aegimurum, inde aegre correctum cursum exponit, et prope obrutis nauibus iniussu imperatoris scaphis, haud secus quam naufragos, milites sine armis cum ingenti tumultu in terram euasisse.

[28] Expositis copiis Romani castra in proximis tumultis metantur. iam non in maritimos modo agros conspectu primum classis dein tumultu egredientium in terram pauor terrorque peruenerat, sed in ipsas urbes; neque enim hominum modo turba mulierum puerorumque agminibus immixta omnes passim compleuerat uias,

sed pecora quoque prae se agrestes agebant, ut relinqui subito Africam diceres. urbibus uero ipsis maiorem quam quem secum attulerant terrorem inferebant; praecipue Carthagini prope ut captae tumultus fuit. nam post M. Atilium Regulum et L. Manlium consules, annis prope quinquaginta, nullum Romanum exercitum uiderant praeter praedatorias classes quibus escensiones in agros maritimos factae erant, raptisque quae obuia fors fecerat prius recursum semper ad naues quam clamor agrestes conciret fuerat. eo maior tum fuga pauorque in urbe fuit. et hercule neque exercitus domi ualidus neque dux quem opponerent erat. Hasdrubal Gisgonis filius genere, fama, diuitiis, regia tum etiam adfinitate, longe primus ciuitatis erat; sed eum ab ipso illo Scipione aliquot proeliis fustum pulsumque in Hispania meminerant nec magis ducem duci parem quam tumultuarium exercitum suum Romano exercitui esse. itaque uelut si urbem extemplo adgressurus Scipio foret, ita conclamatum ad arma est portaeque raptim clausae et armati in muris uigiliaeque et stationes dispositae ac nocte insequenti uigilatum est. postero die quingenti equites, speculatum ad mare turbandosque egredientes ex nauibus missi, in stationes Romanorum inciderunt. iam enim Scipio, classe Uticam missa, ipse haud ita multum progressus a mari tumultos proximos ceperat; equites et in stationibus locis idoneis posuerat et per agros miserat praedatum.

[29] Hi cum Carthaginiensi equitatu proelium cum commisissent, paucos in ipso certamine, plerosque fugientes persecuti, in quibus praefectum quoque Hannonem, nobilem iuuenem, occiderunt. Scipio non agros modo circa uastauit sed urbem etiam proximam Afrorum satis opulentam cepit; ubi praeter cetera, quae extemplo in naues onerarias imposita missaque in Siciliam erant, octo milia liberorum seruorumque capitum sunt capta.

Laetissimus tamen Romanis in principio rerum gerendarum aduentus fuit Masinissae; quem quidam cum ducentis haud amplius equitibus, plerique cum duum milium equitatu tradunt uenisse. ceterum cum longe maximus omnium aetatis suae regum hic fuerit plurimumque rem Romanam iuuerit, operae pretium uidetur excedere paulum ad enarrandum quam uaria fortuna usus sit in amittendo recipiendoque paterno regno. — militanti pro Carthaginiensibus in Hispania pater ei moritur; Galae nomen erat. regnum ad fratrem regis

Oezalcem pergrandem natu — ita mos apud Numidas est — peruenit. haud multo post Oezalce quoque mortuo maior ex duobus filiis eius Capussa, puero admodum altero, paternum imperium accepit. ceterum cum magis iure gentis quam auctoritate inter suos aut uiribus obtineret regnum, exstitit quidam Mazaetullus nomine, non alienus sanguine regibus, familiae semper inimicae ac de imperio uaria fortuna cum iis qui tum obtinebant certantis. is concitatis popularibus, apud quos inuidia regum magnae auctoritatis erat, castris palam positis descendere regem in aciem ac dimicare de regno coegit. in eo proelio Capussa cum multis principum cecidit. gens Maesuliorum omnis in dicionem imperiumque Mazaetulli concessit; regio tamen nomine abstinuit contentusque nomine modico tutoris puerum Lacumazen, qui stirpis regiae supererat, regem appellat. Carthaginiensem nobilem feminam, sororis filiam Hannibalis, quae proxime Oezalci regi nupta fuerat, matrimonio sibi iungit spe Carthaginiensium societatis, et cum Syphace hospitium uetustum legatis missis renouat, omnia ea auxilia praeparans aduersus Masinissam.

[30] Et Masinissa audita morte patruī, dein nece fratris patruelis, ex Hispania in Mauretanium — Baga ea tempestate rex Maurorum erat — traiecit. ab eo supplex infimis precibus auxilium itineri, quoniam bello non poterat, quattuor milia Maurorum impetrauit. cum iis praemisso nuntio ad paternos suosque amicos cum ad fines regni peruenisset, quingenti ferme Numidae ad eum conuenerunt. igitur Mauris inde sicut conuenerat retro ad regem remissis, quamquam aliquanto minor spe multitudo ~conueniret~, nec cum qua tantam rem adgredi satis auderet, ratus agendo ac moliendo uires quoque ad agendum aliquid conlecturum, proficiscenti ad Syphacem Lacumazae regulo ad Thapsum occurrit. trepidum agmen cum in urbem refugisset, urbem Masinissa primo impetu capit et ex regiis alios tradentes se recipit, alios uim parantes occidit; pars maxima cum ipso puero inter tumultum ad Syphacem quo primum intenderant iter peruenerunt. fama huius modicae rei in principio rerum prospere actae conuertit ad Masinissam Numidas, adfluebantque undique ex agris uicisque ueteres milites Galae et incitabant iuuenem ad recipiendum paternum regnum. numero militum aliquantum Mazaetullus superabat; nam et ipse eum exercitum quo Capussam

uicerat et ex receptis post caedem regis aliquot habebat, et puer Lacumazes ab Syphace auxilia ingentia adduxerat. quindecim milia peditum Mazaetullo decem milia equitum erant, quibus cum Masinissa nequaquam tantum peditum equitumue habente acie confligit. uicit tamen et ueterum militum uirtus et prudentia inter Romana et Punica arma exercitati ducis; regulus cum tutore et exigua Masaesuliorum manu in Carthaginiensem agrum perfugit. ita reciperato regno paterno Masinissa, quia sibi aduersus Syphacem haud paulo maiorem restare dimicationem cernebat, optimum ratus cum fratre patruele gratiam reconciliare, missis qui et puero spem facerent si in fidem Masinissae sese permisisset futurum eum in eodem honore quo apud Galam Oezalces quondam fuisset, et qui Mazaetullo praeter impunitatem sua omnia cum fide restitui sponderent, ambo praeoptantes exsilio modicam domi fortunam, omnia ne id fieret Carthaginiensibus de industria agentibus, ad sese perduxit.

[31] Hasdrubal tum forte cum haec gerebantur apud Syphacem erat; qui Numidae, haud sane multum ad se pertinere credenti utrum penes Lacumazen an Masinissam regnum Maesuliorum esset, falli eum magno opere ait si Masinissam eisdem contentum fore quibus patrem Galam aut patruum eius Oezalces credat: multo maiorem indolem in eo animi ingeniique esse quam in ullo gentis eius unquam fuisset; saepe eum in Hispania rarae inter homines uirtutis specimen dedisse sociis pariter hostibusque; et Syphacem et Carthaginienses nisi orientem illum ignem oppressissent ingenti mox incendio cum iam nullam opem ferre possent arsueros; adhuc teneras et fragiles uires eius esse uixdum coalescens fouentis regnum. instando stimulandoque peruincit ut exercitum ad fines Maesuliorum admoueant atque in agro de quo saepe cum Gala non uerbis modo disceptatum sed etiam armis certatum fuerat, tamquam haud dubie iuris sui, castra locet. si quis arceat, id quod maxime opus sit, acie dimicaturum: sin per metum agro cedatur, in medium regni eundum. aut sine certamine concessuros in dicionem eius Maesulios aut nequaquam pares futuros armis.

His uocibus incitatus Syphax Masinissae bellum infert. et primo certamine Maesulios fundit fugatque; Masinissa cum paucis equitibus ex acie in montem — Bellum incolae uocant — perfugit.

familiae aliquot cum mapalibus pecoribusque suis — ea pecunia illis est — persecuti sunt regem: cetera Maesuliorum multitudo in dicionem Syphacis concessit. quem ceperant exsules montem herbidus aquosusque est; et quia pecori bonus alendo erat, hominum quoque carne ac lacte uescentium abunde sufficebat alimentis. inde nocturnis primo ac furtiuis incursionibus, deinde aperto latrocinio infesta omnia circa esse; maxime uri Carthaginiensis ager, quia et plus praedae quam inter Numidas et latrocinium tutius erat. iamque adeo licenter eludebant ut ad mare deuectam praedam uenderent mercatoribus adpellentibus naues ad id ipsum, pluresque quam iusto saepe in bello Carthaginienses caderent caperenturque. deplorabant ea apud Syphacem Carthaginienses infensumque et ipsum ad reliquias belli persequendas instigabant; sed uix regium uidebatur latronem uagum in montibus consecrari;

[32] Bucar ex praefectis regis, uir acer et impiger, ad id delectus. ei data quattuor milia peditum duo equitum, praemiorumque ingentium spe oneratus si caput Masinissae rettulisset aut uiuum — id uero inaestimabile gaudium fore — cepisset. palatos incurioseque agentes improuiso adortus, pecorum hominumque ingenti multitudine a praesidio armatorum exclusa Masinissam ipsum cum paucis in uerticem montis compellit. inde prope iam ut debellato nec praeda modo pecorum hominumque captorum missa ad regem sed copiis etiam, ut aliquanto maioribus quam pro reliquiis belli, remissis, cum quingentis haud amplius peditibus ducentisque equitibus degressum iugis Masinissam persecutus in ualle arta faucibus utrimque obsessis inclusit. ibi ingens caedes Maesuliorum facta: Masinissa cum quinquaginta haud amplius equitibus per anfractus montis ignotos sequentibus se eripuit. tenuit tamen uestigia Bucar, adeptusque eum patentibus prope Clupeam urbem campis ita circumuenit ut praeter quattuor equites omnes ad unum interfecerit. cum iis ipsum quoque Masinissam saucium prope e manibus inter tumultum amisit. in conspectu erant fugientes; ala equitum dispersa lato campo quibusdam ut occurrerent per obliqua tendentibus quinque hostes sequebatur. amnis ingens fugientes accepit — neque enim cunctanter, ut quos maior metus urgeret, immiserant equos — raptique gurgite in obliquum praelati. duobus in conspectu hostium in praerapidum gurgitem haustis, ipse perisse creditus ac duo reliqui

equites cum eo inter uirgulta ulterioris ripae emergerunt. is finis Bucari sequendi fuit, nec ingredi flumen auso nec habere credenti se iam quem sequeretur. inde uanus auctor absumpti Masinissae ad regem rediit, missique qui Carthaginem gaudium ingens nuntiarent; totaque Africa fama mortis Masinissae repleta uarie animos adfecit.

Masinissa in spelunca occulta cum herbis curaret uolnus duorum equitum latrocinio per dies aliquot uixit. ubi primum ducta cicatrix patique posse uisus iactationem, audacia ingenti pergit ire ad regnum repetendum; atque in ipso itinere haud plus quadraginta equitibus conlectis cum in Maesulios palam iam quis esset ferens uenisset, tantum motum cum fauore pristino tum gaudio insperato quod quem perisse crediderant incolumem cernebant fecit ut intra paucos dies sex milia peditum armatorum quattuor equitum ad eum confluerent, iamque non in possessione modo paterni regni esset sed etiam socios Carthaginensium populos Masaesuliorumque fines — id Syphacis regnum erat — uastaret. inde inritato ad bellum Syphace, inter Cirtam Hipponemque in iugis opportunorum ad omnia montium consedit.

[33] Maiorem igitur iam rem Syphax ratus quam ut per praefectos ageret, cum filio iuvene — nomen Uermina erat — parte exercitus missa imperat ut circumducto agmine in se intentum hostem ab tergo inuadat. nocte profectus Uermina qui ex occulto adgressurus erat; Syphax autem interdium aperto itinere ut qui signis conlatis acie dimicaturus esset mouit castra. ubi tempus uisum est quo peruenisse iam circummissi uideri poterant, et ipse leni cliuo ferente ad hostem cum multitudine fretus tum praeparatis ab tergo insidiis per aduersum montem erectam aciem ducit. Masinissa fiducia maxime loci, quo multo aequiore pugnaturus erat, et ipse dirigit suos. atrox proelium et diu anceps fuit, loco et uirtute militum Masinissam, multitudine quae nimio maior erat Syphacem iuuante. ea multitudo diuisa cum pars a fronte urgeret pars ab tergo se circumfudisset, uictoriam haud dubiam Syphaci dedit, et ne effugium quidem patebat hinc a fronte hinc ab tergo inclusis. itaque ceteri pedites equitesque caesi aut capti: ducentos ferme equites Masinissa circa se conglobatos diuisosque turmatim in tres partes erumpere iubet, loco praedicto in quem ex dissipata conuenirent fuga. ipse qua intenderat inter media tela hostium euasit: duae turmae haesere; altera metu

dedita hosti, pertinacior altera in repugnando telis obruta et confixa est. Uerminam prope uestigiis instantem in alia atque alia flectendo itinera eludens, taedio et desperatione tandem fessum absistere sequendo coegit; ipse cum sexaginta equitibus ad minorem Syrtim peruenit. ibi cum conscientia egregia saepe repetiti regni paterni inter Punica Emporia gentemque Garamantum omne tempus usque ad C. Laeli classisque Romanae aduentum in Africam consumpsit. haec animum inclinant ut cum modico potius quam cum magno praesidio equitum ad Scipionem quoque postea uenisse Masinissam credam; quippe illa regnanti multitudo, haec paucitas exsulis fortunae conueniens est.

[34] Carthaginienses ala equitum cum praefecto amissa, alio equitatu per nouum dilectum comparato Hannonem Hamilcaris filium praeficiunt. Hasdrubalem subinde ac Syphacem per litteras nuntiosque, postremo etiam per legatos arcessunt; Hasdrubalem opem ferre prope circumsessae patriae iubent; Syphacem orant ut Carthagini, ut uniuersae Africae subueniat. ad Uticam tum castra Scipio ferme mille passus ab urbe habebat translata a mari, ubi paucos dies statua coniuncta classi fuerant. Hanno nequaquam satis ualido non modo ad lacessendum hostem sed ne ad tuendos quidem a populationibus agros equitatu accepto id omnium primum egit ut per conquisitionem numerum equitum augeret; nec aliarum gentium aspernatus, maxime tamen Numidas — id longe primum equitum in Africa est genus — conduit. iam ad quattuor milia equitum habebat, cum Salaecam nomine urbem occupauit quindecim ferme milia ab Romanis castris. quod ubi Scipioni relatum est, ‘aestiua sub tectis equitatus.’ inquit ‘sint uel plures, dum talem ducem habeant.’ eo minus sibi cessandum ratus quo illi segnius rem agerent, Masinissam cum equitatu praemissum portis obequitare atque hostem ad pugnam elicere iubet: ubi omnis multitudo se effudisset grauiorque iam in certamine esset quam ut facile sustineri posset, cederet paulatim; se in tempore pugnae obuenturum. tantum moratus quantum satis temporis praegresso uisum ad eliciendos hostes, cum Romano equitatu secutus tegentibus tumulis, qui peropportune circa uiae flexus oppositi erant, occultus processit.

Masinissa ex composito nunc terrentis, nunc timentis modo aut ipsis obequitabat portis aut cedendo, cum timoris simulatio audaciam

hosti faceret, ad insequendum temere eliciebat. nondum omnes egressi erant uarieque dux fatigabatur, alios uino et somno graues arma capere et frenare equos cogendo, aliis ne sparsi et inconditi sine ordine sine signis omnibus portis excurrerent obsistendo. primo incaute se inuehentes Masinissa excipiebat; mox plures simul conferti porta effusi aequauerant certamen; postremo iam omnis equitatus proelio cum adesset, sustineri ultra nequiere; non tamen effusa fuga Masinissa sed cedendo sensim impetus eorum accipiebat donec ad tumulos tegentes Romanum equitatum pertraxit. inde exorti equites et ipsi integris uiribus et recentibus equis Hannoni Afrisque pugnando ac sequendo fessis se circumfudere; et Masinissa flexis subito equis in pugnam rediit. mille fere qui primi agminis fuerant, quibus haud facilis receptus fuit, cum ipso duce Hannone interclusi atque interfecti sunt: ceteros ducis praecipue territos caede effuse fugientes per triginta milia passuum uictores secuti ad duo praeterea milia equitum aut ceperunt aut occiderunt. inter eos satis constabat non minus ducentos Carthaginiensium equites fuisse, et diuitiis quosdam et genere inlustres.

[35] Eodem forte quo haec gesta sunt die naues quae praedam in Siciliam uexerant cum commeatu rediere, uelut ominatae ad praedam alteram repetendam sese uenisse. duos eodem nomine Carthaginiensium duces duobus equestribus proeliis interfectos non omnes auctores sunt, ueriti, credo, ne falleret bis relata eadem res: Coelius quidem et Ualerius captum etiam Hannonem tradunt.

Scipio praefectos equitesque prout cuiusque opera fuerat et ante omnes Masinissam insignibus donis donat; et firmo praesidio Salaecae imposito ipse cum cetero exercitu profectus, non agris modo quacumque incedebat populatis sed urbibus etiam quibusdam uicisque expugnatis late fuso terrore belli septimo die quam profectus erat magnam uim hominum et pecoris et omnis generis praedae trahens in castra redit, grauesque iterum hostilibus spoliis naues dimittit. inde omissis expeditionibus paruis populationibusque ad oppugnandam Uticam omnes belli uires conuertit, eam deinde si cepisset sedem ad cetera exsequenda habiturus. simul et a classe nauales socii, qua ex parte urbs mari adluitur, simul et terrestris exercitus ab imminente prope ipsis moenibus tumulo est admotus. tormenta machinasque et aduexerat secum, et ex Sicilia missa cum

commeatu erant; et noua in armamentario multis talium operum artificibus de industria inclusis fiebant.

Uticensibus tanta undique mole circumsessis in Carthaginiensi populo, Carthaginiensibus in Hasdrubale ita si is mouisset Syphacem, spes omnis erat; sed desiderio indigentium auxilii tardius cuncta mouebantur. Hasdrubal intentissima conquisitione cum ad triginta milia peditum, tria equitum confecisset, non tamen ante aduentum Syphacis castra propius hostem mouere est ausus. Syphax cum quinquaginta milibus peditum, decem equitum aduenit confestimque motis a Carthagine castris, haud procul Utica munitionibusque Romanis consedit. quorum aduentus hoc tamen momenti fecit ut Scipio, cum quadraginta ferme dies nequiquam omnia experiens obsedisset Uticam, abscederet inde inrito incepto. et — iam enim hiemps instabat — castra hiberna in promunturio, quod tenui iugo continenti adhaerens in aliquantum maris spatium extenditur, communit. uno uallo et naualia et castra amplectitur; iugo medio legionum castris impositis, latus ad septentrionem uersum subductae naues naualesque socii tenebant, meridianam uallem ad alterum litus deuexam equitatus. haec in Africa usque ad extremum autumnii gesta.

[36] Praeter conuectum undique ex populatis circa agris frumentum commeatusque ex Sicilia atque Italia aduectos, Cn. Octavius propraetor ex Sardinia ab Ti. Claudio praetore cuius ea prouincia erat ingentem uim frumenti aduexit; horreaque non solum ea quae iam facta erant repleta, sed noua aedificata. uestimenta exercitui deerant; id mandatum Octauio ut cum praetore ageret si quid ex ea prouincia comparari ac mitti posset. ea quoque haud segniter curata res; mille ducentae togae breui spatio, duodecim milia tunicarum missa.

Aestate ea qua haec in Africa gesta sunt P. Sempronius consul cui Bruttii prouincia erat in agro Crotoniensi cum Hannibale in ipso itinere tumultuario proelio confligit. agminibus magis quam acie pugnatum est. Romani pulsi, et tumultu uerius quam pugna ad mille et ducenti de exercitu consulis interfecti; in castra trepide reditum, neque oppugnare tamen ea hostes ausi. ceterum silentio proximae noctis profectus inde consul praemisso nuntio ad P. Licinium proconsulem ut suas legiones admoueret copias coniunxit. ita duo duces duo exercitus ad Hannibalem redierunt; nec mora dimicandi

facta, cum consuli duplicatae uires, Poeno recens uictoria animos faceret. in primam aciem suas legiones Sempronius induxit; in subsidiis locatae P. Licini legiones. consul principio pugnae aedem Fortunae Primigeniae uouit si eo die hostes fudisset; composque eius uoti fuit. fusi ac fugati Poeni; supra quattuor milia armatorum caesa, paulo minus trecenti uiui capti et equi quadraginta undecim militaria signa. percussus aduerso proelio Hannibal Crotonem exercitum reduxit.

Eodem tempore M. Cornelius consul in altera parte Italiae non tam armis quam iudiciorum terrore Etruriam continuit, totam ferme ad Magonem ac per eum ad spem nouandi res uersam. eas quaestiones ex senatus consulto minime ambitiose habuit; multique nobiles Etrusci qui aut ipsi ierant aut miserant ad Magonem de populorum suorum defectione, primo praesentes erant condemnati, postea conscientia sibimet ipsi exsilium consciscentes cum absentes damnati essent, corporibus subtractis bona tantum quae publicari poterant pigneranda poenae praebabant.

[37] Dum haec consules diuersis regionibus agunt, censores interim Romae M. Liuius et C. Claudius senatum recitauerunt. princeps iterum lectus Q. Fabius Maximus; notati septem, nemo tamen qui sella curuli sedisset. sarta tecta acriter et cum summa fide exegerunt. uiam e foro bouario [et] ad Ueneris circa foros publicos et aedem Matris Magnae in Palatio faciendam locauerunt. uestigal etiam nouum ex salaria annona statuerunt. sextante sal et Romae et per totam Italiam erat; Romae pretio eodem, pluris in foris et conciliabulis et alio alibi pretio praebendum locauerunt. id uestigal commentum alterum ex censoribus satis credebant populo iratum quod iniquo iudicio quondam damnatus esset, et in pretio salis maxime oneratas tribus quarum opera damnatus erat [credebant]; inde Salinatori Liuio inditum cognomen.

Lustrum conditum serius quia per prouincias dimiserunt censores ut ciuium Romanorum in exercitibus quantus ubique esset referretur numerus. censa cum iis ducenta quattuordecim milia hominum. condidit lustrum C. Claudius Nero. duodecim deinde coloniarum, quod nunquam antea factum erat, deferentibus ipsarum coloniarum censoribus censum acceperunt ut quantum numero militum, quantum pecunia ualerent in publicis tabulis monumenta exstarent. equitum

deinde census agi coeptus est; et ambo forte censores equum publicum habebant. cum ad tribum Polliam uentum esset in qua M. Liui nomen erat, et praeco cunctaretur citare ipsum censorem, ‘cita’ inquit Nero ‘M. Liuium’; et siue ex residua uetere simultate siue intempestiua iactatione seueritatis inflatus M. Liuium quia populi iudicio esset damnatus equum uendere iussit. item M. Liuius cum ad tribum Arniensem et nomen collegae uentum est, uendere equum C. Claudium iussit duarum rerum causa, unius quod falsum aduersus se testimonium dixisset, alterius quod non sincera fide secum in gratiam redisset. aequae foedum certamen inquinandi famam alterius cum suae famae damno factum est exitu censurae. cum in leges iurasset C. Claudius et in aerarium escendisset, inter nomina eorum quos aerarios relinquebat dedit collegae nomen. deinde M. Liuius in aerarium uenit; praeter Maeciam tribum, quae se neque condemnasset neque condemnatum aut consulem aut censorem fecisset, populum Romanum omnem, quattuor et triginta tribus, aerarios reliquit, quod et innocentem se condemnasset et condemnatum consulem et censorem fecissent neque infitiri possent aut iudicio semel aut comitiis bis ab se peccatum esse: inter quattuor et triginta tribus et C. Claudium aerarium fore; quod si exemplum haberet bis eundem aerarium relinquiendi, C. Claudium nominatim se inter aerarios fuisse relicturum. prauum certamen notarum inter censores; castigatio inconstantiae populi censoria et grauitate temporum illorum digna. in inuidia censores cum essent, crescendi ex iis ratus esse occasionem Cn. Baebius tribunus plebis diem ad populum utrique dixit. ea res consensu patrum discussa est ne postea obnoxia populari aerae censura esset.

[38] Eadem aestate in Brutiis Clampetia a consule ui capta, Consentia et Pandosia et ignobiles aliae ciuitates uoluntate in dicionem uenerunt. et cum comitiorum iam appeteret tempus, Cornelium potius ex Etruria ubi nihil belli erat Romam acciri placuit. is consules Cn. Seruilius Caepionem et C. Seruilius Geminum creauit. inde praetoria comitia habita. creati P. Cornelius Lentulus P. Quinctilius Uarus P. Aelius Paetus P. Uillius Tappulus; hi duo cum aediles plebis essent, praetores creati sunt. consul comitiis perfectis ad exercitum in Etruriam redit.

Sacerdotes eo anno mortui atque in locum eorum suffecti: Ti.

Ueturius Philo flamen Martialis in locum M. Aemili Regilli, qui priore anno mortuus erat, creatus inauguratusque; in M. Pomponi Mathonis auguris et decemuiri locum creati decemuir M. Aurelius Cotta, augur Ti. Sempronius Gracchus admodum adulescens, quod tum perrarum in mandandis sacerdotiis erat. quadrigae aureae eo anno in Capitolio positae ab aedilibus curulibus C. Liuio et M. Seruilio Gemino, et ludi Romani biduum instaurati; item per biduum plebeii ab aedilibus P. Aelio P. Uillio; et Iouis epulum fuit ludorum causa.

LIBER XXX

[1] Cn. Seruilius et C. Seruilius consules — sextus decimus is annus belli Punici erat — cum de re publica belloque et prouinciis ad senatum rettulissent, censuerunt patres ut consules inter se compararent sortirenturue uter Bruttios aduersus Hannibalem, uter Etruriam ac Ligures prouinciam haberet: cui Bruttii euenissent exercitum a P. Sempronio acciperet; P. Sempronius — ei quoque enim pro consule imperium in annum prorogabatur — P. Licinio succederet; is Romam reuerteretur, bello quoque bonus habitus ad cetera, quibus nemo ea tempestate instructor ciuis habebatur, congestis omnibus humanis ab natura fortunaque bonis. nobilis idem ac diues erat; forma uiribusque corporis excellebat; facundissimus habebatur, seu causa oranda, seu in senatu et apud populum suadendi ac dissuadendi locus esset; iuris pontificii peritissimus; super haec bellicae quoque laudis consulatus compotem fecerat. quod in Brutiis prouincia, idem in Etruria ac Liguribus decretum: M. Cornelius nouo consuli tradere exercitum iussus, ipse prorogato imperio Galliam prouinciam obtinere cum legionibus iis quas <L.> Scribonius priore anno habuisset. sortiti deinde prouincias: Caepioni Bruttii, [Seruilio] Gemino Etruria euenit. tum praetorum prouinciae in sortem coniectae. iurisdictionem urbanam Paetus Aelius, Sardiniam P. Lentulus, Siciliam P. Uillius, Ariminum cum duabus legionibus — sub Sp. Lucretio eae fuerant — Quinctilius Uarus est sortitus. et Lucretio prorogatum imperium ut Genuam oppidum a Magone Poeno dirutum exaedificaret. P. Scipioni non temporis, sed rei gerendae fine, donec debellatum in Africa foret, prorogatum imperium est; decretumque ut supplicatio fieret, quod is in Africam prouinciam traiecisset, ut ea res salutaris populo Romano ipsique duci atque exercitui esset.

[2] In Siciliam tria milia militum sunt scripta [et] quia quod roboris ea prouincia habuerat in Africam transuictum fuerat; et quia ne qua classis ex Africa traiceret quadraginta nauibus custodiri placuerat Siciliae maritimam oram, tredecim nouas naues Uillius secum in Siciliam duxit, ceterae in Sicilia ueteres reffectae. huic classi M. Pomponius prioris anni praetor prorogato imperio praepositus nouos

milites ex Italia aduectos in naues imposuit. parem nauium numerum Cn. Octauio praetori item prioris anni cum pari iure imperii ad tuendam Sardiniae oram patres decreuerunt; Lentulus praetor duo milia militum dare in naues iussus. et Italiae ora, quia incertum erat quo missuri classem Carthaginienses forent, uidebantur autem quicquid nudatum praesidiis esset petitori, M. Marcio praetori prioris anni cum totidem nauibus tuenda data est. tria milia militum in eam classem ex decreto patrum consules scripserunt et duas legiones urbanas ad incerta belli. Hispaniae cum exercitibus imperioque ueteribus imperatoribus, L. Lentulo et L. Manlio Acidino, decretae. uiginti omnino legionibus et centum sexaginta nauibus longis res Romana eo anno gesta.

Praetores in prouincias ire iussi: consulibus imperatum ut priusquam ab urbe proficiscerentur ludos magnos facerent quos T. Manlius Torquatus dictator in quintum annum uouisset si eodem statu res publica staret. et nouas religiones excitabant in animis hominum prodigia ex pluribus locis nuntiata. aurum in Capitolio corui non lacerasse tantum rostris crediti sed etiam edisse; mures Antii coronam auream adrosere; circa Capuam omnem agrum locustarum uis ingens, ita ut unde aduenissent parum constaret, compleuit; eculus Reate cum quinque pedibus natus; Anagniae sparsi primum ignes in caelo, dein fax ingens arsit; Frusinone arcus solem tenui linea amplexus est, circulum deinde ipsum maior solis orbis extrinsecus inclusit; Arpini terra campestri agro in ingentem sinum consedit; consulum alteri primam hostiam immolanti caput iocineris defuit. ea prodigia maioribus hostiis procurata; editi a collegio pontificum dei quibus sacrificaretur.

[3] His transactis consules praetoresque in prouincias profecti; omnibus tamen, uelut eam sortitis, Africae cura erat, seu quia ibi summam rerum bellique uerti cernebant seu ut Scipioni gratificarentur, in quem tum omnis uersa ciuitas erat. itaque non ex Sardinia tantum, sicut ante dictum est, sed ex Sicilia quoque et Hispania uestimenta frumentumque, et arma etiam ex Sicilia et omne genus commeatus eo portabantur. nec Scipio ullo tempore hiemis belli opera remiserat, quae multa simul undique eum circumstabant. Uticam obsidebat; castra in conspectu Hasdrubalis erant; Carthaginienses deduxerant naues; classem paratam instructamque

ad commeatus intercipiendos habebant. inter haec ne Syphacis quidem reconciliandi curam ex animo miserat, si forte iam satias amoris in uxore ex multa copia eum cepisset. ab Syphace magis pacis cum Carthaginiensibus condiciones ut Romani Africa, Poeni Italia excederent quam, si bellaretur, spes ulla desciturum adferebatur. — haec per nuntios acta magis equidem crediderim — et ita pars maior auctores sunt — quam ipsum Syphacem, ut Antias Ualerius prodit, in castra Romana ad conloquium uenisse. — primo eas condiciones imperator Romanus uix auribus admisit; postea, ut causa probabilis suis commeandi foret in castra hostium, mollius eadem illa abnuere ac spem facere saepius ultro citroque agitantibus rem conuenturam. hibernacula Carthaginiensium, congesta temere ex agris materia exaedificata, lignea ferme tota erant. Numidae praecipue harundine textis storeaque pars maxima tectis, passim nullo ordine, quidam ut sine imperio occupatis locis extra fossam etiam uallumque habitabant. haec relata Scipioni spem fecerant castra hostium per occasionem incendendi.

[4] Cum legatis quos mitteret ad Syphacem calonum loco primos ordines spectatae uirtutis atque prudentiae seruili habitu mittebat, qui dum in conloquio legati essent uagi per castra alius alia aditus exitusque omnes, situm formamque et uniuersorum castrorum et partium, qua Poeni qua Numidae haberent, quantum interualli inter Hasdrubalis ac regia castra esset, specularentur moremque simul noscerent stationum uigiliarumque, nocte an interdiu opportuniore insidianti essent; et inter crebra conloquia alii atque alii de industria quo pluribus omnia nota essent mittebantur. cum saepius agitata res certiores spem pacis in dies et Syphaci et Carthaginiensibus per eum faceret, legati Romani uetitos se reuerti ad imperatorem aiunt nisi certum responsum detur: proinde, seu ipsi staret iam sententia, <promeret sententiam>, seu consulendus Hasdrubal et Carthaginienses essent, consuleret; tempus esse aut pacem componi aut bellum nauiter geri. dum consulitur Hasdrubal ab Syphace, ab Hasdrubale Carthaginienses, et speculatores omnia uisendi et Scipio ad comparanda ea quae in rem erant tempus habuit; et ex mentione ac spe pacis neglegentia, ut fit, apud Poenos Numidamque orta cauendi ne quid hostile interim paterentur. tandem relatum responsum, quibusdam, quia nimis cupere Romanus pacem

uidebatur, iniquis per occasionem adiectis, quae peropportune cupienti tollere indutias Scipioni causam praebuere; ac nuntio regis cum relaturum se ad consilium dixisset, postero die respondit se uno frustra tendente nulli alii pacem placuisse; renuntiaret igitur nullam aliam spem pacis quam relictis Carthaginiensibus Syphaci cum Romanis esse. ita tollit indutias ut libera fide incepta exsequeretur; deductisque nauibus — et iam ueris principium erat — machinas tormentaue, uelut a mari adgressurus Uticam, imponit, et duo milia militum ad capiendum quem antea tenuerat tumultum super Uticam mittit, simul ut ab eo quod parabat in alterius rei curam conuerteret hostium animos, simul ne qua, cum ipse ad Syphacem Hasdrubalemque profectus esset, eruptio ex urbe et impetus in castra sua relictis cum leui praesidio fieret.

[5] His praeparatis aduocatoque consilio et dicere exploratoribus iussis quae comperta adferrent Masinissae, cui omnia hostium nota erant, postremo ipse quid pararet in proximam noctem proponit; tribunis edicit ut ubi praetorio dimisso signa concinuissent extemplo educerent castris legiones. ita ut imperauerat signa sub occasum solis efferri sunt coepta; ad primam ferme uigiliam agmen explicauerunt; media nocte — septem enim milia itineris erant — modico gradu ad castra hostium peruentum est. ibi Scipio partem copiarum Laelio Masinissamque ac Numidas attribuit et castra Syphacis inuadere ignesque conicere iubet. singulos deinde separatim Laelium ac Masinissam seductos obtestatur ut quantum nox prouidentiae adimat tantum diligentia expleant curaue: se Hasdrubalem Punicaue castra adgressurum; ceterum non ante coepturum quam ignem in regiis castris conspexisset. neque ea res morata diu est; nam ut primis casis iniectus ignis haesit, extemplo proxima quaeque et deinceps continua amplexus totis se passim dissipauit castris. et trepidatio quidem quantam necesse erat in nocturno effuso tam late incendio orta est; ceterum fortuitum non hostilem ac bellicum ignem rati esse, sine armis ad restinguendum incendium effusi in armatos incidere hostes, maxime Numidas ab Masinissa notitia regionum castrorum ad exitus itinerum idoneis locis dispositos. multos in ipsis cubilibus semisomnos hausit flamma; multi [in] praecipiti fuga ruentes super alios alii in angustiis portarum obtriti sunt.

[6] Relucentem flammam primo uigiles Carthaginiensium, deinde

excitati alii nocturno tumultu cum conspexissent, ab eodem errore credere et ipsi sua sponte incendium ortum; et clamor inter caedem et uulnera sublatus an ex trepidatione nocturna esset confusis sensum ueri adimebat. igitur pro se quisque inermes, ut quibus nihil hostile suspectum esset, omnibus portis, qua cuique proximum erat, ea modo quae restinguendo igni forent portantes in agmen Romanum ruebant. quibus caesis omnibus praeterquam hostili odio etiam ne quis nuntius refugeret, extemplo Scipio neglectas ut in tali tumultu portas inuadit; ignibusque in proxima tecta coniectis effusa flamma primo uelut sparsa pluribus locis reluxit, dein per continua serpens uno repente omnia incendio hausit. ambusti homines iumentaue foeda primum fuga, dein strage obruebant itinera portarum. quos non oppresserat ignis ferro absumpti, binaque castra clade una deleta. duces tamen ambo et ex tot milibus armatorum duo milia peditum et quingenti equites semermes, magna pars saucii adflatique incendio, effugerunt. caesa aut hausta flammis ad quadraginta milia hominum sunt, capta supra quinque milia, multi Carthaginiensium nobiles, undecim senatores; signa militaria centum septuaginta quattuor, equi Numidici supra duo milia septingentos; elephantum sex capti, octo ferro flammaque absumpti. magna uis armorum capta; ea omnia imperator Uolcano sacrata incendit.

[7] Hasdrubal ex fuga cum paucis Afrorum urbem proximam petierat, eoque omnes qui supererant uestigia ducis sequentes se contulerant; metu deinde ne dederetur Scipioni urbe excessit. mox eodem patentibus portis Romani accepti, nec quicquam hostile, quia uoluntate concesserant in dicionem, factum. duae subinde urbes captae direptaeque. ea praeda et quae castris incensis ex igne rapta erat militi concessa est. Syphax octo milium ferme inde spatio loco munito consedit; Hasdrubal Carthaginem contendit ne quid per metum ex recenti clade mollius consularetur. quo tantus primo terror est allatus ut omissa Utica Carthaginem crederent extemplo Scipionem obsessurum. senatum itaque sufetes, quod uelut consulare imperium apud eos erat, uocauerunt. ibi tribus <sententiis certatum>; una de pace legatos ad Scipionem decernebat, altera Hannibalem ad tuendam ab exitiabili bello patriam reuocabat, tertia Romanae in aduersis rebus constantiae erat; reparandum exercitum Syphacemque hortandum ne bello absisteret censebat. haec sententia quia

Hasdrubal praesens Barcinaeque omnes factionis bellum malebant uicit. inde dilectus in urbe agrisque haberi coeptus, et ad Syphacem legati missi, summa ope et ipsum reparantem bellum cum uxor non iam ut ante blanditiis, satis potentibus ad animum amantis, sed precibus et misericordia ualuisset, plena lacrimarum obtestans ne patrem suum patriamque proderet iisdemque flammis Carthaginem quibus castra conflagrassent absumi sineret. spem quoque opportune oblatam adferebant legati: quattuor milia Celtiberorum circa urbem nomine Obbam ab conquisitoribus suis conducta in Hispania, egregiae iuuentutis, sibi occurrisset; et Hasdrubalem propediem adfore cum manu haudquaquam contemnenda. igitur non benigne modo legatis respondit, sed ostendit etiam multitudinem agrestium Numidarum quibus per eosdem dies arma equosque dedisset, et omnem iuuentutem adfirmat ex regno exciturum: scire incendio non proelio cladem acceptam; eum bello inferiorem esse qui armis uincatur. haec legatis responsa, et post dies paucos rursus Hasdrubal et Syphax copias iunxerunt. is omnis exercitus fuit triginta ferme milium armatorum.

[8] Scipionem, uelut iam debellato quod ad Syphacem Carthaginiensesque attineret, Uticae oppugnandae intentum iamque machinas admoventem muris auertit fama redintegrati belli; modicisque praesidiis ad speciem modo obsidionis terra marique relictis ipse cum robore exercitus ire ad hostes pergit. primo in tumulo quattuor milia ferme distante ab castris regiis consedit; postero die cum equitatu in Magnos — ita uocant — campos subiectos ei tumulo degressus, succedendo ad stationes hostium lacescendoque leuibis proeliis diem absumpsit. et per insequens biduum tumultuosis hinc atque illinc excursionibus in uicem nihil dictu satis dignum fecerunt: quarto die in aciem utrimque descensum est. Romanus principes post hastatorum prima signa, in subsidiis triarios constituit: equitatum Italicum ab dextro cornu, ab laeuo Numidas Masinissamque opposuit. Syphax Hasdrubalque Numidis aduersus Italicum equitatum, Carthaginiensibus contra Masinissam locatis Celtiberos in mediam aciem aduersus signa legionum acceperunt. ita instructi concurrunt. primo impetu simul utraque cornua, et Numidae et Carthaginienses, pulsus; nam neque Numidae, maxima pars agrestes, Romanum equitatum neque Carthaginienses,

et ipse nouus miles, Masinissam recenti super cetera uictoria terribilem sustinuerunt. nudata utrimque cornibus Celtiberum acies stabat quod nec in fuga salus ulla ostendebatur locis ignotis neque spes ueniae ab Scipione erat, quem bene meritum de se et gente sua mercennariis armis in Africam oppugnatum euenissent. igitur circumfusus undique hostibus alii super alios cadentes obstinate moriebantur; omnibusque in eos uersis aliquantum ad fugam temporis Syphax et Hasdrubal praeceperunt. fatigatos caede diutius quam pugna uictores nox oppressit.

[9] Postero die Scipio Laelium Masinissamque cum omni Romano et Numidico equitatu expeditisque militum ad persequendos Syphacem atque Hasdrubalem mittit; ipse cum robore exercitus urbes circa, quae omnes Carthaginiensium ditionis erant, partim spe, partim metu, partim ui subigit. Carthagini erat quidem ingens terror, et circumferentem arma Scipionem omnibus finitimis raptim perdomitis ipsam Carthaginem repente adgressurum credebant. itaque et muri reficiebantur propugnaculisque armabantur, et pro se quisque quae diutinae obsidionis tolerandae sunt ex agris conuehit. rara mentio est pacis, frequentior legatorum ad Hannibalem arcessendum mittendorum; pars maxima classem, quae ad commeatus excipiendos parata erat, mittere iubent ad opprimendam stationem nauium ad Uticam incaute agentem; forsitan etiam naualia castra relictum cum leui praesidio oppressuros. in hoc consilium maxime inclinant; legatos tamen ad Hannibalem mittendos censent: quippe classi ut felicissime geratur res, parte aliqua leuari Uticae obsidionem: Carthaginem ipsam qui tueatur neque imperatorem alium quam Hannibalem neque exercitum alium quam Hannibalis superesse. deductae ergo postero die naues, simul et legati in Italiam profecti; raptimque omnia stimulante fortuna agebantur, et in quo quisque cessasset prodi ab se salutem omnium rebatur. Scipio grauem iam spoliis multarum urbium exercitum trahens, captiuas aliaque praeda in uetera castra ad Uticam missis iam in Carthaginem intentus occupat relictum fuga custodum Tyneta — abest ab Carthagine quindecim milia ferme passuum — , locum cum operibus tum suapte natura tutum et qui et ab Carthagine conspici et praebere ipse prospectum cum ad urbem tum ad circumfusum mare urbi possit.

[10] inde cum maxime uallum Romani iacerent, conspecta classis hostium est Uticam ab Carthagine petens. igitur omisso opere pronuntiatum iter signaque raptim ferri sunt coepta ne naues in terram et ad obsidionem uersae ac minime nauali proelio aptae opprimerentur: qui enim restitissent agili et nautico instrumento aptae et armatae classi naues tormenta machinasque portantes et aut in onerariarum usum uersae aut ita adpulsae muris ut pro aggere ac pontibus praeberere adscensum possent? itaque Scipio, postquam eo uentum est, contra quam in nauali certamine solet rostratis quae praesidio aliis esse poterant in postremam aciem receptis prope terram, onerariarum quadruplicem ordinem pro muro aduersus hostem opposuit, easque ipsas, ne in tumultu pugnae turbari ordines possent, malis antennisque de naue in nauem traiectis ac ualidis funibus uelut uno inter se uinculo inligatis comprehendit, tabulasque superinstruit ut peruium in totum nauium ordinem esset, et sub ipsis pontibus interualla fecit qua procurrere speculatoriae naues in hostem ac tuto recipi possent. his raptim pro tempore instructis, mille ferme delecti propugnatores onerariis imponuntur; telorum maxime missilium ut quamuis longo certamine sufficerent uis ingens congeritur. ita parati atque intenti hostium aduentum opperiebantur.

Carthaginienses, qui, si maturassent, omnia permixta turba trepidantium primo impetu oppressissent, perculsi terrestribus cladibus atque inde ne mari quidem ubi ipsi plus poterant satis fidentes, die segni nauigatione absumpto sub occasum solis in portum — Rusucmona Afri uocant — classem adpulere. postero die sub ortum solis instruxere ab alto naues uelut ad iustum proelium nauale et tamquam exituris contra Romanis. cum diu stetissent postquam nihil moueri ab hostibus uiderunt, tum demum onerarias adgrediuntur. erat res minime certamini nauali similis, proxime speciem muros oppugnantium nauium. altitudine aliquantum onerariae superabant; ex rostratis Poeni uana pleraque, utpote supino iactu, tela in locum superiorem mittebant; grauior ac pondere ipso librior superne ex onerariis ictus erat. speculatoriae naues ac leuia alia nauigia, quae sub constratis pontium per interualla excurrerant, primo ipsae tantum impetu ac magnitudine rostratarum obruebantur; deinde propugnatoribus quoque incommodae erant quod permixtae cum hostium nauibus inhibere saepe tela cogeant metu ne ambiguo

ictu suis inciderent. postremo asseres ferreo unco praefixi — harpagones uocat miles — ex Punicis nauibus inici in Romanas coepti. quos cum neque ipsos neque catenas quibus suspensi inciebantur incidere possent, ut quaeque retro inhibita rostrata onerariam haerentem unco traheret, scindi uideres uincula quibus aliis innexa erat, seriem aliam simul plurium nauium trahi. hoc maxime modo lacerati [quidem] omnes pontes et uix transiliendi in secundum ordinem nauium spatium propugnatoribus datum est. sexaginta ferme onerariae puppibus abstractae Carthaginem sunt. maior quam pro re laetitia, sed eo gratior quod inter adsiduas clades ac lacrimas unum quantumcumque ex insperato gaudium adfulserat, cum eo ut appareret haud procul exitio fuisse Romanam classem necessatum a praefectis suarum nauium foret et Scipio in tempore subuenisset.

[11] Per eosdem forte dies cum Laelius et Masinissa quinto decimo ferme die in Numidiam peruenissent, Maesulii, regnum patrum Masinissae, laeti ut ad regem diu desideratum concessere. Syphax pulsus inde praefectis praesidiisque suis uetere se continebat regno, nequitiam quieturus stimulabat aegrum amore uxor socerque, et ita uiris equisque abundabat ut subiectae oculis regni per multos florentis annos uires etiam minus barbaro atque impotenti animo spiritus possent facere. igitur omnibus qui bello apti erant in unum coactis equos arma tela diuidit; equites in turmas, pedites in cohortes, sicut quondam ab Romanis centurionibus didicerat, distribuit. exercitu haud minore quam quem prius habuerat, ceterum omni prope nouo atque incondito, ire ad hostes pergit. et castris in propinquo positis primo pauci equites ex tuto speculantes ab stationibus progredi, dein iaculis summoti recurrere ad suos; inde excursions in uicem fieri et cum pulsos indignatio accenderet plures subire, quod irritamentum certaminum equestrium est cum aut uincens spes aut pulsus ira adgregat suos.

Ita tum a paucis proelio accenso omnem utrimque postremo equitatum certaminis studium effudit. ac dum sincerum equestre proelium erat, multitudo Masaesuliorum ingentia agmina Syphace emittente sustineri uix poterat; deinde ut pedes Romanus repentino per turmas suis uiam dantes intercursum stabilem aciem fecit absterruitque effuse inuehentem sese hostem, primo barbari segnius

permittere equos, dein stare ac prope turbari nouo genere pugnae, postremo non pediti solum cedere sed ne equitem quidem sustinere, peditis praesidio audentem. iam signa quoque legionum adpropinquabant. tum uero Masaesulii non modo primum impetum sed ne conspectum quidem signorum atque armorum tulerunt; tantum seu memoria priorum cladum seu praesens terror ualuit.

[12] Ibi Syphax dum obequitat hostium turmis si pudore, si periculo suo fugam sistere posset, equo grauiter icto effusus opprimitur capiturque et uiuus, laetum ante omnes Masinissae praebiturus spectaculum, ad Laelium pertrahitur. caedes in eo proelio minor quam uictoria fuit quia equestri tantummodo proelio certatum fuerat: non plus quinque milia occisa, minus dimidium eius hominum captum est impetu in castra facto quo perculsa rege amisso multitudo se contulerat.

Cirta caput regni Syphacis erat; eoque ex fuga ingens hominum se contulerat uis. Masinissa sibi quidem dicere nihil esse in praesentia pulchrius quam uictorem recipere tanto post interuallo patrium inuisere regnum, sed tam secundis quam aduersis rebus non dari spatium ad cessandum; si se Laelius cum equitatu uinctoque Syphace Cirtam praecedere sinat, trepida omnia metu se oppressurum; Laelium cum peditibus subsequi modicis itineribus posse. adsentiente Laelio praegressus Cirtam euocari ad conloquium principes Cirtensium iubet. sed apud ignaros regis casus nec quae acta essent promendo nec minis nec suadendo ante ualuit quam rex uinctus in conspectum datus est. tum ad spectaculum tam foedum comploratio orta, et partim pauore moenia sunt deserta, partim repentino consensu gratiam apud uictorem quaerentium patefactae portae. et Masinissa praesidio circa portas opportunaque moenium dimisso ne cui fugae pateret exitus, ad regiam occupandam citato uadit equo.

Intranti uestibulum in ipso limine Sophoniba, uxor Syphacis, filia Hasdrubalis Poeni, occurrit; et cum in medio agmine armatorum Masinissam insignem cum armis tum cetero habitu conspexisset, regem esse, id quod erat, rata genibus aduoluta eius ‘omnia quidem ut possis’ inquit ‘in nobis di dederunt uirtusque et felicitas tua; sed si captivae apud dominum uitae necisque suae uocem supplicem mittere licet, si genua, si uictricem attingere dextram, precor

quaesoque per maiestatem regiam, in qua paulo ante nos quoque fuimus, per gentis Numidarum nomen, quod tibi cum Syphace commune fuit, per huiusce regiae deos, qui te melioribus ominibus accipiant quam Syphacem hinc miserunt, hanc ueniam supplici des ut ipse quodcumque fert animus de captiua tua statuas neque me in cuiusquam Romani superbum et crudele arbitrium uenire sinas. si nihil aliud quam Syphacis uxor fuisset, tamen Numidae atque in eadem mecum Africa geniti quam alienigenae et externi fidem experiri mallet: quid Carthaginiensi ab Romano, quid filiae Hasdrubalis timendum sit uides. si nulla re alia potes, morte me ut uindices ab Romanorum arbitrio oro obtestorque.’ forma erat insignis et florentissima aetas. itaque cum modo <genua modo> dextram amplexens in id ne cui Romano traderetur fidem exposceret propiusque blanditias iam oratio esset quam preces, non in misericordiam modo prolapsus est animus uictoris, sed, ut est genus Numidarum in uenerem praeceps, amore captiuae uictor captus. data dextra in id quod petebatur obligandae fidei in regiam concedit. institit deinde reputare secum ipse quemadmodum promissi fidem praestaret. quod cum expedire non posset, ab amore temerarium atque impudens mutuatur consilium; nuptias in eum ipsum diem parari repente iubet ne quid relinqueret integri aut Laelio aut ipsi Scipioni consulendi uelut in captiuam quae Masinissae iam nupta foret. factis nuptiis superuenit Laelius et adeo non dissimulauit improbare se factum ut primo etiam cum Syphace et ceteris captiuis detractam eam <lecto> geniali mittere ad Scipionem conatus sit. uictus deinde precibus Masinissae orantis ut arbitrium utrius regum duorum fortunae accessio Sophoniba esset ad Scipionem reiceret, misso Syphace et captiuis ceteras urbes Numidiae quae praesidiis regiis tenebantur adiuuante Masinissa recipit.

[13] Syphacem in castra adduci cum esset nuntiatum, omnis uelut ad spectaculum triumphi multitudo effusa est. praecedebat ipse uinctus; sequebatur grex nobilium Numidarum. tum quantum quisque plurimum poterat magnitudini Syphacis famaeque gentis uictoriam suam augendo addebat: illum esse regem cuius tantum maiestati duo potentissimi in terris tribuerint populi Romanus Carthaginiensisque ut Scipio imperator suus ad amicitiam eius petendam relicta prouincia Hispania exercituque duabus

quinqueremibus in Africam nauigauerit, Hasdrubal Poenorum imperator non ipse modo ad eum in regnum uenerit sed etiam filiam ei nuptum dederit. habuisse eum uno tempore in potestate duos imperatores, Poenum Romanumque. sicut ab dis immortalibus pars utraque hostiis mactandis pacem petisset, ita ab eo utrimque pariter amicitiam petitam. iam tantas habuisse opes ut Masinissam regno pulsum eo redegerit ut uita eius fama mortis et latebris ferarum modo in siluis raptu uiuentis tegeretur.

His sermonibus circumstantium celebratus rex in praetorium ad Scipionem est perductus. mouit et Scipionem cum fortuna pristina uiri praesenti fortunae conlata, tum recordatio hospitii dextraeque datae et foederis publice ac priuatim iuncti. eadem haec et Syphaci animum dederunt in adloquendo uictore. nam cum Scipio quid sibi uoluisset quaereret qui non societatem solum abnuisset Romanam sed ultro bellum intulisset, tum ille peccasse quidem sese atque insanisse fatebatur, sed non tum demum cum arma aduersus populum Romanum cepisset; exitum sui furoris eum fuisse, non principium; tum se insanisse, tum hospitia priuata et publica foedera omnia ex animo eiecisse cum Carthaginiensem matronam domum acceperit. illis nuptialibus facibus regiam conflagrasse suam; illam furiam pestemque omnibus delenimentis animum suum auertisse atque alienasse, nec conquiesse donec ipsa manibus suis nefaria sibi arma aduersus hospitem atque amicum induerit. perduto tamen atque adflicto sibi hoc in miseriis solatii esse quod in omnium hominum inimicissimi sibi domum ac penates eandem pestem ac furiam transisse uideat. neque prudentiorem neque constantiorem Masinissam quam Syphacem esse, etiam iuuenta incautiorem; certe stultius illum atque intemperantius eam quam se duxisse.

[14] Haec non hostili modo odio sed amoris etiam stimulis amatam apud aemulum cernens cum dixisset, non mediocri cura Scipionis animum pepulit; et fidem criminibus raptae prope inter arma nuptiae neque consulto neque exspectato Laelio faciebant tamque praeceps festinatio ut quo die captam hostem uidisset eodem matrimonio iunctam acciperet et ad penates hostis sui nuptiale sacrum conficeret. et eo foediora haec uidebantur Scipioni quod ipsum in Hispania iuuenem nullius forma pepulerat captiuae. haec secum uolutanti Laelius ac Masinissa superuenerunt. quos cum pariter ambo et

benigno uultu excepisset et egregiis laudibus frequenti praetorio celebrasset, abductum in secretum Masinissam sic adloquitur: ‘aliqua te existimo, Masinissa, intuentem in me bona et principio in Hispania ad iungendam mecum amicitiam uenisse et postea in Africa te ipsum spesque omnes tuas in fidem meam commisisse. atqui nulla earum uirtus est propter quas tibi adpetendus uisus sim qua ego aequae ac temperantiae et continentiae libidinum gloriatus fuerim. hanc te quoque ad ceteras tuas eximias uirtutes, Masinissa, adiecisse uelim. non est, non — mihi crede — tantum ab hostibus armatis aetati nostrae periculi quantum ab circumfuis undique uoluptatibus. qui eas temperantia sua frenauit ac domuit multo maius decus maioremque uictoriam sibi peperit quam nos Syphace uicto habemus. quae me absente strenue ac fortiter fecisti libenter et commemorauit et memini: cetera te ipsum reputare tecum quam me dicente erubescere malo. Syphax populi Romani auspiciis uictus captusque est. itaque ipse coniunx regnum ager oppida homines qui incolunt, quicquid denique Syphacis fuit, praeda populi, Romani est; et regem coniugemque eius, etiamsi non ciuis Carthaginensis esset, etiamsi non patrem eius imperatorem hostium uideremus, Romam oporteret mitti, ac senatus populique Romani de ea iudicium atque arbitrium esse quae regem socium nobis alienasse atque in arma egisse praecipitem dicatur. uince animum; caue deformes multa bona uno uitio et tot meritorum gratiam maiore culpa quam causa culpae est corrumpas.’

[15] Masinissae haec audienti non rubor solum suffusus sed lacrimae etiam obortae; et cum se quidem in potestate futurum imperatoris dixisset orassetque eum ut quantum res sineret fidei suae temere obstrictae consuleret — promisisse enim se in nullius potestatem eam traditurum — ex praetorio in tabernaculum suum confusus concessit. ibi arbitris remotis cum crebro suspiritu et gemitu, quod facile ab circumstantibus tabernaculum exaudiri posset, aliquantum temporis consumpsisset, ingenti ad postremum edito gemitu fidem e seruis unum uocat, sub cuius custodia regio more ad incerta fortunae uenenum erat, et mixtum in poculo ferre ad Sophonibam iubet ac simul nuntiare Masinissam libenter primam ei fidem praestaturum fuisse quam uir uxori debuerit: quoniam eius arbitrium qui possint adimant, secundam fidem praestare ne uiua in potestatem Romanorum ueniat. memor patris imperatoris patriaeque

et duorum regum quibus nupta fuisset, sibi ipsa consuleret.

Hunc nuntium ac simul uenenum ferens minister cum ad Sophonibam uenisset, ‘accipio’ inquit ‘nuptiale munus, neque ingratum, si nihil maius uir uxori praestare potuit. hoc tamen nuntia, melius me morituram fuisse si non in funere meo nupsissem.’ non locuta est ferocius quam acceptum poculum nullo trepidationis signo dato impauide hausit. quod ubi nuntiatum est Scipioni, ne quid aeger animi ferox iuuenis grauius consuleret accitum eum extemplo nunc solatur, nunc quod temeritatem temeritate alia luerit tristio rem quam necesse fuerit fecerit leniter castigat. postero die ut a praesenti motu auerteret animum eius, in tribunal escendit et contionem aduocari iussit. ibi Masinissam, primum regem appellatum eximiisque ornatum laudibus, aurea corona aurea patera sella curuli et scipione eburneo toga picta et palmata tunica donat. addit uerbis honorem: neque magnificentius quicquam triumpho apud Romanos neque triumphantibus amplio rem eo ornatum esse quo unum omnium externorum dignum Masinissam populus Romanus ducat. Laelium deinde et ipsum conlaudatum aurea corona donat; et alii militares uiri, prout a quoque nauata opera erat, donati. his honoribus mollitus regis animus erectusque in spem propinquam sublato Syphace omnis Numidiae potiunda.

[16] Scipio C. Laelio cum Syphace aliisque captiuis Romam misso, cum quibus et Masinissae legati profecti sunt, ipse ad Tyneta rursus castra refert et quae munimenta incohauerat permunit. Carthaginenses non breui solum sed prope uano gaudio ab satis prospera in praesens oppugnatione classis perfusi, post famam capti Syphacis in quo plus prope quam in Hasdrubale atque exercitu suo spei reposuerant perculsi, iam nullo auctore belli ultra audito oratores ad pacem petendam mittunt triginta seniorum principes; id erat sanctius apud illos consilium maximaque ad ipsum senatum regendum uis. qui ubi in castra Romana et in praetorium peruenerunt more adulantium — accepto, credo, ritu ex ea regione ex qua oriundi erant — procubuerunt. conueniens oratio tam humili adulationi fuit non culpam purgantium sed transferentium initium culpa in Hannibalem potentiaeque eius fautores. ueniam ciuitati petebant ciuium temeritate bis iam euersae, incolumi futurae iterum hostium beneficio; imperium ex uictis hostibus populum Romanum, non

perniciem petere; paratis oboedienter seruire imperaret quae uellet.

Scipio et uenisse ea spe in Africam se ait, et spem suam prospero belli euentu auctam, uictoriam se non pacem domum reportaturum esse; tamen cum uictoriam prope in manibus habeat, pacem non abnuere, ut omnes gentes sciant populum Romanum et suscipere iuste bella et finire. leges pacis se has dicere: captiuos et perfugas et fugitiuos restituant; exercitus ex Italia et Gallia deducant; Hispania abstineant; insulis omnibus quae inter Italiam atque Africam sint decedant; naues longas praeter uiginti omnes tradant, tritici quingenta, hordei trecenta milia modium. — pecuniae summam quantam imperauerit parum conuenit; alibi quinque milia talentum, alibi quinque milia pondo argenti, alibi duplex stipendium militibus imperatum inuenio.— ‘his condicionibus’ inquit ‘placeatne pax triduum ad consultandum dabitur. si placuerit, mecum indutias facite, Romam ad senatum mittite legatos.’ ita dimissi Carthaginienses nullas recusandas condiciones pacis cum censuissent quippe qui moram temporis quaererent dum Hannibal in Africam traiceret, legatos alios ad Scipionem ut indutias facerent, alios Romam ad pacem petendam mittunt ducentes paucos in speciem captiuos perfugasque et fugitiuos quo impetrabilior pax esset.

[17] Multis ante diebus Laelius cum Syphace primoribusque Numidarum captiuis Romam uenit quaeque in Africa gesta essent omnia ordine exposuit patribus ingenti hominum et in praesens laetitia et in futurum spe. consulti inde patres regem in custodiam Albam mittendum censuerunt, Laelium retinendum donec legati Carthaginienses uenirent. supplicatio in quadriduum decreta est. P. Aelius praetor senatu misso et contione inde aduocata cum C. Laelio in rostra escendit. ibi uero audientes fusos Carthaginiensium exercitus, deuictum et captum ingentis nominis regem, Numidiam omnem egregia uictoria peragratam, tacitum continere gaudium non poterant quin clamoribus quibusque aliis multitudo solet laetitiam immodicam significarent. itaque praetor extemplo edixit uti aeditui aedes sacras omnes tota urbe aperirent, circumeundi salutandique deos agendique grates per totum diem populo potestas fieret.

Postero die legatos Masinissae in senatum introduxit. gratulati primum senatui sunt quod P. Scipio prospere res in Africa gessisset; deinde gratias egerunt quod Masinissam non appellasset modo regem

sed fecisset restituendo in paternum regnum, in quo post Syphacem sublatum si ita patribus uisum esset sine metu et certamine esset regnaturus, dein conlaudatum pro contione amplissimis decorasset donis, quibus ne indignus esset et dedisse operam Masinissam et porro daturum esse. petere ut regium nomen ceteraque Scipionis beneficia et munera senatus decreto confirmaret; et, nisi molestum esset, illud quoque petere Masinissam, ut Numidas captiuos qui Romae in custodia essent remitterent; id sibi amplum apud populares futurum esse. ad ea responsum legatis rerum gestarum prospere in Africa communem sibi cum rege gratulationem esse; Scipionem recte atque ordine uideri fecisse quod eum regem appellauerit, et quicquid aliud fecerit quod cordi foret Masinissae id patres comprobare ac laudare. munera quoque quae legati ferrent regi decreuerunt, sagula purpurea duo cum fibulis aureis singulis et lato clauo tunicis, equos duo phaleratos, bina equestria arma cum loricis, et tabernacula militaremque supellectilem qualem praeberi consuli mos esset. haec regi praetor mittere iussus: legatis in singulos dona ne minus quinum milium, comitibus eorum <singulorum> milium aeris, et uestimenta bina legatis, singula comitibus Numidisque, qui ex custodia emissi redderentur regi; ad hoc aedes liberae loca lautia legatis decreta.

[18] Eadem aestate qua haec decreta Romae et in Africa gesta sunt P. Quintilius Uarus praetor et M. Cornelius proconsul in agro Insubrum Gallorum cum Magone Poeno signis conlatis pugnarunt. praetoris legiones in prima acie fuerunt: Cornelius suas in subsidiis tenuit, ipse ad prima signa equo aduectus; proque duobus cornibus praetor ac proconsul milites ad inferenda in hostes signa summa ui hortabantur. postquam nihil commoueabant, tum Quintilius Cornelio: 'lentior, ut uides, fit pugna, et induratur praeter spem resistendo hostium timor, ac ne uertat in audaciam periculum est. equestrem procellam excitemus oportet si turbare ac statu mouere uolumus. itaque uel tu ad prima signa proelium sustine, ego inducam in pugnam equites; uel ego hic in prima acie rem geram, tu quattuor legionum equites in hostem emitte.' utram uellet praetor muneris partem proconsule accipiente, Quintilius praetor cum filio, cui Marco praenomen erat, impigro iuvene, ad equites pergit iussosque escendere in equos repente in hostem emittit. tumultum equestrem

auxit clamor ab legionibus additus, nec stetisset hostium acies ni Mago ad primum equitum motum paratos elephantos extemplo in proelium induxisset; ad quorum stridorem odoremque et adspectum territi equi uanum equestre auxilium fecerunt. et ut rem~ permixtus, ubi cuspidi uti et comminus gladio posset, roboris maioris Romanus eques erat, ita in ablatum pauentibus procul equis melius ex interuallo Numidae iaculabantur. simul et peditum legio duodecima magna ex parte caesa pudore magis quam uiribus tenebat locum; nec diutius tenuisset ni ex subsidiis tertia decima legio in primam aciem inducta proelium dubium exceperet. Mago quoque ex subsidiis Gallos integrae legioni opposuit. quibus haud magno certamine fuis hastati legionis undecimae conglobant sese atque elephantos iam etiam peditum aciem turbantes inuadunt; in quos cum pila confertos coniecissent nullo ferme frustra emissis, omnes retro in aciem suorum auerterunt; quattuor grauati uulneribus corruerunt. tum primum commota hostium acies, simul omnibus equitibus, ut auersos uidere elephantos, ad augendum pauorem ac tumultum effusis. sed donec stetit ante signa Mago, gradum sensim referentes, ordines et tenorem pugnae seruabant: postquam femine transfixo cadentem auferrique ex proelio prope exsanguem uidere, extemplo in fugam omnes uersi. ad quinque milia hostium eo die caesa et signa militaria duo et uiginti capta. nec Romanis incruenta uictoria fuit; duo milia et trecenti de exercitu praetoris, pars multo maxima ex legione duodecima, amissi; inde et tribuni militum duo, M. Cosconius et M. Maeuius; tertiae decimae quoque legionis, quae postremo proelio adfuerat, C. Heluius tribunus militum in restituenda pugna cecidit; et duo et uiginti ferme equites inlustres, obtriti ab elephantis, cum centurionibus aliquot perierunt. et longius certamen fuisset ni uolnere ducis concessa uictoria esset.

[19] Mago proximae silentio noctis profectus quantum pati uiae per uolnus poterat itineribus extentis ad mare in Ligures Ingaunos peruenit. ibi eum legati ab Carthagine paucis ante diebus in sinum Gallicum adpulsis nauibus adierunt, iubentes primo quoque tempore in Africam traicere; id et fratrem eius Hannibalem — nam ad eum quoque isse legatos eadem iubentes — facturum; non in eo esse Carthaginensium res ut Galliam atque Italiam armis obtineant. Mago non imperio modo senatus periculoque patriae motus sed metuens

etiam ne uictor hostis moranti instaret Liguresque ipsi relinqui Italiam a Poenis cernentes ad eos quorum mox in potestate futuri essent deficerent, simul sperans leniorem in nauigatione quam in uia iactationem uolneris fore et curationi omnia commodiora, impositis copiis in naues profectus uixdum superata Sardinia ex uolnere moritur. naues quoque aliquot Poenorum disiectae in alto ab classe Romana quae circa Sardiniam erat capiuntur. haec terra marique in parte Italiae quae iacet ad Alpes gesta.

Consul C. Seruilius, nulla memorabili re in prouincia Etruria Galliaque — nam eo quoque processerat — gesta, patre C. Seruilio et C. Lutatio ex seruitute post sextum decimum annum receptis qui ad uicum Tannetum a Boiis capti fuerant, hinc patre hinc Catulo lateri circumdatis priuato magis quam publico decore insignis Romam rediit. latum ad populum est ne C. Seruilio fraudi esset quod patre qui sella curuli sedisset uiuo, cum id ignoraret, tribunus plebis atque aedilis plebis fuisset contra quam sanctum legibus erat. hac rogatione perlata in prouinciam rediit.

Ad Cn. Seruilium consulem, qui in Brutiis erat, Consentia Aufugum Bergae Baesidae Oriculum Lymphaeum Argentanum Clampetia multique alii ignobiles populi senescere Punicum bellum cernentes defecere. idem consul cum Hannibale in agro Crotoniensi acie conflixit. obscura eius pugnae fama est. Ualerius Antias quinque milia hostium caesa ait, quae tanta res est ut aut impudenter ficta sit aut neglegenter praetermissa. nihil certe ultra rei in Italia ab Hannibale gestum. nam ad eum quoque legati ab Carthagine reuocantes in Africam, iis forte diebus quibus ad Magonem, uenerunt.

[20] Frendens gemensque ac uix lacrimis temperans dicitur legatorum uerba audisse. postquam edita sunt mandata, 'iam non perplexe' inquit 'sed palam reuocant qui uetando supplementum et pecuniam mitti iam pridem retrahebant. uicit ergo Hannibalem non populus Romanus totiens caesus fugatusque sed senatus Carthaginiensis obtrectatione atque inuidia; neque hac deformitate reditus mei tam P. Scipio exsultabit atque efferet sese quam Hanno qui domum nostram quando alia re non potuit ruina Carthaginis oppressit.'

Iam hoc ipsum praesagiens animo praeparauerat ante naues.

itaque inutili militum turba praesidii specie in oppida Bruttii agri quae pauca metu magis quam fide continebantur dimissa, quod roboris in exercitu erat in Africam transuexit, multis Italici generis, quia in Africam secuturos abnuentes concesserant in Iunonis Lacinae delubrum inuiolatum ad eam diem, in templo ipso foede interfectis. raro quemquam alium patriam exsilii causa relinquentem tam maestum abisse ferunt quam Hannibalem hostium terra excedentem; respexisse saepe Italiae litora, et deos hominesque accusantem in se quoque ac suum ipsius caput exsecratum quod non cruentum ab Cannensi uictoria militem Romam duxisset; Scipionem ire ad Carthaginem ausum qui consul hostem Poenum in Italia non uidisset: se, centum milibus armatorum ad Trasumennum ad Cannas caesis, circa Casilinum Cumasque et Nolam consenuisse. haec accusans querensque ex diutina possessione Italiae est detractus.

[21] Romam per eosdem dies et Magonem et Hannibalem profectos allatum est. cuius duplicis gratulationis minuit laetitiam et quod parum duces in retinendis iis, cum id mandatum ab senatu esset, aut animi aut uirium habuisse uidebantur et quod solliciti erant omni belli mole in unum exercitum ducemque inclinata quo euasura esset res. per eosdem dies legati Saguntini uenerunt comprehensos cum pecunia adducentes Carthaginienses qui ad conducenda auxilia in Hispaniam traiecissent. ducenta et quinquaginta auri, octingenta pondo argenti in uestibulo curiae posuerunt. hominibus acceptis et in carcerem conditis auro argentoque reddito gratiae legatis actae, atque insuper munera data ac naues quibus in Hispaniam reuerterentur.

Mentio deinde ab senioribus facta est segnius homines bona quam mala sentire; transitu in Italiam Hannibalis quantum terroris pauorisque esset meminisse; quas deinde clades, quos luctus incidisse. uisa castra hostium e muris urbis; quae uota singulorum uniuersorumque fuisse. quotiens in conciliis uoces manus ad caelum porrigentium auditas en unquam ille dies futurus esset quo uacuam hostibus Italiam bona pace florentem uisuri essent. dedisse id deos tandem sexto decimo demum anno, nec esse qui dis grates agendas censeat; adeo ne aduenientem quidem gratiam homines benigne accipere, nedum ut praeteritae satis memores sint. conclamatum deinde ex omni parte curiae est uti referret P. Aelius praetor; decretumque ut quinque dies circa omnia puluinaria supplicaretur

uictimaeque maiores immolarentur centum uiginti.

Iam dimisso Laelio legatisque Masinissae cum Carthaginiensium legatos de pace ad senatum uenientes Puteolis uisos inde terra uenturos allatum esset, reuocari C. Laelium placuit ut coram eo de pace ageretur. Q. Fuluius Gillo legatus Scipionis Carthaginienses Romam adduxit; quibus uetitis ingredi urbem hospitium in uilla publica, senatus ad aedem Bellonae datus est.

[22] Orationem eandem ferme quam apud Scipionem habuerunt, culpam omnem belli a publico consilio in Hannibalem uertentes: eum iniussu senatus non Alpes modo sed Hiberum quoque transgressum, nec Romanis solum sed ante etiam Saguntinis priuato consilio bellum intulisse; senatui ac populo Carthaginiensi, si quis uere aestimet, foedus ad eam diem inuiolatum esse cum Romanis; itaque nihil aliud sibi mandatum esse uti peterent quam ut in ea pace quae postremo cum C. Lutatio facta esset manere liceret. cum more tradito [a] patribus potestatem interrogandi, si quis quid uellet, legatos praetor fecisset, senioresque qui foederibus interfuerant alia alii interrogarent, nec meminisse se per aetatem — etenim omnes ferme iuuenes erant — dicerent legati, conclamatum ex omni parte curiae est Punica fraude electos qui ueterem pacem repeterent cuius ipsi non meminissent.

[23] Emotis deinde curia legatis sententiae interrogari coeptae. M. Liuius C. Seruilius consullem qui propior esset arcessendum ut coram eo de pace ageretur censebat; cum de re maiore quam quanta ea esset consultatio incidere non posset, non uideri sibi absente consulum altero ambobusue eam rem agi satis ex dignitate populi Romani esse. Q. Metellus, qui triennio ante consul dictatorque fuerat: cum P. Scipio caedendo exercitus agros populando in eam necessitatem hostes compulisset ut supplices pacem peterent, et nemo omnium uerius existimare posset qua mente ea pax peteretur quam qui ante portas Carthaginis bellum gereret, nullius alterius consilio quam Scipionis accipiendam abnuendamue pacem esse. M. Ualerius Laeuinus, qui bis consul fuerat, speculatores non legatos uenisse arguebat, iubendosque Italia excedere et custodes cum iis usque ad naues mittendos, Scipionique scribendum ne bellum remitteret. Laelius Fuluiusque adiecerunt et Scipionem in eo positam habuisse spem pacis si Hannibal et Mago ex Italia non reuocarentur;

ceterum omnia simulaturos Carthaginienses, duces eos exercitusque exspectantes; deinde quamvis recentium foederum et deorum omnium oblitos bellum gesturos. eo magis in Laeuini sententiam discessum. legati pace infecta ac prope sine responso dimissi.

[24] Per eos dies Cn. Seruilius consul, haud dubius quin pacatae Italiae penes se gloria esset, uelut pulsum ab se Hannibalem persequens, in Siciliam, inde in Africam transiturus, traiecit. quod ubi Romae uulgatum est, primo censuerant patres ut praetor scriberet consuli senatum aequum censere in Italiam reuerti eum; dein, cum praetor spreturum eum litteras suas diceret, dictator ad id ipsum creatus P. Sulpicius pro iure maioris imperii consulem in Italiam reuocauit. reliquum anni cum M. Seruilio magistro equitum circumeundis in Italia urbibus quae bello alienatae fuerant noscendisque singularum causis consumpsit.

Per indutiarum tempus ex Sardinia a P. Lentulo praetore centum onerariae naues cum commeatu uiginti rostratarum praesidio, et ab hoste et ab tempestatibus mari tuto, in Africam transmiserunt. Cn. Octauio ducentis onerariis triginta longis nauibus ex Sicilia traicienti non eadem fortuna fuit. in conspectum ferme Africae prospero cursu uectum primo destituit uentus, deinde uersus in Africum turbauit ac passim naues disiecit. ipse cum rostratis per aduersos fluctus ingenti remigum labore enisus Apollinis promunturium tenuit: onerariae pars maxima ad Aegimurum insulam — ea sinum ab alto claudit in quo sita Carthago est, triginta ferme milia ab urbe — , aliae aduersus urbem ipsam ad Calidas Aquas delatae sunt. omnia in conspectu Carthaginis erant. itaque ex tota urbe in forum concursus est; magistratus senatum uocare: populus in curiae uestibulo fremere ne tanta ex oculis manibusque amitteretur praeda. cum quidam pacis petitae, alii indutiarum — necdum enim dies exierat — fidem opponerent, permixto paene senatus populique concilio consensus est ut classem quinquaginta nauium Hasdrubal Aegimurum traiceret, inde per litora portusque dispersas Romanas naues conligeret. desertae fuga nautarum primum ab Aegimuro, deinde ab Aquis onerariae Carthaginem puppibus tractae sunt.

[25] Nondum ab Roma reuerterant legati neque sciebatur quae senatus Romani de bello aut pace sententia esset, necdum indutiarum dies exierat; eo indigniorem iniuriam ratus Scipio ab iis qui petissent

pacem et indutias et spem pacis et fidem indutiarum uiolatam esse, legatos Carthaginem L. Baebium L. Sergium L. Fabium extemplo misit. qui cum multitudinis concursu prope uiolati essent nec reditum tutiorem futurum cernerent, petierunt a magistratibus quorum auxilio uis prohibita erat ut naues mitterent quae se prosequerentur. datae triremes duae cum ad Bagradam flumen peruenissent unde castra Romana conspiciebantur Carthaginem rediere. classis Punica ad Uticam stationem habebat. ex ea tres quadriremes, seu clam misso a Carthagine nuntio ut id fieret, seu Hasdrubale qui classi praeerat sine publica fraude auso facinus, quinqueremem Romanam superantem promunturium ex alto repente adgressae sunt. sed neque rostro ferire celeritate subterlabentem poterant neque transilire armati ex humilioribus in altiore nauem; et defendebatur egregie quoad tela suppeditarunt. quis deficientibus iam nulla alia res eam quam propinquitas terrae multitudineque a castris in litus effusa tueri potuisset. concitatam enim remis quanto maximo impetu poterant in terram cum immisissent, nauis tantum iactura facta incolumes ipsi euaserunt. ita alio super aliud scelere cum haud dubie indutiae ruptae essent, Laelius Fuluiusque ab Roma cum legatis Carthaginensibus superuenerunt. quibus Scipio etsi non indutiarum fides modo a Carthaginensibus sed ius etiam gentium in legatis uiolatum esset tamen se nihil nec institutis populi Romani nec suis moribus indignum in iis facturum esse cum dixisset, dimissis legatis bellum parabat.

Hannibali iam terrae adpropinquanti iussus e nauticis unus escendere in malum ut specularetur quam tenerent regionem cum dixisset sepulcrum dirutum proram spectare, abominatus praeteruehi iusso gubernatore ad Leptim adpulit classem atque ibi copias exposuit.

[26] Haec eo anno in Africa gesta; insequentia excedunt in eum annum quo M. Seruilius Geminus, qui tum magister equitum erat, et Ti. Claudius Nero consules facti sunt. ceterum exitus superioris anni cum legati sociarum urbium ex Graecia questi essent uastatos agros ab regiis praesidiis profectosque in Macedoniam legatos ad res repetendas non admissos ad Philippum regem, simul nuntiassent quattuor milia militum cum Sopatro duce traiecta in Africam dici ut essent Carthaginensibus praesidio et pecuniae aliquantum una

missum, legatos ad regem qui haec aduersus foedus facta uideri patribus nuntiarent mittendos censuit senatus. missi C. Terentius Uarro C. Mamilius M. Aurelius; iis tres quinqueremes datae.

Annus insignis incendio ingenti, quo cliuus Publicius ad solum exustus est, et aquarum magnitudine, sed annonae uilitate fuit, praeterquam quod pace omnis Italia erat aperta, etiam quod magnam uim frumenti ex Hispania missam M. Ualerius Falto et M. Fabius Buteo aediles curules quaternis aeris uicatim populo discripserunt.

eodem anno Q. Fabius Maximus moritur, exactae aetatis si quidem uerum est augurem duos et sexaginta annos fuisse, quod quidam auctores sunt. uir certe fuit dignus tanto cognomine uel si nouum ab eo inciperet. superauit paternos honores, auitos aequauit. pluribus uictoriis et maioribus proeliis auus insignis Rullus; sed omnia aequare unus hostis Hannibal potest. cautior tamen quam promptior hic habitus; et sicut dubites utrum ingenio cunctator fuerit an quia ita bello proprie quod tum gerebatur aptum erat, sic nihil certius est quam unum hominem nobis cunctando rem restituisse, sicut Ennius ait. augur in locum eius inauguratus Q. Fabius Maximus filius: in eiusdem locum pontifex — nam duo sacerdotia habuit — Ser. Sulpicius Galba. ludi Romani diem unum, plebei ter toti instaurati ab aedilibus M. Sextio Sabino et Cn. Tremelio Flacco. ii ambo praetores facti et cum his C. Liuius Salinator et C. Aurelius Cotta. comitia eius anni utrum C. Seruilius consul habuerit an, quia eum res in Etruria tenuerint quaestiones ex senatus consulto de coniurationibus principum habentem, dictator ab eo dictus P. Sulpicius incertum ut sit diuersi auctores faciunt.

[27] Principio insequenti anni M. Seruilius et Ti. Claudius senatu in Capitolium uocato de prouinciis rettulerunt. Italiam atque Africam in sortem conici, Africam ambo cupientes, uolebant; ceterum Q. Metello maxime adnitente neque negata neque data est Africa. consules iussi cum tribunis plebis agere ut, si iis uideretur, populum rogarent quem uellet in Africa bellum gerere. omnes tribus P. Scipionem iusserunt. nihilo minus consules prouinciam Africam — ita enim senatus decreuerat — in sortem coniecerunt. Ti. Claudio Africa euenit ut quinquaginta nauium classem, omnes quinqueremes, in Africam traiceret parique imperio cum P. Scipione imperator esset: M. Seruilius Etruriam sortitus. in eadem prouincia et C.

Seruilio prorogatum imperium si consulem manere ad urbem senatui placuisset. praetores M. Sextius Galliam est sortitus ut duas legiones prouinciamque traderet ei P. Quinctilius Uarus: C. Liuius Bruttios cum duabus legionibus quibus P. Sempronius proconsul priore anno praefuerat: Cn. Tremelius Siciliam ut a P. Uillio Tappulo praetore prioris anni prouinciam et duas legiones acciperet; Uillius pro praetore uiginti nauibus longis militibus mille oram Siciliae tutaretur: M. Pomponius uiginti nauibus reliquis mille et quingentos milites Romam deportaret. C. Aurelio Cottae urbana euenit. ceteris ita uti quisque obtinebant prouincias exercitusque prorogata imperia. sedecim non amplius eo anno legionibus defensum imperium est. et ut placatis dis omnia inciperent agerentque, ludos quos M. Claudio Marcello T. Quinctio consulibus T. Manlius dictator quasque hostias maiores uouerat si per quinquennium res publica eodem statu fuisset, ut eos ludos consules priusquam ad bellum proficiscerentur facerent. ludi in circo per quadriduum facti hostiaeque quibus uotae erant dis caesae.

[28] Inter haec simul spes simul cura in dies crescebat nec satis certum constare apud animos poterat utrum gaudio dignius esset Hannibalem post sextum decimum annum ex Italia decedentem uacuum possessionem eius reliquisse populo Romano, an magis metuendum quod incolumi exercitu in Africam transisset: locum nimirum non periculum mutatum; cuius tantae dimicationis uatem qui nuper decessisset Q. Fabium haud frustra canere solitum grauiorem in sua terra futurum hostem Hannibalem quam in aliena fuisset. nec Scipioni aut cum Syphace inconditae barbariae rege, cui Statorius semilixa ducere exercitus solitus sit, aut cum socero eius Hasdrubale fugacissimo duce rem futuram, aut <cum> tumultuariis exercitibus ex agrestium semermi turba subito conlectis, sed cum Hannibale, prope nato in praetorio patris fortissimi ducis, alito atque educato inter arma, puero quondam milite, uixdum iuvene imperatore, qui senex uincendo factus Hispanias Gallias Italiam ab Alpibus ad fretum monumentis ingentium rerum complexisset. ducere exercitum aequalem stipendiis suis, duratum omnium rerum patientia quas uix fides fiat homines passos, perfusum miliens cruore Romano, exuias non militum tantum sed etiam imperatorum portantem. multos occursuros Scipioni in acie qui praetores, qui imperatores, qui

consules Romanos sua manu occidissent, muralibus uallaribusque insignes coronis, peruagatos capta castra captas urbes Romanas. non esse hodie tot fascēs magistratibus populi Romani quot captos ex caede imperatorum prae se ferre posset Hannibal. has formidines agitando animis ipsi curas et metus augebant, etiam quod, cum adsuessent per aliquot annos bellum ante oculos aliis atque aliis in Italiae partibus lenta spe in nullum propinquum debellandi finem gerere, erexerant omnium animos Scipio et Hannibal uelut ad supremum certamen comparati duces. iis quoque quibus erat ingens in Scipione fiducia et uictoriae spes quo magis in propinquam eam imminebant animis eo curae intentiores erant. haud dispar habitus animorum Carthaginiensibus erat quos modo petisse pacem, intuentes Hannibalem ac rerum gestarum eius magnitudinem, paenitebat, modo cum respicerent bis sese acie uictos, Syphacem captum, pulsos se Hispania, pulsos Italia, atque ea omnia unius uirtute et consilio Scipionis facta, uelut fatalem eum ducem in exitium suum natum horrebant.

[29] Iam Hadrumetum peruenerat Hannibal; unde, ad reficiendum ex iactatione maritima militem paucis diebus sumptis, excitus pauidis nuntiis omnia circa Carthaginem obtineri armis adferentium magnis itineribus Zamam contendit. — Zama quinque dierum iter ab Carthagine abest. — inde praemissi speculatores cum excepti ab custodibus Romanis deducti ad Scipionem essent, traditos eos tribuno militum, iussosque omisso metu uisere omnia, per castra qua uellent circumduci iussit; percontatusque satin per commodum omnia explorassent, datis qui prosequerentur retro ad Hannibalem dimisit. Hannibal nihil quidem eorum quae nuntiabantur — nam et Masinissam cum sex milibus peditum quattuor equitum uenisse eo ipso forte die adferebant — laeto animo audiuit, maxime hostis fiducia, quae non de nihilo profecto concepta esset, percussus. itaque quamquam et ipse causa belli erat et aduentu suo turbauerat et pactas indutias et spem foederum, tamen si integer quam si uictus peteret pacem aequiora impetrari posse ratus, nuntium ad Scipionem misit ut conloquendi secum potestatem faceret. — id utrum sua sponte fecerit an publico consilio, neutrum cur adfirmem habeo. Ualerius Antias primo proelio uictum eum ab Scipione, quo duodecim milia armatorum in acie sint caesa, mille et septingenti capti, legatum cum

aliis decem legatis tradit in castra ad Scipionem uenisse.

Ceterum Scipio cum conloquium haud abnuisset, ambo ex composito duces castra protulerunt ut coire ex propinquo possent. Scipio haud procul Naraggara urbe cum ad cetera loco opportuno tum quod aquatio intra teli coniectum erat consedit. Hannibal tumulum a quattuor milibus inde, tutum commodumque alioqui nisi quod longinquae aquationis erat, cepit. ibi in medio locus conspectus undique ne quid insidiarum esset delectus.

[30] Summotis pari spatio armatis, cum singulis interpretibus congressi sunt, non suae modo aetatis maximi duces sed omnis ante se memoriae omnium gentium cuilibet regum imperatorumue pares. paulisper alter alterius conspectu, admiratione mutua prope attoniti, conticuere; tum Hannibal prior: ‘si hoc ita fato datum erat ut qui primus bellum intuli populo Romano, quique totiens prope in manibus uictoriam habui, is ultro ad pacem petendam uenirem, laetor te mihi sorte potissimum datum a quo peterem. tibi quoque inter multa egregia non in ultimis laudum hoc fuerit Hannibalem cui tot de Romanis ducibus uictoriam di dedissent tibi cecidisse, teque huic bello uestris prius quam nostris cladibus insigni finem imposuisse. hoc quoque ludibrium casus ediderit fortuna ut cum patre tuo consule ceperim arma, cum eodem primum Romano imperatore signa contulerim, ad filium eius inermis ad pacem petendam ueniam. optimum quidem fuerat eam patribus nostris mentem datam ab dis esse ut et uos Italiae et nos Africae imperio contenti essemus; neque enim ne uobis quidem Sicilia ac Sardinia satis digna pretia sunt pro tot classibus, tot exercitibus, tot tam egregiis amissis ducibus; sed praeterita magis reprehendi possunt quam corrigi. ita aliena appetiuimus ut de nostris dimicarem nec in Italia solum nobis bellum, uobis in Africa esset; sed et uos in portis uestris prope ac moenibus signa armaque hostium uidistis et nos ab Carthagine fremitum castrorum Romanorum exaudimus. quod igitur nos maxime abominaremur, uos ante omnia optaretis, in meliore uestra fortuna de pace agitur. agimus ii quorum et maxime interest pacem esse, et qui quodcumque egerimus ratum ciuitates nostrae habiturae sunt: animo tantum nobis opus est non abhorrente a quietis consiliis.

‘Quod ad me attinet, iam aetas senem in patriam reuertentem unde puer profectus sum, iam secundae, iam aduersae res ita erudierunt ut

rationem sequi quam fortunam malim: tuam et adulescentiam et perpetuam felicitatem, ferociora utraque quam quietis opus est consiliis, metuo. non temere incerta casuum reputat quem fortuna nunquam decepit. quod ego fui ad Trasumenum, ad Cannas, id tu hodie es. uixdum militari aetate imperio accepto omnia audacissime incipientem nusquam fefellit fortuna. patris et patrui persecutus mortem ex calamitate uestrae domus decus insigne uirtutis pietatisque eximiae cepisti; amissas Hispanias reciperasti quattuor inde Punicis exercitibus pulsus; consul creatus, cum ceteris ad tutandam Italiam parum animi esset, transgressus in Africam duobus hic exercitibus caesis, binis eadem hora captis simul incensisque castris, Syphace potentissimo rege capto, tot urbibus regni eius, tot nostri imperii ereptis, me sextum decimum iam annum haerentem in possessione Italiae detraxisti. potest uictoriam malle quam pacem animus. noui spiritus magnos magis quam utiles; et mihi talis aliquando fortuna adfulsit. quod si in secundis rebus bonam quoque mentem darent di, non ea solum quae euenissent sed etiam ea quae euenire possent reputaremus. ut omnium obliuiscaris aliorum, satis ego documenti in omnes casus sum quem modo castris inter Anienem atque urbem uestram positis signa inferentem ac iam prope scandentem moenia Romana uideris, hic cernas duobus fratribus, fortissimis uiris, clarissimis imperatoribus orbatum ante moenia prope obsessae patriae quibus terrui uestram urbem ea pro mea deprecantem.

‘Maximae cuique fortunae minime credendum est. in bonis tuis rebus, nostris dubiis, tibi ampla ac speciosa danti est pax, nobis petentibus magis necessaria quam honesta. melior tutiorque est certa pax quam sperata uictoria; haec in tua, illa in deorum manu est. ne tot annorum felicitatem in unius horae dederis discrimen. cum tuas uires tum uim fortunae Martemque belli communem propone animo; utrimque ferrum, utrimque corpora humana erunt; nusquam minus quam in bello euentus respondent. non tantum ad id quod data pace iam habere potes, si proelio uinces, gloriae adieceris, quantum <dempseris>, si quid aduersi eueniat. simul parta ac sperata decora unius horae fortuna euertere potest. omnia in pace iungenda tuae potestatis sunt, P. Corneli: tunc ea habenda fortuna erit quam di dederint. inter pauca felicitatis uirtutisque exempla M. Atilius

quondam in hac eadem terra fuisset, si uictor pacem petentibus dedisset patribus nostris; sed non statuendo felicitati modum nec cohibendo efferentem se fortunam quanto altius elatus erat, eo foedius corrui. ‘est quidem eius qui dat, non qui petit, condiciones dicere pacis; sed forsitan non indigni simus qui nobismet ipsi multam inrogemus. non recusamus quin omnia propter quae ad bellum itum est uestra sint, Sicilia Sardinia Hispania quidquid insularum toto inter Africam Italiamque continetur mari; Carthaginienses inclusi Africae litoribus uos, quando ita dis placuit, externa etiam terra marique uideamus regentes imperio. haud negauerim propter non nimis sincere petitam aut exspectatam nuper pacem suspectam esse uobis Punicam fidem: multum per quos petita sit ad fidem tuendae pacis pertinet, Scipio — uestri quoque, ut audio, patres nonnihil etiam ob hoc quia parum dignitatis in legatione erat negauerunt pacem — ; Hannibal peto pacem qui neque peterem, nisi utilem crederem, et propter eandem utilitatem tuebor eam propter quam petii; et quemadmodum quia a me bellum coeptum est ne quem eius paeniteret quoad ipsi inuidere di praestiti, ita adnitar ne quem pacis per me partae paeniteat.’

[31] Aduersus haec imperator Romanus in hanc fere sententiam respondit: ‘non me fallebat, Hannibal, aduentus tui spe Carthaginienses et praesentem indutiarum fidem et spem pacis turbasse; neque tu id sane dissimulas qui de condicionibus superioribus pacis omnia subtrahas praeter ea quae iam pridem in nostra potestate sunt. ceterum ut tibi curae est sentire ciues tuos quanto per te onere leuentur, sic mihi laborandum est ne quae tum pepigerunt hodie subtracta ex condicionibus pacis praemia perfidiae habeant. indigni quibus eadem pateat condicio, etiam ut prosit uobis fraus petitis. neque patres nostri priores de Sicilia neque nos de Hispania fecimus bellum; et tunc Mamertinorum sociorum periculum et nunc Sagunti excidium nobis pia ac iusta induerunt arma. uos lacessisse et tu ipse fateris et di testes sunt qui et illius belli exitum secundum ius fasque dederunt et huius dant et dabunt.

‘Quod ad me attinet, et humanae infirmitatis memini et uim fortunae reputo et omnia quaecumque agimus subiecta esse mille casibus scio; ceterum quemadmodum superbe et uiolenter me faterer facere si priusquam in Africam traiecissem te tua uoluntate cedentem

Italia et imposito in naues exercitu ipsum uenientem ad pacem petendam aspernarer, sic nunc cum prope manu conserta restitantem ac tergiuersantem in Africam attraxerim nulla sum tibi uerecundia obstrictus. proinde si quid ad ea in quae tum pax conuentura uidebatur, quasi multa nauium cum commeatu per indutias expugnatarum legatorumque uiolatorum, adicitur, est quod referam ad consilium: sin illa quoque grauia uidentur, bellum parate quoniam pacem pati non potuistis.’ ita infecta pace ex conloquio ad suos cum se recepissent, frustra uerba temptata renuntiant: armis decernendum esse habendamque eam fortunam quam di dedissent.

[32] In castra ut est uentum, pronuntiant ambo arma expeditent milites animosque ad supremum certamen, non in unum diem sed in perpetuum, si felicitas adesset, uictores. Roma an Carthago iura gentibus daret ante crastinam noctem scituros; neque enim Africam aut Italiam sed orbem terrarum uictoriae praemium fore; par periculum praemio quibus aduersa pugnae fortuna fuisset. nam neque Romanis effugium ullum patebat in aliena ignotaque terra, et Carthagini, supremo auxilio effuso, adesse uidebatur praesens excidium. ad hoc discrimen procedunt postero die duorum opulentissimorum populorum duo longe clarissimi duces, duo fortissimi exercitus, multa ante parta decora aut cumulaturi eo die aut euersuri. anceps igitur spes et metus miscebant animos; contemplantibusque modo suam, modo hostium aciem, cum oculis magis quam ratione pensarent uires, simul laeta, simul tristia obuersabantur: quae ipsis sua sponte non succurrebant, ea duces admonendo atque hortando subiciebant. Poenus sedecim annorum in terra Italia res gestas, tot duces Romanos, tot exercitus occidione occisos et sua cuique decora ubi ad insignem alicuius pugnae memoria militem uenerat referebat: Scipio Hispanias et recentia in Africa proelia et confessionem hostium quod neque non petere pacem propter metum neque manere in ea prae insita animis perfidia potuissent. ad hoc conloquium Hannibalis in secreto habitum ac liberum fingenti qua uolt flectit. ominatur, quibus quondam auspiciis patres eorum ad Aegates pugnaverint insulas, ea illis exeuntibus in aciem portendisse deos. adesse finem belli ac laboris; in manibus esse praedam Carthaginis, reditum domum in patriam ad parentes liberos coniuges penatesque deos. celsus haec corpore uoltuque ita

laeto ut uicisse iam crederes dicebat.

Instruit deinde primos hastatos, post eos principes; triariis postremam aciem clausit.

[33] Non confertas autem cohortes ante sua quamque signa instruebat sed manipulos aliquantum inter se distantes ut esset spatium qua elephanti hostium acti nihil ordines turbarent. Laelium, cuius ante legati, eo anno quaestoris extra sortem ex senatus consulto opera utebatur, cum Italico equitatu ab sinistro cornu, Masinissam Numidasque ab dextro opposuit. uias patentes inter manipulos antesignanorum uelitibus — ea tunc leuis armatura erat — compleuit, dato praecepto ut ad impetum elephantorum aut post directos refugerent ordines aut in dextram laeuamque discursu applicantes se antesignanis uiam qua inruerent in ancipitia tela beluis darent.

Hannibal ad terrorem primos elephantos — octoginta autem erant, quot nulla unquam in acie ante habuerat — instruxit, deinde auxilia Ligurum Gallorumque, Baliaribus Maurisque admixtis: in secunda acie Carthaginienses Afrosque et Macedonum legionem: modico deinde interuallo relicto subsidiariam aciem Italicorum militum — Bruttii plerique erant, ui ac necessitate plures quam sua uoluntate decedentem ex Italia secuti — instruxit. equitatum et ipse circumdedit cornibus; dextrum Carthaginienses, sinistrum Numidae tenuerunt. uaria adhortatio erat in exercitu inter tot homines quibus non lingua, non mos, non lex, non arma, non uestitus habitusque, non causa militandi eadem esset. auxiliaribus et praesens et multiplicata ex praeda merces ostentatur: Galli proprio atque insito in Romanos odio accenduntur: Liguribus campi uberes Italiae deductis ex asperrimis montibus in spem uictoriae ostentantur: Mauros Numidasque Masinissae impotenti futuro dominatu terret: aliis aliae spes ac metus iactantur. Carthaginiensibus moenia patriae, di penates, sepulcra maiorum, liberi cum parentibus coniugesque puidae, aut excidium seruitiumque aut imperium orbis terrarum, nihil aut in metum aut in spem medium, ostentatur.

Cum maxime haec imperator apud Carthaginienses, duces suarum gentium inter populares, pleraque per interpretes inter immixtos alienigenis agerent, tubae cornuaque ab Romanis cecinerunt, tantusque clamor ortus ut elephanti in suos, sinistrum maxime cornu,

uerterentur, Mauros ac Numidas. addidit facile Masinissa percussis terrorem nudauitque ab ea parte aciem equestri auxilio. paucae tamen bestiarum intrepidae in hostem actae inter uelutum ordines cum multis suis uolneribus ingentem stragem edebant. resilientes enim ad manipulos uelites cum uiam elephantis ne obtererentur fecissent, in ancipites ad ictum utrimque coniciebant hastas, nec pila ab antesignanis cessabant donec undique incidentibus telis exacti ex Romana acie hi quoque in suo dextro cornu ipsos Carthaginiensium equites in fugam uerterunt. Laelius, ut turbatos uidit hostes, addidit percussis terrorem.

[34] Utrunque nudata equite erat Punica acies cum pedes concurrir, nec spe nec uiribus iam par. ad hoc dictu parua sed magna eadem in re gerenda momenta: congruens clamor ab Romanis eoque maior et terribilior, dissonae illis, ut gentium multarum discrepantibus linguis, uoces; pugna Romana stabilis et suo et armorum pondere incumbentium in hostem, concursatio et uelocitas illinc maior quam uis. igitur primo impetu extemplo mouere loco hostium aciem Romani. ala deinde et umbonibus pulsantes in summos gradu inlato aliquantum spatii uelut nullo resistente incessere, urgentibus et nouissimis primos ut semel motam aciem sentire, quod ipsum uim magnam ad pellendum hostem addebat. apud hostes auxiliares cedentes secunda acies, Afri et Carthaginienses, adeo non sustinebant ut contra etiam, ne resistentes pertinaciter primos caedendo ad se perueniret hostis, pedem referrent. igitur auxiliares terga dant repente et in suos uersi partim refugere in secundam aciem, partim non recipientes caedere, ut et paulo ante non adiuti et tunc exclusi; et prope duo iam permixta proelia erant, cum Carthaginienses simul cum hostibus simul cum suis cogerentur manus conserere. non tamen ita percussos iratosque in aciem accepere sed densatis ordinibus in cornua uacuumque circa campum extra proelium eiecere, ne pauido fuga uolneribusque milite sinceram et integram aciem miscerent.

Ceterum tanta strages hominum armorumque locum in quo steterant paulo ante auxiliares compleuerat ut prope difficilior transitus esset quam per confertos hostes fuerat. itaque qui primi erant, hastati, per cumulos corporum armorumque et tabem sanguinis qua quisque poterat sequentes hostem et signa et ordines confuderunt. principum quoque signa fluctuari coeperant uagam ante

se cernendo aciem. quod Scipio ubi uidit receptui propere canere hastatis iussit et sauciis in postremam aciem subductis principes triariosque in cornua inducit quo tutior firmiorque media hastatorum acies esset. ita nouum de integro proelium ortum est; quippe ad ueros hostes peruentum erat, et armorum genere et usu militiae et fama rerum gestarum et magnitudine uel spei uel periculi pares; sed et numero superior Romanus erat et animo quod iam equites, iam elephantos fuderat, iam prima acie pulsa in secundam pugnabat.

[35] In tempore Laelius ac Masinissa pulsos per aliquantum spatii secuti equites, reuertentes in auersam hostium aciem incurrere. is demum equitum impetus perculit hostem. multi circumuenti in acie caesi, <multi> per patentem circa campum fuga sparsi tenente omnia equitatu passim interierunt. Carthaginiensium sociorumque caesa eo die supra uiginti milia: par ferme numerus captus cum signis militaribus centum triginta duobus, elephantis undecim: uictores ad mille et quingenti cecidere.

Hannibal cum paucis equitibus inter tumultum elapsus Hadrumentum perfugit, omnia et ante aciem et in proelio priusquam excederet pugna expertus, et confessione etiam Scipionis omniumque peritorum militiae illam laudem adeptus singulari arte aciem eo die instruxisse: elephantos in prima fronte quorum fortuitus impetus atque intolerabilis uis signa sequi et seruare ordines, in quo plurimum spei ponerent, Romanos prohiberent; deinde auxiliares ante Carthaginiensium aciem ne homines mixti ex conluiuione omnium gentium, quos non fides teneret sed merces, liberum receptum fugae haberent, simul primum ardorem atque impetum hostium excipientes fatigarent ac, si nihil aliud, uulneribus suis ferrum hostile hebetarent; tum, ubi omnis spes esset, milites Carthaginienses Afrosque ut omnibus rebus aliis pares eo quod integri cum fessis ac sauciis pugnarent superiores essent; Italicos incertos socii an hostes essent in postremam aciem summos, interuallo quoque diremptos. hoc edito uelut ultimo uirtutis opere, Hannibal cum Hadrumentum refugisset accitusque inde Carthaginem sexto ac tricensimo post anno quam puer inde profectus erat redisset, fassus in curia est non proelio modo se sed bello uictum, nec spem salutis alibi quam in pace impetranda esse.

[36] Scipio confestim a proelio expugnatis hostium castris

direptisque cum ingenti praeda ad mare ac naues rediit, nuntio allato P. Lentulum cum quinquaginta rostratis centum onerariis cum omni genere commeatus ad Uticam accessisse. admouendum igitur undique terrorem percussae Carthagini ratus, misso Laelio Romam cum uictoriae nuntio, Cn. Octauium terrestri itinere ducere legiones Carthaginem iubet: ipse ad suam ueterem noua Lentuli classe adiuncta profectus ab Utica portum Carthaginis petit. haud procul aberat cum uelata infulis ramisque oleae Carthaginiensium occurrit nauis. decem legati erant principes ciuitatis auctore Hannibale missi ad petendam pacem. qui cum ad puppim praetoriae nauis accessissent uelamenta supplicum porrigentes, orantes implorantesque fidem ac misericordiam Scipionis, nullum iis aliud responsum datum quam ut Tynetem uenirent: eo se moturum castra. ipse ad contemplandum Carthaginis situm <prouectus in portum> non tam noscendi in praesentia quam deprimendi hostis causa, Uticam eodem et Octauio reuocato rediit.

Inde procedentibus ad Tynetem nuntius allatus Uerminam Syphacis filium cum equitibus pluribus quam peditibus uenire Carthaginiensibus auxilio. pars exercitus cum omni equitatu missa, Saturnalibus primis agmen adgressa, Numidas leui certamine fudit. exitu quoque fugae intercluso a parte omni circumdatis equitibus quindecim milia hominum caesa, mille et ducenti uiui capti, et equi Numidici mille et quingenti, signa militaria duo et septuaginta; regulus ipse inter tumultum cum paucis effugit. tum ad Tynetem eodem quo antea loco castra posita, legatique triginta ab Carthagine ad Scipionem uenerunt.

Et illi quidem multo miserabilius quam ante quo magis cogebat fortuna egerunt; sed aliquanto minore cum misericordia ab recenti memoria perfidiae auditi sunt. in consilio quamquam iusta ira omnes ad delendam stimulabat Carthaginem, tamen cum et quanta res esset et quam longi temporis obsidio tam munitae et tam ualidae urbis reputarent, et ipsum Scipionem exspectatio successoris uenturi ad paratum uictoriae fructum, alterius labore ac periculo finiti belli famam, sollicitaret, ad pacem omnium animi uersi sunt.

[37] Postero die reuocatis legatis et cum multa castigatione perfidiae monitis ut tot cladibus edocti tandem deos et ius iurandum esse crederent, condiciones pacis dictae ut liberi legibus suis

uiuerent: quas urbes quosque agros quibusque finibus ante bellum tenuissent tenerent, populandique finem eo die Romanus faceret: perfugas fugitiuosque et captiuos omnes redderent Romanis, et naues rostratas praeter decem triremes traderent elephantosque quos haberent domitos, neque domarent alios: bellum neue in Africa neue extra Africam iniussu populi Romani gererent: Masinissae res redderent foedusque cum eo facerent: frumentum stipendiumque auxiliis donec ab Roma legati redissent praestarent: decem milia talentum argenti discripta pensionibus aequis in annos quinquaginta soluerent: obsides centum arbitrato Scipionis darent ne minores quattuordecim annis neu triginta maiores. indutias ita daturum, si per priores indutias naues onerariae captae quaeque fuissent in nauibus restituerentur; aliter nec indutias nec spem pacis ullam esse. has condiciones legati cum domum referre iussi in contione ederent et Gisgo ad dissuadendam pacem processisset audireturque a multitudine inquieta eadem et imbelli, indignatus Hannibal dici ea in tali tempore audiri que arreptum Gisgonem manu sua ex superiore loco detraxit. quae insueta liberae ciuitati species cum fremitum populi mouisset, perturbatus militaris uir urbana libertate ‘nouem’ inquit ‘annorum a uobis profectus post sextum et tricesimum annum redii. militares artes, quas me a puero fortuna nunc priuata nunc publica docuit, probe uideor scire: urbis ac fori iura, leges, mores uos me oportet doceatis.’ excusata imprudentia de pace multis uerbis disseruit quam nec iniqua et necessaria esset. id omnium maxime difficile erat quod ex nauibus per indutias captis nihil praeter ipsas comparebat naues, nec inquisitio erat facilis aduersantibus paci qui arguerentur. placuit naues reddi et homines utique inquiri: cetera quae abessent aestimanda Scipioni permitti atque ita pecunia luere Carthaginienses. — sunt qui Hannibalem ex acie ad mare peruenisse, inde praeparata naue ad regem Antiochum extemplo profectum tradant, postulantique ante omnia Scipioni ut Hannibal sibi traderetur responsum esse Hannibalem in Africa non esse.

[38] Postquam redierunt ad Scipionem legati, quae publica in nauibus fuerant ex publicis descripta rationibus quaestores, quae priuata, profiteri domini iussi; pro ea summa pecuniae uiginti quinque milia pondo argenti praesentia exacta; indutiaeque Carthaginiensibus datae in tres menses. additum ne per indutiarum

tempus alio usquam quam Romam mitterent legatos et quicumque legati Carthaginem uenissent ne ante dimitterent eos quam Romanum imperatorem qui et quae petentes uenissent certiores facerent. cum legatis Carthaginensibus Romam missi L. Ueturius Philo et M. Marcius Ralla et L. Scipio imperatoris frater. per eos dies commeatus ex Sicilia Sardiniaque tantam uilitatem annonae fecerunt ut pro uectura frumentum nautis mercator relinqueret.

Romae ad nuntium primum rebellionis Carthaginensium trepidatum fuerat iussusque erat Ti. Claudius mature classem in Siciliam ducere atque inde in Africam traicere, et alter consul M. Seruilius ad urbem morari donec quo statu res in Africa essent sciretur. segniter omnia in comparanda deducendaque classe ab Ti. Claudio consule facta erant quod patres de pace Scipionis potius arbitrium esse quibus legibus daretur quam consulis censuerant. prodigia quoque nuntiata sub ipsam famam rebellionis attulerant terrorem: Cumis solis orbis minui uisus et pluit lapideo imbri, et in Ueliterno agro terra ingentibus cauernis consedit arboresque in profundum haustae; Ariciae forum et circa tabernae, Frusinone murus aliquot locis et porta de caelo tacta; et in Palatio lapidibus pluit. id prodigium more patrio nouendiali sacro, cetera hostiis maioribus expiata. inter quae etiam aquarum insolita magnitudo in religionem uersa; nam ita abundauit Tiberis ut ludi Apollinares circo inundato extra portam Collinam ad aedem Erycinae Ueneris parati sint. ceterum ludorum ipso die subita serenitate orta pompa duci coepta ad portam Collinam reuocata deductaque in circum est cum decessisse inde aquam nuntiatum esset; laetitiamque populo et ludis celebritatem addidit sedes sua sollemni spectaculo reddita.

[39] Claudium consulem profectum tandem ab urbe inter portus Cosanum Loretanumque atrox uis tempestatis adorta in metum ingentem adduxit. Populonium inde cum peruenisset stetissetque ibi dum reliquum tempestatis exsaeuaret, Iluam insulam et ab Ilua Corsicam, a Corsica in Sardiniam traiecit. ibi superantem Insanos montes multo et saeuior et infestioribus locis tempestas adorta disiecit classem. multae quassatae armamentisque spoliatae naues, quaedam fractae; ita uexata ac lacerata classis Carales tenuit. ubi dum subductae reficiuntur naues, hiemps oppressit circumactumque anni tempus, et nullo prorogante imperium priuatus Ti. Claudius

classem Romam reduxit. M. Seruilius, ne comitiorum causa ad urbem reuocaretur dictatore dicto C. Seruilio Gemino, in prouinciam est profectus; dictator magistrum equitum P. Aelium Paetum dixit. saepe comitia indicta perfici tempestates prohibuerunt; itaque cum pridie idus Martias ueteres magistratus abissent, noui suffecti non essent, res publica sine curulibus magistratibus erat. T. Manlius Torquatus pontifex eo anno mortuus; in locum eius suffectus C. Sulpicius Galba. ab L. Licinio Lucullo et Q. Fuluio aedilibus curulibus ludi Romani ter toti instaurati. pecuniam ex aerario scribae uiatoresque aedilicii clam egressisse per indicem damnati sunt, non sine infamia Luculli aedilis. P. Aelius Tubero et L. Laetorius aediles plebis uitio creati magistratu se abdicauerunt cum ludos ludorumque causa epulum Ioui fecissent et signa tria ex multaticio argento facta in Capitolio posuissent. Cerialia ludos dictator et magister equitum ex senatus consulto fecerunt.

[40] Legati ex Africa Romani simul Carthaginiensesque cum uenissent Romam, senatus ad aedem Bellonae habitus est. ubi cum L. Ueturius Philo pugnatum cum Hannibale esse suprema Carthaginiensibus pugna finemque tandem lugubri bello impositum ingenti laetitia patrum exposuisset, adiecit Uerminam etiam Syphacis filium, quae parua bene gestae rei accessio erat, deuictum. in contionem inde prodire iussus gaudiumque id populo impertire. tum patefacta gratulationi omnia in urbe templa supplicationesque in triduum decretae. legatis Carthaginiensium et Philippi regis — nam hi quoque uenerant — petentibus ut senatus sibi daretur responsum iussu patrum ab dictatore est consules nouos iis senatum duros esse.

Comitia inde habita. creati consules Cn. Cornelius Lentulus P. Aelius Paetus, praetores M. Iunius Pennus, cui sors urbana euenit — M. Ualerius Falto Bruttios, M. Fabius Buteo Sardiniam, P. Aelius Tubero Siciliam est sortitus. de prouinciis consulum nihil ante placebat agi quam legati Philippi regis et Carthaginiensium auditi essent; belli finem alterius, alterius principium prospiciebant animis.

Cn. Lentulus consul cupiditate flagrabat prouinciae Africae, seu bellum foret facilem uictoriam, seu iam finiretur finiti tanti belli se consule gloriam petens. negare itaque prius quicquam agi passurum quam sibi prouincia Africa decreta esset, concedente collega,

moderato uiro et prudenti, qui gloriae eius certamen cum Scipione, praeterquam quod iniquum esset, etiam impar futurum cernebat. Q. Minucius Thermus et M'. Acilius Glabrio tribuni plebis rem priore anno nequiquam temptatam ab Ti. Claudio consule Cn. Cornelium temptare aiebant: ex auctoritate patrum latum ad populum esse cuius uellent imperium in Africa esse; omnes quinque et triginta tribus P. Scipioni id imperium decreuisse. multis contentionibus et in senatu et ad populum acta res postremo eo deducta est ut senatui permetterent. patres igitur iurati — ita enim conuenerat — censuerunt uti consules prouincias inter se compararent sortirenturue uter Italiam, uter classem nauium quinquaginta haberet; cui classis obuenisset in Siciliam nauigaret; si pax cum Carthaginiensibus componi nequisset, in Africam traiceret; consul mari, Scipio eodem quo adhuc iure imperii terra rem gereret; si condiciones conuenirent pacis, tribuni plebis populum rogarent utrum consulem an P. Scipionem iuberent pacem dare et quem, si deportandus exercitus uictor ex Africa esset, deportare. si pacem per P. Scipionem dari atque ab eodem exercitum deportari iussissent, ne consul ex Sicilia in Africam traiceret. alter consul cui Italia euenisset duas legiones a M. Sextio praetore acciperet.

[41] P. Scipioni cum exercitibus quos haberet in prouincia Africa prorogatum imperium. praetoribus M. Ualerio Faltoni duae legiones in Brutiis quibus C. Liuius priore anno praefuerat decretae — P. Aelius [praetor] duas legiones in Sicilia ab Cn. Tremelio acciperet, legio una M. Fabio in Sardiniam quam P. Lentulus pro praetore habuisset decernitur. M. Seruilio prioris anni consuli cum suis duabus item legionibus in Etruria prorogatum imperium est. quod ad Hispanias attineret, aliquot annos iam ibi L. Cornelium Lentulum et L. Manlium Acidinum esse; uti consules cum tribunis agerent ut si iis uideretur plebem rogarent cui iuberent in Hispania imperium esse; is ex duobus exercitibus in unam legionem conscriberet Romanos milites et in quindecim cohortes socios Latini nominis, quibus prouinciam obtineret; ueteres milites L. Cornelius et L. Manlius in Italiam deportarent. consuli quinquaginta nauium classis ex duabus classibus, Cn. Octauus quae in Africa esset, et P. Uilli quae Siciliae oram tuebatur, decreta, ut quas uellet naues deligeret. P. Scipio quadraginta naues longas quas habuisset haberet; quibus si Cn.

Octauium, sicut praefuisset, praeesse uellet, Octauio pro praetore in eum annum imperium esset; si Laelium praeficeret, Octauius Romam decederet reduceretque naues quibus consuli usus non esset. et M. Fabio in Sardiniam decem longae naues decretae. et consules duas urbanas legiones scribere iussi, ut quattuordecim legionibus eo anno centum nauibus longis res publica administraretur.

[42] Tum de legatis Philippi et Carthaginiensium actum. priores Macedonas introduci placuit; quorum uaria oratio fuit. partim purgantium quae questi erant missi ad regem ab Roma legati de populatione sociorum, partim ultro accusantium quidem et socios populi Romani sed multo infestius M. Aurelium, quem ex tribus ad se missis legatis dilectu habito substitisse et se bello lacessisse contra foedus et saepe cum praefectis suis signis conlatis pugnasse, <partim> postulantium ut Macedones duxque eorum Sopater, qui apud Hannibalem mercede militassent, tum capti in uinculis essent, sibi restituerentur. aduersus ea M. Furius, missus ad id ipsum ab Aurelio ex Macedonia, disseruit Aurelium relictum ne socii populi Romani fessi populationibus ui atque iniuria ad regem deficerent; finibus sociorum non excessisse; dedisse operam ne impune in agros eorum populatores transcenderent. Sopatrum ex purpuratis et propinquis regis esse; eum cum quattuor milibus Macedonum et pecunia missum nuper in Africam esse Hannibali et Carthaginiensibus auxilio. de his rebus interrogati Macedones cum perplexe responderent, nequaquam ipsi mite responsum tulerunt: bellum quaerere regem et si pergat propediem inuenturum; dupliciter ab eo foedus uiolatum et quod sociis populi Romani iniurias fecerit ac bello armisque lacessiuerit, et quod hostes auxiliis et pecunia iuuerit. et P. Scipionem recte atque ordine fecisse uideri et facere quod eos qui arma contra populum Romanum ferentes capti sint hostium numero in uinculis habeat, et M. Aurelium e re publica facere gratumque id senatui esse quod socios populi Romani, quando iure foederis non possit, armis tueatur.

Cum hoc tam tristi responso dimissis Macedonibus, legati Carthaginienses uocati. quorum aetatibus dignitatibusque conspectis — nam longe primi ciuitatis erant — tum pro se quisque dicere uere de pace agi. insignis tamen inter ceteros Hasdrubal erat — Haedum populares cognomine appellabant — , pacis semper auctor

aduersusque factioni Barcinae. eo tum plus illi auctoritatis fuit belli culpam in paucorum cupiditatem ab re publica transferenti. qui cum uaria oratione usus esset, nunc purgando crimina, nunc quaedam fatendo ne impudenter certa negantibus difficilior uenia esset, nunc monendo etiam patres conscriptos ut rebus secundis modeste ac moderate uterentur — si se atque Hannonem audissent Carthaginienses et tempore uti uoluissent, daturos fuisse pacis condiciones quas tunc peterent; raro simul hominibus bonam fortunam bonamque mentem dari; populum Romanum eo inuictum esse quod in secundis rebus sapere et consulere meminerit; et hercule mirandum fuisse si aliter faceret; ex insolentia quibus noua bona fortuna sit impotentes laetitiae insanire: populo Romano usitata ac prope iam obsoleta ex uictoria gaudia esse ac plus paene parcendo uictis quam uincendo imperium auxisse — ceterorum miserabilior oratio fuit, commemorantium ex quantis opibus quo reccidissent Carthaginiensium res: nihil iis qui modo orbem prope terrarum obtinuerint armis superesse praeter Carthaginis moenia; his inclusos, non terra non mari quicquam sui iuris cernere; urbem quoque ipsam ac penates ita habituros si non in ea quoque, quo nihil ulterius sit, saeuire populus Romanus uelit. cum flecti misericordia patres appareret, senatorum unum infestum perfidiae Carthaginiensium succlamasse ferunt per quos deos foedus icturi essent cum eos per quos ante ictum esset fefellissent. ‘per eosdem’, inquit Hasdrubal ‘quoniam tam infesti sunt foedera uiolantibus.’

[43] Inclinatīs omnium ad pacem animis Cn. Lentulus consul, cui classis prouincia erat, senatus consulto intercessit. tum M'. Acilius et Q. Minucius tribuni plebis ad populum tulerunt uellent iuberentne senatum decernere ut cum Carthaginiensibus pax fieret; et quem eam pacem dare quemque ex Africa exercitum deportare iuberent. de pace ‘uti rogas’ omnes tribus iusserunt; pacem dare P. Scipionem, eundem exercitum deportare. ex hac rogatione senatus decreuit ut P. Scipio ex decem legatorum sententia pacem cum populo Carthaginiensi quibus legibus ei uideretur faceret. gratias deinde patribus egere Carthaginienses, et petierunt ut sibi in urbem introire et conloqui cum ciuibus suis liceret qui capti in publica custodia essent: esse in iis partim propinquos amicosque suos, nobiles homines, partim ad quos mandata a propinquis haberent. quibus conuentis cum rursus

peterent ut sibi quos uellent ex iis redimendi potestas fieret, iussi nomina edere; et cum ducenta ferme ederent, senatus consultum factum est ut legati Romani ducentos ex captiuis quos Carthaginienses uellent ad P. Cornelium in Africam deportarent, nuntiarentque ei ut, si pax conuenisset, sine pretio eos Carthaginiensibus redderet. fetiales cum in Africam ad foedus feriendum ire iuberentur, ipsis postulantibus senatus consultum in haec uerba factum est ut priuos lapides silices priuasque uerbenas secum ferrent ut, ubi praetor Romanus imperaret ut foedus ferirent, illi praetorem sagmina poscerent. — herbae id genus ex arce sumptum fetialibus dari solet.

Ita dimissi ab Roma Carthaginienses cum in Africam uenissent ad Scipionem, quibus ante dictum est legibus pacem fecerunt. naues longas elephantos perfugas fugitiuos captiuorum quattuor milia tradiderunt, inter quos Q. Terentius Culleo senator fuit. naues prouectas in altum incendi iussit; quingentas fuisse omnis generis quae remis agerentur quidam tradunt; quarum conspectum repente incendium tam lugubre fuisse Poenis quam si ipsa Carthago arderet. de perfugis grauius ~quam de fugitiuis~ consultum: nominis Latini qui erant securi percussi, Romani in crucem sublati.

[44] Annis ante quadraginta pax cum Carthaginiensibus postremo facta erat, Q. Lutatio A. Manlio consulibus. bellum initum annis post tribus et uiginti, P. Cornelio Ti. Sempronio consulibus, finitum est septimo decimo anno, Cn. Cornelio P. Aelio consulibus. saepe postea ferunt Scipionem dixisse Ti. Claudii primum cupiditatem, deinde Cn. Corneli fuisse in mora quo minus id bellum exitio Carthaginis finiret.

Carthagini cum prima conlatio pecuniae diutino bello exhaustis difficilis uideretur, maestitiaque et fletus in curia esset, ridentem Hannibalem ferunt conspectum. cuius cum Hasdrubal Haedus risum increparet in publico fletu cum ipse lacrimarum causa esset, ‘si, quemadmodum oris habitus cernitur oculis’, inquit ‘sic et animus intus cerni posset, facile uobis appareret non laeti sed prope amentis malis cordis hunc quem increpatis risum esse; qui tamen nequaquam adeo est intempestius quam uestrae istae absurdae atque abhorrentes lacrimae sunt. tunc flesse decuit cum adempta sunt nobis arma, incensae naues, interdictum externis bellis; illo enim uolnere concidimus. nec est cur uos otio uestro consultum ab Romanis

credatis. nulla magna ciuitas diu quiescere potest; si foris hostem non habet, domi inuenit, ut praeualida corpora ab externis causis tuta uidentur, suis ipsa uiribus onerantur. sed tantum nimirum ex publicis malis sentimus quantum ad priuatas res pertinet, nec in iis quicquam acrius quam pecuniae damnum stimulat. itaque cum spolia uictae Carthagini detrahebantur, cum inermem iam ac nudam destitui inter tot armatas gentes Africae cerneretis, nemo ingemuit: nunc quia tributum ex priuato conferendum est, tamquam in publico funere comploratis. quam uereor ne propediem sentiat leuissimo in malo uos hodie lacrimasse.’ haec Hannibal apud Carthaginienses.

Scipio contione aduocata Masinissam ad regnum paternum Cirta oppido et ceteris urbibus agrisque quae ex regno Syphacis in populi Romani potestatem uenissent adiectis donauit. Cn. Octauium classem in Siciliam ductam Cn. Cornelio consuli tradere iussit, legatos Carthaginensium Romam proficisci ut quae ab se ex decem legatorum sen tentia acta essent ea patrum auctoritate populique iussu confirmarentur.

[45] Pace terra marique parta, exercitu in naues imposito in Siciliam Lilybaeum traiecit. inde magna parte militum nauibus missa ipse per laetam pace non minus quam uictoria Italiam effusis non urbibus modo ad habendos honores sed agrestium etiam turba obsidente uias Romam peruenit triumphoque omnium clarissimo urbem est inuectus. argenti tulit in aerarium pondo centum uiginti tria milia. militibus ex praeda quadringenos aeris diuisit. morte subtractus spectaculo magis hominum quam triumphantis gloriae Syphax est, Tiburi haud ita multo ante mortuus, quo ab Alba traductus fuerat. conspecta tamen mors eius fuit quia publico funere est elatus. — hunc regem in triumpho ductum Polybius, haudquaquam spernendus auctor, tradit. — secutus Scipionem triumphantem est pilleo capiti imposito Q. Terentius Culleo, omnique deinde uita, ut dignum erat, libertatis auctorem coluit. Africani cognomen militaris prius fauor an popularis aura celebrauerit an, sicuti Felicis Sullae Magnique Pompeii patrum memoria, coeptum ab adsentatione familiari sit parum compertum habeo; primus certe hic imperator nomine uictae ab se gentis est nobilitatus; exemplo deinde huius nequaquam uictoria pares insignes imaginum titulos claraque cognomina familiarum fecerunt.

LIBER XXXI

[1] Me quoque iuuat, uelut ipse in parte laboris ac periculi fuerim, ad finem belli Punici peruenisse. nam etsi profiteri ausum perscripturum res omnes Romanas in partibus singulis tanti operis fatigari minime conueniat, tamen, cum in mentem uenit tres et sexaginta annos — tot enim sunt a primo Punico ad secundum bellum finitum — aequae multa uolumina occupasse mihi quam occupauerint quadringenti duodenonaginta anni a condita urbe ad Ap. Claudium consulem, qui primum bellum Carthaginiensibus intulit, iam prouideo animo, uelut qui proximis litori uadis inducti mare pedibus ingrediuntur, quidquid progredior, in uastiores me altitudines ac uelut profundum inuehi et crescere paene opus, quod prima quaeque perficiendo minui uidebatur.

Pacem Punicam bellum Macedonicum excepit, periculo haudquaquam comparandum aut uirtute ducis aut militum robore, claritate regum antiquorum uetustaque fama gentis et magnitudine imperii, quo multa quondam Europae, maiorem partem Asiae obtinuerant armis, prope nobilior. ceterum coeptum bellum aduersus Philippum decem ferme ante annis triennio prius depositum erat, cum Aetoli et belli et pacis fuissent causa. uacuos deinde pace Punica iam Romanos et infensos Philippo cum ob infidam aduersus Aetolos aliosque regionis eiusdem socios pacem, tum ob auxilia cum pecunia nuper in Africam missa Hannibali Poenisque preces Atheniensium, quos agro peruastato in urbem compulerat, excitauerunt ad renouandum bellum.

[2] Sub idem fere tempus et ab Attalo rege et Rhodiis legati uenerunt nuntiantes Asiae quoque ciuitates sollicitari. his legationibus responsum est curae eam rem senatui fore; consultatio de Macedonico bello integra ad consules, qui tunc in prouinciis erant, reiecta est. interim ad Ptolomaeum Aegypti regem legati tres missi, C. Claudius Nero M. Aemilius Lepidus P. Sempronius Tuditanus, ut nuntiarent uictum Hannibalem Poenosque et gratias agerent regi quod in rebus dubiis, cum finitimi etiam socii Romanos desererent, in fide mansisset, et peterent ut, si coacti iniuriis bellum aduersus Philippum suscepissent, pristinum animum erga populum Romanum

conseruaret.

Eodem fere tempore P. Aelius consul in Gallia, cum audisset a Boiis ante suum aduentum incursiones in agros sociorum factas, duabus legionibus subitariis tumultus eius causa scriptis additisque ad eas quattuor cohortibus de exercitu suo, C. Ampium praefectum socium hac tumultuaria manu per Umbriam qua tribum Sabiniam uocant agrum Boiorum inuadere iussit; ipse eodem aperto itinere per montes duxit. Ampius ingressus hostium fines primo populationes satis prospere ac tuto fecit. delecto deinde ad castrum Mutilus satis idoneo loco ad demetenda frumenta — iam enim maturae erant segetes — profectus neque explorato circa nec stationibus satis firmis quae armatae inermes atque operi intentos tutarentur positis, improviso impetu Gallorum cum frumentatoribus est circumuentus. inde pauor fugaque etiam armatos cepit. ad septem milia hominum palata per segetes sunt caesa, inter quos ipse C. Ampius praefectus; ceteri in castra metu compulsi. inde sine certo duce consensu militari proxima nocte, relictis magna parte rerum suarum, ad consulem per saltus prope inuios peruenere. qui nisi quod populatus est Boiorum fines et cum Ingaunis Liguribus foedus icit, nihil quod esset memorabile aliud in prouincia cum gessisset, Romam rediit.

[3] Cum primum senatum habuit, uniuersisulantibus ne quam prius rem quam de Philippo ac sociorum querellis ageret, relatum extemplo est; decreuitque frequens senatus ut P. Aelius consul quem uideretur ei cum imperio mitteret qui, classe accepta quam ex Sicilia Cn. Octavius reduceret, in Macedoniam traiceret. M. Valerius Laeuinus propraetor missus circa Vibonem duodequadraginta nauibus ab Cn. Octauius acceptis in Macedoniam transmisit. ad quem cum M. Aurelius legatus uenisset edocuissetque eum quantos exercitus, quantum nauium numerum comparasset rex, et quemadmodum circa omnes non continentis modo urbes sed etiam insulas partim ipse adeundo, partim per legatos conciret homines ad arma: maiore conatu Romanis id capessendum bellum esse, ne cunctantibus iis auderet Philippus quod Pyrrhus prius ausus ex aliquanto minore regno esset — haec scribere eadem Aurelium consulibus senatuique placuit.

[4] Exitu huius anni cum de agris ueterum militum relatum esset qui ductu atque auspicio P. Scipionis in Africa bellum perfecissent,

decreuerunt patres ut M. Iunius praetor urbanus, si ei uideretur, decemuiros agro Samniti Apuloque, quod eius publicum populi Romani esset, metiendo diuidendoque crearet. creati P. Seruilius Q. Caecilius Metellus C. et M. Seruili — Geminis ambobus cognomen erat — L. et A. Hostilii Catones P. Villius Tappulus M. Fuluius Flaccus P. Aelius Paetus T. Quinctius Flamininus.

Per eos dies P. Aelio consule comitia habente creati consules P. Sulpicius Galba C. Aurelius Cotta. praetores exinde facti Q. Minucius Rufus L. Furius Purpurio Q. Fuluius Gillo C. Sergius Plautus. ludi Romani scaenici eo anno magnifice apparateque facti ab aedilibus curulibus L. Valerio Flacco et L. Quinctio Flaminino; biduum instauratum est; frumentique uim ingentem quod ex Africa P. Scipio miserat quaternis aeris populo cum summa fide et gratia diuiserunt. et plebei ludi ter toti instaurati ab aedilibus plebi L. Apustio Fullone et Q. Minucio Rufo, qui ex aedilitate praetor creatus erat; et Iouis epulum fuit ludorum causa.

[5] Anno quingentesimo quinquagesimo primo ab urbe condita, P. Sulpicio Galba C. Aurelio consulibus, bellum cum rege Philippo initum est, paucis mensibus post pacem Carthaginensibus datam. omnium primum eam rem idibus Martiis, quo die tum consulatus inibatur, P. Sulpicius consul rettulit senatusque decreuit uti consules maioribus hostiis rem diuinam facerent quibus diis ipsis uideretur cum precatione ea, ‘quod senatus populusque Romanus de re publica deque ineundo nouo bello in animo haberet, ea res uti populo Romano sociisque ac nomini Latino bene ac feliciter eueniret’; secundum rem diuinam precationemque ut de re publica deque prouinciis senatum consulerent. per eos dies opportune inritandis ad bellum animis et litterae ab M. Aurelio legato et M. Valerio Laeuino propraetore allatae et Atheniensium noua legatio uenit quae regem adpropinquare finibus suis nuntiaret breuique non agros modo sed urbem etiam in dicione eius futuram nisi quid in Romanis auxilii foret. cum renuntiassent consules rem diuinam rite peractam esse et precationi adnuisse deos haruspices respondere laetaque exta fuisse et prolationem finium uictoriamque et triumphum portendi, tum litterae Valeri Aurelique lectae et legati Atheniensium auditi. senatus inde consultum factum est ut sociis gratiae agerentur quod diu sollicitati ne obsidionis quidem metu fide decessissent: de auxilio

mittendo tum responderi placere cum consules prouincias sortiti essent atque is consul cui Macedonia prouincia euenisset ad populum tulisset ut Philippo regi Macedonum indiceretur bellum.

[6] P. Sulpicio prouincia Macedonia sorti euenit isque rogationem promulgauit, ‘uellent iuberent Philippo regi Macedonibusque qui sub regno eius essent, ob iniurias armaque inlata sociis populi Romani bellum indici.’ alteri consulum Aurelio Italia prouincia obtigit. praetores exinde sortiti sunt C. Sergius Plautus urbanam, Q. Fuluius Gillo Siciliam, Q. Minucius Rufus Bruttios, L. Furius Purpurio Galliam. rogatio de bello Macedonico primis comitiis ab omnibus ferme centuriis antiquata est. id cum fessi diuturnitate et grauitate belli sua sponte homines taedio periculorum laborumque fecerant, tum Q. Baebius tribunus plebis, uiam antiquam criminandi patres ingressus, incusauerat bella ex bellis seri ne pace unquam frui plebs posset. aegre eam rem passi patres laceratusque probris in senatu tribunus plebis et consulem pro se quisque hortari ut de integro comitia rogationi ferendae ediceret castigaretque segnitiam populi atque edoceret quanto damno dedecorique dilatio ea belli futura esset.

[7] Consul in campo Martio comitiis, priusquam centurias in suffragium mitteret, contione aduocata, ‘ignorare’ inquit ‘mihi uidemini, Quirites, non utrum bellum an pacem habeatis uos consuli — neque enim liberum id uobis Philippus permittet, qui terra marique ingens bellum molitur — sed utrum in Macedoniam legiones transportetis an hostes in Italiam accipiat. hoc quantum intersit, sin unquam ante alias, proximo certe Punico bello experti estis. quis enim dubitat quin, si Saguntinis obsessis fidemque nostram implorantibus impigre tulissemus opem, sicut patres nostri Mamertinis tulerant, totum in Hispaniam auersuri bellum fuerimus, quod cunctando cum summa clade nostra in Italiam accepimus? ne illud quidem dubium est quin hunc ipsum Philippum, pactum iam per legatos litterasque cum Hannibale ut in Italiam traiceret, misso cum classe Laeuino qui ultro ei bellum inferret, in Macedonia continuerimus. et quod tunc fecimus, cum hostem Hannibalem in Italia haberemus, id nunc pulso Italia Hannibale, deuictis Carthaginensibus cunctamur facere? patiamur expugnandis Athenis, sicut Sapunto expugnando Hannibalem passi sumus, segnitiam

nostram experiri regem: non quinto inde mense, quemadmodum ab Sagunto Hannibal, sed quinto [inde] die quam ab Corintho soluerit naues, in Italiam perueniet. ne aequaueritis Hannibali Philippum nec Carthaginiensibus Macedonas: Pyrrho certe aequabitis. <aequabitis> dico? quantum uel uir uiro uel gens genti praestat. minima accessio semper Epirus regno Macedoniae fuit et hodie est. Peloponnesum totam in ditione Philippus habet Argosque ipsos, non uetere fama magis quam morte Pyrrhi nobilitatos. nostra nunc comparate. quanto magis florentem Italiam, quanto magis integras res, saluis ducibus, saluis tot exercitibus quos Punicum postea bellum absumpsit, adgressus Pyrrhus tamen concussit et uictor prope ad ipsam urbem Romanam uenit. nec Tarentini modo oraue illa Italiae quam maiorem Graeciam uocant, ut linguam, ut nomen secutos crederes, sed Lucanus et Bruttius et Samnis ab nobis defecerunt. haec uos, si Philippus in Italiam transmiserit, quietura aut mansura in fide creditis? manserunt enim Punico postea bello. nunquam isti populi, nisi cum deerit ad quem desciscant, ab nobis non deficient. si piguisset uos in Africam traicere, hodie in Italia Hannibalem et Carthaginienses hostes haberetis. Macedonia potius quam Italia bellum habeat: hostium urbes agrique ferro atque igni uastentur. experti iam sumus foris nobis quam domi feliciora potentioraque arma esse. ite in suffragium bene iuuantibus diuis et quae patres censuerunt uos iubete. huius uobis sententiae non consul modo auctor est sed etiam di immortales, qui mihi sacrificanti precantique ut hoc bellum mihi, senatui uobisque, sociis ac nomini Latino, classibus exercitibusque nostris bene ac feliciter eueniret, laeta omnia prosperaque portendere.’

[8] Ab hac oratione in suffragium missi, uti rogaret, bellum iusserunt. supplicatio inde a consulibus in triduum ex senatus consulto indicta est, obsecratique circa omnia puluinaria di ut quod bellum cum Philippo populus iussisset, id bene ac feliciter eueniret; consultique fetiales ab consule Sulpicio, bellum quod indiceretur regi Philippo utrum ipsi utique nuntiari iuberent an satis esset in finibus regni quod proximum praesidium esset, eo nuntiari. fetiales decreuerunt utrum eorum fecisset recte facturum. consuli a patribus permissum ut quem uideretur ex iis qui extra senatum essent legatum mitteret ad bellum regi indicendum.

Tum de exercitibus consulum praetorumque actum. consules binas legiones scribere iussi, ueteres dimittere exercitus. Sulpicio, cui nouum ac magni nominis bellum decretum erat, permissum ut de exercitu quem P. Scipio ex Africa deportasset uoluntarios, quos posset, duceret: inuitum ne quem militem ueterem ducendi ius esset. praetoribus L. Furio Purpurioni et Q. Minucio Rufo quina milia socium Latini nominis consules darent, quibus praesidiis alter Galliam, alter Bruttios prouinciam obtineret. Q. Fuluius Gillo ipse iussus ex eo exercitu quem P. Aelius consul habuisset, ut quisque minime multa stipendia haberet, legere, donec et ipse quinque milia socium ac nominis Latini effecisset: id praesidii Siciliae prouinciae esset. M. Valerio Faltoni, qui praetor priore anno Campaniam prouinciam habuerat, prorogatum in annum imperium est, uti pro praetore in Sardiniam traiceret; is quoque de exercitu qui ibi esset quinque milia socium nominis Latini, qui eorum minime multa stipendia haberent, legeret. et consules duas urbanas legiones scribere iussi, quae si quo res posceret, multis in Italia contactis gentibus Punici belli societate iraque inde tumentibus, mitterentur. sex legionibus Romanis eo anno usura res publica erat.

[9] In ipso apparatu belli legati a rege Ptolomaeo uenerunt qui nuntiarent Athenienses aduersus Philippum petisse ab rege auxilium: ceterum, etsi communes socii sint, tamen nisi ex auctoritate populi Romani neque classem neque exercitum defendendi aut oppugnandi cuiusquam causa regem in Graeciam missurum esse; uel quieturum eum in regno, si populo Romano socios defendere libeat, uel Romanos quiescere, si malint, passurum atque ipsum auxilia, quae facile aduersus Philippum tueri Athenas possent, missurum. gratiae regi ab senatu actae responsumque tutari socios populo Romano in animo esse: si qua re ad id bellum opus sit indicaturos regi, regnique eius opes scire subsidia firma ac fidelia suae rei publicae esse. munera deinde legatis in singulos quinum milium aeris ex senatus consulto missa.

Cum dilectum consules haberent pararentque quae ad bellum opus essent, ciuitas religiosa in principiis maxime nouorum bellorum, supplicationibus habitis iam et obsecratione circa omnia puluina facta, ne quid praetermitteretur quod aliquando factum esset, ludos Ioui donumque uouere consulem cui prouincia Macedonia euenisset

iussit. moram uoto publico Licinius pontifex maximus attulit, qui negauit ex incerta pecunia uoueri debere, quia <ea> pecunia non posset in bellum usui esse seponique statim deberet nec cum alia pecunia misceri: quod si factum esset, uotum rite solui non posse. quamquam et res et auctor mouebat, tamen ad collegium pontificum referre consul iussus si posset recte uotum incertae pecuniae suscipi. posse rectiusque etiam esse pontifices decreuerunt. uouit in eadem uerba consul praeunte maximo pontifice quibus antea quinquennalia uota suscipi solita erant, praeterquam quod tanta pecunia quantam cum solueretur senatus censuisset ludos donaque facturum uouit. octiens ante ludi magni de certa pecunia uoti erant, hi primi de incerta.

[10] Omnium animis in bellum Macedonicum uersis repente, nihil minus eo tempore timentibus, Gallici tumultus fama exorta. Insubres Cenomanique et Boii excitis Celinibus Iluatibusque et ceteris Ligustinis populis, Hamilcare Poeno duce, qui in iis locis de Hasdrubalis exercitu substiterat, Placentiam inuaserant; et direpta urbe ac per iram magna ex parte incensa, uix duobus milibus hominum inter incendia ruinasque relictis, traiecto Pado ad Cremonam diripiendam pergunt. uicinae urbis audita clades spatium colonis dedit ad claudendas portas praesidiaque per muros disponenda, ut obsiderentur tamen prius quam expugnarentur nuntiosque mitterent ad praetorem Romanum. L. Furius Purpurio tum prouinciae praeerat, cetero ex senatus consulto exercitu dimisso praeter quinque milia socium ac Latini nominis; cum iis copiis in proxima regione prouinciae circa Ariminum substiterat. is tum senatui scripsit quo in tumultu prouincia esset: duarum coloniarum quae ingentem illam tempestatem Punici belli subterfugissent alteram captam ac direptam ab hostibus, alteram oppugnari; nec in exercitu suo satis praesidii colonis laborantibus fore nisi quinque milia socium quadraginta milibus hostium — tot enim in armis esse — trucidanda obicere uelit et tanta sua clade iam inflatos excidio coloniae Romanae augeri hostium animos.

[11] His litteris recitatis decreuerunt ut C. Aurelius consul exercitum, cui in Etruriam ad conueniendum diem edixerat, Arimini eadem die adesse iuberet et aut ipse, si per commodum rei publicae posset, ad opprimendum Gallicum tumultum proficisceretur aut Q.

Minucio praetori scriberet ut, cum ad eum legiones ex Etruria uenissent, missis in uicem earum quinque milibus sociorum quae interim Etruriae praesidio essent, proficisceretur ipse ad coloniam liberandam obsidione.

Legatos item mittendos in Africam censuerunt, eosdem Carthaginem, eosdem in Numidiam ad Masinissam: Carthaginem ut nuntiarent ciuem eorum Hamilcarem relictum in Gallia — haud satis scire ex Hasdrubalis prius an ex Magonis postea exercitu — bellum contra foedus facere, exercitus Gallorum Ligurumque exciuisse ad arma contra populum Romanum; eum, si pax placeret, reuocandum illis et dedendum populo Romano esse. simul nuntiare iussi perfugas sibi non omnes redditos esse ac magnam partem eorum palam Carthagini obuersari dici; quos comprehendi conquirique debere ut sibi ex foedere restituantur. haec ad Carthaginienses mandata. Masinissae gratulari iussi quod non patrium modo reciperasset regnum sed parte florentissima Syphacis finium adiecta etiam auxisset. nuntiare praeterea iussi bellum cum rege Philippo susceptum, quod Carthaginienses auxiliis iuuisset iniuriasque inferendo sociis populi Romani flagrante bello Italia coegisset classes exercitusque in Graeciam mitti et distinendo copias causa in primis fuisset serius in Africam traiciendi; peterentque ut ad id bellum mitteret auxilia Numidarum equitum. dona ampla data quae ferrent regi, uasa aurea argenteaque, toga purpurea et palmata tunica cum eburneo scipione et toga praetexta cum curuli sella; iussique polliceri, si quid ei<s> ad firmandum augendumque regnum opus esse indicasset, enixe id populum Romanum merito eius praestaturum.

Verminae quoque Syphacis filii legati per eos dies senatum adierunt excusantes errorem adulescentiamque et culpam omnem in fraudem Carthaginensium auertentes: et Masinissam Romanis ex hoste amicum factum, Verminam quoque adniscurum ne officiis in populum Romanum aut a Masinissa aut ab ullo alio uincatur; petere ut rex sociusque et amicus ab senatu appellaretur. responsum legatis est et patrem eius Syphacem sine causa ex socio et amico hostem repente populi Romani factum et eum ipsum rudimentum adulescentiae bello lacescentem Romanos posuisse; itaque pacem illi prius petendam ab populo Romano esse quam ut rex sociusque et

amicus appelletur: nominis eius honorem pro magnis erga se regum meritis dare populum Romanum consuesse. legatos Romanos in Africa fore, quibus mandaturum senatum ut Verminae pacis dent leges, liberum arbitrium eius populo Romano permittendi: si quid ad eas addi, demi mutariue uellet, rursus ab senatu ei postulandum fore. legati cum iis mandatis in Africam missi C. Terentius Varro Sp. Lucretius Cn. Octavius, quinqueremes singulis datae.

[12] Litterae deinde in senatu recitatae sunt Q. Minuci praetoris, cui Bruttii prouincia erat: pecuniam Locris ex Proserpinae thesauris nocte clam sublatam nec ad quos pertineat facinus uestigia ulla exstare. indigne passus senatus non cessari ab sacrilegiis et ne Pleminius quidem, tam clarum recensque noxae simul ac poenae exemplum, homines deterrere. C. Aurelio consuli negotium datum ut ad praetorem in Bruttios scriberet: senatui placere quaestionem de expilatis thesauris eodem exemplo haberi quo M. Pomponius praetor triennio ante habuisset; quae inuenta pecunia esset, reponi; si quo minus inuentum foret, expleri ac piacularia, si uideretur, sicut ante pontifices censuissent, fieri. curam expiandae uiolationis eius templi prodigia etiam sub idem tempus pluribus locis nuntiata accenderunt. in Lucanis caelum arsisse adferebant, Priuerni sereno per diem totum rubrum solem fuisse, Lanuui i<n> templo Sospitae Iunonis nocte strepitum ingentem exortum. iam animalium obsceni fetus pluribus locis nuntiabantur: in Sabinis incertus infans natus, masculus an femina esset, alter sedecim iam annorum item ambiguo sexu inuentus; Frusinone agnus cum suillo capite, Sinuessae porcus cum capite humano natus, in Lucanis in agro publico eculeus cum quinque pedibus. foeda omnia et deformia errantisque in alienos fetus naturae uisa: ante omnia abominati semimares iussique in mare extemplo deportari, sicut proxime C. Claudio M. Liuius consulibus deportatus similis prodigii fetus erat. nihilo minus decemuviros adire libros de portento eo iusserunt. decemuiri ex libris res diuinas easdem quae proxime secundum id prodigium factae essent imperarunt. carmen praeterea ab ter nouenis uirginibus cani per urbem iusserunt donumque Iunoni reginae ferri. ea uti fierent C. Aurelius consul ex decemuirorum responso curauit. carmen, sicut patrum memoria Liuius, ita tum condidit P. Licinius Tegula.

[13] Expiatis omnibus religionibus — nam etiam Locris

sacrilegium peruestigatum ab Q. Minucio erat pecuniaque ex bonis noxiorum in thesauros reposita — cum consules in prouincias proficisci uellent, priuati frequentes, quibus ex pecunia quam M. Valerio M. Claudio consulibus mutuam dederant tertia pensio debebatur eo anno, adierunt senatum, quia consules, cum ad nouum bellum quod magna classe magnisque exercitibus gerendum esset uix aerarium sufficeret, negauerant esse unde iis in praesentia solueretur. senatus querentes eos non sustinuit: si in Punicum bellum pecunia data in Macedonicum quoque bellum uti res publica uellet, aliis ex aliis orientibus bellis quid aliud quam publicatam pro beneficio tamquam ob noxiam suam pecuniam fore? cum et priuati aequum postularent nec tamen soluendo aere alieno res publica esset, quod medium inter aequum et utile erat decreuerunt, ut, quoniam magna pars eorum agros uolgo uenales esse diceret et sibimet emptis opus esse, agri publici qui intra quinquagesimum lapidem esset copia iis fieret: consules agrum aestimaturos et in iugera asses uestigal testandi causa publicum agrum esse imposituros, ut si quis, cum soluere posset populus, pecuniam habere quam agrum mallet, restitueret agrum populo. laeti eam condicionem priuati acceperere; trientabulumque is ager, quia pro tertia parte pecuniae datus erat, appellatus.

[14] Tum P. Sulpicius secundum uota in Capitolio nuncupata paludatis lictoribus profectus ab urbe Brundisium uenit et, ueteribus militibus uoluntariis ex Africano exercitu in legiones discriptis nauibusque ex classe Cn. Corneli electis, altero die quam a Brundisio soluit in Macedoniam traiecit. ibi ei praesto fuere Atheniensium legati orantes ut se obsidione eximeret. missus extemplo Athenas est C. Claudius Cento cum uiginti longis nauibus et mille militum — neque enim ipse rex Athenas obsidebat: eo maxime tempore Abydum oppugnabat, iam cum Rhodiis et Attalo naualibus certaminibus, neutro feliciter proelio, uires expertus, sed animos ei faciebat praeter ferociam insitam foedus ictum cum Antiocho Syriae rege diuisaeque iam cum eo Aegypti opes, cui morte audita Ptolomaei regis ambo imminebant.

Contraxerant autem sibi cum Philippo bellum Athenienses haudquaquam digna causa, dum ex uetere fortuna nihil praeter animos seruant. Acarnanes duo iuuenes per initiorum dies non initiati

templum Cereris imprudentes religionis cum cetera turba ingressi sunt. facile eos sermo prodidit absurde quaedam percunctantes, deductique ad antistites templi, cum palam esset per errorem ingressos, tamquam ob infandum scelus interfecti sunt. id tam foede atque hostiliter gens Acarnanum factum ad Philippum detulit impetrauitque ab eo ut datis Macedonum auxiliis bellum se inferre Atheniensibus pateretur. hic exercitus primo terram Atticam ferro ignique depopulatus cum omnis generis praeda in Acarnaniam rediit. et irritatio quidem animorum ea prima fuit: postea iustum bellum decretis ciuitatis ultro indicendo factum. Attalus enim rex Rhodiique persecuti cedentem in Macedoniam Philippum cum Aeginam uenissent, rex Piraeum renouandae confirmandaeque cum Atheniensibus societatis causa traiecit. ciuitas omnis obuiam effusa cum coniugibus ac liberis, sacerdotes <cum> insignibus suis intrantem urbem ac di prope ipsi exciti sedibus suis acceperunt.

[15] In contionem extemplo populus uocatus ut rex quae uellet coram ageret; deinde ex dignitate magis uisum scribere eum de quibus uideretur quam praesentem aut referendis suis in ciuitatem beneficiis erubescere aut significationibus acclamationibusque multitudinis adsentatione immodica pudorem onerantis. in litteris autem, quae missae in contionem recitataeque sunt, commemoratio erat beneficiorum primum in ciuitatem suorum, deinde rerum quas aduersus Philippum gessisset, ad postremum adhortatio capessendi belli dum se, dum Rhodios, tum quidem dum etiam Romanos haberent: nequiquam postea, si tum cessassent, praetermissam occasionem quaesituros. Rhodii deinde legati auditi sunt; quorum recens erat beneficium, quod naues longas quattuor Atheniensium captas nuper ab Macedonibus reciperasque remiserant. itaque ingenti consensu bellum aduersus Philippum decretum. honores regi primum Attalo immodici, deinde et Rhodiis habiti: tum primum mentio inlata de tribu quam Attalida appellarent ad decem ueteres tribus addenda, et Rhodiorum populus corona aurea uirtutis ergo donatus, ciuitasque Rhodiis data quemadmodum Rhodii prius Atheniensibus dederant. secundum haec rex Attalus Aeginam ad classem se recipit; Rhodii Ceam ab Aegina, inde per insulas Rhodum nauigarunt omnibus praeter Andrum Parumque et Cythnum, quae praesidiis Macedonum tenebantur, in societatem acceptis. Attalum

Aeginae missi in Aetoliam nuntii expectatique inde legati aliquamdiu nihil agentem tenuere. sed neque illos excire ad arma potuit, gaudentes utcumque composita cum Philippo pace, et ipse Rhodiique, cum, si institissent Philippo, egregium liberatae per se Graeciae titulum habere potuissent, patiendo rursus eum in Hellespontum traicere occupantemque Thraeciae opportuna loca uires colligere, bellum aluere gloriamque eius gesti perfectique Romanis concesserunt.

[16] Philippus magis regio animo est usus; qui cum Attalum Rhodiosque hostes non sustinuisset, ne Romano quidem quod imminebat bello territus, Philocle quodam ex praefectis suis cum duobus milibus peditum, equitibus ducentis ad populandos Atheniensium agros misso, classe tradita Heraclidi ut Maroneam peteret, ipse terra eodem cum expeditis duobus milibus peditum, equitibus ducentis pergit. et Maroneam quidem primo impetu expugnauit; Aenum inde cum magno labore, postremo per prodicionem Callimedis praefecti Ptolomaei, cepit. deinceps alia castella, Cypsela et Doriscon et Serrheum, occupat. inde progressus ad Chersonesum Elaeunta et Alopeconnesum tradentibus ipsis recipit; Callipolis quoque et Madytos deditae et castella quaedam ignobilia. Abydeni ne legatis quidem admissis regi portas clauserunt. ea oppugnatio diu Philippum tenuit, eripique ex obsidione, ni cessatum ab Attalo et Rhodiis foret, potuerunt. Attalus trecentos tantum milites in praesidium, Rhodii quadriremem unam ex classe, cum ad Tenedum staret, miserunt. eodem postea, cum iam uix sustinerent obsidionem, et ipse Attalus cum traiecisset spem tantum auxilii ex propinquo ostendit, neque terra neque mari adiutis sociis.

[17] Abydeni primo tormentis per muros dispositis non terra modo adeuntes aditu arcebant sed nauium quoque stationem infestam hosti faciebant; postea, cum et muri pars strata ruinis et ad interiorem raptim oppositum murum cuniculis iam peruentum esset, legatos ad regem de condicionibus tradendae urbis miserunt. paciscebantur autem ut Rhodiam quadriremem cum sociis naualibus Attalique praesidium emitti liceret atque ipsis urbe excedere cum singulis uestimentis. quibus cum Philippus nihil pacati nisi omnia per mittentibus respondisset, adeo renuntiata haec legatio ab indignatione simul ac desperatione iram accendit ut ad Saguntinam rabiem uersi

matronas omnes in templo Dianae, pueros ingenuos uirginesque, infantes etiam cum suis nutricibus in gymnasio includi iuberent, aurum et argentum in forum deferri, uestem pretiosam in naues Rhodiam Cyzicenamque quae in portu erant coici, sacerdotes uictimasque adduci et altaria in medio poni. ibi delecti primum qui, ubi caesam aciem suorum pro diruto muro pugnantem uidissent, extemplo coniuges liberosque interficerent, aurum argentum uestemque quae in nauibus esset in mare deicerent, tectis publicis priuatisque quam plurimis locis possent ignes subicerent: id se facinus perpetratos praeuocantibus execrabile carmen sacerdotibus iure iurando adacti; tum militaris aetas iurat neminem uiuum nisi uictorem acie excessurum. hi memores deorum adeo pertinaciter pugnaverunt ut, cum proelium nox diremptura esset, rex prior, territus rabie eorum, pugna abstiterit. principes, quibus atrocior pars facinoris delegata erat, cum paucos et confectos uulneribus ac lassitudine superesse proelio cernerent, luce prima sacerdotes cum infulis ad urbem dedendam Philippo mittunt.

[18] Ante deditionem ex iis legatis Romanis qui Alexandream missi erant M. Aemilius trium consensu, minimus natus, audita obsidione Abydenorum ad Philippum uenit. qui questus Attalo Rhodiisque arma inlata et quod tum maxime Abydum oppugnaret, cum rex ab Attalo et Rhodiis ultro se bello lacessitum diceret, ‘num Abydeni quoque’ inquit ‘ultro tibi intulerunt arma?’ insueto uera audire ferocior oratio uisa est quam quae habenda apud regem esset. ‘aetas’ inquit ‘et forma et super omnia Romanum nomen te ferociorem facit. ego autem primum uelim uos foederum memores seruare mecum pacem: sin bello lacessitis, mihi quoque animos facere et regnum et Macedonum nomen haud minus quam Romanum nobile sentietis.’

Ita dimisso legato Philippus auro argento quaeque <alia> coaceruata erant acceptis hominum praedam omnem amisit. tanta enim rabies multitudinem inuasit ut repente proditos rati qui pugnantes mortem occubuissent, periuriumque alius alii exprobrantes et sacerdotibus maxime, qui quos ad mortem deuouissent, eorum deditionem uiuorum hosti fecissent, repente omnes ad caedem coniugum liberorumque discurrerent seque ipsi per omnes uias leti interficerent. obstupefactus eo furore rex suppressit impetum militum et triduum se ad moriendum Abydenis dare dixit. quo spatio plura

facinora in se uicti ediderunt quam infesti edidissent uictores, nec, nisi quem uincula aut alia necessitas mori prohibuit, quisquam uiuus in potestatem uenit. Philippus imposito Abydi praesidio in regnum rediit. cum uelut Sagunti excidium Hannibali, sic Philippo Abydenorum clades ad Romanum bellum animos fecisset, nuntii occurrerunt consulem iam in Epiro esse et Apolloniam terrestres copias, nauales Corcyram in hiberna deduxisse.

[19] Inter haec legatis, qui in Africam missi erant, de Hamilcare Gallici exercitus duce responsum a Carthaginiensibus est nihil ultra se facere posse quam ut exilio eum multarent bonaque eius publicarent: perfugas et fugitiuos quos inquirendo uestigare potuerint reddidisse et de ea re missuros legatos Romam qui senatui satisfacerent. ducenta milia modium tritici Romam, ducenta ad exercitum in Macedoniam miserunt. inde in Numidiam ad reges profecti legati. dona data Masinissae mandataque edita; equites mille Numidae, cum duo milia daret, accepti. ipse in naues imponendos curauit et cum ducentis milibus modium tritici, ducentis hordei in Macedoniam misit. tertia legatio ad Uerminam erat. is ad primos fines regni legatis obuiam progressus, ut scriberent ipsi quas uellent pacis condiciones permisit: omnem pacem bonam iustamque fore sibi cum populo Romano. datae leges pacis iussusque ad eam confirmandam mittere legatos Romam.

[20] Per idem tempus L. Cornelius Lentulus pro consule ex Hispania rediit. qui cum in senatu res ab se per multos annos fortiter feliciterque gestas exposuisset postulassetque ut triumphanti sibi inuehi liceret in urbem, res triumpho dignas esse censebat senatus, sed exemplum a maioribus non accepisse ut qui neque dictator neque consul neque praetor res gessisset triumpharet: pro consule illum Hispaniam prouinciam, non consulem aut praetorem obtinuisse. decurrebatur tamen eo ut ouans urbem iniret, intercedente Ti. Sempronio Longo tribuno plebis, qui nihilo magis id more maiorum aut ullo exemplo futurum diceret. postremo uictus consensu patrum tribunus cessit et ex senatus consulto L. Lentulus ouans urbem est ingressus. argenti tulit [ex praeda] quadraginta tria milia pondo, auri duo milia quadringenta quinquaginta; militibus ex praeda centenos uicenos asses diuisit.

[21] Iam exercitus consularis ab Arretio Ariminum transductus erat

et quinque milia socium Latini nominis ex Gallia in Etruriam transierant. itaque L. Furius magnis itineribus ab Arimino aduersus Gallos Cremonam tum obsidentes profectus, castra mille quingentorum passuum interuallo ab hoste posuit. occasio egregie rei gerendae fuit, si protinus de uia ad castra oppugnanda duxisset: palati passim uagabantur per agros nullo satis firmo relicto praesidio; lassitudini militum timuit, quod raptim ductum agmen erat. Galli clamore suorum ex agris reuocati omissa praeda quae in manibus erat castra repetiuere; et postero die in aciem progressi. nec Romanus moram pugnandi fecit; sed uix spatium instruendi fuit: eo cursu hostes in proelium uenerunt. dextra ala — in alas diuisum socialem exercitum habebat — in prima acie locata est, in subsidiis duae Romanae legiones. M. Furius dextrae alae, legionibus M. Caecilius, equitibus L. Valerius Flaccus — legati omnes erant — praepositi. praetor secum duos legatos, C. Laetorium et P. Titinium, habebat, cum quibus circumspicere et obire ad omnes hostium subitos conatus posset. primo Galli omni multitudine in unum locum conixi obruere atque obterere sese dextram alam, quae prima erat, sperarunt posse. ubi id parum procedebat, circuire a cornibus et amplecti hostium aciem, quod in multitudine aduersus paucos facile uidebatur, conati sunt. id ubi uidit praetor, ut et ipse dilataret aciem, duas legiones ex subsidiis dextra laeuaque alae quae in prima acie pugnabat circumdat aedemque Dioui uouit, si eo die hostes fudisset. L. Valerio imperat ut parte una duarum legionum equites, altera sociorum equitatum in cornua hostium emittat nec circuire eos aciem patiat; simul et ipse, ut extenuatam mediam diductis cornibus aciem Gallorum uidit, signa inferre confertos milites et perrumpere ordines iubet. et cornua ab equitibus et medii a pedite pulsi; ac repente, cum in omni parte caede ingenti sternerentur, Galli terga uerterunt fugaque effusa repetunt castra. fugientes persecutus eques; mox et legiones insecutae in castra impetum fecerunt. minus sex milia hominum inde effugerunt: caesa aut capta supra quinque et triginta milia cum signis militaribus septuaginta, carpentis Gallicis multa praeda oneratis plus ducentis. Hamilcar dux Poenus eo proelio cecidit et tres imperatores nobiles Gallorum. Placentini captiui ad duo milia liberorum capitum redditi colonis.

[22] Magna uictoria laetaque Romae fuit: litteris allatis supplicatio

in triduum decreta est. Romanorum sociorumque ad duo milia eo proelio ceciderunt, plurimi dextrae alae, in quam primo impetu uis hostium ingens inlata est. quamquam per praetorem prope debellatum erat, consul quoque C. Aurelius, perfectis quae Romae agenda fuerant, profectus in Galliam uictorem exercitum a praetore accepit.

Consul alter cum autumno ferme exacto in prouinciam uenisset, circa Apolloniam hibernabat. ab classe, quae Corcyrae subducta erat, C. Claudius triremesque Romanae, sicut ante dictum est, Athenas missae cum Piraeum peruenissent, despondentibus iam animos sociis spem ingentem attulerant. nam et terrestres ab Corintho quae per Megara incursiones in agros fieri solitae erant non fiebant, et praedonum a Chalcide naues, quae non mare solum infestum sed etiam omnes maritimos agros Atheniensibus fecerant, non modo Sunium superare sed ne extra fretum <quidem> Euripi committere aperto mari se audebant. superuenerunt his tres Rhodiae quadriremes et erant Atticae tres apertae naues, ad tuendos maritimos agros comparatae. hac classe si urbs agrique Atheniensium defenderentur, satis in praesentia existimanti Claudio esse maioris etiam rei fortuna oblata est.

[23] Exules ab Chalcide regionum iniuriis pulsati attulerunt occupari Chalcidem sine certamine ullo posse; nam et Macedonas, quia nullus in propinquo sit hostium metus, uagari passim, et oppidanos praesidio Macedonum fretos custodiam urbis neglegere. his auctoribus profectus quamquam Sunium ita mature peruenerat ut inde prouehi ad primas angustias Euboeae posset, ne superato promunturio conspiceretur, classem in statione usque ad noctem tenuit. primis tenebris mouit et tranquillo peruectus Chalcidem paulo ante lucem, qua infrequentissima urbis sunt, paucis militibus turrim proximam murumque circa scalis cepit, alibi sopitis custodibus, alibi nullo custodiente. progressi inde ad frequentia aedificiis loca, custodibus interfectis refractaque porta ceteram multitudinem armatorum acceperunt. inde in totam urbem discursum est, aucto etiam tumultu quod circa forum ignis tectis iniectus erat: conflagrarunt et horrea regia et armamentarium cum ingenti apparatu machinarum tormentorumque. caedes inde passim fugientium pariter ac repugnantium fieri coepta est; nec ullo iam qui militaris aetatis

esset non aut caeso aut fugato, Sopatro etiam Acarnane praefecto praesidii interfecto, praeda omnis primo in forum conlata, deinde in naues imposita. carcer etiam ab Rhodiis refractus emissisque captiui quos Philippus tamquam in tutissimam custodiam condiderat. statuis inde regis deiectis truncatisque signo receptui dato conscenderunt naues et Piraeum, unde profecti erant, redierunt. quod si tantum militum Romanorum fuisset ut et Chalcis teneri et non deseri praesidium Athenarum potuisset, magna res principio statim belli, Chalcis et Euripus adempta regi forent; nam ut terra Thermopylarum angustiae Graeciam, ita mari fretum Euripi claudit.

[24] Demetriade tum Philippus erat. quo cum esset nuntiata clades sociae urbis, quamquam serum auxilium perditis <rebus> erat, tamen, quae proxima auxilio est, ultionem petens, cum expeditis quinque milibus peditum et trecentis equitibus extemplo profectus cursu prope Chalcidem contendit, haudquaquam dubius opprimi Romanos posse. a qua destitutus spe nec quicquam aliud quam ad deforme spectaculum semirutae ac fumantis sociae urbis cum uenisset, paucis uix qui sepelirent bello absumptos relictis aequè raptim ac uenerat transgressus ponte Euripum per Boeotiam Athenas ducit, pari incepto haud disparem euentum ratus responsurum. et respondisset, ni speculator — hemerodromos uocant Graeci, ingens die uno cursu emetientes spatium — contemplatus regium agmen ex specula quadam, praegressus nocte media Athenas peruenisset. idem ibi somnus eademque neglegentia erat quae Chalcidem dies ante paucos prodiderat. excitati nuntio trepido et praetor Atheniensium et Dioxippus, praefectus cohortis mercede militantium auxiliorum, conuocatis in forum militibus tuba signum ex arce dari iubent, ut hostes adesse omnes scirent. ita undique ad portas, ad muros discurrunt. paucas post horas Philippus, aliquanto tamen ante lucem, adpropinquans urbi, conspectis luminibus crebris et fremitu hominum trepidantium, ut in tali tumultu, exaudito sustinuit signa et considerare ac conquiescere agmen iussit, ui aperta propalam usus quando parum dolus profuerat. ab Dipylo accessit. porta ea, uelut in ore urbis posita, maior aliquanto patentiorque quam ceterae est, et intra eam extraque latae uiae sunt, ut et oppidani derigere aciem a foro ad portam possent et extra limes mille ferme passus longus, in Academiae gymnasium ferens, pediti equitique hostium liberum

spatium praeberet. eo limite Athenienses cum Attali praesidio et cohorte Dioxippi acie intra portam instructa signa extulerunt. quod ubi Philippus uidit, habere se hostes in potestate ratus et diu optata caede — neque enim ulli Graecarum ciuitatum infestior erat — <iram> expleturum, cohortatus milites ut se intuentes pugnarent scirentque ibi signa, ibi aciem esse debere ubi rex esset, concitat in hostes equum non ira tantum sed etiam gloria elatus, quod ingenti turba completis etiam ad spectaculum muris conspici se pugnantem egregium ducebat. aliquantum ante aciem cum equitibus paucis euectus in medios hostes ingentem cum suis ardorem, tum pauorem hostibus iniecit. plurimos manu sua comminus eminusque uulneratos compulsosque in portam consecutus et ipse, cum maiorem in angustiis trepidantium edidisset caedem, in temerario incepto tutum tamen receptum habuit quia qui in turribus portae erant sustinebant tela ne in permixtos hostibus suos conicerent. intra muros deinde tenentibus milites Atheniensibus Philippus signo receptui dato castra ad Cynosarges- templum Herculis gymnasiumque et lucus erat circumiectus — posuit. sed et Cynosarges et Lycium et quidquid sancti amoenius circa urbem erat incensum est, dirutaque non tecta solum sed etiam sepulcra, nec diuini humani iuris quicquam prae impotenti ira est seruatum.

[25] Postero die cum primo clausae fuissent portae, deinde subito apertae quia praesidium Attali ab Aegina Romanique ab Piraeo intrauerant urbem, castra ab urbe rettulit rex tria ferme milia passuum. inde Eleusinem profectus spe improviso templi castelli que quod et imminet et circumdatum est templo capiendi, cum haudquaquam neglectas custodias animaduertisset et classem a Piraeo subsidio uenire, omisso incepto Megara ac protinus Corinthum ducit et, cum Argis Achaeorum concilium esse audisset, inopinantibus Achaeis contioni ipsi superuenit. consultabant de bello aduersus Nabim tyrannum Lacedaemoniorum, qui tralato imperio a Philopoemene ad Cycliadan, nequaquam parem illi ducem, dilapsa cernens Achaeorum auxilia redintegruerat bellum agrosque finitimorum uastabat et iam urbibus quoque erat terribilis. aduersus hunc hostem cum quantum ex quaque ciuitate militum scriberetur consultarent, Philippus dempturum se eis curam, quod ad Nabim et Lacedaemonios attineret, <est> pollicitus nec tantum agros sociorum

populationibus prohibitorum sed terrorem omnem belli in ipsam Laconicam ducto eo extemplo exercitu tralaturum. haec oratio cum ingenti adsensu hominum acciperetur, 'ita tamen aequum est' inquit 'me uestra meis armis tutari ne mea interim nudentur praesidiis. itaque, si uobis uidetur, tantum parate militum quantum ad Oreum et Chalcidem et Corinthum tuenda satis sit, ut meis ab tergo tutis securus bellum Nabidi inferam et Lacedaemoniis.' non fefellit Achaeos quo spectasset tam benigna pollicitatio auxiliumque oblatum aduersus Lacedaemonios: id quaeri ut obsidem Achaeorum iuuentutem educeret ex Peloponneso ad inligandam Romano bello gentem. et id quidem coarguere Cycliadas praetor Achaeorum nihil attinere ratus, id modo cum dixisset non licere legibus Achaeorum de aliis rebus referre quam propter quas conuocati essent, decreto de exercitu parando aduersus Nabim facto concilium fortiter ac libere habitum dimisit, inter adsentatores regios ante eam diem habitus. Philippus magna spe depulsus, uoluntariis paucis militibus conscriptis, Corinthum atque in Atticam terram rediit.

[26] Per eos ipsos dies quibus Philippus in Achaia fuit Philocles praefectus regius ex Euboea profectus cum duobus milibus Thracum Macedonumque ad depopulandos Atheniensium fines regione Eleusinis saltum Cithaeronis transcendit. inde dimidia parte militum ad praedandum passim per agros dimissa, cum parte ipse occultus loco ad insidias opportuno consedit ut, si ex castello ab Eleusine in praedantes suos impetus fieret, repente hostes effusos ex improviso adoriretur. non fefellere insidiae. itaque reuocatis qui discurrerant ad praedandum militibus instructisque ad oppugnandum castellum Eleusinem profectus, cum multis inde uolneribus recessit Philippoque se uenienti ex Achaia coniunxit. temptata et ab ipso rege oppugnatio eiusdem castelli est; sed naues Romanae a Piraeo uenientes intromissumque praesidium absistere incepto coegerunt. diuiso deinde exercitu rex cum parte Philoclem Athenas mittit, cum parte Piraeum pergit ut, dum Philocles subeundo muros comminandaque oppugnatione contineret urbe Athenienses, ipsi Piraeum leui cum praesidio relictum expugnandi facultas esset. ceterum nihilo ei Piraei quam Eleusinis facilius iisdem fere defendentibus oppugnatio fuit. a Piraeo Athenas repente duxit. inde eruptione subita peditum equitumque inter angustias semiruti muri

qui brachiis duobus Piraeum Athenis iungit repulsus, omnia oppugnatione urbis, diuiso cum Philocle rursus exercitu ad agros uastandos profectus, cum priorem populationem sepulcris circa urbem diruendis exercuisset, ne quid inuiolatum relinqueret, templa deum quae pagatim sacrata habebant dirui atque incendi iussit. et ornata eo genere operum eximie terra Attica et copia domestici marmoris et ingeniis artificum praebuit huic furori materiam; neque enim diruere modo ipsa templa ac simulacra euertere satis habuit, sed lapides quoque, ne integri cumularent ruinas, frangi iussit. et postquam non tam ira <erat> satiata quam irae exercendae materia deerat, agro hostium in Boeotiam excessit nec aliud quicquam dignum memoria in Graecia egit.

[27] Consul Sulpicius eo tempore inter Apolloniam ac Dyrrachium ad Apsum flumen habebat castra, quo accessitum L. Apustium legatum cum parte copiarum ad depopulandos hostium fines mittit. Apustius extrema Macedoniae populatus, Corrhago et Gerrunio et Orgesso castellis primo impetu captis ad Antipatream, in faucibus angustis sitam urbem, uenit. ac primo euocatos principes ad conloquium, ut fidei Romanorum se committerent, perlicere est conatus; deinde, ubi magnitudine ac moenibus situque urbis freti dicta aspernabantur, ui atque armis adortus expugnauit puberibusque interfectis, praeda omni militibus concessa, diruit muros atque urbem incendit. hic metus Codrionem, satis ualidum et munitum oppidum, sine certamine ut dederetur Romanis effecit. praesidio ibi relicto Cnidus — nomen propter alteram in Asia urbem quam oppidum notius — ui capitur. reuertentem legatum ad consulem cum satis magna praeda Athenagoras quidam, regius praefectus, in transitu fluminis a nouissimo agmine adortus postremos turbauit. ad quorum clamorem et trepidationem cum reuectus equo propere legatus signa conuertisset et coniectis in medium sarcinis aciem direxisset, non tulere impetum Romanorum militum regii: multi ex iis occisi, plures capti. legatus incolumi exercitu reducto ad consulem remittitur inde extemplo ad classem.

[28] Hac satis felici expeditione bello commissio reguli ac principes accolae Macedonum in castra Romana ueniunt, Pleuratus Scerdilaedi filius et Amynander Athamanum rex et ex Dardanibus Bato Longari filius: bellum suo nomine Longarus cum Demetrio Philippi patre

gesserat. pollicentibus auxilia respondit consul Dardanorum et Pleurati opera, cum exercitum in Macedoniam induceret, se usurum; Amynandro Aetolos concitandos ad bellum attribuit. Attali legatis — nam ii quoque per id tempus uenerant — mandat ut Aeginae rex, ubi hibernabat, classem Romanam opperiretur, qua adiuncta bello maritimo, sicut ante, Philippum urgeret. ad Rhodios quoque missi legati, ut capesserent partem belli. nec Philippus segnus — iam enim in Macedoniam peruenerat — apparabat bellum. filium Persea, puerum admodum, datis ex amicorum numero qui aetatem eius regerent, cum parte copiarum ad obsidendas angustias quae ad Pelagoniam sunt mittit. Sciathum et Peparethum, haud ignobiles urbes, ne classi hostium praedae ac praemio essent, diruit. ad Aetolos mittit legatos, ne gens inquieta aduentu Romanorum fidem mutaret.

[29] Concilium Aetolorum stata die, quod Panaetoli<c>um uocant, futurum erat. huic ut occurrerent, et regis legati iter accelerarunt et a consule missus L. Furius Purpurio legatus uenit; Atheniensium quoque legati ad id concilium occurrerunt. primi Macedones, cum quibus recentissimum foedus erat, auditi sunt. qui <in> nulla noua re nihil se noui habere quod adferrent dixerunt: quibus enim de causis experta inutili societate Romana pacem cum Philippo fecissent, compositam semel pacem seruare eos debere. ‘an imitari’ inquit unus ex legatis ‘Romanorum licentiam, an leuitatem dicam, mauultis? qui cum legatis uestris Romae responderi ita iussissent: “quid ad nos uenitis, Aetoli, sine quorum auctoritate pacem cum Philippo fecistis?”’, iidem nunc ut bellum secum aduersus Philippum geratis postulant; et antea propter uos et pro uobis arma sumpta aduersus eum simulabant, nunc uos in pace esse cum Philippo prohibent. Messanae ut auxilio essent primo in Siciliam transcenderunt, iterum ut Syracusas oppressas ab Carthaginiensibus in libertatem eximerent: et Messanam et Syracusas et totam Siciliam ipsi habent uectigalemque prouinciam securibus et fascibus subiecerunt. scilicet sicut uos Naupacti legibus uestris per magistratus a uobis creatos concilium habetis, socium hostemque libere quem uelit lecturi, pacem ac bellum arbitrio habituri uestro, sic Siculorum ciuitatibus Syracusas aut Messanam aut Lilybaeum indicitur concilium. praetor Romanus conuentus agit: eo imperio euocati conueniunt, excelso in suggestu superba iura reddentem, stipatum lictoribus uident, uirgae

tergo, secures ceruicibus imminet; et quotannis alium atque alium dominum sortiuntur. nec id mirari debent aut possunt, cum Italiae urbes, Regium Tarentum Capuam — ne finitimas quarum ruinis creuit urbs Roma nominem — , eidem subiectas uideant imperio. Capua quidem sepulcrum ac monumentum Campani populi, elato et extorri eiecto ipso populo, superest, urbs trunca sine senatu, sine plebe, sine magistratibus, prodigium, relictā crudelius habitanda quam si deiecta foret. furor est, si alienigenae homines plus lingua et moribus et legibus quam maris terrarumque spatio discreti haec tenuerint, sperare quicquam eodem statu mansurum. Philippi regnum officere aliquid uidetur libertati uestrae; qui, cum merito uestro uobis infensus esset, nihil a uobis ultra quam pacem petiit fidemque hodie pacis pactae desiderat. adsuefacite his terris legiones externas et iugum accipite: sero ac nequiquam, cum dominum Romanum habebitis, socium Philippum quaeritis. Aetolos Acarnanas Macedonas, eiusdem linguae homines, leues ad tempus ortae causae diiungunt coniunguntque: cum alienigenis, cum barbaris aeternum omnibus Graecis bellum est eritque; natura enim, quae perpetua est, non mutabilibus in diem causis hostes sunt. sed unde coepit oratio mea, ibi desinet. hoc eodem loco iidem homines de eiusdem Philippi pace triennio ante decreuistis iisdem improbantibus eam pacem Romanis, qui nunc pactam et compositam turbare uolunt. in qua consultatione nihil fortuna mutauit, cur uos mutetis non uideo.’

[30] Secundum Macedonas ipsis Romanis ita concedentibus iubentibusque Athenienses, qui foeda passi iustius in crudelitatem saeuitiamque regis inuehi poterant, introducti sunt. deplorauerunt uastationem populationemque miserabilem agrorum: neque id se queri, quod hostilia ab hoste passi forent; esse enim quaedam belli iura, quae ut facere ita pati sit fas: sata exuri, dirui tecta, praedas hominum pecorumque agi misera magis quam indigna patienti esse; uerum enim uero id se queri, quod is qui Romanos alienigenas et barbaros uocet adeo omnia simul diuina humanaque iura polluerit ut priore populatione cum infernis deis, secunda cum superis bellum nefarium gesserit. omnia sepulcra monumentaque diruta esse in finibus suis, omnium nudatos manes, nullius ossa terra tegi. delubra sibi fuisse quae quondam pagatim habitantes in paruis illis castellis uicisque consecrata ne in unam urbem quidem contributi maiores sui

deserta reliquerint: circa ea omnia templa Philippum infestos circumtulisse ignes; semusta, truncata simulacra deum inter prostratos iacere postes templorum. qualem terram Atticam fecerit, exornatam quondam opulentamque, talem eum si liceat Aetoliam Graeciamque omnem facturum. urbis quoque suae similem deformitatem futuram fuisse, nisi Romani subuenissent. eodem enim scelere urbem colentes deos praesidemque arcis Mineruam petitam, eodem Eleusine Cereris templum, eodem Piraei Iouem Mineruamque; sed ab eorum non templis modo sed etiam moenibus ui atque armis repulsum in ea delubra quae sola religione tuta fuerint saeuisse. itaque se orare atque obsecrare Aetolos ut miseriti Atheniensium ducibus diis immortalibus, deinde Romanis, qui secundum deos plurimum possent, bellum susciperent.

[31] Tum Romanus legatus: 'totam orationis meae formam Macedones primum, deinde Athenienses mutarunt. nam et Macedones, cum ad conquerendas Philippi iniurias in tot socias nobis urbes uenissem, ultro accusando Romanos, defensionem ut accusatione potiolem haberem effecerunt, et Athenienses in deos inferos superosque nefanda atque inhumana scelera eius referendo quid mihi aut cuiquam reliquerunt quod obicere ultra possim? eadem haec Cianos Abydenos Aenios Maronitas Thasios Parios Samios Larisenses Messenios hinc ex Achaia existimate queri, grauiora etiam acerbioraque eos quibus nocendi maiorem facultatem habuit. nam quod ad ea attinet quae nobis obiecit, nisi gloria digna sunt, fateor ea defendi non posse. Regium et Capuam et Syracusas nobis obiecit. Regium Pyrrhi bello legio a nobis Reginis ipsis ut mitteremus orantibus in praesidium missa urbem ad quam defendendam missa erat per scelus possedit. comprobauimus ergo id facinus? an bello persecuti sceleratam legionem, in potestatem nostram redactam, tergo et ceruicibus poenas sociis pendere cum coegissemus, urbem agros suaeque omnia cum libertate legibusque Reginis reddidimus? Syracusanis oppressis ab externis tyrannis, quo indignius esset, cum tulissemus opem et fatigati prope per triennium terra marique urbe munitissima oppugnanda essemus, cum iam ipsi Syracusani seruire tyrannis quam capi a nobis mallent, captam iisdem armis et liberatam urbem reddidimus. neque infitias imus Siciliam prouinciam nostram esse et ciuitates quae in parte

Carthaginiensium fuerunt et uno animo cum illis aduersus nos bellum gesserunt, stipendiarias nobis ac uestigiales esse: quin contra hoc et uos et omnes gentes scire uolumus pro merito cuique erga nos fortunam esse. an Campanorum poenae, de qua ne ipsi quidem queri possunt, nos paeniteat? hi homines, cum pro iis bellum aduersus Samnites per annos prope septuaginta cum magnis nostris cladibus gessissemus, ipsos foedere primum, deinde conubio atque inde cognitionibus, postremo ciuitate nobis coniunxissemus, tempore nostro aduerso primi omnium Italiae populorum, praesidio nostro foede interfecto, ad Hannibalem defecerunt, deinde indignati se obsideri a nobis Hannibalem ad oppugnandam Romam miserunt. horum si neque urbs ipsa neque homo quisquam superesset, quis id durius quam pro merito ipsorum statutum indignari posset? plures sibimet ipsi conscientia scelerum mortem consciuerunt quam ab nobis supplicio adfecti sunt. ceteris ita oppidum, ita agros ademimus ut agrum locumque ad habitandum daremus, urbem innoxiam stare incolumem pateremur, ut qui hodie uideat eam nullum oppugnatae captaeue ibi uestigium inueniat. sed quid ego Capuam dico, cum Carthagini uictae pacem ac libertatem dederimus? magis illud est periculum ne nimis facile uictis ignoscendo plures ob id ipsum ad experiundam aduersus nos fortunam belli incitemus. haec pro nobis dicta sint, haec aduersus Philippum, cuius domestica parricidia et cognatorum amicorumque caedes et libidinem inhumaniorem prope quam crudelitatem uos, quo propiores Macedoniae estis, melius nostis. quod ad uos attinet, Aetoli, nos pro uobis bellum suscepimus aduersus Philippum, uos sine nobis cum eo pacem fecistis. et forsitan dicatis bello Punico occupatis nobis coactos metu uos leges pacis ab eo qui tum plus poterat accepisse; et nos, cum alia maiora urgerent, depositum a uobis bellum et ipsi omisimus. nunc et nos deum benignitate Punico perfecto bello totis uiribus nostris in Macedoniam incubuimus, et uobis restituendi uos in amicitiam societatemque nostram fortuna oblata est, nisi perire cum Philippo quam uincere cum Romanis mauultis.’

[32] Haec dicta ab Romano cum essent, inclinatis omnium animis ad Romanos Damocritus praetor Aetolorum pecunia, ut fama est, ab rege accepta, nihil aut huic aut illi parti adsensus, rem magni discriminis consiliis nullam esse tam inimicam quam celeritatem

dixit: celerem enim paenitentiam, sed eandem seram atque inutilem sequi, cum praecipitata raptim consilia neque reuocari neque in integrum restitui possint. deliberationis autem eius cuius ipse maturitatem expectandam putaret tempus ita iam nunc statui posse: cum legibus cautum esset ne de pace belloque nisi in Panaetolico et Pylaico concilio ageretur, decernerent extemplo ut praetor sine fraude, cum de bello et pace agere uelit, aduocet concilium et quod tum referatur decernaturque ut perinde ius ratumque <sit> ac si in Panaetolico aut Pylaico concilio actum esset. dimissis ita suspensa re legatis egregie consultum genti aiebat: nam utrius partis melior fortuna belli esset, ad eius societatem inclinatueros. haec in concilio Aetolorum acta.

[33] Philippus impigre terra marique parabat bellum. nauales copias Demetriadem in Thessaliam contrahebat; Attalum Romanamque classem principio ueris ab Aegina ratus moturos, nauibus maritimaeque orae praefecit Heraclidam, quem et ante praefecerat; ipse terrestres copias comparabat, magna se duo auxilia Romanis detraxisse credens, ex una parte Aetolos, ex altera Dardanos, faucibus ad Pelagoniam a filio Perseo interclusis. ab consule non parabatur sed gerebatur iam bellum. per Dassaretiorum fines exercitum ducebat, frumentum quod ex hibernis extulerat integrum uehens, quod in usum militi satis esset praebentibus agris. oppida uicique partim uoluntate, partim metu se tradebant; quaedam ui expugnata, quaedam deserta in montes propinquos refugientibus barbaris inueniebantur. ad Lyncum statua posuit prope flumen Beuum; inde frumentatum circa horrea Dassaretiorum mittebat. Philippus consternata quidem omnia circa pauoremque ingentem hominum cernebat, sed parum gnarus quam partem petisset consul, alam equitum ad explorandum quonam hostes iter intendissent misit. idem error apud consulem erat: mouisse ex hibernis regem sciebat, quam regionem petisset ignorans. is quoque speculatum miserat equites. hae duae alae ex diuerso, cum diu incertis itineribus uagatae per Dassaretios essent, tandem in unum iter conuenerunt. neutros fefellit, ut fremitus procul hominum equorumque exauditus est, hostes adpropinquare. itaque priusquam in conspectum uenirent, equos armaque expedierant; nec mora, ubi primum hostem uidere, concurrendi facta est. forte et numero et uirtute, utpote lecti

utrimque, haud impares aequis uiribus per aliquot horas pugnarunt. fatigatio ipsorum equorumque incerta uictoria diremit proelium; Macedonum quadraginta equites, Romanorum quinque et triginta ceciderunt. neque eo magis explorati quicquam in qua regione castra hostium essent aut illi ad regem aut hi ad consulem rettulerunt; per transfugas cognitum est, quos leuitas ingeniorum ad cognoscendas hostium res in omnibus bellis praebet.

[34] Philippus aliquid et ad caritatem suorum et ut promptius pro eo periculum adirent ratus profecturum se, si equitum qui ceciderant in expeditione sepeliendorum curam habuisset, adferri eos in castra iussit, ut conspiceretur ab omnibus funeris honos. nihil tam incertum nec tam inaestimabile est quam animi multitudinis. quod promptiores ad subeundam omnem dimicationem uidebatur facturum, id metum pigritiamque incussit; nam qui hastis sagittisque et rara lanceis facta uulnera uidissent, cum Graecis Illyriisque pugnare adsueti, postquam gladio Hispaniensi detruncata corpora brachiis cum humero abscisis aut tota ceruice desecta diuisa a corpore capita patentiaque uiscera et foeditatem aliam uulnerum uiderunt, aduersus quae tela quosque uiros pugnandum foret pauidi uolgo cernebant. ipsum quoque regem terror cepit nondum iusto proelio cum Romanis congressum. itaque reuocato filio praesidioque quod in faucibus Pelagoniae erat, ut iis copiis suas augeret, Pleurato Dardanisque iter in Macedoniam patefecit. ipse cum uiginti milibus peditum, duobus milibus equitum ducibus transfugis ad hostem profectus paulo plus mille passus a castris Romanis tumultum propinquum Ataeo fossa ac uallo communiuit; ac subiecta cernens Romana castra, admiratus esse dicitur et uniuersam speciem castrorum et discripta suis quaeque partibus cum tendentium ordine tum itinerum interuallis, et negasse barbarorum ea castra ulli uideri posse. biduum consul et rex, alter alterius conatus expectantes, continuere suos intra uallum; tertio die Romanus omnes in aciem copias eduxit.

[35] Rex non tam celerem aleam uniuersi certaminis timens quadringentos Tralles — Illyriorum id, sicut alio diximus loco, est genus — et Cretenses trecentos, addito his peditibus pari numero equitum, cum duce Athenagora, uno ex purpuratis, ad lacesseandos hostium equites misit. ab Romanis autem — aberat acies eorum paulo plus quingentos passus — uelites et equitum duae ferme alae

emissae, ut numero quoque eques pedesque hostem aequarent. credere regii genus pugnae quo adsueuerant fore, ut equites in uicem insequentes refugientesque nunc telis uterentur, nunc terga darent, Illyriorum uelocitas ad excursiones et impetus subitos usui esset, Cretenses in inuehentem se effuse hostem sagittas conicerent. turbauit hunc ordinem pugnandi non acrior quam pertinacior impetus Romanorum; nam haud secus quam si tota acie dimicarent, et uelites emissis hastis comminus gladiis rem gerebant et equites, ut semel in hostem euecti sunt, stantibus equis, partim ex ipsis equis, partim desilientes immiscentesque se peditibus pugnabant. ita nec eques regius equiti par erat, insuetus ad stabilem pugnam, nec pedes concursator et uagus et prope seminudus genere armorum ueliti Romano parmam gladiumque habenti pariterque et ad se tuendum et ad hostem petendum armato. non tulere itaque dimicationem nec alia re quam uelocitate tutantes se in castra refugerunt.

[36] Uno deinde intermisso die, cum omnibus copiis equitum leuisque armaturae pugnaturus rex esset, nocte caetratos, quos peltas<tas> uocant, loco opportuno inter bina castra in insidiis abdiderat praeceperatque Athenagorae et equitibus ut si aperto proelio procederet res, uterentur fortuna, si minus, cedendo sensim ad insidiarum locum hostem pertraherent. et equitatus quidem cessit, duces caetratae cohortis non satis expectato signo ante tempus excitatis suis occasionem bene gerendae rei amisere. Romanus et aperto proelio uictor et tutus a fraude insidiarum in castra sese recepit. postero die consul omnibus copiis in aciem descendit ante prima signa locatis elephantis, quo auxilio tum primum Romani, quia captos aliquot bello Punico habebant, usi sunt. ubi latentem intra uallum hostem uidit, in tumulos quoque ac sub ipsum uallum exprobrans metum successit. postquam ne tum quidem potestas pugnandi dabatur, quia ex tam propinquis statuiis parum tuta frumentatio erat, dispersos milites per agros equitibus extemplo inuasuris, octo fere inde milia, interuallo tutiorem frumentationem habiturus, castra ad Ottolobum — id est loco nomen — mouit. cum in propinquo agro frumentarentur Romani, primo rex intra uallum suos tenuit, ut cresceret simul et neglegentia cum audacia hosti. ubi effusos uidit, cum omni equitatu et Cretensium auxiliariis, quantum equitem uelocissimi pedites cursu aequare poterant, citato profectus

agmine inter castra Romana et frumentatores constituit signa. inde copiis diuisis partem ad consecrandos uagos frumentatores emisit dato signo ne quem uiuum relinquerent, cum parte ipse substitit itineraque quibus ad castra recursuri uidebantur hostes obsedit. iam passim caedes ac fuga erat, necdum quisquam in castra Romana nuntius cladis peruenerat, quia refugientes in regiam stationem incidebant et plures ab obsidentibus uias quam ab emissis ad caedem interficiebantur. tandem inter medias hostium stationes elapsi quidam trepidi tumultum magis quam certum nuntium intulerunt castris.

[37] Consul equitibus iussis qua quisque posset opem ferre laborantibus ipse legiones e castris educit et agmine quadrato ad hostem ducit. dispersi equites per agros quidam aberrarunt decepti clamoribus aliis ex alio existentibus loco, pars obuios habuerunt hostes. pluribus locis simul pugna coepit. regia statio atrocissimum proelium edebat; nam et ipsa multitudine equitum peditumque prope iusta acies erat et Romanorum, quia medium obsederat iter, plurimi in eam inferebantur. eo quoque superiores Macedones erant, quod et rex ipse hortator aderat et Cretensium auxiliares multos ex improviso uulnerabant, conferti praeparatique in dispersos et effusos pugnantes. quod si modum in insequendo habuissent, non in praesentis modo certaminis gloriam sed in summam etiam belli profectum foret: nunc auditate caedis intemperantius secuti in praegressas cum tribunis militum cohortes Romanas incidere, et fugiens eques, ut primo signa suorum uidit, conuertit in effusum hostem equos, uersaque momento temporis fortuna pugnae est terga dantibus qui modo secuti erant. multi comminus congressi, multi fugientes interfecti; nec ferro tantum periere, sed in paludes quidam coniecti profundo limo cum ipsis equis hausti sunt. rex quoque in periculo fuit; nam ruente saucio equo praeceps ad terram datus haud multum afuit quin iacens opprimeretur. saluti fuit eques, qui raptim ipse desiluit pauidumque regem in equum subiecit; ipse, cum pedes aequare cursu fugientes non posset equites, ab hostibus ad casum regis concitatis confossus perit. rex circumuectus paludes per uias inuiaque trepida fuga in castra tandem, iam desperantibus plerisque incolumem euasurum, peruenit. ducenti Macedonum equites eo proelio periere, centum ferme capti; octoginta admodum ornati equi spoliis simul armorum relatis abducti.

[38] Fuere qui hoc die regem temeritatis, consulem segnitiae accusarent: nam et Philippo quiescendum fuisse, cum paucis diebus hostes exhausto circa omni agro ad ultimum inopiae uenturos sciret, et consulem, cum equitatum hostium leuemque armaturam fudisset ac prope regem ipsum cepisset, protinus ad castra hostium ducere debuisse; nec enim mansuros ita percussos hostes fuisse debellarique momento temporis potuisse. id dictu quam re, ut pleraque, facilius erat. nam si omnibus peditum quoque copiis congressus rex fuisset, forsitan inter tumultum, cum omnes uicti metuque percussi ex proelio intra uallum, protinus inde superuadentem munimenta uictorem hostem fugerent, exui castris potuerit rex; cum uero integrae copiae peditum in castris mansissent, stationes ante portas praesidiaque disposita essent, quid nisi ut temeritatem regis effuse paulo ante secuti percussos equites imitaretur, profecisset? neque enim ne regis quidem primum consilium, quo impetum in frumentatores palatos per agros fecit, reprehendendum foret, si modum prosperae pugnae imposuisset. eo quoque minus est mirum temptasse eum fortunam, quod fama erat Pleuratum Dardanosque ingentibus copiis profectos domo iam in Macedoniam transcendisse; quibus si undique circumuentus copiis foret, sedentem Romanum debellaturum credi poterat. itaque secundum duas aduersas equestres pugnas multo minus tutam moram in iisdem statuiis fore Philippus ratus, cum abire inde et fallere abiens hostem uellet, caduceatore sub occasum solis misso ad consulem qui indutias ad sepeliendos equites peteret, frustratus hostem secunda uigilia multis ignibus per tota castra relictis silenti agmine abit.

[39] Corpus iam curabat consul cum uenisse caduceatorem et quid uenisset nuntiatum est. responso tantum dato mane postero die fore copiam conueniendi, id quod quaesitum erat, nox dieique insequentis pars ad praecipiendum iter Philippo data est. montes quam uiam non ingressurum graui agmine Romanum sciebat petit. consul prima luce caduceatore datis indutiis dimisso haud ita multo post abisse hostem cum sensisset, ignarus qua sequeretur, iisdem statuiis frumentando dies aliquot consumpsit. Stuberram deinde petit atque ex Pelagonia frumentum quod in agris erat conuexit; inde ad Pluinnam est progressus, nondum comperto quam regionem hostes petissent. Philippus cum primo ad Bruanium statua habuisset, profectus inde

transuersis limitibus terrorem praebuit subitum hosti. mouere itaque ex Pluinna Romani et ad Osphagum flumen posuerunt castra. rex haud procul inde et ipse uallo super ripam amnis ducto — Erigonum incolae uocant — consedit. inde satis comperto Eordaeam petituros Romanos, ad occupandas angustias, ne superare hostes artis faucibus inclusum aditum possent, praecessit. ibi alia uallo, alia fossa, alia lapidum congerie ut pro muro essent, alia arboribus obiectis, ut aut locus postulabat aut materia suppeditabat, <pr>opere permuniit atque, ut ipse rebatur, uiam suapte natura difficilem obiectis per omnes transitus operibus inexpugnabilem fecit. erant pleraque siluestria circa, incommoda phalangi maxime Macedonum, quae nisi ubi praelongis hastis uelut uallum ante clipeos obiecit, quod ut fiat libero campo opus est, nullius admodum usus est. Thracas quoque rumpiae ingentis et ipsae longitudinis inter obiectos undique ramos impediabant. Cretensium una cohors non inutilis erat; sed ea quoque ipsa ut, si quis impetum faceret, in patentem uolneri equum equitemque sagittas conicere poterat, ita aduersus scuta Romana nec ad traiciendum satis magnam uim habebat nec aperti quicquam erat quod peterent. itaque id ut uanum teli genus senserunt esse, saxis passim tota ualle iacentibus incessebant hostem. ea maiore cum sonitu quam uolnere ullo pulsatio scutorum parumper succedentes Romanos tenuit; deinde iis quoque spretis partim testudine facta per aduersos uadunt hostes, partim breui circuitu cum in iugum collis euasissent, trepidos ex praesidiis stationibusque Macedonas deturbant et, ut in locis impeditis difficili fuga, plerosque etiam obtruncant.

[40] Ita angustiae minore certamine quam quod animis proposuerant superatae et in Eordaeam peruentum, ubi peruastatis passim agris in Elimiam <consul> se recepit. inde impetum in Orestidem facit et oppidum Celetrum est adgressus in paeneinsula situm: lacus moenia cingit, angustis faucibus unum ex continenti iter est. primo situ ipso freti clausis portis abnuere imperium; deinde, postquam signa ferri ac testudine succedi ad portam obsessasque fauces agmine hostium uiderunt, priusquam experirentur certamen metu in deditionem uenerunt. ab Celetro in Dassaretios processit urbemque Pelion ui cepit. seruitia inde cum cetera praeda abduxit, [et] libera capita sine pretio dimisit oppidumque iis reddidit praesidio

ualido imposito; nam et sita opportune urbs erat ad impetus in Macedoniam faciendos. ita peragratis hostium agris consul in loca pacata ad Apolloniam, unde orsus bellum erat, copias reduxit.

Philippum auerterant Aetoli et Athamanes et Dardani et tot bella repente alia ex aliis locis exorta. aduersus Dardanos, iam recipientes ex Macedonia sese, Athenagoran cum expeditis peditibus ac maiore parte equitatus misit, iussum instare ab tergo abeuntibus et carpendo postremum agmen segniores eos ad mouendos domo exercitus efficere. Aetolos Damocritus praetor, qui morae ad decernendum bellum ad Naupactum auctor fuerat, idem proximo concilio ad arma conciuerat post famam equestris ad Ottolobum pugnae Dardanorumque et Pleurati cum Illyriis transitum in Macedoniam, ad hoc classis Romanae aduentum Oreum et super circumfusas tot Macedoniae gentes maritimam quoque instantem obsidionem.

[41] Hae causae Damocritum Aetolosque restituerant Romanis; et Amynandro rege Athamanum adiuncto profecti Cercinium obsedere. clausuerant portas, incertum ui an uoluntate, quia regium habebant praesidium; ceterum intra paucos dies captum est Cercinium atque incensum; qui superfuerunt e magna clade liberi seruique inter ceteram praedam abducti. is timor omnes qui circumcolunt Boeben paludem relictis urbibus montes coegit petere. Aetoli inopia praedae inde auersi in Perrhaebiam ire pergunt. Cyretias ibi ui capiunt foedeque diripiunt; qui Maloeam incolunt uoluntate in deditionem societatemque accepti. ex Perrhaebia Gomphos petendi Amynander auctor erat: et imminet Athamania huic urbi uidebaturque expugnari sine magno certamine posse. Aetoli campos Thessaliae opimos ad praedam petiere, sequente quamquam non probante Amynandro nec effusas populationes Aetolorum nec castra quo fors tulisset loco sine ullo discrimine aut cura muniendi posita. itaque ne temeritas eorum neglegentiaque sibi ac suis etiam cladis alicuius causa esset, cum campestribus locis subicientes eos castra Pharcado<ni> urbi uideret, ipse paulo plus mille passuum inde tumulum suis quamuis leui munimento tutum cepit. cum Aetoli nisi quod populabantur uix meminisse uiderentur se in agro hostium esse, alii palati semermes uagarentur, alii in castris sine stationibus per somnum uinumque dies noctibus aequarent, Philippus inopinantibus aduenit. quem cum adesse refugientes ex agris quidam pauidi nuntiassent, trepidare

Damocritus ceterique duces — et erat forte meridianum tempus, quo plerique graues cibo sopiti iacebant — : excitare alii alios, iubere arma capere, alios dimittere ad reuocandos qui palati per agros praedabantur; tantaque trepidatio fuit ut sine gladiis quidam equitum exirent, loricas plerique non induerent. ita raptim educti, cum sescentorum aegre simul equites peditesque numerum explessent, incidunt in regium equitatum numero armis animisque praestantem. itaque primo impetu fusi uix temptato certamine turpi fuga repetunt castra; caesi captique quidam quos equites ab agmine fugientium interclusere.

[42] Philippus suis iam uallo adpropinquantibus receptui cani iussit; fatigatos enim equos uirosque non tam proelio quam itineris simul longitudine, simul praepropera celeritate habebat. itaque turmatim equites, in uicem manipulos leuis armaturae aquatum ire et prandere iubet, alios in statione armatos retinet, opperiens agmen peditum tardius ductum propter grauitatem armorum. quod ubi aduenit, et ipsis imperatum ut statutis signis armisque ante se positis raptim cibum caperent binis ternisque summum ex manipulis aquandi causa missis; interim eques cum leui armatura paratus instructusque stetit, si quid hostis moueret. Aetoli — iam enim et quae per agros sparsa multitudo fuerat receperat se in castra — ut defensuri munimenta circa portas uallumque armatos disponunt, dum quietos hostes ipsi feroces ex tuto spectabant. postquam mota signa Macedonum sunt et succedere ad uallum parati atque instructi coepere, repente omnes relictis stationibus per auersam partem castrorum ad tumulum ad castra Athamanum perfugiunt; multi in hac quoque tam trepida fuga capti caesique sunt Aetolorum. Philippus, si satis diei superesset, non dubius quin Athamanes quoque exui castris potuissent, die per proelium, deinde per direptionem castrorum absumpto sub tumulo in proxima planitie consedit, prima luce insequentis diei hostem adgressurus. sed Aetoli eodem pauore quo sua castra reliquerant nocte proxima dispersi fugerunt. maximo usui fuit Amynder, quo duce Athamanes itinerum periti summis montibus per calles ignotas sequentibus eos hostibus in Aetoliam perduxerunt. non ita multos in dispersa fuga error intulit in Macedonum equites, quos prima luce Philippus, ut desertum tumulum uidet, ad carpendum hostium agmen misit.

[43] Per eos dies et Athenagoras regius praefectus Dardanos recipientes se in fines adeptus postremum agmen primo turbauit; dein, postquam Dardani conuersis signis direxere aciem, aequa pugna iusto proelio erat. ubi rursus procedere Dardani coepissent, equite et leui armatura regii nullum tale auxilii genus habentes Dardanos oneratosque immobilibus armis uexabant; et loca ipsa adiuuabant. occisi perpauci sunt, plures uulnerati, captus nemo, quia non excedunt temere ordinibus suis sed confertim et pugnant et cedunt. ita damna Romano accepta bello duabus per opportunas expeditiones coercitis gentibus restituerat Philippus incepto forti, non prospero solum euentu. minuit deinde ei forte oblata res hostium Aetolorum numerum. Scopas princeps gentis ab Alexandria magno cum pondere auri ab rege Ptolomaeo missus sex milia peditum et quingentos equites mercede conductos Aegyptum auxit; nec ex iuuentute Aetolorum quemquam reliquisset, ni Damocritus nunc belli quod instaret, nunc futurae solitudinis admonens, incertum cura gentis an ut aduersaretur Scopae parum donis cultus, partem iuniorum castigando domi continuisset.

[44] Haec ea aestate ab Romanis Philippoque gesta terra; classis a Corcyra eiusdem principio aestatis cum L. Apustio legato profecta Maleo superato circa Scyllaeum agri Hermionici Attalo regi coniuncta est. tum uero Atheniensium ciuitas, cui odio in Philippum per metum iam diu moderata erat, id omne in auxilii praesentis spem effundit. nec unquam ibi desunt linguae promptae ad plebem concitandam; quod genus cum in omnibus liberis ciuitatibus tum praecipue Athenis, ubi oratio plurimum pollet, fauore multitudinis alitur. rogationem extemplo tulerunt plebesque sciuit ut Philippi statuae imagines omnes nominaque earum, item maiorum eius uirile ac muliebre secus omnium tollerentur delerenturque, diesque festi sacra sacerdotes, quae ipsius maiorumque eius honoris causa instituta essent, omnia profanarentur; loca quoque in quibus positum aliquid inscriptumue honoris eius causa fuisset detestabilia esse, neque in iis quicquam postea poni dedicarique placere eorum quae in loco puro poni dedicarique fas esset; sacerdotes publicos quotienscumque pro populo Atheniensi sociisque, exercitibus et classibus eorum precarentur, totiens detestari atque exsecrari Philippum liberos eius regnumque, terrestres naualesque copias, Macedonum genus omne

nomenque. additum decreto: si quis quid postea quod ad notam ignominiamque Philippi pertineret ferret, id omne populum Atheniensem iussurum; si quis contra ignominiam proue honore eius dixisset fecissetue, qui occidisset eum iure caesurum. postremo inclusum, ut omnia quae aduersus Pisistratidas decreta quondam erant eadem in Philippo seruarentur. Athenienses quidem litteris uerbisque, quibus solis ualent, bellum aduersus Philipppum gerebant.

[45] Attalus Romanique cum Piraeum primo ab Hermione petissent, paucos ibi morati dies oneratique aequae immodicis ad honores sociorum atque in ira aduersus hostem fuerant Atheniensium decretis, nauigant a Piraeo Andrum. et cum in portu quem Gaureion uocant constitissent, missis qui temptarent oppidanorum animos, si uoluntate tradere urbem quam uim experiri mallent, postquam praesidio regio arcem teneri nec se potestatis suae esse respondebant, expositis copiis apparatuque omni urbium oppugnandarum diuersis partibus rex et legatus Romanus ad urbem subeunt. plus aliquanto Graecos Romana arma signaque non ante uisa animique militum tam prompte succedentium muros terruere; itaque fuga extemplo in arcem facta est, urbe hostes potiti. et in arce cum biduum loci se magis quam armorum fiducia tenuissent, tertio die pacti ipsi praesidiumque ut cum singulis uestimentis Delium Boeotiae transueherentur, urbem arcemque tradiderunt. ea ab Romanis regi Attalo concessa: praedam ornamentaque urbis ipsi auexerunt. Attalus, ne desertam haberet insulam, et Macedonum fere omnibus et quibusdam Andriorum ut manerent persuasit. postea et ab Delio qui ex pacto trauecti eo fuerant promissis regis, cum desiderium quoque patriae facilius ad credendum inclinaret animos, reuocati.

Ab Andro Cythnum traiecerunt; ibi dies aliquot oppugnanda urbe nequiquam absumpti et, quia uix operae pretium erat, abcessere. ad Prasias — continentis Atticae is locus est — Issaeorum uiginti lembi classi Romanorum adiuncti sunt. ii missi ad populandos Carystiorum agros; cetera classis Geraestum, nobilem Euboeae portum, dum ab Carysto Issaei redirent, tenuit. inde omnes uelis in altum datis mari medio praeter Scyrum insulam Icum peruenere. ibi paucos dies saeuiente Borea retenti, ubi prima tranquillitas data est, Sciathum traiecere, uastatam urbem direptamque nuper a Philippo. per agros palati milites frumentum et si qua alia usui esse ad uescendum

poterant ad naues rettulere; praedae nec erat quicquam nec meruerant Graeci cur diriperentur. inde Cassandream petentes primo ad Mendaem, maritimum ciuitatis eius uicum, tenuere. inde cum superato promunturio ad ipsa moenia urbis circumagere classem uellent, saeua coorta tempestate prope obruti fluctibus dispersi magna ex parte amissis armamentis in terram effugerunt. omen quoque ea maritima tempestas ad rem terra gerendam fuit. nam conlectis in unum nauibus expositisque copiis adgressi urbem cum multis uolneribus repulsi — et erat ualidum ibi regium praesidium — inrito incepto regressi ad Canastraeum Pallenes traiecere. inde superato Toronae promunturio nauigantes Acanthum petiere. ibi primo ager uastatus, deinde ipsa urbs ui capta ac direpta; nec ultra progressi — iam enim et graues praeda naues habebant — retro unde uenerant Sciathum et ab Sciatho Euboeam repetunt.

[46] Ibi relicta classe decem nauibus expeditis sinum Maliacum intrauere ad conloquendum cum Aetolis de ratione gerendi belli. Pyrrhias Aetolus princeps legationis eius fuit quae ad communicanda consilia Heracleam cum rege et cum Romano legato uenit. petitum ex foedere ab Attalo est ut mille milites <mitteret>; tantum enim numerum bellum gerentibus aduersus Philippum debebat. id negatum Aetolis, quod illi quoque grauati prius essent ad populandam Macedoniam exire, quo tempore Philippo circa Pergamum urente sacra profanaque abstrahere eum inde respectu rerum suarum potuissent. ita Aetoli cum spe magis Romanis omnia pollicentibus quam cum auxilio dimissi; Apustius cum Attalo ad classem redit.

Inde agitari de Oreo oppugnando coeptum. ualida ea ciuitas et moenibus et, quia ante fuerat temptata, firmo erat praesidio: coniunxerant se iis post expugnationem Andri cum praefecto Acesimbrotus uiginti Rhodiae naues, tectae omnes. eam classem in stationem ad Zelasium miserunt — Phthiotidis super Demetriadem promunturium est peropportune obiectum — ut, si quid inde mouerent Macedonum naues, in praesidio essent. Heraclides praefectus regius classem ibi tenebat magis per occasionem, si quam neglegentia hostium dedisset, quam aperta ui quicquam ausurus. Oreum diuersi Romani et rex Attalus oppugnabant, Romani a maritima arce, regii aduersus uallem inter duas iacentem arces, qua et muro intersaepta urbs est. et ut loca diuersa, sic dispari modo etiam

oppugnabant: Romanus testudinibus et uineis et ariete ad mouendo muris, regii ballistis catapultisque et alio omni genere tormentorum tela ingerentes et pondere ingenti saxa; faciebant et cuniculos et quidquid aliud priore oppugnatione expertum profuerat. ceterum non plures tantum Macedones quam ante tuebantur urbem arcesque sed etiam praesentioribus animis, et castigationis regis in admissa culpa et simul minarum, simul promissorum in futurum memores. itaque cum praeter spem tempus ibi traheretur plusque in obsidione et in operibus quam in oppugnatione celeri spei esset, interim et aliud agi posse ratus legatus ~<militibus> relictis, quod satis uidebatur ad opera perficienda, traicit in proxima continentis Larisamque — non illam in Thessalia nobilem urbem, sed alteram quam Cremasten uocant — subito aduentu praeter arcem cepit. Attalus quoque Pteleon nihil minus quam tale quicquam in alterius oppugnatione urbis timentibus oppressit. et iam cum opera in effectum erant circa Oreum, tum praesidium quod intus erat labore adsiduo, uigiliis diurnis pariter nocturnisque et uulneribus confectum. muri quoque pars ariete incusso subruta multis iam locis prociderat, perque apertum ruina iter nocte Romani in arcem quae super portum est perruperunt. Attalus luce prima signo ex arce dato ab Romanis et ipse urbem inuasit stratis magna ex parte muris: praesidium oppidanique in arcem alteram perfugere, unde biduo post deditio facta. urbs regi, captiua corpora Romanis cessere.

[47] Iam autumnale aequinoctium instabat, et est sinus Euboicus quem Coela uocant suspectus nautis; itaque ante hiemales motus euadere inde cupientes Piraeum, unde profecti ad bellum erant, repetunt. Apustius triginta nauibus ibi relictis super Maleum nauigat Corcyram. regem statum initiorum Cereris ut sacris interesset tenuit; secundum initia et ipse in Asiam se recepit Acesimbrotus et Rhodiis domum remissis. haec ea aestate terra marique aduersus Philippum sociosque eius ab consule et legato Romanis adiuantibus rege Attalo et Rhodiis gesta.

Consul alter C. Aurelius ad confectum bellum cum in prouinciam uenisset, haud clam tulit iram aduersus praetorem quod absente se rem gessisset. misso igitur eo in Etruriam ipse in agrum hostium legiones induxit populandoque cum praeda maiore quam gloria bellum gessit. L. Furius simul quod in Etruria nihil erat rei quod

gereret, simul Gallico triumpho imminens quem absente consule irato atque inuidente facilius impetrari posse ratus <est>, Romam inopinato cum uenisset, senatum in aede Bellonae habuit expositisque rebus gestis ut triumphanti sibi in urbem inuehi liceret petit.

[48] Apud magnam partem senatus et magnitudine rerum gestarum ualebat et gratia. maiores natu negabant triumphum et quod alieno exercitu rem gessisset et quod prouinciam reliquisset cupiditate rapiendi per occasionem triumphi: id uero eum nullo exemplo fecisse. consulares praecipue expectandum fuisse consulem censebant — potuisse enim castris prope urbem positis tutanda colonia ita ut acie non decerneret in aduentum eius rem extrahere — et quod praetor non fecisset, senatui faciendum esse ut consulem expectaret: ubi coram disceptantes consulem et praetorem audissent uerius de causa existimatos esse. magna pars senatus nihil praeter res gestas et an in magistratu suis quis auspiciis gessisset censebant spectare senatum debere: ex duabus coloniis, quae uelut claustra ad cohibendos Gallicos tumultus oppositae fuissent, cum una direpta et incensa esset traiecturumque id incendium uelut ex continentibus tectis in alteram tam propinquam coloniam esset, quid tandem praetori faciendum fuisse? nam si sine consule geri nihil oportuerit, aut senatum peccasse qui exercitum praetori dederit — potuisse enim sicut non praetoris sed consulis exercitu rem geri uoluerit, ita finire senatus consulto ne per praetorem sed per consulem gereretur — aut consulem qui non, cum exercitum ex Etruria transire in Galliam iussisset, ipse Arimini occurrerit ut bello interesset quod sine eo geri fas non esset. non expectare belli tempora moras et dilationes imperatorum, et pugnandum esse interdum non quia uelis sed quia hostis cogat. pugnam ipsam euentumque pugnae spectari debere: fusos caesosque hostes, castra capta ac direpta, coloniam liberatam obsidione, alterius coloniae captiuos reciperatos restitutosque suis, debellatum uno proelio esse. non homines tantum ea uictoria laetatos sed diis quoque immortalibus per triduum supplicationes habitas, quod bene ac feliciter, non quod male ac temere res publica a L. Furio praetore gesta esset. data fato etiam quodam Furiae genti Gallica bella.

[49] Huius generis orationibus ipsius amicorumque uicta est

praesentis gratia praetoris absentis consulis maiestas triumphumque frequentes L. Furio decreuerunt. triumphauit de Gallis in magistratu L. Furius praetor et in aerarium tulit trecenta uiginti milia aeris, argenti <bigati> centum septuaginta milia mille quingentos. neque captiui ulli ante currum ducti neque spolia praelata neque milites secuti: omnia praeter uictoriam penes consulem esse apparebat.

Ludi deinde a P. Cornelio Scipione quos consul in Africa uouerat magno apparatu facti. et de agris militum eius decretum ut quot quisque eorum annos in Hispania aut in Africa militasset, in singulos annos bina iugera agri acciperet: eum agrum decemuiri adsignarent. triumuiroi item creati ad supplendum Venusinis colonorum numerum, quod bello Hannibalis attenuatae uires eius coloniae erant, C. Terentius Varro T. Quinctius Flamininus P. Cornelius Cn. f. Scipio; hi colonos Venusiam adscripserunt.

Eodem anno C. Cornelius Cethegus, qui proconsul Hispaniam obtinebat, magnum hostium exercitum in agro Sedetano fudit. quindecim milia Hispanorum eo proelio dicuntur caesa, signa militaria capta octo et septuaginta. C. Aurelius consul cum ex prouincia Romam comitiorum causa uenisset, non id quod animis praeceperant questus est, non expectatum se ab senatu neque disceptandi cum praetore consuli potestatem factam, sed ita triumphum decresse senatum ut nullius nisi eius qui triumphaturus esset et <non> eorum qui bello interfuissent uerba audiret: maiores ideo instituisse ut legati tribuni centuriones milites denique triumpho adessent, ut testes rerum gestarum eius cui tantus honos haberetur populus Romanus uideret. equem ex eo exercitu qui cum Gallis pugnauerit, si non militem, lixam saltem fuisse quem percunctari posset senatus quid ueri praetor uaniue adferret? comitiis deinde diem edixit, quibus creati sunt consules L. Cornelius Lentulus P. Villius Tappulus. praetores inde facti L. Quinctius Flamininus L. Valerius Flaccus L. Villius Tappulus Cn. Baebius Tamphilus.

[50] Annona quoque eo anno peruilis fuit; frumenti uim magnam ex Africa aduectam aediles curules M. Claudius Marcellus et Sex. Aelius Paetus binis aeris in modios populo diuiserunt. et ludos Romanos magno apparatu fecerunt; diem unum instaurarunt; signa aenea quinque ex multaticio argento in aerario posuerunt. plebei ludi ab aedilibus L. Terentio Massiliota et Cn. Baebio Tamphilo, qui

praetor designatus erat, ter toti instaurati. et ludi funebres eo anno per quadriduum in foro mortis causa <M.> Valeri Laeuini a P. et M. filiis eius facti et munus gladiatorium datum ab iis; paria quinque et uiginti pugnarunt. M. Aurelius Cotta decemuir sacrorum mortuus: in eius locum M'. Acilius Glabrio suffectus.

Comitiis aediles curules creati sunt forte ambo qui statim occipere magistratum non possent. nam C. Cornelius Cethegus absens creatus erat, cum Hispaniam obtineret prouinciam; C. Valerius Flaccus, quem praesentem creauerant, quia flamen Dialis erat iurare in leges non poterat; magistratum autem plus quinque dies, nisi qui iurasset in leges, non licebat gerere. petente Flacco ut legibus solueretur, senatus decreuit ut si aedilis qui pro se iuraret arbitrato consulum daret, consules si iis uideretur cum tribunis plebis agerent uti ad plebem ferrent. datus qui iuraret pro fratre L. Valerius Flaccus praetor designatus; tribuni ad plebem tulerunt plebesque sciuit ut perinde esset ac si ipse aedilis iurasset. et de altero aedile scitum plebi est factum: rogantibus tribunis quos duos in Hispaniam cum imperio ad exercitus ire iuberent, ut C. Cornelius aedilis curulis ad magistratum gerendum ueniret et L. Manlius Acidinus decederet de prouincia multos post annos, plebes Cn. Cornelio Lentulo et L. Stertinio pro consulibus imperium esse in Hispania iussit.

LIBER XXXII

[1] Consules praetoresque cum idibus Martiis magistratum inissent prouincias sortiti sunt. L. Lentulo Italia, P. Uillio Macedonia, praetoribus L. Quinctio urbana, Cn. Baebio Ariminum, L. Ualerio Sicilia, L. Uillio Sardinia euenit. Lentulus consul nouas legiones scribere iussus, Uillius a P. Sulpicio exercitum accipere: in supplementum eius quantum militum uideretur ut scriberet ipsi permissum. Praetori Baebio legiones quas C. Aurelius consul habuisset ita decretae ut retineret eas donec consul nouo cum exercitu succederet; in Galliam ubi is uenisset omnes milites exauctorati domum dimitterentur praeter quinque milia socium: iis obtineri circa Ariminum prouinciam satis esse. Prorogata imperia praetoribus prioris anni, C. Sergio ut militibus qui in Hispania Sicilia Sardinia stipendia per multos annos fecissent agrum adsignandum curaret, Q. Minucio ut in Brutiis idem de coniurationibus quaestiones quas praetor cum fide curaque exercuisset perficeret et eos quos sacrilegii compertos in uinculis Romam misisset Locros mitteret ad supplicium quaeque sublata ex delubro Proserpinae essent reponenda cum piaculis curaret. Feriae Latinae pontificum decreto instauratae sunt, quod legati ab Ardea questi in senatu erant sibi in monte Albano Latinis carnem, ut adsolet, datam non esse. Ab Suessa nuntiatum est duas portas quodque inter eas muri erat de caelo tactum, et Formiani legati aedem Iouis, item Ostienses aedem Iouis, et Ueliterni Apollinis et Sancus aedes, et in Herculis aede capillum enatum; et ex Brutiis ab Q. Minucio propraetore scriptum eculeum cum quinque pedibus, pullos gallinaceos tres cum ternis pedibus natos esse. A P. Sulpicio proconsule ex Macedonia litterae adlatae, in quibus inter cetera scriptum erat lauream in puppi nauis longae enatam. Priorum prodigiorum causa senatus censuerat ut consules maioribus hostiis quibus diis uideretur sacrificarent; ob hoc unum prodigium haruspices in senatum uocati, atque ex responso eorum supplicatio populo in diem unum indicta et ad omnia puluinaria res diuinae factae.

[2] Carthaginenses eo anno argentum in stipendium impositum primum Romam aduexerunt. Id quia probum non esse quaestores

renuntiauerant experientibusque pars quarta decocta erat, pecunia Romae mutua sumpta intertrimentum argenti expleuerunt. Petentibus deinde ut, si iam uideretur senatui, obsides sibi redderentur, centum redditu obsides; de ceteris, si in fide permanerent, spes facta. Petentibus iisdem qui non reddebantur obsides ut ab Norba, ubi parum commode essent, alio traducerentur, concessum ut Signiam et Ferentinum transirent. Gaditanis item petentibus remissum ne praefectus Gades mitteretur, aduersus id quod iis in fidem populi Romani uenientibus cum L. Marcio Septimo conuenisset. Et Narniensium legis querentibus ad numerum sibi colonos non esse et immixtos quosdam non sui generis pro colonis se gerere, earum rerum causa tresuiros creare L. Cornelius consul iussus. Creati P. Et Sex. Aelii — Paetis fuit ambobus cognomen — et Cn. Cornelius Lentulus. Quod Narniensibus datum erat, ut colonorum numerus augeretur, id Cosani petentes non impetrauerunt.

[3] Rebus quae Romae agendaerant perfectis consules in prouincias profecti. P. Uillius in Macedoniam cum uenisset, atrox seditio militum iam ante inritata nec satis in principio compressa excepit. Duo milia ea militum fuere, quae ex Africa post deuictum Hannibalem in Siciliam, inde anno fere post in Macedoniam pro uoluntariis transportata erant. Id uoluntate factum negabant: ab tribunis recusantes in naues impositos. Sed utcumque, seu iniuncta seu suscepta foret militia, et eam exhaustam et finem aliquem militandi fieri aequum esse. Multis annis sese Italiam non uidisse; consenuisse sub armis in Sicilia, Africa, Macedonia; confectos iam se labore opere, exsanguis tot acceptis uulneribus esse. Consul causam postulandae missionis probabilem, si modeste peteretur, uideri dixit: seditionis nec eam nec ullam aliam satis iustam causam esse. Itaque si manere ad signa et dicto parere uelint, se de missione eorum ad senatum scripturum; modestia facilius quam pertinacia quod uelint impetraturos.

[4] Thaumacos eo tempore Philippus summa ui oppugnabat aggeribus uineisque et iam arietem muris admoturus erat. Ceterum incepto absistere eum coegit subitus Aetolorum aduentus, qui Archidamo duce inter custodias Macedonum moenia ingressi nec nocte nec die finem ullum erumpendi nunc in stationes, nunc in opera Macedonum faciebant. Et adiuuabat eos natura ipsa loci. Namque

Thaumaci a Pylis sinuque Maliaco per Lamiam eunti loco alto siti sunt in ipsis faucibus, imminentes quam Coelen uocant Thessaliae; quae transeunti confragosa loca implicatasque flexibus uallium uias ubi uentum ad hanc urbem est, repente uelut maris uasti sic uniuersa panditur planities ut subiectos campos terminare oculis haud facile queas: ab eo miraculo Thaumaci appellati. Nec altitudine solum tuta urbs sed quod saxo undique absciso rupibus imposita est. Hae difficultates et quod haud satis dignum tanti laboris periculique pretium erat ut absisteret incepto Philippus effecerunt. Hiemps quoque iam instabat, cum inde abscessit et in Macedoniam in hiberna copias reduxit.

[5] Ibi ceteri quidem data quanticumque quiete temporis simul animos corporaque remiserant; Philippum quantum ab adsiduis laboribus itinerum pugnarumque laxauerat animum, tanto magis intentum in uniuersum euentum belli curae angunt, non hostes modo timentem qui terra marique urgebant, sed nunc sociorum, nunc etiam popularium animos, ne et illi ad spem amicitiae Romanorum deficerent et Macedonas ipsos cupido nouandi res caperet. Itaque et in Achaia legatos misit, simul qui ius iurandum — ita enim pepigerant quotannis iuraturos in uerba Philippi — exigerent, simul qui redderent Achaeis Orchomenon et Heraean et Triphylian Eleis <ademptam, Megalopolitis> Alipheran, contententibus nunquam eam urbem fuisse ex Triphylia sed sibi debere restitui, quia una esset ex iis quae ad condendam Megalen polin ex concilio Arcadum contributae forent. Et cum Achaeis quidem per haec societatem firmabat: <ad> Macedonum animos cum Heracliden amicum maxime inuidiae sibi esse cerneret, multis criminibus oneratum in uincla coniecit ingenti popularium gaudio. Bellum si quando unquam ante alias, tum magna cura apparauit exercuitque in armis et Macedonas et mercennarios milites principioque ueris cum Athenagora omnia externa auxilia quodque leuis armaturae erat in Chaoniam per Epirum ad occupandas quae ad Antigoneam fauces sunt — Stena uocant Graeci — misit. Ipse post paucis diebus grauiore secutus agmine, cum situm omnem regionis adspexisset, maxime idoneum ad muniendum locum credidit esse praeter amnem Aoum. Is inter montes, quorum alterum Meropum, alterum Asnaum incolae uocant, angusta ualle fluit, iter exiguum super ripam

praebens. Asnaum Athenagoram cum leui armatura tenere et communire iubet; ipse in Meropo posuit castra. Qua abscisae rupes erant, statio paucorum armatorum tenebat; qua minus tuta erant, alia fossis, alia uallo, alia turribus muniebat. Magna tormentorum etiam uis ut missilibus procul arcerent hostem idoneis locis disposita est. Tabernaculum regium pro uallo in conspecto maxime tumulo, ut terrorem hostibus suisque spem ex fiducia faceret, positum.

[6] Consul per Charopum Epiroten certior factus quos saltus cum exercitu insedisset rex, et ipse, cum Corcyrae hibernasset, uere primo in continentem trauctus ad hostem ducere pergit. Quinque milia ferme ab regiis castris cum abesset, loco munito relictis legionibus ipse cum expeditis progressus ad speculanda loca postero die consilium habuit, utrum per inessum ab hoste saltum, quamquam labor ingens periculumque proponeretur, transitum temptaret, an eodem itinere quo priore anno Sulpicius Macedoniam intrauerat, circumduceret copias. Hoc consilium per multos dies agitati ei nuntius uenit T. Quinctium consulem factum sortitumque prouinciam Macedoniam maturato itinere iam Corcyram traiecisse. Ualerius Antias intrasse saltum Uillum tradit, quia recto itinere nequiuert omnibus ab rege inessis, secutum uallem per quam mediam fertur Aous amnis, ponte raptim facto in ripam in qua erant castra regia transgressum acie conflixisse; fusum fugatumque regem castris exutum; duodecim milia hostium eo proelio caesa, capta duo milia et ducentos et signa militaria centum triginta duo, equos ducentos triginta; aedem etiam Ioui in eo proelio uotam, si res prospere gesta esset. Ceteri Graeci Latinique auctores, quorum quidem ego legi annales, nihil memorabile a Uillio actum integrumque bellum insequentem consulem T. Quinctium accepisse tradunt.

[7] Dum haec in Macedonia geruntur, consul alter L. Lentulus, qui Romae substiterat, comitia censoribus creandis habuit. Multis claris petentibus uiris creati censores P. Cornelius Scipio Africanus et P. Aelius Paetus. Ii magna inter se concordia et senatum sine ullius nota legerunt et portoria uenalitium Capuae Puteolisque, item Castrum portorium, quo in loco nunc oppidum est, fruendum locarunt colonosque eo trecentos — is enim numerus finitus ab senatu erat-adscripserunt et sub Tifatis Capuae agrum uendiderunt. Sub idem tempus L. Manlius Acidinus ex Hispania decedens, prohibitus a P.

Porcio Laeca tribuno plebis ne ouans rediret, cum ab senatu impetrasset, priuatus urbem ingrediens sex milia pondo argenti, triginta pondo ferme auri in aerarium tulit. Eodem anno Cn. Baebius Tamphilus, qui ab C. Aurelio consule anni prioris prouinciam Galliam acceperat, temere ingressus Gallorum Insubrum fines prope cum toto exercitu est circumuentus; supra sex milia et septingentos milites amisit: tanta ex eo bello quod iam timeri desierat clades accepta est. Ea res L. Lentulum consulem ab urbe exciuit; qui ut in prouinciam uenit plenam tumultus, trepido exercitu accepto praetorem multis probris increpitum prouincia decedere atque abire Romam iussit. Neque ipse consul memorabile quicquam gessit, comitiorum causa Romam reuocatus; quae ipsa per M. Fuluium et M'. Curium tribunos plebis impediabantur, quod T. Quinctium Flamininum consulatum ex quaestura petere non patiebantur: iam aedilitatem praeturamque fastidiri nec per honorum gradus, documentum sui dantes, nobiles homines tendere ad consulatum, sed transcendendo media summa imis continuare. Res ex campestri certamine in senatum peruenit. Patres censuerunt qui honorem quem sibi capere per leges liceret peteret, in eo populo creandi quem uelit potestatem fieri aequum esse. In auctoritate patrum fuere tribuni. Creati consules Sex. Aelius Paetus et T. Quinctius Flamininus. Inde praetorum comitia habita. Creati L. Cornelius Merula, M. Claudius Marcellus, M. Porcius Cato, C. Heluius, qui aediles plebis fuerant. Ab iis ludi plebei instaurati; et epulum Iouis fuit ludorum causa. Et ab aedilibus curulibus C. Ualerio Flacco, flamine Diali, et C. Cornelio Cethego ludi Romani magno apparatu facti. Ser. et C. Sulpicii Galbae pontifices eo anno mortui sunt: in eorum locum M. Aemilius Lepidus et Cn. Cornelius Scipio pontifices suffecti sunt.

[8] Sex. Aelius Paetus T. Quinctius Flamininus consules magistratu inito senatum in Capitolio cum habuissent, decreuerunt patres ut prouincias Macedoniam atque Italiam consules compararent inter se sortirentur: utri eorum Macedonia euenisset, in supplementum legionum tria milia militum Romanorum scriberet et trecentos equites, item sociorum Latini nominis quinque milia peditum, quingentos equites; alteri consuli nouus omnis exercitus decretus. L. Lentulo prioris anni consuli prorogatum imperium uetitusque aut ipse prouincia decedere prius aut ueterem deducere

exercitum quam cum legionibus nouis consul uenisset. Sortiti consules prouincias: Aelio Italia, Quinctio Macedonia euenit. Praetores L. Cornelius Merula urbanam, M. Claudius Siciliam, M. Porcius Sardiniam, C. Heluius Galliam est sortitus. Dilectus inde haberi est coeptus; nam praeter consulares exercitus praetoribus quoque iussi scribere milites erant, Marcello in Siciliam quattuor milia peditum socium et Latini nominis et trecentos equites, Catoni in Sardiniam ex eodem genere militum duo milia peditum, ducentos equites, ita ut ii praetores ambo cum in prouincias uenissent ueteres dimitterent pedites equitesque. Attali deinde regis legatos in senatum consules introduxerunt. Ii regem classe sua copiisque omnibus terra marique rem Romanam iuuare quaeque imperarent Romani consules impigre atque oboedienter ad eam diem fecisse cum exposuissent, uereri dixerunt ne id praestare ei per Antiochum regem ultra non liceret: uacuum namque praesidiis naualibus terrestribusque regnum Attali Antiochum inuasisse. Itaque Attalum orare patres conscriptos, si sua classi suaque opera uti ad Macedonicum bellum uellent, mitterent ipsi praesidium ad regnum eius tutandum; si id nollent, ipsum ad sua defendenda cum classe ac reliquis copiis redire paterentur. Senatus legatis ita responderi iussit: quod rex Attalus classe copiisque aliis duces Romanos iuisset, id gratum senatui esse; auxilia nec ipsos missuros Attalo aduersus Antiochum, socium et amicum populi Romani, nec Attali auxilia retenturos ultra quam regi commodum esset; semper populum Romanum alienis rebus arbitrio alieno usum; et principium et finem in potestatem ipsorum qui ope sua uelint adiutos Romanos esse; legatos ad Antiochum missuros qui nuntient Attali nauiumque eius et militum opera aduersus Philippum communem hostem uti populum Romanum: gratum eum facturum senatui si regno Attali abstineat belloque absistat; aequum esse socios et amicos populi Romani reges inter se quoque ipsos pacem seruare.

[9] Consulem T. Quinctium ita habito dilectu ut eos fere legeret qui in Hispania aut Africa meruissent spectatae uirtutis milites, properantem in prouinciam prodigia nuntiata atque eorum procuratio Romae tenuerunt. De caelo tacta erant uia publica Ueis, forum et aedes Iouis Lanuui, Herculis aedes Ardeae, Capuae murus et turres et aedes quae Alba dicitur; caelum ardere uisum erat Arreti; terra

Uelitis trium iugerum spatio cauerna ingenti desederat; Suessae Aurunca nuntiabant agnum cum duobus capitibus natum et Sinuessae porcum <cum> humano capite. Eorum prodigiorum causa supplicatio unum diem habita, et consules rebus diuinis operam dederunt placatisque diis in prouincias profecti sunt: Aelius cum Heluio praetore in Galliam; exercitumque ab L. Lentulo acceptum, quem dimittere debebat, praetori tradidit, ipse nouis legionibus quas secum adduxerat bellum gesturus; neque memorabilis rei quicquam gessit. T. Quinctius alter consul maturius quam priores soliti erant consules a Brundisio cum tramisisset, Corcyram tenuit cum octo milibus peditum, equitibus quingentis. Ab Corcyra in proxima Epiri quinquere mi traiecit et in castra Romana magnis itineribus contendit. Inde Uillio dimisso paucos moratus dies, dum se copiae ab Corcyra adsequerentur, consilium habuit, utrum recto itinere per castra hostium uim facere conaretur an ne temptata quidem re tanti laboris ac periculi per Dassaretios potius Lyncumque tuto circuitu Macedoniam intraret; uicissetque ea sententia ni timuisset ne, cum a mari longius recessisset emissio e manibus hoste, si, quod antea fecerat, solitudinibus siluisque se tutari rex uoluisset, sine ullo effectu aestas extraheretur. Utrumque esset igitur illo ipso tam iniquo loco adgredi hostem placuit. Sed magis fieri id placebat quam quomodo fieret satis expediebant;

[10] Diesque quadraginta sine ullo conatu sedentes in conspectu hostium absumpserant. Inde spes data Philippo est per Epirotarum gentem temptandae pacis; habitoque concilio delecti ad eam rem agendam Pausanias praetor et Alexander magister equitum consulem et regem, ubi in artissimas ripas Aous cogitur amnis, in conloquium adduxerunt. Summa postulatorum consulis erat: praesidia ex ciuitatibus rex deduceret; iis quorum agros urbesque populatus esset, redderet res quae comparerent; ceterorum aequo arbitrio aestimatio fieret. Philippus aliam aliarum ciuitatum condicionem esse respondit: quas ipse cepisset, eas liberaturum; quae sibi traditae a maioribus essent, earum hereditaria ac iusta possessione non excessurum. Si quas quererentur belli clades eae ciuitates cum quibus bellatum foret, arbitro quo uellent populorum cum quibus pax utrisque fuisset se usurum. Consul nihil ad id quidem arbitro aut iudice opus esse dicere: cui enim non apparere ab eo qui prior arma

intulisset iniuriam ortam, nec Philippum ab ullis bello lacessitum priorem uim omnibus fecisse? Inde cum ageretur quae ciuitates liberandae essent, Thessalos primos omnium nominauit consul. Ad id uero adeo accensus indignatione est rex ut exclamaret ‘quid uicto grauius imperares, T. Quincti?’ atque ita se ex conloquio proripuit; et temperatum aegre est quin missilibus, quia dirempti medio amni fuerant, pugnam inter se consererent. Postero die per excursions ab stationibus primo in planitie satis ad id patenti multa leuia commissa proelia sunt; deinde recipientibus se regiis in arta et confragosa loca auditate accensi certaminis eo quoque Romani penetrauerunt. Pro his ordo et militaris disciplina et genus armorum erat, aptum tegendis corporibus; pro hoste loca et catapultae ballistaeque in omnibus prope rupibus quasi in muro dispositae. Multis hinc atque illinc uulneribus acceptis cum etiam, ut in proelio iusto, aliquot cecidissent, nox pugnae finem fecit.

[11] Cum in hoc statu res esset, pastor quidam a Charopo principe Epirotarum missus deducitur ad consulem. Is se in eo saltu qui regiis tum teneretur castris armentum pascere solitum ait omnes montium eorum anfractus callesque nosse. Si secum aliquos consul mittere uelit, se non iniquo nec perdifficili aditu super caput hostium eos educturum. Haec ubi consul audiuit, percunctatum ad Charopum mittit satisne credendum super tanta re agresti censeret: Charopus renuntiari iubet, ita crederet ut suae potius omnia quam illius potestatis essent. Cum magis uellet credere quam auderet mixtumque gaudio et metu animum gereret, auctoritate motus Charopi experiri spem oblatam statuit et, ut auerteret regem ab suspicione, biduo insequenti lacessere hostem dispositis ab omni parte copiis succedentibusque integris in locum defessorum non destitit. Quattuor milia inde lecta peditum et trecentos equites tribuno militum tradit. Equites quoad loca patiantur ducere iubet: ubi ad inuia equiti uentum sit, in planitie aliqua locari equitatum, pedites qua dux monstraret uiam ire; ubi, ut polliceatur, super caput hostium peruentum sit, fumo dare signum nec antea clamorem tollere quam ab se signo recepto pugnam coeptam arbitrari posset. Nocte itinera fieri iubet — et pernox forte luna erat — : interdiu cibi quietisque sumeret tempus. Ducem promissis in gentibus oneratum, si fides exstet, uinctum tamen tribuno tradit. His copiis ita dimissis eo intentius Romanus

undique instat, [capit] stationes.

[12] Interim die tertio cum uerticem quem petierant Romani cepisse ac tenere se fumo significarent, tum uero trifariam diuisis copiis consul ualle media cum militum robore succedit, cornua dextra laeuaque admouet castris; nec segnius hostes obuiam eunt. Et dum auditate certaminis prouecti extra munitiones pugnant, haud paulo superior est Romanus miles et uirtute et scientia et genere armorum: postquam multis uulneratis interfectisque recepere se regii in loca aut munimento aut natura tuta, uerterat periculum in Romanos temere in loca iniqua nec faciles ad receptum angustias progressos. Neque impunita temeritate inde recepissent sese, ni clamor primum ab tergo auditus, dein pugna etiam coepta amentes repentino terrore regiones fecisset. Pars in fugam effusi sunt; pars magis quia locus fugae deerat quam quod animi satis esset ad pugnam cum substitissent, ab hoste et a fronte et ab tergo urgente circumuenti sunt. Deleri totus exercitus potuit si fugientes persecuti uictores essent; sed equitem angustiae locorumque asperitas, peditem armorum grauitas impediit. Rex primo effuse ac sine respectu fugit; dein quinque milium spatium progressus cum ex iniquitate locorum, id quod erat, suspicatus esset sequi non posse hostem, substitit in tumultu quodam dimisitque suos per omnia iuga uallesque qui palatos in unum colligerent. Non plus duobus milibus hominum amissis cetera omnis multitudo, uelut signum aliquod secuta, in unum cum conuenisset, frequenti agmine petunt Thessaliam. Romani quoad tutum fuit insecuti caedentes spoliantesque caesos castra regia, etiam sine defensoribus difficili aditu, diripiunt; atque ea nocte in suis castris manserunt.

[13] Postero die consul per ipsas angustias quas inter ualle se flumen insinuat hostem sequitur. Rex primo die ad castra Pyrrhi peruenit; locus quem ita uocant est in Triphylia terrae Molottidis. Inde postero die — ingens iter agmini, sed metus urgebat — in montes Lyncon perrexit. Ipsi Epiri sunt, interiecti Macedoniae Thessaliaeque: latus, quod uergit in Thessaliam, oriens spectat, septentrio a Macedonia obicitur. Uestiti frequentibus siluis sunt; iuga summa campos patentes aquasque perennes habent. Ibi statius rex per aliquot dies habitis fluctuatus animo est utrum protinus in regnum se reciperet an praeuerti in Thessaliam posset. Inclinauit sententia ut in Thessaliam agmen dmitteret, Triccamque proximis limitibus

petit; inde obuias urbes raptim peragrauit. Homines qui sequi possent sedibus excibat, oppida incendebat. Rerum suarum quas possent ferendarum secum dominis ius fiebat, cetera militis praeda erat; nec quod ab hoste crudelius pati possent reliqui quicquam fuit quam quae ab sociis patiebantur. Haec etiam facienti Philippo acerba erant, sed e terra mox futura hostium corpora saltem eripere sociorum uolebat. Ita euastata oppida sunt Phacium <P>iresiae Euhydrium Eretria Palaepharsalus. Pheras cum peteret exclusus, quia res egebat mora si expugnare uellet nec tempus erat, omisso incepto in Macedoniam transcendit; nam etiam Aetolos adpropinquare fama erat. Qui audito proelio quod circa amnem Aoum factum erat, proximis prius euastatis circa Sperchias et Macran quam uocant Comen, transgressi inde in Thessaliam C <t>imenes et Angeias primo impetu potiti sunt. A Metropoli, dum uastant agros, concursu oppidanorum ad tuenda moenia facto repulsi sunt. Callithera inde adgressi similem impetum oppidanorum pertinacius sustinuerunt; compulsisque intra moenia qui eruperant, contenti ea uictoria, quia spes nulla admodum expugnandi erat, abscesserunt. Teuma inde et Celathara uicos expugnant diripiuntque; Acharras per deditionem receperunt. Xyniae simili metu a cultoribus desertae sunt. Hoc sedibus suis extorre agmen in praesidium incidit quod ad Thaumacum quo tutior frumentatio esset ducebatur: incondita inermisque multitudo, mixta et imbelli turba, ab armatis caesa est; Xyniae desertae diripiuntur. Cyphaera inde Aetoli capiunt, opportune Dolopiae imminens castellum. Haec raptim intra paucos dies ab Aetolis gesta. Nec Amynander atque Athamanes post famam prosperae pugnae Romanorum quieuerunt.

[14] Ceterum Amynander, quia suo militi parum fidebat, petito a consule modico praesidio cum Gomphos peteret, oppidum protinus nomine Phaecam, situm inter Gomphos faucesque angustas quae ab Athamania Thessaliam dirimunt, ui cepit. Inde Gomphos adortus <est>, et per aliquot dies summa ui tuentes urbem, cum iam scalas ad moenia erexisset, eo dem<um> metu perpulit ad deditionem. Haec traditio Gomphorum ingentem terrorem Thessalis intulit. Dedidere deinceps sese qui Argenta quique Pherinium et Timarum et Ligynas et Strymonem et Lampsum habent aliaque castella iuxta ignobilia. Dum Athamanes Aetolique submoto Macedonum metu in aliena

uictoria suam praedam faciunt Thessaliaque ab tribus simul exercitibus incerta quem hostem quemue socium crederet uastatur, consul faucibus quas fuga hostium aperuerat in regionem Epiri transgressus, etsi probe scit cui parti Charopo principe excepto Epirotae fauissent, tamen quia ab satisfaciendi quoque cura imperata enixe facere uidet, ex praesenti eos potius quam ex praeterito aestimat habitu et ea ipsa facilitate ueniae animos eorum in posterum conciliat. Missis deinde nuntiis Corcyram ut onerariae naues in sinum uenirent Ambracium, ipse progressus modicis itineribus quarto die in monte Cercetio posuit castra, eodem Amyntandro cum suis auxiliis adcito, non tam uirium eius egens quam ut duces in Thessaliam haberet. Ab eodem consilio et plerique Epirotarum uoluntarii inter auxilia accepti.

[15] Primam urbem Thessaliae Phaloriam est adgressus. Duo milia Macedonum in praesidio habebat, qui primo summa ui restiterunt, quantum arma, quantum moenia tueri poterant; sed oppugnatio continua, non nocte non die remissa, cum consul in eo uerti crederet ceterorum Thessalorum animos si primi uim Romanam non sustinuissent, uicit pertinaciam Macedonum. Capta Phaloria legati a Metropoli et a Cierio dedentes urbes uenerunt: uenia iisdem petentibus datur; Phaloria incensa ac direpta est. Inde Aeginium petit; quem locum cum uel modico praesidio tutum ac prope inexpugnabilem uidisset, paucis in stationem proximam telis coniectis ad Gomphorum regionem agmen uertit. Degressusque in campos Thessaliae, cum iam omnia exercitui deessent, quia Epirotarum pepercerat agris, explorato ante utrum Leucadem an sinum Ambracium onerariae tenuissent, frumentatum Ambraciam in uicem cohortes misit; et est iter a Gomphis Ambraciam sicut impeditum ac difficile, ita spatio perbreui. Intra paucos itaque dies transuectis a mari commeatibus repleta omni rerum copia sunt castra. Inde Atragem est profectus. Decem ferme milia ab Larisa abest; ex Perrhaebia oriundi sunt; sita est urbs super Peneum amnem. Nihil trepidauere Thessali ad primum aduentum Romanorum; et Philippus sicut in Thessaliam ipse progredi non audebat, ita intra Tempe statuiis positus, ut quisque locus ab hoste temptabatur praesidia per occasiones submittebat.

[16] Sub idem fere tempus quo consul aduersus Philipppum primum

in Epiri faucibus posuit castra, et L. Quinctius frater consulis, cui classis cura maritimaeque orae imperium mandatum ab senatu erat, cum duabus quinquereimis Corcyram traectus, postquam profectam inde classem audiuit nihil morandum ratus, cum ad Samem insulam adsecutus esset, dimisso <C.> Liuius, cui successerat, tarde inde ad Maleum trahendis plerumque remulco nauibus quae cum commeatu sequebantur peruenit. A Maleo iussis ceteris quantum maxime possent maturare sequi ipse tribus quinquereimis expeditis Piraeum praecedit acceperatque naues relictas ibi ab L. Apustio legato ad praesidium Athenarum. Eodem tempore duae ex Asia classes profectae, una cum Attalo rege — eae quattuor et uiginti quinquereimes erant — , Rhodia altera uiginti nauium tectarum; Acesimbrotus praeerat. Hae circa Andrum insulam classes coniunctae Euboeam inde exiguo distantem freto traiecerunt. Carystiorum primum agros uastarunt; deinde, ubi Carystus praesidio a Chalcide raptim misso firma uisa est, ad Eretriam accesserunt. Eodem et L. Quinctius cum iis nauibus quae Piraei fuerant Attali regis aduentu audito uenit, iussis ut quaeque ex sua classe uenissent naues Euboeam petere. Eretria summa ui oppugnabatur; nam et trium iunctarum classium naues omnis generis tormenta machinasque ad urbium excidia secum portabant et agri adfatim materiae praebebant ad noua molienda opera. Oppidani primo haud impigre tuebantur moenia; dein fessi uulneratique aliquot, cum et muri partem euersam operibus hostium cernerent, <. . ut. . > ad deditionem inclinarent. Sed praesidium erat Macedonum, quos non minus quam Romanos metuebant, et Philocles regius praefectus a Chalcide nuntios mittebat se in tempore adfuturum si sustinerent obsidionem. Haec mixta metu spes ultra quam uellent aut quam possent trahere eos tempus cogeabat; deinde, postquam Philoclen repulsum trepidantemque refugisse Chalcidem acceperunt, oratores extemplo ad Attalum ueniam fidemque eius petentes miserunt. Dum in spem pacis intenti segnius munera belli obeunt et ea modo parte qua murus dirutus erat ceteris neglectis stationes armatas opponunt, Quinctius noctu ab ea parte quae minime suspecta erat impetu facto scalis urbem cepit. Oppidanorum omnis multitudo cum coniugibus ac liberis in arcem confugit, deinde in deditionem uenit. Pecuniae aurique et argenti haud sane multum fuit; signa tabulae priscae artis ornamentaque eius

generis plura quam pro urbis magnitudine aut opibus ceteris inuenta.

[17] Carystus inde repetita, unde priusquam e nauibus copiae exponderentur omnis multitudo urbe deserta in arcem confugit. Inde ad fidem ab Romano petendam oratores mittunt. Oppidanis extemplo uita ac libertas concessa est: Macedonibus nummi treceni in capita statutum pretium est et ut armis traditis abirent. Hac summa redempti inermes in Boeotiam traieci. Nauales copiae duabus claris urbibus Euboeae intra dies paucos captis circumuectae Sunium, Atticae terrae promunturium, Cenchreas Corinthiorum emporium petierunt. Consul interim omnium spe longiorem <Atracis> atrociorumque oppugnationem habuit, et ea qua minimum credidisset resistebant hostes. Nam omnem laborem in muro crediderat diruendo fore: si aditum armatis in urbem patefecisset, fugam inde caedemque hostium fore, qualis captis urbibus fieri solet; ceterum postquam parte muri arietibus decussa per ipsas ruinas transcenderunt in urbem armati, illud principium uelut noui atque integri laboris fuit. Nam Macedones qui in praesidio erant et multi et delecti, gloriam etiam egregiam rati si armis potius et uirtute quam moenibus urbem tuerentur, conferti pluribus introrsus ordinibus acie firmata, cum transcendere ruinas sensissent Romanos, per impeditum ac difficilem ad receptum locum expulerunt. Id consul aegre passus nec eam ignominiam ad unius modo oppugnandae moram urbis sed ad summam uniuersi belli pertinere ratus, quod ex momentis paruorum plerumque rerum penderet, purgato loco qui strage semirutum muri cumulatus erat, turrem ingentis altitudinis magnam uim armatorum multiplici tabulato portantem promouit et cohortes in uicem sub signis quae cuneum Macedonum — phalangem ipsi uocant — , si possent, ui perirumperent emittebat. Sed ad loci angustias, haud late patente interuallo diruti muri, genus armorum pugnaeque hosti aptius erat. Ubi conferti hastas ingentis longitudinis prae se Macedones obiecissent, uelut in constructam densitate clipeorum testudinem Romani pilis nequiquam emissis cum strinxissent gladios, neque congregari propius neque praecidere hastas poterant et, si quam incidissent aut praefregissent, hastile fragmento ipso acuto inter spicula integrarum hastarum uelut uallum explebat. Ad hoc et muri pars utraque integra tuta praestabat latera nec ex longo spatio aut cedendum aut impetus faciendus erat, quae res turbare ordines solet.

Accessit etiam fortuita res ad animos eorum firmandos; nam cum turris per aggerem parum densati soli ageretur, rota una in altiore orbitam depressa ita turrim inclinavit ut speciem ruentis hostibus trepidationemque insanam superstantibus armatis praeberit.

[18] Cum parum quicquam succederet, consul minime aequo animo comparisonem militum generisque armorum fieri patiebatur, simul nec maturam expugnandi spem nec rationem procul a mari et in euastatis belli cladibus locis hibernandi ullam cernebat. Itaque relicta obsidione, quia nullus in tota Acarnaniae atque Aetoliae ora portus erat qui simul et omnes onerarias quae commeatum exercitui portabant caperet et tecta ad hibernandum legionibus praeberet, Anticyra in Phocide in Corinthium uersa sinum ad id opportunissime sita uisa, quia nec procul Thessalia hostiumque locis aberat et ex aduerso Peloponnesum exiguo maris spatio diuisam, ab tergo Aetoliam Acarnaniamque, ab lateribus Locridem ac Boeotiam habebat. Phocidis primo impetu Phanoteam sine certamine cepit. Anticyra haud multum in oppugnando morae praeuit. Ambrysus inde Hyampolisque receptae. Daulis, quia in tumulo excelso sita est, nec scalis nec operibus capi poterat: lacessendo missilibus eos qui in praesidio erant cum ad excursiones eluissent, refugiendo in uicem insequendoque et leuibus sine effectum certaminibus eo negligentiae et contemptus adduxerunt ut cum refugientibus in portam permixti impetum Romani facerent. Et alia ignobilia castella Phocidis terrore magis quam armis in potestatem uenerunt. Elatia clausit portas nec, nisi ui cogerentur, recepturi moenibus uidebantur aut ducem aut exercitum Romanum.

[19] Elatiam obsidenti consuli rei maioris spes adfulsit, Achaeorum gentem ab societate regia in Romanam amicitiam auertendi. Cycliadan principem factionis ad Philippum trahentium res expulerunt; Aristaeus, qui Romanis gentem iungi uolebat, praetor erat. Classis Romana cum Attalo et Rhodiis Cenchreis stabat parabantque communi omnes consilio Corinthum oppugnare. Optimum igitur ratus est, priusquam eam rem adgrederentur, legatos ad gentem Achaeorum mitti pollicentes, si ab rege ad Romanos defecissent, Corinthum contributuros in antiquum gentis concilium. Auctore consule legati a fratre eius L. Quinctio et Attalo et Rhodiis et Atheniensibus ad Achaeos missi. Sicyone datum est iis concilium.

Erat autem non admodum simplex habitus inter Achaeos animorum: terrebat Nabis Lacedaemonius, grauis et adsiduus hostis; horrebant Romana arma; Macedonum beneficiis et ueteribus et recentibus obligati erant; regem ipsum suspectum habebant pro eius crudelitate perfidiaque, neque ex iis quae tum ad tempus faceret aestimantes grauiorem post bellum dominum futurum cernebant. Neque solum quid in senatu quisque ciuitatis suae aut in communibus conciliis gentis pro sententia dicerent ignorabant, sed ne ipsis quidem secum cogitantibus quid uellent aut quid optimum putarent satis constabat. Ad homines ita incertos introductis legatis potestas dicendi facta est. Romanus primum legatus L. Calpurnius, deinde Attali regis legati, post eos Rhodii disseuerunt; Philippi deinde legatis potestas dicendi facta est; postremi Athenienses, ut refellerent Macedonum dicta, auditi sunt. Ii fere atrocissime in regem, quia nulli nec plura nec tam acerba passi erant, inuecti sunt. Et illa quidem contio sub occasum solis tot legatorum perpetuis orationibus die absumpto dimissa est.

[20] Postero die aduocatur concilium; ubi cum per praeconem, sicut Graecis mos est, suadendi si quis uellet potestas a magistratibus facta esset nec quisquam prodiret, diu silentium aliorum alios intuentium fuit. Neque mirum si, quibus sua sponte uoluantibus res inter se repugnantes obtorpuerant quodam modo animi, eos orationes quoque insuper turbauerant utrimque quae difficilia essent promendo admonendoque per totum diem habitae. Tandem Aristaeus praetor Achaeorum, ne tacitum concilium dimitteret, ‘ubi’ inquit ‘illa certamina animorum, Achaei, sunt, quibus in conuiujs et circulis, cum de Philippo et Romanis mentio incidit, uix manibus temperatis? Nunc in concilio ad eam rem unam indicto, cum legatorum utrimque uerba audieritis, cum referant magistratus, cum praeco ad suadendum uocet, obmutuistis. Si non cura salutis communis, ne studia quidem, quae in hanc aut in illam partem animos uestros inclinarunt, uocem cuiquam possunt exprimere? Cum praesertim nemo tam hebes sit qui ignorare possit dicendi ac suadendi quod quisque aut uelit aut optimum putet nunc occasionem esse, priusquam quicquam decernamus: ubi semel decretum erit, omnibus id, etiam quibus ante displicuerit, pro bono atque utili fore defendendum.’ haec adhortatio praetoris non modo quemquam unum elicuit ad suadendum sed ne fremitum quidem aut murmur contionis tantae ex tot populis

congregatae mouit.

[21] Tum Aristaenus praetor rursus: 'non magis consilium uobis, principes Achaeorum, deest quam lingua; sed suo quisque periculo in commune consultum non uult. Forsitan ego quoque tacerem, si priuatus essem: nunc praetori uideo aut non dandum concilium legatis fuisse aut non sine responso eos dimittendos esse; respondere autem nisi ex uestro decreto qui possum? Et quoniam nemo uestrum qui in hoc concilium aduocati estis pro sententia quicquam dicere uult aut audet, orationes legatorum hesterno die <ut> pro sententiis dictas percenseamus, perinde ac non postulauerint quae e re sua essent sed suaserint quae nobis censerent utilia esse. Romani Rhodique et Attalus societatem amicitiamque nostram petunt et in bello quod aduersus Philippum gerunt se a nobis adiuuari aequum censent. Philippus societatis secum admonet et iuris iurandi et modo postulat ut secum stemus, modo ne intersimus armis contentum ait se esse. Nulline uenit in mentem cur qui nondum socii sunt plus petant quam socius? Non fit hoc neque modestia Philippi neque impudentia Romanorum, Achaei: fortuna et dat fiduciam postulantibus et demit. Philippi praeter legatum uidemus nihil; Romana classis ad Cenchreas stat urbium Euboeae spolia prae se ferens, consulem legionesque eius, exiguo maris spatio diiunctas, Phocidem ac Locridem peruagantes uidemus: miramini cur diffidenter Cleomedon legatus Philippi ut pro rege arma caperemus aduersus Romanos modo egerit? Qui, si ex eodem foedere ac iure iurando cuius nobis religionem inciebat rogemus eum ut nos Philippus et ab Nabide ac Lacedaemoniis et ab Romanis defendat, non modo praesidium quo tueatur nos sed ne quid respondeat quidem nobis sit inuenturus, non hercule magis quam ipse Philippus priore anno, qui pollicendo se aduersus Nabidem bellum gesturum cum temptasset nostram iuuentutem hinc in Euboeam extrahere, postquam nos neque decernere id sibi praesidium neque uelle inligari Romano bello uidit, oblitus societatis eius quam nunc iactat uastandos depopulandosque Nabidi ac Lacedaemoniis reliquit. Ac mihi quidem minime conueniens inter se oratio Cleomedontis uisa est. Eleuabat Romanum bellum euentumque eius eundem fore qui prioris belli quod cum Philippo gesserint dicebat. Cur igitur nostrum ille auxilium absens petit potius quam praesens nos, socios ueteres, simul ab Nabide ac

Romanis tueatur? Nos dico? Quid ita passus est Eretriam Carystumque capi. Quid ita tot Thessaliae urbes? Quid ita Locridem Phocidemque? Quid ita nunc Elatiam oppugnari patitur? Cur excessit faucibus Epiri claustrisque illis inexpugnabilibus super Aoum amnem relictoque quem insidebat saltu penitus in regnum abiit? Aut ui aut metu aut uoluntate. Si sua uoluntate tot socios reliquit hostibus diripiendos, qui recusare potest quin et socii sibi consulant? Si metu, nobis quoque ignoscat timentibus; si uictus armis cessit, Achaei Romana arma sustinebimus, Cleomedon, quae uos Macedones non sustinuistis? An tibi potius credamus Romanos non maioribus copiis nec uiribus nunc bellum gerere quam antea gesserint, potius quam res ipsas intueamur? Aetolos tum classe adiuerunt; nec duce consulari nec exercitu bellum gesserunt; sociorum Philippi maritimae tum urbes in terrore ac tumultu erant; mediterranea adeo tuta ab armis Romanis fuerunt ut Philippus Aetolos nequiquam opem Romanorum implorantes depopularetur: nunc autem defuncti bello Punico Romani, quod per sedecim annos uelut intra uiscera Italiae tolerauerunt, non praesidium Aetolis bellantibus miserunt sed ipsi duces belli arma terra marique simul Macedoniae intulerunt. Tertius iam consul summa ui gerit bellum. Sulpicius in ipsa Macedonia congressus fudit fugauitque regem, partem opulentissimam regni eius depopulatus: nunc Quinctius tenentem claustra Epiri, natura loci, munimentis, exercitu fretum castris exiit, fugientem in Thessaliam persecutus praesidia regia sociasque urbes eius prope in conspectu regis ipsius expugnauit. ‘ne sint uera quae Atheniensis modo legatus de crudelitate, auaritia, libidine regis disseruit; nihil ad nos pertineant quae in terra Attica scelera in superos inferosque deos sunt admissa, multo minus quae Ciani Abydenique, qui procul ab nobis absunt, passi sunt; nostrorum ipsi uolnerum, si uultis, obliuiscamur, caedes direptionesque bonorum Messenae in media Peloponneso factas et hospitem Cyparissiae Charitelen contra ius omne ac fas inter epulas prope ipsas occisum et Aratum patrem filiumque Sicyonios, cum senem infelicem parentem etiam appellare solitus esset, interfectos, filii etiam uxorem libidinis causa in Macedoniam asportatam; cetera stupra uirginum matronarumque obliuioni dentur. Ne sit cum Philippo res, cuius crudelitatis metu obmutuistis omnes — nam quae alia tacendi aduocatis in concilium causa est? — : cum Antigono,

mitissimo ac iustissimo rege et de nobis omnibus optime merito, existimemus disceptationem esse, num id postularet facere nos quod fieri non posset? Paeneinsula est Peloponnesus, angustis Isthmi faucibus continenti adhaerens, nulli apertior neque opportunior quam nauali bello. Si centum tectae naues et quinquaginta leuiiores apertae et triginta Issaici lembi maritimam oram uastare et expositas prope in ipsis litoribus urbes coeperint oppugnare, in mediterraneas scilicet nos urbes recipiemus, tamquam non intestino et haerente in ipsis uisceribus uramur bello? Cum terra Nabis et Lacedaemonii mari classis Romana urgebunt, unde regiam societatem et Macedonum praesidia implorem <us>? An ipsi nostris armis ab hoste Romano tutabimur urbes quae oppugnabuntur? Egregie enim Dymas priore bello sumus tutati. Satis exemplorum nobis clades alienae praebent: ne quaeramus quem ad modum ceteris exemplo simus. ‘nolite, quia ultro Romani petunt amicitiam, id quod optandum uobis ac summa ope petendum erat fastidire. Metu enim uidelicet compulsi et deprensi in aliena terra, quia sub umbra uestri auxilii latere uolunt, in societatem uestram confugiunt ut portibus uestris recipiantur, ut com meatibus utantur. Mare in potestate habent; terras quascumque adeunt extemplo dicionis suae faciunt; quod rogant, cogere possunt; quia pepercisse uobis uolunt, committere uos cur pereatis non patiuntur. Nam quod Cleomedon modo tamquam mediam et tutissimam uobis uiam consilii, ut quiesceretis abstinereque armis, ostendebat, ea non media sed nulla uia est. Etenim praeterquam quod aut accipienda aut aspernanda uobis Romana societas est, quid aliud quam nusquam gratia stabili, uelut qui euentum expectauerimus ut fortunae adplicaremus nostra consilia, praeda uictoris erimus? Nolite, si quod omnibus uotis petendum erat ultro offertur, fastidire. Non quemadmodum hodie utrumque uobis licet, sic semper licitum est: nec saepe nec diu eadem occasio erit. Liberare uos a Philippo iam diu magis uultis quam audetis. Sine uestro labore et periculo qui uos in libertatem uindicarent cum magnis classibus exercitibusque mare traiecerunt. Hos si socios aspernamini, uix mentis sanae estis; sed aut socios aut hostes habeatis oportet.

[22] Secundum orationem praetoris murmur ortum aliorum cum adsensu, aliorum inclementer adsentientes increpantium; et iam non singuli tantum sed populi uniuersi inter se altercabantur. Tum inter

magistratus gentis- damiurgos uocant, decem numero creantur — certamen nihilo segnius quam inter multitudinem esse. Quinque relatores de societate Romana se aiebant suffragiumque duros; quinque lege cautum testabantur ne quid quod aduersus Philippi societatem esset aut referre magistratibus aut decernere concilio ius esset. Is quoque dies iurgiis est consumptus. Supererat unus iusti concilii dies; tertio enim lex iubebat decretum fieri; in quem adeo exarsere studia ut uix parentes ab liberis temperauerint. Pisias Pellenensis erat: filium damiurgum nomine Memnonem habebat, partis eius quae decretum recitari perrogarique sententias prohibebat. Is diu obtestatus filium ut consulere Achaeos communi saluti pateretur neu pertinacia sua gentem uniuersam perditum iret, postquam parum proficiebant preces, iuratus se eum sua manu interempturum nec pro filio sed pro hoste habiturum minis peruicit ut postero die coniungeret iis se qui referebant. Qui cum plures facti referrent, omnibus fere populis haud dubie adprobantibus relationem ac prae se ferentibus quid decreturi essent, Dymaei ac Megalopolitani et quidam Argiuorum, priusquam decretum fieret, consurrexerunt ac reliquerunt concilium neque mirante ullo nec improbante. Nam Megalopolitanos auorum memoria pulsos ab Lacedaemoniis restituerat in patriam Antigonus, et Dymaeis captis nuper direptisque ab exercitu Romano, cum redimi eos ubicumque seruirent Philippus iussisset, non libertatem modo sed etiam patriam reddiderat; iam Argiui, praeterquam quod Macedonum reges ab se oriundos credunt, priuatis etiam hospitibus familiarique amicitia plerique inligati Philippo erant. Ob haec concilio quod inclinauerat ad Romanam societatem iubendam excesserunt ueniaque iis huius secessionis fuit et magnis et recentibus obligatis beneficiis.

[23] Ceteri populi Achaeorum cum sententias perrogarentur, societatem cum <Attalo> ac Rhodiis praesenti decreto confirmarunt: cum Romanis, quia iniussu populi non poterat rata esse, in id tempus quo Romam mitti legati possent dilata est; in praesentia tres legatos ad L. Quinctium mitti placuit et exercitum omnem Achaeorum ad Corinthum admoueri captis Cenchreis iam urbem ipsam Quinctio oppugnante. Et hi quidem e regione portae quae fert Sicyonem posuerunt castra. Romani <in> Cenchreas uersam partem urbis, Attalus traducto per Isthmum exercitu ab Lechaeo alterius maris

portu oppugnabant, primo segnius, sperantes seditionem intus fore inter oppidanos ac regium praesidium. Postquam uno animo omnes et Macedones tamquam communem patriam tuebantur et Corinthii ducem praesidii Androsthene haud secus quam ciuem et suffragio creatum suo imperio in se uti patiebantur, omnis inde spes <op>pugnantibus in ui et armis et operibus erat. Undique aggeres haud facili aditu ad moenia admouebantur. Aries ex ea parte quam Romani oppugnabant aliquantum muri diruerat; in quem locum, quia nudatus munimento erat, protegendum armis cum Macedones concurrerent, atrox proelium inter eos ac Romanos ortum est. Ac primo multitudine facile expellebantur Romani; adsumptis deinde Achaeorum Attalique auxiliis aequabant certamen, nec dubium erat quin Macedonas Graecosque facile loco pulsuri fuerint. Transfugarum Italicorum magna multitudo erat, pars ex Hannibalis exercitu metu poenae a Romanis Philippum secuta, pars nauales socii relictis nuper classibus ad spem honorationis militiae transgressi: hos desperata salus, si Romani uicissent, ad rabiem magis quam audaciam accendebat. Promunturium est aduersus Sicyonem Iunonis quam uocant Acraeam, in altum excurrens; traiectus inde Corinthum septem fere milium passuum. Eo Philocles regius et ipse praefectus mille et quingentos milites per Boeotiam duxit; praesto fuere ab Corintho lembi qui praesidium id acceptum Lechaenum traicerent. Auctor erat Attalus incensis operibus omittendae extemplo oppugnationis: pertinacius Quinctius in incepto perstabat. Is quoque ut pro omnibus portis disposita uidet praesidia regia nec facile erumpentium impetus sustineri posse, in Attali sententiam concessit. Ita inrito incepto dimissis Achaeis reditum ad naues est: Attalus Piraeum, Romani Corcyram petierunt.

[24] Dum haec ab nauali exercitu geruntur, consul in Phocide ad Elatiam castris positus primo conloquiis rem per principes Elatensium temptauit. Postquam nihil esse in manu sua et plures ualidioresque esse regiones quam oppidanos respondebatur, tum simul ab omni parte operibus armisque urbem est adgressus. Ariete admoto cum quantum inter <duas> tures muri erat prorutum cum ingenti fragore ac strepitu nudasset urbem, simul et cohors Romana per apertum recenti strage iter inuasit, et ex omnibus oppidi partibus relictis suis quisque stationibus in eum qui premebatur impetu hostium locum

concurrerunt. Eodem tempore Romani et ruinas muri superuadebant et scalas ad stantia moenia inferebant; et dum in unam partem oculos animosque hostium certamen auerterat, pluribus locis scalis capitur murus armatique in urbem transcenderunt. Quo tumultu audito territi hostes relicto quem conferti tuebantur loco in arcem omnes, inermi quoque sequente turba, confugerunt. Ita urbe potitur consul; qua direpta missis in arcem qui uitam regiis si inermes abire uellent, libertatem Elatensibus pollicerentur fideque in haec data, post dies paucos arcem recipit.

[25] Ceterum aduentu in Achaïam Philoclis regii praefecti non Corinthus tantum liberata obsidione sed Argiuorum quoque ciuitas per quosdam principes Philocli prodita est temptatis prius animis plebis. Mos erat comitiorum die primo uelut ominis causa praetores pronuntiare Iouem Apollinemque et Herculem: additum lege erat ut his Philippus rex adiceretur. Cuius nomen post pactam cum Romanis societatem quia praeco non adiecit, fremitus primo multitudinis ortus, deinde clamor subicientium Philippi nomen iubentiumque legitimum honorem usurpare, donec cum ingenti adsensu nomen recitatum est. Huius fiducia fauoris Philocles arcessitus nocte occupat collem imminens urbi- Larisam eam arcem uocant — positoque ibi praesidio cum lucis principio signis infestis ad subiectum arci forum uaderet, instructa acies ex aduerso occurrit. Praesidium erat Achaeorum, nuper impositum, quingenti fere iuuenes delecti omnium ciuitatum; Aenesidemus Dymaeus praeerat. Ad hos orator a praefecto regio missus qui excedere urbe iuberet — neque enim pares eos oppidanis solis, qui idem quod Macedones sentirent, nedum adiunctis Macedonibus esse, quos ne Romani quidem ad Corinthum sustinuissent — primo nihil nec ducem nec ipsos mouit; post paulo, ut Argiuos quoque armatos ex parte altera uenientes magno agmine uiderunt, certam perniciem cernentes omnem tamen casum, si pertinacior dux fuisset, uidebantur subituri. Aenesidemus, ne flos Achaeorum iuuentutis simul cum urbe amitteretur, pactus a Philocle ut abire illis liceret, ipse quo loco steterat armatus cum paucis clientibus non excessit. Missus a Philocle qui quaereret quid sibi uellet. Nihil moto tantummodo, cum proiecto prae se clipeo staret, in praesidio creditae urbis moriturum se armatum respondit. Tum iussu praefecti a Thraecibus coniecta tela

interfectique omnes. Et post pactam inter Achaeos ac Romanos societatem duae nobilissimae urbes, Argi et Corinthus, in potestate regis erant. Haec ea aestate ab Romanis in Graecia terra marique gesta.

[26] In Gallia nihil sane memorabile ab Sex. Aelio consule gestum. Cum duos exercitus in prouincia habuisset, unum retentum quem dimitti oportebat, cui L. Cornelius proconsul praefuerat — ipse ei C. Heluium praetorem praefecit — , alterum quem in prouinciam adduxit, totum prope annum Cremonensibus Placentinisque cogendis redire in colonias, unde belli casibus dissipati erant, consumpsit. Quemadmodum Gallia praeter spem queta eo anno fuit, ita circa urbem seruilis prope tumultus est excitatus. Obsides Carthaginiensium Setia custodiebantur: cum iis ut principum liberis magna uis seruorum erat; augebant eorum numerum, ut ab recenti Africo bello, et ab ipsis Setinis captiua aliquot nationis eius empta ex praeda mancipia. Cum coniurationem fecissent, missis ex eo numero primum qui in Setino agro, deinde circa Norbam et Cerceios seruitia sollicitarent, satis iam omnibus praeparatis, ludis qui Setia prope diem futuri erant spectaculo intentum populum adgredi statuerant, Setia per caedem et repentinum tumultum capta Norbam et Cerceios occupare <non potueret> seruitia. Huius rei tam foedae indicium Romam ad L. Cornelium Lentulum praetorem urbanum delatum est. Serui duo ante lucem ad eum uenerunt atque ordine omnia quae acta futuraque erant exposuerunt. Quibus domi custodiri iussis praetor senatu uocato edoctoque quae indices adferrent, proficisci ad eam coniurationem quaerendam atque opprimendam iussus, cum quinque legatis profectus obuios in agris sacramento rogatos arma capere et sequi cogebat. Hoc tumultuario dilectu duobus milibus ferme hominum armatis Setiam omnibus quo pergeret ignaris uenit. Ibi raptim principibus coniurationis comprehensis fuga seruorum ex oppido facta est. Dimissis deinde per agros qui uestigarent <profugos . . .>. Egregia duorum opera seruorum indicum et unius liberi fuit. Ei centum milia grauis aeris dari patres iusserunt, seruis uicena quina milia aeris et libertatem: pretium eorum ex aerario solutum est dominis. Haud ita multo post ex eiusdem coniurationis reliquiis nuntiatum est seruitia Praeneste occupatura. Eo L. Cornelius praetor profectus de quingentis fere hominibus qui in ea noxa erant

supplicium sumpsit. In timore ciuitas fuit obsides captiuosque Poenorum ea moliri. Itaque et Romae uigiliae per uicos seruatae iussique circumire eas minores magistratus et triumuii carceris lautumiarum intentiorem custodiam habere iussi; et circa nomen Latinum a praetore litterae missae ut et obsides in priuato seruarentur neque in publicum prodeundi facultas daretur et captiui ne minus decem pondo compedibus uincti in nulla alia quam in carceris publici custodia essent.

[27] Eodem anno legati ab rege Attalo coronam auream ducentum quadraginta sex pondo in Capitolio posuerunt gratiasque senatui egere quod Antiochus legatorum Romanorum auctoritate motus finibus Attali exercitum deduxisset. Eadem aestate equites ducenti et elephanti decem et tritici modium ducenta milia ab rege Masinissa ad exercitum qui in Graecia erat peruenerunt. Item ex Sicilia Sardiniaque magni commeatus et uestimenta exercitui missa. Siciliam M. Marcellus, Sardiniam M. Porcius Cato obtinebat, sanctus et innocens, asperior tamen in faenore coercendo habitus; fugatique ex insula faeneratores et sumptus quos in cultum praetorum socii facere soliti erant circumcisi aut sublati. Sex. Aelius consul ex Gallia comitiorum causa Romam cum redisset, creauit consules C. Cornelium Cethegum et Q. Minucium Rufum. Biduo post praetorum comitia habita. Sex praetores illo anno primum creati crescentibus iam prouinciis et latius patescente imperio; creati autem hi: L. Manlius Uolso C. Sempronius Tuditanus M. Sergius Silus M. Heluius M. Minucius Rufus L. Atilius — Sempronius et Heluius ex iis aediles plebis erant — ; curules aediles Q. Minucius Thermus et Ti. Sempronius Longus. Ludi Romani eo anno quater instaurati.

[28] C. Cornelio et Q. Minucio consulibus omnium primum de prouinciis consulum praetorumque actum. Prius de praetoribus transacta res quae transigi sorte poterat: urbana Sergio, peregrina iurisdictio Minucio obtigit; Sardiniam Atilius, Siciliam Manlius, Hispanias Sempronius citeriorem, Heluius ulteriorem est sortitus. Consulibus Italiam Macedoniamque sortiri parantibus L. Oppius et Q. Fuluius tribuni plebis impedimento erant, quod longinqua prouincia Macedonia esset neque ulla alia res maius bello impedimentum ad eam diem fuisset quam quod uixdum incohatis rebus in ipso conatu gerendi belli prior consul reuocaretur: quartum

iam annum esse ab decreto Macedonico bello; quaerendo regem et exercitum eius Sulpicium maiorem partem anni absumpsisse; Uillum congregientem cum hoste infecta re reuocatum; Quinctium rebus diuinis Romae maiorem partem anni retentum ita gessisse tamen res ut, si aut maturius in prouinciam uenisset aut hiems magis sera fuisset, potuerit debellare: nunc prope in hiberna profectum ita comparare dici bellum ut, nisi successor impediatur, perfecturus aestate proxima uideatur. His orationibus peruicerunt ut consules in senatus auctoritate fore dicerent se, si idem tribuni plebis facerent. Permittentibus utrisque liberam consultationem patres consulibus ambobus Italiam prouinciam decreuerunt, T. Quinctio prorogarunt imperium donec successor ex senatus consulto uenisset. Consulibus binae legiones decretae et ut bellum cum Gallis Cisalpinis qui defecissent a populo Romano gererent. Quinctio in Macedoniam supplementum decretum, sex milia peditum, trecenti equites, sociorum naualium milia tria. Praeesse eidem cui praeerat classi L. Quinctius Flamininus iussus. Praetoribus in Hispanias octona milia peditum socium ac nominis Latini data et quadringeni equites, ut dimitterent ueterem ex Hispaniis militem; et terminare iussi qua ulterior citeriorue prouincia seruaretur. Macedoniae legatos P. Sulpicium et P. Uillum, qui consules in ea prouincia fuerant, adiecerunt.

[29] Priusquam consules praetoresque in prouincias proficiscerentur, prodigia procurari placuit, quod aedes Uolcani Summanique Romae et quod Fregenis murus et porta de caelo tacta erant, et Frusinone inter noctem lux orta, et Aefulae agnus biceps cum quinque pedibus natus, et Formiis duo lupi oppidum ingressi obuios aliquot laniauerant, Romae non in urbem solum sed in Capitolium penetrauerat lupo. C. Atinius tribunus plebis tulit ut quinque coloniae in oram maritimam deducerentur, duae ad ostia fluminum Uolturni Liternique, una Puteolos, una ad Castrum Salerni: his Buxentum adiectum; trecenae familiae in singulas colonias iubebantur mitti. Tresuiri deducendis iis, qui per triennium magistratum haberent, creati M. Seruilius Geminus Q. Minucius Thermus Ti. Sempronius Longus. Dilectu rebusque aliis diuinis humanisque quae per ipsos agenda erant perfectis consules ambo in Galliam profecti: Cornelius recta ad Insubres uia, qui tum in armis

erant Cenomanis adsumptis; Q. Minucius in laeua Italiae ad inferum mare flexit iter Genuamque exercitu ducto ab Liguribus orsus bellum est. Oppida Clastidium et Litubium, utraque Ligurum, et duae gentis eiusdem ciuitates Celeiates Cerdiciatesque sese dediderunt; et iam omnia cis Padum praeter Gallorum Boios, Iluates Ligurum sub ditione erant: quindecim oppida, hominum uiginti milia esse dicebantur quae se dediderant. Inde in agrum Boiorum legiones duxit.

[30] Boiorum exercitus haud ita multo ante traiecerat Padum iunxeratque se Insubribus et Cenomanis, quod ita acceperant coniunctis legionibus consules rem gesturos ut et ipsi conlatas in unum uires firmarent. Postquam fama accidit alterum consulem Boiorum urere agros, seditio extemplo orta est: postulare Boi ut laborantibus opem uniuerſi ferrent, Insubres negare se sua deserturos. Ita diuisae copiae Boisque in agrum suum tutandum profectis Insubres cum Cenomanis super amnis Minci ripam consederunt. Infra eum locum duo milia passuum et consul Cornelius eidem flumini castra adplicuit. Inde mittendo in uicos Cenomanorum Brixiamque quod caput gentis erat, ut satis comperit non ex auctoritate seniorum iuuentutem in armis esse nec publico consilio Insubrum defectioni Cenomanos sese adiunxisse, excitis ad se principibus id agere ac moliri coepit ut desciscerent ab Insubribus Cenomani et sublatis signis aut domos redirent aut ad Romanos transirent. Et id quidem impetrari nequii: in id fides data consuli est ut in acie aut quiescerent aut, si qua etiam occasio fuisset, adiuuarent Romanos. Haec ita conuenisse Insubres ignorabant; suberat tamen quaedam suspicio animis labare fidem sociorum. Itaque cum in aciem eduxissent, neutrum iis cornu committere ausi ne, si dolo cessissent, rem totam inclinarent, post signa in subsidiis eos locauerunt. Consul principio pugnae uouit aedem Sospitae Iunoni si eo die hostes fusi fugatique fuissent: a militibus clamor sublatus compotem uoti consulem se facturos, et impetus in hostes est factus. Non tulerunt Insubres primum concursum. Quidam et a Cenomanis terga repente in ipso certamine adgressis tumultum ancipitem iniectum auctores sunt caesaque in medio quinque et triginta milia hostium, quinque milia et ducentos uiuos captos, in iis Hamilcarem Poenorum imperatorem, qui belli causa fuisset; signa militaria

centum triginta et carpenta supra ducenta. Multa oppida Gallorum, quae Insubrum defectionem secuta erant, dediderunt se Romanis.

[31] Minucius consul primo effusis populationibus peragrauerat fines Boiorum, deinde, ut relictis Insubribus ad sua tuenda receperant sese, castris se tenuit acie dimicandum cum hoste ratus. Nec Boi detrectassent pugnam, ni fama Insubres uictos allata animos fregisset; itaque relicto duce castrisque dissipati per uicos sua quisque ut defenderent, rationem gerendi belli hosti mutarunt. Omissa enim spe per unam dimicationem rei decernendae rursus populari agros et urere tecta uicosque expugnare coepit. Per eosdem dies Clastidium incensum. Inde in Ligustinos Iluates, qui soli non parebant, legiones ductae. Ea quoque gens ut Insubres acie uictos, Boios ita ut temptare spem certaminis non auderent territores audiuit, in dicionem uenit. Litterae consulum amborum de rebus in Gallia prospere gestis sub idem tempus Romam allatae. M. Sergius praetor urbanus in senatu eas, deinde ex auctoritate patrum ad populum recitauit; supplicatio in quadriduum decreta.

[32] Hiems iam eo tempore erat, et cum T. Quinctius capta Elatia in Phocide ac Locride hiberna disposita haberet, Opunte seditio orta est. Factio una Aetolos, qui propiores erant, altera Romanos accersebat. Aetoli priores uenerunt; sed opulentior factio exclusis Aetolis missoque ad imperatorem Romanum nuntio usque in aduentum eius tenuit urbem. Arcem regium tenebat praesidium neque ut decederent inde aut Opuntiorum minui aut auctoritate imperatoris Romani percelli potuerunt. Mora cur non extemplo oppugnarentur ea fuit quod caduceator ab rege uenerat locum ac tempus petens conloquio. Id grauate regi concessum est, non quin cuperet Quinctius per se partim armis, partim condicionibus confectum uideri bellum: necdum enim sciebat utrum successor sibi alter ex nouis consulibus mitteretur an, quod summa ui ut tenderent amicis et propinquis mandauerat, imperium prorogaretur; aptum autem fore conloquium credebat ut sibi liberum esset uel ad bellum manenti uel ad pacem decedenti rem inclinare. In sinu Maliaco prope Nicaeam litus elegere. Eo rex ab Demetriade cum quinque lembis et una naue rostrata uenit: erant cum eo <duo> principes Macedonum et Achaeorum exul, uir insignis, Cycliadas. Cum imperatore Romano rex Amynder erat et Dionysodorus Attali legatus et Acesimbrotus praefectus Rhodiae

classis et Phaeneas princeps Aetolorum et Achaei duo, Aristaenus et Xenophon. Inter hos Romanus <ad> extremum litus progressus, cum rex in proram nauis in ancoris stantis processisset, ‘commodius’ inquit, ‘si in terram egrediaris, ex propinquo dicamus in uicem audiamusque’. Cum rex facturum se id negaret, ‘quem tandem’ inquit Quinctius ‘times?’ Ad hoc ille superbo et regio animo: ‘neminem equidem timeo praeter deos immortales: non omnium autem credo fidei quos circa te uideo, atque omnium minime Aetolis’. ‘istuc quidem’ ait Romanus ‘par omnibus periculum est qui cum hoste ad conloquium congregiuntur, si nulla fides sit.’ ‘non tamen’ inquit, ‘Tite Quincti, par perfidiae praemium est, si fraude agatur, Philippus et Phaeneas; neque enim aeque difficulter Aetoli praetorem alium ac Macedones regem in meum locum substituant.’

[33] Secundum haec silentium fuit, cum Romanus eum aequum censeret priorem dicere qui petisset conloquium, rex eius esse priorem orationem qui daret pacis leges, non qui acciperet; tum Romanus: simplicem suam orationem esse; ea enim se dicturum quae ni fiant nulla sit pacis condicio. Deducenda ex omnibus Graeciae ciuitatibus regi praesidia esse, captiuos et transfugas sociis populi Romani reddendos, restituenda Romanis ea Illyrici loca quae post pacem in Epiro factam occupasset, Ptolomaeo Aegypti regi reddendas urbes quas post Philopatoris Ptolomaei mortem occupauisset. Suas populique Romani condiciones has esse; ceterum et socium audiri postulata uerum esse. Attali regis legatus naues captiuosque quae ad Chium nauali proelio capta essent, et Nicephorium Uenerisque templum quae spoliasset euastassetque, pro incorruptis restitui; Rhodii Peraean- regio est continentis aduersus insulam, uetustae eorum dicionis — repetebant postulabantque praesidia deduci ab Iaso et a Bargyliis et Euromensium urbe et in Hellesponto Sesto atque Abydo, et Perinthum Byzantiis in antiqui formulam iuris restitui, et liberari omnia Asiae emporia portusque. Achaei Corinthum et Argos repetebant. Praetor Aetolorum Phaeneas cum eadem fere quae Romani ut Graecia decederetur postulasset redderenturque Aetolis urbes quae quondam iuris ac dicionis eorum fuissent, excepit orationem eius princeps Aetolorum Alexander, uir ut inter Aetolos facundus. Iam dudum se reticere ait, non quo quicquam agi putet eo conloquio, sed ne quem sociorum dicentem

interpellet: nec de pace cum fide Philippum agere nec bella uera uirtute unquam gessisse. In conloquiis insidiari et captare; in bello non congredi aequo campo neque signis conlatis dimicare, sed refugientem incendere ac diripere urbes et uincientium praemia uictum corrumpere. At non antiquos Macedonum reges, sed acie bellare solitos, urbibus parcere quantum possent, quo opulentius haberent imperium. Nam de quorum possessione dimicaretur tollentem nihil sibi praeter bellum relinquere, quod consilium esse? Plures priore anno sociorum urbes in Thessalia euastasse Philippum quam omnes qui unquam hostes Thessaliae fuerint. Ipsis quoque Aetolis eum plura socium quam hostem ademisse: Lysimachiam pulso praetore et praesidio Aetolorum occupasse eum; Cium, item suae dicionis urbem, funditus euertisse ac delesse; eadem fraude habere eum Thebas Phthias Echinum Larisam Pharsalum.

[34] Motus oratione Alexandri Philippus nauem ut exaudiretur propius terram adplicuit. Orsum eum dicere, in Aetolos maxime, uiolenter Phaeneas interfatus non in uerbis rem uerti ait: aut bello uincendum aut melioribus parendum esse. ‘apparet id quidem’ inquit Philippus ‘etiam caeco’, iocatus in ualetudinem oculorum Phaeneae; et erat dicacior natura quam regem decet, et ne inter seria quidem risu satis temperans. Indignari inde coepit Aetolos tamquam Romanos decedi Graecia iubere, qui quibus finibus Graecia sit dicere non possent; ipsius enim Aetoliae Agraeos Apodotosque et Amphilochos, quae permagna eorum pars sit, Graeciam non esse. ‘an quod a sociis eorum non abstinuerim iustam querellam habent, cum ipsi pro lege hunc antiquitus morem seruent ut aduersus socios ipsi suos publica tantum auctoritate dempta iuuentutem suam militare sinant, et contrariae persaepe acies in utraque parte Aetolica auxilia habeant? Neque ego Cium expugnaui, sed Prusiam socium et amicum oppugnantem adiui; et Lysimachiam ab Thracibus uindicaui, sed quia me necessitas ad hoc bellum a custodia eius auertit Thraces habent. Et Aetolis haec; Attalo autem Rhodiisque nihil iure debeo: non enim a me sed ab illis principium belli ortum est. Romanorum autem honoris causa et Peraean Rhodiis et naues Attalo cum captiuis qui comparebunt restituam. Nam quod ad Nicephorium Uenerisque templi restitutionem attinet, quid restitui ea postulantibus respondeam nisi, quo uno modo siluae lucique caesi

restitui possunt, curam impensamque sationis me praestaturum — quoniam haec inter se reges postulare et respondere placet.’ extrema eius oratio aduersus Achaeos fuit, in qua orsus ab Antigoni primum suis deinde erga gentem eam meritis, recitari decreta eorum iussit omnes diuinos humanosque honores complexa atque eis obiecit recens decretum quo ab se descuiissent; inuectusque grauiter in perfidiam eorum Argos tamen se iis redditurum dixit: de Corintho cum imperatore Romano deliberaturum esse quaesiturumque ab eo simul utrum iisne urbibus decedere se aequum censeat quas ab se ipso captas iure belli habeat, an iis etiam quas a maioribus suis accepisset.

[35] Parantibus Achaeis Aetolisque ad ea respondere, cum prope occasum sol esset, dilato in posterum diem conloquio Philippus in stationem ex qua profectus erat, Romani sociique in castra redierunt. Quinctius postero die ad Nicaeam — is enim locus placuerat — ad constitutum tempus uenit: Philippus nullus usquam nec nuntius ab eo per aliquot horas ueniebat, et iam desperantibus uenturum repente apparuerunt naues. Atque ipse quidem cum tam graua et indigna imperarentur inopem consilii diem se consumpsisse deliberando aiebat: uolgo credebant de industria rem in serum tractam ne tempus dari posset Achaeis Aetolisque ad respondendum, et eam opinionem ipse adfirmauit petendo ut submotis aliis, ne tempus altercando tereretur et aliqui finis rei imponi posset, cum ipso imperatore Romano liceret sibi conloqui. Id primo non acceptum, ne excludi conloquio uiderentur socii, dein cum haud absisteret petere, ex omnium consilio Romanus imperator cum Ap. Claudio tribuno militum ceteris submotis ad extremum litus processit: rex cum duobus quos pridie adhibuerat in terram est egressus. Ibi cum aliquamdiu secreto locuti essent, quae acta Philippus ad suos rettulerit minus compertum est; Quinctius haec rettulit ad socios: Romanis eum cedere tota Illyrici ora, perfugas remittere ac si qui sint captiui; Attalo naues et cum iis captos nauales socios, Rhodiis regionem quam Peraean uocant reddere, Iaso et Bargyliis non cessurum; Aetolis Pharsalum Larisamque reddere, Thebas non reddere; Achaeis non Argis modo sed etiam Corintho cessurum. Nulli omnium placere partium quibus cessurus aut non cessurus esset destinatio: plus enim amitti in iis quam adquiri nec unquam, nisi tota

deduxisset Graecia praesidia, causas certaminum defore.

[36] Cum haec toto ex concilio certatim omnes uociferarentur, ad Philippum quoque procul stantem uox est perlata. Itaque a Quinctio petit ut rem totam in posterum diem differret: profecto aut persuasurum se aut persuaderi sibi passurum. Litus ad Thronium conloquio destinatur. Eo mature conuentum est. Ibi Philippus primum et Quinctium et omnes qui aderant rogare ne spem pacis turbare uellent, postremo petere tempus quo legatos mittere Romam ad senatum posset: aut iis condicionibus se pacem impetraturum aut quascumque senatus dedisset leges pacis accepturum. Id ceteris haudquaquam placebat: nec enim aliud quam moram et dilationem ad colligendas uires quaeri; Quinctius uerum id futurum fuisse dicere si aestas et tempus rerum gerendarum esset: nunc hieme instante nihil amitti dato spatio ad legatos mittendos; nam neque sine auctoritate senatus raturum quicquam eorum fore quae cum rege ipsi pepigissent, et explorari dum bello necessariam quietem ipsa hiems daret senatus auctoritatem posse. In hanc sententiam et ceteri sociorum principes concesserunt; indutiisque datis in duos menses et ipsos mittere singulos legatos ad senatum edocendum ne fraude regis caperetur placuit; additum indutiarum pacto ut regia praesidia Phocide ac Locride extemplo deducerentur. Et ipse Quinctius cum sociorum legatis Amyndrum Athamanum regem, ut speciem legationi adiceret, et Q. Fabium — uxoris Quincti sororis filius erat — et Q. Fuluium et Ap. Claudium misit.

[37] Ut uentum Romam est, prius sociorum legati quam regis auditi sunt. Cetera eorum oratio conuiciis regis consumpta est: mouerunt eo maxime senatum demonstrando maris terrarumque regionis eius situm ut omnibus appareret si Demetriadem in Thessalia, Chalcidem in Euboea, Corinthum in Achaia rex teneret, non posse liberam Graeciam esse et ipsum Philippum non contumeliosius quam uerius compedes eas Graeciae appellare. Legati deinde regis intromissi; quibus longiorem exorsis orationem breuis interrogatio cessurusne iis tribus urbibus esset sermonem incidit, cum mandati sibi de iis nominatim negarent quicquam. Sic infecta pace regii dimissi: Quinctio liberum arbitrium pacis ac belli permissum. Cui ut satis apparuit non taedere belli senatum, et ipse uictoriae quam pacis audior neque conloquium postea Philippo dedit neque legationem

aliam quam quae omni Graecia decedi nuntiaret admissurum dixit.

[38] Philippus cum acie decernendum uideret et undique ad se contrahendas uires, maxime de Achaiae urbibus, regionis ab se diuersae, et magis tamen de Argis quam de Corintho sollicitus, optimum ratus Nabidi eam Lacedaemoniorum tyranno uelut fiduciarum dare ut uictori sibi restitueret, si quid aduersi accidisset ipse haberet, Philocli, qui Corintho Argisque praeerat, scribit ut tyrannum ipse conueniret. Philocles praeterquam quod iam ueniebat cum munere adicit, ad pignus futurae regi cum tyranno amicitiae, filias suas regem Nabidis filiis matrimonio coniungere uelle. Tyrannus primo negare aliter urbem eam se accepturum nisi Argiuorum ipsorum decreto accersitus ad auxilium urbis esset, deinde, ut frequenti contione non aspernatos modo sed abominatos etiam nomen tyranni audiuit, causam se spoliandi eos nactum ratus, tradere ubi uellet urbem Philoclen iussit. Nocte ignaris omnibus acceptus in urbem est tyrannus: prima luce occupata omnia superiora loca portaeque clausae. Paucis principum inter primum tumultum elapsis, eorum absentium direptae fortunae; praesentibus aurum atque argentum ablatum, pecuniae imperatae ingentes. Qui non cunctanter contulere, sine contumelia et laceratione corporum dimissi; quos occidere aut retrahere aliquid suspicio fuit, in seruilem modum lacerati atque extorti. Contione inde aduocata rogationes promulgauit, unam de tabulis nouis, alteram de agro uiritim diuidendo, duas faces nouantibus res ad plebem in optimates accendendam.

[39] Postquam in potestate Argiuorum ciuitas erat, nihil eius memor tyrannus a quo eam ciuitatem et in quam condicionem accepisset, legatos Elatiam ad Quinctium et <ad> Attalum Aeginae hibernantem mittit qui nuntiarent Argos in potestate sua esse: eo si ueniret Quinctius ad conloquium, non diffidere sibi omnia cum eo conuentura. Quinctius ut eo quoque praesidio Philippum nudaret cum aduisset se uenturum, mittit ad Attalum ut ab Aegina Sicyonem sibi occurreret; ipse ab Anticyra decem quinquerebus quas iis forte ipsis diebus L. Quinctius frater eius adduxerat ex hibernis Corcyrae Sicyonem tramisit. Iam ibi Attalus erat; qui cum tyranno ad Romanum imperatorem, non Romano ad tyrannum eundem diceret, in sententiam suam Quinctium traduxit ne in urbem ipsam Argos iret.

Haud procul urbe Mycenica uocatur: in eo loco ut congregarentur conuenit. Quinctius cum fratre et tribunis militum paucis, Attalus cum regio comitatu, Nicostratus Achaeorum praetor cum auxiliariis paucis uenit. Tyrannum ibi cum omnibus copiis opperientem inuenerunt. Progressus armatus cum satellitibus armatis est in medium fere interiacentis campi: inermis Quinctius cum fratre et duobus tribunis militum, inermi item regi praetor Achaeorum et unus ex purpuratis latus cingebant. Initium sermonis ab excusatione tyranni ortum quod armatus ipse armatisque saeptus, cum inermes Romanum imperatorem regemque cerneret, in conloquium uenisset: neque enim se illos timere dixit sed exules Argiuorum. Inde ubi de condicionibus amicitiae coeptum agi est, Romanus duas postulare res, unam ut bellum cum Achaeis finiret, alteram ut aduersus Philippum mitteret secum auxilia. Ea se missurum dixit; pro pace cum Achaeis indutiae impetratae, donec bellum cum Philippo finiretur.

[40] De Argis quoque disceptatio ab Attalo rege est mota, cum fraude Philoclis proditam urbem ui ab eo teneri argueret, ille ab ipsis Argiis se defenderet accitum. Contionem rex Argiuorum postulabat ut id sciri posset, nec tyrannus abnuere; sed deductis ex urbe praesidiis liberam contionem non immixtis Lacedaemoniis declaraturam quid Argiui uellent praeberi debere dicebat rex: tyrannus negauit deducturum. Haec disceptatio sine exitu fuit. De conloquio discessum sescentis Cretensibus ab tyranno datis Romano indutiisque inter Nicostratum praetorem Achaeorum et Lacedaemoniorum tyrannum in quattuor menses factis. Inde Quinctius Corinthum est profectus et ad portam cum Cretensium cohorte accessit, ut Philocli praefecto urbis appareret tyrannum a Philippo descissehilocles et ipse ad imperatorem Romanum in conloquium uenit hortantique ut extemplo transiret urbemque traderet ita respondit ut distulisse rem magis quam negasse uideretur. A Corintho Quinctius Anticyram traiecit, inde fratrem ad temptandam Acarnanum gentem misit. Attalus ab Argis Sicyonem est profectus. Ibi et ciuitas nouis honoribus ueteres regis honores auxit et rex ad id quod sacrum Apollinis agrum grandi quondam pecunia redemerat iis, tum quoque ne sine aliqua munificentia praeteriret ciuitatem sociam atque amicam, decem talenta argenti

dono dedit et decem milia medimnum frumenti; atque ita Cenchreas ad naues redit. Et Nabis firmato praesidio Argis Lacedaemonem regressus, cum ipse uiros spoliasset, ad feminas spoliandas uxorem Argos remisit. Ea nunc singulas inlustres, nunc simul plures genere inter se iunctas domum accersendo blandiendoque ac minando non aurum modo iis sed postremo uestem quoque mundumque omnem muliebrem ademit.

LIBER XXXIII

[1] Haec per hiemem gesta. initio autem ueris Quinctius Attalo Elatiam excito Boeotorum gentem incertis ad eam diem animis fluctuantem dicionis suae facere cupiens, profectus per Phocidem quinque milia ab Thebis, quod caput est Boeotiae, posuit castra. inde postero die <cum> unius signi militibus et Attalo legationibusque quae frequentes undique conuenerant perguit ire ad urbem, iussis legionis hastatis — ea duo milia militum erant — sequi se mille passuum interuallo distantibus. ad medium ferme uiae Boeotorum praetor Antiphilus obuius fuit; cetera multitudo e muris aduentum imperatoris Romani regisque prospeculabatur. rara arma paucique milites circa eos apparebant; hastatos sequentes procul anfractus uiarum uallesque interiectae occulebant. cum iam adpropinquaret urbi, uelut obuiam egredientem turbam saluaret, tardius incedebat: causa erat morae ut hastati consequerentur. oppidani, ante lictorem turba acta, insecutum confestim agmen armatorum non ante quam ad hospitium imperatoris uentum est conspexere. tum uelut prodita dolo Antiphili praetoris urbe captaque obstipuerunt omnes; et apparebat nihil liberae consultationis concilio quod in diem posterum indictum erat Boeotis relictum esse. texerunt dolorem quem et nequiquam et non sine periculo ostendissent.

[2] In concilio Attalus primus uerba fecit. orsus a maiorum suorum suisque et communibus in omnem Graeciam et propriis in Boeotorum gentem meritis, senior iam et infirmior quam ut contentionem dicendi sustineret, obmutuit et concidit; et dum regem auferunt reficiuntque parte membrorum captum, paulisper contio intermissa est. Aristaenus inde Achaeorum praetor eo cum maiore auctoritate auditus quod non alia quam quae Achaeis suaserat Boeotis suadebat. pauca ab ipso Quinctio adiecta, fidem magis Romanam quam arma aut opes extollente uerbis. rogatio inde a Plataeensi Dicaearcho lata recitataque <de societate> cum Romanis iungenda, nullo contra dicere audente, omnium Boeotiae ciuitatum suffragiis accipitur iubeturque. concilio dimisso Quinctius tantum Thebis moratus quantum Attali repens casus coegit, postquam non uitae praesens periculum uis morbi attulisse sed membrorum

debilitatem uisa est, relicto eo ad curationem necessariam corporis, Elatiam unde profectus erat redit, Boeotis quoque sicut prius Achaeis ad societatem adscitis et, quoniam tuta ea pacataque ab tergo relinquebantur, omnibus iam cogitationibus in Philippum et quod reliquum belli erat conuersis.

[3] Philippus quoque primo uere, postquam legati ab Roma nihil pacati rettulerant, dilectum per omnia oppida regni habere instituit in magna inopia iuniorum. absumpserant enim per multas iam aetates continua bella Macedonas; ipso quoque regnante et naualibus bellis aduersus Rhodios Attalumque et terrestribus aduersus Romanos ceciderat magnus numerus. ita et tirones ab sedecim annis milites scribebat, et emeritis quidam stipendiis, quibus modo quicquam reliqui roboris erat, ad signa reuocabantur. ita suppleto exercitu secundum uernum aequinoctium omnes copias Diu contraxit ibique statuiis positis exercendo cotidie milite hostem opperiebatur. et Quinctius per eosdem ferme dies ab Elatia profectus praeter Thronium et Scarpheam ad Thermopylas peruenit. ibi concilium Aetolorum Heracleam indictum tenuit consultantium quantis auxiliis Romanum ad bellum sequerentur. cognitis sociorum decretis tertio die ab Heraclea Xynias praegressus in confinio Aenianum Thessalorumque positis castris Aetolica auxilia opperiebatur. nihil morati Aetoli sunt: Phaenea duce sex milia peditum cum equitibus quadringentis uenerunt. ne dubium esset quid expectasset, confestim Quinctius mouit castra. transgresso in Phthioticum agrum quingenti Gortynii Cretensium, duce Cydante, et trecenti Apolloniatae haud dispari armatu se coniungere, nec ita multo post Amynder cum Athamanum peditum ducentis et mille.

Philippus cognita profectione ab Elatia Romanorum, ut cui de summa rerum adesset certamen, adhortandos milites ratus, multa iam saepe memorata de maiorum uirtutibus simul de militari laude Macedonum cum disseruisset, ad ea quae tum maxime animos terrebant quibusque <erigi> ad aliquam spem poterant uenit.

[4] Acceptae ad Aoum flumen in angustiis cladi <i>terum a Macedonum phalange ad Atragem ui pulsos Romanos opponebat: et illic tamen, ubi insessas fauces Epiri non tenuissent, primam culpam fuisse eorum qui neglegenter custodias seruassent, secundam in ipso certamine leuis armaturae mercennariorumque militum; Macedonum

uero phalangem et tunc stetisse et loco aequo iustaque pugna semper mansuram inuictam. decem et sex milia militum haec fuere, robur omne uirium eius regni; ad hoc duo milia caetratorum, quos peltas<tas> appellant, Thracumque et Illyriorum — Tralles est nomen genti — par numerus, bina milia erant, et mixti ex pluribus gentibus mercede conducti auxiliares mille ferme et quingenti et duo milia equitum. cum iis copiis rex hostem opperiebatur. Romanis ferme par numerus erat; qui tum copiis tantum quod Aetoli accesserant superabant.

[5] Quintius ad Thebas Phthioticas castra cum mouisset, spem nactus per Timonem principem ciuitatis prodi urbem, cum paucis equitum leuisque armaturae ad muros successit. ibi adeo frustrata spes est ut non certamen modo cum erumpentibus sed periculum quoque atrox subiret, ni castris exciti repente pedites equitesque in tempore subuenissent. et postquam nihil conceptae temere spei succedebat, urbis quidem amplius temptandae in praesentia conatu absistit; ceterum satis gnarus iam in Thessalia regem esse, nondum comperto quam in regionem uenisset, milites per agros dimissos uallum caedere et parare iubet.

Vallo et Macedones et Graeci usi sunt, sed usum nec ad commoditatem ferendi nec ad ipsius munitionis firmamentum aptauerunt; nam et maiores et magis ramosas arbores caedebant quam quas ferre cum armis miles posset, et cum castra his ante obiectis saepsissent, facilis molitio eorum ualli erat. nam et quia rari stipites magnarum arborum eminebant multique et ualidi rami praebebant quod recte manu caperetur, duo aut summum tres iuuenes conixi arborem unam euellebant, qua euulsa portae instar extemplo patebat, nec in promptu erat quod obmolirentur. Romanus leues et bifurcos plerosque et trium aut cum plurimum quattuor ramorum uallos caedit, ut et suspensis ab tergo armis ferat plures simul apte miles; et ita densos obfigunt implicantque ramis ut neque <quis cuiusque palmae stipes neque> quae cuiusque stipitis palma sit peruideri possit; et adeo acuti aliusque per alium immissi rami locum ad inserendam manum non relinquunt ut neque prehendi quod trahatur neque trahi, cum inter se innexi rami uinculum in uicem praebeant, possit; et si euulsus forte est unus, nec loci multum aperit et alium reponere perfacile est.

[6] Quinctius postero die uallum secum ferente milite ut paratus omni loco castris ponendis esset, progressus modicum iter sex ferme milia a Pheris cum consedisset, speculatum in qua parte Thessaliae hostis esset quidue pararet misit. circa Larisam erat rex. certior iam factus Romanum ab Thebis Pheras mouisse, defungi quam primum et ipse certamine cupiens ducere ad hostem pergit et quattuor milia fere a Pheris posuit castra. inde postero die cum expediti utrimque ad occupandos super urbem tumulos processissent, pari ferme interuallo ab iugo quod capiendum erat, cum inter se conspecti essent, constiterunt, nuntios in castra remissos qui quid sibi, quoniam praeter spem hostis occurrisset, faciendum esset consularent, quieti opperientes. et illo quidem die nullo inito certamine in castra reuocati sunt; postero die circa eosdem tumulos equestre proelium fuit, in quo non minimum Aetolorum opera regii fugati atque in castra compulsi sunt. magnum utris<que> impedimentum ad rem gerendam fuit ager consitus crebris arboribus hortique, ut in suburbanis locis, et coartata itinera maceriis et quibusdam locis interclusa. itaque pariter ducibus consilium fuit excedendi ea regione, et uelut ex praedicto ambo Scotusam petierunt, Philippus spe frumentandi inde, Romanus ut praegressus corrumperet hosti frumenta. per diem totum, quia colles perpetuo iugo intererant, nullo conspecta inter se loco agmina ierunt. Romani <ad> Eretriam Phthiotici agri, Philippus super amnem Onchestum posuit castra. ne postero quidem die, cum Philippus ad Melambium quod uocant Scotusae<i> agri, Quinctius circa Thetideum Pharsaliae terrae posuisset castra, aut hi aut illi ubi hostis esset satis compertum habuerunt. tertio die primo nimbus effusus, dein caligo nocti simillima Romanos metu insidiarum tenuit.

[7] Philippus maturandi itineris causa, post imbrem nubibus in terram demissis nihil deterritus, signa ferri iussit; sed tam densa caligo occaecauerat diem ut neque signiferi uiam nec signa milites cernerent, agmen ad incertos clamores uagum uelut errore nocturno turbaretur. supergressi tumulos qui Cynoscephalae uocantur, relicta ibi statione firma peditum equitumque, posuerunt castra. Romanus iisdem ad Thetideum castris cum se tenuisset, exploratum tamen ubi hostis esset decem turmas equitum et mille pedites misit monitos ut ab insidiis, quas dies obscurus apertis quoque locis tecturus esset, praecauerent. ubi uentum ad insessos tumulos est, pauore mutuo

iniecto uelut torpentes quieuerunt; dein nuntiis retro in castra ad duces missis, ubi primus terror ab necopinato uisu consedit, non diutius certamine abstinuere. principio a paucis procurrentibus laccessita pugna est, deinde subsidiis tuentium pulsos aucta. in qua cum haudquaquam pares Romani alios super alios nuntios ad ducem mitterent premi sese, quingenti equites et duo milia peditum, maxime Aetolorum, cum duobus tribunis militum propere missa rem inclinatam restituerunt, uersaque fortuna Macedones laborantes opem regis per nuntios implorabant. rex, ut qui nihil minus illo die propter offusam caliginem quam proelium expectasset, magna parte hominum omnis generis pabulatum missa, aliquamdiu inops consilii trepidauit; deinde, postquam nuntii instabant, et iam iuga montium detexerat nebula, et in conspectu erant Macedones in tumultum maxime editum inter alios compulsi loco se magis quam armis tutantes, committendam rerum summam in discrimen utcumque ratus, ne partis indefensae iactura fieret, Athenagoram ducem mercede militantium cum omnibus praeter Thracas auxiliis et equitatu Macedonum ac Thessalorum mittit. eorum aduentu depulsi ab iugo Romani non ante restiterunt quam in planiorem uallem peruentum est. ne effusa detruderentur fuga plurimum in Aetolis equitibus praesidii fuit. is longe tum optimus eques in Graecia erat; pedite inter finitimos uincebantur.

[8] Laetior res quam pro successu pugnae nuntiata, cum alii super alios recurrentes ex proelio clamarent fugere pauidos Romanos, inuitum et cunctabundum et dicentem <Philippum> temere fieri, non locum sibi placere, non tempus, perpulit ut educeret omnes copias in aciem. idem et Romanus, magis necessitate quam occasione pugnae inductus, fecit. dextrum cornu elephantis ante signa instructis in subsidiis reliquit; laeue cum omni leui armatura in hostem uadit, simul admonens cum iisdem Macedonibus pugnatuos quos ad Epiri fauces, montibus fluminibusque saeptos, uicta naturali difficultate locorum expulissent acieque expugnassent, cum iis quos P. Sulpicii prius ductu obsidentes in Eordaeam aditum uicissent: fama stetisse, non uiribus Macedoniae regnum; eam quoque famam tandem euanuisse. iam peruentum ad suos in ima ualle stantes erat, qui aduentu exercitus imperatorisque pugnam renouant impetuque facto rursus auertunt hostem. Philippus cum caetratis et cornu dextro

peditum, robore Macedonici exercitus, quam phalangem uocabant, prope cursu ad hostem uadit; Nicanori, ex purpuratis uni, ut cum reliquis copiis confestim sequatur imperat. primo, ut in iugum euasit et iacentibus ibi paucis armis corporibusque hostium proelium eo loco fuisse pulsosque inde Romanos et pugnari prope castra hostium uidit, ingenti gaudio est elatus; mox refugientibus suis et terrore uerso paulisper incertus an in castra reciperet copias trepidauit; deinde ut adpropinquabat hostis et, praeterquam quod caedebantur auersi nec nisi defenderentur seruari poterant, ne ipsi quidem in tuto iam receptus erat, coactus nondum adsecuta parte suorum periculum summae rerum facere, equites leuemque armaturam qui in proelio fuerant dextero in cornu locat iuxta caetratos, Macedonum phalangem hastis positis, quarum longitudo impedimento erat, gladiis rem gerere iubet. simul ne facile perrumperetur acies, dimidium de fronte demptum introrsus porrectis ordinibus duplicat, ut longa potius quam lata acies esset; simul et densari ordines iussit, ut uir uiro, arma armis iungerentur.

[9] Quinctius iis qui in proelio fuerant inter signa et ordines acceptis tuba dat signum. raro alias tantus clamor dicitur in principio pugnae exortus; nam forte utraque acies simul conclamauere nec solum qui pugnabant sed subsidia etiam quique tum maxime in proelium ueniebant. dextero cornu rex loci plurimum auxilio, ex iugis altioribus pugnans, uincebat; sinistro tum cum maxime adpropinquante phalangis parte quae nouissimi agminis fuerat, sine ullo ordine trepidabatur; media acies, quae propior dextrum cornu erat, stabat spectaculo uelut nihil ad se pertinentis pugnae intenta. phalanx, quae uenerat agmen magis quam acies aptiorque itineri quam pugnae, uixdum in iugum euaserat. in hos incompósitos Quinctius, quamquam pedem referentes in dextro cornu suos cernebat, elephantis prius in hostem actis impetum facit, ratus partem profligatam cetera tracturam. non dubia res fuit; extemplo terga uertere Macedones, terrore primo bestiarum auersi. et ceteri quidem hos pulsos sequebantur; unus e tribunis militum ex tempore capto consilio cum uiginti signorum militibus, relictā ea parte suorum quae haud dubie uincebat, breui circuitu dextrum cornu hostium auersum inuadit. nullam aciem ab tergo adortus non turbasset; ceterum ad communem omnium in tali re <tre>pidationem accessit quod phalanx

Macedonum grauis atque immobilis nec circumagere se poterat nec hoc qui a fronte paulo ante pedem referentes tunc ultro territis instabant patiebantur. ad hoc loco etiam premebantur, quia iugum ex quo pugnauerant dum per procliue pulsos insequuntur tradiderant hosti ad terga sua circumducto. paulisper in medio caesi, deinde omissis plerique armis capessunt fugam.

[10] Philippus cum paucis peditum equitumque primo tumultum altiorem inter ceteros cepit <unde> specularetur quae in laeua parte suorum fortuna esset; deinde postquam fugam effusam animaduertit et omnia circa iuga signis atque armis fulgere, tum et ipse acie excessit. Quinctius cum institisset cedentibus, repente quia erigentes hastas Macedonas conspexerat, quidnam pararent incertus paulisper nouitate rei constituit signa; deinde, ut accepit hunc morem esse Macedonum tradentium sese, parcere uictis in animo habebat. ceterum ab ignaris militibus omissam ab hoste pugnam et quid imperator uellet impetus in eos est factus et primis caesis ceteri in fugam dissipati sunt. rex effuso cursu Tempe petit. ibi ad Gonnos diem unum substitit ad excipiendos si qui proelio superessent. Romani uictores in castra hostium spe praedae <inrumpunt>: ea magna iam <ex parte> direpta ab Aetolis inueniunt. caesa eo die octo milia hostium, <quinque> capta; ex uictoribus septingenti ferme ceciderunt. si Ualerio qui credat omnium rerum immodice numerum augenti, quadraginta milia hostium eo die sunt caesa, capta — ibi modestius mendacium est — quinque milia septingenti, signa militaria ducenta undequingenta. Claudius quoque duo et triginta milia hostium caesa scribit, capta quattuor milia et trecentos. nos non minimo potissimum numero credidimus sed Polybium secuti sumus, non incertum auctorem cum omnium Romanarum rerum tum praecipue in Graecia gestarum.

[11] Philippus collectis ex fuga qui uariis casibus pugnae dissipati uestigia eius secuti fuerant missisque Larisam ad commentarios regios comburendos ne in hostium uenirent potestatem, in Macedoniam concessit. Quinctius captiuis praedaeque <partim> uenumdatis partim militi concessis Larisam est profectus, haudum satis gnarus quam regionem petisset rex quidue pararet. caduceator eo regius uenit, specie ut indutiae essent donec tollerentur ad sepulturam qui in acie cecidissent, re uera ad petendam ueniam

legatis mittendis. utrumque ab Romano impetratum. adiecta etiam illa uox, bono animo esse regem ut iuberet, quae maxime Aetolos offendit iam tumentes querentesque mutatum uictoria imperatorem: ante pugnam omnia magna paruaque communicare cum sociis solitum, nunc omnium expertes consiliorum esse, suo ipsum arbitrio cuncta agere; cum Philippo iam gratiae priuatae locum quaerere, ut dura atque aspera belli Aetoli exhausserint, pacis gratiam et fructum Romanus in se uertat. et haud dubie decesserat iis aliquantum honoris; sed cur neglegerentur ignorabant. donis regis imminere credebant inuicti ab ea cupiditate animi uirum; sed et suscensebat non immerito Aetolis ob insatiabilem audiditatem praedae et adrogantiam eorum, uictoriae gloriam in se rapientium, quae uanitate sua omnium aures offendebat, et Philippo sublato, fractis opibus Macedonici regni Aetolos habendos Graeciae dominos cernebat. ob eas causas multa sedulo ut uiliores leuiioresque apud omnes essent et uiderentur faciebat.

[12] Indutiae quindecim dierum datae hosti erant et cum ipso rege constitutum colloquium; cuius priusquam tempus ueniret, in consilium aduocauit socios. rettulit quas leges pacis placeret dici. Amynder Athamanum rex paucis sententiam absoluit: ita componendam pacem esse ut Graecia etiam absentibus Romanis satis potens tuendae simul pacis libertatisque esset. Aetolorum asperior oratio fuit, qui pauca praefati recte atque ordine imperatorem Romanum facere quod, quos belli socios habuisset, cum iis communicaret pacis consilia, falli aiunt eum tota re si aut Romanis pacem aut Graeciae libertatem satis firmam se credat relicturum nisi Philippo aut occiso aut regno pulso; quae utraque procliuia esse si fortuna uti uellet. ad haec Quinctius negare Aetolos aut moris Romanorum memorem aut sibi ipsis conuenientem sententiam dixisse; et illos prioribus omnibus conciliis conloquisque [et] de condicionibus pacis semper, <non> ut ad interuersionem bellaretur disseruisse, et Romanos praeter uetustissimum morem uictis parcendi praecipuum clementiae documentum dedisse pace Hannibali et Carthaginiensibus data. omittere se Carthaginienses: cum Philippo ipso quotiens uentum in colloquium? nec unquam ut cederet regno actum esse. an quia uictus proelio foret, inexpiabile bellum factum? cum armato hoste infestis animis concurrere debere: aduersus uictos

mitissimum quemque animum maximum habere. libertati Graeciae uideri graues Macedonum reges: si regnum gensque tollatur, Thracas Illyrios Gallos deinde, gentes feras et indomitas, in Macedoniam se et in Graeciam effusuras. ne proxima quaeque amoliendo maioribus grauioribusque aditum ad se facerent. interfanti deinde Phaeneae praetori Aetolorum testificantique si elapsus eo tempore Philippus foret mox grauius eum rebellaturum, ‘desistite tumultuari’ inquit ‘ubi consultandum est: non iis condicionibus inligabitur rex ut mouere bellum possit.’

[13] Hoc dimisso concilio postero die rex ad fauces quae ferunt in Tempe — is datus erat locus conloquio — uenit; tertio die datur ei Romanorum ac sociorum frequens concilium. ibi Philippus perquam prudenter iis sine quibus pax impetrari non poterat sua potius uoluntate omissis quam altercando extorquerentur, quae priore conloquio aut imperata a Romanis aut postulata ab sociis essent omnia se concedere, de ceteris senatui permissurum dixit. quamquam uel inimicissimis omnibus praeclusisse uocem uidebatur, Phaeneas tamen Aetolus cunctis tacentibus ‘quid? nobis’ inquit, ‘Philippe, reddisne tandem Pharsalum et Larisam Cremasten et Echinum et Thebas Phthias?’ cum Philippus nihil morari diceret quo minus reciperent, disceptatio inter imperatorem Romanum et Aetolos orta est de Thebis; nam eas populi Romani iure belli factas esse Quinctius dicebat, quod integris rebus exercitu ab se admoto uocati in amicitiam, cum potestas libera desciscendi ab rege esset, regiam societatem Romanae praeposuisent; Phaeneas et pro societate belli quae ante bellum habuissent restitui Aetolis aequum censebat et ita in foedere primo cautum esse ut belli praeda rerum quae ferri agique possent Romanos, ager urbesque captae Aetolos sequerentur. ‘uos’ inquit ‘ipsi’ Quinctius ‘societatis istius leges rupistis quo tempore relictis nobis cum Philippo pacem fecistis. quae si maneret, captarum tamen urbium illa lex foret: Thessaliae ciuitates sua uoluntate in dicionem nostram uenerunt.’ haec cum omnium sociorum adsensu dicta Aetolis non <in> praesentia modo grauia auditu sed mox etiam belli causa magnarumque ex eo cladium iis fuerunt. cum Philippo ita conuenit ut Demetrium filium et quosdam ex amicorum numero obsides et ducenta talenta daret, de ceteris Romam mitteret legatos: ad eam rem quattuor mensum indutiae essent. si pax non impetrata

ab senatu foret, obsides pecuniamque reddi Philippo receptum est. causa Romano imperatori non alia maior fuisse dicitur maturandae pacis quam quod Antiochum bellum transitumque in Europam moliri constabat.

[14] Eodem tempore atque, ut quidam tradidere, eodem die ad Corinthum Achaei ducem regium Androthenem iusto proelio fuderunt. eam urbem pro arce habiturus Philippus aduersus Graeciae ciuitates et principes inde euocatos per speciem conloquendi quantum equitum dare Corinthii ad bellum possent retinuerat pro obsidibus, et praeter quingentos Macedonas mixtosque ex omni genere auxiliorum octingentos, quot iam ante ibi fuerant, mille Macedonum eo miserat et mille ac ducentos Illyrios Thracasque et Cretenses, qui in utraque parte militabant, octingentos. his additi Boeoti Thessalique et Acarnanes mille, scutati omnes, et <septingenti ex> ipsorum Corinthiorum iuuentute, impleta ut essent sex milia armatorum, fiduciam Androtheni fecerunt acie decernendi. Nicostratus praetor Achaeorum Sicyone erat cum duobus milibus peditum, centum equitibus, sed imparem se et numero et genere militum cernens moenibus non excedebat. regiae copiae peditum equitumque uagae Pellenensem et Phliasium et Cleonaeum agrum depopulabantur; postremo exprobrantes metum hosti in fines Sicyoniorum transcendebant, nauibus etiam circumuecti omnem oram Achaiae uastabant. cum id effusius hostes et, ut fit ab nimia fiducia, negligentius etiam facerent, Nicostratus spem nactus necopinantes eos adgrediendi circa finitimas ciuitates nuntium occultum mittit quo die et quot ex quaque ciuitate armati ad Apelaurum — Stympthaliae terrae is locus est — conuenirent. omnibus ad diem edictam paratis profectus inde extemplo per Phliasiorum fines nocte Cleonas insciis omnibus quid pararet peruenit. erant autem cum eo quinque milia peditum, ex quibus ~armaturae leuis, et trecenti equites. cum iis copiis, dimissis qui specularentur quam in partem hostes effunderent sese, opperiebatur.

[15] Androthenes omnium ignarus Corintho profectus ad Nemeam — amnis est Corinthium <et> Sicyonium interfluens agrum — castra locat. ibi partem dimidiam exercitus dimissam — trifariam diuisit — et omnes equites discurrere ad depopulandos simul Pellenensem Sicyoniumque agros et Phliasium iubet. haec tria diuersa agmina

discessere. quod ubi Cleonas ad Nicostratum perlatum est, extemplo ualidam mercennariorum manum praemissam ad occupandum saltum per quem transitus in Corinthium est agrum, ante signa equitibus ut praegrederentur locatis, ipse confestim agmine duplici sequitur. parte una mercennarii milites ibant cum leui armatura, altera clipeati; id in illarum gentium exercitibus robur erat. iam haud procul castris aberant pedites equitesque, et Thracum quidam in uagos palatosque per agros hostes impetum fecerant, cum repens terror castris infertur. trepidare dux, ut qui hostes nusquam nisi raros in collibus ante Sicyonem non audentes agmen demittere in campos uidisset, ab Cleonis quidem accessuros nunquam credidisset. reuocari tuba iubet uagos a castris dilapsos; ipse raptim capere arma iussis militibus infrequenti agmine porta egressus <su>per flumen instruit aciem. ceterae copiae uix conligi atque instrui cum potuissent, primum hostium impetum non tulerunt. Macedones et maxime omnium frequentes ad signa fuerant et diu ancipitem uictoriae spem fecerunt; postremo fuga ceterorum nudati, cum duae iam acies hostium ex diuerso, leuis armatura ab latere, clipeati caetratique a fronte urgerent, et ipsi re inclinata primo rettulere pedem, deinde impulsu terga uertunt et plerique abiectis armis, nulla spe castrorum tenendorum relictis, Corinthum petierunt. Nicostratus mercennariis militibus ad hos persequendos, equitibus Thracumque auxiliis in populatores agri Sicyonii missis magnam utrobique caedem edidit, maiorem prope quam in proelio ipso. ex iis quoque qui Pellenen Phliuntaque depopulati erant, incompositi partim omniumque ignari ad castra reuertentes in hostium stationes tamquam in suas inlati sunt, partim ex discursu id quod erat suspicati ita se in fugam passim sparserunt ut ab ipsis agrestibus errantes circumuenirentur. ceciderunt eo die mille et quingenti, capti trecenti. Achaia omnis magno liberata metu.

[16] Priusquam dimicaretur ad Cynoscephalas, L. Quinctius Corcyram excitis Acarnanum principibus, quae sola Graeciae gentium in societate Macedonum manserat, initium quoddam ibi motus fecit. duae autem maxime causae eos tenuerant in amicitia regis, una fides insita genti, altera metus odiumque Aetolorum. concilium Leucadem indictum est. eo neque cuncti conuenere Acarnanum populi nec [in] iis qui conuenerant idem placuit; sed duo

principes et magistratus peruicerunt ut priuatum decretum Romanae societatis fieret. id omnes qui afuerant aegre passi; et in hoc fremitu gentis a Philippo missi duo principes Acarnanum, Androcles et Echedemus, non ad tollendum modo decretum Romanae societatis ualuerunt sed etiam ut Archelaus et Bianor, principes gentis ambo, quod auctores eius sententiae fuissent, proditiōis in concilio damnarentur et Zeuxidae praetori, quod de ea re rettulisset, imperium abrogaretur. rem temerariam sed euentu prosperam damnati fecerunt. suadentibus nam<que> amicis cederent tempori et Corcyram ad Romanos abirent, statuerunt offerre se multitudini et aut eo ipso lenire iras aut pati quod casus tulisset. cum se frequenti concilio intulissent, primo murmur ac fremitus admirantium, silentium mox a uerecundia simul pristinae dignitatis ac misericordia praesentis fortunae ortum est. potestate quoque dicendi facta principio suppliciter, procedente autem oratione, ubi ad crimina diluenda uentum est, cum tanta fiducia quantum innocentia dabat disseruerunt; postremo ultro aliquid etiam queri et castigare iniquitatem simul in se crudelitatemque ausi ita adfecerunt animos ut omnia quae in eos decreta erant frequentes tollerent neque eo minus redeundum in societatem Philippi abnuendamque Romanorum amicitiam censerent.

[17] Leucade haec sunt decreta. id caput Acarnaniae erat eoque in concilium omnes populi conueniebant. itaque cum haec repentina mutatio Corcyram ad legatum Flaminium perlata esset, extemplo cum classe profectus Leucadem ad Heraeum quod uocant naues adplicuit. inde cum omni genere tormentorum machinarumque quibus expugnantur urbes ad muros accessit, ad primum terrorem ratus inclinari animos posse. postquam pacati nihil ostendebatur, tum uineas turresque erigere et arietem admouere muris coepit.

Acarnania uniuersa inter Aetoliam atque Epirum posita solem occidentem et mare Siculum spectat. Leucadia nunc insula est, uadoso freto quod perfossum manu est ab Acarnania diuisa; tum paeninsula erat, occidentis regione artis faucibus cohaerens Acarnaniae; quingentos ferme passus longae eae fauces erant, latae haud amplius centum et uiginti. in iis angustiis Leucas posita est, colli adplicata uerso in orientem et Acarnaniam; ima urbis plana sunt, iacentia ad mare, quo Leucadia ab Acarnania diuiditur. inde terra marique expugnabilis est; nam et uada sunt stagno similiora

quam mari et campus terrenus omnis operique facilis. itaque multis simul locis aut subruti aut ariete decussi ruebant muri; sed quam urbs ipsa opportuna oppugnantibus erat, tam inexpugnabiles hostium animi. die ac nocte intenti reficere quassata muri, obstruere quae patefacta ruinis erant, proelia impigre inire et armis magis muros quam se ipsos moenibus tutari; diutiusque spe Romanorum obsidionem eam extraxissent ni exules quidam Italici generis Leucade habitantes ab arce milites acceperant. eos tamen ex superiore loco magno cum tumultu decurrentes acie in foro instructa iusto proelio aliquamdiu Leucadii sustinuerunt. interim et scalis capta multis locis moenia et per stragem lapidum ac ruinas transcendum in urbem; iamque ipse legatus magno agmine circumuenerat pugnantes. tum pars in medio caesi, pars armis abiectis dederunt sese uictori. et post dies paucos audito proelio quo ad Cynoscephalas pugnatum erat, omnes Acarnaniae populi in dicionem legati uenerunt.

[18] Iisdem diebus, omnia simul inclinante fortuna, Rhodii quoque ad uindicandam a Philippo continentis regionem — Peraean uocant — possessam a maioribus suis, Pausistratum praetorem cum octingentis Achaeis peditibus, mille et octingentis fere armatis ex uario genere auxiliorum collectis miserunt: Galli et Mniesutae et Pisutae et Tarmiani et Theraei ex Peraea et Laudiceni ex Asia erant. cum iis copiis Pausistratus Tendebe in Stratonicensi agro, locum peropportunum, ignaris regiis qui Therae erant occupauit. in tempore et ad <id> ipsum excitum auxilium, mille Achaei pedites cum centum equitibus superuenerunt; Theoxenus iis praeerat. Dinocrates regius praefectus recipiendi castelli causa primo castra ad ipsa Tendebe mouet, inde ad alterum castellum item Stratonicensis agri — Astragon uocant — ; omnibusque eo praesidiis, quae multifariam disiecta erant, deuocatis et ab ipsa Stratonicea Thessalorum auxiliariis ad Alabanda, ubi hostes erant, ducere pergit. nec Rhodii pugnam detractauerunt. ita castris in propinquo locatis extemplo in aciem descensum est. Dinocrates quingentos Macedonas dextro cornu, laeuo Agrianas locat, in medium accipit contractos ex castellorum — Cares maxime erant — praesidiis, equites cornibus circumdat et Cretensium auxiliares Thracumque. Rhodii Achaeos dextro cornu, sinistro mercennarios milites, lectam peditum manum,

habuere, medios mixta ex pluribus gentibus auxilia, equites levisque armaturae quod erat cornibus circumiectum. eo die steterunt tantum acies utraque super ripam qui tenui tum aqua interfluebat torrentis paucisque telis emissis in castra receperunt sese. postero die eodem ordine instructi maius aliquanto proelium quam pro numero edidere pugnantium. neque enim plus terna milia peditum fuere et centeni ferme equites; ceterum non numero tantum nec armorum genere sed animis quoque paribus et aequa spe pugnarunt. Achaei primi torrente superato in Agrianas impetum fecerunt; deinde tota prope cursu transgressa amnem acies est. diu anceps pugna stetit. numero Achaei, mille ipsi, quadringentos loco pepulere; inclinato deinde laeuo cornu in dextrum omnes conisi. Macedones usque dum ordines et ueluti stipata phalanx constabat moueri nequiuērunt; postquam laeuo latere nudato circumagere hastas in uenientem ex transuerso hostem conati sunt, turbati extemplo tumultum primo inter se fecerunt, terga deinde uertunt, postremo abiectis armis in praecipitem fugam effunduntur. Bargylas petentes fugerunt; eodem et Dinocrates perfugit. Rhodii quantum diei superfuit secuti receperunt sese in castra. satis constat, si confestim uictores Stratoniceam petissent, recipi eam urbem sine certamine potuisse. praetermissa eius rei occasio est dum in castellis uicisque recipiendis Peraeae tempus teritur. interim animi eorum qui Stratoniceam praesidio obtinebant confirmati sunt; mox et Dinocrates cum iis quae proelio superfuerant copiis intrauit muros. nequiquam inde obsessa oppugnataque urbs est, nec recipi nisi aliquanto post per Antiochum potuit. haec in Thessalia, haec in Achaia, haec in Asia per eosdem dies ferme gesta.

[19] Philippus cum audisset Dardanos transgressos fines ab contemptu concussi tum regni superiora Macedoniae euastare, quamquam toto prope orbe terrarum undique se suosque exigente fortuna urgebatur, tamen morte tristius ratus Macedoniae etiam possessione pelli, dilectu raptim per urbes Macedonum habito cum sex milibus peditum et quingentis equitibus circa Stobos Paeoniae improuiso hostes oppressit. magna multitudo hominum in proelio, maior cupidine praedandi palata per agros caesa est. quibus fuga in expedito fuit, ne temptato quidem casu pugnae in fines suos redierunt. ea una expeditione, non pro reliquo statu fortunae facta, reffectis suorum animis Thessalonicam sese recepit.

Non tam in tempore Punicum bellum terminatum erat, ne simul et cum Philippo foret bellandum, quam opportune iam Antiocho ex Syria mouente bellum Philippus est superatus; nam praeterquam quod facilius cum singulis quam si in unum ambo simul contulissent uires bellatum est, Hispania quoque sub idem tempus magno tumultu ad bellum consurrexit.

Antiochus cum priore aestate omnibus quae in Coele Syria sunt ciuitatibus ex Ptolomaei dicione in suam potestatem redactis in hiberna Antiochiam concessisset, nihilo quietiora ea ipsis aestiuus habuit. omnibus enim regni uiribus conexus cum ingentes copias terrestres maritimasque comparasset, principio ueris praemissis terra cum exercitu filiis duobus Ardye<que> ac Mithridate iussisque Sardibus se opperiri, ipse cum classe centum tectarum nauium, ad hoc leuioribus nauigiis cercuris ac lembis ducentis proficiscitur, simul per omnem oram Ciliciae Lyciaeque et Cariae temptaturus urbes quae in dicione Ptolomaei essent, simul Philippum — necdum enim debellatum erat — exercitu nauibusque adiuturus.

[20] Multa egregie Rhodii pro fide erga populum Romanum proque uniuerso nomine Graecorum terra marique ausi sunt, nihil magnificentius quam quod ea tempestate non territi tanta mole imminentis belli legatos ad regem miserunt ne Chelidonias — promunturium Ciliciae est, inclutum foedere antiquo Atheniensium cum regibus Persarum — superaret: si eo fine non contineret classem copiasque suas, se obuiam ituros, non ab odio ullo sed ne coniungi eum Philippo paterentur et impedimento esse Romanis liberantibus Graeciam. Coracesium eo tempore Antiochus operibus oppugnabat, Zephyrio et Solis et Aphrodisiade et Coryco et superato Anemurio — promunturium id quoque Ciliciae est — Selinunte recepto. omnibus his aliisque eius orae castellis aut metu aut uoluntate sine certamine in dicionem acceptis, Coracesium praeter spem clausis portis tenebat eum. ibi legati Rhodiorum auditi. et quamquam ea legatio erat quae accendere regium animum posset, temperauit irae et legatos se Rhodum missurum respondit iisque mandaturum ut renouarent uetusta iura cum ea ciuitate sua maiorumque suorum et uetarent eos pertimescere aduentum regis: nihil aut iis aut sociis eorum noxiae futurum fraudiue; nam Romanorum amicitiam se non uiolaturum argumento et suam recentem ad eos legationem esse et senatus

honorifica in se decreta responsaque. tum forte legati redierant ab Roma comiter auditi dimissique, ut tempus postulabat, incerto adhuc aduersus Philippum euentu belli. cum haec legati regis in contione Rhodiorum agerent, nuntius uenit debellatum ad Cynoscephalas esse. hoc nuntio accepto Rhodii dempto metu a Philippo omiserunt consilium obuiam eundi classe Antiocho: illam alteram curam non omiserunt tuendae libertatis ciuitatum sociarum Ptolomaei quibus bellum ab Antiocho imminebat. nam alias auxiliis iuuerunt, alias prouidendo ac praemonendo conatus hostis, causaque libertatis fuerunt Cauniis Myndiis Halicarnassenibus Samiisque. non operae est persequi ut quaeque acta in his locis sint, cum ad ea quae propria Romani belli sunt uix sufficiam.

[21] Eodem tempore Attalus rex aeger ab Thebis Pergamum aduectus moritur altero et septuagesimo anno, cum quattuor et quadraginta annos regnasset. huic uiro praeter diuitias nihil ad spem regni fortuna dederat. iis simul prudenter, simul magnifice utendo effecit primum ut sibi deinde ut aliis non indignus uideretur regno. uictis deinde proelio uno Gallis, quae tum gens recenti aduentu terribilior Asiae erat, regium adsciuit nomen, cuius magnitudini semper animum aequauit. summa iustitia suos rexit, unicam fidem sociis praestitit, comis uxori ac liberis — quattuor superstites habuit — , mitis ac munificus amicis fuit; regnum adeo stabile ac firmum reliquit ut ad tertiam stirpem possessio eius descenderit.

Cum hic status rerum in Asia Graeciaque et Macedonia esset, uixdum terminato cum Philippo bello, pace certe nondum perpetrata, ingens in Hispania ulteriore coortum est bellum. M. Heluius eam prouinciam obtinebat. is litteris senatum certiore fecit Culcham et Luxinium regulos in armis esse: cum Culcha decem et septem oppida, cum Luxinio ualidas urbes Carmonem et Bardonem; in maritima ora Malacinos Sexetanosque <et> Baeturiam omnem et quae nondum animos nudauerant ad finitimorum motus consurrectura. his litteris a M. Sergio praetore, cuius iurisdictio inter ciues et peregrinos erat, recitatis decreuerunt patres ut comitiis praetorum perfectis, cui praetori prouincia Hispania obuenisset, is primo quoque tempore de bello Hispaniae ad senatum referret.

[22] Sub idem tempus consules Romam uenerunt; quibus in aede Bellonae senatum habentibusulantibusque triumphum ob res

prosperè bello gestas C. Atinius Labeo et C. Afranius tribuni plebis ut separatim de triumpho agerent consules postularunt: communem se relationem de ea re fieri non passuros, ne par honos in dispari merito esset. cum Q. Minucius utrique Italiam prouinciam obtigisse diceret, communi animo consilioque se et collegam res gessisse, et C. Cornelius adiceret Boios aduersus se transgredientes Padum ut Insubribus Cenomanisque auxilio essent depopulante uicos eorum atque agros collega ad sua tuenda auersos esse, tribuni res tantas bello gessisse C. Cornelium fateri ut non magis de triumpho eius quam de honore diis immortalibus habendo dubitari possit: non tamen nec illum nec quemquam alium ciuem tantum gratia atque opibus ualuisse ut, cum sibi meritum triumphum impetrasset, collegae eundem honorem immeritum impudenter petenti daret. Q. Minucium in Liguribus leuia proelia uix digna dictu fecisse, in Gallia magnum numerum militum amisisse; nominabant etiam tribunos militum T. Iuuentium Cn. Ligurium legionis quartae: aduersa pugna cum multis aliis uiris fortibus, ciuibus ac sociis, cecidisse. oppidorum paucorum ac uicorum falsas et in tempus simulatas sine ullo pignore deditiones factas esse. hae inter consules tribunosque altercationes biduum tenuerunt uictique perseuerantia tribunorum consules separatim rettulerunt.

[23] C. Cornelio omnium consensu decretus triumphus; et Placentini Cremonensesque addiderunt fauorem consuli, gratias agentes commemorantesque obsidione sese ab eo liberatos, plerique etiam, cum apud hostes essent, seruitute exemptos. Q. Minucius temptata tantum relatione, cum aduersum omnem senatum uideret, in monte Albano se triumphaturum et iure imperii consularis et multorum clarorum uirorum exemplo dixit. C. Cornelius de Insubribus Cenomanisque in magistratu triumphauit. multa signa militaria tulit, multa Gallica spolia captiuis carpentis transuexit, multi nobiles Galli ante currum ducti, inter quos quidam Hamilcarem ducem Poenorum fuisse auctores sunt; ceterum magis in se conuertit oculos Cremonensium Placentinorumque colonorum turba, pilleatorum currum sequentium. aeris tulit in triumpho ducenta triginta septem milia quingentos, argenti bigati undecoginta milia; septuageni aeris militibus diuisi, duplex equiti centurionique. Q. Minucius consul de Liguribus Boisque Gallis in monte Albano

triumphauit. is triumphus ut loco et fama rerum gestarum et quod sumptum non erogatum ex aerario omnes sciebant inhonoratior fuit, ita signis carpentisque et spoliis ferme aequabat. pecuniae etiam prope par summa fuit: aeris tralata ducenta quinquaginta quattuor milia, argenti bigati quinquaginta tria milia et ducenti; militibus centurionibusque et equitibus idem in singulos datum quod dederat collega.

[24] Secundum triumphum consularia comitia habita. creati consules L. Furius Purpurio et M. Claudius Marcellus. praetores postero die facti Q. Fabius Buteo Ti. Sempronius Longus Q. Minucius Thermus M'. Acilius Glabrio L. Apustius Fullo C. Laelius.

Exitu ferme anni litterae a T. Quinctio uenerunt se signis conlatis cum rege Philippo in Thessalia pugnasse, hostium exercitum fustum fugatumque. hae litterae prius in senatu a <M.> Sergio praetore, deinde ex auctoritate patrum in contione sunt recitatae, et ob res prospere gestas in dies quinque supplicationes decretae. breui post legati et ab T. Quinctio et ab rege Philippo uenerunt. Macedones deducti extra urbem in uillam publicam ibique iis locus et lautia praebita et ad aedem Bellonae senatus datus. ibi haud multa uerba facta, cum Macedones quodcumque senatus censuisset id regem facturum esse dicerent. decem legati more maiorum, quorum ex consilio T. Quinctius imperator leges pacis Philippo daret, decreti adiectumque ut in eo numero legatorum P. Sulpicius et P. Uillius essent, qui consules prouinciam Macedoniam obtinuissent.

Cosanis eo tem<pore> postulantibus ut sibi colonorum numerus augeretur mille adscribi iussi, dum ne quis in eo numero esset qui post P. Cornelium et Ti. Sempronium consules hostis fuisset.

[25] ludi Romani eo anno in circo scaenaeque ab aedilibus curulibus P. Cornelio Scipione et Cn. Manlio Uolsone et magnificentius quam alias facti et laetius propter res bello bene gestas spectati totique ter instaurati. plebei septiens instaurati; M'. Acilius Glabrio et C. Laelius eos ludos fecerunt, et de argento multaticio tria signa aenea, Cererem Liberumque et Liberam, posuerunt.

L. Furius et M. Claudius Marcellus consulatu inito, cum de prouinciis ageretur et Italiam utrique prouinciam senatus decerneret, ut Macedoniam cum Italia sortirentur tendebant. Marcellus, prouinciae cupidior, pacem simulatam ac fallacem dicendo et

rebellaturum si exercitus inde deportatus esset regem, dubios sententiae patres fecerat; et forsitan obtinuisset consul, ni Q. Marcius Ralla et C. Atinius Labeo tribuni plebis se intercessuros dixissent ni prius ipsi ad plebem tulissent uellent iuberentne cum rege Philippo pacem esse. ea rogatio in Capitolio ad plebem lata est: omnes quinque et triginta tribus ‘uti rogas’ iusserunt. et quo magis pacem ratam esse in Macedonia uolgo laetarentur, tristis ex Hispania allatus nuntius effecit uolgataeque litterae C. Sempronium Tuditanum proconsulem in citeriore Hispania proelio uictum, exercitum eius fusum fugatum, multos inlustres uiros in acie cecidisse, Tuditanum cum graui uolnere relatum ex proelio haud ita multo post exspirasse. consulibus ambobus Italia prouincia cum iis legionibus quas superiores consules habuissent decreta et ut quattuor legiones nouas scriberent, duas urbanas, duas quae quo senatus censuisset mitterentur; et T. Quinctius Flamininus [cum duabus legionibus] prouinciam eodem exercitu obtinere iussus: imperium ei prorogatum satis iam ante uideri esse.

[26] Praetores deinde prouincias sortiti, L. Apustius Fullo urbanam iurisdictionem, M'. Acilius Glabrio inter ciues et peregrinos, Q. Fabius Buteo Hispaniam ulteriorem, Q. Minucius Thermus citeriorem, C. Laelius Siciliam, Ti. Sempronius Longus Sardiniam. Q. Fabio Buteoni et Q. Minucio, quibus Hispaniae prouinciae euenerant, consules legiones singulas ex quattuor ab se scriptis quas uideretur ut darent decretum est et socium ac Latini nominis quaterna milia peditum, trecenos equites; iique primo quoque tempore in prouincias ire iussi. bellum in Hispania quinto post anno motum est quam simul cum Punico bello fuerat finitum. priusquam aut hi praetores ad bellum prope nouum, quia tum primum suo nomine sine ullo Punico exercitu aut duce ad arma ierant, proficiscerentur aut ipsi consules ab urbe mouerent, procurare, ut adsolet, prodigia quae nuntiabantur iussi. P. Uillius eques Romanus in Sabinos proficiscens fulmine ipse equusque exanimati fuerant; aedis Feroniae in Capenati de caelo tacta erat; ad Monetae duarum hastarum spicula arserant; lupus Esquilina porta ingressus, frequentissima parte urbis cum in forum decurrisset, Tusco uico atque inde Cermalo per portam Capenam prope intactus euaserat. haec prodigia maioribus hostiis sunt procurata.

[27] Isdem diebus Cn. Cornelius Blasio, qui ante C. Sempronium Tuditanum citeriorem Hispaniam obtinuerat, ouans ex senatus consulto urbem est ingressus. tulit prae se auri mille et quingenta quindecim pondo, argenti uiginti milia, signati denarium triginta quattuor milia et quingentos. L. Stertinus ex ulteriore Hispania, ne temptata quidem triumphi spe, quinquaginta milia pondo argenti in aerarium intulit, et de manubiis duos fornices in foro bouario ante Fortunae aedem et matris Matutae, unum in maximo circo fecit et his fornicibus signa aurata imposuit. haec per hiemem ferme acta. hibernabat eo tempore Elatiae T. Quinctius, a quo cum multa socii peterent, Boeoti petierunt impetraueruntque ut qui suae gentis militassent apud Philippum sibi restituerentur. id a Quinctio facile impetratum, non quia satis dignos eos credebat, sed quia Antiocho rege iam suspecto fauor conciliandus nomini Romano apud ciuitates erat. restitutis iis confestim apparuit quam nulla inita apud Boeotos gratia esset; nam ad Philippum legatos gratias agentes ei pro redditis hominibus, perinde atque ipsis et non Quinctio et Romanis id datum esset, miserunt et comitiis proximis Boeotarchen ob nullam aliam causam Brachyllem quendam quam quod praefectus Boeotorum apud regem militantium fuisset fecerunt, praeteritis Zeuxippo et Pisistrato aliisque qui Romanae societatis auctores fuerant. id aegre et in praesentia hi passi et in futurum etiam metum ceperunt: cum ad portas prope sedente exercitu Romano ea fierent, quidnam se futurum esse profectis in Italiam Romanis, Philippo ex propinquo socios adiuvante et infesto iis qui partis aduersae fuissent?

[28] Dum Romana arma in propinquo haberent, tollere Brachyllem principem fautorum regis statuerunt. et tempore ad eam rem capto, cum in publico epulatus reuerteretur domum temulentus prosequentibus mollibus uiris qui ioci causa conuiuio celebri interfuerant, ab sex armatis, quorum tres Italici, tres Aetoli erant, circumuentus occiditur. fuga comitum et quiritatio facta et tumultus per totam urbem discurrentium cum luminibus; percussores proxima porta euaserunt. luce prima contio frequens uelut ex ante indicto aut uoce praeconis conuocata in theatro erat. palam ab suo comitatu et obscenis illis uiris fremebant interfectum, animis autem Zeuxippum auctorem destinabant caedis. in praesentia placuit comprehendere eos qui simul fuissent quaestionemque ex iis haberi. qui dum quaeruntur,

Zeuxippus constanti animo auertendi ab se criminis causa in contionem progressus errare ait homines qui tam atrocem caedem pertinere ad illos semiuiros crederent, multaque in eam partem probabiliter argumentatur; quibus fidem apud quosdam fecit nunquam, si sibi conscius esset, oblaturum se multitudini mentionemue eius caedis nullo lacessente facturum fuisse; alii non dubitare impudenter obuiam crimini eundo suspicionem auerti. torti post paulo insontes, cum scirent ipsi nihil, opinione omnium pro indicio Zeuxippum et Pisistratum nominauerunt nullo adiecto cur scire quicquam uiderentur argumento. Zeuxippus tamen cum Stratonida quodam nocte perfugit Tanagram, suam magis conscientiam quam indicium hominum nullius rei consciorum metuens; Pisistratus spretis indicibus Thebis mansit. seruus erat Zeuxippi, totius internuntius et minister rei, quem indicem Pisistratus timens eo ipso timore ad indicium protraxit. litteras ad Zeuxippum mittit ut seruum conscium tolleret: non tam idoneum ad celandam rem eum uideri sibi quam ad agendam fuerit. has qui tulerat litteras iussus Zeuxippo dare quam primum, quia non statim conueniendi eius copia fuit, illi ipsi seruo, quem ex omnibus domino fidissimum credebat, tradit et adicit a Pisistrato de re magno opere pertinente ad Zeuxippum esse. conscientia ictus, cum extemplo traditurum eas adfirmasset, aperit perlectisque litteris pauidus Thebas refugit et ad magistratus indicium defert. et Zeuxippus quidem fuga serui motus Anthedonem, tutiorem exilio locum ratus, concessit; de Pisistrato aliisque quaestiones tormentis habitae et sumptum supplicium est.

[29] Efferauit ea caedes Thebanos Boeotosque omnes ad execrabile odium Romanorum, credentes non sine consilio imperatoris Romani Zeuxippum principem gentis id facinus conscisse. ad rebellandum neque uires neque ducem habebant: proximum bello quod erat, in latrocinium uersi alios in hospitibus, alios uagos per hiberna milites ad uarios commeantes usus excipiebant. quidam in ipsis itineribus ad notas latebras ab insidiantibus, pars in deserta per fraudem deuersoria deducti opprimebantur; postremo non tantum ab odio sed etiam auuiditate praedae ea facinora fiebant, quia negotiandi ferme causa argentum in zonis habentes in commeatibus erant. cum primo pauci, deinde in dies plures desiderarentur, infamis esse Boeotia omnis coepit et

timidius quam in hostico egredi castris miles. tum Quinctius legatos ad quaerendum de latrociniis per ciuitates mittit. plurimae caedes circa Copaidem paludem inuentae: ibi ex limo eruta extractaque ex stagno cadauera saxi aut amphoris, ut pondere traherentur in profundum, adnexa; multa facinora Acraephae et Coroneae facta inueniebantur. Quinctius primo noxios tradi sibi iussit et pro quingentis militibus — tot enim interempti erant — quingenta talenta Boeotos conferre. quorum cum fieret neutrum, uerbis tantum ciuitates excusarent nihil publico consilio factum esse, missis Athenas et in Achaia legatis qui testarentur socios iusto pioque se bello persecuturum Boeotos, et cum parte copiarum Ap. Claudio Acraephiam ire iusso, ipse cum parte Coroneam circumsidit uastatis prius agris qua ab Elatia duo diuersa agmina iere. hac perculsi clade Boeoti, cum omnia terrore ac fuga completa essent, legatos mittunt. qui cum in castra non admitterentur, Achaei Atheniensesque superuenerunt; plus auctoritatis Achaei habuerunt deprecantes, quia ni impetrassent pacem Boeotis bellum simul gerere decreuerant. per Achaeos et Boeotis copia adeundi adloquendique Romanum facta est iussisque tradere noxios et multae nomine triginta conferre talenta pax data et ab oppugnatione recessum.

[30] Paucos post dies decem legati ab Roma uenerunt, quorum ex consilio pax data Philippo in has leges est, ut omnes Graecorum ciuitates quae in Europa quaeque in Asia essent libertatem ac suas haberent leges: quae earum sub dicione Philippi fuissent, praesidia ex iis Philippus deduceret uacuasque traderet, Romanis ante Isthmiorum tempus; deduceret et ex iis quae in Asia essent, Euromo Pedasisque et Bargyliis et Iaso et Myrina et Abydo et Thaso et Perintho: eas quoque enim placere liberas esse; de Cianorum libertate Quinctium Prusiae Bithynorum regi scribere quid senatui et decem legatis placuisset; captiuos transfugasque reddere Philippum Romanis et naues omnes tectas tradere praeter quinque et regiam unam inhabilis prope magnitudinis, quam sedecim uersus remorum agebant; ne plus quinque milia armatorum haberet neue elephantum ullum; bellum extra Macedoniae fines ne iniussu senatus gereret; mille talentum daret populo Romano, dimidium praesens, dimidium pensionibus decem annorum. Ualerius Antias quaternum milium pondo argenti uectigal in decem annos impositum regi tradit; Claudius in annos

triginta quaterna milia pondo et ducena, <in> praesens uiginti milia pondo. idem nominatim adiectum scribit ne cum Eumene Attali filio — nouus is tum rex erat — bellum gereret. in haec obsides accepti, inter quos Demetrius Philippi filius. adicit Antias Ualerius Attalo absenti Aeginam insulam elephantosque dono datos et Rhodiis Stratoniceam Cariaeque alias urbes quas Philippus tenuisset; Atheniensibus insulas datas Lemnum Imbrum Delum Scyrum.

[31] Omnibus Graeciae ciuitatibus hanc pacem adprobantibus soli Aetoli decretum decem legatorum clam mussantes carpebant: litteras inanes uana specie libertatis adumbratas esse. cur enim alias Romanis tradi urbes nec nominari eas, alias nominari et sine traditione liberarum iuberi esse, nisi quod quae in Asia sint liberentur, longinquitate ipsa tutiores, quae in Graecia sint, ne nominatae quidem intercipientur, Corinthus et Chalcis et Oreus cum Eretria et Demetriade? nec tota ex uano criminatio erat. dubitabatur enim de Corintho et Chalcide et Demetriade, quia in senatus consulto, quo missi decem legati ab urbe erant, ceterae Graeciae atque Asiae urbes haud dubie liberabantur, de iis tribus urbibus legati quod tempora rei publicae postulassent id e re publica fideque sua facere ac statuere iussi erant. Antiochus rex erat, quem transgressurum in Europam cum primum ei uires suae satis placuissent non dubitabant: ei tam opportunas ad occupandum patere urbes nolebant. ab Elatia profectus Quinctius Anticyram cum decem legatis, inde Corinthum traiecit. ibi consilia de libertate Graeciae dies prope totos in concilio decem legatorum agitabantur: identidem Quinctius liberandam omnem Graeciam, si Aetolorum linguas retundere, si ueram caritatem ac maiestatem apud omnes nominis Romani uellent esse, si fidem facere ad liberandam Graeciam, non ad transferendum a Philippo ad se imperium sese mare traiecisse. nihil contra ea de libertate urbium alii dicebant: ceterum ipsis tutius esse manere paulisper sub tutela praesidii Romani quam pro Philippo Antiochum dominum accipere. postremo ita decretum est: Corinthus redderetur Achaeis ut in Acrocorintho tamen praesidium esset; Chalcidem ac Demetriadem retineri donec cura de Antiocho decessisset.

[32] Isthmiorum statum ludicrum aderat, semper quidem et alias frequens cum propter spectaculi studium insitum genti, quo certamina omnis generis artium uirumque et pernicitatis uisuntur,

tum quia propter opportunitatem loci per duo diuersa maria omnium rerum usus ministrantis humano generi, concilium Asiae Graeciaeque is mercatus erat. tum uero non ad solitos modo usus undique conuenerant sed expectatione erecti qui deinde status futurus Graeciae, quae sua fortuna esset. alii alia non taciti solum opinabantur sed sermonibus etiam ferebant Romanos facturos: uix cuiquam persuadebatur Graecia omni cessuros. ad spectaculum consederant, et praeco cum tubicine, ut mos est, in mediam aream, unde sollempni carmine ludicrum indici solet, processit et tuba silentio facto ita pronuntiat: ‘senatus Romanus et T. Quinctius imperator Philippo rege Macedonibusque deuictis liberos, immunes, suis legibus esse iubet Corinthios, Phocenses, Locrensesque omnes et insulam Euboeam et Magnetas, Thessalos, Perrhaebos, Achaeos Phthiotas’. percensuerat omnes gentes quae sub ditione Philippi regis fuerant. audita uoce praeconis maius gaudium fuit quam quod uniuersum homines acciperent: uix satis credere se quisque audisse et alii alios intueri, mirabundi uelut ad somni uanam speciem; quod ad quemque pertinebat, suarum aurium fidei minimum credentes, proximos interrogabant. reuocatus praeco, cum unusquisque non audire modo sed uidere libertatis suae nuntium aueret, iterum pronuntiauit eadem. tum ab certo iam gaudio tantus cum clamore plausus est ortus totiensque repetitus ut facile appareret nihil omnium bonorum multitudini gratius quam libertatem esse. ludicrum deinde ita raptim peractum est ut nullius nec animi nec oculi spectaculo intenti essent: adeo unum gaudium praeoccupauerat omnium aliarum sensum uoluptatum.

[33] Ludis uero dimissis cursu prope omnes tendere ad imperatorem Romanum, ut ruente turba in unum adire contingere dextram cupientium, coronas lemniscosque iacientium haud procul periculo fuerit. sed erat trium ferme et triginta annorum, et cum robur iuuentae tum gaudium ex tam insigni gloriae fructu uires suppeditabat. nec praesens tantummodo effusa est laetitia, sed per multos dies gratis et cogitationibus et sermonibus renouata: esse aliquam in terris gentem quae sua impensa, suo labore ac periculo bella gerat pro libertate aliorum, nec hoc finitimis aut propinquae uicinitatis hominibus aut terris continentibus iunctis praestet, sed maria traiciat, ne quod toto orbe terrarum iniustum imperium sit,

ubique ius fas lex potentissima sint; una uoce praeconis liberatas omnes Graeciae atque Asiae urbes: hoc spe concipere audacis animi fuisse, ad effectum adducere et uirtutis et fortunae ingentis.

[34] Secundum Isthmia Quintius et decem legati legationes regum gentium ciuitatumque audiuerunt. primi omnium regis Antiochi uocati legati sunt. iis eadem fere quae Romae egerant uerba sine fide rerum iactantibus nihil iam perplexe ut ante, cum dubiae res incolumi Philippo erant, sed aperte denuntiatum ut excederet Asiae urbibus quae Philippi aut Ptolomaei regum fuissent, abstinere liberis ciuitatibus, neu quam laceraret armis: et in pace et in libertate esse debere omnes ubique Graecas urbes; ante omnia denuntiatum ne in Europam aut ipse transiret aut copias traiceret. dimissis regis legatis conuentus ciuitatum gentiumque est haberi coeptus, eoque maturius peragebatur quod decreta decem legatorum <in> ciuitates nominatim pronuntiabantur. Orestis — Macedonum ea gens est — quod primi ab rege defecissent, suae leges redditae. Magnetes et Perrhaebi et Dolopes liberi quoque pronuntiati. Thessalorum genti praeter libertatem concessam Achaei Phthiotae dati, Thebis Phthioticis et Pharsalo excepta. Aetolos de Pharsalo et Leucade postulantes ut ex foedere sibi restituerentur ad senatum reiecerunt; Phocenses Locrensesque, sicut ante fuerant, adiecta decreti auctoritate iis contribuerunt. Corinthus et Triphylia et Heraea — Peloponnesi et ipsa urbs est — redditae Achaeis. Oreum et Eretriam decem legati Eumeni regi, Attali filio, dabant dissentiente Quintio: ea una res in arbitrium senatus reiecta est; senatus libertatem iis ciuitatibus dedit Carysto adiecta. Pleurato Lychnidus et Parthini dati: Illyriorum utraque gens sub dicione Philippi fuerant. Amyndrum tenere iusserunt castella quae per belli tempus Philippo capta ademisset.

[35] Dimisso conuentu decem legati, partiti munia inter se, ad liberandas suae quisque regionis ciuitates discesserunt, P. Lentulus Baryllas, L. Stertinius Hephaestiam et Thasum et Thraeciae urbes, P. Uillius et L. Terentius ad regem Antiochum, Cn. Cornelius ad Philippum. qui de minoribus rebus editis mandatis percunctatus si consilium non utile solum sed etiam salutare admittere auribus posset, cum rex gratias quoque se acturum diceret si quid quod in rem suam esset expromeret, magno opere ei suasit, quoniam pacem impetrasset, ad societatem amicitiamque petendam mitteret Romam

legatos ne, si quid Antiochus moueret, expectasse et temporum opportunitates captasse ad rebellandum uideri posset. ad Tempe Thessalica Philippus est conuentus. qui cum se missurum extemplo legatos respondisset, Cornelius Thermopylas, ubi frequens Graeciae statis diebus esse solet conuentus — Pylaicum appellant — , uenit: Aetolos praecipue monuit ut constanter et fideliter in amicitia populi Romani permanerent. Aetolorum principes alii leniter questi sunt quod non idem erga suam gentem Romanorum animus esset post uictoriam qui in bello fuisset; alii ferocius incusarunt exprobraruntque non modo uinci sine Aetolis Philippum sed ne transire quidem in Graeciam Romanos potuisse. aduersus ea respondere, ne in altercationem excederet res, cum supersedisset Romanus, omnia eos aequa impetraturos si Romam misissent dixit. itaque ex auctoritate eius decreti legati sunt. hunc finem bellum cum Philippo habuit.

[36] Cum haec in Graecia Macedoniae et Asia gererentur, Etruriam infestam prope coniuratio seruorum fecit. ad quaerendam opprimendamque eam M'. Acilius Glabrio praetor, cui inter ciues peregrinosque iurisdictio obtigerat, cum una ex duabus legione urbana est missus. alios <uagos ~comprehendit, alios> iam congregatos pugnando uicit: ex his multi occisi, multi capti; alios uerberatos crucibus adfixit, qui principes coniurationis fuerant, alios dominis restituit. consules in prouincias profecti sunt. Marcellum Boiorum ingressum fines, fatigato per diem totum milite uia facienda, castra in tumulo quodam ponentem Corolamus quidam, regulus Boiorum, cum magna manu adortus ad tria milia hominum occidit; et inlustres uiri aliquot in illo tumultuario proelio ceciderunt, inter quos praefecti socium T<i>. Sempronius Gracchus et M. Iunius Silanus et tribuni militum de legione secunda M. Ogulnius et P. Claudius. castra tamen ab Romanis impigre permunita retentaque, cum hostes prospera pugna elati nequiquam oppugnassent. statuiis deinde iisdem per dies aliquot sese tenuit, dum et saucios curaret et <a> tanto terrore animos militum reficeret. Boi, ut est gens minime ad morae taedium ferendum patiens, in castella sua uicosque passim dilapsi sunt. Marcellus Pado confestim traiecto in agrum Comensem, ubi Insubres Comensibus ad arma excitis castra habebant, legiones ducit. Galli, feroces Boiorum ante dies paucos pugna, in ipso itinere

proelium committunt; et primo adeo acriter inuaserunt ut antesignanos impulerint. quod ubi Marcellus animaduertit, ueritus ne moti semel pellerentur, cohortem Marsorum cum opposuisset, equitum Latinorum omnes turmas in hostem emisit. quorum cum primus secundusque impetus rettudisset inferentem se ferociter hostem, confirmata et reliqua acies Romana restitit primo, deinde signa acriter intulit; nec ultra sustinuerunt certamen Galli quin terga uerterent atque effuse fugerent. in eo proelio supra quadraginta milia hominum caesa Ualerius Antias scribit, octoginta septem signa militaria capta, et carpenta septingenta triginta duo et aureos torques multos, ex quibus unum magni ponderis Claudius in Capitolio Ioui donum in aede positum scribit. castra eo die Gallorum expugnata direptaque et Comum oppidum post dies paucos captum; castella inde duodetriginta ad consulem defecerunt. id quoque inter scriptores ambigitur utrum in Boios prius an Insubres consul exercitum duxerit aduersamque prospera pugna oblitterauerit an uictoria ad Comum parta deformata clade in Bois accepta sit.

[37] Sub haec tam uaria fortuna gesta L. Furius Purpurio alter consul per tribum Sapiniam in Boios uenit. iam castro Mutilo adpropinquabat, cum ueritus ne intercluderetur simul a Bois Liguribusque exercitum eadem uia qua adduxerat reduxit et magno circuitu per aperta eoque tuta loca ad collegam peruenit. inde iunctis exercitibus primum Boiorum agrum usque ad Felsinam oppidum populates peragrauerunt. ea urbs ceteraque circa castella et Boi fere omnes praeter iuuentutem, quae praedandi causa in armis erat — tunc in deuias siluas recesserat — , in deditionem uenerunt. in Ligures inde traductus exercitus. Boi neglegentius coactum agmen Romanorum, quia ipsi procul abesse uiderentur, improviso adgressuros se rati per occultos saltus secuti sunt. quos non adepti, Pado repente nauibus traiecto Laeuos Libuosque cum peruastassent, redeuntes inde per Ligurum extremos fines cum agresti praeda in agmen incidunt Romanum. proelium celerius acriusque commissum quam si tempore locoque ad certamen destinato praeparatis animis concurrissent. ibi quantam uim ad stimulandos animos ira haberet apparuit; nam ita caedis magis quam uictoriae audi pugarunt Romani ut uix nuntium cladis hosti relinquerent. ob has res gestas consulum litteris Romam allatis supplicatio in triduum decreta est.

breui post Marcellus consul Romam uenit triumphusque ei magno consensu patrum est decretus. triumphauit in magistratu de Insubribus Comensibusque; Boiorum triumphum spem collegae reliquit, quia ipsi proprie aduersa pugna in ea gente euenerat, cum collega secunda. multa spolia hostium captiuis carpentis traucta, multa militaria signa; aeris lata trecenta uiginti milia, argenti bigati ducenta triginta quattuor milia; in pedites singulos dati octogeni aeris, triplex equiti centurionique.

[38] Eodem anno Antiochus rex, cum hibernasset Ephesi, omnes Asiae ciuitates in antiquam imperii formulam redigere est conatus. et ceteras quidem, aut quia locis planis positae erant aut quia parum moenibus armisque ac iuuentuti fidebant, haud difficulter uidebat iugum accepturas: Zmyrna et Lampsacus libertatem usurpabant, periculumque erat ne, si concessum iis foret quod intenderent, Zmyrnam in Aeolide Ioniaque, Lampsacum in Hellesponto aliae urbes sequerentur. igitur et ipse ab Epheso ad Zmyrnam obsidendam misit et quae Abydi copiae erant praesidio tantum modico relicto duci ad Lampsacum oppugnandam iussit. nec ui tantum terrebat, sed per legatos leniter adloquendo castigandoque temeritatem ac pertinaciam spem conabatur facere breui quod peterent habituros, sed cum satis et ipsis et omnibus aliis appareret ab rege impetratam eos libertatem, non per occasionem raptam habere. aduersus quae respondebatur nihil neque mirari neque suscensere Antiochum debere, si spem libertatis differri non satis aequo animo paterentur.

Ipse initio ueris nauibus ab Epheso profectus Hellespontum petit, terrestres copias traici ab Abydo Chersonesum iussit. cum ad Madytum Chersonesi urbem terrestri naualem exercitum iunxisset, quia clauserant portas, circumdedit moenia armatis; et iam opera admouenti deditio facta est. idem metus Sestum incolentes aliasque Chersonesi urbes in deditionem dedit. Lysimachiam inde omnibus simul naualibus terrestribus copiis uenit. quam cum desertam ac stratum prope omnem ruinis inuenisset — ceperant autem direptamque incenderant Thraces paucis ante annis — cupido eum restituendi nobilem urbem et loco sitam opportuno cepit. itaque omni cura simul est adgressus et tecta muros restituere et partim redimere seruiantes Lysimachenses, partim fuga sparsos per Hellespontum Chersonesumque conquirere et contrahere, partim nouos colonos spe

commodorum proposita adscribere et omni modo frequentare; simul, ut Thracum submoueretur metus, ipse parte dimidia terrestrium copiarum ad depopulanda proxima Thraciae est profectus, partem naualesque omnes socios reliquit in operibus reficiendae urbis.

[39] Sub hoc tempus et L. Cornelius, missus ab senatu ad dirimenda inter Antiochum Ptolomaeumque reges certamina, Selymbriae substitit et decem legatorum P. Lentulus a Bargyllis, P. Uillius et L. Terentius ab Thaso Lysimachiam petierunt. eodem et ab Selymbria L. Cornelius et ex Thracia paucos post dies Antiochus conuenerunt. primus congressus cum legatis et deinceps inuitatio benigna et hospitalis fuit; ut de mandatis statuque praesenti Asiae agi coeptum est, animi exasperati sunt. Romani omnia acta eius ex quo tempore ab Syria classem soluisset displicere senatui non dissimulabant restituique et Ptolomaeo omnes ciuitates quae dicionis eius fuissent aequum censebant: nam quod ad eas ciuitates attineret quas a Philippo possessas Antiochus per occasionem auerso Philippo in Romanum bellum intercepisset, id uero ferendum non esse Romanos per tot annos terra marique tanta pericula ac labores exhausisse, Antiochum belli praemia habere. sed ut in Asiam aduentus eius dissimulari ab Romanis tamquam nihil ad eos pertinens potuerit, quid? quod iam etiam in Europam omnibus naualibus terrestribusque copiis transierit, quantum a bello aperte Romanis indicto abesse? illum quidem, etiam si in Italiam traiciat, negaturum; Romanos autem non expectaturos ut id posset facere.

[40] Aduersus ea Antiochus mirari se dixit Romanos tam diligenter inquirere quid regi Antiocho faciundum aut quousque terra marique progrediundum fuerit, ipsos non cogitare Asiam nihil ad se pertinere nec magis illis inquirendum esse quid Antiochus in Asia quam Antiocho quid in Italia populus Romanus faciat. quod ad Ptolomaeum attineat, cui ademptas ciuitates querantur, sibi cum Ptolomaeo et amicitiam esse et id agere ut breui etiam adfinitas iungatur. ne ex Philippi quidem aduersa fortuna spolia ulla se petisse aut aduersus Romanos in Europam traiecisse, sed qua Lysimachi quondam regnum fuerit, quo uicto omnia quae illius fuissent iure belli Seleuci facta sint, existimare suae dicionis esse. occupatis maioribus suis rerum aliarum cura primo quaedam ex iis Ptolomaeum, inde et Philippum usurpandae alienae possessionis

causa tenuisse. Chersonesus quidem et proxima Thraciae quae circa Lysimachiam sint, quem dubitare quin Lysimachi fuerint? ad ea recipienda in antiquum ius uenisse et Lysimachiam deletam Thracum impetu de integro condere, ut Seleucus filius eam sedem regni habeat.

[41] His discepcionibus per dies aliquot habitis rumor sine ullo satis certo auctore allatus de morte Ptolomaei regis ut nullus exitus imponeretur sermonibus effecit. nam et dissimulabat pars utraque se audisse et L. Cornelius, cui legatio ad duos reges Antiochum Ptolomaeumque mandata erat, spatium modici temporis ad conueniendum Ptolomaeum petebat, ut priusquam moueretur aliquid in noua possessione regni praeueniret in Aegyptum, et Antiochus suam fore Aegyptum, si tum occupasset, censebat. itaque dimissis Romanis relictoque Seleuco filio cum terrestribus copiis ad restituendam ut instituerat Lysimachiam, ipse omni classe nauigat Ephesum, legatis ad Quinctium missis qui ad fidem faciendam nihil nouaturum regem de societate agerent. oram Asiae legens peruenit in Lyciam, Patarisque cognito uiuere Ptolomaeum nauigandi quidem in Aegyptum omissum consilium est. Cyprum nihilo minus petens, cum Chelidoniatarum promunturium superasset, paulisper seditione remigum est retentus in Pamphylia circa Eurymedontem amnem. inde profectum eum ad capita quae uocant Sari fluminis foeda tempestas adorta prope cum omni classe demersit: multae fractae, multae naues eiectae, multae ita haustae mari ut nemo in terram enarit. magna uis hominum ibi interiit, non remigum modo militumque ignotae turbae sed etiam insignium regis amicorum. conlectis reliquiis naufragii, cum res non in eo essent ut Cyprum temptaret, minus opulento agmine quam profectus erat Seleuciam rediit. ibi subduci nauibus iussis — iam enim et hiems instabat — ipse in hiberna Antiochiam concessit. in hoc statu regum erant res.

[42] Romae eo primum anno tresuiri epulones facti C. Licinius Lucullus tribunus plebis, qui legem de creandis his tulerat, et P. Manlius et P. Porcius Laeca; iis triumuiris item ut pontificibus lege datum est togae praetextae habendae ius. sed magnum certamen cum omnibus sacerdotibus eo anno fuit quaestoribus urbanis Q. Fabio Labeoni et L. Aurelio. pecunia opus erat, quod ultimam pensionem pecuniae in bellum conlatae persolui placuerat priuatis. quaestores ab

auguribus pontificibusque quod stipendium per bellum non contulissent petebant. ab sacerdotibus tribuni plebis nequiquam appellati, omniumque annorum per quos non dederant exactum est. eodem anno duo mortui pontifices nouique in eorum locum suffecti, M. Marcellus consul in locum C. Semproni Tuditani, qui praetor in Hispania decesserat, et L. Ualerius Flaccus in locum M. Corneli Cethegi. et Q. Fabius Maximus augur mortuus est admodum adulescens, priusquam ullum magistratum caperet; nec eo anno augur in eius locum est suffectus.

Comitia inde consularia habita a M. Marcello consule. creati consules L. Ualerius Flaccus et M. Porcius Cato. praetores inde facti Cn. Manlius Uolso Ap. Claudius Nero P. Porcius Laeca C. Fabricius <Luscinus C. Atinius> Labeo P. Manlius. eo anno aediles curules M. Fuluius Nobilior et C. Flaminius tritici deciens centena milia binis aeris populo discripserunt. id C. Flamini honoris causa ipsius patrisque aduexerant Siculi Romam: Flaminius gratiam eius communicauerat cum collega. ludi Romani et apparati magnifice sunt et ter toti instaurati. aediles plebis Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus et C. Scribonius Curio [maximus] multos pecuarios ad populi iudicium adduxerunt: tres ex his condemnati sunt; ex eorum multatitia pecunia aedem in insula Fauni fecerunt. ludi plebei per biduum instaurati, et epulum fuit ludorum causa.

[43] L. Ualerius Flaccus et M. Porcius Cato consules idibus Martiis, quo die magistratum inierunt, de prouinciis cum ad senatum rettulissent, patres censuerunt, quoniam in Hispania tantum glisceret bellum ut iam consulari et duce et exercitu opus esset, placere consules Hispaniam citeriorem Italiamque prouincias aut comparare inter se aut sortiri: utri Hispania prouincia euenisset, eum duas legiones et quindecim milia socium Latini nominis et octingentos equites secum portare et naues longas uiginti ducere; alter consul duas scriberet legiones: iis Galliam obtineri prouinciam satis esse fractis proximo anno Insubrum Boiorumque animis. Cato Hispaniam, Ualerius Italiam est sortitus. praetores deinde prouincias sortiti, C. Fabricius Luscinus urbanam, C. Atinius Labeo peregrinam, Cn. Manlius Uolso Siciliam, Ap. Claudius Nero Hispaniam ulteriorem, P. Porcius Laeca Pisas, ut ab tergo Liguribus esset; P. Manlius in Hispaniam citeriorem adiutor consuli datus. T. Quinctio, suspectis

non solum Antiocho et Aetolis sed iam etiam Nabide Lacedaemoniorum tyranno, prorogatum in annum imperium est, duas legiones ut haberet: in eas si quid supplementi opus esset, consules scribere et mittere in Macedoniam iussi. Ap. Claudio praeter legionem quam Q. Fabius habuerat, duo milia <peditum> et ducentos equites nouos ut scriberet permissum. par numerus peditum equitumque nouorum et P. Manlio in citeriorem Hispaniam decretus et legio eadem quae fuerat sub Q. Minucio praetore data. et P. Porcio Laecae ad Etruriam circa Pisas decem milia peditum et quingenti equites ex Gallico exercitu decreti. in Sardinia prorogatum imperium Ti. Sempronio Longo.

[44] Prouinciis ita distributis consules, priusquam ab urbe proficiscerentur, uer sacrum ex decreto pontificum iussi facere, quod A. Cornelius Mammula praetor uouerat de senatus sententia populique iussu Cn. Seruilio C. Flaminio consulibus. annis post uno et uiginti factum est quam uotum. per eosdem dies C. Claudius Appi filius Pulcher augur in Q. Fabi Maximi locum, qui priore anno mortuus erat, lectus inauguratusque est.

Mirantibus iam uolgo hominibus quod Hispania mouisset bellum neglegi, litterae a Q. Minucio allatae sunt se ad Turdam oppidum cum Budare et Baesadine imperatoribus Hispanis signis conlatis prospere pugnasse: duodecim milia hostium caesa, Budarem imperatorem captum, ceteros fusos fugatosque. his litteris lectis minus terroris ab Hispanis erat, unde ingens bellum expectatum fuerat. omnes curae utique post aduentum decem legatorum in Antiochum regem conuersae. hi expositis prius quae cum Philippo acta essent et quibus legibus data pax, non minorem belli molem instare ab Antiocho docuerunt: ingenti classe, egregio terrestri exercitu in Europam eum traicisse et, nisi auertisset uana spes ex uaniorum rumore orta Aegypti inuadendae, mox bello Graeciam arsuram fuisse; neque enim ne Aetolos quidem quieturos, cum ingenio inquietam tum iratam Romanis gentem. haerere et aliud in uisceribus Graeciae ingens malum, Nabim, nunc Lacedaemoniorum, mox si liceat uniuersae Graeciae futurum tyrannum, auaritia et crudelitate omnes fama celebratos tyrannos aequantem; cui si Argos uelut arcem Peloponneso impositam tenere liceat, deportatis in Italiam Romanis exercitibus nequiquam liberatam a Philippo

Graeciam fore, pro rege si nihil aliud longinquo uicinum tyrannum dominum habituram.

[45] Haec cum ab tam grauibz auctoribus, tum qui omnia per se ipsos explorata adferrent, audirentur, maior res quod ad Antiochum attineret, maturanda magis, quoniam rex quacumque de causa in Syriam concessisset, de tyranno consultatio uisa est. cum diu disceptatum esset utrum satis iam causae uideretur cur decerneretur bellum, an permetterent T. Quinctio, quod ad Nabim Lacedaemonium attineret, faceret quod e re publica censeret esse, permiserunt, eam rem esse rati quae maturata dilataue non ita magni momenti ad summam rem publicam esset: magis id animaduertendum esse quid Hannibal et Carthaginienses, si cum Antiocho bellum motum foret, acturi essent.

Aduersae Hannibali factionis homines principibus Romanis, hospitibus quisque suis, identidem scribebant nuntios litterasque ab Hannibale ad Antiochum missas et ab rege ad eum clam legatos uenisse: ut feras quasdam nulla mitescere arte, sic imitem et implacabilem eius uiri animum esse; marcescere otii situ queri ciuitatem et inertia sopiri nec sine armorum sonitu excitari posse. haec probabilia memoria prioris belli per unum illum non magis gesti quam moti faciebat. irritauerat etiam recenti facto multorum potentium animos.

[46] Iudicum ordo Carthagine ea tempestate dominabatur, eo maxime quod iidem perpetui iudices erant. res fama uitaeque omnium in illorum potestate erat; qui unum eius ordinis offendisset omnes aduersos habebat, nec accusator apud infensos iudices deerat. horum in tam impotenti regno — neque enim ciuilitate nimis opibus utebantur — praetor factus Hannibal uocari ad se quaestorem iussit. quaestor id pro nihilo habuit; nam et aduersae factionis erat et, quia ex quaestura in iudices, potentissimum ordinem, referebatur, iam pro futuris mox opibus animos gerebat. enimvero indignum id ratus Hannibal uiatorem ad prendendum quaestorem misit subductumque in contionem non ipsum magis quam ordinem iudicum, prae quorum superbia atque opibus nec leges quicquam essent nec magistratus, accusauit. et ut secundis auribus accipi orationem animaduertit et infimorum quoque libertati grauem esse superbiam eorum, legem extemplo promulgauit pertulitque ut in singulos annos iudices

legerentur neu quis biennium continuum iudex esset. ceterum quantam eo facto ad plebem inierat gratiam, tantum magnae partis principum offenderat animos. adiecit et aliud quo bono publico sibi proprias simultates inritauit. uestigalia publica partim negligentia dilabebantur, partim praedae ac diuisui et principum quibusdam et magistratibus erant: quin et pecunia quae in stipendium Romanis suo quoque anno penderetur deerat tributumque graue priuatis imminere uidebatur.

[47] Hannibal postquam uestigalia quanta terrestria maritimaque essent et in quas res erogarentur animaduertit et quid eorum ordinarii rei publicae usus consumerent, quantum peculatus auerteret, omnibus residuis pecuniis exactis, tributo priuatis remisso satis locupletem rem publicam fore ad uestigal praestandum Romanis pronuntiauit in contione et praestitit promissum.

Tum uero ii quos pauerat per aliquot annos publicus peculatus, uelut bonis ereptis, non furtorum manubiis extortis infensi et irati Romanos in Hannibalem et ipsos causam odii quaerentes instigabant. ita diu repugnante P. Scipione Africano, qui parum ex dignitate populi Romani esse ducebat subscribere odiis accusatorum Hannibalis et factionibus Carthaginiensium inserere publicam auctoritatem nec satis habere bello uicisse Hannibalem nisi uelut accusatores calumniam in eum iurarent ac nomen deferrent, tandem peruicerunt ut legati Carthaginem mitterentur qui ad senatum eorum arguerent Hannibalem cum Antiocho rege consilia belli faciendi inire. legati tres missi, Cn. Seruilius M. Claudius Marcellus Q. Terentius Culleo. qui cum Carthaginem uenissent, ex consilio inimicorum Hannibalis quaerentibus causam aduentus dici iusserunt uenisse se ad controuersias quae cum Masinissa rege Numidarum Carthaginiensibus essent dirimendas. id creditum uolgo: unum Hannibalem se peti ab Romanis non fallebat et ita pacem Carthaginiensibus datam esse ut inexpressibile bellum aduersus se unum maneret. itaque cedere tempori et fortunae statuit; et praeparatis iam ante omnibus ad fugam, obuersatus eo die in foro auertendae suspicionis causa, primis tenebris uestitu forensi ad portam cum duobus comitibus ignaris consilii est egressus.

[48] Cum equi quo in loco iusserat praesto fuissent, nocte Byzacium — ita regionem quandam agri uocant — transgressus,

postero die ad mare inter Acyllam et Thapsum ad suam turrem peruenit; ibi eum parata instructaque remigio excepit naus. ita Africa Hannibal excessit, saepius patriae quam suum euentum miseratus. eodem die in Cercinam insulam traiecit. ubi cum in portu naues aliquot Phoenicum onerarias cum mercibus inuenisset et ad egressum eum e naue concursus salutantium esset factus, percunctantibus legatum se Tyrum missum dici iussit. ueritus tamen ne qua earum nauis nocte profecta Thapsum aut Hadrumentum nuntiaret se Cercinae uisum, sacrificio apparari iusso magistros nauium mercatoresque inuitari iussit et uela cum antemnis ex nauibus corrogari ut umbraculum — media aestas forte erat — cenantibus in litore fieret. quanto res et tempus patiebatur apparatu celebratae eius diei epulae sunt, multoque uino in serum noctis conuiuium productum. Hannibal cum primum fallendi eos qui in portu erant tempus habuit, nauem soluit. ceteri sopiti cum postero die tandem ex somno pleni crapulae surrexissent, ad id quod serum erat, aliquot horas referendis in naues collocandis<que> et aptandis armamentis absumpserunt. Carthagine [et] multitudinis adsuetae domum Hannibalis frequentare concursus ad uestibulum aedium est factus. ut non comparere eum uolgatum est, in forum turba conuenit principem ciuitatis quaerentium; et alii fugam conscisse, id quod erat, alii fraude Romanorum interfectum idque magis uolgo fremebant, uariosque uultus cerneret ut in ciuitate aliorum alias partes fouentium et factionibus discordi; uisum deinde Cercinae eum tandem allatum est.

[49] Et Romani legati cum in senatu exposuissent compertum patribus Romanis esse et Philippum regem ante ab Hannibale maxime accensum bellum populo Romano fecisse et nunc litteras nuntiosque ab eo ad Antiochum et Aetolos missos consiliaque inita impellendae ad defectionem Carthagini, nec alio eum quam ad Antiochum regem profectum: haud quieturum antequam bellum toto orbe terrarum concisset; id ei non debere impune esse, si satisfacere Carthaginienses populo Romano uellent nihil eorum sua uoluntate nec publico consilio factum esse — Carthaginienses responderunt quidquid aequum censuissent Romani facturos esse.

Hannibal prospero cursu Tyrum peruenit exceptusque a conditoribus Carthagini ut ab altera patria, uir tam clarus omni genere honorum, paucos moratus dies Antiochiam nauigat. ibi

profectum iam regem in Asiam cum audisset filiumque eius sollemne ludorum ad Daphnen celebrantem conuenisset, comiter ab eo exceptus nullam moram nauigandi fecit. Ephesi regem est consecutus, fluctuantem adhuc animo incertumque de Romano bello, sed haud paruum momentum ad animum eius moliendum aduentus Hannibalis fecit. Aetolorum quoque eodem tempore alienati ab societate Romana animi sunt, quorum legatos Pharsalum et Leucadem et quasdam alias ciuitates ex primo foedere repetentes senatus ad T. Quinctium reiecit.

LIBER XXXIV

[1] Inter bellorum magnorum aut uixdum finitorum aut imminantium curas intercessit res parua dictu sed quae studiis in magnum certamen excesserit. M. Fundanius et L. Ualerius tribuni plebi ad plebem tulerunt de Oppia lege abroganda. tulerat eam C. Oppius tribunus plebis Q. Fabio Ti. Sempronio consulibus in medio ardore Punici belli, ne qua mulier plus semunciam auri haberet neu uestimento uersicolori uteretur neu iuncto uehiculo in urbe oppidouae aut propius inde mille passus nisi sacrorum publicorum causa ueheretur. M. et P. Iunii Bruti tribuni plebis legem Oppiam tuebantur nec eam se abrogari passuros aiebant; ad suadendum dissuadendumque multi nobiles prodibant; Capitolium turba hominum fauentium aduersantiumque legi complebatur. matronae nulla nec auctoritate nec uerecundia nec imperio uirorum contineri limine poterant, omnes uias urbis aditusque in forum obsidebant, uiros descendentes ad forum orantes ut florente re publica, crescente in dies priuata omnium fortuna matronis quoque pristinum ornatum reddi paterentur. augebatur haec frequentia mulierum in dies; nam etiam ex oppidis conciliabulisque conueniebant. iam et consules praetoresque et alios magistratus adire et rogare audebant; ceterum minime exorabilem alterum utique consulem M. Porcium Catonem habebant, qui pro lege quae abrogabatur ita disseruit:

[2] ‘Si in sua quisque nostrum matre familiae, Quirites, ius et maiestatem uiri retinere instituisset, minus cum uniueris feminis negotii haberemus: nunc domi uicta libertas nostra impotentia muliebri hic quoque in foro obteritur et calcatur, et quia singulas sustinere non potuimus uniueras horremus. equidem fabulam et fictam rem ducebam esse uirorum omne genus in aliqua insula coniuratione muliebri ab stirpe sublatum esse; ab nullo genere non summum periculum est si coetus et concilia et secretas consultationes esse sinas. atque ego uix statuere apud animum meum possum utrum peior ipsa res an peiore exemplo agatur; quorum alterum ad nos consules reliquosque magistratus, alterum ad uos, Quirites, magis pertinet. nam utrum e re publica sit necne id quod ad uos fertur, uestra existimatio est qui in suffragium ituri estis. haec

consternatio muliebris, siue sua sponte siue auctoribus uobis, M. Fundani et L. Ualeri, facta est, haud dubie ad culpam magistratuum pertinens, nescio uobis, tribuni, an consulibus magis sit deformis: uobis, si feminas ad concitandas tribunicias seditiones iam adduxistis; nobis, si ut plebis quondam sic nunc mulierum secessione leges accipiendae sunt. equidem non sine rubore quodam paulo ante per medium agmen mulierum in forum perueni. quod nisi me uerecundia singularum magis maiestatis et pudoris quam uniuersarum tenuisset, ne compellatae a consule uiderentur, dixissem: “qui hic mos est in publicum procurrendi et obsidendi uias et uiros alienos appellandi? istud ipsum suos quaeque domi rogare non potuistis? an blandiores in publico quam in priuato et alienis quam uestris estis? quamquam ne domi quidem uos, si sui iuris finibus matronas contineret pudor, quae leges hic rogarentur abrogarenturue curare decuit,” maiores nostri nullam, ne priuatam quidem rem agere feminas sine tutore auctore uoluerunt, in manu esse parentum, fratrum, uirorum: nos, si diis placet, iam etiam rem publicam capessere eas patimur et foro prope et contionibus et comitiis immisceri. quid enim nunc aliud per uias et compita faciunt quam rogationem tribunorum plebi suadent, quam legem abrogandam censent? date frenos impotenti naturae et indomito animali et sperate ipsas modum licentiae facturas: nisi uos facietis, minimum hoc eorum est quae iniquo animo feminae sibi aut moribus aut legibus iniuncta patiuntur. omnium rerum libertatem, immo licentiam, si uere dicere uolumus, desiderant. quid enim, si hoc expugnauerint, non temptabunt?

[3] Recensete omnia muliebria iura quibus licentiam earum adligauerint maiores uestri per quaeque subiecerint uiris; quibus omnibus constrictas uix tamen continere potestis. quid? si carpere singula et extorquere et exaequari ad extremum uiris patiemini, tolerabiles uobis eas fore creditis? extemplo simul pares esse coeperint, superiores erunt. at hercule ne quid nouum in eas rogetur recusant, non ius sed iniuriam deprecantur: immo ut quam accepistis iussistis suffragiis uestris legem, quam usu tot annorum et experiendo comprobastis, hanc ut abrogetis, id est, ut unam tollendo legem ceteras infirmetis. nulla lex satis commoda omnibus est: id modo quaeritur, si maiori parti et in summam prodest. si quod cuique

priuatim officiet ius, id destruet ac demolietur, quid attinebit uniuersos rogare leges quas mox abrogare in quos latae sunt possint? uolo tamen audire quid sit propter quod matronae consternatae procucurrerint in publicum ac uix foro se et contione abstineant? ut captiui ab Hannibale redimantur parentes, uiri, liberi, fratres earum? procul abest absitque semper talis fortuna rei publicae; sed tamen, cum fuit, negastis hoc piis precibus earum. at non pietas nec sollicitudo pro suis sed religio congregauit eas: matrem Idaeam a Pessinunte ex Phrygia uenientem accepturae sunt. quid honestum dictu saltem seditioni praetenditur muliebri? “ut auro et purpura fulgamus” inquit, “ut carpentis festis profestisque diebus, uelut triumphantes de lege uicta et abrogata et captis ereptis suffragiis uestris, per urbem uectemur: ne ullus modus sumptibus, ne luxuriae sit.”

[4] Saepe me querentem de feminarum, saepe de uirorum nec de priuatorum modo sed etiam magistratuum sumptibus audistis, diuersisque duobus uitiis, auaritia et luxuria, ciuitatem laborare, quae pestes omnia magna imperia euerterunt. haec ego, quo melior laetiorque in dies fortuna rei publicae est, quo magis imperium crescit — et iam in Graeciam Asiamque transcendimus omnibus libidinum inlecebris repletas et regias etiam adrectamus gazas — , eo plus horreo, ne illae magis res nos ceperint quam nos illas. infesta, mihi credite, signa ab Syracusis inlata sunt huic urbi. iam nimis multos audio Corinthi et Athenarum ornamenta laudantes mirantesque et antefixa fictilia deorum Romanorum ridentes. ego hos malo propitios deos et ita spero futuros, si in suis manere sedibus patiemur. patrum nostrorum memoria per legatum Cineam Pyrrhus non uirorum modo sed etiam mulierum animos donis temptauit. nondum lex Oppia ad coercendam luxuriam muliebrem lata erat; tamen nulla accepit. quam causam fuisse censetis? eadem fuit quae maioribus nostris nihil de hac re lege sanciuendi: nulla erat luxuria quae coerceretur. sicut ante morbos necesse est cognitos esse quam remedia eorum, sic cupiditates prius natae sunt quam leges quae iis modum facerent. quid legem Liciniam excitauit de quingentis iugeribus nisi ingens cupido agros continuandi? quid legem Cinciam de donis et muneribus nisi quia uectigalis iam et stipendiaria plebs esse senatui coeperat? itaque minime mirum est nec Oppiam nec

aliam ullam tum legem desideratam esse quae modum sumptibus mulierum faceret, cum aurum et purpuram data et oblata ultro non accipiebant. si nunc cum illis donis Cineas urbem circumiret, stantes in publico inuenisset quae acciperent. atque ego nonnullarum cupiditatum ne causam quidem aut rationem inire possum. nam ut quod alii liceat tibi non licere aliquid fortasse naturalis aut pudoris aut indignationis habeat, sic aequato omnium cultu quid unaquaeque uestrum ueretur ne in se conspiciatur? pessimus quidem pudor est uel parsimoniae uel paupertatis; sed utrumque lex uobis demit cum id quod habere non licet non habetis. “hanc” inquit “ipsam exaequationem non fero” illa locuples. “cur non insignis auro et purpura conspicio? cur paupertas aliarum sub hac legis specie latet, ut quod habere non possunt habiturae, si liceret, fuisse uideantur?” uultis hoc certamen uxoribus uestris inicere, Quirites, ut diuites id habere uelint quod nulla alia possit, pauperes ne ob hoc ipsum contemnantur, supra uires se extendant? ne <eas> simul pudere quod non oportet coeperit, quod oportet non pudebit. quae de suo poterit, parabit: quae non poterit, uirum rogabit. miserum illum uirum, et qui exoratus et qui non exoratus erit, cum quod ipse non dederit datum ab alio uidebit. nunc uolgo alienos uiros rogant et, quod maius est, legem et suffragia rogant et a quibusdam impetrant. aduersus te et rem tuam et liberos tuos exorabilis es: simul lex modum sumptibus uxoris tuae facere desierit, tu nunquam facies. nolite eodem loco existimare, <Quirites,> futuram rem quo fuit antequam lex de hoc ferretur. et hominem improbum non accusari tutius est quam absolui, et luxuria non mota tolerabilior esset quam erit nunc, ipsis uinculis sicut ferae bestiae inritata, deinde emissa. ego nullo modo abrogandam legem Oppiam censeo: uos quod faxitis, deos omnes fortunare uelim.’

[5] Post haec tribuni quoque plebi qui se intercessuros professi erant, cum pauca in eandem sententiam adiecissent, tum L. Ualerius pro rogatione ab se promulgata ita disseruit: ‘si priuati tantummodo ad suadendum dissuadendumque id quod ab nobis rogatur processissent, ego quoque, cum satis dictum pro utraque parte existimarem, tacitus suffragia uestra expectassem: nunc cum uir clarissimus, consul M. Porcius, non auctoritate solum, quae tacita satis momenti habuisset, sed oratione etiam longa et accurata

insectatus sit rogationem nostram, necesse est paucis respondere. qui tamen plura uerba in castigandis matronis quam in rogatione nostra dissuadenda consumpsit, et quidem ut in dubio poneret utrum id quod repnderet matronae sua sponte an nobis auctoribus fecissent. rem defendam, non nos, in quos iecit magis hoc consul uerbo tenus quam ut re insimularet. coetum et seditionem et interdum secessionem muliebrem appellauit quod matronae in publico uos rogassent ut legem in se latam per bellum temporibus duris in pace et florenti ac beata re publica abrogaretis. uerba magna quae rei augendae causa conquirantur et haec et alia esse scio, et M. Catonem oratorem non solum grauem sed interdum etiam trucem esse scimus omnes, cum ingenio sit mitis. nam quid tandem noui matronae fecerunt, quod frequentes in causa ad se pertinente in publicum processerunt? nunquam ante hoc tempus in publico apparuerunt? tuas aduersus te Origines reuoluam. accipe quotiens id fecerint, et quidem semper bono publico. iam a principio, regnante Romulo, cum Capitolio ab Sabinis capto medio in foro signis conlatis dimicaretur, nonne intercurso matronarum inter acies duas proelium sedatum est? quid? regibus exactis cum Coriolano Marcio duce legiones Uolscorum castra ad quintum lapidem posuissent, nonne id agmen quo obruta haec urbs esset matronae auerterunt? iam urbe capta a Gallis aurum quo redempta urbs est nonne matronae consensu omnium in publicum contulerunt? proximo bello, ne antiqua repetam, nonne et, cum pecunia opus fuit, uiduarum pecuniae adiuerunt aerarium et, cum di quoque noui ad opem ferendam dubiis rebus accerserentur, matronae uniuersae ad mare profectae sunt ad matrem Idaeam accipiendam? dissimiles, inquis, causae sunt. nec mihi causas aequare propositum est: nihil noui factum purgare satis est. ceterum quod in rebus ad omnes pariter uiros feminas pertinentibus fecisse eas nemo miratus est, in causa proprie ad ipsas pertinente miramur fecisse? quid autem fecerunt? superbas, me dius fidius, aures habemus si, cum domini seruorum non fastidiant preces, nos rogari ab honestis feminis indignamur.

[6] Uenio nunc ad id de quo agitur. in quo duplex consulis oratio fuit; nam et legem ullam omnino abrogari est indignatus et eam praecipue legem quae luxuriae muliebris coercendae causa lata esset. et illa communis pro legibus uisa consularis oratio est, et haec

aduersus luxuriam seuerissimis moribus conueniebat; itaque periculum est, nisi quid in utraque re uani sit docuerimus, ne quis error uobis offundatur. ego enim quemadmodum ex iis legibus quae non in tempus aliquod sed perpetuae utilitatis causa in aeternum latae sunt nullam abrogari debere fateor, nisi quam aut usus coarguit aut status aliquis rei publicae inutilem fecit, sic quas tempora aliqua desiderarunt leges, mortales, ut ita dicam, et temporibus ipsis mutabiles esse uideo. quae in pace lata sunt, plerumque bellum abrogat, quae in bello, pax, ut in nauis administratione alia in secunda, alia in aduersa tempestate usui sunt. haec cum ita natura distincta sint, ex utro tandem genere ea lex esse uidetur quam abrogamus? <num> quae uetus? regia lex simul cum ipsa urbe nata aut, quod secundum est, ab decemuiris ad condenda iura creatis in duodecim tabulis scripta, sine qua cum maiores nostri non existimarint decus matronale seruari posse, nobis quoque uerendum sit ne cum ea pudorem sanctitatemque feminarum abrogemus? quis igitur nescit nouam istam legem esse, Q. Fabio et Ti. Sempronio consulibus uiginti ante annis latam? sine qua cum per tot annos matronae optimis moribus uixerint, quod tandem ne abrogata ea effundantur ad luxuriam periculum est? nam si ista lex <uetus> aut ideo lata esset ut finiret libidinem muliebrem, uerendum foret ne abrogata incitaret: cur sit autem lata, ipsum indicabit tempus. Hannibal in Italia erat, uictor ad Cannas; iam Tarentum, iam Arpos, iam Capuam habebat; ad urbem Romam admoturus exercitum uidebatur; defecerant socii; non milites in supplementum, non socios nauales ad classem tuendam, non pecuniam in aerario habebamus; serui quibus arma darentur ita ut pretium pro iis bello perfecto dominis solueretur emebantur; in eandem diem pecuniae frumentum et cetera quae belli usus postulabant praebenda publicani se conducturos professi erant; seruos ad remum numero ex censu constituto cum stipendio nostro dabamus; aurum et argentum omne ab senatoribus eius rei initio orto in publicum conferebamus; uiduae et pupilli pecunias suas in aerarium deferebant; cautum erat quo ne plus auri et argenti facti, quo ne plus signati argenti et aeris domi haberemus — tali tempore in luxuria et ornatu matronae occupatae erant, ut ad eam coercendam Oppia lex desiderata sit, cum quia Cereris sacrificium lumentibus omnibus matronis intermissum erat,

senatus finiri luctum triginta diebus iussit? cui non apparet inopiam et miseriam ciuitatis, [et] quia omnium priuatorum pecuniae in usum publicum uertendae erant, istam legem scripsisse tam diu mansuram quam diu causa scribendae legis mansisset? nam si quae tunc temporis causa aut decreuit senatus aut populus iussit in perpetuum seruari oportet, cur pecunias reddimus priuatis? cur publica praesenti pecunia locamus? cur serui qui militent non emuntur? cur priuati non damus remiges sicut tunc dedimus?

[7] Omnes alii ordines, omnes homines mutationem in meliorem statum rei publicae sentient: ad coniuges tantum nostras pacis et tranquillitatis publicae fructus non perueniet? purpura uiri utemur, praetextati in magistratibus, in sacerdotiis, liberi nostri praetextis purpura togis utentur; magistratibus in coloniis municipiisque, hic Romae infimo generi, magistris uicorum, togae praetextae habendae ius permittemus, nec id ut uiui solum habeant [tantum] insigne sed etiam ut cum eo cremenentur mortui: feminis dumtaxat purpurae usu interdicemus? et cum tibi uiro liceat purpura in uestem stragulam uti, matrem familiae tuam purpureum amiculum habere non sines, et equus tuus speciosius instratus erit quam uxor uestita? sed in purpura, quae teritur absumitur, iniustam quidem sed aliquam tamen causam tenacitatis uideo; in auro uero, in quo praeter manupretium nihil intertrimenti fit, quae malignitas est? praesidium potius in eo est et ad priuatos et ad publicos usus, sicut experti estis. nullam aemulationem inter se singularum, quoniam nulla haberet, esse aiebat. at hercule uniuersis dolor et indignatio est, cum sociorum Latini nominis uxoribus uident ea concessa ornamenta quae sibi adempta sint, cum insignes eas esse auro et purpura, cum illas uehi per urbem, se pedibus sequi, tamquam in illarum ciuitatibus non in sua imperium sit. uirosum hoc animos uolnerare posset: quid muliercularum censetis, quas etiam parua mouent? non magistratus nec sacerdotia nec triumphi nec insignia nec dona aut spolia bellica iis contingere possunt: munditiae et ornatus et cultus, haec feminarum insignia sunt, his gaudent et gloriantur, hunc mundum muliebre appellarunt maiores nostri. quid aliud in luctu quam purpuram atque aurum deponunt? quid cum eluxerunt sumunt? quid in gratulationibus supplicationibusque nisi excellentiorem ornatum adiciunt? scilicet, si legem Oppiam abrogaritis, non uestri arbitrii erit

si quid eius uetare uolueritis quod nunc lex uetat: minus filiae, uxores, sorores etiam quibusdam in manu erunt. nunquam saluis suis exiit seruitus muliebris, et ipsae libertatem quam uiduitas et orbitas facit detestantur. in uestro arbitrio suum ornatum quam in legis malunt esse; et uos in manu et tutela, non in seruitio debetis habere eas et malle patres uos aut uiros quam dominos dici. inuidiosis nominibus utebatur modo consul seditionem muliebrem et secessionem appellando. id enim periculum est ne Sacrum montem, sicut quondam irata plebs, aut Auentinum capiant. patiendum huic infirmitati est, quodcumque uos censueritis. quo plus potestis, eo moderatius imperio uti debetis.'

[8] Haec cum contra legem proque lege dicta essent, aliquanto maior frequentia mulierum postero die sese in publicum effudit unoque agmine omnes Brutorum ianuas obsederunt, qui collegarum rogationi intercedebant, nec ante abstiterunt quam remissa intercessio ab tribunis est. nulla deinde dubitatio fuit quin omnes tribus legem abrogarent. uiginti annis post abrogata est quam lata. M. Porcius consul, postquam abrogata lex Oppia est, extemplo uiginti quinque nauibus longis, quarum quinque sociorum erant, ad Lunae portum profectus est eodem exercitu conuenire iusso, et edicto per oram maritimam misso nauibus omnis generis contractis ab Luna proficiscens edixit ut ad portum Pyrenaei sequerentur: inde se frequenti classe ad hostes iturum. praeteruecti Ligustinos montes sinumque Gallicum ad diem quam dixerat conuenerunt. inde Rhodam uentum et praesidium Hispanorum quod in castello erat uideiectum. ab Rhoda secundo uento Emporias peruentum: ibi copiae omnes praeter socios nauales in terram expositae.

[9] Iam tunc Emporiae duo oppida erant muro diuisa. unum Graeci habebant, a Phocaea, unde et Massilienses, oriundi, alterum Hispani; sed Graecum oppidum in mare expositum totum orbem muri minus quadringentos passus patentem habebat, Hispanis retractior a mari trium milium passuum in circuitu murus erat. tertium genus Romani coloni ab diuo Caesare post deuictos Pompei liberos adiecti. nunc in corpus unum confusi omnes Hispanis prius, postremo et Graecis in ciuitatem Romanam adscitis. miraretur qui tum cerneret, aperto mari ab altera parte, ab altera Hispanis tam fera et bellicosa gente obiectis, quae res eos tutaretur. disciplina erat custos infirmitatis, quam inter

ualidiores optime timor continet. partem muri uersam in agros egregie munitam habebant, una tantum in eam regionem porta imposita, cuius adsiduus custos semper aliquis ex magistratibus erat. nocte pars tertia ciuium in muris excubabat; neque moris causa tantum aut legis sed quanta si hostis ad portas esset et seruabant uigilias et circumibant cura. Hispanum neminem in urbem recipiebant: ne ipsi quidem temere urbe excedebant. ad mare patebat omnibus exitus. porta ad Hispanorum oppidum uersa nunquam nisi frequentes, pars tertia fere cuius proxima nocte uigiliae in muris fuerant, egrediebantur. causa exeundi haec erat: commercio eorum Hispani imprudentes maris gaudebant mercarique et ipsi ea quae externa nauibus inueherentur et agrorum exigere fructus uolebant. huius mutui usus desiderium ut Hispana urbs Graecis pateret faciebat. erant etiam eo tutiores quod sub umbra Romanae amicitiae latebant, quam sicut minoribus uiribus quam Massilienses pari colebant fide. tum quoque consulem exercitumque comiter ac benigne acceperunt. paucos ibi moratus dies Cato, dum exploraret ubi et quanta hostium copiae essent, ut ne mora quidem segnis esset, omne id tempus exercendis militibus consumpsit. id erat forte tempus anni ut frumentum in areis Hispani haberent; itaque redemptoribus uetitis frumentum parare ac Romam dimissis ‘bellum’ inquit ‘se ipsum alet’. profectus ab Emporiis agros hostium urit uastatque, omnia fuga et terrore complet.

[10] Eodem tempore M. Heluio decedenti ex ulteriore Hispania cum praesidio sex milium dato ab Ap. Claudio praetore Celtiberi agmine ingenti ad oppidum Iliturgi occurrunt. uiginti milia armatorum fuisse Ualerius scribit, duodecim milia ex iis caesa, oppidum Iliturgi receptum et puberes omnes interfectos. inde ad castra Catonis Heluius peruenit et, quia tuta iam ab hostibus regio erat, praesidio in ulteriorem Hispaniam remisso Romam est profectus et ob rem feliciter gestam ouans urbem est ingressus. argenti infecti tulit in aerarium quattuordecim milia pondo septingenta triginta duo et signati bigatorum septemdecim milia uiginti tres et Oscensis argenti centum undeuginti milia quadringentos undequadraginta. causa triumphi negandi senatui fuit quod alieno auspicio et in aliena prouincia pugnasset; ceterum biennio post redierat, cum prouincia successori Q. Minucio tradita annum insequentem retentus ibi longo

et graui fuisset morbo. itaque duobus modo mensibus ante Heluius ouans urbem est ingressus quam successor eius Q. Minucius triumpharet. hic quoque tulit argenti pondo triginta quattuor milia octingenta et bigatorum septuaginta tria milia et Oscensis argenti ducenta septuaginta octo milia.

[11] In Hispania interim consul haud procul Emporiis castra habebat. eo legati tres ab Ilergetum regulo Bilistage, in quibus unus filius eius erat, uenerunt querentes castella sua oppugnari nec spem ullam esse resistendi nisi praesidium Romanus misisset: tria milia militum satis esse nec hostes, si tanta manus uenisset, mansuros. ad ea consul moueri quidem se uel periculo eorum uel metu dicere, sed sibi nequaquam tantum copiarum esse ut, cum magna uis hostium haud procul absit et quam mox signis conlatis dimicandum sit in dies expectet, diuidendo exercitum minuere tuto uires possit. legati ubi haec audierunt flentes ad genua consulis prouoluuntur, orant ne se in rebus tam trepidis deserat: quo enim se, repulsos ab Romanis, ituros? nullos se socios, nihil usquam in terris aliud spei habere. potuisse se extra id periculum esse, si decedere fide, si coniurare cum ceteris uoluissent. nullis minis, nullis terriculis se motos, sperantes satis opis et auxilii sibi in Romanis esse. id si nullum sit, si sibi a consule negetur, deos hominesque se testes facere inuitos et coactos se, ne eadem quae Saguntini passi sint patiantur, defecturos et cum ceteris potius Hispanis quam solos perituros esse.

[12] Et illo quidem die sic sine responso dimissi. consulem nocte quae insecuta est anceps cura agitare: nolle deserere socios, nolle minuere exercitum, quod aut moram sibi ad dimicandum aut in dimicando periculum adferre posset. stat sententia non minuere copias, ne quid interim hostes inferant ignominiae; sociis spem pro re ostentandam censet: saepe uana pro ueris, maxime in bello, ualuisse et credentem se aliquid auxilii habere, perinde atque haberet, ipsa fiducia et sperando atque audendo seruatum. postero die legatis respondet, quamquam uereatur ne suas uires aliis eas commodando minuat, tamen se illorum temporis ac periculi magis quam sui rationem habere. denuntiari militum parti tertiae ex omnibus cohortibus iubet ut cibum quem in naues imponant mature coquant nauesque in diem tertium expediri [iussit]. duos ex legatis Bilistagi atque Ilergetibus nuntiare ea iubet; filium reguli comiter habendo et

muneribus apud se retinet. legati non ante profecti quam impositos in naues milites uiderunt: id pro haud dubio iam nuntiantes non suos modo sed etiam hostes fama Romani auxilii aduentantis impleuerunt.

[13] Consul ubi satis quod in speciem fuit ostentatum est, reuocari ex nauibus milites iubet: ipse, cum iam id tempus anni appeteret quo geri res possent, castra hiberna tria milia passuum ab Emporiis posuit. inde per occasiones nunc hac parte, nunc illa modico praesidio castris relicto praedatum milites in hostium agros ducebat; nocte ferme proficiscebantur ut et quam longissime a castris procederent et inopinantes opprimerent. et exercebat ea res novos milites et hostium magna uis excipiebatur, nec iam egredi extra munimenta castellorum audebant. ubi [satis] admodum et suorum et hostium animos est expertus, conuocari tribunos praefectosque et equites omnes et centuriones iussit. ‘tempus’ inquit ‘quod saepe optastis uenit, quo uobis potestas fieret uirtutem uestram ostendendi. adhuc praedonum magis quam bellantium militastis more: nunc iusta pugna hostes cum hostibus conferetis manus; non agros inde populari sed urbium opes exhaurire licebit. patres nostri, cum <in> Hispania Carthaginiensium et imperatores [ibi] et exercitus essent, ipsi nullum in ea militem haberent, tamen addi hoc in foedere uoluerunt ut imperii sui Hiberus fluuius esset finis. nunc cum duo praetores, cum consul, cum tres exercitus Romani Hispaniam obtineant, Carthaginiensium decem iam prope annis nemo in his prouinciis sit, imperium nobis citra Hiberum amissum est. hoc armis et uirtute reciperetis oportet et nationem rebellantem magis temere quam constanter bellantem iugum quo se exuit accipere rursus cogatis.’ in hunc modum maxime adhortatus pronuntiat se nocte ad castra hostium ducturum. ita ad corpora curanda dimissi.

[14] Nocte media, cum auspicio operam dedisset, profectus ut locum quem uellet priusquam hostes sentirent caperet, praeter castra hostium circumducit et prima luce acie instructa sub ipsum uallum tres cohortes mittit. mirantes barbari ab tergo apparuisse Romanum, discurrere <et> ipsi ad arma. interim consul apud suos ‘nusquam nisi in uirtute spes est, milites’, inquit ‘et ego sedulo ne esset feci. inter castra nostra et nos medii hostes et ab tergo hostium ager est. quod pulcherrimum, idem tutissimum: in uirtute spem positam habere’. sub haec cohortes recipi iubet, ut barbaros simulatione fugae eliceret.

id quod crediderat euenit. pertimuisse et cedere rati Romanos porta erumpunt et quantum inter castra sua et aciem hostium relictum erat loci armatis complent. dum trepidant acie instruenda, consul iam paratis ordinatisque omnibus incompósitos adgreditur. equites primos ab utroque cornu in pugnam induxit; sed in dextro extemplo pulsī cedentesque trepidi etiā pediti terrorem intulere. quod ubi consul uidit, duas cohortes delectas ab dextro latere hostium circumduci iubet et ab tergo se ostendere priusquam concurrerent peditum acies. is terror obiectus hosti rem metu Romanorum equitum inclinātam aequauit; tamen adeo turbati erant dextrae alae pedites equitesque ut quosdam consul manu ipse repperit uerteritque in hostem. ita et quamdiu missilibus pugnatum est anceps pugna erat et iam ab dextra parte, unde terror et fuga coeperat, aegre Romanus restabat; ab sinistro cornu et a fronte urgebantur barbari et cohortes a tergo instantes pauidi respiciebant. ut emissis soliferreis phalaricisque gladios strinxerunt, tum uelut redintegrata est pugna: non caecis ictibus procul ex improviso uulnerabantur, sed pede conlato tota in uirtute ac uiribus spes erat.

[15] Fessos iam suos consul ex secunda acie subsidiariis cohortibus in pugnam inductis accendit. noua acies facta. integri recentibus telis fatigatos adorti hostes primum acri impetu uelut cuneo perculerunt, deinde dissipatos in fugam auerterunt; effuso per agros cursu castra repetebantur. ubi omnia fuga completa uidit Cato, ipse ad secundam legionem, quae in subsidio posita erat, reuehitur et signa prae se ferri plenoque gradu ad castra hostium oppugnanda succedere iubet. si quis extra ordinem auidius procurrit, et ipse interequitans sparo percutit et tribunos centurionesque castigare iubet. iam castra oppugnabantur, saxisque et sudibus et omni genere telorum submoueabantur a uallo Romani. ubi recens admota legio est, tum et oppugnantibus animus creuit et infensius hostes pro uallo pugnant. consul omnia oculis perlustrat ut qua minima uī resistatur ea parte inrumpat. ad sinistram portam infrequentes uidet: eo secundae legionis principes hastatosque inducit. non sustinuit impetum eorum statio quae portae apposita erat; et ceteri, postquam intra uallum hostem uident, ipsi castris exuti signa armaque abiciunt. caeduntur in portis, suomet ipsi agmine in arto haerentes. secundani terga hostium caedunt, ceteri castra diripiunt. Ualerius Antias supra quadraginta

milia hostium caesa eo die scribit; Cato ipse, haud sane detractor laudum suarum, multos caesos ait, numerum non adscribit.

[16] Tria eo die laudabilia fecisse putatur: unum, quod circumducto exercitu procul nauibus suis castrisque, ubi spem <nusquam> nisi in uirtute haberent, inter medios hostes proelium commisit; alterum, quod cohortes ab tergo hostibus obiecit; tertium, quod secundam legionem ceteris omnibus effusis ad sequendos hostes pleno gradu sub signis compositam instructamque subire ad portam castrorum iussit. nihil deinde a uictoria cessatum. cum receptui signo dato suos spoliis onustos in castra reduxisset, paucis horis noctis ad quietem datis ad praedandum in agros duxit: effusius, ut sparsis hostibus fuga, praedati sunt. quae res non minus quam pugna pridie aduersa Emporitanos Hispanos accolaeque eorum in deditionem compulit. multi et aliarum ciuitatum, qui Emporias perfugerant, dediderunt se; quos omnes appellatos benigne uinoque et cibo curatos domos dimisit. confestim inde castra mouit; et quacumque incedebat agmen legati dedentium ciuitates suas occurrebant, et cum Tarraconem uenit iam omnis cis Hiberum Hispania perdomita erat, captiuique et Romani et socium ac Latini nominis uariis casibus in Hispania oppressi donum consuli a barbaris reducebantur. fama deinde uolgatur consulem in Turdetaniam exercitum ducturum, et ad deuios montanos 'profectum etiam' falso perlatum est. ad hunc uanum et sine auctore ullo rumorem Bergistanorum ciuitatis septem castella defecerunt: eos deducto exercitu consul sine memorando proelio in potestatem redegit. haud ita multo post eidem, regresso Tarraconem consule, priusquam inde quoquam procederet, defecerunt. iterum subacti; sed non eadem uenia uictis fuit: sub corona uenire omnes, ne saepius pacem sollicitarent.

[17] Interim P. Manlius praetor exercitu uetere a Q. Minucio, cui successerat, accepto, adiuncto et Ap. Claudii Neronis ex ulteriore Hispania uetere item exercitu, in Turdetaniam proficiscitur. omnium Hispanorum maxime imbelles habentur Turdetani; freti tamen multitudine sua obuiam ierunt agmini Romano. eques immissus turbauit extemplo aciem eorum. pedestre proelium nullius ferme certaminis fuit: milites ueteres, periti hostium bellicae, haud dubiam pugnam fecerunt. nec tamen ea pugna debellatum est: decem milia Celtiberum mercede Turduli conducunt alienisque armis parabant

bellum. consul interim rebellione Bergistanorum ictus, ceteras quoque ciuitates ratus per occasionem idem facturis, arma omnibus cis Hiberum Hispanis adimit; quam rem adeo aegre passi ut multi mortem sibimet ipsi consciscerent, ferox genus, nullam uitam rati sine armis esse. quod ubi consuli renuntiatum est, senatores omnium ciuitatum ad se uocari iussit atque iis ‘non nostra’ inquit ‘magis quam uestra refert uos non rebellare, siquidem id maiore Hispanorum malo quam exercitus Romani labore semper adhuc factum est. id ut ne fiat, uno modo arbitror cauere posse, si effectum erit ne possitis rebellare. uolo id quam mollissima uia consequi. uos quoque in ea re consilio me adiuuate: nullum libentius sequar quam quod uosmet ipsi attuleritis.’ tacentibus spatium se ad deliberandum dierum paucorum dare dixit. cum reuocati secundo quoque concilio tacuissent, uno die muris omnium dirutis, ad eos qui nondum parebant profectus, ut in quamque regionem uenerat, omnes qui circa incolebant populos in dicionem accepit. Segesticam tantum, grauem atque opulentam ciuitatem, uineis et pluteis cepit.

[18] Eo maiorem habebat difficultatem in subigendis hostibus quam qui primi uenerant in Hispaniam, quod ad illos taedio imperii Carthaginensium Hispani deficiebant, huic ex usurpata libertate in seruitutem uelut adserendi erant; et ita mota omnia accepit ut alii in armis essent, alii obsidione ad defectionem cogerentur nec, nisi in tempore subuentum foret, ultra sustentaturi fuerint. sed in consule ea uis animi atque ingenii fuit ut omnia maxima minimaque per se adiret atque ageret, nec cogitaret modo imperaretque quae in rem essent sed pleraque ipse per se transigeret, nec in quemquam omnium grauius seueriusque quam in semet ipsum imperium exerceret, parsimonia et uigiliis et labore cum ultimis militum certaret, nec quicquam in exercitu suo praecipui praeter honorem atque imperium haberet.

[19] Difficilius bellum in Turdetania praetori P. Manlio Celti-.1 beri mercede exciti ab hostibus, sicut ante dictum est, faciebant; itaque eo consul accersitus litteris praetoris legiones duxit. ubi eo uenit, castra separatim Celtiberi et Turdetani habebant. cum Turdetanis extemplo leuia proelia incursantes in stationes eorum Romani facere semperque uictores ex quamuis temere coepto certamine abire. ad Celtiberos in conloquium tribunos militum ire consul atque iis trium

condicionum electionem ferre iubet: primam, si transire ad Romanos uelint et duplex stipendium accipere quam quantum a Turdetanis pepigissent; alteram, si domos abire, publica fide accepta nihil eam rem noxae futuram quod hostibus se Romanorum iunxissent; tertiam, si utique bellum placeat, diem locumque constituent ubi secum armis decernant. a Celtiberis dies ad consultandum petita. concilium immixtis Turdetanis habitum magno cum tumultu; eo minus decerni quicquam potuit. cum incerta bellum an pax cum Celtiberis essent, commeatus tamen haud secus quam in pace ex agris castellisque hostium Romani portabant, deni saepe munimenta eorum, uelut communi pacto commercio, priuatis indutiis ingredientibus. consul ubi hostes ad pugnam elicere nequit, primum praedatum sub signis aliquot expeditas cohortes in agrum integrae regionis ducit, deinde audito Seguntiae Celtiberum omnes sarcinas impedimentaue relictas, eo pergit ducere ad oppugnandum. postquam nulla mouentur re, persoluto stipendio non suis modo sed etiam praetoris militibus relictoque omni exercitu in castris praetoris ipse cum septem cohortibus ad Hiberum est regressus.

[20] Ea tam exigua manu oppida aliquot cepit. defecere ad eum Sedetani Ausetani Suessetani. Lacetanos, deuian et siluestrem gentem, cum insita feritas continebat in armis, tum conscientia, dum consul exercitusque Turdulo bello esset occupatus, depopulorum subitis incursionibus sociorum. igitur ad oppidum eorum oppugnandum consul ducit non Romanas modo cohortes sed iuuentutem etiam merito infensorum iis sociorum. oppidum longum, in latitudinem haudquaquam tantundem patens habebant. quadringentos inde ferme passus constituit signa. ibi delectarum cohortium stationem relinquens praecepit iis ne se ex eo loco ante mouerent quam ipse ad eos uenisset; ceteras copias ad ulteriorem partem urbis circumducit. maximum ex omnibus auxiliis numerum Suessetanae iuuentutis habebat: eos ad murum oppugnandum subire iubet. quorum ubi arma signaque Lacetani cognouere, memores quam saepe in agro eorum impune persultassent, quotiens ipsos signis conlatis fudissent fugassentque, patefacta repente porta uniuersi in eos erumpunt. uix clamorem eorum, nedum impetum Suessetani tulere. quod postquam sicut futurum ratus erat consul fieri etiam uidit, equo citato subter murum hostium ad cohortes auehitur

atque eas arreptas, effusis omnibus ad sequendos Suessetanos, qua silentium ac solitudo erat in urbem inducit priusque omnia cepit quam se reciperent Lacetani. mox ipsos nihil praeter arma habentes in deditionem accepit.

[21] Confestim inde uictor ad Bergium castrum ducit. receptaculum id maxime praedonum erat et inde incursiones in agros pacatos prouinciae eius fiebant. transfugit inde ad consulem princeps Bergistanus et purgare se ac populares coepit: non esse in manu ipsis rem publicam; praedones receptos totum suae potestatis id castrum fecisse. consul eum domum redire conficta aliqua probabili cur afuisset causa iussit: cum se muros subisse cerneret intentosque praedones ad tuenda moenia esse, tum uti cum suae factionis hominibus meminisset arcem occupare. id uti praeceperat factum; repente anceps terror hinc muros ascendentibus Romanis, illinc arce capta barbaros circumuasit. huius potitus loci consul eos qui arcem tenuerant liberos esse cum cognatis suaeque habere iussit, Bergistanos ceteros quaestori ut uenderet imperauit, de praedonibus supplicium sumpsit. pacata prouincia uectigalia magna instituit ex ferrariis argentariisque, quibus tum institutis locupletior in dies prouincia fuit. ob has res gestas in Hispania supplicationem in triduum patres decreuerunt.

[22] Eadem aestate alter consul L. Ualerius Flaccus in Gallia cum Boiorum manu propter Litanam siluam signis conlatis secundo proelio confluxit. octo milia Gallorum caesa traduntur; ceteri omisso bello in uicos suos atque agros dilapsi. consul reliquum aestatis circa Padum Placentiae et Cremonae exercitum habuit restituitque quae in iis oppidis bello diruta fuerant. cum hic status rerum in Italia Hispaniaque esset, T. Quinctio in Graecia ita hibernis actis ut exceptis Aetolis, quibus nec pro spe uictoriae praemia contigerant nec diu quies placere poterat, uniuersa Graecia simul pacis libertatisque perfruens bonis egregie statu suo gauderet nec magis in bello uirtutem Romani ducis quam in uictoria temperantiam iustitiamque et moderationem miraretur, senatus consultum quo bellum aduersus Nabim Lacedaemonium decretum erat adfertur. quo lecto Quinctius conuentum Corinthum omnium sociarum ciuitatum legationibus in diem certam edicit; ad quam ubi frequentes undique principes conuenerunt, ita uti ne Aetoli quidem abessent, tali oratione

est usus: ‘bellum aduersus Philippum non magis communi animo consilioque Romani et Graeci gesserunt quam utrique suas causas belli habuerunt. nam et Romanorum amicitiam nunc Carthaginienses hostes eorum iuuando, nunc hic sociis nostris oppugnandis uiolauerat et in uos talis fuit ut nobis, etiamsi nostrarum obliuisceremur iniuriarum, uestrae iniuriae satis digna causa belli fuerit. hodierna consultatio tota ex uobis pendet. refero enim ad uos utrum Argos, sicut scitis ipsi, ab Nabide occupatos pati uelit sub ditione eius esse an aequum censeatis nobilissimam uetustissimamque ciuitatem, in media Graecia sitam, repeti in libertatem et eodem statu quo ceteras urbes Peloponnesi et Graeciae esse. haec consultatio, ut uidetis, tota de re pertinente ad uos est: Romanos nihil contingit, nisi quatenus liberatae Graeciae unius ciuitatis seruitus non plenam nec integram gloriam esse sinit. ceterum si uos nec cura eius ciuitatis nec exemplum nec periculum mouet ne serpat latius contagio eius mali, nos aequi bonique facimus. de hac re uos consulo, staturus eo quod plures censueritis.’

[23] Post orationem Romani imperatoris percenseri aliorum sententiae coepae sunt. cum legatus Atheniensium quantum poterat gratiis agendis Romanorum in Graeciam merita extulisset — imploratos [auxilium] aduersus Philippum tulisse opem, non rogatos ultro aduersus tyrannum Nabim offerre auxilium — indignatusque esset haec tanta merita sermonibus tamen aliquorum carpi futura calumniantium cum fateri potius praeteritorum gratiam deberent, apparebat innessi Aetolos. igitur Alexander princeps gentis, inuectus primum in Athenienses, libertatis quondam duces et auctores, adsentationis propriae gratia communem causam prodentes, questus deinde [est] Achaeos, Philippi quondam milites, ad postremum inclinata fortuna eius transfugas, et Corinthum recepissee et id agere ut Argos habeant, Aetolos, primos hostes Philippi, semper socios Romanorum, pactos in foedere suas urbes agrosque fore deuicto Philippo fraudari Echino et Pharsalo, insimulauit fraudis Romanos quod uano titulo libertatis ostentato Chalcidem et Demetriadem praesidiis tenerent, qui Philippo cunctanti deducere inde praesidia obicere semper soliti sint, nunquam donec Demetrias Chalcisque et Corinthus tenerentur liberam Graeciam fore, postremo quia manendi in Graecia retinendique exercitus Argos et Nabim causam facerent.

deportarent legiones in Italiam: Aetolos polliceri aut condicionibus et uoluntate sua Nabim praesidium Argis deducturum, aut ui atque armis coacturos in potestate consentientis Graeciae esse.

[24] Haec uaniloquentia primum Aristaenum praetorem Achaeorum excitauit. ‘ne istuc’ inquit ‘Iuppiter optimus maximus sirit Iunoque regina cuius in tutela Argi sunt, ut illa ciuitas inter tyrannum Lacedaemonium et latrones Aetolos praemium sit posita in eo discrimine ut miserius a uobis recipiatur quam ab illo capta est. mare interiectum ab istis praedonibus non tuetur nos, T. Quinti: quid si in media Peloponneso arcem sibi fecerint futurum nobis est? linguam tantum Graecorum habent sicut speciem hominum: moribus ritibusque efferatioribus quam ulli barbari, immo quam immanes beluae uiuunt. itaque uos rogamus, Romani, ut et ab Nabide Argos reciperetis et ita res Graeciae constituatis ut ab latrocinio quoque Aetolorum satis pacata haec relinquantis.’ Romanus cunctis undique increpantibus Aetolos responsurum se fuisse iis dixit, nisi ita infensos omnes in eos uideret ut sedandi potius quam inritandi essent. contentum itaque opinione ea quae de Romanis Aetolisque esset referre se dixit quid de Nabidis bello placeret, nisi redderet Achaeis Argos. cum omnes bellum decressent, auxilia ut pro uiribus suis quaeque ciuitates mitterent est hortatus. ad Aetolos legatum etiam misit, magis ut nudaret animos, id quod euenit, quam spe impetrari posse.

[25] Tribunis militum ut exercitum ab Elatia arcesserent imperauit. per eosdem dies et Antiochi legatis de societate agentibus respondit nihil se absentibus decem legatis sententiae habere: Romam eundem ad senatum iis esse. ipse copias adductas ab Elatia ducere Argos pergit; atque ei circa Cleonas Aristaenus praetor cum decem milibus Achaeorum, equitibus mille occurrit, et haud procul inde iunctis exercitibus posuerunt castra. postero die in campum Argiuorum descenderunt et quattuor ferme milia ab Argis locum castris capiunt. praefectus praesidii Laconum erat Pythagoras, gener idem tyranni et uxoris eius frater, qui sub aduentum Romanorum et utrasque arces — nam duas habent Argi — et loca alia quae aut opportuna aut suspecta erant ualidis praesidiis firmauit; sed inter haec agenda pauorem iniectum aduentu Romanorum dissimulare haudquaquam poterat. et ad externum terrorem intestina etiam seditio accessit. Damocles erat

Arguius, adulescens maioris animi quam consilii, qui primo iure iurando interposito de praesidio expellendo cum idoneis conlocutus, dum uires adicere coniurationi studet incautior fidei aestimator fuit. conloquentem eum cum suis satelles a praefecto missus cum accerseret, sensit proditum consilium esse hortatusque <est> coniuratos qui aderant ut potius quam extorti morentur arma secum caperent. atque ita cum paucis in forum pergit ire clamitans ut qui saluam rem publicam uellent auctorem et ducem se libertatis sequerentur. haud sane mouit quemquam, quia nihil usquam spei propinquae nedum satis firmi praesidii cernebant. haec uociferantem eum Lacedaemonii circumuentum cum suis interfecerunt. comprehensi deinde quidam et alii; ex iis occisi plures, pauci in custodiam coniecti; <alii> proxima nocte funibus per murum demissi ad Romanos perfugerunt.

[26] Quinctius adfirmantibus iis, si ad portas exercitus Romanus fuisset, non sine effectum motum eum futurum fuisse et, si propius castra admouerentur, non quieturos Argiuos, misit expeditos pedites equitesque, qui circa Cylarabim — gymnasium id est minus trecentos passus ab urbe — cum erumpentibus a porta Lacedaemoniis proelium commiserunt atque eos haud magno certamine compulerunt in urbem. et castra eo ipso loco ubi pugnatum erat imperator Romanus posuit; diem inde unum in speculis fuit, si quid noui motus oreretur. postquam oppressam metu ciuitatem uidit, aduocat consilium de oppugnandis Argis. omnium principum Graeciae praeter Aristaenum eadem sententia erat, cum causa belli non alia esset, inde potissimum ordiendi bellum. Quinctio id nequaquam placebat, et Aristaenum contra omnium consensum disserentem cum haud dubia adprobatione audiuit; et ipse adiecit, cum pro Argiuis aduersus tyrannum bellum susceptum sit, quid minus conueniens esse quam omisso hoste Argos oppugnari? se uero caput belli Lacedaemonem et tyrannum petiturum. et dimisso consilio frumentatum expeditas cohortes misit. quod maturi erat circa, demessum et conuectum est: uiride, ne hostes mox haberent, protritum et corruptum. castra deinde mouit et Parthenio superato monte praeter Tegeam tertio die ad Caryas posuit castra. ibi priusquam hostium intraret agrum, sociorum auxilia expectauit. uenerunt Macedones a Philippo mille et quingenti et Thessalorum

equites quadringenti. nec iam auxilia, quorum adfatim erat, sed commeatus finitumis urbibus imperati morabantur Romanum. nauales quoque magnae copiae conueniebant: iam ab Leucade L. Quinctius quadraginta nauibus uenerat, iam Rhodiae duodeuiginti tectae naues, iam Eumenes rex circa Cycladas insulas erat cum decem tectis nauibus, triginta lembis mixtisque aliis minoris formae nauigiis. ipsorum quoque Lacedaemoniorum exules permulti, tyrannorum iniuria pulsi, spe reciperae patriae in castra Romana conuenerunt; multi autem erant iam per aliquot aetates ex quo tyranni tenebant Lacedaemonem, alii ab aliis expulsi. princeps erat exulum Agesipolis, cuius iure gentis regnum Lacedaemone erat, pulsus infans ab Lycurgo tyranno post mortem Cleomenis qui primus tyrannus Lacedaemone fuit.

[27] Cum terra marique tantum belli circumstaret tyrannum et prope nulla spes esset uere suas hostiumque aestimanti uires, non tamen omisit bellum sed et a Creta mille delectos iuuentutis eorum exciuit, cum mille iam haberet, et tria milia mercennariorum militum, decem milia popularium cum castellanis agrestibus in armis habuit et fossa ualloe urbem communiuit; et ne quid intestini motus oreretur, metu et acerbitate poenarum tenebat animos, quoniam ut saluum uellent tyrannum sperare non poterat. cum suspectos quosdam ciuium haberet, eductis in campum omnibus copiis — Dromon ipsi uocant — positis armis ad contionem uocari iubet Lacedaemonios atque eorum contioni satellites armatos circumdedit. et pauca praefatus cur sibi omnia timenti cauentique ignoscendum in tali tempore foret, et ipsorum referre si quos suspectos status praesens rerum faceret prohiberi potius ne quid moliri possint quam puniri molientes; itaque quosdam se in custodia habiturum donec ea quae instet tempestas praetereat: hostibus repulsis — a quibus, si modo proditio intestina satis caueatur, minus periculi esse- extemplo eos emissurum; sub haec citari nomina octoginta ferme principum iuuentutis iussit atque eos, ut quisque ad nomen responderat, in custodiam tradidit: nocte insequenti omnes interfecti. Ilotarum deinde quidam — hi sunt iam inde antiquitus castellani, agreste genus — transfugere uoluisse insimulati per omnes uicos sub uerberibus acti necantur. hoc terrore obstipuerant multitudinis animi ab omni conatu nouorum consiliorum. intra munitiones copias

continebat nec parem se ratus, si dimicare acie uellet, et urbem relinquere tam suspensis et incertis omnium animis metuens.

[28] Quinctius satis iam omnibus paratis profectus ab statuiis die altero ad Sellasiam super Oenunta fluuium peruenit, quo in loco Antigonus Macedonum rex cum Cleomene Lacedaemoniorum tyranno signis conlatis dimicasse dicebatur. inde cum audisset descensum difficilis et artae uiae esse, breui per montes circuitu praemissis qui munirent uiam, lato satis et patenti limite ad Eurotam amnem, sub ipsis prope fluentem moenibus, peruenit. ubi castra metantes Romanos Quinctiumque ipsum cum equitibus atque expeditis praegressum auxiliares tyranni adorti in terrorem ac tumultum coniecerunt nihil tale expectantes quia nemo iis obuius toto itinere fuerat ac ueluti pacato agro transierant. aliquamdiu peditibus equites, equitibus pedites uocantibus, cum in se cuique minimum fiduciae esset, trepidatum est; tandem signa legionum superuenerunt et, cum primi agminis cohortes inductae in proelium essent, qui modo terrori fuerant trepidantes in urbem compulsi sunt. Romani cum tantum a muro recessissent ut extra ictum teli essent, acie directa paulisper steterunt; postquam nemo hostium contra exhibat, redierunt in castra. postero die Quinctius prope flumen praeter urbem sub ipsas Menelai montis radices ducere copias instructas pergit: primae legionariae cohortes ibant, leuis armatura et equites agmen cogeant. Nabis intra murum instructos paratosque sub signis habebat mercenarios milites, in quibus omnis fiducia erat, ut ab tergo hostem adgrederetur. postquam extremum agmen praeteriit, tum ab oppido eodem quo pridie eruperant tumultu pluribus simul locis erumpunt. Ap. Claudius agmen cogeant; qui ad id quod futurum erat, ne inopinatum accideret, praeparatis suorum animis signa extemplo conuertit totumque in hostem agmen circumegit. itaque, uelut rectae acies concurrissent, iustum aliquamdiu proelium fuit. tandem Nabidis milites in fugam inclinarunt; quae minus infesta ac trepida fuisset ni Achaei locorum prudentes institissent. ii et caedem ingentem ediderunt et dispersos passim fuga plerosque armis exuerunt. Quinctius prope Amyclas posuit castra; unde cum perpopulatus omnia circumiecta urbi frequentis et amoeni agri loca esset, nullo iam hostium porta excedente castra mouit ad fluuium Eurotam. inde uallem Taygeto subiectam agrosque ad mare

pertinentes euastat.

[29] Eodem fere tempore L. Quinctius maritimae orae oppida partim uoluntate, partim metu aut ui recepit. certior deinde factus Gytheum oppidum omnium maritimarum rerum Lacedaemoniis receptaculum esse nec procul a mari castra Romana abesse, omnibus id copiis adgredi constituit. erat eo tempore ualida urbs et multitudine ciuium incolarumque et omni bellico apparatu instructa. in tempore Quinctio rem haud facilem adgredienti rex Eumenes et classis Rhodiorum superuenerunt. ingens multitudo naualium sociorum e tribus contracta classibus intra paucos dies omnia quae ad oppugnationem urbis terra marique munitae faciunda opera erant effecit. iam testudinibus admotis murus subruebatur, iam arietibus quatiebatur. itaque una crebris ictibus euersa est turris quodque circa muri erat casu eius prostratum; et Romani simul a portu, unde aditus planior erat, ut distenderent ab apertiore loco hostes, simul per patefactum ruina iter inrumpere conabantur. nec multum afuit quin qua intenderant penetrarent; sed tardauit impetum eorum spes obiecta dedendae urbis, mox deinde eadem turbata. Dexagoridas et Gorgopas pari imperio praeerant urbi. Dexagoridas miserat ad legatum Romanum traditurum se urbem; et cum ad eam rem tempus et ratio conuenisset, a Gorgopa proditor interficitur intentiusque ab uno urbs defendebatur. et difficilior facta oppugnatio erat ni T. Quinctius cum quattuor milibus delectorum militum superuenisset. is cum supercilio haud procul distantis tumuli ab urbe instructam aciem ostendisset et ex altera parte L. Quinctius ab operibus suis terra marique instaret, tum uero desperatio Gorgopan quoque coegit id consilii quod in altero morte uindicauerat capere, et pactus ut abducere inde milites quos praesidii causa habebat liceret, tradidit Quinctio urbem. priusquam Gytheum traderetur Pythagoras, praefectus Argis relictus, tradita custodia urbis Timocrati Pellenensi cum mille mercennariis militibus et duobus milibus Argiuorum Lacedaemonem ad Nabim uenit.

[30] Nabis sicut primo aduentu Romanae classis et traditione oppidorum maritimae orae conterritus erat, sic parua spe cum acquieuisset Gytheo ab suis retento, postquam id quoque traditum Romanis audiuit esse <et>, cum ab terra omnibus circa hostibus nihil spei esset, a mari quoque toto se interclusum, cedendum

fortunaе ratus caduceatorem primum in castra misit ad explorandum si paterentur legatos ad se mitti. qua impetrata re Pythagoras ad imperatorem uenit nullis cum aliis mandatis quam ut tyranno conloqui cum imperatore liceret. consilio aduocato cum omnes dandum conloquium censuissent, dies locusque constituitur. in mediae regionis tumulos modicis copiis sequentibus cum uenissent, relictis ibi in statione conspecta utrimque cohortibus Nabis cum delectis custodibus corporis, Quinctius cum fratre et Eumene rege et Sosila Rhodio et Aristaeno Achaeorum praetore tribunisque militum paucis descendit.

[31] Ibi permissio [ut] seu dicere prius seu audire mallet, ita coepit tyrannus: 'si ipse per me, T. Quincti uosque qui adestis, causam excogitare cur mihi aut indixissetis bellum aut inferretis possem, tacitus euentum fortunaе meae expectassem: nunc imperare animo nequii quin, priusquam perirem, cur periturus essem scirem. et hercules, si tales essetis quales esse Carthaginienses fama est, apud quos nihil societatis fides sancti haberet, in me quoque uobis quid faceretis minus pensi esse non mirarer. nunc cum uos intueor, Romanos esse uideo, qui rerum diuinarum foedera, humanarum fidem socialem sanctissimam habeatis; cum me ipse respexi, eum <me> esse spero cui et publice, sicut ceteris Lacedaemoniis, uobiscum uetustissimum foedus sit et meo nomine priuatim amicitia ac societas, nuper Philippi bello renouata. at enim ego eam uiolaui et euerti, quod Argiuorum ciuitatem teneo. quomodo hoc tuear? re an tempore? res mihi duplicem defensionem praebet; nam et ipsis uocantibus ac tradentibus urbem eam accepi, non occupauit, et accepi urbem cum Philippi partium non in uestra societate esset. tempus autem eo me liberat quod, cum iam Argos haberem, societas mihi uobiscum conuenit et ut uobis mitterem ad bellum auxilia, non ut Argis praesidium deducerem pepigistis. at hercule in ea controuersia quae de Argis est superior sum et aequitate rei, quod non uestram urbem sed hostium, quod uolentem non ui coactam accepi, et uestra confessione, quod in condicionibus societatis Argos mihi reliquistis. ceterum nomen tyranni et facta me premunt, quod seruos ad libertatem uoco, quod in agros inopem plebem deduco. de nomine hoc respondere possum me, qualiscumque sum, eundem esse qui fui cum tu ipse mecum, T. Quincti, societatem pepigisti. tum me regem

appellari a uobis memini: nunc tyrannum uocari uideo. itaque si ego nomen imperii mutassem, mihi meae inconstantiae, cum uos mutetis, uobis uestrae reddenda ratio est. quod ad multitudinem seruis liberandis auctam et egentibus diuisum agrum attinet, possum quidem et in hoc me iure temporis tutari: iam feceram haec, qualiacumque sunt, cum societatem mecum pepigistis et auxilia in bello aduersus Philippum accepistis; sed si nunc ea fecissem, non dico “quid in eo uos laesissem aut uestram amicitiam uiolassem?” sed illud, me more atque instituto maiorum fecisse. nolite ad uestras leges atque instituta exigere ea quae Lacedaemone fiunt. nihil comparare singula necesse est. uos a censu equitem, a censu peditem legitis et paucos excellere opibus, plebem subiectam esse illis uultis: noster legum lator non in paucorum manu rem publicam esse uoluit, quem uos senatum appellatis, nec excellere unum aut alterum ordinem in ciuitate, sed per aequationem fortunae ac dignitatis fore credidit ut multi essent qui arma pro patria ferrent. pluribus me ipse egisse quam pro patria sermonis breuitate fateor; et breuiter peroratum esse potuit nihil me, postquam uobiscum institui amicitiam, cur eius uos paeniteret commisisse.’

[32] Ad haec imperator Romanus: ‘amicitia et societas nobis nulla tecum sed cum Pelope, rege Lacedaemoniorum iusto ac legitimo, facta est, cuius ius tyranni quoque qui postea per uim tenuerunt Lacedaemone imperium, quia nos bella nunc Punica, nunc Gallica, nunc alia ex aliis occupauerant, usurparunt, sicut tu quoque hoc Macedonico bello fecisti. nam quid minus conueniret quam eos qui pro libertate Graeciae aduersus Philippum gereremus bellum cum tyranno instituere amicitiam? et tyranno quam qui unquam fuit saeuissimo et uiolentissimo in suos? nobis uero, etiamsi Argos nec cepisses per fraudem nec teneres, liberantibus omnem Graeciam Lacedaemon quoque uindicanda in antiquam libertatem erat atque in leges suas, quarum modo tamquam aemulus Lycurgi mentionem fecisti. an ut ab Iaso et Bargyliis praesidia Philippi deducantur curae erit nobis, Argos et Lacedaemonem, duas clarissimas urbes, lumina quondam Graeciae, sub pedibus tuis relinquemus quae titulum nobis liberatae Graeciae seruientes deforment? at enim cum Philippo Argiui senserunt. remittimus hoc tibi ne nostram uicem irascaris. satis compertum habemus duorum aut summum trium in ea re, non

ciuitatis culpam esse, tam hercule quam in te tuoque praesidio accersendo accipiendoque in arcem nihil esse publico consilio actum. Thessalos et Phocenses et Locrenses consensu omnium scimus partium Philippi fuisse, tamen cum cetera liberauimus Graecia: quid tandem censes in Argiuis, qui insontes publici consilii sint, facturos? seruorum ad libertatem uocatorum et egentibus hominibus agri diuisi crimina tibi obici dicebas, non quidem nec ipsa mediocria; sed quid ista sunt prae iis quae a te tuisque cotidie alia super alia facinora eduntur? exhibe liberam contionem uel Argis uel Lacedaemone, si audire iuuat uera dominationis impotentissimae crimina. ut alia omnia uetustiora omittam, quam caedem Argis Pythagoras iste, gener tuus, paene in oculis meis edidit? quam tu ipse, cum iam prope in finibus Lacedaemoniorum essem? agedum, quos in contione comprehensos omnibus audientibus ciuibus tuis te in custodia habiturum esse pronuntiasti, iube uinctos produci: miseri parentes quos falso lugent uiuere sciant. at enim, ut iam ita sint haec, quid ad uos, Romani? hoc tu dicas liberantibus Graeciam? hoc iis qui ut liberare possent mare traiecerunt, terra marique gesserunt bellum? “uos tamen” inquis “uestramque amicitiam ac societatem proprie non uiolauit,” quotiens uis te id arguam fecisse? sed nolo pluribus: summam rem complectar. quibus igitur rebus amicitia uiolatur? nempe his maxime duabus, si socios meos pro hostibus habeas, si cum hostibus te coniungas. utrumque a te factum est; nam et Messenen, uno atque eodem iure foederis quo et Lacedaemonem in amicitiam nostram acceptam, socius ipse sociam nobis urbem ui atque armis cepisti et cum Philippo, hoste nostro, non societatem solum sed, si diis placet, adfinitatem etiam per Philoclen praefectum eius pepigisti et, <ut> bellum aduersus nos gerens, mare circa Maleum infestum nauibus piraticis fecisti et plures prope ciues Romanos quam Philippus cepisti atque occidisti, tutiorque Macedoniae ora quam promunturium Maleae commeatus ad exercitus nostros portantibus nauibus fuit. proinde parce, sis, fidem ac iura societatis iactare et omissa populari oratione tamquam tyrannus et hostis loquere.’

[33] Sub haec Aristaenus nunc monere Nabim, nunc etiam orare ut dum liceret, dum occasio esset, sibi ac fortunis suis consuleret; referre deinde nominatim tyrannos ciuitatum finitimarum coepit, qui

deposito imperio restitutaque libertate suis non tutam modo sed etiam honoratam inter ciues senectutem egissent. his dictis in uicem auditisque nox prope diremit conloquium. postero die Nabis Argis se cedere ac deducere praesidium, quando ita Romanis placeret, et captiuos et perfugas redditurum dixit; aliud si quid postularent, scriptum ut ederent petiit, ut deliberare cum amicis posset. ita et tyranno tempus datum ad consultandum est et Quinctius sociorum etiam principibus adhibitis habuit consilium. maximae partis sententia erat perseuerandum in bello esse et tollendum tyrannum: nunquam aliter tutam libertatem Graeciae fore; satius multo fuisse non moueri bellum aduersus eum quam omitti motum; et ipsum uelut comprobata dominatione firmiorem futurum auctore iniusti imperii adsumpto populo Romano et exemplo multos in aliis ciuitatibus ad insidiandum libertati ciuium suorum incitaturum. ipsius imperatoris animus ad pacem inclinatioer erat. uidebat enim compulso intra moenia hoste nihil praeter obsidionem restare, eam autem fore [et] diuturnam; non enim Gytheum, quod ipsum tamen traditum, non expugnatum esset, sed Lacedaemonem, ualidissimam urbem uiris armisque, oppugnatuos. unam spem fuisse si qua admouentibus exercitum dissensio inter ipsos ac seditio excitari posset: cum signa portis prope inferri cernerent, neminem se mouisse. adiciebat et cum Antiocho infidam pacem Uillum legatum inde redeuntem nuntiare: multo maioribus quam ante terrestribus naualibusque copiis in Europam eum transisse. si occupasset obsidio Lacedaemonis exercitum, quibus aliis copiis aduersus regem tam ualidum ac potentem bellum gesturos? haec propalam dicebat: illa tacita suberat cura ne nouus consul Graeciam prouinciam sortiretur et incohata belli uictoria successor tradenda esset.

[34] Cum aduersus tendendo nihil moueret socios, simulando se transire in eorum sententiam omnes in adsensum consilii sui traduxit. ‘bene uertat’ inquit, ‘obsideamus Lacedaemonem, quando ita placet. illud modo ne fallat: [ceterum] cum res tam lenta quam ipsi scitis oppugnatio urbium sit et obsidentibus prius saepe quam obsessis taedium adferat, iam nunc hoc ita proponere uos animis oportet hibernandum circa Lacedaemonis moenia esse. quae mora si laborem tantum ac periculum haberet, ut et animis et corporibus ad sustinenda ea parati essetis hortarer uos; nunc impensa quoque magna eget in

opera, in machinationes et tormenta quibus tanta urbs oppugnanda est, in commeatus uobis nobisque in hiemem expediendos. itaque, ne aut repente trepidetis aut rem incohatam turpiter destituatis, scribendum ante uestris ciuitatibus censeo explorandumque quid quaeque animi, quid uirium habeat. auxiliorum satis superque habeo; sed quo plures sumus, pluribus rebus egebimus. nihil iam praeter nudum solum ager hostium habet: ad hoc hiems accedet ad comportandum ex longinquo difficilis.’ haec oratio primum animos omnium ad respicienda <sua> cuiusque domestica mala conuertit, segnitiam, inuidiam et obtrectationem domi manentium aduersus militantes, libertatem difficilem ad consensum, inopiam publicam, malignitatem conferendi ex priuato. uersis itaque subito uoluntatibus faceret quod e re publica populi Romani sociorumque esse crederet imperatori permiserunt.

[35] Inde Quinctius adhibitis legatis tantum tribunisque militum condiciones in quas pax cum tyranno fieret has conscripsit: sex mensium indutiae ut essent Nabidi Romanisque et Eumeni regi et Rhodiis; legatos extemplo mitterent Romam T. Quinctius et Nabis, ut pax [ex] auctoritate senatus confirmaretur; et qua die scriptae condiciones pacis editae Nabidi forent, ea dies ut indutiarum principium esset, et ut ex ea die intra decimum diem ab Argis ceterisque oppidis quae in Argiuorum agro essent praesidia omnia deducerentur uacuaeque et libera traderentur Romanis, et ne quod inde mancipium regium publicumue aut priuatum educeretur: si qua dolo malo publice aut priuatim ante educta forent, dominis recte restituerentur; naues quas ciuitatibus maritimis ademisset redderet neu ipse nauem ullam praeter duos lembos, qui non plus quam sedecim remis agerentur, haberet; perfugas et captiuos omnibus sociis populi Romani ciuitatibus redderet et Messeniis omnia quae comparerent quaeque domini cognoscent; exulibus quoque Lacedaemoniis liberos coniuges restitueret quae earum uiros sequi uoluissent, inuita ne qua exulis comes esset; mercennariorum militum Nabidis qui aut in ciuitates suas aut ad Romanos transissent, iis res suae omnes recte redderentur; in Creta insula ne quam urbem haberet, quas habuisset redderet Romanis; ne quam societatem cum ullo Cretensium aut quoquam alio institueret neu bellum gereret; ciuitatibus omnibus, quasque [et] ipse restituisset quaeque se suaque

in fidem ac dicionem populi Romani tradidissent, omnia praesidia deduceret seque ipse suosque ab iis abstineret; ne quod oppidum neu quod castellum in suo alienoue agro conderet; obsides ea ita futura daret quinque quos imperatori Romano placuisset et filium in iis suum, et talenta centum argenti in praesenti et quinquaginta talenta in singulos annos per annos octo.

[36] Haec conscripta castris propius urbem motis Lacedaemonem mittuntur. nec sane quicquam eorum satis placebat tyranno, nisi quod praeter spem reducendorum exulum mentio nulla facta erat; maxime autem omnium ea res offendebat quod et naues et maritimae ciuitates ademptae erant. fuerat autem ei magno fructui mare omnem oram <a> Maleo praedatoriis nauibus infestam habenti; iuuentutem praeterea ciuitatum earum ad supplementum longe optimi generis militum habebat. has condiciones quamquam ipse in secreto uolutauerat cum amicis, uolgo tamen omnes fama ferebant, uanis ut ad ceteram fidem sic ad secreta tegenda satellitum regionum ingeniis. non tam omnia uniuersi quam ea quae ad quemque pertinerent singuli carpebant. qui exulum coniuges in matrimonio habebant aut ex bonis eorum aliquid possederant, tamquam amissuri, non reddituri indignabantur. seruis liberatis a tyranno non inrita modo futura libertas sed multo foedior quam fuisset ante seruitus redeuntibus in iratorum dominorum potestatem ante oculos obuersabatur. mercennarii milites et pretia militiae casura in pace aegre ferebant et reditum sibi nullum esse in ciuitates uidebant infensas non tyrannis magis quam satellitibus eorum.

[37] Haec inter se primo circulos serentes fremere; deinde subito ad arma discurrerunt. quo tumultu cum per se satis inritatam multitudinem cerneret tyrannus, contionem aduocari iussit. ubi cum ea quae imperarentur ab Romanis exposuisset et grauiora atque indigniora quaedam falso adfinxisset, et ad singula nunc ab uniuersis nunc a partibus contionis acclamaretur, interrogauit quid se respondere ad ea aut quid facere uellent. prope una uoce omnes nihil responderi et bellum geri iusserunt; et pro se quisque, qualia multitudo solet, bonum animum habere et bene sperare iubentes, fortes fortunam adiuuare aiebant. his uocibus incitatus tyrannus et Antiochum Aetolosque adiuturos pronuntiat et sibi ad obsidionem sustinendam copiarum adfatim esse. exciderat pacis mentio ex

omnium animis, et in stationes non ultra quieturi discurrunt. paucorum excursio lacescentium et emissa iacula extemplo et Romanis dubitationem quin bellandum esset exemerunt. leuia inde proelia per quadriduum primum sine ullo satis certo euentu commissa. quinto die prope iusta pugna adeo pauentes in oppidum Lacedaemonii compulsi sunt ut quidam milites Romani terga fugientium caedentes per intermissa, ut tunc erant, moenia urbem intrarint.

[38] Et tunc quidem Quinctius satis eo terrore coercitis excursionibus hostium nihil praeter ipsius oppugnationem urbis superesse ratus, missis qui omnes nauales socios a Gytheo accerserent, ipse interim cum tribunis militum ad uisendum urbis situm moenia circumuehitur. fuerat quondam sine muro Sparta; tyranni nuper locis patentibus planisque obiecerant murum: altiora loca et difficiliora aditu stationibus armatorum pro munimento obiectis tutabantur. ubi satis omnia inspexit, corona oppugnandum ratus omnibus copiis-erant autem Romanorum sociorumque, simul peditum equitumque, simul terrestrium ac naualium copiarum, ad quinquaginta milia hominum- urbem cinxit. alii scalas, alii ignem, alii alia quibus non oppugnarent modo sed etiam terrerent, portabant. iussi clamore sublato subire undique omnes, ut qua primum occurrerent quae opem ferrent ad omnia simul pauentes Lacedaemonii ignorarent. quod roboris in exercitu erat, trifariam diuisum: parte una a Phoebeo, altera a Dictynnaeo, tertia ab eo loco quem Heptagonias appellant — omnia autem haec aperta sine muro loca sunt-adgredi iubet. cum tantus undique terror urbem circumuasisset, primo tyrannus et ad clamores repentinos et ad nuntios trepidos motus, ut quisque maxime laboraret locus, aut ipse occurrebat aut aliquos mittebat; deinde circumfuso undique pauore ita obtorpuisset ut nec dicere quod in rem esset nec audire posset, nec inops modo consilii sed uix mentis compos esset.

[39] Romanos primo sustinebant in angustiis Lacedaemonii, ternaque acies tempore uno locis diuersis pugnabant; deinde crescente certamine nequaquam erat proelium par. missilibus enim Lacedaemonii pugnabant, a quibus se et magnitudine scuti perfacile Romanus tuebatur miles et quod alii uani, alii leues admodum ictus erant. nam propter angustias loci confertamque turbam non modo ad

emittenda cum procursu, quo plurimum concitantur, tela spatium habebant, sed ne ut de gradu quidem libero ac stabili conarentur. itaque ex aduerso missa tela nulla in corporibus, rara in scutis haerebant; ab circumstantibus ex superioribus locis uulnerati quidam sunt; mox progressos iam etiam ex tectis non tela modo sed tegulae quoque inopinantes perculerunt. sublatis deinde supra capita scutis continuatisque ita inter se ut non modo ad caecos ictus sed ne ad inserendum quidem ex propinquo telum loci quicquam esset, testudine facta subibant. et primae angustiae paulisper sua hostiumque refertae turba tenuerunt: postquam in patentiorem uiam urbis paulatim urgentes hostem processere, non ultra uis eorum atque impetus sustineri poterant. cum terga uertissent Lacedaemonii et fuga effusa superiora peterent loca, Nabis quidem ut capta urbe trepidans quam ipse euaderet circumspectabat: Pythagoras cum ad cetera animo officioque ducisungebatur, tunc uero unus ne caperetur urbs causa fuit; succendi enim aedificia proxima muro iussit. quae cum momento temporis arsissent, ut adiuuantibus ignem qui alias ad extinguendum opem ferre solent, ruere in Romanos tecta nec tegularum modo fragmenta sed etiam ambusta tigna ad armatos peruenire et flamma late fundi, fumus terrorem etiam maiorem quam periculum facere. itaque et qui extra urbem erant Romanorum, tum maxime impetus facientes, recessere a muro et qui iam intrauerant, ne incendio ab tergo oriente intercluderentur ab suis, receperunt sese; et Quinctius postquam quid rei esset uidit, receptui canere iussit. ita iam capta prope urbe reuocati redierunt in castra.

[40] Quinctius plus ex timore hostium quam ex re ipsa spei nactus per triduum insequens territauit eos nunc proeliis lacessendo, nunc operibus, intersaepiendoque quaedam ne exitus ad fugam esset. his comminationibus compulsus tyrannus Pythagoran rursus oratorem misit; quem Quinctius primo aspernatus excedere castris iussit, dein suppliciter orantem aduolutumque genibus tandem audiuit. prima oratio fuit omnia permittentis arbitrio Romanorum; dein cum ea uelut uana et sine effectum nihil proficeret, eo deducta est res ut iis condicionibus quae ex scripto paucis ante diebus editae erant indutiae fierent, pecuniaque et obsides accepti. dum oppugnatur tyrannus, Argiui nuntiis aliis [prope] super alios adferentibus tantum non iam captam Lacedaemonem esse erecti et ipsi, simul eo quod Pythagoras

cum parte ualidissima praesidii excesserat, contempta paucitate eorum qui in arce erant, duce Archippo quodam praesidium expulerunt; Timocratem Pellenensem, quia clementer praefuerat, uiuum fide data emiserunt. huic laetitiae Quinctius superuenit pace data tyranno dimissisque ab Lacedaemone Eumene et Rhodiis et L. Quinctio fratre ad classem.

[41] Laeta ciuitas celeberrimum festorum dierum ac nobile ludicrum Nemeorum, die stata propter belli mala praetermissum, in aduentum Romani exercitus ducisque indixerunt praefeceruntque ludis ipsum imperatorem. multa erant quae gaudium cumularent: reducti ciues ab Lacedaemone erant quos nuper Pythagoras quosque ante Nabis abduxerat; redierant qui post compertam a Pythagra coniurationem et caede iam coepta effugerant; libertatem ex longo interuallo libertatisque auctores Romanos, quibus causa bellandi cum tyranno ipsi fuissent, cernebant. testata quoque ipso Nemeorum die uoce praeconis libertas est Argiuorum. Achaeis quantum restituti Argi in commune Achaiae concilium laetitiae adferebant, tantum serua Lacedaemon relictam et lateri adhaerens tyrannus non sincerum gaudium praebebant. Aetoli uero eam rem omnibus conciliis lacerare: cum Philippo non ante desitum bellari quam omnibus excederet Graeciae urbibus, tyranno relictam Lacedaemonem; regem autem legitimum, qui in Romanis fuerit castris, ceterosque nobilissimos ciues in exilio uicturos; Nabidis dominationis satellitem factum populum Romanum. Quinctius ab Argis Elatiam, unde ad bellum Spartanum profectus erat, copias reduxit. sunt qui non ex oppido proficiscentem bellum gessisse tyrannum tradant sed castris aduersus Romana positis castra diuque cunctatum, quia Aetolorum auxilia expectasset, coactum ad extremum acie configere impetu in pabulatores suos a Romanis facto: eo proelio uictum castrisque exutum pacem petisse, cum cecidissent quattuordecim milia militum, capta plus quattuor milia essent.

[42] Eodem fere tempore et a T. Quinctio de rebus ad Lacedaemonem gestis et a M. Porcio consule ex Hispania litterae allatae. utriusque nomine in dies ternos supplicatio ab senatu decreta est. L. Ualerius consul, cum post fusos circa Litanam siluam Boios quietam prouinciam habuisset, comitiorum causa Romam rediit et creauit consules P. Cornelium Scipionem Africanum iterum et Ti.

Sempronium Longum. horum patres primo anno secundi Punici belli consules fuerant. praetoria inde comitia habita: creati P. Cornelius Scipio et duo Cn. Corneli, Merenda et Blasio, et Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus et Sex. Digitius et T. Iuuentius Thalna. comitiis perfectis consul in prouinciam rediit. nouum ius eo anno a Ferentinatibus temptatum, ut Latini qui in coloniam Romanam nomina dedissent ciues Romani essent: Puteolos Salernumque et Buxentum adscripti coloni qui nomina dederant, et, cum ob id se pro ciuibus Romanis ferrent, senatus iudicauit non esse eos ciues Romanos.

[43] Principio anni quo P. Scipio Africanus iterum et Ti. Sempronius Longus consules fuerunt, legati Nabidis tyranni Romam uenerunt. iis extra urbem in aede Apollinis senatus datus est. pax quae cum T. Quinctio conuenisset ut rata esset petierunt impetraruntque. de prouinciis cum relatum esset, senatus frequens in eam sententiam ibat ut, quoniam in Hispania et Macedonia debellatum foret, consulibus ambobus Italia prouincia esset. Scipio satis esse Italiae unum consulem censebat, alteri Macedoniam decernendam esse: bellum graue ab Antiocho imminere, iam ipsum sua sponte in Europam transgressum. quid deinde facturum censerent, cum hinc Aetoli, haud dubii hostes, uocarent ad bellum, illinc Hannibal, Romanis cladibus insignis imperator, stimulet? dum de prouinciis consulum disceptatur, praetores sortiti sunt: Cn. Domitio urbana iurisdictio, T. Iuuentio peregrina euenit, P. Cornelio Hispania ulterior, Sex. Digitio citerior, duobus Cn. Corneliis, Blasioni Sicilia, Merendae Sardinia. in Macedoniam nouum exercitum transportari non placuit, eum qui esset ibi reduci in Italiam a Quinctio ac dimitti; item eum exercitum dimitti qui cum M. Porcio Catone in Hispania esset; consulibus ambobus Italiam prouinciam esse et duas urbanas scribere eos legiones, ut dimissis quos senatus censuisset exercitibus octo omnino Romanae legiones essent.

[44] Uer sacrum factum erat priore anno, M. Porcio et L. Ualerio consulibus. id cum P. Licinius pontifex non esse recte factum collegio primum, deinde ex auctoritate collegii patribus renuntiasset, de integro faciendum arbitrato pontificum censuerunt ludosque magnos qui una uoti essent tanta pecunia quanta adsoleret faciendos: uer sacrum uideri pecus quod natum esset inter kal. Martias et pridie

kal. Maias P. Cornelio et Ti. Sempronio consulibus. censorum inde comitia sunt habita. creati censores Sex. Aelius Paetus et C. Cornelius Cethegus. <ii> principem senatus P. Scipionem consulem, quem et priores censores legerant, legerunt. tres omnino senatores, neminem curuli honore usum, praeterierunt. gratiam quoque ingentem apud eum ordinem pepererunt, quod ludis Romanis aedilibus curulibus imperarunt ut loca senatoria secernerent a populo; nam antea in promiscuo spectarant. equitibus quoque perpaucis adempti equi, nec in ullum ordinem saeuitum. atrium Libertatis et uilla publica ab iisdem refecta amplificataque. uer sacrum ludique Romani uotiui quos uouerat Ser. Sulpicius Galba consul facti. cum spectaculo eorum occupati animi hominum essent, Q. Pleminius, qui propter multa in deos hominesque scelera Locris admissa in carcerem coniectus fuerat, comparauerat homines qui pluribus simul locis urbis nocte incendia facerent, ut in consternata nocturno tumultu ciuitate refringi carcer posset. ea res indicio consciorum palam facta delataque ad senatum est. Pleminius in inferiorem demissus carcerem est necatusque.

[45] Coloniae ciuium Romanorum eo anno deductae sunt Puteolos Uolturnum Liternum, treceni homines in singulas. item Salernum Buxentumque coloniae ciuium Romanorum deductae sunt. deduxere triumuii Ti. Sempronius Longus, qui tum consul erat, M. Seruilius Q. Minucius Thermus. ager diuisus est, qui Campanorum fuerat. Sipontum item in agrum qui Arpinorum fuerat coloniam ciuium Romanorum alii triumuii, D. Iunius Brutus M. Baebius Tamphilus M. Heluius deduxerunt. Tempsam item et Crotonem coloniae ciuium Romanorum deductae. Tempsanus ager de Bruttiiis captus erat: Bruttii Graecos expulerant; Crotonem Graeci habebant. triumuii Cn. Octavius L. Aemilius Paulus C. Laetorius Crotonem, Tempsam L. Cornelius Merula Q. <. .> C. Salonius deduxerunt. prodigia quoque alia uisa eo anno Romae sunt, alia nuntiata. in foro et comitio et Capitolio sanguinis guttae uisae sunt; et terra aliquotiens pluuit et caput Uolcani arsit. nuntiatum est Nare amni lac fluxisse, pueros ingenuos Arimini sine oculis ac naso et in Piceno agro non pedes, non manus habentem natum. ea prodigia ex pontificum decreto procurata. et sacrificium nouemdiale factum est, quod Hadriani nuntiauerant in agro suo lapidibus pluuisse.

[46] In Gallia L. Ualerius Flaccus proconsul circa Mediolanium cum Gallis Insubribus et Bois, qui Dorulato duce ad concitandos Insubres Padum transgressi erant, signis conlatis depugnauit; decem milia hostium sunt caesa. per eos dies collega eius M. Porcius Cato ex Hispania triumphauit. tulit in eo triumpho argenti infecti uiginti quinque milia pondo, bigati centum uiginti tria milia, Oscensis quingenta quadraginta, auri pondo mille quadringenta. militibus ex praeda diuisit in singulos ducenos septuagenos aeris, triplex equiti. Ti. Sempronius consul in prouinciam profectus in Boiorum primum agrum legiones duxit. Boiorix tum regulus eorum cum duobus fratribus tota gente concitata ad rebellandum castra locis apertis posuit, ut appareret dimicatueros si hostis fines intrasset. consul ubi quantae copiae, quanta fiducia esset hosti sensit, nuntium ad collegam mittit ut, si uideretur ei, maturaret uenire: se tergiuersando in aduentum eius rem extracturum. quae causa consuli cunctandi, eadem Gallis, praeterquam quod cunctatio hostium animos faciebat, rei maturandae erat ut priusquam coniungerentur consulum copiae rem transigerent. per biduum tamen nihil aliud quam steterunt parati ad pugnandum, si quis contra egrederetur; tertio subiere ad uallum castraque simul ab omni parte adgressi sunt. consul arma extemplo capere milites iussit; armatos inde paulisper continuit, ut et stolidam fiduciam hosti augetet et disponderet copias quibus quaeque portis erumperent. duae legiones duabus principalibus portis signa efferre iussae. sed in ipso exitu ita conferti obstitere Galli ut clauderent uiam. diu in angustiis pugnatum est; nec dextris magis gladiisque gerebatur res quam scutis corporibusque ipsis obnixa urgebant, Romani ut signa foras efferrent, Galli ut aut in castra ipsi penetrarent aut exire Romanos prohiberent. nec ante in hanc aut illam partem moueri acies potuerunt quam Q. Uictorius primi pili centurio et C. Atinius tribunus militum, quartae hic, ille secundae legionis, rem in asperis proeliis saepe temptatam, signa adempta signiferis in hostes iniecerunt. dum repetunt enixe signum, priores secundani se porta eiecerunt.

[47] Iam hi extra uallum pugnabant, quarta legione in porta haerente, cum alius tumultus ex auersa parte castrorum est exortus. in portam quaestoriam inruperant Galli resistentesque pertinacius occiderant L. Postumium quaestorem, cui Tympano fuit cognomen,

et M. Atinium et P. Sempronium praefectos socium, et ducentos ferme milites. capta ab ea parte castra erant, donec cohors extraordinaria, missa a consule ad tuendam quaestoriam portam, et eos qui intra uallum erant partim occidit partim expulit castris et inrumpentibus obstitit. eodem fere tempore et quarta legio cum duabus extraordinariis cohortibus porta erupit. ita simul tria proelia circa castra locis distantibus erant clamoresque dissoni ad incertos suorum euentus a praesenti certamine animos pugnantium auertebant. usque ad meridiem aequis uiribus ac prope pari spe pugnatum est. labor et aestus mollia et fluida corpora Gallorum et minime patientia sitis cum decedere pugna coegisset, in paucos restantes impetum Romani fecerunt fusosque compulerunt in castra. signum inde receptui ab consule datum est; ad quod pars maior receperunt sese, pars certaminis studio et spe potiundi castris hostium perstitit ad uallum. eorum paucitate contempta Galli uniuersi ex castris eruperunt: fusi inde Romani quae imperio consulis noluerant suo pauore ac terrore castra repetunt. ita uaria hinc atque illinc nunc fuga, nunc uictoria fuit; Gallorum tamen ad undecim milia, Romanorum quinque milia sunt occisa. Galli recepere in intima finium sese, consul Placentiam legiones duxit.

[48] Scipionem alii coniuncto exercitu cum collega per Boiorum Ligurumque agros populantem isse, quod progredi siluae paludesque passae sint, scribunt, alii nulla memorabili re gesta Romam comitiorum causa redisse. eodem hoc anno T. Quinctius Elatiae, quo in hiberna reduxerat copias, totum hiemis tempus iure dicundo consumpsit mutandisque iis quae aut ipsius Philippi aut praefectorum eius licentia in ciuitatibus facta erant, cum suae factionis hominum uires augendo ius ac libertatem aliorum deprimerent. ueris initio Corinthum conuentu edicto uenit. ibi omnium ciuitatum legationes in contionis modum circumfusas est adlocutus, orsus ab inita primum Romanis amicitia cum Graecorum gente et imperatorum qui ante se in Macedonia fuissent suisque rebus gestis. omnia cum adprobatione ingenti sunt audita, praeterquam cum ad mentionem Nabidis uentum esset: id minime conueniens liberanti Graeciam uidebatur tyrannum reliquisse non suae solum patriae grauem sed omnibus circa ciuitatibus metuendum, haerentem uisceribus nobilissimae ciuitatis.

[49] Nec ignarus huius habitus animorum Quinctius, si sine excidio

Lacedaemonis fieri potuisset, fatebatur pacis cum tyranno mentionem admittendam auribus non fuisse: nunc, cum aliter quam ruina grauissimae ciuitatis opprimi non posset, satius uisum esse tyrannum debilitatum ac totis prope uiribus ad nocendum cuiquam ademptis relinqui quam intermori uehementioribus quam quae pati possit remediis ciuitatem sinere, in ipsa uindicta libertatis perituram. praeteritorum commemorationi subiecit proficisci sibi in Italiam atque omnem exercitum deportare in animo esse: Demetriadis Chalcidisque praesidia intra decimum diem audituros deducta, Acrocorinthum ipsis extemplo uidentibus uacuum Achaeis traditurum, ut omnes scirent utrum Romanis an Aetolis mentiri mos esset, qui male commissam libertatem populo Romano sermonibus distulerint et mutatos pro Macedonibus Romanos dominos. sed illis nec quid dicerent nec quid facerent quicquam unquam pensi fuisse; reliquas ciuitates monere ut ~~ex~~ factis, non ex dictis amicos pensent intellegantque quibus credendum et a quibus cauendum sit. libertate modice utantur: temperatam eam salubrem et singulis et ciuitatibus esse, nimiam et aliis grauem et ipsis qui habeant praecipitem et effrenatam esse. concordiae in ciuitatibus principes et ordines inter se et in commune omnes ciuitates consulerent. aduersus consentientes nec regem quemquam satis ualidum nec tyrannum fore: discordiam et seditionem omnia opportuna insidiantibus facere, cum pars quae domestico certamine inferior sit externo potius se adplicet quam ciui cedat. alienis armis partam, externa fide redditam libertatem sua cura custodirent seruarentque ut populus Romanus dignis datam libertatem ac munus suum bene positum sciret.

[50] Has uelut parentis uoces cum audirent, manare omnibus gaudio lacrimae, adeo ut ipsum quoque confunderent dicentem. paulisper fremitus adprobantium dicta fuit monentiumque aliorum alios ut eas uoces uelut oraculo missas in pectora animosque demitterent. silentio deinde facto petiit ab iis ut ciues Romanos, si qui apud eos in seruitute essent, conquisitos intra duos menses mitterent ad se in Thessaliam: ne ipsis quidem honestum esse in liberata terra liberatores eius seruire. omnes acclamarunt gratias se inter cetera etiam ob hoc agere quod admoniti essent ut tam pio, tam necessario officio fungerentur. ingens numerus erat bello Punico captorum, quos Hannibal, cum ab suis non redimerentur, uenum

dederat. multitudinis eorum argumentum sit quod Polybius scribit centum talentis eam rem Achaeis stetisse, cum quingenos denarios pretium in capita quod redderetur dominis statuissent. mille enim ducentos ea ratione Achaia habuit: adice nunc pro portione quot uerisimile sit Graeciam totam habuisse. nondum conuentus dimissus erat, cum respiciunt praesidium ab Acrocorintho descendens protinus duci ad portam atque abire. quorum agmen imperator secutus prosequentibus cunctis, seruatorem liberatoremque acclamantibus, salutatis dimissisque iis eadem qua uenerat uia Elatiam rediit. inde cum omnibus copiis Ap. Claudium legatum dimittit; per Thessaliam atque Epirum ducere Oricum iubet atque se ibi opperiri: inde namque in animo esse exercitum in Italiam traicere. et L. Quinctio fratri, legato et praefecto classis, scribit ut onerarias ex omni Graeciae ora eodem contraheret.

[51] Ipse Chalcidem profectus, deductis non a Chalcide solum sed etiam ab Oreo atque Eretria praesidiis, conuentum ibi Euboicarum habuit ciuitatum admonitosque in quo statu rerum accepisset eos et in quo relinqueret dimisit. Demetriadem inde proficiscitur deductoque praesidio, prosequentibus cunctis sicut Corinthi et Chalcide, pergit ire in Thessaliam, ubi non liberandae modo ciuitates erant sed ex omni conluuione et confusione in aliquam tolerabilem formam redigendae. nec enim temporum modo uitii ac uiolentia et licentia regia turbati erant sed inquieto etiam ingenio gentis nec comitia nec conuentum nec concilium ullum non per seditionem ac tumultum iam inde a principio ad nostram usque aetatem traducentis. a censu maxime et senatum et iudices legit potentiorumque eam partem ciuitatum fecit cui salua et tranquilla omnia esse magis expediebat.

[52] Ita cum percensuisset Thessaliam, per Epirum Oricum, unde erat traiecturus, uenit. ab Orico copiae omnes Brundisium transportatae; inde per totam Italiam ad urbem prope triumphantes non minore agmine rerum captarum quam suo prae se acto uenerunt. postquam Romam uentum est, senatus extra urbem Quinctio ad res gestas edisserendas datus est triumphusque meritis ab lubentibus decretus. triduum triumphauit. die primo arma tela signaque aerea et marmorea transtulit, plura Philippo adempta quam quae ex ciuitatibus ceperat; secundo aurum argentumque factum infectumque

et signatum. infecti argenti fuit ~decem et octo~ milia pondo et ducenta septuaginta, facti uasa multa omnis generis, caelata pleraque, quaedam eximiae artis; et ex aere multa fabrefacta; ad hoc clipea argentea decem. signati argenti octoginta quattuor milia fuere Atticorum: tetrachma uocant, trium fere denariorum in singulis argenti est pondus. auri pondo fuit tria milia septingenta quattuordecim et clipeum unum ex auro totum et Philippi nummi aurei quattuordecim milia quingenti quattuordecim. tertio die coronae aureae, dona ciuitatum, tralatae centum quattuordecim; et hostiae ductae et ante currum multi nobiles captiui obsidesque, inter quos Demetrius regis Philippi filius fuit et Armenes Nabidis tyranni filius, Lacedaemonius. ipse deinde Quinctius in urbem est inuectus. secuti currum milites frequentes, ut exercitu omni ex prouincia deportato. his duceni quinquageni aeris in pedites diuisi, duplex centurioni, triplex equiti. praeuerunt speciem triumpho capitibus rasis secuti qui seruitute exempti fuerant.

[53] Exitu anni huius Q. Aelius Tubero tribunus plebis ex senatus consulto tulit ad plebem plebesque sciuit uti duae Latinae coloniae, una in Bruttios, altera in Thurinum agrum deducerentur. his deducendis triumuiui creati, quibus in triennium imperium esset, in Bruttios Q. Naeuius M. Minucius Rufus M. Furius Crassipes, in Thurinum agrum A. Manlius Q. Aelius L. Apustius. ea bina comitia Cn. Domitius praetor urbanus in Capitolio habuit. aedes eo anno aliquot dedicatae sunt: una Iunonis Matutae in foro holitorio, uota locataque quadriennio ante a C. Cornelio consule Gallico bello: censor idem dedicauit; altera Fauni: aediles eam biennio ante ex multaticio argento faciendam locarant C. Scribonius et Cn. Domitius, qui praetor urbanus eam dedicauit. et aedem Fortunae Primigeniae in colle Quirinali dedicauit Q. Marcius Ralla, duumuir ad id ipsum creatus: uouerat eam decem annis ante Punico bello P. Sempronius Sophus consul, locauerat idem censor. et in insula Iouis aedem C. Seruilius duumuir dedicauit: uota erat sex annis ante Gallico bello ab L. Furio Purpurione praetore, ab eodem postea consule locata. haec eo anno acta.

[54] P. Scipio ex prouincia Gallia ad consules subrogandos uenit. comitia consulum fuere, quibus creati sunt L. Cornelius Merula et Q. Minucius Thermus. postero die creati sunt praetores L. Cornelius

Scipio M. Fuluius Nobilior C. Scribonius M. Ualerius Messalla L. Porcius Licinus et C. Flaminius. Megalesia ludos scaenicos A. Atilius Serranus L. Scribonius Libo aediles curules primi fecerunt. horum aedilium ludos Romanos primum senatus a populo secretus spectauit praebuitque sermones, sicut omnis nouitas solet, aliis tandem quod multo ante debuerit tributum existimantibus amplissimo ordini, aliis demptum ex dignitate populi quidquid maiestati patrum adiectum esset interpretantibus et omnia discrimina talia quibus ordines discernentur et concordiae et libertatis aequae minuendae esse: ad quingentesimum <quingagesimum> octauum annum in promiscuo spectatum esse; quid repente factum cur immisceri sibi in cauea patres plebem nollent? cur diues pauperem consessorem fastidiret? nouam, superbam libidinem, ab nullius ante gentis senatu neque desideratam neque institutam. postremo ipsum quoque Africanum quod consul auctor eius rei fuisset paenituisse ferunt; adeo nihil motum ex antiquo probabile est: ueteribus, nisi quae usus euidenter arguit, stari malunt.

[55] Principio anni quo L. Cornelius Q. Minucius consules fuerunt terrae motus ita crebri nuntiabantur ut non rei tantum ipsius sed feriarum quoque ob id indictarum homines taederet; nam neque senatus haberi neque res publica administrari poterat sacrificando expiandoque occupatis consulibus. postremo decemuiris adire libros iussis, ex responso eorum supplicatio per triduum fuit. coronati ad omnia puluinaria supplicauerunt edictumque est ut omnes qui ex una familia essent supplicarent pariter. item ex auctoritate senatus consules edixerunt ne quis, quo die terrae motu nuntiato feriae indictae essent, eo die alium terrae motum nuntiaret. prouincias deinde consules prius, tum praetores sortiti. Cornelio Gallia, Minucio Ligures euenerunt; sortiti praetores C. Scribonius urbanam, M. Ualerius peregrinam, L. Cornelius Siciliam, L. Porcius Sardiniam, C. Flaminius Hispaniam citeriorem, M. Fuluius Hispaniam ulteriorem.

[56] Nihil eo anno belli expectantibus consulibus litterae M. Cinci — praefectus is Pisis erat — allatae: Ligurum uiginti milia armatorum coniuratione per omnia conciliabula uniuersae gentis facta Lunensem primum agrum depopulatos, Pisanum deinde finem transgressos omnem oram maris peragrasse. itaque Minucius consul, cui Ligures prouincia euenerat, ex auctoritate patrum in rostra

escendit et edixit ut legiones duae urbanae quae superiore anno conscriptae essent post diem decimum Arretii adessent: in earum locum se duas legiones urbanas scripturum. item sociis et Latino nomini, magistratibus legatisque eorum qui milites dare debebant, edixit ut in Capitolio se adirent. iis quindecim milia peditum et quingentos equites pro numero cuiusque iuniorum discripsit et inde ex Capitolio protinus ire ad portam et, ut maturaretur res, proficisci ad dilectum iussit. Fulvio Flaminioque terna milia Romanorum peditum, centeni equites in supplementum et quina milia socium Latini nominis et duceni equites decreti, mandatumque praetoribus ut ueteres dimitterent milites cum in prouinciam uenissent. cum milites qui in legionibus urbanis erant frequentes tribunos plebei adissent uti causas cognoscerent eorum quibus aut emerita stipendia aut morbus causae essent quo minus militarent, eam rem litterae Ti. Semproni discusserunt, in quibus scriptum erat Ligurum decem milia in agrum Placentinum uenisse et eum usque ad ipsa coloniae moenia et Padi ripas cum caedibus et incendiis perpopulatos esse; Boiorum quoque gentem ad rebellionem spectare. ob eas res tumultum esse decreuit senatus: tribunos plebei non placere causas militares cognoscere quo minus ad edictum conueniretur. adiecerunt etiam ut socii nominis Latini qui in exercitu P. Corneli Ti. Semproni fuissent et dimissi ab iis consulibus essent, ut ad quam diem L. Cornelius consul edixisset et in quem locum edixisset Etruriae conuenirent, et uti L. Cornelius consul in prouinciam proficiscens in oppidis agrisque qua iturus esset si quos ei uideretur milites scriberet armaretque et duceret secum, dimittendique ei quos eorum quandoque uellet ius esset.

[57] Postquam consules dilectu habito profecti in prouincias sunt, tum T. Quinctius postulauit ut de iis quae cum decem legatis ipse statuisset senatus audiret eaque, si uideretur, auctoritate sua confirmaret: id eos facilius facturos si legatorum uerba qui ex uniuersa Graecia et magna parte Asiae quique ab regibus uenissent audissent. eae legationes a C. Scribonio praetore urbano in senatum introductae sunt benigneque omnibus responsum. cum Antiocho quia longior disceptatio erat, decem legatis, quorum pars aut in Asia aut Lysimachiae apud regem fuerant, delegata est. T. Quinctio mandatum ut adhibitis iis legatorum regis uerba audiret responderetque iis quae ex dignitate atque utilitate populi Romani

responderi possent. Menippus et Hegesianax principes regiae legationis erant. ex iis Menippus ignorare se dixit quidnam perplexi sua legatio haberet, cum simpliciter ad amicitiam petendam iungendamque societatem uenissent. esse autem tria genera foederum quibus inter se paciscerentur amicitias ciuitates regesque: unum, cum bello uictis dicerentur leges; ubi enim omnia ei qui armis plus posset dedita essent, quae ex iis habere uictos, quibus multari eos uelit, ipsius ius atque arbitrium esse; alterum, cum pares bello aequo foedere in pacem atque amicitiam uenirent; tunc enim repeti reddique per conuentionem res et, si quarum turbata bello possessio sit, eas aut ex formula iuris antiqui aut ex partis utriusque commodo componi; tertium esse genus cum qui nunquam hostes fuerint ad amicitiam sociali foedere inter se iungendam coeant: eos neque dicere nec accipere leges; id enim uictoris et uicti esse. ex eo genere cum Antiochus esset, mirari se quod Romani aequum censeant leges ei dicere quas Asiae urbium liberas et immunes, quas stipendiarias esse uelint, quas intrare praesidia regia regemque uetent; cum Philippo enim hoste pacem, non cum Antiocho amico societatis foedus ita sancendum esse.

[58] Ad ea Quinctius: ‘quoniam uobis distincte agere libet et genera iungendarum amicitiarum enumerare, ego quoque duas condiciones ponam, extra quas nullam esse regi nuntietis amicitiae cum populo Romano iungendae: unam, si nos nihil quod ad urbes Asiae attinet curare uelit, ut et ipse omni Europa abstineat; alteram, si se ille Asiae finibus non contineat et in Europam transcendat, ut et Romanis ius sit Asiae ciuitatium amicitias et tueri quas habeant et nouas complecti.’ enimuero id auditu etiam dicere indignum esse Hegesianax Thraciae et Chersonesi urbibus arceri Antiochum, <cum> quae Seleucus, proauus eius, Lysimacho rege bello uicto et in acie caeso per summum decus parta reliquerit, pari cum laude eadem, ab Thracibus possessa, partim armis receperit Antiochus, partim deserta, sicut ipsam Lysimachiam, et reuocatis cultoribus frequentauerit et, quae strata ruinis atque incendiis erant, ingentibus impensis aedificauerit: quid igitur simile esse ex ea possessione, ita parta, ita recuperata, deduci Antiochum et Romanos abstinere Asia, quae nunquam eorum fuerit? amicitiam expetere Romanorum Antiochum, sed quae impetrata gloriae sibi, non pudori sit. ad haec Quinctius

‘quandoquidem’ inquit ‘honesta pensamus, sicut aut sola aut prima certe pensari decet principi orbis terrarum populo et tanto regi, utrum tandem uidetur honestius liberas uelle omnes quae ubique sunt Graeciae urbes an seruas et uectigales facere? si sibi Antiochus pulchrum esse censet, quas urbes proauus belli iure habuerit, auus paterque nunquam usurpauerint pro suis, eas repetere in seruitutem, et populus Romanus susceptum patrocinium libertatis Graecorum non deserere fidei constantiaeque suae ducit esse. sicut a Philippo Graeciam liberauit, ita et ab Antiocho Asiae urbes quae Graii nominis sint liberare in animo habet. neque enim in Aeolidem Ioniamque coloniae in seruitutem regiam missae sunt, sed stirpis augendae causa gentisque uetustissimae per orbem terrarum propagandae’.

[59] Cum haesitaret Hegesianax nec infitiri posset honestiorem causam libertatis quam seruitutis praetexti titulo, ‘quin mittimus ambages?’ inquit P. Sulpicius, qui maximus natus ex decem legatis erat, ‘alteram ex duabus condicionibus quae modo diserte a Quinctio latae sunt legite aut supersedete de amicitia agere’. ‘nos uero’ inquit Menippus ‘nec uolumus nec possumus pacisci quicquam quo regnum Antiochi minuatur.’ postero die Quinctius legationes uniuersas Graeciae Asiaeque cum in senatum introduxisset, ut scirent quali animo populus Romanus, quali Antiochus erga ciuitates Graeciae essent, postulata et regis et sua exposuit: renuntiarent ciuitatibus suis populum Romanum, qua uirtute quaque fide libertatem eorum a Philippo uindicauerit, eadem ab Antiocho, nisi decedat Europa, uindicaturum. tum Menippus deprecari et Quinctium et patres institit ne festinarent decernere, quo decreto turbaturi orbem terrarum essent: tempus et sibi sumerent et regi ad cogitandum darent; cogitaturum, cum renuntiatae condiciones essent, et impetraturum aliquid aut pacis causa concessurum. ita integra dilata res est. legatos mitti ad regem eosdem qui Lysimachiae apud eum fuerant placuit, P. Sulpicium P. Uillum P. Aelium.

[60] Uixdum hi profecti erant, cum a Carthagine legati bellum haud dubie parare Antiochum Hannibale ministro attulerunt inieceruntque curam ne simul et Punicum excitaretur bellum. Hannibal patria profugus peruenerat ad Antiochum, sicut ante dictum est, et erat apud regem in magno honore, nulla alia arte nisi quod uoluit diu

consilia de Romano bello nemo aptior super tali re particeps esse sermonis poterat. sententia eius una atque eadem semper erat, ut in Italia bellum gereretur: Italiam et commeatus et militem praebituram externo hosti; si nihil ibi moueatur liceatque populo Romano uiribus et copiis Italiae extra Italiam bellum gerere, neque regem neque gentem ullam parem Romanis esse. sibi centum tectas naues et decem milia peditum, mille equites deposcebat: ea se classe primum Africam petiturum; magno opere confidere et Carthaginienses ad rebellandum ab se compelli posse; si illi cunctentur, se aliqua parte Italiae excitaturum Romanis bellum. regem cum ceteris omnibus transire in Europam debere et in aliqua parte Graeciae copias continere neque traicientem et, quod in speciem famamque belli satis sit, paratum traicere.

[61] In hanc sententiam cum adduxisset regem, praeparandos sibi ad id popularium animos ratus litteras, ne quo casu interceptae palam facerent conata, scribere non est ausus. Aristonem quendam Tyrium nactus Ephesi expertusque sollertiam leuioribus ministeriis, partim donis, partim spe praemiorum oneratum, quibus etiam ipse rex adnuerat, Carthaginem cum mandatis mittit. edit nomina eorum quibus conuentis opus esset; instruit etiam secretis notis, per quas haud dubie agnoscerent sua mandata esse. hunc Aristonem Carthagine obuersantem non prius amici quam inimici Hannibalis qua de causa uenisset cognouerunt. et primo in circulis conuiuissive celebrata sermonibus res est; deinde in senatu quidam nihil actum esse dicere exilio Hannibalis si absens quoque nouas moliri res et sollicitando animos hominum turbare statum ciuitatis posset: Aristonem quendam, Tyrium aduenam, instructum mandatis ab Hannibale et rege Antiocho uenisse; certos homines cotidie cum eo secreta conloquia serere; in occulto concoqui quod mox in omnium perniciem erupturum esset. conclamare omnes uocari Aristonem debere et quaeri quid uenisset et, nisi expromeret, cum legatis Romam mitti: satis pro temeritate unius hominis suppliciorum pensum esse; priuatos suo periculo peccaturos, rem publicam non extra noxam modo sed etiam extra famam noxae conseruandam esse. uocatus Ariston purgare sese et firmissimo propugnaculo uti quod litterarum nihil ad quemquam attulisset; ceterum nec causam aduentus satis expediebat et in eo maxime haesitabat quod cum

Barcinae solum factionis hominibus conlocutum eum arguebant. orta inde altercatio est aliis pro speculatore comprehendi iam et custodiri iubentibus, aliis negantibus tumultuandi causam esse: mali rem exempli esse de nihilo hospites corripere; idem Carthaginiensibus et Tyri et in aliis emporiis quo frequenter commeent euenturum. dilata eo die res est. Ariston Punico ingenio inter Poenos usus tabellas conscriptas celeberrimo loco super sedem cotidianam magistratuum prima uespera suspendit, ipse de tertia uigilia nauem conscendit et profugit. postero die cum sufetes ad ius dicendum consedisent, conspectae tabellae demptaeque et lectae. scriptum erat Aristonem priuatim ad neminem, publice ad seniores — ita senatum uocabant — mandata habuisse. publicato crimine minus intenta de paucis quaestio erat; mitti tamen legatos Romam qui rem ad consules et senatum deferrent placuit, simul qui de iniuriis Masinissae quererentur.

[62] Masinissa postquam et infames Carthaginienses et inter se ipsos discordes sensit, principibus propter colloquia Aristonis senatui, senatu propter indicium eiusdem Aristonis populo suspecto, locum iniuriae esse ratus agrum maritimum eorum et depopulatus est et quasdam urbes uectigales Carthaginiensium sibi coegit stipendium pendere. Emporia uocant eam regionem: ora est minoris Syrtis et agri uberis; una ciuitas eius Lepcis: ea singula in dies talenta uectigal Carthaginiensibus dedit. hanc tum regionem et totam infestam Masinissa et ex quadam parte dubiae possessionis, sui regni an Carthaginiensium esset, effecerat. et quia simul ad purganda crimina et questum de se Romam eos ituros comperit, qui et illa onerarent suspicionibus et de iure uectigalium disceptarent legatos et ipse Romam mittit. auditi de Tyrio aduena primum Carthaginienses curam iniecere patribus ne cum Antiocho simul et Poenis bellandum esset. maxime ea suspicio crimen urgebat quod quem comprehensum Romam mitti placuisset nec ipsum nec nauem eius custodissent. de agro deinde cum regis legatis disceptari coeptum. Carthaginienses iure finium causam tutabantur, quod intra eos terminos esset quibus P. Scipio uictor agrum qui iuris esset Carthaginiensium finisset, et confessione regis, qui cum Aphthirem profugum ex regno suo cum parte Numidarum uagantem circa Cyrenas persequeretur, precario ab se iter per eum ipsum agrum tamquam haud dubie Carthaginiensium

iuris petisset. Numidae et de terminatione Scipionis mentiri eos arguebant et, si quis ueram originem iuris exigere uellet, quem proprium agrum Carthaginiensium in Africa esse? aduenis, quantum secto bouis tergo amplecti loci potuerint, tantum ad urbem communiendam precario datum: quidquid Bursam, sedem suam, excesserint, ui atque iniuria partum habere. neque eum de quo agatur probare eos posse non modo semper ex quo ceperint sed ne diu quidem [eos] possedissee. per opportunitates nunc illos, nunc reges Numidarum usurpasse ius, semperque penes eum possessionem fuisse qui plus armis potuisset. cuius condicionis res fuerit priusquam hostes Romanis Carthaginienses, socius atque amicus rex Numidarum esset, eius sinerent esse nec se interponerent quo minus qui posset teneret. responderi legatis utriusque partis placuit missuros se in Africam qui inter populum Carthaginiensem et regem in re praesenti disceptarent. missi P. Scipio Africanus et C. Cornelius Cethegus et M. Minucius Rufus audita inspectaque re omnia suspensa neutro inclinatis sententiis reliquere. id utrum sua sponte fecerint an quia mandatum ita fuerit non tam certum est quam uidetur tempori aptum fuisse integro certamine eos relinqui; nam ni ita esset, unus Scipio uel notitia rei uel auctoritate, ita de utrisque meritis, finire nutu disceptationem potuisset.

LIBER XXXV

[1] Principio anni quo haec gesta sunt, Sex. Digitius praetor in Hispania citeriore cum ciuitatibus iis quae post profectionem M. Catonis permultae rebellauerant crebra magis quam digna dictu proelia fecit et adeo pleraque aduersa ut uix dimidium militum quam quod acceperat successori tradiderit. nec dubium est quin omnis Hispania sublatura animos fuerit, ni alter praetor P. Cornelius Cn. f. Scipio trans Hiberum multa secunda proelia fecisset, quo terrore non minus quinquaginta oppida ad eum defecerunt. praetor haec gesserat Scipio: idem pro praetore Lusitanos peruastata ulteriore prouincia cum ingenti praeda domum redeunt in ipso itinere adgressus ab hora tertia diei ad octauam incerto euentu pugnauit, numero militum impar, superior aliis; nam et acie frequenti armatis aduersus longum et impeditum turba pecorum agmen et recenti milite aduersus fessos longo itinere concurrerat. tertia namque uigilia exierant hostes; huic nocturno itineri tres diurnae horae accesserant, nec ulla quiete data laborem uiae proelium exceperat. itaque principio pugnae uigoris aliquid in corporibus animisque fuit, et turbauerant primo Romanos; deinde aequata paulisper pugna est. in hoc discrimine ludos Ioui, si fudisset cecidissetque hostes, praetor uouit. tandem gradum acrius intulere Romani cessitque Lusitanus, deinde prorsus terga dedit; et cum institissent fugientibus uictores, ad duodecim milia hostium sunt caesa, capti quingenti quadraginta, omnes ferme equites, et signa militaria capta centum triginta quattuor; de exercitu Romano septuaginta et tres amissi. pugnatum haud procul Ilipa urbe est: eo uictorem opulentum praeda exercitum P. Cornelius reduxit. ea omnis ante urbem exposita est potestasque dominis suas res cognoscendi facta est; cetera uendenda quaestori data; quod inde reffectum est, militi diuisum.

[2] Nondum ab Roma profectus erat C. Flaminius praetor cum haec in Hispania gerebantur. itaque aduersae quam secundae res per ipsum amicosque eius magis sermonibus celebrabantur; et temptauerat, quoniam bellum ingens in prouincia exarsisset et exiguas reliquias exercitus ab Sex. Digitio atque eas ipsas plenas pauoris ac fugae accepturus esset, ut sibi unam ex urbanis legionibus decernerent, ad

quam cum militem ab se ipso scriptum ex senatus consulto adiecisset, eligeret ex omni numero sex milia et ducentos pedites, equites trecentos: ea se legione — nam in Sex. Digiti exercitu haud multum spei esse — rem gesturum. seniores negare ad rumores a priuatis temere in gratiam magistratuum confictos senatus consulta facienda esse: nisi quod aut praetores ex prouinciis scriberent aut legati renuntiarent, nihil ratum haberi debere; si tumultus in Hispania esset, placere tumultuarios milites extra Italiam scribi a praetore. mens ea senatus fuit ut in Hispania tumultuarii milites legerentur. Ualerius Antias et in Siciliam nauigasse dilectus causa C. Flaminium scribit et, ex Sicilia Hispaniam petentem, tempestate in Africam delatum uagos milites de exercitu P. Africani sacramento rogasse; his duarum prouinciarum dilectibus tertium in Hispania adiecisse.

[3] Nec in Italia segnius Ligurum bellum crescebat. Pisas iam quadraginta milibus hominum, adfluente cotidie multitudine ad famam belli spemque praedae, circumsedebant. Minucius consul Arretium die quam edixerat ad conueniendum militibus uenit. inde quadrato agmine ad Pisas duxit, et cum hostes non plus mille passuum ab oppido trans fluuium mouissent castra, consul urbem haud dubie seruata aduentu suo est ingressus. postero die et ipse trans fluuium quingentos ferme passus ab hoste posuit castra. inde leuibus proeliis a populationibus agrum sociorum tutabatur: in aciem exire non audebat nouo milite et ex multis generibus hominum conlecto necdum noto satis inter se ut fidere alii aliis possent. Ligures multitudine freti et in aciem exibant, parati de summa rerum decernere, et abundantes militum numero passim multas manus per extrema finium ad praedandum mittebant, et cum coacta uis magna pecorum praedaeque esset, paratum erat praesidium per quod in castella eorum uicosque ageretur.

[4] Cum bellum Ligustinum ad Pisas constitisset, consul alter, L. Cornelius Merula, per extremos Ligurum fines exercitum in agrum Boiorum induxit, ubi longe alia belli ratio quam cum Liguribus erat. consul in aciem exhibat, hostes pugnam detractabant; praedatumque ubi nemo obuiam exiret discurrabant Romani, Boi diripi sua impune quam tuendo ea conserere certamen malebant. postquam omnia ferro ignique satis euastata erant, consul agro hostium excessit et ad Mutinam agmine incauto, ut inter pacatos, ducebat. Boi ut egressum

finibus suis hostem sensere, sequebantur silenti agmine, locum insidiis quaerentes. nocte praetergressi castra Romana saltum qua transeundum erat Romanis insederunt. id cum parum occulte fecissent, consul, qui multa nocte solitus erat mouere castra, ne nox terrorem in tumultuario proelio augeret lucem expectauit et, cum luce moueret, tamen turmam equitum exploratum misit. postquam relatum est quantae copiae et in quo loco essent, totius agminis sarcinas in medium coici iussit et triarios uallum circumicere, cetero exercitu instructo ad hostem accessit. idem et Galli fecerunt, postquam apertas esse insidias et recto ac iusto proelio, ubi uera uinceret uirtus, dimicandum uiderunt.

[5] Hora secunda ferme concursus est. sinistra sociorum [equitum] ala et extraordinarii prima in acie pugnabant; praeerat duo consulares legati, M. Marcellus et Ti. Sempronius prioris anni consul. nouus consul nunc ad prima signa erat, nunc legiones continebat in subsidiis, ne certaminis studio prius procurrerent quam datum signum esset. equites earum extra aciem in locum patentem Q. et P. Minucios tribunos militum educere iussit, unde cum signum dedisset impetum ex aperto facerent. haec agenti nuntius uenit a Ti. Sempronio Longo non sustinere extraordinarios impetum Gallorum: et caesos permultos esse et qui supersint partim labore, partim metu remisisse ardorem pugnae; legionem alteram ex duabus, si uideretur, submitteret, priusquam ignominia acciperetur. secunda missa est legio et extraordinarii recepti. tum redintegrata est pugna, cum et recens miles et frequens ordinibus legio successisset; et sinistra ala ex proelio subducta est, dextra in primam aciem subiit. sol ingenti ardore torrebat minime patientia aestus corpora Gallorum; densis tamen ordinibus nunc alii in alios, nunc in scuta incumbentes sustinebant impetus Romanorum. quod ubi animaduertit consul, ad perturbandos ordines eorum C. Liuium Salinatorem, qui praeerat alariis equitibus, quam concitatissimos equos immittere iubet et legionarios equites in subsidiis esse. haec procella equestris primo confudit et turbauit, deinde dissipauit aciem Gallorum, non tamen ut terga darent. obstabant duces, hastilibus caedentes terga trepidantium et redire in ordines cogentes; sed interequitantes alarii non patiebantur. consul obtestabatur milites ut paululum adniterentur: uictoriam in manibus esse; dum turbatos et trepidantes uiderent,

instarent; si restitui ordines sissent, integro rursus eos proelio et dubio dimicatu. inferre vexillarios iussit signa. omnes conisi tandem auerterunt hostem. postquam terga dabant et in fugam passim effundebantur, tum ad persequendos eos legionarii equites immissi. quattuordecim milia Boiorum eo die sunt caesa; uiui capti mille nonaginta duo, equites septingenti uiginti unus, tres duces eorum, signa militaria ducenta duodecim, carpenta sexaginta tria. nec Romanis incruenta uictoria fuit: supra quinque milia militum, ipsorum aut sociorum, amissa, centuriones tres et uiginti, praefecti socium quattuor et M. Genucius et Q. et M. Marci tribuni militum secundae legionis.

[6] Eodem fere tempore duorum consulum litterae allatae sunt, L. Corneli de proelio ad Mutinam cum Bois facto et Q. Minucii a Pisis: comitia suae sortis esse, ceterum adeo suspensa omnia in Liguribus se habere ut abscedi inde sine perniciem sociorum et damno rei publicae non posset. si ita uideretur patribus, mitterent ad collegam ut is, qui profligatum bellum haberet, ad comitia Romam rediret; si id facere grauaretur, quod non suae sortis id negotium esset, se quidem facturum quodcumque senatus censuisset; sed etiam atque etiam uiderent ne magis e re publica esset interregnum iniri quam ab se in eo statu relinqui prouinciam. senatus C. Scribonio negotium dedit ut duos legatos ex ordine senatorio mitteret ad L. Cornelium consulem, qui litteras collegae ad senatum missas deferrent ad eum et nuntiarent senatum, ni is ad magistratus subrogandos Romam ueniret, potius quam Q. Minucium a bello integro auocaret interregnum iniri passurum. missi legati renuntiaverunt L. Cornelium ad magistratus subrogandos Romam uenturum. de litteris L. Corneli, quas scripserat secundum proelium cum Bois factum, disceptatio in senatu fuit, quia priuatim plerisque senatoribus legatus M. Claudius scripserat fortunae populi Romani et militum uirtuti gratiam habendam quod res bene gesta esset: consulis opera et militum aliquantum amissum et hostium exercitum, cuius delendi oblata fortuna fuerit, elapsum. milites eo plures perisse quod tardius ex subsidiis qui laborantibus opem ferrent successissent; hostes e manibus emissos quod equitibus legionariis et tardius datum signum esset et persequi fugientes non licuisset.

[7] De ea re nihil temere decerni placuit; ad frequentiores

consultatio dilata est. instabat enim cura alia, quod ciuitas faenore laborabat et quod, cum multis faenebribus legibus constricta auaritia esset, uia fraudis inita erat ut in socios, qui non tenerentur iis legibus, nomina transcriberent; ita libero faenore obruebantur debitores. cuius coercendi cum ratio quaereretur, diem finiri placuit Feralia quae proxime fuissent, ut qui post eam diem socii ciuibus Romanis credidissent pecunias profiterentur, et ex ea die pecuniae creditae quibus debitor uellet legibus ius creditori diceretur. inde postquam professionibus detecta est magnitudo aeris alieni per hanc fraudem contracti, M. Sempronius tribunus plebis ex auctoritate patrum plebem rogauit plebesque sciuit ut cum sociis ac nomine Latino creditae pecuniae ius idem quod cum ciuibus Romanis esset.

Haec in Italia domi militiaeque acta. in Hispania nequaquam tantum belli fuit quantum auxerat fama. C. Flaminius in citeriore Hispania oppidum Illuciam in Oretanis cepit, deinde in hibernacula milites deduxit; et per hiemem proelia aliquot nulla memoria digna aduersus latronum magis quam hostium excursiones, uario tamen euentu nec sine militum iactura sunt facta. maiores gestae res a M. Fuluiο. is apud Toletum oppidum cum Uaccaeis Uettonibusque et Celtiberis signis conlatis dimicauit, exercitum earum gentium fudit fugauitque, regem Hilernum uiuum cepit.

[8] Cum haec in Hispania gerebantur, comitorum iam appetebat dies. itaque L. Cornelius consul relicto ad exercitum M. Claudio legato Romam uenit. is in senatu cum de rebus ab se gestis disseruisset quoque statu prouincia esset, questus est cum patribus conscriptis quod tanto bello una secunda pugna tam feliciter perfecto non esset habitus diis immortalibus honos; postulauit deinde, supplicationem simul triumphumque decernerent. prius tamen quam relatio fieret, Q. Metellus, qui consul dictatorque fuerat, litteras eodem tempore dixit et consulis L. Corneli ad senatum et M. Marcelli ad magnam partem senatorum allatas esse inter se pugnantes, eoque dilatam esse consultationem ut praesentibus auctoribus earum litterarum disceptaretur. itaque expectasse sese ut consul, qui sciret ab legato suo aduersus se scriptum aliquid, cum ipsi ueniendum esset, deduceret eum secum Romam, cum etiam uerius esset Ti. Sempronio imperium habenti tradi exercitum quam legato: nunc uideri amotum de industria qui, <si> ea quae scripsisset

praesens diceret, arguere coram et, si quid uani adferret, argui posset, donec ad liquidum ueritas explorata esset; itaque nihil eorum quae postulare consul decernendum in praesentia censere. cum pergeret nihilo segnius referre ut supplicationes decernerentur triumphantique sibi urbem inuehi liceret, M. et C. Titinii tribuni plebis se intercessuros si de ea re fieret senatus consultum dixerunt.

[9] Censores erant priore anno creati Sex. Aelius Paetus et C. Cornelius Cethegus. Cornelius lustrum condidit. censa sunt ciuium capita <C>CXLIIDCCIV. aquae ingentes eo anno fuerunt et Tiberis loca plana urbis inundauit; circa portam Flumentanam etiam conlapsa quaedam ruinis sunt. et porta Caelimontana fulmine icta est murusque circa multis locis de caelo tactus; et Ariciae et Lanuuii et in Auentino lapidibus pluit; et a Capua nuntiatum est examen uesparum ingens in forum aduolasse et in Martis aede consedissee: eas conlectas cum cura et igni crematas esse. horum prodigiorum causa decemuiri libros adire iussi, et nouemdiale sacrum factum et supplicatio indicta est atque urbs lustrata. iisdem diebus aediculam Uictoriae Uirginis prope aedem Uictoriae M. Porcius Cato dedicauit biennio post quam uouit. eodem anno coloniam Latinam in castrum Frentinum triumuiro deduxerunt A. Manlius Uolso L. Apustius Fullo Q. Aelius Tubero, cuius lege deducebatur. tria milia peditum iere, trecenti equites, numerus exiguus pro copia agri. dari potuere tricena iugera in pedites, sexagena in equites: Apustio auctore tertia pars agri dempta est, quo postea, si uellent, nouos colonos adscribere possent; uicena iugera pedites, quadragena equites acceperunt.

[10] In exitu iam annus erat, et ambitio magis quam unquam alias exarserat consularibus comitiis. multi et potentes petebant patricii plebeiue: P. Cornelius Cn. filius Scipio, qui ex Hispania prouincia nuper decesserat magnis rebus gestis, et L. Quinctius Flamininus, qui classi in Graecia prae fuerat, et Cn. Manlius Uolso, hi patricii; plebei autem C. Laelius Cn. Domitius C. Liuius Salinator M'. Acilius. sed omnium oculi in Quinctium Corneliumque coniecti; nam et in unum locum petebant patricii ambo et rei militaris gloria recens utrumque commendabat. ceterum ante omnia certamen accendebant fratres candidatorum, duo clarissimi aetatis suae imperatores. maior gloria Scipionis et quo maior eo propior inuidiam, Quincti recentior ut qui eo anno triumphasset. accedebat quod alter decimum iam prope

annum adsiduus in oculis hominum fuerat, quae res minus uerendos magnos homines ipsa satietate facit: consul iterum post deuictum Hannibalem censorque fuerat; in Quinctio noua et recentia omnia ad gratiam erant, nihil nec petierat a populo post triumphum nec adeptus erat. pro fratre germano, non patrueli se petere aiebat, pro legato et particeps administrandi belli: se terra, fratrem mari rem gessisse. his obtinuit ut praeferretur candidato quem Africanus frater ducebat, quem Cornelia gens Cornelio consule comitia habente, quem tantum praeiudicium senatus, uirum e ciuitate optimum iudicatum qui matrem Idaeam Pessinunte uenientem in urbem acciperet.

L. Quinctius et Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus consules facti: adeo ne in plebeio quidem consule, cum pro C. Laelio niteretur, Africanus ualuit. postero die praetores creati L. Scribonius Libo M. Fuluius Centumalus A. Atilius Serranus M. Baebius Tamphilus L. Ualerius Tappo Q. Salonius Sarra. aedilitas insignis eo anno fuit M. Aemilii Lepidi et L. Aemilii Pauli: multos pecuarios damnarunt; ex ea pecunia clupea inaurata in fastigio Iouis aedis posuerunt, porticum unam extra portam Trigeminam, emporio ad Tiberim adiecto, alteram ab porta Fontinali ad Martis aram qua in Campum iter esset perduxerunt.

[11] Diu nihil in Liguribus dignum memoria gestum erat: extremo eius anni bis in magnum periculum res adducta est; nam et castra consulis oppugnata aegre sunt defensa et non ita multo post per saltum angustum cum duceretur agmen Romanum, ipsas fauces exercitus Ligurum insedit. qua cum exitus non pateret, conuerso agmine redire institit consul. et ab tergo fauces saltus occupatae a parte hostium erant Caudinaeque cladis memoria non animis modo sed prope oculis obuersabatur. Numidas octingentos ferme equites inter auxilia habebat. eorum praefectus consuli pollicetur se parte utra uellet cum suis erupturum, tantum uti diceret utra pars frequentior uicis esset: in eos se impetum facturum et nihil prius quam flammam tectis iniecturum, ut is pauor cogeret Ligures excedere saltu quem obsiderent et discurrere ad opem ferendam suis. conlaudatum eum consul spe praemiorum onerat. Numidae equos conscendunt et obequitare stationibus hostium, neminem lacescentes, coeperunt. nihil primo adspectu contemptius: equi hominesque paululi et graciles, discinctus et inermis eques, praeterquam quod

iacula secum portat, equi sine frenis, deformis ipse cursus rigida ceruice et extento capite currentium. hunc contemptum de industria augentes labi ex equis et per ludibrium spectaculo esse. itaque qui primo intenti paratique si lacesserentur in stationibus fuerant, iam inermes sedentesque pars maxima spectabant. Numidae adequitare, dein refugere, sed propius saltum paulatim euehi, uelut quos impotentes regendi equi inuitos efferrent. postremo subditis calcaribus per medias stationes hostium erupere et in agrum latioremeucti omnia propinqua uiae tecta incendunt. proximo deinde uico inferunt ignem, ferro flammaque omnia peruastant. fumus primo conspectus, deinde clamor trepidantium in uicis auditus, postremo seniores puerique refugientes tumultum in castris fecerunt. itaque sine consilio, sine imperio pro se quisque currere ad sua tutanda; momentoque temporis castra relictas erant, et obsidione liberatus consul quo intenderat peruenit.

[12] Sed neque Boi neque Hispani, cum quibus eo anno bellatum erat, tam inimice infesti erant Romanis quam Aetolorum gens. ii post deportatos ex Graecia exercitus primo in spe fuerant et Antiochum in uacuam Europae possessionem uenturum nec Philippum aut Nabim quieturos. ubi nihil usquam moueri uiderunt, agendum aliquid miscendumque rati ne cunctando senescerent consilia, concilium Naupactum indixerunt. ibi Thoas praetor eorum conquestus iniurias Romanorum statumque Aetoliae, quod omnium Graeciae gentium ciuitatumque inhonoratissimi post eam uictoriam essent cuius causa ipsi fuissent, legatos censuit circa reges mittendos, qui non solum temptarent animos eorum sed suis quemque stimulis mouerent ad Romanum bellum. Damocritus ad Nabim, Nicander ad Philippum, Dicaearchus frater praetoris ad Antiochum est missus. tyranno Lacedaemonio Damocritus adeptis maritimis ciuitatibus eneruatam tyrannidem dicere: inde militem, inde naues naualesque socios habuisse; inclusum suis prope muris Achaeos uidere dominantes in Peloponneso; nunquam habiturum recipiendi sua occasionem si eam quae tum esset praetermisisset. [et] nullum exercitum Romanum in Graecia esse nec [propter] Gytheum aut maritimos alios Laconas dignam causam existimaturomanos cur legiones rursus in Graeciam transmittant. haec ad incitandum animum tyranni dicebantur ut, cum Antiochus in Graeciam traiecisset, conscientia

uiolatae per sociorum iniurias Romanae amicitiae coniungeret se cum Antiocho. et Philippum Nicander haud dissimili oratione incitabat; erat etiam maior orationis materia, quo ex altiore fastigio rex quam tyrannus detractus erat, quoque plures ademptae res. ad hoc uetusta regum Macedoniae fama peragratusque orbis terrarum uictoriis eius gentis referebatur: et tutum uel incepto uel euentu se consilium adferre; nam neque ut ante se moueat Philippus quam Antiochus cum exercitu transierit in Graeciam suadere et, qui sine Antiocho aduersus Romanos Aetolosque tam diu sustinuerit bellum, ei adiuncto Antiocho, sociis Aetolis qui tum grauiores hostes quam Romani fuerint, quibus tandem uiribus resistere Romanos posse? adiciebat de duce Hannibale, nato aduersus Romanos hoste, qui plures et duces et milites eorum occidisset quam quot superessent. haec Philippo Nicander: alia Dicaearchus Antiocho; et omnium primum praedam de Philippo Romanorum esse dicere, uictoriam Aetolorum, et aditum in Graeciam Romanis nullos alios quam Aetolos dedisse et ad uincendum uires eosdem praeuisse; deinde quantas peditum equitumque copias praebituri Antiocho ad bellum essent, quae loca terrestribus copiis, quos portus maritimis. tum de Philippo et Nabide libero mendacio abutebatur: paratum utrumque ad rebellandum esse et primam quamque occasionem recipiendi ea quae bello amisissent arrepturos. ita per totum simul orbem terrarum Aetoli Romanis concitabant bellum.

[13] Et reges tamen aut non moti aut tardius moti sunt. Nabis extemplo circa omnes maritimos uicos dimisit ad seditiones in iis miscendas et alios principum donis ad suam causam perduxit, alios pertinaciter in societate Romana manentes occidit. Achaeis omnium maritimorum Laconum tuendorum a T. Quinctio cura mandata erat. itaque extemplo et ad tyrannum legatos miserunt qui admonerent foederis Romani denuntiarentque ne pacem quam tantopere petisset turbaret, et auxilia ad Gytheum, quod iam oppugnabatur ab tyranno, et Romam qui ea nuntiarent legatos miserunt.

Antiochus rex, ea hieme Raphiae in Phoenice Ptolomaeo regi Aegypti filia in matrimonium data, cum Antiochiam se recepisset, per Ciliciam Tauro monte superato extremo iam hiemis Ephesum peruenit. inde principio ueris, Antiocho filio misso in Syriam ad custodiam ultimarum partium regni, ne quid absente se ab tergo

moueretur, ipse cum omnibus terrestribus copiis ad Pisidas, qui circa Sidam incolunt, oppugnandos est profectus. eo tempore legati Romani P. Sulpicius et P. Uillius, qui ad Antiochum, sicut ante dictum est, missi erant, iussi prius Eumenem adire Elaeam uenere; inde Pergamum — ibi regia Eumenis fuit — escenderunt. cupidus belli aduersus Antiochum Eumenes erat, grauem, si pax esset, accolam tanto potentio rem regem credens, eundem, si motum bellum esset, non magis parem Romanis fore quam Philippus fuisset et aut funditus sublatum iri aut, si pax uicto daretur, multa illi detracta sibi accessura, ut facile deinde se ab eo sine ullo auxilio Romano tueri posset: etiam si quid aduersi casurum foret, satius esse Romanis sociis quamcumque fortunam subire quam solum aut imperium pati Antiochi aut abnuentem ui atque armis cogi. ob haec quantum auctoritate, quantum consilio ualebat, incitabat Romanos ad bellum.

[14] Sulpicius aeger Pergami substitit; Uillius cum Pisidiae bello occupatum esse regem audisset, Ephesum profectus, dum paucos ibi moratur dies, dedit operam ut cum Hannibale, qui tum ibi forte erat, saepe congrediretur, ut animum eius temptaret et, si qua posset, metum demeret periculi quicquam ei ab Romanis esse. iis conloquiis aliud quidem actum nihil est, secutum tamen sua sponte est, uelut consilio petatum esset, ut uilior ob ea regi Hannibal et suspectior ad omnia fieret.

Claudius, secutus Graecos Acilianos libros, P. Africanum in ea fuisse legatione tradit eumque Ephesi conlocutum cum Hannibale, et sermonem unum etiam refert: quaerenti Africano quem fuisse maximum imperatorem Hannibal crederet, respondisse Alexandrum Macedonum regem, quod parua manu innumerabiles exercitus fudisset quod<que> ultimas oras, quas uisere supra spem humanam esset, peragrasset. quaerenti deinde quem secundum poneret, Pyrrhum dixisse: castra metari primum docuisse, ad hoc neminem elegantius loca cepisse, praesidia disposuisse; artem etiam conciliandi sibi homines eam habuisse ut Italicae gentes regis externi quam populi Romani, tam diu principis in ea terra, imperium esse mallent. exsequenti quem tertium duceret, haud dubie semet ipsum dixisse. tum risum obortum Scipioni et subiecisse ‘quidnam tu diceres, si me uicisses?’ ‘tum uero me’ inquit ‘et ante Alexandrum et ante Pyrrhum et ante alios omnes imperatores esse.’ et perplexum

Punico astu responsum et improuisum adsentationis genus Scipionem mouisse, quod e grege se imperatorum uelut inaestimabilem secreuisset.

[15] Uillius ab Epheso Apameam processit. eo et Antiochus audito legatorum Romanorum aduentu occurrit. Apameae congressis disceptatio eadem ferme fuit quae Romae inter Quinctium et legatos regis fuerat. mors nuntiata Antiochi filii regis, quem missum paulo ante dixeram in Syriam, diremit conloquia. magnus luctus in regia fuit magnumque eius iuuenis desiderium; id enim iam specimen sui dederat uti, si uita longior contigisset, magni iustique regis in eo indolem fuisse appareret. quo carior acceptiorque omnibus erat, eo mors eius suspectior fuit: grauem successorem eum instare senectuti suae patrem credentem per spadones quosdam, talium ministeriis facinorum acceptos regibus, ueneno sustulisse. eam quoque causam clandestino facinori adiciebant quod Seleuco filio Lysimachiam dedisset, Antiocho quam similem daret sedem, ut procul ab se honore eum quoque ablegaret, non habuisset. magni tamen luctus species per aliquot dies regiam tenuit, legatusque Romanus ne alieno tempore incommodus obuersaretur Pergamum concessit; rex Ephesum omisso quod incohauerat bello redit. ibi per luctum regia clausa cum Minnione quodam, qui princeps amicorum eius erat, secreta consilia agitauit. Minnio, ignarus omnium externorum uiresque aestimans regis ex rebus in Syria aut Asia gestis, non causa modo superiorem esse Antiochum quod nihil aequi postularent Romani sed bello quoque superaturum credebat. fugienti regi disceptationem cum legatis, seu iam experto eam minus prosperam seu maerore recenti confuso, professus Minnio se quae pro causa essent dicturum persuasit ut a Pergamo accerserentur legati.

[16] Iam conualuerat Sulpicius; itaque ambo Ephesum uenerunt. rex a Minnione excusatus et absente eo agi res coepta est. ibi praeparata oratione Minnio 'specioso titulo' inquit 'uti uos, Romani, Graecarum ciuitatum liberandarum uideo; sed facta uestra orationi non conueniunt, et aliud Antiocho iuris statuitis, alio ipsi utimini. qui enim magis Zmyrnaei Lampsacenique Graeci sunt quam Neapolitani et Regini et Tarentini, a quibus stipendium, a quibus naues ex foedere exigitis? cur Syracusas atque in alias Siciliae Graecas urbes praetorem quotannis cum imperio et uirgis et securibus mittitis? nihil

aliud profecto dicatis quam armis superatis uos iis has leges imposuisse. eandem de Zmyrna, Lampsaco ciuitatibusque quae Ioniae aut Aeolidis sunt causam ab Antiocho accipite. bello superatas a maioribus et stipendiarias ac uestigiales factas in antiquum ius repetit. itaque ad haec ei responderi uelim, si ex aequo disceptatur et non belli causa quaeritur.’ ad ea Sulpicius ‘fecit uerecunde’ inquit ‘Antiochus, qui, si alia pro causa eius non erant quae dicerentur, quemlibet ista quam se dicere maluit. quid enim simile habet ciuitatum earum quas comparasti causa? ab Reginis et Neapolitanis et Tarentinis, ex quo in nostram uenerunt potestatem, uno et perpetuo tenore iuris, semper usurpato, nunquam intermisso, quae ex foedere debent exigimus. potesne tandem dicere ut ii populi non per se, non per alium quemquam foedus mutauerint, sic Asiae ciuitates, ut semel uenere in maiorum Antiochi potestatem, in perpetua possessione regni uestri mansisse et non alias earum in Philippi, alias in Ptolomaei fuisse potestate, alias per multos annos nullo ambigente libertatem usurpasse? nam si quod aliquando seruierunt, temporum iniquitate pressi, ius post tot saecula adserendi eos in seruitutem faciet, quid abest quin actum nobis nihil sit, quod a Philippo liberauimus Graeciam, et repetant posterius eius Corinthum, Chalcidem, Demetriadem et Thessalorum totam gentem? sed quid ego causam ciuitatum ago quam ipsis agentibus et nos et regem ipsum cognoscere aequius est?’

[17] Vocari deinde ciuitatum legationes iussit, praeparatas iam ante et instructas ab Eumene, qui quantumcumque uirium Antiocho decessisset, suo id accessurum regno ducebat. admissi plures, dum suas quisque nunc querellas, nunc postulationes inserit et aequa iniquis miscent, ex disceptatione altercationem fecerunt. itaque nec remissa ulla re nec impetrata, aequae ac uenerant omnium incerti legati Romam redierunt. rex dimissis iis consilium de bello Romano habuit. ibi alius alio ferocius, quia quo quisque asperius aduersus Romanos locutus esset, eo spes gratiae maior erat, alius superbiam postulatorum increpare, tamquam Nabidi uicto, sic Antiocho, maximo Asiae regum, imponentium leges: quamquam Nabidi tamen dominationem in patria sua et patria Lacedaemone remissam, Antiocho si Zmyrna et Lampsacus imperata faciant indignum uideri; alii paruas et uix dictu dignas belli causas tanto regi eas ciuitates

esse, sed initium semper a paruis iniusta imperandi fieri, nisi crederent Persas, cum aquam terramque ab Lacedaemoniis petierint, gleba terrae et haustu aquae eguisse. per similem temptationem <a> Romanis de duabus ciuitatibus agi, et alias ciuitates, simul duas iugum exuisse uidissent, ad liberatorem populum defecturas. si non libertas seruitute potior sit, tamen omni praesenti statu spem cuique nouandi res suas blandiorem esse.

[18] Alexander Acarnan in consilio erat: Philippi quondam amicus, nuper relicto eo secutus opulentiores regiam Antiochi et, tamquam peritus Graeciae nec ignarus Romanorum, in eum gradum amicitiae regis ut consiliis quoque arcanis interesset acceptus erat. is tamquam non utrum bellandum esset necne consuleretur sed ubi et qua ratione bellum gereretur, uictoriam se haud dubiam proponere animo adfirmabat, si in Europam transisset rex et in aliqua Graeciae parte sedem bello cepisset: iam primum Aetolos, qui umbilicum Graeciae incolerent, in armis eum inuenturum, antesignanos ad asperrima quaeque belli paratos; in duobus uelut cornibus Graeciae Nabim a Peloponneso concitaturum omnia, repetentem Argiuorum urbem, repetentem maritimas ciuitates quibus eum depulsum Romani Lacedaemonis muris inclusissent, a Macedonia Philippum, ubi primum bellicum cani audisset, arma capturum; nosse se spiritus eius, nosse animum; scire ferarum modo quae claustris aut uinculis teneantur, ingentes iam diu iras eum in pectore uoluere. meminisse etiam se quotiens in bello precari omnes deos solitus sit ut Antiochum sibi darent adiutorem; cuius uoti si compos nunc fiat, nullam moram rebellandi facturum. tantum non cunctandum nec cessandum esse; in eo enim uictoriam uerti si et loca opportuna et socii praeoccuparentur. Hannibalem quoque sine mora mittendum in Africam esse ad distringendos Romanos.

[19] Hannibal non adhibitus est in consilium, propter conloquia cum Uillio suspectus regi et in nullo postea honore habitus. primo eam contumeliam tacitus tulit; deinde melius esse ratus et percunctari causam repentinae alienationis et purgare se, tempore apto quaesita simpliciter iracundiae causa auditaque ‘pater Hamilcar’ inquit, ‘Antioche, paruum admodum me, cum sacrificaret, altaribus admotum iureiurando adegit nunquam amicum fore populi Romani. sub hoc sacramento sex et triginta annos militaui, hoc me in pace

patria mea expulit, hoc patria extorrem in tuam regiam adduxit: hoc duce, si tu spem meam destitueris, ubicumque uires, ubi arma esse sciam ueniam, toto orbe terrarum quaerens aliquos Romanis hostes. itaque si quibus tuorum meis criminibus apud te crescere libet, aliam materiam crescendi ex me quaerant. odi odioque sum Romanis. id me uerum dicere pater Hamilcar et di testes sunt. proinde cum de bello Romano cogitabis, inter primos amicos Hannibalem habeto: si qua res te ad pacem compellet, in id consilium alium cum quo deliberes quaerito.' non mouit modo talis oratio regem sed etiam reconciliauit Hannibali. ex consilio ita discessum est ut bellum gereretur.

[20] Romae destinabant quidem sermonibus hostem Antiochum, sed nihildum ad id bellum praeter animos parabant. consulibus ambobus Italia prouincia decreta est, ita ut inter se compararent sortirenturue uter comitiis eius anni praeesset: ad utrum ea non pertineret cura, ut paratus esset si quo eum extra Italiam opus esset ducere legiones. huic consuli permissum ut duas legiones scriberet nouas et socium nominis Latini uiginti milia et equites octingentos. alteri consuli duae legiones decretae quas L. Cornelius consul superioris anni habuisset, et socium ac Latini nominis ex eodem exercitu quindecim milia et equites quingenti. Q. Minucio cum exercitu quem in Liguribus habebat prorogatum imperium; additum in supplementum ut quattuor milia peditum Romanorum scriberentur, centum quinquaginta equites, et sociis eodem quinque milia peditum imperarentur, ducenti quinquaginta equites. Cn. Domitio extra Italiam quo senatus censuisset prouincia euenit, L. Quinctio Gallia et comitia habenda. praetores deinde prouincias sortiti, M. Fuluius Centumalus urbanam, L. Scribonius Libo peregrinam, L. Ualerius Tappo Siciliam, Q. Salonijs Sarra Sardiniam, M. Baebius Tamphilus Hispaniam citeriorem, A. Atilius Serranus ulteriorem. sed his duobus primum senatus consulto, deinde plebei etiam scito permutatae prouinciae sunt: Atilio classis et Macedonia, Baebio Bruttii decreti. Flaminio Fuluioque in Hispaniis prorogatum imperium. Atilio in Bruttios duae legiones decretae quae priore anno urbanae fuissent, et ut sociis eodem milia peditum quindecim imperarentur et quingenti equites. Baebius Tamphilus triginta naues quinquereemes facere iussus et ex naualibus ueteres

deducere si quae utiles essent et scribere nauales socios; et consulibus imperatum ut ei duo milia socium ac Latini nominis et mille Romanos darent pedites. hi duo praetores et duo exercitus, terrestres naualesque, aduersus Nabim aperte iam oppugnantem socios populi Romani dicebantur parari; ceterum legati ad Antiochum missi expectabantur, et priusquam ii redissent uetuerat Cn. Domitium consulem senatus discedere ab urbe.

[21] Praetoribus Fuluius et Scribonio, quibus ut ius dicerent Romae prouincia erat, negotium datum ut praeter eam classem cui Baebius praefuturus erat centum quinqueremes pararent.

Priusquam consul praetoresque in prouincias proficiscerentur, supplicatio fuit prodigiorum causa. capram sex haedos uno fetu edidisse ex Piceno nuntiatum est et Arreti puerum natum unimanum, Amiterni terra pluuisse, Formiis portam murumque de caelo tacta et, quod maxime terrebat, consulis Cn. Domiti bouem locutum 'Roma, caue tibi'. ceterorum prodigiorum causa supplicatum est: bouem cum cura seruari aliquae haruspices iusserunt. Tiberis infestiore quam priore <anno> impetu inlatus urbi duos pontes, aedificia multa maxime circa Flumentanam portam euertit. saxum ingens siue imbribus seu motu terrae leniore quam ut alioqui sentiretur labefactatum in uicum Iugarium ex Capitolio procidit et multos oppressit. in agris passim inundatis pecua ablata, uillarum strages facta est.

Priusquam L. Quinctius consul in prouinciam perueniret, Q. Minucius in agro Pisano cum Liguribus signis conlatis pugnavit: nouem milia hostium occidit, ceteros fusos fugatosque in castra compulit. ea usque in noctem magno certamine oppugnata defensaque sunt. nocte clam profecti Ligures, prima luce uacua castra Romanus inuasit; praedae minus inuentum est, quod subinde spolia agrorum capta domos mittebant. Minucius nihil deinde laxamenti hostibus dedit: ex agro Pisano in Ligures profectus castella uicosque eorum igni ferroque peruastauit. ibi praeda Etrusca, quae missa a populatoribus fuerat, repletus est miles Romanus.

[22] Sub idem tempus legati ab regibus Romam reuerterunt. qui cum nihil quod satis maturam causam belli haberet nisi aduersus Lacedaemonium tyrannum adtulissent, quem et Achaei legati nuntiabant contra foedus maritimam oram Laconum oppugnare,

Atilius praetor cum classe missus in Graeciam est ad tuendos socios. consules, quando nihil ab Antiocho instaret, proficisci ambo in prouincias placuit. Domitius ab Arimino, qua proximum fuit, Quinctius per Ligures in Boios uenit. duo consulum agmina diuersa late agrum hostium peruastarunt. primo equites eorum pauci cum praefectis, deinde uniuersus senatus, postremo in quibus aut fortuna aliqua aut dignitas erat, ad mille quingenti ad consules transfugerunt.

Et in utraque Hispania eo anno res prospere gestae; nam et C. Flaminius oppidum Licabrum munitum opulentumque uineis expugnauit et nobilem regulum Corribilonem uiuum cepit, et M. Fuluius proconsul cum duobus exercitibus hostium duo secunda proelia fecit, oppida duo Hispanorum, Uesceliam Helonemque, et castella multa expugnauit; alia uoluntate ad eum defecerunt. tum in Oretanos progressus et ibi duobus potitus oppidis, Noliba et Cusibi, ad Tagum amnem ire pergit. Toletum ibi parua urbs erat, sed loco munito. eam cum oppugnaret, Uettonum magnus exercitus Toletanis subsidio uenit. cum iis signis conlatis prospere pugnauit et fuis Uettonibus operibus Toletum cepit.

[23] Ceterum eo tempore minus ea bella quae gerebantur curae patribus erant quam expectatio nondum coepti cum Antiocho belli. nam etsi per legatos identidem omnia explorabantur, tamen rumores temere sine ullis auctoribus orti multa falsa ueris miscebant; inter quae allatum erat, cum in Aetoliam uenisset Antiochus, extemplo classem eum in Siciliam missurum. itaque senatus, etsi praetorem Atilium cum classe miserat in Graeciam, tamen, quia non copiis modo sed etiam auctoritate opus erat ad tenendos sociorum animos, T. Quinctium et Cn. Octauium et Cn. Seruiliu et P. Uillium legatos in Graeciam misit; et ut M. Baebius ex Bruttiis ad Tarentum et Brundisium promoueret legiones decreuit, inde, si res posceret, in Macedoniam traiceret; et ut M. Fuluius praetor classem nauium uiginti mitteret ad tuendam Siciliae oram; et ut cum imperio esset qui classem eam duceret — duxit L. Oppius Salinator, qui priore anno aedilis plebei fuerat — ; et ut idem praetor L. Ualerio collegae scriberet periculum esse ne classis regis Antiochi ex Aetolia in Siciliam traiceret, itaque placere senatui ad eum exercitum quem haberet tumultuariorum militum ad duodecim milia et quadringentos equites scriberet, quibus oram maritimam prouinciae qua uergeret in

Graeciam tueri posset. eum dilectum praetor non ex Sicilia ipsa tantum sed ex circumiacentibus insulis habuit oppidaque omnia maritima quae in Graeciam uersa erant praesidiis firmavit. addidit alimenta rumoribus aduentus Attali, Eumenis fratris, qui nuntiauit Antiochum regem Hellespontum cum exercitu transisse et Aetolos ita se parare ut sub aduentum eius in armis essent. et Eumeni absenti et praesenti Attalo gratiae actae et aedes liberae, locus, lautia decreta et munera data: equi duo, bina equestria arma et uasa argentea centum pondo et aurea uiginti pondo.

[24] Cum alii atque alii nuntii bellum instare adferrent, ad rem pertinere uisum est consules primo quoque tempore creari. itaque senatus consultum factum est, ut M. Fuluius praetor litteras extemplo ad consulem mitteret quibus certior fieret senatui placere prouincia exercituque tradito legatis Romam reuerti eum et ex itinere praemittere edictum quo comitia consulibus creandis ediceret. paruit iis litteris consul et praemisso edicto Romam uenit.

Eo quoque anno magna ambitio fuit, quod patricii tres in unum locum petierunt, P. Cornelius Cn. f. Scipio, qui priore anno repulsam tulerat, et L. Cornelius Scipio et Cn. Manlius Uolso. P. Scipioni, ut dilatum uiro tali non negatum honorem appareret, consulatus datus est; additur ei de plebe collega M'. Acilius Glabrio. postero die praetores creati L. Aemilius Paulus M. Aemilius Lepidus M. Iunius Brutus A. Cornelius Mammula C. Liuius et L. Oppius, utrique eorum Salinator cognomen erat; Oppius is erat qui classem uiginti nauium in Siciliam duxerat. interim dum noui magistratus sortirentur prouincias, M. Baebius a Brundisio cum omnibus copiis transire in Epirum est iussus et circa Apolloniam copias continere, et M. Fuluius praetori urbano negotium datum est ut quinqueres nouas quinquaginta faceret.

[25] Et populus quidem Romanus ita se ad omnes conatus Antiochi praeparabat: Nabis iam non differebat bellum sed summa ui Gytheum oppugnabat et infestus Achaeis, quod miserant obsessis praesidium, agros eorum uastabat. Achaei non antea ausi capessere bellum quam ab Roma reuertissent legati, ut quid senatui placeret scirent, post reditum legatorum et Sicyonem concilium edixerunt et legatos ad T. Quinctium miserunt qui consilium ab eo peterent. in concilio omnium ad bellum extemplo capessendum inclinatae sententiae

erant; litterae T. Quincti cunctationem iniecerunt, quibus auctor erat praetorem classemque Romanam expectandi. cum principum alii in sententia permanerent, alii utendum eius quem ipsi consuluisent consilio censerent, multitudo Philopoemenis sententiam expectabat. praetor is tum erat et omnes eo tempore et prudentia et auctoritate anteibat. is praefatus bene comparatum apud Aetolos esse ne praetor, cum de bello consulisset, ipse sententiam diceret, statuere quam primum ipsos quid uellent iussit: praetorem decreta eorum cum fide et cura exsecuturum adnisciturumque ut, quantum in consilio humano positum esset, nec pacis eos paeniteret nec belli. plus ea oratio momenti ad incitandos ad bellum habuit quam si aperte suadendo cupiditatem res gerendi ostendisset. itaque ingenti consensu bellum decretum est, tempus et ratio administrandi eius libera praetori permissa. Philopoemen, praeterquam quod ita Quinctio placeret, et ipse existimabat classem Romanam expectandam, quae a mari Gytheum tueri posset; sed metuens ne dilationem res non pateretur et non Gytheum solum sed praesidium quoque missum ad tuendam urbem amitteretur, naues Achaeorum deduxit.

[26] Comparauerat et tyrannus modicam classem ad prohibenda si qua obsessis mari submitterentur praesidia, tres tectas naues et lembos pristisque, tradita uetere classe ex foedere Romanis. harum nouarum tum nauium agilitatem ut experiretur, simul ut omnia satis apta ad certamen essent, prouectos in altum cotidie remigem militemque simulacris naualis pugnae exercebat, in eo ratus uerti spem obsidionis si praesidia maritima interclusisset. praetor Achaeorum sicut terrestrium certaminum arte quemuis clarorum imperatorum uel usu uel ingenio aequabat, ita rudis in re nauali erat, Arcas, mediterraneus homo, externorum etiam omnium, nisi quod in Creta praefectus auxiliorum militauerat, ignarus. nauis erat quadriremis uetus, capta annis octoginta ante, cum Crateri uxorem Nicaeam a Naupacto Corinthum ueheret. huius fama motus — fuerat enim nobile in classe regia quondam nauigium — deduci ab Aegio putrem iam admodum et uetustate dilabentem iussit. hac tum praetoria naue praecedente classem, cum in ea Patrensis Tiso praefectus classis ueheretur, occurrerunt a Gytheo Laconum naues; et primo statim incursu ad nouam et firmam nauem uetus, quae per se ipsa omnibus compagibus aquam acciperet, diuulsa est captique

omnes qui in naue erant. cetera classis praetoria naue amissa quantum quaeque remis ualuit fugerunt. ipse Philopoemen in leui speculatoria naue fugit nec ante fugae finem quam Patras uentum est fecit. nihil ea res animum militaris uiri et multos experti casus imminuit: quin contra, si in re nauali, cuius esset ignarus, offendisset, eo plus in ea quorum usu calleret spei nactus, breue id tyranno gaudium se effecturum adfirmabat.

[27] Nabis cum prospera <re> elatus, tum spem etiam haud dubiam nactus nihil iam a mari periculi fore, et terrestres aditus claudere opportune positis praesidiis uoluit. tertia parte copiarum ab obsidione Gythei abducta ad Pleias posuit <castra>; imminet is locus et Leucis et Acriis, qua uidebantur hostes exercitum admoturi. cum ibi statua essent <et> pauci tabernacula haberent, multitudo alia casas ex harundine textas fronde, quae umbram modo praeberet, texissent, priusquam in conspectum hostis ueniret, Philopoemen necopinantem eum improuiso genere belli adgredi statuit. nauigia parua in stationem occultam agri Argiui contraxit; in ea expeditos milites, caetratos plerosque, cum fundis et iaculis et alio leui genere armaturae imposuit. inde litora legens cum ad propinquum castris hostium promunturium uenisset, egressus callibus notis nocte Pleias peruenit et, sopitis uigilibus ut in nullo propinquo metu, ignem casis ab omni parte castrorum iniecit. multi prius incendio absumpti sunt quam hostium aduentum sentirent, et qui senserant nullam opem ferre potuerunt. ferro flammaque omnia absumpta; perpauca ex tam ancipiti peste ad Gytheum in maiora castra perfugerunt. ita percussis hostibus Philopoemen protinus ad depopulandam Tripolim Laconici agri, qui proximus finem Megalopolitarum est, duxit et magna ui pecorum hominumque inde abrepta, priusquam a Gytheo tyrannus praesidium agris mitteret, discessit. inde Tegeam exercitu contracto concilioque eodem et Achaeis et sociis indicto, in quo et Epirotarum et Acarnanum fuere principes, statuit, quoniam satis et suorum a pudore maritimae ignominiae restituti animi et hostium conterriti essent, ad Lacedaemonem ducere, eo modo uno ratus ab obsidione Gythei hostem abduci posse. ad Caryas primum in hostium terra posuit castra. eo ipso die Gytheum expugnatum est. cuius rei ignarus Philopoemen castra ad Barbothenem — mons est decem milia passuum ab Lacedaemone — promouit. et Nabis recepto Gytheo cum

expedito exercitu inde profectus, cum praeter Lacedaemonem raptim duxisset, Pyrrhi quae uocant castra occupauit, quem peti locum ab Achaeis non dubitabat. inde hostibus occurrit. obtinebant autem longo agmine propter angustias uiae prope quinque milia passuum; cogeatur agmen ab equitibus et maxima [a] parte auxiliorum, quod existimabat Philopoemen tyrannum mercennariis militibus, quibus plurimum fideret, ab tergo suos adgressurum. duae res simul inopinatae perculerunt eum: una praeoccupatus quem petebat locus, altera quod primo agmini occurrisse hostem cernebat, ubi, cum per loca confragosa iter esset, sine leuis armaturae praesidio signa ferri non uidebat posse.

[28] Erat autem Philopoemen praecipuae in ducendo agmine locisque capiendis sollertiae atque usus, nec belli tantum temporibus sed etiam in pace ad id maxime animum exercuerat. ubi iter quopiam faceret et ad difficilem transitu saltum uenisset, contemplatus ab omni parte loci naturam, cum solus iret secum ipse agitabat animo, cum comites haberet ab his quaerebat, si hostis eo loco apparuisset, quid si a fronte, quid si ab latere hoc aut illo, quid si ab tergo adoriretur capiendum consilii foret: posse instructos directa acie, posse inconditum agmen et tantummodo aptum uiae occurrere. quem locum ipse capturus esset cogitando aut quaerendo exsequebatur, aut quot armatis aut quo genere armorum — plurimum enim interesse — usus; quo impedimenta, quo sarcinas, quo turbam inermem reiceret; quanto ea aut quali praesidio custodiret; et utrum pergere qua coepisset ire uia an eam qua uenisset repetere melius esset; castris quoque quem locum caperet, quantum munimento amplecteretur loci, qua opportuna aquatio, qua pabuli lignorumque copia esset; qua postero die castra mouenti tutum maxime iter, quae forma agminis esset. his curis cogitationibusque ita ab ineunte aetate animum agitauerat ut nulla ei noua in tali re cogitatio esset. et tum omnium primum agmen constituit; dein Cretenses auxiliares et quos Tarentinos uocabant equites binos secum trahentes equos ad prima signa misit et iussis equitibus subsequi super torrentem unde aquari possent rupem occupauit. eo impedimenta omnia et calorum turbam conlectam armatis circumdedit et pro natura loci castra communiuit; tabernacula statuere in aspretis et inaequabili solo difficile erat. hostes quingentos passus aberant. ex eodem riuo utrique cum

praesidio levis armaturae aquati sunt; et priusquam, qualia [in] propinquis castris solent, contraheretur certamen, nox interuenit; postero die apparebat pugnandum pro aquatoribus circa riuum esse. nocte in ualle a conspectu hostium auersa quantam multitudinem locus occultere poterat condidit caetratorum.

[29] Luce orta Cretensium levis armatura et Tarentini equites super torrentem proelium commiserunt. Telemnastus Cretensis popularibus suis, equitibus Lycortas Megalopolitanus praeerat. Cretenses et hostium auxiliares equitumque idem genus, Tarentini, praesidio aquatoribus erant. aliquamdiu dubium proelium fuit, ut eodem ex parte utraque hominum genere et armis paribus. procedente certamine et numero uicere tyranni auxiliares et quia ita praeceptum a Philopoemene praefectis erat ut modico edito proelio in fugam inclinarent hostemque ad locum insidiarum pertraherent. effuse secuti fugientes per conuallem plerique et uolnerati et interfecti sunt, priusquam occultum hostem uiderent. caetrati ita, quantum latitudo uallis patiebatur, instructi sederant ut facile per interualla ordinum fugientes suos acciperent. consurgunt deinde ipsi integri, recentes, instructi, et in hostes inordinatos, effusos, labore etiam et uolneribus fessos impetum faciunt. nec dubia uictoria fuit. extemplo terga dedit tyranni miles et haud paulo concitatiores cursu quam secutus erat fugiens ad castra est compulsus; multi caesi captique in ea fuga sunt. et in castris quoque foret trepidatum, ni Philopoemen receptui cani iussisset, loca magis confragosa et quacumque temere processisset iniqua quam hostem metuens. inde et ex fortuna pugnae et ex ingenio ducis coniectans in quo tum is pauore esset, unum de auxiliaribus specie transfugae mittit ad eum, qui pro comperto adferret Achaeos statuisse postero die ad Eurotan amnem, qui prope ipsis adfluit moenibus, progredi ut intercluderent iter, ne aut tyrannus cum uellet receptum ad urbem haberet aut commeatus ab urbe in castra portarentur, simul et temptaturos si quorum animi sollicitari ad defectionem a tyranno possent. non tam fidem dictis perfuga fecit quam perculso metu relinquendi castra causam probabilem praeuit. postero die Pythagoran cum auxiliaribus et equitatu stationem agere pro uallo iussit: ipse tamquam in aciem cum robore exercitus egressus signa ocus ferri ad urbem iussit.

[30] Philopoemen postquam citatum agmen per angustam et

procliuem uiam duci raptim uidit, equitatum omnem et Cretensium auxiliares in stationem hostium quae pro castris erat emittit. illi ubi hostes adesse et a suis se desertos uiderunt, primo in castra recipere se conati sunt; deinde postquam instructa acies tota Achaeorum admouebatur, metu ne cum ipsis castris caperentur, sequi suorum agmen aliquantum praegressum insistunt. extemplo caetrati Achaeorum in castra impetum faciunt et diripiunt; ceteri ad persequendos hostes ire pergunt. erat iter tale per quod uix tranquillum ab hostili metu agmen expediri posset. ut uero ad postremos proelium ortum est clamorque terribilis ab tergo pauentium ad prima signa est perlatus, pro se quisque armis abiectis in circumiectas itineri siluas diffugiunt, momentoque temporis strage armorum saepta uia est, maxime hastis, quae pleraeque aduersae cadentes uelut uallo obiecto iter impediabant. Philopoemen utcumque possent instare et persequi auxiliariis iussis — utique enim equitibus haud facilem futuram fugam — ipse grauius agmen uia patientiore ad Eurotan amnem deduxit. ibi castris sub occasum solis positus leuem armaturam, quam ad persequendum reliquerat hostem, opperiebatur. qui ubi prima uigilia uenerunt, nuntiantes tyrannum cum paucis ad urbem penetrasse, ceteram multitudinem inermem toto sparsam uagari saltu, corpora curare eos iubet. ipse ex cetera copia militum qui, quia priores in castra uenerant, refecti et cibo sumpto et modica quiete erant delectos, nihil praeter gladios secum ferentes, extemplo educit et duarum portarum itineribus quae Pharas quaeque Barbothenem ferunt eos instruxit, qua ex fuga recepturos sese hostes credebat. nec eum opinio fefellit. nam Lacedaemonii, quoad lucis superfuit quicquam, deuiis callibus medio saltu recipiebant se; primo uespere, ut lumina in castris hostium conspexere, regione eorum occultis semitis se tenuerunt; ubi praegressi ea sunt, iam tutum rati in patentes uias descenderunt. ibi excepti ab insidente hoste passim ita multi caesi captique sunt ut uix quarta pars de toto exercitu euaserit. Philopoemen incluso tyranno in urbem insequentes dies prope triginta uastandis agris Laconum absumpsit debilitatisque ac prope fractis tyranni uiribus domum rediit, aequantibus eum gloria rerum Achaeis imperatori Romano et, quod ad Laconum bellum attineret, praeferebantibus etiam.

[31] Dum inter Achaeos et tyrannum bellum erat, legati

Romanorum circuire sociorum urbes solliciti ne Aetoli partis alicuius animos ad Antiochum auertissent. minimum operae in Achaeis adeundis consumpserunt, quos, quia Nabidi infesti erant, ad cetera quoque satis fidos censebant esse. Athenas primum, inde Chalcidem, inde in Thessaliam iere, adlocutique concilio frequenti Thessalos Demetriadem iter flexere. eo Magnetum concilium indictum est. accuratior ibi habenda oratio fuit, quod pars principum alienati Romanis totique Antiochi et Aetolorum erant, quia cum reddi obsidem filium Philippo allatum esset stipendiumque impositum remitti, inter cetera uana allatum erat Demetriadem quoque ei reddituros Romanos esse. id ne fieret, Eurylochus princeps Magnetum factionisque eius quidam omnia nouari Aetolorum Antiochique aduentu malebant. aduersus eos ita disserendum erat ne timorem uanum iis demendo spes incisa Philippum abalienaret, in quo plus ad omnia momenti quam in Magnetibus esset. illa tantum commemorata, cum totam Graeciam beneficio libertatis obnoxiam Romanis esse, tum eam ciuitatem praecipue; ibi enim non praesidium modo Macedonum fuisse sed regiam exaedificatam, ut praesens semper in oculis habendus esset dominus; ceterum nequiquam ea facta, si Aetoli Antiochum in Philippi regiam adducerent et nouus et incognitus pro uetere et experto habendus rex esset. Magnetarchen summum magistratum uocant; is tum Eurylochus erat, ac potestate ea fretus negauit dissimulandum sibi et Magnetibus esse quae fama uolgata de reddenda Demetriade Philippo foret: id ne fieret, omnia et conanda et audenda Magnetibus esse. et inter dicendi contentionem inconsultius euectus proiecit tum quoque specie liberam Demetriadem esse, re uera omnia ad nutum Romanorum fieri. sub hanc uocem fremitus uariantis multitudinis fuit partim adsensum partim indignationem dicere id ausum eum; Quinctius quidem adeo exarsit ira ut manus ad caelum tendens deos testes ingrati ac perfidi Magnetum inuocaret. hac uoce perterritis omnibus Zeno ex principibus unus, magnae cum ob eleganter actam uitam auctoritatis tum quod semper Romanorum haud dubie partis fuerat, ab Quinctio legatisque aliis flens petit ne unius amentiam ciuitati adsignarent: suo quemque periculo furere. Magnetas non libertatem modo sed omnia quae hominibus sancta caraque sint T. Quinctio et populo Romano debere: nihil quemquam ab diis immortalibus precari posse quod non

Magnetes ab illis haberent, et in corpora sua citius per furorem saeuituros quam ut Romanam amicitiam uiolarent.

[32] Huius orationem subsecutae multitudinis preces sunt; Eurylochos ex concilio itineribus occultis ad portam atque inde protinus in Aetoliam profugit. iam enim et id magis in dies Aetoli defectionem nudabant, eoque ipso forte tempore Thoas princeps gentis, quem miserant ad Antiochum, redierat inde Menippumque secum adduxerat regis legatum. qui, priusquam concilium iis daretur, impleuerant omnium aures terrestres naualesque copias commemorando: ingentem uim peditum equitumque uenire, ex India elephantos accitos, ante omnia, quo maxime credebant moueri multitudinis animos, tantum aduehi auri ut ipsos emere Romanos posset. apparebat quid ea oratio in concilio motura esset; nam et uenisse eos et quae agerent omnia legatis Romanis deferebantur; et quamquam prope abscisa spes erat, tamen non ab re esse Quinctio uisum est sociorum aliquos legatos interesse ei concilio, qui admonerent Romanae societatis Aetolos, qui uocem liberam mittere aduersus regis legatum auderent. Athenienses maxime in eam rem idonei uisi sunt et propter ciuitatis dignitatem et uetustam societatem cum Aetolis. ab iis Quinctius petit ut legatos ad Panaetolicum concilium mitterent. Thoas primus in eo concilio renuntiauit legationem. Menippus post eum intromissus optimum fuisse omnibus qui Graeciam Asiamque incolerent ait integris rebus Philippi potuisse interuenire Antiochum: sua quemque habiturum fuisse neque omnia sub nutum dicionemque Romanam peruentura. ‘nunc quoque’ inquit, ‘si modo uos quae incohastis consilia constanter perducitis ad exitum, poterit diis iuuantibus et Aetolis sociis Antiochus quamuis inclinatas Graeciae res restituere in pristinam dignitatem. ea autem in libertate posita est quae suis stat uiribus, non ex alieno arbitrio pendet.’ Athenienses, quibus primis post regiam legationem dicendi quae uellent potestas facta est, mentione omni regis praetermissa Romanae societatis Aetolos meritorumque in uniuersam Graeciam T. Quincti admonuerunt: ne temere eam nimia celeritate consiliorum euerterent; consilia calida et audacia prima specie laeta, tractatu dura, euentu tristia esse. legatos Romanos, et in iis T. Quinctium, haud procul inde abesse; dum integra omnia essent, uerbis potius de iis quae ambigerentur disceptarent quam Asiam Europamque ad

funestum armarent bellum.

[33] Multitudo auida nouandi res Antiochi tota erat, et ne admittendos quidem in concilium Romanos censebant; principum maxime seniores auctoritate obtinuerunt ut daretur iis concilium. hoc decretum Athenienses cum rettulissent, eundum in Aetoliam Quinctio uisum est: aut enim moturum aliquid aut omnes homines testes fore penes Aetolos culpam belli esse, Romanos iusta ac prope necessaria sumpturos arma. postquam uentum est eo, Quinctius in concilio orsus a principio societatis Aetolorum cum Romanis et quotiens ab iis fides mota foederis esset, pauca de iure ciuitatum de quibus ambigeretur disseruit: si quid tamen aequi se habere arbitrarentur, quanto esse satius Romam mittere legatos, seu disceptare seu rogare senatum mallent, quam populum Romanum cum Antiocho, lanistis Aetolis, non sine magno motu generis humani et perniciē Graeciae dimicare? nec ullos prius cladem eius belli sensuros quam qui mouissent. haec nequiquam uelut uaticinatus Romanus. Thoas deinde ceterique factionis eiusdem cum adsensu omnium auditi peruicerunt ut ne dilato quidem concilio et absentibus Romanis decretum fieret, quo accerseretur Antiochus ad liberandam Graeciam disceptandumque inter Aetolos et Romanos. huic tam superbo decreto addidit propriam contumeliam Damocritus praetor eorum; nam cum id ipsum decretum posceret eum Quinctius, non ueritus maiestatem uiri, aliud in praesentia quod magis instaret praeuertendum sibi esse dixit: decretum responsumque in Italia breui castris super ripam Tiberis positum daturum. tantus furor illo tempore gentem Aetolorum, tantus magistratus eorum cepit.

[34] Quinctius legatique Corinthum redierunt; inde ut quaeque de Antiocho <adferrentur excipiebant. Aetoli ne> nihil per se ipsi moti et sedentes expectare aduentum uiderentur regis, concilium quidem uniuersae gentis post dimissos Romanos non habuerunt, per apocletos autem — ita uocant sanctius consilium: ex delectis constat uiris — id agitabant quonam modo in Graecia res nouarentur. inter omnes constabat in ciuitatibus principes et optimum quemque Romanae societatis esse et praesenti statu gaudere, multitudinem et quorum res non ex sententia ipsorum essent omnia nouare uelle. Aetoli consilium cum rei <tum> spei quoque non audacis modo sed etiam impudentis ceperunt Demetriadem Chalcidem Lacedaemonem

occupandi. singuli in singulas principes missi sunt Thoas Chalcidem, Alexamenus Lacedaemonem, Diocles Demetriadem. hunc exul Eurylochos, de cuius fuga causaque fugae ante dictum est, quia reditus in patriam nulla alia erat spes, adiuvit. litteris Eurylochi admoniti propinqui amique et qui eiusdem factionis erant liberos et coniugem eius cum sordida ueste, tenentes uelamenta supplicum, <in> contionem frequentem accierunt singulos uniuersosque obtestantes ne insontem indemnatum consenescere in exilio sinerent. et simplices homines misericordia et improbos seditiososque immiscendi res tumultu Aetolico spes mouit, et pro se quisque reuocari iuebant. his praeparatis Diocles cum omni equitatu — et erat tum praefectus equitum — specie reducentis exulem hospitem profectus, die ac nocte ingens iter emensus, cum milia sex ab urbe abesset, luce prima tribus electis turmis, cetera multitudine equitum subsequi iussa, praecessit. postquam portae adpropinquabat, desilire omnes ex equis iussit et loris ducere equos, itineris maxime modo solutis ordinibus, ut comitatus magis praefecti uideretur quam praesidium. ibi una ex turmis ad portam relictam ne excludi subsequens equitatus posset, media urbe ac per forum manu Eurylochum tenens multis occurrentibus gratulantibusque domum deduxit. mox equitum plena urbs erat et loca opportuna occupabantur; tum in domos missi qui principes aduersae factionis interficerent. ita Demetrias Aetolorum facta est.

[35] Lacedaemone non urbi uis adferenda sed tyrannus dolo capiendus erat; quem spoliatum maritimis oppidis ab Romanis, tunc intra moenia etiam Lacedaemonis ab Achaeis compulsum qui occupasset occidere, eum totius gratiam rei apud Lacedaemonios laturum. causam mittendi ad eum habuerunt quod fatigabat precibus ut auxilia sibi, cum illis auctoribus rebellasset, mitterentur. mille pedites Alexameno dati sunt et triginta delecti ex iuuentute equites. iis a praetore Damocrito in consilio arcano gentis, de quo ante dictum est, denuntiatur ne se ad bellum Achaicum aut rem ullam quam sua quisque opinione praecipere posset crederent missos esse: quidquid Alexamenum res monuisset subiti consilii capere, ad id quamuis inopinatum, temerarium, audax oboedienter exsequendum parati essent ac pro eo acciperent tamquam ad id unum agendum missos ab domo se scirent. cum his ita praeparatis Alexamenus ad tyrannum

uenit, quem adueniens extemplo spei impleuit: Antiochum iam transisse in Europam, mox in Graecia fore, terras maria armis uiris completurum; non cum Philippo rem esse credituros Romanos; numerum iniri peditum equitumque ac nauium non posse; elephantorum aciem conspectu ipso debellaturam. Aetolos toto suo exercitu paratos esse uenire Lacedaemonem, cum res poscat, sed frequentes armatos ostendere aduenienti regi uoluisse. Nabidi quoque et ipsi faciendum esse ut quas haberet copias non sineret sub tectis marcescere otio sed educeret et in armis decurrere cogeret, simul animos acueret et corpora exerceret. consuetudine leuiorem laborem fore et comitate ac benignitate ducis etiam non iniucundum fieri posse. educi inde frequenter ante urbem in campum ad Eurotan amnem coepere. satellites tyranni media fere in acie consistebant; tyrannus cum tribus summum equitibus, inter quos plerumque Alexamenus erat, ante signa uectabatur, cornua extrema inuisens; in dextro cornu Aetoli erant, et qui ante auxiliares tyranni fuerant et qui uenerant mille cum Alexameno. fecerat sibi morem Alexamenus nunc cum tyranno inter paucos ordines circumeundi monendique eum quae in rem esse uidebantur, nunc in dextrum cornu ad suos adequitandi, mox inde uelut imperato quod res poposcisset recipiendi ad tyrannum. sed quem diem patrando facinori statuerat, eo paulisper cum tyranno uectatus cum ad suos concessisset, tum equitibus ab domo secum missis ‘agenda’ inquit ‘res est, iuuenes, audendaque quam me duce impigre exsequi iussi estis. parate animos, dexteras, ne quis in eo quod me uiderit facientem cesset. qui cunctatus fuerit et suum consilium meo interponet, sciat sibi reditum ad penates non esse.’ horror cunctos cepit et meminerant cum quibus mandatis exissent. tyrannus ab laeuo cornu ueniebat. ponere hastas equites Alexamenus iubet et se intueri: conligit et ipse animum confusum tantae cogitatione rei. postquam adpropinquabat, impetum facit et transfixo equo tyrannum deturbat, iacentem equites confodiunt; multis frustra in loricam ictibus datis tandem in nudum corpus uulnera peruenerunt, et priusquam <a> media acie succurreretur exspirauit.

[36] Alexamenus cum omnibus Aetolis citato gradu ad regiam occupandam pergit. corporis custodes, cum in oculis res gereretur, pauor primo cepit; deinde, postquam abire Aetolorum agmen uidere,

concurrunt ad relictum tyranni corpus, et spectatorum turba ex custodibus uitae mortisque ultoribus est facta. nec mouisset se quisquam si extemplo positis armis uocata in contionem multitudo fuisset et oratio habita tempori conueniens, frequentes inde retenti in armis Aetoli sine iniuria cuiusquam; sed, ut oportuit in consilio fraude coepto, omnia in maturandam perniciem eorum qui fecerant sunt acta. dux regia inclusus diem ac noctem in scrutandis thesauris tyranni absumpsit; Aetoli uelut capta urbe quam liberasse uideri uolebant in praedam uersi. simul indignitas rei, [ac] simul contemptus animos Lacedaemoniis ad coeundum fecit. alii dicere exturbandos Aetolos et libertatem, cum restitui uideretur interceptam, repetendam; alii, ut caput agenda rei esset, regii generis aliquem in speciem adsumendum. Laconicus eius stirpis erat puer admodum, eductus cum liberis tyranni. eum in equum imponunt et armis arreptis Aetolos uagos per urbem caedunt. tum regiam inuadunt; ibi Alexamenum cum paucis resistentem obruncant. Aetoli circa Chalcioecon — Mineruae aereum est templum — congregati caeduntur; pauci armis abiectis pars Tegeam, pars Megalen polin perfugiant; ibi comprehensi a magistratibus sub corona uenierunt.

[37] Philopoemen audita caede tyranni profectus Lacedaemonem cum omnia turbata metu inuenisset, euocatis principibus et oratione habita, qualis habenda Alexameno fuerat, societati Achaeorum Lacedaemonios adiunxit, eo etiam facilius quod ad idem forte tempus A. Atilius cum quattuor et uiginti quinquere milibus ad Gytheum accessit. iisdem diebus circa Chalcidem Thoas per Euthymidam principem, pulsum opibus eorum qui Romanae societatis erant, post T. Quincti legatorumque aduentum, et Herodorum, Cianum mercatorem sed potentem Chalcide propter diuitias, praeparatis ad prodicionem iis qui Euthymidae factionis erant, nequaquam eandem fortunam qua Demetrias per Eurylochum occupata erat habuit. Euthymidas ab Athenis — eum domicilio delegerat locum — Thebas primum, hinc Salganea processit, Herodorus ad Thronium. inde haud procul in Maliaco sinu duo milia peditum Thoas et ducentos equites, onerarias leues ad triginta habebat. eas cum sescentis peditibus Herodorus traicere in insulam Atalanten iussus, ut inde, cum pedestres copias adpropinquare iam Aulidi atque Euripo sensisset, Chalcidem traiceret; ipse ceteras

copias nocturnis maxime itineribus quanta poterat celeritate Chalcidem ducebat.

[38] Micythio et Xenoclides, penes quos tum summa rerum pulso Euthymida Chalcide erat, seu ipsi per se suspicati seu indicata re, primo pauidi nihil usquam spei nisi in fuga ponebant; deinde postquam resedit terror et prodi et deserere non patriam modo sed etiam Romanorum societatem cernebant, consilio tali animum adiecerunt.

Sacrum anniuersarium eo forte tempore Eretriae Amarynthidis Dianae erat, quod non popularium modo sed Carystiorum etiam coetu celebratur. eo miserunt qui orarent Eretrienses Carystiosque ut et suarum fortunarum in eadem insula geniti misererentur et Romanam societatem respicerent: ne sinerent Aetolorum Chalcidem fieri; Euboeam habituros, si Chalcidem habuissent; graue fuisse Macedonas dominos, multo minus tolerabiles futuros Aetolos. Romanorum maxime respectus ciuitates mouit et uirtutem nuper in bello <et> in uictoria iustitiam benignitatemque expertas. itaque quod roboris in iuuentute erat utraque ciuitas armauit misitque. iis tuenda moenia Chalcidis oppidani cum tradidissent, ipsi omnibus copiis transgressi Euripum ad Salganea posuerunt castra. inde caduceator primum, deinde legati ad Aetolos missi percunctatum quo suo dicto factoue socii atque amici ad se oppugnandos uenirent. respondit Thoas dux Aetolorum non ad oppugnandos sed ad liberandos ab Romanis uenire sese: splendidiore nunc eos catena sed multo grauiore uinctos esse quam cum praesidium Macedonum in arce habuissent. se uero negare Chalcidenses aut seruire ulli aut praesidio cuiusquam egere. ita digressi ex conloquio legati ad suos; Thoas et Aetoli, ut qui spem omnem in eo ut improuiso opprimerent habuissent, ad iustum bellum oppugnationemque urbis mari ac terra munitae haudquaquam pares, domum rediere. Euthymidas postquam castra popularium ad Salganea esse profectosque Aetolos audiuit, et ipse a Thebis Athenas rediit; et Herodorus cum per aliquot dies intentus ab Atalante signum nequiquam expectasset, missa speculatoria naue ut quid morae esset sciret, postquam rem omissam ab sociis uidit, Thronium unde uenerat repetit.

[39] Quinctius quoque his auditis ab Corintho ueniens nauibus in Chalcidi<co> Euripo Eumeni regi occurrit. placuit quingentos milites

praesidii causa relinqui Chalcide ab Eumene rege, ipsum Athenas ire. Quinctius quo profectus erat Demetriadem contendit, ratus Chalcidem liberatam momenti aliquid apud Magnetas ad repetendam societatem Romanam facturam, et ut praesidii aliquid esset suae partis hominibus, Eunomo praetori Thessalorum scripsit ut armaret iuuentutem, et <Uillium> ad Demetriadem praemisit ad temptandos animos, non aliter nisi pars aliqua inclinaret ad respectum pristinae societatis rem adgressurus. Uillius quinquerei naue ad ostium portus est inuectus. eo multitudo Magnetum omnis cum se effudisset, quaesiuit Uillius utrum ad amicos an ad hostes uenisse se mallent. respondit Magnetarches Eurylochus ad amicos uenisse eum, sed abstineret portu et sineret Magnetas in concordia et libertate esse nec per conloqui speciem multitudinem sollicitaret. altercatio inde non sermo fuit, cum Romanus ut ingratos increparet Magnetas imminentesque praediceret clades, multitudo obstreperet nunc senatum nunc Quinctium accusando. ita inrito incepto Uillius ad Quinctium sese recepit. at Quinctius nuntio ad praetorem misso ut reduceret domum copias, ipse nauibus Corinthum rediit.

[40] Abstulere me uelut de spatio Graeciae res immixtae Romanis, non quia ipsas operae pretium esset perscribere sed quia causae cum Antiocho fuerunt belli. consulibus designatis — inde namque deuerteram — L. Quinctius et Cn. Domitius consules in prouincias profecti sunt, Quinctius in Ligures, Domitius aduersus Boios. Boi quieuerunt, atque etiam senatus eorum cum liberis et praefecti cum equitatu — summa omnium mille et quingenti — consuli dederunt sese. ab altero consule ager Ligurum late est uastatus castellaque aliquot capta, unde non praeda modo omnis generis cum captiuis parta sed recepti quoque aliquot ciues sociique qui in hostium potestate fuerant.

Eodem hoc anno Uibonem colonia deducta est ex senatus consulto plebique scito. tria milia et septingenti pedites ierunt, trecenti equites; triumphum deduxerunt eos Q. Naeuius M. Minucius M. Furius Crassipes; quina dena iugera agri data in singulos pedites sunt, duplex equitibus. Bruttiorum proxime fuerat ager; Brutti ceperant de Graecis. Romae per idem tempus duo maximi fuerunt terrores, diutinus alter sed segnior: terra dies duodequadragesima mouit. per totidem dies feriae in sollicitudine ac metu fuere; [in] triduum eius

rei causa supplicatio habita est. ille non pavor uanus sed uera multorum clades fuit: incendio a foro Bouario orto diem noctemque aedificia in Tiberim uersa arsere tabernaeque omnes cum magni pretii mercibus conflagrauerunt.

[41] Iam fere in exitu annus erat, et in dies magis et fama de bello Antiochi et cura patribus crescebat; itaque de prouinciis designatorum magistratuum, quo intentiores essent omnes, agitari coeptum est. decreuere ut consulibus Italia et quo senatus censuisset — eam esse bellum aduersus Antiochum regem omnes sciebant — prouinciae essent; cuius ea sors esset, quattuor milia peditum ciuium Romanorum et trecenti equites, sex milia socium Latini nominis cum quadringentis equitibus sunt decreta. eorum dilectum habere L. Quinctius consul iussus, ne quid moraretur quo minus consul nouus quo senatus censuisset extemplo proficisci posset. item de prouinciis praetorum decretum est, prima ut sors duae urbanae et inter ciues ac peregrinos iurisdictio esset, secunda Bruttii, tertia classis ut nauigaret quo senatus censuisset, quarta Sicilia, quinta Sardinia, sexta Hispania ulterior. imperatum praeterea L. Quinctio consuli est ut duas legiones ciuium Romanorum nouas conscriberet et socium ac Latini nominis uiginti milia peditum et octingentos equites. eum exercitum praetori cui Bruttii prouincia euenisset decreuerunt.

Aedes duae Iouis eo anno in Capitolio dedicatae sunt; uouerat L. Furius Purpurio praetor Gallico bello unam, alteram consul; dedicauit Q. Marcius Ralla duumuir. iudicia in faeneratores eo anno multa seuerè sunt facta, accusantibus priuatos aedilibus curulibus M. Tuccio et P. Iunio Bruto. de multa damnatorum quadrigae inauratae in Capitolio positae et in cella Iouis supra fastigium aediculae [et] duodecim clupea inaurata; et iidem porticum extra portam Trigeminam inter lignarios fecerunt.

[42] Intentis in apparatum noui belli Romanis ne ab Antiocho quidem cessabatur. tres eum ciuitates tenebant, Zmyrna et Alexandria Troas et Lampsacus, quas neque ui expugnare ad eam diem poterat neque condicionibus in amicitiam perlicere, neque ab tergo relinquere traiciens ipse in Europam uolebat. tenuit eum et de Hannibale deliberatio. et primo naues apertae quas cum eo missurus in Africam fuerat moratae sunt; deinde an omnino mittendus esset consultatio mota est, maxime a Thoante Aetolo, qui omnibus in

Graecia tumultu completis Demetriadem adferebat in potestate esse, et quibus mendaciis de rege, multiplicando uerbis copias eius, erexerat multorum in Graecia animos, iisdem et regis spem inflabat: omnium uotis eum accersi; concursum ad litora futurum, unde classem regiam prospexissent. hic idem ausus de Hannibale est mouere sententiam prope iam certam regis. nam neque dimittendam partem nauium a classe regia censebat neque, si mittendae naues forent, minus quemquam ei classi quam Hannibalem praeficiendum: exulem illum et Poenum esse, cui mille in dies noua consilia uel fortuna sua uel ingenium possit facere, et ipsam eam gloriam belli qua uelut dote Hannibal concilietur nimiam in praefecto regio esse. regem conspici, regem unum ducem, unum imperatorem uideri debere. si classem, si exercitum amittat Hannibal, idem damni fore ac si per alium ducem amittantur; si quid prospere eueniat, Hannibalis eam, non Antiochi gloriam fore; si uero uniuerso bello uincendi Romanos fortuna detur, quam spem esse sub rege uicturum Hannibalem, uni subiectum, qui patriam prope non tulerit? non ita se a iuuenta eum gessisse, spe animoque complexum orbis terrarum imperium, ut in senectute dominum laturus uideatur. nihil opus esse regi duce Hannibale; comite et consiliario eodem ad bellum uti posse. modicum fructum ex ingenio tali neque grauem neque inutilem fore: si summa petantur, et dantem et accipientem prae-grauatura.

[43] Nulla ingenia tam prona ad inuidiam sunt quam eorum qui genus ac fortunam suam animis non aequant, quia uirtutem et bonum alienum oderunt. extemplo consilium mittendi Hannibalis, quod unum in principio belli utiliter cogitatum erat, abiectum est. Demetriadis maxime defectione ab Romanis ad Aetolos elatus non ultra differre profectionem in Graeciam constituit. priusquam solueret naues, Ilium a mari escendit ut Mineruae sacrificaret. inde ad classem regressus proficiscitur quadraginta tectis nauibus, apertis sexaginta, et ducentae onerariae cum omnis generis commeatu bellicoque alio apparatu sequebantur. Imbrum primo insulam tenuit; inde Sciathum traiecit; ubi conlectis in alto quae dissipatae erant nauibus ad Pteleum primum continentis uenit. ibi Eurylochus ei Magnetarches principesque Magnetum ab Demetriade occurrerunt; quorum frequentia laetus die postero in portum urbis nauibus est

inuectus, copias haud procul inde exposuit. decem milia peditum fuere et quingenti equites, sex elephanti, uix ad Graeciam nudam occupandam satis copiarum, nedum ad sustinendum Romanum bellum.

Aetoli, postquam Demetriadem uenisse Antiochum allatum est, concilio indicto decretum quo accerserent eum fecerunt. iam profectus ab Demetriade rex, quia ita decreturos sciebat, Phalara in sinum Maliacum processerat. inde decreto accepto Lamiam uenit, exceptus ingenti fauore multitudinis cum plausibus clamoribusque et quibus aliis laetitia effusa uolgi significatur.

[44] In concilium ut uentum est, aegre a Phaenea praetore principibusque aliis introductus silentio facto dicere orsus rex. prima eius oratio fuit [primo] excusantis quod tanto minoribus spe atque opinione omnium copiis uenisset: id suae impensae erga eos uoluntatis maximum debere indicium esse, quod nec paratus satis ulla re et tempore ad nauigandum immaturo uocantibus legatis eorum haud grauate obsecutus esset credidissetque, cum se uidissent Aetoli, omnia uel in se uno posita praesidia existimatuos esse. ceterum eorum quoque se quorum expectatio destituta in praesentia uideatur spem abunde expleturum; nam simul primum anni tempus nauigabile praeuisset mare, omnem se Graeciam armis uiris equis, omnem oram maritimam classibus completurum, nec impensae nec labori nec periculo parsurum, donec depulso ceruicibus eorum imperio Romano liberam uere Graeciam atque in ea principes Aetolos fecisset. cum exercitibus commeatus quoque omnis generis ex Asia uenturos: in praesentia curae esse Aetolis debere ut copia frumenti suis et annona tolerabilis rerum aliarum suppeditetur.

[45] In hanc sententiam rex cum magno omnium adsensu locutus discessit. post discessum regis inter duos principes Aetolorum Phaeneam et Thoantem contentio fuit. Phaeneas reconciliatore pacis et disceptatore de iis quae in controuersia cum populo Romano essent utendum potius Antiocho censebat quam duce belli: aduentum eius et maiestatem ad uerecundiam faciendam Romanis uim maiorem habituram quam arma. multa homines, ne bellare necesse sit, uoluntate remittere quae bello et armis cogi non possint. Thoas negare paci studere Phaeneam sed discutere apparatus belli uelle, ut taedio et impetus relanguescat regis et Romani tempus ad

comparandum habeant; nihil enim aequi ab Romanis impetrari posse totiens legationibus missis Romam, totiens cum ipso Quinctio disceptando satis expertum esse, nec nisi abscisa omni spe auxilium Antiochi imploratos fuisse. quo celerius spe omnium oblato non esse elanguescendum, sed orandum potius regem ut quoniam, quod maximum fuerit, ipse uindex Graeciae uenerit, copias quoque terrestres naualesque accersat. armatum regem aliquid impetraturum: inermem non pro Aetolis modo sed ne pro se quidem ipso momenti ullius futurum apud Romanos. haec uicit sententia, imperatoremque regem appellandum censuerunt et triginta principes cum quibus, si qua uellet, consultaret delegerunt.

[46] Ita dimisso concilio multitudo omnis in suas ciuitates dilapsa est; rex postero die cum apocletis eorum unde bellum ordiretur consultabat. optimum uisum est Chalcidem, frustra ab Aetolis nuper temptatam, primum adgredi, et celeritate magis in eam rem quam magno conatu et apparatu opus esse. itaque cum mille peditibus rex qui Demetriade secuti erant profectus per Phocidem est, et alio itinere principes Aetoli iuniorum paucis euocatis ad Chaeroneam occurrerunt et decem constratis nauibus secuti sunt. rex ad Salganea castris positus nauibus ipse cum principibus Aetolorum Euripum traiecit; et, cum haud procul portu egressus esset, magistratus quoque Chalcidensium et principes ante portam processerunt. pauci utrimque ad conloquium congressi sunt. Aetoli magnopere suadere ut salua Romanorum amicitia regem quoque adsumerent socium atque amicum; neque enim eum inferendi belli sed liberandae Graeciae causa in Europam traiecisse, et liberandae re, non uerbis et simulatione, quod fecissent Romani. nihil autem utilius Graeciae ciuitatibus esse quam utramque complecti amicitiam; ita enim ab utriusque iniuria tutas alterius semper praesidio et fiducia fore. nam si non recepissent regem, uiderent quid patiendum iis extemplo foret, cum Romanorum procul auxilium, hostis Antiochus, cui resistere suis uiribus non possent, ante portas esset. ad haec Micythio, unus ex principibus, mirari se dixit ad quos liberandos Antiochus relicto regno suo in Europam traiecisset; nullam enim ciuitatem se in Graecia nosse quae aut praesidium habeat aut stipendium Romanis pendat aut foedere iniquo adligata quas nolit leges patiatur; itaque Chalcidenses neque uindice libertatis ullo egere, cum liberi sint,

neque praesidio, cum pacem eiusdem populi Romani beneficio et libertatem habeant. amicitiam regis non aspernari nec ipsorum Aetolorum. id primum eos pro amicis facturos, si insula excedant atque abeant; nam ipsis certum esse non modo non recipere moenibus sed ne societatem quidem ullam pacisci nisi ex auctoritate Romanorum.

[47] Haec renunciata regi ad naues ubi restiterat cum essent, in praesentia — neque enim iis uenerat copiis ut ui agere quicquam posset — reuerti Demetriadem placuit. ibi, quoniam primum uanum inceptum euasisset, consultare cum Aetolis rex quid deinde fieret. placuit <Boeotos>, Achaeos, Amynandrum regem Athamanum temptare. Boeotorum gentem auersam ab Romanis iam inde a Brachylli morte et quae secuta eam fuerant censebant; Achaeorum Philopoemenem principem aemulatione gloriae in bello Laconum infestum inuisumque esse Quinctio credebant. Amynander uxorem Apamam, filiam Alexandri cuiusdam Megalopolitani, habebat, qui se oriundum a magno Alexandro ferens filiis duobus Philippum atque Alexandrum et filiae Apamam nomina imposuerat; quam regiis inclutam nuptiis maior e fratribus Philippus secutus in Athamaniam fuerat. hunc forte ingenio uanum Aetoli et Antiochus impulerant in spem Macedoniae regni, quod is uere regum stirpis esset, si Amynandrum Athamanesque Antiocho coniunxisset; et ea uanitas promissorum non apud Philippum modo sed etiam apud Amynandrum ualuit.

[48] In Achaia legatis Antiochi Aetolorumque coram T. Quinctio Aegii datum est concilium. Antiochi legatus prior quam Aetoli est auditus. is, ut plerique quos opes regiae alunt, uaniloquus maria terrasque inani sonitu uerborum compleuit: equitum innumerabilem uim traici Hellesponto in Europam, partim loricatos, quos cataphractus uocant, partim sagittis ex equo utentes et, a quo nihil satis tecti sit, auerso refugientes equo certius figentes. his equestribus copiis quamquam uel totius Europae exercitus in unum coacti obrui possent, adiciebat multiplices copias peditum et nominibus quoque gentium uix fando auditis terrebat, Dahas Medos Elymaeosque et Cadusios appellans; naualium uero copiarum, quas nulli portus capere in Graecia possent, dextrum cornu Sidonios et Tyrios, sinistrum Aradios et ex Pamphylia Sidetas tenere, quas gentes nullae

unquam nec arte nec uirtute nauali aequassent. iam pecuniam, iam alios belli apparatus referre superuacaneum esse: scire ipsos abundasse semper auro regna Asiae. itaque non cum Philippo nec Hannibale rem futuram Romanis, principe altero unius ciuitatis, altero Macedoniae tantum regni finibus incluso, sed cum magno Asiae totius partisque Europae rege. eum tamen, quamquam ab ultimis orientis terminis ad liberandam Graeciam ueniat, nihil postulare ab Achaeis in quo fides eorum aduersus Romanos, priores socios atque amicos, laedatur; non enim ut secum aduersus eos arma capiant, sed ut neutri parti sese coniungant petere. pacem utrique parti, quod medios deceat amicos, optent: bello se non interponant. idem ferme et Aetolorum legatus Archidamus petiit ut, quae facillima et tutissima esset, quietem praestarent spectatoresque belli fortunarum alienarum euentum sine ullo discrimine rerum suarum opperirentur. prouectus deinde est intemperantia linguae in maledicta nunc communiter Romanorum, nunc proprie ipsius Quincti, ingratos appellans et exprobrans non uictoriam modo de Philippo uirtute Aetolorum partam sed etiam salutem, ipsumque et exercitum sua opera seruatos. quo enim illum unquam imperatoris functum officio esse? auspicantem immolantemque et uota nuncupantem sacrificuli uatis modo in acie uidisse, cum ipse corpus suum pro eo telis hostium obiceret.

[49] Ad ea Quinctius coram quibus magis quam apud quos uerba faceret dicere Archidamum rationem habuisse; Achaeos enim probe scire Aetolorum omnem ferociam in uerbis, non in factis esse, et in conciliis magis contionibusque quam in acie apparere; itaque parui Achaeorum existimationem, quibus notos esse se scirent, fecisse: legatis regis et per eos absenti regi eum se iactasse. quod si quis antea ignorasset quae res Antiochum et Aetolos coniunxisset, ex legatorum sermone potuisse apparere: mentiendo in uicem iactandoque uires quas non haberent, inflasse uana spe atque inflatos esse. 'dum hi ab se uictum Philippum, sua uirtute protectos Romanos et, quae modo audiebatis, narrant uos ceterasque ciuitates et gentes suam sectam esse secuturos, rex contra peditum equitumque nubes iactat et consternit maria classibus suis. est autem res simillima cenae Chalcidensis hospitis mei, et hominis boni et sciti conuiuatoris, apud quem solstitiali tempore comiter accepti cum miraremur unde illi eo

tempore anni tam uaria et multa uenatio, homo non qua isti sunt gloriosus renidens condimentis ait uarietatem illam et speciem ferinae carnis ex mansueto sue factam.' hoc dici apte in copias regis, quae paulo ante iactatae sint, posse; uaria enim genera armorum et multa nomina gentium inauditarum, Dahas <et Medos> et Cadusios et Elymaeos, Syros omnes esse, haud paulo mancipiorum melius propter seruilia ingenia quam militum genus. 'et utinam subicere oculis uestris, Achaei, possem concursationem regis magni ab Demetriade nunc Lamiam in concilium Aetolorum, nunc Chalcidem: uideretis uix duarum male plenarum legiuncularum instar in castris regis, uideretis regem nunc mendicantem prope frumentum ab Aetolis quod militi admetiatur, nunc mutuas pecunias faenore in stipendium quaerentem, nunc ad portas Chalcidis stantem et mox, inde exclusum, nihil aliud quam Aulide atque Euripo spectatis in Aetoliam redeuntem. male crediderunt et Antiochus Aetolis et Aetoli regiae uanitati; quo minus uos decipi debetis sed expertae potius spectataeque Romanorum fidei credere. nam quod optimum esse dicunt, non interponi uos bello, nihil immo tam alienum rebus uestris est: quippe sine gratia, sine dignitate praemium uictoris eritis.'

[50] Nec absurde aduersus utrosque respondisse uisus est, et facile erat orationem apud fauentes aequis auribus accipi. nulla enim nec disceptatio nec dubitatio fuit quin omnes eosdem genti Achaeorum hostes et amicos quos populus Romanus censuisset iudicarent bellumque et Antiocho et Aetolis nuntiari iuberent. auxilia etiam quo censuit Quinctius, quingentorum militum Chalcidem, quingentorum Piraeum extemplo miserunt. erat enim haud procul seditione Athenis res, trahentibus ad Antiochum quibusdam spe largitionum uenalem pretio multitudinem, donec ab iis qui Romanae partis erant Quinctius est accitus et accusante Leonte quodam Apollodorus auctor defectionis damnatus atque in exilium est eiectus.

Et ab Achaeis quidem cum tristi responso legatio ad regem rediit; Boeoti nihil certi responderunt: cum Antiochus in Boeotiam uenisset, tum quid sibi faciendum esset se deliberaturos esse.

Antiochus cum ad Chalcidis praesidium et Achaeos et Eumenem regem misisse audisset, maturandum ratus ut et praeuenirent sui et uenientes, si possent, exciperent, Menippum cum tribus ferme milibus militum et cum omni classe Polyxenidan mittit, ipse paucos

post dies sex milia suorum militum et ex ea copia quae Lamiae repente conligi potuit non ita multos Aetolos ducit. Achaei quingenti <et> ab Eumene rege modicum auxilium missum duce Xenoclide Chalcidensi nondum obsessis itineribus tuto transgressi Euripum Chalcidem peruenerunt. Romani milites, quingenti ferme et ipsi, cum iam Menippus castra ante Salganea ad Hermaeum, qua transitus ex Boeotia in Euboeam insulam est, haberet, uenerunt. Micythio erat cum iis, legatus ab Chalcide ad Quinctium ad id ipsum praesidium petendum missus. qui postquam obsessas ab hostibus fauces uidit, omisso ad Aulidem itinere Delium conuertit, ut inde in Euboeam transmissurus.

[51] Templum est Apollinis Delium, imminens mari; quinque milia passuum ab Tanagra abest; minus quattuor milium inde in proxima Euboeae est mari traiectus. ubi et in fano lucoque ea religione et eo iure sancto quo sunt templa quae asyla Graeci appellant, et nondum aut indicto bello aut ita commisso ut strictos gladios aut sanguinem usquam factum audissent, cum per magnum otium milites alii ad spectaculum templi lucique uersi, alii in litore inermes uagarentur, magna pars per agros lignatum pabulumque dilapsa esset, repente Menippus palatos passim adgressus ~eos cecidit, ad quinquaginta uiuos cepit; perpauci effugerunt, in quibus Micythio parua oneraria naue exceptus. ea res Quinctio Romanisque sicut iactura militum molesta, ita ad ius inferendi Antiocho belli adiecisse aliquantum uidebatur. Antiochus admoto ad Aulidem exercitu, cum rursus oratores partim ex suis partim Aetolos Chalcidem misisset qui eadem illa quae nuper cum minis grauioribus agerent, nequiquam contra Micythione et Xenoclide tendentibus facile tenuit ut portae sibi aperirentur. qui Romanae partis erant sub aduentum regis urbe excesserunt. Achaeorum et Eumenis milites Salganea tenebant, et in Euripo castellum Romani milites pauci custodiae causa loci communiebant. Salganea Menippus, rex ipse castellum Euripi oppugnare est adortus. priores Achaei et Eumenis milites pacti ut sine fraude liceret abire, praesidio excesserunt; pertinacius Romani Euripum tuebantur. hi quoque tamen cum terra marique obsiderentur et iam machinas tormentaue adportari uiderent, non tulere obsidionem. cum id, quod caput erat Euboeae, teneret rex, ne ceterae quidem insulae eius urbes imperium abnuerunt; magnoque principio

sibi orsus bellum uidebatur, quod tanta insula et tot opportuna urbes
in suam dicionem uenissent.

LIBER XXXVI

[1] P. Cornelium Cn. filium Scipionem et M'. Acilium Glabionem consules inito magistratu patres, priusquam de prouinciis agerent, res diuinas facere maioribus hostiis iusserunt in omnibus fanis, in quibus lectisternium maiorem partem anni fieri solet, precarique, quod senatus de nouo bello in animo haberet, ut ea res senatui populoque Romano bene atque feliciter eueniret. ea omnia sacrificia laeta fuerunt, primisque hostiis perlitatum est, et ita haruspices responderunt, eo bello terminos populi Romani propagari, uictoriam ac triumphum ostendi. haec cum renuntiata essent, solutis religione animis patres rogationem ad populum ferri iusserunt, uellent iuberentne cum Antiocho rege, quique eius sectam secuti essent, bellum iniri; si ea perlata rogatio esset, tum, si ita uideretur consulibus, rem integram ad senatum referrent. P. Cornelius eam rogationem pertulit; tum senatus decreuit, ut consules Italiam et Graeciam prouincias sortirentur; cui Graecia euenisset, ut praeter eum numerum militum, quem L. Quinctius consul in eam prouinciam ex auctoritate senatus scripsisset imperassetue, ut eum exercitum acciperet, quem M. Baebius praetor anno priore ex senatus consulto in Macedoniam traiecisset; et extra Italiam permissum, ut, si res postulasset, auxilia ab sociis ne supra quinque milium numerum acciperet. L. Quinctium superioris anni consulem legari ad id bellum placuit. alter consul, cui Italia prouincia euenisset, cum Bois iussus bellum gerere utro exercitu mallet ex duobus, quos superiores consules habuissent, alterum ut mitteret Romam, eaeque urbanae legiones essent paratae quo senatus censuisset.

[2] His ita in senatu, <incerto> ad id, quae cuius<que> prouincia foret, decretis, tum demum sortiri consules placuit. Acilio Graecia, Cornelio Italia euenit. certa deinde sorte senatus consultum factum est, quod populus Romanus eo tempore duellum iussisset esse cum rege Antiocho, quique sub imperio eius essent, ut eius rei causa supplicationem imperarent consules, utique M'. Acilius consul ludos magnos Ioui uoueret et dona ad omnia puluinaria. id uotum in haec uerba praeunte P. Licinio pontifice maximo consul nuncupauit: 'si duellum, quod cum rege Antiocho sumi populus iussit, id ex

sententia senatus populiue Romani confectum erit, tum tibi, Iuppiter, populus Romanus ludos magnos dies decem continuos faciet, donaque ad omnia puluinaria dabuntur de pecunia, quantam senatus decreuerit. quisquis magistratus eos ludos quando ubique faxit, hi ludi recte facti donaque data recte sunt.’ supplicatio inde ab duobus consulibus edicta per biduum fuit.

Consulibus sortitis prouincias extemplo et praetores sortiti sunt. M. Iunio Bruto iurisdictio utraque euenit, A. Cornelio Mammulae Bruttii, M. Aemilio Lepido Sicilia, L. Oppio Salinatori Sardinia, C. Liuius Salinatori classis, L. Aemilio Paulo Hispania ulterior. his ita exercitus decreti: A. Cornelio noui milites, conscripti priore anno ex senatus consulto a L. Quinctio consule, dati sunt, iussusque tueri omnem oram circa Tarentum Brundisiumque. L. Aemilio Paulo in ulteriorem Hispaniam, praeter eum exercitum, quem a M. Fuluius proconsule accepturus esset, decretum est, ut nouorum militum tria milia duceret et trecentos equites, ita ut in iis duae partes socium Latini nominis, tertia ciuium Romanorum esset. idem supplementi ad C. Flaminium, cui imperium prorogabatur, in Hispaniam citeriorem est missum. M. Aemilius Lepidus ab L. Ualerio, cui successurus esset, simul prouinciam exercitumque accipere iussus; L. Ualerium, si ita uideretur, pro praetore in prouincia retinere et prouinciam ita diuidere, ut una ab Agrigento ad Pachynum esset, altera a Pachyno Tyndareum; eam maritimam oram L. Ualerius uiginti nauibus longis custodiret. eidem praetori mandatum, ut duas decumas frumenti exigeret; id ad mare comportandum deuehendumque in Graeciam curaret. idem L. Oppio de alteris decumis exigendis in Sardinia imperatum; ceterum non in Graeciam sed Romam id frumentum portari placere. C. Liuius praetor, cui classis euenerat, triginta nauibus paratis traicere in Graeciam primo quoque tempore iussus, et ab Atilio naues accipere. ueteres naues, quae in naualibus erant, ut reficeret et armaret, M. Iunio praetori negotium datum est, et in eam classem socios nauales libertinos legeret.

[3] Legati terni in Africam ad Carthaginenses et in Numidiam ad frumentum rogandum, quod in Graeciam portaretur, missi, pro quo pretium solueret populus Romanus. adeoque in apparatus curamque eius belli ciuitas intenta fuit, ut P. Cornelius consul ediceret, qui senatores essent quibusque in senatu sententiam dicere liceret, quique

minores magistratus essent, ne quis eorum longius ab urbe Roma abiret, quam unde eo die redire posset, neue uno tempore quinque senatores ab urbe Roma abessent. in comparanda impigre classe C. Liuium praetorem contentio orta cum colonis maritimis paulisper tenuit. nam cum cogerentur in classem, tribunos plebi appellarunt; ab iis ad senatum reiecti sunt. senatus ita, ut ad unum omnes consentirent, decreuit uacationem rei naualis eis colonis non esse. Ostia et Fregenae et Castrum Nouum et Pyrgi et Antium et Tarracina et Minturnae et Sinuessa fuerunt, quae cum praetore de uacatione certarunt. consul deinde M'. Acilius ex senatus consulto ad collegium fetialium rettulit, ipsine utique regi Antiocho indiceretur bellum, an satis esset ad praesidium aliquod eius nuntiari; et num Aetolis quoque separatim indici iuberent bellum, et num prius societas et amicitia eis renuntianda esset quam bellum indicendum. fetiales responderunt, iam ante sese, cum de Philippo consulerentur, decreuisse nihil referre, ipsi coram an ad praesidium nuntiaretur; amicitiam renuntiatam uideri, cum legatis totiens repetentibus res nec reddi nec satisfieri aequum censuissent; Aetolos ultro sibi bellum indixisse, cum Demetriadem, sociorum urbem, per uim occupassent, Chalcidem terra marique oppugnatum issent, regem Antiochum in Europam ad bellum populo Romano inferendum traduxissent. omnibus iam satis comparatis M'. Acilius consul edixit, ut quos L. Quinctius milites conscripsisset et quos sociis nominique Latino imperasset, quos secum in prouinciam ire oporteret, et tribuni militum legionis primae et tertiae, ut ii omnes Brundisium idibus Mais conuenirent. ipse a. d. quintum nonas Maias paludatus urbe egressus est. per eosdem dies et praetores in prouincias profecti sunt.

[4] Sub idem tempus legati ab duobus regibus, Philippo et Ptolomaeo, [Aegypti rege,] Romam uenerunt, Philippo pollicente ad bellum auxilia et pecuniam et frumentum; ab Ptolomaeo etiam mille pondo auri, uiginti milia pondo argenti adlata. nihil eius acceptum; gratiae regibus actae; et cum uterque se cum omnibus copiis in Aetoliam uenturum belloque interfuturum polliceretur, Ptolomaeo id remissum; Philippi legatis responsum gratum eum senatui populoque Romano facturum, si M'. Acilio consuli non defuisset. item ab Carthaginiensibus et Masinissa rege legati uenerunt. Carthaginienses tritici modium milia, hordei quingenta ad exercitum, dimidium eius

Romam apportaturos polliciti; id ut ab se munus Romani acciperent, petere sese, et classem [suorum] suo sumptu comparaturos, et stipendium, quod pluribus pensionibus in multos annos deberent, praesens omne daturus; Masinissae legati quingenta milia modium tritici, trecenta hordei ad exercitum in Graeciam, Romam trecenta milia modium tritici, ducenta quinquaginta hordei, equites quingentos, elephantos uiginti regem ad M'. Acilium consulem missurum. de frumento utrisque responsum, ita usurum eo populum Romanum, si pretium acciperent; de classe Carthaginiensibus remissum, praeterquam si quid nauium ex foedere deberent; de pecunia item responsum, nullam ante diem accepturos.

[5] Cum haec Romae agebantur, Chalcide Antiochus, ne cessaret per hibernorum tempus, partim ipse sollicitabat ciuitatum animos mittendis legatis, partim ultro ad eum ueniebant, sicut Epirotae communi gentis consensu et Elei e Peloponneso uenerunt. Elei auxilium aduersus Achaeos petebant, quos post bellum non ex sua sententia indictum Antiocho primum ciuitati suae arma illaturos <credebant>. mille iis pedites cum duce Cretensi Euphane sunt missi. Epirotarum legatio erat minime in partem ullam liberi aut simplicis animi; apud regem gratiam initam uolebant cum eo, ut cauerent, ne quid offenderent Romanos. petebant enim, ne se temere in causam deduceret, expositos aduersus Italiam pro omni Graecia et primos impetus Romanorum excepturos; sed si ipse posset terrestribus naualibusque copiis praesidere Epiro, cupide eum omnis Epirotas et urbibus et portibus suis accepturos; si id non posset, deprecari, ne se nudos atque inermes Romano bello obiceret. hac legatione id agi apparebat, ut siue, quod magis credebant, abstinuisset Epiro, integra sibi omnia apud exercitus Romanos essent, conciliata satis apud regem gratia, quod accepturi fuissent uenientem, siue uenisset, sic quoque spes ueniae ab Romanis foret, quod non expectato longinquo ab se auxilio praesentis uiribus succubuissent. huic tam perplexae legationi quia non satis in promptu erat, quid responderet, legatos se missurum ad eos dixit, qui de iis, quae ad illos seque communiter pertinerent, loquerentur.

[6] In Boeotiam ipse profectus est, causas in speciem irae aduersus Romanos eas, quas ante dixi, habentem, Brachyllae necem et bellum a Quinctio Coroneae propter Romanorum militum caedes illatum, re

uera per multa iam saecula publice priuatimque labante egregia quondam disciplina gentis et multorum eo statu, qui diuturnus esse sine mutatione rerum non posset. obuiam effusis undique Boeotiae principibus Thebas uenit. ibi in concilio gentis, quamquam et ad Delium impetu in praesidium Romanum facto et ad Chalcidem commiserat nec paruis nec dubiis principiis bellum, tamen eandem orationem <est> exorsus, qua in colloquio primo ad Chalcidem quaque per legatos in concilio Achaeorum usus erat, ut amicitiam secum institui, non bellum indici Romanis postularet. neminem, quid ageretur, fallebat; decretum tamen sub leni uerborum praetextu pro rege aduersus Romanos factum est.

Hac quoque gente adiuncta Chalcidem regressus, praemissis inde litteris, ut Demetriadem conuenirent principes Aetolorum, cum quibus de summa rerum deliberaret, nauibus eo ad diem indictum concilio uenit. et Amynder, accitus ad consultandum ex Athamania, et Hannibal Poenus, iam diu non adhibitus, interfuit ei consilio. consultatum de Thessalorum gente est, quorum omnibus, qui aderant, uoluntas temptanda uidebatur. in eo modo diuersae sententiae erant, quod alii extemplo agendum, alii ex hieme, quae tum ferme media erat, differendum in ueris principium, et alii legatos tantummodo mittendos, alii cum omnibus copiis eundem censebant terrendosque metu, si cunctarentur.

[7] Cum circa hanc fere consultationem disceptatio omnis uerteretur, Hannibal nominatim interrogatus sententiam in uniuersi belli cogitationem regem atque eos, qui aderant, tali oratione auertit. ‘si, ex quo traiecimus in Graeciam, adhibitus essem in consilium, cum de Euboea deque Achaeis et de Boeotia agebatur, eandem sententiam dixissem, quam hodie, cum de Thessalis agitur, dicam. ante omnia Philippum et Macedonas in societatem belli quacumque ratione censeo deducendos esse. nam quod ad Euboeam Boeotosque et Thessalos attinet, cui dubium est, quin, ut quibus nullae suae uires sint, praesentibus adulando semper, quem metum in consilio habeant, eodem ad impetrandam ueniam utantur, simul ac Romanum exercitum in Graecia uiderint, ad consuetum imperium se auertant, nec iis noxae futurum sit, quod, cum Romani procul abessent, uim tuam praesentis exercitusque tui experiri noluerint? quanto igitur prius potiusque est Philippum nobis coniungere quam hos? cui, si

semel in causam descenderit, nihil integri futurum sit, quique eas uires adferat, quae non accessio tantum ad Romanum esse bellum, sed per se ipsae nuper sustinere potuerint Romanos. hoc ego adiuncto — absit uerbo inuidia — qui dubitare de euentu possim, cum, quibus aduersus Philippum ualuerint Romani, iis nunc fore uideam, ut ipsi oppugnentur? Aetoli, qui Philippum, quod inter omnes constat, uicerunt, cum Philippo aduersus Romanos pugnabunt; Amynander atque Athamanum gens, quorum secundum Aetolos plurima fuit opera in eo bello, nobiscum stabunt; Philippus tum te quieto totam molem sustinebat belli; nunc duo maximi reges Asiae Europaeque uiribus aduersus unum populum, ut meam utramque fortunam taceam, patrum certe aetate ne uni quidem Epirotarum regi parem — qui quid tandem erat uobiscum comparatus? — geretis bellum. quae igitur res mihi fiduciam praebet coniungi nobis Philippum posse? una, communis utilitas, quae societatis maximum uinculum est; altera, auctores uos Aetoli. uester enim legatus hic Thoas inter cetera, quae ad exciendum in Graeciam Antiochum dicere est solitus, ante omnia hoc semper adfirmavit, fremere Philippum et aegre pati sub specie pacis leges seruitutis sibi impositas. ille quidem ferae bestiae uinctae aut clausae et refringere claustra cupienti regis iram uerbis aequabat. cuius si talis animus est, soluamus nos eius uincula et claustra refringamus, ut erumpere diu coercitam iram in hostes communes possit. quod si nihil eum legatio nostra mouerit, at nos, quoniam nobis eum adiungere non possumus, ne hostibus nostris ille adiungi possit, caueamus. Seleucus filius tuus Lysimachiae est; qui si eo exercitu, quem secum habet, per Thraciam proxima Macedoniae coeperit depopulari, facile ab auxilio ferendo Romanis Philippum ad sua potissimum tuenda auertet. de Philippo meam sententiam habes; de ratione uniuersi belli quid sentirem, iam ab initio non ignorasti. quod si tum auditus forem, non in Euboea Chalcidem captam et castellum Euripi expugnatum Romani, sed Etruriam Ligurumque et Galliae Cisalpinae oram bello ardere, et, qui maximus iis terror est, Hannibalem in Italia esse audirent. nunc quoque accersas censeo omnis naualis terrestisque copias; sequantur classem onerariae cum commeatibus; nam hic sicut ad belli munera pauci sumus, sic nimis multi pro inopia commeatuum. cum omnis tuas contraxeris uires, diuisa classe partem Corcyrae in statione habebis, ne transitus

Romanis liber ac tutus pateat, partem ad litus Italiae, quod Sardiniam Africamque spectat, traicies; ipse cum omnibus terrestribus copiis in Bullinum agrum procedes; inde Graeciae praesidebis, et speciem Romanis traiecturum te praebens et, si res poposcerit, traiecturus. haec suadeo, qui ut non omnis peritissimus sim belli, cum Romanis certe bellare bonis malisque meis didici. in quae consilium dedi, in eadem nec infidelem nec segnem operam polliceor. dii approbent eam sententiam, quae tibi optima uisa fuerit.’

[8] Haec ferme Hannibalis oratio fuit; quam laudarunt magis in praesentia, qui aderant, quam rebus ipsis exsecuti sunt; nihil enim eorum factum est, nisi quod ad classem copiasque accersendas ex Asia Polyxenidam misit. legati Larisam ad concilium Thessalorum sunt missi, et Aetolis Amyandroque dies ad conueniendum exercitui Pheras est dictus; eodem et rex cum suis copiis confestim uenit. ubi dum opperitur Amynandrum atque Aetolos, Philippum Megalopolitanum cum duobus milibus hominum ad legenda ossa Macedonum circa Cynoscephalas, ubi debellatum erat cum Philippo, misit, siue ab ipso, quaerente sibi commendationem ad Macedonum gentem et inuidiam regi, quod insepultos milites reliquisset, monitus, siue ab insita regibus uanitate ad consilium specie amplum, re inane animo adiecto. tumulus est in unum ossibus, quae passim strata erant, coaceruatis factus, qui nullam gratiam ad Macedonas, odium ingens ad Philippum mouit. itaque qui ad id tempus fortunam esset habiturus in consilio, is extemplo ad M. Baebium propraetorem misit, Antiochum in Thessaliam impetum fecisse; si uideretur ei, moueret ex hibernis; se obuiam processurum, ut, quid agendum esset, consultarent.

[9] Antiocho ad Pheras iam castra habenti, ubi coniunxerant ei se Aetoli et Amynander, legati ab Larisa uenerunt quaerentes, quod ob factum dictumue Thessalorum bello lacerasset eos, simul orantes, ut remoto exercitu per legatos, si quid ei uideretur, secum disceptaret. eodem tempore quingentos armatos duce Hippolochio Pheras in praesidium miserunt; ii exclusi aditu, iam omnia itinera obsidentibus regiis, Scotusam se receperunt. legatis Larisaeorum rex clementer respondit, non belli faciendi, sed tuendae et stabiliendae libertatis Thessalorum causa se Thessaliam intrasse. similia his, qui cum Pheraeis ageret, missus; cui nullo dato responso Pheraei ipsi legatum

ad regem principem ciuitatis Pausaniam miserunt. qui cum haud dissimilia iis, ut in causa pari, quae pro Chalcidensibus in colloquio ad Euripi fretum dicta erant, quaedam etiam ferocius egisset, rex etiam atque etiam deliberare eos iussos, ne id consilii caperent, cuius, dum in futurum nimis cauti et prouidi essent, extemplo paeniteret, dimisit. haec renuntiata Pheras legatio cum esset, ne paulum quidem dubitarunt, quin pro fide erga Romanos, quidquid fors belli tulisset, paterentur. itaque et hi summa ope parabant se ad urbem defendendam, et rex ab omni parte simul oppugnare moenia est adgressus et, ut qui satis intellegeret — neque enim dubium erat — in euentu eius urbis positum esse, quam primam adgressus esset, aut sperni deinde ab uniuersa gente Thessalorum aut timeri se, omnem undique terrorem obsessis iniecit. primum impetum oppugnationis satis constanter sustinuerunt; dein cum multi propugnantes caderent aut uulnerarentur, labare animi coeperunt. reuocati deinde castigationibus principum ad perseuerandum in proposito, relicto exteriore circulo muri, deficientibus iam copiis in interiorem partem urbis concesserunt, cui breuior orbis munitionis circumiectus erat; postremo uicti malis, cum timerent, ne ui captis nulla apud uictorem uenia esset, dediderunt sese. nihil deinde moratus rex quattuor milia armatorum, dum recens terror esset, Scotusam misit. nec ibi mora deditiois est facta cernentibus Pheraeorum recens exemplum, qui, quod pertinaciter primo abnuerant, malo domiti tandem fecissent; cum ipsa urbe Hippolochus Larisaeorumque deditum est praesidium. dimissi ab rege inuiolati omnes, quod eam rem magni momenti futuram rex ad conciliandos Larisaeorum animos credebatur.

[10] Intra decimum diem, quam Pheras uenerat, his perfectis Crannonem profectus cum toto exercitu primo aduentu cepit. inde Cierium et Metropolim et iis circumiecta castella recepit; omniaque iam regionis eius praeter Atracem et Gyrtonem in potestate erant. tunc adgredi Larisam constituit ratus uel terrore ceterarum expugnatarum uel beneficio praesidii dimissi uel exemplo tot ciuitatum deditum sese non ultra in pertinacia mansuros. elephantis agi ante signa terroris causa iussis quadrato agmine ad urbem incessit, ut incerti fluctuarentur animi magnae partis Larisaeorum inter metum praesentem hostium et uerecundiam absentium sociorum. per eosdem dies Amynder cum Athamanum

iuuentute occupat Pellinaeum, et Menippus cum tribus milibus peditum Aetolorum et ducentis equitibus in Perrhaebiam profectus Malloeam et Cyretias ui cepit <et> depopulatus est agrum Tripolitanum. his raptim peractis Larisam ad regem redeunt; consultant, quidnam agendum de Larisa esset, superuenerunt. ibi in diuersum sententiae tendebant aliis uim adhibendam et non differendum censentibus, quin operibus ac machinis simul undique moenia adgrederetur urbis sitae in plano, aperto et campestri undique aditu, aliis nunc uires urbis nequaquam Pheris conferendae memorantibus, nunc hiemem et tempus anni nulli bellicae rei, minime obsidioni atque oppugnatione urbium aptum. incerto regi inter spem metumque legati a Pharsalo, qui ad dedendam urbem suam forte uenerant, animos auxerunt. M. Baebius interim cum Philippo in Dassaretiis congressus Ap. Claudium ex communi consilio ad praesidium Larisae misit, qui per Macedoniam magnis itineribus in iugum montium, quod super Gonnos est, peruenit. oppidum Gonni uiginti milia ab Larisa abest, in ipsis faucibus saltus, quae Tempe appellantur, situm. ibi castra metatus latius quam pro copiis et plures quam quot satis in usum erant ignes cum accendisset, speciem, quam quaesierat, hosti fecit omnem ibi Romanum exercitum cum rege Philippo esse. itaque hiemem instare apud suos causatus rex unum tantum moratus diem ab Larisa recessit et Demetriadem rediit, Aetolique et Athamanes in suos receperunt se fines. Appius etsi, cuius rei causa missus erat, solutam cernebat obsidionem, tamen Larisam ad confirmandos in reliquum sociorum animos descendit; duplexque laetitia erat, quod et hostes excesserant finibus, et intra moenia praesidium Romanum cernebant.

[11] Rex Chalcidem a Demetriade, amore captus uirginis Chalcidensis, Cleoptolemi filiae, cum patrem primo allegando, deinde coram ipse rogando fatigasset, inuitum se grauioris fortunae condicioni illigantem, tandem impetrata re tamquam in media pace nuptias celebrat et relicum hiemis, oblitus, quantas simul duas res suscepisset, bellum Romanum et Graeciam liberandam, omissa omnium rerum cura, in conuiuio et uinum sequentibus uoluptatibus ac deinde ex fatigatione magis quam satietate earum in somno traduxit. eadem omnis praefectos regios, qui ubique, ad Boeotiam maxime, praepositi hibernis erant, cepit luxuria; in eandem et milites

effusi sunt, nec quisquam eorum aut arma induit aut stationem aut uigilias seruauit aut quicquam, quod militaris operis aut muneris esset, fecit. itaque principio ueris, cum per Phocidem Chaeroneam, quo conuenire omnem undique exercitum iusserat, uenisset, facile animaduertit nihilo seueriore disciplina milites quam ducem hibernasse. Alexandrum inde Acarnana et Menippum Macedonem Stratum Aetoliae copias ducere iussit; ipse Delphis sacrificio Apollini facto Naupactum processit. consilio principum Aetoliae habito uia, quae praeter Calydonem et Lysimachiam fert ad Stratum, suis, qui per Maliacum sinum ueniebant, occurrit. ibi Mnasilochus princeps Acarnanum, multis emptus donis, non ipse solum gentem regi conciliabat, sed Clytum etiam praetorem, penes quem tum summa potestas erat, in suam sententiam adduxerat. is cum Leucadios, quod Acarnaniae caput est, non facile ad defectionem posse cerneret impelli propter metum Romanae classis, quae cum Atilio quaeque circa Cephallaniam erat, arte eos est adgressus. nam cum in concilio dixisset tuenda mediterranea Acarnaniae esse et omnibus, qui arma ferrent, exeundum ad Medionem et Thyrraeum, ne ab Antiocho aut Aetolis occuparentur, fuere qui dicerent nihil attinere omnis tumultuose concitari, satis esse quingentorum hominum praesidium. eam iuuentutem nactus, trecentis Medione, ducentis Thyrraei in praesidio positus, id agebat, ut pro obsidibus futuri uenirent in potestatem regis.

[12] Per eosdem dies legati@ regis Medionem uenerunt; quibus auditis cum in contione, quidnam respondendum regi esset, consultaretur, et alii manendum in Romana societate, alii non aspernandam amicitiam regis censerent, media uisa est Clyti sententia eoque accepta, ut ad regem mitterent legatos peterentque ab eo, ut Medionios super tanta re consultare in concilio Acarnanum pateretur. in eam legationem Mnasilochus et qui eius factionis erant de industria coniecti, clam missis, qui regem admouere copias iuberent, ipsi terebant tempus. itaque uixdum iis egressis [legatis] Antiochus in finibus et mox ad portas erat, et trepidantibus, qui expertes prodicionis fuerant, tumultuoseque iuuentutem ad arma uocantibus ab Clyto et Mnasilocho in urbem est inductus; et aliis sua uoluntate adfluentibus metu coacti etiam, qui dissentiebant, ad regem conuenerunt. quos placida oratione territatos cum permulsisset, ad

spem uulgatae clementiae aliquot populi Acarnaniae defecerunt. Thyreum a Medione profectus est Mnasilocho eodem et legatis praemissis. ceterum detecta Medione fraus cautiores, non timidiores Thyreens fecit; dato enim haud perplexo responso, nullam se nouam societatem nisi ex auctoritate imperatorum Romanorum accepturos, portisque clausis armatos in muris disposuerunt. et peropportune ad confirmandos Acarnanum animos Cn. Octavius missus a Quintio, cum praesidium et paucas naues ab A. Postumio, qui ab Atilio legato Cephallaniae praepositus fuerat, acceperat, Leucadem uenit impleuitque spei socios M'. Acilium consulem iam cum legionibus mare traiecisse et in Thessalia castra Romana esse. hunc rumorem quia similem ueri tempus anni maturum iam ad nauigandum faciebat, rex praesidio Medione imposito et in quibusdam aliis Acarnaniae oppidis Thyreo abscessit et per Aetoliae ac Phocidis urbis Chalcidem rediit.

[13] Sub idem tempus M. Baebius et Philippus rex, iam ante per hiemem in Dassaretiis congressi, cum Ap. Claudium, ut obsidione Larisam eximeret, in Thessaliam misissent, quia id tempus rebus gerendis immaturum erat, in hiberna regressi, principio ueris coniunctis copiis in Thessaliam descenderunt. in Acarnania tum Antiochus erat. aduenientes Philippus Malloeam Perrhaebiae, Baebius Phacium est adgressus; quo primo prope impetu capto Phaestum eadem celeritate capit. inde Atracem cum se receperat, Cyretias hinc et Eritium occupat, praesidiisque per recepta oppida dispositis Philippo rursus obsidenti Malloeam se coniungit. sub aduentum Romani exercitus seu ad metum uirium seu ad spem ueniae cum dedidissent sese, ad ea recipienda oppida, quae Athamanes occupauerant, uno agmine ierunt. erant autem haec: Aeginium Ericinium Gomphi Silana Tricca Meliboea Phaloria. inde Pellinaeum, ubi Philippus Megalopolitanus cum quingentis peditibus et equitibus quadraginta in praesidio erat, circumsidunt et, priusquam oppugnarent, mittunt ad Philippum qui monerent, ne uim ultimam experiri uellet. quibus ille satis ferociter respondit uel Romanis uel Thessalis se crediturum fuisse, in Philippi se potestatem commissurum non esse. postquam apparuit ui agendum, quia uidebatur et Limnaeum eodem tempore oppugnari posse, regem ad Limnaeum ire placuit, Baebius restitit ad Pellinaeum oppugnandum.

[14] Per eos forte dies M'. Acilius consul cum uiginti milibus peditum, duobus milibus equitum, quindecim elephantis mari traiecto pedestris copias Larisam ducere tribunos militum iussit; ipse cum equitatu Limnaeum ad Philippum uenit. aduentu consulis deditio sine cunctatione est facta, traditumque praesidium regum et cum iis Athamanes. ab Limnaeo Pellinaeum consul proficiscitur. ibi primi Athamanes tradiderunt sese, deinde et Philippus Megalopolitanus; cui decedenti praesidio cum obuius forte fuisset Philippus rex, ad ludibrium regem eum consalutari iussit, ipse congressus fratrem haud sane decoro maiestati suae ioco appellauit. deductus inde ad consulem custodiri iussus <est> et haud ita multo post in uinculis Romam missus. cetera multitudo Athamanum aut militum Antiochi regis, quae in praesidiis deditorum per eos dies oppidorum fuerat, Philippo tradita regi est; fuere autem ad quattuor milia hominum. consul Larisam est profectus, ibi de summa belli consultaturus. in itinere ab Cierio et Metropoli legati tradentes urbes suas occurrerunt. Philippus Athamanum praecipue captiuos indulgenter habitis, ut per eos conciliaret gentem, nactus spem Athamaniae potiendae exercitum eo duxit praemissis in ciuitates captiuos. et illi magnam auctoritatem apud populares habuerunt, clementiam erga se regis munificentiamque commemorantes, et Amynder, cuius praesentis maiestas aliquos in fide continuisset, ueritus, ne traderetur Philippo iam pridem hosti et Romanis merito tunc propter defectionem infensis, cum coniuge ac liberis regno excesset Ambraciamque se contulit; ita Athamania omnis in ius dicionemque Philippi concessit. consul ad reficienda maxime iumenta, quae et nauigatione et postea itineribus fatigata erant, paucos Larisae moratus dies, uelut renouato modica quiete exercitu Crannonem est progressus. uenienti Pharsalus et Scotusa et Pherae quaeque in eis praesidia Antiochi erant deduntur. ex iis interrogatis, qui manere secum uellent, mille uolentis Philippo tradit, ceteros inermes Demetriadem remittit. Proernam inde recepit et quae circa eam castella erant. ducere tum porro in sinum Maliacum coepit. appropinquanti faucibus, super quas siti Thaumaci sunt, deserta urbe iuuentus omnis armata siluas et itinera insedit et in agmen Romanum ex superioribus locis incursauit. consul primo misit, qui ex propinquo colloquentes deterrent eos a tali furore; postquam perseuerare in incepto uidit, tribuno cum duorum signorum

militibus circummisso interclusit ad urbem iter armatis, uacuumque eam cepit. tum clamore ab tergo captae urbis audito refugientium undique ex siluis insidiatorum caedes facta est. ab Thaumacis altero die consul ad Spercheum amnem peruenit, inde Hypataeorum agros uastauit.

[15] Cum haec agebantur, Chalcide erat Antiochus, iam tum cernens nihil se ex Graecia praeter amoena Chalcide hiberna et infames nuptias petisse. tunc Aetolorum uana promissa incusare et Thoantem, Hannibalem uero non ut prudentem tantum uirum sed prope uatem omnium, quae tum euenirent, admirari. ne tamen temere coepta segnitia insuper euerteret, nuntios in Aetoliam misit, ut omni contracta iuuentute conuenirent Lamiam; et ipse eo decem milia fere peditum ex iis, qui postea uenerant ex Asia, expleta et equites quingentos duxit. quo cum aliquanto pauciores quam umquam antea conuenissent, et principes tantummodo cum paucis clientibus essent, atque ii dicerent omnia sedulo ab se facta, ut quam plurimos ex ciuitatibus suis euocarent; nec auctoritate nec gratia nec imperio aduersus detractantes militiam ualuisse, destitutus undique et ab suis, qui morabantur in Asia, et ab sociis, qui ea, in quorum spem uocauerant, non praestabant, intra saltum Thermopylarum sese recepit. id iugum, sicut Appennini dorso Italia diuiditur, ita mediam Graeciam dirimit. ante saltum Thermopylarum in septentrionem uersa Epirus et Perrhaebia et Magnesia et Thessalia est et Phthiotae Achaei et sinus Maliacus; intra fauces ad meridiem uergunt Aetoliae pars maior et Acarnania et cum Locride Phocis et Boeotia adiunctaque insula Euboea et excurrente in altum uelut promunturio Attica terra et sita ab tergo Peloponnesus. hoc iugum ab Leucate et mari ad occidentem uerso per Aetoliam ad alterum mare orienti obiectum tendens ea aspreta rupesque interiectas habet, ut non modo exercitus sed ne expediti quidem facile ullas ad transitum calles inueniant. extremos ad orientem montis Oetam uocant, quorum quod altissimum est Callidromon appellatur, in cuius ualle ad Maliacum sinum uergente iter est non latius quam sexaginta passus. haec una militaris uia est, qua traduci exercitus, si non prohibeantur, possint. ideo Pylae et ab aliis, quia calidae aquae in ipsis faucibus sunt, Thermopylae locus appellatur, nobilis Lacedaemoniorum aduersus Persas morte magis memorabili quam pugna.

[16] Haudquaquam pari tum animo Antiochus intra portas loci eius castris positis munitionibus insuper saltum impediabat et, cum duplici uallo fossaque et muro etiam, qua res postulabat, ex multa copia passim iacentium lapidum permunisset omnia, satis fidens numquam ea uim Romanum exercitum facturum, Aetolos ex quattuor milibus — tot enim conuenerant — partim ad Heracleam praesidio obtinendam, quae ante ipsas fauces posita est, partim Hypatam mittit, et Heracleam haud dubius consulem oppugnaturum, et iam multis nuntiantibus circa Hypatam omnia euastari. consul depopulatus Hypatensem primo deinde Heracleensem agrum, inutiles utrobique auxilio Aetolorum, in ipsis faucibus prope fontes calidarum aquarum aduersus regem posuit castra. Aetolorum utraeque manus Heracleam sese incluserunt. Antiochum, cui, priusquam hostem cerneret, satis omnia permunita et praesidiis obsaepta uidebantur, timor incessit, ne quas per imminencia iuga calles inueniret ad transitum Romanus; nam et Lacedaemonios quondam ita a Persis circuitos fama erat, et nuper Philippum ab iisdem Romanis; itaque nuntium Heracleam ad Aetolos mittit, ut hanc saltem sibi operam eo bello praestarent, ut uertices circa montium occuparent obsiderentque, ne qua transire Romani possent. hoc nuntio audito dissensio inter Aetolos orta est. pars imperio parendum regis atque eundem censebant, pars subsistendum Heracleae ad utramque fortunam, ut, siue uictus ab consule rex esset, in expedito haberent integras copias ad opem propinquis ferendam ciuitatibus suis, siue uinceret, ut dissipatos in fugam Romanos persequerentur. utraque pars non mansit modo in sententia sua, sed etiam exsecuta est consilium: duo milia Heracleae substiterunt; duo trifariam diuisa Callidromum et Rhoduntiam et Tichiunta — haec nomina cacuminibus sunt — occupauere.

[17] Consul postquam in sessa superiora loca ab Aetolis uidit, M. Porcium Catonem et L. Ualerium Flaccum consularis legatos cum binis milibus delectorum peditum ad castella Aetolorum, Flaccum in Rhoduntiam et Tichiunta, Catonem in Callidromum mittit. ipse, priusquam ad hostem copias admoueret, uocatos in contionem milites paucis est adlocutus. ‘plerosque omnium ordinum, milites, inter uos esse uideo, qui in hac eadem prouincia T. Quincti ductu auspicioque militaueritis. Macedonico bello inxsuperabilior saltus

ad amnem Aoum fuit quam hic; quippe portae sunt hae, et unus inter duo maria clausis omnibus uelut naturalis transitus est; munitiones et locis opportunioribus tunc fuerunt et ualidiores impositae; exercitus hostium ille et numero maior et militum genere aliquanto melior; quippe illic Macedones Thracesque et Illyrii erant, ferocissimae omnes gentes, hic Syri et Asiatici Graeci sunt, uilissima genera hominum et seruituti nata; rex ille bellicosissimus et exercitatus iam inde ab iuuenta finitimis Thracum atque Illyriorum et circa omnium accolarum bellis, hic, ut aliam omnem uitam sileam, is est, qui cum ad inferendum populo Romano bellum ex Asia in Europam transisset, nihil memorabilius toto tempore hibernorum gesserit, quam quod amoris causa ex domo priuata et obscuri etiam inter popularis generis uxorem duxit, et nouus maritus, uelut saginatus nuptialibus cenis, ad pugnam processit. summa uirium speique eius in Aetolis fuit, gente uanissima et ingratiissima, ut uos prius experti estis, nunc Antiochus experitur. nam nec uenerunt frequentes, nec contineri in castris potuerunt, et in seditione ipsi inter sese sunt, et, cum Hypatam tuendam Heracleamque depoposcissent, neutram tutati refugerunt in iuga montium, pars Heracleae incluserunt sese. rex ipse confessus nusquam aequo campo non modo congredi se ad pugnam audere, sed ne castra quidem in aperto ponere, relictis omni ante se regione ea, quam se nobis ac Philippo ademisse gloriabatur, condidit se intra rupes, ne ante fauces quidem saltus, ut quondam Lacedaemonios fama est, sed intra penitus retractis castris; quod quantum interest ad timorem ostendendum, an muris urbis alicuius obsidendum sese incluserit? sed neque Antiochum tuebuntur angustiae, nec Aetolos uertices illi, quos ceperunt. satis undique prouisum atque praecautum est, ne quid aduersus uos in pugna praeter hostis esset. illud proponere animo uestro debetis, non uos pro Graeciae libertate tantum dimicare, quamquam is quoque egregius titulus esset, liberatam a Philippo ante nunc ab Aetolis et ab Antiocho liberare, neque ea tantum in praemium uestrum cessura, quae nunc in regiis castris sunt, sed illum quoque omnem apparatus, qui in dies ab Epheso expectatur, praedae futurum, Asiam deinde Syriamque et omnia usque ad ortum solis ditissima regna Romano imperio aperturos. quid deinde aberit, quin ab Gadibus ad mare rubrum Oceano finis terminemus, qui orbem terrarum amplexu finit,

et omne humanum genus secundum deos nomen Romanum ueneretur? in haec tanta praemia dignos parate animos, ut crastino die bene iuuantibus diis acie decernamus.’

[18] Ab hac contione dimissi milites, priusquam corpora curarent, arma telaque parant. luce prima signo pugnae proposito instruit aciem consul, arta fronte, ad naturam et angustias loci. rex, postquam signa hostium conspexit, et ipse copias educit. leuis armaturae partem ante uallum in primo locauit, tum Macedonum robur, quos sarisophorus appellabant, uelut firmamentum circa ipsas munitiones constituit. his ab sinistro cornu iaculatorum sagittariorumque et funditorum manum sub ipsis radicibus montis posuit, ut ex altiore loco nuda latera hostium incesserent. ab dextro Macedonibus ad ipsum munimentorum finem, qua loca usque ad mare inuia palustri limo et uoraginibus claudunt, elephantos cum adsueto praesidio posuit, post eos equites, tum modico interuallo relicto ceteras copias in secunda acie. Macedones pro uallo locati primo facile sustinebant Romanos, temptantis ab omni parte aditus, multum adiuuantibus, qui ex loco superiore fundis uelut nimbum glandis et sagittas simul ac iacula ingerebant; deinde, ut maior nec iam toleranda uis hostium inferebat se, pulsus loco intra munimenta subductis ordinibus concesserunt; inde ex uallo prope alterum uallum hastis prae se obiectis fecerunt. et ita modica altitudo ualli erat, ut et locum superiorem suis ad pugnandum praeberet, et propter longitudinem hastarum subiectum haberet hostem. multi temere subeuntes uallum transfixi sunt; et aut incepto irrito recessissent aut plures cecidissent, ni M. Porcius ab iugo Callidromi deiectis inde Aetolis et magna ex parte caesis — incautos enim et plerosque sopitos oppresserat — super imminentem castris collem apparuisset.

[19] Flacco non eadem fortuna ad Tichiunta et Rhoduntiam, nequiquam subire ad ea castella conato, fuerat. Macedones quique alii in castris regiis erant primo, dum procul nihil aliud quam turba et agmen apparebat, Aetolos credere uisa procul pugna subsidio uenire; ceterum, ut primum signaque et arma ex propinquo cognita errorem aperuerunt, tantus repente pavor omnis cepit, ut abiectis armis fugerent. et munimenta sequentis impediunt, et angustiae uallis, per quam sequendi erant, et maxime omnium quod elephanti nouissimi agminis erant, quos pedes aegre praeterire, eques nullo poterat modo

timentibus equis tumultumque inter se maiorem quam in proelio edentibus; aliquantum temporis et direptio castrorum tenuit; Scarpheam tamen eo die consecuti sunt hostem. multis in ipso itinere caesis captisque, non equis uirisque tantum, sed etiam elephantis, quos capere non potuerant, interfectis, in castra reuerterunt; quae temptata eo die inter ipsum pugnae tempus ab Aetolis, Heracleam obtinentibus praesidio, sine ullo haud parum audacis incepti effectum fuerant. consul noctis insequentis tertia uigilia praemisso equitatu ad persequendum hostem, signa legionum luce prima mouit. aliquantum uiae praeceperat rex, ut qui non ante quam Elatiae ab effuso constiterit cursu; ubi primum reliquiis pugnaeque et fugae collectis, cum perexigua manu semiermum militum Chalcidem se recepit. Romanus equitatus ipsum quidem regem Elatiae adsecutus non est; magnam partem agminis aut lassitudine subsistentes aut errore, ut qui sine ducibus per ignota itinera fugerent, dissipatos oppresserunt; nec praeter quingentos, qui circa regem fuerunt, ex toto exercitu quisquam effugit, etiam ex decem milibus militum, quos Polybio auctore traiecissemus secum regem in Graeciam scripsimus, exiguus numerus; quid, si Antiati Ualerio credamus sexaginta milia militum fuisse in regio exercitu scribenti, quadraginta inde milia cecidisse, supra quinque milia capta cum signis militaribus ducentis triginta? Romanorum centum quinquaginta in ipso certamine pugnae, ab incursu Aetolorum se tuentes non plus quinquaginta interfecti sunt.

[20] Consule per Phocidem et Boeotiam exercitum ducente consciae defectionis ciuitates cum uelamentis ante portas stabant metu, ne hostiliter diriperentur. ceterum per omnes dies haud secus quam <in> pacato agro sine uexatione ullius rei agmen processit, donec in agrum Coroneum uentum est. ibi statua regis Antiochi posita in templo Mineruae Itoniae iram accendit, permissumque militi est, ut circumiectum templo agrum popularetur; dein cogitatio animum subit, cum communi decreto Boeotorum posita esset statua, indignum esse in unum Coronensem agrum saeuire. reuocato extemplo milite finis populandi factus; castigati tantum uerbis Boeoti ob ingratum in tantis tamque recentibus beneficiis animum erga Romanos. inter ipsum pugnae tempus decem naues regiae cum praefecto Isidoro ad Thronium in sinu Maliaco stabant. eo grauis uulneribus Alexander Acarnan, nuntius aduersae pugnae, cum

perfugisset, trepidae inde recenti terrore naues Cenaeum Euboeae petierunt. ibi mortuus sepultusque Alexander. tres, quae ex Asia profectae eundem portum tenuerant, naues audita exercitus clade Ephesum redierunt. Isidorus ab Cenaeo Demetriadem, si forte eo deferret fuga regem, traiecit. — per eosdem dies A. Atilius praefectus Romanae classis magnos regios commeatus iam fretum, quod ad Andrum insulam est, praeteruectos excepit; alias mersit, alias cepit naues; quae nouissimi agminis erant cursum in Asiam uerterunt. Atilius Piraeum, unde profectus erat, cum agmine captiuarum nauium reuectus magnam uim frumenti et Atheniensibus et aliis eiusdem regionis sociis diuisit.

[21] Antiochus sub aduentum consulis a Chalcide profectus Tenum primo tenuit, inde Ephesum transmisit. consuli Chalcidem uenienti portae patuerunt, cum appropinquante eo Aristoteles praefectus regis urbe excessisset. et ceterae urbes in Euboea sine certamine traditae; post paucosque dies omnibus perpacatis sine ullius noxa urbis exercitus Thermopylas reductus, multo modestia post uictoriam quam ipsa uictoria laudabilior. inde consul M. Catonem, per quem quae gesta essent senatus populusque Romanus haud dubio auctore sciret, Romam misit. is a Creusa — Thespiensium emporium est, in intimo sinu Corinthiaco retractum — Patras Achaiae petit; a Patris Corcyram usque Aetoliae atque Acarnaniae littora legit, atque ita ad Hydruntum Italiae traicit. quinto die inde pedestri itinere Romam ingenti cursu peruenit. ante lucem ingressus urbem a porta ad praetorem M. Iunium iter intendit. is prima luce in senatum uocauit; quo L. Cornelius Scipio, aliquot diebus ante a consule dimissus, cum adueniens audisset praegressum Catonem in senatu esse, superuenit exponenti, quae gesta essent. duo inde legati iussu senatus in contionem sunt producti, atque ibi eadem, quae in senatu, de rebus in Aetolia gestis exposuerunt. supplicatio in triduum decreta est et ut quadraginta hostiis maioribus praetor, quibus diis ei uideretur, sacrificaret. — per eosdem dies et M. Fuluius Nobilior, qui biennio ante praetor in Hispaniam erat profectus, ouans urbem est ingressus; argenti bigati prae se tulit centum triginta milia et extra numeratum duodecim milia pondo argenti, auri pondo centum uiginti septem.

[22] Acilius consul ab Thermopylis Heracleam ad Aetolos praemisit, ut tunc saltem, experti regiam uanitatem, resipiscerent

traditaque Heraclea cogitarent de petenda ab senatu seu furoris sui seu erroris uenia. et ceteras Graeciae ciuitates defecisse eo bello ab optime meritis Romanis; sed quia post fugam regis, cuius fiducia officio decessissent, non addidissent pertinaciam culpae, in fidem receptas esse; Aetolos quoque, quamquam non secuti sint regem, sed accersierint, et duces belli, non socii fuerint, si paenitere possint, posse et incolumis esse. ad ea cum pacati nihil responderetur, appareretque armis rem gerendam et rege superato bellum Aetolicum integrum restare, castra ab Thermopylis ad Heracleam mouit, eoque ipso die, ut situm nosceret urbis, ab omni parte equo moenia est circumuectus. sita est Heraclea in radicibus Oetae montis, ipsa in campo, arcem imminentem loco alto et undique praecipiti habet. contemplatus omnia, quae noscenda erant, quattuor simul locis aggredi urbem constituit. a flumine Asopo, qua et gymnasium est, L. Ualerium operibus atque oppugnationi praeposuit; partem extra muros, qua frequentius prope quam in urbe habitabatur, Ti. Sempronio Longo oppugnandam dedit; e regione sinus Maliaci, quae aditum haud facilem pars habebat, M. Baebium, ab altero amniculo, quem Melana uocant, aduersus Dianae templum Ap. Claudium opposuit. horum magno certamine intra paucos dies tures arietesque et alius omnis apparatus oppugnandarum urbium perficitur. et cum ager Heracleensis paluster omnis frequensque proceris arboribus benigne ad omne genus operum materiam suppeditabat, tum, quia refugerant intra moenia Aetoli, deserta, quae in uestibulo urbis erant, tecta in uarios usus non tigna modo et tabulas sed laterem quoque et caementa et saxa uariae magnitudinis praebebant.

[23] Et Romani quidem operibus magis quam armis urbem oppugnabant, Aetoli contra armis se tuebantur. nam cum ariete quaterentur muri, non laqueis, ut solet, exceptos declinabant ictus, sed armati frequentes <erumpebant>, quidam ignes etiam, quos aggeribus inicerent, ferebant. fornices quoque in muro erant apti ad excurrendum, et ipsi, cum pro dirutis reficerent muros, crebriores eos, ut pluribus erumperetur in hostem locis, faciebant. hoc primis diebus, dum integrae uires erant, et frequentes et inipgre fecerunt; in dies deinde pauciores et segnius. etenim cum multis urgerentur rebus, nulla eos res aeque ac uigiliae conficiebant, Romanis in magna copia militum succedentibus aliis in stationem aliorum, Aetolos

propter paucitatem eosdem dies noctesque adsiduo labore urente. per quattuor et uiginti dies, ita ut nullum tempus uacuum dimicatione esset, aduersus quattuor e partibus simul oppugnantem hostem nocturnus diurno continuatus labor est. cum fatigatos iam Aetolos sciret consul et ex spatio temporis et quod ita transfugae adfirmabant, tale consilium init. media nocte receptui signum dedit et ab oppugnatione simul milites omnes deductos usque ad tertiam diei horam quietos in castris tenuit; inde coepta oppugnatio ad mediam rursus noctem perducta est, intermissa deinde usque ad tertiam diei horam. fatigationem rati esse causam Aetoli non continuandae oppugnationis, quae et ipsos adfecerat, ubi Romanis datum receptui signum esset, uelut ipsi quoque reuocati pro se quisque ex stationibus decedebant, nec ante tertiam diei horam armati in muris apparebant.

[24] Consul cum nocte media intermisisset oppugnationem, quarta uigilia rursus ab tribus partibus summa ui adgressus, ab una Ti. Sempronium tenere intentos milites signumque expectare iussit, ad ea in nocturno tumultu, unde clamor exaudiretur, haud dubie ratus hostis concursuros. Aetoli pars sopiti adfecta labore ac uigiliis corpora ex somno moliebantur, pars uigilantes adhuc ad strepitum pugnantium in tenebris currunt. hostes partim per ruinas iacentis muri transcendere conantur, partim scalis ascensus temptant, aduersus quos undique ad opem ferendam concurrunt Aetoli. pars una, in qua aedificia extra urbem erant, neque defenditur neque oppugnatur; sed qui oppugnarent, intenti signum expectabant; defensor nemo aderat. iam dilucescebat, cum signum consul dedit; et sine ullo certamine partim per semirutos, partim scalis integros muros transcendere. simul clamor, index capti oppidi, est exauditus; undique Aetoli desertis stationibus in arcem fugiunt. oppidum uictores permissu consulis diripiunt, non tam ab ira nec ab odio, quam ut miles, coercitus in tot receptis ex potestate hostium urbibus, aliquo tandem loco fructum uictoriae sentiret. reuocatos inde a medio ferme die milites cum in duas diuisisset partes, unam radicibus montium circumduci ad rupem iussit, quae, fastigio altitudinis par, media ualle uelut abrupta ab arce erat; sed adeo prope geminata cacumina eorum montium sunt, ut ex uertice altero conici tela in arcem possint; cum dimidia parte militum consul ab urbe escensurus in arcem signum ab iis, qui ab tergo in rupem euasuri erant,

expectabat. non tulere qui in arce erant Aetoli primum eorum, qui rupem ceperant, clamorem, deinde impetum ab urbe Romanorum et fractis iam animis et nulla ibi praeparata re ad obsidionem diutius tolerandam, utpote congregatis feminis puerisque et imbelli alia turba in arcem, quae uix capere, nedum tueri multitudinem tantam posset. itaque ad primum impetum abiectis armis dederunt sese. traditus inter ceteros princeps Aetolorum Damocritus est, qui principio belli decretum Aetolorum, quo accersendum Antiochum censuerant, T. Quinctio poscenti responderat, in Italia daturum, cum castra ibi Aetoli posuissent. ob eam ferociam maius uictoribus gaudium traditus fuit.

[25] Eodem tempore, quo Romani Heracleam, Philippus Lamiam ex composito oppugnabat, circa Thermopylas cum consule redeunte ex Boeotia, ut uictoriam ipsi populoque Romano gratularetur excusaretque, quod morbo impeditus bello non interfuisset, congressus. inde diuersi ad duas simul oppugnandas urbes profecti. intersunt septem ferme milia passuum; et quia Lamia cum posita est in tumulo, tum regionem maxime Oetae spectat, oppido quam breue interuallum uidetur, et omnia in conspectu sunt. cum enixe, uelut proposito certamine, Romani Macedonesque diem ac noctem aut in operibus aut in proeliis essent, hoc maior difficultas Macedonibus erat, quod Romani aggere et uineis et omnibus supra terram operibus, subter Macedones cuniculis oppugnabant, et in asperis locis silex paene inpenetrabilis ferro occurrebat. et cum parum procederet inceptum, per colloquia principum oppidanos temptabat rex, ut urbem dederent, haud dubius, quin, si prius Heraclea capta foret, Romanis se potius quam sibi dedituri essent, suamque gratiam consul in obsidione liberanda facturum esset. nec eum opinio est frustrata; confestim enim ab Heraclea capta nuntius uenit, ut oppugnatione absisteret: aequius esse Romanos milites, qui acie dimicassent cum Aetolis, praemia uictoriae habere. ita recessum ab Lamia est, et propinquae clade urbis ipsi, ne quid simile paterentur, effugerunt.

[26] Paucis priusquam Heraclea caperetur diebus Aetoli concilio Hypatam coacto legatos ad Antiochum miserunt, inter quos et Thoas idem, qui et antea, missus est. mandata erant, ut ab rege peterent, primum ut ipse coactis rursus terrestribus naualibusque copiis in Graeciam traiceret, deinde, si qua ipsum teneret res, ut pecuniam et

auxilia mitteret; id cum ad dignitatem eius fidemque pertinere, non prodi socios, tum etiam ad incolumitatem regni, ne sineret Romanos uacuos omni cura, cum Aetolorum gentem sustulissent, omnibus copiis in Asiam traicere. uera erant, quae dicebantur; eo magis regem mouerunt. itaque in praesentia pecuniam, quae ad usus belli necessaria erat, legatis dedit; auxilia terrestria naualiaque adfirmavit missurum. Thoantem unum ex legatis retinuit, et ipsum haud inuitum morantem, ut exactor praesens promissorum adesset.

[27] Ceterum Heraclea capta fregit tandem animos Aetolorum, et paucos post dies, quam ad bellum renouandum acciendumque regem in Asiam miserant legatos, abiectis belli consiliis pacis petendae oratores ad consulem miserunt. quos dicere exorsos consul interfatus, cum alia sibi praeuertenda esse dixisset, redire Hypatam eos datis dierum decem indutiis et L. Ualerio Flacco cum iis misso iussit eique, quae secum acturi fuissent, exponere, et si qua uellent alia. Hypatam ut est uentum, principes Aetolorum apud Flaccum concilium habuerunt consultantes, quonam agendum modo apud consulem foret. parantibus iis antiqua iura foederum ordiri meritaque in populum Romanum absistere iis Flaccus iussit, quae ipsi uiolassent ac rupissent; confessionem iis culpae magis profuturam et totam in preces orationem uersam; nec enim in causa ipsorum, sed in populi Romani clementia spem salutis positam esse; et se suppliciter agentibus iis adfuturum et apud consulem et Romae in senatu; eo quoque enim mittendos fore legatos. haec una uia omnibus ad salutem uisa est, ut in fidem se permitterent Romanorum; ita enim et illis uiolandi supplices uerecundiam se imposituros, et ipsos nihilo minus suae potestatis fore, si quid melius fortuna ostendisset.

[28] Postquam ad consulem uentum est, Phaeneas legationis princeps longam orationem et uarie ad mitigandam iram uictoris compositam ita ad extremum finiuit, ut diceret Aetolos se suaque omnia fidei populi Romani permittere. id consul ubi audiuit, ‘etiam atque etiam uidete’ inquit, ‘Aetoli, ut ita permittatis.’ tum decretum Phaeneas, in quo id diserte scriptum erat, ostendit. ‘quando ergo’ inquit ‘ita permittitis, postulo, ut mihi Dicaearchum ciuem uestrum et Menestam Epirotam’ — Naupactum is cum praesidio ingressus ad defectionem compulerat— ‘et Amyndrum cum principibus Athamanum, quorum consilio ab nobis defecistis, sine mora dedatis.’

prope dicentem interfatus Romanum ‘non in seruitutem’ inquit, ‘sed in fidem tuam nos tradidimus, et certum habeo te imprudentia labi, qui nobis imperes, quae moris Graecorum non sint.’ ad ea consul ‘nec hercule’ inquit ‘magnopere nunc curo, quid Aetoli satis ex more Graecorum factum esse censeant, dum ego more Romano imperium inhibeam in deditos modo decreto suo, ante armis uictos; itaque, ni propere fit, quod impero, uinciri uos iam iubebo.’ adferri catenas et circumstingere lictores iussit. tum fracta Phaeneae ferocia Aetolisque aliis est, et tandem cuius condicionis essent senserunt, et Phaeneas se quidem et qui adsint Aetolorum scire facienda esse, quae imperentur, dixit, sed ad decernenda ea concilio Aetolorum opus esse; ad id petere ut decem dierum indutias daret. petente Flacco pro Aetolis indutiae datae, et Hypatam reditum est. ubi cum in consilio delectorum, quos apocletos uocant, Phaeneas, et quae imperarentur et quae ipsis prope accidissent, exposuisset, ingemuerunt quidem principes condicioni suae, parendum tamen uictori censebant et ex omnibus oppidis conuocandos Aetolos ad concilium.

[29] Postquam uero coacta omnis multitudo eadem illa audiuit, adeo saeuitia imperii atque indignitate animi exasperati sunt, ut, si in pace fuissent, illo impetu irae concitari potuerint ad bellum. ad iram accedebat et difficultas eorum, quae imperarentur — quonam modo enim utique regem Amyndrum se tradere posse? — et spes forte oblata, quod Nicander eo ipso tempore ab rege Antiocho ueniens impleuit expectatione uana multitudinem, terra marique ingens parari bellum. duodecimo is die, quam conscenderat nauem, in Aetoliam perfecta legatione rediens Phalara in sinu Maliaco tenuit. inde Lamiam pecuniam cum deuexisset, ipse cum expeditis prima uespera inter Macedonum Romanaque castra medio agro, dum Hypatam notis callibus petit, in stationem incidit Macedonum deductusque ad regem est nondum conuiuio dimisso. quod ubi nuntiatum est, uelut hospitis, non hostis aduentu motus Philippus accumbere eum epularique iussit, atque inde dimissis aliis, solum retentum, ipsum quidem de se timere quicquam uetuit, Aetolorum praua consilia atque in ipsorum caput semper recidentia accusauit, qui primum Romanos, deinde Antiochum in Graeciam adduxissent. sed praeteritorum, quae magis reprehendi quam corrigi possint, oblitum se non facturum, ut insultet aduersis rebus eorum; Aetolos quoque

finire tandem aduersus se odia debere, et Nicandrum priuatim eius diei, quo seruatus a se foret, meminisse. ita datis, qui in tutum eum prosequerentur, Hypatam Nicander consultantibus de pace Romana superuenit.

[30] M'. Acilius uendita aut concessa militi circa Heracleam praeda, postquam nec Hypatae pacata consilia esse, et Naupactum concurrisse Aetolos, ut inde totum impetum belli sustinerent, audiuit, praemisso Ap. Claudio cum quattuor milibus militum ad occupanda iuga, qua difficiles transitus montium erant, ipse Oetam escendit Herculi que sacrificium fecit in eo loco, quem Pyram, quod ibi mortale corpus eius dei sit crematum, appellant. inde toto exercitu profectus reliquum iter satis expedito agmine fecit; ut ad Coracem uentum est — mons est altissimus inter Callipolim et Naupactum —, ibi et iumenta multa ex agmine praecipitata cum ipsis oneribus sunt et homines uexati; et facile apparebat, quam cum inerti hoste res esset, qui tam impeditum saltum nullo praesidio, ut clauderet transitum, insedisset. tum quoque uexato exercitu ad Naupactum descendit, et uno castello aduersus arcem posito ceteras partes urbis diuisis copiis pro situ moenium circumscivit. nec minus operis laborisque ea oppugnatio quam Heracleae habuit.

[31] Eodem tempore et Messene in Peloponneso ab Achaeis, quod concilii eorum recusaret esse, oppugnari coepta est. duae ciuitates, Messene et Elis, extra concilium Achaicum erant; cum Aetolis sentiebant. Elei tamen post fugatum ex Graecia Antiochum legatis Achaeorum lenius responderant: dimisso praesidio regio cogituros se, quid sibi faciendum esset: Messenii sine responso dimissis legatis mouerant bellum, trepidique rerum suarum, cum iam ager effuso exercitu passim ureretur castraque prope urbem poni uiderent, legatos Chalcidem ad T. Quinctium, auctorem libertatis, miserunt, qui nuntiarent Messenios Romanis, non Achaeis et aperire portas et dedere urbem paratos esse. auditis legatis extemplo profectus Quinctius a Megalopoli ad Diophanen praetorem Achaeorum misit, qui extemplo reducere eum a Messene exercitum et uenire ad se iuberet. dicto paruit Diophanes et soluta obsidione expeditus ipse praegressus agmen circa Andaniam, paruum oppidum inter Megalopolim Messenenque positum, Quinctio occurrit; et cum causas oppugnationis exponeret, castigatum leniter, quod tantam rem

sine auctoritate sua conatus esset, dimittere exercitum iussit nec pacem omnium bono partem turbare. Messeniis imperauit, ut exules reducerent et Achaeorum concilii essent; si qua haberent, de quibus aut recusare aut in posterum cauere sibi uellent, Corinthum ad se uenirent; Diophanen concilium Achaeorum extemplo sibi praebere iussit. ibi de Zacyntho intercepta per fraudem insula questus postulauit, ut restitueretur Romanis. Philippi Macedonum regis Zacynthus fuerat; eam mercedem Amyndro dederat, ut per Athamaniam ducere exercitum in superiorem partem Aetoliae liceret, qua expeditione fractis animis Aetolos compulit ad petendam pacem. Amynder Philippum Megalopolitanum insulae praefecit; postea per bellum, quo se Antiocho aduersus Romanos coniunxit, Philippo ad munera belli reuocato Hieroclen Agrigentinum successorem misit.

[32] Is post fugam ab Thermopylis Antiochi Amyndrumque a Philippo Athamania pulsum missis ultro ad Diophanen praetorem Achaeorum nuntiis pecunia pactus insulam Achaeis tradidit. id praemium belli suum esse aequum censebant Romani: non enim M'. Acilium consulem legionesque Romanas Diophani et Achaeis ad Thermopylas pugnasse. Diophanes aduersus haec purgare interdum sese gentemque, interdum de iure facti disserere. quidam Achaeorum et initio eam se rem aspernatos testabantur et tunc pertinaciam increpitabant praetoris; auctoribusque iis decretum est, ut T. Quinctio ea res permitteretur. erat Quinctius sicut aduersantibus asper, ita, si cederes, idem placabilis. omissa contentione uocis uultusque 'si utilem' inquit, 'possessionem eius insulae censerem Achaeis esse, auctor essem senatui populoque Romano, ut eam uos habere sinerent; ceterum sicut testudinem, ubi collecta in suum tegumen est, tutam ad omnis ictus uideo esse, ubi exserit partis aliquas, quodcumque nudauit, obnoxium atque infirmum habere, haud dissimiliter uos, Achaei, clausos undique mari, quae intra Peloponnesi sunt terminos, ea et iungere uobis et iuncta tueri facile, simul auditate plura amplectendi hinc excedatis, nuda uobis omnia, quae extra sint, et exposita ad omnes ictus esse.' adsentienti omni concilio nec Diophane ultra tendere auso Zacynthus Romanis traditur.

[33] Per idem tempus Philippus rex proficiscentem consulem ad Naupactum percunctatus, si se interim, quae defecissent ab societate Romana, urbes recipere uellet, permittente eo ad Demetriadem

copias admouit haud ignarus, quanta ibi tum turbatio esset. destituti enim ab omni spe, cum desertos se ab Antiocho, spem nullam in Aetolis esse cernerent, dies noctesque aut Philippi hostis aduentum aut infestiores etiam, quo iustius irati erant, Romanorum expectabant. turba erat ibi incondita regionum, qui primo pauci in praesidio relict, postea plures, plerique inermes, ex proelio aduerso fuga delati, nec uirum nec animi satis ad obsidionem tolerandam habebant; itaque praemissis a Philippo, qui spem impetrabilis ueniae ostendebant, responderunt patere portas regi. ad primum eius ingressum principum quidam urbe excesserunt, Eurylochus mortem sibi consciuit. Antiochi milites — sic enim pacti erant — per Macedoniam Thraeciamque prosequentibus Macedonibus, ne quis eos uiolaret, Lysimachiam deducti sunt. erant et paucae naues Demetriade, quibus praeerat Isidorus; eae quoque cum praefecto suo dimissae sunt. inde Dolopiam et Aperantiam et Perrhaebiae quasdam ciuitates recipit.

[34] Dum haec a Philippo geruntur, T. Quinctius recepta Zacyntho ab Achaico concilio Naupactum traiecit, quae iam per duos menses — et iam prope excidium erat — oppugnabatur, et si capta ui foret, omne nomen ibi Aetolorum ad internecionem uidebatur uenturum. ceterum quamquam merito iratus erat Aetolis, quod solos obtrectasse gloriae suae, cum liberaret Graeciam, meminerat, et nihil auctoritate sua motos esse, cum, quae tum maxime accidebant, casura praemonens a furioso incepto eos deterreret, tamen sui maxime operis esse credens nullam gentem liberatae ab se Graeciae funditus euertere, obambulare muris, ut facile nosceretur ab Aetolis, coepit. confestim a primis stationibus cognitus est, uulgatumque per omnes ordines, Quinctium esse. itaque concursu facto undique in muros manus pro se quisque tendentes consonante clamore nominatim Quinctium orare, ut opem ferret ac seruaret. et tum quidem, quamquam moueretur his uocibus, manu tamen abnuat quicquam opis in se esse; ceterum postquam ad consulem uenit, ‘utrum fefellit’ inquit ‘te, M’. Acili, quid agatur, an, cum satis peruideas, nihil id magnopere ad summam rem pertinere censes?’ erexerat expectatione consulem; et ‘quin expromis’ inquit, ‘quid rei sit?’ tum Quinctius ‘ecquid uides te deuicto Antiocho in duabus urbibus oppugnandis tempus terere, cum iam prope annus circumactus sit imperii tui,

Philippum autem, qui non aciem, non signa hostium uidit, non solum urbes sed tot iam gentes, Athamaniam Perrhaebiam Aperantiam Dolopiam, sibi adiunxisse, et uictoriae tuae praemium te militesque tuos nondum duas urbes, Philippum tot gentes Graeciae habere? atqui non tantum interest nostra Aetolorum opes ac uires minui, quantum non supra modum Philippum crescere.’

[35] Adsentiebatur his consul; sed pudor, si irritio incepto abscederet obsidione, occurrebat. tota inde Quinctio res permissa est. is rursus ad eam partem muri, qua paulo ante uociferati Aetoli fuerant, rediit. ibi cum impensius orarent, ut miseretur gentis Aetolorum, exire aliquos ad se iussit. Phaeneas ipse principesque alii extemplo egressi sunt. quibus prouolutis ad pedes ‘fortuna’ inquit ‘uestra facit, ut et irae meae et orationi temperem. euenerunt quae praedixi euentura, et ne hoc quidem reliqui uobis est, ut indignis accidisse ea uideantur; ego tamen sorte quadam nutriendae Graeciae datus ne ingratis quidem benefacere abstineam. mittite oratores ad consulem, qui indutias tanti temporis petant, ut mittere legatos Romam possitis, per quos senatui de uobis permittatis; ego apud consulem deprecator defensorque uobis adero.’ ita, ut censuerat Quinctius, fecerunt, nec aspernatus est consul legationem; indutiisque in diem certam datis, qua legatio renuntiari ab Roma posset, soluta obsidio est et exercitus in Phocidem missus.

Consul cum T. Quinctio ad Achaicum concilium Aegium traiecit. ibi de Eleis et de exulibus Lacedaemoniorum restituendis actum est; neutra perfecta res, quia suae gratiae reseruari <exulum causam> Achaei, Elei per se ipsi quam per Romanos maluerunt Achaico contribui concilio. Epirotarum legati ad consulem uenerunt, quos non sincera fide in amicitia fuisse satis constabat; militem tamen nullum Antiocho dederant; pecunia iuuisse eum insimulabantur; legatos ad regem ne ipsi quidem misisse infitabantur. iis petentibus, ut in amicitia pristina esse liceret, respondit consul se, utrum hostium an pacatorum eos numero haberet, nondum scire; senatum eius rei iudicem fore; integram se causam eorum Romam reicere; indutias ad id dierum nonaginta dare. Epirotae Romam missi senatum adierunt. iis magis, quae non fecissent hostilia, referentibus quam purgantibus ea, de quibus arguebantur, responsum datum est, quo ueniam impetrasse, non causam probasse uideri possent. et Philippi regis

legati sub idem tempus in senatum introducti, gratulantes de uictoria. iis petentibus, ut sibi sacrificare in Capitolio donumque ex auro liceret ponere in aede Iouis optimi maximi, permissum ab senatu. centum pondo coronam auream posuerunt. non responsum solum benigne regis legatis est, sed filius quoque Philippi Demetrius, qui obses Romae erat, ad patrem reducendus legatis datus est. bellum, quod cum Antiocho rege in Graecia gestum est a M'. Acilio consule, hunc finem habuit.

[36] Alter consul P. Cornelius Scipio, Galliam prouinciam sortitus, priusquam ad bellum, quod cum Bois gerendum erat, proficisceretur, postulauit ab senatu, ut pecunia sibi decerneretur ad ludos, quos praetor in Hispania inter ipsum discrimen pugnae uouisset. nouum atque iniquum postulare est uisus; censuerunt ergo, quos ludos inconsulto senatu ex sua unius sententia uouisset, eos uel de manubiis, si quam pecuniam ad id reseruasset, uel sua ipse impensa faceret. eos ludos per dies decem P. Cornelius fecit. per idem fere tempus aedes Matris Magnae [Idaeae] dedicata est, quam deam is P. Cornelius aduectam ex Asia P. Cornelio Scipione, cui postea Africano fuit cognomen, P. Licinio consulibus in Palatium a mari detulerat. locauerant aedem faciendam ex senatus consulto M. Liuius C. Claudius censores M. Cornelio P. Sempronio consulibus; tredecim annis postquam locata erat, dedicauit eam M. Iunius Brutus, ludique ob dedicationem eius facti, quos primos scenicos fuisse Antias Ualerius est auctor, Megalesia appellatos. item Iuuentatis aedem in circo maximo C. Licinius Lucullus duumuir dedicauit. uouerat eam sexdecim annis ante M. Liuius consul, quo die Hasdrubalem exercitumque eius cecidit; idem censor eam faciendam locauit M. Cornelio P. Sempronio consulibus. huius quoque dedicandae causa ludi facti, et eo omnia cum maiore religione facta, quod nouum cum Antiocho instabat bellum.

[37] Principio eius anni, quo haec iam profecto ad bellum M'. Acilio, manente adhuc Romae P. Cornelio consule agebantur, boues duos domitos in Carinis per scalas peruenisse in tegulas aedificii proditum memoriae est. eos uiuos comburi cineremque eorum deici in Tiberim haruspices iusserunt. Tarracinae et Amiterni nuntiatum est aliquotiens lapidibus pluuisse, Menturnis aedem Iouis et tabernas circa forum de caelo tactas esse, Uolturni in ostio fluminis duas

naues fulmine ictas conflagrasse. eorum prodigiorum causa libros Sibyllinos ex senatus consulto decemuii cum adissent, renuntiauerunt, ieiunium instituendum Cereri esse, et id quinto quoque anno seruandum; et ut nouemdiale sacrum fieret et unum diem supplicatio esset; coronati supplicarent; et consul P. Cornelius, quibus diis quibusque hostiis edidissent decemuii, sacrificaret. placatis diis nunc uotis rite soluendis nunc prodigiis expiandis, in prouinciam proficiscitur consul, atque inde Cn. Domitium proconsulem dimisso exercitu Romam decedere iussit; ipse in agrum Boiorum legiones induxit.

[38] Sub idem fere tempus Ligures lege sacrata coacto exercitu nocte improviso castra Q. Minucii proconsulis adgressi sunt. Minucius usque ad lucem intra uallum militem instructum tenuit intentus, ne qua transcenderet hostis munimenta. prima luce duabus simul portis eruptionem fecit. nec primo impetu, quod sperauerat, Ligures pulsi sunt; duas amplius horas dubium certamen sustinuerunt; postremo, cum alia atque alia agmina erumperent, et integri fessis succederent ad pugnam, tandem Ligures, inter cetera etiam uigiliis confecti, terga dederunt. caesa supra quattuor milia hostium; ex Romanis sociisque minus trecenti perierunt. duobus fere post mensibus P. Cornelius consul cum Boiorum exercitu signis collatis egregie pugnavit. duodeciginta milia hostium occisa Antias Ualerius scribit, capta tria milia et quadringentos, signa militaria centum uiginti quattuor, equos mille ducentos triginta, carpenta ducenta quadraginta septem; ex uictoribus mille quadringentos octoginta quattuor cecidisse. ubi ut in numero scriptori parum fidei sit, quia in augendo eo non alius intemperantior est, magnam tamen uictoriam fuisse apparet, quod et castra capta sunt et Boi post eam pugnam extemplo dediderunt sese, et quod supplicatio eius uictoriae causa decreta ab senatu uictimaeque maiores caesae.

[39] Per eosdem dies M. Fuluius Nobilior ex ulteriore Hispania ouans urbem est ingressus. argenti transtulit duodecim milia pondo, bigati argenti centum triginta, auri centum uiginti septem pondo. P. Cornelius consul obsidibus a Boiorum gente acceptis agri parte fere dimidia eos multauit, quo, si uellet, populus Romanus colonias mittere posset. inde Romam ut ad triumphum haud dubium decedens exercitum dimisit, et adesse Romae ad diem triumphi iussit; ipse

postero die, quam uenit, senatu in aedem Bellonae uocato cum de rebus ab se gestis disseruisset, postulauit, ut sibi triumphanti liceret urbem inuehi. P. Sempronius Blaesus tribunus plebis non negandum Scipioni, sed differendum honorem triumphi censebat: bella Ligurum Gallicis semper iuncta fuisse; eas inter se gentes mutua ex propinquo ferre auxilia. si P. Scipio deuictis acie Bois aut ipse cum uictore exercitu in agrum Ligurum transisset, aut partem copiarum Q. Minucio misisset, qui iam tertium ibi annum dubio detineretur bello, debellari cum Liguribus potuisse; nunc ad triumphum frequentandum deductos esse milites, qui egregiam nauare operam rei publicae potuissent, possent etiam, si senatus, quod festinatione triumphi praetermissum esset, id restituere differendo triumpho uellet. iuberent consulem cum legionibus redire in prouinciam, dare operam, ut Ligures subigantur. nisi illi cogantur in ius iudiciumque populi Romani, ne Boios quidem quieturos; aut pacem aut bellum utrobique habenda. deuictis Liguribus, paucos post menses proconsulem P. Cornelium multorum exemplo, qui in magistratu non triumphauerunt, triumphaturum esse.

[40] Ad ea consul neque se Ligures prouinciam sortitum esse ait, neque cum Liguribus bellum gessisse, neque triumphum de iis postulare; Q. Minucium confidere breui subactis iis meritum triumphum postulaturum atque impetraturum esse; se de Gallis Bois postulare triumphum, quos acie uicerit, castris exuerit, quorum gentem biduo post pugnam totam acceperit in deditionem, a quibus obsides abduxerit, pacis futurae pignus. uerum enimvero illud multo maius esse, quod tantum numerum Gallorum occiderit in acie, quot cum milibus certe Boiorum nemo ante se imperator pugnauerit. plus partem dimidiam ex quinquaginta milibus hominum caesam, multa milia capta; senes puerosque Bois superesse. itaque id quemquam mirari posse, cur uictor exercitus, cum hostem in prouincia neminem reliquisset, Romam uenerit ad celebrandum consulis triumphum? quorum militum si et in alia prouincia opera uti senatus uelit, utro tandem modo promptiores ad aliud periculum nouumque laborem ituros credat, si persoluta eis sine detractatione prioris periculi laborisque merces sit, an si spem pro re ferentis dimittant, iam semel in prima spe deceptos? nam quod ad se attineat, sibi gloriae in omnem uitam illo die satis quaesitum esse, quo se uirum optimum

iudicatum ad accipiendam matrem Idaeam misisset senatus. hoc titulo, etsi nec consulatus nec triumphus addatur, satis honestam honoratamque P. Scipionis Nasicae imaginem fore. uniuersus senatus non ipse modo ad decernendum triumphum consensit, sed etiam tribunum plebis auctoritate sua compulit ad remittendam intercessionem. P. Cornelius consul triumphauit de Bois. in eo triumpho Gallicis carpentis arma signaque et spolia omnis generis traexit et uasa aenea Gallica et cum captiuis nobilibus equorum quoque captorum gregem traduxit. aureos torques transtulit mille quadringentos septuaginta unum, ad hoc auri pondo ducenta quadraginta septem, argenti infecti factique in Gallicis uasis, non infabre suo more factis, duo milia trecenta quadraginta pondo, bigatorum nummorum ducenta triginta quattuor. militibus, qui currum secuti sunt, centenos uicenos quinos asses diuisit, duplex centurioni, triplex equiti. postero die contione aduocata de rebus ab se gestis et de iniuria tribuni bello alieno se illigantis, ut suae uictoriae fructu se fraudaret, cum disseruisset, milites exauctoratos dimisit.

[41] Dum haec in Italia geruntur, Antiochus Ephesi securus admodum de bello Romano erat tamquam non transituris in Asiam Romanis; quam securitatem ei magna pars amicorum aut per errorem aut adsentando faciebat. Hannibal unus, cuius eo tempore uel maxima apud regem auctoritas erat, magis mirari se aiebat, quod non iam in Asia essent Romani, quam uenturos dubitare; propius esse ex Graecia in Asiam quam ex Italia in Graeciam traicere, et multo maiorem causam Antiochum quam Aetolos esse; neque [enim] mari minus quam terra pollere Romana arma. iam pridem classem circa Maleam esse; audire sese nuper nouas naues nouumque imperatorem rei gerendae causa ex Italia uenisse; itaque desineret Antiochus pacem sibi ipse spe uana facere. in Asia et de ipsa Asia breui terra marique dimicandum ei cum Romanis esse, et aut imperium adimendum orbem terrarum adfectantibus, aut ipsi regnum amittendum. unus uera et prouidere et fideliter praedicere uisus. itaque ipse rex nauibus, quae paratae instructaeque erant, Chersonesum petit, ut ea loca, si forte terra uenirent Romani, praesidiis firmaret; ceteram classem Polyxenidam parare et deducere iussit; speculatorias naues ad omnia exploranda circa insulas dimisit.

[42] C. Liuius praefectus Romanae classis, cum quinquaginta nauibus tectis profectus ab Roma Neapolim, quo ab sociis eius orae conuenire iusserat apertas naues, quae ex foedere debebantur, Siciliam inde petit fretoque Messanam praeteruectus, cum sex Punicas naues ad auxilium missas accepisset et ab Reginis Locrisque et eiusdem iuris sociis debitas exegisset naues, lustrata classe ad Lacinium, altum petit. Corcyram, quam primam Graeciae ciuitatum adiit, cum uenisset, percunctatus de statu belli — necdum enim omnia in Graecia perpacata erant — et ubi classis Romana esset, postquam audiuit circa Thermopylarum saltum in statione consulem ac regem esse, classem Piraei stare, maturandum ratus omnium rerum causa, pergit protinus nauigare Peloponnesum. Samen Zacynthumque, quia partis Aetolorum maluerant esse, protinus depopulatus Maleam petit, et prospera nauigatione usus paucis diebus Piraeum ad ueterem classem peruenit. ad Scyllaeum Eumenes rex cum tribus nauibus occurrit, cum Aeginae diu incertus consilii fuisset, utrum ad tuendum rediret regnum — audiebat enim Antiochum Ephesi nauales terrestresque parare copias — , an nusquam abscederet ab Romanis, ex quorum fortuna sua penderet. a Piraeo A. Atilius traditis successori quinque et uiginti nauibus tectis Romam est profectus. Liuius una et octoginta constratis nauibus, multis praeterea minoribus, quae aut apertae rostratae aut sine rostris speculatoriae erant, Delum traiecit.

[43] Eo fere tempore consul Acilius Naupactum oppugnabat. Liuium Deli per aliquot dies — et est uentosissima regio inter Cycladas fretis alias maioribus, alias minoribus diuisas — aduersi uenti tenuerunt. Polyxenidas certior per dispositas speculatorias naues factus Deli stare Romanam classem, nuntios ad regem misit. qui omissis, quae in Hellesponto agebat, cum rostratis nauibus, quantum accelerare poterat, Ephesum redit et consilium extemplo habuit, faciendumne periculum naualis certaminis foret. Polyxenidas negabat cessandum et utique prius confligendum quam classis Eumenes et Rhodiae naues coniungerentur Romanis; ita numero non ferme impares futuros se, ceteris omnibus superiores, et celeritate nauium et uarietate auxiliorum. nam Romanas naues cum ipsas inscite factas immobiles esse, tum etiam, ut quae in terram hostium ueniant, oneratas commeatu uenire; suas autem, ut pacata omnia

circa se relinquentis, nihil praeter militem atque arma habituras. multum etiam adiuturam notitiam maris terrarumque et uentorum, quae omnia ignaros turbatura hostis essent. mouit omnis auctor consilii, qui et re consilium exsecuturus erat. biduum in apparatu morati tertio die centum nauibus, quarum septuaginta tectae, ceterae apertae, minoris omnes formae erant, profecti Phocaeam petierunt. inde, cum audisset appropinquare iam Romanam classem, rex, quia non interfuturus nauali certamini erat, Magnesiam, quae ad Sipylum est, concessit ad terrestres copias comparandas; classis ad Cissuntem portum Erythraeorum, tamquam ibi aptius expectatura hostem, contendit. Romani, ubi primum aquilones — ii namque per aliquot dies tenuerant — ceciderunt, ab Delo Phanas, portum Chiorum in Aegaeum mare uersum, petunt; inde ad urbem circumegere naues, commeatuque sumpto Phocaeam traiciunt. Eumenes Elaeam ad suam classem profectus, paucis post inde diebus cum quattuor et uiginti nauibus tectis, apertis pluribus paulo Phocaeam ad Romanos parantis instruensque se ad nauale certamen rediit. inde centum quinque tectis nauibus, apertis ferme quinquaginta profecti, primo aquilonibus transuersis cum urgerentur in terram, cogeabantur tenui agmine prope in ordinem singulae naues ire; deinde, ut lenita paulum uis uenti est, ad Corycum portum, qui super Cissuntem est, conati sunt traicere.

[44] Polyxenidas, ut appropinquare hostis adlatum est, occasione pugnandi laetus sinistrum ipse cornu in altum extendit, dextrum cornu praefectos nauium ad terram explicare iubet, et aequa fronte ad pugnam procedebat. quod ubi uidit Romanus, uela contrahit malosque inclinat et simul armamenta componens opperitur insequentis nauis. iam ferme triginta in fronte erant, quibus ut aequaret laeuum cornu, dolonibus erectis altum petere intendit, iussis qui sequebantur aduersus dextrum cornu prope terram proras derigere. Eumenes agmen cogeabat; ceterum, ut demendis armamentis tumultuari primum coeptum est, et ipse, quanta maxime celeritate potest, concitat naues. iam omnibus in conspectu erant. duae Punicae naues antecedeabant Romanam classem, quibus obuiae tres fuerunt regiae naues; et, ut in numero impari, duae regiae unam circumsistunt, et primum ab utroque latere remos detergunt, deinde transcendunt armati et deiectis caesisque propugnatoribus nauem

capiunt; una, quae pari Marte concurrerat, postquam captam alteram nauem uidit, priusquam ab tribus simul circumueniretur, retro ad classem refugit. Liuius indignatione accensus praetoria naue in hostes tendit. aduersus quam eadem spe duae, quae Punicam unam nauem circumuenerant, cum inferrentur, demittere remos in aquam ab utroque latere remiges stabiliendae nauis causa iussit, et in aduenientis hostium naues ferreas manus inicere et, ubi pugnam pedestri similem fecissent, meminisse Romanae uirtutis nec pro uiris ducere regia mancipia. haud paulo facilius quam ante duae unam, tunc una duas naues expugnauit cepitque. et iam classes quoque undique concurrerant, et passim permixtis nauibus pugnabatur. Eumenes, qui [extremus] commisso certamine aduenerat, ut animaduertit laeuum cornu hostium ab Liuio turbatum, dextrum ipse, ubi aequa pugna erat, inuadit.

[45] Neque ita multo post primum ab laeuo cornu fuga coepit. Polyxenidas enim ut uirtute militum haud dubie se superari uidit, sublatis dolonibus effuse fugere intendit; mox idem et qui prope terram cum Eumene contraxerant certamen fecerunt. Romani et Eumenes, quoad sufficere remiges potuerunt et in spe erant extremi agminis uexandi, satis pertinaciter secuti sunt. postquam celeritate nauium, utpote leuium, suas commeatu onustas eludi frustra tendentis uiderunt, tandem abstiterunt tredecim captis nauibus cum milite ac remige, decem demersis. Romanae classis una Punica nauis, in primo certamine ab duabus circumuenta, periit. Polyxenidas non prius quam in portu Ephesi fugae finem fecit. Romani eo die, unde egressa regia classis erat, manserunt; postero die hostem persequi intenderunt. medio fere in cursu obuiae fuere iis quinque et uiginti tectae Rhodiae naues cum Pausistrato praefecto classis. his adiunctis Ephesum hostem persecuti ante ostium portus acie instructa steterunt. postquam confessionem uictis satis expresserunt, Rhodii et Eumenes domos dimissi; Romani Chium petentes, Phoenicuntem primum portum Erythraeae terrae praeteruecti, nocte ancoris iactis, postero die in insulam ad ipsam urbem traiecerunt. ubi paucos dies remige maxime reficiendo morati Phocaeam tramittunt. ibi relictis ad praesidium urbis quattuor quinquereuib; ad Canas classis uenit; et, cum iam hiems appeteret, fossa ualloeque circumdatis naues subductae. exitu anni comitia Romae habita, quibus creati sunt

consules L. Cornelius Scipio et C. Laelius — Africanum intuentibus
cunctis — ad finiendum cum Antiocho bellum. postero die praetores
creati M. Tuccius L. Aurunculeius Cn. Fulvius L. Aemilius P. Iunius
C. Atinius Labeo.

LIBER XXXVII

[1] L. Cornelio Scipione C. Laelio consulibus nulla prius secundum religiones acta in senatu res est quam de Aetolis. et legati eorum institerunt, quia breuem indutiarum diem habebant, et ab T. Quintio, qui tum Romam ex Graecia redierat, adiuti sunt. Aetoli, ut quibus plus in misericordia senatus quam in causa spei esset, suppliciter egerunt, ueteribus benefactis noua pensantes maleficia. ceterum et praesentes interrogationibus undique senatorum, confessionem magis noxae quam responsa exprimentium, fatigati sunt, et excedere curia iussi magnum certamen praebuerunt. plus ira quam misericordia in causa eorum ualebat, quia non ut hostibus modo, sed tamquam indomitae et insociabili genti suscensebant. per aliquot dies cum certatum esset, postremo neque dari neque negari pacem placuit; duae condiciones iis latae sunt: uel senatui liberum arbitrium de se permetterent, uel mille talentum darent eosdemque amicos atque inimicos haberent. exprimere cupientibus, quarum rerum in se arbitrium senatui permetterent, nihil certi responsum est. ita infecta pace dimissi urbe eodem die, Italia intra quindecim dies excedere iussi.

Tum de consulum prouinciis coeptum agi est. ambo Graeciam cupiebant. multum Laelius in senatu poterat. is, cum senatus aut sortiri aut comparare inter se prouincias consules iussisset, elegantius facturos dixit, si iudicio patrum quam si sorti eam rem permisissent. Scipio responso ad hoc dato cogitaturum, quid sibi faciendum esset, cum fratre uno locutus iussusque ab eo permittere audacter senatui, renuntiat collegae facturum se, quod is censeret. cum res aut noua aut uetustate exemplorum memoriae iam exoletae relata expectatione certaminis senatum erexisset, P. Scipio Africanus dixit, si L. Scipioni fratri suo prouinciam Graeciam decreuissent, se <ei> legatum iturum. haec uox magno adsensu audita sustulit certamen; experiri libebat, utrum plus regi Antiocho in Hannibale uicto an in uictore Africano consuli legionibusque Romanis auxilii foret; ac prope omnes Scipioni Graeciam, Laelio Italiam decreuerunt.

[2] Praetores inde prouincias sortiti sunt, L. Aurunculeius urbanam, Cn. Fuluius peregrinam, L. Aemilius Regillus classem, P. Iunius

Brutus Tuscus, M. Tuccius Apuliam et Bruttios, C. Atinius Siciliam. consuli deinde, cui Graecia prouincia decreta erat, ad eum exercitum, quem a M'. Acilio — duae autem legiones erant — accepturus esset, in supplementum addita peditum ciuium Romanorum tria milia, equites centum, et socium Latini nominis quinque milia, equites ducenti; et adiectum, ut, cum in prouinciam uenisset, si e re publica uideretur esse, exercitum in Asiam traiceret. alteri consuli totus nouus exercitus decretus, duae legiones Romanae et socium Latini nominis quindecim milia peditum, equites sexcenti. exercitum ex Liguribus Q. Minucius — iam enim confectam prouinciam scripserat et Ligurum omne nomen in deditionem uenisse — traducere in Boios et P. Cornelio proconsuli tradere iussus ex agro, quo uictos bello multauerat, Boios deducendi. duae urbanae legiones, quae priore anno conscriptae erant, M. Tuccio praetori datae et socium ac Latini nominis peditum quindecim milia et equites sexcenti ad Apuliam Bruttiosque obtinendos. A. Cornelio superioris anni praetori, qui Bruttios cum exercitu obtinuerat, imperatum, si ita consuli uideretur, ut legiones in Aetoliam traiectas M'. Acilio traderet, si is manere ibi uellet; si Acilius redire Romam mallet, ut A. Cornelius cum eo exercitu in Aetolia remaneret. C. Atinium Labeonem prouinciam Siciliam exercitumque a M. Aemilio accipere placuit et in supplementum scribere ex ipsa prouincia, si uellet, peditum duo milia et centum equites. P. Iunius Brutus in Tuscus exercitum nouum, legionem unam Romanam et decem milia socium ac Latini nominis scribere et quadringentos equites; L. Aemilius, cui maritima prouincia erat, uiginti naues longas et socios naualis a M. Iunio praetore superioris anni accipere iussus et scribere ipse mille naualis socios, duo milia peditum; cum iis nauibus militibusque in Asiam proficisci et classem a C. Liuius accipere. duas Hispanias Sardiniamque obtinentibus prorogatum in annum imperium est et idem exercitus decreti. Siciliae Sardiniaeque binae aequae <ac> proximo anno decumae frumenti imperatae; Siculum omne frumentum in Aetoliam ad exercitum portari iussum, ex Sardinia pars Romam pars in Aetoliam, eodem quo Siculum.

[3] Priusquam consules in prouincias proficiscerentur, prodigia per pontifices procurari placuit. Romae Iunonis Lucinae templum de caelo tactum erat ita, ut fastigium ualuaeque deformarentur; Puteolis

pluribus locis murus et porta fulmine icta et duo homines exanimati; Nursiae sereno satis constabat nimbium ortum; ibi quoque duos liberos homines exanimatos; terra apud se pluuisse Tusculani nuntiabant, et Reatini mulam in agro suo peperisse. ea procurata, Latinaeque instauratae, quod Laurentibus carnis, quae dari debet, data non fuerat. supplicatio quoque earum religionum causa fuit quibus diis decemuiri ex libris ut fieret ediderunt. decem ingenui, decem uirgines, patrimi omnes matrimique, ad id sacrificium adhibiti, et decemuiri nocte lactentibus rem diuinam fecerunt. P. Cornelius Scipio Africanus, priusquam proficisceretur, fornicem in Capitolio aduersus uiam, qua in Capitolium escenditur, cum signis septem auratis et equis duobus et marmorea duo labra ante fornicem posuit.

Per eosdem dies principes Aetolorum tres et quadraginta, inter quos Damocritus et frater eius erant, ab duabus cohortibus missis a M'. Acilio Romam deducti et in Lautumias coniecti sunt. cohortes inde ad exercitum redire L. Cornelius consul iussit. — legati ab Ptolomaeo et Cleopatra regibus Aegypti gratulantes, quod M'. Acilius consul Antiochum regem Graecia expulisset, uenerunt adhortantesque, ut in Asiam exercitum traicerent: omnia perculsa metu non in Asia modo sed etiam in Syria esse; reges Aegypti ad ea, quae censuisset senatus, paratos fore. gratiae regibus actae; legatis munera dari iussa in singulos quaternum milium aeris.

[4] L. Cornelius consul peractis, quae Romae agenda erant, pro contione edixit, ut milites, quos ipse in supplementum scripsisset, quique in Brutiis cum A. Cornelio propraetore essent, ut hi omnes idibus Quintilibus Brundisium conuenirent. item tres legatos nominauit, Sex. Digitium L. Apustium C. Fabricium Luscium, qui ex ora maritima undique nauis Brundisium contraherent; et omnibus iam paratis paludatus ab urbe est profectus. ad quinque milia uoluntariorum, Romani sociique, qui emerita stipendia sub imperatore P. Africano habebant, praesto fuere exeunti consuli et nomina dederunt. per eos dies, quibus est profectus ad bellum consul, ludis Apollinaribus, a. d. quintum idus Quinctiles caelo sereno interdiu obscurata lux est, cum luna sub orbem solis subisset. et L. Aemilius Regillus, cui naualis prouincia euenerat, eodem tempore profectus est. L. Aurunculeio negotium ab senatu datum est, ut

triginta quinqueres, viginti trieres faceret, quia fama erat Antiochum post proelium nauale maiorem classem aliquanto reparare.

Aetoli, postquam legati ab Roma rettulerunt nullam spem pacis esse, quamquam omnis ora maritima eorum, quae in Peloponnesum uersa est, depopulata ab Achaeis erat, periculi magis quam damni memores, ut Romanis intercluderent iter, Coracem occupauerunt montem; neque enim dubitabant ad oppugnationem Naupacti eos principio ueris redituros esse. Acilio, quia id expectari sciebat, satius uisum est inopinatam adgredi rem et Lamiam oppugnare; nam et a Philippo prope ad excidium adductos esse, et tunc eo ipso, quod nihil tale timerent, opprimi incautos posse. profectus ab Elatia primum in hostium terra circa Spercheum amnem posuit castra; inde nocte motis signis prima luce corona moenia est adgressus.

[5] Magnus pauor ac tumultus, ut in re improuisa, fuit. constantius tamen, quam quis facturos crederet, in tam subito periculo, cum uiri propugnarent, feminae tela omnis generis saxaque in muros gererent, iam multifariam scalis apposis urbem eo die defenderunt. Acilius signo receptui dato suos in castra medio ferme die reduxit; et tunc cibo et quiete reffectis corporibus, priusquam praetorium dimitteret, denuntiavit, ut ante lucem armati paratique essent; nisi expugnata urbe se eos in castra non reducturum. eodem tempore, quo pridie, pluribus locis adgressus, cum oppidanos iam uires, iam tela, iam ante omnia animus deficeret, intra paucas horas urbem cepit. ibi partim diuendita partim diuisa praeda, consilium habitum, quid deinde faceret. nemini ad Naupactum iri placuit occupato ad Coracem ab Aetolis saltu. ne tamen segnia aestiua essent et Aetoli non impetratam pacem ab senatu nihilo minus per suam cunctationem haberent, oppugnare Acilius Amphissam statuit. ab Heraclea per Oetam exercitus eo deductus. cum ad moenia castra posuisset, non corona, sicut Lamiam, sed operibus oppugnare urbem est adortus. pluribus simul locis aries admouebatur, et cum quaterentur muri, nihil aduersus tale machinationis genus parare aut comminisci oppidani conabantur; omnis spes in armis et audacia erat; eruptionibus crebris et stationes hostium et eos ipsos, qui circa opera et machinas erant, turbabant.

[6] Multis tamen locis decussus murus erat, cum adlatum est

successorem Apolloniae exposito exercitu per Epirum ac Thessaliam uenire. cum tredecim milibus peditum et quingentis equitibus consul ueniebat. iam in sinum Maliacum uenerat; et praemissis Hypatam, qui tradere urbem iuberent, postquam nihil responsum est nisi ex communi Aetolorum decreto facturos, ne teneret se oppugnatio Hypatae nondum Amphissa recepta, praemisso fratre Africano Amphissam ducit. sub aduentum eorum oppidani relictæ urbe — iam enim magna ex parte moenibus nudata erat — in arcem, quam inexpugnabilem habent, omnes armati atque inermes concessere. consul sex milia fere passuum inde posuit castra. eo legati Athenienses primum ad P. Scipionem praegressum agmen, sicut ante dictum est, deinde ad consulem uenerunt, deprecantes pro Aetolis. clementius responsum ab Africano tulerunt, qui causam relinquendi honeste Aetolici belli quaerens Asiam et regem Antiochum spectabat, iusseratque Athenienses non Romanis solum, ut pacem bello praeferrent, sed etiam Aetolis persuadere. celeriter auctoribus Atheniensibus frequens ab Hypata legatio Aetolorum uenit, et spem pacis eis sermo etiam Africani, quem priorem adierunt, auxit, commemorantis multas gentes populosque in Hispania prius, deinde in Africa in fidem suam uenisse; in omnibus se maiora clementiae benignitatisque quam uirtutis bellicae monumenta reliquisse. perfecta uidebatur res, cum aditus consul idem illud responsum rettulit, quo fugati ab senatu erant. eo tamquam nouo cum icti Aetoli essent — nihil enim nec legatione Atheniensium nec placido Africani responso profectum uidebant — , referre ad suos dixerunt uelle.

[7] Reditum inde Hypatam est, nec consilium expediebatur; nam neque, unde mille talentum daretur, erat, et permissio libero arbitrio ne in corpora sua saeuiretur, metuebant. redire itaque eosdem legatos ad consulem et Africanum iusserunt et petere, ut, si dare uere pacem, non tantum ostendere, frustrantes spem miserorum uellent, aut ex summa pecuniae demerent aut permissionem extra ciuium corpora fieri iuberent. nihil impetratum ut mutaret consul; et ea quoque irrita legatio dimissa est. secuti et Athenienses sunt; et princeps legationis eorum Echedemus fatigatos tot repulsis Aetolos et complorantis inutili lamentatione fortunam gentis ad spem reuocauit auctor indutias sex mensium petendi, ut legatos mittere Romam possent: dilationem nihil ad praesentia mala, quippe quae ultima essent,

adiecturam; leuari per multos casus tempore interposito praesentis clades posse. auctore Echedemo idem missi; prius P. Scipione conuento, per eum indutias temporis eius, quod petebant, ab consule impetrauerunt. et soluta obsidione Amphissae M'. Acilius tradito consuli exercitu prouincia decessit, et consul ab Amphissa Thessaliam repetit, ut per Macedoniam Thraeciamque duceret in Asiam.

Tum Africanus fratri: 'iter, quod insistis, L. Scipio, ego quoque approbo; sed totum id uertitur in uoluntate Philippi, qui si imperio nostro fidus est, et iter et commeatus et omnia, quae in longo itinere exercitus alunt iuuantque, nobis suppedabit; si is destituit, nihil per Thraeciam satis tutum habebis; itaque prius regis animum explorari placet. optime explorabitur, si nihil ex praeparato agentem opprimet qui mittetur.' Ti. Sempronius Gracchus, longe tum acerrimus iuuenum, ad id delectus per dispositos equos prope incredibili celeritate ab Amphissa — inde enim est dimissus — die tertio Pellam peruenit. in conuiuio rex erat et in multum uini processerat; ea ipsa remissio animi suspicionem dempsit nouare eum quicquam uelle. et tum quidem comiter acceptus hospes, postero die commeatus exercitui paratos benigne, pontes in fluminibus factos, uias, ubi transitus difficiles erant, munitas uidit. haec referens eadem, qua ierat, celeritate Thaumacis occurrit consuli. inde certiore et maiore spe laetus exercitus ad praeparata omnia in Macedoniam peruenit. uenientis regio apparatu et accepit et prosecutus est rex. multa in eo et dexteritas et humanitas uisa, quae commendabilia apud Africanum erant, uirum sicut ad cetera egregium, ita a comitate, quae sine luxuria esset, non auersum. inde non per Macedoniam modo sed etiam Thraeciam prosequente et praeparante omnia Philippo ad Hellespontum peruentum est.

[8] Antiochus post naualem ad Corycum pugnam cum totam hiemem liberam in apparatus terrestris maritimosque habuisset, classi maxime reparandae, ne tota maris possessione pelleretur, intentus fuerat. succurrebat superatum se, cum classis afuisset Rhodiorum; quodsi ea quoque — nec commissuros Rhodios, ut iterum morarentur — certamini adesset, magno sibi nauium numero opus fore, ut uiribus et magnitudine classem hostium aequaret. itaque et Hannibalem in Syriam miserat ad Phoenicum accersendas naues, et

Polyxenidam, quo minus prospere res gesta erat, eo enixius et eas, quae erant, reficere et alias parare naues iussit. ipse in Phrygia hibernauit undique auxilia accersens. etiam in Gallograeciam miserat; bellicosiores ea tempestate erant, Gallicos adhuc, nondum exoleta stirpe gentis, seruantes animos. filium Seleucum in Aeolide reliquerat cum exercitu ad maritimas continendas urbes, quas illinc a Pergamo Eumenes, hinc a Phocaea Erythrisque Romani sollicitabant. classis Romana, sicut ante dictum est, ad Canas hibernabat; eo media ferme hieme rex Eumenes cum duobus milibus peditum, equitibus quingentis uenit. is cum magnam praedam agi posse dixisset ex agro hostium, qui circa Thyatiram esset, hortando perpulit Liuium, ut quinque milia militum secum mitteret. missi ingentem praedam intra paucos dies auerterunt.

[9] Inter haec Phocaeae seditio orta quibusdam ad Antiochum multitudinis animos auocantibus. grauius hiberna nauium erant, graue tributum, quod togae quingentae imperatae erant cum quingentis tunicis, grauis etiam inopia frumenti, propter quam naues quoque et praesidium Romanum excessit. tum uero liberata metu factio erat, quae plebem in contionibus ad Antiochum trahebat; senatus et optimates in Romana societate perstandum censebant; defectionis auctores plus apud multitudinem ualuerunt. Rhodii, quo magis cessatum priore aestate erat, eo maturius aequinoctio uerno eundem Pausistratum classis praefectum cum sex et triginta nauibus miserunt. iam Liuius a Canis cum triginta nauibus <suis> et septem quadriremibus, quas secum Eumenes rex adduxerat, Hellespontum petebat, ut ad transitum exercitus, quem terra uenturum opinabatur, praepararet, quae opus essent. in portum, quem uocant Achaeorum, classem primum aduertit; inde Ilium descendit, sacrificioque Mineruae facto legationes finitimas ab Elaeunte et Dardano et Rhoeteo, tradentis in fidem ciuitatis suas, benigne audiuit. inde ad Hellesponti fauces nauigat et decem nauibus in statione contra Abydum relictis cetera classe in Europam ad Sestum oppugnandam traiecit. iam subeuntibus armatis muros fanatici Galli primum cum sollemni habitu ante portam occurrunt; iussu se matris deum famulos deae uenire memorant ad precandum Romanum, ut parceret moenibus urbiue. nemo eorum uiolatus est. mox uniuersus senatus cum magistratibus ad dedendam urbem processit. inde Abydum traiecta

classis. ubi cum temptatis per colloquia animis nihil pacati responderetur, ad oppugnationem sese expediebant.

[10] Dum haec in Hellesponto geruntur, Polyxenidas regius praefectus — erat autem exul Rhodius — cum audisset profectam ab domo popularium suorum classem, et Pausistratum praefectum superbe quaedam et contemptim in se contionantem dixisse, praecipuo certamine animi aduersus eum sumpto nihil aliud dies noctesque agitabat animo, quam ut uerba magnifica eius rebus confutaret. mittit ad eum hominem et illi notum, qui diceret et se Pausistrato patriaeque suae magno usui, se liceat, fore, et a Pausistrato se restitui in patriam posse. cum, quonam modo ea fieri possent, mirabundus Pausistratus percunctaretur, fidem petenti dedit agenda communiter rei aut tegenda silentio. tum internuntius: regiam classem aut totam aut maiorem <eius> partem Polyxenidam traditurum ei; pretium tanti meriti nullum aliud pacisci quam redditum in patriam. magnitudo rei nec ut crederet nec ut aspernaretur dicta effecit. Panhormum Samiae terrae petit, ibique ad explorandam rem, quae oblata erat, substitit. ultro citroque nuntii cursare, nec fides ante Pausistrato facta est, quam coram nuntio eius Polyxenidas sua manu scripsit se ea, quae pollicitus esset, facturum signoque suo impressas tabellas misit. eo uero pignore uelut auctoratum sibi proditorem ratus est: neque enim eum, qui sub rege uiueret, commissurum fuisse, ut aduersus semet ipsum indicia manu sua testata daret. inde ratio simulatae proditionis composita. omnium se rerum apparatus omisurum Polyxenidas dicere; non remigem, non socios naualis ad classem frequentis habiturum; subducturum per simulationem reficiendi quasdam naues, alias in propinquos portus dimissurum; paucas ante portum Ephesi in salo habiturum, quas, si exire res cogeret, obiecturus certamini foret. quam negligentiam Polyxenidam in classe sua habiturum Pausistratus audiuit, eam ipse extemplo habuit, partem nauium ad commeatus accersendos Halicarnassum, partem Samum ad urbem misit, <ipse ad Panhormum mansit,> ut paratus esset, cum signum adgrediendi a proditore accepisset. Polyxenidas augere simulando errorem; subducit quasdam naues, alias uelut subducturus esset, naualia reficit; remiges ex hibernis non Ephesum accersit, sed Magnesiam occulte cogit.

[11] Forte quidam Antiochi miles, cum Samum rei priuatae causa

uenisset, pro speculatore deprehensus deducitur Panhormum ad praefectum. is percunctanti, quid Ephesi ageretur, incertum metu an erga suos haud sincera fide, omnia aperit: classem instructam paratamque in portu stare; remigium omne Magnesiam [ad Sipylum] missum; perpauca naues subductas esse et naualia detegi; numquam intentius rem naualem administratam esse. haec ne pro ueris audirentur, animus errore et spe uana praeoccupatus fecit. Polyxenidas satis omnibus comparatis, nocte remige a Magnesia accersito, deductisque raptim, quae subductae erant, nauibus, cum diem non tam apparatu absumpsisset, quam quod conspici proficiscentem classem nolebat, post solis occasum profectus septuaginta nauibus tectis uento aduerso ante lucem Pygela portum tenuit. ibi cum interdiu ob eandem causam quiesset, nocte in proxima Samiae terrae traiecit. hinc Nicandro quodam archipirata quinque nauibus tectis Palinurum iusso petere, atque inde armatos, qua proximum per agros iter esset, Panhormum ad tergum hostium ducere, ipse interim classe diuisa, ut ex utraque parte fauces portus teneret, Panhormum petit. Pausistratus primo ut in re necopinata turbatus parumper, deinde uetus miles celeriter collecto animo terra melius arceri quam mari hostes posse ratus, armatos duobus agminibus ad promunturia, quae cornibus obiectis ab alto portum faciunt, ducit, inde facile telis ancipitibus hostem summoturus. id inceptum eius Nicander a terra uisus cum turbasset, repente mutato consilio naues conscendere omnis iubet. tum uero ingens pariter militum nautarumque trepidatio orta, et uelut fuga in naues fieri, cum se mari terraque simul cernerent circumuentos. Pausistratus unam uiam salutis esse ratus, si uim facere per fauces portus atque erumpere in mare apertum posset, postquam conscendisse suos uidit, sequi ceteris iussis princeps ipse concitata naue remis ad ostium portus tendit. superantem iam fauces nauem eius Polyxenidas tribus quinquereuib; circumsistit. nauis rostris icta suppressitur; telis obruuntur propugnatores, inter quos et Pausistratus impigre pugnans interficitur. nauium reliquarum ante portum aliae, aliae in portu deprensae, quaedam a Nicandro, dum moliuntur a terra, captae; quinque tantum Rhodiae naues cum duabus Cois effugerunt terrore flammae micantis uia sibi inter confertas naues facta; contis enim binis a prora prominentibus trullis ferreis multum conceptum ignem

prae se portabant. Erythraeae triremes cum haud procul a Samo Rhodiis nauibus, quibus ut essent praesidio ueniebant, obuiae fugientibus fuissent, in Hellespontum ad Romanos cursum auerterunt. sub idem tempus Seleucus proditam Phocaeam porta una per custodes aperta recepit; et Cyme aliaeque eiusdem orae urbes ad eum metu defecerunt.

[12] Dum haec in Aeolide geruntur, Abydus cum per aliquot dies obsidionem tolerasset praesidio regio tutante moenia, iam omnibus fessis Philota quoque praefecto praesidii permittente magistratus eorum cum Liuius de condicionibus tradendae urbis agebant. rem distinebat, quod, utrum armati an inermes emitterentur regii, parum conueniebat. haec agentibus cum interuenisset nuntius Rhodiorum cladis, emissa de manibus res est; metuens enim Liuius, ne successu tantae rei inflatus Polyxenidas classem, quae ad Canas erat, opprimeret, Abydi obsidione custodiaque Hellesponti extemplo relictas naues, quae subductae Canis erant, deduxit; et Eumenes Elaeam uenit. Liuius omni classe, cui adiunxerat duas triremes Mitylenaeas, Phocaeam petit. quam cum teneri ualido regio praesidio audisset, nec procul Seleuci castra esse, depopulatus maritimam oram, et praeda maxime hominum raptim in naues imposita tantum moratus, dum Eumenes cum classe adsequeretur, Samum petere intendit. Rhodiis primo audita clades simul pauorem simul luctum ingentem fecit; nam praeter nauium militumque iacturam, quod floris, quod roboris in iuuentute fuerat, amiserant, multis nobilibus secutis inter cetera auctoritatem Pausistrati, quae inter suos merito maxima erat; deinde, quod fraude capti, quod a ciue potissimum suo forent, in iram luctus uertit. decem extemplo naues, et diebus post paucis decem alias praefecto omnium Eudamo miserunt, quem aliis uirtutibus bellicis haudquaquam Pausistrato parem, cautiolem, quo minus animi erat, ducem futurum credebant. Romani et Eumenes rex in Erythraeam primum classem applicuerunt. ibi noctem unam morati postero die Corycum [Pelorum] promunturium tenuerunt. inde cum in proxima Samiae uellent traicere, non expectato solis ortu, ex quo statum caeli notare gubernatores possent, in incertam tempestatem miserunt. medio in cursu, aquilone in septentrionem uerso, exasperato fluctibus mari iactari coeperunt.

[13] Polyxenidas Samum petituros ratus hostis, ut se Rhodiae classi

coniungerent, ab Epheso profectus primo ad Myonnesum stetit; inde ad Macrin, quam uocant, insulam traiecit, ut praeteruehensis classis si quas aberrantis ex agmine naues posset aut postremum agmen opportune adoriretur. postquam sparsam tempestate classem uidit, occasionem primo adgrediendi ratus, paulo post increbrescente uento et maiores iam uolente fluctus, quia peruenire se ad eos uidebat non posse, ad Aethaliam insulam traiecit, ut inde postero die Samum ex alto petentis nauis adgrederetur. Romani, pars exigua, primis tenebris portum desertum Samiae tenuerunt, classis cetera nocte tota in alto iactata in eundem portum decurrit. ibi ex agrestibus cognito hostium naues ad Aethaliam stare, consilium habitum, utrum extemplo decernerent, an Rhodiam expectarent classem. dilata re — ita enim placuit — Corycum, unde uenerant, traiecerunt. Polyxenidas quoque, cum frustra stetisset, Ephesum rediit. tum Romanae naues uacuo ab hostibus mari Samum traiecerunt. eodem et Rhodia classis post dies paucos uenit. quam ut expectatam esse appareret, profecti extemplo sunt Ephesum, ut aut decernerent nauali certamine, aut, si detractaret hostis pugnam, quod plurimum intererat ad animos ciuitatum, timoris confessionem exprimerent. contra fauces portus instructa in frontem nauium acie stetere. postquam nemo aduersus ibat, classe diuisa pars in salo ad ostium portus in ancoris stetit, pars in terram milites exposuit. in eos [iam] ingentem praedam late depopulato agro agentis Andronicus Macedo, qui in praesidio Ephesi erat, iam moenibus appropinquantis eruptionem fecit, exutosque magna parte praedae ad mare ac naues redegit. postero die insidiis medio ferme uiae positis ad eliciendum extra moenia Macedonem Romani ad urbem agmine iere; inde, cum ea ipsa suspicio, ne quis exiret, deterruisset, redierunt ad naues; et terra marique fugientibus certamen hostibus Samum, unde uenerat, classis repetit. inde duas sociorum ex Italia, duas Rhodias triremes cum praefecto Epicrate Rhodio ad fretum Cephallaniae tuendum praetor misit. infestum id latrocinio Lacedaemonius Hybristas cum iuuentute Cephallanum faciebat, clausumque iam mare commeatibus Italicis erat.

[14] Piraei L. Aemilio Regillo succedenti ad nauale imperium Epicrates occurrit; qui audita clade Rhodiorum, cum ipse duas tantum quinqueres haberet, Epicratem cum quattuor nauibus in Asiam secum reduxit; prosecutae etiam apertae Atheniensium naues

sunt. Aegaeo mari traiecit <Chium>. eodem Timasirates Rhodius cum duabus quadriremibus ab Samo nocte intempesta uenit, deductusque ad Aemilium praesidii causa se missum ait, quod eam oram maris infestam onerariis regiae naues excursionibus crebris ab Hellesponto atque Abydo facerent. traienti Aemilio a Chio Samum duae Rhodiae quadriremes, missae obuiam ab Liuiο, et rex Eumenes cum duabus quinquereuib; occurrit. Samum postquam uentum est, accepta ab Liuiο classe et sacrificio, ut adsolet, rite facto Aemilius consilium aduocauit. ibi C. Liuius — is enim est primus rogatus sententiam — neminem fidelius posse dare consilium dixit quam eum, qui id alteri suaderet, quod ipse, si in eodem loco esset, facturus fuerit: se in animo habuisse tota classe Ephesum petere et onerarias ducere multa saburra grauatas, atque eas in faucibus portus suppressere; et eo minoris molimenti ea claustra esse, quod in fluminis modum longum et angustum et uadosum ostium portus sit. ita adempturum se maris usum hostibus fuisse inutilemque classem facturum.

[15] Nulli ea placere sententia. Eumenes rex quaesiuit, quid tandem? ubi demersis nauibus frenassent claustra maris, utrum libera sua classe abscessuri inde forent ad opem ferendam sociis terroremque hostibus praebendum, an nihilo minus tota classe portum obsessuri? siue enim abscedant, cui dubium esse, quin hostes extracturi demersas moles sint et minore molimento aperturi portum, quam obstruatur? sin autem manendum ibi nihilo minus sit, quid attinere claudi portum? quin contra illos, tutissimo portu, opulentissima urbe fruentis, omnia Asia praebente quieta aestiua acturos; Romanos aperto in mari fluctibus tempestatibusque obiectos, omnium inopes, in adsidua statione futuros, ipsos magis adligatos impeditosque, ne quid eorum, quae agenda sint, possint agere, quam ut hostis clausos habeant. Eudamus praefectus Rhodiae classis magis eam sibi displicere sententiam ostendit, quam ipse, quid censeret faciendum, dixit. Epicrates Rhodius ommissa in praesentia Epheso mittendam nauium partem in Lyciam censuit, et Patara, caput gentis, in societatem adiungenda. in duas magnas res id usui fore, et Rhodios pacatis contra insulam suam terris totis uiribus incumbere in unius belli, quod aduersus Antiochum sit, curam posse, et eam classem, quae in Cilicia compararetur, intercludi, ne Polyxenidae

coniungatur. haec maxime mouit sententia; placuit tamen Regillum classe tota euehi ad portum Ephesi ad inferendum hostibus terrorem.

[16] C. Liuius cum duabus quinquereimis Romanis et quattuor quadriremibus Rhodiis et duabus apertis Zmyrnaeis in Lyciam est missus, Rhodum prius iussus adire et omnia cum iis communicare consilia. ciuitates, quas praeteruectus est, Miletus Myndus Halicarnassus Cnidus Cous, imperata enixe fecerunt. Rhodum ut uentum est, simul et, ad quam rem missus esset, iis exposuit et consuluit eos. approbantibus cunctis et ad eam, quam habebat, classem, adsumptis tribus quadriremibus, nauigat Patara. primo secundus uentus ad ipsam urbem ferebat eos, sperabantque subito terrore aliquid moturos; postquam circumagente se uento fluctibus dubiis uolui coeptum est mare, peruicerunt quidem remis, ut tenerent terram; sed neque circa urbem tuta statio erat, nec ante ostium portus in salo stare poterant aspero mari et nocte imminente. praeteruecti moenia portum Phoenicunta, minus duum milium spatio inde distantem, petiere, nauibus a maritima ui tutum; sed altae insuper imminebant rupes, quas celeriter oppidani adsumptis regiis militibus, quos in praesidio habebant, ceperunt. aduersus quos Liuius, quamquam erant iniqua ac difficilia ad exitus loca, Issaeos auxiliares et Zmyrnaeorum expeditos iuuenes misit. hi, dum missilibus primo et aduersus paucos leuib. excursionibus lacescebatur magis quam conserebatur pugna, sustinuerunt certamen; postquam plures ex urbe adfluebant, et iam omnis multitudo effundebatur, timor incessit Liuium, ne et auxiliares circumuenirentur et nauibus etiam ab terra periculum esset. ita non milites solum sed etiam naualis socios, remigum turbam, quibus quisque poterat telis, armatos in proelium eduxit. tum quoque anceps pugna fuit, neque milites solum aliquot, sed L. Apustius tumultuario proelio cecidit; postremo tamen fusi fugatique sunt Lycii atque in urbem compulsi, et Romani cum haud incruenta uictoria ad naues redierunt. inde in Telmessicum profecti sinum, qui latere uno Cariam altero Lyciam contingit, omisso <consilio> Patara amplius temptandi Rhodii domum dimissi sunt, Liuius praeteruectus Asiam in Graeciam transmisit, ut conuentis Scipionibus, qui tum circa Thessaliam erant, in Italiam traiceret.

[17] Aemilius postquam omissas in Lycia res et Liuium profectum in Italiam cognouit, cum ipse ab Epheso tempestate repulsus irritum

incepto Samum reuertisset, turpe ratus temptata frustra Patara esse, proficisci eo tota classe et summa ui adgredi urbem statuit. Miletum et ceteram oram sociorum praeteruecti in Bargylitico sinu escensionem ad Iasum fecerunt. urbem regium tenebat praesidium; agrum circa Romani hostiliter depopulati sunt. missis deinde, qui per colloquia principum et magistratum temptarent animos, postquam nihil in potestate sua responderunt esse, ad urbem oppugnandam ducit. erant Iasensium exules cum Romanis; ii frequentes Rhodios orare institerunt, ne urbem et uicinam sibi et cognatam innoxiam perire sinerent; sibi exilii nullam aliam causam esse quam fidem erga Romanos; eadem ui regionum, qua ipsi pulsi sint, teneri eos, qui in urbe maneant; omnium Iasensium unam mentem esse, ut seruitutem regiam effugerent. Rhodii moti precibus Eumene etiam rege adsumpto simul suas necessitudines commemorando, simul obsessae regio praesidio urbis casum miserando peruicerunt, ut oppugnatione abstineretur. profecti inde pacatis ceteris cum oram Asiae legerent, Loryma — portus aduersus Rhodum est — peruenerunt. ibi in principiis sermo primo inter tribunos militum secretus oritur, deinde ad aures ipsius Aemilii peruenit, abduci classem ab Epheso, ab suo bello, ut ab tergo liber relictus hostis in tot propinquas sociorum urbes omnia impune conari posset. mouere ea Aemilium; uocatosque Rhodios cum percontatus esset, [utrum]num Pataris uniuersa classis in portu stare posset, cum respondissent non posse, causam nactus omittendae rei Samum naues reduxit.

[18] Per idem tempus Seleucus Antiochi filius, cum per omne hibernorum tempus exercitum in Aeolide continuisset partim sociis ferendo opem, partim, quos in societatem perlicere non poterat, depopulandis, transire in fines regni Eumenis, dum is procul ab domo cum Romanis et Rhodiis Lyciae maritima oppugnaret, statuit. ad Elaeam primo infestis signis accessit; deinde omissa oppugnatione urbis agros hostiliter depopulatus ad caput arcemque regni Pergamum ducit oppugnandam. Attalus primo stationibus ante urbem positis et excursionibus equitum leuisque armaturae magis lacescebat quam sustinebat hostem; postremo cum per leuia certamina expertus nulla parte uirium se parem esse intra moenia se recepisset, obsideri urbs coepta est. eodem ferme tempore et Antiochus ab Apamea profectus Sardibus primum, deinde haud procul Seleuci castris ad

caput Caici amnis statua habuit cum magno exercitu mixto uariis ex gentibus. plurimum terroris in Gallorum mercede conductis quattuor milibus erat. hos paucis * admixtis ad peruastandum passim Pergamenum agrum [milites] misit. quae postquam Samum nuntiata sunt, primo Eumenes auocatus domestico bello cum classe Elaeam petit; inde, cum praesto fuissent equites peditumque expediti, praesidio eorum tutus, priusquam hostes sentirent aut mouerentur, Pergamum contendit. ibi rursus leuia per excursions proelia fieri coepta Eumene summae rei discrimen haud dubie detractante. paucos post dies Romana Rhodiaque classis, ut regi opem ferrent, Elaeam ab Samo uenerunt. quos ubi exposuisse copias Elaeae et tot classes in unum conuenisse portum Antiocho adlatum est, et sub idem tempus audiuit consulem cum exercitu iam in Macedonia esse pararique, quae ad transitum Hellesponti opus essent, tempus uenisse ratus, priusquam terra marique simul urgeretur, agendi de pace [esse], tumulum quendam aduersus Elaeam castris cepit; ibi peditum omnibus copiis relictis cum equitatu — erant autem sex milia equitum — in campos sub ipsa Elaeae moenia descendit misso caduceatore ad Aemilium, uelle se de pace agere.

[19] Aemilius Eumene a Pergamo accito adhibitis et Rhodiis consilium habuit. Rhodii haud aspernari pacem; Eumenes nec honestum dicere esse eo tempore de pace agi, nec exitum rei imponi posse: 'qui enim' inquit 'aut honeste, inclusi moenibus et obsessi, uelut leges pacis accipiemus? aut cui rata ista pax erit, quam sine consule, non ex auctoritate senatus, non iussu populi Romani pepigerimus? quaero enim pace per te facta rediturusne extemplo in Italiam sis, classem exercitumque deducturus, an expectaturus, quid de ea re consuli placeat, quid senatus censeat aut populus iubeat? restat ergo, ut maneat in Asia, et rursus in hiberna copiae reductae omisso bello exhauriant commeatibus praebendis socios, deinde, si ita uisum iis sit, penes quos potestas fuerit, instauremus nouum de integro bellum, quod possumus, si ex hoc impetu rerum nihil prolatando remittitur, ante hiemem diis uolentibus perfecisse.' haec sententia uicit, responsumque Antiocho est ante consulis aduentum de pace agi non posse. Antiochus pace nequiquam temptata, euastatis Elaeensium primum, deinde Pergamenorum agris, relicto ibi Seleuco filio, Adramytteum hostiliter itinere facto petit agrum opulentum,

quem uocant Thebes campum, carmine Homeri nobilitatum; neque alio ullo loco Asiae maior regiis militibus parta est praeda. eodem Adramytteum, ut urbi praesidio essent, nauibus circumuecti Aemilius et Eumenes uenerunt.

[20] Per eosdem forte dies Elaeam ex Achaia mille pedites cum centum equitibus, Diophane omnibus iis copiis praeposito, accesserunt, quos egressos nauibus obuiam missi ab Attalo nocte Pergamum deduxerunt. ueterani omnes et periti belli erant, et ipse dux Philopoemenis, summi tum omnium Graecorum imperatoris, discipulus. qui biduum simul ad quietem hominum equorumque et ad uisendas hostium stationes, quibus locis temporibusque accederent reciperentque sese, sumpserunt. ad radices fere collis, in quo posita urbs est, regii succedebant; ita libera ab tergo populatio erat. nullo ab urbe, ne in stationes quidem <qui> procul iacularetur, excurrente, postquam semel, compulsi metu, se moenibus incluserunt, contemptus eorum et inde negligentia apud regios oritur. non stratos, non infrenatos magna pars habebant equos; paucis ad arma et ordines relictis dilapsi ceteri sparserant se toto passim campo, pars in iuuenales lusus lasciuiamque uersi, pars uescentes sub umbra, quidam somno etiam strati. haec Diophanes ex alta urbe Pergamo contemplatus arma suos capere et ad portam praesto esse iubet; ipse Attalum adit et in animo sibi esse dixit hostium stationem temptare. aegre id permittente Attalo, quippe qui centum equitibus aduersus sescentos, mille peditibus cum quattuor milibus pugnaturum cerneret, porta egressus haud procul statione hostium, occasionem opperiens, consedit. et qui Pergami erant amentiam magis quam audaciam credere esse, et hostes paulisper in eos uersi, ut nihil moueri uiderunt, nec ipsi quicquam ex solita negligentia, insuper etiam eludentes paucitatem, mutarunt. Diophanes quietos aliquamdiu suos, uelut ad spectaculum modo eductos, continuit; postquam dilapsos ab ordinibus hostes uidit, peditibus, quantum accelerare possent, sequi iussis ipse princeps inter equites cum turma sua, quam potuit effusissimis habenis, clamore ab omni simul peditate atque equite sublato stationem hostium improuiso inuadit. non homines solum sed equi etiam territi, cum uincula abrupissent, trepidationem et tumultum inter suos fecerunt. pauci stabant impauidi equi; eos ipsos non sternere, non infrenare aut escendere facile poterant multo

maiolem quam pro numero equitum terrorem Achaeis inferentibus. pedites uero ordinati et praeparati sparsos per negligentiam et semisomnos prope adorti sunt. caedes passim fugaue per campos facta est. Diophanes secutus effusos, quoad tutum fuit, magno decore genti Achaeorum parto — spectauerant enim e moenibus Pergami non uiri modo sed feminae etiam — in praesidium urbis redit.

[21] Postero die regiae magis compositae et ordinatae stationes quingentis passibus longius ab urbe posuerunt castra, et Achaei eodem ferme tempore atque in eundem locum processerunt. per multas horas intenti utrimque uelut iam futurum impetum expectauere; postquam haud procul occasu solis redeundi in castra tempus erat, regii signis collatis abire agmine ad iter magis quam ad pugnam composito coepere. quieuit Diophanes, dum in conspectu erant; deinde eodem, quo pridie, impetu in postremum agmen incurrit, tantumque rursus pauoris ac tumultus incussit, ut, cum terga caederentur, nemo pugnandi causa restiterit; trepidantesque et uix ordinem agminis seruantes in castra compulsi sunt. haec Achaeorum audacia Seleucum ex agro Pergameno mouere castra coegit.

Antiochus postquam Romanos ad tuendum Adramytteum uenisse audiuit, ea quidem urbe abstinuit; depopulatus agros Peraeam inde, coloniam Mitylenaeorum, expugnauit. Cotton et Corylenus et Aphrodisias et Prinne primo impetu captae sunt. inde per Thyatiram Sardis rediit. Seleucus in ora maritima permanens aliis terrori erat, aliis praesidio. classis Romana cum Eumene Rhodiisque Mitylenen primo, inde retro, unde profecta erat, Elaeam redit. inde Phocaeam petentes ad insulam, quam Bacchium uocant — imminet urbi Phocaeensium — , appulerunt et, quibus ante abstinerant templis signisque — egregie autem exornata insula erat — , cum hostiliter diripuissent, ad ipsam urbem transmiserunt. eam diuisis inter se partibus cum oppugnarent et uideretur sine operibus, armis scalisque capi posse, missum ab Antiocho praesidium trium milium armatorum cum intrasset urbem, extemplo oppugnatione ommissa classis ad insulam se recepit nihil aliud quam depopulato circa urbem hostium agro.

[22] Inde placuit Eumenen domum dimitti et praeparare consuli atque exercitui, quae ad transitum Hellesponti opus essent, Romanam Rhodiamque classem redire Samum atque ibi in statione esse, ne

Polyxenidas ab Epheso moueret. rex Elaeam, Romani ac Rhodii Samum redierunt. ibi M. Aemilius frater praetoris decessit. Rhodii celebratis exsequiis aduersus classem, quam fama erat ex Syria uenire, tredecim suis nauibus et una Coa quinqueremi, altera Cnidia Rhodum, ut ibi in statione essent, profecti sunt. biduo ante, quam Eudamus cum classe ab Samo ueniret, tredecim ab Rhodo naues cum Pamphilida praefecto aduersus eandem Syriacam classem missae adsumptis quattuor nauibus, quae Cariae praesidio erant, oppugnantibus regiis Daedala et quaedam alia Peraeae castella obsidione exemerunt. Eudamum confestim exire placuit. additae huic quoque sunt ad eam classem, quam habebat, sex apertae naues. profectus cum, quantum accelerare poterat, maturasset, ad portum, quem Megisten uocant, praegressos consequitur. inde uno agmine Phaselidem cum uenissent, optimum uisum est ibi hostem opperiri.

[23] In confinio Lyciae et Pamphylicae Phaselis est; prominet penitus in altum conspiciturque prima terrarum Rhodum a Cilicia petentibus et procul nauium praebet prospectum. eo maxime, ut in obuio classi hostium essent, electus locus est; ceterum, quod non prouiderunt, et loco graui et tempore anni — medium enim aestatis erat —, ad hoc insolito odore ingruere morbi uulgo, maxime in remiges, coeperunt. cuius pestilentiae metu profecti cum praeterueherentur Pamphylium sinum, ad Eurymedontem amnem appulsa classe audiunt ab Aspendiis ad Sidam hostis esse. tardius nauigauerant regii aduerso tempore etesiarum, quod uelut statum fauoniis uentis est. Rhodiorum duae et triginta quadriremes et quattuor triremes fuere; regia classis septem et triginta maioris formae nauium erat; in quibus tres hepteres, quattuor hexeres habebat. praeter has decem triremes erant. et hi adesse hostis ex specula quadam cognouerunt. utraque classis postero die luce prima, tamquam eo die pugnatura, e portu mouit; et postquam superauere Rhodii promunturium, quod ab Sida prominet in altum, extemplo et conspecti ab hostibus sunt et ipsi eos uiderunt. ab regiis sinistro cornu, quod ab alto obiectum erat, Hannibal, dextro Apollonius, purpuratorum unus, praeerat; et iam in frontem directas habebant naues. Rhodii longo agmine ueniebant; prima praetoria nauis Eudami erat; cogeabat agmen Chariclitus; Pamphilidas mediae classi praeerat. Eudamus postquam hostium aciem instructam et paratam ad

concurrendum uidit, et ipse in altum euehitur, et deinceps quae sequebantur seruantes ordinem in frontem derigere iubet. ea res primo tumultum praebuit; nam nec sic in altum euectus erat, ut ordo omnium nauium ad terram explicari posset, et festinans ipse praepropere cum quinque solis nauibus Hannibali occurrit; ceteri quia in frontem derigere iussi erant, non sequebantur. extremo agmini loci nihil ad terram relictum erat; trepidantibusque iis inter se iam in dextro cornu aduersus Hannibalem pugnabatur.

[24] Sed momento temporis et nauium uirtus et usus maritimae rei terrorem omnem Rhodiis dempsit. nam et in altum celeriter euectae naues locum post se quaeque uenienti ad terram dedere, et si qua concurrerat rostro cum hostium naue, aut proram lacerabat, aut remos detergebat, aut libero inter ordines discursu praeteruecta in puppim impetum dabat. maxime exterruit heptemis regia a multo minore Rhodia naue uno ictu demersa; itaque iam haud dubie dextrum cornu hostium in fugam inclinabat. Eudamum in alto multitudine nauium maxime Hannibal, ceteris omnibus longe praestantem, urgebat, et circumuenisset, ni signo sublato ex praetoria naue, quo dispersam classem in unum colligi mos erat, omnes quae in dextro cornu uicerant naues ad opem ferendam suis concurrissent. tum et Hannibal quaeque circa eum naues erant capessunt fugam; nec insequi Rhodii ex magna parte aegris et ob id celerius fessis remigibus potuerunt. cum in alto, ubi substiterant, cibo reficerent uires, contemplatus Eudamus hostis claudas mutilatasque naues apertis nauibus remulco trahentis, uiginti paulo amplius integras abscedentis, e turri praetoriae nauis silentio facto ‘exsurgite’ inquit ‘et egregium spectaculum capessite oculis.’ consurrexere omnes, contemplatique trepidationem fugamque hostium [ac] prope una uoce omnes, ut sequerentur, exclamauerunt. ipsius Eudami multis ictibus uulnerata nauis erat; Pamphilidam et Chariclitum insequi, quoad putarent tutum, iussit. aliquamdiu secuti sunt; postquam terrae appropinquabat Hannibal, ueriti, ne includerentur uento in hostium ora, ad Eudamum reuerti heptem captam, quae primo concursu icta erat, aegre Phaselidem pertraxerunt. inde Rhodum non tam uictoria laeti, quam alius alium accusantes, quod, cum potuisset, non omnis submersa aut capta classis hostium foret, redierunt. Hannibal, ictus uno proelio aduerso, ne tum quidem praeteruehi Lyciam audebat,

cum coniungi ueteri regiae classi quam primum cuperet; et ne id ei facere liberum esset, Rhodii Chariclitum cum uiginti nauibus rostratis ad Patara et Megisten portum miserunt. Eudamum cum septem nauibus maximis ex ea classe, cui praefuerat, Samum redire ad Romanos iusserunt, ut, quantum consilio, quantum auctoritate ualeret, compelleret Romanos ad Patara expugnanda.

[25] Magnam Romanis laetitiam prius uictoriae nuntius, deinde aduentus attulit Rhodiorum; et apparebat, si Rhodiis ea cura dempta fuisset, uacuos eos tuta eius regionis maria praestatueros. sed profectio Antiochi ab Sardibus <metusque inde>, ne opprimerentur maritimae urbes, abscedere custodia Ioniae atque Aeolidis prohibuerunt; Pamphilidam cum quattuor nauibus tectis ad eam classem, quae circa Patara erat, miserunt. Antiochus non ciuitatum modo, quae circa se erant, contrahebat praesidia, sed ad Prusiam Bithyniae regem legatos miserat litterasque, quibus transitum in Asiam Romanorum increpabat: uenire eos ad omnia regna tollenda, ut nullum usquam [orbis] terrarum nisi Romanum imperium esset; Philippum, Nabim expugnatos; se tertium peti; ut quisque proximus ab oppresso sit, per omnis uelut continens incendium peruasurum; ab se gradum in Bithyniam fore, quando Eumenes in uoluntariam seruitutem concessisset. his motum Prusiam litterae Scipionis consulis, sed magis fratris eius Africani, ab suspicione tali auerterunt, qui praeter consuetudinem perpetuam populi Romani augendi omni honore regum sociorum maiestatem, domesticis ipse exemplis Prusiam ad promerendam amicitiam suam compulit: regulos se acceptos in fidem in Hispania reges reliquisse; Masinissam non in patrio modo locasse regno, sed in Syphacis, a quo ante expulsus fuisset, regnum imposuisse; et esse eum non Africae modo regum longe opulentissimum, sed toto in orbe terrarum cuius regum uel maiestate uel uiribus parem. Philippum et Nabim, hostis et bello superatos ab T. Quinctio, tamen in regno relictos. Philippo quidem anno priore etiam stipendium remissum et filium obsidem redditum; et quasdam ciuitates extra Macedoniam patientibus Romanis imperatoribus recepissee eum. in eadem dignitate et Nabim futurum fuisse, nisi eum suus primum furor, deinde fraus Aetolorum absumpsisset. maxime confirmatus est animus regis, postquam ad eum C. Liuius, qui praetor ante classi praefuerat, legatus ab Roma uenit et edocuit, quanto et

spes uictoriae certior Romanis quam Antiocho et amicitia sanctorum firmiorque apud Romanos futura esset.

[26] Antiochus postquam a spe societatis Prusiae decidit, Ephesum ab Sardibus est profectus ad classem, quae per aliquot menses instructa ac parata fuerat, uisendam, magis quia terrestribus copiis exercitum Romanum et duos Scipiones imperatores uidebat sustineri non posse, quam quod res naualis ipsa per se aut temptata sibi umquam feliciter aut tunc magnae et certae fiduciae esset. erat tamen momentum in praesentia spei, quod et magnam partem Rhodiae classis circa Patara esse et Eumenen regem cum omnibus nauibus suis consuli obuiam in Hellespontum profectum audierat; aliquid etiam inflabat animos classis Rhodia ad Samum per occasionem fraude praeparatam absumpta. his fretus, Polyxenida cum classe ad temptandam omni modo certaminis fortunam misso, ipse copias ad Notium ducit. id oppidum Colophonium, mari imminens, abest a uetere Colophone duo ferme milia passuum. et ipsam urbem suae potestatis esse uolebat, adeo propinquam Epheso, ut nihil terra mariue ageret, quod non subiectum oculis Colophoniorum ac per eos notum extemplo Romanis esset, et hos audita obsidione non dubitabat ad opem sociae urbi ferendam classem ab Samo moturos; eam occasionem Polyxenidae ad rem gerendam fore. igitur operibus oppugnare urbem adgressus, ad mare partibus duabus pariter munitionibus deductis, utrimque uineas et aggerem muro iniunxit et testudinibus arietes admouit. quibus territi malis Colophonii oratores Samum ad L. Aemilium, fidem praetoris populique Romani implorantes, miserunt. Aemilium et Sami segnis diu mora offendebat, nihil minus opinantem quam Polyxenidam, bis nequiquam ab se prouocatum, potestatem pugnae facturum esse, et turpe existimabat Eumenis classem adiuuare consulem ad traiciendas in Asiam legiones, se Colophonis obsessae auxilio, incertam finem habituro, alligari. Eudamus Rhodius, qui et tenuerat eum Sami cupientem proficisci in Hellespontum, cunctique instare et [dicere]: quanto satius esse uel socios obsidione eximere uel uictam iam semel classem iterum uincere et totam maris possessionem <hosti> eripere, quam desertis sociis, tradita Antiocho Asia terra marique in Hellespontum, ubi satis esset Eumenis classis, ab sua parte belli discedere.

[27] Profecti ab Samo ad petendos commeatus consumptis iam omnibus Chium parabant traicere; id erat horreum Romanis, eoque omnes ex Italia missae onerariae derigebant cursum. circumuecti ab urbe ad auersa insulae — obiecta aquiloni ad Chium et Erythras sunt — cum pararent traicere, litteris certior fit praetor frumenti uim magnam Chium ex Italia uenisse, uinum portantes naues tempestatibus retentas esse; simul adlatum est Teios regiae classi commeatus benigne praeuisse, quinque milia uasorum uini esse pollicitos. Teum ex medio cursu classem repente auertit, aut uolentibus iis usus commeatu parato hostibus, aut ipsos pro hostibus habiturus. cum derexissent ad terram proras, quindecim ferme eis naues circa Myonnesum apparuerunt, quas primo ex classe regia praetor esse ratus institit sequi; apparuit deinde piraticos celoces et lembos esse. Chiorum maritimam oram depopulati cum omnis generis praeda reuertentes postquam uidere ex alto classem, in fugam uerterunt. et celeritate superabant leuioribus et ad id fabrefactis nauigiis, et propiores terrae erant; itaque priusquam appropinquaret classis Myonnesum perfugerunt, unde se e portu ratus abstracturum naues, ignarus loci sequebatur praetor. Myonnesus promunturium inter Teum Samumque est. ipse collis est in modum metae in acutum cacumen a fundo satis lato fastigatus; a continenti artae semitae aditum habet, a mari exesae fluctibus rupes claudunt, ita ut quibusdam locis superpendentia saxa plus in altum, quam quae in statione sunt naues, promineant. circa ea appropinquare non ausae naues, ne sub ictu superstantium rupibus piratarum essent, diem triuere. tandem sub noctem uano incepto cum abstitissent, Teum postero die accessere et in portu, qui ab tergo urbis est — Geraesticum ipsi appellant — , nauibus constitutis praetor ad depopulandum circa urbem agrum emisit milites.

[28] Teii, cum in oculis populatio esset, oratores cum infulis et uelamentis ad Romanum miserunt. quibus purgantibus ciuitatem omnis facti dictique hostilis aduersus Romanos, et iuuisse eos commeatu classem hostium arguit, et quantum uini Polyxenidae promisissent; quae si eadem Romanae classi darent, reuocaturum se a populatione militem; si minus, pro hostibus eos habiturus. hoc tam triste responsum cum rettulissent legati, uocatur in contionem a magistratibus populus, ut, quid agerent, consultarent. eo forte die

Polyxenidas cum regia classe a Colophone profectus postquam mouisse a Samo Romanos audiuit et ad Myonnesum piratas persecutos Teiorum agrum depopulari, naues in Geraestico portu stare, ipse aduersus Myonnesum in insula — Macrin nautici uocant — ancoras portu occulto iecit. inde ex propinquo explorans, quid hostes agerent, primo in magna spe fuit, quem ad modum Rhodiam classem ad Samum circumsessis ad exitum faucibus portus expugnasset, sic et Romanam expugnaturum. nec est dissimilis natura loci: promunturiis coeuntibus inter se ita clauditur portus, ut uix duae simul inde naues possint exire. [inde] nocte occupare fauces Polyxenidas in animo habebat, et denis nauibus ad promunturia stantibus, quae ab utroque cornu in latera exeuntium nauium pugnarent, ex cetera classe, sicut ad Panhormum fecerat, armatis in littora expositis terra marique simul hostis opprimere. quod non uanum ei consilium fuisset, ni, cum Teii facturos se imperata promisissent, ad accipiendos commeatus aptius uisum esset Romanis in eum portum, qui ante urbem est, classem transire. dicitur et Eudamus Rhodius uitium alterius portus ostendisse, cum forte duae naues in arto ostio implicitos remos fregissent; et inter alia id quoque mouit praetorem, ut traduceret classem, quod ab terra periculum erat, haud procul inde Antiocho statua habente.

[29] Traducta classe ad urbem ignaris omnibus egressi milites nautaeque sunt ad commeatus et uinum maxime diuidendum in naues, cum medio forte diei agrestis quidam ad praetorem adductus nuntiat alterum iam diem classem stare ad insulam Macrin, et paulo ante uisas quasdam moueri tamquam ad profectionem naues. re subita percussus praetor tubicines canere iubet, ut, si qui per agros palati essent, redirent; tribunos in urbem mittit ad cogendos milites nautasque in naues. haud secus quam in repentino incendio aut capta urbe trepidatur, aliis in urbem currentibus ad suos reuocandos, aliis ex urbe naues cursu repetentibus, incertisque clamoribus, quibus ipsis tubae obstreperent, turbatis imperiis tandem concursum ad naues est. uix suas quisque noscere aut adire prae tumultu poterat; trepidatumque cum periculo et in mari et in terra foret, ni partibus diuisis Aemilius cum praetoria naue primum e portu in altum euectus, excipiens insequentis, suo quamque ordine in frontem instruxisset, Eudamus Rhodiaque classis substitissent ad terram, ut et

sine trepidatione conscenderent et, ut quaeque parata esset, exiret naus. ita et explicuere ordinem primae in conspectu praetoris, et coactum agmen ab Rhodiis est, instructaque acies, uelut cernerent regiones, in altum processit. inter Myonnesum et Corycum promunturium erant, cum hostem conspexere. et regia classis, binis in ordinem nauibus longo agmine ueniens, et ipsa aciem aduersam explicuit laeua tantum euecta cornu, ut amplecti et circuire dextrum cornu Romanorum posset. quod ubi Eudamus, qui cogeat agmen, uidit, non posse aequare ordinem Romanos et tantum non iam circui ab dextro cornu, concitat naues — et erant Rhodiae longe omnium celerrimae tota classe —, aequatoque cornu praetoriae nauis, in qua Polyxenidas erat, suam obiecit.

[30] Iam totis classibus simul ab omni parte pugna conserta erat. ab Romanis octoginta naues pugnabant, ex quibus Rhodiae duae et uiginti erant; hostium classis undenonaginta nauium fuit; maximae formae naues tres hexeres habebat, duas hepteres. robore nauium et uirtute militum Romani longe praestabant, Rhodiae naues agilitate et arte gubernatorum et scientia remigum; maximo tamen terrori hostibus fuere, quae ignes prae se portabant, et quod unum iis ad Panhormum circumuentis saluti fuerat, id tum maximum momentum ad uictoriam fuit. nam metu ignis aduersi regiae naues, ne prorae concurrerent, cum declinassent, neque ipsae ferire rostro hostem poterant, et obliquas se ipsae ad ictus praebebant, et si qua concurrerat, obruebatur infuso igni, magisque ad incendium quam ad proelium trepidabant. plurimum tamen, quae solet, militum uirtus in bello ualuit. mediam namque aciem hostium Romani cum rupissent, circumuecti ab tergo pugnantibus aduersus Rhodios regiis sese obiecere; momentoque temporis et media acies Antiochi et laeua cornu circumuentae naues mergebantur. dextera pars integra sociorum magis clade quam suo periculo terrebantur; ceterum, postquam alias circumuentas, praetoriam nauem Polyxenidae relictis sociis uela dantem uidere, sublatis raptim dolonibus — et erat secundus petentibus Ephesum uentus — capessunt fugam quadraginta duabus nauibus in ea pugna amissis, quarum decem tres captae in potestatem hostium uenerunt, ceterae incensae aut demersae. Romanorum duae naues fractae sunt, uulneratae aliquot; Rhodia una capta memorabili casu. nam cum rostro percussisset

Sidoniam nauem, ancora, ictu ipso excussa e naue sua, unco dente, uelut ferrea manu iniecta, adligauit alterius proram; inde tumultu iniecto cum diuellere se ab hoste cupientes inhiherent Rhodii, tractum ancorale et implicitum remis latus alterum deterisit; debilitatam ea ipsa, quae icta cohaeserat nauis cepit. hoc maxime modo ad Myonnesum nauali proelio pugnatum est.

[31] Quo territus Antiochus, quia possessione maris pulsus longinqua tueri diffidebat se posse, praesidium ab Lysimachia, ne opprimeretur ibi ab Romanis, deduci prauo, ut res ipsa postea docuit, consilio iussit. non enim tueri solum Lysimachiam a primo impetu Romanorum facile erat, sed obsidionem etiam tota hieme tolerare et obsidentis quoque ad ultimam inopiam adducere extrahendo tempus et interim spem pacis per occasionem temptare. nec Lysimachiam tantum hostibus tradidit post aduersam naualem pugnam, sed etiam Colophonis obsidione abscessit et Sardis recepit se; atque inde in Cappadociam ad Ariarathen, qui auxilia accerserent, et quocumque alio poterat, ad copias contrahendas, in unum iam consilium, ut acie dimicaret, intentus misit.

Regillus Aemilius post uictoriam naualem profectus Ephesum, directis ante portum nauibus, cum confessionem ultimam concessi maris hosti expressisset, Chium, quo ante nauale proelium cursum ab Samo intenderat, nauigat. ibi naues in proelio quassatas cum refecisset, L. Aemilium Scaurum cum triginta nauibus Hellespontum ad exercitum traiciendum misit, Rhodios parte praedae et spoliis naualibus decoratos domum redire iubet. Rhodii impigre praeuertere ad traiciendas copias consulis [iere]; atque eo quoque functi officio, tum demum Rhodum rediere. classis Romana ab Chio Phocaeam traiecit. in sinu maris intimo posita haec urbs est, oblonga forma; duum milium et quingentorum passuum spatium murus amplectitur, coit deinde ex utraque parte in artiores uelut cuneum; Lamptera ipsi appellant. mille et ducentos passus ibi latitudo patet; inde lingua in altum mille passuum excurrens medium fere sinum uelut nota distinguit; ubi cohaeret faucibus angustis, duos in utramque regionem uersos portus tutissimos habet. qui in meridiem uergit, Naustathmon ab re appellant, quia ingentem uim nauium capit; alter prope ipsum Lamptera est.

[32] Hos portus tutissimos cum occupasset Romana classis,

priusquam aut scalis aut operibus moenia adgrederetur, mittendos censuit praetor, qui principum magistratuumque animos temptarent. postquam obstinatos uidit, duobus simul locis oppugnare est adortus. altera pars infrequens aedificiis erat; templa deum aliquantum tenebant loci; ea prius ariete admoto quaterne muros turresque coepit; dein cum eo multitudo occurreret ad defendendum, altera quoque parte admotus aries; et iam utrimque sternebantur muri. ad quorum casum cum impetum Romani milites per ipsam stragem ruinarum facerent, alii scalis etiam ascensum in muros temptarent, adeo obstinate resistere oppidani, ut facile appareret plus in armis et uirtute quam in moenibus auxilii esse. coactus ergo periculo militum praetor receptui cani iussit, ne obiceret incautos furentibus desperatione ac rabie. dirempto proelio, ne tum quidem ad quietem uersi, sed undique omnes ad munienda et obmolienda, quae ruinis strata erant, concurrerunt. huic operi intentis superuenit Q. Antonius a praetore missus, qui castigata pertinacia eorum maiorem curam Romanis quam illis ostenderet esse, ne in perniciem urbis pugnaretur; si absistere furore uellent, potestatem iis dari eadem condicione, qua prius C. Liuii in fidem uenissent, se tradendi. haec cum audissent, quinque dierum spatio ad deliberandum sumpto, temptata interim spe auxilii ab Antiocho, postquam legati missi ad regem nihil in eo praesidii esse retulerant, tum portas aperuerunt, pacti, ne quid hostile paterentur. cum signa in urbem inferrentur et pronuntiasset praetor parci se deditis uelle, clamor undique est sublatus, indignum facinus esse, Phocaeensis, numquam fidos socios, semper infestos hostis, impune eludere. ab hac uoce uelut signo a praetore dato ad diripiendam urbem passim discurrunt. Aemilius primo resistere et reuocare dicendo captas, non deditas diripi urbes, et in iis tamen imperatoris, non militum arbitrium esse. postquam ira et auaritia imperio potentiora erant, praeconibus per urbem missis liberos omnes in forum ad se conuenire iubet, ne uiolarentur; et in omnibus, quae ipsius potestatis fuerunt, fides constitit praetoris: urbem agrosque et suas leges iis restituit; et, quia hiems iam appetebat, Phocaeae portus ad hibernandum classi delegit.

[33] Per idem fere tempus consuli, transgresso Aeniorum Maronitarumque finis, nuntiatur uictam regiam classem ad Myonnesum relictamque a praesidio Lysimachiam esse. id multo

quam de nauali uictoria laetius fuit, utique postquam eo uenerunt, refertaque urbs omnium rerum commeatibus uelut in aduentum exercitus praeparatis eos excepit, ubi inopiam ultimam laboremque in obsidenda urbe proposuerant sibi. paucos dies statua habuere, impedimenta aegrique ut consequerentur, qui passim per omnia Thraciae castella, fessi morbis ac longitudine uiae, relictis erant. receptis omnibus ingressi rursus iter per Chersonesum Hellespontum perueniunt. ubi omnibus cura regis Eumenis ad traiciendum praeparatis uelut in pacata littora nullo prohibente, aliis alio delatis nauibus, sine tumultu traiecere. ea uero res Romanis auxit animos, concessum sibi transitum cernentibus in Asiam, quam rem magni certaminis futuram crediderant. statua deinde ad Hellespontum aliquamdiu habuerunt, quia dies forte, quibus ancilia mouentur, religiosi ad iter inciderant. idem dies P. Scipionem propiore etiam religione, quia salius erat, diiunxerant ab exercitu; causaque et is ipse morae erat, dum consequeretur.

[34] Per eos forte dies legatus ab Antiocho in castra uenerat Byzantius Heraclides, de pace adferens mandata; quam impetrabilem fore magnam ei spem attulit mora et cunctatio Romanorum, quos, simul Asiam attigissent, effuso agmine ad castra regia ituros crediderat. statuit tamen non prius consulem adire quam P. Scipionem, et ita mandatum ab rege erat. in eo maximam spem habebat, praeterquam quod et magnitudo animi et satietas gloriae placabilem eum maxime faciebat, notumque erat gentibus, qui uictor ille in Hispania, qui deinde in Africa fuisset, etiam quod filius eius captus in potestate regis erat. is ubi et quando et quo casu captus sit, sicut pleraque alia, parum inter auctores constat. alii principio belli, a Chalcide Oreum petentem, circumuentum ab regiis nauibus tradunt; alii, postquam transitum in Asiam est, cum turma Fregellana missum exploratum ad regia castra, effuso obuiam equitatu cum reciperet sese, in eo tumultu delapsus ex equo cum duobus equitibus oppressum, ita ad regem deductum esse. illud satis constat, si pax cum populo Romano maneret hospitiumque priuatim regi cum Scipionibus esset, neque liberalius neque benignius haberi colique adolescentem, quam cultus est, potuisse. ob haec cum aduentum P. Scipionis legatus expectasset, ubi is uenit, consulem adit petitque, ut mandata audiret.

[35] Aduocato frequenti consilio legati uerba sunt audita. is, multis ante legationibus ultro citroque nequiquam de pace missis, eam ipsam fiduciam impetrandi sibi esse dixit, quod priores legati nihil impetrassent: Zmyrnam enim et Lampsacum et Alexandriam Troadem et Lysimachiam in Europa iactatas in illis disceptationibus esse; quarum Lysimachia iam cessisse regem, ne quid habere eum in Europa dicerent; eas quae in Asia sint ciuitates tradere paratum esse, et si quas alias Romani, quod suarum partium fuerint, uindicare ab imperio regio uelint; impensae quoque in bellum factae partem dimidiam regem praestaturum populo Romano. hae condiciones erant pacis; reliqua oratio fuit, ut memores rerum humanarum et suae fortunae moderarentur et alienam ne urgerent. finirent Europa imperium, id quoque immensum esse; et parari singula acquirendo facilius potuisse quam uniuersa teneri posse; quod si Asiae quoque partem aliquam abstrahere uelint, dummodo non dubiis regionibus finiant, uinci suam temperantiam Romana cupiditate pacis et concordiae causa regem passurum. ea, quae legato magna ad pacem impetrandam uidebantur, parua Romanis uisa: nam et impensam, quae in bellum facta esset, omnem praestare regem aequum censebant, cuius culpa bellum excitatum esset, et non Ionia modo atque Aeolide deduci debere regia praesidia, sed sicut Graecia omnis liberata esset, ita, quae in Asia sint, omnes liberari urbes; id aliter fieri non posse, quam ut cis Taurum montem possessione Asiae Antiochus cedat.

[36] Legatus postquam nihil aequi in consilio impetrare se censebat, priuatim — sic enim imperatum erat — P. Scipionis temptare animum est conatus. omnium primum filium ei sine pretio redditurum regem dixit; deinde ignarus et animi Scipionis et moris Romani, auri pondus ingens <est> pollicitus, et nomine tantum regio excepto societatem omnis regni, si per eum pacem impetrasset. ad ea Scipio: ‘quod Romanos omnis, quod me, ad quem missus es, ignoras, minus miror, cum te fortunam eius, a quo uenis, ignorare cernam. Lysimachia tenenda erat, ne Chersonesum intraremus, aut ad Hellespontum obsistendum, ne in Asiam traiceremus, si pacem tamquam ab sollicitis de belli euentu petituri eratis; concesso uero in Asiam transitu et non solum frenis, sed etiam iugo accepto quae disceptatio ex aequo, cum imperium patiendum sit, relicta est? ego

ex munificentia regia maximum donum filium habebō; aliis, deos precor, ne umquam fortuna egeat mea; animus certe non egebit. pro tanto in me munere gratum me in se esse sentiet, si priuatam gratiam pro priuato beneficio desiderabit; publice nec habebō quicquam ab illo nec dabo. quod in praesentia dare possim, fidele consilium est. abi, nuntia meis uerbis, bello absistat, pacis condicionem nullam recuset.’ nihil ea mouerunt regem, tutam fore belli aleam ratum, quando perinde ac uicto iam sibi leges dicerentur. omissa igitur in praesentia mentione pacis totam curam in belli apparatus intendit.

[37] Consul omnibus praeparatis ad proposita exsequenda cum ex statuiis mouisset, Dardanum primum, deinde Rhoeteum utraque ciuitate obuiam effusa uenit. inde Ilium processit, castrisque in campo, qui est subiectus moenibus, positus in urbem arcemque cum escendisset, sacrificauit Mineruae praesidi arcis et Iliensibus in omni rerum uerborumque honore ab se oriundos Romanos praeferentibus et Romanis laetis origine sua. inde profecti sextis castris ad caput Caici amnis peruenerunt. eo et Eumenes rex, primo conatus ab Hellesponto reducere classem in hiberna Elaeam, aduersis deinde uentis cum aliquot diebus superare Lecton promunturium non potuisset, in terram egressus, ne deesset principiis rerum, qua proximum fuit, in castra Romana cum parua manu contendit. ex castris Pergamum remissus ad commeatus expediendos, tradito frumento quibus iusserat consul, in eadem statua rediit. inde plurium dierum praeparatis cibariis consilium erat ire ad hostem, priusquam hiems opprimeret.

Regia castra circa Thyatiram erant. ubi cum audisset Antiochus P. Scipionem aegrum Elaeam delatum, legatos, qui filium ad eum reducerent, misit. non animo solum patrio gratum munus, sed corpori quoque salubre gaudium fuit; satiatusque tandem complexu filii ‘renuntiate’ inquit ‘gratias regi me agere, referre aliam gratiam nunc non posse, quam ut suadeam, ne ante in aciem descendat, quam in castra me redisse audierit.’ quamquam sexaginta milia peditum, plus duodecim milia equitum animos interdum ad spem certaminis faciebant, motus tamen Antiochus tanti auctoritate uiri, in quo ad incertos belli euentus omnis fortunae posuerat subsidia, recepit se et transgressus Phrygium amnem circa Magnesiam, quae ad Sipylum est, posuit castra; et ne, si extrahere tempus uellet, munimenta

Romani temptarent, fossam sex cubita altam, duodecim latam cum duxisset, extra duplex uallum fossae circumdedit, interiore labro murum cum turribus crebris obiecit, unde facile arceri transitu fossae hostis posset.

[38] Consul circa Thyatiram esse regem ratus, continuis itineribus quinto die ad Hyrcanum campum descendit. inde cum profectum audisset, secutus uestigia citra Phrygium amnem, quattuor milia ab hoste posuit castra. eo mille ferme equites — maxima pars Gallograeci erant, et Dahae quidam aliarumque gentium sagittarii equites intermixti — tumultuose amni traiecto in stationes impetum fecerunt. primo turbauerunt incompositos; dein, cum longius certamen fieret <et> Romanorum ex propinquis castris facili subsidio cresceret numerus, regii fessi iam et pluris non sustinentes recipere se conati circa ripam amnis, priusquam flumen ingrederentur, ab instantibus tergo aliquot interfecti sunt. biduum deinde silentium fuit neutris transgredientibus amnem; tertio post die Romani simul omnes transgressi sunt et duo milia fere et quingentos passus ab hoste posuerunt castra. metantibus et muniendo occupatis tria milia delecta equitum peditumque regionum magno terrore ac tumultu aduenere; aliquanto pauciores in statione erant; hi tamen per se, nullo <a> munimento castrorum milite auocato, et primo aequum proelium sustinuerunt, et crescente certamine pepulerunt hostis centum ex iis occisis, centum ferme captis. per quadriduum insequens instructae utrimque acies pro uallo stetere; quinto die Romani processere in medium campi; Antiochus nihil promouit signa, ita ut extremi minus mille pedes a uallo abessent.

[39] Consul postquam detractari certamen uidit, postero die in consilium aduocauit, quid sibi faciendum esset, si Antiochus pugnandi copiam non faceret? instare hiemem; aut sub pellibus habendos milites fore, aut, si concedere in hiberna uellet, differendum esse in aestatem bellum. nullum umquam hostem Romani aeque contempserunt. conclamatum undique est, duceret extemplo et uteretur ardore militum, qui, tamquam non pugnandum cum tot milibus hostium, sed par numerus pecorum trucidandus esset, per fossas, per uallum castra inuadere parati erant, si in proelium hostis non exiret. Cn. Domitius ad explorandum iter, et qua parte adiri hostium uallum posset, missus, postquam omnia certa

rettulit, postero die propius admoueri castra placuit; tertio signa in medium campi prolata et instrui acies coepta est. nec Antiochus ultra tergiuersandum ratus, ne et suorum animos minueret detractando certamen et hostium spem augeret, et ipse copias eduxit, tantum progressus a castris, ut dimicaturum appareret.

Romana acies unius prope formae fuit et hominum et armorum genere. duae legiones Romanae, duae socium ac Latini nominis erant; quina milia et quadringenos singulae habebant. Romani mediam aciem, cornua Latini tenuerunt; hastatorum prima signa, dein principum erant, triarii postremos claudebant. extra hanc uelut iustam aciem a parte dextra consul Achaeorum caetratis immixtos auxiliares Eumenis, tria milia ferme peditum, aequata fronte instruxit; ultra eos equitum minus tria milia opposuit, ex quibus Eumenis octingenti, reliquus omnis Romanus equitatus erat; extremos Trallis et Cretensis — quingentorum utrique numerum explebant — statuit. laeuum cornu non egere uidebatur obiectis talibus auxiliis, quia flumen ab ea parte ripaeque deruptae claudebant; quattuor tamen inde turmae equitum oppositae. haec summa copiarum erat Romanis, et duo milia mixtorum Macedonum Thracumque, qui uoluntate secuti erant; hi praesidio castris relictis sunt. XVIelephantos post triarios in subsidio locauerunt; nam praeterquam quod multitudinem regionum elephantorum — erant autem quattuor et quinquaginta — sustinere non uidebantur posse, ne pari quidem numero Indicis Africi resistunt, siue quia magnitudine — longe enim illi praestant — siue robore animorum uincuntur.

[40] Regia acies uaria magis multis gentibus, dissimilitudine armorum auxiliorumque erat. decem et sex milia peditum more Macedonum armati fuere, qui phalangitae appellabantur. haec media acies fuit, in fronte in decem partes diuisa; partes eas interpositis binis elephantis distinguebat; a fronte introrsus in duos et triginta ordines armatorum acies patebat. hoc et roboris in regiis copiis erat, et perinde cum alia specie tum eminentibus tantum inter armatos elephantis magnum terrorem praebebat. ingentes ipsi erant; addebant speciem frontalia et cristae et tergo impositae turres turribusque superstantes praeter rectorem quaterni armati. ad latus dextrum phalangitarum mille et quingentos Gallograecorum pedites opposuit. his tria milia equitum loricorum — cataphractus ipsi appellant —

adiunxit. addita his ala mille ferme equitum; agema eam uocabant; Medi erant, lecti uiri, et eiusdem regionis mixti multarum gentium equites. continens his grex sedecim elephantorum est oppositus in subsidiis. ab eadem parte, paulum producto cornu, regia cohors erat; argyraspides a genere armorum appellabantur; Dahae deinde, equites sagittarii, mille et ducenti; tum leuis armatura, trium milium, pari ferme numero, pars Cretenses, pars Tralles; duo milia et quingenti Mysi sagittarii his adiuncti erant. extremum cornu claudebant quattuor milia, mixti Cyrtii funditores et Elymaei sagittarii. ab laeuo cornu phalangitis adiuncti erant Gallograeci pedites mille et quingenti et similiter his armati duo milia Cappadocum — ab Ariarathe missi erant regi — ; inde auxiliares mixti omnium generum, duo milia septingenti, et tria milia cataphractorum equitum et mille alii equites, regia ala leuioribus tegumentis suis equorumque, alio haud dissimili habitu; Syri plerique erant Phrygibus et Lydis immixti. ante hunc equitatum falcatae quadrigae et cameli, quos appellant dromadas. his insidebant Arabes sagittarii, gladios tenuis habentes longos quaterna cubita, ut ex tanta altitudine contingere hostem possent. inde alia multitudo, par ei, quae in dextro cornu erat: primi Tarentini, deinde Gallograecorum equitum duo milia et quingenti, inde Neocretes mille et eodem armatu Cares et Cilices mille et quingenti et totidem Tralles et quattuor milia caetratorum: Pisidae erant et Pamphylii et Lycii; tum Cyrtiorum et Elymaeorum paria in dextro cornu locatis auxilia, et sedecim elephantum modico interuallo distantes.

[41] Rex ipse in dextro cornu erat; Seleucum filium et Antipatrum fratris filium in laeuo praeposuit; media acies tribus permissa, Minnioni et Zeuxidi et Philippo, magistro elephantorum. nebula matutina, crescente die leuata in nubes, caliginem dedit; umor inde ab austro uelut * perfudit omnia; quae nihil admodum Romanis, eadem perincommoda regiis erant; nam et obscuritas lucis in acie modica Romanis non adimebat in omnis partes conspectum et umor toto fere graui armatu nihil gladios aut pila hebetabat; regii tam lata acie ne ex medio quidem cornua sua conspicere poterant, nedum extremi inter se conspicerentur, et umor arcus fundasque et iaculorum amenta emollierat. falcatae quoque quadrigae, quibus se perturbaturum hostium aciem Antiochus crediderat, in suos terrorem

uerterunt. armatae autem in hunc maxime modum erant: cuspides circa temonem ab iugo decem cubita exstantis uelut cornua habebant, quibus, quidquid obuium daretur, transfigerent, et in extremis iugis binae circa eminebant falces, altera aequata iugo, altera inferior in terram deuexa, illa ut, quidquid ab latere obiceretur, abscederet, haec ut prolapsos subeuntisque contingeret; item ab axibus rotarum utrimque binae eodem modo diuersae deligabantur falces. sic armatas quadrigas, quia, si in extremo aut in medio locatae forent, per suos agendaerant, in prima acie, ut ante dictum est, locauerat rex. quod ubi Eumenes uidit, haud ignarus, quam anceps esset pugnae et auxilii genus, si quis pauorem magis equis iniceret, quam iusta adoriretur pugna, Cretenses sagittarios funditoresque et iaculatores <cum aliquot turmis> equitum non confertos, sed quam maxime possent dispersos excurrere iubet et ex omnibus simul partibus tela ingerere. haec uelut procella partim uulneribus missilium undique coniectorum partim clamoribus dissonis ita consternauit equos, ut repente uelut effrenati passim incerto cursu ferrentur; quorum impetus et leuis armatura et expediti funditores et uelox Cretensis momento declinabant; et eques insequendo tumultum ac pauorem equis camelisque, et ipsis simul consternatis, augebat clamore et ab alia circumstantium turba multiplici adiecto. ita medio inter duas acies campo exiguntur quadrigae; amotoque inani ludibrio, tum demum ad iustum proelium signo utrimque dato concursus est.

[42] Ceterum uana illa res uerae mox cladis causa fuit. auxilia enim subsidiaria, quae proxima locata erant, pauore et consternatione quadrigarum territa et ipsa in fugam uersa nudarunt omnia usque ad cataphractus equites. ad quos cum dissipatis subsidiis peruenisset equitatus Romanus, ne primum quidem impetum sustinuerunt; pars eorum fusi sunt, alii propter grauitatem tegumentorum armorumque oppressi [sunt]. totum deinde laeuum cornu inclinauit, et turbatis auxiliariis, qui inter equitem et quos appellant phalangitas erant, usque ad mediam aciem terror peruenit. ibi simul perturbati ordines et impeditus intercursum suorum usus praelongarum hastarum — sarisas Macedones uocant — , intulere signa Romanae legiones et pila in perturbatos coniecere. ne interpositi quidem elephantum militem Romanum deterrebant, adsuetum iam ab Africis bellis et uitare impetum beluae et ex transuerso aut pilis incessere aut, si propius

subire posset, gladio neruos incidere. iam media acies fere omnis a fronte prostrata erat, et subsidia circumita ab tergo caedebantur, cum in parte alia fugam suorum et prope iam ad ipsa castra clamorem pauentium acceperet. namque Antiochus a dextro cornu, cum ibi fiducia fluminis nulla subsidia cerneret praeter quattuor turmas equitum, et eas, dum applicant se suis, ripam nudantis, impetum in eam partem cum auxiliis et cataphracto equitatu fecit; nec a fronte tantum instabat, sed circumito a flumine cornu iam ab latere urgebat, donec fugati equites primum, dein proximi peditum effuso cursu ad castra compulsi sunt.

[43] Praeerat castris M. Aemilius tribunus militum, M. Lepidi filius, qui post paucos annos pontifex maximus factus est. is qua fugam cernebat suorum, cum praesidio omni occurrit et stare primo, deinde redire in pugnam iubebat pauorem et turpem fugam increpans; minae exinde erant, in perniciem suam caecos ruere, ni dicto parerent; postremo dat suis signum, ut primos fugientium caedant, turbam insequentium ferro et uulneribus in hostem redigant. hic maior timor minorem uicit; ancipiti coacti metu primo constiterunt; deinde et ipsi redire in pugnam, et Aemilius cum suo praesidio — erant autem duo milia uirorum fortium — effuse sequenti regi acriter obstitit, et Attalus, Eumenis frater, ab dextro cornu, quo laeuum hostium primo impetu fugatum fuerat, <ut> ab sinistro fugam suorum et tumultum circa castra uidit, in tempore cum ducentis equitibus aduenit. Antiochus postquam et eos, quorum terga modo uiderat, repetentis pugnam et aliam et a castris et ex acie adfluentem turbam conspexit, in fugam uertit equum. ita utroque cornu uictores Romani per acruos corporum, quos in media maxime acie cumulauerant, ubi et robur fortissimorum uirorum et arma grauitate fugam impedierant, pergunt ad castra diripienda. equites primi omnium Eumenis, deinde et alius equitatus toto passim campo sequuntur hostem et postremos, ut quosque adepti sunt, caedunt. ceterum fugientibus maior pestis, intermixtis quadrigis elephantisque et camelis, erat sua ipsorum turba, cum solutis ordinibus uelut caeci super alios alii ruerent et incursu beluarum obtererentur. in castris quoque ingens et maior prope quam in acie caedes est edita; nam et primorum fuga in castra maxime inclinauit, et huius fiducia multitudinis, qui in praesidio erant, pertinacius pro uallo pugnarunt.

retenti in portis ualloque, quae se impetu ipso capturos crediderant, Romani, postquam tandem perruperunt, ab ira grauiorem ediderunt caedem.

[44] Ad quinquaginta milia peditum caesa eo die dicuntur, equitum tria milia; mille et quadringenti capti et quindecim cum rectoribus elephanti. Romanorum aliquot uulnerati sunt; ceciderunt non plus trecenti pedites, quattuor et uiginti equites et de Eumenis exercitu quinque et uiginti.

Et illo quidem die uictores direptis hostium castris cum magna praeda in sua reuerterunt; postero die spoliabant caesorum corpora et captiuos contrahebant. legati ab Thyatira et Magnesia ab Sipylo ad dedendas urbes uenerunt. Antiochus cum paucis fugiens, in ipso itinere pluribus congregantibus se, modica manu armatorum media ferme nocte Sardis concessit. inde, cum audisset Seleucum filium et quosdam amicorum Apameam progressos, et ipse quarta uigilia cum coniuge ac filia petit Apameam. Xenoni tradita custodia urbis, Timone Lydiae praeposito; quibus spretis consensu oppidanorum et militum, qui in arce erant, legati ad consulem missi sunt.

[45] Sub idem fere tempus et ab Trallibus et a Magnesia, quae super Maeandrum est, et ab Epheso ad dedendas urbes uenerunt. reliquerat Ephesum Polyxenidas audita pugna, et classi usque ad Patara Lyciae peruectus, metu stationis Rhodiarum nauium, quae ad Megisten erant, in terram egressus cum paucis itinere pedestri Syriam petit. Asiae ciuitates in fidem consulis dicionemque populi Romani sese tradebant. Sardibus iam consul erat; eo et P. Scipio ab Elaea, cum primum pati laborem uiae potuit, uenit.

Sub idem fere tempus caduceator ab Antiocho per P. Scipionem a consule petit impetrauitque, ut oratores mittere liceret regi. paucos post dies Zeuxis, qui praefectus Lydiae fuerat, et Antipater, fratris filius, uenerunt. prius Eumene conuento, quem propter uetera certamina auersum maxime a pace credebant esse, et placatiore eo et sua et regis spe inuento, tum P. Scipionem et per eum consulem adierunt; praebitoque iis petentibus frequenti consilio ad mandata edenda, ‘non tam, quid ipsi dicamus, habemus uenimus’ inquit Zeuxis, ‘quam ut a uobis quaeramus, Romani, quo piaculo expiare errorem regis, pacem ueniamque impetrare a uictoribus possimus. maximo semper animo uictis regibus populisque ignouistis; quanto id

maiore et placatiore animo decet uos facere in hac uictoria, quae uos dominos orbis terrarum fecit? positis iam aduersus omnes mortales certaminibus haud secus quam deos consulere et parcere uos generi humano oportet.’ iam antequam legati uenirent, decretum erat, quid responderetur. respondere Africanum placuit. is in hunc modum locutus fertur: ‘Romani ex iis, quae in deum immortalium potestate erant, ea habemus, quae dii dederunt; animos, qui nostrae mentis sunt, eosdem in omni fortuna gessimus gerimusque, neque eos secundae res extulerunt nec aduersae minuerunt. eius rei, ut alios omittam, Hannibalem uestrum uobis testem darem, nisi uos ipsos dare possem. postquam traiecimus Hellespontum, priusquam castra regia, priusquam aciem uideremus, cum communis Mars et incertus belli euentus esset, de pace uobis agentibus quas pares paribus ferebamus condiciones, easdem nunc uictores uictis ferimus: Europa abstinete; Asia omni, quae cis Taurum montem est, decedite. pro impensis deinde in bellum factis quindecim milia talentum Euboicorum dabitis, quingenta praesentia, duo milia et quingenta, cum senatus populusque Romanus pacem comprobauerint; <milia> deinde talentum per duodecim annos. Eumeni quoque reddi quadringenta talenta et quod frumenti reliquum ex eo, quod patri debitum est, placet. haec cum pepigerimus, facturos uos ut pro certo habeamus, erit quidem aliquod pignus, si obsides uiginti nostro arbitratu dabitis; sed numquam satis liquebit nobis ibi pacem esse populo Romano, ubi Hannibal erit; eum ante omnia deposcimus. Thoantem quoque Aetolum concitorem Aetolici belli, qui et illorum fiducia uos et uestra illos in nos armauit, dedetis et cum eo Mnasilochum Acarnana et Chalcidensis Philonem et Eubulidam. in deteriore sua fortuna pacem faciet rex, quia serius facit, quam facere potuit. si nunc moratus fuerit, sciat regum maiestatem difficiliter ab summo fastigio ad medium detrahi quam a mediis ad ima praecipitari.’ cum iis mandatis ab rege missi erant legati, ut omnem pacis condicionem acciperent; itaque Romam mitti legatos placuit. consul in hiberna exercitum Magnesiam ad Maeandrum et Trallis Ephesumque diuisit. Ephesum ad consulem paucos post dies obsides ab rege adducti sunt, et legati, qui Romam irent, uenerunt. Eumenes quoque eodem tempore profectus est Romam, quo legati regis. secutae eos sunt legationes omnium Asiae populorum.

[46] Dum haec in Asia geruntur, duo fere sub idem tempus cum triumphi spe proconsules de prouinciis Romam redierunt, Q. Minucius ex Liguribus, M'. Acilius ex Aetolia. auditis utriusque rebus gestis Minucio negatus triumphus, Acilio magno consensu decretus; isque triumphans de rege Antiocho et Aetolis urbem est inuectus. praelata in eo triumpho sunt signa militaria ducenta triginta, et argenti infecti tria milia pondo, signati tetrachmum Atticum centum decem tria milia, cistophori ducenta undequinquaginta, uasa argentea caelata multa magnique ponderis; tulit et suppellectilem regiam argenteam ac uestem magnificam, coronas aureas, dona sociarum ciuitatum, quadraginta quinque, spolia omnis generis. captiuos nobiles, Aetolos et regios duces, sex et triginta duxit. Damocritus, Aetolorum dux, paucos ante dies, cum e carcere noctu effugisset, in ripa Tiberis consecutis custodibus, priusquam comprehenderetur, gladio se transfixit. milites tantum, qui sequerentur currum, defuerunt; alioqui magnificus et spectaculo et fama rerum triumphus fuit.

Huius triumphi minuit laetitiam nuntius ex Hispania tristis, aduersa pugna in Bastetanis ductu L. Aemilii proconsulis apud oppidum Lyconem cum Lusitanis sex milia de Romano exercitu cecidisse, ceteros pauentis intra uallum compulso aegre castra defendisse et in modum fugientium magnis itineribus in agrum pacatum reductos. haec ex Hispania nuntiata. ex Gallia legatos Placentinorum et Cremonensium L. Aurunculeius praetor in senatum introduxit. iis querentibus inopiam colonorum, aliis belli casibus, aliis morbo absumptis, quosdam taedio accolarum Gallorum reliquisse colonias, decreuit senatus, uti C. Laelius consul, si ei uideretur, sex milia familiarum conscriberet, quae in eas colonias diuiderentur, et ut L. Aurunculeius praetor triumuiros crearet ad eos colonos deducendos. creati M. Atilius Serranus L. Ualerius P. F. Flaccus L. Ualerius C. F. Tappo.

[47] Haud ita multo post, cum iam consularium comitiorum appeteret tempus, C. Laelius consul ex Gallia Romam rediit. is non solum ex facto absente se senatus consulto in supplementum Cremonae et Placentiae colonos scripsit, sed, ut nouae coloniae duae in agrum, qui Boiorum fuisset, deducerentur, et rettulit et auctore eo patres censuerunt.

eodem tempore litterae L. Aemilii praetoris adlatae de nauali pugna ad Myonnesum facta, et L. Scipionem consulem in Asiam exercitum traiecisse. uictoriae naualis ergo in diem unum supplicatio decreta est, in alterum diem, quod exercitus Romanus tum primum in Asia posuisset castra, ut ea res prospera et laeta eueniret. uicenis maioribus hostiis in singulas supplicationes sacrificare consul est iussus. inde consularia comitia magna contentione habita. M. Aemilius Lepidus petebat aduersa omnium fama, quod prouinciam Siciliam petendi causa non consulto senatu, ut sibi id facere liceret, reliquisset. petebant cum eo M. Fuluius Nobilior Cn. Manlius <Uulso> M. Ualerius Messalla. Fuluius consul unus creatur, cum ceteri centurias non explessent, isque postero die Cn. Manlium Lepido deiecto — nam Messalla iacuit — collegam dixit. praetores exinde facti duo Q. Fabii, Labeo et Pictor — Pictor flamen Quirinalis eo anno inauguratus fuerat — , M. Sempronius Tuditanus Sp. Postumius Albinus L. Plautius Hypsaesus L. Baebius Dives.

[48] M. Fuluius Nobiliore et Cn. Manlio Uulsone consulibus Ualerius Antias auctor est rumorem celebrem Romae fuisse et paene pro certo habitum, recipiendi Scipionis adulescentis causa consulem L. Scipionem et cum eo P. Africanum in colloquium euocatos regis et ipsos comprehensos esse, et ducibus captis confestim ad castra Romana exercitum ductum, eaque expugnata et deletas omnis copias Romanorum esse. ob haec Aetolos sustulisse animos et abnuisse imperata facere, principesque eorum in Macedoniam et in Dardanos et in Thraciam ad conducenda mercede auxilia profectos. haec qui nuntiarent Romam, A. Terentium Uarronem et M. Claudium Lepidum ab A. Cornelio propraetore ex Aetolia missos esse. subtextit deinde fabulae huic legatos Aetolos in senatu inter cetera hoc quoque interrogatos esse, unde audissent imperatores Romanos in Asia captos ab Antiocho rege et exercitum deletum esse; Aetolos respondisse ab suis legatis se, qui cum consule fuerint, certiores factos. rumoris huius quia neminem alium auctorem habeo, neque adfirmata res mea opinione sit nec pro uana praetermissa.

[49] Aetoli legati in senatum introducti, cum et causa eos sua et fortuna hortaretur, ut confitendo seu culpaee seu errori ueniam supplices peterent, orsi a beneficiis in populum Romanum et prope exprobrantes uirtutem suam in Philippo bello et offenderunt aures

insolentia sermonis et eo, uetera et oblitterata repetendo, rem adduxerunt, ut haud paulo plurium maleficiorum gentis quam beneficiorum memoria subiret animos patrum, et quibus misericordia opus erat, iram et odium irritarent. interrogati ab uno senatore, permetterentne arbitrium de se populo Romano, deinde ab altero, habiturine eosdem quos populus Romanus socios et hostis essent, nihil ad ea respondentes egredi templo iussi sunt. conclamatum deinde prope ab uniuerso senatu est totos adhuc Antiochi Aetolos esse et ex unica ea spe pendere animos eorum; itaque bellum cum haud dubiis hostibus gerendum perdomandosque feroces animos esse. illa etiam res accendit, quod eo ipso tempore, quo pacem ab Romanis petebant, Dolopiae atque Athamaniae bellum inferebant. senatus consultum in M'. Acilii sententiam, qui Antiochum Aetolosque deuicerat, factum est, ut Aetoli eo die iuberentur proficisci ab urbe et intra quintum decimum diem Italia excedere. A. Terentius Uarro ad custodiendum iter eorum missus, denuntiatumque, si qua deinde legatio ex Aetolis, nisi permissu imperatoris, qui eam prouinciam obtineret, et cum legato Romano uenisset Romam, pro hostibus omnis futuros. ita dimissi Aetoli.

[50] De prouinciis deinde consules rettulerunt; sortiri eos Aetoliam et Asiam placuit; qui Asiam sortitus esset, exercitus ei, quem L. Scipio haberet, est decretus et in eum supplementum quattuor milia peditum Romanorum, ducenti equites, et sociorum ac Latini nominis octo milia peditum, quadringenti equites; his copiis ut bellum cum Antiocho gereret. alteri consuli exercitus, qui erat in Aetolia, est decretus, et ut in supplementum scriberet permissum ciuium sociorumque eundem numerum, quem collega. naues quoque idem consul, quae priore anno paratae erant, ornare iussus ac ducere secum; nec cum Aetolis solum bellum gerere, sed etiam in Cephallaniam insulam traicere. mandatum eidem, ut, si per commodum rei publicae facere posset, ut ad comitia Romam ueniret; nam, praeterquam quod magistratus annui subrogandi essent, censores quoque placere creari. si qua res eum teneret, senatum certiores faceret se ad comitiorum tempus occurrere non posse. Aetolia M. Fuluius, Asia Cn. Manlius sorte euenit. praetores deinde sortiti sunt, Sp. Postumius Albinus urbanam et inter peregrinos, M. Sempronius Tuditanus Siciliam, Q. Fabius Pictor, flamen Quirinalis,

Sardiniam, Q. Fabius Labeo classem, L. Plautius Hypsaeus Hispaniam citeriorem, L. Baebius Diues Hispaniam ulteriorem. Siciliae legio una et classis, quae in ea prouincia erat, decreta, et ut duas decumas frumenti nouus praetor imperaret Siculis; earum alteram in Asiam, alteram in Aetoliam mitteret. idem ab Sardis exigi atque ad eosdem exercitus id frumentum, ad quos Siculum, deportari iussum. L. Baebio supplementum in Hispaniam datum mille Romani pedites, equites quinquaginta, et sex milia peditum Latini nominis, ducenti equites; Plautio Hypsaeo in Hispaniam citeriorem mille Romani dati sunt pedites, duo milia socium Latini nominis et ducenti equites; cum his supplementis ut singulas legiones duae Hispaniae haberent. prioris anni magistratibus C. Laelio cum suo exercitu prorogatum in annum imperium est; prorogatum et P. Iunio propraetori in Etruria cum eo exercitu, qui in prouincia esset, et M. Tuccio propraetori in Brutiis et Apulia.

[51] Priusquam in prouincias praetores irent, certamen inter P. Licinium pontificem maximum fuit et Q. Fabium Pictorem flaminem Quirinalem, quale patrum memoria inter L. Metellum et Postumium Albinum fuerat. consulem illum cum C. Lutatio collega in Siciliam ad classem proficiscentem ad sacra retinuerat Metellus, pontifex maximus; praetorem hunc, ne in Sardiniam proficisceretur, P. Licinius tenuit. et in senatu et ad populum magnis contentionibus certatum, et imperia inhibita ultro citroque, et pignera capta, et multae dictae, et tribuni appellati, et prouocatum ad populum est. religio ad postremum uicit; ut dicto audiens esset flamen pontifici iussus; et multa iussu populi ei remissa. ira prouinciae ereptae praetorem magistratu abdicare se conantem patres auctoritate sua deterruerunt et, ut ius inter peregrinos diceret, decreuerunt. dilectibus deinde intra paucos dies — neque enim multi milites legendi erant — perfectis consules praetoresque in prouincias proficiscuntur. fama dein de rebus in Asia gestis temere uulgata sine auctore, et post dies paucos nuntii certi litteraeque imperatoris Romam adlatae, quae non tantum gaudium ab recenti metu attulerunt — desierant enim uictum in Aetolia <regem> metuere — quam a uetere fama, quod ineuntibus id bellum grauis hostis et suis uiribus, et quod Hannibalem rectorem militiae haberet, uisus fuerat. nihil tamen aut de consule mittendo in Asiam mutandum aut minuendas eius copias censuerunt metu, ne

cum Gallis foret bellandum.

[52] Haud multo post M. Aurelius Cotta legatus L. Scipionis cum Antiochi regis legatis et Eumenes rex Rhodique Romam uenerunt. Cotta in senatu primum, deinde in contione iussu patrum, quae acta in Asia essent, exposuit. supplicatio inde in triduum decreta est, et quadraginta maiores hostiae immolari iussae. tum omnium primum Eumeni senatus datus est. is cum breuiter et egisset gratias patribus, quod obsidione se ac fratrem exemissent regnumque ab iniuriis Antiochi uindicassent, et gratulatus esset, quod terra marique res prospere gessissent, quodque regem Antiochum fusum fugatumque et exutum castris prius Europa, post et Asia, quae cis Taurum montem est, expulissent, sua deinde merita malle eos ex imperatoribus suis legatisque quam se commemorante cognoscere dixit. haec approbantibus cunctis iubentibusque dicere ipsum, ommissa in id uerecundia, quid sibi ab senatu populoque Romano tribui aequum censeret; propensius cumulatusque, si quo possit, prout eius merita sint, senatum facturum, ad ea rex, si ab aliis sibi praemiorum optio deferretur, libenter, data modo facultate consulendi senatum Romanum, consilio amplissimi ordinis usum fuisse, ne quid aut immoderate cupisse aut petisse parum modeste uideri posset; uerum enimuero cum ipsi daturi sint, multo magis munificentiam eorum in se fratresque suos ipsorum arbitrii debere esse. nihil hac oratione eius patres conscripti deterriti sunt, quo minus dicere ipsum iuberent, et, cum aliquamdiu hinc indulgentia hinc modestia inter permittentis in uicem non magis mutua quam inexplicabili facilitate certatum esset, Eumenes ex templo excessit. senatus in eadem perstare sententia, ut absurdum esse diceret ignorare regem, quid sperans aut petens uenerit; quae accommodata regno suo sint, ipsum optime scire; Asiam longe melius quam senatum nosse; reuocandum igitur et cogendum, quae uellet quaeque sentiret, expromere.

[53] Reductus a praetore in templum rex et dicere iussus ‘perseuerassem’ inquit ‘tacere, patres conscripti, nisi Rhodiorum legationem mox uocatuos uos scirem, et illis auditis mihi necessitatem fore dicendi. quae quidem eo difficilior oratio erit, quod ea postulata eorum futura sunt, ut non solum nihil, quod contra me sit, sed ne quod ad ipsos quidem proprie pertineat, petere uideantur. agent enim causam ciuitatum Graecarum, et liberari eas dicent

debere. quo impetrato, cui dubium est, quin et a nobis auersuri sint non eas modo ciuitates, quae liberabuntur, sed etiam ueteres stipendiarias nostras, ipsi autem tanto obligatos beneficio uerbo socios, re uera subiectos imperio et obnoxios habituri sint? et, si dis placet, cum has tantas opes affectabunt, dissimulabunt ulla parte id ad se pertinere; uos modo id decere et conueniens esse ante factis dicent. haec uos ne decipiat oratio, prouidendum uobis erit, neue non solum inaequaliter alios nimium deprimatis ex sociis uestris, alios praeter modum extollatis, sed etiam ne, qui aduersus uos arma tulerint, in meliore statu sint, quam socii et amici uestri. quod ad me attinet, in aliis rebus cessisse intra finem iuris mei cuilibet uideri malim, quam nimis pertinaciter in obtinendo eo tetendisse; in certamine autem amicitiae uestrae, beneuolentiae erga uos, honoris, qui ab uobis habebitur, minime aequo animo uinci possum. hanc ego maximam hereditatem a patre accepi, qui primus omnium Asiam Graeciamque incolentium in amicitiam uenit uestram eamque perpetua et constanti fide ad extremum uitae finem perduxit; nec animum dumtaxat uobis fidelem ac bonum praestitit, sed omnibus interfuit bellis, quae in Graecia gessistis, terrestribus naualibus, omni genere commeatum, ita ut nemo sociorum uestrorum ulla parte aequari posset, uos adiuuit; postremo, cum Boeotos ad societatem uestram hortaretur, in ipsa contione intermortuus haud multo post exspirauit. huius ego uestigia ingressus uoluntati quidem et studio in colendis uobis adicere — etenim inexcuperabilia haec erant — nihil potui; rebus ipsis meritisque et impensis officiorum ut superare possem, fortuna tempora Antiochus et bellum in Asia gestum praebuerunt materiam. rex Asiae et partis Europae Antiochus filiam suam in matrimonium mihi dabat; restituebat extemplo ciuitates, quae defecerant a nobis; spem magnam in posterum amplificandi regni faciebat, si secum bellum aduersus uos gessissem. non gloriabor eo, quod nihil in uos deliquerim; illa potius, quae uetustissima domus nostrae uobiscum amicitia digna sunt, referam. pedestribus naualibusque copiis, ut nemo sociorum uestrorum me aequiparare posset, imperatores uestros adiuui; commeatus terra marique suppeditaui; naualibus proeliis, quae multis locis facta sunt, omnibus adfui; nec labori meo nec periculo usquam peperci. quod miserrimum est in bello, obsidionem passus sum, Pergami inclusus

cum discrimine ultimo simul uitae regnique. liberatus deinde obsidione, cum alia parte Antiochus alia Seleucus circa arcem regni mei castra haberent, relictis meis rebus tota classe ad Hellespontum L. Scipioni consuli uestro occurri, ut eum in traiciendo exercitu adiuuarem. posteaquam in Asiam exercitus uester est transgressus, numquam a consule abscessi; nemo miles Romanus magis adsiduus in castris fuit uestris quam ego fratresque mei; nulla expeditio, nullum equestre proelium sine me factum est; in acie ibi steti, eam partem sum tutatus, in qua me consul esse uoluit. non sum hoc dicturus, patres conscripti: quis hoc bello meritis erga uos mecum comparari potest? ego nulli omnium neque populorum neque regum, quos in magno honore habetis, non ausim me comparare. Masinissa hostis uobis ante quam socius fuit, nec incolumi regno cum auxiliis suis, sed extorris, expulsus, amissis omnibus copiis, cum turma equitum in castra confugit uestra; tamen eum, quia in Africa aduersus Syphacem et Carthaginienis fideliter atque impigre uobiscum stetit, non in patrium solum regnum restituitis, sed adiuncta opulentissima parte Syphacis regni praepotentem inter Africae reges fecistis. quo tandem igitur nos praemio atque honore digni apud uos sumus, qui numquam hostes, semper socii fuimus? pater, ego, fratres mei non in Asia tantum, sed etiam procul ab domo in Peloponneso in Boeotia in Aetolia, Philippi Antiochi Aetolico bello, terra marique pro uobis arma tulimus. quid ergo postulas? dicat aliquis. ego, patres conscripti, quoniam dicere utique uolentibus uobis parendum est, si uos ea mente ultra Tauri iuga emostis Antiochum, ut ipsi teneretis eas terras, nullos accolas nec finitimos habere quam uos malo, nec ulla re alia tutius stabiliusque regnum meum futurum spero; sed si uobis decedere inde atque deducere exercitus in animo est, neminem digniorem esse ex sociis uestris, qui bello a uobis parta possideat quam me dicere ausim. at enim magnificum est liberare ciuitates seruas. ita opinor, si nihil hostile aduersus uos fecerunt; sin autem Antiochi partis fuerunt, quanto est uestra prudentia et aequitate dignius sociis bene meritis quam hostibus uos consulere?

[54] Grata oratio regis patribus fuit, et facile apparebat munifice omnia et propenso animo facturos. interposita Smyrnaeorum breuis legatio est, quia non aderat quidam Rhodiorum. collaudatis egregie Smyrnaeis, quod omnia ultima pati quam se regi tradere maluissent,

introduciti Rhodii sunt. quorum princeps legationis expositis initiis amicitiae cum populo Romano meritisque Rhodiorum Philippi prius, deinde Antiochi bello ‘nihil’ inquit ‘nobis tota nostra actione, patres conscripti, neque difficilior neque molestius est, quam quod cum Eumene nobis disceptatio est, cum quo uno maxime regum et priuatim singulis et, quod magis nos mouet, publicum ciuitati nostrae hospitium est. ceterum non animi nostri, patres conscripti, nos, sed rerum natura, quae potentissima est, disiungit, ut nos liberi etiam aliorum libertatis causam agamus, reges serua omnia et subiecta imperio suo esse uelint. utcumque tamen res sese habet, magis uerecundia nostra aduersus regem nobis obstat, quam ipsa disceptatio aut nobis impedita est aut uobis perplexam deliberationem praebitura uidetur. nam si aliter socio atque amico regi et bene merito hoc ipso in bello, de cuius praemiis agitur, honos haberi nullus posset, nisi liberas ciuitates in seruitutem traderetis ei, esset deliberatio anceps, ne aut regem amicum inhonoratum dimitteretis, aut decederetis instituto uestro gloriamque Philippi bello partam nunc seruitute tot ciuitatum deformaretis; sed ab hac necessitate aut gratiae in amicum minuendae aut gloriae uestrae egregie uos fortuna uindicat. est enim deum benignitate non gloriosa magis quam diues uictoria uestra, quae uos facile isto uelut aere alieno exsoluat. nam et Lycaonia et Phrygia utraque et Pisidia omnis et Chersonesus, quaeque circumiacent Europae, in uestra sunt potestate, quarum una quaelibet regi adiecta multiplicare regnum Eumenis potest, omnes uero datae maximis eum regibus aequare. licet ergo uobis et praemiis belliditare socios et non decedere instituto uestro et meminisse, quem titulum praetenderitis prius aduersus Philippum, nunc aduersus Antiochum belli, quid feceritis Philippo uicto, quid nunc a uobis, non magis quia fecistis, quam quia id uos facere decet, desideretur atque expectetur. alia enim aliis et honesta et probabilis est causa armorum; illi agrum, hi uicos, hi oppida, hi portus oramque aliquam maris ut possideant; uos nec cupistis haec antequam haberetis, nec nunc, cum orbis terrarum in ditione uestra sit, cupere potestis. pro dignitate et gloria apud omne humanum genus, quod uestrum nomen imperiumque iuxta ac deos immortales iam pridem intuetur, pugnistis. quae parare et quaerere arduum fuit, nescio an tueri difficilior sit. gentis uetustissimae nobilissimaeque uel fama rerum

gestarum uel omni commendatione humanitatis doctrinarumque tuendam ab seruitio regio libertatem suscepistis; hoc patrocinium receptae in fidem et clientelam uestram uniuersae gentis perpetuum uos praestare decet. non, quae in solo [modo] antiquo sunt, Graecae magis urbes sunt quam coloniae earum, illinc quondam profectae in Asiam; nec terra mutata mutauit genus aut mores. certare pio certamine cuiuslibet bonae artis ac uirtutis ausi sumus cum parentibus quaeque ciuitas et conditoribus suis. adistis Graeciae, adistis Asiae urbes plerique; nisi quod longius a uobis absumus, nulla uincimur alia re. Massiliensis, quos, si natura insita uelut ingenio terrae uinci posset, iam pridem efferassent tot indomitae circumfusae gentes, in eo honore, in ea merito dignitate audimus apud uos esse, ac si medium umbilicum Graeciae incolerent. non enim sonum modo linguae uestitumque et habitum, sed ante omnia mores et leges et ingenium sincerum integrumque a contagione accolarum seruauerunt. terminus est nunc imperii uestri mons Taurus; quidquid intra eum cardinem est, nihil longinquum uobis debet uideri; quo arma uestra peruenerunt, eodem ius hinc profectum perueniat. barbari, quibus pro legibus semper dominorum imperia fuerunt, quo gaudent, reges habeant; Graeci suam fortunam, uestros animos gerunt. domesticis quondam uiribus etiam imperium amplectebantur; nunc imperium, ubi est, ibi ut sit perpetuum, optant; libertatem uestris tueri armis satis habent, quoniam suis non possunt. at enim quaedam ciuitates cum Antiocho senserunt. et aliae prius cum Philippo, et cum Pyrrho Tarentini; ne alios populos enumerem, Carthago libera cum suis legibus est. huic uestro exemplo quantum debeatis, uidete, patres conscripti; inducetis in animum negare Eumenis cupiditati, quod iustissimae irae uestrae negastis. Rhodii <et in hoc> et in omnibus bellis, quae in illa ora gessistis, quam forti fidelique uos opera adiuuerimus, uestro iudicio relinquimus. nunc in pace consilium id adferimus, quod si comprobaritis, magnificentius uos uictoria usos esse quam uicisse omnes existimaturi sint.’ apta magnitudine Romanae oratio uisa est.

[55] Post Rhodios Antiochi legati uocati sunt. ii uulgato petentium ueniam more errorem fassi regis obtestati sunt patres conscriptos, ut suae potius clementiae quam regis culpae qui satis superque poenarum dedisset, memores consulerent; postremo pacem datam a

L. Scipione imperatore, quibus legibus dedisset, confirmarent auctoritate sua. et senatus eam pacem seruandam censuit, et paucos post dies populus iussit. foedus in Capitolio cum Antipatro principe legationis et eodem fratris filio regis Antiochi est ictum.

Auditae deinde et aliae legationes ex Asia sunt. quibus omnibus datum responsum decem legatos more maiorum senatum missurum ad res Asiae disceptandas componendasque; summam tamen hanc fore, ut cis Taurum montem, quae intra regni Antiochi fines fuissent, Eumeni attribuerentur praeter Lyciam Cariamque usque ad Maeandrum amnem; ea ut ciuitatis Rhodiorum essent; ceterae ciuitates Asiae, quae Attali stipendiariae fuissent, eadem uestigal Eumeni penderent; quae uestigales Antiochi fuissent, eae liberae atque immunes essent. decem legatos hos decreuerunt: Q. Minucium Rufum L. Furium Purpurionem Q. Minucium Thermum Ap. Claudium Neronem Cn. Cornelium Merulam M. Iunium Brutum L. Aurunculeium L. Aemilium Paulum P. Cornelium Lentulum P. Aelium Tuberonem.

[56] His, quae praesentis disceptationis essent, libera mandata; de summa rerum senatus constituit. Lycaoniam omnem et Phrygiam utramque et Mysiam <quam Prusia rex ademerat, restituit> regi et Milyas et Lydiam Ioniamque extra ea oppida, quae libera fuissent, quo die cum rege Antiocho pugnatum est, et nominatim Magnesiam ad Sipylum, et Cariam, quae Hydrela appellatur, agrumque Hydrelitanum ad Phrygiam uergentem, et castella uicosque ad Maeandrum amnem et oppida, nisi quae libera ante bellum fuissent, Telmessum item nominatim et castra Telmessium, praeter agrum, qui Ptolemaei Telmessii fuisset. haec omnia, quae supra sunt scripta, regi Eumeni iussa dari. Rhodiis Lycia data extra eundem Telmessum et castra Telmessium et agrum, qui Ptolemaei Telmessii fuisset; hic et ab Eumene et Rhodiis exceptus. ea quoque iis pars Cariae data, quae propior Rhodum insulam trans Maeandrum amnem est, oppida, uici, castella, agri, qui ad Pisidiam uergunt, nisi quae eorum oppida in libertate fuissent pridie, quam cum Antiocho rege in Asia pugnatum est. pro his cum gratias egissent Rhodii, de Solis urbe, quae in Cilicia est, egerunt: Argis et illos, sicut sese, oriundos esse; ab ea germanitate fraternam sibi cum iis caritatem esse; petere hoc extraordinarium munus, ut eam ciuitatem ex seruitute regia

eximerent. uocati sunt legati regis Antiochi, actumque cum iis est nec quicquam impetratum testante foedera Antipatro, aduersus quae ab Rhodiis non Solos, sed Ciliciam peti et iuga Tauri transcendendi. reuocatis in senatum Rhodiis, cum quanto opere tenderet legatus regius, exposuissent, adiecerunt, si utique eam rem ad ciuitatis suae dignitatem pertinere censerent Rhodii, senatum omni modo expugnaturum pertinaciam legatorum. tum uero impensius quam ante Rhodii gratias egerunt, cessurosque sese potius arrogantiae Antipatri, quam causam turbandae pacis praebituros dixerunt. ita nihil de Solis mutatum est.

[57] Per eos dies, quibus haec gesta sunt, legati Massiliensium nuntiarunt L. Baebium praetorem in prouinciam Hispaniam proficiscentem ab Liguribus circumuentum, magna parte comitum caesa uulneratum ipsum cum paucis sine lictoribus Massiliam perfugisse et intra triduum exspirasse. senatus ea re audita decreuit, uti P. Iunius Brutus, qui propraetor in Etruria esset, prouincia exercituque traditis uni, cui uideretur, ex legatis, ipse in ulteriorem Hispaniam proficisceretur, eaque ei prouincia esset. hoc senatus consultum litteraeque a Sp. Postumio praetore in Etruriam missae sunt, profectusque in Hispaniam est P. Iunius propraetor. in qua prouincia prius aliquanto, quam successor ueniret, L. Aemilius Paulus, qui postea regem Persea magna gloria uicit, cum priore anno haud prospere rem gessisset, tumultuario exercitu collecto signis collatis cum Lusitanis pugnavit. fusi fugatique hostes; caesa decem octo milia armatorum; duo milia trecenti capti et castra expugnata. huius uictoriae fama tranquilliores in Hispania res fecit. eodem anno ante diem tertium Kal. Ianuarias Bononiam Latinam coloniam ex senatus consulto L. Ualerius Flaccus M. Atilius Serranus L. Ualerius Tappo triumuiro deduxerunt. tria milia hominum sunt deducta; equitibus septuagena iugera, ceteris colonis quinquagena sunt data. ager captus de Gallis Bois fuerat; Galli Tuscos expulerant.

eodem anno censuram multi et clari uiri petierunt. quae res, tamquam in se parum magni certaminis causam haberet, aliam contentionem multo maiorem excitauit. petebant T. Quinctius Flamininus P. Cornelius Cn. F. Scipio L. Ualerius Flaccus M. Porcius Cato M. Claudius Marcellus M'. Acilius Glabrio, qui Antiochum ad Thermopylas Aetolosque deuicerat. in hunc maxime,

quod multa congiaria distribuerat, quibus magnam partem hominum obligarat, fauor populi se inclinabat. id cum aegre paterentur tot nobiles, nouum sibi hominem tantum praeferri, P. Sempronius Gracchus et C. Sempronius Rutilus, <tribuni plebis,> ei diem dixerunt, quod pecuniae regiae praedaeque aliquantum captae in Antiochi castris neque in triumpho tulisset, neque in aerarium rettulisset. uaria testimonia legatorum tribunorumque militum erant. M. Cato ante alios testis conspiciebatur; cuius auctoritatem perpetuo tenore uitae partam toga candida eleuabat. is testis, quae uasa aurea atque argentea castris captis inter aliam praedam regiam uidisset, ea se in triumpho negabat uidisse. postremo in huius maxime inuidiam desistere se petitione Glabrio dixit, quando, quod taciti indignarentur nobiles homines, id aequae nouus competitor intestabili periurio incesset.

[58] Centum milium multa irrogata erat; bis de ea certatum est; tertio, cum de petitione destitisset reus, nec populus de multa suffragium ferre uoluit, et tribuni eo negotio destiterunt censores T. Quinctius Flamininus M. Claudius Marcellus creati.

Per eos dies L. Aemilio Regillo, qui classe praefectum Antiochi regis deuicerat, extra urbem in aede Apollinis cum senatus datus esset, auditis rebus gestis eius, quantis cum classibus hostium dimicasset, quot inde naues demersisset aut cepisset, magno consensu patrum triumphus naualis est decretus. triumphauit Kal. Februarii. in eo triumpho undequinquaginta coronae aureae translatae sunt, pecunia nequaquam [tanta] pro specie regii triumphi, tetrachma Attica triginta quattuor milia ducenta, cistophori centum triginta duo milia trecenti. supplicationes deinde fuerunt ex senatus consulto, quod L. Aemilius in Hispania prospere rem publicam gessisset.

Haud ita multo post L. Scipio ad urbem uenit; qui ne cognomini fratris cederet, Asiaticum se appellari uoluit. et in senatu et in contione de rebus ab se gestis disseruit. erant qui fama id maius bellum quam difficultate rei fuisse interpretarentur: uno memorabili proelio debellatum, gloriamque eius uictoriae praefloratam ad Thermopylas esse. ceterum uere aestimanti Aetolicum magis ad Thermopylas bellum quam regium fuit; quota enim parte uirium suarum ibi dimicauit Antiochus? in Asia totius Asiae steterunt uires

ab ultimis Orientis finibus omnium gentium contractis auxiliis.

[59] Merito ergo et diis immortalibus, quantus maximus poterat, habitus est honos, quod ingentem uictoriam facilem etiam fecissent, <et> imperatori triumphus est decretus. triumphauit mense intercalario pridie Kal. Martias. qui triumphus spectaculo oculorum maior quam Africani fratris eius fuit, recordatione rerum et aestimatione periculi certaminisque non magis comparandus, quam si imperatorem imperatori aut Antiochum ducem Hannibali conferres. tulit in triumpho signa militaria ducenta uiginti quattuor, oppidorum simulacra centum triginta quattuor, eburneos dentes mille ducentos triginta unum, aureas coronas ducentas triginta quattuor, argenti pondo centum triginta septem milia quadringenta uiginti, tetrachmum Atticorum ducenta uiginti quattuor milia, cistophori trecenta uiginti unum milia septuaginta, nummos aureos Philippeos centum quadraginta milia, uasorum argenteorum — omnia caelata erant — mille pondo et quadringenta uiginti tria, aureorum mille pondo uiginti tria. et duces regii, praefecti, purpurati duo et triginta ante currum ducti. militibus quini uiceni denarii dati, duplex centurioni, triplex equiti. et stipendium militare et frumentum duplex post triumphum datum; <iam> proelio in Asia facto duplex dederat. triumphauit anno fere post, quam consulatu abiit.

[60] Eodem fere tempore et Cn. Manlius consul in Asiam et Q. Fabius Labeo praetor ad classem uenit. ceterum consuli non deerat cum Gallis belli materia. mare pacatum erat deuicto Antiocho, cogitantique Fabio, cui rei potissimum insisteret, ne otiosam prouinciam habuisse uideri posset, optimum uisum est in Cretam insulam traicere. Cydoniatae bellum aduersus Gortynios Gnosiosque gerebant, et captiuorum Romanorum atque Italici generis magnus numerus in seruitute esse per totam insulam dicebatur. classe ab Epheso profectus cum primum Cretae litus attigit, nuntios circa ciuitates misit, ut armis absisterent captiuosque in suis quaeque urbibus agrisque conquisitos reducerent, et legatos mitterent ad se, cum quibus de rebus ad Cretensis pariter Romanosque pertinentibus ageret. nihil magnopere ea Cretenses mouerunt; captiuos praeter Gortynios nulli reddiderunt. Ualerius Antias quattuor milia captiuorum, quia belli minas timuerint, ex tota insula reddita scripsit; eamque causam Fabio, cum rem nullam aliam gessisset, triumphum

naualis impetrandi ab senatu fuisse. a Creta Ephesum Fabius redit;
inde tribus nauibus in Thraciae oram missis ab Aeno et Maronia
praesidia Antiochi deduci iussit, ut in libertate eae ciuitates essent.

LIBER XXXVIII

[1] Dum in Asia bellum geritur, ne in Aetolia quidem res quietae fuerant, principio a gente Athamanum orto. Athamania ea tempestate pulso Amynandro sub praefectis Philippi regio tenebatur praesidio, qui superbo atque immodico imperio desiderium Amynandri fecerant. Exulanti tum Amynandro in Aetolia litteris suorum, indicantium statum Athamaniae, spes recuperandi regni facta est. Remissique ab eo nuntiant principibus Argitheam — id enim caput Athamaniae erat —, si popularium animos satis perspectos haberet, impetrato ab Aetolis auxilio in Athamaniam se <uenturum. Non diffidere sibi facile con>uenturum cum delectis, quod consilium est gentis, et Nicandro praetore. Quos ubi ad omnia paratos esse uidit, certiores suos inde facit, quo die cum exercitu Athamaniam ingressurus esset. Quattuor primo fuerunt coniurati aduersus Macedonum praesidium. Hi senos sibi adiutores ad rem gerendam adsumpserunt; dein paucitate parum freti, quae celandae rei quam agenda aptior erat, parem priori numerum adiecerunt. Ita duo et quinquaginta facti quadrifariam se diuiserunt; pars una Heracleam, altera Tetraphyliam petit, ubi custodia regiae pecuniae esse solita erat, tertia Theudoriam, quarta Argitheam. Ita inter omnis conuenit, ut primo quieti, uelut ad priuatam rem agenda uenissent, in foro obuersarentur; die certa multitudinem omnem conuocarent ad praesidia Macedonum arcibus expellenda. Vbi ea dies aduenit, et Amynander cum mille Aetolis in finibus erat, ex composito quattuor simul locis praesidia Macedonum expulsa, litteraeque in alias urbes passim dimissae, ut uindicarent sese ab impotenti dominatione Philippi et restituerent in patrium ac legitimum regnum. Vndique Macedones expelluntur. Theium oppidum litteris a Xenone praefecto praesidii interceptis et arce ab regiis occupata paucos dies obsidentibus restitit; deinde id quoque traditum Amynandro est, et omnis Athamania in potestate erat praeter Athenaeum castellum, finibus Macedoniae subiectum.

[2] Philippus audita defectione Athamaniae cum sex milibus armatorum profectus ingenti celeritate Gomphos peruenit. Ibi relicta maiore parte exercitus — neque enim ad tanta itinera sufficerent —

cum duobus milibus Athenaeum, quod unum a praesidio suo retentum fuerat, peruenit. Inde proximis temptatis cum facile animaduertisset cetera hostilia esse, Gomphos regressus omnibus copiis simul in Athamaniam redit. Xenonem inde cum mille peditibus praemissum Aethopiam occupare iubet, opportune Argithea imminentem; quem ubi teneri ab suis locum uidit, ipse circa templum Iouis Acraei posuit castra. Ibi unum diem foeda tempestate retentus, postero die ducere ad Argitheam intendit. Euntibus extemplo apparuere Athamanes in tumulos imminentis uiae discurrentes. Ad quorum conspectum constitere prima signa, totoque agmine paupor et trepidatio erat, et pro se quisque, quidnam futurum esset, cogitare, si in ualles subiectas rupibus agmen foret demissum. Haec tumultuatio regem cupientem, si se sequerentur, raptim euadere angustias, reuocare primos et eadem, qua uenerat, uia referre coegit signa. Athamanes primo ex interuallo quieti sequebantur; postquam Aetoli se coniunxerunt, hos, ut ab tergo agmini instarent, reliquerunt, ipsi ab lateribus se circumfuderunt, quidam per notas calles breuiore uia praegressi transitus insedere; tantumque tumultus Macedonibus est iniectum, ut fugae magis effusae quam itineris ordinati modo multis armis uirisque relictis flumen traiecerint. Hic finis sequendi fuit. Inde tuto Macedones Gomphos et a Gomphis in Macedoniam redierunt. Athamanes Aetolique Aethopiam ad Xenonem ac mille Macedonas opprimendos undique concurrerunt. Macedones parum loco freti ab Aethopia in altiore deruptioreque undique tumultum concessere; quo pluribus ex locis aditu inuento expulere eos Athamanes, dispersosque et per inuia atque ignotas rupes iter fugae non expedientis partim ceperunt partim interfecerunt. Multi pauore in derupta praecipitati; perpauca cum Xenone ad regem euaserunt. Postea per indutias sepeliendi caesos potestas facta est.

[3] Amynder recuperato regno legatos et Romam ad senatum et ad Scipiones in Asiam, Ephesi post magnum cum Antiocho proelium morantes, misit. Pacem petebat excusabatque sese, quod per Aetolos recuperasset paternum regnum; Philippum incusabat. Aetoli ex Athamania in Amphilochos profecti sunt et maioris partis uoluntate in ius dicionemque totam redegerunt gentem. Amphilochia recepta — nam fuerat quondam Aetolorum — eadem spe in Aperantiam transcenderunt; ea quoque magna ex parte sine certamine in

deditionem uenit. Dolopes numquam Aetolorum fuerant, Philippi erant. Hi primo ad arma concurrerunt; ceterum postquam Amphilochos cum Aetolis esse fugamque ex Athamania Philippi et caedem praesidii eius acceperet, et ipsi a Philippo ad Aetolos deficiunt. Quibus circumiectis gentibus iam undique se a Macedonibus tutos credentibus esse Aetolis fama adfertur Antiochum in Asia uictum ab Romanis; nec ita multo post legati ab Roma rediere sine spe pacis Fuluiumque consulem nuntiantes cum exercitu iam traiecisse. His territi, prius ab Rhodo et Athenis legationibus excitis, ut per auctoritatem earum ciuitatum suae preces nuper repudiatæ faciliorem aditum ad senatum haberent, principes gentis ad temptandam spem ultimam Romam miserunt, nihil, ne bellum haberent, priusquam paene in conspectu hostis erat, praemeditati. Iam M. Fuluius Apolloniam exercitu traiecto cum Epirotarum principibus consultabat, unde bellum inciperet. Epirotis Ambraciam placebat adgredi, quæ tum contribuerat se Aetolis: siue ad tuendam eam uenirent Aetoli, apertos circa campos ad dimicandum esse; siue detractarent certamen, oppugnationem fore haud difficilem; nam et copiam in propinquo materiae ad aggeres excitandos et cetera opera esse, et Arethontem, nauigabilem amnem, opportunum ad comportanda, quæ usui sint, præter ipsa moenia fluere, et aestatem aptam rei gerendæ adesse. His persuaserunt, ut per Epirum duceret.

[4] Consuli ad Ambraciam aduenienti magni operis oppugnationis uisa est. Ambracia tumulo aspero subiecta est; Perranthem incolæ uocant. Vrbs, qua murus uergit in campos et flumen, occidentem, arx, quæ imposita tumulo est, orientem spectat. Amnis Aretho ex Athamania fluens cadit in sinum maris ab nomine propinquæ urbis Ambracium appellatum. Præterquam quod hinc amnis munit, hinc tumuli, muro quoque firmo saepta erat, patente in circuitu paulo amplius quattuor milia passuum. Fuluius bina a campo castra, modico inter se distantia interuallo, unum castellum loco edito contra arcem obiecit; ea omnia uallo atque fossa ita iungere parat, ne exitus inclusis ab urbe neue aditus foris ad auxilia intromittenda esset. Ad famam oppugnationis Ambraciæ Stratum iam edicto Nicandri prætoris conuenerant Aetoli. Inde primo copiis omnibus ad prohibendam obsidionem uenire in animo fuerat; dein, postquam

urbem iam magna ex parte operibus saeptam uiderunt, Epirotarum trans flumen loco plano castra posita esse, diuidere copias placuit. Cum mille expeditis Eupolemus Ambraciam profectus per nondum commissa inter se munimenta urbem intrauit. Nicandro cum cetera manu primo Epirotarum castra nocte adgredi consilium fuerat haud facili ab Romanis auxilio, quia flumen intererat; dein, periculosum inceptum ratus, ne qua sentirent Romani et regressus inde in tuto non esset, deterritus ab hoc consilio ad depopulandam Acarnaniam iter conuertit.

[5] Consul iam munimentis, quibus saepienda urbs erat, iam operibus, quae admouere muris parabat, perfectis quinque simul locis moenia est adgressus. Tria paribus interuallis, faciliore aditu a campo, aduersus Pyrrheum, quod uocant, admouit, unum e regione Aesculapii, unum aduersus arcem. Arietibus muros quatiebat; asserebus falcatis detergebat pinnas. Oppidanos primo et ad speciem et ad ictus moenium cum terribili sonitu editos pauor ac trepidatio cepit; deinde, ut praeter spem stare muros uiderunt, collectis rursus animis in arietes tollentibus libramenta plumbi aut saxorum stipitesue robustos incutiebant; falces ancoris ferreis iniectis in interiorem partem muri trahentes asserem praeFRINGEBANT; ad hoc eruptionibus et nocturnis in custodias operum et diurnis in stationes ultro terrorem inferebant. In hoc statu res ad Ambraciam cum essent, iam Aetoli a populatione Acarnaniae Stratum redierant. Inde Nicander praetor spem nactus soluendae incepto forti obsidionis, Nicodamum quendam cum Aetolis quingentis Ambraciam intromittit. Noctem certam tempusque etiam noctis constituit, quo et illi ab urbe opera hostium, quae aduersus Pyrrheum erant, adgrederentur, et ipse ad castra Romana terrorem faceret, posse ratus ancipiti tumultu et nocte augente pauorem memorabilem rem geri. Et Nicodamus intempesta nocte, cum alias custodias fefellisset, per alias impetu constanti perripisset, superato brachio in urbem penetrat, animique aliquantum ad omnia audenda et spei obsessis adiecit et, simul constituta nox uenit, ex composito repente opera est adgressus. Id inceptum conatu quam effectu grauius fuit, quia nulla ab exteriori parte uis admota est, seu metu deterrito praetore Aetolorum, seu quia potius uisum est Amphilochis nuper receptis ferre opem, quos Perseus, Philippi filius, missus ad Dolopiam Amphilochosque

recipiendos, summa ui oppugnabat.

[6] Tribus locis, sicut ante dictum est, ad Pyrrheum opera Romana erant, quae omnia simul, sed nec apparatu nec ui simili, Aetoli adgressi sunt: alii cum ardentibus facibus, alii stuppam picemque et malleolos ferentes, tota collucente flammis acie, aduenere. Multos primo impetu custodes oppresserunt; dein, postquam clamor tumultusque in castra est perlatus datumque a consule signum, arma capiunt et omnibus portis ad opem ferendam effunduntur. [uno in loco] ferro ignique gesta res; ab duobus irrita incepto, cum temptassent magis quam inissent certamen, Aetoli abscesserunt; atrox pugna in unum inclinauerat locum. Ibi diuersis partibus duo duces Eupolemus et Nicodamus pugnantis hortabantur et prope certa fouebant spe iam Nicandrum ex composito adfore et terga hostium inuasurum. Haec res aliquamdiu animos pugnantium sustinuit; ceterum, postquam nullum ex composito signum a suis accipiebant et crescere numerum hostium cernebant, destituti segnius instare; postremo re omissa iam uix tuto receptu fugientes in urbem compelluntur, parte operum incensa et pluribus aliquanto, quam <ab> ipsis ceciderant, interfectis. Quodsi ex composito acta res fuisset, haud dubium erat expugnari una utique parte opera cum magna caede hostium potuisse. Ambracienses quique intus erant Aetoli non ab eius solum noctis incepto recessere, sed in reliquum quoque tempus uelut proditi ab suis segniores ad pericula erant. Iam nemo eruptionibus, ut ante, in stationes hostium, sed dispositi per muros et turres ex tuto pugnant.

[7] Perseus ubi adesse Aetolos audiuit, omissa obsidione urbis, quam oppugnabat, depopulatus tantum agros Amphilochia excessit atque in Macedoniam redit. Et Aetolos inde auocauit populatio maritumae orae. Pleuratus, Illyriorum rex, cum sexaginta lembis Corinthium sinum inuectus adiunctis Achaeorum quae Patris erant nauibus maritima Aetoliae uastabat. Aduersus quos mille Aetoli missi, quacumque se classis circumegerat per litorum amfractus, breuioribus semitis occurrebant. Et Romani ad Ambraciam pluribus locis quatiendo arietibus muros aliquantum urbis nudauerant, nec tamen penetrare in urbem poterant; nam et pari celeritate nouus pro diruto murus obiciebatur, et armati ruinis superstantes instar munimenti erant. Itaque cum aperta ui parum procederet consuli res,

cuniculum occultum uineis ante contacto loco agere instituit; et aliquamdiu, cum dies noctesque in opere essent, non solum sub terra fodientes sed egerentes etiam humum fefellere hostem. Cumulus repente terrae eminens index operis oppidanis fuit, pavidique, ne iam subrutis muris facta in urbem uia esset, fossam intra murum e regione eius operis, quod uineis contactum erat, ducere instituunt. Cuius ubi ad tantam altitudinem, quantae esse solum infimum cuniculi poterat, peruenerunt, silentio facto pluribus locis aure admota sonitum fodientium captabant. Quem ubi acceperunt, aperiunt rectam in cuniculum uiam nec fuit magni operis; momento enim ad inane suspensio fulturis ab hostibus muro peruenerunt. Ibi commissis operibus, cum e fossa in cuniculum pateret iter, primo ipsis ferramentis, quibus in opere usi erant, deinde celeriter armati etiam subeuntes occultam sub terra ediderunt pugnam; segnior deinde ea facta est intersaeipientibus cuniculum, ubi uellent, nunc ciliciis praetentis nunc foribus raptim obiectis. Noua etiam haud magni operis aduersus eos, qui in cuniculo erant, excogitata res. Dolium a fundo pertusum, qua fistula modica inseri posset, et ferream fistulam operculumque dolii ferreum, et ipsum pluribus locis perforatum, fecerunt. Hoc tenui pluma completum dolium ore in cuniculum uerso posuerunt. Per operculi foramina praelongae hastae, quas sarisas uocant, ad summouendos hostes eminebant. Scintillam leuem ignis inditam plumae folle fabрили ad caput fistulae imposito flando accenderunt. Inde non solum magna uis fumi sed acrior etiam foedo quodam odore ex adusta pluma cum totum cuniculum complexset, uix durare quisquam intus poterat.

[8] Cum in hoc statu ad Ambraciam res esset, legati ab Aetolis Phaeneas et Damoteles cum liberis mandatis decreto gentis ad consulem uenerunt. Nam praetor eorum, cum alia parte Ambraciam oppugnari cerneret, alia infestam oram nauibus hostium esse, alia Amphilochos Dolopiam<que> a Macedonibus uastari, nec Aetolos ad tria simul diuersa bella occursantis sufficere, conuocato concilio Aetoliae principes, quid agendum esset, consuluit. Omnium eo sententiae decurrerunt, ut pax, si posset, aequis, si minus, tolerandis condicionibus peteretur; Antiochi fiducia bellum susceptum; Antiocho terra marique superato et prope extra orbem terrae ultra iuga Tauri exacto quam spem esse sustinendi belli?

Phaeneas et Damoteles quod e re Aetolorum, ut in tali casu, fideque sua esse censerent, agerent; quod enim sibi consilium aut cuius rei electionem a fortuna relictam? Cum his mandatis legati missi orare consulem, ut parceret urbi, miseretur gentis quondam sociae, nolle dicere iniuriis, miseriis certe coactae insanire; non plus mali meritos Aetolos Antiochi bello, quam boni ante, cum aduersus Philippum bellatum sit, fecisse; nec tum large gratiam relatam sibi, nec nunc immodice poenam iniungi debere. Ad ea consul respondit magis saepe quam uere umquam Aetolos pacem petere. Imitarentur Antiochum in petenda pace, quem in bellum traxissent; non paucis urbibus eum, de quarum libertate certatum sit, sed omni Asia cis Taurum montem, opimo regno, excessisse. Aetolos nisi inermes de pace agentes non auditurum se; arma illis prius equosque omnis tradendos esse, deinde mille talentum argenti populo Romano dandum, cuius summae dimidium praesens numeretur, si pacem habere uellent. Ad ea adiectum etiam in foedus esse, ut eosdem quos populus Romanus amicos atque hostis habeant.

[9] Aduersus quae legati, et quia graua erant, et quia suorum animos indomitos ac mutabiles nouerant, nullo reddito responso domum regressi sunt, ut etiam atque etiam, quid agendum esset, re integra praetorem et principes consulerent. Clamore et iurgio excepti, quam diu rem traherent, qualemcumque pacem referre iussi, cum redirent Ambraciam, Acarnanum insidiis prope uiam positis, cum quibus bellum erat, circumuenti Thyreum custodiendi deducuntur. Haec mora iniecta est paci, cum iam Atheniensium Rhodiorumque legati, qui ad deprecandum pro iis uenerant, apud consulem essent. Amynder quoque Athamanum rex fide accepta uenerat in castra Romana, magis pro Ambracia urbe, ubi maiorem partem temporis exulauerat, quam pro Aetolis sollicitus. Per hos certior factus consul de casu legatorum adduci eos a Thyreo iussit; quorum post aduentum agi coeptum est de pace. Amynder, quod sui maxime operis erat, impigre agebat, ut Ambracienses compelleret ad deditionem. <ad> id cum per colloquia principum succedens murum parum proficeret, postremo consulis permissu ingressus urbem partim consilio partim precibus euicit, ut permitterent se Romanis. Et Aetolos C. Valerius, Laeuini filius, qui cum ea gente primum amicitiam pepigerat, consulis frater matre eadem genitus, egregie

adiuuit. Ambracienses prius pacti, ut Aetolorum auxiliares sine fraude emitterent, aperuerunt portas. Dein <Aetolis condiciones pacis dictae:> quingenta Euboica ut darent talenta, ex quibus ducenta praesentia, trecenta per annos sex pensionibus aequis; captiuos perfugasque redderent Romanis; urbem ne quam formulae sui iuris facerent, quae post id tempus, quo T. Quinctius traiecisset in Graeciam, aut ui capta ab Romanis esset aut uoluntate in amicitiam uenisset; Cephallania insula ut extra ius foederis esset. Haec quamquam spe ipsorum aliquanto leuiora erant, petentibus Aetolis, ut ad concilium referrent, permissum est. Parua disceptatio de urbibus tenuit, quae cum sui iuris aliquando fuissent, auelli uelut a corpore suo aegre patiebantur; ad unum omnes tamen accipi pacem iusserunt. Ambracienses coronam auream consuli centum et quinquaginta pondo dederunt. Signa aenea marmoreaque et tabulae pictae, quibus ornatio Ambracia, quia regia ibi Pyrrhi fuerat, quam ceterae regionis eius urbes erant, sublata omnia auectaque; nihil praeterea tactum uiolatumue.

[10] Profectus ab Ambracia consul in mediterranea Aetoliae ad Argos Amphilochium — uiginti duo milia ab Ambracia abest — castra posuit. Eo tandem legati Aetoli mirante consule, quod morarentur, uenerunt. Inde, postquam approbasse pacem concilium Aetolorum accepit, iussis proficisci Romam ad senatum permissoque, ut et Rhodii et Athenienses deprecatores irent, dato, qui simul cum iis proficisceretur, C. Valerio fratre ipse in Cephallaniam traiecit. Praeoccupatas auris animosque principum Romae criminibus Philippi inuenerunt, qui per legatos, per litteras Dolopas Amphilochosque et Athamaniam erepta sibi querens, praesidiaque sua, postremo filium etiam Persea ex Amphilochis pulsum, auerterat senatum ab audiendis precibus eorum. Rhodii tamen et Athenienses cum silentio auditi sunt. Atheniensis legatus Leon Hicesiae filius eloquentia etiam dicitur mouisse; qui uulgata similitudine, mari tranquillo, quod uentis concitaretur, aequiperando multitudinem Aetolorum, usus, cum in fide Romanae societatis mansissent, insita gentis tranquillitate quiesse eos aiebat; postquam flare ab Asia Thoas et Dicaearchus, ab Europa Menestas et Damocritus coepissent, tum illam tempestatem coortam, quae ad Antiochum eos sicuti in scopulum intulisset.

[11] Diu iactati Aetoli tandem, ut condiciones pacis conuenirent, effecerunt. Fuerunt autem hae: 'imperium maiestatemque populi Romani gens Aetolorum conseruato sine dolo malo; ne quem exercitum, qui aduersus socios amicosque eorum ducetur, per fines suos transire sinito, neue ulla ope iuuato; hostis eosdem habeto quos populus Romanus, armaque in eos ferto, bellumque pariter gerito; perfugas fugitiuos captiuos reddito Romanis sociisque, praeterquam si qui capti, cum domos redissent, iterum capti sunt, aut si qui eo tempore ex iis capti sunt, qui tum hostes erant Romanis, cum intra praesidia Romana Aetoli essent; aliorum qui comparebunt intra dies centum Corcyraeorum magistratibus sine dolo malo tradantur; qui non comparebunt, quando quisque eorum primum inuentus erit, reddatur; obsides quadraginta arbitratu consulis Romanis dato ne minores duodecim annorum neu maiores quadraginta, obses ne esto praetor, praefectus equitum, scribe publicus, neu quis, qui ante obses fuit apud Romanos; Cephallania extra pacis leges esto.' De pecuniae summa, quam penderent, pensionibusque eius nihil ex eo, quod cum consule conuenerat, mutatum; pro argento si aurum dare mallent, darent, conuenit, dum pro argenteis decem aureus unus ualeret. 'Quae urbes, qui agri, qui homines Aetolorum iuris aliquando fuerunt, qui eorum T. Quinctio Cn. Domitio consulibus postue eos consules aut armis subacti aut uoluntate in dicionem populi Romani uenerunt, ne quem eorum Aetoli recepissee uelint; Oeniadae cum urbe agrisque Acarnanum sunt.' His legibus foedus ictum cum Aetolis est.

[12] Eadem non aestate solum, sed etiam iisdem prope diebus, quibus haec a M. Fulvio consule in Aetolia gesta sunt, consul alter Cn. Manlius in Gallograecia bellum gessit, quod nunc ordiri pergam. Vere primo Ephesum consul uenit, acceptisque copiis ab L. Scipione et exercitu lustrato contionem apud milites habuit, qua collaudata uirtute eorum, quod cum Antiocho uno proelio debellassent, adhortatus eos <ad> nouum cum Gallis suscipiendum bellum, qui et auxiliis iuuissent Antiochum, et adeo indomita haberent ingenia, ut nequiquam Antiochus emotus ultra iuga Tauri montis esset, nisi frangerentur opes Gallorum, de se quoque pauca, nec falsa nec immodica, adiecit. Laeti milites cum frequenti adsensu consulem audiuerunt, partem uirium Antiochi fuisse Gallos credentes; rege

superato nullum momentum in solis per se Gallorum copiis fore. Eumenen haud in tempore abesse — Romae tum erat — credere consul, gnarum locorum hominumque, et cuius interesset frangi Gallorum opes. Attalum igitur fratrem eius accersit a Pergamo, hortatusque ad capessendum secum bellum pollicentem suam suorumque operam domum ad comparandum dimittit. Paucos post dies profecto ab Epheso consuli ad Magnesiam occurrit Attalus cum mille peditibus equitibusque quingentis, Athenaeo fratre iusso cum ceteris copiis subsequi, commendata iis custodia Pergami, quos fratri regnoque fidos credebat. Consul collaudato iuvene cum omnibus copiis ad Maeandrum progressus castra posuit, quia uado superari amnis non poterat et contrahendae naues erant ad exercitum traiciendum. Transgressi Maeandrum ad Hieran Comen peruenerunt.

[13] Fanum ibi augustum Apollinis et oraculum; sortes uersibus haud inconditis dare uates dicuntur. Hinc alteris castris ad Harpasum flumen uentum est, quo legati ab Alabandis uenerunt, ut castellum, quod ab ipsis nuper descisset, aut auctoritate aut armis cogeret iura antiqua pati. Eodem et Athenaeus, Eumenis et Attali frater, cum Cretense Leuso et Corrago Macedone uenit; mille pedites mixtarum gentium et trecentos equites secum adduxerunt. Consul tribuno militum misso cum modica manu castellum ui cepit, captum Alabandensibus reddit. Ipse nihil uia degressus ad Antiochiam super Maeandrum amnem posuit castra. Huius amnis fontes Celaenis oriuntur. Celaenae urbs caput quondam Phrygiae fuit; migratum inde haud procul ueteribus Celaenis, nouaeque urbi Apameae nomen inditum ab Apama sorore Seleuci regis. Et Marsyas amnis, haud procul a Maeandri fontibus oriens, in Maeandrum cadit, famaue ita tenet, Celaenis Marsyan cum Apolline tiliarum cantu certasse. Maeander ex arce summa Celaenarum ortus, media urbe decurrens, per Caras primum, deinde Ionas in sinum maris editur, qui inter Prienen et Miletum est. Ad Antiochiam in castra consulis Seleucus, Antiochi filius, ex foedere icto cum Scipione ad frumentum exercitui dandum uenit. Parua disceptatio de Attali auxiliaribus orta est, quod Romano tantum militi pactum Antiochum ut daretur frumentum Seleucus dicebat. Discussa ea quoque est constantia consulis, qui misso tribuno edixit, ne Romani milites acciperent, priusquam Attali auxilia accepissent. Inde ad Gordiutichos quod uocant processum est.

Ex eo loco ad Tabas tertiis castris peruentum. In finibus Pisidarum posita urbs est, in ea parte, quae uergit ad Pamphylium mare. Integris uiribus regionis eius feroces ad bellandum habebat uiros. Tum quoque equites in agmen Romanum eruptione facta haud modice primo impetu turbauere; deinde ut apparuit nec numero se nec uirtute pares esse, in urbem compulsi ueniam erroris petebant, dedere urbem parati. Quinque et uiginti talenta argenti et decem milia medimnum tritici imperata; ita in deditionem accepti.

[14] Tertio inde die ad Casum amnem peruen tum; inde profecti Erizam urbem primo impetu ceperunt. Ad Thabusion castellum imminens flumini Indo uentum est, cui fecerat nomen Indus ab elephanto deiectus. Haud procul a Cibyra aberant, nec legatio ulla a Moagete, tyranno ciuitatis eius, homine ad omnia infido atque importuno, ueniebat. Ad temptandum eius animum C. Heluium cum quattuor milibus peditum et quingentis equitibus consul praemittit. Huic agmini iam finis ingredienti legati occurrerunt nuntiantes paratum esse tyrannum imperata facere; orabant, ut pacatus finis iniret cohiberetque a populatione agri militem, et in corona aurea quindecim talenta adferebant. Heluius integros a populatione agros seruaturum pollicitus ire ad consulem legatos iussit. Quibus eadem referentibus consul ‘neque Romani’ inquit ‘bonae uoluntatis ullum signum erga nos tyranni habemus, et ipsum talem esse inter omnes constat, ut de poena eius magis quam de amicitia nobis cogitandum sit.’ Perturbati hac uoce legati nihil aliud petere, quam ut coronam acciperet ueniendique ad eum tyranno potestatem et copiam loquendi ac purgandi se faceret. Permissu consulis postero die in castra tyrannus uenit, uestitus comitatusque uix ad priuati modice locupletis habitum, et oratio fuit summissa et infracta, extenuantis opes suas urbiumque suae dicionis egestatem querentis. Erant autem sub eo praeter Cibyrā Sylleum et ad Limnen quae appellatur. Ex his, ut se suosque spoliaret, quinque et uiginti talenta se confecturum, prope ut diffidens, pollicebatur. ‘Enimuero’ inquit consul ‘ferri iam ludificatio ista non potest. Parum est non erubuisse absentem, cum per legatos frustrareris nos; praesens quoque in eadem perstas impudentia. Quinque et uiginti talenta tyrannidem tuam exhaurient? Quingenta ergo talenta nisi triduo numeras, populationem in agris, obsidionem in urbe expecta.’ Hac denuntiatione conterritus perstare tamen in

pertinaci simulatione inopiae. Et paulatim illiberali adiectione nunc per cauillationem, nunc precibus et simulatis lacrimis ad centum talenta est perductus. Adiecta decem milia medimnum frumenti. Haec omnia intra sex dies exacta.

[15] A Cibyra per agros Sindensium exercitus ductus, transgressusque Caularem amnem posuit castra. Postero die [et] praeter Caralitin paludem agmen ductum; ad Madamprum manserunt. Inde progredientibus ab Lago, proxima urbe, metu incolae fugerunt; uacuum hominibus et refertum rerum omnium copia oppidum diripuerunt. Inde ad Lysis fluminis fontes, postero die ad Cobulatum amnem progressi. Termessenses eo tempore Isiondensium arcem urbe capta oppugnabant. Inclusi, cum alia spes auxilii nulla esset, legatos ad consulem orantes opem miserunt: cum coniugibus ac liberis in arce inclusos se mortem in dies, aut ferro aut fame patiendam, expectare. Volenti consuli causa in Pamphyliam deuertendi oblata est. Adueniens obsidione Isiondensis exemit; Termesso pacem dedit quinquaginta talentis argenti acceptis; item Aspendiis ceterisque Pamphyliae populis. Ex Pamphylia rediens ad fluuium Taurum primo die, postero ad Xylinen quam uocant Comen posuit castra. Profectus inde continentibus itineribus ad Cormasa urbem peruenit. Darsa proxima urbs erat; eam metu incolarum desertam, plenam omnium rerum copia inuenit. Progredienti praeter paludes legati ab Lysinoe dedentes ciuitatem uenerunt. Inde in agrum Sagalassenum, uberem fertilemque omni genere frugum, uentum est. Colunt Pisidae, longe optimi bello regionis eius. Cum ea res animos fecit, tum agri fecunditas et multitudo hominum et situs inter paucas munitae urbis. Consul, quia nulla legatio ad finem praesto fuerat, praedatum in agros misit. Tum demum fracta pertinacia est, ut ferri agique res suas uiderunt; legatis missis pacti quinquaginta talentis et uiginti milibus medimnum tritici, uiginti hordei, pacem impetrauerunt. Progressus inde ad Rhotrinos fontes ad uicum, quem Acoridos Comen uocant, posuit castra. Eo Seleucus ab Apamea postero die uenit. Aegros inde et inutilia impedimenta cum Apameam dimisisset, ducibus itinerum ab Seleuco acceptis profectus eo die in Metropolitanum campum, postero die Dynias Phrygiae processit. Inde Synnada uenit, metu omnibus circa oppidis desertis. Quorum praeda iam graue agmen trahens uix quinque milium die

toto itinere perfecto ad Beudos, quod uetus appellant, peruenit. Ad Anabura inde, et altero die ad Alandri fontes, tertio ad Abbassium posuit castra. Ibi plures dies statua habuit, quia peruentum erat ad Tolostobogiorum fines.

[16] Galli, magna hominum uis, seu inopia agri seu praedae spe, nullam gentem, per quas ituri essent, parem armis rati, Brenno duce in Dardanos peruenerunt. Ibi seditio orta est; ad uiginti milia hominum cum Litorio ac Lutario regulis secessionem facta a Brenno in Thraeciam iter auertunt. Vbi cum resistentibus pugnando, pacem petentibus stipendium imponendo Byzantium cum peruenissent, aliquamdiu oram Propontidis, uectigalis habendo regionis eius urbes, obtinuerunt. Cupido inde eos in Asiam transeundi, audientis ex propinquo, quanta ubertas eius terrae esset, cepit; et Lysimachia fraude capta Chersonesoque omni armis possessa ad Hellespontum descenderunt. Ibi uero exiguo diuisam freto cernentibus Asiam multo magis animi ad transeundum accensi; nuntiosque ad Antipatrum praefectum eius orae de transitu mittebant. Quae res cum lentius spe ipsorum traheretur, alia rursus noua inter regulos seditio orta est. Litorius retro, unde uenerat, cum maiore parte hominum repetit Byzantium; Lutarius Macedonibus per speciem legationis ab Antipatro ad speculandum missis duas tectas naues et tris lembos adimit. Iis alios atque alios dies noctesque trauehendo intra paucos dies omnis copias traiecit. Haud ita multo post Litorius adiuuante Nicomede Bithyniae rege a Byzantio transmisit. Coeunt deinde in unum rursus Galli et auxilia Nicomedi dant aduersus Ziboetam, tenentem partem Bithyniae, gerenti bellum. Atque eorum maxime opera deuictus Ziboeta est, Bithyniaque omnis in dicionem Nicomedis concessit. Profecti ex Bithynia in Asiam processerunt. Non plus ex uiginti milibus hominum quam decem armata erant. Tamen tantum terroris omnibus quae cis Taurum incolunt gentibus iniecerunt, ut quas adissent quasque non adissent, pariter ultimae propinquis, imperio parerent. Postremo cum tres essent gentes, Tolostobogii Trocmi Tectosages, in tris partis, qua cuique populorum suorum uectigalis Asia esset, diuiserunt. Trocmis Hellesponti ora data; Tolostobogii Aeolida atque Ioniam, Tectosages mediterranea Asiae sortiti sunt. Et stipendium tota cis Taurum Asia exigebant, sedem autem ipsi sibi circa Halyn flumen cepere. Tantisque terror

eorum nominis erat, multitudine etiam magna subole aucta, ut Syriae quoque ad postremum reges stipendium dare non abnuerent. Primus Asiam incolentium abnuit Attalus, pater regis Eumenis; audacique incepto praeter opinionem omnium adfuit fortuna, et signis collatis superior fuit. Non tamen ita infregit animos eorum, ut absisterent imperio; eadem opes usque ad bellum Antiochi cum Romanis manserunt. Tum quoque, pulso Antiocho, magnam spem habuerunt, quia procul mari incoherent, Romanum exercitum ad se non peruenturum.

[17] Cum hoc hoste, tam terribili omnibus regionis eius, quia bellum gerendum erat, pro contione milites in hunc maxime modum adlocutus est consul: ‘non me praeterit, milites, omnium quae Asiam colunt gentium Gallos fama belli praestare. Inter mitissimum genus hominum ferox natio peruagata bello prope orbem terrarum sedem cepit. Procera corpora, promissae et rutilatae comae, uasta scuta, praelongi gladii; ad hoc cantus ineuntium proelium et ululatus et tripudia, et quatientium scuta in patrium quendam modum horrendus armorum crepitus, omnia de industria composita ad terrorem. Sed haec, quibus insolita atque insueta sunt, Graeci et Phryges et Cares timeant; Romanis Gallici tumultus adsueti, etiam uanitates notae sunt. Semel primo congressu ad Aliam eos olim fugerunt maiores nostri; ex eo tempore per ducentos iam annos pecorum in modum consternatos caedunt fugantque, et plures prope de Gallis triumphum quam de toto orbe terrarum acti sunt. Iam usu hoc cognitum est: si primum impetum, quem feruido ingenio et caeca ira effundunt, sustinueris, fluunt sudore et lassitudine membra, labant arma; mollia corpora, molles, ubi ira consedit, animos sol pulvis sitis, ut ferrum non admoueas, prosternunt. Non legionibus legiones eorum solum experti sumus, sed uir unus cum uiro congregiundo T. Manlius, M. Valerius, quantum Gallicam rabiem uinceret Romana uirtus, docuerunt. Iam M. Manlius unus agmine scandentis in Capitolium detrusit Gallos. Et illis maioribus nostris cum haud dubiis Gallis, in sua terra genitis, res erat; hi iam degeneres sunt, mixti, et Gallograeci uere, quod appellantur; sicut in frugibus pecudibusque non tantum semina ad seruandam indolem ualent, quantum terrae proprietates caelique, sub quo aluntur, mutat. Macedones, qui Alexandriam in Aegypto, qui Seleuciam ac Babyloniam, quique alias sparsas per

orbem terrarum colonias habent, in Syros Parthos Aegyptios degenerarunt; Massilia, inter Gallos sita, traxit aliquantum ab accolis animorum; Tarentinis quid ex Spartana dura illa et horrida disciplina mansit? <Est> generosius, in sua quidquid sede gignitur; insitum alienae terrae in id, quo alitur, natura uertente se, degenerat. Phrygas igitur Gallicis oneratos armis, sicut in acie Antiochi cecidistis, uictos uictores, caedetis. Magis uereor, ne parum inde gloriae, quam ne nimium belli sit. Attalus eos rex saepe fudit fugauitque. Nolite existimare beluas tantum recens captas feritatem illam siluestrem primo seruare, dein, cum diu manibus humanis aluntur, mitescere, in hominum feritate mulcenda non eandem naturam esse. Eosdemne hos creditis esse, qui patres eorum auique fuerunt? Extorres inopia agrorum profecti domo per asperrimam Illyrici oram, Paeoniam inde et Thraeciam pugnando cum ferocissimis gentibus emensi, has terras ceperunt. Duratos eos tot malis exasperatosque accepit terra, quae copia omnium rerum saginaret. Vberimo agro, mitissimo caelo, clementibus accolarum ingeniis omnis illa, cum qua uenerant, mansuefacta est feritas. Vobis mehercule, Martiis uiris, cauenda ac fugienda quam primum amoenitas est Asiae: tantum hae peregrinae uoluptates ad extinguendum uigorem animorum possunt; tantum contagio disciplinae morisque accolarum ualet. Hoc tamen feliciter euenit, quod sicut uim aduersus uos nequaquam, ita famam apud Graecos parem illi antiquae obtinent, cum qua uenerunt, bellicque gloriam uictores eandem inter socios habebitis, quam si seruantis anticum specimen animorum Gallos uicissetis.'

[18] Contione dimissa missisque ad Eposognatum legatis, qui unus ex regulis et in Eumenis manserat amicitia et negauerat Antiocho aduersus Romanos auxilia, castra mouit. Primo die ad Alandrum flumen, postero ad uicum quem uocant Tyscon uentum. Eo legati Oroandensium cum uenissent amicitiam petentes, ducenta talenta his sunt imperata, precantibusque, ut domum renuntiarent, potestas facta. Ducere inde exercitum consul ad Pliten intendit; deinde ad Alyattos castra posita. Eo missi ad Eposognatum redierunt, et legati reguli orantes, ne Tectosagis bellum inferret; ipsum in eam gentem iturum Eposognatum persuasurumque, ut imperata faciant. Data uenia regulo, duci inde exercitus per Axylon quam uocant terram coeptus. Ab re nomen habet: non ligni modo quicquam, sed ne spinas quidem

aut ullum aliud alimentum fert ignis; fimo bubulo pro lignis utuntur. Ad Cuballum, Gallograeciae castellum, castra habentibus Romanis apparuere cum magno tumultu hostium equites, nec turbarunt tantum Romanas stationes repente inuecti, sed quosdam etiam occiderunt. Qui tumultus cum in castra perlatus esset, effusus repente omnibus portis equitatus Romanus fudit fugauitque Gallos et aliquot fugientis occidit. Inde consul, ut qui iam ad hostis peruentum cerneret, explorato deinde et cum cura coacto agmine procedebat. Et continentibus itineribus cum ad Sangarium flumen uenisset, pontem, quia uado nusquam transitus erat, facere instituit. Sangarius ex Adoreo monte per Phrygiam fluens miscetur ad Bithyniam Tymbri fluuiio; inde maior iam geminatis aquis per Bithyniam fertur et in Propontidem sese effundit, non tamen tam magnitudine memorabilis, quam quod piscium accolis ingentem uim praebet. Transgressis ponte perfecto flumen praeter ripam euntibus Galli Matris Magnae a Pessinunte occurrere cum insignibus suis, uaticinantes fanatico carmine deam Romanis uiam belli et uictoriam dare imperiumque eius regionis. Accipere se omen cum dixisset consul, castra eo ipso loco posuit. Postero die ad Gordium peruenit. Id haud magnum quidem oppidum est, sed plus quam mediterraneum celebre et frequens emporium. Tria maria pari ferme distantia interuallo habet, ad Hellespontum, ad Sinopen, et alterius orae litora, qua Cilices maritimi colunt; multarum magnarumque praeterea gentium finis contigit, quarum commercium in eum maxime locum mutui usus contraxere. Id tum desertum fuga incolarum oppidum, refertum idem copia rerum omnium inuenerunt. Ibi statua habentibus legati ab Eposognato uenerunt nuntiantes profectum eum ad regulos Gallorum nihil aequi impetrasse; ex campestribus uicis agrisque frequentes demigrare et cum coniugibus ac liberis, quae ferre atque agere possint, prae se agentis portantisque Olympum montem petere, ut inde armis locorumque situ sese tueantur.

[19] Certiora postea Oroandensium legati attulerunt, Tolostobogiorum ciuitatem Olympum montem cepisse; diuersos Tectosagos alium montem, Magaba qui dicatur, petisse; Trocmos coniugibus ac liberis apud Tectosagos depositis armatorum agmine Tolostobogiis statuisse auxilium ferre. Erant autem tunc trium populorum reguli Ortiago et Combolomarus et Gaulotus. Iis haec

maxime ratio belli sumendi fuerat, quod cum montes editissimos regionis eius tenerent, conuectis omnibus, quae ad usum quamuis longi temporis sufficerent, taedio se fatigaturos hostem censebant: nam neque ausuros per tam ardua atque iniqua loca subire eos, et, si conarentur, uel parua manu prohiberi aut deturbari posse, nec quietos in radicibus montium gelidorum sedentes frigus aut inopiam laturos. Et cum ipsa altitudo locorum eos tutaretur, fossam quoque et alia munimenta uerticibus iis, quos insederant, circumiecere. Minima apparatus missilium telorum cura fuit, quod saxa adfatim praebituram asperitatem ipsam locorum credebant.

[20] Consul quia non comminus pugnam sed procul locis oppugnandis futuram praeceperat animo, ingentem uim pilorum, uelitarium hastarum, sagittarum glandisque et modicorum, qui funda mitti possent, lapidum parauerat, instructusque missilium apparatu ad Olympum montem ducit et a quinque ferme milibus castra locat. Postero die cum quadringentis equitibus et Attalo progressum eum ad naturam montis situmque Gallicorum castrorum uisendum equites hostium, duplex numerus, effusi e castris, in fugam auerterunt; occisi quoque pauci fugientium, uulnerati plures. Tertio die cum omnibus ad loca exploranda profectus, quia nemo hostium extra munimenta processit, tuto circumuectus montem, animaduertit meridiana regione terrenos et placide accliuos ad quendam finem colles esse, a septentrione arduas et rectas prope rupes, atque omnibus ferme aliis inuiis itinera tria esse, unum medio monte, qua terrena erant, duo difficilia ab hiberno solis ortu et ab aestiuo occasu. Haec contemplatus eo die sub ipsis radicibus posuit castra; postero, sacrificio facto, cum primis hostiis litasset, trifariam exercitum diuisum ducere ad hostem pergit. Ipse cum maxima parte copiarum, qua aequissimum aditum praebebat mons, ascendit; L. Manlium fratrem ab hiberno ortu, quoad loca patiantur et tuto possit, subire iubet; si qua periculosa et praerupta occurrant, non pugnare cum iniquitate locorum neque inexsuperabilibus uim adferre, sed obliquo monte ad se declinare et suo agmini coniungi; C. Heluium cum tertia parte circuire sensim per infima montis, deinde ab occasu aestiuo erigere agmen. Et Attali auxilia trifariam aequo numero diuisit, secum esse ipsum iuuenem iussit. Equitatum cum elephantis in proxima tumulis planitie reliquit; edictum praefectis, ut intenti, quid

ubique geratur, animaduertant opemque ferre, quo postulet res, possint.

[21] Galli [et] ab duobus lateribus satis fidentes inuia esse, ab ea parte, quae in meridiem uergeret, ut armis clauderent uiam, quattuor milia fere armatorum ad tumulum imminem uiae minus mille passuum a castris occupandum mittunt, eo se rati ueluti castello iter impedituros. Quod ubi Romani uiderunt, expediunt sese ad pugnam. Ante signa modico interuallo uelites eunt et ab Attalo Cretenses sagittarii et funditores et Tralli <et> Thraeces; signa peditum ut per arduum, leni gradu ducuntur, ita prae se habentium scuta, ut missilia tantum uitarent, pede collato non uiderentur pugnaturi. Missilibus ex interuallo loci proelium commissum est, primo par, Gallos loco adiuuante, Romanos uarietate et copia telorum; procedente certamine nihil iam aequi erat. Scuta longa ceterum ad amplitudinem corporum parum lata, et ea ipsa plana, male tegebant Gallos. Nec tela iam alia habebant praeter gladios, quorum, cum manum hostis non consereret, nullus usus erat. Saxis nec modicis, ut quae non praeparassent, sed quod cuique temere trepidanti ad manum uenisset, <et> ut insueti, nec arte nec uiribus adiuuantes ictum, utebantur. Sagittis glande iaculis incauti [et] ab omni parte configebantur nec, quid agerent, ira et pauore occaecatis animis cernebant, et erant depresi genere pugnae, in quod minime apti sunt. Nam quemadmodum comminus, ubi in uicem pati et inferre uulnera licet, accendit ira animos eorum, ita, ubi ex occulto et procul leuibus telis uulnerantur, nec, quo ruant caeco impetu, habent, uelut ferae transfixae in suos temere incurrunt. Detegebat uulnera eorum, quod nudi pugnant, et sunt fusa et candida corpora, ut quae numquam nisi in pugna nudentur; ita et plus sanguinis ex multa carne fundebatur, et foediores patebant plagae, et candor corporum magis sanguine atro maculabatur. Sed non tam patentibus plagis mouentur; interdum insecta cute, ubi latior quam altior plaga est, etiam gloriosius se pugnare putant; iidem, cum aculeus sagittae aut glandis abditae introrsus tenui uulnere in speciem urit, et scrutantis, qua euellant, telum non sequitur, tum in rabiem et pudorem tam parucae perimentis uersi pestis prosternunt corpora humi, sicut tum passim procumbebant; alii ruentes in hostem undique configebantur et, cum comminus uenerant, gladiis a uelutibus trucidabantur. Hic miles tripedalem parmam habet et in dextera

hastas, quibus eminus utitur; gladio Hispaniensi est cinctus; quodsi pede collato pugnandum est, translatis in laeuam hastis stringit gladium. Pauci iam supererant Gallorum, qui, postquam ab leui armatura superatos se uiderunt et instare legionum signa, effusa fuga castra repetunt pauoris et tumultus iam plena, ut ubi feminae puerique et alia imbellis turba permixta esset. Romanos uictores deserti fuga hostium acceperunt tumuli.

[22] Sub idem tempus L. Manlius et C. Heluius, cum, quoad uiam colles obliqui dederunt, escendissent, postquam ad inuia uentum est, flexere iter in partem montis, quae una habebat iter, et sequi consulis agmen modico uterque interuallo uelut ex composito coeperunt, quod primo optimum factu fuisset, in id necessitate ipsa compulsi; subsidia enim in talibus iniquitatibus locorum maximo saepe usui fuerunt, ut primis forte deturbatis secundi et tegant pulsos et integri pugnam excipiant. Consul, postquam ad tumulos ab leui armatura captos prima signa legionum peruenerunt, respirare et conuiuiscere paulisper militem iubet; simul strata per tumulos corpora Gallorum ostentat, et, cum leuis armatura proelium tale ediderit, quid ab legionibus, quid ab iustis armis, quid ab animis fortissimorum militum expectari? Castra illis capienda esse, in quae compulsus ab leui armatura hostis trepidet. Praecedere tamen iubet leuem armaturam, quae, cum staret agmen, colligendis per tumulos telis, ut missilia sufficerent, haud segne id ipsum tempus consumpserat. Iam castris appropinquabant; et Galli, ne parum se munimenta sua tegerent, armati pro uallo constiterant. Obruti deinde omni genere telorum, cum, quo plures atque densiores erant, eo minus uani quicquam intercideret teli, intra uallum momento temporis compelluntur stationibus tantum firmis ad ipsos aditus portarum relictis. In multitudinem compulsam in castra uis ingens missilium telorum coniciebatur, et uulnerari multos clamor permixtus mulierum atque puerorum ploratibus significabat. In eos, qui portas stationibus suis clausuerant, legionum antesignani pila coniecerunt. Iis uero non uulnerabantur, sed transuerberatis scutis plerique inter se conserti haerebant; nec diutius impetum Romanorum sustinuerunt.

[23] Patentibus iam portis, priusquam irrumperent uictores, fuga e castris Gallorum in omnis partes facta est. Ruunt caeci per uias, per inuia; nulla praecipitia saxa, nullae rupes obstant; nihil praeter

hostem metuunt; itaque plerique, praecipites per uastam altitudinem prolapsi, <contusi> aut debilitati exanimantur. Consul captis castris direptione praedaeque abstinet militem; sequi pro se quemque et instare et percussis pauorem addere iubet. Superuenit et alterum cum L. Manlio agmen; nec eos castra intrare sinit; protinus ad persequendos hostis mittit, et ipse paulo post tradita captiuorum custodia tribunis militum sequitur, debellatum ratus, si in illo pauore quam plurimi caesi forent aut capti. Egresso consule C. Heluius cum tertio agmine aduenit, nec continere suos ab direptione castrorum ualuit, praedaeque eorum, iniquissima sorte, qui pugnae non interfuerant, facta est. Equites diu ignari et pugnae et uictoriae suorum steterunt; deinde et ipsi, quantum equis subire poterant, sparsos fuga Gallos circa radices montis consecrati cecidere aut cepere. Numerus interfectorum haud facile iniri potuit, quia late per omnis amfractus montium fugaque et caedes fuit, et magna pars rupibus inuiis in profundae altitudinis conualles delapsa est, pars in siluis uepribusque occisa. Claudius, qui bis pugnatum in Olympo monte scribit, ad quadraginta milia hominum auctor est caesa, Ualerius Antias, qui magis immodicus in numero augendo esse solet, non plus decem milia. Numerus captiuorum haud dubie milia quadraginta expleuit, quia omnis generis aetatisque turbam secum traxerant demigrantium magis quam in bellum euntium modo. Consul armis hostium [in] uno concrematis cumulo ceteram praedam conferre omnis iussit, et aut uendidit, quod eius in publicum redigendum erat, aut cum cura, ut quam aequissima esset, per milites diuisit. Laudati quoque pro contione omnes sunt, donatique pro merito quisque, ante omnis Attalus summo ceterorum adsensu; nam singularis eius iuuenis cum uirtus et industria in omnibus laboribus periculisque tum modestia etiam fuerat.

[24] Supererat bellum integrum cum Tectosagis. Ad eos profectus consul tertiis castris Ancyram, nobilem in illis locis urbem, peruenit, unde hostes paulo plus decem milia aberant. Vbi cum statua essent, facinus memorabile a captiua factum est. Orgiagontis reguli uxor forma eximia custodiebatur inter plures captiuos; cui custodiae centurio praeerat et libidinis et auaritiae militaris. Is primo animum temptauit; quem cum abhorrentem a uoluntario uideret stupro, corpori, quod seruum fortuna erat, uim fecit. Deinde ad leniendam

indignitatem iniuriae spem reditus ad suos mulieri facit, et ne eam quidem, ut amans, gratuitam. Certo auri pondere pactus, ne quem suorum conscium haberet, ipsi permittit, ut, quem uellet, unum ex captiuis nuntium ad suos mitteret. Locum prope flumen constituit, quo duo ne plus necessarii captivae cum auro uenirent nocte insequenti ad eam accipiendam. Forte ipsius mulieris seruus inter captiuos eiusdem custodiae erat. Hunc nuntium primis tenebris extra stationes centurio educit. Nocte insequenti et duo necessarii mulieris ad constitutum locum et centurio cum captiua uenit. Vbi cum aurum ostenderent, quod summam talenti Attici — tanti enim pepigerat — expleret, mulier lingua sua, stringerent ferrum et centurionem pensantem aurum occiderent, imperauit. Iugulati praecisum caput ipsa inuolutum ueste ferens ad uirum Orgiagontem, qui ab Olympo domum refugerat, peruenit; quem priusquam complecteretur, caput centurionis ante pedes eius abiecit, mirantique, cuiusnam id caput hominis aut quod id facinus haudquaquam muliebre esset, et iniuriam corporis et ultionem uiolatae per uim pudicitiae confessa uiro est, aliaque, ut traditur, sanctitate et grauitate uitae huius matronalis facinoris decus ad ultimum conseruauit.

[25] Ancyram in statuam oratores Tectosagum ad consulem uenerunt petentes, ne ante [ab Ancyra] castra moueret, quam collocutus cum suis regibus esset: nullas condiciones pacis iis non bello fore potiores. Tempus in posterum diem constituitur locusque, qui medius maxime inter castra Gallorum et Ancyram est uisus. Quo cum consul ad tempus cum praesidio quingentorum equitum uenisset nec ullo Gallorum ibi uiso regressus in castra esset, oratores idem redeunt, excusantes religione obiecta uenire reges non posse; principes gentis, per quos aequae res transigi posset, uenturos. Consul se quoque Attalum missurum dixit. Ad hoc colloquium utrimque uentum est. Trecentos equites Attalus praesidii causa cum adduxisset, iactatae sunt pacis condiciones; finis rei quia absentibus ducibus imponi non poterat, conuenit, uti consul regesque eo loco postero die congredierentur. Frustratio Gallorum eo spectabat, primum ut tererent tempus, donec res suas, quibus periclitari nolebant, cum coniugibus et liberis trans Halyn flumen traicerent, deinde quod ipsi consuli, parum cauto aduersus colloquii fraudem, insidiabantur. Mille ad eam rem ex omni numero audaciae expertae delegerunt equites; et

successisset fraudi, ni pro iure gentium, cuius uiolandi consilium initum erat, stetisset fortuna. Pabulatores lignatoresque Romani in eam partem, in qua colloquium futurum erat, ducti sunt, tutius id futurum tribunis ratis, quia consulis praesidium et ipsum pro statione habituri erant hosti oppositum; suam tamen alteram stationem propius castra sescentorum equitum posuerunt. Consul, adfirmante Attalo uenturos reges et transigi rem posse, profectus e castris, cum eodem quo antea praesidio equitum quinque milia fere processisset nec multum a constituto loco abesset, repente concitatis equis cum impetu hostili uidet Gallos uenientis. Constituit agmen, et expedire tela animosque equitibus iussis primo constanter initium pugnae excepit nec cessit; dein, cum praeagrauaret multitudo, cedere sensim nihil confusis turmarum ordinibus coepit; postremo, cum iam plus in mora periculi quam in ordinibus conseruandis praesidii esset, omnes passim in fugam effusi sunt. Tum uero instare dissipatis Galli et caedere; magnaque pars oppressa foret, ni statio pabulatorum, sescenti equites occurrissent. Ii procul clamore pauido suorum audito cum tela equosque expedissent, integri profligatam pugnam acceperunt. Itaque uersa extemplo fortuna est, uersus a uictis in uictores terror. Et primo impetu fusi Galli sunt, et ex agris concurrebant pabulatores, et undique obuius hostis Gallis erat, ut ne fugam quidem tutam aut facilem haberent, quia recentibus equis Romani fessos sequebantur. Pauci ergo effugerunt; captus est nemo maior multo pars per fidem uiolati colloquii poenas morte luerunt. Romani ardentibus ira animis postero die omnibus copiis ad hostem perueniunt.

[26] Biduum natura montis per se ipsum exploranda, ne quid ignoti esset, absumpsit consul; tertio die, cum auspicio operam dedisset, deinde immolasset, in quattuor partes diuisas copias educit, duas, ut medio monte duceret, duas ab lateribus, ut aduersus cornua Gallorum erigeret. Hostium quod roboris erat, Tectosagi et Trocmi, mediam tenebant aciem, milia hominum quinquaginta; equitatum, quia equorum nullus erat inter inaequales rupes usus, ad pedes deductum, decem milia hominum, ab dextro locauerunt cornu; Ariarathis Cappadoces et Morzi auxiliares in laeuo quattuor ferme milium numerum explebant. Consul, sicut in Olympo monte, prima in acie locata leui armatura, telorum omnis generis ut aequae magna uis ad

manum esset, curauit. Vbi appropinquarent, omnia eadem utrimque, quae fuerant in priore proelio, erant praeter animos et uictoribus ab re secunda auctos et hostibus <fractos>, quia, etsi non ipsi uicti erant, suae gentis hominum cladem pro sua ducebant. Itaque a paribus initiis coepta res eundem exitum habuit. Velut nubes leuium telorum coniecta obruit aciem Gallorum. Nec aut procurrere quisquam ab ordinibus suis, ne nudarent undique corpus ad ictus, audebant, et stantes, quo densiores erant, hoc plura, uelut destinatum petentibus, uulnera accipiebant. Consul iam per se turbatis si legionum signa ostendisset, uersuros extemplo in fugam omnis ratus receptis inter ordines uelitibus et alia turba auxiliorum aciem promouit.

[27] Galli et memoria Tolostobogiorum cladis territi et inhaerentia corporibus gerentes tela fessique et stando et uulneribus ne primum quidem impetum et clamorem Romanorum tulerunt. Fuga ad castra inclinauit; sed pauci intra munimenta sese recepere; pars maior dextra laeuaque praelati, qua quemque impetus tulit, fugerunt. Victores usque ad castra secuti ceciderunt terga; deinde in castris cupiditate praedae haeserunt, nec sequebatur quisquam. In cornibus Galli diutius steterunt, quia serius ad eos peruentum est; ceterum ne primum quidem coniectum telorum tulerunt. Consul quia ingressos in castra ab direptione abstrahere non poterat, eos, qui in cornibus fuerant, protinus ad sequendos hostis misit. Per aliquantum spatium secuti non plus tamen octo milia hominum in fuga — nam pugna nulla fuit — ceciderunt; reliqui flumen Halyn traiecerunt. Romanorum pars magna ea nocte in castris hostium mansit; ceteros in sua castra consul reduxit. Postero die captiuos praedamque recensuit, quae tanta fuit, quantam audissimum rapiendi gens, cum cis montem Taurum omnia armis per multos annos tenuisset, coaceruare potuit. Galli ex dissipata passim fuga in unum locum congregati, magna pars saucii aut inermes, nudati omnibus rebus, oratores de pace ad consulem miserunt. Eos Manlius Ephesum uenire iussit; ipse — iam enim medium autumnus erat — locis gelidis propinquitatem Tauri montis excedere properans uictorem exercitum in hiberna maritimae orae reduxit.

[28] Dum haec in Asia geruntur, in ceteris prouinciis tranquillae res fuerunt. Censores Romae T. Quinctius Flaminius et M. Claudius Marcellus senatum legerunt; princeps in senatu tertium lectus P.

Scipio Africanus; quattuor soli praeteriti sunt, nemo curuli usus honore. Et in equitatu recensendo mitis admodum censura fuit. Substructionem super Aequimelum in Capitolio et uiam silice sternendam a porta Capena ad Martis locauerunt. Campani, ubi censerentur, senatum consuluerunt; decretum, uti Romae censerentur. Aquae ingentes eo anno fuerunt; Tiberis duodeciens campum Martium planaue urbis inundauit. Ab Cn. Manlio consule bello in Asia cum Gallis perfecto, alter consul M. Fuluius perdomitis Aetolis cum traiecisset in Cephallaniam, circa ciuitates insulae misit percontatum, utrum se dedere Romanis an belli fortunam experiri mallent. Metus ad omnes ualuit, ne deditionem recusarent. Obsides inde imperatos pro uiribus inopes populi * * uicenos autem Cranii et Palenses et Samaei dederunt. Insperata pax Cephallaniae adfulserat, cum repente una ciuitas, incertum quam ob causam, Samaei descuerunt. Quia opportuno loco urbs posita esset, timuisse se aiebant, ne demigrare cogerentur ab Romanis. Ceterum ipsine sibi eum finxerint metum et timore uano quietum excitauerint malum, an iactata sermonibus res apud Romanos perlata ad eos sit, nihil comperti est, nisi quod datis iam obsidibus repente portas clausuerunt et ne suorum quidem precibus — miserat enim sub muros consul ad temptandam misericordiam parentum populariumque — desistere ab incepto uoluerunt. Oppugnari deinde, postquam nihil pacati respondebatur, coepta urbs est. Apparatum omnem tormentorum machinarumque trauctum ab Ambraciae oppugnatione habebat, et opera quae facienda erant, inpigre milites perfecerunt. Duobus igitur locis admoti arietes quatiebant muros.

[29] Nec ab Samaeis quicquam, quo aut opera aut hostis arceri posset, praetermissum est. Duabus tamen maxime resistebant rebus, una, interiorem semper iuxta ualidum pro diruto nouum obstruentes murum, altera, eruptionibus subitis nunc in opera hostium, nunc in stationes; et plerumque his proeliis superiores erant. Vna ad coercendos inuenta, haud magna memoratu, res est. Centum funditores ab Aegio et Patris et Dymis acciti. A pueris ii more quodam gentis saxis globosis, quibus ferme harenae immixtis strata litora sunt, funda mare apertum incessentes exercebantur. Itaque longius certiusque et ualidiore ictu quam Baliaris funditor eo telo usi sunt. Et est non simplicis habenae, ut Baliarica aliarumque gentium

funda, sed triplex scutale, crebris suturis duratum, ne fluxa habena uolutetur in iactu glans, sed librata cum sederit, uelut neruo missa excutiat. Coronas modici circuli magno ex interuallo loci adsueta traicere non capita solum hostium uulnerabant, sed quem locum destinassent oris. Hae fundae Samaeos cohibuerunt, ne tam crebro neue tam audacter erumperent, adeo ut precarentur ex muris Achaeos, ut parumper abscederent et se cum Romanis stationibus pugnantis quiete spectarent. Quattuor menses obsidionem Same sustinuit. Cum ex paucis cotidie aliqui eorum caderent aut uulnerarentur, et qui supererant fessi et corporibus et animis essent, Romani nocte per arcem, quam Cyneatidem uocant — nam urbs in mare deuexa in occidentem uergit — , muro superato in forum peruenerunt. Samaei postquam captam partem urbis ab hostibus senserunt, cum coniugibus ac liberis in maiorem refugerunt arcem. Inde postero die dediti direpta urbe sub corona omnes uenierunt.

[30] Consul compositis rebus Cephallaniae, praesidio Samae imposito, in Peloponnesum iam diu accersentibus Aegiensibus maxime ac Lacedaemoniis traiecit. Aegium a principio Achaici concilii semper conuentus gentis indicti sunt, seu dignitati urbis id seu loci opportunitati datum est. Hunc morem Philopoemen eo primum anno labefactare conatus legem parabat ferre, ut in omnibus ciuitatibus, quae Achaici concilii essent, in uicem conuentus agerentur. Et sub ad uentum consulis damiurgis ciuitatum, qui summus est magistratus, Aegium euocantibus Philopoemen — praetor tum erat — Argos conuentum edixit. Quo cum appareret omnes ferme conuenturos, consul quoque, quamquam Aegiensium fauebat causae, Argos uenit; ubi cum disceptatio fuisset, et rem inclinatam cerneret, incepto destitit. Lacedaemonii deinde eum in sua certamina auerterunt. Sollicitam eam ciuitatem exules maxime habebant, quorum magna pars in maritimis Laconicae orae castellis, quae omnis adempta erat, habitabant. Id aegre patientes Lacedaemonii, ut aliqua liberum ad mare haberent aditum, si quando Romam alioque quo mitterent legatos, simul ut emporium et receptaculum peregrinis mercibus ad necessarios usus esset, nocte adorti uicum maritimum nomine Lan improuiso occupauerunt. Vicani quique ibi exules habitabant primo inopinata re territi sunt; deinde sub lucem congregati leui certamine expulerunt

Lacedaemonios. Terror tamen omnem maritimam oram peruasit, legatosque communiter et castella omnia uicique et exules, quibus ibi domicilia erant, ad Achaeos miserunt.

[31] Philopoemen praetor, iam inde ab initio exulum causae [et] amicus, et auctor semper Achaeis minuendi opes et auctoritatem Lacedaemoniorum, concilium querentibus dedit, decretumque referente eo factum est, cum in fidem Achaeorum tutelamque T. Quinctius et Romani Laconicae orae castella et uicos tradidissent, et, cum abstinere iis ex foedere Lacedaemonii deberent, Las uicus oppugnatus esset, caedesque ibi facta, qui eius rei auctores adfinesque essent, nisi dederentur Achaeis, uiolatum uideri foedus. Ad exposcendos eos legati extemplo Lacedaemonem missi sunt. Id imperium adeo superbum et indignum Lacedaemoniis uisum est, ut, si antiqua ciuitatis fortuna esset, haud dubie arma extemplo capturi fuerint. Maxime autem consternauit eos metus, si semel primis imperiis oboediendo iugum acceperant, ne, id quod iam diu moliretur Philopoemen, exilibus Lacedaemonem traderet. Furentes igitur ira triginta hominibus ex factione, cum qua consiliorum aliqua societas Philopoemeni atque exilibus erat, interfectis decreuerunt renuntiandam societatem Achaeis legatosque extemplo Cephallaniam mittendos, qui consuli M. Fulvio quique Romanis Lacedaemonem dederent orarentque eum, ut ueniret in Peloponnesum ad urbem Lacedaemonem in fidem dicionemque populi Romani accipiendam.

[32] Id ubi legati ad Achaeos rettulerunt, omnium ciuitatum, quae eius concilii erant, consensu bellum Lacedaemoniis indictum est. Ne extemplo gereretur, hiems impediit; incursionibus tamen paruis, latrocinii magis quam belli modo, non terra tantum sed etiam nauibus a mari fines eorum uastati. Hic tumultus consulem Peloponnesum adduxit, iussuque eius Elin concilio indicto Lacedaemonii ad disceptandum acciti. Magna ibi non disceptatio modo sed altercatio fuit, cui consul, cum alia satis ambiciose partem utramque fouendo incerta respondisset, una denuntiatione, ut bello abstinerent, donec Romam ad senatum legatos misissent, finem imposuit. Vtrunque legatio missa Romam est. Exules quoque Lacedaemoniorum suam causam legationemque Achaeis iniunxerunt. Diophanes et Lycortas, Megalopolitani ambo, principes legationis Achaeorum fuerunt, qui, dissidentes in re publica, tum quoque minime inter se conuenientis

orationes habuerunt. Diophanes senatui disceputationem omnium rerum permittebat: eos optime controuersias inter Achaeos ac Lacedaemonios finituros esse; Lycortas ex praeceptis Philopoemenis postulabat, ut Achaeis ex foedere ac legibus suis, quae decressent, agere liceret, libertatemque sibi illibatam, cuius ipsi auctores essent, praestarent. Magnae auctoritatis apud Romanos tum gens Achaeorum erat; nouari tamen nihil de Lacedaemoniis placebat. Ceterum responsum ita perplexum fuit, ut et Achaei sibi de Lacedaemone permissum acciperent, et Lacedaemonii non omnia concessa iis interpretarentur. Hac potestate immodice Achaei ac superbe usi sunt. Philopoemeni continuatur magistratus.

[33] Qui ueris initio exercitu indicto castra in finibus Lacedaemoniorum posuit, legatos deinde misit ad deposcendos auctores defectionis, et ciuitatem in pace futuram, si id fecisset, pollicentis, et illos nihil indicta causa passuros. Silentium prae metu ceterorum fuit; quos nominatim depoposcerat, ipsi se ituros professi sunt, fide accepta a legatis uim abfuturam, donec causam dixissent. Ierunt etiam alii illustres uiri, et aduocati priuatis, et quia pertinere causam eorum ad rem publicam censebant. Numquam alias exules Lacedaemoniorum Achaei secum adduxerant in finis, quia nihil aeque alienaturum animos ciuitatis uidebatur; tunc exercitus totius prope antesignani exules erant. Hi uenientibus Lacedaemoniis ad portam castrorum agmine facto occurrerunt; et primo lacessere iurgiis, deinde, altercatione orta, cum accenderentur irae, ferocissimi exulum impetum in Lacedaemonios fecerunt. Cum illi deos et fidem legatorum testarentur, et legati et praetor summouere turbam et protegere Lacedaemonios uinclaque iam quosdam iniciantis arcere. Crescebat tumultu concitato turba; et Achaei ad spectaculum primo concurrebant; deinde uociferantibus exulibus, quae passi forent, et orantibus opem adfirmantibusque simul numquam talem occasionem habituros, si eam praetermisissent; foedus, quod in Capitolio, quod Olympiae, quod in arce Athenis sacratum fuisset, irritum per illos esse; priusquam alio de integro foedere obligarentur, noxios puniendos esse, accensa his uocibus multitudo ad uocem unius, qui, ut ferirent, inclamauit, saxa coniecit. Atque ita decem septem, quibus uincula per tumultum iniecta erant, interfecti sunt. Sexaginta tres postero die comprehensi, a quibus praetor uim arcuerat, non quia

saluos uellet, sed quia perire causa indicta nolebat, obiecti multitudini iratae, cum auersis auribus pauca locuti essent, damnati omnes et traditi sunt ad supplicium.

[34] Hoc metu iniecto Lacedaemoniis imperatum primum, uti muros diruerent; deinde, ut omnes externi auxiliares, qui mercede apud tyrannos militassent, terra Laconica excederent; tum uti quae seruitia tyranni liberassent — ea magna multitudo erat — ante diem certam abirent; qui ibi mansissent, eos prendendi abducendi uendendi Achaeis ius esset; Lycurgi leges moresque abrogarent, Achaeorum adsuescerent legibus institutisque: ita unius eos corporis fore et de omnibus rebus facilius consensuros. Nihil oboedientius fecerunt, quam ut muros diruerent, nec aegrius passi sunt quam exules reduci. Decretum Tegeae in concilio communi Achaeorum de restituendis iis factum est; et mentione illata externos auxiliares dimissos ac Lacedaemoniis adscriptos — ita enim uocabant qui ab tyrannis liberati erant — urbe excessisse <et> in agros dilapsos, priusquam dimitteretur exercitus, ire praetorem cum expeditis et comprehendere id genus hominum et uendere iure praedae placuit. Multi comprehensi uenierunt. Porticus ex ea pecunia Megalopoli permissu Achaeorum refecta est, quam Lacedaemonii diruerant. Et ager Belbinates, quem iniuria tyranni Lacedaemoniorum possederant, restitutus eidem ciuitati ex decreto uetere Achaeorum, quod factum erat Philippo Amyntae filio regnante. Per haec uelut eneruata ciuitas Lacedaemoniorum diu Achaeis obnoxia fuit; nulla tamen res tanto erat damno quam disciplina Lycurgi, cui per octingentos annos adsuerant, sublata.

[35] A concilio, ubi ad consulem inter Achaeos Lacedaemoniosque disceptatum est, M. Fuluius, quia iam in exitu annus erat, comitorum causa profectus Romam creauit consules M. Valerium Messalam et C. Liuium Salinatorem, cum M. Aemilium Lepidum inimicum eo quoque anno petentem deiecisset. Praetores inde creati Q. Marcius Philippus M. Claudius Marcellus C. Stertinius C. Atinius P. Claudius Pulcher L. Manlius Acidinus. Comitibus perfectis consulem M. Fuluium in prouinciam et ad exercitum redire placuit, eique et collegae Cn. Manlio imperium in annum prorogatum est. Eo anno in aede Herculis signum dei ipsius ex decemuirorum responso, et seiuges in Capitolio aurati a P. Cornelio positi; consulem dedisse

inscriptum est. Et duodecim clipea aurata ab aedilibus curulibus P. Claudio Pulchro et Ser. Sulpicio Galba sunt posita ex pecunia, qua frumentarios ob annonam compressam damnarunt; et aedilis plebi Q. Fuluius Flaccus duo signa aurata uno reo damnato — nam separatim accusauerant — posuit; collega eius A. Caecilius neminem condemnauit. Ludi Romani ter, plebei quinquies toti instaurati. M. Valerius Messala inde et C. Liuius Salinator consulatum idibus Martiis cum inissent, de re publica deque prouinciis et exercitibus senatum consuluerunt. De Aetolia et Asia nihil mutatum est; consulibus alteri Pisae cum Liguribus, alteri Gallia prouincia decreta est. Comparare inter se aut sortiri iussi et nouos exercitus, binas legiones, scribere, et ut sociis Latini nominis quina dena milia peditum imperarent et mille et ducentos equites. Messalae Ligures, Salinatori obtigit Gallia. Praetores inde sortiti sunt: M. Claudio urbana, P. Claudio peregrina iurisdictio euenit; Q. Marcius Siciliam, C. Stertinius Sardiniam, L. Manlius Hispaniam citeriorem, C. Atinius ulteriorem est sortitus.

[36] De exercitibus ita placuit: ex Gallia legiones, quae sub C. Laelio fuerant, ad M. Tuccium propraetorem in Bruttios traduci, et, qui in Sicilia esset, dimitti exercitum, et classem, quae ibi esset, Romam reduceret M. Sempronius propraetor. Hispaniis singulae legiones, quae tum in iis prouinciis erant, decretae, et ut terna milia peditum, ducenos equites ambo praetores in supplementum sociis imperarent secumque transportarent. Priusquam in prouincias noui magistratus proficiscerentur, supplicatio triduum pro collegio decemuirorum imperata fuit in omnibus compitis, quod luce inter horam tertiam ferme et quartam tenebrae abortae fuerant. Et nouemdiale sacrificium indictum est, quod in Auentino lapidibus pluisset. Campani, cum eos ex senatus consulto, quod priore anno factum erat, censores Romae censi coegissent — nam antea incertum fuerat, ubi censerentur —, petierunt, ut sibi ciues Romanas ducere uxores liceret, et, si qui prius duxissent, ut habere eas, et nati ante eam diem uti iusti sibi liberi heredesque essent. Vtraque res impetrata. De Formianis Fundanisque municipibus et Arpinatibus C. Valerius Tappo tribunus plebis promulgauit, ut iis suffragii latio — nam antea sine suffragio habuerant ciuitatem — esset. Huic rogationi quattuor tribuni plebis, quia non ex auctoritate senatus ferretur, cum

intercederent, edocti, populi esse, non senatus ius suffragium, quibus uelit, impertire, destiterunt incepto. Rogatio perlata est, ut in Aemilia tribu Formiani et Fundani, in Cornelia Arpinates ferrent; atque in his tribubus tum primum ex Ualerio plebiscito censi sunt. M. Claudius Marcellus censor sorte superato T. Quinctio lustrum condidit. Censa sunt ciuium capita CCLVIII^{CCCXVIII}. Lustrum perfecto consules in prouincias profecti sunt.

[37] Hieme ea, qua haec Romae gesta sunt, ad Cn. Manlium consulem primum, dein pro consule, hibernantem in Asia, legationes undique ex omnibus ciuitatibus gentibusque, quae cis Taurum montem incolunt, conueniebant. Et ut clarior nobiliorque uictoria Romanis de rege Antiocho fuit quam de Gallis, ita laetior sociis erat de Gallis quam de Antiocho. Tolerabilior regia seruitus fuerat quam feritas immanium barbarorum incertusque in dies terror, quo uelut tempestas eos populantis inferret. Itaque, ut quibus libertas Antiocho pulso, pax Gallis domitis data esset, non gratulatum modo uenerant, sed coronas etiam aureas pro suis quaeque facultatibus attulerant. Et ab Antiocho legati et ab ipsis Gallis, ut pacis leges dicerentur, et ab Ariarathe rege Cappadocum uenerunt ad ueniam petendam luendamque pecunia noxam, quod auxiliis Antiochum iuuisset. Huic sescenta talenta argenti sunt imperata; Gallis responsum, cum Eumenes rex uenisset, tum daturum iis leges. Ciuitatium legationes cum benignis responsis, laetiores etiam quam uenerant, dimissae. Antiochi legati pecuniam in Pamphyliam frumentumque ex pacto cum L. Scipione foedere iussi aduehere; eo se cum exercitu uenturum. Principio deinde ueris lustrato exercitu profectus die octauo Apameam uenit. Ibi triduum statuiis habitis, tertiis rursus ab Apamea castris in Pamphyliam, quo pecuniam frumentumque regio conuehere iusserat, peruenit. <duo> milia et quingenta talenta argenti accepta Apameam deportantur; frumentum exercitui diuiditur. Inde ad Pergam ducit, quae una in iis locis regio tenebatur praesidio. Appropinquant praefectus praesidii obuius fuit, triginta dierum tempus petens, ut regem Antiochum de urbe tradenda consuleret. Dato tempore ad eam diem praesidio decessum est. A Perga L. Manlio fratre cum quattuor milibus militum Oroanda ad reliquum pecuniae ex eo, quod pepigerant, exigendum misso, ipse, quia Eumenem regem et decem legatos ab Roma Ephesum uenisse

audierat, iussis sequi Antiochi legatis Apameam exercitum reduxit.

[38] Ibi ex decem legatorum sententia foedus in haec uerba fere cum Antiocho conscriptum est: ‘amicitia regi Antiocho cum populo Romano his legibus et condicionibus esto: ne quem exercitum, qui cum populo Romano sociisue bellum gesturus erit, rex per fines regni sui eorumue, qui sub ditione eius erunt, transire sinito, neu commeatu neu qua alia ope iuato; idem Romani sociique Antiocho et iis, qui sub imperio eius erunt, praestent. Belli gerendi ius Antiocho ne esto cum iis, qui insulas colunt, neu in Europam transeundi. Excedito urbibus agris uicis castellis cis Taurum montem usque ad Halyn amnem, et a ualle Tauri usque ad iuga, qua in Lycaoniam uergit. Ne qua <praeter> arma efferto ex iis oppidis agris castellisque, quibus excedat; si qua extulit, quo quaeque oportebit, recte restituito. Ne militem neu quem alium ex regno Eumenis recipito. Si qui earum urbium ciues, quae regno abscedunt, cum rege Antiocho intraque fines regni eius sunt, Apameam omnes ante diem certam redeunto; qui ex regno Antiochi apud Romanos sociosque sunt, iis ius abeundi manendique esto; seruos seu fugitiuos seu bello captos, seu quis liber captus aut transfuga erit, reddito Romanis sociisque. Elefantos tradito omnis neque alios parato. Tradito et naues longas armamentaue earum, neu plures quam decem naues <tectas neu plures quam naues> acturias, quarum nulla plus quam triginta remis agatur, habeto, neu monerem [ex] belli causa, quod ipse illaturus erit. Ne nauigato citra Calycadnum neu Sarpedonium promunturia, extra quam si qua nauis pecuniam <in> stipendium aut legatos aut obsides portabit. Milites mercede conducendi ex iis gentibus, quae sub ditione populi Romani sunt, Antiocho regi ius ne esto, ne uoluntarios quidem recipiendi. Rhodiorum sociorumue quae aedes aedificiaue intra fines regni Antiochi sunt, quo iure ante bellum fuerunt, eo Rhodiorum sociorumue sunt; si quae pecuniae debentur, earum exactio esto; si quid ablatum est, id conquirendi cognoscendi repetendique item ius esto. Si quas urbes, quas tradi oportet, ii tenent, quibus Antiochus dedit, et ex iis praesidia deducito, utique recte tradantur, curato. Argenti probi talenta Attica duodecim milia dato intra duodecim annos pensionibus aequis — talentum ne minus pondo octoginta Romanis ponderibus pendat — et tritici quingenta quadraginta milia modium. Eumeni regi talenta trecenta

quinquaginta intra quinquennium dato, et pro frumento, quod aestimatione fit, talenta centum uiginti septem. Obsides Romanis uiginti dato et triennio mutato, ne minores octonum denum annorum neu maiores quinum quadragenum. Si qui sociorum populi Romani ultro bellum inferent Antiocho, uim ui arcendi ius esto, dum ne quam urbem aut belli iure teneat aut in amicitiam accipiat. Controuersias inter¹ se iure ac iudicio disceptando, aut, si utrisque placebit, bello.’ De Hannibale Poeno et Aetolo Thoante et Mnasilocho Acarnane et Chalcidensibus Ebulida et Philone dedendis in hoc quoque foedere adscriptum est, et ut, si quid postea addi demi mutariue placuisset, ut id saluo foedere fieret.

[39] Consul in hoc foedus iurauit; ab rege qui exigenter iusiurandum, profecti Q. Minucius Thermus et L. Manlius, qui tum forte ab Oroandis rediit. Et Q. Fabio Labeoni, qui classi praeerat, scripsit, ut Patara extemplo proficisceretur, quaeque ibi naues regiae essent, concideret cremaretque. Profectus ab Epheso quinquaginta tectas naues aut concidit aut incendit. Telmessum eadem expeditione territis subito aduentu classis oppidanis recipit. Ex Lycia protinus, iussis ab Epheso sequi, qui ibi relictis erant, per insulas in Graeciam traiecit. Athenis paucos moratus dies, dum Piraeum ab Epheso naues uenirent, totam inde classem in Italiam reduxit. Cn. Manlius cum inter cetera, quae accipienda ab Antiocho erant, elephantos quoque accepisset donoque Eumeni omnis dedisset, causas deinde ciuitatum, multis inter nouas res turbatis, cognouit. Et Ariarathes rex parte dimidia pecuniae imperatae beneficio Eumenis, cui desponderat per eos dies filiam, remissa in amicitiam est acceptus. Ciuitatum autem cognitis causis decem legati aliam aliarum fecerunt condicionem. Quae stipendiariae regi Antiocho fuerant et cum populo Romano senserant, iis immunitatem dederunt; quae partium Antiochi fuerant aut stipendiariae Attali regis, eas omnes uestigal pendere Eumeni iusserunt. Nominatim praeterea Colophoniis, qui in Notio habitant, et Cymaeis et Mylasenis immunitatem concesserunt; Clazomeniis super immunitatem et Drymussam insulam dono dederunt, et Milesiis quem sacrum appellant agrum restituerunt, et Iliensibus Rhoeteum et Gergithum addiderunt, non tam ob recentia ulla merita quam originum memoria. Eadem et Dardanum liberandi causa fuit. Chios quoque et Zmyrnaeos et Erythraeos pro singulari

fide, quam eo bello praestiterunt, et agro donarunt et in omni praecipuo honore habuerunt. Phocaeensibus et ager, quem ante bellum habuerant, redditus, et ut legibus antiquis uterentur permissum. Rhodiis adfirmata, quae data priore decreto erant; Lycia et Caria datae usque ad Maeandrum amnem praeter Telmessum. Regi Eumeni Chersonesum in Europa et Lysimachiam, castella, uicos, agrum, quibus finibus tenuerat Antiochus, adiecerunt; in Asia Phrygiam utramque — alteram ad Hellespontum, maiorem alteram uocant — et Mysiam, quam Prusia rex ademerat, ei restituerunt, et Lycaoniam et Milyada et Lydiam et nominatim urbes Tralles atque Ephesum et Telmessum. De Pamphylia disceptatum inter Eumenem et Antiochi legatos cum esset, quia pars eius citra pars ultra Taurum est, integra <res> ad senatum reicitur.

[40] His foederibus decretisque datis Manlius cum decem legatis omnique exercitu ad Hellespontum profectus, euocatis eo regulis Gallorum, leges, quibus pacem cum Eumene seruarent, dixit, denuntiavit, ut morem uagandi cum armis finirent agrorumque suorum terminis se continerent. Contractis deinde ex omni ora nauibus et Eumenis etiam classe per Athenaeum fratrem regis ab Elaea adducta copias omnes in Europam traiecit. Inde per Chersonesum modicis itineribus graue praeda omnis generis agmen trahens Lysimachiae statua habuit, ut quam maxime recentibus et integris iumentis Thraeciam, per quam iter uulgo horrebant, ingrederetur. Quo profectus est ab Lysimachia die, ad amnem Melana quem uocant, inde postero die Cypsela peruenit. A Cypselis uia decem milium fere siluestris angusta confragosa excipiebat, propter cuius difficultatem itineris in duas partes diuisus exercitus, et praecedere una iussa, altera magno interuallo cogere agmen, media impedimenta interposuit; plaustra cum pecunia publica erant pretiosaque alia praeda. Ita cum per saltum iret, Thraecum decem haud amplius milia ex quattuor populis, Astii et Caeni et Maduateni et Coreli, ad ipsas angustias uiam circumsederunt. Opinio erat non sine Philippi Macedonum regis fraude id factum; eum scisse non alia quam per Thraeciam redituros Romanos, et quantam pecuniam secum portarent. In primo agmine imperator erat, sollicitus propter iniquitatem locorum. Thraeces nihil se mouerunt, donec armati transirent; postquam primos superasse angustias uiderunt, postremos

nondum appropinquantis, impedimenta et sarcinas inuadunt, caesisque custodibus partim ea, quae in plaustis erant, diripere, partim sub oneribus iumenta abstrahere. Vnde postquam clamor primum ad eos, qui iam ingressi saltum sequebantur, deinde etiam ad primum agmen est perlatus, utrimque in medium concurritur, et inordinatum pluribus simul locis proelium conseritur. Thraecas praeda ipsa impeditos oneribus et plerosque, ut ad rapiendum uacuas manus haberent, inermes ad caedem praebet; Romanos iniquitas locorum barbaris per calles notas obscurantibus et latentibus interdum per cauas ualles prodebat. Ipsa etiam onera plaustaque, ut fors tulit, his aut illis incommode obiecta pugnantibus impedimento sunt. Alibi praedo, alibi praedae uindex cadit. Prout locus iniquus aequusue his aut illis, prout animus pugnantium est, prout numerus — alii enim pluribus, quam ipsi erant, alii paucioribus occurrerant — , uaria fortuna pugnae est; multi utrimque cadunt. Iam nox appetebat, cum proelio excedunt Thraeces, non fuga uulnerum aut mortis, sed quia satis praedae habebant.

[41] Romanorum primum agmen extra saltum circa templum Bendidium castra loco aperto posuit; pars altera ad custodiam impedimentorum medio in saltu, duplici circumdato uallo, mansit. Postero die prius explorato saltu, quam mouerent, primis se coniungunt. In eo proelio cum et impedimentorum et calonum pars et milites aliquot, cum passim toto prope saltu pugnaretur, cecidissent, plurimum Q. Minucii Thermi morte damni est acceptum, fortis ac strenui uiri. Eo die ad Hebrum flumen peruentum est. Inde Aeniorum finis praeter Apollinis, Zerynthium quem uocant incolae, templum superant. Aliae angustiae circa Tempyra excipiunt — hoc loco nomen est — , nec minus confragosae quam priores; sed, quia nihil siluestre circa est, ne latebras quidem ad insidiandum praebent. Huc ad eandem spem praedae Thrausi, gens et ipsa Thraecum, conuenere; sed, quia nuda ualles, procul ut conspicerentur angustias obsidentes, efficiebant, minus terroris tumultusque fuit apud Romanos; quippe etsi iniquo loco, proelio tamen iusto, acie aperta, signis collatis dimicandum erat. Conferti subeunt et cum clamore impetu facto primum expulere loco hostis, deinde auertere; fuga inde caedesque suis ipsos impredientibus angustis fieri coepta est. Romani uictores ad uicum Maronitarum — Salen appellant — posuerunt castra.

Postero die patenti itinere Priaticus campus eos excepit, triduumque ibi frumentum accipientes manserunt, partem ex agris Maronitarum, conferentibus ipsis, partem ex nauibus suis, quae cum omnis generis commeatu sequebantur. Ab statuiis diei uia Apolloniam fuit. Hinc per Abderitarum agrum Neapolim peruentum est. Hoc omne per Graecorum colonias pacatum iter fuit; reliquum inde per medios Thraecas dies noctesque, etsi non infestum, tamen suspectum, donec in Macedoniam peruenerunt. Mitiores Thraecas idem exercitus, cum a Scipione eadem uia duceretur, habuerat, nullam ob aliam causam, quam quod praedae minus, quod peteretur, fuerat; quamquam tunc quoque Claudius auctor est ad quindecim milia Thraecum praecedenti ad exploranda loca agmen Muttini Numidae occurrisse. Quadringentos equites fuisse Numidas, paucos elephantos; Muttinis filium per medios hostes cum centum quinquaginta delectis equitibus perrupisse; eundem mox, cum iam Muttines in medio elephantis locatis, in cornua equitibus dispositis manum cum hoste conseruisset, terrorem ab tergo praebuisse, atque inde turbatos equestri uelut procella hostis ad peditum agmen non accessisse. Cn. Manlius per Macedoniam in Thessaliam exercitum traduxit. Inde per Epirum Apolloniam cum peruenisset, nondum adeo hiberno contempto mari, ut traicere auderet, Apolloniae hibernauit.

[42] Exitu prope anni M. Valerius consul ex Liguribus ad magistratus subrogandos Romam uenit nulla memorabili in prouincia gesta re, ut ea probabilis morae causa esset, quod solito serius ad comitia uenisset. Comititia consulibus rogandis fuerunt a. D. XII. Kal. Martias; creati M. Aemilius Lepidus C. Flaminius. Postero die praetores facti Ap. Claudius Pulcher Ser. Sulpicius Galba Q. Terentius Culleo L. Terentius Massaliota Q. Fuluius Flaccus M. Furius Crassipes. Comititiis perfectis, quas prouincias praetoribus esse placeret, retulit ad senatum consul. Decreuerunt duas Romae iuris dicendi causa, duas extra Italiam, Siciliam ac Sardiniam, duas in Italia, Tarentum et Galliam; et extemplo, priusquam inirent magistratum, sortiri iussi. Ser. Sulpicius urbanam, Q. Terentius peregrinam est sortitus, L. Terentius Siciliam, Q. Fuluius Sardiniam, Ap. Claudius Tarentum, M. Furius Galliam. Eo anno L. Minucius Myrtilus et L. Manlius, quod legatos Carthaginienses pulsasse dicebantur, iussu M. Claudii praetoris urbani per fetiales traditi sunt

legatis et Carthaginem aucti. In Liguribus magni belli et gliscentis in dies magis fama erat. Itaque consulibus nouis, quo die de prouinciis et de re publica retulerunt, senatus utrisque Ligures prouinciam decreuit. Huic senatus consulto Lepidus consul intercedebat, indignum esse praedicans consules ambos in ualles Ligurum includi, M. Fuluium et Cn. Manlium biennium iam, alterum in Europa, alterum in Asia, uelut pro Philippo atque Antiocho substitutos regnare. Si exercitus in his terris esse placeat, consules iis potius quam priuatos praeesse oportere. Vagare eos cum belli terrore per nationes, quibus bellum indictum non sit, pacem pretio uenditantis. Si eas prouincias exercitibus obtinere opus esset, sicut M'. Acilio L. Scipio consul, L. Scipioni M. Fuluius et Cn. Manlius successissent consules, ita Fuluius Manlioque C. Liuium et M. Valerium consules debuisse succedere. Nunc certe, perfecto Aetolico bello, recepta ab Antiocho Asia, deuictis Gallis, aut consules ad exercitus consulares mitti aut reportari legiones inde reddique tandem rei publicae debere. Senatus his auditis in sententia perseuerauit, ut consulibus ambobus Ligures prouincia esset; Manlium Fuluiumque decedere de prouinciis et exercitus inde deducere ac redire Romam placuit.

[43] Inimicitiae inter M. Fuluium et M. Aemilium consulem erant, et super cetera Aemilius serius biennio se consulem factum M. Fuluii opera ducebat. Itaque ad inuidiam ei faciendam legatos Ambraciensis in senatum subornatos criminibus introduxit, qui sibi, cum in pace essent imperataque prioribus consulibus fecissent et eadem oboedienter praestare M. Fuluius parati essent, bellum illatum questi, agros primum depopulatos, terrorem direptionis et caedis urbi iniectum, ut eo metu claudere cogerentur portas; obsessos deinde et oppugnatos se, et omnia exempla belli edita in se caedibus incendiis ruinis direptione urbis, coniuges liberos in seruitium abstractos, bona adempta, et, quod se ante omnia moueat, templa tota urbe spoliata ornamentis; simulacra deum, deos immo ipsos, conuulsos ex sedibus suis ablatos esse; parietes postesque nudatos, quos adorent, ad quos precentur et supplicent, Ambraciensibus superesse — : haec querentis interrogando criminoze ex composito consul ad plura uelut non sua sponte dicenda eliciebat. Motis patribus alter consul C. Flaminius M. Fuluii causam excepit, qui ueterem uiam et obsoletam

ingressos Ambracienses dixit; sic M. Marcellum ab Syracusanis, sic Q. Fuluium a Campanis accusatos. Quin eadem opera T. Quinctium a Philippo rege, M'. Acilium et L. Scipionem ab Antiocho, Cn. Manlium a Gallis, ipsum M. Fuluium ab Aetolis et Cephallaniae populis accusari paterentur? 'Ambraciam oppugnatam et captam et signa inde ornamentaque ablata et cetera facta, quae captis urbibus soleant, negaturum aut me pro M. Fuluiio aut ipsum M. Fuluium censetis, patres conscripti, qui ob has res gestas triumphum a uobis postulaturus sit, Ambraciam captam signaque, quae ablata criminantur, et cetera spolia eius urbis ante currum laturus et fixurus in postibus suis? Nihil est, quod se ab Aetolis separent; eadem Ambraciensium et Aetolorum causa est. Itaque collega meus uel in alia causa inimicitias exerceat, uel, si in hac utique mauult, retineat Ambraciensis suos in aduentum M. Fuluii; ego nec de Ambraciensibus nec de Aetolis decerni quicquam absente M. Fuluiio patiar.'

[44] Cum Aemilius callidam malitiam inimici uelut notam omnibus insimularet et tempus eum morando extracturum diceret, ne consule inimico Romam ueniret, certamine consulum biduum absumptum est; nec praesente Flaminio decerni quicquam uidebatur posse. Captata occasio est, cum aeger forte Flaminius abesset, et referente Aemilio senatus consultum factum est, ut Ambraciensibus suae res omnes redderentur; in libertate essent ac legibus suis uterentur; portoria, quae uellent, terra marique caperent, dum eorum immunes Romani ac socii nominis Latini essent; signa aliaque ornamenta, quae quererentur ex aedibus sacris sublata esse, de iis, cum M. Fuluius Romam reuertisset, placere ad collegium pontificum referri, et quod ii censuissent, fieri. Neque his contentus consul fuit, sed postea per infrequentiam adiecit senatus consultum, Ambraciam ui captam esse non uideri. Supplicatio inde ex decemuiorum decreto pro ualetudine populi per triduum fuit, quia grauis pestilentia urbem atque agros uastabat. Latinae inde fuerunt. Quibus religionibus liberati consules et dilectu perfecto — nouis enim uterque maluit uti militibus — in prouinciam profecti sunt, ueteresque omnes dimiserunt. Post consulum profectionem Cn. Manlius proconsul Romam uenit; cui cum ab Ser. Sulpicio praetore senatus ad aedem Bellonae datus esset, et ipse commemoratis rebus ab se gestis

postulasset, ut ob eas diis immortalibus honos haberetur sibique triumphanti urbem inuehi liceret, contradixerunt pars maior decem legatorum, qui cum eo fuerant, et ante alios L. Furius Purpurio et L. Aemilius Paulus.

[45] Legatos sese Cn. Manlio datos pacis cum Antiocho faciendae causa foederisque legum, quae cum L. Scipione inchoatae fuissent, perficiendarum. Cn. Manlium summa ope tetendisse, ut eam pacem turbaret, et Antiochum, si sui potestatem fecisset, insidiis exciperet; sed illum cognita fraude consulis, cum saepe colloquiis petitis captatus esset, non congressum modo sed conspectum etiam eius uitassee. Cupientem transire Taurum aegre omnium legatorum precibus, ne carminibus Sibyllae praedictam superantibus terminos fatalis cladem experiri uellet, retentum admosse tamen exercitum et prope <in> ipsis iugis ad diuortia aquarum castra posuisse. Cum ibi nullam belli causam inueniret quiescentibus regiis, circumegisse exercitum ad Gallograecos; cui nationi non ex senatus auctoritate, non populi iussu bellum illatum. Quod quem umquam de sua sententia facere ausum? Antiochi Philippi Hannibalis et Poenorum recentissima bella esse; de omnibus his consultum senatum, populum iussisse, per legatos ante res repetitas, postremo, qui bellum indicerent, missos. ‘Quid eorum, Cn. Manli, factum est, ut istud publicum populi Romani bellum et non tuum priuatum latrocinium ducamus? At eo ipso contentus fuisti, recto itinere exercitum duxisti ad eos, quos tibi hostis desumpseras; an per omnes amfractus uiarum, cum ad biuia consisteres, ut, quo flexisset agmen Attalus, Eumenis frater, eo consul mercennarius cum exercitu Romano sequereris, Pisidiae Lycaoniaeque et Phrygiae recessus omnis atque angulos peragrasti, stipem ab tyrannis castellanisque deuiis colligens? Quid enim tibi cum Oroandis? Quid cum aliis aequae innoxiiis populis?’ ‘Bellum autem ipsum, cuius nomine triumphum petis, quo modo gessisti? Loco aequo, tempore tuo pugnasti? Tu uero recte, ut diis immortalibus honos habeatur, postulas, primum quod pro temeritate imperatoris, nullo gentium iure bellum inferentis, poenas luere exercitum noluerunt; deinde quod beluas, non hostis nobis obiecerunt.

[46] Nolite nomen tantum existimare mixtum esse Gallograecorum; multo ante et corpora et animi mixti ac uitati sunt. An, si illi Galli

essent, cum quibus milliens uario euentu in Italia pugnatum est, quantum in imperatore uestro fuit, nuntius illinc redisset? Bis cum iis pugnatum est, bis loco iniquo subiit, in ualle inferiore pedibus paene hostium aciem subiecit. Vt non tela ex superiore loco mitterent, sed corpora sua nuda inicerent, obruere nos potuerunt. Quid igitur incidit? Magna fortuna populi Romani est, magnum et terribile nomen. Recenti ruina Hannibalis Philippi Antiochi prope attoniti erant. Tantae corporum moles fundis sagittisque in fugam consternatae sunt; gladius in acie cruentatus non est Gallico bello; uelut auium examina ad crepitum primum missilium auolauere. At hercule iidem nos — monente fortuna, quid, si hostem habuissemus, casurum fuisset — cum redeuntes in latrunculos Thracas incidissemus, caesi, fugati, exuti impedimentis sumus. Q. Minucius Thermus, in quo haud paulo plus damni factum est, quam si Cn. Manlius, cuius temeritate ea clades inciderat, perisset, cum multis uiris fortibus cecidit; exercitus spolia regis Antiochi referens trifariam dissipatus, alibi primum, alibi postremum agmen, alibi impedimenta, inter uepres in latebris ferarum noctem unam delituit. Pro his triumphus petitur? Si nihil in Thracia cladis ignominiaeque foret acceptum, de quibus hostibus triumphum peteres? De iis, ut opinor, quos tibi hostes senatus aut populus Romanus dedisset. Sic huic L. Scipioni, sic illi M'. Acilio de rege Antiocho, sic paulo ante T. Quinctio de rege Philippo, sic P. Africano de Hannibale et Poenis et Syphace triumphus datus. Et minima illa, cum iam senatus censuisset bellum, quaesita tamen sunt, quibus nuntiandum esset: ipsis utique regibus nuntiaretur, an satis esset ad praesidium aliquod nuntiari. Vultis ergo haec omnia pollui et confundi, tolli fetialia iura, nullos esse fetiales? Fiat, pace deum dixerim, iactura religionis; obliuio deorum capiat pectora uestra; num senatum quoque de bello consuli non placet? Non ad populum ferri, uelint iubeantne cum Gallis bellum geri? Modo certe consules Graeciam atque Asiam uolebant; tamen perseuerantibus uobis Ligures prouinciam decernere dicto audientes fuerunt. Merito ergo a uobis prospere bello gesto triumphum petent, quibus auctoribus gesserunt.'

[47] Talis oratio Furii et Aemilii fuit. Manlium in hunc maxime modum respondisse accepi: 'tribuni plebis antea solebant triumphum postulantibus aduersari, patres conscripti; quibus ego gratiam habeo,

quod seu mihi seu magnitudini rerum gestarum hoc dederunt, ut non solum silentio comprobarent honorem meum, sed referre etiam, si opus esset, uiderentur parati esse; ex decem legatis, si diis placet, quod consilium dispensandae cohonestandaeque uictoriae imperatoribus maiores dederunt nostri, aduersarios habeo. L. Furius et L. Aemilius curram triumphalem me conscendere prohibent, coronam insignem capiti detrahunt, quos ego, si tribuni triumphare me prohiberent, testes citaturus fui rerum a me gestarum. Nullius equidem inuideo honori, patres conscripti; uos tribunos plebei nuper, uiros fortes ac strenuos, impediens Q. Fabii Labeonis triumphum auctoritate uestra deterruistis; triumphauit, quem non bellum iniustum gessisse, sed hostem omnino non uidisse inimici iactabant; ego, qui cum centum milibus ferocissimorum hostium signis collatis totiens pugnaui, qui plus quadraginta milia hominum cepi aut occidi, qui bina castra eorum expugnaui, qui citra iuga Tauri omnia pacatiora, quam terra Italia est, reliqui, non triumpho modo fraudor, sed causam apud uos, patres conscripti, accusantibus meis ipse legatis dico. Duplex eorum, ut animaduertistis, patres conscripti, accusatio fuit: nam nec gerendum mihi fuisse bellum cum Gallis, et gestum temere atque imprudenter dixerunt. 'Non erant Galli hostes, sed tu eos pacatos imperata facientes uiolasti.' Non sum postulaturus a uobis, patres conscripti, ut, quae communiter de immanitate gentis Gallorum, de infestissimo odio in nomen Romanum scitis, ea de illis quoque, qui Asiam incolunt, existimetis Gallis; remota uniuersae gentis infamia atque inuidia per se ipsos aestimate. Utinam rex Eumenes, utinam Asiae omnes ciuitates adessent, et illos potius querentes quam me accusantem audiretis. Mittite, agedum, legatos circa omnes Asiae urbes et quaerite, ultra grauiori seruitute, Antiocho ultra Tauri iuga emoto an Gallis subactis, liberati sint. Quotiens agri eorum uastati sint, quotiens praedae abactae, referant, cum uix redimendi captiuos copia esset, et mactatas humanas hostias immolatosque liberos suos audirent. Stipendium scitote pependisse socios uestros Gallis et nunc, liberatos per uos regio imperio, fuisse pensuros, si a me foret cessatum.

[48] Quo longius Antiochus emotus esset, hoc impotentius in Asia Galli dominarentur, et, quidquid est terrarum citra Tauri iuga, Gallorum imperio, non uestro adiecissetis. At enim sunt quidem ista

uera; <sed> etiam Delphos quondam, commune humani generis oraculum, umbilicum orbis terrarum, Galli spoliauerunt, nec ideo populus Romanus his bellum indixit aut intulit. Equidem aliquid interesse rebar inter id tempus, quo nondum in iure ac ditione uestra Graecia atque Asia erat, ad curandum animaduertendumque, quid in his terris fieret, et hoc, quo finem imperii Romani Taurum montem statuistis, quo libertatem, immunitatem ciuitatibus datis, quo aliis fines adicitis, alias agro multatis, aliis uestigal imponitis, regna augetis minuitis donatis adimitis, curae uestrae censetis esse, ut pacem terra marique habeant. An, nisi praesidia deduxisset Antiochus, quae quieti in suis arcibus erant, non putaretis liberatam Asiam; si Gallorum exercitus effusi uagarentur, rata dona uestra, quae dedistis, regi Eumeni, rata libertas ciuitatibus esset? Sed quid ego haec ita argumentor, tamquam non acceperim, sed fecerim hostes Gallos? Te, L. Scipio, appello, cuius ego mihi, succedens in uicem imperii tui, uirtutem felicitatemque pariter non frustra ab diis immortalibus precatus sum, te, P. Scipio, qui legati ius, collegae maiestatem et apud fratrem consulem et apud exercitum habuisti, sciatisme in exercitu Antiochi Gallorum legiones fuisse, uideritis in acie eos, in cornu utroque — id enim roboris esse uidebatur — locatos, pugnaueritis ut cum hostibus iustis, cecideritis, spolia eorum retuleritis. Atqui cum Antiocho, non cum Gallis bellum et senatus decreuerat et populus iusserat. Sed simul, ut opinor, cum his decreuerant iusserantque, qui intra praesidia eius fuissent; ex quibus praeter Antiochum, cum quo pacem pepigerat Scipio, et cum quo nominatim foedus ut fieret mandaueratis, omnes hostes erant, qui pro Antiocho arma aduersus nos tulerunt. In qua causa cum Galli ante omnes fuissent et reguli quidam et tyranni, ego tamen et cum aliis, pro dignitate imperii uestri coactis luere peccata sua, pacem pepigi, et Gallorum animos, si possent mitigari a feritate insita, temptaui et, postquam indomitos atque implacabiles cernebam, tum demum ui atque armis coercendos ratus sum.’ ‘Nunc, quoniam suscepti belli purgatum est crimen, gesti reddenda est ratio. In quo confiderem equidem causae meae, etiam si non apud Romanum sed apud Carthaginiensem senatum agerem, ubi in crucem tolli imperatores dicuntur, si prospero euentu, prauo consilio rem gesserunt; sed ego in ea ciuitate, quae ideo omnibus rebus incipiendis gerendisque deos

adhibet, quia nullius calumniae subicit ea, quae dii comprobauerunt, et in sollemnibus uerbis habet, cum supplicationem aut triumphum decernit, ‘quod bene ac feliciter rem publicam administrarit’, si nollem, si graue ac superbum existimarem uirtute gloriari, <si> pro felicitate mea exercitusque mei, quod tantam nationem sine ulla militum iactura deuicimus, postularem, ut diis immortalibus honos haberetur et ipse triumphans in Capitolium ascenderem, unde uotis rite nuncupatis profectus sum, negaretis hoc mihi cum diis immortalibus?

[49] Iniquo enim loco dimicaui. Dic igitur, quo aequiore potuerim dimicare. Cum hostes montem cepissent, loco se munito tenerent, nempe eundum ad hostes erat, si uincere uellem. Quid? Si urbem eo loco haberent et moenibus se tenerent? Nempe oppugnandi erant. Quid? Ad Thermopylas aequone loco M’. Acilius cum rege Antiocho pugnaui? Quid? Philippum non eodem modo super Aoum amnem iuga tenentem montium T. Quinctius deiecit? Equidem adhuc, qualem aut sibi fingant aut uobis uideri uelint hostem fuisse, non inuenio. Si degenerem et emollitum amoenitate Asiae, quid periculi uel iniquo loco subeuntibus fuit? Si timendum et feritate animorum et robore corporum, huicine tantae uictoriae triumphum negatis? Caeca inuidia est, patres conscripti, nec quicquam aliud scit quam detractare uirtutes, corrumpere honores ac praemia earum. Mihi quaeso ita ignoscatis, patres conscripti, si longiorem orationem non cupiditas gloriandi de me, sed necessaria criminum defensio fecit. An etiam per Thraciam saltus patentes, qui angusti erant, et plana ex arduis et culta ex siluestribus facere potui et praestare, necubi notis sibi latebris delitescerent latrones Thraces, ne quid sarcinarum raperetur, ne quod iumentum ex tanto agmine abstraheretur, ne quis uulneraretur, ne ex uulnere uir fortis ac strenuus Q. Minucius moreretur? In hoc casu, quo infeliciter incidit, ut talem ciuem amitteremus, haerent; quod saltu iniquo, loco alieno cum adortus nos hostis esset, duae simul acies primi et nouissimi agminis haerentem ad impedimenta nostra exercitum barbarorum circumuenerunt, quod multa milia <illo> ipso die, plura multo post dies paucos ceciderunt et ceperunt, hoc, si ipsi tacuerint, uos scituros, cum testis orationis meae totus exercitus sit, non credunt? Si gladium in Asia non strinxissem, si hostem non uidissem, tamen [proconsul] triumphum

in Thracia duobus proeliis merueram. Sed iam dictum satis est; quin pro eo, quod pluribus uerbis uos quam uellem fatigauī, ueniam a uobis petitam impetratamque uelim, patres conscripti.

[50] Plus crimina eo die quam defensio ualuisset, nī altercationem in serum perduxissent. Dimittitur senatus in ea opinione, ut negaturus triumphum fuisse uideretur. Postero die et cognati amicique Cn. Manlii summis opibus adnisi sunt, et auctoritas seniorum ualuit, negantium exemplum proditum memoriae esse, ut imperator, qui deuictis perduellibus, confecta prouincia exercitum reportasset, sine curru et laurea priuatus inhonoratusque urbem iniret. Hic pudor malignitatem uicit, triumphumque frequentes decreuerunt. Oppressit deinde mentionem memoriamque omnem contentionis huius maius et cum maiore et clariore uiro certamen ortum. P. Scipioni Africano, ut Ualerius Antias auctor est, duo Q. Petillii diem dixerunt. Id, prout cuiusque ingenium erat, interpretabantur. Alii non tribunos plebis, sed uniuersam ciuitatem, quae id pati posset, incusabant: duas maximas orbis terrarum urbes ingratas uno prope tempore in principes inuentas, Romam ingratiorem, si quidem uicta Carthago uictum Hannibalem in exilium expulisset, Roma uictrix uictorem Africanum expellat. Alii, neminem unum ciuem tantum eminere debere, ut legibus interrogari non possit; nihil tam aequandae libertatis esse quam potentissimum quemque posse dicere causam. Quid autem tuto cuiquam, nedum summam rem publicam, permitti, si ratio non sit reddenda? Qui ius aequum pati non possit, in eum uim haud iniustam esse. Haec agitata sermonibus, donec dies causae dicendae uenit. Nec alius antea quisquam nec ille ipse Scipio consul censorue maiore omnis generis hominum frequentia quam reus illo die in forum est deductus. Iussus dicere causam sine ulla criminum mentione orationem adeo magnificam de rebus ab se gestis est exorsus, ut satis constaret neminem umquam neque melius neque uerius laudatum esse. Dicebantur enim ab <eo> eodem animo ingenioque, quo gesta erant, et aurium fastidium aberat, quia pro periculo, non in gloriam referebantur.

[51] Tribuni uetera luxuriae crimina Syracusanorum hibernorum et Locris Pleminianum tumultum cum ad fidem praesentium criminum retulissent, suspicionibus magis quam argumentis pecuniae captae reum accusarunt: filium captum sine pretio redditum, omnibusque

aliis rebus Scipionem, tamquam in eius unius manu pax Romana bellumque esset, ab Antiocho cultum; dictatorem eum consuli, non legatum in prouincia fuisse; nec ad aliam rem eo profectum, quam ut, id quod Hispaniae Galliae Siciliae Africae iam pridem persuasum esset, hoc Graeciae Asiaeque et omnibus ad orientem uersis regibus gentibusque appareret, unum hominem caput columenque imperii Romani esse, sub umbra Scipionis ciuitatem dominam orbis terrarum latere, nutum eius pro decretis patrum, pro populi iussis esse. Infamia intactum inuidia, qua possunt, urgent. Orationibus in noctem perductis producta dies est. Vbi ea uenit, tribuni in Rostris prima luce consederunt; citatus reus magno agmine amicorum clientiumque per mediam contionem ad Rostra subiit silentioque facto ‘hoc’ inquit ‘die, tribuni plebis uosque, Quirites, cum Hannibale et Carthaginiensibus signis collatis in Africa bene ac feliciter pugnaui. Itaque, cum hodie litibus et iurgiis supersederi aequum sit, ego hinc extemplo in Capitolium ad Iouem optimum maximum Iunonemque et Mineruam ceterosque deos, qui Capitolio atque arci praesident, salutandos ibo, hisque gratias agam, quod mihi et hoc ipso die et saepe alias egregie gerendae rei publicae mentem facultatemque dederunt. Vestrum quoque quibus commodum est, Quirites, ite mecum, et orate deos, ut mei similes principes habeatis, ita, si ab annis septemdecim ad senectutem semper uos aetatem meam honoribus uestris anteistis, ego uestros honores rebus gerendis praecessi.’ Ab Rostris in Capitolium ascendit. Simul se uniuersa contio auertit et secuta Scipionem est, adeo ut postremo scribae uiatoresque tribunos relinquerent, nec cum iis praeter seruilem comitatum et praeconem qui reum ex Rostris citabat, quisquam esset. Scipio non in Capitolio modo, sed per totam urbem omnia templa deum cum populo Romano circumiit. Celebratior is prope dies fauore hominum et aestimatione uera magnitudinis eius fuit, quam quo triumphans de Syphace rege et Carthaginiensibus urbem est inuectus.

[52] Hic speciosus ultimus dies P. Scipioni illuxit. Post quem cum inuidiam et certamina cum tribunis prospiceret, die longiore producta in Litrinum concessit certo consilio, ne ad causam dicendam adesset. Maior animus et natura erat ac maiori fortunae aduersus, quam ut reus esse sciret et summittere se in humilitatem causam dicentium. Vbi dies uenit citarique absens est coeptus, L. Scipio

morbum causae esse, cur abesset, excusabat. Quam excusationem cum tribuni, qui diem dixerant, non acciperent, et ab eadem superbia non uenire ad causam dicendam arguerent, qua iudicium et tribunos plebis et contionem reliquisset, et, quibus ius sententiae de se dicendae et libertatem ademisset, his comitatus, uelut captos trahens, triumphum de populo Romano egisset secessionemque eo die in Capitolium a tribunis plebis fecisset:— ‘habetis ergo temeritatis illius mercedem; quo duce et auctore nos reliquistis, ab eo ipsi relictis estis, et tantum animorum in dies nobis decrescit, ut, ad quem ante annos septemdecim exercitum et classem habentem tribunos plebis aedilemque mittere in Siciliam ausi sumus, qui prenderent eum et Romam reducerent, ad eum priuatum ex uilla sua extrahendum ad causam dicendam mittere non audeamus’ — ; tribuni plebis appellati ab L. Scipione ita decreuerunt: si morbi causa excusaretur, sibi placere accipi eam causam diemque a collegis prodici. Tribunus plebis eo tempore Ti. Sempronius Gracchus erat, cui inimicitiae cum P. Scipione intercedebant. Is, cum uetuisset nomen suum decreto collegarum adscribi, tristiolemque omnes sententiam expectarent, ita decreuit: cum L. Scipio excusasset morbum esse causae fratri, satis id sibi uideri; se P. Scipionem, priusquam Romam redisset, accusari non passurum; tum quoque, si se appellet, auxilio ei futurum, ne causam dicat: ad id fastigium rebus gestis, honoribus populi Romani P. Scipionem deorum hominumque consensu peruenisse, ut sub Rostris reum stare et praebere aures adolescentium conuiciis populo Romano magis deforme quam ipsi sit.

[53] Adiecit decreto indignationem: ‘sub pedibus uestris stabit, tribuni, domitor ille Africae Scipio? Ideo quattuor nobilissimos duces Poenorum in Hispania, quattuor exercitus fudit fugauitque; ideo Syphacem cepit, Hannibalem deuicit, Carthaginem uectigalem nobis fecit, Antiochum — recipit enim fratrem consortem huius gloriae L. Scipio — ultra iuga Tauri emouit, ut duobus Petilliis succumberet? Vos de P. Africano palmam pet*e*retis? Nullisne meritis suis, nullis nostris honoribus umquam in arcem tutam et uelut sanctam clari uiri peruenient, ubi, si non uenerabilis, inuiolata saltem senectus eorum considat?’ Mouit et decretum et adiecta oratio non ceteros modo, sed ipsos etiam accusatores, et deliberaturos se, quid iuris sui et officii esset, dixerunt. Senatus deinde concilio plebis dimisso

haberi est coeptus. Ibi gratiae ingentes ab uniuerso ordine, praecipue a consularibus senioribusque, Ti. Graccho actae sunt, quod rem publicam priuatis simultatibus potiolem habuisset, et Petillii uexati sunt probis, quod splendere aliena inuidia uoluissent et spolia ex Africani triumpho peterent. Silentium deinde de Africano fuit. Vitam Literni egit sine desiderio urbis; morientem rure eo ipso loco sepeliri se iussisse ferunt monumentumque ibi aedificari, ne funus sibi in ingrata patria fieret. Vir memorabilis, bellicis tamen quam pacis artibus memorabilior. <nobilior> prima pars uitae quam postrema fuit, quia in iuuenta bella adsidue gesta, cum senecta res quoque defloruere, nec praebita est materia ingenio. Quid ad primum consulatum secundus, etiam si censuram adicias? Quid Asiatica legatio, et uoletudine aduersa inutilis et filii casu deformata et post reditum necessitate aut subeundi iudicii aut simul cum patria deserendi? Punici tamen belli perpetrati, quo nullum neque maius neque periculosius Romani gessere, unus praecipuam gloriam tulit.

[54] Morte Africani creuere inimicorum animi, quorum princeps fuit M. Porcius Cato, qui uiuo quoque eo adlatrare magnitudinem eius solitus erat. Hoc auctore existimantur Petillii et uiuo Africano rem ingressi et mortuo rogationem promulgasse. Fuit autem rogatio talis: ‘uelitis iubeatis, Quirites, quae pecunia capta ablata coacta ab rege Antiocho est quique sub imperio eius fuerunt, quod eius in publicum relatum non est, uti de ea re Ser. Sulpicius praetor urbanus ad senatum referat, quem eam rem uelit senatus quaerere de iis, qui praetores nunc sunt.’ Huic rogationi primo Q. Et L. Mummii intercedebant, senatum quaerere de pecunia non relata in publicum, ita ut antea semper factum esset, aequum censebant. Petillii nobilitatem et regnum in senatu Scipionum accusabant. L. Furius Purpureo consularis, qui in decem legatis in Asia fuerat, latius rogandum censebat, non quae ab Antiocho modo pecuniae captae forent, sed quae ab aliis regibus gentibusque, Cn. Manlium inimicum incessens. Et L. Scipio, quem magis pro se quam aduersus legem dicturum apparebat, dissuasor processit. Is morte P. Africani fratris, uiri omnium fortissimi clarissimique, eam exortam rogationem est conquestus; parum enim fuisse non laudari pro Rostri P. Africanum post mortem, nisi etiam accusaretur; et Carthaginienses exilio Hannibalis contentos esse, populum Romanum ne morte quidem P.

Scipionis exsatiari, nisi et ipsius fama sepulti laceretur et frater insuper, accessio inuidiae, mactetur. M. Cato suasit rogationem — exstat oratio eius de pecunia regis Antiochi — et Mummios tribunos auctoritate deterruit, ne aduersarentur rogationi. Remittentibus ergo his intercessionem omnes tribus uti rogassent iusserunt.

[55] Ser. Sulpicio deinde referente, quem rogatione Petillia quaerere uellent, Q. Terentium Culleonem patres iusserunt. Ad hunc praetorem, adeo amicum Corneliae familiae, ut, qui Romae mortuum elatumque P. Scipionem — est enim ea quoque fama — tradunt, pilleatum, sicut in triumpho ierat, in funere quoque ante lectum isse memoriae prodiderint, et ad Portam Capenam mulsum prosecutis funus dedisse, quod ab eo inter alios captiuos in Africa ex hostibus receptus esset, aut adeo inimicum eundem, ut propter insignem simultatem ab ea factione, quae aduersa Scipionibus erat, delectus sit potissimum ad quaestionem exercendam — ; ceterum ad hunc nimis aequum aut iniquum praetorem reus extemplo factus L. Scipio. Simul et delata et recepta nomina legatorum eius, A. Et L. Hostiliorum Catonum, et C. Furii Aculeonis quaestoris et, ut omnia contacta societate peculatus uiderentur, scribae quoque duo et accensus. L. Hostilius et scribae et accensus, priusquam de Scipione iudicium fieret, absoluti sunt, Scipio et A. Hostilius legatus et C. Furius damnati: quo commodior pax Antiocho daretur, Scipionem sex milia pondo auri, quadringenta octoginta argenti plus acceperisse, quam in aerarium retulerit, A. Hostilium octoginta pondo auri, argenti quadringenta tria, Furium quaestorem auri pondo centum triginta, argenti ducenta. Has ego summas auri et argenti relatas apud Antiatem inueni. In L. Scipione malim equidem librarii mendum quam mendacium scriptoris esse in summa auri atque argenti; similis enim ueri est argenti quam auri maius pondus fuisse, et potius quadragens quam ducentiens quadragens litem aestimatam, eo magis, quod tantae summae rationem etiam ab ipso P. Scipione requisitam esse in senatu tradunt, librumque rationis eius cum Lucium fratrem adferre iussisset, inspectante senatu suis ipsum manibus concerpsisse indignantem, quod, cum bis milliens in aerarium intulisset, quadragens ratio ab se posceretur. Ab eadem fiducia animi, cum quaestores pecuniam ex aerario contra legem promere non auderent, poposcisse clauis et se aperturum aerarium

dixisse, qui, ut clauderetur, effecisset.

[56] Multa alia in Scipionis exitu maxime uitae dieque dicta, morte, funere, sepulcro, in diuersum trahunt, ut, cui famae, quibus scriptis adsentiar, non habeam. Non de accusatore conuenit: alii M. Naeuium, alii Petillios diem dixisse scribunt, non de tempore, quo dicta dies sit, non de anno, quo mortuus sit, non ubi mortuus aut elatus sit; alii Romae, alii Literni et mortuum et sepultum. Vtrobique monumenta ostenduntur et statuae; nam et Literni monumentum monumentoque statua superimposita fuit, quam tempestate deiectam nuper uidimus ipsi, et Romae extra portam Capenam in Scipionum monumento tres statuae sunt, quarum duae P. Et L. Scipionum dicuntur esse, tertia poetae Q. Ennii. Nec inter scriptores rerum discrepat solum, sed orationes quoque, si modo ipsorum sunt quae feruntur, P. Scipionis et Ti. Gracchi abhorrent inter se. Index orationis P. Scipionis nomen M. Naeuii tribuni plebis habet, ipsa oratio sine nomine est accusatoris; modo nebulonem, modo nugatorem appellat. Ne Gracchi quidem oratio aut Petilliorum accusatorum Africani aut diei dictae Africano ullam mentionem habet. Alia tota serenda fabula est Gracchi orationi conueniens, et illi auctores sequendi sunt, qui, cum L. Scipio et accusatus et damnatus sit pecuniae captae ab rege legatum in Etruria fuisse Africanum tradunt; qua post famam de casu fratris adlatam relicta legatione cucurrisse eum Romam et, cum a porta recta ad forum se contulisset, quod in uincula duci fratrem dictum erat, reppulisse a corpore eius uiatorem, et tribunis retinentibus magis pie quam ciuilitate uim fecisse. Haec enim ipsa Ti. Gracchus queritur dissolutam esse a priuato tribuniciam potestatem, et ad postremum, cum auxilium L. Scipioni pollicetur, adicit tolerabilioris exempli esse a tribuno plebis potius quam a priuato uictam uideri et tribuniciam potestatem et rem publicam esse. Sed ita hanc unam impotentem eius iniuriam inuidia onerat, ut increpando, quod degenerarit tantum a se ipse, cumulas ei ueteres laudes moderationis et temperantiae pro reprehensione praesenti reddat; castigatum enim quondam ab eo populum ait, quod eum perpetuum consulem et dictatorem uellet facere; prohibuisse statuas sibi in comitio, in Rostris, in curia, in Capitolio, in cella Iouis poni; prohibuisse, ne decerneretur, ut imago sua triumphali ornatu e templo Iouis optimi maximi exiret.

[57] Haec uel in laudatione posita ingentem magnitudinem animi moderantis ad ciuilem habitum honoribus significarent, quae exprobrando inimicus fatetur. Huic Graccho minorem ex duabus filiis — nam maior P. Cornelio Nasicae haud dubie a patre collocata erat — nuptam fuisse conuenit. Illud parum constat, utrum post mortem patris et desponsa sit et nupserit, an uerae illae opiniones sint, Gracchum, cum L. Scipio in uincula duceretur, nec quisquam collegarum auxilio esset, iurasse sibi inimicitias cum Scipionibus, quae fuissent, manere, nec se gratiae quaerendae causa quicquam facere, sed, in quem carcerem reges et imperatores hostium ducentem uidisset P. Africanum, in eum se fratrem eius duci non passurum. Senatum eo die forte in Capitolio cenantem consurrexisse et petisse, ut inter epulas Graccho filiam Africanus desponderet. Quibus ita inter publicum sollemne sponsalibus rite factis cum se domum recepisset, Scipionem Aemiliae uxori dixisse filiam se minorem despondisse. Cum illa, muliebriter indignabunda nihil de communi filia secum consultatum, adiecisset non, si Ti. Graccho daret, expertem consilii debuisse matrem esse, laetum Scipionem tam concordii iudicio ei ipsi desponsam respondisse. Haec de tanto uiro quam et opinionibus et monumentis litterarum uariarent, proponenda erant.

[58] Iudiciis a Q. Terentio praetore perfectis, Hostilius et Furius damnati praedes eodem die quaestoribus urbanis dederunt; Scipio cum contenderet omnem quam acceperisset pecuniam in aerario esse, nec se quicquam publici habere, in uincula duci est coeptus. P. Scipio Nasica tribunos appellauit orationemque habuit plenam ueris decoribus non communiter modo Corneliae gentis, sed proprie familiae suae. Parentes suos et P. Africani ac L. Scipionis, qui in carcerem duceretur, fuisse Cn. Et P. Scipiones, clarissimos uiros. Eos, cum per aliquot annos in terra Hispania aduersus multos Poenorum Hispanorumque et duces et exercitus nominis Romani famam auxissent non bello solum, sed quod Romanae temperantiae fideique specimen illis gentibus dedissent, ad extremum ambo pro republica mortem occubuisse. Cum illorum gloriam tueri posteris satis esset, P. Africanum tantum paternas superiecisse laudes, ut fidem fecerit non sanguine humano sed stirpe diuina satum se esse. L. Scipionem, de quo agatur, ut, quae in Hispania, quae in Africa,

cum legatus fratris esset, gessisset, praetereantur, consulem et ab senatu dignum habitum, cui extra sortem Asia prouincia et bellum cum Antiocho rege decerneretur, et a fratre, cui post duos consulatus censuramque et triumphum legatus in Asiam iret. Ibi ne magnitudo et splendor legati laudibus consulis officeret, forte ita incidisse, ut, quo die ad Magnesiam signis collatis L. Scipio Antiochum deuicisset, aeger P. Scipio Elaeae dierum aliquot uia abesset. Non fuisse minorem eum exercitum quam Hannibalis, cum quo in Africa esset pugnatum; Hannibalem eundem fuisse inter multos alios regios duces, qui imperator Punici belli fuerit. Et bellum quidem ita gestum esse, ut ne fortunam quidem quisquam criminari possit; in pace crimen quaeri; eam dici uenisse. Hic decem legatos simul argui, quorum ex consilio data pax esset; quamquam exstitissent ex decem legatis, qui Cn. Manlium accusarent, tamen non modo ad criminis fidem, sed ne ad moram quidem triumphi eam accusationem ualuisse.

[59] At hercule in Scipione leges ipsas pacis, ut nimium accommodatas Antiocho, suspectas esse; integrum enim ei regnum relictum; omnia possidere eum uictum, quae ante bellum eius fuerint; auri et argenti cum uim magnam habuisset, nihil in publicum relatum, omne in priuatum uersum; an praeter omnium oculos tantum auri argentique in triumpho L. Scipionis, quantum non decem aliis triumphis, si omne in unum conferatur, latum? Nam quid de finibus regni dicam? Asiam omnem et proxima Europae tenuisse Antiochum. Ea quanta regio orbis terrarum sit, a Tauro monte in Aegaeum usque prominens mare, quot non urbes modo sed gentes amplectatur, omnes scire. Hanc regionem dierum plus triginta <iter> in longitudinem, decem inter duo maria in latitudinem patentem usque ad Tauri montis iuga Antiocho ademptam, expulso in ultimum angulum orbis terrarum. Quid, si gratuita pax esset, plus adimi ei potuisse? Philippo uicto Macedoniam, Nabidi Lacedaemonem relictam, nec Quinctio crimen quaesitum; non enim habuisse eum Africanum fratrem; cuius <cum> gloria prodesse L. Scipioni debuisset, inuidiam nocuisse. Tantum auri argentique iudicatum esse in domum L. Scipionis illatum, quantum uenditis omnibus bonis redigi non posset. Vbi ergo esse regium aurum, ubi tot hereditates acceptas? In domo, quam sumptus non exhauserint, exstare debuisse

nouae fortunae cumulum. At enim, quod ex bonis redigi non possit, ex corpore et tergo per uexationem et contumelias L. Scipionis petitorios inimicos, ut in carcere inter fures nocturnos et latrones uir clarissimus includatur et in robore et tenebris exspiret, deinde nudus ante carcerem proiciatur. Non id Corneliae magis familiae quam urbi Romanae fore erubescendum.

[60] Aduersus ea Terentius praetor rogationem Petilliam et senatus consultum et iudicium de L. Scipione factum recitauit; se, ni referatur pecunia in publicum, quae iudicata sit, nihil habere quod faciat, nisi ut prendi damnatum et in uincula duci iubeat. Tribuni cum in consilium secessissent, paulo post C. Fannius ex sua collegarumque aliorum, praeter Gracchum, sententia pronuntiauit praetori non intercedere tribunos, quo minus sua potestate utatur. Ti. Gracchus ita decreuit, quo minus ex bonis L. Scipionis quod iudicatum sit redigatur, se non intercedere praetori; L. Scipionem, qui regem opulentissimum orbis terrarum deuicerit, imperium populi Romani propagauerit in ultimos terrarum fines, regem Eumenem, Rhodios, alias tot Asiae urbes deuinxerit populi Romani beneficiis, plurimos duces hostium in triumpho ductos carcere incluserit, non passurum inter hostes populi Romani in carcere et uinculis esse, mittique eum se iubere. Tanto adsensu auditum est decretum, adeo dimissum Scipionem laeti homines uiderunt, ut uix in eadem ciuitate uideretur factum iudicium. In bona deinde L. Scipionis possessum publice quaestores praetor misit. Neque in iis non modo uestigium ullum comparuit pecuniae regiae, sed nequaquam tantum redactum est, quantae summae damnatus fuerat. Collata ea pecunia a cognatis amicisque et clientibus est L. Scipioni, ut, si acciperet eam, locupletior aliquanto esset, quam ante calamitatem fuerat. Nihil accepit; quae necessaria ad cultum erant, redempta ei a proximis cognatis sunt; uerteratque Scipionum inuidia in praetorem et consilium eius et accusatores

LIBER XXXIX

[1] Dum haec, si modo hoc anno acta sunt, Romae aguntur, consules ambo in Liguribus gerebant bellum. is hostis uelut natus ad continendam inter magnorum interualla bellorum Romanis militarem disciplinam erat; nec alia prouincia militem magis ad uirtutem acuebat. nam Asia et amoenitate urbium et copia terrestrium maritimarumque rerum et mollitia hostium regiisque opibus ditiores quam fortiores exercitus faciebat. praecipue sub imperio Cn. Manlii solute ac neglegenter habiti sunt. itaque asperius paulo iter in Thracia et exercitior hostis magna clade eos castigauit. in Liguribus omnia erant, quae militem excitarent, loca montana et aspera, quae et ipsis capere labor erat et ex praeoccupatis deicere hostem; itinera ardua, angusta, infesta insidiis; hostis leuis et uelox et repentinus, qui nullum usquam tempus, nullum locum quietum aut securum esse sineret; oppugnatio necessaria munitorum castellorum, laboriosa simul periculosaque; inops regio, quae parsimonia astringeret milites, praedae haud multum praeberet. itaque non lixa sequebatur, non iumentorum longus ordo agmen extendebat. nihil praeter arma et uiros omnem spem in armis habentes erat. nec deerat umquam cum iis uel materia belli uel causa, quia propter domesticam inopiam uicinos agros incursabant. nec tamen in discrimen summae rerum pugnabatur.

[2] C. Flaminius consul, cum Friniatibus Liguribus in agro eorum pluribus proeliis secundis factis, in deditionem gentem accepit et arma ademit. ea quia non sincera fide tradebant, cum castigarentur, relictis uicis in montem Auginum profugerunt. confestim secutus est consul. ceterum effusi rursus, et pars maxima inermes, per inuia et rupes deruptas praecipitantes fugerunt, qua sequi hostis non posset. ita trans Appenninum abierunt. qui castris se tenuerant, circumsessi et expugnati sunt. inde trans Appenninum ductae legiones. ibi montis quem ceperant altitudine paulisper se tutati, mox in deditionem concesserunt. tum conquisita cum intentiore cura arma, et omnia adempta. translatum deinde ad Apuanos Ligures bellum, qui in agrum Pisanum Bononiensemque ita incursauerant, ut coli non possent. his quoque perdomitis consul pacem dedit finitimis. et quia a

bello quieta ut esset prouincia effecerat, ne in otio militem haberet, uiam a Bononia perduxit Arretium. M. Aemilius alter consul agros Ligurum uicosque, qui in campis aut uallibus erant, ipsis montes duos Ballistam Suismontiumque tenentibus, deussit depopulatusque est. deinde eos, qui in montibus erant, adortus primo leuibis proeliis fatigauit, postremo coactos in aciem descendere iusto proelio deuicit, in quo et aedem Dianae uouit. subactis cis Appenninum omnibus, tum transmontanos adortus — in his et Friniates Ligures erant, quos non adierat C. Flaminius — omnes Aemilius subegit armaque ademit et de montibus in campos multitudinem deduxit. pacatis Liguribus exercitum in agrum Gallicum duxit, uiamque a Placentia, ut Flaminiae committeret, Ariminum perduxit. proelio ultimo, quo cum Liguribus signis collatis confligit, aedem Iunoni reginae uouit. haec in Liguribus eo anno gesta.

[3] In Gallia M. Furius praetor insontibus Cenomanis, in pace speciem belli quaerens, ademerat arma. id Cenomani conquesti Romae apud senatum reiectique ad consulem Aemilium, cui ut cognosceret statueretque senatus permiserat, magno certamine cum praetore habito obtinuerunt causam. arma reddere Cenomanis, decedere prouincia praetor iussus.

legatis deinde sociorum Latini nominis, qui toto undique ex Latio frequentes conuenerant, senatus datus est. his querentibus magnam multitudinem ciuium suorum Romam commigrasse et ibi censos esse, Q. Terentio Culleoni praetori negotium datum est, ut eos conquereret, et quem C. Claudio M. Liuius censoribus postue eos censores ipsum parentemue eius apud se censum esse probassent socii, ut redire eo cogeret, ubi censi essent. hac conquisitione duodecim milia Latinorum domos redierunt, iam tum multitudine alienigenarum urbem onerante.

[4] Priusquam consules redirent Romam, M. Fuluius proconsul ex Aetolia redit; isque ad aedem Apollinis in senatu cum de rebus in Aetolia Cephallaniaque ab se gestis disseruisset, petit a patribus, ut, <si> aequum censerent, ob rem publicam bene ac feliciter gestam et diis immortalibus honorem haberi iuberent et sibi triumphum decernerent. M. Aburius tribunus plebis, si quid de ea re ante M. Aemilii consulis aduentum decerneretur, intercessurum se ostendit: eum contra dicere uelle, proficiscentemque in prouinciam ita sibi

mandasse, ut ea disceptatio integra in aduentum suum seruaretur. Fuluium temporis iacturam facere: senatum etiam praesente consule quod uellet decreturum. <tum> Fuluius: si aut similtas M. Aemilii secum ignota hominibus esset, aut quam is eas inimicitias impotenti ac prope regia ira exerceret, tamen non fuisse ferendum absentem consulem et deorum immortalium honori obstare et meritum debitumque triumphum morari, imperatorem rebus egregie gestis uictoremque exercitum cum praeda et captiuis ante portas stare, donec consuli ob hoc ipsum moranti redire Romam libitum esset. uerum enimvero cum sint notissimae sibi cum consule inimicitiae, quid ab eo quemquam posse aequi exspectare, qui per infrequentiam furtim senatus consultum factum ad aerarium detulerit, Ambraciam non uideri ui captam, quae aggere ac uineis oppugnata sit, ubi incensis operibus alia de integro facta sint, ubi circa muros supra subterque terram per dies quindecim pugnatum, ubi a prima luce, cum iam transcendisset muros miles, usque ad noctem diu anceps proelium tenuerit, ubi plus tria milia hostium sint caesa. iam de deorum immortalium templis spoliatis in capta urbe qualem calumniam * * ad pontifices attulerit? nisi Syracusarum ceterarumque captarum ciuitatum ornamentis urbem exornari fas fuerit, in Ambracia una capta non ualuerit belli ius. se et patres conscriptos orare et ab tribuno petere, ne se superbissimo inimico ludibrio esse sinant.

[5] Undique omnes alii deprecari tribunum, alii castigare. Ti. Gracchi collegae plurimum oratio mouit. ne suas quidem similtates pro magistratu exercere boni exempli esse: alienarum uero similtatum tribunum plebis cognitorem fieri turpe et indignum collegii eius potestate et sacratis legibus esse. suo quemque iudicio et homines odisse aut diligere et res probare aut improbare debere, non pendere ex alterius uultu ac nutu nec alieni momentis animi circumagi, adstipularique irato consuli tribunum plebei; et quid priuatim M. Aemilius mandauerit, meminisse, tribunatum sibi a populo Romano mandatum obliuisci, et mandatum pro auxilio ac libertate priuatorum, non pro consulari regno. ne hoc quidem cernere eum, fore ut memoriae ac posteritati mandetur eiusdem collegii alterum e duobus tribunis plebis suas inimicitias remisisse rei publicae, alterum alienas et mandatas exercuisse. his uictus

castigationibus tribunus cum templo excessisset, referente Ser. Sulpicio praetore triumphus M. Fuluio est decretus. is cum gratias patribus conscriptis egisset, adiecit ludos magnos se Ioui optimo maximo eo die quo Ambraciam cepisset uouisse; in eam rem sibi centum pondo auri a ciuitatibus collatum; petere ut ex ea pecunia, quam in triumpho latam in aerario positurus esset, id aurum secerni iuberent. senatus pontificum collegium consuli iussit, num omne id aurum in ludos consumi necesse esset. cum pontifices negassent ad religionem pertinere, quanta impensa in ludos fieret, senatus Fuluio quantum impenderet permisit, dum ne summam octoginta milium excederet. triumphare mense Ianuario statuerat: sed cum audisset consulem M. Aemilium, litteris M. Aburii tribuni plebis acceptis de remissa intercessione, ipsum ad impediendum triumphum Romam uenientem aegrum in uia substitisse, ne plus in triumpho certaminum quam in bello haberet, praetulit triumphi diem. triumphauit ante diem decimum Kal. Ianuarias de Aetolis et de Cephallania. aureae coronae centum duodecim pondo ante currum latae sunt; argenti pondo milia octoginta tria, auri pondo ducenta quadraginta tria, tetrachma Attica centum octodecim milia, Philippei nummi duodecim milia trecenti uiginti duo, signa aenea septingenta octoginta quinque, signa marmorea ducenta triginta, arma tela cetera spolia hostium, magnus numerus, ad hoc catapultae, ballistae, tormenta omnis generis; duces aut Aetoli et Cephallanes aut regii ab Antiocho ibi relictis ad uiginti septem. multos eo die, priusquam in urbem inueheretur, in circo Flaminio tribunos praefectos equites centuriones, Romanos sociosque, donis militaribus donauit. militibus ex praeda uicenos quinos denarios diuisit, duplex centurioni, triplex equiti.

[6] Iam consularium comitiorum appetebat tempus; quibus quia M. Aemilius, cuius sortis ea cura erat, occurrere non potuit, C. Flaminius Romam uenit. ab eo creati consules Sp. Postumius Albinus Q. Marcius Philippus. praetores inde facti T. Maenius P. Cornelius Sulla C. Calpurnius Piso M. Licinius Lucullus C. Aurelius Scaurus L. Quinctius Crispinus.

Extremo anni, magistratibus iam creatis, ante diem tertium nonas Martias Cn. Manlius Uulso de Gallis qui Asiam incolunt triumphauit. serius ei triumphandi causa fuit, ne Q. Terentio Culleone praetore causam lege Petillia diceret, et incendio alieni iudicii, quo L. Scipio

damnatus erat, conflagraret, eo infensioribus in se quam in illum iudicibus, quod disciplinam militarem seuere ab eo conseruatam successorem ipsum omni genere licentiae corrupisse fama attulerat. neque ea sola infamiae erant, quae in prouincia procul ab oculis facta narrabantur, sed ea etiam magis, quae in militibus eius quotidie aspiciebantur. luxuriae enim peregrinae origo ab exercitu Asiatico inuecta in urbem est. ii primum lectos aeratos, uestem stragulam pretiosam, plagulas et alia textilia, et quae tum magnificae supellectilis habebantur, monopodia et abacos Romam aduexerunt. tunc psaltriae sambucistriaeque et conuiuialia alia ludorum oblectamenta addita epulis; epulae quoque ipsae et cura et sumptu maiore apparari coeptae. tum coquus, uilissimum antiquis mancipium et aestimatione et usu, in pretio esse, et quod ministerium fuerat, ars haberi coepta. uix tamen illa quae tum conspiciebantur, semina erant futurae luxuriae.

[7] In triumpho tulit Cn. Manlius coronas aureas ducenta duodecim [pondo], argenti pondo ducenta uiginti milia, auri pondo duo milia centum tria, tetrachmum Atticum centum uiginti septem milia, cistophori ducenta quinquaginta, Philippeorum aureorum nummorum sedecim milia trecentos uiginti; et arma spoliaque multa Gallica carpentis trauecta, duces hostium duo et quinquaginta ducti ante currum. militibus quadragenos binos denarios diuisit, duplex centurioni, triplex in equites, et stipendium duplex [in pedites] dedit; multi omnium ordinum donati militaribus donis currum secuti sunt. carminaque a militibus ea in imperatorem dicta, ut facile appareret in ducem indulgentem ambitiosumque ea dici, triumphum esse militari magis fauore quam populari celebrem. sed ad populi quoque gratiam conciliandam amici Manlii ualuerunt; quibus adnitentibus senatus consultum factum est, ut ex pecunia quae in triumpho translata esset, stipendium collatum a populo in publicum, quod eius solutum antea non esset, solueretur. uicenos quinos et semisses in milia aeris quaestores urbani cum fide et cura soluerunt. per idem tempus tribuni militum duo ex duabus Hispaniis cum litteris C. Atinii et L. Manlii, qui eas prouincias obtinebant, uenerunt. ex iis litteris cognitum est Celtiberos Lusitanosque in armis esse et sociorum agros populari. de ea re consultationem integram senatus ad nouos magistratus reiecit.

Ludis Romanis eo anno, quos P. Cornelius Cethegus A.

Postumius Albinus faciebant, malus in circo instabilis in signum Pollentiae procidit atque id deicit. ea religione moti patres et diem unum adiciendum ludorum censuerunt, et signa duo pro uno reponenda, et nouum auratum faciendum. et plebei ludi ab aedilibus C. Sempronio Blaeso et M. Furio Lusco diem unum instaurati sunt.

[8] Insequens annus Sp. Postumium Albinum et Q. Marcium Philippum consules ab exercitu bellorumque et prouinciarum cura ad intestinae coniurationis uindictam auertit. praetores prouincias sortiti sunt, T. Maenius urbanam, M. Licinius Lucullus inter ciues et peregrinos, C. Aurelius Scaurus Sardiniam, P. Cornelius Sulla Siciliam, L. Quinctius Crispinus Hispaniam citeriorem, C. Calpurnius Piso Hispaniam ulteriorem. consulibus ambobus quaestio de clandestinis coniurationibus decreta est. Graecus ignobilis in Etruriam primum uenit nulla cum arte earum, quas multas ad animorum corporumque cultum nobis eruditissima omnium gens inuexit, sacrificulus et uates; nec is qui aperta religione, propalam et quaestum et disciplinam profitendo, animos errore imbueret, sed occultorum et nocturnorum antistes sacrorum. initia erant, quae primo paucis tradita sunt, deinde uulgari coepta sunt per uiros mulieresque. additae uoluptates religioni uini et epularum, quo plurium animi illicerentur. cum uinum animos <incendissent>, et nox et mixti feminis mares, aetatis tenerae maioribus, discrimen omne pudoris exstinxissent, corruptelae primum omnis generis fieri coeptae, cum ad id quisque, quo natura pronioris libidinis esset, paratam uoluptatem haberet. nec unum genus noxae, stupra promiscua ingenuorum feminarumque erant, sed falsi testes, falsa signa testamentaque et indicia ex eadem officina exhibant: uenena indidem intestinaeque caedes, ita ut ne corpora quidem interdum ad sepulturam exstarent. multa dolo, pleraque per uim audebantur. occulebat uim quod prae ululatibus tympanorumque et cymbalorum strepitu nulla uox quiritantium inter stupra et caedes exaudiri poterat.

[9] Huius mali labes ex Etruria Romam ueluti contagione morbi penetrauit. primo urbis magnitudo capacior patientiorque talium malorum ea celauit: tandem indicium hoc maxime modo ad Postumium consulem peruenit. P. Aebutius, cuius pater publico equo stipendia fecerat, pupillus relictus, mortuis deinde tutoribus sub tutela Duroniae matris et uitrici T. Sempronii Rutili educatus fuerat.

et mater dedita uiro erat, et uiricus, quia tutelam ita gesserat, ut rationem reddere non posset, aut tolli pupillum aut obnoxium sibi uinculo aliquo fieri cupiebat. uia una corruptelae Bacchanalia erant. mater adulescentem appellat: se pro aegro eo uouisse, ubi primum conualuisset, Bacchis eum se initiaturam; damnatam uoti benignitate deum exsoluere id uelle. decem dierum castimonia opus esse: decimo die cenatum, deinde pure lautum in sacrarium deducturam. scortum nobile libertina Hispala Faecenia, non digna quaestu, cui ancillula adsuerat, etiam postquam manumissa erat, eodem se genere tuebatur. huic consuetudo iuxta uicinitatem cum Aebutio fuit, minime adulescentis aut rei aut famae damnosa: ultro enim amatus appetitusque erat, et maligne omnia praebentibus suis meretriculae munificentia sustinebatur. quin eo processerat consuetudine capta, ut post patroni mortem, quia in nullius manu erat, tutore ab tribunis et praetore petito, cum testamentum faceret, unum Aebutium institueret heredem.

[10] Haec amoris pignora cum essent, nec quicquam secretum alter ab altero haberent, per iocum adulescens uetat eam mirari, si per aliquot noctes secubuisset: religionis se causa, ut uoto pro ualitudine sua facto liberetur, Bacchis initiari uelle. id ubi mulier audiuit, perturbata ‘dii meliora.’ inquit: mori et sibi et illi satius esse quam id faceret; et in caput eorum detestari minas periculaque, qui id suasissent. admiratus cum uerba tum perturbationem tantam adulescens parcere execrationibus iubet: matrem id sibi adsentiente uirico imperasse. ‘uiricus ergo’ inquit ‘tuus — matrem enim insimulare forsitan fas non sit — pudicitiam famam spem uitamque tuam perditum ire hoc facto properat.’ eo magis mirabundo quaerentique, quid rei esset, pacem ueniamque precata deorum dearumque, si coacta caritate eius silenda enuntiasset, ancillam se ait dominae comitem id sacrarium intrasse, liberam numquam eo accessisse. scire corruptelarum omnis generis eam officinam esse; et iam biennio constare neminem initiatum ibi maiorem annis uiginti. ut quisque introductus sit, uelut uictimam tradi sacerdotibus. eos deducere in locum, qui circumsonet ululatibus cantuque symphoniae et cymbalorum et tympanorum pulsu, ne uox quiritantis, cum per uim stuprum inferatur, exaudiri possit. orare inde atque obsecrare, ut eam rem quocumque modo discuteret nec se eo praecipitaret, ubi omnia

infanda patienda primum, deinde facienda essent. neque ante dimisit eum, quam fidem dedit adulescens ab his sacris se temperaturum.

[11] Postquam domum uenit, et mater mentionem intulit, quid eo die, quid deinceps ceteris, quae ad sacra pertinerent, faciendum esset, negat eorum se quicquam facturum, nec initiari sibi in animo esse. aderat sermoni uitricus. confestim mulier exclamat Hispalae concubitu carere eum decem noctes non posse; illius excetrae delenimentis et uenenis imbutum nec parentis nec uitrici nec deorum uerecundiam habere. iurgantes hinc mater, hinc uitricus cum quattuor eum seruis domo exegerunt. adulescens inde ad Aebutiam se amitam contulit, causamque ei, cur esset a matre eiectus, narrauit, deinde ex auctoritate eius postero die ad consulem Postumium arbitris remotis rem detulit. consul post diem tertium redire ad se iussum dimisit; ipse Sulpiciam grauem feminam, socrum suam, percunctatus est, ecquam anum Aebutiam ex Auentino nosset. cum ea nosse probam et antiqui moris feminam respondisset, opus esse sibi ea conuenta dixit: mitteret nuntium ad eam, ut ueniret. Aebutia accita ad Sulpiciam uenit, et consul paulo post, uelut forte interuenisset, sermonem de Aebutio fratris eius filio infert. lacrimae mulieri obortae, et miserari casum adulescentis coepit, qui spoliatus fortunis, a quibus minime oporteret, apud se tunc esset, eiectus a matre, quod probus adulescens — dii propitii essent — obscenis, ut fama esset, sacris initiari nolle.

[12] Satis exploratum de Aebutio ratus consul non uanum auctorem esse, Aebutia dimissa socrum rogat, ut Hispalam indidem ex Auentino libertinam, non ignotam uicinia, arcesseret ad sese: eam quoque esse quae percunctari uellet. ad cuius nuntium perturbata Hispala, quod ad tam nobilem et grauem feminam ignara causae arcesseretur, postquam lictores in uestibulo turbamque consularem et consulem ipsum conspexit, prope exanimata est. in interiorem partem aedium abductam socru adhibita consul, si uera dicere inducere in animum posset, negat perturbari debere; fidem uel a Sulpicia, tali femina, uel ab se acciperet; expromeret sibi, quae in luco Stimulae Bacchanalibus in sacro nocturno solerent fieri. hoc ubi audiuit, tantus pauor tremorque omnium membrorum mulierem cepit, ut diu hiscere non posset. tandem confirmata puellam admodum se ancillam initiatam cum domina ait: aliquot annis, ex quo manumissa sit, nihil quid ibi fiat scire. iam id ipsum consul laudare, quod initiatam se non

infitiaretur: sed et cetera eadem fide expromeret. neganti ultra quicquam scire, non eandem dicere, si coarguatur ab alio, ac per se fatenti ueniam aut gratiam fore; eum sibi omnia exposuisse, qui ab illa audisset.

[13] Mulier haud dubie, id quod erat, Aebutium indicem arcani rata esse, ad pedes Sulpiciae procidit, et eam primo orare coepit, ne mulieris libertinae cum amatore sermonem in rem non seriam modo sed capitalem etiam uerti uellet: se terrendi eius causa, non quod sciret quicquam, ea locutam esse. hic Postumius accensus ira tum quoque ait eam cum Aebutio se amatore cauillari credere, non in domo grauissimae feminae et cum consule loqui. et Sulpicia attollere pauentem, simul illam adhortari, simul iram generi lenire. tandem confirmata, multum incusata perfidia Aebutii, qui optime de ipso merita talem gratiam rettulisset, magnum sibi metum deorum, quorum occulta initia enuntiaret, maiorem multo dixit hominum esse, qui se indicem manibus suis discerpturi essent. itaque hoc se Sulpiciam, hoc consulem orare, ut se extra Italiam aliquo ablegarent, ubi reliquum uitae degere tuto posset. bono animo esse iubere eam consul, et sibi curae fore dicere, ut Romae tuto habitaret. tum Hispala originem sacrorum expromit. primo sacrarium id feminarum fuisse, nec quemquam eo uirum admitti solitum. tres in anno statos dies habuisse, quibus interdum Bacchis initiarentur; sacerdotes in uicem matronas creari solitas. Pacullam Anniam Campanam sacerdotem omnia, tamquam deum monitu, immutasse: nam et uiros eam primam filios suos initiasse, Minium et Herennium Cerrinios; et nocturnum sacrum ex diurno, et pro tribus in anno diebus quinos singulis mensibus dies initiorum fecisse. ex quo in promiscuo sacra sint et permixti uiri feminis, et noctis licentia accesserit, nihil ibi facinoris, nihil flagitii praetermissum. plura uirorum inter sese quam feminarum esse stupra. si qui minus patientes dedecoris sint et pigriores ad facinus, pro uictimis immolari. nihil nefas ducere, hanc summam inter eos religionem esse. uiros, uelut mente capta, cum iactatione fanatica corporis uaticinari; matronas Baccharum habitu crinibus sparsis cum ardentibus facibus decurrere ad Tiberim, demissasque in aquam faces, quia uiuum sulphur cum calce insit, integra flamma efferre. raptos a diis homines dici, quos machinae illigatos ex conspectu in abditos specus abripiant: eos esse, qui aut

coniurare aut sociari facinoribus aut stuprum pati noluerint. multitudinem ingentem, alterum iam prope populum esse; in his nobiles quosdam uiros feminasque. biennio proximo institutum esse, ne quis maior uiginti annis initiaretur: captari aetates et erroris et stupri patientes.

[14] Peracto indicio aduoluta rursus genibus preces easdem, ut se ablegaret, repetiuit. consul rogat socrum, ut aliquam partem aedium uacuum faceret, quo Hispala immigraret. cenaculum super aedes datum est, scalis ferentibus in publicum obseratis, aditu in aedes uerso. res omnes Faeceniae extemplo translatae et familia arcessita, et Aebutius migrare ad consulis clientem iussus.

Ita cum indices ambo in potestate essent, rem ad senatum Postumius defert, omnibus ordine expositis, quae delata primo, quae deinde ab se inquisita forent. patres paor ingens cepit, cum publico nomine, ne quid eae coniurationes coetusque nocturni fraudis occultae aut periculi importarent, tum priuatim suorum cuiusque uicem, ne quis adfinis ei noxae esset. censuit autem senatus gratias consuli agendas, quod eam rem et cum singulari cura et sine ullo tumultu inuestigasset. quaestionem deinde de Bacchanalibus sacrisque nocturnis extra ordinem consulibus mandant; indicibus Aebutio ac Faeceniae ne fraudi ea res sit curare et alios indices praemiis inuitare iubent; sacerdotes eorum sacrorum, seu uiri seu feminae essent, non Romae modo sed per omnia fora et conciliabula conquiri, ut in consulum potestate essent; edici praeterea in urbe Roma et per totam Italiam edicta mitti, ne quis, qui Bacchis initiatus esset, coisse aut conuenisse sacrorum causa uelit, neu quid talis rei diuinae fecisse. ante omnia ut quaestio de iis habeatur, qui coierint coniurauerintue, quo stuprum flagitiumue inferretur. haec senatus decreuit. consules aedilibus curulibus imperarunt, ut sacerdotes eius sacri omnes conquirerent, comprehensosque libero conclauis ad quaestionem seruarent; aediles plebis uiderent, ne qua sacra in operto fierent. triumuiris capitalibus mandatum est, ut uigilias disponerent per urbem seruarentque, ne qui nocturni coetus fierent, utque ab incendiis caueretur; adiutores triumuiris quinqueuiri uisus cis Tiberim suae quisque regionis aedificiis praeessent.

[15] Ad haec officia dimissis magistratibus consules in rostra escenderunt, et contione aduocata cum sollemne carmen precationis,

quod praefari, priusquam populum adloquantur, magistratus solent, peregisset consul, ita coepit. ‘nulli umquam contioni, Quirites, tam non solum apta sed etiam necessaria haec sollemnis deorum comprecatio fuit, quae uos admoneret hos esse deos, quos colere uenerari precarique maiores uestri instituissent, non illos, qui prauis et externis religionibus captas mentes uelut furialibus stimulis ad omne scelus et ad omnem libidinem agerent. equidem nec quid taceam nec quatenus proloquar inuenio. si aliquid ignorabitis, ne locum negligentiae dem, si omnia nudauero, ne nimium terroris offundam uobis, uereor. quidquid dixerō, minus quam pro atrocitate et magnitudine rei dictum scitote esse: ut ad cauendum satis sit, dabitur opera a nobis. Bacchanalia tota iam pridem Italia et nunc per urbem etiam multis locis esse, non fama solum accepisse uos sed crepitibus etiam ululatibusque nocturnis, qui personant tota urbe, certum habeo, ceterum quae ea res sit, ignorare: alios deorum aliquem cultum, alios concessum ludum et lasciuiam credere esse, et quaecumque sit, ad paucos pertinere. quod ad multitudinem eorum attinet, si dixerō multa milia hominum esse, ilico necesse est exterreamini, nisi adiunxero qui qualesque sint. primum igitur mulierum magna pars est, et is fons mali huiusce fuit; deinde simillimi feminis mares, stuprati et constupratores, fanatici, uigiliis, uino, strepitibus clamoribusque nocturnis attoniti. nullas adhuc uires coniuratio, ceterum incrementum ingens uirium habet, quod in dies plures fiunt. maiores uestri ne uos quidem, nisi cum aut uexillo in arce posito comitiorum causa exercitus eductus esset, aut plebi concilium tribuni edixissent, aut aliquis ex magistratibus ad contionem uocasset, forte temere coire uoluerunt; et ubicumque multitudo esset, ibi et legitimum rectorem multitudinis censebant esse debere. quales primum nocturnos coetus, deinde promiscuos mulierum ac uirorum esse creditis? si quibus aetatibus initientur mares sciatis, non misereat uos eorum solum, sed etiam pudeat. hoc sacramento initiatos iuuenes milites faciendos censetis, Quirites? his ex obsceno sacrario eductis arma committenda? hi cooperti stupris suis alienisque pro pudicitia coniugum ac liberorum uestrorum ferro decernent?

[16] Minus tamen esset, si flagitiis tantum effeminati forent — ipsorum id magna ex parte dedecus erat — , a facinoribus manus,

mentem a fraudibus abstinuissent: numquam tantum malum in re publica fuit, nec ad plures nec ad plura pertinens. quidquid his annis libidine, quidquid fraude, quidquid scelere peccatum est, ex illo uno sacrario scitote ortum esse. necdum omnia, in quae coniurarunt, edita facinora habent. adhuc priuatis noxiis, quia nondum ad rem publicam opprimendam satis uirium est, coniuratio sese impia tenet. crescit et serpit quotidie malum. iam maius est, quam ut capere id priuata fortuna possit: ad summam rem publicam spectat. nisi praecauetis, Quirites, iam huic diurnae, legitime ab consule uocatae, par nocturna contio esse poterit. nunc illi uos singuli uniuersos contionantes timent: iam ubi uos dilapsi domos et in rura uestra eritis, illi coierint, consultabunt de sua salute simul ac uestra pernicie: tum singulis uobis uniuersi timendi erunt. optare igitur unusquisque uestrum debet, ut bona mens suis omnibus fuerit. si quem libido, si furor in illum gurgitem abripuit, illorum eum, cum quibus in omne flagitium et facinus coniurauit, non suum iudicet esse. ne quis etiam errore labatur uestrum, Quirites, non sum securus. nihil enim in speciem fallacius est quam praua religio. ubi deorum numen praetenditur sceleribus, subit animum timor, ne fraudibus humanis uindicandis diuini iuris aliquid immixtum uiolemus. hac uos religione innumerabilia decreta pontificum, senatus consulta, haruspicum denique responsa liberant. quotiens hoc patrum auorumque aetate negotium est magistratibus datum, uti sacra externa fieri uetarent, sacrificulos uatesque foro circo urbe prohiberent, uaticinos libros conquirent comburerentque, omnem disciplinam sacrificandi praeterquam more Romano abolerent. iudicabant enim prudentissimi uiri omnis diuini humanique iuris nihil aequae dissoluendae religionis esse, quam ubi non patrio sed externo ritu sacrificaretur. haec uobis praedicenda ratus sum, ne qua superstitio agigaret animos uestros, cum demolientes nos Bacchanalia discutientesque nefarios coetus cerneretis. omnia diis propitiis uolentibusque [ea] faciemus; qui quia suum numen sceleribus libidinibusque contaminari indigne ferebant, ex occultis ea tenebris in lucem extraxerunt, nec patefieri, ut impunita essent, sed ut uindicarentur et opprimerentur, uoluerunt. senatus quaestionem extra ordinem de ea re mihi collegaeque meo mandauit. nos, quae ipsis nobis agenda sunt, impigre exsequemur; uigiliarum nocturnarum curam per urbem minoribus magistratibus

mandauimus. uos quoque aequum est, quae uestra munia sunt, quo quisque loco positus erit, quod imperabitur, impigre praestare, et dare operam, ne quid fraude noxiorum periculi aut tumultus oriatur.’

[17] Recitari deinde senatus consulta iusserunt, indicique praemium proposuerunt, si quis quem ad se deduxisset nomenue absentis detulisset. qui nominatus profugisset, diem certam se finituros, ad quam nisi citatus respondisset, absens damnaretur. si quis eorum, qui tum extra terram Italiam essent, nominaretur, ei laxiorem diem daturus, si uenire ad causam dicendam uellet. edixerunt deinde, ne quis quid fugae causa uendidissee neuē emisse uellet; ne quis reciperet, celaret, ope ulla iuuaret fugientes.

Contione dimissa terror magnus urbe tota fuit, nec moenibus se tantum urbis aut finibus Romanis continuit, sed passim per totam Italiam, litteris hospitem de senatus consulto et contione et edicto consulum acceptis, trepidari coeptum est. multi ea nocte, quae diem insecuta est, quo in contione res palam facta est, custodiis circa portas positis fugientes a triumuiris comprehensi et reducti sunt: multorum delata nomina. quidam ex iis uiri feminaeque mortem sibi consciuerunt. coniurasse supra septem milia uirorum ac mulierum dicebantur. capita autem coniurationis constabat esse M. et C. Atinios de plebe Romana et Faliscum L. Opicernium et Minium Cerrinium Campanum: ab his omnia facinora et flagitia orta, eos maximos sacerdotes conditoresque eius sacri esse. data opera, ut primo quoque tempore comprehenderentur. adducti ad consules fassique de se nullam moram indicio fecerunt.

[18] Ceterum tanta fuga ex urbe facta erat, ut, quia multis actiones et res peribant, cogerentur praetores T. Maenius et M. Licinius per senatum res in diem tricesimum differre, donec quaestiones a consulibus perficerentur. eadem solitudo, quia Romae non respondebant nec inueniebantur, quorum nomina delata erant, coegit consules circa fora proficisci ibique quaerere et iudicia exercere. qui tantum initiati erant et ex carmine sacro, praeuente uerba sacerdote, precationes fecerant, [in] quibus nefanda coniuratio in omne facinus ac libidinem continebatur, nec earum rerum ullam, in quas iureiurando obligati erant, in se aut alios admiserant, eos in uinculis relinquebant: qui stupris aut caedibus uiolati erant, qui falsis testimoniis, signis adulterinis, subiectione testamentorum, fraudibus

aliis contaminati, eos capitali poena adficiebant. plures necati quam in uincula coniecti sunt. magna uis in utraque causa uirorum mulierumque fuit. mulieres damnatas cognatis, aut in quorum manu essent, tradebant, ut ipsi in priuato animaduernerent in eas: si nemo erat idoneus supplicii exactor, in publico animaduertebatur. datum deinde consulibus negotium est, ut omnia Bacchanalia Romae primum, deinde per totam Italiam diruerent, extra quam si qua ibi uetusta ara aut signum consecratum esset. in reliquum deinde senatus consulto cautum est, ne qua Bacchanalia Romae neu in Italia essent. si quis tale sacrum sollemne et necessarium duceret, nec sine religione et piaculo se id omittere posse, apud praetorem urbanum profiteretur, praetor senatum consuleret. si ei permissum esset, cum in senatu centum non minus essent, ita id sacrum faceret, dum ne plus quinque sacrificio interessent, neu qua pecunia communis neu quis magister sacrorum aut sacerdos esset.

[19] Aliud deinde huic coniunctum referente Q. Marcio consule senatus consultum factum est, ut de iis, quos pro indicibus consules habuissent, integra res ad senatum referretur, cum Sp. Postumius quaestionibus perfectis Romam redisset. Minium Cerrinium Campanum Ardeam in uincula mittendum censuerunt, magistratibusque Ardeatium praedicendum, ut intentiore eum custodia adseruarent, non solum ne effugeret, sed ne mortis consciscendae locum haberet. Sp. Postumius aliquanto post Romam uenit: eo referente de P. Aebutii et Hispalae Faeceniae praemio, quod eorum opera indicata Bacchanalia essent, senatus consultum factum est, uti singulis his centena milia aeris quaestores urbani ex aerario darent; utique consul cum tribunis plebis ageret, ut ad plebem primo quoque tempore ferrent, ut P. Aebutio emerita stipendia essent, ne inuitus militaret neu censor ei inuito equum publicum adsignaret; utique Faeceniae Hispalae datio, deminutio, gentis enuptio, tutoris optio item esset, quasi ei uir testamento dedisset; utique ei ingenuo nubere liceret, neu quid ei qui eam duxisset ob id fraudi ignominiaeue esset; utique consules praetoresque, qui nunc essent quique postea futuri essent, curarent, ne quid ei mulieri iniuriae fieret, utique tuto esset. id senatum uelle et aequum censere, ut ita fieret. ea omnia lata ad plebem factaque sunt ex senatus consulto; [et] de ceterorum indicum impunitate praemiisque consulibus permissum

est.

[20] Et iam Q. Marcius quaestionibus suae regionis perfectis in Ligures prouinciam proficisci parabat, tribus milibus peditum Romanorum, centum quinquaginta equitibus, et quinque milibus Latini nominis peditum ducentis equitibus in supplementum acceptis. eadem prouincia, idem numerus peditum equitumque et collegae decretus erat. exercitus acceperunt, quos priore anno C. Flaminius et M. Aemilius consules habuerant. duas praeterea legiones nouas ex senatus consulto scribere iussi sunt, et uiginti milia peditum sociis et nomini Latino imperarunt et equites octingentos, et tria milia peditum Romanorum, ducentos equites. totum hunc exercitum praeter legiones in supplementum Hispaniensis exercitus duci placebat. itaque consules, dum ipsi quaestionibus impediabantur, T. Maenium dilectui habendo praefecerunt. perfectis quaestionibus prior Q. Marcius in Ligures Apuanos est profectus. dum penitus in abditos saltus, quae latebrae receptaculaque illis semper fuerant, persequitur, in praeoccupatis angustiis loco iniquo est circumuentus. quattuor milia militum amissa, et legionis secundae signa tria, undecim uexilla socium Latini nominis in potestatem hostium uenerunt, et arma multa, quae quia impedimento fugientibus per siluestres semitas erant, passim iactabantur. prius sequendi Ligures finem quam fugae Romani fecerunt. consul ubi primum ex hostium agro euasit, ne, quantum deminutae copiae forent, appareret, in locis pacatis exercitum dimisit. non tamen obliterare famam rei male gestae potuit: nam saltus, unde eum Ligures fugauerant, Marcius est appellatus.

[21] Sub hunc nuntium ex Ligustinis uulgatum litterae ex Hispania mixtam gaudio tristitiam adherentes recitatae sunt. C. Atinius, qui biennio ante praetor in eam prouinciam profectus erat, cum Lusitanis in agro Hastensi signis collatis pugnauit: ad sex milia hostium sunt caesa, ceteri fusi et fugati castrisque exuti. ad oppidum deinde Hastam oppugnandum legiones ducit: id quoque haud multo maiore certamine cepit quam castra; sed dum incautius subit muros, ictus ex uulnere post dies paucos moritur. litteris de morte propriaetoris recitatis senatus censuit mittendum, qui ad Lunae portum C. Calpurnium praetorem consequeretur, nuntiaretque senatum aequum censere, ne sine imperio prouincia esset, maturare eum proficisci.

quarto die qui missus erat Lunam uenit: paucis ante diebus Calpurnius profectus erat. et in citeriore Hispania L. Manlius Acidinus, qui eodem tempore, quo C. Atinius in prouinciam ierat, cum Celtiberis acie conflixit. incerta uictoria discessum est, nisi quod Celtiberi castra inde nocte proxima mouerunt, Romanis et suos sepeliendi et spolia legendi ex hostibus potestas facta est. paucos post dies maiore coacto exercitu Celtiberi ad Calagurrim oppidum ultro lacesiuerunt proelio Romanos. nihil traditur, quae causa numero aucto infirmiores eos fecerit. superati proelio sunt: ad duodecim milia hominum caesa, plus duo capta, et castris Romanus potitur. et nisi successor aduentus suo inhibuisset impetum uictoris, subacti Celtiberi forent. noui praetores ambo in hiberna exercitus deduxerunt.

[22] Per eos dies, quibus haec ex Hispania nuntiata sunt, ludi Taurii per biduum facti religionis causa. decem deinde <dies magno> apparatu ludos M. Fuluius, quos uouerat Aetolico bello, fecit. multi artifices ex Graecia uenerunt honoris eius causa. athletarum quoque certamen tum primo Romanis spectaculo fuit, et uenatio data leonum et pantherarum, et prope huius saeculi copia ac uarietate ludicrum celebratum est. nouemdiale deinde sacrum tenuit, quod in Piceno per triduum lapidibus pluerat, ignesque caelestes multifariam orti adussisse complurium leui adflatu uestimenta maxime dicebantur. addita et unum diem supplicatio est ex decreto pontificum, quod aedis Opis in Capitolio de caelo tacta erat. hostiis maioribus consules procurarunt urbemque lustrauerunt. sub idem tempus et ex Umbria nuntiatum est semimarem duodecim ferme annos natum inuentum. id prodigium abominantes arceri Romano agro necarique quam primum iusserunt.

Eodem anno Galli Transalpini transgressi in Uenetiam sine populatione aut bello haud procul inde, ubi nunc Aquileia est, locum oppido condendo ceperunt. legatis Romanis de ea re trans Alpes missis responsum est neque profectos ex auctoritate gentis eos, nec quid in Italia facerent sese scire.

L. Scipio ludos eo tempore, quos bello Antiochi uouisse sese dicebat, ex collata ad id pecunia ab regibus ciuitatibusque per dies decem fecit. legatum eum post damnationem et bona uendita missum in Asiam ad dirimenda inter Antiochum et Eumenem reges certamina

Ualerius Antias est auctor: tum collatas ei pecunias congregatosque per Asiam artifices, et quorum ludorum post bellum, in quo uotos diceret, mentionem non fecisset, de iis post legationem demum in senatu actum.

[23] Cum iam in exitu annus esset, Q. Marcius absens magistratu abiturus erat, Sp. Postumius quaestionibus cum summa fide curaue perfectis comitia habuit. creati consules sunt Ap. Claudius Pulcher M. Sempronius Tuditanus. postero die praetores facti P. Cornelius Cethegus A. Postumius Albinus C. Afranius Stellio C. Atilius Serranus L. Postumius Tempsanus M. Claudius Marcellinus. extremo anni, quia Sp. Postumius consul renuntiauerat peragrantem se propter quaestiones utrumque litus Italiae desertas colonias Sipontum supero, Buxentum infero mari inuenisse, triumuii ad colonos eo scribendos ex senatus consulto ab T. Maenio praetore urbano creati sunt L. Scribonius Libo M. Tuccius Cn. Baebius Tamphilus.

Cum Perseo rege et Macedonibus bellum quod imminabat, non unde plerique opinantur, nec ab ipso Perseo causas cepit: inchoata initia a Philippo sunt; et is ipse, si diutius uixisset, id bellum gessisset. una eum res, cum uicto leges imponentur, maxime angebat, quod qui Macedonum ab se defecerant in bello, in eos ius saeuiendi ademptum ei ab senatu erat, cum, quia rem integram Quinctius in condicionibus pacis distulerat, non desperasset impetrari posse. Antiocho rege deinde bello superato ad Thermopylas, diuisis partibus, cum per eosdem dies consul Acilius Heracleam, Philippus Lamiam oppugnasset, capta Heraclea quia iussus abscedere a moenibus Lamiae erat Romanisque oppidum deditum est, aegre eam rem tulerat. permulsit iram eius consul, quod ad Naupactum ipse festinans, quo se ex fuga Aetoli contulerant, Philippo permisit, ut Athamaniae et Amyndandro bellum inferret, et urbes quas Thessalis Aetoli ademerant, regno adiceret. haud magno certamine et Amyndandrum Athamania expulerat et urbes receperat aliquot. Demetriadem quoque, urbem ualidam et ad omnia opportunam, et Magnetum gentem suae dicionis fecit. inde et in Thracia quasdam urbes, nouae atque insuetae libertatis uitio seditionibus principum turbatas, partibus, quae domestico certamine uincerentur, adiungendo sese cepit.

[24] His sedata in praesentia regis ira in Romanos est. numquam

tamen remisit animum a colligendis in pace uiribus, quibus, quandoque data fortuna esset, ad bellum uteretur. uectigalia regni non fructibus tantum agrorum portoriisque maritimis auxit, sed metalla etiam et uetera intermissa recoluit et noua multis locis instituit. ut uero antiquam multitudinem hominum, quae belli cladibus amissa erat, restitueret, non subolem tantum stirpis parabat cogendis omnibus procreare atque educare liberos, sed Thracum etiam magnam multitudinem in Macedoniam traduxerat, quietusque aliquamdiu a bellis omni cura in augendas regni opes intentus fuerat. redire deinde causae, quae de integro iram mouerent in Romanos. Thessalorum et Perrhaeborum querellae de urbibus suis ab eo possessis, et legatorum Eumenis regis de Thraciis oppidis per uim occupatis traductaque in Macedoniam multitudine, ita auditaerant, ut eas non neglegi satis appareret. maxime mouerat senatum, quod iam Aeni et Maroneae adfectari possessionem audierant; minus Thessalos curabant. Athamanes quoque uenerant legati, non partis amissae, non finium iacturam querentes, sed totam Athamaniam sub ius iudiciumque regis uenisse; et Maronitarum exules uenerant, pulsique, quia libertatis causam defendissent ab regio praesidio: ii non Maroneam modo sed etiam Aenum in potestate narrabant esse Philippi. uenerant et a Philippo legati ad purganda ea, qui nihil nisi permissu Romanorum imperatorum factum adfirmabant: ciuitates Thessalorum et Perrhaeborum et Magnetum et cum Amynandro Athamanum gentem in eadem causa qua Aetolos fuisse; Antiocho rege pulso occupatum oppugnandis Aetolicis urbibus consulem ad recipiendas eas ciuitates Philippum misisse; armis subactos parere. senatus, ne quid absente rege statueret, legatos ad eas controuersias disceptandas misit Q. Caecilium Metellum M. Baebium Tamphilum Ti. Sempronium. quorum sub aduentum ad Thessalica Tempe omnibus iis ciuitatibus, quibus cum rege disceptatio erat, concilium indictum est.

[25] Ibi cum Romani legati disceptatorum loco, Thessali Perrhaebique et Athamanes haud dubii accusatores, Philippus ad audienda crimina tamquam reus consedissent, pro ingenio quisque eorum, qui principes legationum erant, et gratia cum Philippo aut odio acerbius leniusue egerunt. in controuersiam autem ueniebant Philippopolis Tricca Phaloria et Eurymenae et cetera circa eas

oppida, utrum, Thessalorum iuris cum <essent>, ui ademptae possessaeque ab Aetolis forent — nam Philippum Aetolis ademisse eas constabat — , an Aetolica antiquitus ea oppida fuissent: ita enim Acilium regi concessisse, si Aetolorum fuissent, et si uoluntate, non si ui atque armis coacti cum Aetolis essent. eiusdem formulae disceptatio de Perrhaeborum Magnetumque oppidis fuit: omnium enim iura possidendo per occasiones Aetoli miscuerant. ad haec, quae disceptationis erant, querellae Thessalorum adiectae, quod ea oppida, si iam redderentur sibi, spoliata ac deserta redditurus esset: nam praeter belli casibus amissos quingentos principes iuuentutis in Macedoniam abduxisse, et opera eorum in seruilibus abuti ministeriis; et quae reddiderit coactus Thessalis, inutilia ut redderet curasse. Thebas Pthias unum maritimum emporium fuisse quondam Thessalis quaestuosum et frugiferum: ibi nauibus onerariis comparatis regem, quae praeter Thebas Demetriadem cursum derigerent, negotiationem maritimam omnem eo auertisse. iam ne a legatis quidem, qui iure gentium sancti sint, uiolandis abstinere: insidias positas euntibus ad T. Quinctium. itaque ergo in tantum metum omnes Thessalos coniectos, ut non in ciuitatibus suis, non in communibus gentis conciliis quisquam hiscere audeat. procul enim abesse libertatis auctores Romanos: lateri adhaerere grauem dominum, prohibentem uti beneficiis populi Romani. quid autem, si uox libera non sit, liberum esse? nunc se fiducia et praesidio legatorum ingemiscere magis quam loqui. nisi prouideant aliquid Romani, quo et Graecis Macedoniam accolentibus metus et audacia Philippo minuatur, nequiquam et illum uictum et se liberatos esse. ut equum tenacem, non parentem frenis asperioribus castigandum esse. haec acerbè postremi, cum priores leniter permulsissent iram eius petentes, ut ignosceret pro libertate loquentibus, et ut deposita domini acerbitate adsuesceret socium atque amicum sese praestare, et imitaretur populum Romanum, qui caritate quam metu adiungere sibi socios mallet. Thessalis auditis Perrhaebi Gonnocondylum, quod Philippus Olympiadem appellauerat, Perrhaebiae fuisse, et ut sibi restitueretur, agebant; et de Malloea et Ericinio eadem postulatio erat. Athamanes libertatem repeteabant et castella Athenaeum et Poetneum.

[26] Philippus, ut accusatoris potius quam rei speciem haberet, et

ipse a querellis orsus Menelaidem in Dolopia, quae regni sui fuisset, Thessalos ui atque armis expugnasse questus est; item Petram in Pieria ab iisdem Thessalis Perrhaebisque captam. Xynias quidem, haud dubie Aetolicum oppidum, sibi contribuisse eos; et Paracheloida, quae sub Athamania esset, nullo iure Thessalorum formulae factam. nam quae sibi crimina obiciantur de insidiis legatorum et maritimis portubus frequentatis aut desertis, alterum ridiculum esse, se reddere rationem, quos portus mercatores aut nautici petant, alterum mores respuere suos. tot annos esse, per quos numquam cessauerint legati nunc ad imperatores Romanos nunc Romam ad senatum crimina de se deferre: quem umquam uerbo uiolatum esse? semel euntibus ad Quinctium insidias dici factas: sed quid iis acciderit, non adici. quaerentium quod falso obiciant, cum ueri nihil habeant, ea crimina esse. insolenter et immodice abuti Thessalos indulgentia populi Romani, uelut ex diutina siti nimis auide meram haurientes libertatem: ita seruorum modo praeter spem repente manumissorum licentiam uocis et linguae experiri et iactare sese insectatione et conuiciis dominorum. elatus deinde ira adiecit nondum omnium dierum solem occidisse. id minaciter dictum non Thessali modo in sese, sed etiam Romani acceperunt. et cum fremitus post eam uocem ortus et tandem sedatus esset, Perrhaeborum inde Athamanumque legatis respondit eandem, de quibus illi agant, ciuitatum causam esse. consulem Acilium et Romanos sibi dedisse eas, cum hostium essent. si suum munus qui dedissent adimere uelint, scire cedendum esse: sed meliori et fideliori amico in gratiam leuium et inutitium sociorum iniuriam eos facturos. nec enim ullius rei minus diuturnam esse gratiam quam libertatis, praesertim apud eos, qui male utendo eam corrupturi sint. causa cognita pronuntiarunt legati placere deduci praesidia Macedonum ex iis urbibus, et antiquis Macedoniae terminis regnum finiri. de iniuriis, quas ultro citroque illatas querantur, quo modo inter eas gentes et Macedonas disceptetur, formulam iuris exsequendi constituendam esse.

[27] Inde grauiter offenso rege Thessalonicen ad cognoscendum de Thraciae urbibus proficiscuntur. ibi legati Eumenis, si liberas esse Aenum et Maroneam uelint Romani, nihil sui pudoris esse ultra dicere, quam ut admoneant, re, non uerbo eos liberos relinquant, nec

suum munus intercipi ab alio patiantur. sin autem minor cura sit ciuitatum in Thracia positarum, multo uerius esse, quae sub Antiocho fuerint, praemia belli Eumenem quam Philippum habere, uel pro patris Attali meritis bello, quod aduersus Philippum ipsum gesserit populus Romanus, uel suis, quod Antiochi bello terra marique laboribus periculisque omnibus interfuerit. habere eum praeterea decem legatorum in eam rem praeiudicium, qui cum Chersonesum Lysimachiamque dederint, Maroneam quoque atque Aenum profecto dedisse, quae ipsa propinquitate regionis uelut appendices maioris muneris essent. nam Philippum quidem quo aut merito in populum Romanum aut iure imperii, cum tam procul a finibus Macedoniae absint, ciuitatibus his praesidia imposuisse? uocari Maronitas iuberent: ab iis certiora omnia de statu ciuitatum earum scituros.

Legati Maronitarum uocati non uno tantum loco urbis praesidium regium esse, sicut in aliis ciuitatibus, dixerunt, sed pluribus simul, et plenam Macedonum Maroneam esse. itaque dominari adsentatores regios: his solis loqui et in senatu et in contionibus licere; eos omnes honores et capere ipsos et dare aliis. optimum quemque, quibus libertatis, quibus legum cura sit, aut exulare pulsos patria aut inhonoratos et deterioribus obnoxios silere. de iure etiam finium pauca adiecerunt: Q. Fabium Labeonem, cum in regione ea fuisset, derexisse finem Philippo ueterem uiam regiam, quae ad Thraciae Paroreian subeat, nusquam ad mare declinantem: Philippum nouam postea deflexisse uiam, qua Maronitarum urbes agrosque amplectatur.

[28] Ad ea Philippus longe aliam, quam aduersus Thessalos Perrhaebosque nuper, ingressus disserendi uiam ‘non cum Maronitis’ inquit ‘mihi aut cum Eumene disceptatio est, sed iam uobiscum, Romani, a quibus nihil aequi me impetrare iam diu animaduerto. ciuitates Macedonum, quae a me inter indutias defecerant, reddi mihi aequum censebam, non quia magna accessio ea regni futura esset — sunt enim et parua oppida et in finibus extremis posita — sed quia multum ad reliquos Macedonas continedos exemplum pertinebat. negatum est mihi. bello Aetolico Lamiam oppugnare iussus a consule M’. Acilio cum diu fatigatus ibi operibus proeliisque essem, transcendentem me iam muros a capta prope urbe reuocauit consul et

abducere copias inde coegit. ad huius solacium iniuriae permissum est, ut Thessaliae Perrhaebiaeque et Athamanum reciperem quaedam castella magis quam urbes. ea quoque ipsa uos mihi, Q. Caecili, paucos ante dies ademistis. pro non dubio paulo ante, si diis placet, legati Eumenis sumebant, quae Antiochi fuerunt, Eumenem aequius esse quam me habere. id ego longe aliter iudico esse. Eumenes enim non, nisi uicissent Romani, sed nisi bellum gessissent, manere in regno suo non potuit. itaque ille uestrum meritum habet, non uos illius. mei autem regni tantum aberat ut ulla pars in discrimine fuerit, ut tria milia talentum et quinquaginta tectas naues et omnes Graeciae ciuitates, quas antea tenuissem, pollicentem ultro Antiochum in mercedem societatis sim aspernatus; hostemque ei me esse prius etiam quam M'. Acilius exercitum in Graeciam traiceret praetuli. et cum eo consule belli partem, quamcumque mihi delegauit, gessi, et insequenti consuli L. Scipioni, cum terra statuisset ducere exercitum ad Hellespontum, non iter tantum per regnum nostrum dedi, sed uias etiam muniui, pontes feci, commeatus praebui; nec per Macedoniam tantum, sed per Thraciam etiam, ubi inter cetera pax quoque praestanda a barbaris erat. pro hoc studio meo erga uos, ne dicam merito, utrum adicere uos, Romani, aliquid et amplificare et augere regnum meum munificentia uestra oportebat, an, quae haberem aut meo iure aut beneficio uestro eripere, id quod nunc facitis? Macedonum ciuitates, quas regni mei fuisse fatemini, non restituuntur. Eumenes tamquam ad Antiochum spoliandum me uenit, et si diis placet, decem legatorum decretum calumniae impudentissimae praetendit, quo maxime et refelli et coargui potest. disertissime enim planissimeque in eo scriptum est Chersonesum et Lysimachiam Eumeni dari. ubi tandem Aenus et Maronea et Thraciae ciuitates adscriptae sunt? quod ab illis ne postulare quidem est ausus, id apud uos, tamquam ab illis impetrauerit, obtinebit? quo in numero me apud uos esse uelitis, refert. si tamquam inimicum et hostem insectari propositum est, pergite ut coepistis facere: sin aliquis respectus est mei ut socii atque amici regis, deprecor, ne me tanta iniuria dignum iudicetis.'

[29] Mouit aliquantum oratio regis legatos. itaque medio responso rem suspenderunt: si decem legatorum decreto Eumeni datae ciuitates eae essent, nihil se mutare; si Philippus bello cepisset eas,

praemium uictoriae iure belli habiturum; si neutrum eorum foret, cognitionem placere senatui reseruari et, ut omnia in integro manerent, praesidia, quae in iis urbibus sint, deduci.

Hae causae maxime animum Philippi alienauerunt ab Romanis, ut non a Perseo filio eius nouis causis motum, sed ob has a patre bellum relictum filio uideri possit. Romae nulla Macedonici belli suspicio erat. L. Manlius proconsul ex Hispania redierat; cui postulanti ab senatu in aede Bellonae triumphum rerum gestarum magnitudo impetrabilem faciebat; exemplum obstabat, quod ita comparatum more maiorum erat, ne quis, qui exercitum non deportasset, triumpharet, nisi perdomitam pacatamque prouinciam tradidisset successori. medius tamen honos Manlio habitus, ut ouans urbem iniret. tulit coronas aureas quinquaginta duas, auri praeterea pondo centum triginta duo, argenti sedecim milia trecenta, et pronuntiauit in senatu decem milia pondo argenti et octoginta auri Q. Fabium quaestorem aduehere: id quoque se in aerarium delaturum.

Magnus motus seruilis eo anno in Apulia fuit. Tarentum prouinciam L. Postumius praetor habebat. is de pastorum coniuratione, qui uias latrociniis pascuaeque publica infesta habuerant, quaestionem seuerè exercuit. ad septem milia hominum condemnauit: multi inde fugerunt, de multis sumptum est supplicium. consules diu retenti ad urbem dilectibus tandem in prouincias profecti sunt.

[30] Eodem anno in Hispania praetores C. Calpurnius et L. Quinctius, cum primo uere ex hibernis copias eductas in Baeturia iunxissent, in Carpetaniam, ubi hostium castra erant, progressi sunt, communi animo consilioque parati rem gerere. haud procul Dipone et Toletum urbibus inter pabulatores pugna orta est, quibus dum utrimque subuenitur a castris, paulatim omnes copiae in aciem eductae sunt. in eo tumultuario certamine et loca sua et genus pugnae pro hoste fuere. duo exercitus Romani fusi atque in castra compulsi sunt. non institere percussis hostes. praetores Romani, ne postero die castra oppugnarentur, silentio proximae noctis tacito signo exercitum abduxerunt. luce prima Hispani acie instructa ad uallum accesserunt, uacuaeque praeter spem castra ingressi, quae relictæ inter nocturnam trepidationem erant, diripuerunt, regressique in castra sua paucos dies quieti statuius manserunt. Romanorum sociorumque in proelio

fugaque ad quinque milia occisa, quorum se spoliis hostes armarunt. inde ad Tagum flumen profecti sunt. praetores interim Romani omne id tempus contrahendis ex ciuitatibus sociis Hispanorum auxiliis et reficiendis ab terrore aduersae pugnae militum animis consumpserunt. ubi satis placere uires et iam miles quoque ad delendam priorem ignominiam hostem poscebat, duodecim milia passuum ab Tago flumine posuerunt castra. inde tertia uigilia sublatis signis quadrato agmine principio lucis ad Tagi ripam peruenerunt. trans fluuium in colle hostium castra erant. extemplo, qua duobus locis uada nudabat amnis, dextra parte Calpurnius, laeua Quinctius exercitus traduxerunt quieto hoste, dum miratur subitum aduentum consultatque, qui tumultum inicere trepidantibus in ipso transitu amnis potuisset. interim Romani, impedimentis quoque omnibus traductis contractisque in unum locum, quia iam moueri uidebant hostem nec spatium erat castra communiendi, aciem instruxerunt. in medio locatae quinta Calpurnii legio et octaua Quinctii: id robur totius exercitus erat. campum apertum usque ad hostium castra habebant, liberum a metu insidiarum.

[31] Hispani postquam in citeriore ripa duo Romanorum agmina conspexerunt, ut, priusquam se iungere atque instruere possent, occuparent eos, castris repente effusi cursu ad pugnam tendunt. atrox in principio pugna fuit, et Hispanis recenti uictoria ferocibus et insueta ignominia milite Romano accenso. acerrime media acies, duae fortissimae legiones, dimicabant. quas cum aliter moueri loco non posse hostis cerneret, cuneo institit pugnare; et usque plures confertioresque medios urgebant. ibi postquam laborare aciem Calpurnius praetor uidit, T. Quinctilium Uarum et L. Iuuentium Talam legatos ad singulas legiones adhortandas propere mittit; docere et monere iubet in illis spem omnem uincendi et retinendae Hispaniae esse: si illi loco cedant, neminem eius exercitus non modo Italiam, sed ne Tagi quidem ulteriorem ripam umquam uisurum. ipse cum equitibus duarum legionum paulum circumuectus in cuneum hostium, qui mediam urgebat aciem, ab latere incurrit. Quinctius cum sociis equitibus alterum hostium latus inuadit. sed longe acrius Calpurniani equites pugnabant, et praetor ante alios: nam et primus hostem percussit, et ita se immiscuit mediis, ut uix, utrius partis esset, nosci posset; et equites praetoris eximia uirtute et equitum

pedites accensi sunt. pudor mouit primos centuriones, qui inter tela hostium praetorem conspexerunt. itaque urgere signiferos pro se quisque, iubere inferre signa et confestim militem sequi. renouatur ab omnibus clamor: impetus fit uelut ex superiore loco. haud secus ergo quam torrentis modo fundunt sternuntque percussos, nec sustineri alii super alios inferentes sese possunt. fugientes in castra equites persecuti sunt, et permixti turbae hostium intra uallum penetrauerunt; ubi ab relictis in praesidio castrorum proelium instauratum, coactique sunt Romani equites descendere ex equis. dimicantibus iis legio quinta superuenit; deinde, ut quaeque potuerant, copiae adfluebant. caeduntur passim Hispani per tota castra; nec plus quam quattuor milia hominum effugerunt. inde tria milia fere, qui arma retinuerant, montem propinquum ceperunt; mille semiermes maxime per agros palati sunt. supra triginta quinque milia hostium fuerant, ex quibus tam exigua pars pugnae superfuit. signa capta centum triginta tria. Romani sociique paulo plus sescenti et prouincialium auxiliorum centum quinquaginta ferme ceciderunt. tribuni militum quinque amissi et pauci equites Romani cruentae maxime uictoriae speciem fecerunt. in castris hostium, quia ipsis spatium sua communiendi non fuerat, manserunt. pro contione postero die laudati donatique a C. Calpurnio equites phaleris, pronuntiauitque eorum maxime opera hostes fusos, castra capta et expugnata esse. Quinctius alter praetor suos equites catellis ac fibulis donauit. donati et centuriones ex utriusque exercitu permulti, maxime qui mediam aciem tenuerant.

[32] Consules dilectibus aliisque, quae Romae agenda erant, peractis rebus in Ligures prouinciam exercitum duxerunt. Sempronius a Pisis profectus in Apuanos Ligures, uastando agros urendoque uicos et castella eorum aperuit saltum usque ad Macram fluuium et Lunae portum. hostes montem, antiquam sedem maiorum suorum, ceperunt; et inde superata locorum iniquitate proelio deiecti sunt. et Ap. Claudius felicitatem uirtutemque collegae in Liguribus Ingaunis aequauit secundis aliquot proeliis. sex praeterea oppida eorum expugnauit; multa milia hominum in iis cepit; belli auctores tres et quadraginta securi percussit. iam comitiorum appetebat tempus. prior tamen Claudius quam Sempronius, cui sors comitia habendi obtigerat, Romam uenit, quia P. Claudius frater eius consulatum petebat. competitores habebat patricos L. Aemilium Q.

Fabium Ser. Sulpicium Galbam, ueteres candidatos, et ab repulsis eo magis debitum, quia primo negatus erat, honorem repetentes. etiam quia plus quam unum ex patriciis creari non licebat, artior petitio quattuor petentibus erat. plebei quoque gratiosi homines petebant, L. Porcius Q. Terentius Culleo Cn. Baebius Tamphilus, et hi repulsis in spem impetrandi tandem aliquando honoris dilati. Claudius ex omnibus unus nouus candidatus erat. opinione hominum haud dubie destinabantur Q. Fabius Labeo et L. Porcius Licinus. sed Claudius consul sine lictoribus cum fratre toto foro uolitando, clamitantibus aduersariis et maiore parte senatus, meminisse eum debere se prius consulem populi Romani quam fratrem P. Claudii esse: quin ille sedens pro tribunali aut arbitrum aut tacitum spectatorem comitiorum se praeberet? — coerceri tamen ab effuso studio nequit. magnis contentionibus tribunorum quoque plebis, qui aut contra consulem aut pro studio eius pugnabant, comitia aliquotiens turbata, donec peruicit Appius, ut delecto Fabio fratrem traheret. creatus P. Claudius Pulcher praeter spem suam et ceterorum. locum suum tenuit L. Porcius Licinus, quia moderatis studiis, non ui Claudiana inter plebeios certatum est. praetorum inde comitia sunt habita: C. Decimius Flauus P. Sempronius Longus P. Cornelius Cethegus Q. Naeuius Matho C. Sempronius Blaesus A. Terentius Uarro praetores facti. haec eo anno, quo Ap. Claudius M. Sempronius consules fuerunt, domi militiaeque gesta.

[33] Principio insequentis anni P. Claudius L. Porcius consules, cum Q. Caecilius M. Baebius Ti. Sempronius, qui ad disceptandum inter Philippum et Eumenem reges Thessalorumque ciuitates missi erant, legationem renuntiassent, regum quoque eorum ciuitatiumque legatos in senatum introduxerunt. eadem utrimque iterata, quae dicta apud legatos in Graecia erant. aliam deinde nouam legationem patres, cuius princeps Ap. Claudius fuit, in Graeciam et Macedoniam decreuerunt ad uisendum, redditaene ciuitates Thessalis et Perrhaebis essent. iisdem mandatum, ut ab Aeno et Maronea praesidia deducerentur, maritimaque omnis Thraciae ora a Philippo et Macedonibus liberaretur. Peloponnesum quoque adire iussi, unde prior legatio discesserat incertiore statu rerum, quam si non uenissent: nam super cetera etiam sine responso dimissi, nec datum petentibus erat Achaeorum concilium. de qua re querente grauiter Q.

Caecilio et simul Lacedaemoniis deplorantibus moenia diruta, abductam plebem in Achaiam et uenundatam, ademptas, quibus ad eam diem ciuitas stetisset, Lycurgi leges, Achaei maxime concilii negati crimen excusabant recitando legem, quae nisi belli pacisue causa, et cum legati ab senatu cum litteris aut scriptis mandatis uenirent, uetaret indici concilium. ea ne postea excusatio esset, ostendit senatus curae iis esse debere, ut legatis Romanis semper adeundi concilium gentis potestas fieret, quem ad modum et illis, quotiens uellent, senatus daretur.

[34] Dimissis iis legionibus, Philippus a suis certior factus cedendum ciuitatibus deducendaque praesidia esse, infensus omnibus in Maronitas iram effundit. Onomasto, qui praeerat maritimae orae, mandat, ut partis aduersae principes interficeret. ille per Casandrum quendam, unum ex regiis iam diu habitantem Maroneae, nocte Thracibus intromissis uelut in bello capta urbe caedem fecit. idem apud Romanos legatos querentes tam crudeliter aduersus innoxios Maronitas, tam superbe aduersus populum Romanum factum, ut, quibus libertatem restituendam senatus censuisset, ii pro hostibus trucidarentur, abnuebat quicquam eorum ad se aut quemquam suorum pertinere; seditione inter ipsos dimicatum, cum ad se alii, alii ad Eumenem ciuitatem traherent; id facile scituros esse; percunctarentur ipsos Maronitas — , haud dubius, percussis omnibus terrore tam recentis caedis, neminem hiscere aduersus se ausurum. negare Appius rem euidentem pro dubia quaerendam. si ab se culpam remouere uellet, Onomastum et Casandrum, per quos acta res diceretur, mitteret Romam, ut eos senatus percunctari posset. primo adeo perturbauit ea uox regem, ut non color, non uultus ei constaret; deinde collecto tandem animo Casandrum, qui Maroneae fuisset, si utique uellent, se missurum dixit: ad Onomastum quidem quid eam rem pertinere, qui non modo Maroneae, sed ne in regione quidem propinqua fuisset? et parcebat magis Onomasto, honoratiori amico, et eundem indicem haud paulo plus timebat, quia et ipse sermonem cum eo contulerat et multorum talium ministrum et conscium habebat. Casander quoque, missis qui per Epirum ad mare prosequerentur eum, ne qua indicium emanaret, ueneno creditur sublatus.

[35] Et legati a Philippi colloquio ita digressi sunt, ut prae se ferrent

nihil eorum sibi placere, et Philippus minime, quin rebellandum esset, dubius. quia tamen immaturae ad id uires erant, ad moram interponendam Demetrium minorem filium mittere Romam simul ad purganda crimina, simul ad deprecandam iram senatus statuit, satis credens ipsum etiam iuuenem, quod Romae obses specimen indolis regiae dedisset, aliquid momenti facturum. interim per speciem auxilii Byzantiis ferendi, re ipsa ad terrorem regulis Thracum iniciendum profectus, percussis iis uno proelio et Amadoco duce capto in Macedoniam rediit, missis ad accolae Histri fluminis barbaros, ut in Italiam irrumperent, sollicitandos. et in Peloponneso aduentus legatorum Romanorum, qui ex Macedonia in Achaia ire iussi erant, exspectabatur; aduersus quos ut praeparata consilia haberent, Lycortas praetor concilium indixit. ibi de Lacedaemoniis actum: ex hostibus eos accusatores factos, et periculum esse, ne uicti magis timendi forent, quam bellantes fuissent. quippe in bello sociis Romanis Achaeos usos: nunc eosdem Romanos aequiores Lacedaemoniis quam Achaeis esse, ubi Areus etiam et Alcibiades, ambo exsules, suo beneficio restituti, legationem Romam aduersus gentem Achaeorum ita de ipsis meritam suscepissent, adeoque infesta oratione usi essent, ut pulsus patria, non restituti in eam uiderentur. clamor undique ortus, referret nominatim de iis; et cum omnia ira, non consilio gererentur, capitis damnati sunt. paucos post dies Romani legati uenerunt. his Clitore in Arcadia datum est concilium.

[36] Priusquam agerent quicquam, terror Achaeis iniectus erat et cogitatio, quam non ex aequo disceptatio futura esset, quod Areum et Alcibiadem capitis ab se concilio proximo damnatos cum legatis uidebant; nec hiscere quisquam audebat. Appius ea, quae apud senatum questi erant Lacedaemonii, displicere senatui ostendit: caedem primum ad Compasium factam eorum, qui a Philopoemene ad causam dicendam euocati uenissent; deinde cum in homines ita saeuitum esset, ne ulla parte crudelitas eorum cessaret, muros dirutos urbis nobilissimae esse, leges uetustissimas abrogatas, inclutamque per gentes disciplinam Lycurgi sublatam. haec cum Appius dixisset, Lycortas, et quia praetor et quia Philopoemenis, auctoris omnium quae Lacedaemone acta fuerant, factionis erat, ita respondit. 'difficilior nobis, Ap. Claudii, apud uos oratio est quam Romae nuper

apud senatum fuit. tunc enim Lacedaemoniis accusantibus respondendum erat: nunc a uobis ipsis accusati sumus, apud quos causa est dicenda. quam iniquitatem condicionis subimus illa spe, iudicis animo te auditurum esse, posita contentione qua paulo ante egisti. ego certe, cum ea, quae et hic antea apud Q. Caecilium et postea Romae questi sunt Lacedaemonii, a te paulo ante relata sint, non tibi sed illis me apud te respondere credam. caedem obicitis eorum, qui a Philopoemene praetore euocati ad causam dicendam interfecti sunt. hoc ego crimen non modo a uobis, Romani, sed ne apud uos quidem nobis obiciendum fuisse arbitror. quid ita? quia in uestro foedere erat, ut maritimis urbibus abstinerent Lacedaemonii. quo tempore armis captis urbes, a quibus abstinere iussi erant, nocturno impetu occupauerunt, si T. Quinctius, si exercitus Romanus, sicut antea, in Peloponneso fuisset, eo nimirum capti et oppressi confugissent. cum uos procul essetis, quo alio nisi ad nos, socios uestros, quos antea Gytheo opem ferentes, quos Lacedaemonem uobiscum simili de causa oppugnantes uiderant, confugerent? pro uobis igitur iustum piumque bellum suscepimus. quod cum alii laudent, reprehendere ne Lacedaemonii quidem possint, dii quoque ipsi comprobauerint, qui nobis uictoriam dederunt, quonam modo ea, quae belli iure acta sunt, in disceptationem ueniunt? quorum tamen maxima pars nihil pertinet ad nos. nostrum est, quod euocauimus ad causam dicendam eos, qui ad arma multitudinem exciuerant, qui expugnauerant maritima oppida, qui diripuerant, qui caedem principum fecerant. quod uero illi uenientes in castra interfecti sunt, uestrum est, Areu et Alcibiade, qui nunc nos, si diis placet, accusatis, non nostrum. exsules Lacedaemoniorum, quo ex numero hi quoque duo fuerunt, et tunc nobiscum erant, et quod domicilio sibi delegerant maritima oppida, se petitos credentes, in eos, quorum opera patria extorres ne in tuto quidem exsilio posse consenescere se indignabantur, impetum fecerunt. Lacedaemonii igitur Lacedaemonios, non Achaei interfecerunt; nec iure an iniuria caesi sint, argumentari refert.

[37] At enim illa certe uestra sunt, Achaei, quod leges disciplinamque uetustissimam Lycurgi sustulistis, quod muros diruistis. quae utraque ab iisdem obici qui possunt, cum muri Lacedaemoniis non ab Lycurgo, sed paucos ante annos ad

dissoluendam Lycurgi disciplinam exstructi sint? tyranni enim nuper eos arcem et munimentum sibi, non ciuitati parauerunt; et si exsistat hodie ab inferis Lycurgus, gaudeat ruinis eorum, et nunc se patriam et Spartam antiquam agnoscere dicat. non Philopoemenem exspectare nec Achaeos, sed uos ipsi Lacedaemonii, uestris manibus amoliri et diruere omnia uestigia tyrannidis debuistis. uestrae enim illae deformes ueluti notae seruitutis erant, et cum sine muris per octingentos prope annos liberi, aliquando etiam principes Graeciae fuissetis, muris uelut compedibus circumdatis uincti per centum annos seruistis. quod ad leges ademptas attinet, ego antiquas Lacedaemoniis leges tyrannos ademisse arbitror; nos non suas ademisse, quas non habebant, sed nostras leges dedisse; nec male consuluisse ciuitati, cum concilii nostri eam fecerimus et nobis miscuerimus, ut corpus unum et concilium totius Peloponnesi esset. tunc, ut opinor, si aliis ipsi legibus uiueremus, alias istis iniunxissemus, queri se iniquo iure esse et indignari possent. scio ego, Ap. Claudii, hanc orationem, qua sum adhuc usus, neque sociorum apud socios neque liberae gentis esse, sed uere seruorum disceptantium apud dominos. nam si non uana illa uox praeconis fuit, qua liberos esse omnium primos Achaeos iussistis, si foedus ratum est, si societas et amicitia ex aequo obseruatur, cur ego, quid Capua capta feceritis Romani, non quaero, uos rationem reposcitis, quid Achaei Lacedaemoniis bello uictis fecerimus? interfecti aliqui sunt, finge, a nobis: quid? uos senatores Campanos securi non percussistis? at muros diruimus: uos non muros tantum sed urbem agrosque ademistis. specie, inquis, aequum est foedus: re apud Achaeos precaria libertas, apud Romanos etiam imperium est. sentio, Appi, et, si non oportet, non indignor: sed oro uos, quantumlibet intersit inter Romanos et Achaeos, modo ne in aequo hostes uestri nostrique apud uos sint ac nos socii, immo ne meliore iure sint. nam ut in aequo essent nos fecimus, cum leges iis nostras dedimus, cum, ut Achaici concilii essent, effecimus parum est uictis, quod uictoribus satis est; plus postulant hostes quam socii habent. quae iureiurando, quae monumentis litterarum in lapide insculptis in aeternam memoriam sancta atque sacrata sunt, ea cum periurio nostro tollere parant. ueremur quidem uos, Romani, et si ita uultis, etiam timemus: sed plus et ueremur et timemus deos immortales.’ cum ad sensu

maximae partis est auditus, et locutum omnes pro maiestate magistratus censebant, ut facile appareret molliter agendo dignitatem suam tenere Romanos non posse. tum Appius suadere se magnopere Achaeis dixit, ut, dum liceret uoluntate sua facere, gratiam inirent, ne mox inuiti et coacti facerent. haec uox audita quidem cum omnium gemitu est, sed metum iniecit imperata recusandi. id modo petierunt, ut Romani, quae uiderentur, de Lacedaemoniis mutarent nec Achaeos religione obstringerent irrita ea, quae iureiurando sanxissent, faciendi. damnatio tantum Arei et Alcibiadis, quae nuper facta erat, sublata est.

[38] Romae principio eius anni, cum de prouinciis consulum et praetorum actum est, consulibus Ligures, quia bellum nusquam alibi erat, decreti. praetores C. Decimius Flauus urbanam, P. Cornelius Cethegus inter ciues et peregrinos sortiti sunt, C. Sempronius Blaesus Siciliam, Q. Naeuius Matho Sardiniam et ut idem quaereret de ueneficiis, A. Terentius Uarro Hispaniam citeriorem, P. Sempronius Longus Hispaniam ulteriorem. de iis duabus prouinciis legati per id fere tempus L. Iuuentius Talna et T. Quinctilius Uarus uenerunt, qui, quantum bellum iam profligatum in Hispania esset, senatu edocto postularunt simul, ut pro rebus tam prospere gestis diis immortalibus haberetur honos et ut praetoribus exercitum deportare liceret. supplicatio in biduum decreta est: de legionibus deportandis, cum de consulum praetorumque exercitibus ageretur, rem integram referri iusserunt. paucos post dies consulibus in Ligures binae legiones, quas Ap. Claudius et M. Sempronius habuerant, decretae sunt. de Hispaniensibus exercitibus magna contentio fuit inter novos praetores et amicos absentium, Calpurnii Quinctiique. utraque causa tribunos plebis, utraque consulem habebat. hi se intercessuros senatus consulto, si deportandos censerent exercitus, denuntiabant: illi, si haec intercessio fieret, nullam rem aliam se decerni passuros. uicta postremo absentium gratia est et senatus consultum factum, ut praetores quattuor milia peditum Romanorum scriberent, trecentos equites, et quinque milia peditum sociorum Latini nominis, quingentos equites, quos secum in Hispaniam portarent. cum ea quattuor milia <in> legiones disciprissent, quo plus quam quina milia peditum, treceni equites in singulis legionibus esset, dimitterent, eos primum, qui emerita stipendia haberent, deinde ut

cuiusque fortissima opera Calpurnius et Quinctius in proelio usi essent.

[39] Hac sedata contentione alia subinde C. Decimii praetoris morte exorta est. Cn. Sicinius et L. Pupius, qui aediles proximo anno fuerant, et C. Ualerius flamen Dialis et Q. Fuluius Flaccus — is quia aedilis curulis designatus erat, sine toga candida, sed maxima ex omnibus contentione — petebant; certamenque ei cum flamine erat. et postquam primo aequare, mox superare etiam est uisus, pars tribunorum plebis negare rationem eius habendam esse, quod duos simul unus magistratus, praesertim curules, neque capere posset nec gerere; pars legibus eum solui aequum censere, ut quem uellet praetorem creandi populo potestas fieret. L. Porcius consul primo in ea sententia esse, ne nomen eius acciperet; deinde, ut ex auctoritate senatus idem faceret, conuocatis patribus referre se ad eos dixit, quod nec iure ullo nec exemplo tolerabili liberae ciuitati aedilis curulis designatus praeturam peteret; sibi, nisi quid aliud iis uideretur, in animo esse e lege comitia habere. patres censuerunt, uti L. Porcius consul cum Q. Fuluio ageret, ne impedimento esset, quo minus comitia praetoris in locum C. Decimii subrogandi e lege haberentur. agenti consuli ex senatus consulto respondit Flaccus nihil, quod se indignum esset, facturum. medio responso spem ad uoluntatem interpretantibus fecerat cessurum patrum auctoritati esse. comitiis acris etiam quam ante petebat criminando, extorqueri sibi a consule et senatu populi Romani beneficium, et inuidiam fieri geminati honoris, tamquam non appareret, ubi designatus praetor esset, extemplo aedilitate se abdicaturum. consul cum et pertinaciam petentis crescere et fauorem populi magis magisque in eum inclinari cerneret, dimissis comitiis senatum uocauit. censuerunt frequentes, quoniam Flaccum auctoritas patrum nihil mouisset, ad populum cum Flacco agendum. contione aduocata cum egisset consul, ne tum quidem de sententia motus gratias populo Romano egit, quod tanto studio, quotienscumque declarandae uoluntatis potestas facta esset, praetorem se uoluisset facere: ea sibi studia ciuium suorum destituere non esse in animo. haec uero tam obstinata uox tantum ei fauorem accendit, ut haud dubius praetor esset, si consul accipere nomen uellet. ingens certamen tribunis et inter se ipsos et cum consule fuit, donec senatus a consule est habitus decretumque: quoniam praetoris

subrogandi comitia ne legibus fierent, pertinacia Q. Flacci et praua studia hominum impedirent, senatum censere satis praetorum esse; P. Cornelius utramque in urbe iurisdictionem haberet, Apollinique ludos faceret.

[40] His comitiis prudentia et uirtute senatus sublatis, alia maioris certaminis, quo et maiore de re et inter plures potentioresque uiros, sunt exorta. censuram summa contentione petebant L. Ualerius Flaccus P. et L. Scipiones Cn. Manlius Uulso L. Furius Purpurio patricii, plebeii autem M. Porcius Cato M. Fuluius Nobilio Ti. et M. Sempronii, Longus et Tuditanus. sed omnes patricos plebeiosque nobilissimarum familiarum M. Porcius longe anteibat. in hoc uiro tanta uis animi ingeniiue fuit, ut quocumque loco natus esset, fortunam sibi ipse facturus fuisse uideretur. nulla ars neque priuatae neque publicae rei gerendae ei defuit; urbanas rusticasque res pariter callebat. ad summos honores alios scientia iuris, alios eloquentia, alios gloria militaris prouexit: huic uersatile ingenium sic pariter ad omnia fuit, ut natum ad id unum diceres, quodcumque ageret: in bello manu fortissimus multisque insignibus clarus pugnis, idem postquam ad magnos honores peruenit, summus imperator, idem in pace, si ius consuleres, peritissimus, si causa oranda esset, eloquentissimus, nec is tantum, cuius lingua uiuo eo uiguerit, monumentum eloquentiae nullum exstet: uiuit immo uigetque eloquentia eius sacrata scriptis omnis generis. orationes et pro se multae et pro aliis et in alios: nam non solum accusando sed etiam causam dicendo fatigauit inimicos. simultates nimio plures et exercuerunt eum et ipse exercuit eas; nec facile dixeris, utrum magis presserit eum nobilitas, an ille agitauerit nobilitatem. asperi procul dubio animi et linguae acerbae et immodice liberae fuit, sed inuicti a cupiditatibus animi, rigidae innocentiae, contemptor gratiae, diuitiarum. in parsimonia, in patientia laboris periculique ferrei prope corporis animique, quem ne senectus quidem, quae soluit omnia, fregerit, qui sextum et octogesimum annum agens causam dixerit, ipse pro se orauerit scripseritque, nonagesimo anno Ser. Galbam ad populi adduxerit iudicium.

[41] Hunc, sicut omni uita, tum petentem premebat nobilitas; coierantque praeter L. Flaccum, qui collega in consulatu fuerat, candidati omnes ad deiciendum honore, non solum ut ipsi potius

adipiscerentur, nec quia indignabantur nouum hominem censorem uidere, sed etiam quod tristem censuram periculosamque multorum famae et ab laeso a plerisque et laedendi cupido exspectabant. etenim tum quoque minitabundus petebat, refragari sibi, qui liberam et fortem censuram timerent, criminando. et simul L. Ualerio suffragabatur: illo uno collega castigare se noua flagitia et priscos reuocare mores posse. his accensi homines, aduersa nobilitate, non M. Porcium modo censorem fecerunt, sed collegam ei L. Ualerium Flaccum adiecerunt.

Secundum comitia censorum consules praetoresque in prouincias profecti praeter Q. Naeuium, quem quattuor non minus menses, priusquam in Sardiniam iret, quaestiones ueneficii, quarum magnam partem extra urbem per municipia conciliabulaque habuit, quia ita aptius uisum erat, tenuerunt. si Antiati Ualerio credere libet, ad duo milia hominum damnavit. et L. Postumius praetor, cui Tarentum prouincia euenerat, magnas pastorum coniurationes uindicauit, et reliquias Bacchanalium quaestionis cum cura exsecutus est. multos, qui aut citati non adfuerant aut uades deseruerant, in ea regione Italiae latentes partim noxios iudicauit, partim comprehensos Romam ad senatum misit. in carcerem omnes a P. Cornelio coniecti sunt.

[42] In Hispania ulteriore fractis proximo bello Lusitanis quietae res fuerunt: in citeriore A. Terentius in Suessetanis oppidum Corbionem uineis et operibus expugnauit, captiuos uendidit: queta deinde hiberna et citerior prouincia habuit. ueteres praetores C. Calpurnius Piso et L. Quinctius Romam redierunt. utrique magno patrum consensu triumphus est decretus. prior C. Calpurnius de Lusitanis et Celtiberis triumphauit: coronas aureas tulit octoginta tres et duodecim milia pondo argenti. paucos post dies L. Quinctius Crispinus ex iisdem Lusitanis et Celtiberis triumphauit: tantundem auri atque argenti in eo triumpho praelatum. censores M. Porcius et L. Ualerius metu mixta exspectatione senatum legerunt; septem mouerunt senatu, ex quibus unum insignem et nobilitate et honoribus, L. Quinctium Flamininum consularem. patrum memoria institutum fertur, ut censores motis senatu adscriberent notas. Catonis et aliae quidem acerbae orationes exstant in eos, quos aut senatorio loco mouit aut quibus equos ademit, longe grauissima in L. Quinctium oratio, qua si accusator ante notam, non censor post

notam usus esset, retinere L. Quinctium in senatu ne frater quidem T. Quinctius, si tum censor esset, potuisset. inter cetera obiecit ei Philippum Poenum, carum ac nobile scortum, ab Roma in Galliam prouinciam spe ingentium donorum perductum. eum puerum, <per> lascuiam cum cauillaretur, exprobrare consuli [per]saepe solitum, quod sub ipsum spectaculum gladiatorium abductus ab Roma esset, ut obsequium amatori uenditaret. forte epulantibus iis, cum iam uino incaluissent, nuntiatum in conuiuio esse nobilem Boium cum liberis transfugam uenisse; conuenire consulem uelle, ut ab eo fidem praesens acciperet. introductum in tabernaculum per interpretem adloqui consulem coepisse. inter cuius sermonem Quinctius scorto 'uis tu', inquit 'quoniam gladiatorium spectaculum reliquisti, iam hunc Gallum morientem uidere?' et cum is uixdum serio adnuisset, ad nutum scorti consulem stricto gladio, qui super caput pendebat, loquenti Gallo caput primum percussisse, deinde, fugienti fidemque populi Romani atque eorum, qui aderant, imploranti latus transfodisse.

[43] Ualerius Antias, ut qui nec orationem Catonis legisset et fabulae tantum sine auctore editae credidisset, aliud argumentum, simile tamen et libidine et crudelitate peragit. Placentiae famosam mulierem, cuius amore deperiret, in conuiuium arcessitam scribit. ibi iactantem sese scorto inter cetera rettulisse, quam acriter quaestiones exercuisset, et quam multos capitis damnatos in uinculis haberet, quos securi percussurus esset. tum illam infra eum accubantem negasse umquam uidisse quemquam securi ferientem, et peruelle id uidere. hic indulgentem amatorem unum ex illis miseris attrahi iussum securi percussisse. facinus, siue eo modo, quo censor obiecit, siue, ut Ualerius tradit, commissum est, saeuum atque atrox: inter pocula atque epulas, ubi libare diis dapes, ubi bene precari mos esset, ad spectaculum scorti procacis, in sinu consulis recubantis, mactatam humanam uictimam esse et cruore mensam respersam. in extrema oratione Catonis condicio Quinctio fertur, ut si id factum negaret ceteraque, quae obiecisset, sponsione defenderet sese: sin fateretur, ignominiane sua quemquam dolitum censeret, cum ipse uino et uenere amens sanguine hominis in conuiuio lusisset?

[44] In equitatu recognoscendo L. Scipioni Asiatico ademptus equus. in censibus quoque accipiendis tristis et aspera in omnes

ordines censura fuit. ornamenta et uestem muliebrem et uehicula, quae pluris quam quindecim milium aeris essent, <decies tanto pluris quam quanti essent> in censum referre iuratores iussi; item mancipia minora annis uiginti, quae post proximum lustrum decem milibus aeris aut pluris eo uenissent, uti ea quoque decies tanto pluris quam quanti essent aestimarentur, et his rebus omnibus terni in milia aeris attribuerentur. aquam publicam omnem in priuatum aedificium aut agrum fluentem ademerunt; et quae in loca publica inaedificata immolitaue priuati habebant, intra dies triginta demoliti sunt. opera deinde facienda ex decreta in eam rem pecunia, lacus sternendos lapide, detergendasque, qua opus esset, cloacas, in Auentino et in aliis partibus, qua nondum erant, faciendas locauerunt. et separatim Flaccus molem ad Neptunias aquas, ut iter populo esset, et uiam per Formianum montem, Cato atria duo, Maenium et Titium, in lautumiis, et quattuor tabernas in publicum emit basilicamque ibi fecit, quae Porcia appellata est. et uectigalia summis pretiis, ultro tributa infimis locauerunt. quas locationes cum senatus precibus et lacrimis uictus publicanorum induci et de integro locari iussisset, censores, edicto summotis ab hasta qui ludificati priorem locationem erant, omnia eadem paulum imminutis pretiis locauerunt. nobilis censura fuit simultatiumque plena, quae M. Porcium, cui acerbitas ea adsignabatur, per omnem uitam exercuerunt. eodem anno coloniae duae, Potentia in Picenum, Pisaurum in Gallicum agrum, deductae sunt. sena iugera in singulos data. diuiserunt agrum coloniasque deduxerunt iidem tresuiri, Q. Fabius Labeo, et M. et Q. Fuluii, Flaccus et Nobilior. consules eius anni nec domi nec militiae memorabile quicquam egerunt.

[45] In insequentem annum crearunt consules M. Claudium Marcellum Q. Fabium Labeonem. M. Claudius Q. Fabius idibus Martiis, quo die consulatum inierunt, de prouinciis suis praetorumque rettulerunt. praetores creati erant C. Ualerius flamen Dialis, qui et priore anno petierat, et Sp. Postumius Albinus et P. Cornelius Sisenna L. Pupius L. Iulius Cn. Sicinius. consulibus Ligures cum iisdem exercitibus, quos P. Claudius et L. Porcius habuerant, prouincia decreta est. Hispaniae extra sortem prioris anni praetoribus cum suis exercitibus seruatae. praetores ita sortiri iussi, uti flamini Diali utique altera iuris dicendi Romae prouincia esset:

peregrinam est sortitus. Sisennae Cornelio urbana, Sp. Postumio Sicilia, L. Pupio Apulia, L. Iulio Gallia, Cn. Sicinio Sardinia euenit. L. Iulius maturare est iussus. Galli Transalpini per saltus ignotae antea uiae, ut ante dictum est, in Italiam transgressi oppidum in agro, qui nunc est Aquileiensis, aedificabant. id eos ut prohiberet, quod eius sine bello posset, praetori mandatum est. si armis prohibendi essent, consules certiores faceret: ex his placere alterum aduersus Gallos ducere legiones.

extremo prioris anni [comitia auguris creandi habita erant]. <augur> in demortui Cn. Cornelii Lentuli locum creatus erat Sp. Postumius Albinus.

[46] Huius principio anni P. Licinius Crassus pontifex maximus mortuus est, in cuius locum M. Sempronius Tuditanus pontifex est cooptatus; pontifex maximus est creatus C. Seruilius Geminus. P. Licinii funeris causa uisceratio data, et gladiatores centum uiginti pugnauerunt, et ludi funebres per triduum facti, post ludos epulum. in quo cum toto foro strata triclinia essent, tempestas cum magnis procellis coorta coegit plerosque tabernacula statuere in foro: eadem paulo post, cum undique disserenasset, sublata; defunctosque uulgo ferebant quod inter fatalia uates cecinissent, necesse esse tabernacula in foro statui. hac religione leuatis altera iniecta, quod sanguine per biduum pluuisset in area Uulcani; et per decemuiros supplicatio indicta erat eius prodigii expiandi causa.

Priusquam consules in prouincias proficiscerentur, legationes transmarinas in senatum introduxerunt. nec umquam ante tantum regionis eius hominum Romae fuerat. nam ex quo fama per gentes, quae Macedoniam accolunt, uulgata est crimina querimoniasque de Philippo non neglegenter ab Romanis audiri, multis operae pretium fuisse queri, pro se quaeque ciuitates gentesque, singuli etiam priuatim — grauis enim accola omnibus erat — Romam aut ad spem leuandae iniuriae aut ad deflendae solacium uenerunt. et ab Eumene rege legatio cum fratre eius Athenaeo uenit ad querendum simul quod non deducerentur ex Thracia praesidia, simul quod in Bithyniam Prusiae bellum aduersus Eumenem gerenti auxilia missa forent.

[47] Respondendum ad omnia iuueni tum admodum Demetrio erat. cum haud facile esset aut ea, quae obicerentur, aut quae aduersus ea

dicenda erant, memoria complecti — nec enim multa solum, sed etiam pleraque oppido quam parua erant, de controuersia finium, de hominibus raptis pecoribusque abactis, de iure aut dicto per libidinem aut non dicto, de rebus per uim aut gratiam iudicatis — , nihil horum neque Demetrium docere dilucide nec se satis liquido discere ab eo senatus cum cerneret posse, simul et tirocinio et perturbatione iuuenis moueretur, quaeri iussit ab eo, ecquem de his rebus commentarium a patre accepisset. cum respondisset accepisse se, nihil prius nec potius uisum est quam regis ipsius de singulis responsa accipere. librum extemplo poposcerunt, deinde ut ipse recitaret permiserunt. erant autem de singulis rebus in breue coactae causae, ut alia fecisse se secundum decreta legatorum diceret, alia non per se stetisse, quo minus faceret, sed per eos ipsos, qui accusarent. interposuerat et querellas de iniquitate decretorum, et quam non ex aequo disceptatum apud Caecilium foret indigneque sibi nec ullo suo merito insultatum ab omnibus esset. has notas irritati eius animi collegit senatus: ceterum alia excusanti iuueni, alia recipienti futura ita, ut maxime uellet senatus, responderi placuit nihil patrem eius neque rectius nec magis quod ex uoluntate senatus esset fecisse, quam quod, utcumque ea gesta essent, per Demetrium filium satisfieri uoluisset Romanis. multa et dissimulare et obliuisci et pati praeterita senatum posse, et credere etiam Demetrio [credendum esse]. obsidem enim se animum eius habere, etsi corpus patri reddiderit, et scire, quantum salua in patrem pietate possit, amicum eum populi Romani esse, honorisque eius causa missuros in Macedoniam legatos, ut si quid minus factum sit quam debuerit, tum quoque sine piaculo rerum praetermissarum fiat. uelle etiam sentire Philippum integra omnia sibi cum populo Romano Demetrii filii beneficio esse.

[48] Haec, quae augendae amplitudinis eius causa facta erant, extemplo in inuidiam, mox etiam in perniciem adulescenti uerterunt. Lacedaemonii deinde introducti sunt. multae et paruae disceptationes iactabantur: sed quae maxime rem continerent, erant, utrum restituerentur, quos Achaei damnauerant, necne; inique an iure occidissent, quos occiderant, [uertebatur] et utrum manerent in Achaico concilio Lacedaemonii, an, ut ante fuerat, secretum eius unius in Peloponneso ciuitatis ius esset. restitui iudiciaque facta tolli

placuit, Lacedaemonem manere in Achaico concilio scribique id decretum et consignari a Lacedaemoniis et Achaeis.

Legatus in Macedoniam Q. Marcius est missus, iussus idem in Peloponneso sociorum res aspicere. nam ibi quoque et ex ueteribus discordiis residui motus erant, et Messene descuerat a concilio Achaico. cuius belli et causas et ordinem si expromere uelim, immemor sim propositi, quo statui non ultra attingere externa, nisi qua Romanis cohaerent rebus.

[49] Euentus memorabilis est, quod, cum bello superiores essent, Achaei, Philopoemen praetor eorum capitur, ad praeoccupandam Coronen, quam hostes petebant, in<ita> ualle iniqua cum equitibus paucis oppressus. ipsum potuisse effugere Thracum Cretensiumque auxilio tradunt: sed pudor relinquendi equites, nobilissimos gentis, ab ipso nuper lectos, tenuit. quibus dum locum ad euadendas angustias cogendo ipse agmen praebet, sustinens impetus hostium, prolapso equo et suo ipse casu et onere equi super eum ruentis haud multum auit, quin exanimaretur, septuaginta annos iam natus et diutino morbo, ex quo tum primum reficiebatur, uiribus admodum attenuatis. iacentem hostes superfusi oppresserunt; cognitumque [primum] a uerecundia memoriaque meritorum haud secus quam ducem suum attollunt reficiuntque et ex ualle deuia in uiam portant, uix sibimet ipsi prae necopinato gaudio credentes; pars nuntios Messenen praemittunt debellatum esse, Philopoemenem captum adduci. primum adeo incredibilis uisa res, ut non pro uano modo sed uix pro sano nuntius audiretur. deinde ut super alium alius idem omnes adfirmantes ueniebant, tandem facta fides; et priusquam appropinquare urbi satis scirent, ad spectaculum omnes simul liberi ac serui, pueri quoque cum feminis, effunduntur. itaque clauserat portam turba, dum pro se quisque, nisi ipse oculis suis credidisset, uix pro comperta tantam rem habiturus uidetur. aegre summouentes obuios intrare portam, qui adducebant Philopoemenem, potuerunt. aequae conferta turba iter reliquum clauserat; et cum pars maxima exclusa a spectaculo esset, theatrum repente, quod propinquum uiae erat, compleuerunt, et, ut eo adduceretur in conspectum populi, una uoce omnes exposcebant. magistratus et principes ueriti, ne quem motum misericordia praesentis tanti uiri faceret, cum alios uerecundia pristinae maiestatis collatae praesenti fortunae, alios

recordatio ingentium meritorum motura esset, procul in conspectu eum statuerunt, deinde raptim ex oculis hominum abstraxerunt, dicente praetore Dinocrate esse, quae pertinentia ad summam belli percunctari eum magistratus uellent. inde abducto eo in curiam et senatu uocato consultari coeptum.

[50] Iam inuesperascebat, et non modo cetera, sed ne in proximam quidem noctem ubi satis tuto custodiretur, expediebant. obstupuerant ad magnitudinem pristinae eius fortunae uirtutisque, et neque ipsi domum recipere custodiendum audebant, nec cuiquam uni custodiam eius satis credebant. admonent deinde quidam esse thesaurum publicum sub terra, saxo quadrato saeptum. eo uinctus demittitur, et saxum ingens, quo operitur, machina superimpositum est. ita loco potius quam homini cuiquam credendam custodiam rati, lucem insequentem exspectauerunt. postero die multitudo quidem integra, memor pristinorum eius in ciuitatem meritorum, parcendum ac per eum remedia quaerenda esse praesentium malorum censebant: defectionis auctores, quorum in manu res publica erat, in secreto consultantes omnes ad necem eius consentiebant. sed utrum maturarent an differrent, ambigebatur. uicit pars audior poenae, missusque qui uenenum ferret. accepto poculo nihil aliud locutum ferunt quam quaesisse, si incolumis Lycortas — is alter imperator Achaeorum erat — equitesque euasissent. postquam dictum est incolumes esse, ‘bene habet’ inquit et poculo impauide exhausto haud ita multo post exspirauit. non diuturnum mortis eius gaudium auctoribus crudelitatis fuit. uicta namque Messene bello exposcentibus Achaeis deditit noxios, ossaque reddita Philopoemenis sunt, et sepultus ab uniuerso Achaico est concilio, adeo omnibus humanis congestis honoribus, ut ne diuinis quidem abstineretur. ab scriptoribus rerum Graecis Latinisque tantum huic uiro tribuitur, ut a quibusdam eorum, uelut ad insignem notam huius anni, memoriae mandatum sit tres claros imperatores eo anno decessisse, Philopoemenem, Hannibalem, P. Scipionem: adeo in aequo eum duarum potentissimarum gentium summis imperatoribus posuerunt.

[51] Ad Prusiam regem legatus T. Quinctius Flamininus uenit, quem suspectum Romanis et receptus post fugam Antiochi Hannibal et bellum aduersus Eumenem motum faciebat. ibi seu quia a

Flaminino inter cetera obiectum Prusiae erat hominem omnium, qui uiuerent, infestissimum populo Romano apud eum esse, qui patriae suae primum, deinde fractis eius opibus Antiocho regi auctor belli aduersus populum Romanum fuisset; seu quia ipse Prusias, ut gratificaretur praesenti Flaminino Romanisque, per se necandi aut tradendi eius in potestatem consilium cepit; a primo colloquio Flaminini milites extemplo ad domum Hannibalis custodiendam missi sunt. semper talem exitum uitae suae Hannibal prospexerat animo et Romanorum inexpiabile odium in se cernens, et fidei regum nihil sane confisus: Prusiae uero leuitatem etiam expertus erat; Flaminini quoque aduentum uelut fatalem sibi horruerat. ad omnia undique infesta ut iter semper aliquod praeparatum fugae haberet, septem exitus e domo fecerat, et ex iis quosdam occultos, ne custodia saepirentur. sed graue imperium regum nihil inexploratum, quod uestigari uolunt, efficit. totius circuitum domus ita custodiis complexi sunt, ut nemo inde elabi posset. Hannibal, postquam est nuntiatum milites regios in uestibulo esse, postico, quod deuium maxime atque occultissimi exitus erat, fugere conatus, ut id quoque occursu militum obsaeptum sensit et omnia circa clausa custodiis dispositis esse uenenum, quod multo ante praeparatum ad tales habebat casus, poposcit. ‘liberemus’ inquit ‘diuturna cura populum Romanum, quando mortem senis exspectare longum censent. nec magnam nec memorabilem ex inermi proditoque Flamininus uictoriam feret. mores quidem populi Romani quantum mutauerint, uel hic dies argumento erit. horum patres Pyrrho regi, hosti armato, exercitum in Italia habenti, ut a ueneno caueret praedixerunt: hi legatum consularem, qui auctor esset Prusiae per scelus occidendi hospitis, miserunt.’ exsecratus deinde in caput regnumque Prusiae, et hospitales deos uiolatae ab eo fidei testes inuocans, poculum exhaustit. hic uitae exitus fuit Hannibalis.

[52] Scipionem et Polybius et Rutilius hoc anno mortuum scribunt. ego neque his neque Ualerio adsentior, his, quod censoribus M. Porcio L. Ualerio <L. Ualerium> principem senatus ipsum censorem lectum inuenio, cum superioribus duobus lustris Africanus fuisset, quo uiuo, nisi ut ille senatu moueretur, quam notam nemo memoriae prodidit, alius princeps in locum eius lectus non esset. Antiatem auctorem refellit tribunus plebis M. Naeuius, aduersus quem oratio

inscripta P. Africani est. hic Naeuius in magistratum libris est tribunus plebis P. Claudio L. Porcio consulibus, sed iniit tribunatum Ap. Claudio M. Sempronio consulibus ante diem quartum idus Decembres. inde tres menses ad idus Martias sunt, quibus P. Claudius L. Porcius consulatum inierunt. ita uixisse in tribunatu Naeui uidetur, diesque ei dici ab eo potuisse, decessisse autem ante L. Ualerii et M. Porcii censuram. trium clarissimorum suae cuiusque gentis uirorum non tempore magis congruente comparabilis mors uidetur esse, quam quod nemo eorum satis dignum splendore uitae exitum habuit. iam primum omnes non in patrio solo mortui nec sepulti sunt. ueneno absumpti Hannibal et Philopoemen; exsul Hannibal, proditus ab hospite, captus Philopoemen in carcere et in uinculis exspirauit: Scipio etsi non exsul neque damnatus, die tamen dicta, ad quam non adfuerat reus, absens citatus, uoluntarium non sibimet ipse solum sed etiam funeri suo exsilium indixit.

[53] Dum ea in Peloponneso, a quibus deuertit oratio, geruntur, reditus in Macedoniam Demetrii legatorumque aliter aliorum adfecerat animos. uulgus Macedonum, quos belli ab Romanis imminenti metus terruerat, Demetrium ut pacis auctorem cum ingenti fauore conspiciebant, simul et spe haud dubia regnum ei post mortem patris destinabant. nam etsi minor aetate quam Perseus esset, hunc iusta matre familiae, illum paelice ortum esse; illum ut ex uulgato corpore genitum nullam certi patris notam habere, hunc insignem Philippi similitudinem prae se ferre. ad hoc Romanos Demetrium in paterno solio locaturos, Persei nullam apud eos gratiam esse. haec uulgo loquebantur. itaque et Persea cura angebat, ne parum pro se una aetas ualeret, cum aliis omnibus rebus frater superior esset; et Philippus ipse, uix sui arbitrii fore, quem heredem regni relinqueret credens, sibi quoque grauiorem esse quam uellet minorem filium aiebat. offendebar inter dum concursu Macedonum ad eum, et alteram iam se uiuo regiam esse indignabatur. et ipse iuuenis haud dubie inflatior redierat, subnisiis erga se iudiciis senatus, concessisque sibi, quae patri negata essent; et omnis mentio Romanorum quantam dignitatem ei apud ceteros Macedonas, tantam inuidiam non apud fratrem modo sed etiam apud patrem conciliabat, utique postquam legati [alii] Romani uenerunt, et cogebar decedere Thracia praesidiaque deducere et alia aut ex decreto priorum

legatorum aut ex noua constitutione senatus facere. sed omnia maerens quidem et gemens, eo magis quod filium frequentiore prope cum illis quam secum cernebat, oboedienter tamen aduersus Romanos faciebat, ne quam mouendi extemplo belli causam praeberet. auertendos etiam animos a suspitione talium consiliorum ratus, mediam per Thraciam exercitum in Odrysas et Dentheletos et Bessos duxit: Philippopolin urbem fuga desertam oppidanorum, qui in proxima montium iuga cum familiis receperant sese, cepit, campestresque barbaros, depopulatus agros eorum, in deditionem accepit. relicto inde ad Philippopolin praesidio, quod haud multo post ab Odrysis expulsum est, oppidum in Deuriopo condere instituit — Paeoniae ea regio est — , prope Erigonum fluuium, qui ex Illyrico per Pe<lag>oniam fluens in Axium amnem editur, haud procul Stobis, uetere urbe: nouam urbem Perseida, ut is filio maiori haberetur honos, appellari iussit.

[54] Dum haec in Macedonia geruntur, consules in prouincias profecti. Marcellus nuntium praemisit ad L. Porcium proconsulem, ut ad nouum Gallorum oppidum legiones admoueret. aduenienti consuli Galli sese dediderunt. duodecim milia armatorum erant: plerique arma ex agris rapta habebant: ea aegre patientibus iis adempta, quaeque alia aut populates agros rapuerant aut secum attulerant. de his rebus qui quererentur, legatos Romam miserunt. introducti in senatum a C. Ualerio praetore exposuerunt se superante in Gallia multitudine inopia coactos agri et egestate ad quaerendam sedem Alpes transgressos, quae inculta per solitudines uiderent, ibi sine ullius iniuria consedissee. oppidum quoque aedificare coepisse, quod indicium esset nec agro nec urbi ulli uim adlaturos uenisse. nuper M. Claudium ad se nuntium misisse bellum se cum iis, ni dederentur, gesturum. se certam, etsi non speciosam pacem quam incerta belli praeoptantes dedidisse se prius in fidem quam in potestatem populi Romani. post paucos dies iussos et urbe et agro decedere sese tacitos abire, quo terrarum possent, in animo habuisse. arma deinde sibi, et postremo omnia alia, quae ferrent agerentque, adempta. orare se senatum populumque Romanum, ne in se innoxios deditos acerbius quam in hostes saeuirent. huic orationi senatus ita responderi iussit, neque illos recte fecisse, cum in Italiam uenerint oppidumque in alieno agro, nullius Romani magistratus, qui ei prouinciae praeesset,

permissu aedificare conati sint; neque senatui placere deditos spoliari. itaque se cum iis legatos ad consulem missuros, qui, si redeant, unde uenerint, omnia iis sua reddi iubeant, quique protinus eant trans Alpes, et denuntient Gallicis populis, multitudinem suam domi contineant: Alpes prope inexcuperabilem finem in medio esse: non utique iis melius fore <quam> qui eas primi peruias fecissent. legati missi L. Furius Purpurio Q. Minucius L. Manlius Acidinus. Galli, redditis omnibus, quae sine cuiusquam iniuria habebant, Italia excesserunt.

[55] Legatis Romanis Transalpini populi benigne responderunt. seniores eorum nimiam lenitatem populi Romani castigarunt, quod eos homines, qui gentis iniussu profecti occupare agrum imperii Romani et in alieno solo aedificare oppidum conati sint, impunitos dimiserint: debuisse grauem temeritatis mercedem statui. quod uero etiam sua reddiderint, uereri ne tanta indulgentia plures ad talia audenda impellantur. et exceperunt et prosecuti cum donis legatos sunt.

M. Claudius consul Gallis ex prouincia exactis Histricum bellum moliri coepit litteris ad senatum missis, ut sibi in Histriam traducere legiones liceret. id senatui <non> placuit. illud agitabant, uti colonia Aquileia deduceretur, nec satis constabat, utrum Latinam an ciuium Romanorum deduci placeret. postremo Latinam potius coloniam deducendam patres censuerunt. triumuiroi creati sunt P. Scipio Nasica C. Flaminius L. Manlius Acidinus. eodem anno Mutina et Parma coloniae ciuium Romanorum sunt deductae. bina milia hominum in agro, qui proxime Boiorum, ante Tuscorum fuerat, octona iugera Parmae, quina Mutinae acceperunt. deduxerunt triumuiroi M. Aemilius Lepidus T. Aebutius Parrus L. Quinctius Crispinus. et Saturnia colonia ciuium Romanorum in agrum Caletranum est deducta. deduxerunt triumuiroi Q. Fabius Labeo C. Afranius Stellio Ti. Sempronius Gracchus. in singulos iugera data dena.

[56] Eodem anno A. Terentius proconsul haud procul flumine Hiberno, in agro Ausetano, et proelia secunda cum Celtiberis fecit, et oppida, quae ibi communierant, aliquot expugnauit. ulterior Hispania eo anno in pace fuit, quia et P. Sempronius proconsul diutino morbo est implicitus, et nullo lacescente peropportune quieuerunt Lusitani. nec in Liguribus memorabile quicquam a Q. Fabio consule gestum.

Ex Histria reuocatus M. Marcellus exercitu dimisso Romam comitiorum causa rediit. creauit consules Cn. Baebium Tamphilum et L. Aemilium Paulum. cum M. Aemilio Lepido hic aedilis curulis fuerat; a quo consule quintus annus erat, cum is ipse Lepidus post duas repulsas consul factus esset. praetores inde facti Q. Fuluius Flaccus M. Ualerius Laeuinus P. Manlius iterum M. Ogulnius Gallus L. Caecilius Denter C. Terentius Istra.

Supplicatio extremo anno fuit prodigiorum causa, quod sanguine per biduum pluuisse in area Concordiae satis credebant, nuntiatumque erat haud procul Sicilia insulam, quae non ante fuerat, nouam editam e mari esse. Hannibalem hoc anno Antias Ualerius decessisse est auctor legatis ad eam rem ad Prusiam missis praeter T. Quinctium Flamininum, cuius in ea re celebre est nomen, L. Scipione Asiatico et P. Scipione Nasica.

LIBER XL

[1] Principio insequentis anni consules praetoresque sortiti prouincias sunt. consulibus nulla praeter Ligures, quae decerneretur, erat. iurisdictio urbana M. Ogulnio Gallo, inter peregrinos M. Ualerio euenit; Hispaniarum Q. Fuluius Flacco citerior, P. Manlius ultior, L. Caecilio Dentri Sicilia, C. Terentio Istrae Sardinia. dilectus habere consules iussi. Q. Fabius ex Liguribus scripserat Apuanos ad rebellionem spectare, periculumque esse, ne impetum in agrum Pisanum facerent. et ex Hispaniis citeriorem in armis esse et cum Celtiberis bellari sciebant; in ulteriore, quia diu aeger esset praetor, luxuria et otio solutam disciplinam militarem esse. ob ea novos exercitus conscribi placuit, quattuor legiones in Ligures, uti singulae quina milia et ducenos pedites, trecenos haberent equites, sociorum iisdem Latini nominis quindecim milia peditum addita et octingenti equites. hi duo consulares exercitus essent. scribere praeterea iussi septem milia peditum sociorum ac Latini nominis et quadringentos equites et mittere ad M. Marcellum in Galliam, cui ex consulatu prorogatum imperium erat. in Hispaniam utramque quae ducerentur, quattuor milia peditum ciuium Romanorum et ducenti equites, et sociorum septem milia peditum cum trecentis equitibus scribi iussa. et Q. Fabio Labeoni cum exercitu, quem habebat, in Liguribus prorogatum in annum imperium est.

[2] Ver procellosum eo anno fuit. pridie Parilia, medio ferme die, atrox cum uento tempestas coorta multis sacris profanisque locis stragem fecit, signa aenea in Capitolio deiecit, forem ex aede Lunae, quae in Auentino est, raptam tulit et in posticis parietibus Cereris templi adfixit, signa alia in circo maximo cum columnis quibus superstabant euertit, fastigia aliquot templorum a culminibus abrupta foede dissipauit. itaque in prodigium uersa ea tempestas, procurarique haruspices iusserunt. simul procuratum est quod tripedem mulum Reate natum nuntiatum erat, et a Formiis * * aedem Apollinis Caietae de caelo tactam. ob ea prodigia uiginti hostiis maioribus sacrificatum est et diem unum supplicatio fuit.

Per eos dies ex litteris A. Terentii propraetoris cognitum P. Sempronium in ulteriore prouincia, cum plus annum aeger fuisset,

mortuum esse. eo maturius in Hispaniam praetores iussi proficisci.

Legationes deinde transmarinae in senatum introductae sunt, primae Eumenis et Pharnacis regum et Rhodiorum querentium de Sinopensium clade. Philippi quoque legati et Achaeorum et Lacedaemoniorum sub idem tempus uenerunt. iis prius Marcio audito, qui ad res Graeciae Macedoniaeque uisendas missus erat, responsa data sunt. Asiae regibus ac Rhodiis responsum est legatos ad eas res uisendas senatum missurum.

[3] De Philippo auxerat curam Marcius: nam ita fecisse eum, quae senatui placuissent, fatebatur, ut facile appareret non diutius quam necesse esset facturum. neque obscurum erat rebellaturum, omniaque, quae tunc ageret diceretque, eo spectare. iam primum omnem fere multitudinem ciuium ex maritimis ciuitatibus cum familiis suis in Emathiam, quae nunc dicitur, quondam appellata Paeonia est, traduxit, Thracibusque et aliis barbaris urbes tradidit habitandas, fidiora haec genera hominum fore ratus in Romano bello. ingentem ea res fremitum Macedonia tota fecit, relinquentesque penates suos cum coniugibus ac liberis pauci tacitum dolorem continebant; exsecrationesque in agminibus proficiscentium in regem uincente odio metum exaudiebantur. his ferox animus omnes homines, omnia loca temporaque suspecta habebat. postremo negare propalam coepit satis tutum sibi quicquam esse, nisi liberos eorum, quos interfecisset, comprehensos in custodia haberet et tempore alium alio tolleret.

[4] Eam crudelitatem, foedam per se, foediorum unius domus clades fecit. Herodicum principem Thessalorum multis ante annis occiderat; generos quoque eius postea interfecit. in uiduitate relictas filias singulos filios paruos habentes. Theoxena et Archo nomina iis erant mulieribus. Theoxena multis petentibus aspernata nuptias est: Archo Poridi cuidam, longe principi gentis Aenianum, nupsit et apud eum plures enixa partus, paruus admodum relictis omnibus, decessit. Theoxena, ut in suis manibus liberi sororis educarentur, Poridi nupsit; et tamquam omnes ipsa enixa foret, suum sororisque filios in eadem habebat cura. postquam regis edictum de comprehendendis liberis eorum, qui interfecti essent, accepit, ludibrio futuros non regis modo sed custodum etiam libidini rata ad rem atrocem animum adiecit ausaque est dicere se sua manu potius omnes interfecturam

quam in potestatem Philippi uenirent. Poris abominatus mentionem tam foedi facinoris Athenas deportaturum eos ad fidos hospites dixit, comitemque ipsum fugae futurum esse. proficiscuntur ab Thessalonica Aeneam ad statum sacrificium, quod Aeneae conditori cum magna caerimonia quotannis faciunt. ibi die per sollemnes epulas consumpto nauem praeparatam a Poride sopitis omnibus de tertia uigilia conscendunt tamquam redituri [in] Thessalonicam: sed traicere in Euboeam erat propositum. ceterum in aduersum uentum nequiquam eos tendentes prope terram lux oppressit, et regii, qui praeerant custodiae portus, lembum armatum ad retrahendam eam nauem miserunt cum graui edicto, ne reuerterentur sine ea. cum iam appropinquabant, Poris quidem ad hortationem remigum nautarumque intentus erat; interdum manus ad caelum tendens deos, ut ferrent opem, orabat. ferox interim femina, ad multo ante praecogitatum reuoluta facinus, uenenum diluit ferrumque promit et posito in conspectu poculo strictisque gladiis ‘mors’ inquit ‘una uindicta est. uiae ad mortem hae sunt: qua quemque animus fert, effugite superbiam regiam. agite, iuuenes mei, primum, qui maiores estis, capite ferrum aut haurite poculum, si segnior mors iuuat.’ et hostes aderant et auctor mortis instabat. alii alio leto absumpti semianimes e naue praecipitantur. ipsa deinde uirum comitem mortis complexa in mare sese deiecit. naue uacua dominis regii potiti sunt.

[5] Huius atrocitas facinoris nouam uelut flammam regis inuidiae adiecit, ut uulgo ipsum liberosque exsecrarentur; quae dirae breui ab omnibus diis exauditae, ut saeuiret ipse in suum sanguinem, effecerunt. Perseus enim cum in dies magis cerneret fauorem et dignitatem Demetrii fratris apud multitudinem Macedonum crescere et gratiam apud Romanos, sibi spem nullam regni superesse nisi in scelere ratus ad id unum omnes cogitationes intendit. ceterum cum se ne ad id quidem, quod muliebri cogitabat animo, satis per se ualidum crederet, singulos amicorum patris temptare sermonibus perplexis institit. et primo quidam ex his aspernantium tale quicquam praebuerunt speciem, quia plus in Demetrio spei ponebant; deinde crescente in dies Philippi odio in Romanos, cui Perseus indulgeret, Demetrius summa ope aduersaretur, prospicientes animo exitum incauti a fraude fraterna iuuenis, adiuuandum, quod futurum erat, rati fouendamque spem potentioris, Perseo se adiungunt. cetera in suum

quaeque tempus agenda differunt: in praesentia placet omni ope in Romanos accendi regem impellique ad consilia belli, ad quae iam sua sponte animum inclinasset. simul ut Demetrius in dies suspectior esset, ex composito sermones ad res Romanorum trahebant. ibi cum alii mores et instituta eorum, alii res gestas, alii speciem ipsius urbis nondum exornatae neque publicis neque priuatis locis, alii singulos principum eluderent, iuuenis incautus et amore nominis Romani et certamine aduersus fratrem omnia tuendo suspectum se patri et opportunum criminibus faciebat. itaque expertem eum pater omnium de rebus Romanis consiliorum habebat: totus in Persea uersus cum eo cogitationes eius rei dies ac noctes agitabat. redierant forte, quos miserat in Bastarnas ad arcessenda auxilia, adduxerantque inde nobiles iuuenes et regii quosdam generis, quorum unus sororem suam in matrimonium Philippi filio pollicebatur; erexeratque consociatio gentis eius animum regis. tum Perseus ‘quid ista prosunt?’ inquit. ‘nequaquam tantum in externis auxiliis est praesidii, quantum periculi <in> fraude domestica. proditorem nolo dicere, certe speculatorem habemus in sinu, cuius, ex quo obses Romae fuit, corpus nobis reddiderunt Romani, animum ipsi habent. omnium paene Macedonum in eum ora conuersa sunt, nec regem se alium habituros aiunt quam quem Romani dedissent’. his per se aegra mens senis stimulabatur, et animo magis quam uultu ea crimina accipiebat.

[6] Forte lustrandi exercitus uenit tempus, cuius sollemne est tale: caput mediae canis praecisae et pars ad dexteram, cum extis posterior ad laeuam uiae ponitur: inter hanc diuisam hostiam copiae armatae traducuntur. praeferuntur primo agmini arma insignia omnium ab ultima origine Macedoniae regum, deinde rex ipse cum liberis sequitur, proxima est regia cohors custodesque corporis, postremum agmen Macedonum cetera multitudo claudit. latera regis duo filii iuuenes cingebant, Perseus iam tricesimum annum agens, Demetrius quinquennio minor, medio iuuentae robore ille, hic flore, fortunati patris matura suboles, si mens sana fuisset. mos erat lustrationis sacro peracto decurrere exercitum, et diuisas bifariam [duas] acies concurrere ad simulacrum pugnae. regii iuuenes duces ei ludicro certamini dati: ceterum non imago fuit pugnae, sed tamquam de regno dimicaretur, ita concurrerunt, multaque uulnera rudibus facta, nec praeter ferrum quicquam defuit ad iustam belli speciem. pars ea,

quae sub Demetrio erat, longe superior fuit. id aegre patiente Perseo laetari prudentes amici eius, eamque rem ipsam dicere praebituram causam criminandi iuuenis.

[7] Conuiuium eo die sodalium, qui simul decurrerant, uterque habuit, cum uocatus ad cenam ab Demetrio Perseus negasset. festo die benigna inuitatio et hilaritas iuuenalis utrosque in uinum traxit. commemoratio ibi certaminis ludicri et iocosa dicta in aduersarios, ita ut ne ipsis quidem ducibus abstineretur, iactabantur. ad has excipiendas uoces speculator ex conuiuiis Persei missus cum incautior obuersaretur, exceptus a iuuenibus forte triclinio egressis male mulcatur. huius rei ignarus Demetrius ‘quin comisatum’ inquit ‘ad fratrem imus et iram eius, si qua ex certamine residet, simplicitate et hilaritate nostra lenimus?’ omnes ire se conclamarunt praeter eos, qui speculatoris ab se pulsati praesentem ultionem metuebant. cum eos quoque Demetrius traheret, ferrum ueste abdiderunt, quo se tutari, si qua uis fieret, possent. nihil occulti esse in intestina discordia potest. utraque domus speculatorum et proditorum plena erat. praecucurrit index ad Persea, ferro succinctos nuntians cum Demetrio quattuor adulescentes uenire. etsi causa apparebat — nam ab iis pulsatum conuiuiam suum audierat — , infamandae rei causa ianuam obserari iubet, et ex parte superiore aedium uersisque in uiam fenestris comisatores, tamquam ad caedem suam uenientes, aditu ianae arcet. Demetrius per uinum, quod excluderetur, paulisper uociferatus in conuiuium redit, totius rei ignarus.

[8] Postero die Perseus, cum primum conueniendi potestas patris fuit, regiam ingressus perturbato uultu in conspectu patris tacitus procul constitit. cui cum pater ‘satin salue?’ et, quaenam ea maestitia esset, interrogaret eum, ‘de lucro tibi’ inquit ‘uiuere me scito. iam non occultis a fratre petimur insidiis; nocte cum armatis domum ad interficiendum me uenit, clausisque foribus parietum praesidio me a furore eius sum tutatus.’ cum pauorem mixtum admiratione patri iniecisset, ‘atqui si aures praeberere potes’ inquit, ‘manifestam rem teneas faciam.’ enimuero se Philippus dicere auditurum, uocarique extemplo Demetrium iussit; et seniores amicos duos, expertes iuuenalium inter fratres certaminum, infrequentes iam in regia, Lysimachum et Onomastum arcessit, quos in consilio haberet. dum

ueniunt amici, solus filio procul stante multa secum animo uolutans inambulauit. postquam uenisse eos nuntiatum est, secessit in partem internam cum duobus amicis et totidem custodibus corporis; filiis, ut ternos inermes secum introducerent, permisit. ibi cum consedisset, 'sedeo' inquit 'miserrimus pater iudex inter duos filios, accusatorem parricidii et reum, aut conficti aut admissi criminis labem apud meos inuenturus. iam pridem quidem hanc procellam imminensem timebam, cum uultus inter uos minime fraternos cernerem, cum uoces quasdam exaudirem. sed interdum spes animum subibat deflagrare iras uestras, purgari suspiciones posse. etiam hostes armis positis foedus icisse, et priuatas multorum simultates finitas: subituram uobis aliquando germanitatis memoriam, puerilis quondam simplicitatis consuetudinisque inter uos, meorum denique praeceptorum, quae uereor ne uana surdis auribus cecinerim. quotiens ego audientibus uobis detestatus exempla discordiarum fraternarum horrendos euentus eorum rettuli, qui se stirpemque suam, domos, regna funditus euertissent. meliora quoque exempla parte altera posui: sociabilem consortionem inter binos Lacedaemoniorum reges, salutarem per multa saecula ipsis patriaeque: eandem ciuitatem, postquam mos sibi cuique rapiendi tyrannidem exortus sit, euersam. iam hos Eumenem Attalumque fratres, ab tam exiguis rebus, prope ut puderet regii nominis, mihi Antiocho, cuilibet regum huius aetatis, nulla re magis quam fraterna unanimitate, regnum aequasse. ne Romanis quidem exemplis abstinui, quae aut uisa aut audita habebam, T. et L. Quinctiorum, qui bellum mecum gesserunt, P. et L. Scipionum, qui Antiochum deuicerunt, patris patrique eorum, quorum perpetuam uitae concordiam mors quoque miscuit. neque uos illorum scelus similisque sceleri euentus detertere a uecordi discordia potuit, neque horum bona mens, bona fortuna ad sanitatem flectere. uiuo et spirante me hereditatem meam ambo et spe et cupiditate improba creuistis. eo usque me uiuere uultis, donec alterius uestrum superstes haud ambiguum regem alterum mea morte faciam. nec fratrem nec patrem potestis pati. nihil cari, nihil sancti est. in omnium uicem regni unius insatiabilis amor successit. agite, conscelerate aures paternas, decernite criminibus, mox ferro decreturi, dicite palam quidquid aut ueri potestis aut libet comminisci: reseratae aures sunt,

quae posthac secretis alterius ab altero criminibus claudentur.’ haec furens ira cum dixisset, lacrimae omnibus abortae, et diu maestum silentium tenuit.

[9] Tum Perseus ‘aperienda nimirum nocte ianua fuit et armati comisatores accipiendi praebendumque ferro iugulum, quando non creditur nisi perpetratum facinus, et eadem petitus insidiis audio, quae latro atque insidiator. non nequiquam isti unum Demetrium filium te habere, me subditum et paelice genitum appellant. nam si gradum, si caritatem filii apud te haberem, non in me querentem deprehensas insidias, sed in eum, qui fecisset, saeuire, nec adeo uilis tibi uita esset nostra, ut nec praeterito periculo meo mouereris, neque futuro, si insidiantibus <sit> impune. itaque si mori tacitum oportet, taceamus, precati tantum deos, ut a me coeptum scelus in me finem habeat, nec per meum latus tu petaris: sin autem, quod circumuentis in solitudine natura ipsa subicit, ut hominum, quos numquam uiderint, fidem tamen implorent, mihi quoque ferrum in me strictum cernenti uocem mittere licet, per te patriumque nomen, quod utri nostrum sanctius sit iam pridem sentis, ita me audias precor, tamquam si uoce et comploratione nocturna excitus mihi quiritanti interuenisses, Demetrium cum armatis nocte intempesta in uestibulo meo deprehendisses. quod tum uociferarer in re praesenti pavidus, hoc nunc postero die queror. frater, non comisantium in uicem <animis> iam diu uiuimus inter nos. regnare utique uis. huic spei tuae obstat aetas mea, obstat gentium ius, obstat uetustus Macedoniae mos, obstat uero etiam patris iudicium. haec transcendere nisi per meum sanguinem non potes. omnia moliris et temptas. adhuc seu cura mea seu fortuna restitit parricidio tuo. hesterno die in lustratione et decursu et simulacro ludicro pugnae funestum prope proelium fecisti, nec me aliud a morte uindicauit, quam quod me ac meos uinci passus sum. ab hostili proelio, tamquam fraterno lusu, pertrahere me ad cenam uoluisti. credis me, pater, inter inermes conuiuas cenaturum fuisse, ad quem armati comisatum uenerunt? credis nihil a gladiis nocte pericul<i mihi futur>um fuisse, quem rudibus te inspectante prope occiderunt? quid hoc noctis, quid inimicus ad iratum, quid cum ferro succinctis iuuenibus uenis? conuiuam me tibi committere ausus non sum: comisatorem te cum armatis uenientem recipiam? si aperta ianua

fuisset, funus meum parares hoc tempore, pater, quo querentem audis. nihil ego, tamquam accusator, criminose nec dubia argumentis colligendo ago. quid enim? negat uenisse se cum multitudine ad ianuam meam, an ferro succinctos secum fuisse? quos nominauero, arcesse. possunt quidem omnia audere, qui hoc ausi sunt: non tamen audebunt negare. si deprehensos intra limen meum cum ferro ad te deducerem, [rem] pro manifesto haberes: fatentes pro deprehensis habe.

[10] Exsecrare nunc cupiditatem regni, et furias fraternas concita. sed ne sint caecae, pater, execrationes tuae, discerne, dispice insidiatorem et petatum insidiis: noxium incesse caput. qui occisurus fratrem fuit, habeat etiam iratos paternos deos: qui periturus fraterno scelere fuit, perfugium in patris misericordia et iustitia habeat. quo enim alio confugiam, cui non sollemne lustrale exercitus tui, non decursus militum, non domus, non epulae, non nox ad quietem data naturae beneficio mortalibus tuta est? si iero ad fratrem inuitatus, moriendum est; si recepero intra ianuam comisatum fratrem, moriendum est: nec eundo nec manendo insidias euito. quo me conferam? nihil praeter deos, pater, et te colui. non Romanos habeo, ad quos confugiam: perisse expetunt, quia tuis iniuriis doleo, quia tibi ademptas tot urbes, tot gentes, modo Thraciae maritimam oram, indignor. nec me nec te incolumi Macedoniam suam futuram sperant. si me scelus fratris, te senectus absumpserit, aut ne ea quidem exspectata fuerit, regem regnumque Macedoniae sua futura sciunt. si quid extra Macedoniam tibi Romani reliquissent, mihi quoque id relictum crederem receptaculum. at in Macedonibus satis praesidii est. uidisti hesterno die impetum militum in me. quid illis defuit nisi ferrum? quod illis defuit interdium, conuiuiae fratris noctu sumpserunt. quid de magna parte principum loquar, qui in Romanis spem omnem dignitatis et fortunae posuerunt et in eo, qui omnia apud Romanos potest? neque hercule istum mihi tantum, fratri maiori, sed prope est, ut tibi quoque ipsi, regi et patri, praeferant. iste enim est, cuius beneficio poenam tibi senatus remisit, qui nunc te ab armis Romanis protegit, qui tuam senectutem obligatam et obnoxiam adulescentiae suae esse aequum censet. pro isto Romani stant, pro isto omnes urbes tuo imperio liberatae, pro isto Macedones qui pace Romana gaudent. mihi praeter te, pater, quid usquam aut spei aut praesidii est?

[11] Quo spectare illas litteras ad te nunc missas T. Quinctii credis, quibus et bene te consuluisse rebus tuis ait, quod Demetrium Romam miseris, et hortatur, ut iterum et cum pluribus legatis et primoribus eum remittas Macedonum? T. Quinctius nunc est auctor omnium rerum isti et magister. eum sibi te abdicato patre in locum tuum substituit. illic ante omnia clandestina cocta sunt consilia. quaeruntur adiutores consiliis, cum te plures et principes Macedonum cum isto mittere iubet. qui hinc integri et sinceri Romam eunt, Philippum regem se habere credentes, imbuti illinc et infecti Romanis delenimentis redeunt. Demetrius iis unus omnia est, eum iam regem uiuo patre appellant. haec si indignor, audiendum est statim non ab aliis solum sed etiam a te, pater, cupiditatis regni crimen. ego uero, si in medio ponitur, non agnosco. quem enim suo loco moueo, ut ipse in eius locum succedam? unus ante me pater est, et ut diu sit, deos rogo. superstes — et ita sim, si merebor, ut ipse me esse uelit — hereditatem regni, si pater tradet, accipiam. cupit regnum, et quidem scelerate cupit, qui transcendere festinat ordinem aetatis, naturae, moris Macedonum, iuris gentium. obstat frater maior, ad quem iure, uoluntate etiam patris, regnum pertinet. tollatur: non primus regnum fraterna caede petiero. pater senex et [filio] solus [orbatus] de se magis timebit, quam ut filii necem ulciscatur. Romani laetabuntur, probabunt, defendent factum. hae spes incertae, pater, sed non inanes sunt. ita enim se res habet: periculum uitae propellere a me potes, puniendo eos, qui ad me interficiendum ferrum sumpserunt; si facinori eorum successerit, mortem meam idem tu persequi non poteris.’

[12] Postquam dicendi finem Perseus fecit, coniecti eorum, qui aderant, oculi in Demetrium sunt, uelut confestim responsurus esset. deinde diu silentium fuit, cum perfusum fletu appareret omnibus loqui non posse. tandem uicit dolorem ipsa necessitas, cum dicere iuberent, atque ita orsus est. ‘omnia, quae reorum antea fuerant auxilia, pater, praeoccupauit accusator. simulatis lacrimis in alterius perniciem ueras meas lacrimas suspectas tibi fecit. cum ipse, ex quo ab Roma redii, per occulta cum suis colloquia dies noctesque insidiatur, ultro mihi non insidiatoris modo sed latronis manifesti et percussoris speciem induit. periculo suo te exterret, ut innoxio fratri per eundem te maturet perniciem. perfugium sibi nusquam gentium

esse ait, ut ego ne apud te quidem spei quicquam reliqui habeam. circumuentum, solum, inopem inuidia gratiae externae, quae obest potius quam prodest, onerat. iam illud quam accusatorie, quod noctis huius crimen miscuit cum cetera insectatione uitae meae, ut et hoc, quod iam quale sit scies, suspectum alio uitae nostrae tenore faceret, et illam uanam criminationem spei uoluntatis consiliorum meorum nocturno hoc ficto et composito argumento fulciret? simul et illud quaesiuit, ut repentina et minime praeparata accusatio uideretur, quippe ex noctis huius metu et tumultu repentino exorta. oportuit autem, Perseu, si proditor ego patris regnique eram, si cum Romanis, si cum aliis inimicis patris inieram consilia, non expectatam fabulam esse noctis huius, sed prodicionis me ante accusatum: si illa, separata hac, uana accusatio erat inuidiamque tuam aduersus me magis quam crimen meum indicatura, hodie quoque eam aut praetermitti aut in aliud tempus differri, ut per se quae<re>retur, utrum ego tibi an tu mihi, nouo quidem et singulari genere odii, insidias fecisses. ego tamen, quantum in hac subita perturbatione potero, separabo ea, quae tu confudisti, et noctis huius insidias aut tuas aut meas detegam. occidendi sui consilium inisse me uideri uult, ut scilicet maiore fratre sublato, cuius iure gentium, more Macedonum, tuo etiam, ut ait, iudicio regnum est futurum, ego minor in eius, quem occidissem, succederem locum. quid ergo illa sibi uult pars altera orationis, qua Romanos a me cultos ait atque eorum fiducia in spem regni me uenisse? nam si et in Romanis tantum momenti credebam esse, ut quem uellent imponderent Macedoniae regem, et meae tantum apud eos gratiae confidebam, quid opus parricidio fuit? an ut cruentum diadema fraterna caede gererem? ut illis ipsis, apud quos aut uera aut certe simulata probitate partam gratiam habeo, si quam forte habeo, execrabilis et inuisus essem? nisi T. Quinctium credis, cuius nutu et consiliis me nunc arguis regi, cum et ipse tali pietate uiuat cum fratre, mihi fraternae caedis fuisse auctorem. idem non Romanorum gratiam solum, sed Macedonum iudicia ac paene omnium deorum hominumque consensum collegit, per quae omnia se mihi parem in certamine non futurum crediderit: idem, tamquam [in] aliis omnibus rebus inferior essem, ad sceleris ultimam spem confugisse me insimulat. uis hanc formulam cognitionis esse, ut, uter timuerit, ne alter dignior uideretur regno, is

consilium opprimendi fratris iudicetur cepisse?

[13] Exsequamur tamen quocumque modo conficti ordinem criminis. pluribus modis se petitem criminatus est, et omnes insidiarum vias in unum diem contulit. uolui interdum eum post lustrationem, cum concurrimus, et quidem, si diis placet, lustrationum die occidere; uolui, cum ad cenam inuitavi, ueneno scilicet tollere; uolui, cum comisatum gladiis succincti me secuti sunt, ferro interficere. tempora quidem qualia sint ad parricidium electa, uides: lusus, conuiuii, comisationis. quid? dies qualis? quo lustratus exercitus, quo inter diuisam uictimam, praelatis omnium, qui umquam fuere, Macedoniae regum armis regiis, duo soli tua tegentes latera, pater, praeuecti sumus, et secutum est Macedonum agmen: hoc ego, etiam si quid antea admissem piaculo dignum, lustratus et expiatus sacro, tum cum maxime in hostiam itineri nostro circumdatam intuens, parricidium uenena gladios in comisationem praeparatos uolutabam in animo, ut quibus aliis deinde sacris contaminatam omni scelere mentem expiarem? sed caecus criminandi cupiditate animus, dum omnia suspecta efficere uult, aliud alio confundit. nam si ueneno te inter cenam tollere uolui, quid minus aptum fuit quam pertinaci certamine et concursu iratum te efficere, ut merito, sicut fecisti, inuitatus ad cenam abnueres? cum autem iratus negasses, utrum, ut placarem te, danda opera fuit, ut aliam quaererem occasionem, quoniam semel uenenum paraueram, an ab illo consilio uelut transiliendum ad aliud fuit, ut ferro te, et quidem eo<dem> die, per speciem comisationis occiderem? quo deinde modo, si te metu mortis credebam cenam uitasse meam, non ab eodem metu comisationem quoque uitaturum existimabam?

[14] Non est res, qua erubescam, pater, si die festo inter aequales largiore uino sum usus. tu quoque uelim inquiras, qua laetitia, quo lusu apud me celebratum hesternum conuiuium sit, illo etiam — prauo forsitan — gaudio prouehente, quod in iuuenali armorum certamine pars nostra non inferior fuerat. miseria haec et metus crapulam facile excusserunt; quae si non interuenissent, insidiatores nos sopiti iaceremus. si domum tuam expugnaturus, capta domo dominum interfectorus eram, non temperassem uino in unum diem, non milites meos abstinuisssem? et ne ego me solus nimia simplicitate tuear, ipse quoque minime malus ac suspicax frater ‘nihil aliud scio’,

inquit ‘nihil arguo, nisi quod cum ferro comisatum uenerunt.’ si quaeram, unde id ipsum scias, necesse erit te fateri aut speculatorum tuorum plenam domum fuisse meam, aut illos ita aperte sumpsisse ferrum, ut omnes uiderent. et ne quid ipse aut prius inquisisse aut nunc criminose argumentari uideretur, te quaerere ex iis, quos nominasset, iubebat, an ferrum habuissent, ut tamquam in re dubia, cum id quaesisses, quod ipsi fatentur, pro conuictis haberentur. quin tu illud quaeri iubes, num tui occidendi causa ferrum sumpserint, num me auctore et sciente? hoc enim uideri uis, non illud quod fatentur et palam est. ei sui se tuendi causa sumpsisse dicunt. recte an perperam fecerint, ipsi sui facti rationem reddent: meam causam, quae nihil eo facto contingitur, ne miscueris. aut explica, utrum aperte an clam te aggressuri fuerimus. si aperte, cur non omnes ferrum habuimus? cur nemo praeter eos, qui tuum speculatorem pulsauerunt? si clam, quis ordo consilii fuit? conuiuio soluto cum comisator ego discessissem, quattuor substitissent, ut sopitum te adgrederentur? quomodo fefellissent et alieni et mei et maxime suspecti, quia paulo ante in rixa fuerant? quomodo autem trucidato te ipsi euasuri fuerunt? quattuor gladiis domus tua capi et expugnari potuit?

[15] Quin tu omissa ista nocturna fabula ad id, quod doles, quod inuidia urit, reuerteris? ‘cur usquam [regni] tui mentio fit, Demetri? cur dignior patris fortunae successor quibusdam uideris quam ego? cur spem meam, quae, si tu non esses, certa erat, dubiam et sollicitam facis?’ haec sentit Perseus, etsi non dicit; haec istum inimicum, haec accusatorem faciunt; haec domum, haec regnum tuum criminibus et suspicionibus replent. ego autem, pater, quem ad modum nec nunc sperare regnum nec ambigere umquam de eo forsitan debeam, quia minor sum, quia tu me maiori cedere uis, sic illud nec debui facere nec debeo, ut indignus te patre [indignus] omnibus uidear. id enim uitiiis meis, non cedendi, cui ius fasque est, modestia consequar. Romanos obicis mihi, et ea, quae gloriae esse debent, in crimen uertis. ego nec obses Romanis ut traderer nec ut legatus mitterer Romam, petii. a te missus ire non recusaui. utroque tempore ita me gessi, ne tibi pudori, ne regno tuo, ne genti Macedonum essem. itaque mihi cum Romanis, pater, amicitiae causa tu fuisti. quoad tecum illis pax manebit, mecum quoque gratia erit: si bellum esse

coeperit, qui obses, qui legatus pro patre non inutilis fui, idem hostis illis acerrimus ero. nec hodie ut prosit mihi gratia Romanorum, postulo: ne obsit, tantum deprecor. nec in bello coepit nec ad bellum reseruatur: pacis pignus fui, ad pacem retinendam legatus missus sum: neutra res mihi nec gloriae nec crimini sit. ego si quid impie in te, pater, si quid scelerate in fratrem admisi, nullam deprecor poenam: si innocens sum, ne inuidia conflagrem, cum crimine non possim, deprecor. non hodie me primum frater accusat, sed hodie primum aperte, nullo meo in se merito. si mihi pater suscenseret, te maiorem fratrem pro minore deprecari oportebat, te adulescentiae, te errori ueniam impetrare meo. ubi praesidium esse oportebat, ibi exitium est. e conuiuio et comisatione prope semisomnus raptus sum ad causam parricidii dicendam. sine aduocatis, sine patronis ipse pro me dicere cogor. si pro alio dicendum esset, tempus ad meditandum et componendam orationem sumpsissem, cum quid aliud quam ingenii fama periclitarer? ignarus, quid arcessitus essem, te iratum et iubentem dicere causam, fratrem accusantem audiui. ille diu ante praeparata ac meditata in me oratione est usus: ego id tantum temporis, quo accusatus sum, ad cognoscendum, quid ageretur, habui. utrum momento illo horae accusatorem audirem an defensionem meditarer? attonitus repentino atque inopinato malo, uix, quid obiceretur, intellegere potui, nedum satis sciam, quo modo me tuear. quid mihi spei esset, nisi patrem iudicem haberem? apud quem etiam si caritate a fratre maiore uincor, misericordia certe reus uinci non debeo. ego enim ut me mihi tibiue serues, precor; ille ut me in securitatem suam occidas, postulat. quid eum, cum regnum ei tradideris, facturum credis in me esse, qui iam nunc sanguinem meum sibi indulgeri aequum censet?"

[16] Dicenti haec lacrimae simul spiritum et uocem intercluserunt. Philippus summotis iis paulisper collocutus cum amicis pronuntiauit, non uerbis se nec unius horae disceptatione causam eorum diiudicaturum, sed inquirendo in utriusque uitam <ac> mores, et dicta factaque in magnis paruisque rebus obseruando, ut omnibus appareret noctis proximae crimen facile reuictum, suspectam nimiam cum Romanis Demetrii gratiam esse. haec maxime uiuo Philippo uelut semina iacta sunt Macedonici belli, quod cum Perseo gerendum erat.

Consules ambo in Ligures, quae tum una consularis prouincia erat, proficiscuntur. et quia prospere ibi res gesserunt, supplicatio in unum diem decreta est. Ligurum duo milia fere ad extremum finem prouinciae Galliae, ubi castra Marcellus habebat, uenerunt, uti reciperentur, orantes. Marcellus opperiri eodem loco Liguribus iussis senatum per litteras consuluit. senatus rescribere M. Ogulnium praetorem Marcello iussit uerius fuisse consules, quorum prouincia esset, quam se, quid e re publica esset, decernere; tum quoque non placere nisi per deditionem Ligures recipi, et receptis arma adimi atque eos ad consules mitti senatum aequum censere.

Praetores eodem tempore, P. Manlius in ulteriorem Hispaniam, quam et priore praetura prouinciam obtinuerat, Q. Fuluius Flaccus in citeriorem peruenit, exercitumque <ab> A. Terentio accepit: nam ulterior morte P. Sempronii proconsulis sine imperio fuerat. Fuluium Flaccum oppidum Hispanum Urbicnam nomine oppugnantem Celtiberi adorti sunt. dura ibi proelia aliquot facta, multi Romani milites et uulnerati et interfecti sunt. uicit perseuerantia Fuluius, quod nulla ui abstrahi ab obsidione potuit: Celtiberi fessi proeliis uariis abscesserunt. urbs amoto auxilio eorum intra paucos dies capta et direpta est: praedam militibus praetor concessit. Fuluius hoc oppido capto, Manlius exercitu tantum in unum coacto, qui dissipatus fuerat, nulla alia memorabili gesta re, exercitus in hiberna deduxerunt. haec ea aestate in Hispania gesta. Terentius, qui ex ea prouincia decesserat, ouans urbem iniit. translatum argenti pondo nouem milia trecenta uiginti, auri octoginta pondo et duo, coronae aureae [pondo] sexaginta septem.

[17] Eodem anno inter populum Carthaginiensem et regem Masinissam in re praesenti disceptatores Romani de agro fuerunt. ceperat eum ab Carthaginiensibus pater Masinissae Gala; Galam Syphax inde expulerat, postea in gratiam soceri Hasdrubalis Carthaginiensibus dono dederat; Carthaginienses eo anno Masinissa expulerat. haud minore certamine animorum, quam cum ferro et acie dimicarunt, res acta apud Romanos. Carthaginienses, quod maiorum suorum fuisset, deinde ab Syphace ad se peruenisset, repetebant. Masinissa paterni regni agrum se et recepisce et habere gentium iure aiebat; et causa et possessione superiorem esse; nihil aliud se in ea disceptatione metuere, quam ne pudor Romanorum, dum uereantur,

ne quid socio atque amico regi aduersus communes suos atque illius hostes indulsisse uideantur, damno sit. legati possessionis ius non mutarunt, causam integram Romam ad senatum reiecerunt.

In Liguribus nihil postea gestum. recesserant primum in deuios saltus, deinde dimisso exercitu passim in uicos castellaque sua dilapsi sunt. consules quoque dimittere exercitum uoluerunt, ac de ea re patres consuluerunt. alterum ex iis dimisso exercitu ad magistratus in annum creandos uenire Romam iusserunt, alterum cum legionibus suis Pisis hiemare. fama erat Gallos Transalpinos iuuentutem armare, nec, in quam regionem Italiae effusura se multitudo esset, sciebatur. ita inter se consules compararunt, ut Cn. Baebius ad comitia iret, quia M. Baebius frater eius consulatum petebat.

[18] Comitia consulibus rogandis fuere: creati P. Cornelius Lentulus M. Baebius Tamphilus. praetores inde facti duo Q. Fabii, Maximus et Buteo, Ti. Claudius Nero Q. Petilius Spurius M. Pinarius Rusca L. Duronius. his inito magistratu prouinciae ita sorte euenerunt: Ligures consulibus, praetoribus Q. Petilio urbana, Q. Fabio Maximo peregrina, Q. Fabio Buteoni Gallia, Ti. Claudio Neroni Sicilia, M. Pinario Sardinia, L. Duronio Apulia; et Histri adiecti, quod Tarentini Brundisinique nuntiabant maritimos agros infestos transmarinarum nauium latrociniis esse. eadem Massilienses de Ligurum nauibus querebantur. exercitus inde decreti, quattuor legiones consulibus, quae quina milia ducenos Romanos pedites, trecenos haberent equites, et quindecim milia socium ac Latini nominis, octingenti equites. in Hispaniis prorogatum ueteribus praetoribus imperium est cum exercitibus, quos haberent, et in supplementum decreta tria milia ciuium Romanorum, ducenti equites, et socium Latini nominis sex milia peditum, trecenti equites. nec rei naualis cura omissa. duumuiros in eam rem consules creare iussi, per quos naues uiginti deductae naualibus sociis ciuibus Romanis, qui seruitutem seruissent, complerentur, ingenui tantum ut iis praeessent. inter duumuiros ita diuisa tuenda denis nauibus maritima ora, ut promunturium iis Mineruae uelut cardo in medio esset; alter in<de> dextram partem usque ad Massiliam, laeuam alter usque ad Barium tueretur.

[19] Prodigia multa foeda et Romae eo anno uisa et nuntiata peregre. in area Uulcani et Concordiae sanguine pluuit; et pontifices

hastas motas nuntiauere, et Lanuuii simulacrum Iunonis Sospitae lacrimasse. pestilentia in agris forisque et conciliabulis et in urbe tanta erat, ut Libitina fune<ribus> uix sufficeret. his prodigiis cladibusque anxii patres decreuerunt, ut et consules, quibus diis uideretur, hostiis maioribus sacrificarent, et decemuiri libros adirent. eorum decreto supplicatio circa omnia puluinaria Romae in diem unum indicta est. iisdem auctoribus et senatus censuit et consules edixerunt, ut per totam Italiam triduum supplicatio et feriae essent. pestilentiae tanta uis erat, ut, cum propter defectionem Corsorum bellumque ab Iliensibus concitatum in Sardinia octo milia peditum ex sociis Latini nominis placuisset scribi et trecentos equites, quos M. Pinarius praetor secum in Sardiniam traiceret, tantum hominum demortuum esse, tantum ubique aegrorum consules renuntiauerint, ut is numerus effici militum non potuerit. quod deerat militum, sumere a Cn. Baebio proconsule, qui Pisis hibernabat, iussus praetor atque inde in Sardiniam traicere.

L. Duronio praetori, cui prouincia Apulia euenerat, adiecta de Bacchanalibus quaestio est, cuius residua quaedam uelut semina ex prioribus malis iam priore anno apparuerant; sed magis inchoatae apud L. Pupium praetorem quaestiones erant quam ad exitum ullum perductae. id persecare nouum praetorem, ne serperet iterum latius, patres iusserunt. et legem de ambitu consules ex auctoritate senatus ad populum tulerunt.

[20] Legationes deinde in senatum introduxerunt, regum primas Eumenis et Ariarathis Cappadocis et Pharnacis Pontici. nec ultra quicquam eis responsum est quam missuros, qui de controuersiis eorum cognoscerent statuerentque. Lacedaemoniorum deinde exsulum et Achaeorum legati introducti sunt, et spes data exsulibus est scripturum senatum Achaeis, ut restituerentur. Achaei de Messene recepta compositisque ibi rebus cum adsensu patrum exposuerunt. et a Philippo rege Macedonum duo legati uenerunt, Philocles et Apelles, nulla super re, quae petenda ab senatu esset, speculatum magis inquisitumque missi de iis, quorum Perseus Demetrium insimulasset sermonum cum Romanis, maxime cum T. Quinctio, aduersus fratrem de regno habitorum. hos tamquam medios nec in alterius fauorem inclinatos miserat rex: erant autem et hi Persei fraudis in fratrem ministri et participes. Demetrius omnium

praeterquam fraterno scelere, quod nuper eruperat, ignarus primo neque magnam neque nullam spem habebat patrem sibi placari posse; minus deinde in dies patris animo fidebat, cum obsideri aures a fratre cerneret. itaque circumspiciens dicta factaque sua, ne cuius suspensiones augetet, maxime ab omni mentione et contagione Romanorum abstinebat, ut neque scribi sibi uellet, quia hoc praecipue criminum genere exasperari patris animum sentiebat.

[21] Philippus, simul ne otio miles deterior fieret, simul auertendae suspicionis causa quicquam a se agitari de Romano bello, Stobos Paeoniae exercitu indicto in Maedicam ducere pergit. cupido eum ceperat in uerticem Haemi montis ascendendi, quia uulgatae opinioni crediderat Ponticum simul et Hadriaticum mare et Histrum amnem et Alpes conspici posse: subiecta oculis ea haud parui sibi momenti futura ad cogitationem Romani belli. percunctatus regionis peritos de ascensu Haemi, cum satis inter omnes constaret uiam exercitui nullam esse, paucis et expeditis per difficillimum aditum, ut sermone familiari minorem filium permulceret, quem statuerat non ducere secum, primum quaerit ab eo, cum tanta difficultas itineris proponatur, utrum perseuerandum sit in incepto an abstinendum. si pergat tamen ire, non posse obliuisci se in talibus rebus Antigoni, qui saeua tempestate iactatus, cum in eadem naue secum suos omnes habuisset, praecepisse liberis diceretur, ut et ipsi meminissent et ita posteris proderent, ne quis cum tota gente simul in rebus dubiis periclitari auderet. memorem ergo se praecepti eius duos simul filios non commissurum in aleam eius, qui proponeretur, casus; et quoniam maiorem filium secum duceret, minorem ad subsidia spei et custodiam regni remissurum in Macedoniam esse. non fallebat Demetrium ablegari se, ne adesset consilio, cum in conspectu locorum consultarent, quae proxime itinera ad mare Hadriaticum atque Italiam ducerent, quaeque ratio belli esset futura. sed non solum parendum patri [tutum], sed etiam adsentiendum erat, ne inuitum parere suspicionem faceret. ut tamen iter ei tutum in Macedoniam esset, Didas ex praetoribus regiis unus, qui Paeoniae praeerat, iussus est prosequi eum cum modico praesidio. hunc quoque Perseus, sicut plerosque patris amicorum, ex quo haud cuiquam dubium esse coeperat, ad quem regis animo ita inclinato hereditas regni pertineret, inter coniuratos in fratris perniciem habuit.

in praesentia dat ei mandata, ut per omne obsequium insinuaret se in quam maxime familiarem usum, ut elicere omnia arcana specularique abditos eius sensus posset. ita digreditur Demetrius cum infestioribus, quam si solus iret, praesidiis.

[22] Philippus Maedicam primum, deinde solitudines interiacentes Maedicae atque Haemo transgressus septimis demum castris ad radices montis peruenit. ibi unum moratus diem ad deligendos, quos duceret secum, tertio die iter est ingressus. modicus primo labor in imis collibus fuit. quantum in altitudinem egrediebantur, magis magisque siluestria et pleraque inuia loca excipiebant: peruenere deinde in tam opacum iter, ut prae densitate arborum immissorumque aliorum in alios ramorum perspici caelum uix posset. ut uero iugis appropinquabant, quod rarum in altis locis est, adeo omnia contexta nebula <erant>, ut haud secus quam nocturno itinere impedirentur. tertio demum die ad uerticem peruentum. nihil uulgatae opinioni degressi inde detraxerunt, magis credo, ne uanitas itineris ludibrio esset, quam quod diuersa inter se maria montesque et amnes ex uno loco conspici potuerint. uexati omnes, et ante alios rex ipse, quo grauior aetate erat, difficultate uiae est. duabus aris ibi Ioui et Soli sacratis cum immolasset, qua triduo ascenderat, biduo est degressus, frigora nocturna maxime metuens, quae caniculae ortu similia brumalibus erant. multis per eos dies difficultatibus conflictatus nihilo laetiora in castris inuenit, ubi summa penuria erat, ut in regione, quam ab omni parte solitudines clauderent. itaque unum tantum moratus diem, quietis eorum causa, quos habuerat secum, itinere inde simili fugae in Dentheletos transcurrit. socii erant, sed propter inopiam haud secus quam hostium fines Macedones populati sunt: rapiendo enim passim uillas primum, dein quosdam etiam uicos euastarunt, non sine magno pudore regis, cum sociorum uoces nequiquam deos sociales nomenque suum implorantes audiret. frumento inde sublato in Maedicam regressus, urbem, quam Petram appellant, oppugnare est adortus. ipse a campestri aditu castra posuit, Perseum filium cum modica manu circummisit, ut a superioribus locis urbem adgrederetur. oppidani, cum terror undique instaret, obsidibus datis in praesentia dediderunt sese: iidem, postquam exercitus recessit, obliti obsidum relicta urbe in loca munita et montes refugerunt. Philippus omni genere laboris sine ullo effectu

fatigatis militibus et fraude Didae praetoris auctis in filium suspicionibus in Macedoniam rediit.

[23] Missus hic comes, ut ante dictum est, cum simplicitatem iuuenis incauti et suis haud immerito suscensentis adsentando indignandoque et ipse uicem eius captaret, in omnia ultro suam offerens operam, fide data arcana eius elicuit. fugam ad Romanos Demetrius meditabatur; cui consilio adiutor deum beneficio oblatus uidebatur Paeoniae praetor, per cuius prouinciam spem ceperat elabi tuto posse. hoc consilium extemplo et fratri proditur et auctore eo indicatur patri. litterae primum ad obsidentem Petram adlatae sunt. inde Herodorus — princeps hic amicorum Demetrii erat — in custodiam est coniectus et Demetrius dissimulanter adseruari iussus. haec super cetera tristem aduentum in Macedoniam regi fecerunt. mouebant eum et praesentia crimina: expectandos tamen, quos ad exploranda omnia Romam miserat, censebat. his anxius curis cum aliquot menses egisset, tandem legati, iam ante praemeditati in Macedonia, quae ab Roma renuntiarent, uenerunt; qui super cetera scelera falsas etiam litteras, signo adulterino T. Quintii signatas, reddiderunt regi. deprecatio in litteris erat, si quid adulescens cupiditate regni prolapsus secum egisset: nihil eum aduersus suorum quemquam facturum neque eum se esse, qui ullius impii consilii auctor futurus uideri possit. hae litterae fidem Persei criminibus fecerunt. itaque Herodorus extemplo diu excruciatum sine indicio rei ullius in tormentis moritur.

[24] Demetrium iterum ad patrem accusauit Perseus. fuga per Paeoniam praeparata arguebatur et corrupti quidam, ut comites itineris essent; maxime falsae litterae T. Quintii urgebant. nihil tamen palam grauius pronuntiatum de eo est, ut dolo potius interficeretur, nec id cura ipsius, sed ne poena eius consilia aduersus Romanos nudaret. ab Thessalonice Demetriadem ipsi cum iter esset, Astraeum Paeoniae Demetrium mittit cum eodem comite Dida, Perseum Amphipolin ad obsides Thracum accipiendos. digredienti ab se Didae mandata dedisse dicitur de filio occidendo. sacrificium ab Dida seu institutum seu simulatum est, ad quod celebrandum inuitatus Demetrius ab Astraeo Heracleam uenit. in ea cena dicitur uenenum datum. poculo epoto extemplo sensit, et mox coortis doloribus, relicto conuiuio cum in cubiculum recepisset sese,

crudelitatem patris conquerens, parricidium fratris ac Didae scelus incusans torquebatur. intromissi deinde Thyrsis quidam Stuberraeus et Beroeaeus Alexander iniectis tapetibus in caput faucesque spiritum intercluserunt. ita innoxius adulescens, cum in eo ne simplici quidem genere mortis contenti inimici fuissent, interficitur.

[25] Dum haec in Macedonia geruntur, L. Aemilius Paulus, prorogato ex consulatu imperio, principio ueris in Ligures Ingaunos <exercitum> introduxit. ubi primum in hostium finibus castra posuit, legati ad eum per speciem pacis petendae speculatum uenerunt. neganti Paulo nisi cum deditis pacisci se pacem, non tam id recusabant, quam tempore aiebant opus esse, ut generi agresti hominum persuaderetur. ad hoc decem dierum indutiae cum darentur, petierunt deinde, ne trans montes proximos castris pabulatum lignatumque milites irent: culta ea loca suorum finium esse. id ubi impetrare, post eos ipsos montes, unde auerterant hostem, exercitu omni coacto, repente multitudine ingenti castra Romanorum oppugnare simul omnibus portis adgressi sunt. summa ui totum diem oppugnarunt, ita ut ne efferendi quidem signa Romanis spatium nec ad explicandam aciem locus esset. conferti in portis obstando magis quam pugnando castra tutabantur. sub occasum solis cum recessissent hostes, duos equites ad Cn. Baebium <pro>consulem cum litteris Pisas mittit, ut obsesso per indutias sibi quam primum subsidio ueniret. Baebius exercitum M. Pinario praetori eunti in Sardiniam tradiderat: ceterum et senatum litteris certiores fecit obsideri a Liguribus L. Aemilium, et M. Claudio Marcello, cuius proxima inde prouincia erat, scripsit, ut, si uideretur ei, exercitum e Gallia traduceret in Ligures et L. Aemilium liberaret obsidione. haec sera futura auxilia erant. Ligures ad castra postero die redeunt. Aemilius cum et uenturos scisset et educere in aciem potuisset, intra uallum suos tenuit, ut extraheret rem in id tempus, quo Baebius cum exercitu uenire a Pisis posset.

[26] Romae magnam trepidationem litterae Baebii fecerunt, eo maiorem, quod paucos post dies Marcellus, tradito exercitu Fabio Romam cum uenisset, spem ademit eum, qui in Gallia esset, exercitum in Ligures posse traduci, quia bellum cum Histris esset prohibentibus coloniam Aquileiam deduci: eo profectum Fabium, neque inde regredi bello inchoato posse. una, et ea ipsa tardior quam

tempus postulabat, subsidii spes erat, si consules maturassent in prouinciam ire. id ut facerent, pro se quisque patrum uociferari. consules nisi confecto dilectu negare se ituros, nec suam segnitiam sed uim morbi in causa esse, quo serius perficeretur. non tamen potuerunt sustinere consensum senatus, quin paludati exirent et militibus, quos conscriptos haberent, diem edicerent, quo Pisas conuenirent. permissum, ut, qua irent, protinus subitarios milites scriberent ducerentque secum. et praetoribus Q. Petilio et Q. Fabio imperatum est, ut Petilius duas legiones ciuium Romanorum tumultuarias scriberet et omnes minores quinquaginta annis sacramento rogaret, Fabio, ut sociis Latini nominis quindecim milia peditum, octingentos equites imperaret. duumuii nauales creati C. Matienus et C. Lucretius, nauesque iis ornatae sunt, Matienoque, cuius ad Gallicum sinum prouincia erat, imperatum est, ut classem primo quoque tempore duceret in Ligurum oram, si quo usui esse L. Aemilio atque exercitui eius posset.

[27] Aemilius, postquam nihil usquam auxilii ostendebatur, interceptos credens equites, non ultra differendum ratus, quin per se fortunam temptaret, priusquam hostes uenirent, qui segnius socordiusque oppugnabant, ad quattuor portas exercitum instruxit, ut signo dato simul ex omnibus partibus eruptionem facerent. quattuor extraordinariis cohortibus duas adiunxit praeposito M. Ualerio legato, erumpere praetoria porta iussit. ad dexteram principalem hastatos legionis primae instruxit; principes ex eadem legione in subsidiis posuit: M. Seruilius et L. Sulpicius tribuni militum his praepositi. tertia legio aduersus sinistram principalem portam instructa est. id tantum mutatum: principes primi et hastati in subsidiis locati; Sex. Iulius Caesar et L. Aurelius Cotta tribuni militum huic legioni praepositi sunt. Q. Fuluius Flaccus legatus cum dextera ala ad quaestoriam portam positus; duae cohortes et triarii duarum legionum in praesidio castrorum manere iussi. omnes portas contionabundus ipse imperator circumiit, et, quibuscumque irritamentis poterat, iras militum acuebat, nunc fraudem hostium incusans, qui pace petita, indutiis datis, per ipsum indutiarum tempus contra ius gentium ad castra oppugnanda uenissent: nunc, quantus pudor esset, edocens ab Liguribus, latronibus uerius quam hostibus iustis, Romanum exercitum obsideri. 'quo ore quisquam uestrum, si

hinc alieno praesidio, non uestra uirtute euaseritis, occurret, non dico eis militibus, qui Hannibalem, qui Philippum, qui Antiochum, maximos aetatis nostrae reges ducesque, uicerunt, sed iis, qui hos ipsos Ligures aliquotiens pecorum modo fugientes per saltus inuios consecrati ceciderunt? quod Hispani, quod Galli, quod Macedones Poeniae non audeant, Ligustinus hostis uallum Romanum subit, obsidet ultro et oppugnat, quem scrutantes ante deuos saltus abditum et latentem uix inueniebamus.’ ad haec consentiens reddebatur militum clamor, nullam militum culpam esse, quibus nemo ad erumpendum signum dedisset, daret signum: intellecturum eosdem, qui antea fuerint, et Romanos et Ligures esse.

[28] Bina cis montes castra Ligurum erant. ex iis primis diebus sole orto pariter omnes compositi et instructi procedebant; tum nisi exsatiati cibo uinoque arma non capiebant, dispersi inordinati exhibant, ut quibus prope certum esset hostes extra uallum non elaturos signa. aduersus ita incompositos eos uenientes clamore pariter omnium, qui in castris erant, calorum quoque et lixarum sublato simul omnibus portis Romani eruperunt. Liguribus adeo improuisa res fuit, ut perinde ac si insidiis circumuenti forent trepidarent. exiguum temporis aliqua forma pugnae fuit: fuga deinde effusa et fugientium passim caedes erat, equitibus dato signo, ut conscenderent equos nec effugere quemquam sinerent. in castra omnes trepida fuga compulsi sunt, deinde ipsis exuti castris. supra quindecim milia Ligurum eo die occisa, capti duo milia et trecenti. triduo post Ligurum Ingaunorum nomen omne obsidibus datis in dicionem uenit. gubernatores nautaeque conquisiti, qui <in> praedatoriis fuissent nauibus, atque omnes in custodiam coniecti. et a C. Matieno duumuiro naues eius generis in Ligustina ora triginta duae captae sunt. haec qui nuntiarent litterasque ad senatum ferrent, L. Aurelius Cotta C. Sulpicius Gallus Romam missi, simulque peterent, ut L. Aemilio confecta prouincia decedere et deducere secum milites liceret atque dimittere. utrumque permissum ab senatu et supplicatio ad omnia puluina per triduum decreta, iussique praetores Petilius urbanas dimittere legiones, Fabius sociis atque nomini Latino remittere dilectum; et uti praetor urbanus consulibus scriberet senatum aequum censere subitarios milites, tumultus causa conscriptos, primo quoque tempore dimitti.

[29] Colonia Grauiscae eo anno deducta est in agrum Etruscum, de Tarquiniensibus quondam captum. quina iugera agri data; tresuiri deduxerunt C. Calpurnius Piso P. Claudius Pulcher C. Terentius Istra. siccitate et inopia frugum insignis annus fuit. sex menses numquam pluuisse memoriae proditum. eodem anno in agro L. Petilii scribae sub Ianiculo, dum cultores [agri] altius moliuntur terram, duae lapideae arcae, octonos ferme pedes longae, quaternos latae, inuentae sunt, operculis plumbo deuinctis. litteris Latinis Graecisque utraque arca inscripta erat, in altera Numam Pompilium Pomponis filium, regem Romanorum, sepultum esse, in altera libros Numae Pompilii inesse. eas arcas cum ex amicorum sententia dominus aperuisset, quae titulum sepulti regis habuerat, inanis inuenta, sine uestigio ullo corporis humani aut ullius rei, per tabem tot annorum omnibus absumptis. in altera duo fascēs candelis inuoluti septenos habuere libros, non integros modo sed recentissima specie. septem Latini de iure pontificum erant, septem Graeci de disciplina sapientiae, quae illius aetatis esse potuit. adicit Antias Ualerius Pythagoricos fuisse, uulgatae opinioni, qua creditur Pythagorae auditorem fuisse Numam, mendacio probabili accommodata fide. primo ab amicis, qui in re praesenti fuerunt, libri lecti; mox pluribus legentibus cum uulgarentur, Q. Petilius praetor urbanus studiosus legendi libros eos a L. Petilio sumpsit: et erat familiaris usus, quod scribam eum quaestor Q. Petilius in decuriam legerat. lectis rerum summis cum animaduertisset pleraque dissoluendarum religionum esse, L. Petilio dixit sese libros eos in ignem coniecturum esse; priusquam id faceret, se ei permittere, uti, si quod seu ius seu auxilium se habere ad eos libros repetendos existimaret, experiretur: <id> integra sua gratia eum facturum. scriba tribunos plebis adit, ab tribunis ad senatum res est reiecta. praetor se iusiurandum dare paratum esse aiebat, libros eos legi seruarique non oportere. senatus censuit satis habendum quod praetor iusiurandum polliceretur; libros primo quoque tempore in comitio cremandos esse; pretium pro libris, quantum Q. Petilio praetori maioriq̃ue parti tribunorum plebis uideretur, domino soluendum esse. id scriba non accepit. libri in comitio igne a uictimariis facto in conspectu populi cremati sunt.

[30] Magnum bellum ea aestate coortum in Hispania citeriore. ad

quinque et triginta milia hominum, quantum numquam ferme antea, Celtiberi comparauerant. Q. Fuluius Flaccus eam obtinebat prouinciam. is quia armare iuuentutem Celtiberos audierat, et ipse quanta poterat a sociis auxilia contraxerat, sed nequaquam numero militum hostem aequabat. principio ueris exercitum in Carpetaniam duxit, et castra locauit ad oppidum Aeburam, modico praesidio in urbe posito. paucis post diebus Celtiberi milia duo fere inde sub colle posuerunt castra. quos ubi adesse praetor Romanus sensit, M. Fuluium fratrem cum duabus turmis sociorum equitum ad castra hostium speculatum misit, quam proxime succedere ad uallum iussum, ut uiseret, quanta essent; pugna abstineret, reciperetque sese, si hostium equitatum exeuntem uidisset. ita ut praeceptum erat fecit. per dies aliquot nihil ultra motum, quam ut hae duae turmae ostenderentur, deinde subducerentur, ubi equitatus hostium castris procucurrisset. postremo Celtiberi, simul omnibus copiis peditum equitumque castris egressi, acie directa medio fere spatio inter bina castra constiterunt. campus erat planus omnis et aptus pugnae. ibi stetere Hispani hostes expectantes. Romanus suos intra uallum continuit. per quadriduum continuum et illi eodem loco aciem instructam tenuerunt <et> ab Romanis nihil motum. inde quieuerunt in castris Celtiberi, quia pugnae copia non fiebat: equites tantum in stationem egrediebantur, ut parati essent, si quid ab hoste moueretur. pone castra utrique pabulatum et lignatum ibant, neutri alteros impediētes.

[31] Praetor Romanus ubi satis tot dierum quiete credidit spem factam hosti nihil se priorem moturum, L. Acilium cum ala sinistra et sex milibus prouincialium auxiliorum circumire montem iubet, qui ab tergo hostibus erat; inde, ubi clamorem audisset, decurrere ad castra eorum. nocte profecti sunt, ne possent conspici. Flaccus luce prima C. Scribonium praefectum socium ad uallum hostium cum equitibus extraordinariis sinistrae alae mittit; quos ubi et propius accedere et plures, quam soliti erant, Celtiberi conspexerunt, omnis equitatus effunditur castris, simul et peditibus signum ad exeundum datur. Scribonius, uti praeceptum erat, ubi primum fremitum equestrem audiuit, auertit equos et castra repetit. eo effusius sequi hostes. primo equites, mox et peditum acies aderat, haud dubia spe castra eo die se expugnatos. quingentos passus non plus a uallo

aberant. itaque Flaccus ubi satis abstractos eos a praesidio castrorum suorum ratus est, intra uallum exercitu instructo tribus partibus simul erumpit, clamore non tantum ad ardorem pugnae excitandum sublato, sed etiam ut, qui in montibus erant, exaudirent. nec morati sunt, quin decurrerent, sicut imperatum erat, ad castra; ubi quinque milium armatorum non amplius relictum erat praesidium. quos cum et paucitas sua et multitudo hostium et improuisa res terruisset, prope sine certamine capiuntur castra. captis, quae pars maxime <a> pugnantis conspici poterat, iniecit Acilius ignem.

[32] Postremi Celtiberorum qui in acie erant, primi flammam conspexere, deinde per totam aciem uulgatum est castra amissa esse et tum cum maxime ardere. unde illis terror, inde Romanis animus creuit. iam clamor suorum uincientium accidebat, iam ardentia hostium castra apparebant. Celtiberi parumper incertis animis fluctuati sunt: ceterum postquam receptus pulsus nullus erat nec usquam nisi in certamine spes, pertinacius de integro capessunt pugnam. acie media urgebantur acriter a quinta legione: aduersus laeuum cornu, in quo sui generis prouincialia auxilia instruxisse Romanos cernebant, cum maiore fiducia intulerunt signa. iam prope erat, ut sinistrum cornu pelleretur Romanis, ni septima legio successisset. simul ab oppido Aebura, qui in praesidio relictis erant, in medio ardore pugnae aduenerunt, et Acilius ab tergo erat. diu in medio caesi Celtiberi: qui supererant in omnes passim partes capessunt fugam. equites bipartito in eos emissi magnam caedem edidere. ad uiginti tria milia hostium eo die occisa, capta quattuor milia septingenti cum equis plus quingentis, et signa militaria octoginta octo. magna uictoria, non tamen incruenta fuit: Romani milites de duabus legionibus paulo plus ducenti, socium Latini nominis octingenti triginta, externorum auxilium ferme duo milia et quadringenti ceciderunt. praetor in castra uictorem exercitum reduxit, Acilius manere in captis ab se castris iussus. postero die spolia de hostibus lecta, et pro contione donati, quorum uirtus insignis fuerat.

[33] Sauciis deinde in oppidum Aeburam deuectis per Carpetaniam ad Contrebian ductae legiones. ea urbs circumsessa cum a Celtiberis auxilia arcessisset, morantibus iis, non quia ipsi cunctati sunt, sed quia profectos domo inexplicabiles continuis imbribus uiae et inflati

amnes tenebant, desperato auxilio suorum in deditionem uenit. Flaccus quoque tempestatibus foedis coactus exercitum omnem in urbem introduxit. Celtiberi, qui profecti erant [a domo] deditionis ignari, cum tandem superatis, ubi primum remiserunt imbres, omnibus Contrebiis uenissent, postquam nulla castra extra moenia uiderunt, aut in alteram partem translata rati aut recessisse hostes, per negligentiam effusi ad oppidum accesserunt. in eos duabus portis Romani eruptionem fecerunt et incompósitos adorti fuderunt. quae res ad resistendum eos et ad capessendam pugnam impediit, quod non uno agmine nec ad signa frequentes ueniebant, eadem magnae parti ad fugam salutis fuit: sparsi enim toto passim campo se diffuderunt, nec usquam confertos eos hostis circumuenit. tamen ad duodecim milia sunt caesa, capta plus quinque milia hominum, equi quadringenti, signa militaria sexaginta duo. qui palati et fuga domum se recipiebant, alterum agmen uenientium Celtiberorum deditionem Contrebiae et suam cladem narrando auerterunt. extemplo in uicos castellaque sua omnes dilapsi. Flaccus a Contrebia profectus per Celtiberiam populabundus ducit legiones multa castella expugnando, donec maxima pars Celtiberorum in deditionem uenit.

[34] Haec in citeriore Hispania eo anno gesta. in ulteriore Manlius praetor secunda aliquot proelia cum Lusitanis fecit.

Aquileia colonia Latina eodem anno in agrum Gallorum est deducta. tria milia peditum quinquagena iugera, centuriones centena, centena quadragena equites acceperunt. tresuiri deduxerunt P. Cornelius Scipio Nasica C. Flaminius L. Manlius Acidinus. aedes duae eo anno dedicatae sunt, una Ueneris Erycinae ad portam Collinam: dedicauit L. Porcius L. f. Licinus duumuir, uota erat a consule L. Porcio Ligustino bello, altera in foro holitorio Pietatis. eam aedem dedicauit M'. Acilius Glabrio duumuir; statuamque auratam, quae prima omnium in Italia est statuta aurata, patris Glabrionis posuit. is erat, qui ipse eam aedem uouerat, quo die cum rege Antiocho ad Thermopylas depugnasset, locaueratque idem ex senatus consulto. per eosdem dies, quibus aedes hae dedicatae sunt, L. Aemilius Paulus proconsul ex Liguribus Ingaunis triumphauit. transtulit coronas aureas quinque et uiginti, nec praeterea quicquam auri argentique in eo triumpho latum. captiui multi principes Ligurum antea currum ducti. aeris trecenos militibus diuisit. auxerunt

eius triumphi famam legati Ligurum pacem perpetuam orantes: ita in animum induxisse Ligurum gentem, nulla umquam arma nisi imperata a populo Romano sumere. responsum a Q. Fabio praetore est Liguribus iussu senatus orationem eam non nouam Liguribus esse: mens uero ut noua et orationi conueniens esset, ipsorum id plurimum referre. ad consules irent, et, quae ab iis imperata essent, facerent. nulli alii quam consulibus senatum crediturum esse sincera fide in pace Ligures esse. pax in Liguribus fuit. in Corsica pugnatum cum Corsis: ad duo milia eorum M. Pinarius praetor in acie occidit. qua clade compulsi obsides dederunt et cerae centum milia pondo. inde in Sardiniam exercitus ductus, et cum Iliensibus, gente ne nunc quidem omni parte pacata, secunda proelia facta. Carthaginiensibus eodem anno centum obsides redditi, pacemque [cum] iis populus Romanus non ab se tantum sed ab rege etiam Masinissa praestitit, qui cum praesidio armato agrum, qui in controuersia erat, obtinebat.

[35] Otiosam prouinciam consules habuerunt. M. Baebius comitiorum causa Romam reuocatus consules creauit A. Postumium Albinum Luscum et C. Calpurnium Pisonem. praetores exinde facti Ti. Sempronius Gracchus L. Postumius Albinus P. Cornelius Mammula, Ti. Minucius Molliculus A. Hostilius Mancinus C. Maenius. ii omnes magistratum idibus Martiis inierunt.

Principio eius anni, quo A. Postumius Albinus et C. Calpurnius Piso consules fuerunt, ab A. Postumio consule in senatum introducti, qui ex Hispania citeriore uenerant a Q. <Fuluio> Flacco, L. Minucius legatus et duo tribuni militum, T. Maenius et L. Terentius Massaliota. hi cum duo secunda proelia, deditionem Celtiberiae, confectam prouinciam nuntiassent, nec stipendio, quod mitti soleret, nec frumento portato ad exercitum in eum annum opus esse, petierunt ab senatu primum, ut ob res prospere gestas diis immortalibus honos haberetur, deinde ut Q. Fuluius decedenti de prouincia deportare inde exercitum, cuius forti opera et ipse et multi ante eum praetores usi essent, liceret. quod fieri, praeterquam quod ita deberet, etiam prope necessarium esse: ita enim obstinatos esse milites, ut non ultra retineri posse in prouincia uiderentur, iniussuque abituri inde essent, si non dimitterentur, aut in perniciosam, si quis impense retineret, seditionem exarsuri. consulibus ambobus prouinciam Ligures esse senatus iussit. praetores inde sortiti sunt: A.

Hostilio urbana, Ti. Minucio peregrina obuenerit, P. Cornelio Sicilia, C. Maenio Sardinia. Hispanias sortiti L. Postumius ulteriorem, Ti. Sempronius citeriorem. is quia successurus Q. Fuluius erat, ne uetere exercitu prouincia spoliaretur, 'quaero' inquit 'de te, L. Minuci, cum confectam prouinciam nunties, existimesne Celtiberos perpetuo in fide mansuros, ita ut sine exercitu ea prouincia obtineri possit. si neque de fide barbarorum quicquam recipere aut adfirmare nobis potes, et habendum illic utique exercitum censes, utrum tandem auctor senatui sis supplementum in Hispaniam mittendi, ut ii modo, quibus emerita stipendia sint, milites dimittantur, ueteribus militibus tirones immisceantur, an deductis de prouincia ueteribus legionibus nouas conscribendi et mittendi, cum contemptum tirocinium etiam mitiores barbaros excitare ad rebellandum possit? dictu quam re facilius est prouinciam ingenio ferocem, rebellatricem confecisse. paucae ciuitates, ut quidem ego audio, quas uicina maxime hiberna premebant, in ius dicionemque uenerunt; ultiores in armis sunt. quae cum ita sint, ego iam hinc praedico, patres conscripti, me exercitu eo, qui nunc est, rem publicam administraturum: si deducat secum Flaccus legiones, loca pacata me ad hibernacula lecturum neque nouum militem ferocissimo hosti obiecturum.'

[36] Legatus ad ea, quae interrogatus erat, respondit neque se neque quemquam alium diuinare posse, quid in animo Celtiberi haberent aut porro habituri essent. itaque negare non posse, quin rectius sit etiam ad pacatos barbaros, nondum satis aduetos imperio, exercitum mitti. nouo autem an uetere exercitu opus sit, eius esse dicere, qui scire possit, qua fide Celtiberi in pace mansuri sint, simul et qui illud exploratum habeat, quieturos milites, si diutius in prouincia retineantur. si ex eo, quod aut inter se loquantur aut succlamationibus apud contionantem imperatorem significant, quid sentiant, coniectandum sit, palam uociferatos esse aut imperatorem in prouincia retenturos aut cum eo in Italiam uenturos esse. disceptationem inter praetorem legatumque consulum relatio interruptit, qui suas ornari prouincias, priusquam de praetoris exercitu ageretur, aequum censebant. nouus omnis exercitus consulibus est decretus, binae legiones Romanae cum suo equitatu, et socium Latini nominis quantus semper numerus, quindecim milia peditum, octingenti equites. cum hoc exercitu Apuanis Liguribus ut bellum

inferrent, mandatum est. P. Cornelio et M. Baebio prorogatum imperium iussique prouincias obtinere, donec consules uenissent; tum imperatum, ut dimisso, quem haberent, exercitu reuerterentur Romam. de Ti. Sempronii deinde exercitu actum est. nouam legionem ei quinque milium et ducentorum peditum cum equitibus quadringentis consules scribere iussi, et mille praeterea peditum Romanorum, quinquaginta equites, et sociis nominis Latini imperare septem milia peditum, trecentos equites. cum hoc exercitu placuit ire in Hispaniam citeriorem Ti. Sempronium. Q. Fuluius permissum, ut, qui milites ante Sp. Postumium Q. Marcium consules ciues Romani sociiue in Hispaniam transportati essent, et praeterea supplemento adducto, quo amplius <in> duabus legionibus quam decem milia et quadringenti pedites, sescenti equites essent, et socium Latini nominis duodecim milia, sescenti equites, quorum forti opera duobus aduersus Celtiberos proeliis usus Q. Fuluius esset, eos, si uideretur, secum deportaret. et supplicationes decretae, quod is prospere rem publicam gessisset. et ceteri praetores in prouincias missi. Q. Fabio Buteoni prorogatum in Gallia imperium est. octo legiones praeter exercitum ueterem, qui in Liguribus in spe propinqua missionis erat, eo anno esse placuit. et is ipse exercitus aegre explebatur propter pestilentiam, quae tertium iam annum urbem Romanam atque Italiam uastabat.

[37] Praetor Ti. Minucius et haud ita multo post consul C. Calpurnius moritur, multique alii omnium ordinum illustres uiri. postremo prodigii loco ea clades haberi coepta est. C. Seruilius pontifex maximus piacula irae deum conquirere iussus, decemuiri libros inspicere, consul Apollini Aesculapio Saluti dona uouere et dare signa inaurata: quae uouit deditque. decemuiri supplicationem in biduum ualetudinis causa in urbe et per omnia fora conciliabulaque edixerunt: maiores duodecim annis omnes coronati et lauream in manu tenentes supplicauerunt. fraudis quoque humanae insinuauerat suspicio animis; et ueneficii quaestio ex senatus consulto, quod in urbe propiusue urbem decem milibus passuum esset commissum, C. Claudio praetori, qui in locum Ti. Minucii erat suffectus, ultra decimum lapidem per fora conciliabulaque C. Maenio, priusquam in Sardiniam prouinciam traiceret, decreta. suspecta consulis erat mors maxime. necatus a Quarta Hostilia uxore

dicebatur. ut quidem filius eius Q. Fuluius Flaccus in locum uitrici consul est declaratus, aliquanto magis infamis mors Pisonis coepit esse; et testes exsistebant, qui post declaratos consules Albinum et Pisonem, quibus comitiis Flaccus tulerat repulsam, et exprobratum ei a matre dicerent, quod iam ei tertium negatus consulatus petenti esset, et adiecisse, pararet se ad petendum: intra duos menses effecturam, ut consul fieret. inter multa alia testimonia ad causam pertinentia haec quoque uox, nimis uero euentu comprobata, ualuit, cur Hostilia damnaretur. ueris principio huius, dum consules novos dilectus Romae tenet, mors deinde alterius et creandi comitia consulis in locum eius omnia tardiora fecerunt, interim P. Cornelius et M. Baebius, qui in consulatu nihil memorabile gesserant, in Apuanos Ligures exercitum induxerunt.

[38] Ligures, qui ante aduentum in prouinciam consulum non exspectassent bellum, improviso oppressi ad duodecim milia hominum dederunt se. eos consulto per litteras prius senatu deducere ex montibus in agros campestres procul ab domo, ne reditus spes esset, Cornelius et Baebius statuerunt, nullum alium ante finem rati fore Ligustini belli.

Ager publicus populi Romani erat in Samnitibus, qui Taurasinorum <fuerat. eo cum> traducere Ligures Apuanos uellent, edixerunt, <ut> Ligures Apuani de montibus descenderent cum liberis coniugibusque, sua omnia secum portarent. Ligures saepe per legatos deprecati, ne penates, sedem in qua geniti essent, sepulcra maiorum cogerentur relinquere, arma obsides pollicebantur. postquam nihil impetrabant neque uires ad bellandum erant, edicto paruerunt. traducti sunt publico sumptu ad quadraginta milia liberorum capitum cum feminis puerisque. argenti data centum et quinquaginta milia, unde in nouas sedes compararent, quae opus essent. agro diuidendo dandoque iidem, qui traduxerant, Cornelius et Baebius praepositi. postulantibus tamen ipsis quinqueuiri ab senatu dati, quorum ex consilio agerent. transacta re cum ueterem exercitum Romam deduxissent, triumphus ab senatu est decretus. hi omnium primi nullo bello gesto triumpharunt. tantum hostiae ductae ante currum, quia nec quod ferretur neque quod duceretur captum neque quod militibus daretur, quicquam in triumphis eorum fuerat.

[39] Eodem anno in Hispania Fuluius Flaccus proconsul, quia

successor in prouinciam tardius ueniebat, educto exercitu ex hibernis ulteriorem Celtiberiae agrum, unde ad deditionem non uenerant, institit uastare. qua re irritauit magis quam conterruit animos barbarorum; et clam comparatis copiis saltum Manlianum, per quem transiturum exercitum Romanum satis sciebant, obsederunt. in Hispaniam ulteriorem eunti L. Postumio Albino collegae Gracchus mandauerat, ut Q. Fuluium certiores faceret, Tarraconem exercitum adduceret: ibi dimittere ueteranos supplementaque distribuere et ordinare omnem exercitum sese uelle. dies quoque, et ea propinqua, edita Flacco est, qua successor esset uenturus. haec noua adlata res, omissis quae agere instituerat, Flaccum raptim deducere exercitum ex Celtiberia cum coegisset, barbari causae ignari, suam defectionem et clam comparata arma sensisse eum et pertimuisse rati, eo ferocius saltum insederunt. ubi eum saltum prima luce agmen Romanum intrauit, repente ex duabus partibus simul exorti hostes Romanos inuaserunt. quod ubi uidit Flaccus, primos tumultus in agmine per centuriones stare omnes, suo quemque loco, et arma expedire iubendo sedauit, et sarcinis iumentisque in unum locum coactis copias omnes partim ipse partim per legatos tribunosque militum, ut tempus, ut locus postulabat, sine ulla trepidatione instruxit, cum bis deditis rem esse admonens, scelus et perfidiam illis, non uirtutem nec animum accessisse, reditum ignobilem in patriam clarum ac memorabilem eos sibi fecisse: cruentos ex recenti caede hostium gladios et manantia sanguine spolia Romam ad triumphum delaturos. plura dici tempus non patiebatur: inuehebant se hostes, et in partibus extremis iam pugnabatur. deinde acies concurrerunt.

[40] Atrox ubique proelium, sed uaria fortuna erat. egregie legiones, nec segnius duae alae pugnabant: externa auxilia ab simili armatura, meliore aliquantum militum genere urgebantur, nec locum tueri poterant. Celtiberi ubi ordinata acie et signis collatis se non esse pares legionibus senserunt, cuneo impressionem fecerunt, quo tantum ualent genere pugnae, ut quamcumque [in] partem perculere impetu suo, sustineri nequeant. tunc quoque turbatae legiones sunt, prope interrupta acies. quam trepidationem ubi Flaccus conspexit, equo aduehitur ad legionarios equites, et ‘ni quid auxilii in uobis est, actum iam de hoc exercitu erit.’ cum undique acclamassent, quin ederet, quid fieri uellet: non segniter imperium exsecuturos;

‘duplicate turmas’ inquit, ‘duarum legionum equites, et permittite equos in cuneum hostium, quo nostros urgent. id cum maiore ui [equorum] facietis, si effrenatos in eos equos immittitis; quod saepe Romanos equites cum magna laude fecisse sua memoriae proditum est.’ dicto paruerunt detractisque frenis bis ultro citroque cum magna strage hostium, infractis omnibus hastis, transcurrerunt. dissipato cuneo, in quo omnis spes fuerat, Celtiberi trepidare et prope ommissa pugna locum fugae circumspicere. et alarii equites postquam Romanorum equitum tam memorabile facinus uidere, et ipsi uirtute eorum accensi sine ullius imperio in perturbatos iam hostes equos immittunt. tunc uero Celtiberi omnes in fugam effunduntur, et imperator Romanus auersos hostes contemplatus aedem Fortunae equestri Iouique optimo maximo ludos uouit. caeduntur Celtiberi per totum saltum dissipati fuga. decem et septem milia hostium caesa eo die traduntur, uiui capti plus tria milia septingenti, cum signis militaribus septuaginta septem, equis prope sescentis. in suis castris eo die uictor exercitus mansit. uictoria non sine iactura militum fuit: quadringenti septuaginta duo milites Romani, socium ac Latini nominis mille decem et nouem, cum his tria milia militum auxiliariorum perierunt. ita uictor exercitus renouata priore gloria Tarraconem est perductus. uenienti Fuluius Ti. Sempronius praetor, qui biduo ante uenerat, obuiam processit gratulatusque est, quod rem publicam egregie gessisset. cum summa concordia, quos dimitterent quosque retinerent milites, composuerunt. inde Fuluius exauctoratis militibus in naues impositis Romam est profectus, Sempronius in Celtiberiam legiones duxit.

[41] Consules ambo in Ligures exercitus induxerunt diuersis partibus. Postumius prima et tertia legione Ballistam Letumque montes obsedit, et premendo praesidiis angustos saltus eorum commeatus interclusit, inopiaque omnium rerum eos perdomuit. Fuluius secunda et quarta legione adortus a Pisis Apuanos Ligures, qui eorum circa Macram fluuium incolebant, in deditionem acceptos, ad septem milia hominum, in naues impositos praeter oram Etrusci maris Neapolim transmisit. inde in Samnium traducti, agerque iis inter populares datus est. montanorum Ligurum ab A. Postumio uineae caesae frumentaue deusta, donec cladibus omnibus belli coacti in deditionem uenerunt armaque tradiderunt. nauibus inde

Postumius ad uisendam oram Ingaunorum Intemeliorumque Ligurum processit. priusquam hi consules uenirent ad exercitum, qui Pisas indictus erat, praeerat A. Postumius. frater Q. Fuluii M. Fuluius Nobilior — secundae legionis [Fuluius] tribunus militum is erat — mensibus suis dimisit legionem, iureiurando adactis centurionibus aes in aerarium ad quaestores esse delaturos. hoc ubi Placentiam — nam eo forte erat profectus — Aulo nuntiatum est, cum equitibus expeditis secutus dimissos, quos eorum potuit adsequi, reduxit castigatos Pisas; de ceteris consulem certiore fecit. eo referente senatus consultum factum est, ut M. Fuluius in Hispaniam relegaretur ultra nouam Carthaginem; litteraeque ei datae sunt a consule ad P. Manlium in Hispaniam ulteriorem deferendae: milites iussi ad signa redire. ignominiae causa uti semestre stipendium in eum annum esset ei legioni, decretum: qui miles ad exercitum non redisset, eum ipsum bonaque eius uendere consul iussus.

[42] Eodem anno L. Duronius, qui praetor anno superiore <fuerat>, ex Illyrico cum decem nauibus Brundisium rediit. inde in portu relictis nauibus cum uenisset Romam, inter exponendas res, quas ibi gessisset, haud dubie in regem Illyriorum Gentium latrocinii omnis maritimi causam auertit: ex regno eius omnes naues esse, quae superi maris oram depopolatae essent; de his rebus se legatos misisse, nec conueniendi regis potestatem factam. uenerant Romam legati a Gentio, qui, quo tempore Romani conueniendi regis causa uenissent, aegrum forte eum in ultimis partibus fuisse regni dicerent: petere Gentium ab senatu, ne crederent confictis criminibus in se, quae inimici detulissent. ad ea Duronius adiecit multis ciuibus Romanis et sociis Latini nominis iniurias factas in regno eius, et ciues Romanos dici Corcyrae retineri. eos omnes Romam adduci placuit, C. Claudium praetorem cognoscere, neque ante Gentio regi legatisue eius responsum reddi.

Inter multos alios, quos pestilentia eius anni absumpsit, sacerdotes quoque aliquot mortui sunt. L. Ualerius Flaccus pontifex mortuus est: in eius locum suffectus est Q. Fabius Labeo. P. Manlius, qui nuper ex ulteriore Hispania redierat, triumphum epulo: Q. Fuluius M. f. in locum eius triumphum cooptatus, tum praetextatus erat. de rege sacrifico sufficiendo in locum Cn. Cornelii Dolabellae contentio inter C. Seruilium pontificem maximum fuit et L. Cornelium

Dolabellam duumvirum naualem, quem ut inauguraret pontifex magistratu sese abdicare iubebat. recusantique id facere ob eam rem multa duumviro dicta a pontifice, deque ea, cum prouocasset, certatum ad populum. cum plures iam tribus intro uocatae dicto esse audientem pontifici duumvirum iuberent, multamque remitti, si magistratu se abdicasset, uitium de caelo, quod comitia turbaret, interuenit. religio inde fuit pontificibus inaugurandi Dolabellae. P. Cloelium Siculum inaugurarunt, qui secundo loco nominatus erat. exitu anni et C. Seruilius Geminus pontifex maximus decessit: idem decemuir sacrorum fuit. pontifex in locum eius a collegio cooptatus est Q. Fuluius Flaccus: <creatus> inde pontifex maximus M. Aemilius Lepidus, cum multi clari uiri petissent; et decemuir sacrorum Q. Marcius Philippus in eiusdem locum est cooptatus. et augur Sp. Postumius Albinus decessit: in locum eius P. Scipionem, filium Africani, augures cooptarunt.

Cumanis eo anno petentibus permissum, ut publice Latine loquerentur et praeconibus Latine uendendi ius esset.

[43] Pisanis agrum pollicentibus, quo Latina colonia deduceretur, gratiae ab senatu actae; triumviri creati ad eam rem Q. Fabius Buteo M. et P. Popilii Laenates. a C. Maenio praetore, cui prouincia Sardinia cum euenisset, additum erat, ut quaereret de ueneficiis longius ab urbe decem milibus passuum, litterae adlatae, se iam tria milia hominum damnasse, et crescere sibi quaestionem indiciiis: aut eam sibi esse deserendam aut prouinciam dimittendam.

Q. Fuluius Flaccus ex Hispania rediit Romam cum magna fama gestarum rerum; qui cum extra urbem triumphi causa esset, consul est creatus cum L. Manlio Acidino, et post paucos dies cum militibus, quos secum deduxerat, triumphans urbem est inuectus. tulit in triumpho coronas aureas centum uiginti quattuor: praeterea auri pondo triginta unum, <argenti infecti> * * * et signati Oscensis nummum centum septuaginta tria milia ducentos. militibus de praeda quinquagenos denarios dedit, duplex centurionibus, triplex equiti, tantundem sociis Latini nominis, et stipendium omnibus duplex.

[44] Eo anno rogatio primum lata est ab L. Uillio tribuno plebis, quot annos nati quemque magistratum peterent caperentque. inde cognomen familiae inditum, ut Annales appellarentur. praetores quattuor post multos annos lege Baebia creati, quae alternis

quaternos iubebat creari. hi facti Cn. Cornelius Scipio C. Ualerius Laeuinus Q. et P. Mucii Q. f. Scaeuolae. Q. Fuluius et L. Manlio consulibus eadem prouincia, quae superioribus, pari numero copiae peditum equitum, ciuium sociorum decretae. in Hispaniis duabus Ti. Sempronio et L. Postumio cum iisdem exercitibus, quos haberent, prorogatum imperium est; et in supplementum consules scribere iussi ad tria milia peditum Romanorum, trecentos equites, quinque milia sociorum Latini nominis et quadringentos equites. P. Mucius Scaeuola urbanam sortitus prouinciam est, et ut idem quaereret de ueneficiis in urbe et propius urbem decem milia passuum, Cn. Cornelius Scipio peregrinam, Q. Mucius Scaeuola Siciliam, C. Ualerius Laeuinus Sardiniam.

Q. Fuluius consul priusquam ullam rem publicam ageret, liberare et se et rem publicam religione uotis soluendis dixit uelle. uouisse, quo die postremum cum Celtiberis pugnasset, ludos Ioui optimo maximo et aedem equestri Fortunae sese facturum: in eam rem sibi pecuniam collatam esse ab Hispanis. ludi decreti, et ut duumiri ad aedem locandam crearentur. de pecunia finitum, ne maior ludorum causa consumeretur, quam quanta Fuluius Nobiliori post Aetolicum bellum ludos facienti decreta esset; neque quid ad eos ludos arcesseret cogeret acciperet faceret aduersus id senatus consultum, quod L. Aemilio Cn. Baebio consulibus de ludis factum esset. decreuerat id senatus propter effusos sumptus factos in ludos Ti. Sempronii aedilis, qui graues non modo Italiae ac sociis Latini nominis, sed etiam prouinciis externis fuerant.

[45] Hiems eo anno niue saeua et omni tempestatum genere fuit: arbores, quae obnoxiae frigoribus sunt, deusserat cunctas; et eadem aliquanto quam alias longior fuit. itaque Latinas nox subito coorta et intolerabilis tempestas in monte turbauit, instaurataeque sunt ex decreto pontificum. eadem tempestas et in Capitolio aliquot signa prostrauit fulminibusque complura loca deformauit, aedem Iouis Tarracinae, aedem Albam Capuae portamque Romanam; muri pinnae aliquot locis decussae erant. haec inter prodigia nuntiatum et ab Reate tripedem natum mulum. ob ea decemiri iussi adire libros edidere, quibus diis et quot hostiis sacrificaretur, et [fulminibus complura loca deformata aedem Iouis] ut supplicatio diem unum esset. ludi deinde uotiui Q. Fuluii consulis per dies decem magno

apparatu facti.

Censorum inde comitia habita: creati M. Aemilius Lepidus pontifex maximus et M. Fulvius Nobilior, qui ex Aetolis triumphauerat. inter hos uiros nobiles inimicitiae erant, saepe multis et in senatu et ad populum atrocibus celebratae certaminibus. comitiis confectis, ut traditum antiquitus est, censores in Campo ad aram Martis sellis curulibus consederunt; quo repente principes senatorum cum agmine uenerunt ciuitatis, inter quos Q. Caecilius Metellus uerba fecit.

[46] 'Non obliti sumus, censores, uos paulo ante ab uniuerso populo Romano moribus nostris praepositos esse, et nos a uobis et admoneri et regi, non uos a nobis debere. indicandum tamen est, quid omnes bonos in uobis aut offendat aut certe mutatum malint. singulos cum intuemur, M. Aemili, M. Fului, neminem hodie in ciuitate habemus, quem, si reuocemur in suffragium, uelimus uobis praelatum esse. ambo cum simul aspicimus, non possumus <non> uereri, ne male comparati sitis, nec tantum rei publicae prosit, quod omnibus nobis egregie placetis, quam, quod alter alteri displicetis, noceat. inimicitias per annos multos uobis ipsis graues et atroces geritis, quae periculum est ne ex hac die nobis et rei publicae quam uobis grauiores fiant. de quibus causis hoc timeamus, multa succurrunt, quae dicerentur, * * * nisi forte implacabiles ~fueritis implicauerint animos uestros. has ut hodie, ut in isto templo finiatis simultates, quaesumus uos uniuersi, et quos coniunxit suffragiis suis populus Romanus, hos etiam reconciliatione gratiae coniungi a nobis sinatis; uno animo, uno consilio legatis senatum, equites recenseatis, agatis census, lustrum condatis; quod in omnibus fere precationibus nuncupabitis uerbis "ut ea res mihi collegaeque meo bene et feliciter eueniat," id ita ut uere, ut ex animo uelit is euenire, efficiatisque, ut, quod deos precati eritis, id uos uelle etiam homines credamus. T. Tatius et Romulus, in cuius urbis medio foro acie hostes concurrerant, ibi concordēs regnarunt. non modo simultates, sed bella quoque finiuntur: ex infestis hostibus plerumque socii fideles, interdum etiam ciues fiunt. Albani diruta Alba Romam traducti sunt, Latini, Sabini in ciuitatem accepti. uulgatum illud, quia uerum erat, in prouerbum uenit, amicitias immortales, <mortales> inimicitias debere esse.' fremitus ortus cum adsensu, deinde uniuersorum uoces

idem petentium confusae in unum orationem interpellarunt. inde Aemilius questus cum alia, tum bis a M. Fulvio se certo consulatu deiectum: Fulvius contra queri se ab eo semper lacessitum et in probum suum sponsonem factam. tamen ambo significare, si alter uellet, se in potestate tot principum ciuitatis futuros. omnibus instantibus, qui aderant, dexteras fidemque dedere remittere [uere] ac finire odium. deinde collaudantibus cunctis deducti sunt in Capitolium. et cura super tali re principum et facilitas censorum egregie comprobata ab senatu et laudata est. censoribus deinde postulantis, ut pecuniae summa sibi, qua in opera publica uterentur, <attribueretur,> uectigal annuum decretum est.

[47] Eodem anno in Hispania L. Postumius et Ti. Sempronius propraetores comparauerunt ita inter se, ut in Uaccaeos per Lusitaniam iret Albinus, in Celtiberiam inde reuerteretur; Gracchus, si maius ibi bellum esset, in ultima Celtiberiae penetraret. * * * Mundam urbem primum ui cepit, nocte ex improviso adgressus. acceptis deinde obsidibus praesidioque imposito castella oppugnare, [deinde] agros urere, donec ad praeualidam aliam urbem — Certimam appellant Celtiberi — peruenit. ubi cum iam opera admoueret, ueniunt legati ex oppido, quorum sermo antiquae simplicitatis fuit, non dissimulantium bellaturos, si uires essent. petierunt enim, ut sibi in castra Celtiberorum ire liceret ad auxilia accienda: si non impetrassent, tum separatim [eos] ab illis se consulturos. permittente Graccho ierunt et post paucis diebus alios decem legatos secum adduxerunt. meridianum tempus erat. nihil prius petierunt a praetore, quam ut bibere sibi iuberet dari. epotis primis poculis iterum poposcerunt, magno risu circumstantium in tam rudibus et moris omnis ignaris ingeniis. tum maximus natu ex iis ‘missi sumus’ inquit ‘a gente nostra, qui sciscitaremur, qua tandem re fretus arma nobis inferres.’ ad hanc percuntationem Gracchus exercitu se egregio fidentem uenisse respondit; quem si ipsi uisere uelint, quo certiora ad suos referant, potestatem se eis facturum esse. tribunisque militum imperat, ut ornari omnes copias peditum equitumque et decurrere iubeant armatas. ab hoc spectaculo legati <di>missi deterruerunt suos ab auxilio circumsessae urbi ferendo. oppidani cum ignes nocte <e> turribus nequiquam, quod signum conuenerat, sustulissent, destituti ab unica spe auxilii in deditionem

uenerunt. nummum quater et uiciens ab iis est exactum, quadraginta nobilissimi equites, nec obsidum nomine — nam militare iussi sunt — , et tamen re ipsa ut pignus fidei essent.

[48] Inde iam duxit ad Alcen urbem, ubi castra Celtiberorum erant, a quibus uenerant nuper legati. eos cum per aliquot dies, armaturam leuem immittendo in stationes, lacesisset paruīs proeliis, in dies maiora certamina serebat, ut omnes extra munitiones eliceret. ubi, quod petebat, <sat>is sensit effectum, auxiliorum praefectis imperat, ut contracto certamine, tamquam multitudine superarentur, repente tergis datis ad castra effuse fugerent: ipse intra uallum ad omnes portas instruxit copias. haud multum temporis intercessit, cum ex composito refugientium suorum agmen, post effuse sequentes barbaros conspexit. instructam ad hoc ipsum intra uallum habebat aciem. itaque tantum moratus, ut suos refugere in castra libero introitu sineret, clamore sublato simul omnibus portis erupit. non sustinere impetum necopinatum hostes. qui ad castra oppugnanda uenerant, ne sua quidem tueri potuerunt: nam extemplo fusi fugati, mox intra uallum pauentes compulsi, postremo exuuntur castris. eo die nouem milia hostium caesa; capti uiui trecenti uiginti, equi centum duodecim, signa militaria triginta septem. de exercitu Romano centum nouem ceciderunt.

[49] Ab hoc proelio Gracchus duxit ad depopulandam Celtiberiam legiones. et cum ferret passim cuncta atque ageret, populique alii uoluntate alii metu iugum acciperent, centum tria oppida intra paucos dies in deditionem accepit, praeda potitus ingenti est. conuertit inde agmen retro, unde uenerat, ad Alcen, atque eam urbem oppugnare institit. oppidani primum impetum hostium sustinuerunt; deinde cum iam non armis modo sed etiam operibus oppugnarentur, diffisi praesidio urbis in arcem uniuersi concesserunt: postremo et inde praemissis oratoribus in dicionem se suaque omnia Romanis permiserunt. magna inde praeda facta est. multi captiui nobiles in potestatem uenerunt, inter quos et Thurri filii duo et filia. regulus hic earum gentium erat, longe potentissimus omnium Hispanorum. audita suorum clade, missis qui fidem uenienti in castra ad Gracchum peterent, uenit. et primum quaesiuit ab eo, liceretne sibi ac suis uiuere. cum praetor uicturum respondisset, quaesiuit iterum, si cum Romanis militare liceret. id quoque Graccho permittente, ‘sequar’

inquit 'uos aduersus ueteres socios meos, quoniam illos ~ad me propiunt suspicere.' secutus est inde Romanos, fortique ac fideli opera multis locis rem Romanam adiuuit.

[50] Ergauica inde, nobilis et potens ciuitas, aliorum circa populorum cladibus territa portas aperuit Romanis. eam deditionem oppidorum haud cum fide factam quidam auctores sunt: e qua regione abduxisset legiones, extemplo inde rebellatum, magnoque eum postea proelio ad montem Chaunum cum Celtiberis a prima luce ad sextam horam diei signis collatis pugnasse, multos utrimque cecidisse; nec aliud magnopere, cur uicisse crederes, fecisse Romanos, nisi quod postero die lacessierint proelio manentes intra uallum: spolia per totum diem legisse; tertio die proelio maiore iterum pugnatum, et tum demum haud dubie uictos Celtiberos castraque eorum capta et direpta esse. uiginti duo milia hostium eo die esse caesa, plus trecentos captos, parem fere equorum numerum, et signa militaria septuaginta duo. inde <de>bellatum, ueramque pacem, non fluxa, ut ante, fide Celtiberos fecisse. eadem aestate et L. Postumium in Hispania ulteriore bis cum Uaccaeis egregie pugnasse scribunt: ad triginta et quinque milia hostium occidisse et castra expugnasse. propius uero est serius in prouinciam peruenisse, quam ut ea aestate potuerit res gerere.

[51] Censores fideli concordia senatum legerunt. princeps lectus est ipse censor M. Aemilius Lepidus pontifex maximus: tres eiecti de senatu; retinuit quosdam Lepidus a collega praeteritos. opera ex pecunia attributa diuisaque inter se haec [con]fecerunt. Lepidus molem ad Tarracinam, ingratum opus, quod praedia habebat ibi priuatamque publicae rei impensam ins<er>uerat; theatrum et proscaenium ad Apollinis, aedem Iouis in Capitolio, columnasque circa poliendas albo locauit; et ab his columnis, quae incommode opposita uidebantur, signa amouit clipeaque de columnis et signa militaria adfixa omnis generis dempsit. M. Fuluius plura et maioris locauit usus: portum et pilas pontis in Tiberi, quibus pilis fornices post aliquot annos P. Scipio Africanus et L. Mummius censores locauerunt imponendos; basilicam post argentarias nouas et forum piscatorium circumdatis tabernis quas uendidit in priuatum; [et forum] et porticum extra portam Trigeminam, et aliam post naualia et ad fanum Herculis et post Spei ad Tiberim <et ad> aedem

Apollinis medici. habuere et in promiscuo praeterea pecuniam: ex ea communiter locarunt aquam adducendam fornicesque faciendos. impedimento operi fuit M. Licinius Crassus, qui per fundum suum duci non est passus. portoria quoque et uectigalia iidem multa instituerunt. complura sacella publicaue loca, occupata a priuatis, publica sacraue ut essent paterentque populo curarunt. mutarunt suffragia, regionatimque generibus hominum causisque et quaestibus tribus discripserunt.

[52] Et alter ex censoribus M. Aemilius petiit ab senatu, ut sibi dedicationis <causa> templorum reginae Iunonis et Dianae, quae bello Ligustino annis octo ante uouisset, pecunia ad ludos decerneretur. uiginti milia aeris decreuerunt. dedicauit eas aedes, utramque in circo Flaminio, ludosque scaenicos triduum post dedicationem templi Iunonis, biduum post Dianae, et singulos dies fecit in circo. idem dedicauit aedem Larum permarinum in Campo. uouerat eam annis undecim ante L. Aemilius Regillus nauali proelio aduersus praefectos regis Antiochi. supra ualuas templi tabula cum titulo hoc fixa est: ‘duello magno dirimendo, regibus subigendis, ~caput patrandae pacis haec pugna exeunti L. Aemilio M. Aemilii filio * * auspicio imperio felicitate ductuque eius inter Ephesum Samum Chiumque, inspectante eopse Antiocho, exercitu omni, equitatu elephantisque, classis regis Antiochi antehac inuicta fusa contusa fugataque est, ibique eo die naues longae cum omnibus sociis captae quadraginta duae. ea pugna pugnata rex Antiochus regnumque * * *. eius rei ergo aedem Laribus permarinis uouit.’ eodem exemplo tabula in aede Iouis in Capitolio supra ualuas fixa est.

[53] Biduo, quo senatum legerunt censores, Q. Fuluius consul profectus in Ligures, per inuios montes Ballistae saltus cum exercitu transgressus, signis collatis cum hoste pugnavit; neque tantum acie uicit, sed castra quoque eodem die cepit. tria milia ducenti hostium <caesi sunt>, omnisque ea regio Ligurum in deditionem uenit. consul deditos in campestres agros deduxit, praesidiaque montibus imposuit. celeriter <et Roma consul ad hostes> et ex prouincia litterae Romam uenerunt: supplicationes ob eas res gestas in triduum decretae sunt; praetores quadraginta hostiis maioribus per supplicationes rem diuinam fecerunt. ab altero consule L. Manlio nihil memoria dignum

in Liguribus est gestum. Galli Transalpini, tria milia hominum, in Italiam transgressi, neminem bello lacessentes agrum a consulibus et senatu petebant, ut pacati sub imperio populi Romani essent. eos senatus excedere Italia iussit, et consulem Q. Fuluium quaerere et animaduvertere in eos, qui principes et auctores transcendendi Alpes fuissent.

[54] Eodem anno Philippus rex Macedonum, senio et maerore consumptus post mortem filii, decessit. Demetriade hibernabat, cum desiderio anxius filii, tum paenitentia crudelitatis suae. stimulabat animum et alter filius haud dubie et sua et aliorum opinione rex, conuersique in eum omnium oculi, et destituta senectus aliis exspectantibus suam mortem, aliis ne exspectantibus quidem. quo magisangebatur, et cum eo Antigonus Echecratis filius, nomen patruī Antigoni ferens, qui tutor Philippi fuerat, regiae uir maiestatis, nobili etiam pugna aduersus Cleomenem Lacedaemonium clarus. tutorem eum Graeci, ut cognomine a ceteris regibus distinguerent, appellarunt. huius fratris filius Antigonus ex honoratis Philippi amicis unus incorruptus permanserat, eique ea fides nequaquam amicum Persea inimicissimum fecerat is prospiciens animo, quanto cum periculo suo hereditas regni uentura esset ad Persea, ut primum labare animum regis et ingemiscere interdum filii desiderio sensit, nunc praebendo aures, nunc lacessendo etiam mentionem rei temere actae, saepe querenti querens et ipse aderat. et cum multa, <ut> adsolet, ueritas praeberet uestigia sui, omni ope adiuuabat, quo maturius omnia emanarent. suspecti ut ministri facinoris Apelles maxime et Philocles erant, qui Romam legati fuerant litterasque exitiales Demetrio sub nomine Flaminini attulerant.

[55] Falsas esse et a scriba uitiatas signumque adulterinum uulgo in regia fremebant. ceterum cum suspecta magis quam manifesta esset res, forte Xychus obuius fit Antigono, comprehensusque ab eo in regiam est perductus. relicto eo custodibus Antigonus ad Philippum processit. ‘multis’ inquit ‘sermonibus intellexisse uideor magno te aestimaturum, si scire uera omnia posses de filiis tuis, uter ab utro petitus fraude et insidiis esset. homo unus omnium, qui nodum huius erroris exsoluere possit, in potestate tua est Xychus. forte oblatum perductumque in regiam uocari iube.’ regi adductus primo ita negare inconstanter, ut paruo metu admoto paratum indicem esse appareret.

conspectum tortoris uerberumque non sustinuit, ordinemque omnem facinoris legatorum ministeriique sui exposuit. extemplo missi, qui legatos comprehenderent, Philoclem, qui praesens erat, oppresserunt: Apelles missus ad Chaeream quendam persequendum indicio Xychi audito in Italiam traiecit. de Philocle nihil certi uulgatum est: alii primo audaciter negantem, postquam in conspectum adductus sit Xychus, non ultra tetendisse, alii tormenta etiam infitiantem perpersum adfirmant. Philippo redintegratus est luctus geminatusque; et infelicitatem suam in liberis grauiorem, quod alter <su>peresset, censebat.

[56] Perseus certior factus omnia detecta esse, potentior quidem erat, quam ut fugam necessariam duceret: tantum ut procul abesset, curabat, interim uelut ab incendio flagrantis irae, dum Philippus uiueret, se defensurus. <is> spe potiundi ad poenam corporis eius amissa, quod reliquum erat, id studere, ne super impunitatem etiam praemio sceleris frueretur. Antigonum igitur appellat, cui et palam facti parricidii gratia obnoxius erat, et nequa<quam> pudendum aut paenitendum eum regem Macedonibus propter recentem patruī Antigoni gloriam fore censebat. ‘quando in eam fortunam ueni,’ inquit ‘Antigone, ut orbitas mihi, quam alii detestantur parentes, optabilis esse debeat, regnum, quod a patruo tuo forti, non solum fideli, tutela eius custoditum et auctum etiam accepi, id tibi tradere in animo est. te unum habeo, quem dignum regno iudicem. si neminem haberem, perire et exstingui id mallem quam Perseo scelestae fraudis praemium esse. Demetrium excitatum ab inferis restitutumque credam mihi, si te, qui morti innocentis, qui meo infelici errori unus illacrimasti, in locum eius substitutum relinquam.’ ab hoc sermone omni genere honoris producere eum non destitit. cum in Thracia Perseus abesset, circumire Macedoniae urbes principibusque Antigonum commendare; et si uita longior suppetisset, haud dubium fuit, quin eum in possessione regni relicturus fuerit. ab Demetriade profectus Thessalonicae plurimum temporis moratus fuerat. inde cum Amphipolim uenisset, graui morbo est implicitus. sed animo tamen aegrum magis fuisse quam corpore constat; curisque et uigiliis, cum identidem species et umbrae insontis interempti filii agitent, exstinctum esse cum diris exsecrationibus alterius. tamen * * * admoueri potuisset Antigonus, si aut <affuisset aut> statim palam

facta esset mors regis. medicus Calligenes, qui curationi praeerat, non exspectata morte regis, a primis desperationis notis nuntios per dispositos <equos>, ita ut conuenerat, misit ad Perseum, et mortem regis in aduentum eius omnes, qui extra regiam erant, celauit.

[57] Oppressit igitur necopinantes ignarosque omnes Perseus et regnum scelere partum inuasit. peropportuna mors Philippi fuit ad dilationem et ad uires bello subtrahendas. nam post paucis diebus gens Bastarnarum, diu sollicitata, ab suis sedibus magna peditum equitumque manu Histrum traiecit. inde praegressi, qui nuntiarent regi, Antigonus et Cotto: <Cotto> nobilis erat Bastarna, Antigonus e regiis unus, saepe cum ipso Cottone legatus ad concitandos Bastarnas missus. haud procul Amphipoli fama, in<de> certi nuntii occurrerunt mortuum esse regem. quae res omnem ordinem consilii turbauit. compositum autem sic fuerat, transitum per Thraciam tutum et commeatus Bastarnis ut Philippus praestaret. id ut facere posset, regionum principes donis coluerat, fide sua obligata pacato agmine transituros Bastarnas. Dardanorum gentem delere propositum erat inque eorum agro sedes dare Bastarnis. duplex inde erat commodum futurum, si et Dardani, gens semper infestissima Macedoniae temporibusque iniquis regum imminens, tolleretur, et Bastarnae relictis in Dardania coniugibus liberisque ad populandam Italiam possent mitti. per Scordiscos iter esse ad mare Hadriaticum Italiamque; alia uia traduci exercitum non posse. facile Bastarnis Scordiscos iter daturus: nec enim aut lingua aut moribus [aequales] abhorreere; et ipsos adiuncturos se, cum ad praedam opulentissimae gentis ire uidissent. inde in omnem euentum consilia <ac>commodabantur: siue caesi ab Romanis forent Bastarnae, Dardanos tamen sublatos praedamque ex reliquiis Bastarnarum et possessionem liberam Dardaniae solacio fore; siue prospere <rem> gessissent, Romanis auersis in Bastarnarum bellum recuperaturum se in Graecia, quae amisisset. haec Philippi consilia fuerant.

[58] <Primum> ingressi sunt pacato agmine. <digressu> deinde Cottonis et Antigoni et haud multo post fama mortis Philippi neque Thraces commercio faciles erant, <neque> Bastarnae empto contenti esse poterant aut in agmine contineri, ne decederent uia. inde iniuriae ultro citroque fieri, quarum in dies incremento bellum exarsit. postremo Thraces cum uim ac multitudinem sustinere hostium non

possent, relictis campestribus uicis in montem ingentis altitudinis — Donucam uocant — concesserunt. quo <cum> subire Bastarnae uellent, quali tempestate Gallos spoliantes Delphos fama est peremptos esse, talis tum Bastarnas nequiquam ad iuga montium appropinquantes oppressit. neque enim imbre tantum effuso, dein creberrima grandine obruti sunt cum ingenti fragore caeli tonitribusque et fulguribus praestringentibus aciem oculorum, sed fulmina etiam sic undique micabant, ut peti uiderentur corpora, nec solum milites sed etiam principes icti caderent. itaque cum praecipiti fuga per rupes praealtas improuidi sternerentur ruerentque, instabant quidem percussis Thraces, sed ipsi deos auctores fugae esse caelumque in se ruere aiebant. dissipati procella cum tamquam ex naufragio plerique semermes in castra, unde profecti erant, redissent, consultari, quid agerent, coeptum. inde orta dissensio, aliis redeundum aliis penetrandum in Dardaniam censentibus: triginta ferme milia hominum Clondico duce, <quo> profecti erant, peruenerunt, cetera multitudo retro, qua uenerat, Apolloniam Mesembriamque repetit. Perseus potitus regno interfici Antigoni iussit; et dum firmaret res, legatos Romam ad amicitiam paternam renouandam petendumque, ut rex ab senatu appellaretur, misit. haec eo anno in Macedonia gesta.

[59] Alter consulum Q. Fuluius ex Liguribus triumphauit; quem triumphum magis gratiae quam rerum gestarum magnitudini datum constabat. armorum hostilium magnam uim transtulit, nullam pecuniam admodum. diuisit tamen in singulos milites trecenos aeris, duplex centurionibus, triplex equiti. nihil in eo triumpho magis insigne fuit, quam quod forte euenit, ut eodem die triumpharet, quo priore anno ex praetura triumphauerat. secundum triumphum comitia edixit, quibus creati consules sunt M. Iunius Brutus A. Manlius Uulso. praetorum inde tribus creatis comitia tempestas diremit. postero die reliqui tres facti, ante diem quartum idus Martias, M. Titinius Curuus Ti. Claudius Nero T. Fonteius Capito. ludi Romani instaurati ab aedilibus curulibus Cn. Seruilio Caepione Ap. Claudio Centone propter prodigia, quae euenerant. terra mouit; in fanis publicis, ubi lectisternium erat, deorum capita, quae in lectis erant, auerterunt se, lanxque cum integumentis, quae Ioui apposita fuit, decidit de mensa. oleas quoque praegustasse mures in prodigium

uersum est. ad ea expianda nihil ultra, quam ut ludi instaurarentur,
actum est.

LIBER XLI

[1] * * a patre in pace habitam armasse eoque iuuentuti praedandi cupidae pergratus esse dicebatur. consilium de Histrico bello cum haberet consul, alii gerendum extemplo, antequam contrahere copias hostes possent, alii consulendum prius senatum censebant. uicit sententia, quae diem non proferebat. profectus ab Aquileia consul castra ad lacum Timaui posuit; imminet mari is lacus. eodem decem nauibus C. Furius duumuir naualis uenit. aduersus Illyriorum classem creati duumiri nauales erant, qui tuendae uiginti nauibus maris superi orae Anconam uelut cardinem haberent; inde L. Cornelius dextra litora usque ad Tarentum, C. Furius laeua usque ad Aquileiam tueretur. eae naues ad proximum portum in Histriae fines cum onerariis et magno commeatu missae, secutusque cum legionibus consul quinque ferme milia a mari posuit castra. in portu emporium breui perfrequens factum, omniaque hinc in castra supportabantur. et, quo id tutius fieret, stationes ab omnibus castrorum partibus circumdatae sunt: in Histriam uersum praesidium statuum, repentina cohors Placentina opposita; inter mare et castra et, ut idem aquatoribus ad fluuium esset praesidium, M. Aebutius tribunus militum secundae legionis duos manipulos militum ducere iussus est; T. et C. Aelii tribuni militum legionem tertiam, quae pabulatores et lignatores tueretur, uia, quae Aquileiam fert, duxerant. ab eadem regione mille ferme passuum castra erant Gallorum: Catmelus regulus praeerat tribus haud amplius milibus armatorum.

[2] Histri, ut primum ad lacum Timaui castra Romana sunt mota, ipsi post collem occulto loco consederunt, et inde obliquis itineribus agmen sequebantur, in omnem occasionem intenti; nec quicquam eos, quae terra marique agerentur, fallebat. postquam stationes inualidas esse pro castris, forum turba inermi frequens inter castra et mare mercantium sine ullo terrestri aut maritimo munimento uiderunt, duo simul praesidia, Placentinae cohortis et manipulorum secundae legionis, adgrediuntur. nebula matutina texerat inceptum; qua dilabente ad primum teporem solis perlucens iam aliquid, incerta tamen, ut solet, lux speciem omnium multiplicem intuenti reddens, tum quoque frustrata Romanos, multo maiorem iis, quam erat,

hostium aciem ostendit. qua territi utriusque stationis milites ingenti tumultu cum in castra confugissent, haud paulo ibi plus, quam quod secum ipsi attulerant, terroris fecerunt. nam neque dicere, quid fugissent, nec percunctantibus reddere responsum poterant; et clamor in portis, ut ubi nulla esset statio, quae sustineret impetum, audiebatur; et concursatio in obscuro incidentium aliorum in alios incertum fecerat, an hostis intra uallum esset. una uox audiebatur ad mare uocantium; id forte temere ab uno exclamatum totis passim personabat castris. itaque primo, uelut iussi id facere, pauci, armati <alii>, maior pars inermes, ad mare decurrunt, dein plures, postremo prope omnes, et ipse consul, cum frustra reuocare fugientes conatus nec imperio nec auctoritate nec precibus ad extremum ualuisset. unus remansit M. Licinius Strabo, tribunus militum secundae legionis, cum tribus signis ab legione sua relictus. hunc in uacua castra impetu facto Histri, cum alius armatus iis nemo obuiam isset, in praetorio instruentem atque adhortantem suos oppresserunt. proelium atrocius quam pro paucitate resistentium fuit, nec ante finitum est, quam tribunus militum quique circa eum constiterant interfecti sunt. praetorio deiecto direptis<que>, quae ibi fuerunt, ad quaestorium, forum quintanamque hostes peruenerunt. ibi cum omnium rerum paratam expositamque copiam et stratos lectos in quaestorio inuenissent, regulus accubans epulari coepit. mox idem ceteri omnes, armorum hostiumque obliti, faciunt; et, ut quibus insuetus liberalior uictus esset, audius uino ciboque corpora onerant.

[3] nequaquam eadem est tum rei forma apud Romanos; terra mari trepidatur; nautici tabernacula detendunt commeatumque in litore expositum in naues rapiunt; milites in scaphas et mare territi ruunt; nautae metu, ne compleantur nauigia, alii turbae obsistunt, alii ab litore naues in altum expellunt. inde certamen, mox etiam pugna cum uulneribus et caede in uicem militum nautarumque oritur, donec iussu consulis procul a terra classis submota est. discernere inde inermes ab armatis coepit. uix mille ducenti ex tanta multitudine, qui arma haberent, perpauci equites, qui equos secum eduxissent, inuenti sunt; cetera deformis turba uelut lixarum calonumque, praeda fere futura, si belli hostes meminissent. tunc demum nuntius <missus> ad tertiam legionem reuocandam et Gallorum praesidium; et simul ex omnibus locis ad castra recipienda demendamque ignominiam rediri

coeptum est. tribuni militum tertiae legionis pabulum lignaque proicere iubent, centurionibus imperant, ut grauiore aetate milites binos in ea iumenta, ex quibus onera deiecta erant, imponant; equites ut singulos e iuuenibus pedites secum in equos tollant: egregiam gloriam legionis fore, si castra metu secundanorum amissa sua uirtute recipiant. et recipi facile esse, si in praeda occupati barbari subito opprimantur; sicut ceperint, posse capi. summa militum alacritate adhortatio audita est. ferunt citati signa, nec signiferos armati morantur. priores tamen consul copiaeque, quae a mari reducebantur, ad uallum accesserunt. L. Atilius, tribunus primus secundae legionis, non hortabatur modo milites, sed docebat etiam, si uictores Histri, quibus armis cepissent castra, iisdem capta retinere in animo haberent, primum exutum castris hostem ad mare persecuturos fuisse, deinde stationes certe pro uallo habituros: uino somnoque ueri simile esse mersos iacere.

[4] sub haec A. Baeculonium, signiferum suum, notae fortitudinis uirum, inferre signum iussit. ille, si [unum] se sequerentur, quo celerius fieret, facturum dixit; conisusque cum trans uallum signum traiecisset, primus omnium portam intrauit. et parte alia T. et C. Aelii, tribuni militum tertiae legionis, cum equitatu adueniunt. confestim et quos binos oneraria in iumenta imposuerant secuti, et consul cum toto agmine. at Histrorum pauci, qui modice uino usi erant, memores fuerant fugae, aliis somno mors continuata est; integraque sua omnia Romani, praeterquam quod uini cibique absumptum erat, receperunt. aegri quoque milites, qui in castris relictis fuerant, postquam intra uallum suos senserunt, armis arreptis caedem ingentem fecerunt. ante omnes insignis opera fuit C. Popili equitis; Sabello cognomen erat. is pede saucio relictus longe plurimos hostium occidit. ad octo milia Histrorum sunt caesa, captus nemo, quia ira et indignatio immemores praedae fecit. rex tamen Histrorum temulentus ex conuiuio, raptim a suis in equum impositus, fugit. ex uictoribus ducenti triginta septem milites perierunt, plures in matutina fuga quam in recipiendis castris.

[5] forte ita euenit, ut Cn. et L. Gaullii Nouelli, Aquileienses, cum comitatu uenientes, ignari prope in capta castra ab Histris inciderent. ii cum Aquileiam relictis impedimentis refugissent, omnia terrore ac tumultu non Aquileiae modo, sed Romae quoque post

paucos dies inpleuerunt; quo non capta tantum castra ab hostibus nec fuga, quae uera erant, sed perditas res deletumque exercitum omnem allatum est. itaque, quod in tumultu fieri solet, dilectus extra ordinem non in urbe tantum, sed tota Italia indicti. duae legiones ciuium Romanorum conscriptae, et decem milia peditum cum equitibus quingentis sociis nominis Latini imperata. M. Iunius consul transire in Galliam et ab ciuitatibus prouinciae eius, quantum quaeque posset, militum exigere iussus. simul decretum, ut Ti. Claudius praetor militibus legionis quartae et socium Latini nominis quinque milibus, equitibus ducentis quinquaginta, Pisas ut conuenirent, ediceret, eamque prouinciam, dum consul inde abesset, tutaretur; M. Titinius praetor legionem primam, parem numerum sociorum peditum equitumque, Ariminum conuenire iuberet. Nero paludatus Pisas in prouinciam est profectus; Titinius C. Cassio tribuno militum Ariminum, qui praeesset legioni, misso dilectum Romae habuit. M. Iunius consul ex Liguribus in prouinciam Galliam transgressus, auxiliis protinus per ciuitates Galliae militibusque coloniis imperatis, Aquileiam peruenit. ibi certior factus exercitum incolumem esse, scriptis litteris Romam, ne tumultuarentur, ipse remissis auxiliis, quae Gallis imperauerat, ad collegam est profectus. Romae magna ex necopinato laetitia fuit: dilectus omissus est, exauctorati, qui sacramento dixerant, et exercitus, qui Arimini pestilentia adfectus erat, domum dimissus. Histri magnis copiis cum castra haud procul consulis castris haberent, postquam alterum consulem cum exercitu nouo aduenisse audierunt, passim in ciuitates dilapsi sunt. consules Aquileiam in hiberna legiones reduxerunt.

[6] sedato tandem Histrico tumultu senatus consultum factum est, ut consules inter se compararent, uter eorum ad comitia habenda Romam rediret. cum absentem Manlium tribuni plebis <A.> Licinius Nerua et C. Papirius Turdus in contionibus lacerarent rogationemque promulgarent, ne Manlius post idus Martias++ prorogatae namque consulibus iam in annum prouinciae erant++imperium retineret, uti causam extemplo dicere, cum abisset magistratu, posset, huic rogationi Q. Aelius collega intercessit magnisque contentionibus obtinuit, ne perferretur. per eos dies Ti. Sempronius Gracchus et L. Postumius Albinus ex Hispania Romam cum reuertissent, senatus iis a M. Titinio praetore datus in aede Bellonae ad disserendas res, quas

gessissent, postulandosque honores meritos <et> ut diis immortalibus haberetur honos. eodem tempore et in Sardinia magnum tumultum esse litteris T. Aebutii praetoris cognitum est, quas filius eius ad senatum attulerat. Ilienses adiunctis Balarorum auxiliis pacatam prouinciam inuaserant, nec eis inualido exercitu et magna parte pestilentia absumpto resisti poterat. eadem et Sardorum legati nuntiabant orantes, ut urbibus saltem++iam enim agros deploratos esse++opem senatus ferret. haec legatio totumque, quod ad Sardiniam pertinebat, ad nouos magistratus reiectum est. aequae miserabilis legatio Lyciorum, qui crudelitatem Rhodiorum, quibus ab L. Cornelio Scipione attributi erant, querebantur: fuisse <se> sub ditione Antiochi; eam regiam seruitutem conlatam cum praesenti statu praeclaram libertatem uisam. non publice tantum se premi imperio, sed singulos iustum pati seruitium. [iustos] coniuges liberosque uexari; in corpus, in tergum saeuiiri; famam, quod indignum sit, maculari dehonestarique; et palam res odiosas fieri iuris etiam usurpandi causa, ne pro dubio habeant, nihil inter se et argento parata mancipia interesse. motus his senatus litteras Lyciis ad Rhodios dedit, nec Lycios Rhodiis nec ullos alii cuiquam, qui nati liberi sint, in seruitutem dari placere; Lycios ita sub Rhodiorum simul imperio et tutela esse, ut in ditione populi Romani ciuitates sociae sint.

[7] triumphus deinde ex Hispania duo continui acti. prior Sempronius Gracchus de Celtiberis sociisque eorum, postero die L. Postumius de Lusitanis aliisque eiusdem regionis Hispanis triumphauit. quadraginta milia pondo argenti [Ti.] Gracchus transtulit, uiginti milia Albinus. militibus denarios quinos uicenos, duplex centurioni, triplex equiti ambo diuiserunt; sociis tantumdem quantum Romanis. per eosdem forte dies M. Iunius consul ex Histria comitiorum causa Romam uenit. eum cum in senatu fatigassent interrogationibus tribuni plebis Papirius et Licinius de iis, quae in Histria essent acta, in contionem quoque produxerunt. ad quae cum consul se dies non plus undecim in ea prouincia fuisse responderet, quae se absente acta essent, se quoque, ut illos, fama comperta habere, exsequebantur deinde quaerentes, quid ita non potius A. Manlius Romam uenisset, ut rationem redderet populo Romano, cur ex Gallia prouincia, quam sortitus esset, in Histriam transisset?

quando id bellum senatus decreuisset, quando [id bellum] populus Romanus iussisset? at hercule priuato quidem consilio bellum susceptum esse, sed gestum prudenter fortiterque. immo, utrum susceptum sit nequius an inconsultius gestum, dici non posse. stationes duas necopinantes ab Histris oppressas, castra Romana capta, quod peditum, quod equitum in castris fuerit <caesum;> ceteros inermes fusosque, ante omnes consulem ipsum, ad mare ac naues fugisse. priuatum rationem redditurum earum rerum esse, quoniam consul noluisset.

[8] comitia deinde habita. consules creati C. Claudius Pulcher Ti. Sempronius Gracchus. et postero die praetores facti P. Aelius Tubero iterum C. Quinctius Flaminius C. Numisius L. Mummius Cn. Cornelius Scipio C. Ualerius Laeuinus. Tuberoni urbana iurisdictio, Quinctio peregrina euenit, Numisio Sicilia, Mummio Sardinia; sed ea propter belli magnitudinem prouincia consularis facta. [Gracchus eam sortitur, Histriam Claudius.] Scipio et Laeuinus Galliam in duas diuisam prouincias sortiti sunt. idibus Martiis, quo die Sempronius Claudiusque consulatum inierunt, mentio tantum de prouinciis Sardinia Histriaque et utriusque hostibus fuit, qui in his prouinciis bellum conciuissent. postero die legati Sardorum, qui ad nouos magistratus dilati erant, <et> L. Minucius Thermus, qui legatus Manli consulis in Histria fuerat, in senatum uenit. ab his edoctus est senatus, quantum belli eae prouinciae haberent. mouerunt senatum et legationes socium nominis Latini, quae et censores et priores consules fatigauerant, tandem in senatum introductae. summa querellarum erat, ciues suos Romae censos plerosque Romam commigrasse; quod si permittatur, perpaucis lustris futurum, ut deserta oppida, deserti agri nullum militem dare possint. Fregellas quoque milia quattuor familiarum transisse ab se Samnites Paelignique querebantur, neque eo minus aut hos aut illos in dilectu militum dare. genera autem fraudis duo mutandae uiritim ciuitatis inducta erant. lex sociis [ac] nominis Latini, qui stirpem ex sese domi relinquerent, dabat, ut ciues Romani fierent. ea lege male utendo alii sociis, alii populo Romano iniuriam faciebant. nam et ne stirpem domi relinquerent, liberos suos quibuslibet Romanis in eam condicionem, ut manu mitterentur, mancipio dabant, libertinique ciues essent; et quibus stirps deesset, quam relinquerent, ut ciues

Romani * * fiebant. postea his quoque imaginibus iuris spretis, promiscue sine lege, sine stirpe in ciuitatem Romanam per migrationem et censum transibant. haec ne postea fierent, petebant legati, et ut redire in ciuitates iuberent socios; deinde ut lege cauerent, ne quis quem ciuitatis mutandae causa suum faceret neuē alienaret; et si quis ita ciuis Romanus factus esset, <ciuis ne esset>. haec impetrata ab senatu.

[9] prouinciae deinde, quae in bello erant, Sardinia atque Histria <consulibus> decretae. in Sardiniam duae legiones scribi iussae, quina milia in singulas et duceni pedites, treceni equites, et duodecim milia peditum sociorum ac Latini nominis et sescenti equites et decem quinqueres naues, si deducere ex naualibus uellet. tantumdem peditum equitumque in Histriam, quantum in Sardiniam, decretum. et legionem unam cum equitibus trecentis, et quinque milia peditum sociorum et ducentos quinquaginta mittere equites in Hispaniam consules ad M. Titinium iussi. priusquam consules prouincias sortirentur, prodigia nuntiata sunt: lapidem in agro Crustumino in lucum Martis de caelo cecidisse; puerum trunci corporis in agro Romano natum et quadrupedem anguem uisum; et Capuae multa in foro aedificia de caelo tacta; et Puteolis duas naues fulminis ictu concrematas esse. inter haec, quae nuntiabantur, lupus etiam Romae interdum agitat, cum Collina porta intrasset, per Esquilinam magno consecrantium tumultu euasit. eorum prodigiorum causa consules maiores hostias immolarunt, et diem unum circa omnia puluinaria supplicatio fuit. sacrificiis rite perfectis prouincias sortiti sunt; Claudio Histria, Sempronio Sardinia obuēnit. legem dein de sociis C. Claudius tulit <ex> senatus consulto et edixit, qui socii [ac] nominis Latini, ipsi maioresue eorum, M. Claudio T. Quinctio censoribus postea ea apud socios nominis Latini censi essent, ut omnes in suam quisque ciuitatem ante kal. Nouembres redirent. quaestio, qui ita non redissent, L. Mummio praetori decreta est. ad legem et edictum consulis senatus consultum adiectum est, ut dictator, consul, interrex, censor, praetor, qui nunc esset <quiue postea futurus esset>, apud eorum quem <qui> manu mitteretur, in libertatem uindicaretur, ut ius iurandum daret, qui eum manu mitteret, ciuitatis mutandae causa manu non mittere; in quo id non iuraret, eum manu mittendum non censuerunt. haec in posterum

cauta iussique edicto C. Claudii cons. * * * Claudio decreta est.

[10] dum haec Romae geruntur, M. Iunius et A. Manlius, qui priore anno consules fuerant, cum Aquileiae hibernassent, principio ueris in finis Histrorum exercitum introduxerunt; ubi cum effuse popularentur, dolor magis et indignatio diripi res suas cernentis Histros, quam certa spes, satis sibi uirium aduersus duos exercitus <esse>, exciuit. concursu ex omnibus populis iuuentutis facto repentinus et tumultuarius exercitus acius primo impetu quam perseuerantius pugnauit. ad quattuor milia eorum in acie caesa; ceteri omisso bello in ciuitates passim diffugerunt. inde legatos primum ad pacem petendam in castra Romana, deinde obsides imperatos miserunt. haec cum Romae cognita litteris proconsulum essent, C. Claudius consul ueritus, ne forte eae res prouinciam <et> exercitum sibi adimerent, non uotis nuncupatis, non paludatis lictoribus, uno omnium certiore facto collega, nocte profectus, praeceps in prouinciam abiit; ubi inconsultius quam uenerat se gessit. nam cum contione aduocata fugam e castris A. Manlio aduersis auribus militum, quippe qui primi ipsi fugissent, obiectasset <et> ingessisset probra M. Iunio, quod se dedecoris socium collegae fecisset, ad extremum utrumque decedere prouincia iussit. <ad> quod cum illi tum consulis imperio dicto audientes futuros esse dicerent, cum is more maiorum, secundum uota in Capitolio nuncupata, lictoribus paludatis profectus ab urbe esset, furens ira uocatum, qui pro quaestore Manli erat, catenas poposcit, uinctos se Iunium Manliumque minitans Romam missurum. ab eo quoque spretum consulis imperium est; et circumfusus exercitus, fauens imperatorum causae et consuli infestus, animos ad non parendum addebat. postremo fatigatus consul et contumeliis singulorum et multitudinis+ +nam insuper inridebant++ludibriis, naue eadem, qua uenerat, Aquileiam redit. inde collegae scripsit, ut militum nouorum ei parti, quae scripta in Histriam prouinciam esset, ediceret, Aquileiam ut conueniret, ne quid se Romae teneret, quo minus uotis nuncupatis paludatus ab urbe exiret. haec a collega obsequenter facta, brevisque dies ad conueniendum edicta est. Claudius prope consecutus est litteras suas. contione adueniens de Manlio et Iunio habita, non ultra triduum moratus Romae, paludatis lictoribus uotisque in Capitolio nuncupatis, in prouinciam aequae ac prius praecipiti celeritate abijt.

[11] paucis ante diebus Iunius Manliusque oppidum Nesattium, quo se principes Histrorum et regulus ipse Aepulo receperat, summa ui oppugnare coeperant. eo Claudius duabus legionibus nouis adductis, uetere exercitu cum suis ducibus dimisso, ipse oppidum circumsedit et uineis oppugnare intendit, amnemque praeterfluentem moenia, qui et impedimento oppugnantibus erat et aquationem Histris praebebat, multorum dierum opere exceptum nouo alueo auertit. ea res barbaros miraculo terruit abscisae aquae: et ne tum quidem memores pacis, in caedem coniugum ac liberorum uersi, etiam ut spectaculo hostibus tam foedum facinus esset, palam in muris trucidatos praecipitabant. inter simul complorationem feminarum puerorumque, simul nefandam caedem, milites transgressi murum oppidum intrarunt. cuius capti tumultum ubi ex pauido clamore fugientium accepit rex, traiecit ferro pectus, ne uiuus caperetur; ceteri capti aut occisi. duo deinde oppida, Mutila et Faueria, ui capta et deleta. praeda, ut in gente inopi, spe maior fuit, et omnis militibus concessa est. quinque milia capitum sescenta triginta duo sub corona uenierunt. auctores belli uirgis caesi et securi percussi. Histria tota trium oppidorum excidio et morte regis pacata est; omnesque undique populi obsidibus datis in dicionem uenerunt. sub Histrici finem belli apud Ligures concilia de bello haberi coepta.

[12] Ti. Claudius proconsul, qui praetor priore anno fuerat, cum praesidio legionis unius Pisis praeerat. cuius litteris senatus certior factus, eas ipsas litteras ad C. Claudium++nam alter consul iam in Sardiniam traiecerat++deferendas censet et adicit decretum, quoniam Histria prouincia confecta esset, si ei uideretur, exercitum traduceret in Ligures. simul ex litteris consulis, quas de rebus in Histria gestis scripserat, in biduum supplicatio decreta. et <ab> altero consule Ti. Sempronio in Sardinia prospere res gesta. exercitum in agrum Sardorum Iliensium induxit. Balarorum magna auxilia Iliensibus uenerant; cum utraque gente signis conlatis confligit. fusi fugatique hostes castrisque exuti, duodecim milia armatorum caesa. postero die arma lecta conici in acruum iussit consul sacrumque id Uulcano cremauit. uictorem exercitum in hiberna sociarum urbium reduxit. et C. Claudius litteris Ti. Claudi et senatus consulto accepto ex Histria legiones in Ligures transduxit. ad Scultennam flumen in campos progressi castra habebant hostes, ibi cum iis acie dimicatum.

quindecim milia caesa, plus septingenti aut in proelio aut in castris++ nam ea quoque expugnata sunt++capti, et signa militaria unum et quinquaginta capta. Ligures, reliquiae caedis, in montes refugerunt, passimque populanti campestris agros consuli nulla usquam apparuerunt arma. Claudius duarum gentium uno anno uictor, duabus, quod raro alius, in consulatu pacatis prouinciis Romam reuertit.

[13] prodigia eo anno nuntiata: in Crustumino auem sanqualem, quam uocant, sacrum lapidem rostro cecidisse, bouem in Campania locutam, uaccam aeneam Syracusis ab agresti tauro, qui a pecore aberrasset, initam ac semine adpersam. in Crustumino diem unum in ipso loco supplicatio fuit, et in Campania bos alenda publice data, Syracusanumque prodigium expiatum editis ab haruspicibus dis, quibus supplicaretur. pontifex eo anno mortuus est M. Claudius Marcellus, qui consul censorque fuerat. in eius locum suffectus est pontifex filius eius M. Marcellus. et Lunam colonia eodem anno duo milia ciuium Romanorum sunt deducta. triumphum deduxerunt P. Aelius <M. Aemilius> Lepidus Cn. Sicinius; quinquagena et singula iugera et semisses agri in singulos dati sunt. de Liguribus captus ager erat; Etruscorum ante quam Ligurum fuerat. C. Claudius consul ad urbem uenit; cui, cum in senatu de rebus in Histria Liguribusque prospere gestis <disseruisset>, postulanti triumphus est decretus. triumphauit in magistratu de duabus simul gentibus. tulit in eo triumpho denarium trecenta septem milia et uictoriatum octoginta quinque milia septingentos duos. militibus in singulos quini denarii dati, duplex centurioni, triplex equiti. sociis dimidio minus quam ciuibus datum. itaque taciti, ut iratos esse sentires, secuti sunt currum.

[14] <cum is> triumphus de Liguribus agebatur, Ligures postquam senserunt non consularem tantum exercitum Romam abductum, sed legionem ab Ti. Claudio Pisis dimissam, soluti metu, clam exercitu indicto, per transuersos limites superatis montibus in campos degressi, agrum Mutinensem populati, repentino impetu coloniam ipsam ceperunt. id ubi Romam allatum est, senatus C. Claudium consulem comitia primo quoque tempore habere iussit creatisque in annum magistratibus in prouinciam redire et coloniam ex hostibus eripere. ita, uti censuit senatus, comitia habita. consules creati Cn.

Cornelius Scipio Hispallus Q. Petilius Spurius. praetores inde facti M. Popilius Laenas P. Licinius Crassus M. Cornelius Scipio L. Papirius Maso M. Aburius L. Aquilius Gallus. C. Claudio consuli prorogatum in annum imperium et Gallia prouincia; et ne Histri idem, quod et Ligures, facerent, socios nominis Latini in Histriam mitteret, quos triumphus causa de prouincia deduxisset. Cn. Cornelio et Q. Petilio consulibus, quo die magistratum inierunt, immolantibus Ioui singulis bubus, uti solet, in ea hostia, qua Q. Petilius sacrificauit, in iocinere caput non inuentum. id cum ad senatum rettulisset, boue perlitare iussus. de prouinciis deinde consultus senatus Pisas et Ligures prouincias consulibus decreuit; cui Pisae prouincia obuenerat, cum magistratum creandorum tempus esset, ad comitia reuerti iussit. additum decreto, ut binas legiones nouas scriberent et trecenos equites; et dena milia peditum sociis nominique Latino et sescenos imperarent equites. Ti. Claudio prorogatum est imperium in id tempus, quo in prouinciam consul uenisset.

[15] dum de iis rebus <in> senatu agitur, Cn. Cornelius euocatus a uiatore, cum templo egressus esset, paulo post redit confuso uultu et exposuit patribus conscriptis bouis sescenaris, quem immolauisset, iocur diffluxisse. id se uictimario nuntianti parum credentem ipsum aquam effundi ex olla, ubi exta coquerentur, iussisse et uidisse ceteram integram partem extorum, iecur omne inenarrabili tabe absumptum. territis eo prodigio patribus et alter consul curam adiecit, qui se, quod caput iocineri defuisset, tribus bubus perlitasse negauit. senatus maioribus hostiis usque ad litationem sacrificari iussit. ceteris diis perlitatum ferunt; Saluti Petilium perlitasse negant. inde consules praetoresque prouincias sortiti. Pisae Cn. Cornelio, Ligures <Q.> Petilio obuenerunt. praetores L. Papirius Maso urbanam, M. Aburius inter peregrinos sortiti sunt. M. Cornelius Scipio Maluginensis Hispaniam ulteriorem, L. Aquilius Gallus Siciliam habuit. duo deprecati sunt, ne in prouincias irent, M. Popilius in Sardiniam: Gracchum eam prouinciam pacare; ei T. Aebutium praetorem adiutorem ab senatu datum esse. interrumpi tenorem rerum, in quibus peragendis continuatio ipsa efficacissima esset, minime conuenire; inter traditionem imperii nouitatemque successoris, quae noscendis prius quam agendis rebus inuenda sit, saepe bene gerendae rei occasiones intercidere. probata Popilii

excusatio est. P. Licinius Crassus sacrificiis se impediri sollemnibus excusabat, ne in prouinciam iret; <ei> citerior Hispania obuenerat. ceterum aut ire iussus aut iurare pro contione sollemni sacrificio se prohiberi. id ubi in P. Licinio ita statutum est, et ab se uti iusiurandum acciperent M. Cornelius postulauit, ne in Hispaniam ulteriorem iret. praetores ambo in eadem uerba iurarunt. M. Titinius et <T.> Fonteius proconsules manere cum eodem imperii iure in Hispania iussi; et ut in supplementum his tria milia ciuium Romanorum cum equitibus ducentis, quinque milia socium Latini nominis et trecenti equites mitterentur.

[16] Latinae feriae fuere ante diem tertium nonas Maias, in quibus quia in una hostia magistratus Lanuvinus precatus non erat populo Romano Quiritium, religioni fuit. id cum ad senatum relatum esset senatusque ad pontificum collegium reiecisset, pontificibus, quia non recte factae Latinae essent, instaurari Latinas placuit, Lanuvinos, quorum opera instaurandae essent, hostias praebere. accesserat ad religionem, <quod> Cn. Cornelius consul ex monte Albano rediens concidit et, parte membrorum captus, ad Aquas Cumanas profectus ingrauescente morbo Cumis decessit. sed inde mortuus Romam adlatus et funere magnifico elatus sepultusque est. pontifex idem fuerat. consul Q. Petilius cum primum per auspicia posset, collegae subrogando comitia habere iussus et Latinas edicere, comitia in <ante> diem tertium nonas Sextiles, <Latinas> in ante diem tertium idus Sextiles edixit. plenis religionum animis prodigia insuper nuntiata: Tusculi facem in caelo uisam, Gabiis aedem Apollinis et priuata aedificia conplura, Grauisus murum portamque de caelo tacta. ea patres procurari, uti pontifices censuissent, iusserunt. dum consules primum religiones, deinde alterum alterius mors et comitia et Latinarum instauratio inpediunt, interim C. Claudius exercitum ad Mutinam, quam Ligures priore anno ceperant, admouit. intra triduum, quam oppugnare coeperat, receptam ex hostibus colonis restituit. octo milia ibi Ligurum intra muros caesa; litteraeque Romam extemplo scriptae, quibus non modo rem exponeret, sed etiam gloriaretur sua uirtute ac felicitate neminem iam cis Alpibus <esse> hostem populi Romani, agrique aliquantum captum, qui multis milibus hominum diuidi uiritim posset.

[17] et Ti. Sempronius eodem tempore in Sardinia multis secundis

proeliis Sardos perdomuit. quindecim milia hostium sunt caesa, omnes Sardorum populi, qui defecerant, in dicionem redacti. stipendiariis ueteribus duplex uectigal imperatum exactumque; ceteri frumentum contulerunt. pacata prouincia obsidibusque ex tota insula ducentis triginta acceptis legati Romam, qui ea nuntiarent, missi, quique ab senatu peterent, ut ob eas res ductu auspicioque Ti. Semproni prospere gestas diis immortalibus honos haberetur ipsique decedenti de prouincia exercitum secum deportare liceret. senatus in aede Apollinis legatorum uerbis auditis supplicationem in biduum decreuit, et quadraginta maioribus hostiis consules sacrificare iussit, Ti. Sempronium proconsulem exercitumque eo anno in prouincia manere. comitia deinde consulis unius subrogandi, <quae in> ante diem tertium nonas Sextiles edicta erant, eo ipso die sunt confecta. Q. Petilius consul collegam, qui extemplo magistratum occiperet, creauit C. Ualerium Laeuinum. ipse iam diu cupidus prouinciae, cum opportuna cupiditati eius litterae adlatae essent Ligures rebellasse, nonis Sextilibus paludatus * * . <senatus> litteris auditis tumultus eius causa legionem tertiam ad C. Claudium proconsulem in Galliam proficisci iussit, et duumuiros nauales cum classe Pisas ire, qui Ligurum oram, maritimum quoque terrorem admouentes, circumuectarentur. eodem Pisas et Q. Petilius consul ad conueniendum exercitui <diem> edixerat. et C. Claudius proconsul audita rebellione Ligurum praeter eas copias, quas secum Parmae habebat, subitariis collectis militibus exercitum ad fines Ligurum admouit.

[18] hostes sub aduentum C. Claudii, a quo duce de meminerant nuper ad Scultennam flumen uictos fugatosque, locorum magis praesidio aduersus infeliciter expertam uim quam armis se defensuri, duos montes Letum et Ballistam ceperunt muroque insuper amplexi sunt. tardius ex agris demigrantes oppressi ad mille et quingenti perierunt; ceteri montibus se tenebant, et ne in metu quidem feritatis ingenitae obliti saeuiunt in praedam, quae Mutinae parta erat. captiuos cum foeda laceratione interficiunt; pecora in fanis trucidant uerius passim quam rite sacrificant. satiati caede animantium, quae inanima erant parietibus adfigunt, uasa omnis generis usui magis quam [ornamento] in speciem facta. Q. Petilius consul, ne absente se debellaretur, litteras ad C. Claudium misit, ut cum exercitu ad se in

Galliam ueniret: campis Macris se eum expectaturum. litteris acceptis Claudius ex Liguribus castra mouit exercitumque ad campos Macros consuli tradidit. eodem [tempore] paucis post diebus C. Ualerius consul alter uenit. ibi diuisis copiis, <prius> quam digrederentur, communiter ambo exercitus lustrauerunt. tum sortiti, quia non ab eadem utrumque parte adgredi hostem placebat, regiones quas peterent. Ualerium auspicato sortitum constabat, quod in templo fuisset; in Petilio id uitii factum postea augures responderunt, quod extra templum sortem in sitellam ~in templum latam foris ipse oporteret. profecti inde in diuersas regiones. Petilius aduersus Ballistae et Leti iugum, quod eos montes perpetuo dorso inter se iungit, castra habuit. ibi adhortantem eum pro contione milites, inmemorem ambiguitatis uerbi, ominatum ferunt se eo die Letum capturum esse. duabus simul partibus subire in aduersos montes coepit. ea pars, in qua ipse erat, inpigre succedebat. alteram hostes cum propulissent, ut restitueret rem inclinatum, consul equo aduectus suos quidem a fuga reuocauit, ipse, dum incautius ante signa obuersatur, missili traiectus cecidit. nec hostes ducem occisum senserunt, et suorum pauci, qui uiderant, haud neglegenter, ut qui in eo uictoriam uerti scirent, corpus occultauere. alia multitudo peditum equitumque deturbatis hostibus montis sine duce cepere. ad quinque milia Ligurum occisa; ex Romano exercitu duo et quinquaginta ceciderunt. super tam euidentem tristis ominis euentum etiam ex pullario auditum est uitium in auspicio fuisse, nec id consulem ignorasse. C. Ualerius audita * * * periti religionum iurisque publici, quando duo ordinarii consules eius anni, alter morbo, alter ferro perisset, suffectum consulem negabant recte comitia habere posse. * * * deduxit.

[19] cis Appenninum Garuli et Lopicini et Hergates, trans Appenninum Friniates fuerant, intra Audenam amnem. P. Mucius cum iis, qui Lunam Pisasque depopulati erant, bellum gessit, omnibusque in dicionem redactis arma ademit. ob eas res in Gallia Liguribusque gestas duorum consulum ductu auspicioque senatus in triduum supplicationes decreuit et quadraginta hostiis sacrificari iussit. et tumultus quidem Gallicus et Ligustinus, qui principio eius anni exortus fuerat, haud magno conatu breui oppressus erat; belli Macedonici subibat iam cura, miscente Perseo inter Dardanos

Bastarnasque certamina. et legati, qui missi ad res uisendas in Macedoniam erant, iam reuerterant Romam renuntiauerantque bellum in Dardania esse. simul uenerant et ab rege Perseo oratores, qui purgarent nec accitos ab eo Bastarnas nec auctore eo quidquam facere. senatus nec liberauit eius culpae regem neque arguit; moneri eum tantum modo iussit, ut etiam atque etiam curaret, ut sanctum habere foedus, quod ei cum Romanis esset, uideri posset. Dardani cum Bastarnas non modo non excedere finibus suis, quod sperauerant, sed grauiore fieri in dies cernerent, subnixos Thracum accolarum et Scordischorum auxiliis, audendum aliquid uel temere rati, omnes undique armati ad oppidum, quod proximum castris Bastarnarum erat, conueniunt. hiems erat, et id anni tempus elegerant, ut Thraces Scordisque in fines suos abirent. quod ubi ita factum et solos iam esse Bastarnas audierunt, bifariam diuidunt copias, pars ut recto itinere ad lacessendum ex aperto iret, pars deuio saltu circumducta ab tergo adgrederetur. ceterum priusquam circumire castra hostium possent, pugnatum est; uictique Dardani compelluntur in urbem, quae fere duodecim milia ab castris Bastarnarum aberat. uictores confestim <sec>uti circumsidunt urbem, haud dubie postero die aut metu dedituris se hostibus aut ui expugnaturi. interim Dardanorum altera manus, quae circumducta erat, ignara cladis suorum, castra Bastarnarum sine praesidio relic<t>a. * * *

[20] * * <Romano> more, sella eburnea posita, ius dicebat disceptabatque controuersias minimarum rerum. adeoque nulli fortunae adhaerebat animus per omnia genera uitae errans, uti nec sibi nec aliis, quinam homo esset, satis constaret. non adloqui amicos, uix notis familiariter arridere, munificentia inaequali sese aliosque ludificari; quibus<dam> honoratis magnoque aestimantibus se puerilia, ut escae aut lusus, munera dare, alios nihil expectantes ditare. itaque nescire, quid sibi uellet, quibusdam uideri; quidam ludere eum simpliciter, quidam haud dubie insanire aiebant. in duabus tamen magnis honestisque rebus uere regius erat animus, in urbium donis et deorum cultu. Megalopolitanis in Arcadia murum se circumdaturum urbi est pollicitus maioremque partem pecuniae dedit; Tegeae theatrum magnificum e marmore facere instituit; Cyzici <in> prytaneo++id est penetrale urbis, ubi publice, quibus is

honus datus est, uescuntur++uasa aurea mensae unius posuit. Rhodiis, <ut> nihil unum insigne, ita omnis generis, ut quaeque usus eorum postulauerunt, dona dedit. magnificentiae uero in deos uel Iouis Olympii templum Athenis, unum in terris incohatum pro magnitudine dei, potest <testis> esse; sed et Delum aris insignibus statuarumque copia exornauit, et Antiochiae Iouis Capitolini magnificum templum, non laqueatum auro tantum, sed parietibus totis lammina inauratum, et alia multa in aliis locis pollicitus, quia perbreue tempus regni eius fuit, non perfecit. spectaculorum quoque omnis generis magnificentia superiores reges uicit, reliquorum sui moris et copia Graecorum artificum; gladiatorum munus, Romanae consuetudinis, primo maiore cum terrore hominum, insuetorum ad tale spectaculum, quam uoluptate dedit; deinde saepius dando et modo uolneribus tenus, modo sine missione, etiam [et] familiare oculis gratumque id spectaculum fecit, et armorum studium plerisque iuuenum accendit. itaque qui primo ab Roma magnis pretiis paratos gladiatores accersere solitus erat, iam suo * * * <Sci>pio inter peregrinos.

[21] M. Atilio praetori prouincia Sardinia obuenerat; sed cum legione noua, quam consules conscripserant, quinque milibus peditum, trecentis equitibus in Corsicam iussus est transire. dum is ibi bellum gereret, Cornelio prorogatum imperium, uti obtineret Sardiniam. Cn. Seruilio Caepioni in Hispaniam ulteriorem et P. Furio Philo in citeriorem tria milia peditum Romanorum, equites centum quinquaginta, et socium Latini nominis quinque milia peditum, trecenti equites, Sicilia L. Claudio sine supplemento decreta. duas praeterea legiones consules scribere iussi cum iusto numero peditum equitumque, et decem milia peditum sociis imperare et sescentos equites. dilectus consulibus eo difficilior erat, quod pestilentia, quae priore anno in boues ingruerat, eo uerterat in hominum morbos. qui inciderant, haud facile septimum diem superabant; qui superauerant, longinquo, maxime quartanae, implicabantur morbo. seruitia maxime moriebantur; eorum strages per omnis uias insepultorum erat. ne liberorum quidem funeribus Libitina sufficebat. cadauera intacta a canibus ac uolturibus tabes absumebat; satisque constabat nec illo nec priore anno in tanta strage bouum hominumque uolturium usquam uisum. sacerdotes publici ea pestilentia mortui sunt Cn. Seruilius

Caepio pontifex, pater praetoris, et Ti. Sempronius Ti. filius Longus decemuir sacrorum et P. Aelius Paetus augur et Ti. Sempronius Gracchus et C. Mamilius Atellus curio maximus <et> M. Sempronius Tuditanus <pontifex>. pontifices suffecti sunt C. Sulpicius Galba * * * in locum Tuditani. augures suffecti sunt in Gracchi locum T. Ueturius Gracchus Sempronianus, in P. Aeli Q. Aelius Paetus. decemuir sacrorum C. Sempronius Longus, curio maximus C. Scribonius Curio sufficitur. cum pestilentiae finis non fieret, senatus decreuit, uti decemuiros libros Sibyllinos adirent. ex decreto eorum diem unum supplicatio fuit, et Q. Marcio Philippo uerba praeunte populus in foro uotum concepit, si morbus pestilentiaque ex agro Romano emota esset, biduum ferias ac supplicationem se habiturum. in Ueienti agro biceps natus puer, et Sinuessae unimanus, et Auximi puella cum dentibus, et arcus interdiu sereno caelo super aedem Saturni in foro Romano intentus, et tres simul soles effulserunt, et faces eadem nocte plures per caelum lapsae sunt, et Lanuuii Caeritesque anguem in oppido suo iubatum, aureis maculis sparsum, apparuisse adfirmabant, et in agro Campano bouem locutum esse satis constabat.

[22] legati nonis Iuniis ex Africa redierunt, qui conuento prius Masinissa rege Carthaginem ierant; ceterum certius aliquanto, quae Carthagine acta essent, ab rege scierant quam ab ipsis Carthaginensibus. conpertum tamen adfirmauerunt legatos ab rege Perseo uenisse, iisque noctu senatum in aede Aesculapi datum esse. ab Carthagine legatos in Macedoniam missos et rex adfirmauerat et ipsi parum constanter negauerant. in Macedoniam quoque mittendos legatos senatus censuit. tres missi sunt, C. Laelius M. Ualerius Messalla Sex. Digitius. Perseus per id tempus, quia quidam Dolopum non parebant et, de quibus ambigebatur rebus, disceptionem ab rege ad Romanos reuocabant, cum exercitu profectus sub ius iudiciumque suum totam coegit gentem. inde per Oetaeos montes transgressus, religionibus quibusdam animo obiectis, oraculum aditurus Delphos escendit. cum in media repente Graecia apparuisset, magnum non finitimis modo urbibus terrorem praebuit, sed in Asiam quoque ad regem Eumenen nuntios tumultuosos misit. triduum non plus Delphis moratus, per Pthiotidem Achaia Thessaliaque sine damno iniuriaque eorum, per quorum <fines> iter fecit, in regnum

rediit. nec earum tantum ciuitatum, per quas iturus erat, satis habuit animos sibi conciliare; aut legatos aut litteras dimisit, petens, ne diutius simultatum, quae cum patre suo fuissent, meminissent; nec enim tam atroces fuisse eas, ut non cum ipso potuerint ac debuerint finiri; secum quidem omnia illis integra esse <ad> instituendam fideliter amicitiam; cum Achaeorum maxime gente reconciliandae gratiae uiam quaerebat.

[23] haec una ex omni Graecia gens et Atheniensium ciuitas eo processerat irarum, ut finibus interdiceret Macedonibus. itaque seruitiis ex Achaia fugientibus receptaculum Macedonia erat, quia, cum finibus suis <iis> interdixissent, intrare regni terminos ipsi non audebant. id cum Perseus animaduertisset, comprehensis omnibus litterae * * . ceterum ne similis fuga seruorum postea fieret, cogitandum et illis esse. recitatis his litteris per Xenarchum praetorem, qui priuatae gratiae aditum apud regem quaerebat, et plerisque moderate et benigne scriptas esse censentibus litteras, atque iis maxime, qui praeter spem recepturi essent amissa mancipia, Callicrates ex iis, qui in eo uerti salutem gentis crederent, si cum Romanis inuiolatum foedus seruaretur, ‘parua’ inquit ‘aut mediocris res, Achaei, quibusdam uidetur agi: ego maxumam grauissimamque omnium non agi tantum arbitror, sed quodam modo actam esse. nam qui regibus Macedonum Macedonibusque ipsis finibus interdixissemus manereque id decretum <sciremus, quo caueramus>, scilicet ne legatos, ne nuntiosmitteremus regum, per quos aliquorum ex nobis animi sollicitarentur, ii contionantem quodam modo absentem audimus regem, et, si dis placet, orationem eius probamus. et cum ferae bestiae cibum ad fraudem suam positum plerumque aspernentur et refugiant, nos caeci specie parui beneficii inescamur et seruulorum minimi pretii recipiendorum spe nostram ipsorum libertatem subruere et temptari patimur. quis enim non uidet uiam regiae societatis quaeri, qua Romanum foedus, quo nostra omnia continentur, uioletur? nisi hoc dubium alicui est, bellandum Romanis cum Perseo esse et, quod uiuo Philippo expectatum, morte eius interpellatum est, id post mortem Philippi futurum. duos, ut scitis, habuit filios Philippus, Demetrium et Persea. genere materno, uirtute, ingenio, fauore Macedonum longe praestitit Demetrius. sed quia in Romanos odii regnum posuerat praemium, Demetrium nullo

alio crimine quam Romanae amicitiae initae occidit; Persea, quem <belli cum> populo Romano prius paene quam regni heredem futurum sciebat, regem fecit. itaque quid hic post mortem patris egit aliud quam bellum parauit? Bastarnas primum ad terrorem omnium <in> Dardaniam inmisit; qui si sedem eam tenuissent, grauiore eos accolae Graecia habuisset, quam Asia Gallos habebat. ea spe depulsus non tamen belli consilia omisit; immo, si uere uolumus dicere, iam incohauit bellum. Dolopiam armis subegit nec prouocantis de controuersiis ad disceptationem populi Romani audiuit. inde transgressus Oetam, ut repente in medio umbilico Graeciae conspiceretur, Delphos descendit. haec usurpatio itineris insoliti quo uobis spectare uidetur? Thessaliam deinde peragrauit; quod sine ullius eorum, quos oderat, noxa, hoc magis temptationem metuo. inde litteras ad nos cum muneris specie misit et cogitare iubet, quo modo in reliquum hoc munere non egeamus, hoc est, ut decretum, quo arcentur Peloponneso Macedones, tollamus, rursus legatos regios et hospitium cum principibus et mox Macedonum exercitus, ipsum quoque a Delphis++quantum enim interfluit fretum? ++traicientem in Peloponnesum uideamus, inmisceamur Macedonibus armantibus se aduersus Romanos. ego nihil noui censeo decernendum seruandaque omnia integra, donec ad certum redigatur, uanusne hic timor noster an uerus fuerit. si pax inuiolata inter Macedonas Romanosque manebit, nobis quoque amicitia et commercium sit; nunc de eo <cogitare> periculosum et inmatuum uidetur’.

[24] post hunc Archo, frater Xenarchi praetoris, ita disseruit: ‘difficilem orationem Callicrates et mihi et omnibus, qui ab eo dissentimus, fecit: agendo enim Romanae societatis causam ipse temptarique et oppugnari dicendo, quam nemo neque temptat neque oppugnat, effecit, ut, qui ab se dissentiret, aduersus Romanos dicere uideretur. ac primum omnium, tamquam non hic nobiscum fuisset, sed aut ex curia populi Romani ueniret aut regum arcanis interesset, omnia scit et nuntiat, quae occulte facta sunt. diuinat etiam, quae futura fuerint, si Philippus uiuisset, quid ita Perseus regni heres sit, quid parent Macedones, quid cogitent Romani. nos autem, qui nec ob quam causam nec quem ad modum perierit Demetrius scimus, nec, quid Philippus, si uiuisset, facturus fuerit, ad haec, quae palam

geruntur, consilia nostra accommodare oportet. ac scimus Persea regno accepto regem a populo Romano appellatum; audimus legatos Romanos uenisse ad regem Persea et eos benigne exceptos. haec omnia pacis equidem signa esse iudico, non belli; nec Romanos offendi posse, si ut bellum gerentes eos secuti sumus, nunc quoque pacis auctores sequamur. cur quidem nos inexpiabile omnium soli bellum aduersus regnum Macedonum geramus, non uideo. opportuni propinquitate ipsa Macedoniae sumus? an infirmissimi omnium, tamquam, quos nuper subegit, Dolopes? immo contra ea uel uiribus nostris, deum benignitate, uel regionis interuallo tuti. sed simus aequae subiecti ac Thessali Aetolique: nihilo plus fidei auctoritatisque habemus aduersus Romanos, qui semper socii atque amici fuimus, quam Aetoli, qui paulo ante hostes fuerunt? quod Aetolis, quod Thessalis, quod Epirotis, omni denique Graeciae cum Macedonibus iuris est, idem et nobis sit. cur execrabilis ista nobis solis uelut dissertio iuris humani est? fecerit aliquid Philippus, cur aduersus eum armatum et bellum gerentem hoc decerneremus; quid Perseus, nouus rex, omnis iniuriae insons, suo beneficio paternas simultates obliterans, meruit, cur soli omnium hostes ei simus? quamquam et illud dicere poteram, tanta priorum Macedoniae regum merita erga nos fuisse, ut Philippi unius iniurias, si quae forte fuerunt, utique post mortem <obliterent. non uenit in mentem,> cum classis Romana Cenchreis staret, consul cum exercitu Elatiae esset, triduum nos in concilio fuisse consultantis, utrum Romanos an Philippum sequeremur? nihil metus praesens ab Romanis sententias nostras inclinarit: fuit certe tamen aliquid, quod tam longam deliberationem faceret; idque erat uetusta coniunctio cum Macedonibus, uetera et magna in nos regum merita. ualeant et nunc eadem illa, non ut praecipue amici, sed ne praecipue inimici simus. ne id, quod non agitur, Callicrates, simulauerimus agi. nemo nouae societatis aut noui foederis, quo nos temere inligemus, conscribendi est auctor; sed commercium tantum iuris praebendi repetendique sit, ne interdictione finium nostrorum nos quoque <terminis> regni arceamus; ne seruis nostris aliquo fugere liceat, quid hoc aduersus Romana foedera est? quid rem paruam et apertam magnam et suspectam facimus? quid uanos tumultus ciemus? quid, ut ipsi locum adsentandi Romanis habeamus, suspectos alios <et> inuisos

efficimus? si bellum erit, ne Perseus quidem dubitat, quin Romanos secuturi simus; in pace, etiam si non finiuntur odia, intermittantur.’ cum iidem huic orationi, qui litteris regis adsensi erant, adsentirentur, indignatione principum, quod, quam rem ne legatione quidem dignam iudicasset Perseus, litteris paucorum uersuum impetraret, decretum differtur. legati deinde postea missi ab rege, cum Megalopoli concilium esset, dataque opera est ab iis, qui offensionem apud Romanos timebant, ne admitterentur.

[25] per haec tempora Aetolorum in semet ipsos uersus furor mutuis caedibus ad internecionem adducturus uidebatur gentem. fessi deinde et Romam utraque pars miserunt legatos et inter se ipsi de reconcilianda concordia agebant; quae nouo facinore discussa res ueteres etiam iras excitauit. exulibus Hypataeis, qui factionis Proxeni erant, cum reditus in patriam promissus esset fidesque data per principem ciuitatis Eupoleum, octoginta inlustres homines, quibus redeuntibus inter ceteram multitudinem Eupolemus etiam obuius exierat, cum salutatione benigna excepti essent dextraeque datae, ingredienti portam, fidem datam deosque testis nequiquam inuocantes interfecti sunt. inde grauius de integro bellum exarsit. C. Ualerius Laeuinus et Ap. Claudius Pulcher et C. Memmius et M. Popilius et L. Canuleius missi ab senatu uenerant. apud eos cum Delphis utriusque partis legati magno certamine agerent, Proxenus maxime cum causa, tum eloquentia praestare uisus est; qui paucos post dies ab Orthobula uxore ueneno est sublatus; damnataque eo crimine in exilium abiit. idem furor et Cretenses lacerabat. aduentu deinde Q. Minuci legati, qui cum decem nauibus missus ad sedanda eorum certamina erat, <ad> spem pacis uenerant. ceterum indutiae tantum sex mensum fuerunt; inde multo grauius bellum exarsit. Lycii quoque per idem tempus ab Rhodiis bello uexabantur. sed externorum inter se bella, quo quaeque modo gesta sint, persequi non operae est satis superque oneris sustinenti res a populo Romano gestas perscribere.

[26] Celtiberi in Hispania, qui bello domiti se Ti. Graccho dediderant, pacati manserant M. Titinio praetore obtinente prouinciam. rebellarunt sub aduentum Ap. Claudi orsique bellum sunt ab repentina oppugnatione castrorum Romanorum. prima lux ferme erat, cum uigiles in uallo quique in portarum stationibus erant,

cum uidissent procul uenientem hostem, ad arma conclamauerunt. Ap. Claudius, signo proposito pugnae ac paucis adhortatus milites, tribus simul portis eduxit. obsistentibus ad exitum Celtiberis primo par utrimque proelium fuit, quia propter angustias non omnes in faucibus pugnare poterant Romani; urgentes deinde alii alios secuti <ubi> euaserunt extra uallum, ut pandere aciem et exaequari cornibus hostium, quibus circumibantur, possent, ita repente inruperunt, ut sustinere impetum eorum Celtiberi nequirent. ante horam secundam pulsati sunt; ad quindecim milia <caesa aut> capta, signa adempta duo et triginta. castra etiam eo die expugnata debellatumque; nam qui superfuere proelio, in oppida sua dilapsi sunt. quieti deinde paruerunt imperio.

[27] censores eo anno creati Q. Fuluius Flaccus et A. Postumius Albinus legerunt senatum; princeps lectus M. Aemilius Lepidus pontifex maximus. de senatu nouem eiecerunt; insignes notae fuerunt M. Corneli Maluginensis, qui biennio ante praetor in Hispania fuerat, et L. Corneli Scipionis praetoris, cuius tum inter ciuis et peregrinos iurisdictio erat, et L. Fului, qui frater germanus et, ut Ualerius Antias tradit, consors etiam censoris erat. consules uotis in Capitolio nuncupatis in prouincias profecti sunt. ex iis M. Aemilio senatus negotium dedit, ut Patauinorum in Uenetia seditionem conprimeret, quos certamine factionum ad intestinum bellum exarsisse et ipsorum legati attulerant. legati, qui in Aetoliam ad similis motus comprimendos ierant, renuntiarunt coerceri rabiem gentis non posse. Patauinis saluti fuit aduentus consulis; neque aliud, quod ageret in prouincia, cum habuisset, Romam redit. censores uias sternendas silice in urbe, glarea extra urbem substruendas marginandasque primi omnium locauerunt, pontesque multis locis faciendos; et scaenam aedilibus praetoribusque praebendam; et carceres in circo, et oua ad no<tas> curriculis numerand<is> dam, et metas trans. et caueas ferreas, pe<r quas> intromitterentur. . . . feriis in monte Albano consulibus, et cliuom Capitolinum silice sternendum curauerunt, et porticum ab aede Saturni in Capitolium ad senaculum, ac super id curiam. et extra portam Trigeminam emporium lapide strauerunt stipitibusque saepserunt, et porticum Aemiliam reficiendam curarunt, gradibusque ascensum ab Tiberi in emporium fecerunt. et intra eandem portam in

Auentinum porticum silice strauerunt, et~ eo publico ab aede Ueneris fecerunt. iidem Calatiae et Auximi muros faciendos locauerunt; uenditisque ibi publicis locis pecuniam, quae redacta erat, tabernis utrique foro circumdandis consumpserunt. et alter ex iis Fuluius Flaccus++nam Postumius nihil nisi senatus Romani populiue iussu se locaturum <edixit>++ipsorum pecunia Iouis aedem Pisauri et Fundis et Potentiae etiam aquam adducendam, et Pisauri uiam silice sternendam, et Sinuessae maga<lia addenda> * auariae, in his et clo<acas et mur>um circumducen<dum>. . . . et forum porticibus tabernisque claudendum et Ianos tris faciendos. haec ab uno censore opera locata cum magna gratia colonorum. moribus quoque regendis diligens et seuera censura fuit. multis equi adempti.

[28] exitu prope anni diem unum supplicatio fuit ob res prospere gestas in Hispania ductu auspicioque Ap. Claudii proconsulis; et maioribus hostiis uiginti sacrificatum. et alterum diem supplicatio ad Cereris, Liberi Liberaeque fuit, quod ex Sabinis terrae motus ingens cum multis aedificiorum ruinis nuntiatus erat. cum Ap. Claudius ex Hispania Romam redisset, decreuit senatus, ut ouans urbem iniret. iam consularia comitia adpetebant; quibus magna contentione habitis propter multitudinem petentium creati L. Postumius Albinus et M. Popilius Laenas. praetores inde facti N. Fabius Buteo C. Matienus C. Cicereius M. Furius Crassus iterum A. Atilius Serranus iterum C. Cluius Saxula iterum. comitiis perfectis Ap. Claudius Cento ex Celtiberis ouans cum in urbem iniret, decem milia pondo argenti, quinque milia auri in aerarium tulit. flamen Dialis inauguratus est Cn. Cornelius. eodem anno tabula in aede matris Matutae cum indice hoc posita est: ‘Ti. Semproni Gracchi consulis imperio auspicioque legio exercitusque populi Romani Sardiniam subegit. in ea prouincia hostium caesa aut capta supra octoginta milia. re publica felicissime gesta atque liberatis <sociis,> uectigalibus restitutis, exercitum saluom atque incolumem plenissimum praeda domum reportauit; iterum triumphans in urbem Romam redit. cuius rei ergo hanc tabulam donum Ioui dedit.’ Sardiniae insulae forma erat, atque in ea simulacra pugnarum picta. munera gladiatorum eo anno aliquot, parua alia, data; unum ante cetera insigne fuit T. Flaminini, quod mortis causa patris sui cum uisceratione epuloque et ludis scaenicis quadriduum dedit. magni tum muneris ea summa fuit, ut per triduum

quattuor et septuaginta homines pugnarint.

LIBER XLII

[1] L. Postumius Albinus M. Popilius Laenas <consules> cum omnium primum de prouinciis <et> exercitibus ad senatum rettulissent, Ligures utrique decreti sunt, ut nouas ambo, quibus eam prouinciam obtinerent, legiones — binae singulis decretae — et socium Latini nominis dena milia peditum et sescenos equites, et supplementum Hispaniae tria milia peditum Romanorum scriberent et ducentos equites. ad hoc mille et quingenti pedites Romani cum centum equitibus scribi iussi, cum quibus praetor, cui Sardinia obtigisset, in Corsicam transgressus bellum gereret; interim M. Atilius, uetus praetor, prouinciam obtineret Sardiniam. praetores deinde prouincias sortiti sunt, A. Atilius Serranus urbanam, C. Cluius Saxula inter ciues et peregrinos, N. Fabius Buteo Hispaniam citeriorem, M. Matienus ulteriorem, M. Furius Crassipes Siciliam, C. Cicereius Sardiniam. priusquam in <prouincias> magistratus proficiscerentur, senatui placuit, L. Postumium consulem ad agrum publicum a priuato terminandum in Campaniam ire, cuius ingentem modum possidere priuatos paulatim proferendo fines constabat. hic iratus Praenestinis, quod, cum eo priuatus sacrificii in templo Fortunae faciundi causa profectus esset, nihil in se honorifice neque publice neque priuatim factum a Praenestinis esset, priusquam ab Roma proficisceretur, litteras Praeneste misit, ut sibi magistratus obuiam exiret, locum publice pararent, ubi deuerteretur, iumentaue, cum exiret inde, praesto essent. ante hunc consulem nemo umquam sociis in ulla re oneri aut sumptui fuit. ideo magistratus mulis tabernaculisque et omni alio instrumento militari ornabantur, ne quid tale imperarent sociis. priuata hospitia habebant; ea benigne comiterque colebant, domusque eorum Romae hospitibus patebant, apud quos ipsis deuerti mos esset. legati, qui repente aliquo mitterentur, singula iumenta per oppida, iter qua faciundum erat, imperabant; aliam inpensam socii in magistratus Romanos non faciebant. ira consulis, etiamsi iusta, non tamen in magistratu exercenda, et silentium nimis aut modestum aut timidum Praenestinatorum ius, uelut probato exemplo, magistratibus fecit grauiorum in dies talis generis imperiorum.

[2] Principio huius anni legati, qui in Aetoliam et Macedoniam missi erant, renuntiarunt, sibi conueniendi regis Persei, cum alii abesse eum, alii aegrum esse, falso utrumque, fingerent, potestatem non factam. facile tamen apparuisse sibi, bellum parari, nec ultra ad arma ire <regem> dilaturum. item in Aetolia seditionem gliscere in dies, neque discordiarum principes auctoritate sua coerceri potuisse. cum bellum Macedonicum in expectatione esset, priusquam id susciperetur, prodigia expiari pacemque deum peti precationibus, qui editi ex fatalibus libris essent, placuit. Lanuui classis magnae species in caelo uisa dicebatur, et Priuerni lana pulla terra enata, et in Ueienti apud Rementem lapidatum; Pomptinum omne uelut nubibus lucustarum coopertum esse; in Gallico agro, qua induceretur aratrum, sub existentibus glaebis pisces emersisse. ob haec prodigia libri fatales inspecti, editumque ab decemuiris est, et quibus diis quibusque hostiis sacrificaretur, et ut supplicatio prodigiis expiandis fieret, alteraque, <quae> priore anno uoletudinis populi causa uota esset, ea uti fier<et fer>iaequae essent. itaque sacrificatum est, ut decemuiri scriptum ediderant.

[3] Eodem anno aedis Iunonis Lacinae detecta. Q. Fuluius Flaccus censor aedem Fortunae equestris, quam in Hispania praetor bello Celtiberico uouerat, faciebat enixio studio, ne ullum Romae amplius aut magnificentius templum esset. magnum ornatum ei templo ratus adiecturum, si tegulae marmoreae essent, profectus in Bruttios aedem Iunonis Lacinae ad partem dimidiam detegit, id satis fore ratus ad tegendum, quod aedificaretur. naues paratae fuerunt, quae tollerent atque asportarent, auctoritate censoria sociis deterritis id sacrilegium prohibere. postquam censor rediit, tegulae expositae de nauibus ad templum portabantur. quamquam, unde essent, silebatur, non tamen celari potuit. fremitus igitur in curia ortus est; ex omnibus partibus postulabatur, ut consules eam rem ad senatum referrent. ut uero accersitus in curiam censor uenit, multo infestius singuli uniuersique praesentem lacerare: templum augustissimum regionis eius, quod non Pyrrhus, non Hannibal uiolassent, uiolare parum habuisse, nisi detexisset foede ac prope diruisset. detractum culmen templo, nudatum tectum patere imbribus putrefaciendum. <ad> id censorem moribus regendis creatum? cui sarta tecta exigere sacris publicis et loca * * tuenda more maiorum traditum esset, eum per sociorum

urbes diruentem templa nudantemque tecta aedium sacrarum uagari. et quod, si in priuatis sociorum aedificiis faceret, indignum uideri posset, id eum <templa deum> immortalium demolientem facere, et obstringere religione populum Romanum, ruinis templorum templa aedificantem, tamquam non iidem ubique di immortales sint, sed spoliis aliorum alii colendi exornandique. cum, priusquam referretur, appareret, quid sentirent patres, relatione facta in unam omnes sententiam ierunt, ut eae tegulae reportandae in templum <locarentur> piaculariaque Iunoni fierent. quae ad religionem pertinebant, cum cura facta; tegulas relictas in area templi, quia reponendarum nemo artifex inire rationem potuerit, redemptores nuntiarunt.

[4] Ex praetoribus, qui in prouincias ierant, N. Fabius Massiliae moritur, cum in citeriorem Hispaniam iret. itaque cum id nuntiatum <a> Massiliensibus legatis esset, senatus decreuit, ut P. Furius et Cn. Seruilius, quibus succedebatur, inter se sortirentur, uter citeriorem Hispaniam prorogato imperio obtineret. sors opportuna fuit, <ut> P. Furius idem, cuius ea prouincia fuerat, remaneret.

Eodem anno, cum agri Ligustini et Gallici, quod bello captum erat, aliquantum uacaret, senatus consultum factum, ut is ager uiritim diuideretur. decemuiros in eam <rem> ex senatus consulto creauit A. Atilius praetor urbanus M. Aemilium Lepidum C. Cassium T. Aebutium Parrum C. Tremellium P. Cornelium Cethegum Q. et L. Apuleios M. Caecilium C. Salonium C. Munatium. diuiserunt dena iugera in singulos, sociis nominis Latini terna.

Per idem tempus, quo haec agebantur, legati ex Aetolia Romam uenerunt de discordiis seditionibusque suis, et Thessali legati nuntiantes, quae in Macedonia gererentur.

[5] Perseus bellum iam uiuo patre cogitatum in animo uoluens omnis non gentes modo Graeciae, sed ciuitates etiam legationibus mittendis, pollicendo plura quam praestando, sibi conciliabat. erant autem magnae partis hominum ad fauorem eius inclinati animi, et aliquanto quam in Eumenem propensiores, cum Eumenis beneficiis muneribusque omnes Graeciae ciuitates et plerique principum obligati essent, et ita se in regno suo gereret, ut, quae sub ditione eius urbes <essent>, nullius liberae ciuitatis fortunam secum mutatam uellent. contra Persea fama erat post patris mortem uxorem

manu sua occidisse; Apellem, ministrum quondam fraudis in fratre tollendo atque ob id [et] quaesitum a Philippo ad supplicium, exulantem accersitum post patris mortem ingentibus promissis ad praemia tantae perpetratae rei clam interfecisse. intestinis externisque praeterea multis caedibus infamem nec ullo commendabilem merito praeferabant uulgo ciuitates tam pio erga propinquos, tam iusto in ciuis, tam munifico erga omnes homines regi, seu fama et maiestate Macedonum regum praeoccupati ad spernendam originem noui regni, seu mutationis rerum cupidi, seu quia <sua> non obiecta esse Romanis uolebant. erant autem non Aetoli modo in seditionibus propter ingentem uim aeris alieni, sed Thessali etiam; et contagione, uelut tabes, in Perrhaebiam quoque id peruaserat malum. cum Thessalos in armis esse nuntiatum esset, Ap. Claudium legatum ad eas res aspiciendas componendasque senatus misit. qui utriusque partis principibus castigatis, cum iniusto faenore grauatum aes alienum, ipsis magna ex parte concedentibus, qui onerarent, leuasset, iusti crediti solutionem in decem annorum pensiones distribuit. per eundem Appium eodemque modo conpositae in Perrhaebia res. Aetolorum causas <M.> Marcellus Delphis per idem tempus <iisdem> hostilibus actas animis, quos intestino gesserant bello, cognouit. cum certatum utrimque temeritate atque audacia cerneret, decreto quidem suo neutram partem aut leuare aut onerare uoluit; communiter ab utrisque petit, abstinere bello et obliuione praeteritorum discordias finirent. huius reconciliationis inter ipsos fides obsidibus ultro citroque datis firmata est. Corinthus, ubi deponerentur obsides, conuenit.

[6] A Delphis et Aetolico concilio Marcellus in Peloponnesum traiecit <Aegium>, quo Achaeis edixerat conuentum. ubi conlaudata gente, quod constanter uetus decretum de arcendis aditu finium regibus Macedonum tenuissent, insigne aduersus Persea odium Romanorum fecit; quod ut maturius erumperet, Eumenes rex commentarium ferens secum, quod de apparatus belli omnia inquirens fecerat, Romam uenit. per idem tempus quinque legati ad regem missi, qui res in Macedonia aspicerent. Alexandriam iidem ad Ptolemaeum renouandae amicitiae causa proficisci iussi. legati erant hi: C. Ualerius C. Lutatius Cerco Q. Baebius Sulca M. Cornelius Mammula M. Caecilius Denter. et <ab> Antiocho rege sub idem

tempus legati uenerunt; quorum princeps Apollonius in senatum introductus multis iustisque causis regem excusauit, quod stipendium serius quam ad diem praestaret; id se omne aduexisse, ne cuius nisi temporis gratia regi fieret. donum praeterea afferre, uasa aurea quingentum pondo. petere regem, ut, quae cum patre suo societas atque amicitia fuisset, ea secum renouaretur, imperaretque sibi populus Romanus, quae bono fidelique socio regi essent imperanda; se <in> nullo usquam cessaturum officio. ea merita in <se> senatus fuisse, cum Romae esset, eam comitatem iuuentutis, ut pro rege, non pro obside omnibus ordinibus fuerit. legatis benigne responsum, et societatem renouare cum Antiocho, quae cum patre eius fuerat, A. Atilius praetor urbanus iussus. quaestores urbani stipendium, uasa aurea censores acceperunt, eisque negotium datum est, ut ponerent ea, in quibus templis uideretur; legato centum milium aeris munus missum et aedes liberae hospitio datae sumptusque decretus, donec in Italia esset. legati, qui in Syria fuerant, renuntiauerant, in maximo eum honore apud regem esse amicissimumque populo Romano.

[7] In prouinciis eo anno haec <acta>. C. Cicereius praetor in Corsica signis conlatis pugnavit; septem milia Corsorum caesa, capti amplius mille et septingenti. uouerat in ea pugna praetor aedem Iunoni Monetae. pax deinde data petentibus Corsis, et exacta cerae ducenta milia pondo. ex Corsica subacta Cicereius in Sardiniam transmisit. et in Liguribus in agro Statellati pugnatum ad oppidum Carystum. eo se magnus exercitus Ligurum contulerat. primo sub aduentum M. Popili consulis moenibus sese continebant; deinde, postquam oppidum oppugnaturum Romanum cernebant, progressi ante portas aciem struxerunt. nec consul, ut qui id ipsum oppugnatione comminanda quaesisset, moram certamini fecit. pugnatum amplius tris est horas ita, ut neutro inclinaret spes. quod ubi consul uidit nulla parte moueri Ligurum signa, imperat equitibus, ut equos conscendant ac tribus simul partibus in hostis, quanto maximo possent tumultu, incurrant. pars magna equitum mediam traiecit aciem et ad terga pugnantium peruasit. inde terror iniectus Liguribus; diuersi in omnes partes fugerunt, perpauca retro in oppidum, quia inde se maxime obiecerat eques. et pugna tam peruehax multos absumpserat Ligurum, et in fuga passim caesi sunt. decem milia hominum caesa traduntur, amplius septingenti [passim]

capti, signa militaria relata octoginta duo. <nec> incruenta uictoria fuit: amplius tria milia militum amissa, cum cedentibus neutris ex parte utraque primores caderent.

[8] Post hanc pugnam ex diuersa fuga in unum collecti Ligures, cum maiorem multo partem ciuium amissam quam superesse cernerent — nec enim plus decem milia hominum erant — , dediderunt sese, nihil quidem illi pacti; sperauerant tamen, <non> atrocius quam superiores imperatores consulem in se saeuiturum. at ille arma omnibus ademit, oppidum diruit, ipsos bonaque eorum uendidit; litterasque senatui de rebus ab se gestis misit. quas cum A. Atilius praetor in curia recitasset — nam consul alter Postumius agris recognoscendis in Campania occupatus aberat — , atrox res uisa senatui, Statellites, qui uni ex Ligurum gente non tulissent arma aduersus Romanos, tum quoque oppugnatos, non ultro inferentis bellum, deditos in fidem populi Romani omni ultimae crudelitatis exemplo laceratos ac deletos esse, tot milia capitum innoxiorum, fidem inplorantia populi Romani, ne quis umquam se postea dedere auderet, pessimo exemplo uenisse, et distractos passim iustis quondam hostibus populi Romani pacatos seruire. quas ob res placere senatui, M. Popilius consulem Ligures, pretio emptoribus reddito, ipsos restituere in libertatem, bonaque ut iis, quod eius recipari possit, reddantur curare; arma <quoque reddi, eaque omnia primo> quoque tempore fieri; nec ante consulem de prouincia decedere, quam deditos in sedem suam Ligures restituisset. claram uictoriam uincendo pugnantis, non saeuendo in adflictos fieri.

[9] Consul, qua ferocia animi usus erat in Liguribus, eandem ad non parendum senatui habuit. legionibus extemplo Pisas in hibernacula missis iratus patribus, infestus praetori Romam redit; senatuque extemplo ad aedem Bellonae uocato, multis uerbis inuectus in praetorem, qui, cum ob rem bello bene gestam uti diis immortalibus honos haberetur referre ad senatum debuisset, aduersus se pro hostibus senatus consultum fecisset, quo uictoriam suam ad Ligures transferret dedique iis prope consulem praetor iuberet: itaque multam ei se dicere; a patribus postulare, ut senatus consultum in se factum tolli iuberent, supplicationemque, quam absente se ex litteris de bene gesta re publica missis decernere debuerint, praesente se honoris deorum primum causa, deinde et sui aliquo tamen respectu

decernerent. nihilo lenioribus, quam absens, senatorum aliquot orationibus increpitus neutra impetrata re in prouinciam redit.

Alter consul Postumius consumpta aestate in recognoscendis agris, ne uisa quidem prouincia sua comitiorum causa Romam rediit. consules C. Popilium Laenatem P. Aelium Ligurem creauit. praetores exinde facti C. Licinius Crassus M. Iunius Pennus Sp. Lucretius Sp. Cluuius Cn. Sicinius C. <Memmius> iterum.

[10] Eo anno lustrum conditum est; censores erant Q. Fuluius <Flaccus A. Postumius> Albinus; Postumius condidit. censa sunt ciuium Romanorum capita ducenta sexaginta nouem milia et quindecim, minor aliquanto numerus, quia L. Postumius consul pro contione edixerat, qui socium Latini nominis ex edicto C. Claudii consulis redire in ciuitates suas debuissent, ne quis eorum Romae, et omnes in suis ciuitatibus censerentur. concors et e re publica censura fuit. omnes, quos senatu mouerunt quibusque equos ademerunt, aerarios fecerunt et tribu mouerunt; neque ab altero notatum alter probauit. Fuluius aedem Fortunae equestris, quam proconsul in Hispania dimicans cum Celtiberorum legionibus uouerat, annis sex post, quam uouerat, dedicauit, et scaenicos ludos per quadriduum, unum diem in circo fecit.

L. Cornelius Lentulus, decemuir sacrorum, eo anno mortuus est. in locum eius suffectus A. Postumius Albinus. lucustarum tantae nubes a mari repente in Apuliam inlatae sunt, ut examinibus suis agros late operirent. ad quam pestem frugum tollendam Cn. Sicinius, praetor designatus, cum imperio <in> Apuliam missus, ingenti agmine hominum ad colligendas eas coacto aliquantum temporis absumpsit.

Principium insequentis anni, quo C. Popilius et P. Aelius fuerunt consules, residuas contentiones ex priore anno habuit. patres referri de Liguribus renouarique senatus consultum uolebant, et consul Aelius referebat. Popilius et collegam et senatum pro fratre deprecabatur, prae se ferens, si quid decernerent, intercessurum. collegam deterruit; patres eo magis, utrique pariter consuli infensi, in incepto perstabant. itaque cum de prouinciis ageretur et Macedonia iam imminente Persei bello peteretur, Ligures ambobus consulibus decernunt; Macedoniam decreturos negant, <ni> de M. Popilio referretur. postulantibus deinde, ut nouos exercitus scribere aut

supplementum ueteribus liceret, utrumque negatum est. praetoribus quoque in Hispaniam supplementum petentibus negatum M. Iunio <in> citeriorem, Sp. Lucretio in ulteriorem. C. Licinius Crassus urbanam iurisdictionem, Cn. Sicinius inter peregrinos erat sortitus, C. Memmius Siciliam, Sp. Cluuius Sardiniam. consules ob ea irati senatui, Latinis feriis in primam quamque diem indictis, in prouinciam abituros esse denuntiarunt, nec quicquam rei publicae acturos, praeterquam quod ad prouinciarum administrationem adtineret.

[11] Attalum, regis Eumenis fratrem, legatum uenisse Romam Ualerius Antias his consulibus scribit ad deferenda de Perseo crimina indicandosque apparatus belli. plurium annales, et quibus credidisse malis, ipsum Eumenem uenisse tradunt. Eumenes igitur ut Romam uenit, exceptus cum tanto honore, quantum non meritis tantum eius, sed beneficiis etiam suis, ingentia quae in eum congesta erant, existimabant deberi, a praetore in senatum est introductus. causam ueniendi sibi Romam fuisse dixit praeter cupiditatem uidendi deos hominesque, quorum beneficio in ea fortuna esset, supra quam ne optare quidem auderet, etiam ut coram moneret senatum, ut Persei conatis obuiam iret. orsus inde a Philippi consiliis necem Demetrii filii rettulit, aduersantis Romano bello; Bastarnarum gentem excitam sedibus suis, quorum auxiliis fretus in Italiam transiret. haec secum uolutantem in animo, oppressum fato, regnum ei reliquisse, quem infestissimum esse sensisset Romanis. itaque Persea hereditarium <a> patre relictum bellum et simul cum imperio traditum, iamiam proximum alere ac fouere omnibus consiliis. florere praeterea iuuentute, quam stirpem longa pax ediderit, florere opibus regni, florere etiam aetate. quae cum corporis robore ac uiribus uigeat, animum esse inueteratum diutina arte atque usu belli. iam inde a puero patris contubernio Romanis quoque bellis, non finitumis tantum adsuetum, missum a patre in expeditiones multas uariasque. iam ex quo ipse accepisset regnum, multa, quae non ui, non dolo Philippus omnia expertus potuisset moliri, admirando rerum successu tenuisse. accessisse ad uires eam, quae longo tempore multis magnisque meritis pareretur, auctoritatem.

[12] Nam apud Graeciae atque Asiae ciuitates uereri maiestatem eius omnes. nec pro quibus meritis, pro qua munificentia tantum ei

tribuatur, cernere nec dicere pro certo posse, utrum felicitate id quadam eius accidat, an, quod ipse uereatur dicere, inuidia aduersus Romanos fauorem illi conciliet. inter ipsos quoque reges ingentem auctoritate <esse>, Seleuci filiam duxisse eum, non petentem, sed petutum ultro; sororem dedisse Prusiae precanti at<que> oranti; celebratas esse utrasque nuptias gratulatione donis<que> innumerabilium legationum, et uelut auspiciis nobilissimis populis deductas esse. Boeotorum gentem, captatam Philipppo, numquam ad scribendum amicitiae foedus adduci potuisse; tribus nunc locis cum Perseo foedus incisum litteris esse, uno Thebis, altero ad Delium, augustissimo et celeberrimo in templo, tertio Delphis. in Achaico concilio uero, nisi discussa res per paucos Romanum imperium intentantis esset, eo rem prope adductam, ut aditus ei in Achaiam daretur. at hercule suos honores, cuius merita in eam gentem priuatim an publice sint maiora uix dici possit, partim desertos per incultum ac negligentiam, partim hostiliter sublato esse. iam Aetolos quem ignorare in seditionibus suis non ab Romanis, sed a Perseo praesidium petisse? his eum fultum societatibus atque amicitiiis eos domesticos apparatus belli habere, ut externis non egeat. triginta milibus peditum, quinque milibus equitum in decem annos frumentum praeparasse, ut abstinere et suo et hostium agro frumentandi causa possit. iam pecuniam tantam habere, ut decem milibus mercennariorum militum praeter Macedonum copias stipendium in totidem annos praeparatum habeat, praeter annum, quod ex metallis regiis capiat, uectigal. arma uel tribus tantis exercitibus in armamentaria conguessisse. iuuentutem, ut iam Macedonia deficiat, uelut ex perenni fonte unde hauriat, Threciam subiectam esse.

[13] Reliquom orationis adhortatio fuit. ‘non ego haec’ inquit ‘incertis iactata rumoribus et cupidius credita, quia uera esse de inimico crimina uolebam, adfero ad uos, patres conscripti, sed conperta et explorata, haud secus quam si speculator missus a uobis subiecta oculis referrem; neque relicto regno meo, quod amplum et egregium uos fecistis, mare tantum traiecissem, ut uana ad uos adferendo fidem abrogarem mihi; cernebam nobilissimas Asiae et Graeciae ciuitates in dies magis denudantis iudicia sua, mox, si permetteretur, eo processuras, unde receptum ad paenitendum non

haberent; cernebam Persea non continentem se Macedoniae regno, alia armis occupantem, alia, quae ui subigi non possent, fauore ac beniuolentia conplectentem; uidebam, quam impar esset sors, cum ille uobis bellum <pararet>, uos ei securam pacem praestaretis, quamquam mihi quidem non parare, sed gerere paene bellum uidebatur. Abrupolim, socium atque amicum uestrum, regno expulit; Arthetaurum Illyrium, quia scripta ab eo quaedam uobis conperit, socium item atque amicum uestrum, interfecit; Euersam et Callicritum Thebanos, principes ciuitatis, quia liberius aduersus eum in concilio Boeotorum locuti fuerant delaturosque ad uos, quae agerentur, professi erant, tollendos curauit; auxilium Byzantiis aduersus foedus tulit; Dolopiae bellum intulit; Thessaliam et Doridem cum exercitu peruasit, ut in bello intestino deterioris partis auxilio meliorem adfligeret; confudit et miscuit omnia in Thessalia Perrhaebiaque spe nouarum tabularum, ut manu debitorum obnoxia sibi optumates opprimeret. haec cum uobis quiescentibus et patientibus fecerit et concessam sibi Graeciam esse a uobis uideat, pro certo habet neminem sibi, antequam in Italiam traiecerit, armatum occurrurum. hoc quam uobis tutum aut honestum sit, uos uideritis: ego certe mihi turpe esse duxi, prius Persea ad bellum inferendum, quam me socium ad praedicendum, ut caueretis, uenire in Italiam. functus necessario mihi officio, et quodam modo liberata atque exonerata fide mea, quid ultra facere possum, quam uti deos deasque precer, ut uos et uestrae rei publicae et nobis sociis atque amicis, qui ex uobis pendemus, consulatis?’

[14] Haec oratio mouit patres conscriptos. ceterum in praesentia nihil, praeterquam fuisse in curia regem, scire quisquam potuit: eo silentio clausa curia erat. bello denique perfecto, quaeque dicta ab rege quaeque responsa essent, emanauere.

Persei deinde regis legatis post paucos dies senatus datus est. ceterum praeoccupatis non auribus magis quam animis ab Eumene rege, omnis et defensio et deprecatio legatorum respuebatur; et exasperauit animos ferocia nimia Harpali, qui princeps legationis erat. is uelle quidem et laborare dixit regem, ut purganti, se nihil hostile dixisse aut fecisse, fides habeatur: ceterum si peruicacius causam belli quaeri uideat, forti animo defensurum se. Martem communem esse et euentum incertum belli.

Omnibus ciuitatibus Graeciae atque Asiae curae erat, quid Persei legati, quid Eumenes in senatu egisset; et propter aduentum eius, quem moturum aliquid rebantur, miserant pleraeque ciuitates alia in speciem praeferentis legatos. et legatio Rhodiorum ~erat hac falsa iturus princeps, haud dubius, quin Eumenes ciuitatis quoque suae <crimina> Persei criminibus iunxisset. itaque omni modo per patronos hospitesque disceptandi cum rege locum in senatu quaerebat. quod cum <non> contigisset, libertate intemperanti inuectus in regem, quod Lyciorum gentem aduersus Rhodios concitasset grauiorque Asiae esset, quam Antiochus fuisset, popularem quidem <neque Asiae> ingratham populis — nam eo quoque iam fauor Persei uenerat — orationem habuit, ceterum inuisam senatui inutilemque sibi et ciuitati suae. Eumeni uero conspiratio aduersus eum fauorem <maiolem> apud Romanos fecit. ita omnes ei honores habiti donaque quam amplissima data cum sella curuli atque eburneo scipione.

[15] Legationibus dimissis cum Harpalus, quanta maxima celeritate poterat, regressus in Macedoniam nuntiasse regi, nondum quidem parantis bellum reliquisse se Romanos, sed ita infestos, ut facile appareret, non dilaturos, et ipse, praeterquam quod et ita credebat futurum, iam etiam uolebat, in flore uirium se credens esse. Eumeni ante omnis infestus erat; a cuius sanguine ordiens bellum, Euandrum Cretensem, ducem auxiliorum, et Macedonas tres aduetos ministeriis talium facinorum ad caedem regis subornat litterasque eis dat ad Praxo hospitam, principem auctoritate et opibus Delphorum. satis constabat, Eumenem, ut sacrificaret Apollini, Delphos escensurum. praegressi cum Euandro insidiatores nihil aliud ad peragendum inceptum quam loci opportunitatem, omnia circumeuntes, quaerebant. escendentibus ad templum a Cirrha, priusquam perueniretur ad frequentia aedificiis loca, maceria erat ab laeua ad semitam paulum extantem a fundamento, qua singuli transirent; dextra pars labe terrae in aliquantum altitudinis derupta erat. post maceriam se abdiderunt gradibus adstructis, ut ex ea uelut e muro tela in praetereuntem conicerent. primo a mari circumfusa turba amicorum ac satellitum procedebat, deinde extenuabant paulatim angustiae agmen. ubi ad eum locum uentum est, qua singulis eundum erat, primus semitam ingressus Pantaleon, Aetoliae

princeps, cum quo institutus regi sermo erat. tum insidiatores exorti saxa duo ingentia deuoluunt, quorum altero caput ictum est regi, altero umerus; sopitusque ex semita procidit in decliue, multis super prolapsus iam saxis congestis. et ceteri quidem, etiam amicorum et satellitum <turba>, postquam cadentem uidere, diffugiunt; Pantaleon contra inpauidus mansit ad protegendum regem.

[16] Latrones, cum breui circumitu maceriae decurrere ad conficiendum saucium possent, uelut perfecta re in iugum Parnasi refugerunt eo cursu, ut, cum unus non facile sequendo per inuia atque ardua moraretur fugam eorum, <ne> ex comprehenso indicium emanaret, occiderint comitem. ad corpus regis primo amici, deinde satellites ac serui concurrerunt; tollentes sopitum uolnere ac nihil sentientem, uiuere tamen ex calore et spiritu remanente in praecordiis senserunt: uicturum exigua ac prope nulla spes erat. quidam ex satellitibus secuti latronum uestigia, cum usque ad iugum Parnasi nequiquam fatigati peruenissent, re infecta redierunt. adgressi facinus Macedones ut <non> inconsulte ita audacter, coeptum nec consulte et timide reliquerunt. conpotem iam sui regem amici postero die deferunt ad nauem; inde Corinthum, ab Corintho per Isthmi iugum nauibus traductis, Aeginam traiciunt. ibi adeo secreta eius curatio fuit, admittentibus neminem, ut fama mortuum in Asiam perferret. Attalus quoque celerius, quam dignum concordia fraterna erat, credidit; nam et cum uxore fratris et praefecto arcis tamquam iam haud dubius regni heres est locutus. quae postea non fefellere Eumenen; et quamquam dissimulare et tacite habere et pati statuerat, tamen in primo congressu non temperauit, quin uxoris petendae <im>maturam festinationem fratri obiceret. Romam quoque fama de morte Eumenis perlata est.

[17] Sub idem tempus C. Ualerius ex Graecia, quo legatus ad uisendum statum regionis eius speculandaque consilia Persei regis ierat, rediit, congruentiaque omnia criminibus ab Eumene adlatis referebat. simul et adduxerat secum Praxo a Delphis, cuius domus receptaculum latronum fuerat, et L. Rammium Brundisinum, qui talis indicii delator erat. princeps Brundisi Rammius fuit; hospitioque et duces Romanos omnes et legatos, exterarum quoque gentium insignis, praecipue regios, accipiebat. ex eo notitia ei cum absente Perseo fuerat; litterisque spem amicitiae interioris magnaeque inde

fortuna facientibus ad regem profectus breui perfamiliaris haberi trahique magis, quam uellet, in arcanos sermones est coeptus. promissis enim ingentibus praemiis petere institit ab eo rex, quoniam duces omnes legatique Romani hospitio eius uti adsuissent, quibus eorum ipse scripsisset, ut uenenum dandum curaret. cuius scire se conparationem plurimum difficultatis et periculi habere; pluribus consciis comparari; euentu praeterea incerto esse, ut aut satis efficacia ad rem peragendam aut tuta ad rem celandam dentur. se daturum, quod nec in dando nec datum ullo signo deprendi posset. Rammius ueritus, ne, si abnuisset, primus ipse ueneni experimentum esset, facturum pollicitus proficiscitur; nec Brundisium ante redire, quam conuento C. Ualerio legato, qui circa Chalcidem esse dicebatur, uoluit. ad eum primum indicio delato, iussu eius Romam simul uenit. introductus in curiam, quae acta erant, exposuit.

[18] Haec ad ea, quae ab Eumene delata erant, accessere, quo maturius hostis Perseus iudicaretur, quippe quem non iustum modo apparare bellum regio animo, sed per omnia clandestina grassari scelera latrociniorum ac ueneficiorum cernebant. belli administratio ad nouos consules reiecta est; in praesentia tamen Cn. Sicinium praetorem, cuius inter ciues et peregrinos iurisdictio erat, scribere milites placuit, qui Brundisium ducti primo quoque tempore Apolloniam in Epirum traicerentur ad occupandas maritimas urbes, ubi consul, cui prouincia Macedonia obuenerat, classem appellere tuto et copias per commodum exponere posset. Eumenes, aliquamdiu Aeginae retentus periculosa et difficili curatione, cum primum tuto potuit, profectus Pergamum, praeter pristinum odium recenti etiam scelere Persei stimulante <summa> ui parabat bellum. legati eo ab Roma gratulantes, quod e tanto periculo euasisset, uenerunt. cum Macedonicum bellum in annum dilatum esset, ceteris praetoribus iam in prouincias profectis, M. Iunius et Sp. Lucretius, quibus Hispaniae prouinciae obuenerant, fatigantes saepe idem petendo senatum, tandem peruicerunt, ut supplementum sibi ad exercitum daretur: tria milia peditum, centum et quinquaginta equites in Romanas legiones <scribere>, in socialem exercitum quinque milia peditum et trecentos equites imperare sociis iussi. hoc copiarum in Hispanias cum praetoribus nouis portatum est.

[19] Eodem anno, quia per recognitionem Postumi consulis magna

pars agri Campani, quem priuati sine discrimine passim possederant, recuperata in publicum erat, M. Lucretius tribunus plebis promulgauit, ut agrum Campanum censores fruendum locarent, quod factum tot annis post captam Capuam non fuerat, ut in uacuo uageretur cupiditas priuatorum.

Cum <in> expectatione senatus esset bello etsi non indicto, tamen iam decreto, qui regum suam, qui Persei secuturi amicitiam essent, legati Ariarathis puerum filium regis secum adducentes Romam uenerunt; quorum oratio fuit, regem educendum filium Romam misisse, ut iam inde a puero adsuesceret moribus Romanis hominibusque. petere, ut eum non sub hospitum modo priuatorum custodia, sed publicae etiam curae ac uelut tutelae uellent esse. ea legatio grata senatui fuit; decreuerunt, ut Cn. Sicinius praetor aedis instruendas locaret, ubi filius regis comitesque eius habitare possent. et Threcum legatis, Maedis Cepnatisque et Astis societatem amicitiamque petentibus et, quod petebant, datum est, et munera <binum> milium aeris [summae] in singulos missa. hos utique populos, quod ab tergo Macedoniae Threcia esset, adsumptos in societatem gaudebant. sed ut in Asia quoque et insulis explorata omnia essent, Ti. Claudium Neronem M. Decimium legatos miserunt. adire eos Cretam et Rhodum iusserunt, simul renouare amicitiam, simul speculari, num sollicitati animi sociorum ab rege Perseo essent.

[20] In suspensa ciuitate ad expectationem noui belli, nocturna tempestate columna rostrata in Capitolio bello Punico <priore posita ob uictoriam M. Aemili> consulis, cui collega Ser. Fuluius fuit, tota ad imum fulmine discussa est. ea res prodigii loco habita ad senatum relata est; patres et <ad> haruspices referri et decemuiros adire libros iusserunt. decemuiri lustrandum oppidum, supplicationem obsecrationemque habendam, uictimis maioribus sacrificandum et in Capitolio Romae et in Campania ad Mineruae promunturium renuntiarunt; ludos per decem dies Ioui optimo maximo primo quoque die faciendos. ea omnia cum cura facta. haruspices in bonum uersurum id prodigium, prolationemque finium et interitum perduellium portendi responderunt, quod ex hostibus spolia fuissent ea rostra, quae tempestas disiecisset. accesserunt, quae cumularent religiones animis: Saturniae nuntiatum erat sanguine per triduum in

oppido pluuisse; Calatiae asinum tripodem natum, et taurum cum quinque uaccis uno ictu fulminis exanimatos; Auximi terra pluuisse. horum quoque prodigiorum causa res diuinae factae et supplicatio unum diem feriaeque habitae.

[21] Consules ad id tempus in prouinciam non exierant, quia neque, uti de M. Popilio referrent, senatui obsequebantur, et nihil aliud decernere prius statutum patribus erat. aucta etiam inuidia est Popili litteris [eius], quibus iterum cum Statellatibus Liguribus proconsul pugnasse se scripsit ac sex milia eorum occidissee; propter cuius iniuriam belli ceteri quoque Ligurum populi ad arma ierunt. tum uero non absens modo Popilius, qui deditis contra ius ac fas bellum intulisset <et> pacatos ad rebellandum incitasset, sed consules, quod non exirent in prouinciam, in senatu increpiti. hoc consensu patrum accensi M. Marcius Sermo et Q. Marcius Scilla, tribuni plebis, et consulibus multam se dicturos, nisi in prouinciam exirent, denuntiarunt, et rogationem, quam de Liguribus deditis promulgare in animo haberent, in senatu recitarunt. sanciebatur, ut, qui ex Statellis deditis in libertatem restitutus ante kal. Sextiles primas non esset, cuius dolo malo is in seruitutem uenisset, ut iuratus senatus decerneret, qui eam rem quaereret animaduerneretque. ex auctoritate deinde senatus eam rogationem promulgarunt. priusquam proficiscerentur consules, C. Cicereio, <praetori> prioris anni, ad aedem Bellonae senatus datus est. is expositis, quas in Corsica res gessisset, postulatoque frustra triumpho, in monte Albano, quod iam in morem uenerat, ut sine publica auctoritate fieret, triumphauit. rogationem Marciam de Liguribus magno consensu plebes sciuit iussitque. ex eo plebiscito C. Licinius praetor consuluit senatum, quem quaerere ea rogatione uellet. patres ipsum eum quaerere iusserunt.

[22] Tum demum consules in prouinciam profecti sunt exercitumque a M. Popilio acceperunt. neque tamen M. Popilius reuerti Romam audebat, ne causam diceret aduerso senatu, infestiore populo, apud praetorem, qui de quaestione in se <pro>posita senatum consuluisset. huic detractationi eius tribuni plebis alterius rogationis denuntiatione occurrerunt, ut, si non ante idus Nouembres in urbem Romam introisset, de absente eo C. Licinius statueret ac iudicaret. hoc tractus uinculo cum redisset, ingenti cum inuidia in senatum

uenit. ibi cum laceratus iurgiis multorum esset, senatus consultum factum est, ut, qui Ligurum post Q. Fuluium L. Manlium consules hostes non fuissent, ut eos C. Licinius Cn. Sicinius praetores in libertatem restituendos curarent, agrumque iis trans Padum consul C. Popilius daret. multa milia hominum hoc senatus consulto restituta in libertatem, transductisque Padum ager est adsignatus. M. Popilius rogatione Marcia bis apud C. Licinium causam dixit; tertio praetor, gratia consulis absentis et Popiliae familiae precibus uictus, idibus Martiis adesse reum iussit, quo die noui magistratus inituri erant honorem, ne diceret ius, qui priuatus futurus esset. ita rogatio de Liguribus arte fallaci elusa est.

[23] Legati Carthaginienses eo tempore Romae erant et Gulussa, filius Masinissae. inter eos magnae contentiones in senatu fuere. Carthaginienses querebantur, praeter agrum, de quo ante legati ab Roma, qui <in> re praesenti cognoscerent, missi essent, amplius septuaginta oppida castellaque agri Carthaginiensis biennio proximo Masinissam ui atque armis possedisse: id illi, cui nihil pensi sit, facile esse. Carthaginienses foedere inligatos silere; prohiberi enim extra fines efferre arma; quamquam sciant in suis finibus, si inde Numidas pellerent, se gesturos bellum, illo haud ambiguo capite foederis deterreri, quo diserte uenturum cum sociis populi Romani bellum gerere. sed iam ultra superbiam crudelitatemque et auaritiam eius pati non posse Carthaginienses. missos esse <se>, qui orarent senatum, ut trium harum rerum unam ab se impetrari sinerent: ut uel ex aequo in<ter regem> socium populumque <Carthaginiensem>, quid cuiusque esset, disceptarent; uel permetterent Carthaginiensibus, ut aduersus iniusta arma pio iustoque se tutarentur bello; uel ad extremum, si gratia plus quam ueritas apud eos ualeret, semel statuerent, quid donatum ex alieno Masinissae uellent. modestius certe daturos eos, et <se> scituros, quid dedissent; ipsum nullum praeterquam suae libidinis arbitrio <finem> facturum. horum si nihil impetrarent, et aliquod suum post datam a P. Scipione pacem delictum esset, ipsi potius animaduernerent in se. tutam seruitutem se sub dominis Romanis quam libertatem expositam ad iniurias Masinissae malle; perire denique semel ipsis satius esse, quam sub acerbissimi carnificis arbitrio spiritum ducere. sub haec dicta lacrimantes procubuerunt stratique humi non sibi magis

misericordiam quam regi <inuidiam conciliarunt>.

[24] Interrogari Gulussam placuit, quid ad ea responderet, aut, si prius mallet expromere, super qua re Romam uenisset. Gulussa neque sibi facile esse dixit de iis rebus agere, de quibus nihil mandati a patre haberet, neque patri facile fuisse mandare, cum Carthaginienses nec, de qua re acturi essent, nec omnino ituros se Romam indicauerint. in aede Aesculapi clandestinum eos per aliquot noctes consilium principum habuisse, unde * * praeterea legatos occultis cum mandatis Romam mitti. eam causam fuisse patri mittendi se Romam, qui deprecaretur senatum, ne quid communibus inimicis criminantibus se <crederent>, quem ob nullam aliam causam nisi propter constantem fidem erga populum Romanum odissent. his utrimque auditis senatus, de postulatis Carthaginiensium consultus, responderi ita iussit: Gulussam placere extemplo in Numidiam proficisci et nuntiare patri, ut de iis, de quibus Carthaginienses querantur, legatos quam primum ad senatum mittat denuntietque Carthaginiensibus, ut ad disceptandum ueniant. se alia, quae possent, Masinissae honoris causa et fecisse et facturos esse; ius gratiae non dare. agrum, qua cuiusque sit, possideri uelle, nec novos statuere fines, sed ueteres obseruare in animo habere. Carthaginiensibus uictis se et urbem et agros concessisse, non ut in pace eriperent per iniuriam, quae iure belli non ademissent. ita regulus Carthaginiensesque dimissi. munera ex instituto data utrisque aliaque hospitalia comiter conseruata.

[25] Sub idem tempus Cn. Seruilius Caepio Ap. Claudius Cento T. Annius Luscus legati ad res repetendas in Macedoniam renuntiandamque amicitiam regi missi redierunt; qui iam sua sponte infestum Persei senatum insuper accenderunt, relatis ordine, quae uidissent quaeque audissent: uidisse se per omnes urbes Macedonum summa ui parari bellum. cum ad regem peruenissent, per multos dies conueniendi eius potestatem non factam; postremo, cum desperato iam conloquio profecti essent, tum demum se ex itinere reuocatos et ad eum introductos esse. suae orationis summam fuisse: foedus cum Philippo ictum <es>se, cum ipso eo post mortem patris renouatum, in quo diserte prohiberi eum extra fines arma efferre, prohiberi socios populi Romani lacessere bello. exposita deinde ab se ordine, quae ipsi nuper in senatu Eumenen uera omnia et conperta referentem

audissent. Samothracae praeterea per multos dies occultum consilium cum legationibus ciuitatum Asiae regem habuisse. pro his iniuriis satisfieri senatum aecum censere, reddique sibi res sociisque suis, quas contra ius foederis habeat. regem ad ea primo accensum ira inclementer locutum, auaritiam superbiamque Romanis obicentem frementemque, quod alii super alios legati uenirent speculatum dicta factaque sua, quod se ad nutum imperiumque eorum omnia dicere ac facere aecum censerent; postremo multum ac diu uociferatum reuerti postero die iussisse: scriptum se responsum dare uelle. tum ita sibi scriptum traditum esse: foedus cum patre ictum ad se nihil pertinere; id se renouari, non quia probaret, sed quia in noua possessione regni patienda omnia essent, passum. nouom foedus si secum facere uellent, conuenire prius de condicionibus debere; si in animum inducerent, ut ex aequo foedus fieret, et se uisurum, quid sibi faciendum esset, et illos credere e re publica consulturos. atque ita se proripuisse, et summoueri e regia omnes coeptos. tum se amicitiam et societatem renuntiasset. qua uoce eum accensum restitisse atque uoce clara denuntiasset sibi, ut triduo regni sui decederent finibus. ita se profectos; nec sibi aut manentibus <aut abeuntibus> quidquam hospitaliter aut benigne factum. Thessali deinde Aetolique legati auditi. senatui, ut scirent quam primum, quibus ducibus usura res publica esset, litteras mitti consulibus placuit, ut, uter eorum posset, Romam ad magistratus creandos ueniret.

[26] Nihil magnopere, quod memorari adtineat, rei publicae eo anno consules gesserant. magis e re publica uisum erat, conprimi ac sedari exasperatos Ligures. cum Macedonicum bellum expectaretur, Gentium quoque, Illyriorum regem, suspectum Issaei legati fecerunt, simul questi fines suos eum depopulatum, simul nuntiantes uno animo uiuere Macedonum atque Illyriorum regem; communi consilio parare Romanis bellum; et specie legatorum Illyrios speculatores Romae esse Perse auctore missos, ut, quid ageretur, scirent. Illyrii uocati in senatum; qui cum legatos se esse missos ab rege dicerent ad purganda crimina, si qua de rege Issaei deferrent, quaesitum est, quid ita non adissent magistratum, ut ex instituto loca, lautia acciperent, sciretur denique uenisse eos et super qua re uenissent? haesitantibus in responso, ut curia excederent, dictum; responsum tamquam legatis, qui ut adirent senatum non postulassent, dari non placuit;

mittendosque ad regem legatos censuerunt, qui nuntiarent, quid socii quererentur; senatum existumare non aecum eum facere, qui ab sociis suis non abstinere iniuriam. in hanc legationem missi A. Terentius Uarro C. Plaetorius C. Cicereius. ex Asia, qui circa socios reges missi erant, redierunt legati, qui rettulerunt Eumenen <Aeg>inae, Antiochum in Syria, Ptolemaeum Alexandriae sese conuenisse. omnes sollicitatos legationibus Persei, sed egregie <in> fide permanere pollicitosque omnia, quae populus Romanus imperasset, praestatueros. et ciuitates socias adisse: ceteras satis fidas, Rhodios fluctuantis et inbutos Persei consiliis inuenisse. uenerant Rhodii legati ad purganda ea, quae uolgo iactari de ciuitate sciebant; ceterum senatum iis non <prius dari, quam no>ui consules magistratum inissent, placuit.

[27] Belli apparatus non differendum censuerunt. C. Licinio praetori negotium datur, ut ex ueteribus quinquereimis in naualibus Romae subductis, quae possent usui esse, reficeret pararetque naues quinquaginta. si quid ad eum numerum explendum deesset, C. Memmio collegae in Siciliam scriberet, ut eas, quae in Sicilia naues essent, reficeret atque expediret, ut Brundisium primo quoque tempore mitti possent. socios nauales libertini ordinis in uiginti et quinque naues exciuius Romanis C. Licinius praetor scribere iussus; in quinque et uiginti parem numerum Cn. Sicinius sociis imperaret; idem praetor peditum octo milia, quadringentos <equites> ab sociis Latini nominis exigeret. hunc militem qui Brundisi acciperet atque in Macedoniam mitteret, A. Atilius Serranus, qui priore anno praetor fuerat, deligitur. Cn. Sicinius praetor ut exercitum paratum ad traiciendum haberet, C. Popilio consuli ex auctoritate senatus C. Licinius praetor scribit, ut et legionem secundam, quae maxime ueterana in Liguribus erat, et <ex> sociis Latini nominis quattuor milia peditum, ducentos equites idibus Februariis Brundisi adesse iuberet. hac classe et hoc exercitu Cn. Sicinius prouinciam Macedoniam obtinere, donec successor ueniret, iussus, prorogato in annum imperio. ea omnia, quae senatus censuit, inpigre facta sunt. duodequadraginta quinquereimes ex naualibus deductae; qui deduceret eas Brundisium, L. Porcius Licinus praepositus; duodecim ex Sicilia missae. ad frumentum classi exercituique coemendum in Apuliam Calabriamque tres legati missi, Sex. Digitius T. Iuuentius

M. Caecilius. ad omnia praeparata Cn. Sicinius praetor, paludatus ex urbe profectus, Brundisium uenit.

[28] Exitu prope anni C. Popilius consul Romam redit aliquanto serius, quam <senatus> censuerat, cui primo quoque tempore magistratus creari, cum tantum bellum immineret, e re publica uisum erat. itaque non secundis auribus patrum auditus est consul, cum in aede Bellonae de rebus in Liguribus gestis dissereret. succlamationes frequentes erant interrogationesque, cur scelere fratris oppressos Ligures in libertatem non restituisset. comitia consularia, in quam edicta erant diem, ante diem duodecimum kal. Martias sunt habita. creati consules <P.> Licinius Crassus C. Cassius Longinus. postero die praetores facti C. Sulpicius Galba L. Furius Philus L. Canuleius Diues C. Lucretius <Gallus> C. Caninius Rebilus L. Uillius Annalis. his praetoribus prouinciae decretae, duae iure Romae dicendo, Hispania et Sicilia et Sardinia, ut uni sors integra esset, quo senatus censuisset. consulibus designatis imperauit senatus, ut, qua die magistratum inissent, hostiis maioribus rite mactatis precarentur, ut, quod bellum populus Romanus in animo haberet gerere, ut id prosperum eueniret. eodem die decreuit senatus, C. Popilius consul ludos per dies decem Ioui optumo maximo <fieri> uoueret donaque circa omnia puluinaria dari, <si> res publica decem annos in eodem statu fuisset. ita ut censuerant, in Capitolio uouit consul, ludos fieri donaque dari, quanta ex pecunia decresset senatus, cum centum et quinquaginta non minus adessent. praeunte uerba Lepido pontifice maximo id uotum susceptum est. eo anno sacerdotes publici mortui L. Aemilius Papus decemuir sacrorum et Q. Fuluius Flaccus pontifex, qui priore anno fuerat censor. hic foeda morte perit. ex duobus filiis eius, qui tum in Illyrico militabant, nuntiatum alterum <mortuum, alterum> graui et periculoso morbo aegrum esse. obruit animum simul luctus metusque: mane ingressi cubiculum serui laqueo dependentem inuenere. erat opinio post censuram minus conpotem fuisse sui; uulgo Iunonis Laciniae iram ob spoliatum templum alienasse mentem ferebant. suffectus in Aemili locum decemuir M. Ualerius Messalla; in Fului pontifex Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus, oppido adulescens sacerdos, est lectus.

[29] P. Licinio C. Cassio consulibus non urbs tantum Roma nec terra Italia, sed omnes reges ciuitatesque, quae in Europa quaeque in

Asia erant, conuerterant animos in curam Macedonici ac Romani belli. Eumenen cum uetus odium stimulabat, tum recens ira, quod scelere regis prope ut uictuma mactatus Delphis esset. Prusias, Bithyniae rex, statuerat abstinere armis <et> euentum expectare; nam neque Romanos posse aequom censere, aduersus fratrem uxoris <se> arma ferre, et apud Persea uictorem ueniam per sororem impetrabilem fore. Ariarathes, Cappadocum rex, praeterquam quod Romanis suo nomine auxilia pollicitus erat, ex quo est iunctus Eumeni adfinitate, in omnia belli pacisque se consociauerat consilia. Antiochus imminebat quidem Aegypti regno, et pueritiam regis et inertiam tutorum spernens; et ambigendo de Coele Syria causam belli se habiturum existumabat gesturumque id nullo impedimento occupatis Romanis in Macedonico bello; quod <ad> bellum tamen omnia et per suos legatos senatui et ipse legatis eorum enixe pollicitus erat. Ptolemaeus propter aetatem alieni etiam tum arbitrii erat; tutores et bellum aduersus Antiochum parabant, quo uindicarent Coelen Syriam, et Romanis omnia pollicebantur ad Macedonicum bellum. Masinissa et frumento iuuabat Romanos et auxilia cum elephantis Misagenenque filium mittere ad bellum parabat. consilia autem in omnem fortunam ita disposita habebat: si penes Romanos uictoria esset, sua quoque in eodem statu mansura esse, neque ultra quidquam mouendum; non enim passuros Romanos uim Carthaginiensibus adferri; si fractae essent opes Romanorum, quae tum protegerent Carthaginienses, suam omnem Africam fore. Gentius, rex Illyriorum, fecerat potius, cur suspectus esset Romanis, quam satis statuerat, utram foueret partem, impetuque magis quam consilio his aut illis se adiuncturus uidebatur. Cotys Thrax, Odrysarum rex, clam Macedonum partis erat.

[30] Haec sententia regibus cum esset de bello, in liberis gentibus populisque plebs ubique omnis ferme, ut solet, deterioris erat, ad regem Macedonasque inclinata; principum diuersa cerneret studia. pars ita in Romanos effusi erant, ut auctoritatem inmodico fauore corrumpere, pauci ex iis iustitia imperii Romani capti, plures ita, si praecipuam operam nauassent, potentes sese in ciuitatibus suis futuros rati. pars altera regiae adulationis erat; quosdam<dam> aes alienum et desperatio rerum suarum eodem manente statu praecipites ad nouanda omnia agebat; quosdam uentosum ingenium, quia <ad>

Persea magis aura popularis ierat. tertia pars, optuma eadem et prudentissima, si utique optio domini potioris daretur, sub Romanis quam sub rege malebat esse; si liberum in ea re arbitrium fortunae esset, neutram partem uolebant potentiores altera oppressa fieri, sed inlibatis potius uiribus utriusque partis pacem ex aequo manere; ita inter utrasque optimam condicionem ciuitatum fore. protegente altera semper inopem ab alterius iniuria. haec sentientes certamina fautorum utriusque partis taciti ex tuto spectabant.

Consules, quo die magistratum inierunt, ex senatus consulto cum circa omnia fana, in quibus lectisternium maiorem partem anni esse solet, maioribus hostiis immolassent, inde preces suas acceptas ab diis immortalibus ominati, senatui rite sacrificatum precationemque de bello factam renuntiarunt. haruspices ita responderunt: si quid rei nouae inciperetur, id maturandum esse; uictoriam, triumphum, propagationem <imperii portendi. patres, quod bonum faustum> felixque populo Romano esset, centuriatis comitiis primo <quoque> die ferre ad populum consules iusserunt, ut, quod Perseus Philippi filius, Macedonum rex, aduersus foedus cum patre Philippo ictum et secum post mortem eius renouatum sociis populi Romani arma intulisset, agros uastasset urbesque occupasset, quodque belli parandi aduersus populum Romanum consilia inisset, arma milites classem eius rei causa comparasset, ut, nisi de iis rebus satisfacisset, bellum cum eo iniretur. haec rogatio ad populum lata est.

[31] Senatus consultum inde factum est, ut consules inter se prouincias Italiam et Macedoniam compararent sortirentur; cui Macedonia obueneret, ut is regem Persea quique eius sectam secuti essent, nisi populo Romano satisfacissent, bello persequeretur. legiones quattuor nouas scribi placuit, binas singulis consulibus. id praecipui prouinciae Macedoniae datum, quod, cum alterius consulis legionibus quina milia et duceni pedites ex uetere instituto darentur in singulas legiones, in Macedoniam sena milia peditum scribi iussa, equites treceni aequaliter in singulas legiones. et in sociali exercitu consuli alteri auctus numerus: sedecim milia peditum octingentos equites, praeter eos, quos Cn. Sicinius duxisset, sescentos equites, in Macedoniam traiceret. Italiae satis uisa duodecim milia sociorum peditum, sescenti equites. illud quoque praecipuum datum sorti Macedoniae, ut centuriones militesque ueteres scriberet, quos uellet,

consul usque ad quinquaginta annos. in tribunis militum nouatum eo anno propter Macedonicum bellum, quod consules ex senatus consulto ad populum tulerunt, ne tribuni militum eo anno suffragiis crearentur, sed consulum praetorumque in iis faciendis iudicium arbitriumque esset. inter praetores ita partita imperia: praetorem, cuius sors fuisset, ut iret, quo senatus censuisset, Brundisium ad classem ire placuit, atque ibi recognoscere socios nauales, dimissisque, si qui parum idonei essent, supplementum legere ex libertinis et dare operam, ut duae partes ciuium Romanorum, tertia sociorum esset. commeatus classi legionibusque ut ex Sicilia Sardinia<que> subueherentur, praetoribus, <qui> eas prouincias sortiti essent, mandari placuit, ut alteras decumas Siculis Sardisque imperarent, quod frumentum ad exercitum in Macedoniam portaretur. Siciliam C. Caninius Rebilus est sortitus, L. Furius Philus Sardiniam, <L. Canuleius Hispaniam,> C. Sulpicius Galba urbanam iurisdictionem, L. Uillius Annalis inter peregrinos; C. Lucretio Gallo, quo senatus censuisset, sors obuenit.

[32] Inter consules magis cauillatio quam magna contentio de prouincia fuit. Cassius sine sorte se Macedoniam optaturum dicebat, nec posse collegam saluo iureiurando secum sortiri. praetorem eum, ne in prouinciam iret, in contione iurasse se stato loco statisque diebus sacrificia habere, quae absente se recte fieri non possent; quae non magis consule quam praetore absente recte fieri posse, si senatus non, quid uelit in consulatu, potius quam, quid in praetura iurauerit P. Licinius, animaduertendum esse censeat; se tamen futurum in senatus potestate. consulti patres, cui consulatum populus Romanus non negasset, <ei> ab se prouinciam negari, superbum rati, sortiri consules iusserunt. P. Licinio Macedonia, <C.> Cassio Italia obuenit. legiones inde sortiti sunt: prima et tertia <ut> in Macedoniam traicerentur, secunda et quarta ut in Italia remanerent. dilectum consules multo intentiore, quam alias, cura habebant. Licinius ueteres quoque scribebat milites centurionesque; et multi uoluntate nomina dabant, quia locupletes uidebant, qui priore Macedonico bello aut aduersus Antiochum in Asia stipendia fecerant. cum tribuni militum, qui centuriones * * , sed primum quemque citarent, tres et uiginti centuriones, qui primos pilos duxerant, citati tribunos plebis appellarunt. duo ex collegio, M. Fuluius Nobilior et M. Claudius

Marcellus, ad consules <rem> reiciebant: eorum cognitionem esse debere, quibus dilectus quibusque bellum mandatum esset; ceteri cognituros se, de quo appellati essent, aiebant, et si iniuria fieret, auxilium ciuibus laturos.

[33] Ad subsellia tribunorum res agebatur; eo M. Popilius consularis, aduocatus <centurionum, et> centuriones et consul uenerunt. consule inde postulante, ut in contione ea res ageretur, populus in contionem aduocatus. pro centurionibus M. Popilius, qui biennio ante consul fuerat, ita uerba fecit: militares homines et stipendia iusta et corpora et aetate et adsiduus laboribus confecta habere; nihil recusare tamen, quo minus operam rei publicae dent. id tantum deprecari, ne inferiores iis ordines, quam quos, <cum> militassent, habuissent, adtribuerentur. P. Licinius consul senatus consulta recitari iussit, primum, quo bellum senatus Perseo iussisset, deinde, quo ueteres centuriones quam plurimos ad id bellum scribi censuisset, nec ulli, qui non maior annis quinquaginta esset, uacationem militiae esse. deprecatus est deinde, <ne> in nouo bello, tam propinquo Italiae, aduersus regem potentissimum, aut tribunos militum dilectum habentis inpedirent, aut prohiberent consulem, quem cuique ordinem adsignari e re publica esset, eum adsignare. si quid in ea re dubium esset, ad senatum reicerent.

[34] Postquam consul, quae uoluerat, dixit, Sp. Ligustinus ex eo numero, qui tribunos plebis appellauerant, a consule et ab tribunis petit, ut sibi paucis ad populum agere liceret. permissu omnium ita locutus fertur: 'Sp. Ligustinus [tribus] Crustumina ex Sabinis sum oriundus, Quirites. pater mihi iugerum agri reliquit et paruom tugurium, in quo natus educatusque sum, hodieque ibi habito. cum primum in aetatem ueni, pater mihi uxorem fratris sui filiam dedit, quae secum nihil adtulit praeter libertatem pudicitiamque, et cum his fecunditatem, quanta uel in diti domo satis esset. sex filii nobis, duae filiae sunt, utraeque iam nuptae. filii quattuor togas uiriles habent, duo praetextati sunt. miles sum factus P. Sulpicio C. Aurelio consulibus. in eo exercitu, qui in Macedoniam est transportatus, biennium miles gregarius fui aduersus Philippum regem; tertio anno uirtutis causa mihi T. Quinctius Flaminius decumum ordinem hastatum adsignauit. deuicto Philippo Macedonibusque cum in Italiam <re>portati ac dimissi essemus, continuo miles uoluntarius

cum M. Porcio consule in Hispaniam sum profectus. neminem omnium imperatorum, qui uiuant, acriorem uirtutis spectatorem ac iudicem fuisse sciunt, qui et illum et alios duces longa militia experti sunt. hic me imperator dignum iudicauit, cui primum hastatum prioris centuriae adsignaret. tertio iterum uoluntarius miles factus sum in eum exercitum, qui aduersus Aetolos et Antiochum regem est missus. a M'. Acilio mihi primus princeps prioris centuriae est adsignatus. expulso rege Antiocho, subactis Aetolis reportati sumus in Italiam; et deinceps bis, quae annua merebant legiones, stipendia feci. bis deinde in Hispania militauit, semel Q. Fuluius Flacco, iterum Ti. Sempronio Graccho praetore. a Flacco inter ceteros, quos uirtutis causa secum ex prouincia ad triumphum deducebat, deductus sum; a Ti. Graccho rogatus in prouinciam ii. quater intra paucos annos primum pilum duxi; quater et tricies uirtutis causa donatus ab imperatoribus sum; sex ciuicas coronas accepi. uiginti duo stipendia annua in exercitu emerita habeo, et maior annis sum quinquaginta. quodsi mihi nec stipendia omnia emerita essent necdum aetas uacationem daret, tamen, cum quattuor milites pro me uobis dare, P. Licini, possem, aecum erat me dimitti. sed haec pro causa mea dicta accipiatis uelim; ipse me, quoad quisquam, qui exercitus scribit, idoneum militem iudicabit, numquam sum excusaturus. quo ordine me dignum iudicent tribuni militum, ipsorum est potestatis; ne quis me uirtute in exercitu praestet, dabo operam; et semper ita fecisse me et imperatores mei et, qui una stipendia fecerunt, testes sunt. uos quoque aecum est, commilitones, etsi appellatione uostrum usurpatis ius, cum adulescentes nihil aduersus magistratum senatusque auctoritatem usquam feceritis, nunc quoque in potestate consulum ac senatus esse et omnia honesta loca ducere, quibus rem publicam defensuri sitis.'

[35] Haec ubi dixit, conlaudatum multis uerbis P. <Licinius> consul ex contione in senatum duxit. ibi quoque ei ex auctoritate senatus gratiae actae, tribunique militares in legione prima primum pilum uirtutis causa ei adsignarunt. ceteri centuriones remissa appellatione ad dilectum oboedienter responderunt. quo maturius in prouincias magistratus proficiscerentur, Latinae kalendis Iuniis fuere; eoque sollemni perfecto C. Lucretius praetor omnibus, quae ad classem opus erant, praemissis Brundisium est profectus. praeter eos

exercitus, quos consules comparabant, C. Sulpicio Galbae praetori negotium datum, ut quattuor legiones scriberet urbanas, iusto numero peditum equitumque, iisque quattuor tribunos militum ex senatu legeret, qui praessent; sociis Latini nominis imperaret quindecim milia peditum, mille et ducentos equites; is exercitus uti paratus esset, quo senatus censuisset. P. Licinio consuli ad exercitum ciuilem socialemque petenti addita auxilia, Ligurum duo milia, Cretenses sagittarii — incertus numerus, quantum rogati [auxilia] Cretenses misissent —, Numidae item equites elephantique. in eam rem legati ad Masinissam Carthaginiensesque missi L. Postumius Albinus Q. Terentius Culleo C. Aburius. in Cretam item legatos tres ire placuit, A. Postumium Albinum C. Decimium A. Licinium Neruam.

[36] Per idem tempus legati ab rege Perseo uenerunt. eos in oppidum intromitti non placuit, cum iam bellum regi eorum et Macedonibus et senatus decresset et populus iussisset. in aedem Bellonae in senatum introducti ita uerba fecerunt: mirari Persea regem, quid in Macedoniam exercitus transportati essent; si impetrari a senatu posset, ut ii reuocentur, regem de iniuriis, si quas sociis factas quererentur, arbitrato senatus satisfacturum esse. Sp. Caruilius, ad eam ipsam rem ex Graecia remissus ab Cn. Sicinio, in senatu erat. is Perrhaebiam expugnatam armis, Thessaliae aliquot urbes captas, cetera, quae aut ageret aut pararet rex, cum argueret, respondere ad ea legati iussi. postquam haesitabant, negantes sibi ultra quidquam mandatum esse, iussi renuntiare regi, consulem P. Licinium breui cum exercitu futurum in Macedonia esse: ad eum, si satisfacere in animo esset, mitteret legatos. Romam quod praeterea mitteret, non esse; nemini enim eorum per Italiam ire liciturum. ita dimissis P. Licinio consuli mandatum, ut intra undecimum diem iuberet eos Italia excedere, et Sp. Caruilius mitteret, qui, donec nauem conscendissent, custodiret. haec Romae acta nondum profectis in prouinciam consulibus. iam Cn. Sicinius, qui, priusquam magistratu abiret, Brundisium ad classem et ad exercitum praemissus erat, traiectionis in Epirum quinque milibus peditum, trecentis equitibus, ad Nymphaeum in agro Apolloniati castra habebat. inde tribunos cum duobus milibus militum ad occupanda Dassaretiorum et Illyriorum castella, ipsis accersentibus praesidia, ut tutiores a finitimorum impetu Macedonum essent, misit.

[37] Paucis post diebus Q. Marcius <et> A. Atilius et P. et Ser. Cornelii Lentuli et L. Decimius, legati in Graeciam missi, Corcyram peditum mille secum aduexerunt; ibi inter se et regiones, quas obirent, et milites diuiserunt. L. Decimius missus est ad Gentium regem Illyriorum, quem si aliquem respectum amicitiae cum <populo Romano> habere cerneret, retentare aut etiam ad belli societatem perlicere iussus. Lentuli in Cephallaniam missi, ut in Peloponnesum traicerent oramque maris in occidentem uersi ante hiemem circumirent. Marcio et Atilio Epirus, Aetolia, Thessalia circumeundae adsignantur; inde Boeotiam atque Euboeam adspicere iussi, tum in Peloponnesum traicere; ibi congressuros se cum Lentulis constituunt. priusquam digrederentur a Corcyra, litterae <a> Perseo adlatæ sunt, quibus quaerebat, quæ causa Romanis aut in Graeciam traiciendi copias aut urbes occupandi esset. cui rescribi non placuit, nuntio ipsius, qui litteras attulerat, dici, praesidii causa ipsarum urbium Romanos facere. Lentuli circumeuntes Peloponnesi oppida, cum sine discrimine omnes ciuitates adhortarentur, ut, quo animo, qua fide adiuuissent Romanos Philippi primum, deinde Antiochi bello, eodem aduersus Persea iuuarent, fremitum in contionibus mouebant, Achæis indignantibus eodem se loco esse, qui omnia a principiis Macedonici belli praestitissent Romanis, <quo> Messenii atque Elii, [qui] et [Macedonis] Philippi bello hostes fuissent <Romanis> et pro Antiocho postea arma aduersus populum Romanum tulissent ac, nuper in Achaicum contributi concilium, uelut praemium belli se uictoribus Achæis tradi quererentur.

[38] Marcius et Atilius ad Gitana, Epiri oppidum, decem milia <a> mari cum escenderent, concilio Epirotarum habito cum magno omnium adsensu auditi sunt; et quadringentos iuuentutis eorum in Orestas, ut praesidio essent liberatis ab Macedonibus, miserunt. inde in Aetoliam progressi ac paucos ibi morati dies, dum in praetoris mortui locum alius sufficeretur, [et] Lycisco praetore facto, quem Romanorum fauere rebus satis conpertum erat, transierunt in Thessaliam. eo legati Acarnanes et Boeotorum exules uenerunt. Acarnanes nuntiare iussi, quæ Philippi primum, Antiochi deinde bello, decepti pollicitationibus regiis, aduersus populum Romanum commisissent, ea corrigendi occasionem illis oblatam. si male meriti clementiam populi Romani experti essent, bene merendo

liberalitatem experirentur. Boeotis exprobratum, societatem eos cum Perseo iunxisse. cum culpam in Ismeniam, principem alterius partis, conferrent et quasdam ciuitates dissentientis in causam deductas, appariturum id esse Marcius respondit; singulis enim ciuitatibus de se ipsis consulendi potestatem facturos. Thessalorum Larisae fuit concilium. ibi <et> Thessalis benigna materia gratias agendi Romanis pro libertatis munere fuit, et legatis, quod et Philippi prius et post Antiochi bello enixe adiuti a gente Thessalorum essent. hac mutua commemoratione meritorum accensi animi multitudinis ad omnia decernenda, quae Romani uellent. secundum hoc concilium legati a Perseo rege uenerunt priuati maxime hospitii fiducia, quod ei paternum cum Marcio erat. ab huius necessitudinis commemoratione orsi petierunt legati, in conloquium ueniendi regi potestatem faceret. Marcius et se ita a patre suo accepisse dixit, amicitiam hospitiumque cum Philippo fuisse, <et> minime immemorem necessitudinis eius legationem eam suscepisse. conloquium, si satis commode ualeret, non fuisse se dilaturum; nunc, ubi primum posset, ad Peneum flumen, qua transitus ab Homolio Dium esset, praemissis, qui nuntiarent regi, uenturos.

[39] Et tum quidem ab Dio Perseus in interiora regni recepit se, leui aura spei obiecta, quod Marcius ipsius causa suscepisse se legationem dixisset; post dies paucos ad constitutum locum uenerunt. magnus comitatus fuit regius cum amicorum tum satellitum turba stipante. non minore agmine legati uenerunt et ab Larisa multis prosequentibus et legationibus ciuitatum, quae conuenerant Larisam et renuntiare domum certa, quae audissent, uolebant. inerat cura insita mortalibus uidendi congregientis nobilem regem et populi principis terrarum omnium legatos. <ut> in conspectu steterunt, dirimente amni, paulisper internuntiando cunctatio fuit, utri transgrederentur. aliquid illi regiae maiestati, aliquid <hi> populi Romani nomini, cum praesertim Perseus petisset conloquium, existumabant deberi. ioco etiam Marcius cunctantis mouit. ‘minor’ inquit ‘ad maiores et’ — quod Philippo ipsi cognomen erat— ‘filius ad patrem transeat.’ facile persuasum id regi est. aliud deinde ambigebatur, cum quam multis transiret. rex cum omni comitatu transire aecum censebat; legati uel cum tribus uenire iubebant uel, si tantum agmen traduceret, obsides dare, nihil fraudis fore in

conloquio. Hippiam et Pantauchum, quos et legatos miserat, principes amicorum, obsides dedit. nec tam in pignus fidei obsides desiderati erant, quam ut appareret sociis nequaquam ex dignitate pari congregi regem cum legatis. salutatio non tamquam hostium, sed hospitalis ac benigna fuit, positisque sedibus consederunt.

[40] Cum paulisper silentium fuisset, 'expectari nos' inquit Marcius 'arbitror, ut respondeamus litteris tuis, quas Corcyram misisti, in quibus quaeris, quid ita legati cum militibus uenerimus et praesidia in singulas urbes dimittamus. ad hanc interrogationem tuam et non respondere, uereor, ne superbum sit, et uera respondere ne nimis acerbum audienti tibi uideatur. sed cum aut uerbis castigandus aut armis sit, qui foedus rumpit, sicut bellum aduersus te alii quam mihi mandatum malim, ita orationis acerbitem aduersus hospitem, utcumque est, subibo, sicut medici, cum salutis causa tristiora remedia adhibent. ex quo regnum adeptus es, unam rem te, quae facienda fuerit, senatus fecisse censet, quod legatos Romam ad renouandum <foedus miseris, quod tamen ipsum tibi non fuisse renouandum> iudicat potius quam, cum renouatum esset, uiolandum. Abrupolim, socium atque amicum populi Romani, regno expulisti; Arthetauri interfectores, ut caede, ne quid ultra dicam, <te> laetatum appareret, recepisti, qui omnium Illyriorum fidissimum Romanis regulum occiderant; per Thessaliam et Maliensem agrum cum exercitu contra foedus Delphos isti; Byzantiis item contra foedus misisti auxilia; cum Boeotis, sociis nostris, secretam tibi ipsi societatem, quam non licebat, iureiurando pepigisti; Thebanos legatos, Euersam et Callicritum, uenientis ad nos, quaerere malo, quis interfecerit, quam arguere. in Aetolia bellum intestinum et caedes principum per quos, nisi per tuos, factae uideri possunt? Dolopes a te ipso euastati sunt. Eumenes rex, ab Roma cum in regnum rediret, prope ut uictuma Delphis in sacrato loco ante aras mactatus, quem insimulet, piget referre; quae hospes Brundisinus occulta facinora indicet, certum habeo et scripta tibi omnia ab Roma esse et legatos renuntiasse tuos. haec ne dicerentur a me, uno modo uitare potuisti, non quaerendo, quam ob causam exercitus in Macedoniam traicerentur, aut praesidia in sociorum urbes mitteremus. quaerenti tibi superbius tacuissemus, quam uera respondimus. equidem pro paterno nostro hospitio faueo orationi

tuae et opto, ut aliquid mihi materiae praebeas agenda tuae apud senatum causae.’

[41] Ad ea rex: ‘bonam causam, si apud iudice aequos ageretur, apud eosdem et accusatores et iudices agam. eorum autem, quae obiecta sunt mihi, partim ea sunt, quibus nescio an gloriari debeam, neque quae fateri erubescam, partim quae uerbo obiecta uerbo negare <satis> sit. quid enim, si legibus uestris hodie reus sim, aut index Brundisinus aut Eumenes mihi obiciat, ut accusare potius uere quam conuiciari uideantur? scilicet nec Eumenes, cum tam multis grauis publice ac priuatim sit, alium quam me inimicum habuit; neque ego potio rem quemquam ad ministeria facinorum quam Rammium, quem neque umquam ante uideram nec eram postea uisurus, inuenire potui. et Thebanorum, quos naufragio perisse constat, et Arthetauri caedis mihi reddenda ratio est; in qua tamen nihil ultra obicitur, quam interfectores eius in regno exulasse meo. cuius condicionis iniquitatem ita non sum recusaturus, si uos quoque accipitis, ut, quicumque exules in Italiam aut Romam se contulerunt, his facinorum, propter quae damnati sunt, auctores uos fuisse fateamini. si hoc et uos recusabitis et omnes aliae gentes, ego quoque inter ceteros ero. et hercule, quid adtinet cuiquam exilium patere, si nusquam exuli futurus locus est? ego tamen istos, ut primum in Macedonia esse admonitus a uobis conperi, requisitos abire ex regno iussi et in perpetuum interdixi finibus meis. et haec quidem mihi tamquam causam dicenti reo obiecta sunt; illa tamquam regi et quae de foedere, quod mihi est uobiscum, disceptationem habeant. nam si est in foedere ita scriptum, ut ne si bellum quidem quis inferat, tueri me regnumque meum liceat, mihi fatendum est, quod me armis aduersus Abrupolim, socium populi Romani, defenderim, foedus uiolatum esse. sin autem hoc et ex foedere licuit et iure gentium ita comparatum est, ut arma armis propulsentur, quid tandem me facere decuit, cum Abrupolis fines mei regni usque ad Amphipolim peruastasset, multa libera capita, magnam uim mancipiorum, multa milia pecorum abegisset? quiescerem et paterer, donec Pellam et in regiam meam armatus peruenisset? at enim bello quidem iusto sum persecutus, sed uinci non oportuit eum, neque alia, quae uictis accidunt, pati; quorum casum cum ego subierim, qui sum armis lacessitus, quid potest queri sibi accidisse, qui causa belli fuit? non

sum eodem modo defensurus, Romani, quod Dolopas armis coercuerim; quia, etsi non merito eorum, iure feci meo, cum mei regni, meae dicionis essent, uestro decreto patri adtributi meo. nec, si causa reddenda sit, non uobis nec foederatis, sed iis, qui <ne> in seruos quidem saeua atque iniusta imperia probant, plus aequo et bono saeuisse in eos uideri possum; quippe Euphranorem, praefectum a me inpositum, ita occiderunt, ut mors poenarum eius leuissima fuerit.

[42] At cum processissem inde ad uisendas Larisam et Antronas et Pteleon, qua in propinquo Delphi s<unt>, sacrificandi causa, <ut> multo ante debita uota persoluerem, Delphos escendi. et his, criminis augendi causa, cum exercitu me isse adicitur; scilicet, ut, quod nunc uos facere queror, urbes occuparem, arcibus inponerem praesidia. uocate in concilium Graeciae ciuitates, per quas iter feci, queratur unusquilibet militis mei iniuriam; non recusabo, quin simulato sacrificio aliud petisse uidear. Aetolis et Byzantiis praesidia misimus et cum Boeotis amicitiam fecimus. haec, qualiacumque sunt, per legatos meos non solum indicata sed etiam excusata sunt saepe in senatu uestro, ubi aliquos ego disceptatores non tam aequos quam te, <Q.> Marci, paternum amicum et hospitem, habebam. sed nondum Romam accusator Eumenes uenerat, qui calumniando omnia detorquendoque suspecta et inuisa efficeret et persuadere uobis conaretur, non posse Graeciam in libertate esse et uestro munere frui, quoad regnum Macedoniae incolume esset. circumagetur hic orbis; erit mox, qui arguat nequiquam Antiochum ultra iuga Tauri emotum; grauiorem multo Asiae, quam Antiochus fuerit, Eumenen esse; conquiescere socios uestros non posse, quoad regia Pergami sit; eam arcem supra capita finitimarum ciuitatum impositam. ego haec, Q. Marci et A. Atili, quae aut a uobis obiecta aut purgata a me sunt, talia esse scio, ut aures, ut animi audientium sint, nec tam referre, quid ego aut qua mente fecerim, quam, quomodo id uos factum accipiatis. conscius mihi sum nihil me scientem deliquisse, et, si quid fecerim imprudentia lapsus, corrigi me et emendari castigatione hac posse. nihil certe insanabile nec, quod bello et armis persequendum esse censeatis, commisi; aut frustra clementiae grauitatisque uestrae fama uolgata per gentes est, si talibus de causis, quae uix querella et expostulatione dignae sunt, arma capitis et regibus sociis bella

infertis.’

[43] Haec dicenti ei sum adsensum esset, Marcius auctor fuit mittendi Romam legatos; cum experienda omnia ad ultimum nec praetermittendam spem ullam censuisset <rex>, reliqua consultatio erat, quonam modo tutum iter legis esset. ad id <cum> necessaria petitio indutiarum uideretur cuperetque Marcius neque aliud conloquio petisset, grauate et in magnam gratiam petentis concessit. nihil enim satis paratum ad bellum in praesentia habebant Romani, non exercitum, non ducem, cum Perseus, ni spes uana pacis occaecasset consilia, omnia praeparata atque instructa <haberet>, et suo maxime tempore atque alieno hostibus incipere bellum posset. ab hoc conloquio, fide indutiarum interposita, legati Romani in Boeotiam ~comparati sunt. ibi iam motus coeperat esse discedentibus a societate communis concilii Boeotorum quibusdam populis, ex quo renuntiatum erat respondisse legatos appariturum, quibus populis proprie societatem cum rege iungi displicuisset. primi a Chaeronia legati, deinde a Thebis in ipso itinere occurrerunt, adfirmantes non interfuisse se, quo societas ea decreta esset, concilio; quos legati, nullo in praesentia responso dato, Chalcidem se sequi iusserunt. Thebis magna contentio orta erat ex alio certamine. comitiis praetoris <et> Boeot<arch>arum uicta pars iniuriam persequens coacta multitudine decreuit, ne Boeotarchae urbibus reciperentur. exules Thespias uniuersi concesserunt; inde — recepti enim sine cunctatione erant — Thebas iam mutatis animis reuocati decretum faciunt, ut duodecim, qui priuati coetum et concilium habuissent, exilio multarentur. nouus deinde praetor — Ismenias is erat, uir nobilis ac potens — capitalis poenae absentis eos decreto damnat. Chalcidem fugerant; inde ad Romanos Larisam profecti causam cum Perseo societatis in Ismeniam contulerant; ex <ea> contentione ortum certamen. utriusque [tamen] partis legati ad Romanos uenerunt, et exules accusatoresque Ismeniae et Ismenias ipse.

[44] Chalcidem ut uentum est, aliarum ciuitatum principes, id quod maxime gratum erat Romanis, suo quique proprie decreto regiam societatem aspernati Romanis se adiungebant; Ismenias gentem Boeotorum in fidem Romanorum permitti aecum censebat. inde certamine orto, nisi in tribunal legatorum perfugisset, haud multum afuit, quin ab exulibus fautoribusque eorum interficeretur. Thebae

quoque ipsae, quod Boeotiae caput est, in magno motu erant, aliis ad regem trahentibus ciuitatem, aliis ad Romanos; et turba Coronaeorum Haliartiorumque conuenerat ad defendendum decretum regiae societatis. sed constantia principum docentium cladibus Philippi Antiochique, quanta esset uis et fortuna imperii Romani, uicta tandem multitudo et, ut tolleretur regia societas, decreuit, et eos, qui auctores paciscendae amicitiae fuerant, ad satisfaciendum legatis Chalcidem misit fideique legatorum commendari ciuitatem iussit. Thebanos Marcius et Atilius laeti audierunt auctoresque et his <et> separatim singulis fuerunt ad renouandam amicitiam mittendi Romam legatos. ante omnia exules restitui iusserunt et auctores regiae societatis decreto suo damnarunt. ita, quod maxime uolebant, discusso Boeotico concilio <in Pelo>ponnesum proficiscuntur Ser. Cornelio Chalcidem accersito. Argis praebitum est iis concilium; ubi res * * * aliud a gente Achaeorum petierunt, quam ut mille milites darent. id praesidium ad Chalcidem tuendam, dum Romanus exercitus in Graeciam traiceretur, missum est. Marcius et Atilius peractis, quae agenda in Graecia erant, principio hiemis Romam redierunt.

[45] Inde legatio sub idem tempus in Asiam <et> circum insulas missa. tres erant legati, Ti. Claudius Sp. Postumius M. Iunius. ii circumeuntes hortabantur socios ad suscipiendum aduersus Persea <pro> Romanis bellum; et, quo quaeque opulentior ciuitas erat, eo accuratius agebant, quia minores secuturae maiorum auctoritatem erant. Rhodii maximi ad omnia momenti habebantur, quia non fouere tantum, sed adiuuare etiam uiribus suis bellum poterant, quadraginta nauibus auctore Hegesilocho praeparatis; qui cum in summo magistratu esset — prytanin ipsi uocant — , multis orationibus peruicerat Rhodios, ut omissa, quam saepe uanam experti essent, regum fouendorum spe Romanam societatem, unam tum in terris uel uiribus uel fide stabilem, retinerent. bellum imminere cum Perseo; desideraturos Romanos eundem naualem apparatus, quem nuper Antiochi, quem Philippi ante bello uidissent. trepidaturos tum repente paranda classe, cum mittenda esset, nisi reficere naues, nisi instruere naualibus sociis coepissent. <id> eo magis enixe faciundum esse, ut crimina delata ab Eumene fide rerum refellerent. his incitati quadraginta nauium classem instructam ornatamque legatis Romanis

aduenientibus, ut non expectatam adhortationem esse appareret, ostenderunt. et haec legatio magnum ad conciliandos animos ciuitatum Asiae momentum fuit. Decimius unus sine ullo effectu, captarum etiam pecuniarum ab regibus Illyriorum suspicione infamis, Romam redit.

[46] Perseus, cum ab conloquio Romanorum in Macedoniam recepisset sese, legatos Romam de incohatis cum Marcio condicionibus pacis misit; et Byzantium et Rhodum et * * legatis ferendas dedit. in litteris eadem sententia ad omnis erat, conlocutum se cum Romanorum legatis; quae audisset quaeque dixisset, ita disposita, ut superior fuisse in disceptatione uideri posset. apud Rhodios legati adiecerunt confidere pacem futuram; auctoribus enim Marcio atque Atilio missos Romam legatos. si pergerent Romani contra foedus mouere bellum, tum omni gratia, omni ope adnitendum fore Rhodiis, ut reconcilient pacem; si nihil deprecando proficiant, id agendum, ne omnium rerum ius ac potestas ad unum populum perueniat. cum ceterorum id interesse, tum praecipue Rhodiorum, quo plus inter alias ciuitates dignitate atque opibus excellant; quae serua atque obnoxia fore, si nullus alio sit quam ad Romanos respectus. magis et litterae et uerba legatorum benigne sunt audita, quam momentum ad mutandos animos habuerunt; potentior esse partis melioris auctoritas coeperat. responsum ex decreto est optare pacem Rhodios; si bellum esset, ne quid ab Rhodiis speraret aut peteret rex, quod ueterem amicitiam, multis magnisque meritis pace belloque partam, diiungeret sibi ac Romanis. ab Rhodo redeuntes Boeotiae quoque ciuitates, [et] Thebas et Coroneam et Haliartum, adierunt, quibus expressum inuitis existimabatur, ut relictis regia societate Romanis adiungerentur. Thebani nihil moti sunt, quamquam et damnatis principibus et restitutis exulibus suscensebant Romanis. Coronaei et Haliartii, fauore quodam insito in reges, legatos in Macedoniam miserunt praesidium petentes, quo se aduersus inotentem superbiam Thebanorum tueri possint. cui legationi responsum ab rege est, praesidium se propter indutias cum Romanis factas mittere non posse; tamen ita suadere ab Thebanorum iniuriis, qua possent, ut se uindicarent, ne Romanis praeberent causam in se saeuiendi.

[47] Marcius et Atilius Romam cum uenissent, legationem in

Capitolio ita renuntiarunt, ut nulla re magis gloriarentur quam decepto per indutias et spem pacis rege. adeo enim apparatibus belli fuisse instructum, ipsis nulla parata re, ut omnia opportuna loca praeoccupari ante ab eo potuerint, quam exercitus in Graeciam traiceretur. spatio autem indutiarum sumpto aecum <bellum> futurum: illum nihilo paratiorem, Romanos omnibus instructiores rebus coepturos bellum. Boeotorum quoque se concilium arte distraxisse, ne coniungi amplius ullo consensu Macedonibus possent. haec ut summa ratione acta magna pars senatus adprobabat; ueteres et moris antiqui memores negabant se in ea legatione Romanas agnoscere artes. non per insidias et nocturna proelia, nec simulatam fugam inprouisosque ad incautum hostem reditus, nec ut astu magis quam uera uirtute gloriarentur, bella maiores gessisse: indicare prius quam gerere solitos bella, denuntiare etiam interdum <pugnam et locum> finire, in quo dimicaturi essent. eadem fide indicatum Pyrrho regi medicum uitae eius insidiantem; eadem Faliscis uinctum traditum proditorem liberorum; religionis haec Romanae esse, non uersutiarum Punicarum neque calliditatis Graecae, apud <quos> fallere hostem quam ui superare gloriosius fuerit. interdum in praesens tempus plus profici dolo quam uirtute; sed eius demum animum in perpetuum uinci, cui confessio expressa sit se neque arte neque casu, sed collatis comminus uiribus iusto ac pio esse bello superatum. haec seniores, quibus noua ac nimis <callida minus> placebat sapientia; uicit tamen ea pars senatus, cui potior utilis quam honesti cura erat, ut conprobaretur prior legatio Marci, et eodem rursus in Graeciam cum * quinquere milibus remitteretur iubereturque cetera, uti e re publica maxime uisum esset, agere. A. quoque Atilium miserunt ad occupandam Larisam in Thessaliam timentes, ne, si indutiarum dies exisset, <Perseus> praesidio eo misso caput Thessaliae in potestate haberet. duo milia peditum Atilius ab Cn. Sicinio accersere ad eam rem agendam iussus. et P. Lentulo, qui ex Achaia redierat, trecenti milites Italici generis dati, ut Thebis daret operam, ut in potestate Boeotia esset.

[48] His prae paratis, quamquam ad bellum consilia erant destinata, senatum tamen praeberi legatis placuit. eadem fere, quae in conloquio ab rege dicta erant, relata ab legatis. insidiarum Eumeni factarum crimen et maxima cura et minime tamen probabiliter —

manifesta enim res erat — defensum; cetera deprecatio erat. sed non eis animis audiebantur, qui aut doceri aut flecti possent. denuntiatur, extemplo moenibus urbis Romae, Italia intra tricesimum diem excederent. P. Licinio deinde consuli, cui Macedonia prouincia obuenerat, denuntiatur, ut exercitui diem primam quamque diceret ad conueniendum. C. Lucretius praetor, cui classis prouincia erat, cum quadraginta quinquereimis ab urbe profectus; nam ex relictis nauibus alias in alium usum retineri ad urbem placuit. praemissus a praetore est frater <M.> Lucretius cum quinquereimi una, iussusque ab sociis ex foedere acceptis nauibus ad Cephallaniam classi occurrere. ab Reginis triremi una <sumpta>, ab Locris duabus, ab Uritibus quattuor, praeter oram Italiae superuectus Calabriae extremum promunturium [in] Ionio mari Dyrrhachium traicit. ibi decem ipsorum Dyrrhachinorum, duodecim Issaeorum, quinquaginta quattuor Genti regis lembos nactus, simulans se credere eos in usum Romanorum comparatos esse, omnibus abductis die tertio Corcyram, inde protinus in Cephallaniam traicit. C. Lucretius praetor ab Neapoli profectus, superato freto, die quinto in Cephallaniam transmisit. ibi stetit classis, simul opperiens, ut terrestres copiae traicerentur, simul ut onerariae ex agmine suo per altum dissipatae consequerentur.

[49] Per hos forte dies P. Licinius consul uotis in Capitolio nuncupatis paludatus ab urbe profectus est. semper quidem ea res cum magna dignitate ac maiestate agitur; praecipue conuertit oculos animosque, cum ad magnum nobilemque aut uirtute aut fortuna hostem euntem consulem prosequuntur. contrahit enim non officii modo cura, sed etiam studium spectaculi, ut uideant ducem suum, cuius imperio consilioque summam rem publicam tuendam permiserunt. subit deinde cogitatio animos, qui belli casus, quam incertus fortunae euentus communisque Mars belli sit; aduersa secundaque, quae inscitia et temeritate ducum clades saepe acciderint, quae contra bona prudentia et uirtus attulerit. quem scire mortalium, utrius mentis, utrius fortunae consulem ad bellum mittant? triumphantem mox cum exercitu uictore scandentem in Capitolium ad eosdem deos, a quibus proficiscatur, uisuri, an hostibus eam praebituri laetitiam sint? Persei autem regi, aduersus quem ibatur, famam et bello clara Macedonum gens et Philippus pater, inter multa prospere gesta Romano etiam nobilitatus bello,

praebebat; tum ipsius Persei numquam, ex quo regnum accepisset, desitum belli expectatione celebrari nomen. cum his cogitationibus omnium ordinum homines proficiscentem consulem prosecuti sunt. duo consulares tribuni militum cum eo missi, C. Claudius, Q. Mucius, et tres inlustres iuuenes, P. Lentulus et duo Manli Acidini: alter M. Manli, alter L. Manli filius erat. cum iis consul Brundisium ad exercitum <profectus> atque inde cum omnibus copiis transuectus ad Nymphaeum in Apolloniatium agro posuit castra.

[50] Paucos ante dies Perseus, postquam legati ab Roma regressi praeciderant spem pacis, consilium habuit. ibi aliquam<diu> diuersis sententiis certatum est. erant, quibus uel stipendium <pendendum>, si iniungeretur, uel agri parte cedendum, si multarent, quidquid denique aliud pacis causa patiendum esset, non recusandum uideretur, nec committendum, ut in aleam tanti casus se regnumque daret. si possessio haud ambigua regni maneret, multa diem tempusque adferre posse, quibus non amissa modo recipere, sed timendus ultro iis esse, quos nunc timeret, posset. ceterum multo maior pars ferocioris sententiae erat. quidquid cessisset, cum eo simul regno protinus cedendum esse adfirmabant. neque enim Romanos pecunia aut agro egere, sed hoc scire, cum omnia humana, tum maxima quaeque et regna et imperia sub casibus multis esse. Carthaginiensium opes fregisse sese, et ceruicibus eorum praepotentem finitimum regem inposuisse; Antiochum progeniemque eius ultra iuga Tauri emotum; unum esse Macedoniae regnum, et regione propincum, et quod, sicubi populo Romano sua fortuna labet, antiquos animos regibus suis uideatur posse facere. dum integrae <res sint, statuere> apud animum suum Persea debere, utrum singula concedendo nudatus ad extremum opibus extorrisque regno Samothraciam aliamue quam insulam petere ab Romanis, ubi priuatus superstes regno suo in contemptu atque inopia consenescat, malit, an armatus uindex fortunae dignitatisque suae, aut, <ut> uiro forti dignum sit, patiatur, quodcumque casus belli tulerit, aut uictor liberet orbem terrarum ab imperio Romano. non esse admirabilius Romanos Graecia pelli, quam Hannibalem Italia pulsum esse. neque hercule uidere, qui conueniat, fratri adfectanti per iniuriam regnum summa ui restitisse, alienigenis bene parto eo cedere. postremo ita <de> bello et pace quaeri, ut inter omnes conueniat, nec turpius

quicquam esse quam sine certamine cessisse regno nec praeclarius quam pro dignitate ac maiestate omnem fortunam expertum esse.

[51] Pellae, in uetere regia Macedonum, hoc consilium erat. ‘geramus ergo’ inquit, ‘dis bene iuuantibus, quando ita uidetur, bellum’; litterisque circa praefectos dimissis, Citium — Macedoniae oppidum est — copias omnis contrahit. ipse centum hostiis sacrificio regaliter Mineruae, quam uocant Alcidemon, facto cum purpuratorum et satellitum manu profectus Citium est. eo iam omnes Macedonum <et> externorum auxiliorum conuenerant copiae. castra ante urbem ponit omnisque armatos in campo <in>struxit; summa omnium quadraginta <tria> milia armata fuere; quorum pars ferme dimidia phalangitae erant; Hippias Beroeaeus praeerat. delecta deinde et uiribus et robore aetatis ex omni caetratorum numero duo <milia> erant: agema hanc ipsi legionem uocabant; praefectos habebat Leonnatum et Thrasippum Eulyestas. ceterorum caetratorum, trium ferme milium hominum, dux erat Antiphilus Edessaes. Paeones et ex Paroria et Parastrymonia — sunt autem ea loca subiecta Thraciae — et Agrianes, admixtis etiam Threcibus incolis, trium milium ferme et ipsi expleuerant numerum. armauerat contraxeratque eos Didas Paeon, qui adulescentem Demetrium occiderat. et armatorum duo milia Gallorum erant; praefectus Asclepiodotus ab Heraclea ex Sintis; tria milia Threcum liberorum suum ducem habebant. Cretensium par ferme numerus suos duces sequebatur, Susum Phalasarnaeum et Syllum Gnosium. et Leonides Lacedaemonius quingentis ex Graecia, mixto generi hominum, praeerat. regii is generis ferebatur, exul, damnatus frequenti concilio Achaeorum litteris ad Persea deprexis. Aetolorum et Boeotorum, qui non explebant plus quam quingentorum omnes numerum, Lyco Achaeus praefectus erat. ex his mixtis tot populorum, tot gentium auxiliis duodecim milia armatorum ferme efficiebantur. equitum ex tota Macedonia contraxerat <tria> milia. uenerat eodem Cotys, Seuthis filius, rex gentis Odrysarum, cum mille delectis equitibus, pari ferme peditum numero. ita summa totius exercitus triginta nouem milia peditum erant, quattuor equitum. satis constabat, secundum eum exercitum, quem magnus Alexander in Asiam traiecit, numquam ullius Macedonum regis copias tantas fuisse.

[52] Sextus et uicesimus annus agebatur, ex quo petenti Philippo

data pax erat; per id omne tempus quieta Macedonia et progeniem ediderat, cuius magna pars matura militiae esset, et leuibus bellis Thracum accolarum, quae exercerent magis quam fatigarent, sub adsidua tamen militia fuerat. et diu meditatam Philippo primo, deinde et Persei Romanum bellum, omnia ut instructa parataque essent, effecerat. mota parumper acies, non iusto decursu tamen, ne stetisse tantum in armis uiderentur; armatosque, sicut erant, ad contionem uocauit. ipse constitit in tribunali, circa se habens filios duos, quorum maior Philippus natura frater, adoptione filius, minor, quem Alexandrum uocabant, naturalis erat. cohortatus est milites ad bellum; iniurias populi Romani in patrem seque commemorauit: illum omnibus indignitatibus compulsum ad rebellandum, inter apparatus belli fato oppressum; ad se simul legatos, simul milites ad occupandas Graeciae urbes missos. fallaci dein conloquio per speciem reconciliandae pacis extractam hiemem, ut tempus ad conparandum haberent; consulem nunc uenire cum duabus legionibus Romanis, quae <singulae sena milia peditum>, trecenos equites habeant, et pari ferme numero sociorum peditum equitumque. eo ut accedant regum auxilia, Eumenis et Masinissae, non plus <triginta> septem milia peditum, duo equitum futura. auditis hostium copiis respicerent suum ipsi exercitum, quantum numero, quantum genere militum praestarent tironibus raptim ad id bellum conscriptis ipsi, a pueris eruditi artibus militiae, tot subacti atque durati bellis. auxilia Romanis Lydos et Phrygas et Numidas esse, sibi Thracas Gallosque, ferocissimas gentium. arma illos habere ea, quae sibi quisque parauerit pauper miles, Macedonas prompta ex regio apparatu, per tot annos patris sui cura et impensa facta. commeatum illis cum procul, tum omnibus sub casibus maritimis fore; se et pecuniam et frumentum, praeter reditus metallorum, in decem annos seposuisse. omnia, quae deorum indulgentia, quae regia cura praeparanda fuerint, plena cumulataque habere Macedonas; animos habendos esse, quos habuerint maiores eorum, qui Europa omni domita transgressi in Asiam incognitum famae aperuerint armis orbem terrarum nec ante uincere desierint, quam Rubro mari inclusis, quod uincerent, defuerit. at hercule nunc <non> de ultimis Indiae oris, sed de ipsius Macedoniae possessione certamen fortunam indixisse. cum patre suo gerentis bellum Romanos speciosum

Graeciae liberandae <prae>tulisse titulum: nunc propalam Macedoniam in seruitutem petere, ne rex uicinus imperio sit Romano, ne gens bello nobilis arma habeat. haec enim tradenda superbis dominis esse cum rege regnoque, <si> absistere bello et facere imperata uelint.

[53] Cum per omnem orationem satis frequenti adsensu succlamatum esset, tum uero ea uociferatio simul indignantium minitantiumque, partim iubentium bonum animum habere regem, exorta est, ut finem dicendi faceret, tantum iussis ad iter <se> parare; iam enim dici mouere castra ab Nymphaeo Romanos. <contione> dimissa ad audiendas legationes ciuitatum Macedoniae se contulit. uenerant autem ad pecunias pro facultatibus quaeque suis et frumentum pollicendum ad bellum. omnibus gratiae actae, remissum omnibus; satis regios apparatus ad ea dictum sufficere. uehicula tantum imperata, ut tormenta telorumque missilium ingentem uim praeparatam bellicumque aliud instrumentum ueherent. profectus inde toto exercitu, Eordaeam petens, ad Begorritim, quem uocant, lacum positis castris, postero die in Elimeam ad Haliacmona fluuium processit. deinde saltu angusto superatis montibus, quos Cambunios uocant, descendit ad Azorum, Pythoum, Dolichen: Tripolim uocant incolentes. haec tria oppida paulisper cunctati, quia obsides Larisaeis dederant, uicti tamen praesenti metu in deditionem concesserunt. benigne his appellatis, haud dubius Perrhaebos quoque idem <facturos>, * * urbem nihil cunctatis, qui incolebant, primo aduentu recipit. Cyretias oppugnare coactus primo [etiam] die acri concursu ad portas armatorum est repulsus; postero die omnibus copiis adortus in deditionem omnes ante noctem accepit.

[54] Mylae, proximum oppidum, ita munitum, ut inexsuperabilis munimenti spes incolas ferociores faceret, non portas claudere regi satis habuerunt, sed probris quoque in ipsum Macedonasque procacibus iaculati sunt. quae res cum infestiores hostem ad oppugnandum fecisset, ipsos desperatione ueniae ad tuendos sese acrius accendit. itaque per triduum ingentibus utrimque animis et oppugnata est <urbs et> defensa. multitudo Macedonum ad subeundum in uicem proelium haud difficulter suppetebat; oppidanos, diem noctem eosdem tuentis moenia, non uulnera modo, sed etiam uigiliae et continens labor conficiebat. quarto die cum et

scalae undique ad muros erigerentur et porta ui maiore oppugnaretur, oppidani depul<sa ui> muris ad portam tuendam concurrunt eruptionemque repentinam in hostis faciunt; quae cum irae magis inconsultae quam uerae fiducia uirium esset, pauci et fessi ab integris pulsi terga <dederunt> fugientesque per patentem portam hostes acceperunt. ita capta urbs ac direpta est; libera quoque corpora, quae caedibus superfuerunt, uenum data. diruto magna ex parte et incenso oppido profectus ad Phalannam castra mouit, inde postero die Gyrtonem peruenit. quo cum T. Minucium Rufum et Hippiam, Thessalorum praetorem, cum praesidio intrasse accepisset, ne temptata quidem oppugnatione praetergressus, Elatiam et Gonnum percussis inopinato aduentu oppidanis recepit. utraque oppida in faucibus sunt, qua Tempe adeun<tur>, magis Gonnus. itaque et firmiore id praesidio tutum equitum peditumque, ad hoc fossa triplici ac uallo munitum reliquit. ipse ad Sycurium progressus opperiri ibi hostium aduentum statuit; simul et frumentari passim exercitum iubet in subiecto hostium agro. namque Sycurium est sub radicibus Ossae montis. <is>, qua in meridiem uergit, subiectos habet Thessaliae campos, ab tergo Macedoniam atque Magnesiam. ad has opportunitates accedit summa salubritas et copia pluribus circumiectis fontibus perennium aquarum.

[55] Consul Romanus, per eosdem dies Thessaliam cum exercitu petens, iter expeditum primo per Epirum habuit; deinde, postquam in Athamaniam est transgressus, asperi ac prope inuii soli, cum ingenti difficultate paruis itineribus aegre Gomphos peruenit; cui si uexatis hominibus equisque tironem exercitum ducenti acie instructa et loco suo et tempore obstitisset rex, ne Romani quidem abnuunt magna sua cum clade fuisse pugnatuos. postquam Gomphos sine certamine uentum est, praeter gaudium periculosi saltus superati, contemptus quoque hostium adeo ignorantium opportunitates suas accessit. sacrificio rite perfecto consul et frumento dato militibus paucos ad requiem iumentorum hominumque moratus dies, cum audiret uagari Macedonas effusos per Thessaliam uastarique sociorum agros, satis iam refectum militem ad Larisam ducit. inde cum tria milia ferme abesset, ad Tripolim — Scaeam uocant — , super Peneum amnem posuit castra. per idem tempus Eumenes ad Chalcidem nauibus accessit cum Attalo atque Athenaeo fratribus, Philetaero fratre relicto

Pergami ad tutelam regni. Chalcide cum Attalo et quattuor milibus peditum, mille equitum ad consulem uenit; Chalcide relicta duo milia peditum, quibus Athenaeus praepositus. et alia eodem auxilia Romanis ex omnibus undique Graeciae populis conuenerunt, quorum pleraque — adeo parua erant — in obliuionem adducta. Apolloniatae trecentos equites, centum pedites miserunt. Aetolorum alae unius instar erat, quantum ab tota gente equitum uenerat, et Thessalorum, <quorum> omnis equitatus speratus erat, non plus quam trecenti erant equites in castris Romanis. Achaei iuuentutis suae, Cretico maxime armatu, ad mille quingentos dederunt.

[56] Sub idem tempus et C. Lucretius praetor, qui nauibus praeerat ad Cephallaniam, M. Lucretio fratre cum classe super Maleum Chalcidem iusso petere, ipse triremem conscendit, sinum Corinthium petens ad praeoccupandas in Boeotia res. tardior ei nauigatio propter infirmitatem corporis fuit. M. Lucretius, Chalcidem adueniens, cum a P. Lentulo Haliartum oppugnari audisset, nuntium, praetoris uerbis qui abscedere eum inde iuberet, misit. Boeotorum iuuentute, quae pars cum Romanis stabat, eam rem adgressus legatus a moenibus abscessit. haec soluta obsidio locum alteri nouae obsidioni dedit; namque extemplo M. Lucretius cum exercitu nauali, decem milibus armatorum, ad hoc duobus milibus regionum, qui sub Athenaeo erant, Haliartum circumscedit; parantibusque iam oppugnare superuenit a Creusa praetor. ad idem fere tempus et ab sociis naues Chalcidem conuenerunt, duae Punicae quinqueremes, duae ab Heraclea ex Ponto triremes, quattuor Chalcedone, totidem Samo, tum quinque Rhodiae quadriremes. has praetor, quia nusquam erat maritimum bellum, remisit sociis. et Q. Marcius Chalcidem nauibus uenit, Alope <Pthio>tica capta, Larisa, quae Cremaste dicitur, oppugnata.

Cum hic status in Boeotia esset, Perseus, cum ad Sycurium, sicut ante dictum est, statiuia haberet, frumento undique circa ex agris conuecto, ad uastandum Phraeorum <agrum> misit, ratus ad iuuandas sociorum urbes longius a castris abstractos deprehendi Romanos posse. quos cum eo tumultu nihil motos animaduertisset, * * * praedam quidem praeterquam hominum — pecora autem maxime omnis generis fuere — diuisit ad epulandum militibus * * *

[57] Sub idem deinde tempus consilium et consul et rex habuerunt,

unde bellum ordirentur. regiis creuerant animi uastatione concessa sibi ab hoste Pheraei agri; itaque eundum inde ad castra nec dandum ultra spatium cunctandi censebant. et Romani sentiebant cunctationem suam infamem apud socios esse, maxime indigne ferentis non latam Pheraeis opem. consultantibus, quid agerent — aderant autem Eumenes et Attalus in consilio — , trepidus nuntius adfert hostem magno agmine adesse. consilio dimisso signum extemplo datur, ut arma capiant. interim placet ex regiis auxiliis centum equites et parem numerum iaculatorum peditum exire. Perseus <hora> ferme diei quarta, cum paulo plus mille passus abesset a castris Romanis, consistere signa peditum iussit; praegressus ipse cum equitibus ac leui armatura; et Cotys cum eo ducesque aliorum auxiliorum praecesserunt. minus quingentos passus ab castris aberant, cum in conspectu fuere hostium equites; duae alae erant magna ex parte Gallorum — Cassignatus praeerat — et leuis armaturae centum fere et quinquaginta Mysi et Cretenses. constitit rex, incertus, quantae <hostium copiae> essent. duas inde ex agmine turmas Threcum, duas Macedonum cum binis Cretensium cohortibus et Threcum misit. proelium, cum pares numero essent neque ab hac aut illa parte noua auxilia subuenirent, incerta uictoria finitum est. Eumenis ferme triginta interfecti, inter quos Cassignatus dux Gallorum cecidit. et tunc quidem Perseus ad Sycurium copias reduxit; postero die circa eandem horam in eundem locum rex copias admouit plaustis cum aqua sequentibus; nam duodecim milium passuum <uia> omnis sine aqua et plurimi pulueris erat; aduectosque siti, si primo in conspectu dimicassent, pugnatuos fuisse apparebat. cum Romani quiescent, stationibus etiam intra uallum reductis, regii quoque in castra redeunt. hoc per aliquot dies fecerunt, sperantes fore, ut Romani equites abeuntium nouissimum agmen adgrederentur; inde certamine orto, cum longius a castris eos eliciissent, facile, ubiubi essent, se, qui equitatu et leui armatura plus possent, conuersuros aciem.

[58] Postquam inceptum non succedebat, castra propius hostem mouit rex et a quinque milibus passuum communiuit. inde luce prima in eodem, quo solebat, loco peditum acie instructa, equitatum omnem leuemque armaturam ad castra hostium ducit. uisus et plurium et propior solito puluis trepidationem in castris Romanis fecit. et primo

uix creditum nuntianti est, quia prioribus continuis diebus numquam ante horam quartam hostis apparuerat; tum solis ortus erat. deinde ut plurium clamore et cursu a portis dubitatio exempta est, tumultus ingens oboritur. tribuni praefectique et centuriones in praetorium, miles ad sua quisque tentoria discurrit. minus quingentos passus a uallo instruxerat Perseus suos circa tumulum, quam Callinicum uocant. laeuo cornu Cotys rex praeerat cum omnibus suae gentis; equitum ordines leuis armatura interposita distinguebat. in dextro cornu Macedones erant equites, intermixti turmis eorum Cretenses; huic armaturae Midon Beroeaeus, equitibus et summae partis eius Meno Antigonalensis praeerat. proximi cornibus constiterant regii equites, et, mixtum genus, delecta plurium gentium auxilia; Patrocles Antigonalensis his et Paeoniae praefectus Didas erant praepositi. medius omnium rex erat; circa eum agema quod uocant, equitumque sacrae alae. ante se statuit funditores iaculatoresque: quadringentorum manus utraque numerum explebat; Ionem Thessalonicensem et Artemona Dolopem iis praefecit. sic regii constiterant. consul intra uallum peditum acie instructa et ipse equitatum omnem cum leui armatura emisit; pro uallo instructi sunt. dextro cornu praepositus C. Licinius Crassus, consulis frater, cum omni Italico equitatu, uelitibus intermixtis; sinistro M. Ualerius Laeuinus sociorum ex Graecis populis equites habebat <et> eiusdem gentis leuem armaturam; mediam autem aciem cum delectis equitibus extraordinariis tenebat Q. Mucius. ducenti equites Galli ante signa horum instructi et de auxiliis Eumenis Cyrtiorum gentis trecenti. Thessali quadringenti equites paruo interuallo super laeuum cornu locati. Eumenes rex Attalusque cum omni manu sua ab tergo inter postremam aciem ac uallum steterunt.

[59] In hunc modum maxime instructae acies, par ferme utrimque numerus equitum ac leuis armaturae, concurrunt, a funditoribus iaculatoribusque, qui praecesserant, proelio orto. primi omnium Thraces, haud secus quam diu claustris retentae ferae, ita concitati cum ingenti clamore in dextrum cornu, Italicos equites, incurrerunt, ut usu belli et ingenio inpauida gens turbaretur * * <gla>diis hastas petere pedites * * nunc succidere crura <equ>is, nunc ilia suffodere. Perseus, in mediam inuectus aciem, Graecos primo impetu auertit; quibus <fus>is cum grauis ab tergo instaret hostis, Thessalorum

equitatus, <qui a laeuo> cornu breui spatio diiunctus in subsidiis fuerat extra concursum, primo spectator certaminis, deinde inclinata re maximo usui fuit. cedentes enim sensim integris ordinibus, postquam se Eumenis auxiliis adiunxerunt, et cum eo tutum inter ordines suos receptum sociis fuga dissipatis dabant et, cum minus conferti hostes instarent, progredi etiam ausi multos fugientium obuios exceperunt. nec regii, sparsi iam ipsi passim sequendo, cum ordinatis et certo incedentibus gradu manus conserere audebant. cum uictor equestri proelio rex * * * * paruo momento si adiuuisset debellatum esse, et opportune adhortanti superuenit phalanx, quam sua sponte, ne audaci coepto deessent, Hippias et Leonnatus raptim adduxerant, postquam prospere pugnasse equitem acceperunt. fluctuante rege inter spem metumque tantae rei conandae Cretensis Euander, quo ministro Delphis ad insidias Eumenis regis usus erat, postquam agmen peditum uenientium sub signis uidit, ad regem accurrit et monere institit, ne elatus felicitate summam rerum temere in non necessariam aleam daret; si contentus bene re gesta quiescet eo die, uel pacis honestae condicionem habiturum uel plurimos belli socios, qui fortunam sequerentur, si bellare mallet. in hoc consilium pronior erat animus regis. itaque conlaudato Euandro signa referri peditumque agmen redire in castra iubet, equitibus receptui canere.

[60] Cecidere eo die ab Romanis ducenti equites, duo milia haud minus peditum; capti sescenti ferme. ex regiis autem uiginti equites, quadraginta pedites interfecti. postquam redire in castra uictores, omnes quidem laeti, ante alios Thracum insolens laetitia eminebat; cum cantu enim superfixa <hastis> capita hostium portantes redierunt. apud Romanos non maestitia tantum ex male gesta re, sed pauor etiam erat, ne extemplo castra hostis adgrederetur. Eumenes <consuli> suadere, ut trans Peneum transferret castra, ut pro munimento amnem haberet, dum perculsi milites animos colligerent. consul moueri flagitio timoris fatendi; uictus tamen ratione, silentio noctis transductis copiis, castra in ulteriore ripa communiuit. rex postero die ad lacessendos proelio hostes progressus, postquam trans amnem in tuto posita castra animaduertit, fatebatur quidem peccatum, quod pridie non institisset uictis, sed aliquanto maiorem culpam esse, quod nocte foret cessatum; nam, ut neminem alium suorum moueret, leui armatura inmissa, trepidantium in transitu

fluminis hostium deleri magna ex parte copias potuisse. Romanis quidem praesens pauor demptus erat, in tuto castra habentibus; damnum inter cetera praecipue famae mouebat. et in consilio apud consulem pro se quisque in Aetolos conferebant causam: ab iis fugae terrorisque principium ortum; secutos pauorem Aetolorum et ceteros socios Graecorum populorum. quinque principes Aetolorum, qui primi terga uertentes conspecti dicebantur, <Romam missi>. Thessali pro contione laudati, ducesque eorum etiam uirtutis causa donati.

[61] Ad regem spolia caesorum hostium referebantur. [dona] ex his aliis arma insignia, aliis equos, quibusdam captiuos dono dabat. scuta erant supra mille quingenta; loricae thoracesque mille amplius summam explebant; galearum gladiatorumque et missilium omnis generis maior aliquanto numerus. haec per se ampla laetaque multiplicata uerbis regis, quae ad contionem uocato exercitu habuit. 'praeiudicatum euentum belli habetis. meliorem partem hostium, equitatum Romanum, quo inuictos se esse gloriabantur, fudistis. equites enim illis principes iuuentutis, equites seminarium senatus; inde lectos in patres consules, inde imperatores creant: horum spolia paulo ante diuisimus inter uos. nec minorem de legionibus peditum uictoriam habetis, quae nocturna fuga uobis subtractae naufragorum trepidatione passim natantium flumen compleuerunt. sed facilius nobis sequentibus uictos Peneum superare erit, quam illis trepidantibus fuit; transgressisque extemplo castra oppugnabimus, quae hodie cepissemus, ni fugissent; aut si acie decernere uolent, eundem pugnae pedestris euentum expectate, qui equitum in certamine fuit.' et qui uicerant, alacres, spolia caesorum hostium umeris gerentes, decora sua audiuerunt, ex eo, quod acciderat, spem futuri praecipientes, et pedites aliena gloria accensi, praecipue qui Macedonum phalangis erant, sibi quoque et nauandae regi operae et similem gloriam ex hoste pariendi occasionem <optabant. contione> dimissa, postero die profectus inde ad Mopselum posuit castra. tumulus hic ante Tempe eminent et Larisa medius abest Gonnum <eunti>.

[62] <Romani> non abscedentes ab ripa Penei transtulerunt in locum tutiorem castra. eo Misagenes Numida uenit cum mille equitibus, pari peditum numero, ad hoc elephantis duobus et uiginti. per eos dies consilium habenti regi de summa <rerum>, cum iam

consedisset ferocia ab re bene gesta, ausi sunt quidam amicorum consilium dare, ut secunda fortuna in condicionem honestae pacis uteretur potius, quam spe uana euectus in casum inreuocabilem se daret. modum inponere secundis rebus nec nimis credere serenitati praesentis fortunae, prudentis hominis et merito felicitis esse. mitteret ad consulem, qui foedus in easdem leges renouarent, quibus Philippus pater eius pacem ab T. Quinctio uictore accepisset. neque finiri bellum magnificentius quam ab tam memorabili pugna <posse, neque> spem firmiorem pacis perpetuae dari, quam quae perculos aduerso proelio Romanos molliores factura sit ad paciscendum. quodsi Romani tum quoque insita pertinacia aequa aspernarentur, deos hominesque et moderationis Persei et illorum peruicacis superbiae futuros testes. numquam ab talibus consiliis abhorrebat regis animus. itaque <ut> plurium adsensu conprobata est sententia, legati ad consulem missi; adhibito frequenti consilio auditi sunt. pacem petiere, uetigal, quantum Philippus pactus esset, daturum Persea Romanis pollicentes; urbibus, agris locisque, quibus Philippus cessisset, cessurum <quam> primum. haec legati. summotis his cum consultarent, Romana constantia uicit in consilio. ita tum mos erat, in aduers<is reb>us uoltum secundae fortunae gerere, moderari animo in secundis. responderi placuit, ita pacem dari, si de summa rerum liberum senatui permittat rex de se deque uniuersa Macedonia statuendi ius. haec cum renuntiassent legati, miraculo ignaris <Romani> moris pertinacia esse, et plerique uetare amplius mentionem pacis facere; ultro mox quaesituros, quod oblatum fastidiant. Perseus hanc ipsam superbiam — quippe ex fiducia uirium esse — timere, et summam pecuniae augens, si pretio pacem emere posset, non destitit animum consulis temptare. postquam nihil ex eo, quod primo responderat, mutabat, desperata pace ad Sycurium, unde profectus erat, redit, belli casum de integro temptaturus.

[63] Fama equestris pugnae uulgata per Graeciam nudauit uoluntates hominum. non enim solum qui partis Macedonum erant, sed plerique ingentibus Romanorum obligati beneficiis, quidam uim superbiamque experti <Persei>, laeti eam famam accepere, non ob aliam causam quam prauo studio, quo etiam in certaminibus ludicris uulguS utitur, deteriori atque infirmiori fauendo.

Eodem tempore in Boeotia summa ui Haliartum Lucretius praetor

oppugnabat; et quamquam nec habebant externa auxilia obsessi praeter Coronaeorum iuniores, qui prima obsidione moenia intrauerant, neque sperabant, tamen ipsi animis magis quam uiribus resistebant. nam et eruptiones in opera crebro faciebant, et arietem admotum nunc <saxis ingentibus, nunc> libramento plumbi grauatum ad terram urguebant, et si qua declinare nequiuissent ictum, pro diruto muro nouum tumultuario opere, raptim ex ipsa ruinae strage congestis saxis, extruebant. cum operibus lentior <oppugnatio> esset, scalas per manipulos diuidi praetor iussit, ut corona undique moenia adgressurus, eo magis suffecturam ad id multitudinem ratus, quod, qua parte palus urbem cingit, nec adtinebat oppugnari nec poterat. ipse ab ea parte, qua duae turres quodque inter eas muri erat, <corruebat>, duo milia militum delectorum admouit, <ut> eodem tempore, quo ipse transcendere ruinas conaretur, concursu aduersus se oppidanorum facto, scalis uacua defensoribus moenia capi parte aliqua possent. haud segniter oppidani uim eius arcere parant. nam super stratum ruinis locum fascibus aridis sarmentorum iniectis stantes cum ardentibus facibus accensuros eam se saepem minabantur, ut, incendio intersaepti ab hoste, spatium ad obiciendum interiorem murum haberent. quod inceptum eorum fors impediit; nam tantus repente effusus est imber, ut nec accendi facile pateretur et extingueret accensa. itaque et transitus per distracta fumantia uirgulta patuit, et in unius loci praesidium omnibus uersis moenia quoque pluribus simul partibus scalis capiuntur. in primo tumultu captae urbis seniores inpubesque, quos casus obuios obtulit, passim caesi; armati in arcem confugerunt; et postero die, cum spei nihil superesset, deditione facta sub corona uenierunt. fuerunt autem duo milia ferme et quingenti. ornamenta urbis, statuae et tabulae pictae, et quidquid pretiosae praedae fuit, ad naues delatum; urbs diruta a fundamentis. inde Thebas ductus exercitus; quibus sine certamine receptis urbem tradidit exulibus et qui Romanorum partis erant; aduersae factionis hominum fautorumque regis ac Macedonum familias sub corona uendidit. his gestis in Boeotia ad mare ac naues redit.

[64] Cum haec in Boeotia gererentur, Perseus ad Sycurium statiuam dierum aliquot habuit. ubi cum audisset raptim Romanos circa ex agris demessum frumentum conuehere, deinde ante sua quemque

tentoria spicas falcibus desecantem, quo purius frumentum tereret, ingentis acervos per tota castra stramentorum fecisse, ratus incendio opportuna esse, faces taedamque et malleolos stuppae inlitos pice parari iubet; atque ita media nocte profectus, ut prima luce adgressus falleret. nequiquam primae stationes oppressae: tumultu ac terrore suo ceteros excitauerunt, signumque datum est arma extemplo capiendi; simulque in uallo, ad portas miles instructus erat. <tum uero pudore coeptae temere> et inconste oppugnationis castrorum Perseus [et] extemplo circumegit aciem et prima impedimenta ire, deinde peditum signa ferri iussit; ipse cum equitatu et leui armatura substitit ad agmen cogendum, ratus, id quod accidit, insecuturos ad extrema ab tergo carpenda hostis. breue certamen leuis armaturae maxime cum procuratoribus fuit; equites peditesque sine tumultu in castra redierunt.

Demessis circa segetibus Romani ad Crannona, intactum agrum, castra mouent. ibi cum securi et propter longinquitatem et uiae inopis aquarum difficultatem, quae inter Sycurium et Crannona est, statua haberent, repente prima luce <in> imminetibus tumultis equitatus regius cum leui armatura uisus ingentem tumultum fecit. pridie per meridiem profecti ab Sycurio erant; peditum agmen sub lucem reliquerant in proxuma planitie. stetit paulisper <Perseus> in tumultis, elici posse ratus ad equestre certamen Romanos; qui postquam nihil mouebant, equitem mittit, qui pedites referre ad Sycurium signa iuberet; ipse mox insecutus. Romani equites modico interuallo sequentes, sicubi sparsos ac dissipatos inuadere possent, postquam confertos abire signa atque ordines seruantes uiderunt, et ipsi in castra redeunt.

[65] Inde offensus longinquitate itineris rex ad Mopselum castra mouit; et Romani demessis Crannonis segetibus in Phalannaem agrum transeunt. ibi cum ex transfuga cognosset rex sine ullo armato praesidio passim uagantis per agros Romanos metere, cum <mille> equitibus, duobus milibus Thracum et Cretensium profectus, cum, quantum adcelerare poterat, effuso agmine isset, inprouiso adgressus est Romanos. iuncta uehicula, pleraque onusta, mille admodum capiuntur, sescenti ferme homines. praedam custodiendam ducendamque in castra trecentis Cretensium dedit; ipse reuocato ab effusa caede equite et reliquis peditum ducit ad proximum

praesidium, ratus haud magno certamine opprimi posse. L. Pompeius tribunus militum praeerat, qui percussos milites repentino hostium aduentu in propinquum tumulum recepit, loci se praesidio, quia numero et uiribus impar erat, defensurus. ibi cum in orbem milites coegisset, ut densatis scutis ab ictu sagittarum et iaculorum sese tuerentur, Perseus circumdato armatis tumulo alios ascensum undique temptare iubet et comminus proelium conserere, alios eminus tela ingerere. ingens Romanos terror circumstabat; nam neque conferti propellere eos, qui in tumulum conitebantur, poterant et, ubi ordines procursando soluissent, patebant iaculis sagittisque. maxime cestrosphendonis uulnerabantur. hoc illo bello nouum genus teli inuentum est. bipalme spiculum hastili semicubitali infixum erat, crassitudine digiti; huic abiegnae breues pinnae tres, uelut sagittis solent, circumdabantur; funda media duo scutalia inparia habebat; cum maiori nisu libratum funditor habena rotaret, excussum uelut glans emicabat. cum et hoc et alio omni genere telorum pars uulnerata militum esset nec facile iam arma fessi sustinerent, instare rex, ut dederent se, fidem dare, praemia interdum polliceri. nec cuiusquam ad deditionem flectebatur animus, cum ex insperato iam obstinatis mori spes adfulsit. nam cum ex frumentatoribus refugientes quidam in castra nuntiassent consuli circumsideri praesidium, motus periculo tot ciuium — nam octingenti ferme et omnes Romani erant — cum equitatu ac leui armatura (accesserant noua auxilia, Numidae pedites equitesque et elephanti) castris egreditur et tribunis militum imperat, ut legionum signa sequantur. ipse uelitibus ad firmanda leuium armorum auxilia adiectis ad tumulum praecedit. consulis latera tegunt Eumenes <et> Attalus et Misagenes, regulus Numidarum.

[66] Cum in conspectu prima signa suorum circumsessis fuerunt, Romanis quidem ab ultima desperatione recreatus est animus. Perseus, cui primum omnium fuerat, ut contentus fortuito successu, captis aliquot frumentatoribus occisisque, non tereret tempus in obsidione praesidii, secundum, ea quoque temptata utcumque, cum sciret nihil roboris secum esse, dum liceret intacto abire, et ipse hostium aduentum elatus successu mansit et, qui phalangem arcesserent, propere misit; quae et serius, quam res postulabat, et raptim acta, turbata cursu aduersus instructos et praeparatos erat

aduentura. consul anteueniens extemplo proelium conseruit. primo resistere Macedones; deinde, ut nulla re pares erant, amissis trecentis peditibus, uiginti quattuor primoribus equitum ex ala, quam sacram uocant, inter quos Antimachus etiam praefectus alae cecidit, abire conantur. ceterum iter prope ipso proelio tumultuosius fuit. phalanx trepido nuntio accita cum raptim duceretur, primo in angustiis captiuorum agmini oblata uehiculisque frumento onustis haesit. ingens ibi uexatio partis utriusque fuit, nullo expectante, <dum> utcumque explicaretur agmen, sed armatis deicientibus <in> praiceps inpedimenta — neque enim aliter uia aperiri poterat — , iumentis, cum stimularentur, in turba saeuientibus. uix ab incondito agmine captiuorum expedierant sese, cum regio agmini percussisque equitibus occurrunt. ibi uero clamor iubentium referre signa ruinae [quoque] prope similem trepidationem fecit, ut, <si> hostes intrare angustias ausi longius insecuti essent, magna clades accipi potuerit. consul recepto ex tumulo praesidio contentus modico successu in castra copias reduxit. sunt, qui eo die magno proelio pugnatum auctores sint; octo milia hostium caesa, in his Sopatrum et Antipatrum, regios duces; uiuos captos circiter duo milia octingentos, signa militaria capta uiginti septem. nec incruentam uictoriam fuisse; supra quattuor milia et trecentos de exercitu consulis cecidisse; signa sinistrae alae quinque amissa.

[67] Hic dies et Romanis refecit animos et Persea perculit, ut dies paucos ad Mopselum moratus sepulturae maxime militum amissorum cura, praesidio satis ualido ad Gonnum relicto, in Macedoniam reciperet copias. Timotheum quendam ex regiis praefectis cum modica manu relinquit ad Philam, iussum Magnetas ex propinquo temptare. cum Pellam uenisset, exercitu in hiberna dimisso ipse cum Cotye Thessalonicam est profectus. eo fama adfertur, Autlesbim, regulum Thracum, <et> Corragum, Eumenis praefectum, in Cotyis fines impetum fecisse et regionem, Marenen quam uocant, cepisse. itaque dimittendum Cotyn ad sua tuenda ratus, magnis proficiscentem donis prosequitur. ducenta talenta, semestre stipendium, equitatu numerat, cum primo annum dare constituisset.

Consul postquam profectum Persea audiuit, ad Gonnum castra mouet, si potiri oppido posset. ante ipsa Tempe in faucibus situm Macedoniae claustra tutissima praebet et in Thessaliam opportunum

Macedonibus decursum. cum et loco et praesidio ualido inexpugnabilis urbs esset, abstinit incepto. in Perrhaebiam flexis itineribus Malloea primo impetu capta ac direpta, Tripoli aliaque Perrhaebia recepta, Larisam redit. inde Eumene atque Attalo domum remissis, Misageni Numidisque hiberna in proxumis Thessaliae urbibus distribuit, et partem exercitus ita per totam Thessaliam diuisit, ut et hiberna commoda omnes haberent et praesidio urbibus essent. Q. Mucium legatum cum duobus milibus ad obtinendam Ambraciam misit. Graecarum ciuitatum socios omnes praeter Achaeos dimisit. cum exercitus parte profectus in Achaiam Pthiotim Pteleum desertum fuga oppidanorum diruit a fundamentis, Antronas uoluntate incolentium recepit. ad Larisam deinde exercitum admouit. urbs deserta erat; in arcem omnis multitudo concesserat; eam oppugnare adgreditur. primi omnium Macedones, regium praesidium, metu excesserant: a quibus relictis oppidani in deditionem extemplo ueniunt. dubitantem inde, utrum Demetrias prius adgredienda foret, an in Boeotia aspiciendae res, Thebani uexantibus eos Coronaeis in Boeotiam arcescebant. et <ad> horum preces <et> quia hibernis aptior regio quam Magnesia erat, in Boeotiam duxit.

LIBER XLIII

[1] Eadem aestate qua in Thessalia [haec gesta sunt], * * * legatus in Illyricum a consule missus opulenta duo oppida oppugnauit. Ceremiam ui atque armis coegit in deditionem; omniaque iis sua concessit, ut opinione clementiae eos, qui Carnuntem, munitam urbem, incolebant, adliceret. Postquam nec, ut dederent se, compellere neque capere obsidendo poterat, ne duabus oppugnationibus nequiquam fatigatus miles esset, quam prius intactam urbem reliquerat, diripuit. Alter consul C. Cassius nec in Gallia, quam sortitus erat, memorabile quicquam gessit et per Illyricum ducere legiones in Macedoniam uano incepto est conatus. Ingressum hoc iter consulem senatus ex Aquileiensium legatis cognouit, qui querentes coloniam suam nouam et infirmam necdum satis munitam inter infestas nationes Histrorum et Illyriorum esse, cum peterent, ut senatus curae haberet, quomodo ea colonia muniretur, interrogati, uellentne eam rem C. Cassio consuli mandari, responderunt Cassium Aquileiam indicto exercitu profectum per Illyricum in Macedoniam esse. Ea res primo incredibilis uisa, et pro se quisque credere Carnis forsitan aut Histris bellum inlatum. Tum Aquileienses: nihil se ultra scire nec audere adfirmare, quam triginta dierum frumentum militi datum et duces, qui ex Italia itinera in Macedoniam nossent, conquisitos abductosque. Enimuero senatus indignari tantum consulem ausum, ut suam prouinciam relinqueret, in alienam transiret, exercitum nouo periculoso[que] itinere inter exterarum gentes duceret, uiam tot nationibus in Italiam aperiret. Decernunt frequentes, ut C. Sulpicius praetor tris ex senatu nominet legatos, qui eo die proficiscantur ex urbe et, quantum adcelerare possint, Cassium consulem, ubicumque sit, persequantur; nuntient, ne bellum cum ulla gente moueat, nisi cum qua senatus gerendum censuerit. Legati hi profecti M. Cornelius Cethegus, M. Fuluius, P. Marcius Rex. Metus de consule atque exercitu distulit eo tempore muniendae Aquileiae curam.

[2] Hispaniae deinde utriusque legati aliquot populorum in senatum introducti. Ii de magistratuum Romanorum auaritia superbiaque conquesti, nixi genibus ab senatu petierunt, ne se socios

foedius spoliari uexarique quam hostes patiantur. Cum et alia indigna quererentur, manifestum autem esset pecunias captas, L. Canuleio praetori, qui Hispaniam sortitus erat, negotium datum est, ut in singulos, a quibus Hispani pecunias repeterent, quinos recuperatores ex ordine senatorio daret patronosque, quos uellent, sumendi potestatem faceret. Uocatis in curiam legatis recitatum est senatus consultum, iussique nominare patronos. Quattuor nominauerunt, M. Porcium Catonem, P. Cornelium Cn. F. Scipionem, L. Aemilium L. F. Paulum, C. Sulpicium Gallum. Cum M. Titinio primum, qui praetor A. Manlio M. Iunio consulibus in citeriore Hispania fuerat, recuperatores sumpserunt. Bis ampliatus, tertio absolutus est reus. Dissensio inter duarum prouinciarum legatos est orta; citerioris Hispaniae populi M. Catonem et [P.] Scipionem, ulterioris L. Paulum et Gallum Sulpicium patronos sumpserunt. Ad recuperatores adducti a citerioribus populis P. Furius Philus, ab ulterioribus M. Matienus; ille Sp. Postumio Q. Mucio consulibus triennio ante, hic biennio prius L. Postumio M. Popilio consulibus praetor fuerat. Grauiissimis criminibus accusati ambo ampliati; cum dicenda de integro causa esset, excusati exilii causa solum uertisse. Furius Praeneste, Matienus Tibur exulatum abierunt. Fama erat prohiberi a patronis nobiles ac potentes conpellare; auxitque eam suspicionem Canuleius praetor, quod omissa ea re dilectum habere instituit, dein repente in prouinciam abiit, ne plures ab Hispanis uexarentur. Ita praeteritis silentio oblitteratis in futurum tamen consultum ab senatu Hispanis, quod impetrarunt, ne frumenti aestimationem magistratus Romanus haberet neue cogeret uicensusas uendere Hispanos, quanti ipse uellet, et ne praefecti in oppida sua ad pecunias cogendas imponerentur.

[3] Et alia noui generis hominum ex Hispania legatio uenit. Ex militibus Romanis et ex Hispanis mulieribus, cum quibus conubium non esset, natos se memorantes, supra quattuor milia hominum, orabant, ut sibi oppidum, in quo habitarent, daretur. Senatus decreuit, uti nomina sua apud L. Canuleium profiterentur eorumque, si quos manumisissent; eos Carteiam ad Oceanum deduci placere; qui Carteiensium domi manere uellent, potestatem fieri, uti numero colonorum essent, agro adsignato. Latinam eam coloniam esse libertinorumque appellari. Eodem tempore ex Africa et Gulussa

regulus, Masinissae filius, legatus patris, et Carthaginienses uenerunt. Gulussa prior in senatum introductus et, quae missa erant ad bellum Macedonicum a patre suo, exposuit et, si qua praeterea uellent imperare, praestaturum merito populi Romani est pollicitus et monuit patres conscriptos, ut a fraude Carthaginiensium cauerent: classis eos magnae parandae consilium cepisse, specie pro Romanis et aduersus Macedonas; ubi ea parata instructaque esset, ipsorum fore potestatis, quem hostem aut socium habeant. Hanc iniec . . .

[4] . . . tis tantum exinde pauorem ingressi castra, ostentantes capita fecerunt, ut, si admotus extemplo exercitus foret, capi castra potuerint. tum quoque fuga ingens facta est; et erant, qui legatos mittendos ad pacem precibus petendam censerent; ciuitatesque conplures eo nuntio audito in deditionem uenerunt. Quibus purgantibus sese culpamque in duorum amentiam conferentibus, qui se ultro ad poenam ipsi obtulissent, cum ueniam dedisset praetor, profectus extemplo ad alias ciuitates omnibus imperata facientibus quieto exercitu pacatum agrum, qui paulo ante ingenti tumultu arserat, peragrauit. Haec lenitas praetoris, qua sine sanguine ferocissimam gentem domuerat, eo gratior plebi patribusque fuit, quo crudelius auariusque in Graecia bellatum et ab consule Licinio et ab Lucretio praetore erat. Lucretium tribuni plebis absentem contionibus adsiduis lacerabant, cum rei publicae causa abesse excusaretur; sed tum adeo uicina etiam inexplorata erant, ut is eo tempore in agro suo Antiati esset aquamque ex manubiis Antium ex flumine Loracinae duceret. Id opus centum triginta milibus aeris locasse dicitur; tabulis quoque pictis ex praeda fanum Aesculapi exornauit. Inuidiam infamiamque ab Lucretio auerterunt in Hortensium, successorem eius, Abderitae legati flentes ante curiam querentesque oppidum suum ab Hortensio expugnatum ac direptum esse; causam excidii fuisse urbi, quod, cum centum milia denarium et tritici quinquaginta milia modium imperaret, spatium petierint, quo de ea re et ad Hostilium consulem et Romam mitterent legatos. Uixdum ad consulem se peruenisse et audisse oppidum expugnatum, principes securi percussos, sub corona ceteros uenisse. Indigna res senatui uisa, decreueruntque eadem de Abderitis, quae de Coronaeis decreuerant priore anno, eademque pro contione edicere Q. Maenium praetorem iusserunt. Et legati duo, C. Sempronius Blaesus Sex. Iulius Caesar,

ad restituendos in libertatem Abderitas missi. Iisdem mandatum, ut et Hostilio consuli et Hortensio praetori nuntiarent, senatum Abderitis iniustum bellum inlatum conquirique omnes, qui in seruitute sint, et restitui in libertatem aecum censere.

[5] Eodem tempore de C. Cassio, qui consul priore anno fuerat, tum tribunus militum in Macedonia cum A. Hostilio erat, querellae ad senatum delatae sunt, et legati regis Gallorum Cincibili uenerunt. Frater eius uerba in senatu fecit questus Alpinorum populorum agros, sociorum suorum, depopulatum C. Cassium esse et inde multa milia hominum in seruitutem abripuisse. Sub idem tempus Carnorum Histrorumque et Iapydum legati uenerunt: duces sibi ab consule Cassio primum imperatos, qui in Macedoniam ducenti exercitum iter monstarent; pacatum ab se tamquam ad aliud bellum gerendum abisse. Inde ex medio regressum itinere hostiliter peragrasse fines suos; caedes passim rapinasque et incendia facta; nec se ad id locorum scire, propter quam causam consuli pro hostibus fuerint. Et regulo Gallorum absenti et his populis responsum est senatum ea, quae facta querantur, neque scisse futura, neque, si sint facta, probare. Sed indicta causa damnari absentem consularem uirum iniurium esse, cum is rei publicae causa absit; ubi ex Macedonia redisset C. Cassius, tum, si coram eum arguere uellent, cognita re senatum daturum operam, uti satisfiat. Nec responderi tantum iis gentibus, sed legatos mitti, duos ad regulum trans Alpibus, tres circa eos populos placuit, qui indicarent, quae patrum sententia esset. Munera mitti legatis ex binis milibus aeris censuerunt; fratri reguli haec praecipua, torques duo ex quinque pondo auri facti et uasa argentea quinque ex uiginti pondo et duo equi phalerati cum agasonibus et equestria arma ac sagula, et comitibus eorum uestimenta, liberis seruisque. Haec missa; illa petentibus data, ut denorum equorum iis commercium esset educendique ex Italia potestas fieret. Legati cum Gallis missi trans Alpibus C. Laelius, M. Aemilius Lepidus, ad ceteros populos C. Sicinius, P. Cornelius Blasio, T. Memmius.

[6] Multarum simul Graeciae Asiaeque ciuitatum legati Romam conuenerunt. Primi Athenienses introducti; ii se, quod nauium habuerint militumque, P. Licinio consuli et C. Lucretio praetori misisse exposuerunt; quibus eos non usos frumenti sibi centum milia

imperasse; quod, quamquam sterilem terram ararent, ipsosque etiam agrestis peregrino frumento alerent, tamen, ne deessent officio, confecisse; et alia, quae imperarentur, praestare paratos esse. Milesii nihil, [quod] praestitissent, memorantes, si quid imperare ad bellum senatus uellet, praestare se paratos esse polliciti sunt. Alabandenses templum Urbis Romae se fecisse commemorauere ludosque anniuersarios ei diuae instituisse; et coronam auream quinquaginta pondo, quam in Capitolio ponerent donum Ioui optimo maximo, attulisse et scuta equestria trecenta; ea, cui iussissent, tradituros. Donum ut in Capitolio ponere et sacrificare liceret, petebant. Hoc [et] Lampsaceni, octoginta pondo coronam adferentes, petebant, commemorantes discessisse se a Perseo, postquam Romanus exercitus in Macedoniam uenisset, cum sub dicione Persei et ante Philippi fuissent. Pro eo et quod imperatoribus Romanis omnia praestitissent, id se tantum orare, ut in amicitiam populi Romani reciperentur, et, si pax cum Perseo fieret, exciperentur, ne in regiam potestatem reciderent. Ceteris legatis comiter responsum; Lampsacenos in sociorum formulam referre Q. Maenius praetor iussus. Munera omnibus in singulos binum milium aeris data. Alabandenses scuta reportare ad A. Hostilium consulem in Macedoniam iussi. Et ex Africa legati simul Carthaginiensium [et Masinissae uenerunt: legati Carthaginiensium] tritici deciens centum milia et hordei quingenta indicantes se ad mare deuecta habere, ut, quo senatus censuisset, deportarent; id munus officiumque suum scire minus esse quam pro meritis populi Romani et uoluntate sua; sed saepe alias bonis in rebus utriusque populi se gratorum fideliumque socium muneribus functos esse. Item Masinissae legati tritici eandem summam polliciti et mille et ducentos equites, duodecim elephantos; et si quid aliud opus esset, uti inperaret senatus: aequae propenso animo et, quae ipse ultro pollicitus sit, praestaturum esse. Gratiae et Carthaginiensibus et regi actae, rogatique, ut ea, quae pollicerentur, ad Hostilium consulem in Macedoniam deportarent. legatis in singulos binum milium aeris munera missa.

[7] Cretensium legatis commemorantibus se, quantum sibi imperatum a P. Licinio consule esset sagittariorum, in Macedoniam misisse, cum interrogati non infitiarentur apud Persea maiorem

numerum sagittariorum [suorum] quam apud Romanos militare, responsum est, si Cretenses bene ac nauiter destinarent potio-rem populi Romani quam regis Persei amicitiam habere, senatum quoque Romanum iis tamquam certis sociis responsum daturum esse. Interea nuntiarent suis placere senatui dare operam Cretenses, ut, quos milites intra praesidia regis Persei haberent, eos primo quoque tempore domum reuocarent. Cretensibus cum hoc responso dimissis Chalcidenses uocati, quorum legatio ipso introitu mouit, quod Micythion, princeps eorum, pedibus captus lectica est introlatus; ultimae necessitatis extemplo uisa res, in qua ita adfecto excusatio uale- tudinis aut ne ipsi quidem petenda uisa foret aut data petenti non esset. Cum sibi nihil uiui relicum praeterquam linguam ad deplorandas patriae suae calamitates praefatus esset, exposuit ciuitatis primum suae benefacta et uetera et ea, quae Persei bello praestitissent ducibus exercitibusque Romanis; tum quae primo C. Lucretius in populares suos praetor Romanus superbe, auare, crudeliter fecisset; deinde quae tum cum maxime L. Hortensius faceret. Quem ad modum omnia sibi, etiam iis, quae patiantur, tristiora, patienda esse ducant potius, quam fide decedant, sic, quod ad Lucretium Hortensiumque attineret, scire tutius fuisse claudere portas quam in urbem eos accipere. Qui exclusissent eos, Emathiam, Amphipolim, Maroneam, Aenum incolumes esse. Apud se templa omnibus ornamentis spoliata; compilataque sacrilegiis C. Lucretium nauibus Antium deuexisse; libera corpora in seruitutem abrepta; fortunas sociorum populi Romani direptas esse et cotidie diripi. Nam ex instituto C. Lucreti Hortensium quoque in tectis hieme pariter atque aestate naualis socios habere, et domos suas plenas turba nautica esse; uersari inter se, coniuges liberosque suos, quibus nihil neque dicere pensi sit neque facere.

[8] Accersere in senatum Lucretium placuit, ut disceptaret coram purgaretque sese. Ceterum multo plura praesens audiuit, quam in absentem iacta erant; et grauiores potentioresque accessere accusatores duo tribuni plebis, M'. Iuuentius Talna et Cn. Aufidius. Ii non in senatu modo eum lacerarunt, sed in contionem etiam pertracto multis obiectis probris diem dixerunt. Senatus iussu Chalcidensibus Q. Maenius praetor respondit, quae bene meritos sese et ante et in eo bello, quod geratur, de populo Romano dicant, ea et scire uera eos

referre senatum et perinde ac debeant grata esse. Quae facta [a] C. Lucretio fierique ab L. Hortensio praetoribus Romanis querantur, ea neque facta neque fieri uoluntate senatus quem non posse existimare, qui sciat bellum Persei et ante Philippo, patri eius, intulisse populum Romanum pro libertate Graeciae, non ut ea a magistratibus suis socii atque amici paterentur? litteras se ad L. Hortensium praetorem duros esse, quae Chalcidenses querantur acta, ea senatui non placere; si qui in seruitutem liberi uenissent, ut eos conquirendos primo quoque tempore restituendosque in libertatem curaret; sociorum naualium neminem praeter magistros, in hospitia deduci aequum censere. Haec Hortensio iussu senatus scripta. Munera binum milium aeris legatis missa et uehicula Micythioni publice locata, quae eum Brundisium commode perueherent. C. Lucretium, ubi dies, quae dicta erat, uenit, tribuni ad populum accusarunt multamque deciens centum milium aeris dixerunt. Comitibus habitis omnes quinque et triginta tribus eum condemnarunt.

[9] In Liguribus eo [anno] nihil memorabile gestum. Nam nec hostes mouerunt arma, neque consul in agrum eorum legiones induxit; et satis explorata pace eius anni milites duarum legionum Romanarum intra dies sexaginta, quam in prouinciam uenit, dimisit. Sociorum nominis Latini exercitu mature in hiberna Lunam et Pisas deducto ipse cum equitibus Galliae prouinciae pleraque oppida adit. Nusquam alibi quam in Macedonia bellum erat. Suspectum tamen Gentium, Illyriorum regem, habebant. Itaque et octo nauis ornatas a Brundisio senatus censuit mittendas ad C. Furium legatum Issam, qui cum praesidio duarum Issensium nauium insulae praeerat — duo milia militum in eas naues sunt inposita, quae M. Raecius praetor ex senatus consulto in ea parte Italiae, quae obiecta Illyrico est, conscripsit — , et consul Hostilius Ap. Claudium in Illyricum [cum] quattuor milibus peditum misit, ut accolae Illyrici tutaretur. Qui non contentus iis, quas adduxerat, copiis auxilia ab sociis conrogando ad octo milia hominum [ex] uario genere armauit peragratamque omni ea regione ad Lynchnidum Dassaretiorum consedit.

[10] Haud procul inde Uscana oppidum finium imperiique Persei erat. decem milia ciuium habebat et modicum custodiae causa Cretensium praesidium. Inde nuntii ad Claudium occulti ueniebant, si propius copias admouisset, paratos fore, qui proderent urbem. Et

operae pretium esse: non se amicosque tantum, sed etiam milites praeda expleturum. Spes cupiditati admota ita occaecauit animum, ut nec ex iis qui uenerant quemquam retineret nec obsides, pignus futuros afore fraudem agenda rei, posceret nec mitteret exploratum nec fidem acciperet. Die tantum statuta profectus a Lychnido duodecim milia ab urbe, ad quam tendebat, posuit castra. Quarta inde uigilia signa mouit mille ferme ad praesidium castrorum relictis. Inconpositi, longo agmine effusi, infrequentes, cum nocturnus error dissiparet, ad urbem peruenerunt. Creuit neclegentia, postquam neminem armatum in muris uiderunt. Ceterum, ubi primum sub ictu teli fuerunt, duabus simul portis erumpitur; et ad clamorem erumpentium ingens strepitus e muris ortus ululantium mulierum cum crepitu undique aeris, et incondita multitudo turba inmixta seruili uariis uocibus personabat. Hic tam multiplex undique obiectus terror effecit, ne sustinere primam procellam eruptionis Romani possent. Itaque fugientes plures quam pugnantes interempti sunt; uix duo milia hominum cum ipso legato in castra perfugerunt. Quo longius iter in castra erat, eo pluris fessos consecrandi hostibus copia fuit. Ne moratus quidem in castris Appius, ut suos dissipatos fuga colligeret, quae res palatis per agros saluti fuisset, ad Lychnidum protinus reliquias cladis reduxit.

[11] Haec et alia haud prospere in Macedonia gesta ex Sex. Digitio tribuno militum, qui sacrificii causa Romam uenerat, sunt audita. Propter quae ueriti patres, ne qua maior ignominia acciperetur, legatos in Macedoniam M. Fuluium Flaccum et M. Caninium Rebilum miserunt, qui conperta, quae agerentur, referrent; et ut A. Atilius consul comitia consulibus rogandis ita ediceret, uti mense Ianuario confici possent, et ut primo quoque tempore in urbem rediret. Interim M. Raecio praetori mandatum, ut edicto senatores omnes ex tota Italia, nisi qui rei publicae causa abessent, Romam reuocaret: qui Romae essent, ne quis ultra mille passuum ab Roma abesset. Ea, uti senatus censuit, sunt facta. comitia consularia ante diem quintum kal. Febr. fuere. Creati consules sunt Q. Marcius Philippus iterum et Cn. Seruilius Caepio. Post diem tertium praetores sunt facti C. Decimius, M. Claudius Marcellus, C. Sulpicius Gallus, C. Marcius Figulus, Ser. Cornelius Lentulus, P. Fonteius Capito. Designatis praetoribus praeter duas urbanas quattuor prouinciae sunt

decretae: Hispania et Sardinia et Sicilia et classis. Legati ex Macedonia exacto admodum mense Februario redierunt. Hi, quas res ea aestate prospere gessisset rex Perseus, referebant, quantusque timor socios populi Romani cepisset tot urbibus in potestatem regis redactis. Exercitum consulis infrequentem commeatibus uulgo datis per ambitionem esse; culpam eius rei consulem in tribunos militum, contra illos in consulem conferre. Ignominiam Claudii temeritate acceptam eleuare eos patres acceperunt, qui perpauca Italici generis et magna [ex parte] tumultuario dilectu conscriptos ibi milites amissos referebant. Consules designati ubi primum magistratum inissent, de Macedonia referre ad senatum iussi; destinataeque prouinciae iis sunt Italia et Macedonia. Hoc anno intercalatum est: tertio die post Terminalia kalendae intercalariae fuere. Sacerdotes intra eum annum mortui sunt L. Flamininus . . . pontifices duo decesserunt, L. Furius Philus et C. Liuius Salinator. In locum Furii T. Manlium Torquatum, in Liuii M. Seruiliū pontifices legerunt.

[12] Principio insequentis anni cum consules noui Q. Marcius et Cn. Seruilius de prouinciis rettulissent, primo quoque tempore aut conparare eos inter se Italiam et Macedoniam aut sortiri placuit; priusquam id sors cerneret, in incertum, ne quid gratia momenti faceret, in utramque prouinciam, quod res desideraret supplementi decernunt in Macedoniam peditum Romanorum sex milia, sociorum nominis Latini sex milia, equites Romanos ducentos quinquaginta, socios trecentos; ueteres milites dimitti, ita ut in singulas Romanas legiones ne plus sena milia peditum, treceni equites essent. Alteri consuli nullus certus finitus numerus ciuium Romanorum, quem in supplementum legeret. id modo finitum, ut duas legiones scriberet, quae quina milia peditum et ducenos haberent, equites trecenos. Latinorum maior quam collegae decretus numerus, peditum decem milia et sescenti equites. Quattuor praeterea legiones scribi iussae, quae, si quo opus esset, educerentur. Tribunos iis, non permissum, ut consules facerent: populus creauit. Sociis nominis Latini sedecim milia peditum et mille equites imperati. Hunc exercitum parari tantum placuit, ut exiret, si quo res posceret. Macedonia maxime curam praebebat. In classem mille socii nauales ciues Romani libertini ordinis, ex Italia [quingenti] scribi iussi; totidem ut ex Sicilia scriberentur; et cui ea prouincia euenisset, mandatum, ut eos in

Macedoniam, ubicumque classis esset, deportandos curaret. In Hispaniam tria milia peditum Romanorum in supplementum, trecenti equites decreti. Finitus ibi quoque in legiones militum numerus, peditum quina milia duceni et treceni equites. Et sociis imperare praetor, cui Hispania obuenisset, iussus quattuor milia peditum et trecentos equites.

[13] Non sum nescius ab eadem neglegentia, quia nihil deos portendere uulgo nunc credant, neque nuntiari admodum ulla prodigia in publicum neque in annales referri. Ceterum et mihi uetustas res scribenti nescio quo pacto anticus fit animus, et quaedam religio tenet, quae illi prudentissimi uiri publice suscipienda censuerint, ea pro indignis habere, quae in meos annales referam. Anagnia duo prodigia eo anno sunt nuntiata, facem in caelo conspectam et bouem feminam locutam; [eam] publice ali. Menturnis quoque per eos dies caeli ardentis species affulserat. Reate imbri lapidauit. Cumis in arce Apollo triduum ac tris noctes lacrimauit. In urbe Romana duo aeditui nuntiarunt, alter in aede Fortunae anguem iubatum a conpluribus uisum esse, alter in aede Primigeniae Fortunae, quae in Colle est, duo diuersa prodigia, palmam in area enatam et sanguine interdum pluuisse. Duo non suscepta prodigia sunt, alterum, quod in priuato loco factum esset, — palmam enatam [in] inpluuio suo T. Marcius Figulus nuntiabat — , alterum, quod in loco peregrino: Fregellis in domo L. Atrei hasta, quam filio militi emerat, interdum plus duas horas arsisse, ita ut nihil eius ambureret ignis, dicebatur. Publicorum prodigiorum causa libri a decemuiris aditi: quadraginta maioribus hostiis quibus diis consules sacrificarent ediderunt, et uti supplicatio fieret cunctique magistratus circa omnia puluinaria uictumis maioribus sacrificarent populusque coronatus esset. Omnia, uti decemuiui praeierunt, facta.

[14] Censoribus deinde creandis comitia edicta sunt. Petierunt censuram principes ciuitatis, C. Ualerius Laeuinus, L. Postumius Albinus, P. Mucius Scaeuola, M. Iunius Brutus, C. Claudius Pulcher, Ti. Sempronius Gracchus. Hos duos censores creauit populus Romanus. Cum dilectus habendi maior quam alias propter Macedonicum bellum cura esset, consules plebem apud senatum accusabant, quod [et] iuniores non responderent. Aduersus quos C. Sulpicius et M. Claudius praetores plebis causam egerunt: non

consulibus, sed ambitiosis consulibus dilectum difficilem esse; neminem inuitum militem ab iis fieri. Id ut ita esse scirent et patres conscripti, praetores se, quibus uis imperii minor et auctoritas esset, dilectum, si ita senatui uideretur, perfecturos esse. Id praetoribus magna patrum [approbatione], non sine suggillatione consulum mandatum est. Censores, ut eam rem adiuuarent, ita in contione edixerunt: legem censui censendo dicturos esse, ut praeter commune omnium ciuium ius iurandum haec adiurarent: ‘tu minor annis sex et quadraginta es tuque ex edicto C. Claudii Ti. Semproni censorum ad dilectum prodisti et, quotienscumque dilectus erit, quoad hi censorum magistratum habebunt, si miles factus non eris, in dilectum prodibis?’ item, quia fama erat multos ex Macedonicis legionibus incertis comitatibus per ambitionem imperatorum ab exercitu abesse, edixerunt de militibus P. Aelio [C. Popilio] consulibus postea eos consules in Macedoniam scriptis, ut, qui eorum in Italia essent, intra dies triginta, censi prius apud sese, in prouinciam redirent; qui in patris aut aui potestate essent, eorum nomina ad se ederentur. Missorum quoque causas sese cognituros esse; et quorum ante emerita stipendia gratiosa missio sibi uisa esset, eos milites fieri iussuros. Hoc edicto litterisque censorum per fora et conciliabula dimissis tanta multitudo iuniorum Romam conuenit, ut grauis urbi turba insolita esset.

[15] Praeter dilectum eorum, quos in supplementum mitti oportebat, quattuor a C. Sulpicio praetore scriptae legiones sunt, intraque undecim dies dilectus est perfectus. Consules deinde sortiti prouincias sunt. Nam praetores propter iurisdictionem maturius sortiti erant. Urbana C. Sulpicio, peregrina C. Decimio obtigerat; Hispaniam M. Claudius Marcellus, Siciliam Ser. Cornelius Lentulus, Sardiniam P. Fonteius Capito, classem C. Marcius Figulus erat sortitus. Consulum Cn. Seruilius Italia, Q. Marcus Macedonia obuenerat; Latinisque actis Marcius extemplo est profectus. Caepione deinde referente ad senatum, quas ex nouis legionibus duas legiones secum in Galliam duceret, decreuere patres, ut C. Sulpicius M. Claudius praetores ex iis, quas scripsissent, legionibus, quas uideretur, consuli darent. Indigne patiens praetorum arbitrio consulem subiectum, dimisso senatu ad tribunal praetorum stans postulauit, ex senatus consulto destinarent sibi duas legiones. Praetores consulis in

eligendo arbitrium fecerunt. Senatum deinde censores legerunt: M. Aemilius Lepidus princeps ab tertiis iam censoribus lectus. septem de senatu eiecti sunt. In censu accipiendo populi milites ex Macedonico exercitu, qui quam multi abessent ab signis census docuit, in prouinciam [redire] cogeabant; causas ~stipendiis missorum cognoscebant, et cuius nondum iusta missio uisa esset, ita iusiurandum adigebant: ‘ex tui animi sententia, tu ex edicto C. Claudii Ti. Semproni censorum in prouinciam Macedoniam redibis, quod sine dolo malo facere poteris?’

[16] In equitibus recensendis tristis admodum eorum atque aspera censura fuit: multis equos ademerunt. In ea re cum equestrem ordinem offendissent, flammam inuidiae adiecere edicto, quo edixerunt, ne quis eorum, qui Q. Fuluius A. Postumio censoribus publica uectigalia aut ultro tributa conduxissent, ad hastam suam accederet sociusue aut adfinis eius conductionis esset. Saepe id querendo ueteres publicani cum impetrare nequissent ab senatu, ut modum potestati censoriae inponerent, tandem tribunum plebis P. Rutilium, ex rei priuatae contentione iratum censoribus, patronum causae nanci sunt. Clientem [eius] libertinum parietem in Sacra uia aduersus aedes publicas demoliri iusserant, quod publico inaedificatus esset. Appellati a priuato tribuni. cum praeter Rutilium nemo intercederet, censores ad pignora capienda miserunt multamque pro contione priuato dixerunt. Hinc contentione orta cum ueteres publicani se ad tribunum contulissent, rogatio repente sub unius tribuni nomine promulgatur, quae publica uectigalia [aut] ultro tributa C. Claudius et Ti. Sempronius locassent, ea rata locatio ne esset: ab integro locarentur, et ut omnibus redimendi et conducendi promiscue ius esset. Diem ad [eius] rogationem concilio tribunus plebis dixit. Qui postquam uenit ut censores ad dissuadendum processerunt, Graccho dicente silentium fuit; [cum] Claudio obstreperetur, audientiam facere praeconem iussit. Eo facto auocatam a se contionem tribunus questus et in ordinem se coactum ex Capitolio, ubi erat concilium, abijt. Postero die ingentis tumultus ciere. Ti. Gracchi primum bona consecrauit, quod in multa pignoribusque eius, qui tribunum appellasset, intercessionem non parendo se in ordinem coegisset; C. Claudio diem dixit, quod contionem ab se auocasset; et utrique censori perduellionem se

iudicare pronuntiauit diemque comitiis a C. Sulpicio praetore urbano petit. Non recusantibus censoribus, quominus primo quoque tempore iudicium de se populus faceret, in ante diem octauum et septimum kal. Octobres comitiis perduellionis dicta dies. Censores extemplo in atrium Libertatis escenderunt et ibi obsignatis tabellis publicis clausoque tabulario et dimissis seruis publicis negarunt se prius quidquam publici negotii gesturos, quam iudicium populi de se factum esset. Prior Claudius causam dixit; et cum ex duodecim centuriis equitum octo censorem condemnassent multaeque aliae primae classis, extemplo principes ciuitatis in conspectu populi anulis aureis positis uestem mutarunt, ut supplices plebem circumirent. Maxime tamen sententiam uertisse dicitur Ti. Gracchus, quod, cum clamor undique plebis esset periculum Graccho non esse, conceptis uerbis iurauit, si collega damnatus esset, non expectato de se iudicio comitem exilii eius futurum. Adeo tamen ad extremum spei uenit reus, ut octo centuriae ad damnationem defuerint. Absoluto Claudio tribunus plebis negauit se Gracchum morari.

[17] Eo anno postulantibus Aquileiensiū legatis, ut numerus colonorum augeretur, mille et quingentae familiae ex senatus consulto scriptae triumuirique, qui eas deducerent, missi sunt T. Annius Luscus, P. Decius Subulo, M. Cornelius Cethegus. Eodem anno C. Popilius et Cn. Octavius legati, qui in Graeciam missi erant, senatus consultum Thebis primum recitatum per omnes Peloponnesi urbes circumtulerunt, ne quis ullam rem in bellum magistratibus Romanis conferret, praeterquam quod senatus censuisset. Hoc fiduciam in posterum quoque praebuerat, leuatos se oneribus[que] inpensisque, quibus, alia aliis inperantibus, exhauriebantur. Achaico concilio Aegi iis dato benigne locuti auditique, egregia spe futuri status fidissima gente relictā, in Aetoliam traiecerunt. Ibi nondum quidem seditio erat, sed omnia suspecta criminumque inter ipsos plena; ob quae obsidibus postulatis neque exitu rei inposito in Acarnaniam inde profecti legati sunt. Thyrraei concilium legatis Acarnanes dederunt. Ibi quoque inter factiones erat certamen: quidam principum postulare, ut praesidia in urbes suas inducerentur aduersus amentiam eorum, qui ad Macedonas gentem trahebant; pars recusare, ne, quod bello captis et hostibus mos esset, id pacatae et sociae ciuitates ignominiae acciperent. Iusta deprecatio haec uisa.

Larisam ad Hostilium proconsulem — ab eo enim missi erant — legati redierunt. Octavius retinuit secum, Popilius cum mille ferme militibus in hiberna Ambraciam misit.

[18] Perseus principio hiemis egredi Macedoniae finibus non ausus, ne qua in regnum uacuum inrumperent Romani, sub tempus brumae, cum inexcuperabilis ab Thessalia montes nimis altitudo facit, occasionem esse ratus frangendi finitimorum spes animosque, ne quid auerso se in Romanum bellum periculi ab iis esset, cum a Thracia pacem Cotys, ab Epiro Cephalus repentina defectione ab Romanis praestarent, Dardanos recens domuisset bellum, solum infestum esse Macedoniae latus, quod ab Illyrico pateret, cernens, neque ipsis quietis Illyriis et aditum praebentibus Romano, si domuisset proximos Illyriorum, Gentium quoque regem iam diu dubium in societatem perlici posse, cum decem milibus peditum, quorum pars phalangitae erant, et duobus milibus leuium armorum et quingentis equitibus profectus Stuberram uenit. Inde frumento conplurium dierum sumpto iussuque apparatu oppugnandarum urbium sequi, tertio die ad Uscanam — Penestianae terrae ea maxima urbs est — posuit castra, prius tamen, quam uim admoueret, missis, qui temptarent nunc praefectorum praesidii, nunc oppidanorum animos. Erat autem ibi cum iuuentute Illyriorum Romanum [praesidium]. postquam nihil pacati referebant, oppugnare est adortus et corona eam capere conatus est. cum sine intermissione interdum noctuque alii aliis succedentes, pars scalas muris, [pars] ignem portis inferrent, sustinebant tamen eam tempestatem propugnatores urbis, quia spes erat neque hiemis uim diutius pati Macedonas in aperto posse, nec ab Romano bello tantum regi laxamenti fore, ut posset morari. Ceterum postquam uineas agi turresque excitari uident, uicta pertinacia est. Nam praeterquam quod aduersus uim pares non erant, ne frumenti quidem aut ullius alterius rei copia intus erat, ut in necopinata obsidione. Itaque cum spei nihil ad resistendum esset, C. Caruilius Spoletinus et C. Afranius a praesidio Romano missi, qui a Perseo peterent primo, ut armatos suaque secum ferentis abire sineret, dein, si id minus impetrarent, uitae tantum libertatisque fidem acciperent. Promissum id benignius est ab rege quam praestitum; exire enim sua secum efferentibus iussis primum arma, [dein libertatem] ademit. His urbe egressis et Illyriorum cohors —

quingenti erant — et Uscanenses se urbemque dederunt.

[19] Perseus praesidio Uscanae inposito multitudinem omnem deditorum, quae prope numero exercitum aequabat, Stuberram abducit. Ibi Romanis- quattuor milia autem hominum erant — praeter principes in custodiam ciuitatum diuisis, Uscanensibus Illyriisque uenditis, in Penestas exercitum reducit ad Oaeneum oppidum in potestatem redigendum, et alioqui opportune situm, et transitus ea est in Labeates, ubi Gentius regnabat. Praetereunti frequens castellum, Draudacum nomine, peritorum quidam regionis eius nihil Oaeneo capto opus esse ait, nisi in potestate et Draudacum sit; opportunius etiam ad omnia positum esse. Admoto exercitu omnes extemplo dederunt sese. [Ad] quam spe celeriores deditioem erectus postquam animaduertit, quantus agminis sui terror esset, undecim alia castella eodem metu in potestatem redigit. Ad perpauca ui opus fuit, cetera uoluntate dedita; et in his recepti mille et quingenti dispositi per praesidia milites Romani. Magno usui Caruilius Spoletinus erat in conloquiis dicendo nihil in ipsos saeuitum. Deinde Oaeneum peruentum est, quod sine iusta oppugnatione capi non poterat. Et maiore aliquanto, quam cetera, iuuentute et ualidum oppidum moenibus erat, et hinc amnis, Artatus nomine, hinc mons praealtus et aditu difficilis cingebat. Haec spem ad resistendum oppidanis dabant. Perseus circumuallato oppido aggerem a parte superiore ducere instituit, cuius altitudine muros superaret. Quod opus dum perficitur, crebris interim proeliis, quibus per excursions et moenia sua oppidani tutabantur et opera hostium impediabant, magna eorum multitudo uariis casibus absumpta est, et qui supererant, labore diurno nocturnoque [et] uulneribus inutiles erant. Ubi primum agger iniunctus muro est, et cohors regia, quos Nicatoras appellant, transcendit, et scalis multis simul partibus inpetus in urbem est factus. Puberes omnes interfecti sunt; coniuges liberosque eorum in custodiam dedit; praedae alia militum cessere. Stuberram inde uictor reuertens ad Gentium legatos Pleuratum Illyrium, exulantem apud se, et Adaeum Macedonem a Beroea mittit; iis mandat, ut exponerent aestatis eius hiemisque acta sua aduersus Romanos Dardanosque; adicerent recentia in Illyrico hibernae expeditionis opera; hortarentur Gentium in amicitiam secum et cum Macedonibus iungendam.

[20] Hi transgressi iugum Scordi montis, per Illyrici solitudines, quas de industria populando Macedones fecerant, ne transitus faciles Dardanis in Illyricum aut Macedoniam essent, Scodram labore ingenti tandem peruenerunt. Lissi rex Gentius erat. Eo acciti legati, qui mandata exponentes benigne auditi sunt; responsum sine effectu tulerunt, uoluntatem sibi non deesse ad bellandum cum Romanis; ceterum ad conandum id, quod uelit, pecuniam maxime deesse. Haec Stuberram rettulere regi tum maxime captiuos ex Illyrico uendenti. Extemplo iidem legati, addito Glaucia ex numero custodum corporis, remittuntur sine mentione pecuniae, qua una barbarus inops inpelli ad bellum non poterat. Ancyram inde populatus Perseus in Penestas rursus exercitum reducit firmatisque Uscanae et circa eam per omnia castella, quae receperat, praesidiis in Macedoniam sese recipit.

[21] L. Coelius, legatus Romanus, praeerat Illyrico; qui moueri non ausus, cum in iis locis rex esset, post profectionem demum eius conatus in Penestis Uschanam recipere, a praesidio, quod ibi Macedonum erat, cum multis uolneribus repulsus Lychnidum copias reduxit. Inde post dies paucos M. Trebellium Fregellum cum satis ualida manu [in] Penestas misit ad obsides ab iis urbibus, quae in amicitia cum fide permanserant, accipiendos; procedere etiam in Parthinos — ii quoque obsides dare pepigerant — iussit. Ab utraque gente sine tumultu exigit. Penestarum equites Apolloniam, Parthinorum Dyrrachium, — tum Epidamni magis celebre nomen Graecis erat — missi. Ap. Claudius acceptam in Illyrico ignominiam corrigere cupiens Phanotam, Epiri castellum, adortus oppugnare est. Auxilia Chaonum Thesprotorumque praeter Romanum exercitum, ad sex milia hominum, secum adduxit; neque operae pretium fecit Cleua, qui relictus a Perseo erat, cum ualido praesidio defendente. Et Perseus, Elimeam profectus et circa eam exercitu lustrato ad Stratum uocantibus Epirotis ducit. Stratus ualidissima tum urbs Aetoliae erat; sita est super Ambracium sinum prope amnem Inachum. Cum decem milibus peditum eo profectus est et equitibus trecentis, quos pauciores propter angustias uiarum et asperitatem duxit. Tertio die cum peruenisset ad Citium montem, uix transgressus propter altitudinem niuis locum quoque castris aegre inuenit. Profectus inde, magis quia manere non poterat, [quam] quod tolerabilis aut uia aut tempestas esset, cum ingenti uexatione praecipue iumentorum altero

die ad templum Iouis, Nicaeum quem uocant, posuit castra. Ad Aratthum inde flumen itinere ingenti emenso retentus altitudine amnis mansit. Quo spatio temporis ponte perfecto, traductis copiis diei progressus iter obuium Archidamum, principem Aetolorum, per quem ei Stratus tradebatur, habuit.

[22] Eo die ad finem agri Aetolici castra posita; inde altero die ad Stratum peruentum; ubi prope Inachum amnem castris [positis], cum expectaret effusos omnibus portis Aetolos in fidem suam uenturos, clausas portas atque ipsa ea nocte, qua uenerat, receptum Romanum praesidium cum C. Popilio legato inuenit. Principes, qui praesentis Archidami auctoritate compulsi regem arcessierant, obuiam egresso Archidamo segniores facti locum aduersae factioni dederant ad Popilium cum mille peditibus ab Ambracia accersendum. In tempore et Dinarchus, praefectus equitum gentis Aetolorum, cum sescentis peditibus et equitibus centum [uenit]. Satis constabat eum tamquam ad Persea tendentem Stratum uenisse, mutato deinde cum fortuna animo Romanis se, aduersus quos uenerat, iunxisse. Nec Popilius securior, quam debebat esse, inter tam mobilia ingenia erat. Claues portarum custodiamque murorum suae extemplo potestatis fecit; Dinarchum Aetolosque cum iuuentute Stratorum in arcem per praesidii speciem amouit. Perseus ab imminentibus superiori parti urbis tumultis temptatis conloquiis, cum obstinatos atque etiam telis procul arcentis uideret, quinque milia passuum ab urbe trans Petitarum amnem posuit castra. Ibi consilio aduocato cum Archidamus Epirotarumque transfugae retinerent, Macedonum principes non pugnandum cum infesto tempore anni censerent, nullis praeparatis commeatibus, cum inopiam prius obsidentes quam obsessi sensuri essent, maxime quod hostium haud procul inde hiberna erant, territus in Aperantiam castra mouit. Aperanti eum propter Archidami magnam in ea gente gratiam auctoritatemque consensu omnium acceperunt; is ipse cum octingentorum militum praesidio his est praepositus.

[23] Rex cum [non] minore uexatione iumentorum hominumque, quam uenerat, in Macedoniam redit; Appium tamen ab obsidione Phanotes fama ducentis ad Stratum Persei summouit. Cleuas cum praesidio inpigrorum iuuenum insecutus sub radicibus prope inuiis montium ad mille hominum ex agmine inpedito occidit, ad ducentos

cepit. Appius superatis angustiis in campo, quem Meleona uocant, statua dierum paucorum habuit. Interim Cleuas adsumpto Philostrato, qui [DC ex] Epirotarum gente habebat, in agrum Antigonensem transcendit. Macedones ad depopulationem profecti; Philostratus cum cohorte sua in insidiis loco obscuro consedit. In palatos populatores cum erupissent ab Antigonea armati, fugientes eos persequentes effusius in uallem insessam ab hostibus praecipitant. Ibi DCoccisis, centum ferme captis, et ubique prospere gesta re prope statua Appi castra mouent, ne qua uis sociis suis ab Romano exercitu inferri possit. Appius nequiquam in his locis terens tempus, dimissis Chaonum [Thesprotorum]que et si qui alii Epirotae erant praesidiis, cum Italicis militibus in Illyricum regressus, per Parthinorum socias urbes in hiberna militibus diuisis, ipse Romam sacrificii causa redit. Perseus ex Penestarum gente mille pedites, ducentos equites reuocatos Cassandream, praesidio ut essent, misit. Ab Gentio eadem adferentes redierunt. Nec deinde alios atque alios mittendo temptare eum destitit, cum appareret, quantum in eo praesidii esset, nec tamen impetrare ab animo posset, ut inpensam in rem maximi ad omnia momenti faceret.

LIBER XLIV

[1] Principio ueris, quod hiemem eam, qua haec gesta sunt, insecutum est, ab Roma profectus Q. Marcius Philippus consul cum quinque milibus * * * , quod in supplementum legionum secum traiecturus erat, Brundisium peruenit. M. Popilius consularis et alii pari nobilitate adulescentes tribuni militum in Macedonicas legiones consulem secuti sunt. per eos dies et C. Marcius Figulus praetor, cui classis prouincia euenerat, Brundisium uenit; et simul ex Italia profecti Corcyram altero die, tertio Actium, Acarnaniae portum, tenuerunt. inde consul ad Ambraciam egressus itinere terrestri petit Thessaliam; praetor superato Leucata Corinthium sinum inuectus et Creusae relictis nauibus terra et ipse per mediam Boeotiam — diei unius expedito iter est — Chalcidem ad classem contendit. castra eo tempore A. Hostilius in Thessalia circa Palaepharsalum habebat, sicut nulla re bellica memorabili gesta, ita ad ~iunctam militarem disciplinam ab effusa licentia formato milite et sociis cum fide cultis et ab omni genere iniuriae defensis. audito successoris aduentu cum arma uiros equos cum cura inspexisset, ornato exercitu obuiam uenienti consuli processit. et primus eorum congressus ex dignitate ipsorum ac Romani nominis, et in rebus deinde gerendis — proconsul enim ad exercitum <mansit>-<summa concordia fuit>. paucis post diebus consul contionem apud milites habuit. orsus a parricidio Persei perpetrato in fratrem, cogitato in parentem, adiecit post scelere partum regnum ueneficia, caedes, latrocinio nefando petitem Eumenen, iniurias in populum Romanum, direptiones sociarum urbium contra foedus; ea omnia quam diis quoque inuisa essent, sensurum in exitu rerum suarum: fauere enim pietati fideique deos, per quae populus Romanus ad tantum fastigii uenerit. uires deinde populi Romani, iam terrarum orbem complectentis, cum uiribus Macedoniae, exercitus cum exercitibus conparauit: quanto maiores Philippi Antiochique opes non maioribus copiis fractas esse?

[2] Huius generis adhortatione accensis militum animis consultare de summa gerendi belli coepit. eo et C. Marcius praetor a Chalcide classe accepta uenit. placuit non ultra morando in Thessalia tempus terere, sed mouere extemplo castra atque inde pergere in

Macedoniam, et praetorem dare operam, ut eodem tempore classis quoque inuehatur hostium litoribus. praetore dimisso consul menstruum <frumentum> iusso milite secum ferre profectus decumo post die, quam exercitum acceperat, castra mouit; et unius diei progressus iter conuocatis itinerum ducibus cum exponere in consilio iussisset, qua quisque ducturus esset, summotis iis, quam potissimum <uiam> peteret, rettulit ad consilium. aliis per Pythoum placebat uia, aliis per Cambunios montes, qua priore anno duxerat Hostilius consul, aliis praeter Ascuridem paludem. restabat aliquantum uiae communis; itaque in id tempus, quo prope diuortium itinerum castra posaturi erant, deliberatio eius rei differtur. in Perrhaebiam inde ducit, et inter Azorum et Dolichen statua habuit ad consulendum rursus, quam potissimum capesseret uiam. per eosdem dies Perseus cum adpropinquare hostem sciret, quod iter petiturus esset, ignarus, omnis saltus insidere praesidiis statuit. in iugum Cambuniorum montium — Uolustana ipsi uocant — decem milia leuis armaturae ~iuuenum cum duce Asclepiodoto mittit; ad castellum, quod super Ascuridem paludem erat — Lapathus uocatur locus — , Hippias tenere saltum cum duodecim milium Macedonum praesidio iussus. ipse cum reliquis copiis primo circa Dium statua habuit; deinde adeo inops consilii, ut obtorpuisse uideretur, cum equitibus expeditis litore nunc Heracleum, nunc Philam percurrerat, eodem inde cursu Dium repetens.

[3] Interim consuli sententia stetit eo saltu ducere, ubi propter Ottolobum dux regius castra <habebat>. praemitti tamen quattuor milia armatorum ad loca opportuna praeoccupanda placuit, qui<bus> praepositi sunt M. Claudius, Q. Marcius consulis filius. confestim et uniuersae copiae sequebantur. ceterum adeo ardua et aspera et confragosa fuit <uia>, ut praemissi expediti biduo quindecim milium passuum aegre itinere confecto castra posuerint. Dierum, quem cepere, locum appellant. inde postero die septem milia progressi, tumulto haud procul hostium castris capto, nuntium ad consulem remittunt peruentum ad hostem esse; loco se tuto et ad omnia opportuno consedissee; [ut] quantum extendere iter posset, consequeretur. sollicito consuli et propter itineris difficultatem, quod ingressus erat, et eorum uicem, quos paucos inter media praesidia hostium praemiserat, nuntius ad Ascuridem paludem occurrit. addita

igitur et ipsi fiducia est, coniunctisque copiis castra tumulo, qui tenebatur, qua aptissimum ad loci naturam erat, sunt adclinata. non hostium modo castra, quae paulo plus mille passuum aberant, sed omnis regio ad Dium et Philam oraque maris late patente ex tam alto iugo prospectu oculis subicitur. quae res accendit militi animos, postquam summam belli ac regias omnis copias terramque hostilem tam e propinquo conspexerunt. itaque cum alacres, protinus duceret ad castra hostium, consulem hortarentur, dies unus fessis labore uiae ad quietem datus est. tertio die parte copiarum ad praesidium castrorum relicta consul ad hostem ducit.

[4] Hippias nuper ad tuendum saltum ab rege missus erat; qui ex quo castra Romana in tumulo conspexit, praeparatis ad certamen animis suorum uenienti agmini consulis obuius fuit. et Romani expediti ad pugnam exierant, et hostes leuis armatura erat, promptissimum genus ad lacesendum certamen. congressi igitur extemplo tela coniecerunt; multa utrimque uulnera temerario incursu et accepta et inlata; pauci utriusque partis ceciderunt. inritatis in posterum diem animis maioribus copiis atque infestius concursum <est; decreuissentque de summa> belli, si loci satis ad explicandam aciem fuisset; <sed> iugum montis in angustum dorsum cuneatum uix ternis ordinibus armatorum in fronte patuit. itaque paucis pugnantibus cetera multitudo, praecipue qui grauium armorum erant, spectatores pugnae stabant; leuis armatura etiam per anfractus iugi procurrare et ab lateribus cum leui armatura conserere per iniqua atque aequa loca pugnam poterat. pluribus ea die uulneratis quam interfectis proelium nocte diremptum est.

Tertio die egere consilio Romanus imperator; nam neque manere in iugo inopi neque regredi sine flagitio atque etiam periculo, si cedenti ex superioribus locis <in>staret hostis, poterat; nec aliud restabat quam audacter commissum pertinaci audacia, quae prudens interdum in exitu est, corrigere. uentum quidem erat eo, ut, si hostem similem antiquis Macedonum regibus habuisset consul, magna clades accipi potuerit. sed cum ad Dium per litora cum equitibus uagaretur rex et ab duodecim milibus prope clamorem et strepitum pugnantium audiret, nec auxit copias integros fessis summittendo neque ipse, quod plurimum intererat, certamini adfuit, cum Romanus imperator, maior sexaginta annis et praegrauis corpore, omnia militaria munera

ipse inpigre obiret. egregie ad ultimum in audaciter commisso perseueravit et Popilio relicto in custodia iugi per inuia transgressurus praemissis, <qui> repurgarent iter, Attalum et Misagenem cum suae gentis utrumque auxiliaribus praesidio esse saltum aperientibus iubet; ipse equites impedimentaue prae se habens cum legionibus agmen cogit.

[5] Inenarrabilis labor descendentibus cum ruina iumentorum sarcinarumque. progressis uixdum quattuor milia passuum nihil optabilius esse quam redire, qua uenerant, si possent. hostilem prope tumultum agmini elephanti praebebant, qui, ubi ad inuia uenerant, deiectis rectoribus cum horrendo stridore pauorem ingentem, equis maxime, incutiebat, donec traducendi eos ratio inita est. per procliue sumpto fastigio longi duo ualidi asseres ex inferiore parte in terra defigebantur, distantes inter se paulo plus, quam quanta beluae latitudo est; in eos transuerso incumbente tigno as<ses> tricenos longi pedes, ut pons esset, iniungebantur humusque insuper iniciebatur. modico deinde infra interuallo similis alter pons, dein tertius et plures ex ordine, qua rupes abscisae erant, fiebant. solido procedebat elephantis in pontem; cuius priusquam in extremum <pro>cederet, succisis asseribus conlapsus pons usque <ad> alterius initium pontis prolabi eum leniter cogebat. alii elephanti pedibus insistentes, alii clunibus subsidentes prolabebantur. ubi planities altera pontis excepisset eos, rursus simili ruina inferioris pontis deferebantur, donec ad aequiorem uallem peruentum est. paulo plus septem milia <eo> die Romani processerunt; minimum pedibus itineris confectum. plerumque prouolentes se simul cum armis aliisque oneribus cum omni genere uexationis processerunt, adeo <ut> ne dux quidem et auctor itineris infitiaretur parua manu deleri omnem exercitum potuisse. nocte ad modicam planitiem peruenerunt; nec, quam infestus is locus esset saeptus undique, circumspiciendi spatium fuit uix tandem ex insperato stabilem ad insistendum nantis locum. postero quoque die in tam caua ualle opperiri Popilium ac relictas cum eo copias necesse fuit; quos et ipsos, cum ab nulla parte hostis terruisset, locorum asperitas hostiliter uexauit. tertio die coniunctis copiis eunt per saltum, quem incolae Callipeucen appellant. quarto inde die per aequae inuia, sed adsuetudine peritius et meliore cum spe, quod nec hostis usquam

apparebat et mari adpropinquabant, degressi in campos inter Heracleum et Libethrum posuerunt castra [peditum], quorum pars maior tumulos tenebat. ibi <pedes tendebat>. uallo campi quoque partem, ubi eques tenderet, amplectebantur.

[6] Lauanti regi dicitur nuntiatum hostis adesse. quo nuntio cum pauidus exiluisset e solio, uictum se sine proelio clamitans proripuit; et subinde per alia atque <alia> pauida consilia et imperia trepidans duos ex amicis, Pellam alterum, ut, quae ad Phacum pecunia deposita erat, <in mare proiceret, Thessalonicam alterum, ut naualia incenderet, misit; Asclepiodotum et Hippiam, quique cum iis erant,> ex praesidiis reuocat omnisque aditus aperit bello. ipse ab Dio auratis statuīs omnibus raptis, ne praeda hosti essent, incolas eius loci demigrare Pydnam cogit, et, quae temeritas consulis uideri potuisset, quod eo processisset, unde inuito hoste regredi nequiret, eam non inconsultam audaciam fecit. duos enim saltus, per quos inde euadere possent, habebant Romani, unum per Tempe in Thessaliam, alterum in Macedoniam praeter Dium; quae utraque regiis tenebantur praesidiis. itaque si sua intrepidus defendens primam speciem adpropinquantis terroris sustinuisset, neque receptus Romanis per Tempe in Thessaliam neque commeatibus peruehendis ea patuisset iter. sunt enim Tempe saltus, etiamsi non bello fiat infestus, transitu difficilis. nam praeter angustias per quinque milia, qua exiguum iumento onusto iter est, rupes utrimque ita abscisae sunt, ut despici uix sine uertigine quadam simul oculorum animique possit. terret et sonitus et altitudo per mediam uallem fluentis Penei amnis. hic locus tam suapte natura infestus per quattuor distantia loca praesidiis regiis fuit insessus. unum in primo aditu ad Gonnum erat, alterum <in> Condylō, castello inexpugnabili, tertium circa Lapathunta, quem Characa appellant, quartum uiae ipsi, qua et media et angustissima ualles est, <in>positum, quam uel decem armatis tueri facile est. intercluso per Tempe simul aditu commeatibus, simul reditu ipsis, montes, per quos descenderant, repetendi erant. quod, ut furto fefellerant, ita propalam tenentibus superiora cacumina hostibus non poterant; et experta difficultas spem omnem incidisset. supererat nihil aliud in temere commisso quam in Macedoniam ad Dium per medios euadere hostis; quod, nisi di mentem regi ademissent, <et> ipsum ingentis difficultatis erat. nam cum Olympi radices montis paulo plus

quam mille passuum ad mare relinquunt spatium, cuius dimidium loci occupat ostium late restagnans Baphyri amnis, partem planitiae aut Iouis templum aut oppidum tenet, relicum perexiguum fossa modica ualloque claudi poterat, et saxorum ad manum siluestrisque materiae tantum erat, ut uel murus obici turresque excitari potuerint. quorum nihil cum dispexisset caecata mens subito terrore, nudatis omnibus praesidiis patefactisque bello ad Pydnam refugit.

[7] Consul plurimum et praesidii et spei cernens in stultitia et segnitia hostis, remisso nuntio ad Sp. Lucretium Larisam, ut castella relictas ab hoste circa Tempe occuparet, praemisso Popilio ad explorandos transitus circa Dium, postquam patere omnia in omnis partes animaduertit, secundis castris peruenit ad Dium metarique sub ipso templo, ne quid sacro in loco uiolaretur, iussit. ipse urbem ingressus, sicut non magnam, ita exornatam publicis locis et multitudine statuarum munitamque egregie, uix satis credere in tantis rebus sine causa relictis non aliquem subesse dolum. unum diem ad exploranda circa omnia moratus castra mouet; satisque credens in Pieria frumenti copiam fore, eo die ad amnem nomine Mityn processit. postero die progressus Agassas urbem tradentibus sese ipsis recepit; et ut reliquorum Macedonum animos sibi conciliaret, obsidibus contentus sine praesidio relinquere se iis urbem immunesque ac suis legibus uicturos est pollicitus. progressus inde diei iter ad Ascordum flumen posuit castra; et quantum procederet longius a Thessalia, eo maiorem rerum omnium inopiam sentiens, regressus ad Dium est dubitatione omnibus exempta, quid intercluso ab Thessalia patiendum fuisset, cui procul inde abscedere tutum non esset. Perseus coactis in unum omnibus copiis ducibusque increpare praefectos praesidiorum, ante omnes Asclepiodotum atque Hippiam; ab his dicere claustra Macedoniae tradita Romanis esse; cuius culpa reus nemo iustius quam ipse fuisset. consuli postquam ex alto conspecta classis spem fecit cum commeatu naues uenire — ingens enim caritas annonae ac prope inopia erat — , ab inuectis iam portum audit onerarias naues Magnesiae relictas esse. incerto inde, quidnam agendum foret — adeo sine ulla ope hostis, quae adgrauaret, cum ipsa difficultate rerum pugnandum erat — , peropportune litterae a Sp. Lucretio adlatas sunt castella se, quae super Tempe essent et circa Philan, tenere omnia frumentique in iis et aliarum in usum

rerum copiam inuenisse.

[8] His magno opere laetus consul ab Dio ad Philan ducit, simul ut praesidium eius firmaret, simul ut militi frumentum, cuius tarda subuectio erat, diuideret. ea profectio famam haudquaquam secundam habuit. nam alii metu recessisse eum ab hoste ferebant, quia manenti in Pieria proelio dimicandum foret, alii ignarum, belli quae in dies fortuna nouaret, ut opperientibus sese rebus, emisisse de manibus ea, quae mox repeti non possent. simul enim cessit possessione Dii, excitauit hostem, ut tunc tandem sentiret recuperanda esse, quae prius culpa amissa forent. audita enim profectione consulis regressus Dium, quae disiecta ac uastata ab Romanis erant, reficit, pinnas moenium decussas reponit, ab omni parte muros firmat; deinde quinque milia passuum ab urbe citra ripam Elpei amnis castra ponit, amnem ipsum transitu perdifficilem pro munimento habiturus. fluit ex ualle Olympi montis, aestate exiguus, hibernis idem incitatus pluuiis et supra rupes ingentis gurgites facit et infra prorutam in mare euoluendo terram praealtas uoragines cauatoque medio alueo ripas utrimque praecipitis. hoc flumine saeptum iter hostis credens extrahere relicum tempus aestatis in animo habebat.

Inter haec consul a Phila Popilium cum duobus milibus armatorum Heracleum mittit. abest a Phila quinque milia ferme passuum, media regione inter Dium Tempeque in rupe amni imminente positum.

[9] Popilius priusquam armatos muris admoueret, misit, qui magistratibus principibusque suaderent, fidem clementiamque Romanorum quam uim experiri mallent. nihil ea consilia mouerunt, quia ignes ad Elpeum ex regiis castris apparebant. tum terra marique — et classis adpulsa ab litore stabat — simul armis, simul operibus machinisque oppugnari coepti. iuuenes etiam quidam Romani ludicro circensi ad usum belli uerso partem humillimam muri ceperunt. mos erat tum, nondum hac effusione inducta bestiis omnium gentium circum complendi, uaria spectaculorum conquirere genera; nam semel quadrigis, semel desultore misso uix unius horae tempus utrumque curriculum conplebat. inter cetera sexageni ferme iuuenes, interdum plures apparatioribus ludis, armati inducebantur. horum inductio ex parte simulacrum decurrentis exercitus erat, ex parte elegantioris

[exercitus] quam militaris artis propiorque gladiatorum armorum usum. cum alios decursu edidissent motus, quadrato agmine facto, scutis super capita densatis, stantibus primis, secundis summissioribus, tertiis magis et quartis, postremis etiam genu nixis, fastigatam, sicut tecta aedificiorum sunt, testudinem faciebant. hinc quinquaginta ferme pedum spatio distantes duo armati procurrebant comminatique inter se, ab ima in summam testudinem per densata scuta cum euasissent, nunc uelut propugnantes per oras extremae testudinis, nunc in media inter se concurrentes, haud secus quam stabili solo persultabant. huic testudo similis <humil>limae parti muri admota. cum armati superstantes subissent, propugnatoribus muri fastigio altitudinis aequabantur; depulsisque iis in urbem duorum signorum milites transcenderunt. id tantum dissimile fuit, quod et in fronte extremi et ex lateribus soli non habebant super capita elata scuta, ne nudarent corpora, sed proiecta pugnantium more. ita nec ipsos tela ex muro missa subeuntis laeserunt et testudini iniecta imbris in modum lubrico fastigio innoxia ad imum labebantur. et consul capto iam Heracleo castra eo promouit, tamquam Dium atque inde summoto rege in Pieriam etiam progressurus. sed hiberna iam praeparans uias commeatibus subuehundis ex Thessalia muniri iubet et eligi horreis opportuna loca tectaque aedificari, ubi deuersari portantes commeatus possent.

[10] Perseus tandem <a> pauore eo, quo attonitus fuerat, recepto animo malle imperiis suis non obtemperatum esse, cum trepidans gazam in mare deici Pellae, Thessalonicae naualia iusserat incendi. Andronicus Thessalonicam missus traxerat tempus, id ipsum, quod accidit, paenitentiae relinquens locum. incautior Nicias Pellae proiciendo pecuniae partem, quae fuerat <ad> Phacum; sed in re emendabili uisus lapsus esse, quod per urinatores omnis ferme extracta est. tantusque pudor regi pauoris eius fuit, ut urinatores clam interfici iusserit, deinde Andronicum quoque et Nician, ne quis tam dementis imperii conscius existeret. inter haec C. Marcius cum classe ab Heracleo Thessalonicam profectus et agrum pluribus locis expositis per litora armatis late uastauit et procurentes ab urbe secundis aliquot proeliis trepidos intra moenia conpulit. iamque ipsi urbi terribilis erat, cum dispositis omnis generis tormentis non uagi modo circa muros, temere adpropinquantes, sed etiam qui in nauibus

erant, saxis tormento emicantibus percutiebantur. reuocatis igitur in naues militibus omissaque Thessalonicae oppugnatione Aeniam inde petunt. quindecim milia passuum ea urbs abest, aduersus Pydnam posita, fertilis agro. peruastatis finibus eius legentes oram Antigoneam perueniunt. ibi egressi in terram primo et uastarunt agros passim et aliquantum praedae contulerunt ad naues. dein palatos eos adorti Macedones, mixti pedites equitesque, fugientes effuse ad mare persecuti quingentos ferme occiderunt et non minus ceperunt. nec aliud quam ultima necessitas, cum recipere se tuto ad naues prohiberentur, animos militum Romanorum simul desperatione alia salutis simul indignitate inritauit. redintegrata in litore pugna est; adiuuere, qui in nauibus erant. ibi Macedonum ducenti ferme caesi, par numerus captus. ab Antigonea classis profecta ad agrum Pallenensem escensionem ad populandum fecit. finium is ager Cassandrensius erat, longe fertilissimus omnis orae, quam praeteruecti fuerant. ibi Eumenes rex uiginti tectis nauibus ab Elaea profectus obuius fuit et quinque missae a Prusia rege tectae naues.

[11] Hac uirium accessione animus creuit praetori, ut Cassandream oppugnaret. condita est a Cassandro rege in ipsis faucibus, quae Pallenensem agrum ceterae Macedoniae iungunt, hinc Toronaico, hinc Macedonico saepta m<ari>. eminet namque in altum lingua, in qua sita est, nec minus quam ~inaltus magnitudine Atho mons excurrit, obuersa in regionem Magnesiae duobus inparibus promunturiis, quorum maiori Posideum est nomen, minori Canastraeum. diuisis partibus oppugnare adorti. Romanus ad Clitas, quas uocant, munimenta, ceruis etiam obiectis, ut uiam intercluderet, a Macedonico ad Toronaicum mare perducit. ab altera parte euripus est; inde Eumenes oppugnabat. Romanis in fossa conplenda, quam nuper obiecerat Perseus, plurimum erat laboris. ibi quaerenti praetori, quia nusquam cumuli apparebant, quo regesta e fossa terra foret, monstrati sunt fornices: non ad eandem crassitudinem, qua ueterem murum, sed simplici laterum ordine structos esse. consilium igitur cepit transfosso pariete iter in urbem patefacere. fallere autem ita se posse, si muros a parte alia scalis adortus tumultu iniecto in custodiam eius loci propugnatores urbis auertisset. erant in praesidio Cassandreae praeter non contemnendam iuuentutem oppidanorum octingenti Agrianes et duo milia Penestarum Illyriorum, a Pleurato

inde missi, bellicosum utrumque genus. his tuentibus muros, cum subire Romani summa ui niterentur, momento temporis parietes fornicum perfossi urbem patefecerunt. quod si, qui inrumperent, armati fuissent, extemplo cepissent. hoc ubi perfectum esse opus militibus nuntiatum est, clamorem alacres gaudio repente tollunt, alii parte alia in urbem inrupturi.

[12] Hostis primum admiratio cepit, quidnam sibi repentinus clamor uellet. postquam patere urbem accepere praefecti praesidii Pytho et Philippus, pro eo, qui occupasset adgredi, opus factum esse rati, cum ualida manu Agrianum Illyriorumque erumpunt Romanosque, qui alii aliunde coibant conuocabanturque, ut signa in urbem inferrent, inconpositos atque inordinatos fugant persecunturque ad fossam, in quam compulsos ruina cumulant. sescenti ferme ibi interfecti, omnesque prope, qui inter murum fossamque deprenti erant, uulnerantur. ita suo ipse conatu percussus praetor segnior ad alia factus consilia erat. et ne Eumeni quidem simul a mari simul a terra adgredienti quidquam satis procedebat. placuit igitur utrique custodiis firmatis, ne quod praesidium ex Macedonia intromitti posset, quoniam uis aperta non processisset, operibus moenia oppugnare. haec parantibus iis decem regii lembi ab Thessalonica cum delectis Gallorum auxiliaribus missi, cum in salo stantes hostium naues conspexissent, ipsi obscura nocte, simplici ordine, quam poterant proxime litus tenentes, intrarunt urbem. huius noui praesidii fama absistere oppugnatione simul Romanos regemque coegit. circumuecti promunturium ad Toronen classem appulerunt. eam quoque oppugnare adorti, ubi ualida defendi manu animaduenterunt, inrito incepto Demetriadem petunt. ibi cum adpropinquantes repleta moenia armatis uidissent, praeteruecti ad Iolcon classem appulerunt, inde agro uastato Demetriadem quoque aggressuri.

[13] Inter haec et consul, ne segnis sederet tantum in agro hostium, M. Popilium cum quinque milibus militum ad Meliboeam urbem oppugnandam mittit. sita est in radicibus Ossae montis, qua parte in Thessaliam uergit, opportune inminens super Demetriadem. primus aduentus hostium perculit incolas loci; collectis deinde <ab> necopinato pauore animis discurrunt armati ad portas ac moenia, qua suspecti aditus erant, spemque extemplo inciderunt capi primo

impetu posse. obsidio igitur parabatur, et opera <ad> oppugnationem fieri coepta. Perseus cum audisset simul Meliboeam a consulis exercitu oppugnari, simul classem Iolci stare, <ut> inde Demetriadem adgrederetur, Euphranorem quendam ex ducibus cum delectis duobus milibus Meliboeam mittit. eidem imperatum, ut, si a Meliboea summouisset Romanos, Demetriadem prius occulto itinere intraret, quam ab Iolco ad urbem castra mouerent Romani. et ab oppugnatoribus Meliboeae, cum in superioribus locis repente apparuisset, cum trepidatione multa relictis opera sunt <ignisque> iniectus. ita a Meliboea abscessum est. Euphranor soluta unius urbis obsidione Demetriadem extemplo ducit. nocte moenia <intrat tantamque fiduciam incolentibus fecit, ut non moenia> modo, sed agros etiam confiderent se a populationibus tueri posse; et eruptiones in uagos populatores non sine uulneribus hostium factae sunt. circumuecti tamen moenia sunt praetor et rex, situm urbis contemplantes, si qua parte temptare aut opere aut ui possent. fama fuit per Cydantem Cretensem et Antimachum, qui Demetriadi praeerat, tractatas inter Eumenen et Persea condiciones amicitiae. ab Demetriade certe abscessum est. Eumenes ad consulem nauigat; gratulatus<que>, quod prospere Macedoniam intrasset, Pergamum in regnum abit. Marcius Figulus praetor parte classis in hiberna Sciathum missa cum reliquis nauibus Oreum Euboeae petit, eam urbem aptissimam ratus, unde exercitibus, qui in Macedonia quique in Thessalia erant, mitti commeatus possent. de Eumene rege longe diuersa tradunt. si Ualerio Antiati credas, nec classe adiutum ab eo praetorem esse, cum saepe eum litteris accersisset, tradit, nec cum gratia ab consule profectum in Asiam, indignatum, quod, ut iisdem castris tenderet, permissum non fuerit; ne ut equites quidem Gallos, quos secum adduxerat, relinqueret, impetrari ab eo potuisse. Attalum fratrem eius et remansisse apud consulem, et sinceram eius fidem aequali tenore egregiamque operam in eo bello fuisse.

[14] Dum bellum in Macedonia geritur, legati Transalpini ab regulo Gallorum — Balanus ipsius traditur nomen; gentis ex qua fuerit, non traditur — Romam uenerunt pollicentes ad Macedonicum bellum auxilia. gratiae ab senatu actae muneraque missa, torquis aureus duo pondo et paterae aureae quattuor pondo, equus phaleratus armaque equestria. secundum Gallos Pamphylii legati coronam auream ex

uiginti milibus Philippeorum factam in curiam intulerunt, petentibusque iis, ut id donum in cella Iouis optimi maximi ponere et sacrificare in Capitolio liceret, permissum; benigneque amicitiam renouare uolentibus legatis responsum et binum milium aeris singulis missum munus. tum ab rege Prusia et paulo post ab Rhodiis de eadem <re> longe aliter disserentes legati auditi sunt. utraque legatio de pace reconcilianda cum rege Perseo egit. Prusiae preces magis quam postulatio fuere, profitentis et ad id tempus se cum Romanis stetisse et, quoad bellum foret, staturum; ceterum cum ad se a Perseo legati uenissent de finiendo cum Romanis bello, eis pollicitum deprecatores apud senatum futurum; petere, si possent inducere in animum, ut finiant iras, se quoque ingratia reconciliatae pacis ponerent. haec regii legati. Rhodii superbe commemoratis <meritis suis> erga populum Romanum et paene uictoriae, utique de Antiocho rege, maiore parte ad se uindicata, adiecerunt: cum pax inter Macedonas Romanosque esset, sibi amicitiam cum rege Perseo coeptam; eam se inuitos, nullo eius in se merito, quoniam ita Romanis uisum sit in societatem se belli trahere, interrupuisse. tertium se annum multa eius incommoda belli sentire mari intercluso; inopem insulam esse nec, nisi maritimis iuuetur commeatibus, colendam. itaque cum id ultra pati non possent, legatos alios ad Persea in Macedoniam misisse, qui ei denuntiarent Rhodiis placere pacem eum componere cum Romanis; se Romam eadem nuntiatum missos. per quos stetisset, quo minus belli finis fieret, aduersus eos quid sibi faciendum esset, Rhodios consideraturos esse. <ne> nunc quidem haec sine indignatione legi audiriue posse certum habeo; inde existimari potest, qui habitus animorum audientibus ea patribus fuerit.

[15] Claudius nihil responsum auctor est, tantum senatus consultum recitatum, quo Caras et Lycios liberos esse iuberet populus Romanus litterasque extemplo ad utramque gentem [sciret indicatum] mitti; qua audita re principem legationis, cuius magniloquentiam uix curia paulo ante ceperat, corruisse. alii responsum esse tradunt, populum Romanum et principio eius belli haud uanis auctoribus conpertum habuisse Rhodios cum Perseo rege aduersus rem publicam suam occulta consilia inisse, et, <si> id ante dubium fuisset, legatorum paulo ante uerba ad certum redegissee, et plerumque ipsam se

fraudem, etiamsi initio cautior fuerit, detegere. Rhodios nunc in orbe terrarum arbitria belli pacisque agere; Rhodiorum nutu arma sumpturos positurosque Romanos esse. iam non deos foederum testis, sed Rhodios habituros. itane tandem? nisi pareatur iis exercitusque de Macedonia deportentur, uisuros esse, quid sibi faciendum sit? quid Rhodii uisuri sint, ipsos scire. populum certe Romanum deuicto Perseo, quod prope diem sperent fore, uisurum, ut pro meritis cuiusque in eo bello ciuitatis gratiam dignam referat. munus tamen legatis in singulos binum milium aeris missum est, quod ii non acceperunt.

[16] Litterae deinde <re> citatae Q. Marcii consulis sunt, quemadmodum saltu superato in Macedoniam transisset: ibi et ex aliis locis commeatus se prospectos in hiemem habere et ab Epirotis uiginti milia modium tritici, decem hordei sumpsisse, ut pro eo frumento pecunia Romae legatis eorum curaretur. uestimenta militibus ab Roma mittenda esse; equis ducentis ferme opus esse, maxime Numidi<cis>, nec sibi in his locis ullam copiam esse. senatus consultum, ut ea omnia ex litteris consulis fierent, factum est. C. Sulpicius praetor sex milia togarum, triginta tunicarum, equos ducentos deportanda in Macedoniam praebendaque arbitrato consulis locauit et legatis Epirotarum pecuniam pro frumento soluit et Onesimum, Pythonis filium, nobilem Macedonem, in senatum introduxit. is pacis semper auctor regi fuerat monueratque, sicut pater eius Philippus institutum usque ad ultimum uitae diem seruaret cotidie, bis in die foederis icti cum Romanis perlegendi, ut eum morem, si non semper, crebro tamen usurparet. postquam detertere eum a bello nequii, primo subtrahere sese per alias atque alias <causas>, ne interesset iis, quae non probabat, coepit; postremo, cum suspectum se esse cerneret et prodicionis interdum crimine insimulari, ad Romanos transfugit <et> magno usui consuli fuit. ea introductus in curiam cum memorasset, senatus in formulam sociorum eum referri iussit, locum, lautia praeberi, agri Tarentini, qui publicus populi Romani esset, ducenta iugera dari, et aedes Tarenti emi. uti ea curaret, C. Decimio praetori mandatum. censum idibus Decembribus seuerius quam ante habuerunt: multis equi adempti, inter quos P. Rutilio, qui tribunus plebis eos uolenter accusarat; tribu quoque is motus et aerarius factus. ad opera publica facienda cum eis

dimidium ex uectigalibus eius anni attributum ex senatus consulto a quaestoribus esset, Ti. Sempronius ex ea pecunia, quae ipsi attributa erat, aedes P. Africani pone Ueteres ad Uortumni signum lanienasque et tabernas coniunctas in publicum emit basilicamque faciendam curauit, quae postea Sempronia appellata est.

[17] Iam in exitu annus erat, et propter Macedonici maxime belli curam in sermonibus homines habebant, quos in annum consules ad finiendum tandem id bellum crearent. itaque senatus consultum factum est, ut Cn. Seruilius primo quoque tempore ad comitia habenda ueniret. senatus consultum Sulpicius praetor ad consulem <misit, litterasque allatas a consule> post paucos dies recitauit, quibus <in> ante diem * * <comitia edixit: se ante eum diem> in urbem uenturum. et consul maturauit et comitia eo die, qui dictus erat, sunt perfecta. consules creati L. Aemilius Paulus iterum, quarto decumo anno postquam primo consul fuerat, et C. Licinius Crassus. praetores postero die facti Cn. <Baebius> Tampilus, L. Anicius Gallus, Cn. Octavius, P. Fonteius Balbus, M. Aebutius Helua, C. Papirius Carbo. omnia ut maturius agerentur, belli Macedonici stimulabat cura. itaque designatos extemplo sortiri placuit prouincias, ut, cum, utri Macedonia consuli cuique praetori classis euenisset, sciretur, ii iam inde cogitarent pararentque, quae bello usui forent, senatumque consulerent, si qua <de> re consulto opus esset. Latinas, ubi magistratum inissent, quod per religiones posset, primo quoque tempore fieri placere, ne quid consulem, cui eundum in Macedoniam esset, teneret. his decretis, consulibus Italia et Macedonia, praetoribus praeter duas iurisdictiones in urbe classis et Hispania et Sicilia et Sardinia prouinciae nominatae sunt. consulum Aemilio Macedonia, Licinio Italia euenit. praetores Cn. Baebius urbanam, L. Anicius peregrinam et si quo senatus censuisset, Cn. Octavius classem, P. Fonteius Hispaniam, <M. Aebutius Siciliam,> C. Papirius Sardiniam est sortitus.

[18] Extemplo apparuit omnibus non segniter id bellum L. Aemilium gesturum, praeterquam quod ~aliis uir erat, etiam quod dies noctesque intentus ea sola, quae ad id bellum pertinerent, animo agitabat. iam omnium primum a senatu petit, ut legatos in Macedoniam mitterent ad exercitus uisendos classemque et conperta referenda, quid aut terrestribus aut naualibus copiis opus esset;

praeterea ut explorarent copias regias, quantum possent, qua prouincia nostra, qua hostium foret; utrum intra saltus castra Romani haberent, an iam omnes angustiae exsuperatae, et in aequa loca peruenissent; qui fideles nobis socii, qui dubii suspensaeque ex fortuna fidei, qui certi hostes uiderentur; quanti praeparati commeatus, et unde terrestri itinere, unde nauibus subportarentur; quid ea aestate terra marique rerum gestum esset: ex his bene cognitis certa in futurum consilia capi posse. senatus Cn. Seruilio consuli negotium dedit, ut tris in Macedoniam, quos L. Aemilio uideretur, legaret. legati biduo post profecti Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus, A. Licinius Nerua, L. Baebius.

Bis in exitu anni eius lapidatum esse nuntiatum est, <semel> in Romano agro, semel in Ueienti. bis nouemdiale sacrum factum est. sacerdotes eo anno mortui sunt P. Quinctilius Uarus flamen Martialis et M. Claudius Marcellus decemuir; in cuius locum Cn. Octauius suffectus. et iam magnificentia crescente notatum est ludis circensibus P. Corneli Scipionis Nasicae et P. Lentuli aedilium curulium sexaginta tres Africanas et quadraginta ursos et elephantos lusisse.

[19] L. Aemilio Paulo C. Licinio consulibus, idibus Martiis, principio insequentis anni, cum in expectatione patres fuissent, maxime quidnam consul de Macedonia, cuius ea prouincia esset, referret, nihil se habere Paulus, quod referret, nondum <cum> legati redissent, dixit. ceterum Brundisi legatos iam esse, bis ex cursu Dyrrachium reiectos. cognitis mox, quae nosci prius in rem esset, relaturum; id fore intra perpaucos dies. et ne quid profectionem suam teneret, pridie idus Apriles Latinis esse constitutam diem. sacrificio rite perfecto et se et Cn. Octauium, simul senatus censuisset, exituros esse. C. Licinio collegae suo fore curae se absente, ut, si qua parari mittique ad id bellum opus sit, parentur mittanturque. interea legationes exterarum nationum audiri posse. primi Alexandrini legati ab Ptolemaeo <et Cleo>patra regibus uocati sunt. sordidati, barba et capillo promisso, cum ramis oleae ingressi curiam procubuerunt, et oratio quam habitus fuit miserabilior. Antiochus Syriae rex, qui obses Romae fuerat, per honestam speciem maioris Ptolemaei reducendi in regnum, bellum cum minore fratre eius, qui tum Alexandriam tenebat, gerens et ad Pelusium nauali proelio

<superior> fuerat et tumultuario opere ponte per Nilum facto transgressus cum exercitu obsidione ipsam Alexandream terrebat, nec procul abesse, quin poteretur regno opulentissimo, uidebatur. ea legati querentes orabant senatum, ut opem regno regibusque amicis impigre ferrent. ea merita populi Romani in Antiochum, eam apud omnes reges gentesque auctoritatem esse, ut, si legatos misissent, qui ei nuntiarent non placere senatui sociis regibus bellum fieri, extemplo abscessurus a moenibus Alexandrae abducturusque exercitum in Syriam esset. quod si cunctentur facere, breui extorres regno Ptolemaeum et Cleopatram Romam uenturos, cum pudore quodam populi Romani, quod nullam opem in ultimo discrimine fortunarum tulissent. moti patres precibus Alexandrinorum extemplo C. Popilium Laenatem et C. Decimium et C. Hostilium legatos ad finiendum inter reges bellum miserunt. prius Antiochum, dein Ptolemaeum adire iussi et nuntiare, ni absistatur bello, per utrum stetisset, eum non pro amico nec pro socio habituros esse.

[20] His intra triduum simul cum legatis Alexandrinis profectis legati ex Macedonia quinquatribus ultimis adeo expectati uenerunt, ut, nisi uesper esset, extemplo senatum uocaturi consules fuerint. postero die senatus fuit legatique auditi sunt. ii nuntiant maiore periculo quam emolumento exercitum per inuios saltus in Macedoniam inductum. Pieriam, quo processisset, regem tenere; castra castris prope ita conlata esse, ut flumine Elpeo interiecto arceantur. neque regem pugnandi potestatem facere, nec nostris uim ad cogendum esse. hiemem etiam insuper rebus gerendis interuenisse. in otio militem ali, nec plus quam VI <dierum> frumentum habere. Macedonum dici triginta milia armatorum esse. si Ap. Claudio circa Lychnidum satis ualidus exercitus foret, potuisse eum ancipiti bello distinere regem: nunc et Appium, et <quod> cum eo praesidii sit, in summo periculo esse, nisi propere aut iustus exercitus eo mittatur, aut illi inde deducantur. ad classem se ex castris profectos sociorum naualium partem morbo audisse absumptam, partem, maxime qui ex Sicilia fuerint, domos suas abisse, et homines nauibus deesse; qui sint, neque stipendium accepisse neque uestimenta habere. Eumenen classemque eius, tamquam uento adlatas naues, sine causa et uenisse et abisse; nec animum eius regis constare satis uisum. sicut omnia de Eumene

dubia, <ita> Attali egregie constantem fidem nuntiabant.

[21] Legatis auditis tunc de bello referre sese L. Aemilius dixit. senatus decreuit, ut in octo legiones parem numerum tribunorum consules et populus crearent; creari autem neminem eo anno placere, nisi qui honorem gessisset. tum ex omnibus tribunis militum uti L. Aemilius in duas legiones in Macedoniam, quos eorum uelit, eligat, et ut sollemni Latinarum perfecto L. Aemilius consul, Cn. Octavius praetor, cui classis obtigisset, in prouinciam proficiscantur. additus est his tertius L. Anicius praetor, cuius inter peregrinos iurisdictio erat; eum in prouinciam Illyricum circa Lychnidum Ap. Claudio succedere placuit. dilectus cura C. Licinio consuli inposita. is septem milia ciuium Romanorum et equites ducentos scribere iussus et sociis nominis Latini septem milia peditum imperare, quadringentos equites, et Cn. Seruilio Galliam obtinenti prouinciam litteras mittere, ut sescentos equites conscriberet. hunc exercitum ad collegam primo quoque tempore mittere in Macedoniam iussus; neque in ea prouincia plus quam duas legiones esse; eas repleri, ut sena milia peditum, trecenos haberent equites; ceteros pedites <equites>que in praesidiis disponi. qui eorum idonei ad militandum non essent, dimitti. decem praeterea milia peditum imperata sociis et octingenti equites. id praesidii additum Anicio praeter duas legiones, quas portare in Macedoniam est iussus, quina milia peditum et ducenos habentes, trecenos equites. et in classem quinque milia naualium socium sunt scripta. Licinius consul duabus legionibus obtinere prouinciam iussus; eo addere sociorum decem milia peditum et sescentos equites.

[22] Senatus consultis perfectis L. Aemilius consul e curia in contionem processit orationemque talem <habuit>: ‘animaduertisse uideor, Quirites, maiorem mihi sortito Macedoniam prouinciam gratulationem factam, quam cum aut consul sum renuntiatus, aut quo die magistratum inii, neque id ob aliam causam, quam quia bello in Macedonia, quod diu trahitur, existimastis dignum maiestate populi Romani exitum per me inponi posse. deos quoque huic fauisse sorti spero eosdemque in rebus gerendis adfuturos esse. haec partim ominari, partim sperare possum; illud adfirmare pro certo audeo, me omni ope adniscurum esse, <ne> frustra uos hanc spem de me conceperitis. quae ad bellum opus sunt et senatus decreuit, et,

quoniam extemplo proficisci placet neque ego in mora sum, C. Licinius collega, uir egregius, aequae enixe parabit ac si ipse id bellum gesturus esset. uos quae scripsero senatui ac uobis, <iis modo credite et cauete ru>mores credulitate uestra alatis, quorum auctor nemo extabit. nam nunc quidem, quod uulgo fieri, hoc praecipue bello, animaduerti, nemo tam famae contemptor est, cuius non debilitari animus possit. in omnibus circulis atque etiam, si dis placet, in conuiuuiis sunt, qui exercitus in Macedoniam ducant, ubi castra locanda sint sciant, quae loca praesidiis occupanda, quando aut quo saltu intranda Macedonia, ubi horrea ponenda, qua terra, mari subuehantur commeatus, quando cum hoste manus conserendae, quando quiesce sit melius. nec, quid faciendum sit, modo statuunt, sed, quidquid aliter, quam ipsi censuere, factum est, consulem ueluti dicta die accusant. haec magna impedimenta res gerentibus <sunt:> neque enim omnes tam firmi et constantis animi contra aduersum rumorem esse possunt, <quam> Q. Fabius fuit, qui suum imperium minui per uanitatem populi maluit, quam secunda fama male rem publicam gerere. non sum is, Quirites, qui non existumem admonendos duces esse: immo eum, qui de sua unius sententia omnia gerat, superbum iudico magis quam sapientem. quid ergo est? primum a prudentibus et proprie rei militaris peritis et usu doctis monendi imperatores sunt; deinde ab iis, qui intersunt gerendis <rebus, qui> loca, qui hostem, qui temporum opportunitatem uident, qui in eodem uelut nauigio participes sunt periculi. itaque si quis est, qui, quod e re publica sit, suadere se mihi in eo bello, quod gesturus sum, confidat, is ne deneget operam rei publicae et in Macedoniam mecum ueniat. naue, equo, tabernaculo, uiatico etiam a me iuuabitur; si quem id facere piget <et> otium urbanum militiae laboribus praeoptat, e terra ne gubernauerit. sermonum satis ipsa praebet urbs; <iis> loquacitatem suam contineat: nos castrensibus consiliis contentos futuros esse sciat.’ ab hoc contione, Latinis, quae pridie kal. Apriles fuerunt, in monte sacrificio rite perpetrato protinus inde et consul et praetor Cn. Octavius in Macedoniam profecti sunt. traditum memoriae est maiore quam solita frequentia prosequentium consulem celebratum, ac prope certa spe ominatos esse homines, finem esse Macedonico bello maturumque reditum cum egregio triumpho consulis fore.

[23] Dum haec in Italia geruntur, Perseus quod iam inchoatum perficere, quia inpena pecuniae facienda erat, non inducebat in animum, ut Gentium Illyriorum regem sibi adiungeret, hoc, postquam intrasse saltum Romanos et adesse discrimen ultimum belli animaduertit, non ultra differendum ratus, cum <per> Hippiam legatum trecenta argenti talenta pactus esset, ita ut obsides ultro citroque darentur, Pantauchum misit ex fidissimis amicis ad ea perficienda. Meteone Labeatidis terrae Pantauchus regi Illyrio occurrit; ibi et iusiurandum ab rege et obsides accepit. missus et a Gentio est legatus nomine Olympio, qui iusiurandum a Perseo obsidesque exigeret. cum eodem ad pecuniam accipiendam missi sunt; et auctore Pantauchus, qui Rhodum legati cum Macedonibus irent, Parmenio et Morcus destinantur. quibus ita mandatum, ut iureiurando obsidibusque et pecunia accepta tum demum Rhodum proficiscerentur: duorum simul regum nomine incitari Rhodios ad bellum Romanum posse. adiunctam ciuitatem, penes quam unam tum rei naualis gloria esset, nec terra nec mari spem relicturam Romanis. uenientibus Illyriis Perseus ab Elpeo amni ex castris cum omni equitatu profectus ad Dium occurrit. ibi ea, quae conuenerant, circumfuso agmine equitum facta, quos adesse foederi sanciendo cum Gentio societatis uolebat rex, aliquantum eam rem ratus animorum iis adiecturam. et obsides in conspectu omnium dati acceptique; et Pellam ad thesauros regiones missis, qui pecuniam acciperent, qui Rhodum irent cum Illyriis legatis Thessalonicae conscendere iussi. ibi Metrodorus erat, qui nuper ab Rhodo uenerat, auctoribusque Dinone et Polyarato, principibus ciuitatis eius, adfirmabat Rhodios paratos ad bellum esse. is princeps iunctae cum Illyriis legationis datus est.

[24] Eodem tempore et ad Eumenen et ad Antiochum communia mandata, quae subicere condicio rerum poterat: natura inimica inter se esse liberam ciuitatem et regem. singulos populum Romanum adgredi et, quod indignum sit, regum uiribus reges oppugnare. Attalo adiutore patrem suum oppressum; Eumene adiuuante et quadam ex parte etiam Philippo, patre suo, Antiochum oppugnatum; in se nunc et Eumenen et Prusian armatos esse. si Macedoniae regnum sublatum foret, proxumam Asiam esse, quam iam ex parte sub specie liberandi ciuitates suam fecerint, deinde Syriam. iam Prusiam Eumeni honore

praeferrī, iam Antiochum uictorem ab Aegypto, praemio belli, arceri. haec cogitantem prouidere iubebat, ut aut ad pacem secum faciendam compelleret Romanos aut perseuerantes in bello iniusto communes duceret omnium regum hostes. ad Antiochum aperta mandata erant; ad Eumenen per speciem captiuorum redimendorum missus legatus erat; <re> uera occultiora quaedam agebantur, quae in praesentia inuisum quidem et suspectum Romanis Eumenen falsis grauioribus<que criminibus onerarunt;> proditor enim ac prope hostis habitus, dum inter se duo reges captantes fraude et auaritia certant. Cydas erat Cretensis, ex intimis Eumenis. hic prius ad Amphipolim cum Chimaro quodam populari suo, militante apud Persea, inde postea ad Demetriadem semel cum Menecrate quodam, iterum cum Antimacho, regiis ducibus, sub ipsis moenibus urbis conlocutus fuerat. Herophon quoque, qui tum missus est, duabus ad eundem Eumenen iam ante legationibus functus erat. quae conloquia occulta et legationes infames quidem erant, sed, quid actum esset quidue inter reges conuenisset, ignorabatur. res autem ita sese habuit.

[25] Eumenes neque fauit uictoriae Persei, neque bello eam iuuare <in> animo habuit, non tam quia paternae inter eos inimicitiae erant, quam ipsorum odiis inter se accensae: non ea regum aemulatio, ut aequo animo Persea tantas apisci opes tantamque gloriam, quanta Romanis uictis eum manebat, Eumenes uisurus fuerit. cernebat et Persea iam inde ab initio belli omni modo spem pacis temptasse et in dies magis, quo propior admoueretur terror, nihil neque agere aliud neque cogitare; Romanos quoque, quia traheretur diutius spe ipsorum bellum, et ipsos duces et senatum, non abhorrere a finiendo tam incommodo ac difficili bello. hac utriusque partis uoluntate explorata, quod fieri etiam sua sponte taedio ualidioris, metu infirmioris credebat posse, in eo suam operam uenditare conciliandae gratia pacis cupiit. nam modo ne iuaret bello Romanos terra marique, modo pacis patrandae cum Romanis paciscebatur mercedem: ne bello interesset, mille <talenta, ut pacem conciliaret, mille> et quingenta. in utrumque non fidem modo se, sed obsides quoque dare paratum esse ostendebat. Perseus ad rem inchoandam promptissimus erat cogente metu et de obsidibus accipiendis sine dilatione agebat, conueneratque, ut accepti Cretam mitterentur. ubi ad pecuniae mentionem uentum erat, ibi haesitabat; et utique alteram [in] tanti

nominis regibus turpem ac sordidam et danti et magis accipienti mercedem esse aiebat; in spem Romanae pacis non recusare inpensam, sed eam pecuniam perfecta re daturum, interea Samothracae in templo depositurum. ea insula cum ipsius dicionis esset, uidere Eumenes nihil interesse, <ibi> an Pellae pecunia esset; id agere, ut partem aliquam praesentem ferret. ita nequiquam inter se captati nihil praeter infamiam mouerunt.

[26] Nec haec tantum Persei per auaritiam est dimissa res, cum pecunia soluta aut pacem habere per Eumenen, quae uel parte regni redimenda esset, aut deceptus protrahere inimicum mercede onustum et hostes merito ei Romanos posset facere; sed et ante Genti regis parata societas et tum Gallorum effusorum per Illyricum ingens oblatum <auxilium> auaritia dimissum est. ueniebant decem milia equitum, par numerus peditum et ipsorum iungentium cursum equis et in uicem prolapsorum equitum uacuos capientium ad pugnam equos. hi pacti erant eques denos praesentes aureos, pedes quinos, mille dux eorum. uenientibus his Perseus ab Elpeo ex castris profectus obuiam cum dimidia copiarum parte denuntiare per uicos urbesque, quae uiae propincae sunt, coepit, ut commeatus expedirent, frumenti, uini, pecorum ut copia esset. ipse equos phalerasque et sagula donum principibus ferre et paruom auri, quod inter paucos diuideret, multitudinem credens trahi spe posse. ad Almanam urbem peruenit et in ripa fluminis Axi posuit castra. circa Desudabam in Maedica exercitus Gallorum consederat, mercedem pactam opperiens. eo mittit Antigonum, ex purpuratis unum, qui iuberet multitudinem Gallorum ad Bylazora — Paeoniae is locus est — castra mouere, principes ad se uenire frequentes. septuaginta quinque milia ab Axio flumine et castris regis aberant. haec mandata ad eos cum pertulisset Antigonus adiecissetque, per quantam omnium praeparatam cura regis copiam ituri forent quibusque muneribus principes aduenientes uestis, argenti equorumque excepturus rex esset, de his quidem se coram cognituros respondent, illud, quod praesens pepigissent, interrogant, ecquid aurum, quod in singulos pedites equitesque diuidendum esset, secum aduexisset. cum ad id nihil responderetur, Clondicus, regulus eorum, ‘abi, renuntia ergo’ inquit ‘regi, nisi aurum obsidesque acceperissent, nusquam inde Gallos longius uestigium moturos.’ haec relata regi

cum esset, aduocato consilio cum, quid omnes suasuri essent, appareret, ipse pecuniae quam regni melior custos institit de perfidia et feritate Gallorum disserere, multorum iam ante cladibus experta: periculosum esse tantam multitudinem in Macedoniam accipere, <ne> grauiores eos socios habeant quam hostes Romanos. quinque milia equitum satis esse, quibus et uti ad bellum possent, et quorum multitudinem ipsi non timeant.

[27] Apparebat omnibus mercedem timeri nec quicquam aliud; sed cum suadere consulenti nemo auderet, remittitur Antigonus, qui nuntiaret quinque milium equitum opera tantum uti regem, non tenere multitudinem aliam. quod ubi audiuerunt barbari, ceterorum quidem fremitus fuit indignantium se frustra excitos sedibus suis; Clondicus rursus interrogat, ecquid ipsis quinque milibus, quod conuenisset, numeraret? cum aduersus id quoque misceri ambages cerneret, inuiolato fallaci nuntio, quod uix sperauerat ipse posse contingere, retro ad Histrum perpopulati Threciam, qua uicina erat uiae, redierunt. quae manus, quieto sedente rege ad Elpeum aduersus Romanos, <per> Perrhaebiae saltum in Thessaliam traducta non agros tantum nudare populando potuit, ne quos inde Romani commeatus expectarent, sed ipsas excindere urbes tenente ad Elpeum Perseo Romanos, ne urbibus sociis opitulari possent. ipsis quoque Romanis de se cogitandum fuisset, quando neque manere amissa Thessalia, unde exercitus alebatur, potuissent, neque progredi, cum ex aduerso castra Macedonum <essent. hoc amisso auxilio Perseus animos Macedonum,> qui ea pependerant spe, haud mediocriter debilitauit. eadem auaritia Gentium regem sibi alienauit. nam cum trecenta talenta Pellae missis a Gentio numerasset, signare eos pecuniam passus <est;> inde decem talenta ad Pantauchum missa, eaque praesentia dari regi iussit; reliquam pecuniam signatam Illyriorum signo portantibus suis praecipit, paruis itineribus ueherent, dein cum ad finem Macedoniae uentum esset, subsisterent ibi ac nuntios ab se opperirentur. Gentius exigua parte pecuniae accepta cum adsidue <a> Pantaucho ad lacesendos hostili facto Romanos stimularetur, M. Perpennam et L. Petilium legatos, qui tum forte ad eum uenerant, in custodiam coniecit. hoc audito Perseus contraxisse eum necessitatem ratus ad bellandum utique cum Romanis, ad reuocandum, qui pecuniam portabat, misit, uelut nihil aliud agens,

quam ut quanta maxima posset praeda ex se uicto Romanis reseruaretur. et ab Eumene Herophon ignotis, quae occulte acta erant, redit. de captiuis actum esse et ipsi euolgauerant et Eumenes consulem uitandae suspicionis causa certiore fecit.

[28] Perseus post reditum ab Eumene Herophontis spe deiectus Antenorem et Callippum praefectos classis cum quadraginta lembis — adiectae ad hunc numerum quinque pristis erant — Tenedum mittit, ut inde sparsas per Cycladas insulas naues, Macedoniam cum frumento petentes, tutarentur. Cassandreae deductae naues in portus primum, qui sub Atho monte sunt, <in>de Tenedum placido mari cum traiecissent, stantis in portu Rhodias apertas naues Eudamumque, praefectum earum, inuiolatos atque etiam benigne appellatos dimiserunt. cognito deinde in latere altero quinquaginta onerarias suarum stantibus in ostio portus Eumenis rostratis, quibus Damius praeerat, inclusas esse, circumuectus propere ac summotis terrore hostium nauibus, onerarias datis, qui prosequerentur, decem lembis in Macedoniam mittit, ita ut in tutum prosecuti redirent Tenedum. nono post die ad classem iam ad Sigeum stantem redierunt. inde Subota — insula est interiecta Elaeae et Chio — traiciunt. forte postero die, quam Subota classis tenuit, quinque et triginta naues, quas hippagogus uocant, ab Elaea profectae cum equitibus Gallis equisque Phanas promunturium Chiorum petebant, unde transmittere in Macedoniam possent. Attalo ab Eumene mittebantur. has naues per altum ferri cum ex specula signum datum Antenori esset, profectus ab Subotis inter Erythrarum promunturium Chiumque, qua artissimum fretum est, iis occurrit. nihil minus credere praefecti Eumenis, quam Macedonum classem in illo uagari mari: nunc Romanos esse, nunc Attalum aut remissos aliquos ab Attalo ex castris Romanis Pergamum petere. sed cum iam adpropinquantium forma lemborum haud dubia esset et concitatio remorum directaeque in se prorae hostis adpropinquare aperuissent, tunc iniecta trepidatio est. cum resistendi spes nulla esset inhabilique nauium genere et Gallis uix quietem ferentibus in mari, pars eorum, qui propiores continentis litori erant, in Erythraeam enarunt, pars uelis datis ad Chium naues eiecere relictisque equis effusa fuga urbem petebant. sed propius urbem lembi accessuque commodiore cum exposuissent armatos, partim in uia fugientes Gallos adepti

Macedones ceciderunt, partim ante portam exclusos. clausurant enim Chii portas ignari, qui fugerent aut sequerentur. octingenti ferme Gallorum occisi, ducenti uiui capti; equi pars in mari fractis nauibus absumpti, parti neruos succiderunt in litore Macedones. uiginti eximiae equos formae cum captiuis eisdem decem lembos, quos ante miserat, Antenor deuehere Thessalonicam iussit et primo quoque tempore ad classem reuerti; Phanis se eos expectaturum. triduum ferme classis ad urbem <stetit>. Phanas inde progressi sunt et spe celerius regressis decem lembis euecti Aegaeo mari Delum traiecerunt.

[29] Dum haec geruntur, legati Romani, C. Popilius et C. Decimius et C. Hostilius, a Chalcide profecti tribus quinquerebus Delum cum uenissent, lembos ibi Macedonum quadraginta et quinque regis Eumenis quinquerebus inuenerunt. sanctitas templi insulaeque inuiolatos praestabat omnes. itaque permixti Romanique et Macedones et Eumenis nauales socii [et] in templo indutias religione loci praebente uersabantur. Antenor, Persei praefectus, cum aliquas alto praeferri onerarias naues ex speculis significatum foret, parte lemborum ipse insequens, parte per Cyclades disposita, praeterquam si quae Macedoniam peterent, omnes aut supprimebat aut spoliabat naues. quibus poterat Popilius <aut suis> aut Eumenis nauibus succurrebat; sed <e>uecti nocte binis aut ternis plerumque lembis Macedones fallebant. per id fere tempus legati Macedones Illyriique simul Rhodum uenerunt, quibus auctoritatem addidit non lemborum modo aduentus passim per Cycladas atque Aegaeum uagantium mare, sed etiam coniunctio ipsa regum Persei Gentique et fama cum magno numero peditum equitumque uenientium Gallorum. et iam cum accessissent animi Dinoni ac Polyarato, qui Persei partium erant, non benigne modo responsum regibus est, <sed> palam pronuntiatum bello finem se auctoritate sua inposituros esse; itaque ipsi quoque reges aequos adhiberent animos ad pacem accipiendam.

[30] Iam ueris principium erat nouique duces in prouincias uenerant, consul Aemilius in Macedoniam, Octavius Oreum ad classem, Anicius in Illyricum, cui bellandum aduersus Gentium <erat. Gentius> patre Pleurato, rege Illyriorum, et matre Eurydica genitus fratres duos, Platorem utroque parente, Carauantium matre eadem natum, habuit. hoc propter ignobilitatem paternam minus

suspecto Platorem occidit et duos amicos eius, Ettritum et Epicadum, impigros uiros, quo tutius regnaret. fama fuit Monuni, Dardanorum principis, filiam Etutam pacto fratri eum inuidisse, tamquam his nuptiis adiungenti sibi Dardanorum gentem; et simillimum id uero fecit ducta ea uirgo Platore interfecto. grauis deinde dempto <a> fratre metu popularibus esse coepit; et uiolentiam insitam ingenio intemperantia uini accendebat. ceterum, sicut ante dictum est, ad Romanum incitatus bellum Lissum omnis copias contraxit. quindecim milia armatorum fuerunt. inde fratre in Cauiorum gentem ui aut terrore subigendam cum mille peditibus et quinquaginta equitibus misso, ipse ad Bassaniam urbem quinque milia ab Lisso ducit. socii erant Romanorum; itaque per praemissos nuntios prius temptati obsidionem pati quam dedere sese maluerunt. Carauantium in Cauiis Durnium oppidum aduenientem benigne accepit; Carauandis, altera urbs, exclusit; et agros eorum <cum> effuse uastaret, aliquot palati milites agrestium concursu interfecti sunt. iam et Ap. Claudius adsumptis ad eum exercitum, quem habebat, Bullinorum et Apolloniatium et Dyrrachinorum auxiliis profectus ex hibernis circa Genusum amnem castra habebat, audito foedere inter Persea et Gentium et legatorum uiolatorum iniuria accensus, bellum haud dubie aduersus eum gesturus. Anicius praetor eo tempore Apolloniae auditis, quae in Illyrico gererentur, praemissisque ad Appium litteris, ut se ad Genusum opperiretur, triduo et ipse in castra uenit et ad ea, quae habebat, auxilia <e> Parthinorum iuuentute <adiunctis> duobus milibus peditum et equitibus ducentis — peditibus Epicadus, equitibus Algalsus praeerat — parabat ducere in Illyricum, maxime ut Bassanitas solueret obsidione. tenuit impetum eius fama lemborum uastantium maritimam oram. octoginta erant lembi, auctore Pantaucho missi a Gentio ad Dyrrachinorum et Apolloniatium agros populandos. tum classis ad * * * * * to eo tradiderunt se.

[31] Deinceps et urbes regionis eius idem faciebant, adiuuante inclinationem animorum clementia <in> omnis et iustitia praetoris Romani. ad Scodram inde uentum est, quod belli caput erat, non eo solum, quod Gentius eam sibi ceperat uelut regni totius arcem, sed etiam quod Labeatium gentis munitissima longe est et difficilis aditu. duo cingunt eam flumina, Clausal a latere urbis, quod in orientem

patet, praefluens, Barbanna ab regione occidentis, ex Labeatide palude oriens. hi duo amnes confluentes incidunt ~Oriundi flumini, quod ortum ex monte Scordo, multis et aliis auctum aquis, mari Hadriatico infertur. mons Scordus, longe altissimus regionis eius, ab oriente Dardanicam subiectam habet, a meridie Macedoniam, ab occasu Illyricum. quamquam munitum situ naturali oppidum erat gensque id tota Illyriorum et rex ipse tuebatur, tamen praetor Romanus, quia prima successerant prospere, fortunam totius rei principia secuturam esse ratus et repentinum ualiturum terrorem, instructo exercitu ad moenia succedit. quod si clausis portis muros portarumque turris dispositi armati defendissent, uano cum incepto moenibus pepulissent Romanos: nunc porta egressi proelium loco aequo maiore animo commiserunt quam sustinuerunt. pulsi enim et fuga conglobati, cum ducenti amplius in ipsis faucibus portae cecidissent, tantum intulerunt terrorem, ut oratores extemplo ad praetorem mitteret Gentius Teuticum et Bellum, principes gentis, per quos indutias peteret, ut deliberare de statu rerum suarum posset. triduo in hoc dato, cum castra Romana quingentos ferme passus ab urbe abessent, nauem conscendit et flumine Barbanna nauigat in lacum Labeatum, uelut secretum locum petens ad consultandum, sed, ut apparuit, falsa spe excitus Carauantium fratrem multis milibus armatorum <co>actis ex ea regione, in quam missus erat, aduentare. qui postquam euanuit rumor, tertio post die nauem eandem secundo anni Scodram demisit; praemissisque nuntiis, ut sibi appellandi praetoris potestas fieret, copia facta in castra uenit. et principium orationis ab accusatione stultitiae orsus suae, postremo ad preces lacrimasque effusus, genibus praetoris accidens in potestatem sese dedit. primo bonum animum habere iussus, ad cenam etiam inuitatus in urbem ad suos redit. et cum praetore eo die honorifice est epulatus, deinde in custodiam C. Cassio tribuno militum traditus, uix gladiatorio accepto, decem talentis, ab rege rex, ut in eam fortunam recideret.

[32] Anicius Scodra recepta nihil prius quam requisitos Petilium Perpennamque legatos ad se duci iussit. quibus splendore suo restituto Perpennam extemplo mittit ad conprehendendos amicos cognatosque regis; qui Meteonem, Labeatium gentis urbem, profectus Etleuam uxorem cum filiis duobus, Scerdilaedo

Pleuratoque, et Carauantium fratrem Scodram in castra adduxit. Anicius bello Illyrico intra triginta dies perfecto nuntium uictoriae Perpennam Romam misit et post dies paucos Gentium regem ipsum cum parente, coniuge ac liberis ac fratre aliisque principibus Illyriorum hoc unum bellum prius perpetratum quam coeptum Romae auditum est.

Quibus diebus haec agebantur, Perseus quoque in magno terrore erat propter aduentum simul Aemili noui consulis, quem cum ingentibus minis aduentare audiebat, simul Octaui praetoris. nec minus terroris a classe Romana et periculo maritumae orae habebat. Thessalonicae Eumenes et Athenagoras praeerant cum paruo praesidio duorum milium caetratorum. eo et Androclem praefectum mittit iussum sub ipsis naualibus castra habere. Aenean mille equites <et> Creon Antigoniensis missi ad tutandam maritumam oram, ut, quocumque litore adplicuisse naues hostium audissent, extemplo ferrent agrestibus opem. quinque milia Macedonum missa ad praesidium Pythoi et Petrae, quibus praepositi erant Histiaeus et Theogenes et Midon. his profectis ripam munire Elpei fluminis adgressus est, quia sicco alueo transiri poterat. huic <rei> ut omnis multitudo uacaret, feminae ex propinquis urbibus coactae cibaria in castra adferebant; miles iussus ex propinquis siluis benigne * * * * .

[33] * * conferre, postremo sequi se utrarios ad mare, quod minus trecentos passus aberat, iussit et in litore alios alibi modicis interuallis fodere. montes ingentis altitudinis spem faciebant, eo magis quia nullos apertos emergerent riuos, occultos contineri latices, quorum uenae in mare permanentes undae miscerentur. uix diducta summa harena erat, cum scaturrig<in>es turbidae primo et tenues emicare, dein liquidam multamque fundere aquam uelut deum dono coeperunt. aliquantum ea quoque res duci famae et auctoritatis apud milites adicit. iussis deinde militibus expedire arma ipse cum tribunis primisque ordinibus ad contemplandos transitus <processit, qua> descensus facilis armatis, qua in ulteriorem ripam minime inicus ascensus esset. his satis exploratis illa quoque <nouauit;> primum, ut ordine ac sine tumultu omnia in agmine ad nutum imperiumque ducis fierent, prouidit: ubi omnibus simul pronuntiaretur, quid fieret, neque omnes exaudirent, incerto imperio accepto alios ab se adicientes plus eo, quod imperatum sit, alios

minus facere; clamores deinde dissonos oriri omnibus locis, et prius hostes quam ipsos, quid paretur, scire. placere igitur tribunum militum primo pilo legionis secretum edere imperium, illum et dein singulos proximo cuique in ordine centurioni dicere, quid opus facto sit, siue a primis signis ad nouissimum agmen, siue ab extremis ad primos perferendum imperium sit. uigiles etiam nouo more scutum in uigiliam ferre uetuit: non enim in pugnam uigilem ire, ut armis utatur, sed ad uigilandum, ut, cum senserit hostium aduentum, recipiat se excitetque ad arma alios. scuto prae se erecto stare galeatos; deinde, ubi fessi sint, innixos pilo, capite super marginem scuti posito sopitos stare, ut fulgentibus armis procul conspici ab hoste possint, ipsi nihil prouideant. stationum quoque morem mutauit. armati omnes, et frenatis equis equites, diem totum perstabant; id cum aestiuis diebus urente adsiduo sole fieret, tot horarum aestu et languore ipsos equosque fessos integri saepe adorti hostes uel pauci plures uexabant. itaque ex matutina statione ad meridiem decedi et in postmeridianam succedere alios iussit; ita numquam fatigatos recens hostis adgredi poterat.

[34] Haec cum ita fieri placere contione aduocata pronuntiasset, adiecit urbanae contioni conuenientem orationem: unum imperatorem in exercitu prouidere et consulere, quid agendum sit, debere, nunc per se, nunc cum iis, quos aduocauerit in consilium; qui non sint aduocati, eos nec palam nec secreto iactare consilia sua. militem haec tria curare debere, corpus ut quam ualidissimum et perniciosissimum habeat, arma apta, cibum paratum ad subita imperia; cetera scire de se dis immortalibus et imperatori suo curae esse. in quo exercitu milites consultant, imperator rumoribus uulgi circumagatur, ibi nihil salutare esse. se, quod sit officium imperatoris, prouisurum, ut bene gerendae rei occasionem iis praebeat: illos nihil, quid futurum sit, quaerere, ubi datum signum sit, tum militarem nauare <operam debere.> ab his praeceptis contionem dimisit, uolgo etiam ueteranis fatentibus se illo primum die, tamquam tirones, quid agendum esset in re militari, didicisse. non sermonibus tantum his, cum quanto adsensu audissent uerba consulis, ostenderunt, sed rerum praesens effectus erat. neminem totis mox castris quietum uideres: acuere alii gladios, alii galeas bucculasque [scutorum], alii loricas tergere, alii aptare corpori arma

experiri sub his membrorum agilitatem, quater alii pila, alii micare gladiis mucronemque intueri, ut facile quis cerneret, ubi primum conserendi manum cum hoste data occasio esset, aut uictoria egregia aut morte memorabili finituros bellum. Perseus quoque, cum aduentu consulis simul et ueris principio strepere omnia mouerique apud hostes uelut nouo bello cerneret, mota a Phila castra in aduersa ripa posita, nunc ad contemplanda opera sua circumire ducem haud dubie transitus speculant*em, nunc * * * * * Roma>* norum esse.

[35] Quae res Romanis auxit animos. Macedonibus regique eorum haud mediocrem attulit terrorem. et primo suppressere in occulto famam eius rei est conatus, missis, qui Pantauchum inde uenientem adpropinquare castris uetarent. sed iam et pueri quidam uisi ab suis erant inter obsides Illyrios ducti, et quo quaeque accuratius celantur, eo facilius loquacitate regionum ministrorum emanant.

Sub idem tempus Rhodii legati in castra uenerunt cum isdem de pace mandatis, quae Romae ingentem iram patrum excitauerant. multo iniquioribus animis a castrensi consilio auditi sunt. itaque cum <alii legatos in uincula coniciendos censerent,> alii praecipites sine responso agendos e castris, pronuntiauit <consul> post diem quantum decimum se responsum daturum. interim, ut appareret, quantum pacificantium Rhodiorum auctoritas ualuisset, consultare de ratione belli gerendi coepit. placebat quibusdam et maxime minoribus natu per Elpei ripam munitionesque uim facere: confertis et uno <agmine impetum> facientibus resistere Macedonas non posse, ex tot castellis aliquanto altioribus ac munitioribus, quae ualidis praesidiis insedissent, priore anno deiectos. aliis placebat Octauium cum classe Thessalonicam petere et populatione maritumae orae distringere copias regias, ut altero ab tergo se ostendente bello circumactus ad interiorem partem regni tuendam nudare aliqua parte transitus Elpei cogeretur. ipsi natura et operibus inxsuperabilis ripa uidebatur, et praeterquam quod tormenta ubique disposita essent, missilibus etiam melius et certiore ictu hostis uti audierat. alio spectabat mens tota ducis; dimissoque consilio Perrhaebos mercatores Coenum et Menophilum, notae iam sibi et fidei et prudentiae homines, accersitos secreto percunctatur, quales ad Perrhaebiam transitus sint. cum loca non iniqua esse dicerent, praesidiis autem regiis obsideri, spem cepit, si nocte inprouiso ualida manu adgressus necopinantis esset, deici

praesidia posse: iacula enim et sagittas et cetera missilia in tenebris, ubi, quid petatur, procul prouideri nequeat, inutilia esse; gladio cominus geri rem in permixta turba, quo miles Romanus uincat. his ducibus usus praetorem Octauium accersitum, exposito, quid pararet, Heracleum cum classe petere iubet et mille hominibus decem dierum cocta cibaria habere. ipse P. Scipionem Nasicam, Q. Fabium Maximum filium suum cum quinque <milibus> delectis militum Heracleum mittit, uelut classem consensuros ad maritumam oram interioris Macedoniae, quod in consilio agitatum erat, uastandam. secreto indicatum cibaria his praeparata ad classem esse, ne quid eos moraretur. inde iussi duces itineris ita diuidere uiam, ut quarta uigilia tertio die Pythoum adoriri possent. ipse postero die, ut detineret regem ab circumspectu rerum aliarum, prima luce medio in alueo cum stationibus hostium proelium commisit; pugnatumque utrumque est leui armatura. nec grauioribus armis in tam inaequali alueo pugnari poterat. descensus ripae utriusque in alueum trecentorum ferme passuum erat; medium spatium torrentis alibi aliter cauati paulo plus quam mille passus patebat. ibi in medio spectantibus utrumque ex uallo castrorum <hinc rege>, hinc consule cum suis legionibus pugnatum est. missilibus procul regia auxilia melius pugnabant; cominus stabilior et tutior aut parma aut scuto Ligustico Romanus erat. meridie fere receptui cani suis consul iussit. ita eo die diremptum proelium est haud paucis utrumque interfectis. sole orto postero die iniritatis certamine animis etiam acrius concursum est. sed Romani non ab iis tantum, cum quibus contractum certamen erat, sed multo magis ab ea multitudine, quae disposita in turribus stabat, omni genere missilium telorum ac saxis maxime uulnerabantur. ubi propius ripam hostium subissent, tormentis missa etiam ad ultimos perueniebant. multo pluribus eo die amissis consul paulo serius recepit suos. tertio die proelio abstinuit, degressus ad imam partem castrorum, ueluti per deuexum in mare brachium transitum temptaturus. Perseus, quod in oculis erat * * * *

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[36] <tempus> anni post circumactum solstitium erat; hora diei iam ad meridiem uergebat; iter multo puluere et incalescente sole factum erat. lassitudo et sitis iam sentiebatur et meridiem aestum magis accensurum cum mox adpareret, statuit sic adfectos recenti atque

integro hosti non abicere; sed tantus ardor in animis ad dimicandum utcumque erat, ut consuli non minore arte ad suos eludendos quam ad hostes opus esset. nondum omnibus instructis instabat tribunis militum, ut maturarent instruere; circumibat ipse ordines; animos militum hortando in pugnam accendebat. ibi primo alacres signum poscebant; deinde, quantum incresceret aestus, et uultus minus uigentes et uoces segniores erant, et quidam incumbentes scutis nixique pilis stabant tum iam aperte primis ordinibus inperat, metarentur frontem castrorum et impedimenta constituerent. quod ubi fieri milites sensere, alii gaudere palam, quod fessos uiae labore flagrantissimo aestu non coegisset pugnare; legati circa imperatorem ducesque externi erant, inter quos et Attalus, omnes adprobantes, dum pugnaturum consulem credebant — neque enim ne his <quidem> cunctationem aperuerat suam — ; tunc mutatione consilii subita cum alii silerent, Nasica unus ex omnibus ausus est monere consulem, ne hostem ludificatum priores imperatores fugiendo certamen manibus emitteret: uereri, ne, <si> nocte abeat, sequendus maximo labore ac periculo in intima Macedoniae sit, aestasque, sicut prioribus ducibus, per calles saltusque Macedonicorum montium uagando circumagatur. se magnopere suadere, dum in campo patenti hostem habeat, adgrediatur, nec oblatam occasionem uincendi amittat. consul nihil offensus libera admonitione tam clari adolescentis ‘et ego’ inquit ‘animum istum habui, Nasica, quem tu nunc habes, et, quem ego nunc habeo, tu habebis. multis belli casibus didici, quando pugnandum, quando abstinendum pugna sit. non operae est stanti nunc in acie docere, quibus de causis hodie quiesse melius sit. rationes alias reposcito; nunc auctoritate ueteris imperatoris contentus eris.’ conticuit adolescens: haud dubie uidere aliqua impedimenta pugnae consulem, quae sibi non apparerent.

[37] Paulus postquam metata castra impedimentaue conlocata animaduertit, ex postrema acie triarios primos subducit, deinde principes, stantibus in prima acie hastatis, si quid hostis moueret, postremo hastatos, ab dextro primum cornu singulorum paulatim signorum milites subtrahens. ita pedites equitibus cum leui armatura ante aciem hosti oppositis sine tumultu abducti, nec ante, quam prima frons ualli ac fossa perducta est, ex statione equites reuocati sunt. rex quoque, cum sine detractatione paratus pugnare eo die

fuisset, contentus eo, quod per hostem moram fuisse scirent, et ipse in castra copias reduxit.

Castris permunitis C. Sulpicius Gallus, tribunus militum secundae legionis, qui praetor superiore anno fuerat, consulis permissu ad contionem militibus uocatis pronuntiauit, nocte proxima, ne quis id pro portento acciperet, ab hora secunda usque ad quartam horam noctis lunam defecturam esse. id quia naturali ordine statis temporibus fiat, et sciri ante et praedici posse. itaque quem ad modum, quia certi solis lunaeque et ortus et occasus sint, nunc pleno orbe, nunc senescentem exiguo cornu fulgere lunam non mirarentur, ita ne obscurari quidem, cum condatur umbra terrae, trahere in prodigium debere. nocte, quam pridie nonas Septembres insecuta est dies, edita hora luna cum defecisset, Romanis militibus Galli sapientia prope diuina uideri; Macedonas ut triste prodigium, occasum regni perniciemque gentis portendens, mouit nec aliter uates. clamor ululatusque in castris Macedonum fuit, donec luna in suam lucem emersit.

Postero die — tantus utrique ardor exercitui ad concurrendum fuerat, ut et regem et consulem suorum quidam, quod sine proelio discessum esset, accusarent — regi prompta defensio erat, non eo solum, quod hostis prior aperte pugnam detractans in castra copias reduxisset, sed etiam quod eo loco signa constituisset, quo phalanx, quam inutilem uel mediocris iniquitas loci efficeret, promoueri non posset. consul ad id, quod pridie praetermisisset pugnandi occasionem uidebatur et locum dedisse hosti, si nocte abire uellet, tunc quoque per speciem immolandi terere uidebatur tempus, cum luce prima ad signum propositum pugnae exeundum in aciem fuisset. tertia demum hora sacrificio rite perpetrato ad consilium uocauit; atque ibi, quod rei gerendae tempus esset, loquendo et intempestiue consultando uidebatur quibusdam extrahere. <aduersus eos> sermones talem consul orationem habuit.

[38] 'P. Nasica, egregius adulescens, ex omnibus unus, quibus hesterno die pugnari placuit, denudauit mihi suum consilium; idem postea, ita ut transisse in sententiam meam uideri posset, tacuit. quibusdam aliis absentem carpere imperatorem quam praesentem monere melius uisum est. et tibi, P. Nasica, et quicumque idem, quod <tu>, occultius senserunt, non grauabor reddere dilatae pugnae

rationem. nam tantum abest, ut me hesternae quietis paeniteat, ut seruatum a me exercitum eo consilio credam. in qua me opinione sine causa esse ne quis uestrum credat, recognoscat agedum mecum, si uidetur, quam multa pro hoste et aduersus nos fuerint. iam omnium primum, quantum numero nos praestent, neminem uestrum nec ante ignorasse et hesterno die explicatam intuentis aciem animaduertisse certum habeo. ex hac nostra paucitate quarta pars militum praesidio inpedimentis relictæ erat; nec ignauissimum quemque relinqui ad custodiam sarcinarum scitis. sed fuerimus omnes: paruom hoc tandem esse credimus, quod ex his castris, in quibus hac nocte mansimus, exituri in aciem hodierno aut summum crastino die, si ita uidebitur, diis bene iuuantibus sumus? nihilne interest, utrum militem, quem neque uiae labor eo die neque operis fatigauerit, requietum, integrum in tentorio suo arma capere iubeas atque in aciem plenum uirium, uigentem et corpore et animo educas, an longo itinere fatigatum et onere fessum, madentem sudore, arentibus siti faucibus, ore atque oculis repletis puluere, torrente meridiano sole, hosti obicias recenti, requieto, qui nulla re ante consumptas uires ad proelium adferat? quis, pro deum fidem, ita conparatus, uel iners atque inbellis, fortissimum uirum <non> uicerit? quid, quod hostes per summum otium instruxerant aciem, praeparauerant animos, stabant compositi suis quisque ordinibus, nobis tunc repente trepidandum in acie instruenda erat et incompositis concurrendum?

[39] At hercule aciem quidem inconditam inordinatamque habuissemus, <sed> castra munita, prouisam aquationem, tutum ad eam iter praesidiis inpositis, explorata circa omnia; an nihil nostri habentes praeter nudum campum, in quo pugnaremus * * *. maiores uestri castra munita portum ad omnis casus exercitus ducebant esse, unde ad pugnam exirent, quo iactati tempestate pugnae receptum haberent. ideo, cum munimentis ea saepsissent, praesidio quoque ualido firmabant, quod, qui castris exutus erat, etiamsi pugnando acie uicisset, pro uicto haberetur. castra sunt uictori receptaculum, uicto perfugium. quam multi exercitus, quibus minus prospera pugnae fortuna fuit, intra uallum compulsi tempore suo, interdum momento post, eruptione facta uictorem hostem pepulerunt? patria altera militaris est haec sedes, uallumque pro moenibus et tentorium suum cuique militi domus ac penates sunt. sine ulla sede uagi

dimicasset, ut quo <uicti, quo> uictores nos reciperemus? his difficultatibus et impedimentis pugnae illud opponitur: quid, si hostis hac interposita nocte abisset, quantum rursus sequendo eo penitus in ultimam Macedoniam exhauriendum laboris erat? ego autem neque mansurum eum neque in aciem copias educturum fuisse certum habeo, si cedere hinc statuisset. quanto enim facilius abire fuit, cum procul abessemus, quam nunc, cum in ceruicibus sumus, nec fallere nos interdiu aut nocte abeundo <potest? quid au>tem est nobis optatius quam ut, quorum castra praealta fluminis ripa tuta, uallo insuper saepta crebris<que> turribus oppugnare adorti sumus, eos relictis munimentis, agmine effuso abeuntis in patentibus campis ab tergo adoriamur? hae dilatae pugnae ex hesterno die in hodiernum causae fuerunt. pugnare enim et ipsi mihi placet; et ideo, quia per Elpeum amnem saepta ad hostem uia erat, alio saltu deiectis hostium praesidiis nouom iter aperui, neque prius, quam debellauero, absistam.’

[40] Post hanc orationem silentium fuit, partim traductis in sententiam eius, partim uerentibus nequiquam offendere in eo, quod utcumque praetermissum reuocari non posset. ac ne illo ipso quidem die aut consuli aut regi <pugnare placebat, regi,> quod nec fessos, ut pridie, ex uia neque trepidantis in acie instruenda et uixdum compositos adgressurus erat, consuli, quod in nouis castris non ligna, non pabulum conuectum erat, ad quae petenda ex propinquis agris magna pars militum e castris exierat. neutro imperatorum uolente fortuna, quae plus consiliis humanis pollet, contraxit certamen. flumen erat haud magnum propius hostium castra, ex quo et Macedones et Romani aquabantur praesidiis ex utraque ripa positis, ut id facere tuto possent. duae cohortes a parte Romanorum erant, Marrucina et Paeligna, duae turmae Samnitium equitum, quibus praeerat M. Sergius Silus legatus; et aliud pro castris statiuom erat praesidium sub C. Cluuiio legato, tres cohortes, Firmana, Uestina, Cremonensis, duae turmae equitum, Placentina et Aesernina. cum otium ad flumen esset neutris lacescentibus, hora circiter nona iumentum e manibus curantium elapsum in ulteriorem ripam effugit. quod cum per aquam ferme genu tenus altam tres milites sequerentur, Threces duo id iumentum ex medio alueo in suam ripam trahentes <caperent, hos persecuti illi> altero eorum occiso receptoque [eo]

iumento ad stationem suorum <se> recipiebant. octingentorum Thracum praesidium in hostium ripa erat. ex his pauci primo, aegre passi popularem in suo conspectu caesum, ad persequendos interfectores fluuium transgressi sunt, dein plures, postremo omnes, et cum praesidio * * * * .

[41] * * proelium ducit. mouebat imperii maiestas, gloria uiri, ante omnia aetas, quod maior sexaginta annis iuuenum munia in parte praecipua laboris periculique capescebat. interuallum, quod inter caetratos et phalanges erat, inpleuit legio atque aciem hostium interruptit. a tergo caetrati erant, frontem aduersus clupeatos habebat; chalcaspides appellabantur. secundam legionem L. Albinus consularis ducere aduersus leucaspidem phalangem iussus; ea media acies hostium fuit. in dextrum cornu, unde circa fluuium commissum proelium erat, elephantos inducit et alas sociorum; et hinc primum fuga Macedonum est orta. nam sicut pleraque noua conmenta mortalium in uerbis uim habent, experiendo, cum agi, non, quem ad modum agatur, edisseri oportet, sine ullo effecto euanescunt, ita tum elephantomachae nomen tantum sine usu fuerunt. elephantorum impetum subsecuti sunt socii nominis Latini pepuleruntque laeuom cornu. in medio secunda legio inmissa dissipauit phalangem. neque ulla euidentior causa uictoriae fuit, quam quod multa passim proelia erant, quae fluctuantem turbantur primo, deinde disiecerunt phalangem, cuius confertae et intentis horrentis hastis intolerabiles uires sunt; si carptim adgrediendo circumagere immobilem longitudine et grauitate hastam cogas, confusa strue implicantur; si uero aut ab latere aut ab tergo aliquid tumultus increpuit, ruinae modo turbantur, sicut tum aduersus cateruatim incurrentes Romanos et interrupta multifariam acie obuiam ire cogebantur; et Romani, quacumque data interualla essent, insinuabant ordines suos. qui si uniuersa acie in frontem aduersus instructam phalangem concurrissent, quod Paelignis principio pugnae incaute congressis aduersus caetratos euenit, induissent se hastis nec confertam aciem sustinuissent.

[42] Ceterum sicut peditum passim caedes fiebant, nisi qui abiectis armis fugerunt, sic equitatus prope integer pugna excessit. princeps fugae rex ipse erat. iam a Pydna cum sacris alis equitum Pellam petebat; confestim eos Cotys sequebatur Odrysarumque equitatus.

ceterae quoque Macedonum alae integris abibant ordinibus, quia interiecta peditum acies, cuius caedes uictores tenebat, inmemores fecerat sequendi equites. diu phalanx a fronte, a lateribus, ab tergo caesa est. postremo qui ex hostium manibus elapsi erant, inermes ad mare fugientes, quidam aquam etiam ingressi, manus ad eos, qui in classe erant, tendentes, suppliciter uitam orabant; et cum scaphas concurrere undique ab nauibus cernerent, ad excipiendos sese uenire rati, ut caperent potius quam occiderent, longius in aquam, quidam etiam natantes, progressi sunt. sed cum hostiliter <e> scaphis caederentur, retro, qui poterant, nando repetentes terram in aliam foediorum pestem incidebant; elephantum enim ab rectoribus ad litus acti exeuntis obtrebant elidebantque. facile conuenit ab Romanis numquam una acie tantum Macedonum interfectum. caesa enim ad uiginti milia hominum sunt; ad sex <milia>, qui Pydnam ex acie perfugerant, uiui in potestatem peruenerunt, et uagi ex fuga quinque milia hominum capta. ex uictoribus ceciderunt non plus centum, et eorum multo maior pars Paeligni; uulnerati aliquanto plures sunt. quod si maturius pugnari coeptum esset, ut satis diei uictoribus ad persequendum superesset, deletae omnes copiae forent: nunc imminens nox et fugientes texit et Romanis pigritiem ad sequendum locis ignotis fecit.

[43] Perseus ad Pieriam siluam uia militari frequenti agmine equitum et regio comitatu fugit. simul in siluam uentum est, ubi plures diuersae semitae erant, et nox adpropinquabat, cum perpaucis maxime fidis uia deuertit. equites sine duce relictii alii alia in ciuitates suas dilapsi sunt; perpauci inde Pellam celerius quam ipse Perseus, quia recta <et> expedita uia ierant, peruenerunt. rex ad mediam ferme noctem errore et uariis difficultatibus uiae est uexatus; in regia Perseo, qui Pellae praeerant, Euctus <Eulaeus>que <et> regii pueri praesto erant. contra ea amicorum, qui alii alio casu seruati ex proelio Pellam uenerant, cum saepe arcessiti essent, nemo ad eum uenit. tres erant tantum cum eo fugae comites, Euander Cretensis, Neo Boeotus et Archidamus Aetolus. cum iis iam metuens, ne, qui uenire ad se abnuerent, maius aliquid mox auderent, quarta uigilia profugit. secuti eum sunt admodum quingenti Cretenses. petebat Amphipolim; sed nocte a Pella exierat, properans ante lucem Axium amnem traicere, eum finem sequendi propter difficultatem transitus fore ratus

Romanis.

[44] Consulem, cum se in castra uictor recepisset, ne sincero gaudio frueretur, cura de minore filio stimulabat. P. Scipio is erat, Africanus et ipse postea deleta Carthagine appellatus, naturalis consulis Pauli filius, adoptione Africani nepos. is septimum decimum tunc annum agens, quod ipsum curam augebat, dum effuse sequitur hostes, in partem aliam turba ablatum erat; et serius cum redisset, tunc demum, recepto sospite filio, uictoriae tantae gaudium consul sensit. Amphipolim cum iam fama pugnae peruenisset concursusque matronarum in templum Dianae, quam Tauropolon uocant, ad opem exposcendam fieret, Diodorus, qui praeerat urbi, metuens, ne Thraces, quorum duo milia in praesidio erant, urbem in tumultu diriperent, ab subornato ab se per fallaciam in tabellarii speciem litteras in foro medio accepit. scriptum in iis erat ad Emathiam classem Romanam adpulsam esse agrosque circa uexari; orare praefectos Emathiae, ut praesidium aduersus populos mittat. his lectis hortatur Thraces, ut ad tuendam Emathiae oram proficiscantur: magnam eos caedem praedamque palatis passim per agros Romanis facturos. simul eleuat famam aduersae pugnae: quae si uera foret, alium super alium recentes ex fuga uenturos fuisse. per hanc causam Thracibus ablegatis, simul transgressos eos Strymonem uidit, portas clausit.

[45] Tertio die Perseus, quam pugnatum erat, Amphipolim uenit. inde oratores cum caduceo ad Paulum misit. interim Hippas et Midon et Pantauchus, principes amicorum regis, Beroea, quo ex acie confugerant, ipsi ad consulem profecti Romanis se dedunt. hoc idem et alii deinceps metu perculsi parabant facere. consul nuntiis uictoriae Q. Fabio filio et L. Lentulo et Q. Metello cum litteris Romam missis spolia iacentis hostium exercitus peditibus concessit, equitibus praedam circumiecti agri, dum ne amplius duabus noctibus a castris abessent. ipse propius mare ad Pydnam castra mouit. Beroea primum, deinde Thessalonica et Pella et deinceps omnis ferme Macedonia intra biduum dedita. Pydnaci, qui proximi erant, nondum miserant legatos; multitudo incondita plurimum simul gentium turbaque, <quae> ex acie fuga in unum compulsa erat, consilium et consensum ciuitatis inpediebat; nec clausae modo portae, sed etiam inaedificatae erant. missi Midon et Pantauchus sub muros ad

conloquium Solonis, qui praesidio praeerat; per eum emittitur militaris turba. oppidum deditum militibus datur diripiendum. Perseus una tantum spe Bisaltarum auxilii temptata, ad quos nequiquam miserat legatos, in contionem processit Philippum secum filium habens, ut et ipsos Amphipolitanos et equitum peditumque, qui aut se persecuti aut fuga eodem delati erant, adhortando animos confirmaret. sed aliquotiens dicere incipientem cum lacrimae praepedissent, quia ipse hiscere nequii, Euandro Cretensi editis, quae agi cum multitudine uellet, de templo descendit. multitudo, sicut ad conspectum regis fletumque tam miserabilem et ipsa ingemuerat lacrimaueratque, ita Euandri orationem aspernabatur; et quidam ausi sunt media ex contione succlamare ‘abite hinc, ne, qui pauci supersumus, propter uos pereamus.’ horum ferocia uocem Euandri clausit. rex in<de> domum se recepit pecuniaque et auro argentoque in lembos, qui in Strymone stabant, delatis et ipse ad flumen descendit. Thraces nauibus se committere non ausi domos dilapsi et alia militaris generis turba; Cretenses spe pecuniae secuti. et quoniam in diuidendo plus offensionum quam gratiae erat, quinquaginta talenta iis posita sunt in ripa diripienda. ab hac direptione cum per tumultum naues conscenderent, lembum unum in ostio amnis multitudine grauatum merserunt. Galepsum eo die, postero Samothracam, quam petebant, perueniunt; ad duo milia talentum peruecta eo dicuntur.

[46] Paulus per omnes deditas ciuitates dimissis, qui praeessent, ne qua iniuria in noua pace uictis fieret, retentisque apud se caduceatoribus regis P. Nasicam, ignarus fugae regis, Amphipolim misit cum modica peditum equitumque manu, simul ut Sinticen euastaret et ad omnes conatus regi impedimento esset. inter haec Meliboea a Cn. Octauio capitur diripiturque; ad Aeginium, ad quod oppugnandum Cn. Anicius legatus missus erat, ducenti eruptione ex oppido facta amissi sunt ignaris Aeginiensibus debellatum esse. consul a Pydna profectus cum toto exercitu die altero Pellam peruenit et cum castra mille passus inde posuisset, per aliquot dies ibi statua habuit, situm urbis undique aspiciens, quam non sine causa delectam esse regiam <anim>aduertit. sita est in tumulo uergente in occidentem hibernum; cingunt paludes inexsuperabilis altitudinis aestate et hieme, quas restagnantes faciunt <amnes. arx> Phacus in

ipsa palude, qua proxima urbi est, uelut insula eminet, aggeri operis ingentis imposita, qui et murum sustineat et umore circumfusae paludis nihil laedatur. muro urbis coniuncta procul uidetur; diuisa est intermurali amni et eadem ponte iuncta, ut nec oppugnante externo aditum ab ulla parte habeat, nec, si quem ibi rex includat, ullum nisi per facillimae custodiae pontem effugium. et gaza regia in eo loco erat; sed tum nihil praeter trecenta talenta, quae missa Gentio regi, deinde retenta fuerant, inuentum est. per quos dies ad Pellam statua fuerunt. legationes frequentes, quae ad gratulandum conuenerant, maxime ex Thessalia, auditae sunt. nuntio deinde accepto Persea Samothracam traiecisse, profectus a Pella consul quartis castris Amphipolim peruenit. effusa omnis obuiam turba cuius indicio erat non bono ac iusto rege orba * * .

LIBER XLV

[1] Victoriae nuntii, Q. Fabius et L. Lentulus et Q. Metellus, quanta potuit adhiberi festinatio, celeriter Romam cum uenissent, praeceptam tamen eius rei laetitiam inuenerunt. quarto post die, quam cum rege est pugnatum, cum in circo ludi fierent, murmur repente populi tota spectacula peruasit pugnatum in Macedonia et deuictum regem esse; dein fremitus increuit; postremo clamor plausus<que> uelut certo nuntio uictoriae allato est exortus. mirari magistratus et quaerere auctorem repentinae laetitiae; qui postquam nullus erat, euanuit quidem tamquam certae rei gaudium, omen tamen laetum insidebat animis. quod postquam ueris nuntiis Fabi Lentulique et Metelli aduentu firmatum est, cum uictoria ipsa, tum augurio animorum suorum laetabantur. et altera traditur circensis turbae non minus similis ueri laetitia. ante diem quintum decimum kalendas Octobres, ludorum Romanorum secundo die, C. Licinio consuli ad quadrigas mittendas escendenti tabellarius, qui se ex Macedonia uenire diceret, laureatas litteras <reddidisse> dicitur. quadrigis missis consul currum conscendit et, cum per circum reueheretur ad foros publicos, laureatas tabellas populo ostendit. quibus conspectis repente inmemor spectaculi populus in medium decurrit. eo senatum consul uocauit recitatisque tabellis ex auctoritate patrum pro foris publicis denuntiauit populo L. Aemilium collegam signis conlatis cum rege Perseo pugnasse; Macedonum exercitum caesum fusumque; regem cum paucis fugisse; ciuitates omnes Macedoniae in dicionem populi Romani uenisse. his auditis clamor cum ingenti plausu ortus; ludis relictis domos magna pars hominum ad coniuges liberos<que> laetum nuntium portabant. tertius decimus dies erat ab eo, quo in Macedonia pugnatum est.

[2] Postero die senatus in curia habitus, supplicationesque decretae et senatus consultum factum est, ut consul, quos praeter milites sociosque nauales coniuratos haberet, dimitteret: de militibus sociisque naualibus dimittendis referretur, cum legati ab L. Aemilio consule, a quibus praemissus tabellarius esset, <uenissent>. ante diem sextum kal. Octobres hora fere secunda legati urbem ingressi sunt; ingentem secum occurrentium, quacumque ibant,

prosequentiumque trahentes turbam in forum perrexerunt. senatus forte in curia erat; eo legatos consul introduxit. ibi tantum temporis retenti, dum exponerent, quantaе regiaе <copiae> peditum equitumque fuissent, quot milia ex iis caesa, quot capta forent, quam paucorum militum iactura tanta hostium strages facta, quam praeceps rex fugisset; existimari Samothraciam petiturum; paratam classem ad persequendum esse, neque terra neque mari elabi posse. eadem haec paulo post in contionem traducti exposuerunt; renouataque laetitia, cum consul edixisset, ut omnes aedes sacrae aperirentur, pro se quisque ex contione ad gratias agendas ire dis, ingentique turba non uirorum modo sed etiam feminarum conpleri tota urbe deorum immortalium templa. senatus reuocatus in curiam supplicationes ob rem egregie gestam ab L. Aemilio consule in quinque dies circa omnia puluinaria decreuit hostiisque maioribus sacrificari iussit. naues, quae in Tiberi paratae instructaeque stabant, ut, si res posceret, in Macedoniam mitterentur, subduci et in naualibus conlocari, socios naualis dato annuo stipendio dimitti et cum iis omnes, qui in consulis uerba iurauerant; et quod militum Corcyrae, Brundisi, ad mare superum aut in agro Larinati esset — omnibus his locis dispositus exercitus fuerat, cum quo, si res posceret, C. Licinius collegae ferret opem — , hos omnes milites dimitti placuit. supplicatio pro contione populo indicta est ex ante diem quintum idus Octobres cum eo die in quinque dies.

[3] Ex Illyrico duo legati, C. Licinius Nerua et P. Decius, nuntiarunt exercitum Illyriorum caesum, Gentium regem captum, in ditione populi Romani [et] Illyricum esse. ob eas res gestas ductu auspicioque L. Anici praetoris senatus in triduum supplicationes decreuit. indictae a consule sunt in ante <diem> quartum et tertium et pridie idus Nouembres.

Tradidere quidam legatos Rhodios nondum <di>missos post uictoriam nuntiatam uelut ad ludibrium stolidae superbiae in senatum uocatos esse; ibi Agepolim, principem eorum, ita locutum: missos esse legatos ab Rhodiis ad pacem inter Romanos et Persea faciendam, quod id bellum graue atque incommodum Graeciae omni, sumptuosum ac damnosum ipsis Romanis esset. fortunam populi Romani bene fecisse, quod finito aliter bello gratulandi sibi de uictoria egregia Romanis opportunitatem dedisset. haec ab Rhodio

dicta. responsum ab senatu esse: Rhodios nec utilitatum Graeciae cura neque inpensarum populi Romani, sed pro Perseo legationem eam misisse. nam si ea fuisset cura, quae simularetur, tum mittendos legatos fuisse, cum Perseus in Thessaliam exercitu inducto per biennium Graecas urbes alias obsideret, alias denuntiatione armorum terreret; tum nullam pacis ab Rhodiis mentionem factam. postquam superatos saltus transgressosque in Macedoniam Romanos audissent et inclusum teneri Persea, tunc Rhodios legationem misisse, non ad ullam aliam rem quam ad Persea ex imminente periculo eripiendum. cum hoc responso legatos dimissos.

[4] Per eosdem dies et M. Marcellus, ex prouincia Hispania decedens Marcolica nobili urbe capta, decem pondo auri et argenti ad summam sestertii deciens <in> aerarium rettulit.

Paulus Aemilius consul cum castra, ut supra dictum est, ad Siras terrae Odomanticae haberet, litterae ab rege Perseo per ignobiles tres legatos <ei allatae sunt. quos cum flentes ac sordidatos> cerneret, et ipse inlacrimasse dicitur sorti humanae, quod, qui paulo ante non contentus regno Macedoniae Dardanos Illyriosque oppugnasset, Bastarnarum <ac>ciuisset auxilia, is tum amisso exercitu, extorris regno, in paruam insulam compulsus, supplex, fani religione, non uiribus suis tutus esset. sed postquam regem Persea consuli Paulo salutem legit, miserationem omnem stultitia ignorantis fortunam suam exemit. itaque, quamquam in reliqua parte litterarum minime regiae preces erant, tamen sine responso ac sine litteris ea legatio dimissa est. sensit Perseus, cuius nominis obliuiscendum uicto esset; itaque alterae litterae cum priuati nominis titulo missae et petiere et impetrauere, ut aliqui ad eum mitterentur, cum quibus loqui de statu et condicione suae fortunae posset. missi sunt tres legati, P. Lentulus, A. Postumius Albinus, A. Antonius. nihil ea legatione perfectum est, Perseo regium nomen omni ui amplectente, Paulo, ut se suaque omnia in fidem et clementiam populi Romani permitteret, tendente.

[5] <quae> dum aguntur, classis Cn. Octaui Samothracam est adpulsa. is quoque praesenti admoto terrore modo minis, modo spe perlicere, ut se traderet, <cum> conaretur, adiuuuit in hoc eum res seu casu contracta seu consilio. L. Atilius, inlustris adulescens, cum in contione esse populum Samothracum animum aduertisset, a magistratibus petit, ut sibi paucis adloquendi populi potestatem

facerent. permisso ‘utrum nos, hospites Samothraces, uere accepimus an falso sacram hanc insulam et augusti totam atque inuiolati soli esse?’ cum creditae sanctitati adsentirentur omnes, ‘cur igitur’ inquit ‘polluit eam homicida, sanguine regis Eumenis uiolauit, et, cum omnis praefatio <sacro>rum eos, quibus non sint purae manus, sacris arceat, uos penetralia uestra contaminari cruento latronis corpore sinetis?’ nobilis fama erat apud omnes Graeciae ciuitates Eumenis regis per Euandrum Delphis prope perpetrata caedes. itaque, praeterquam quod in potestate Romanorum sese insulamque totam et templum cernebant esse, ne inmerito quidem ea sibi exprobrari rati, Theondan, qui summus magistratus apud eos erat — regem ipsi appellant —, ad Persea mittunt, qui nuntiaret argui caedis Euandrum Cretensem; esse autem iudicia apud sese more maiorum comparata de iis, qui incestas manus intulisse intra terminos sacros templi dicantur; si confideret Euander innoxium se rei capitalis argui, ueniret ad causam dicendam; si committere se iudicio non auderet, liberaret religione templum ac sibimet ipse consuleret. Perseus seuocato Euandro iudicium subeundi nullo pacto <aucto>r esse: nec causa nec gratia parem fore. suberat et ille metus, ne damnatus auctorem se nefandi facinoris protraheret. reliqui quid esse, nisi ut fortiter moriatur? nihil palam abnuere Euander; sed cum ueneno se malle mori quam ferro dixisset, occulte fugam parabat. quod cum renuntiatum regi esset, metuens, ne tamquam a se subtracto poenae reo iram Samothracum in se conuerteret, interfici Euandrum iussit. qua perpetrata temere caede subit extemplo animum, in se nimirum receptam labem, quae Euandri fuisset; ab illo Delphis uulneratum Eumenen, ab se Samothracae Euandrum occisum; ita duo sanctissima in terris templa se uno auctore sanguine humano uiolata. huius rei crimen corrupto pecunia Theonda auertit, ut renuntiaret populo Euandrum sibi ipsum mortem conscisse.

[6] Ceterum tanto facinore in unicum relictum amicum admisso, per tot casus expertum proditumque, quia non prodiderat, omnium ab se abalienauit animos. pro se quisque transire ad Romanos; fugaeque consilium capere solum prope relictum coegerunt; Oroandem <deni>que Cretensem, cui nota Threciae ora erat, quia mercaturas in ea regione fecerat, appellat, ut se sublatum <in> lembum ad Cotym deueheret. Demetrium est portus in promunturio quodam

Samothracae; ibi lembus stabat. sub occasum solis deferuntur, quae ad usum necessaria erant; deferitur et pecunia, quanta clam deferri poterat. rex ipse nocte media cum tribus consciis fugae <per> posticum aedium in propincuum cubiculo hortum atque inde maceriam aegre transgressus ad mare peruenit. Oroandes tantum <moratus>, dum pecunia deferretur, primis tenebris soluerat nauem ac per altum Cretam petebat. postquam in portu nauis non inuenta est, uagatus Perseus aliquamdiu in litore, postremo timens lucem iam adpropinquantem, in hospitium redire non ausus in latere templi prope angulum obscurum delituit. pueri regii apud Macedonas uocabantur principum liberi ad ministerium electi regis; ea cohors persecuta regem fugientem ne tum quidem abscedebat, donec iussu Cn. Octaui pronuntiatum est per praeconem regios pueros Macedonasque alios, qui Samothracae essent, si transirent ad Romanos, incolumitatem libertatemque et sua omnia seruatuuros, <quae> aut secum haberent aut in Macedonia reliquissent. ad hanc uocem transitio omnium facta est, nominaque dabant ad C. Postumium tribunum militum. liberos quoque paruos regios Ion Thessalonicensis Octauio tradidit, nec quisquam praeter Philippum, maximum natu e filiis, cum rege relictus. tum sese filiumque Octauio tradidit, fortunam deosque, quorum <in> templo erat, nulla ope supplicem iuuantis accusans. in praetoriam nauem inponi iussus, eodem et pecunia, quae superfuit, delata est; extemploque classis Amphipolim repetit. inde Octauius regem in castra ad consulem misit praemissis litteris, ut in potestate eum esse et adduci sciret.

[7] Secundam eam Paulus, sicut erat, uictoriam ratus uictimas cecidit eo nuntio, et consilio aduocato <litteras> praetoris cum recitasset, Q. Aelium Tuberone obuiam regi misit, ceteros manere in praetorio frequentis iussit. non alias ad ullum spectaculum tanta multitudo occurrit. patrum aetate Syphax rex captus in castra Romana adductus erat; praeterquam quod nec sua nec gentis fama comparandus, ~tunc quod accessio Punici belli fuerat, sicut Gentius Macedonici: Perseus caput belli erat, nec ipsius tantum patris auique <ceterorumque>, quos sanguine et genere contingebat, fama conspectum eum efficiebat, sed effulgebant Philippus ac magnus Alexander, qui summum imperium in orbe terrarum Macedonum fecerant. pullo amictu <cum> filio Perseus ingressus est castra nullo

suorum alio comite, qui socius calamitatis miserabiliorem eum faceret. progredi prae turba occurrentium ad spectaculum non poterat, donec a consule lictores missi sunt, qui summoto iter ad praetorium facerent. consurrexit consul [et] iussis sedere aliis progressusque paulum introeunti regi dextram porrexit summittentemque se ad pedes sustulit nec attingere genua passus introductum in tabernaculum aduersus aduocatos in consilium considerare iussit.

[8] Prima percontatio fuit, qua subactus iniuria contra populum Romanum bellum tam infesto animo suscepisset, quo se regnumque suum ad ultimum discrimen adduceret? cum responsum expectantibus cunctis terram intuens diu tacitus fleret, rursus consul: ‘si iuuenis regnum accepisses, minus equidem mirarer ignorasse te, quam grauis aut amicus aut inimicus esset populus Romanus; nunc uero, cum et bello patris tui, quod nobiscum gessit, interfuisses, et pacis postea, quam cum summa fide aduersus eum coluimus, meminisses, <quod fuit> consilium, quorum et uim <in> bello et fidem in pace expertus esses, cum iis tibi bellum esse quam pacem malle?’ nec interrogatus nec accusatus cum responderet, ‘utcumque tamen haec, siue errore humano seu casu seu necessitate inciderunt, bonum animum habe. multorum regum populorum<que> casibus cognita populi Romani clementia non modo spem tibi, sed prope certam fiduciam salutis praebet.’ haec Graeco sermone Perseo; Latine deinde suis ‘exemplum insigne cernitis’ inquit ‘mutationis rerum humanarum. uobis hoc praecipue dico, iuuenes. ideo in secundis rebus nihil in quemquam superbe ac uiolenter consulere decet nec praesenti credere fortunae, cum, quid uesper ferat, incertum sit. is demum uir erit, cuius animum neque prosperae <res> flatu suo efferent nec aduersae infringent.’ consilio dimisso tuendi cura regis Q. Aelio mandatur. eo die et inuitatus ad consulem Perseus et alius omnis ei honos habitus est, qui haberi in tali fortuna poterat. exercitus deinde in hiberna dimissus est.

[9] Maximam partem copiarum Amphipolis, reliquas propinquae urbes acceperunt.

Hic finis belli, cum quadriennium continuum bellatum esset, inter Romanos ac Persea fuit idemque finis incluti per Europae plerumque atque Asiam omnem regni. uicensimum ab Carano, qui primus

regnabat, Persea numerabant. Perseus Q. Fulvio <L.> Manlio consulibus regnum accepit, a senatu rex est appellatus M. Iunio A. Manlio consulibus; regnavit undecim annos. Macedonum <gens> obscura admodum fama usque ad Philippum, Amyntae filium, fuit; inde ac per eum crescere cum coepisset, Europae se tamen finibus continuit, Graeciam omnem et partem Threciae atque Illyrici amplexa. superfudit deinde se in Asiam, et tredecim annis, quibus Alexander regnavit, primum omnia, qua Persarum prope immenso spatio imperium fuerat, suae dicionis fecit; Arabas hinc Indiamque, qua terrarum ultimos finis rubrum mare amplectitur, peragravit. tum maximum in terris Macedonum regnum nomenque; inde morte Alexandri distractum <in> multa regna, dum ad se quisque opes rapiunt, laceratis uiribus a summo culmine fortunae ad ultimum finem centum quinquaginta annos stetit.

[10] Victoriae Romanae fama cum peruasisset in Asiam, Antenor, qui cum classe lemborum ad Phanas stabat, Cassandriam inde traiecit. C. Popilius, qui Deli in praesidio nauibus Macedoniam petentibus erat, postquam debellatum in Macedonia et statione summos hostium lembos audiuit, dimissis et ipse Attali nauibus ad susceptam legationem peragendam nauigare Aegyptum pergit, ut prius occurrere Antiocho posset, quam ad Alexandriae moenia accederet. cum praeterueherentur Asiam legati et Loryma uenissent, qui portus uiginti paulo amplius milia ab Rhodo abest, ex aduerso urbi ipsi positus, principes Rhodiorum occurrunt — iam enim eo quoque uictoriae fama perlata erat — orantes, ut Rhodum deueherentur: pertinere id ad famam salutemque ciuitatis, noscere ipsos omnia, quae acta essent <quae>que agerentur Rhodi, et conperta per se, non uolgata fama Romam referre. diu negantes perpulerunt, ut moram nauigationis breuem pro salute sociae urbis paterentur. postquam Rhodum uentum est, in contionem quoque eos iidem precibus pertraxerunt. aduentus legatorum auxit potius timorem ciuitati quam minuit; omnia enim Popilius, quae singuli uniuersique eo bello hostiliter dixerant fecerantque, rettulit, et uir asper ingenio augebat atrocitatem eorum, quae dicerentur, uultu truci et accusatoria uoce, ut, cum propriae simultatis nulla causa cum ciuitate ei esset, ex unius senatoris Romani acerbitate, qualis in se uniuersi senatus animus esset, coniectarent. C. Decimi moderatio<r

oratio> fuit, qui in plerisque eorum, quae commemorata a Popilio essent, culpam non penes populum, sed penes paucos concitores uolgi esse dixit: eos, uenalem linguam habentis, decreta plena regiae adsentationis fecisse et eas legationes misisse, quarum Rhodios semper non minus puderet quam paeniteret. quae omnia, si sana mens populo foret, in capita noxiorum uersura. cum magno adsensu auditus est, non magis eo, quod multitudinem noxa leuabat, quam quod culpam in auctores uerterat. itaque cum principes Rhodiorum Romanis responderent, nequaquam tam grata oratio eorum fuit, qui, quae Popilius obiecerat, diluere utcumque conati sunt, quam eorum, qui Decimio in auctoribus ad piaculum noxae obiciendis adsensi sunt. decretum igitur extemplo, ut, qui pro Perseo aduersus Romanos dixisse quid aut fecisse conuincerentur, capitis condemnarentur. excesserant urbe sub aduentum Romanorum quidam, alii mortem sibi consciuerunt. legati non ultra quam quinque dies Rhodi morati Alexandream proficiscuntur. nec eo segnius iudicia ex decreto coram iis facto Rhodii exercebant; quam perseuerantiam in exequenda re tam Decimi lenitas quam <Popili effecerat asperitas>.

[11] <Cum> haec gererentur, Antiochus frustra temptatis moenibus Alexandriae abscesserat ceteraque Aegypto potitus, relicto Memphi maiore Ptolemaeo, cui regnum quaeri suis uiribus simulabat, ut uictorem mox adgrederetur, in Syriam exercitum abduxit. nec huius uoluntatis eius ignarus Ptolemaeus, dum contritum obsidionis metu minorem fratrem haberet, posse se recipi Alexandriae et sorore adiuuante et non repugnantibus fratris amicis ratus primum ad sororem, deinde ad fratrem amicosque eius non prius destitit mittere, quam pacem cum iis confirmaret. suspectum Antiochum effecerat, quod cetera Aegypto sibi tradita Pelusi ualidum relictum erat praesidium. apparebat claustra Aegypti teneri, ut, cum uellet, rursus exercitum induceret; bello intestino cum fratre eum exitum fore, ut uictor fessus certamine nequaquam par Antiocho futurus esset. haec prudenter animaduersa <a> maiore cum adsensu minor frater quique cum eo erant acceperunt; soror plurimum adiuuit non consilio modo, sed etiam precibus. itaque consentientibus cunctis pace facta Alexandream recipitur, ne multitudine quidem aduersante, quae in bello non per obsidionem modo, sed etiam, postquam amoenibus abscessum est, quia nihil ex Aegypto subuehebatur, omnium rerum

adenuata inopia erat. his cum laetari Antiochum conueniens esset, si reducendi eius causa exercitum Aegyptum induxisset, quo specioso titulo ad omnis Asiae et Graeciae ciuitates legationibus recipiendis litterisque dimittendis usus erat, adeo est offensus, ut multo acrius infestiusque aduersus duos, quam ante aduersus unum pararet bellum. Cyprum extemplo classem misit; ipse primo uere cum exercitu Aegyptum petens in Coelen Syriam processit. circa Rhinocolura Ptolemaei legatis agentibus gratias, quod per eum regnum patrium recepisset, petentibusque, ut suum munus tueretur et diceret potius, quid fieri uellet, quam hostis ex socio factus ui atque armis ageret, respondit non aliter neque classem reuocaturum neque exercitum reducturum, nisi sibi et tota Cypro et Pelusio agroque, qui circa Pelusiaceum ostium Nili esset, cederetur; diemque praestituit, intra quam de condicionibus peractis responsum acciperet.

[12] Postquam dies data induitiis praeteriit, nauigantibus ostio Nili ad Pelusium <praefectis ipse> per deserta Arabiae <est profectus receptusque et ab iis, qui> ad Memphim incolebant, et ab ceteris Aegyptiis, partim uoluntate partim metu, ad Alexandream modicis itineribus descendit. ad Eleusinem transgresso flumen, qui locus quattuor milia ab Alexandria abest, legati Romani occurrerunt. quos cum aduenientis salutasset dextramque Popilio porrigeret, tabellas ei Popilius <senatus consultum> scriptum habentis tradit atque omnium primum id legere iubet. quibus perlectis cum se consideraturum adhibitis amicis, quid faciendum sibi esset dixisset, Popilius pro cetera asperitate animi uirga, quam in manu gerebat, circumscripsit regem ac ‘priusquam hoc circulo excedas’ inquit ‘redde responsum, senatui quod referam.’ obstupefactus tam uiolento imperio parumper cum haesitasset, ‘faciam’ inquit ‘quod censet senatus.’ tum demum Popilius dextram regi tamquam socio atque amico porrexit. die deinde finita cum excessisset Aegypto Antiochus, legati concordia etiam auctoritate sua inter fratres firmata, inter quos uixdum conuenerat pax, Cyprum nauigant et inde, quae iam uicerat proelio Aegyptias naues, classem Antiochi dimittunt. clara ea per gentis legatio fuit, quod haud dubie adempta Antiocho Aegyptus habenti iam redditumque patrium regnum stirpi Ptolemaei fuerat. consulum eius anni sicut alterius clarus consulatus insigni uictoria, ita alterius obscura fama, quia materiam res gerendi non habuit. iam primum

cum legionibus ad conueniendum <diem> edixit, non auspicato templum intrauit. uitio diem dictam esse augures, cum ad eos relatum esset, decreuerunt. profectus in Galliam circa Macros campos ad montis Siciminam et Papinum statua habuit; deinde circa eadem loca cum sociis nominis Latini hibernabat; legiones Romanae, quod uitio dies exercitui ad conueniendum dicta erat, Romae manserant. et praetores praeter C. Papirium Carbonem, cui Sardinia euenerat, in prouincias iere. eum ius dicere Romae — nam eam quoque sortem habebat — inter ciues et peregrinos patres censuerant.

[13] Et Popilius et ea legatio, quae missa ad Antiochum erat, Romam redit; rettulit controuersias inter reges sublatas esse exercitumque ex Aegypto in Syriam reductum. post ipsorum regum legati uenerunt: Antiochi legati referentes omni uictoria potiore pacem regi, senatui quae placuisset, uisam, eumque haud secus quam deorum imperio legatorum Romanorum iussis paruissse; gratulati dein de uictoria sunt, quam ope s<ua>, si quid imperatum foret, adiuturum regem fuisse. Ptolemaei legati communi nomine regis et Cleopatrae gratias egerunt: plus eos senatui populoque Romano quam parentibus suis, plus quam diis immortalibus debere, per quos obsidione miserrima liberati essent, regnum patrium prope amissum <recepissent. responsum> ab senatu est Antiochum recte atque ordine fecisse, quod legatis paruisset, gratumque id esse senatui populoque Romano: regibus Aegypti Ptolemaeo Cleopatraeque, si quid per se boni commodique euenisset, id magno opere senatum laetari, daturumque operam, ut regni sui maximum semper praesidium positum esse in fide populi Romani ducant. munera legatis ut ex instituto mittenda curaret, C. Papirio praetori mandatum. litterae deinde <e> Macedonia allatae, quae uictoriae laetitiam geminarent: Persea regem in potestatem consulis uenisse. dimissis legatis <regiis> disceptatum inter Pisanos Lunensesque legatos est, Pisanis querentibus agro se a colonis Romanis pelli, Lunensibus adfirmantibus eum, de quo agatur, ab triumuiris agrum sibi adsignatum esse. senatus, qui de finibus cognoscerent statuerentque, quinque uiros misit Q. Fabium Buteonem, P. Cornelium Blasionem, T. Sempronium Muscam, L. Naeuium Balbum, C. Apuleium Saturninum.

Et ab Eumene et ab Attalo et ab Athenaeo fratribus communis

legatio de uictoria gratulatum uenit. et Masgabae, regis Masinissae filio, Puteolis naue egresso praesto fuit obuiam missus cum pecunia L. Manlius quaestor, qui Romam eum publico sumptu perduceret. aduenienti extemplo senatus datus est. ibi adulescens ita locutus est, ut, quae rebus grata erant, gratiora uerbis faceret. commemorauit, quot pedites equitesque, quot elephantos, quantum frumenti eo quadriennio pater suus in Macedoniam misisset: duas res ei rubori fuisse, unam, quod rogasset eum per legatos senatus, quae ad bellum opus essent, et non inperasset, alteram, quod pecuniam ei pro frumento misisset. Masinissam meminisse <se> regnum a populo Romano partum auctumque et multiplicatum habere; usu regni contentum scire dominium et ius eorum, qui dederint, esse. sumere itaque eos de se, non rogare aequom esse, neque emere ea ex fructibus agri ab se dati, * * * quae ibi proueniant. id Masinissae satis esse et fore, quod populo Romano supereset. cum iis mandatis a patre profectum postea consecutos equites, qui deuictam Macedoniam nuntiarent gratularique senatui iuberent et indicare tantae eam rem laetitiae patri suo esse, ut Romam uenire uelit Iouique optimo maximo in Capitolio sacrificare et grates agere; id, nisi molestum sit, ut ei permittatur, ab senatu petere.

[14] Responsum regulo est facere patrem eius Masinissam, quod uirum gratum bonumque facere deceat, ut pretium honoremque debito beneficio addat. et populum Romanum ab eo bello Punico forti fidelique opera adiutum, et illum fauente populo Romano regnum adeptum; aequatis iis postea trium regum bellis deinceps omnibus eum functum officiis. uictoria uero populi Romani laetari eum regem mirum non esse, qui sortem omnem fortunae regnique sui cum rebus Romanis miscuisset. grates deis pro uictoria apud suos penates ageret; Romae filium pro eo acturum. gratulatum quoque satis suo ac patris nomine esse. ipsum relinquere regnum et Africa excedere, praeterquam quod illi inutile esset, non esse e re publica populi Romani senatum censere. petenti Masgabae, ut Hanno, Hamilcaris filius, obses in locum * <exigeretur, responsum est haud aequum uideri senatum a Carthaginensibus obsides arbitrio Masinissae> exigere. munera ex senatus consulto emere regulo quaestor iussus ex centum pondo argenti et prosequi eum Puteolos omnemque sumptum, quoad in Italia esset, praebere et duas naues

conducere, quibus ipse comitesque eius in Africam deueherentur; et comitibus omnibus, liberis seruisque, uestimenta data. haud ita multo post de altero Masinissae filio Misagene litterae adlatae sunt, missum eum ab L. Paulo post deuictum Persea in Africam cum equitibus suis; nauigantem dispersa classe in Hadriatico mari Brundisium tribus nauibus aegrum delatum. <ad> eum cum isdem muneribus, quae data Romae fratri eius erant, L. Stertinius quaestor Brundisium missus <iussus>que curare, ut aedes hospi<tio> * * * *

[15] In quattuor urbanas tribus discripti erant libertini praeter eos, quibus filius quinquenni maior ex se natus esset, — eos, ubi proxumo lustro censi essent, censeri iusserunt — et eos, qui praedium praediaue rustica pluris sestertium triginta milium haberent, * * * censendi ius factum est. hoc cum ita seruatum esset, negabat Claudius suffragii lationem iniussu populi censorem cuiquam homini, nedum ordini uniuerso adimere posse. neque enim, si tribu mouere possit, quod sit nihil aliud quam mutare iubere tribum, ideo omnibus quinque et triginta tribubus emouere posse, id esse ciuitatem libertatemque eripere, non, ubi censeatur, finire, sed censu excludere. haec inter ipsos disceptata; postremo eo descensum est, ut ex quattuor urbanis tribubus unam palam in atrio Libertatis sortirentur, in quam omnes, qui seruitutem seruissent, conicerent. Esquilinae sors exiit: in ea Ti. Gracchus pronuntiauit libertinos omnis censeri placere. magno ea res honori censoribus apud senatum fuit. gratiae actae et Sempronio, qui in bene coepto perseuerasset, et Claudio, qui non inpedisset. plures quam ab superioribus et senatu moti sunt et equos uendere iussi. omnes iidem ab utroque et tribu moti et aerarii facti; neque ullius, quem alter notararat, <ab> altero leuata ignominia. petentibus, ut ex instituto ad sarta tecta exigenda et ad opera, quae locassent, probanda anni et sex mensum tempus prorogaretur, Cn. Tremellius tribunus, quia lectus non erat in senatum intercessit.

Eodem anno C. Cicereius aedem Monetae <in monte> Albano dedicauit quinquennio post, quam uouit. flamen Martialis inauguratus est eo anno L. Postumius Albinus.

[16] Q. Aelio M. Iunio consulibus de prouinciis referentibus censuere patres duas prouincias Hispaniam rursus fieri, quae una per bellum Macedonicum fuerat; et Macedoniam Illyricumque eosdem,

L. Paulum et L. Anicium, obtinere, donec de sententia legatorum res et bello turbatas et <in> statum alium ex regno formandas conposuissent. consulibus Pisae et Gallia decretae cum binis <legionibus quinum milium et ducenorum> peditum et equitum quadringenorum. praetorum sortes fuere, Q. Cassi urbana, M'. Iuuenti Talnae inter peregrinos, Ti. Claudii Neronis Sicilia, Cn. Fului Hispania citerior, <ulterior> C. Licinii Neruae. A. Manlius Torquatus Sardinia obuenerat: <at> nequirit ire in prouinciam, ad res capitalis quaerendas ex senatus consulto retentus. de prodigiis deinde nuntiatis senatus est consultus. aedes deum Penatium in Uelia de caelo tacta erat et in oppido Mineruo duae portae et muri aliquantum. Anagninae terra pluerat et Lanuui fax in caelo uisa erat; et Calatiae in publico agro M. Ualerius ciuis Romanus nuntiabat e foco suo sanguinem per triduum et duas noctes manasse. ob id maxime decemuiris libros adire iussi supplicationem in diem unum populo edixerunt et quinquaginta capris in foro sacrificauerunt. et aliorum prodigiorum causa diem alterum supplicatio circa omnia puluina fuit et hostiis maioribus sacrificatum est et urbs lustrata. item, quod ad honorem deum immortalium pertineret, decreuit senatus, ut, quoniam perduelles superati, Perseus et Gentius reges cum Macedonia atque Illyrico in potestate populi Romani essent, ut, quanta dona Ap. Claudio M. Sempronio consulibus ob deuictum Antiochum regem data ad omnia puluina essent, tanta Q. Cassius et M'. Iuuentius praetores curarent danda.

[17] Legatos deinde, quorum de sententia imperatores L. Paulus, L. Anicius conponerent res, decreuerunt decem in Macedoniam, quinque <in> Illyricum. in Macedoniam primi nominati: A. Postumius Luscus, C. Claudius, ambo illi censorii, <Q. Fabius Labeo, Q. Marcius Philippus,> C. Licinius Crassus, collega in consulatu Pauli; tum prorogato imperio prouinciam Galliam habebat. his consularibus addidit Cn. Domitium Ahenobarbum, Ser. Cornelium Sullam, L. Iunium, T. Numisium Tarquiniensem, A. Terentium Uarronem. <in> Illyricum autem hi nominati: P. Aelius Ligus consularis, C. Cicereius et Cn. Baebius Tampilus — hic priore anno, Cicereius multis ante annis praetor fuerat — , P. Terentius Tuscianus, P. Manilius. moniti deinde consules a patribus, ut, quoniam alterum ex his succedere C. Licinio, qui legatus nominatus

erat, in Gallia oporteret, primo <quoque> tempore prouincias aut compararent inter se aut sortirentur, sortiti sunt. M. Iunio Pisae obuenerunt, quem, priusquam in prouinciam iret, legationes, quae undique Romam gratulatum conuenerant, introducere in senatum placuit, Q. Aelio <Gallia>. ceterum quamquam tales uiri mitterentur, quorum de consilio sperari posset imperatores nihil indignum nec clementia nec grauitate populi Romani decreturos esse, tamen in senatu quoque agitata sunt summa consiliorum, ut inchoata omnia legati ab domo ferre ad imperatores possent.

[18] Omnium primum liberos esse placebat Macedonas atque Illyrios, ut omnibus gentibus appareret arma populi Romani non liberis seruitutem, sed contra seruientibus libertatem adferre, ut et, in libertate gentes quae essent, tutam eam sibi perpetuamque sub tutela <populi Romani> esse, et, quae sub regibus uiuerent, et in praesens tempus mitiores eos iustioresque respectu populi Romani habere se crederent et, si quando bellum cum populo Romano regibus fuisset suis, exitum eius uictoriam Romanis adlaturum, sibi libertatem. metalli quoque Macedonici, quod ingens uectigal erat, locationes praediorumque rusticorum tolli placebat; nam neque sine publicano exerceri posse et, ubi publicanus esset, ibi aut ius publicum uanum aut libertatem sociis nullam esse. ne ipsos quidem Macedonas id exercere posse; ubi in medio praeda administrantibus esset, ibi numquam causas seditionum et certaminis defore. <denique ne, si> commune concilium gentis esset, improbus uulgi adsentator aliquando libertatem salubri moderatione datam ad licentiam pestilentem traheret, in quattuor regiones describi Macedoniam, ut suum quaeque concilium haberet, placuit et dimidium tributum, quam quod regibus ferre soliti erant, populo Romano pendere. similia his et <in> Illyricum mandata. cetera ipsis imperatoribus legatisque relictis, in quibus praesens tractatio rerum certiora subiectura erat consilia.

[19] Inter multas regum gentiumque et populorum legationes Attalus, frater regis Eumenis, maxime conuertit in se omnium oculos animosque. exceptus enim est ab iis, qui simul eo bello militauerant, haud paulo benignius, quam si ipse rex Eumenes uenisset. adduxerant eum duae in speciem honestae res, una gratulatio conueniens in ea uictoria, quam ipse adiuuisset, altera querimonia Gallici tumultus acceptaeque cladis, qua regnum in dubium

adductum esset. suberat et secreta spes honorum praemiorumque ab senatu, quae uix salua pietate ei contingere poterant. <erant> enim quidam Romanorum quoque non boni auctores, qui spe cupiditatem eius elicerent: eam opinionem de Attalo et Eumene Romae esse, tamquam de altero Romanis certo amico, altero nec Romanis nec Persei fido socio. itaque uix statui posse, utrum, quae pro se, an, quae contra fratrem petiturus esset, ab senatu magis inpetrabilia forent; adeo uniuersos omnia et huic tribuere et illi uero negare. eorum hominum, ut res docuit, Attalus erat, qui, quantum spes spopondisset, cuperent, ni unius amici prudens monitio uelut frenos animo eius gestienti secundis rebus inposuisset. Stratius cum eo fuit medicus, ad id ipsum a non securo Eumene Romam missus speculator rerum, quae a fratre agerentur, monitorque fidus, si decedi fide uidisset: is ad occupatas iam aures sollicitatumque iam animum cum uenisset, adgressus tempestiuis sermonibus rem prope prolapsam restituit, aliis alia regna creuisse rebus dicendo: regnum eorum nouum, nullis uetustis fundatum opibus, fraterna stare concordia, quod unus nomen regium et praecipuum capitis insigne gerat, omnes fratres regnent. Attalum uero, qui aetate proximus sit, quis non pro rege habeat? neque eo solum, quia tantas praesentes eius opes cernat, sed quod haud ambiguum <sit> prope diem regnaturum; eam infirmitatem aetatemque Eumenis esse nullam stirpem liberum habentis; necdum enim agnouerat eum, qui postea regnauit. quid adtinere uim adferre rei sua sponte ad eum mox uenturae? accessisse etiam nouam tempestatem regno tumultus Gallici, cui uix consensu et concordia regum resisti queat; si uero ad externum bellum domestica seditio adiciatur, sisti non posse. nec aliud eum, quam, ne frater in regno moriatur, sibi ipsi spem propinquam regni erepturum. si utraque gloriosa res esset, et seruasse fratri regnum et eripuisse, seruati tamen regni, quae iuncta pietati sit, potioem laudem <futuram> fuisse. sed enim uero cum detestabilis altera res et proxima parricidio sit, quid ad deliberationem dubii superesse? utrum enim partem regni petiturum esse, an totum erepturum? si partem, ambo infirmos distractis uiribus et omnibus iniuriis pro<palam> obnoxios fore; si totum, priuaturne ergo maiorem fratrem, an exulem <esse> illa aetate, illa corporis infirmitate, an <ad> ultimum mori iussurum? egregium enim, ut fabulis traditus impiorum fratrum euentus taceatur, Persei exitum

uideri, qui ex fraterna caede raptum diadema in templo Samothracum, uelut praesentibus dis exigentibus poenas, ad pedes uictoris hostis prostratus posuerit. eos ipsos, qui non illi amici, sed Eumeni infesti stimulent eum, pietatem constantiamque laudaturos, si fidem ad ultimum fratri praestitisset.

[20] Haec plus ualuere in Attali animo. itaque introductus in senatum gratulatus uictoriam est; sua merita eo bello fratrisque, si qua erant, et Gallorum defectionem, quae nuper ingenti motu facta erat, exposuit; petit, ut legatos mitteret ad eos, quorum auctoritate ab armis auocarentur. his pro regni utilitate editis mandatis, Aenum sibi et Maroneam petit. ita destituta eorum spe, qui fratre accusato partitionem regni petiturum crediderant, curia excessit. [ut] raro alias quisquam rex aut priuatus tanto fauore tantoque omnium adsensu est auditus: omnibus honoribus muneribusque <et> praesens est cultus et proficiscentem prosecuti sunt. inter multas Asiae Graeciaeque legationes Rhodiorum maxime legati ciuitatem conuerterunt. nam cum primo in ueste candida uisi essent, quod et gratulantis decebat, et, si sordidam uestem habuissent, lugentium Persei casum praebere speciem poterant, postquam consulti ab M. Iunio consule patres stantibus in comitio legatis, an locum, lautia senatumque darent, nullum hospitale ius in iis esse seruandum censuerunt, egressus e curia consul, cum Rhodii gratulatum se de uictoria purgatumque ciuitatis crimina dicentes uenisse petissent, ut senatus sibi daretur, pronuntiat sociis et amicis et alia comiter atque hospitaliter praestare Romanos et senatum dare consuesse: Rhodios non ita meritos eo bello, ut amicorum sociorum<que> numero habendi sint; his auditis prostrauerunt se omnes humi consulemque et cunctos, qui aderant, orantes, ne noua falsaque crimina plus obesse Rhodiis aecum censerent quam antiqua merita, quorum ipsi testes essent. extemplo ueste sordida sumpta domos principum cum precibus ac lacrimis circumibant orantes, ut prius cognoscerent causam quam condemnarent.

[21] M'. Iuuentius Talna praetor, cuius inter ciues et peregrinos iurisdictio erat, populum aduersus Rhodios incitabat rogationemque promulgauerat, ut Rhodiis bellum indiceretur, et ex magistratibus eius anni deligerent, qui ad id bellum cum classe mitteretur, se eum sperans futurum esse. huic actioni M. Antonius et M. Pomponius

tribuni plebis aduersabantur. sed et praetor nouo maloque exemplo rem ingressus erat, quod non ante consulto senatu, non consulibus certioribus factis de sua unius sententia rogationem ferret, uellent iuberentne Rhodiis bellum indici, cum antea semper prius senatus de bello consultus esset, deinde <ex auctoritate> patrum ad populum latum, et tribuni plebis, cum ita traditum esset, ne quis prius intercederet legi, quam priuatis suadendi dissuadendique legem potestas facta esset, eoque persaepe euenisset, ut et, qui non professi essent se intercessuros, animaduersis uitiis legis ex oratione dissuadentium intercederent, et, qui ad intercedendum uenissent, desisterent uicti auctoritatibus suadentium legem. tum inter praetorem tribunosque omnia intempestiue agendi certamen erat: tribuni festinationem praetoris ante tempus intercedendo * * * in aduentum im<peratoris> * *

[22] ‘ * * est. peccauerimusne adhuc dubium est; poenas, ignominias omnes iam patimur. antea, Carthaginensibus uictis, Philippo, Antiocho superatis, cum Romam uenissemus, ex publico hospitio in curiam gratulatum uobis, patres conscripti, ex curia in Capitolium ad deos uestros dona ferentes <escendebamus;> nunc ex sordido deuersorio, uix mercede recepti ac prope hostium more extra urbem manere iussi, in hoc squalore uenimus in curiam Romanam Rhodii, quos prouinciis nuper Lycia atque Caria, quos praemiis atque honoribus amplissimis donastis. et Macedonas Illyriosque liberos esse, ut audimus, iubetis, cum seruierint, antequam uobiscum bellarent — nec cuiusquam fortunae inuidemus, immo agnoscimus clementiam populi Romani — : Rhodios, qui nihil aliud quam quieuerunt hoc bello, hostes ex sociis facturi estis? certe iidem uos estis Romani, qui ideo felicia bella uestra esse, quia iusta sint, prae uobis fertis, nec tam exitu eorum, quod uincatis, quam principiis, quod num<quam> sine causa suscipiatis, gloriamini. Messana in Sicilia oppugnata Carthaginenses, Athenae oppugnatae et Graecia in seruitutem petita et adiutus Hannibal pecunia auxiliis Philippum hostem fecerunt. Antiochus ipse ultro, ab Aetolis, hostibus uestris, accersitus, ex Asia classe in Graeciam traiecit; Demetriade et Chalcide et saltu Thermopylarum occupato de possessione imperii uos deicere <est> conatus. cum Perseo socii uestri oppugnati, aut interfecti reguli principesque gentium aut populorum causa belli

uobis fuere. quem tandem titulum nostra calamitas habitura est, si perituri sumus? nondum segrego ciuitatis causam a Polyarato et Dinone, ciuibus nostris, et iis, quos ut traderemus uobis, adduximus. si omnes Rhodii aequae noxii essemus, quod nostrum in hoc bello crimen esset? Persei partibus fauimus et, quemadmodum Antiochi Philippique bello pro uobis aduersus reges, sic nunc pro rege aduersus uos stetimus. quemadmodum soleamus socios iuuare et quam inpigre capessere bella, C. Liuium, L. Aemilium Regillum interrogate, qui classibus uestris in Asia praefuerunt. numquam uestrae naues pugnauere sine nobis. <nos> nostra classe pugnauimus semel ad Samum, iterum in Pamphylia aduersus Hannibalem inperatorem; quae uictoria nobis eo gloriosior est, quod, cum ad Samum magnam partem nauium aduersa pugna et egregiam iuuentutem amissemus, ne tanta quidem clade territi iterum ausi <sumus> regiae classi ex Syria uenienti obuiam ire. haec non gloriandi causa rettuli — neque enim ea nunc nostra est fortuna — , sed ut admonerem, quemadmodum adiuuare socios solerent Rhodii.’

[23] ‘Praemia et <Philippo et> Antiocho deuictis amplissima accepimus a uobis. si, quae uestra nunc est fortuna deum benignitate et uirtute uestra, ea Persei fuisset, et praemia petitem ad uictorem regem uenissemus in Macedoniam, quid tandem diceremus? pecuniane a nobis adiutum an frumento? auxiliis terrestribus an naualibus? quod praesidium tenuisse nos? ubi pugnasse aut sub illius ducibus <aut> per nos ipsos? si quaereret, ubi miles noster, ubi nauis intra praesidia sua fuisset, quid responderemus? causam fortasse diceremus apud uictorem, quem ad modum apud uos dicimus. hoc enim legatos utroque <de> pace mittendo consecuti sumus, ut ne ab utraque parte gratiam iniremus, ab altera etiam crimen et periculum esset. quamquam Perseus uere obiceret, id quod uos non potestis, patres conscripti, nos principio belli misisse ad uos legatos, qui pollicerentur uobis, quae ad bellum opus essent; nauibus, armis, iuuentute <nos> nostra, sicut prioribus bellis, ad omnia paratos fore. ne praestaremus, per uos stetit, qui de quacumque causa tum aspernati nostra auxilia estis. neque fecimus igitur quicquam tam<quam> hostes, neque bonorum sociorum defuimus officio, sed a uobis prohibiti praestare fuimus. “quid igitur? nihilne factum neque dictum est in ciuitate uestra, Rhodii, quod nolletis, quo merito

offenderetur populus Romanus?" hinc iam non, quod factum est, <sum> defensurus — non adeo insanio — , sed publicam causam a priuatorum culpa segregaturus. nulla est ciuitas, quae non et improbos ciues aliquando et imperitam multitudinem semper habeat. etiam apud uos fuisse audiui, qui adsentando multitudini grassarentur, et secessisse aliquando a uobis plebem nec in potestate uestra rem publicam fuisse. si hoc in hac tam bene morata ciuitate accidere potuit, mirari quisquam potest aliquos fuisse apud nos, qui regis amicitiam petentes plebem nostram consiliis deprauarent? qui tamen nihil ultra ualuerunt, quam ut in officio cessaremus. non praeteribo id, quod grauissimum est in hoc bello crimen ciuitatis nostrae: legatos eodem tempore et ad uos et ad Persea de pace misimus; quod infelix consilium furiosus, ut postea audiui, orator stultissimum fecit, quem sic locutum constat, tamquam C. Popilius legatus Romanus, quem ad summouendos a bello Antiochum et Ptolemaeum reges misistis, loqueretur. sed tamen ea siue superbia, siue stultitia appellanda est, eadem, quae apud uos, et apud Persea fuit. tam ciuitatum quam singulorum hominum mores sunt: gentes quoque aliae iracundae, aliae audaces, quaedam timidae, in uinum, in Uenerem proniores aliae sunt. Atheniensium populum fama est celerem et supra uires audacem esse ad conandum, Lacedaemoniorum cunctatorem et uix in ea, quibus fidit, ingredientem. non negauerim et totam Asiae regionem inaniora parere ingenia, et nostrorum tumidiorem sermonem esse, quod excellere inter finitimas ciuitates uideamur, et id ipsum non tam uiribus nostris quam uestris honoribus ac iudiciis. satis quidem et tunc in praesentia castigata illa legatio erat, cum tam tristi responso uestro dimissa. si tum parum ignominiae pensum est, haec certe tam miserabilis ac supplex legatio etiam insolentioris, quam illa fuit, legationis satis magnum piaculum esset. superbiam, uerborum praesertim, iracundi oderunt, prudentes inrident, utique si inferioris aduersus superiorem est; capitali poena nemo umquam dignam iudicauit. id enim uero periculum erat, ne Romanos Rhodii contemnerent. etiam deos aliqui uerbis ferocioribus increpant, nec ideo quemquam fulmine ictum audimus.'

[24] 'Quid igitur superat, quod purgemus, si nec factum hostile ullum nostrum est, <et> uerba tumidiora legati offensionem aurium,

non perniciem ciuitatis meruerunt? uoluntatis nostrae tacitae uelut litem aestimari uestris inter uos sermonibus audio, patres conscripti: fauisse nos regi et illum uincere maluisse. ideo bello persequendos esse credunt alii; <alii> uestrum uoluisse quidem nos hoc, non tamen ob id bello persequendos esse: neque moribus neque legibus ullius ciuitatis ita comparatum esse, ut, si qui uelit inimicum perire, si nihil fecerit, quo id fiat, capitis damnetur. his, qui nos poena, non crimine liberant, gratiam quidem habemus; ipsi nobis hanc dicimus legem: si omnes uoluimus, quod arguimur — non distinguimus uoluntatem a facto —, omnes plectamur: si alii principum nostrorum uobis, alii regi fauerunt, non postulo, ut propter nos, qui partium uestrarum fuimus, regis fautores salui sint; illud deprecor, ne nos propter illos pereamus. non estis uos illis infestiores, quam ciuitas est ipsa; et hoc quia sciebant, plerique eorum aut profugerunt aut mortem sibi consciuerunt; alii damnati a nobis in potestate uestra erunt, patres conscripti. ceteri Rhodii sicut gratiam nullam meriti hoc bello, ita ne poenam quidem sumus. priorum nostrorum benefactorum cumulus hoc, quod nunc cessatum in officio est, expleat. cum tribus regibus gessistis bella per hos annos; ne plus obsit nobis, quod uno bello cessauimus, quam quod duobus bellis pro uobis pugnauimus. Philippum, Antiochum, Persea tamquam tris sententias ponite: duae nos absoluunt, una dubia est; ut grauior sit, illi de nobis <si> iudicarent, damnati essemus; uos iudicatis, patres conscripti, sit Rhodus in terris an funditus deleatur; non enim de bello deliberatis, patres conscripti, quod inferre potestis, gerere non potestis, cum nemo Rhodiorum arma aduersus uos <sit> laturus. si perseuerabitis in ira, tempus a uobis petemus, quo hanc funestam legationem domum referamus; omnia libera capita, quidquid Rhodiorum uirorum feminarum est, cum omni pecunia nostra naues conscendamus ac relictis penatibus publicis priuatisque Romam ueniemus et omni auro et argento, quidquid publici, quid<quid> priuati est, in comitio, in uestibulo curiae uestrae cumulado, corpora nostra coniugumque ac liberorum uestrae potestati permittemus, hic passuri, quodcumque patiendum erit; procul ab oculis nostris urbs nostra diripiatur, incendatur. hostis Rhodios esse Romani iudicare <possunt, facere non> possunt; est enim et nostrum aliquod de nobis iudicium, quo numquam iudicabimus nos uestros hostis, nec quicquam hostile,

etiam si omnia patiemur, faciemus.’

[25] Secundum talem orationem uniuersi rursus prociderunt supplices ramosque oleae iactantes; tandem excitati curia excesserunt. tunc sententiae interrogari coeptae. infestissimi Rhodiis erant, qui consules praetoresue aut legati gesserant in Macedonia bellum. plurimum causam eorum adiuit M. Porcius Cato, qui, asper ingenio, tum lenem mitemque senatorem egit. non inseram simulacrum ueri copiose, quae dixerit, referendo: ipsius oratio scripta extat, Originum quinto libro inclusa. Rhodiis responsum ita redditum est, ut nec hostes fierent nec socii permanerent. Philocrates et Astymedes principes legationis erant. partim cum Philocrate renuntiare Rhodum legationem placuit, partim cum Astymede Romae subsistere, <qui,> quae agerentur, scirent certioresque suos facerent. in praesentia deducere ante certam diem ex Lycia Cariaque iusserunt praefectos. haec Rhodum nuntiata, quae per se tristia fuissent, quia maioris mali leuatus erat timor, cum bellum timuissent, in gaudium uerterunt. itaque extemplo coronam uiginti milium aureorum decreuerunt; Theodotum, praefectum classis, in eam legationem miserunt. societatem ab Romanis ita uolebant peti, ut nullum de ea re scitum populi fieret aut litteris mandaretur, quod, nisi impetrarent, maior a repulsa ignominia esset. praefecti classis id unius erat ius, ut agere de ea re sine rogatione ulla perlata posset. nam ita per tot annos in amicitia fuerant, ut sociali foedere se cum Romanis non inligarent, ob nullam aliam causam, quam ne spem regibus absciderent auxilii sui, si quid opus esset, neu sibi ipsis fructus ex benignitate et fortuna eorum percipiendi. tunc utique petenda societas uidebatur, non quae tutiores eos ab aliis faceret — nec enim timebant quemquam praeter Romanos — , sed quae ipsis Romanis minus suspectos. sub idem fere tempus et Caunii desciuere ab iis, et Mylassenses Euromensium oppida occuparunt. non ita fracti animi ciuitatis erant, ut non sentirent, si Lycia et Caria ademptae ab Romanis forent, cetera aut se ipsa per defectionem liberarent aut a finitumis occuparentur, includi se insulae paruae et sterilis agri litoribus, quae nequaquam alere tantae urbis populum posset. missa igitur iuuentute propere et Caunios, quamquam Cibratarum ascuerant auxilia, coegerunt imperio parere; et Mylassenis Alabandensisque, qui Euromensium prouinciam ademptum et ipsi

coniuncto exercitu uenerant, circa Orthosiam acie uicerunt.

[26] Dum haec ibi, alia in Macedonia, alia Romae <in Asia> geruntur, interim <in> Illyrico L. Anicius rege Gentio, sicut ante dictum est, in potestatem redacto Scodrae, quae regia fuerat, praesidio inposito Gabinium praefecit, Rhizoni et Olcinio, urbibus opportunis, C. Licinium. praepositis his Illyrico, reliquo exercitu in Epirum est profectus. ubi prima Phanote ei dedita est omni multitudine cum infulis obuam effusa. hinc praesidio inposito in Molossidem transgressus, cuius omnibus oppidis praeter Passaronem et Tecmonem et Phylacen et Horreum receptis primum ad Passaronem ducit. Antinous et Theodotus principes eius ciuitatis erant, insignes et fauore Persei et odio aduersus Romanos, iidem uniuersae genti auctores desciscendi ab Romanis. hi conscientia priuatae noxae, quia ipsis nulla spes ueniae erat, ut communi ruina patriae opprimerentur, clauserunt portas, multitudinem, ut mortem seruituti praeponerent, hortantes. nemo aduersus praepotentis uiros hiscere audebat; tandem Theodotus quidam, nobilis et ipse adulescens, cum maior a Romanis metus timorem a principibus suis uicisset, ‘quae uos rabies’ inquit ‘agitat, qui duorum hominum noxae ciuitatem accessionem facitis? equidem pro patria qui letum oppetissent, saepe fando audiui: <qui> patriam pro se perire aecum censerent, hi primi inuenti sunt. quin aperimus portas et imperium accipimus, quod orbis terrarum accepit?’ haec dicentem cum multitudo sequeretur, Antinous et Theodotus in primam stationem hostium inruperunt atque ibi offerentes se ipsi uolneribus interfecti; urbs dedita est Romanis. simili pertinacia Cephalonis principis clausum Tecmonem ipso interfecto per deditionem recepit. nec Phylace nec Horreum oppugnationem tulerunt. pacata Epiro diuisisque in hiberna copiis per opportunas urbes, regressus ipse in Illyricum Scodrae, quo quinque legati ab Roma uenerant, euocatis ex tota prouincia principibus conuentum habuit. ibi pro tribunali pronuntiavit de sententia consilii senatum populumque Romanum Illyrios esse liberos iubere: praesidia ex omnibus oppidis, arcibus, castellis sese deducturum. non solum liberos, sed etiam immunes fore Issenses et Taulantios, Dassaretiorum Pirustas, Rhizonitas, Olciniatas, quod incolumi Gentio ad Romanos defecissent. Daorsis quoque immunitatem dare, quod relicto Carauantio cum armis ad

Romanos transissent. Scodrensibus et Dassarensibus et Selepitanis ceterisque Illyriis uetigal dimidium eius, quod regi pependissent, <inpositum>. inde in tres partes Illyricum diuisit. unam eam fecit, quae supra ~Dictam est, alteram Labeatas omnis, tertiam Agrauonitas et Rhizonitas et Olciniatas accolisque eorum. hac formula dicta [in] Illyrico ipse inde Epiri Passaronem in hiberna redit.

[27] Dum haec in Illyrico geruntur, Paulus ante aduentum decem legatorum Q. Maximum filium iam ab Roma regressum ad Aeginium et Agassas diripiendas mittit, Agassas, quod, cum Marcio consuli tradidissent urbem petita ultro societate Romana, defecerant rursus ad Persea; Aeginiensium nouum crimen erat: famae de uictoria Romanorum fidem non habentes in quosdam militum urbem ingressos hostiliter saeuierant. ad Aeniorum quoque urbem diripiendam L. Postumium misit, quod pertinacius quam finitumae ciuitates in armis fuerant. autumnus fere tempus erat; cuius temporis initio ad circumeundam Graeciam uisendaque, <quae> nobilitata fama maiora auribus accepta sunt, quam oculis noscuntur, uti statuit. praeposito castris C. Sulpicio Galo profectus cum haud magno comitatu, tegentibus latera Scipione filio et Athenaeo, Eumenis regis fratre, per Thessaliam Delphos petit, inclutum oraculum. ubi sacrificio Apollini facto inchoatas in uestibulo columnas, quibus imposituri statuas regis Persei fuerant, suis statu is uictor destinauit. Lebadiae quoque templum Iouis Trophonii adit: ibi cum uidisset os specus, per quod oraculo utentes sciscitatum deos descendunt, sacrificio Ioui Hercynnaeque facto, quorum ibi templum est, Chalcidem ad spectaculum Euripi Euboeaeque, tantae insulae, ponte continenti iunctae descendit. a Chalcide Aulidem traicit, trium milium spatio distantem, portum inclutum statione quondam mille nauium Agamemnoniae classis, Dianaeque templum, ubi nauibus cursum ad Troiam filia uictima aris admota rex ille regum <petiit. inde Oropum> Atticae uentum est, ubi pro deo uates anticus colitur templumque uetustum est fontibus riuisque circa amoenum; Athenas inde, plenas quidem et ipsas uetustae famae, multa tamen uisenda habentis, arcem, portus, muros Piraeum urbi iungentis, naualia, <monumenta> magnorum imperatorum, simulacra deorum hominumque, omni genere et materiae et artium insignia.

[28] Sacrificio Mineruae, praesidi arcis, in urbe facto profectus Corinthum altero die peruenit. urbs erat tunc praeclara ante excidium; arx quoque et Isthmus praebuere spectaculum: arx intra moenia in immanem altitudinem edita, scatens fontibus; Isthmus duo maria <ab> occasu et ortu solis finitima artis faucibu<s> dirimens. Sicyonem inde et Argos, nobiles urbes, adit; inde haud parem opibus Epidaurum, sed inclutam Aesculapi nobili templo, quod quinque milibus passuum ab urbe distans nunc uestigiis reuolsorum donorum, tum donis diues erat, quae remediorum salutarium aegri mercedem sacrauerant deo. inde Lacedaemonem adit, non operum magnificentia, sed disciplina institutisque memorabilem; unde per Megalopolim Olympiam escendit. ubi et alia quidem spectanda ei uisa: Iouem uelut praesentem intuens motus animo est. itaque haud secus, quam si in Capitolio immolaturus esset, sacrificium amplius solito apparari iussit. ita peragrata Graecia, ut nihil eorum, quae quisque Persei bello priuatim aut publice sensisset, inquireret, ne cuius metu sollicitaret animos sociorum, Demetriadem cum <comitatu> reuertit. in itinere sordidata turba Aetolorum occurrit; mirantique et percunctanti, quid esset, defertur quingentos quinquaginta principes ab Lycisco et Tisippo, circumssesso senatu per milites Romanos, missos <ab> A. Baebio, <praefecto> praesidii, interfectos, alios in exilium actos esse, bonaque eorum, qui interfecti essent, et exulum possideri. iussis, qui arguebantur, Amphipoli adesse ipse conuento Cn. Octauio Demetriade, postquam fama accidit traiecisse iam mare decem legatos, omnibus aliis omissis Apolloniam ad eos pergit. quo cum Perseus obuiam Amphipoli omni solutus custodia processisset — id diei iter est —, ipsum quidem benigne <ad>locutus est; ceterum postquam in castra ad Amphipolim uenit, grauiter increpuisse traditur C. Sulpicium, primum quod Persea tam procul a se uagari per prouinciam passus esset, deinde quod adeo indulsisset militibus, ut nudare tegulis muros urbis ad tegenda hibernacula sua pateretur; referrique tegulas et refici detecta, sicut fuerant, iussit. et Persea quidam cum maiore filio Philippo traditos A. Postumio in custodiam misit; filiam cum minore filio a Samothrace accitos Amphipolim omni liberali cultu habuit.

[29] Ipse, ubi dies uenit, quo adesse Amphipoli denos principes ciuitatum iusserat litterasque omnis, quae ubique depositae essent, et

pecuniam regiam conferri, cum decem legatis circumfusa omni
multitudine Macedonum in tribunali consedit. aduetis regio imperio
tamen noui in<perii> formam terribilem praebuit tribunal, summoto
aditus, praeco, accensus, insueta omnia oculis auribusque, quae uel
socios, nedum hostis uictos terrere possent. silentio per praeconem
facto Paulus Latine, quae senatui, quae sibi ex consilii sententia uisa
essent, pronuntiauit. ea Cn. Octavius praetor — nam et ipse aderat —
interpretata sermone Graeco referebat: omnium primum liberos esse
iubere Macedonas, habentis urbes easdem agrosque, utentes legibus
suis, annuos creantis magistratus; tributum dimidium eius, quod
pependissent regibus, pendere populo Romano. deinde in quattuor
regiones diuidi Macedoniam: unam fore et primam partem quod agri
inter Strymonem et Nessum sit amnem; accessurum huic parti trans
Nessum ad orientem uersum, qua Perseus tenuisset, uicos, castella,
oppida, praeter Aenum et Maroneam et Abdera; cis Strymonem
autem uergentia ad occasum, Bisalticam omnem cum Heraclea,
quam Sinticen appellant. secundam fore regionem, quam ab ortu
Strymo amplecteretur amnis, praeter Sinticen, Heracleam et Bisaltas,
ab occasuque Axius terminaret fluuius, additis Paeonibus, qui prope
Axium flumen ad regionem orientis colerent. tertia pars facta, quam
Axius ab oriente, Peneus amnis ab occasu cingunt; ad septentrionem
Bora mons obicitur; adiecta huic parti regio Paeoniae, qua ab occasu
praeter Axium amnem porrigitur; Edessa quoque et Beroea eodem
concesserunt. quarta regio trans Boram montem, una parte confinis
Illyrico, altera Epiro. capita regionum, ubi concilia fierent, primae
regionis Amphipolim, secundae Thessalonicen, tertiae Pellam,
quartae Pelagoniam fecit. eo concilia suae cuiusque regionis indici,
pecuniam conferri, ibi magistratus creari iussit. pronuntiauit deinde
neque conubium neque commercium agrorum aedificiorumque inter
se placere cuiquam extra fines regionis suae esse. metalla quoque
auri atque argenti non exerceri, [nec] ferri et aeris permitti. uestigal
exercentibus dimidium eius inpositum, quod pependissent regi. et
sale inuecto uti uetuit. Dardanis repetentibus Paeoniam, quod et sua
fuisset et continens esset finibus suis, omnibus dare libertatem
pronuntiauit, qui sub regno Persei fuissent. post non impetratam
Paeoniam salis commercium dedit; tertiae regioni imperauit, ut
Stobos Paeoniae deueherent, pretiumque statuit. naualem materiam

et ipsos caedere et alios pati uetuit. regionibus, quae adfines barbaris essent — excepta autem tertia omnes erant — , permisit, ut praesidia armata in finibus extremis haberent.

[30] Haec pronuntiata primo die conuentus uarie adfecerunt animos. libertas praeter spem data adrexit et leuatum annum uectigal; regionatim commercio interruptis ita uideri lacerata <Macedonia>, tamquam animali in artus alterum alterius indigentis distracto: adeo, quanta Macedonia esset, quam diuisui facilis, quam se ipsa quaeque contenta pars esset, Macedones quoque ignorabant. pars prima Bisaltas habet, fortissimos uiros — trans Nessum amnem incolunt et circa Strymonem — , et multas frugum proprietates et metalla et opportunitatem Amphipolis, quae obiecta claudit omnes ab oriente sole in Macedoniam aditus. secunda pars celeberrimas urbes Thessalonicen <et> Cassandream habet, ad hoc Pallenen, fertilem ac frugiferam terram; maritimas quoque opportunitates ei praebent portus ad Toronen ac montem Atho Aeneam<que> et Acanthum, alii <ad Thessaliam> insulamque Euboeam, alii ad Hellespontum opportune uersi. tertia regio nobilis urbes Edessam et Beroeam et Pellam habet et Uettiorum bellicosam gentem, incolas quoque permultos Gallos et Illyrios, inpigros cultores. quartam regionem Eordaei et Lyncestae et Pelagones incolunt; iuncta his Atintania et Tymphaeis et Elimiotis. frigida haec omnis duraque cultu et aspera plaga est; cultorum quoque ingenia terrae similia habet. ferociores eos et accolae barbari faciunt, nunc bello exercentes, nunc in pace miscentes ritus suos. diuisa itaque Macedonia partium usibus separatis, quanta uniuersa <esset>, ostendit.

[31] Macedoniae formula dicta cum leges quoque se daturum ostendisset, Aetoli deinde citati. in qua cognitione magis utra pars Romanis, utra regi fauisset quaesitum est, quam utra fecisset iniuriam aut acceperisset; noxa liberati interfectores; exilium pulsus aequae ratum fuit ac mors interfectis; A. Baebius unus est damnatus, quod milites Romanos praeuisset ad ministerium caedis. hic euentus Aetolorum causae in omnibus Graeciae gentibus populisque eorum, qui partis Romanorum fuerant, inflauit ad intolerabilem superbiam animos et obnoxios pedibus eorum subiecit, quos aliqua parte suspicio fauoris in regem contigerat. tria genera principum in ciuitatibus erant, duo, quae adulando aut Romanorum imperium aut

amicitiam regum sibi priuatim opes oppressis faciebant ciuitatibus; media una <pars> utrique generi aduersa libertatem leges<que> tuebatur. his <ut maior> apud suos caritas, ita minor ad externos gratia erat. secundis rebus elati Romanorum partis eius fautores solitum in magistratibus, soli in legionibus erant. hi cum frequentes et ex Peloponneso et ex Boeotia et ex aliis Graeciae conciliis adessent, impleuere aures decem legatorum: non eos tantum, qui se propalam per uanitatem iactassent tamquam hospites et amicos Persei, sed multo plures alios ex occulto fauisse regi, qui per speciem tuendae libertatis in conciliis aduersus Romanos omnia instruxissent, nec aliter eas mansuras in fide gentes, nisi fractis animis <aduersarum> partium aleretur confirmareturque auctoritas eorum, qui nihil praeter imperium Romanorum spectarent. ab his editis nominibus euocati litteris imperatoris ex Aetolia Acarnaniaque et Epiro et Boeotia, qui Romam ad causam dicendam sequerentur; in Achaiam ex decem legatorum numero profecti duo, C. Claudius et Cn. Domitius, ut ipsi edicto euocarent. id duabus de causis factum, una, quod fiducia plus animorumque esse Achaeis ad non parendum credebant et forsitan etiam in periculo fore Callicraten et ceteros criminum auctores delatoresque; altera, cur praesentes euocarent, causa erat, quod ex aliis gentibus principum litteras deprensas in commentariis regiis habebant, in Achaeis caecum erat crimen nullis eorum litteris inuentis. Aetolis dimissis Acarnanum citata gens. in his nihil nouatum, nisi quod Leucas exempta est Acarnanum concilio. quaerendo deinde latius, qui publice aut priuatim partium regis fuissent, in Asiam quoque cognitionem extendere et ad Antissam in Lesbo insula dirundam <ac> traducendos Methymnam Antissaeos Labeonem miserunt, quod Antenorem, regium praefectum, quo tempore cum lembis circa Lesbum esset uagatus, portu receptum commeatibus iuuissent. duo securi percussi uiri insignes, Andronicus, Andronici filius, Aetolus, quod patrem secutus arma contra populum Romanum tulisset, et Neo Thebanus, quo auctore societatem cum Perseo iunxerant.

[32] His rerum externarum cognitionibus interpositis Macedonum rursus aduocatum concilium; pronuntiatum, quod ad statum Macedoniae pertinebat, senatores, quos synhedros uocant, legendos esse, quorum consilio res publica administraretur. nomina deinde

sunt recitata principum Macedonum, quos cum liberis maioribus quam quindecim annos natis praecedere in Italiam placeret. id, prima specie saeuom, mox apparuit multitudini Macedonum pro libertate sua esse factum. nominati sunt enim regis amici purpuratique, duces exercituum, praefecti nauium aut praesidorum, seruire regi humiliter, aliis superbe imperare adsueti; praediuites alii, alii, quos fortuna non aequarent, his sumptibus pares; regius omnibus uictus uestitusque, nulli ciuilis animus, neque legum neque libertatis aequae patiens. omnes igitur, qui in aliquis ministeriis regiis, etiam qui in legationibus fuerant, iussi Macedonia excedere atque in Italiam ire: qui non paruisset imperio, mors denunciata. leges Macedoniae dedit cum tanta cura, ut non hostibus uictis, sed sociis bene meritis dare uideretur, et quas ne usus quidem longo tempore, qui unus est legum corrector, experiendo argueret. ab seriis rebus ludicrum, quod ex multo ante praeparato et in Asiae ciuitates et ad reges missis, qui denuntiarent, et, cum circumiret ipse Graeciae ciuitates, indixerat principibus, magno apparatu Amphipoli fecit. nam et artificum omnis generis, qui ludicram artem faciebant, ex toto orbe terrarum multitudo et athletarum et nobilium equorum conuenit et legationes cum uictimis et quidquid aliud deorum hominumque causa fieri magnis ludis in Graecia solet, ita factum est, ut non magnificentiam tantum, sed prudentiam in dandis spectaculis, ad quae rudes tum Romani erant, admirarentur. epulae quoque legationibus paratae et opulentia et cura eadem. uulgo dictum ipsius ferebant et conuiuium instruere et ludos parare eiusdem esse, qui uincere bello sciret.

[33] Edito ludicro [omnis generis] clupeisque aereis in naues inpositis cetera omnis generis arma cumulata <in> ingentem aceruum, precatus Martem, Mineruam Luamque matrem et ceteros deos, quibus spolia hostium dicare ius fasque est, ipse imperator face subdita succendit; deinde circumstantes tribuni militum pro se quisque ignes coniecerunt. notata est in illo conuentu Europae Asiaeque, undique partim ad gratulationem, partim ad spectaculum contracta multitudine, tantis naualibus terrestribusque exercitibus, ea copia rerum, ea uilitas annonae, ut et priuatis et ciuitatibus et gentibus dona data pleraque eius generis sint ab imperatore, non in usum modo praesentem, sed etiam quod domos aueherent. spectaculo fuit ei, quae uenerat, turbae non scaenicum magis ludicrum, non

certamina hominum aut curricula equorum, quam praeda Macedonica omnis, ut uiseretur, exposita, statuarum tabularumque <et> textilium et uasorum ex auro et argento et aere et ebore factorum ingenti cura in ea regia, ut non in praesentem modo speciem, qualibus referta regia Alexandreae erat, sed in perpetuum usum fierent. haec in classem inposita deuehenda Romam Cn. Octauio data. Paulus benigne legatis dimissis transgressus Strymonem mille passuum ab Amphipoli castra posuit; inde profectus Pellam quinto die peruenit. praetergressus urbem, ad Pellaeum, quod uocant, biduum moratus, P. Nasicam et Q. Maximum filium cum parte copiarum ad depopulandos Illyrios, qui Persea iuuerant bello, misit iussos ad Oricum sibi occurrere; ipse Epirum petens quintis decimis castris Passaronem peruenit.

[34] Haud procul inde Anici castra aberant. ad quem litteris missis, ne quid ad ea, quae fierent, moueretur; senatum praedam Epiri ciuitatium, quae ad Persea defecissent, exercitui dedisse suo, missis centurionibus in singulas urbes, qui se dicerent ad praesidia deducenda uenisse, ut liberi Epirotae sicut Macedones essent, denos principes ex singulis euocauit ciuitatibus; quibus cum denuntiasset, ut aurum atque argentum in publicum proferretur, per omnes ciuitates cohortes dimisit. ante in ulteriores quam in propiores profecti, ut uno die in omnes perueniretur. edita tribunis centurionibusque erant, quae agerentur. mane omne aurum argentumque conlatum; hora quarta signum ad diripiendas urbes datum est militibus; tantaque praeda fuit, ut in equitem quadringeni denarii, peditibus duceni diuiderentur, centum quinquaginta milia capitum humanorum abducerentur. muri deinde direptarum urbium diruti sunt; ea fuere oppida circa septuaginta. uendita praeda omnis, inde ea summa militi numerata est. Paulus ad mare Oricum descendit nequaquam, ut ratus erat, expletis militum animis, qui, tamquam nullum in Macedonia gessissent bellum, expertis regiae praedae esse indignabantur. Orici cum missas cum Scipione Nasica Maximoque filio copias iuuenisset, exercitu in naues inposito in Italiam traiecit. et post paucos dies Anicius conuentu reliquorum Epirotarum Acarnanumque acto iussisque in Italiam sequi principibus, quorum cognitionem causae <senatui> reseruauerat, et ipse nauibus expectatis, quibus usus Macedonicus exercitus erat, in Italiam traiecit.

Cum haec in Macedonia Epiroque gesta sunt, legati, qui cum Attalo ad finiendum bellum inter Gallos et regem Eumenem missi erant, in Asiam peruenerant. indutiis per hiemem factis et Galli domos abierant et rex in hiberna concesserat Pergamum grauique morbo aeger fuerat. uer primum eos domo exciuit iamque Synnada peruenerant et Eumenes ad Sardis undique exercitum contraxerat. ibi Romani cum et Solouettium, ducem Gallorum, ~Synnades adlocutus ettalus cum eis profectus, sed castra Gallorum intrare eum non placuit, ne animi ex disceptatione inritarentur. P. Licinius consularis <cum> regulo Gallorum est locutus rettulitque ferociorem eum deprecando factum, ut mirum uideri possit inter tam opulentos reges, Antiochum Ptolemaeumque, tantum legatorum Romanorum uerba ualuisset, ut extemplo pacem facerent, apud Gallos nullius momenti fuisse.

[35] Romam primum reges captiui, Perseus et Gentius, in custodiam cum liberis abducti, dein turba alia captiuorum, tum quibus Macedonum denuntiatum erat, ut Romam uenirent, principum<que> Graeciae; nam ii quoque non solum praesentes exciti erant, sed etiam, si qui apud reges esse dicebantur, litteris arcessiti sunt. Paulus ipse post dies paucos regia naue ingentis magnitudinis, quam sedecim uersus remorum agebant, ornata Macedonicis spoliis non insignium tantum armorum, sed etiam regionum textilium, aduerso Tiberi ad urbem est subuectus, completis ripis obuiam effusa multitudine. paucos post dies Anicius et Octauius classe sua aduecti. tribus iis omnibus decretus est ab senatu triumphus mandatumque Q. Cassio praetori, cum tribunis plebis ageret, ex auctoritate patrum rogationem ad plebem ferrent, ut iis, quo die urbem triumphantes inueherentur, imperium esset. intacta inuidia media sunt: ad summa ferme tendit. nec de Anici nec de Octaui triumpho dubitatum est; Paulum, cui ipsi quoque se comparare erubuissent, obtrectatio carpsit. antiqua disciplina milites habuerat; de praeda parcius, quam sperauerant ex tantis regiis opibus, dederat nihil relicturis, si auiditati indulgeretur, quod in aerarium deferret. totus Macedonicus exercitus imperatori ita * * * neglegenter adfuturus comitiis ferendae legis. sed eos Ser. Sulpicius Galba, qui tribunus militum secundae legionis in Macedonia fuerat, priuatim imperatori inimicus, prensando ipse et per suae legionis milites

sollicitando stimulauerat, ut frequentes ad suffragium adessent. imperiosum ducem et malignum antiquando rogationem, quae de triumpho eius ferretur, ulciscerentur. plebem urbanam secuturam esse militum iudicia. pecuniam illum dare non potuisse: militem honorem dare posse. ne speraret ibi fructum gratiae, ubi non meruisset.

[36] His incitatis cum in Capitolio rogationem eam Ti. Sempronius tribunus plebis ferret et priuatis <de> lege dicendi locus esset <et> ad suadendum, ut in re minime dubia, haud quisquam procederet, Ser. Galba repente processit et a tribunis postulauit, ut, quoniam hora iam octaua diei esset, nec satis temporis ad demonstrandum haberet, cur L. Aemilium non iuberent triumphare, in posterum diem differrent et mane eam rem agerent: integro sibi die ad causam eam orandam opus esse. cum tribuni dicere eo die, si quid uellet, iuberent, in noctem rem dicendo extraxit referendo admonendoque exacta acerbe munia militiae; plus laboris, plus periculi, quam desiderasset res, iniunctum; contra in praemiis, in honoribus omnia artata; militiamque, si talibus succedat ducibus, horridiorem asperiores<que> bellantibus, eandem uictoribus inopem atque inhonoratam futuram. Macedonas in meliore fortuna quam milites Romanos esse. si frequentes postero die ad legem antiquandam adessent, intellecturos potentis uiros non omnia in ducis, aliquid et in militum manu esse. his uocibus incitati postero die milites tanta frequentia Capitolium conpleuerunt, ut aditus nulli praeterea ad suffragium ferendum esset. intro uocatae primae tribus cum antiquarent, concursus in Capitolium principum ciuitatis factus est, indignum facinus esse clamitantium L. Paulum tanti belli uictorem despoliari triumpho: obnoxios imperatores tradi licentiae atque auaritiae militari. iam nunc nimis saepe per ambitionem peccari; quid, si domini milites imperatoribus imponantur? in Galbam pro se quisque probra ingerere. tandem hoc tumultu sedato M. Seruilius, qui consul et magister equitum fuerat, ut de integro eam <rem> agerent ab tribunis petere, dicendique sibi ad populum potestatem facerent. tribuni cum ad deliberandum secessissent, uicti auctoritatibus principum de integro agere coeperunt reuocatuosque se easdem tribus pronuntiarunt, si M. Seruilius aliique priuati, qui dicere uellent, dixissent.

[37] <Tum Seruilius:> ‘quantus imperator L. Aemilius fuerit,

Quirites, si ex alia re nulla aestimari posset, uel hoc satis erat, quod, cum tam seditiosos et leues milites, tam nobilem, tam temerarium, tam eloquentem ad instigandam multitudinem inimicum in castris haberet, nullam in exercitu seditionem habuit. eadem seueritas imperii, quam nunc oderunt, tum eos continuit. itaque antiqua disciplina habiti <neque dixerunt seditiose quicquam> neque fecerunt. Seruius quidem Galba, si in L. Paulo accusando tirocinium ponere et documentum eloquentiae dare uoluit, non triumphum impedire debuit, quem, si nihil aliud, senatus iustum esse iudicauerat, sed postero die quam triumphatum esset, priuatum eum <cum> uisurus esset, nomen deferret et legibus interrogaret; aut serius paulo, cum primum magistratum ipse cepisset, diem diceret inimico <et> eum ad populum accusaret. ita et pretium recte facti triumphum haberet L. Paulus pro egregie bello gesto et poenam, si quid et uetere gloria sua et noua indignum fecisset. sed uidelicet, cui <nullum> crimen, nullum probrum dicere poterat, eius obtrectare laudes uoluit. diem integrum hesterno die <ad> accusandum L. Paulum petit: quattuor horas, quantum supererat diei, dicendo absumpsit. quis umquam tam nocens reus fuit, cuius uitia uitae tot horis expromi non possent? quid interim obiecit, quod L. Paulus, si causam dicat, negatum uelit? duas mihi aliquis contiones parumper faciat, unam militum Macedonicorum, puram alteram et integrioris iudicii a fauore et odio, uniuersi populi Romani; apud contionem togatam et urbanam prius reus agatur. quid apud Quirites Romanos, Ser. Galba, diceres? illa enim tibi tota abscisa oratio esset “in statione seuerius et intentius stetisti; uigiliae acerbius et diligentius circumitae sunt; operis plus quam antea fecisti, cum ipse imperator ut exactor circumiret; eodem die et iter fecisti et in aciem ex itinere exi<sti; ne> uictorem quidem te adquiescere passus est; statim ad persequendos hostes duxit. cum te praeda partienda locupletem facere posset, pecuniam regiam translaturus in triumpho est et in aerarium laturus,” haec sicut ad militum animos stimulandos aliquem aculeum habent, qui parum licentiae, parum auaritiae suae inseruitum censent, ita apud populum Romanum nihil ualuissent, qui, ut uetera atque audita a parentibus suis non repetat, quae ambitione imperatorum clades acceptae sint, quae seueritate imperii uictoriae partae, proximo certe Punico bello, quid inter M. Minucium magistrum equitum et Q.

Fabium Maximum dictatorem interfuerit, meminit. itaque <apparuisset neque> accusatorem hiscere potuisse et superuacaneam defensionem Pauli fuisse. transeatur ad alteram contionem; nec Quirites uos, sed milites uideor appellaturus, si nomen hoc saltem ruborem incutere et uerecundiam aliquam imperatoris uiolandi adferre possit.’

[38] ‘Equidem ipse aliter adfectus animo sum, qui apud exercitum mihi loqui uidear, quam paulo ante eram, cum ad plebem urbanam spectabat oratio. quid autem dicitis, milites? aliquis est Romae, praeter Persea, qui triumphari de Macedonibus nolit: et eum non isdem manibus discerpitis, quibus Macedonas uicistis? uincere uos prohibuisset, si potuisset, qui triumphantis urbem inire prohibet. erratis, milites, si triumphum imperatoris tantum et non militum quoque et uniuersi populi Romani esse decus censetis. non unius in hoc Pauli * * *. multi etiam, qui ab senatu non inpetrarunt triumphum, in monte Albano triumpharunt; nemo L. Paulo magis eripere decus perfecti belli Macedonici potest quam C. Lutatio primi Punici belli, quam P. Cornelio secundi, * * * quam illi, qui triumphauerant; nec L. Paulum minorem aut maiorem imperatorem triumphus faciet — , militum magis in hoc uniuersi<que> populi Romani fama agitur, primum ne inuidiae et ingrati animi aduersus clarissimum quemque ciuem opinionem habeat et imitari in hoc populum Atheniensem lacerantem inuidia principes suos uideatur. satis peccatum in Camillo a maioribus uestris est, quem tamen ante receptam per eum a Gallis urbem uiolarunt; satis nuper <a> uobis in P. Africano. Literni domicilium et sedem fuisse domitoris Africae, Literni sepulcrum ostendi erubescamus. gloria sit par illis uiris L. Paulus, iniuria uestra <ne> exaequetur. haec igitur primum infamia deleatur, foeda apud alias gentes, damnosa apud nostros. quis enim aut Africani aut Pauli similis esse <in tam> ingrata et inimica bonis ciuitate uelit? si infamia nulla esset et de gloria tantum ageretur, qui tandem triumphus non communem nominis Romani gloriam habet? tot de Gallis triumphi, tot de Hispanis, tot de Poenis ipsorum tantum imperatorum an populi Romani dicuntur? quemadmodum non de Pyrrho modo nec de Hannibale, sed de Epirotis Carthaginensibusque [et Macedonibus] triumphi acti sunt, sic non M’. Curius tantum nec P. Cornelius, sed Romani triumpharunt. militum quidem propria est

causa, qui et ipsi laureati et quisque donis, quibus donati sunt, insignes Triumphum nomine cient<es> suasque et imperatoris laudes canentes per urbem incedunt. si quando non deportati ex prouincia milites ad triumphum sunt, fremunt; et tamen tum quoque se absentis, quod suis manibus parta uictoria sit, triumphare credunt. si quis uos interroget, milites, ad quam rem in Italiam deportati et non statim confecta prouincia dimissi sitis, quid Romam frequentes sub signis ueneritis, quid moremini hic et non diuersi domos quisque abeatis uestras, quid aliud respondeatis, quam uos triumphantis uideri uelle? uos certe uictores conspici uelle debebatis.

[39] Triumphatum nuper de Philippo, patre huius, et de Antiocho est; ambo regnabant, cum de iis triumphatum est. de Perseo capto, in urbem cum liberis adducto non triumphabitur? quodsi in curru scandentis Capitolium, auratos purpuratosque, ex inferiore loco L. Paulus in turba togatorum unus priuatus interroget “L. Anici, Cn. Octaui, utrum uos digniores triumpho esse an me censetis?” curru ei cessuri et prae pudore uidentur insignia ipsi sua tradituri. et uos Gentium quam Persea duci in triumpho mauoltis, Quirites, et de accessione potius belli quam de bello triumphari? et legiones ex Illyrico laureatae urbem inibunt et nauales socii: Macedonicae legiones suo abrogato triumphos alienos spectabunt? quid deinde tam opima praeda, tam opulentae uictoriae spoliis fiet? quonam abdentur illa tot milia armorum detracta corporibus hostium? an in Macedoniam remittentur? quo signa aurea, marmorea, eburnea, tabulae pictae, textilia, tantum argenti caelati, tantum auri, tanta pecunia regia? an noctu tamquam furtiua in aerarium deportabuntur? quid? illud spectaculum maximum, nobilissimus opulentissimus<que> rex captus, ubi uictori populo ostendetur? quos Syphax rex captus, accessio Punici belli, concursus fecerit, plerique meminimus. Perseus rex captus, Philippus et Alexander, filii regis, tanta nomina, subtrahentur ciuitatis oculis? ipsum L. Paulum, bis consulem, domitorem Graeciae, omnium oculi conspiciere urbem curru ingredientem auent; ad hoc fecimus consulem, ut bellum per quadriennium ingenti etiam pudore nostro tractum perficeret. cui sortito prouinciam, cui proficiscenti praesagientibus animis uictoriam triumphumque destinauimus, ei uictori triumphum negaturi <sumus? > et quidem non tantum <eum>, sed deos etiam suo honore

fraudaturi? dis quoque enim, non solum hominibus, debetur triumphus. maiores uestri omnium magnarum rerum et principia exorsi a dis sunt et finem statuerunt. consul proficiscens praetorue paludatis lictoribus in prouinciam et ad bellum uota in Capitolio nuncupat: uictor perpetrato <bello> eodem in Capitolium triumphans ad eosdem deos, quibus uota nuncupauit, merita dona portans redit. pars non minima triumphi est uictimae praecedentes, ut appareat dis grates agentem imperatorem ob rem publicam bene gestam redire. omnis illas uictimas, quas ~traducendo in triumpho uindicauit, ~alias alios dente mactati. quid? illae epulae senatus, quae nec priuato loco nec publico profano, sed in Capitolio eduntur, utrum hominum uoluptatis causa an deorum * * * hominumque auctore Seruio Galba turbaturi estis? L. Pauli triumpho portae claudentur? rex Macedonum Perseus cum liberis et turba alia captiuorum, spolia Macedonum, <in> circo Flaminio relinquentur? L. Paulus priuatus tamquam rure rediens a porta domum ibit? ~et tu, centurio, miles, quibus ab imperatore Paulo donatus decreuit potius quam Seruius Galba fabulentur audis et hoc dicere me potius quam illum audi. ille nihil praeterquam loqui, et <id> ipsum maledice ac maligne, didicit: ego ter et uiciens cum hoste ex prouocatione pugnaui; ex omnibus, cum quibus manum conserui, spolia rettuli; insigne corpus honestis cicatricibus, omnibus aduerso corpore exceptis, habeo.' nudasse deinde se dicitur et, quo quaeque bello uolnera accepta essent, rettulisse. quae dum ostentat, adapertis forte, quae uelanda erant, tumor inguinum proximis risum mouit. tum 'hoc quoque, quod ridetis', inquit 'in equo dies noctesque persedendo habeo, nec magis me eius quam cicatricum harum pudet paenitetque, quando numquam mihi impedimento ad rem publicam bene gerendam domi militiaeque fuit. ego hoc ferro saepe uexatum corpus uetus miles adulescentibus militibus ostendi: Galba nitens et integrum denudet. reuocate, si uidetur, tribuni, ad suffragium tribus; ego ad uos, milites, * * * *

[40] <Sum>mam omnis captiui auri argentique translati <sestertium> milliens ducenties fuisse Ualerius Antias tradit; quahaud dubie maior aliquanto summa ex numero plaustorum ponderibusque auri, argenti generatim ab ipso scriptis efficitur. alterum tantum aut in bellum proximum absumptum aut in fuga,

cum Samothracen peteret, dissipatum tradunt; eoque id mirabilius erat, quod tantum pecuniae intra triginta annos post bellum Philippi cum Romanis partim ex fructu metallorum, partim ex uestigalibus aliis coaceruatum fuerat. itaque admodum inops pecuniae Philippus, Perseus contra praediues bellare cum Romanis coepit. ipse postremo Paulus in curru, magnam cum dignitate alia corporis, tum senecta ipsa maiestatem prae se ferens; <post> currum inter alios inlustres uiros filii duo, <Q.> Maximus et P. Scipio; deinde equites turmatim et cohortes peditum suis quaeque ordinibus. pediti in singulos dati centeni <denarii>, duplex <centurioni, triplex> equiti. <alterum> tantum pediti daturum fuisse credunt et pro rata aliis, si aut in suffragio honori eius fauissent, aut benigne hac ipsa summa <pro>nuntiata <ac>clamassent. sed non Perseus tantum per illos dies documentum humanorum casuum fuit, in catenis ante currum uictoris ducis per urbem hostium ductus, sed etiam uictor Paulus, auro purpuraque fulgens. nam duobus e filiis, quos duobus datis in adoptionem solos nominis, sacrorum familiaeque heredes retinuerat domi, minor, <duodecim> ferme annos natus, quinque diebus ante triumphum, maior, quattuordecim annorum, triduo post triumphum decessit; quos praetextatos curru uehi cum patre, sibi ipsos similis destinantis triumphos, oportuerat. paucis post diebus data a M. Antonio tribuno plebis contione, cum de suis rebus gestis more ceterorum imperatorum edissereret, memorabilis eius oratio et digna Romano principe fuit.

[41] 'Quamquam, et qua felicitate rem publicam administrauerim, et <quae> duo fulmina domum meam per hos dies perculerint, non ignorare uos, Quirites, arbitror, cum spectaculo uobis nunc triumphus meus, nunc funera liberorum meorum fuerint, tamen paucis, quaeso, sinatis me cum publica felicitate conparare eo, quo debeo, animo priuatam meam fortunam. profectus ex Italia classem a Brundisio sole orto solui; nona diei hora cum omnibus meis nauibus Corcyram tenui. inde quinto die Delphis Apollini pro me exercitibusque et classibus uestris sacrificauit. a Delphis quinto die in castra perueni: ubi exercitu accepto, mutatis quibusdam, quae magna impedimenta uictoriae erant, progressus, quia inexpugnabilia <castra> hostium erant neque cogi pugnare poterat rex, inter praesidia eius saltum ad Petram euasi et ad Pydnam regem acie uici; Macedoniam in

potestatem populi Romani redege et, quod bellum per quadriennium tres ante me consules ita gesserunt, ut semper successoribus traderent grauius, id ego quindecim diebus perfeci. aliarum deinde secundarum rerum uelut prouentus secutus: ciuitates omnes Macedoniae se dediderunt, gaza regia in potestatem uenit, rex ipse tradentibus prope ipsis dis in templo Samothracum cum liberis est captus. mihi quoque ipsi nimia iam fortuna uideri eoque suspecta esse. maris pericula timere coepi in tanta pecunia regia in Italiam traicienda et uictore exercitu transportando. postquam omnia secundo nauium cursu in Italiam peruenerunt neque erat, quod ultra precarer, illud optaui, ut, cum ex summo retro uolui fortuna consuisset, mutationem eius domus mea potius quam res publica sentiret. itaque defunctam esse fortunam publicam mea tam insigni calamitate spero, quod triumphus meus, uelut ad ludibrium casuum humanorum, duobus funeribus liberorum meorum est interpositus. et cum ego et Perseus nunc nobilia maxime sortis mortalium exempla spectemur, illi, qui ante se captiuos <captiuus> ipse duci liberos uidit, incolumes tamen eos habet: ego, qui de illo triumphauis, ab alterius funere filii curram <escendi, alterum rediens> ex Capitolio prope iam expirantem <in>ueni; neque ex tanta stirpe liberum superest, qui L. Aemili Pauli nomen ferat. duos enim tamquam ex magna progenie liberorum in adoptionem datos Cornelia et Fabia gens habent: Paulus in domo praeter senem nemo superest. sed hanc cladem domus meae uestra felicitas et secunda fortuna publica consolatur.’

[42] Haec tanto dicta animo magis confudere audientium animos, quam si miserabiliter orbitatem suam deflendo locutus esset.

Cn. Octavius kalendis Decembribus de rege Perseo naualem triumphum egit. is triumphus sine captiuis fuit, sine spoliis. dedit sociis naualibus in singulos denarios septuagenos quinos, gubernatoribus, qui in nauibus fuerant, duplex, magistris nauium quadruplex. senatus deinde habitus est. patres censuerunt, ut Q. Cassius Persea regem cum Alexandro filio Albam in custodiam duceret; comites, pecuniam, argentum, instrumentum, quod haberet, nihil <detrahens habere sineret; Bithys, filius Cotyis,> regis Thracum, <cum> obsidibus in custodiam Carseolos est missus. ceteros captiuos, qui in triumpho ducti erant, in carcerem condi placuit. paucos post dies, quam haec <sunt> acta, legati ab Cotye,

rege Thracum, uenerunt pecuniam ad redimendum filium aliosque obsides adportantes. eis in senatum introductis et id ipsum argumenti praetendentibus orationi, non sua uoluntate Cotyn bello iuuisse Persea, quod obsides dare coactus esset, orantibusque, ut eos pretio, quantum ipsi statuissent patres, redimi paterentur, responsum ex auctoritate senatus est, populum Romanum meminisse amicitiae, quae cum Cotye maioribusque eius et gente Thracum fuisset. obsides datos crimen, non criminis defensionem esse, cum Thracum genti ne quietus quidem Perseus, nedum bello Romano occupatus timendus fuerit. ceterum, etsi Cotys Persei gratiam praetulisset amicitiae populi Romani, magis, quid se dignum esset, quam quid merito eius fieri posset, aestimaturum, filium atque obsides ei remissurum. beneficia gratuita esse populi Romani; pretium eorum malle relinquere in accipientium animis quam praesens exigere. legati tres nominati, T. Quinctius Flaminius, C. Licinius Nerua, M. Caninius Rebilus, qui obsides in Thraciam reducerent; et Thracibus munera data in singulos binum milium aeris. Bithys cum ceteris obsidibus a Carseolis accersitus ad patrem cum legatis missus. naues regiae captae de Macedonibus inuisitatae ante magnitudinis in campo Martio subductae sunt.

[43] Haerente adhuc non in animis modo, sed paene in oculis memoria Macedonici triumphi L. Anicius Quirinalibus triumphauit de rege Gentio Illyriisque. similia omnia magis uisa hominibus quam paria: minor ipse imperator, et nobilitate Anicius cum Aemilio et iure imperii praetor cum consule conlatus; non Gentius Perseo, non Illyrii Macedonibus, non spolia spoliis, non pecunia pecuniae, non dona donis comparari poterant. itaque sicut praeefulgebat huic triumphus recens, ita apparebat ipsum per se intuentibus nequaquam esse contemnendum. perdomuerat intra paucos dies terra marique ferocem, locis munimentisque fretam gentem Illyriorum; regem regiaeque omnes stirpis ceperat. transtulit in triumpho multa militaria signa spoliaque alia et supellectilem regiam, auri pondo uiginti et septem, argenti decem et nouem pondo, denarium decem tria milia et centum uiginti milia Illyrici argenti. ante currum ducti Gentius rex cum coniuge et liberis et Carauantius, frater regis, et aliquot nobiles Illyrii. de praeda militibus in singulos quadragenos quinos denarios, duplex centurioni, triplex equiti, sociis nominis Latini quantum

ciuibus, et sociis naualibus dedit quantum militibus. laetior hunc triumphum est secutus miles, multisque dux ipse carminibus celebratus. sestertium ducentiens ex ea praeda redactum esse auctor est Antias, praeter aurum argentumque, quod in aerarium sit latum; quod quia unde redigi potuerit non apparebat, auctorem pro re posui. rex Gentius cum liberis et coniuge et fratre Spoletium in custodiam ex senatus consulto ductus, ceteri captiui Romae in carcerem coniecti; recusantibusque custodiam Spoletinis Iguuium reges traducti. relicum ex Illyrico praedae ducenti uiginti lembi erant; de Gentio rege captos eos Corcyraeis et Apolloniatis et Dyrrhachinis Q. Cassius ex senatus consulto tribuit.

[44] Consules eo anno agro tantum Ligurum populato, cum hostes exercitus numquam eduxissent, nulla re memorabili gesta Romam ad magistratus subrogandos redierunt et primo comitiali die consules crearunt M. Claudium Marcellum, C. Sulpicium Gallum, deinde praetores postero die L. Iulium, L. Apuleium Saturninum, A. Licinium Neruam, P. Rutilium Caluum, P. Quinctilium Uarum, M. Fonteium. his praetoribus duae urbanae prouinciae sunt decretae, duae Hispaniae, Sicilia ac Sardinia.

Intercalatum eo anno; postridie Terminalia <kal.> intercalariae fuerunt. augur eo anno mortuus est C. Claudius; in eius locum augures legerunt T. Quinctium Flamininum. et flamen Quirinalis mortuus Q. Fabius Pictor.

Eo anno rex Prusia uenit Romam cum filio Nicomede. is magno comitatu urbem ingressus ad forum a porta tribunalque <Q.> Cassi praetoris perrexit concursuque undique facto deos, qui urbem Romam incolerent, senatumque et populum Romanum salutatum se dixit uenisse et gratulatum, quod Persea Gentiumque reges uicissent, Macedonibusque et Illyriis in dicionem redactis auxissent imperium. cum praetor senatum ei, si uellet, eo die daturum dixisset, biduum petit, quo templa deum urbemque et hospites amicosque uiseret. datus, qui circumduceret eum, <L.> Cornelius Scipio quaestor, qui et Capuam ei obuiam missus fuerat; et aedes, quae ipsum comitesque eius benigne reciperent, conductae. tertio post die senatum adit; gratulatus uictoriam est; merita sua in eo bello commemorauit; petiit, ut uotum sibi soluere, Romae in Capitolio decem maiores hostias et Praeneste unam Fortunae, liceret — ea uota pro uictoria populi

Romani esse — , et ut societas secum renouaretur agerque sibi de rege Antiocho captus, quem nulli datum <a> populo Romano Galli possiderent, daretur. filium postremo Nicomedem senatui commendauit. omnium, qui in Macedonia imperatores fuerant, fauore est adiutus. itaque cetera, quae petebat, concessa; de agro responsum est legatos ad rem inspiciendam missuros; <si> is ager populi Romani fuisset nec cuiquam datus esset, dignissimum eo dono Prusiam habituros esse: si autem Antiochi non fuisse et eo ne populi quidem Romani factum appareret aut datum Gallis esse, ignoscere Prusiam debere, si ex nullius iniuria quidquam ei datum uellet populus Romanus. ne cui detur quidem, gratum esse donum posse, quod eum, qui det, ubi uelit, ablaturum esse sciat. filii Nicomedis commendationem accipere. quanta cura regum amicorum liberos tueatur populus Romanus, documento Ptolemaeum, Aegypti regem, esse. cum hoc responso Prusias est dimissus. munera ei ex * * sestertiis iussa dari et uasorum argenteorum pondo quinquaginta. et filio regis Nicomedi ex ea summa munera dari censuerunt, ex qua Masgabae, filio regis Masinissae, data essent; et ut uictimae aliaque, quae ad sacrificium pertinerent, seu Romae seu Praeneste immolare uellet, regi ex publico sicut magistratibus Romanis praeberentur; et ut ex classe, quae Brundisi esset, naues longae uiginti adsignarentur, quibus uteretur; donec ad classem dono datam ei rex peruenisset, L. Cornelius Scipio ne ab eo abscederet sumptumque ipsi et comitibus praeberet, donec nauem conscendisset. mire laetum ea benignitate in se populi Romani regem fuisse ferunt; munera sibi ipsi emi non sisse, filium iussisse donum populi Romani accipere. haec de Prusia nostri scriptores. Polybius eum regem indignum maiestate nominis tanti tradit; pilleatum, capite raso, obuiam <ire> legatis solitum libertumque se populi Romani ferre: ideo insignia ordinis eius gerere; Romae quoque, cum ueniret in curiam, summississe se et osculo limen curiae contigisse et deos seruatores suos senatum appellasse aliamque orationem non tam honorificam audientibus quam sibi deformem habuisse. moratus circa urbem triginta haud amplius dies in regnum est profectus, actumque in Asia bellum inter Eumenen et Gallos in . . . it.

PERIOCHAE

[A.] Adventus Aeneae in Italiam et res gestae. Ascani regnum Albae et deinceps Silviorum. Numitoris filia a Marte compressa nati Romulus et Remus. Amulius obtruncatus. Urbs a Romulo condita. Senatus lectus. Cum Sabinis bellatum. Spolia opima Feretrio Iovi lata. In curias populus divisus. Fidenates, Veientes victi. Romulus consecratus.

Numa Pompilius ritus sacrorum tradidit. Porta Iani clausa.

Tullus Hostilius Albanos diripuit. Trigeminorum pugna. Metti Fufeti supplicium. Tullus fulmine consumptus.

Ancus Marcius Latinos devicit, Ostiam condidit.

Tarquinius Priscus Latinos superavit, circum fecit, finitimos devicit, muros et cloacas fecit.

Servio Tullio caput arsit. Servius Tullius Veientes devicit et populum in classes divisit, aedem Dianae dedicavit.

Tarquinius Superbus occiso Tullio regnum invasit. Tulliae scelus in patrem. Turnus Herdonius per Tarquinium occisus. Bellum cum Vulscis. Fraude Sex. Tarquini Gabi direpti. Capitolium inchoatum. Termonis et Iuventae arae moveri non potuerunt. Lucretia se occidit. Superbi expulsio. Regnatum est annis CCLV

[B.] Latinis victis montem Aventinum adsignavit, fines protulit, Hostiam coloniam deduxit, caerimonias a Numa institutas renovavit.

Hic temptandae scientiae Atti Navi auguris causa fertur consuluisse eum, an id de quo cogitaret effici posset; quod cum ille fieri posse dixisset, iussisse eum novacula cotem praecidere, idque ab Atto protinus factum.

[Regnavit annis XXIII. Eo regnante Lucumo, Demarati Corinthi filius, a Tarquinis, Etrusca civitate, Romam venit et in amicitiam Anci receptus Tarquini Prisci nomen ferre coepit et post mortem Anci regnum excepit. Centum in patres allegit, Latinos subegit, ludos in circo edidit, equitum centurias ampliavit, urbem muro circumdedit, cloacas fecit.] Occisus est ab Anci filiis, cum regnasset annis XXXVIII.

Successit ei Servius Tullius, natus ex captiva nobili Corniculana,

cui puero athuc in cunis posito caput arsisse traditum erat. Is census primum egit, lustrum condidit, quo censa LXXX milia esse dicuntur, pomerium protulit, colles urbi adiecit Quirinalem, Viminalem, Aesquilinum, templum Dianae cum Latinis in Aventino fecit. Interfectus est a Lucio Tarquinio, Prisci filio, consilio filiae suae Tulliae, cum regnasset annis XLIII.

Post hunc L. Tarquinius Superbus neque patrum neque populi iussu regnum invasit. Is armatos circa se in custodiam sui habuit. Bellum cum Vulscis gessit et ex spoliis eorum templum in Capitolio Iovi fecit. Gabios dolo in potestatem suam redegit. Huius filiis Delphos profectis et consulentibus quis eorum Romae regnaturus esset, dictum est eum regnaturum qui primum matrem osculatus esset. Quod responsum cum ipsi aliter interpretarentur, Iunius Brutus, qui cum his profectus erat, prolapsus se simulavit et terram osculatus est; idque factum eius eventus conprobavit. Nam cum inpotenter se gerendo Tarquinius Superbus omnes in odium sui adduxisset, ad ultimum propter expugnatam nocturna vi a Sexto filio eius Lucretiae pudicitiam, quae ad se vocato patre Tricipitino et viro Collatino obtestata ne inulta mora eius esset cultro se interfecit, Bruti opera maxime expulsus est, cum regnasset annos XXV. Tum consules primi creati sunt L. Iunius Brutus L. Tarquinius Collatinus.

Brutus iureiurando populum adstrinxit neminem Romae regnare passuros. Tarquinium Collatinum collegam suum propter adfinitatem Tarquiniolorum suspectum coegit consulatu se abdicare et civitate cedere. Bona regum diripi iussit, agrum Marti consecravit, qui campus Martius nominatus est. Adulescentes nobiles, in quibus suos quoque et fratris filios, quia coniuraverant de recipiendis regibus, securi percussit. Servo indici, cui Vindicio nomen fuit, libertatem dedit; ei cuius nomine vindicta appellata.

Cum adversus reges, qui contractis Veientum et Tarquiniensium copiis bellum intulerant, exercitum duxisset, in acie cum Arrunte filio Superbi commortuus est; eumque matronae anno luxerunt.

P. Valerius consul legem de provocatione ad populum tulit. Capitolium dedicatum est.

Porsenna, Clusinatorum rex, bello pro Tarquinis suscepto cum ad Ianiculum venisset, ne Tiberim transiret virtute Coclitis Horati

prohibitus est, qui, dum alii pontem Sublicium rescindunt, solus Etruscos sustinuit et ponte rupto armatus in flumen se misit et ad suos transnavit. Accessit alterum virtutis exemplum in Mucio. Qui cum ad feriendum Porsennam castra hostium intrasset, occiso scriba, quem regem esse existimaverat, comprehensus inpositam manum altaribus, in quibus sacrificatum erat, exuri passus est dixitque tales CCC esse. Quorum admiratione coactus Porsenna pacis condiciones ferre bellum omisit acceptis obsidibus. Ex quibus virgo una Cloelia deceptis custodibus per Tiberim ad suos transnavit et cum reddita esset, a Porsenna honorifice remissa equestri statua donata est.

Adversus Tarquinium Superbum cum Latinorum exercitu bellum inferentem Aulus Postumius dictator prospere pugnavit.

Appius Claudius ex Sabinis Romam transfugit. Ob hoc Claudia tribus adiecta est numerusque tribuum ampliatus est, ut essent XXI.

Plebs cum propter nexos ob aes alienum in Sacrum montem secessisset, consilio Meneni Agrippae a seditione revocata eat. Idem Agrippa cum decessisset, propter paupertatem publico impendio elatus est. Tribuni plebis quinque creati sunt.

Oppidum Vulscorum Corioli captum est virtute et opera Cn. Marci, qui ob hoc Coriolanus vocatus est.

T. Latinius, vir de plebe, cum in visu admonitus ut de quibusdam religionibus ad senatum perferret id neglexisset, amisso filio pedibus debilis factus, postquam delatus ad senatum lectica eadem illa indicaverat, usu pedum recepto domum reversus est.

Cum Cn. Marcius Coriolanus, qui in exilium erat pulsus, dux Vulacorum factus exercitum hostium urbi admovisset, et missi ad eum primum legati, postea sacerdotes frustra deprecati essent ne bellum patriae inferret, Veturia mater et Volumnia uxor impetraverunt ab eo, ut recederet.

Lex agraria primum lata est.

Spurius Cossius consularis regni crimine damnatus est necatusque.

Opillia virgo Vestalis ob incestum viva defossa est.

Cum vicini Veientes incommodi magis quam graves essent, familia Fabiorum id bellum gerendum depoposcit misitque in id trecentos et sex armatos, qui ad Cremeram praeter unum ab hostibus caesi sunt.

Appius Claudius cos. cum adversus Vulscos contumacia exercitus

male pugnatum esset, decimum quemque militum fuste percussit.

Res praeterea adversus Vulscos et Hernicos et Veientes et seditiones inter patres plebemque continet.

Seditiones de agrariis legibus fuere. Capitolium ab exulibus et servis occupatum caesis his receptum est.

Census bis actus est. Priore lustro censa sunt civium capita +VIII milia DCCXIII+ praeter orbos orbasque, sequenti CXVII milia CCXVIII.

Cum adversus Aequos male gesta res esset, L. Quintius Cincinnatus dictator factus, cum rure intentus operi rustico esset, ad id bellum gerendum arcessitus est. Is victos hostes sub iugum misit.

Tribunorum plebis numerus ampliatus est, ut essent X, tricesimo sexto anno [a] primis tribunis plebis.

Petitis per legatos et adlatis Atticis legibus ad constituendas eas proponendasque X viri pro consulibus sine ullis aliis magistratibus creati altero et trecentesimo anno quam Roma condita erat, et ut a regibus ad consules, ita a consulibus ad X viros imperium translatum. Hi X tabulis legum positis cum modeste se in eo honore gessissent et ob id in alterum quoque annum eundem esse magistratum placuisset, duabus tabulis ad X adiectis cum complura inpotenter fecissent, magistratum noluerunt deponere et in tertium annum retinuerunt, donec invisio eorum imperio finem adtulit libido Appi Claudii. Qui cum in amorem Virginiae virginis incidisset, summisso, qui eam in servitutem peteret, necessitatem patri eius Virginio inposuit. Rapto ex taberna proxima cultro filiam occidit, cum aliter effici non posset ne in potestatem stuprum inlaturi veniret. Hoc tam magnae iniuriae exemplo plebs concitata montem Aventinum occupavit coegitque X viros abdicare se magistratu. Ex quibus Appius, qui praecipuam poenam meruerat, in carcerem coniectus est; ceteri in exilium acti.

Res praeterea contra Sabinos et Vulscos prospere gestas continet et parum honestum populi Romani indicium, qui iudex inter Ardeates et Aricinos sumptus agrum de quo ambigebatur sibi adiudicavit.

Lex de conubio patrum et plebis a tribunis contentione magna patribus repugnantibus perlata est.

Tribuni * * * plebis.

Aliquot annos res populi R. domi militiaeque per hoc genus magistratus administratae sunt. Item censores tunc primum creati sunt.

Ager Ardeatibus populi iudicio ablati missis in eum colonis restitutus est.

Cum fame populus R. laboraret, Sp. Maelius eques R. frumentum populo sua impensa largitus est et ob hoc factum conciliata sibi plebe regnum adfectans a C. Servilio Ahala magistro equitum iussu Quinti Cincinnati dictatoris occisus est; L. Minucius index bove aurata donatus est.

Legatis Romanorum a Fidenatibus occisis, quoniam ob rem p. morte occubuerant, statuae in rostris positae sunt.

Cossus Cornelius tribunus militum occiso Tolumnio, Veientum rege, opima spolia secunda rettulit.

Mam. Aemilius dictator censurae honorem qui antea per quinquennium gerebatur, anni et sex mensum spatio finit; ob eam rem a censoribus notatus est.

Fidenae in potestatem redactae eoque coloni missi sunt; quibus occisis Fidenates cum defecissent, ab Mam. Aemilio dictatore victi sunt et Fidenae captae.

Coniuratio servorum oppressa est.

Postumius tribunus militum propter crudelitatem ab exercitu occisus est.

Stipendium ex aerario tum primum militibus datum est.

Res praeterea gestas adversus Vulscos at Fidenates et Faliscos continet.

In obsidione Veiorum tabernacula militibus facta sunt. Ea res cum esset noua, indignationem tribunorum plebis mouit querentium non dari plebi, nec per hiemem, militiae requiem.

Equites tum primum equis suis mereri coeperunt.

Cum inundatio ex lacu Albano facta esset, uates qui eam rem interpretaretur ex hostibus captus est.

Furius Camillus dictator X annis obsessos Veios cepit, simulacrum Iunonis Romam transtulit, decimam praedae Delphos Apollini misit. Idem tribunus militum cum Faliscos obsideret, proditos hostium filios parentibus remisit statimque deditione facta

Faliscorum uictoriam iustitia consecutus est. Cum alter ex censoribus C. Iulius decessisset, in locum eius M. Cornelius suffectus est. Nec id postea factum est, quoniam eo lustro a Gallis Roma capta est.

Furius Camillus, cum dies ei ab L. Apuleio tribuno pl. dicta esset, in exilium abiit.

Cum Galli Senones Clusium obsiderent et legati a senatu missi ad componendam inter eos et Clusinos pacem pugnantes contra Gallos starent in acie Clusinorum, hoc facto eorum concitati Senones urbem infesto exercitu petierunt fusisque ad Aliam Romanis cepere urbem praeter Capitolium, quo se iuuentus contulerat ; maiores natu cum insignibus honorum, quos quisque gesserat, in uestibulis aedium sedentes occiderunt. Et cum per auersam partem Capitoli iam in summum euasissent, proditi clangore anserum M. Manli praecipue opera deiecti sunt. Coactis deinde propter famem Romanis descendere, ut M pondo auri darent et hoc pretio finem obsidionis emerent, Furius Camillus, dictator absens creatus, inter ipsum conloquium, quo de pacis condicionibus agebatur, cum exercitu uenit et Gallos post sextum mensem urbe expulit ceciditque.

Dictum est ad Veios migrandum esse propter incensam et dirutam urbem, quod consilium Camillo auctore discussum est. Mouit populum uocis quoque omen ex centurione audita, qui cum in forum uenisset, manipularibus suis dixerat : “Sta, miles, hic optime manebimus !”.

Aedis Ioui Capitolino facta est, quod ante urbem captam uox audita erat aduentare Gallos.

Res aduersus Vulscos et Aequos et Praenestinos prospere gestas continet.

Quattuor tribus adiectae sunt, Stellatina, Tromentina, Sabatina, Arniensis. M. Manlius, qui Capitolium a Gallis defenderat, cum obstrictos aere alieno liberaret, nexos exsolueret, crimine adfectati regni damnatus de Saxo deiectus est. In cuius notam S. C. factum est, ne cui de Manlia gente Marco nomen esset.

C. Licinius et L. Sextius tribuni pl. legem promulgauerunt, ut consules ex plebe fierent, qui ex patribus creabantur, eamque cum magna contentione repugnantibus patribus, cum idem tribuni pl. per quinquennium soli magistratus fuissent, pertulerunt ; et primus ex

plebe consul L. Sextius creatus est.

Lata est et altera lex, ne cui plus quingentis iugeribus agri liceret possidere.

Duo noui magistratus adiecti sunt, praetura et curulis aedilitas. Pestilentia ciuitas laborauit eamque insignem fecit mors Furi Camilli. Cuius remedium et finis cum per nouas religiones quaeretur, ludi scaenici tunc primum facti sunt.

Cum dies L. Manlio dicta esset a M. Pomponio tribuno pl. propter dilectum acerbe actum et T. Manlium filium rus relegatum sine ullo crimine, adulescens ipse, cuius relegatio patri obieiebatur, uenit in cubiculum tribuni strictoque gladio coegit eum in uerba sua iurare se non perseueraturum in accusatione.

Tunc omnia pretiosa missa sunt in praealtam uoraginem urbis Romanae. In eam Curtius armatus sedens equo praecipitauit ; et expleta est. T. Manlius adulescens, qui patrem a tribunicia uexatione uindicauerat, contra Gallum prouocantem aliquem ex militibus Romanis in singulare certamen descendit eique occiso torquem aureum detraxit, quem ipse postea tulit, et ex eo Torquatus uocatus est.

Duae tribus adiectae, Pomptina et Publilia. Licinius Stolo lege lata damnatus est, quod plus quingentis iugeribus agri possideret. M. Valerius tribunus militum Gallum, a quo prouocatus erat, insidente galeae coruo et unguibus rostroque hostem infestante occidit et ex eo Corui nomen accepit, consulque proximo anno, cum annos XXIII haberet, ob uirtutem creatus est.

Amicitia cum Carthaginiensibus iuncta est.

Campani cum a Samnitibus bello urgerentur, auxilio aduersus eos a senatu petito, cum id non impetrarent, urbem et agros populo R. dederunt. Ob quam causam ea, quae populi R. facta essent, defendi bello aduersus Samnites placuit. Cum ab Aulo Cornelio cos. exercitus in locum iniquum deductus in magno discrimine esset, P. Deci Muris tribuni militum opera seruatus est. Qui occupato colle super id iugum, in quo Samnites consederant, occasionem consuli in aequiorem locum euadendi dedit ; ipse ab hostibus circumsessus erupit. Cum milites Romani, qui Capuae in praesidio relictis erant, de occupanda ea urbe conspirassent et detecto consilio metu supplicii a

populo R. defecissent, per M. Valerium Coruum dictatorem, qui consilio suo eos a furore reuocauerat, patriae restituti sunt.

Res praeterea contra Hernicos et Gallos et Tiburtes et Priuernates et Tarquinienses et Samnites et Vulscos prospere gestas continet.

Latini cum Campania defecere et missis legatis ad senatum condicionem tulerunt ut si pacem habere vellent alterum ex Latinis consulem facerent. Qua legatione perlata praetor eorum Annius de Capitolio ita lapsus est ut exanimaretur.

T. Manlius consul filium, quod contra edictum eius adversus Latinos pugnaverat, quamvis prospere pugnasset, securi percussit. Laborantibus in acie Romanis P. Decius, tunc consul cum Manlio, devovit se pro exercitu, et concitato equo cum in medios hostes se intulisset, interfectus morte sua Romanis victoriam restituit. Latini in deditionem venerunt. T. Manlio in urbem reverso nemo ex iuventute obviam processit.

Minucia virgo Vestalis incesti damnata est.

Ausonibus victis et oppido ex is capto Cales item Fregellae coloniae deductae sunt.

Veneficium complurium matronarum deprehensum est, ex quibus plurimae statim epotis medicaminibus perierunt. Lex de veneficio tunc primum constituta est.

Privernatibus, cum bellassent, victis civitas data est. Neapolitani bello et obsidione victi in deditionem venerunt. Q. Publilio, qui eos obsederat, primo et imperium prolatum est et pro cos. triumphus decretus.

Plebs nexu liberata est propter L. Papiri creditoris libidinem, qui C. Publilio debitori suo stuprum inferre voluerat.

Cum L. Papirius Cursor dictator reversus in urbem ab exercitu esset propter auspicia repetenda, Q. Fabius magister equitum, occasione bene gerendae rei invitatus, contra edictum eius prospere adversus Samnites pugnavit. Ob eam causam cum dictator de magistro equitum supplicium sumpturus videretur, Fabius Romam profugit, et cum parum causa proficeret, populi precibus donatus est.

Res praeterea contra Samnites prospere gestas continet.

T. Veturius Spurius Postumius coss. apud furcas Caudinas

deducto in locum artum exercitu, cum spes nulla esset evadendi, foedere cum Samnitibus facto et sescentis equitibus Romanis obsidibus datis ita exercitum abduxerunt ut omnes sub iugum mitterentur; idemque auctore Spurio Postumio cos. qui in senatu suaserat ut eorum deditione quorum culpa tam deforme foedus ictum erat, publica fides liberaretur, cum duobus trib. pl. et omnibus qui foedus sponponderant dediti Samnitibus non sunt recepti. Nec multo post fusis a Papirio Cursore Samnitibus et sub iugum missis receptisque sescentis equitibus Romanis qui obsides dati erant, pudor flagitii prioris abolitus est.

Tribus duae adiectae sunt, Oufentina et Falerna. Suessa et Pontia coloniae deductae sunt.

Ap. Claudius censor aquam perduxit; viam stravit quae Appia vocata est, libertinorum filios in senatum legit. Ideoque, quoniam is ordo indignis inquinatus videbatur, sequentis anni coss. senatum observaverunt, quem ad modum ante proximos censores fuerat.

Res praeterea contra Apulos et Etruscos et Umbros et Marsos et Paelignos et Aequos et Samnites, quibus foedus restitutum est, prospere gestas continet.

Cn. Flavius scriba, libertino patre natus, aedilis curulis fuit per forensem factionem creatus, quae, cum comitia et campum turbaret et in his propter nimias vires dominaretur, a Q. Fabio censore in quattuor tribus redacta est, quas urbanas appellavit; eaque res Fabio Maximo nomen dedit.

In hoc libro mentionem habet Alexandri, qui temporibus his fuit, et aestimatis populi R. viribus, quae tunc erant, colligit si Alexander in Italiam traiecisset, non tam ei victoriam de populo Romano fore quam de iis gentibus quas ad orientem imperio suo subiecerat.

Res praeterea contra Samnites prospere gestas continet.

Coloniae deductae sunt Sora et Alba et Carsioli. Marsi in deditionem accepti sunt.

Collegium augurum ampliatur, ut essent nouem, cum antea quaterni fuissent.

Lex de prouocatione ad populum a Murena cos. tertio tunc lata est. Duae tribus adiectae sunt, Aniensis et Terentina.

Samnitibus bellum indictum est et aduersus eos saepe prospere

pugnatum est.

Cum aduersus Etruscos, Vmbros, Samnites, Gallos, P. Decio et Q. Fabio ducibus pugnaretur et Romanus exercitus in magno discrimine esset, P. Decius, secutus patris exemplum, deuouit se pro exercitu et morte sua uictoriam eius pugnae populo R. dedit.

Papirius Cursor Samnitium exercitum, qui de iureiurando obstrictus quo maiore constantia uirtutis pugnaret, in aciem descenderat, fudit.

Census actus est, lustrum conditum. Censa sunt ciuium capita CCLXXII milia et CCCXX.

Cum Fabius Gurges cos. male aduersus Samnites pugnasset et senatus de removendo eo ab exercitu ageret, Fabius Maximus pater deprecatus hanc fili ignominiam eo maxime senatum movit quod iturum se filio legatum pollicitus est, idque praestitit. Eius consiliis et opera filius consul adiutus caesis Samnitibus triumphavit; C. Pontium, imperatorem Samnitium, ductum in triumpho, securi percussit.

Cum pestilentia civitas laboraret, missi legati ut Aesculapi signum Romam ab Epidauro transferrent, anguem, qui se in navem eorum contulerat in quo ipsum numen esse constabat, deportaverunt; eoque in insulam Tiberis egresso eodem loco aedis Aesculapio constituta est.

L. Postumius consularis, quoniam, cum exercitui praesset, opera militum in agro suo usus erat, damnatus est.

Pacem petentibus Samnitibus foedus quarto renovatum est.

Curius Dentatus cos. Samnitibus caesis et Sabinis, qui rebellaverant, victis et in deditionem acceptis bis in eodem magistratu triumphavit.

Coloniae deductae sunt Castrum Sena Hadria.

Triumviri capitales tunc primum creati sunt.

Censu acto lustrum conditum est. Censa sunt civium capita | CCLXXII |.

Plebs propter aes alienum post graves et longas seditiones ad ultimum secessit in Ianiculum, unde a Q. Hortensio dictatore deducta est; isque in ipso magistratu decessit.

Res praeterea contra Vulsinienses gestas continet, item aduersus

Lucanos, contra quos auxilium Thurinis ferre placuerat.

Cum legati Romanorum a Gallis Senonibus interfecti essent, bello ob id Gallis indicto, L. Caecilius praetor ab his cum legionibus caesus est.

Cum a Tarentinis classis Romana direpta esset, Iluiro, qui praeerat classi, occiso, legati ad eos a senatu, ut de his iniuriis quererentur, missi pulsati sunt. Ob id bellum his indictum est.

Samnites defecerunt. Aduersus eos et Lucanos et Brittios et Etruscos aliquot proeliis a compluribus ducibus bene pugnatum est.

Pyrrhus, Epirotarum rex, ut auxilium Tarentinis ferret, in Italiam uenit.

Cum in praesidium Reginorum legio Campana cum praefecto Decio Vibullio missa esset, occisis Reginis Regium occupauit.

Valerius Laeuinus cos. parum prospere aduersus Pyrrhum pugnavit, elephantorum maxime inusitata facie territis militibus. Post id proelium cum corpora Romanorum qui in acie ceciderant, Pyrrhus inspiceret, omnia uersa in hostem inuenit populabundusque ad urbem Romanam processit. C. Fabricius missus ad eum a senatu, ut de redimendis captiuis ageret, frustra ut patriam desereret a rege temptatus est. Captiui sine pretio remissi sunt. Cineas legatus a Pyrrho ad senatum missus petiit ut componendae pacis causa rex in urbem reciperetur. De qua re cum ad frequentiore senatum referri placuisset, Appius Claudius, qui propter uoletudinem oculorum iam diu consiliis publicis se abstinuerat, uenit in curiam et sententia sua tenuit ut id Pyrrho negaretur.

Cn. Domitius censor primus ex plebe lustrum condidit. Censa sunt ciuium capita CCLXXXVII milia CCXXII.

Iterum aduersus Pyrrhum dubio euentu pugnatum est.

Cum Carthaginiensibus quarto foedus renouatum est.

Cum C. Fabricio consuli is qui ad eum a Pyrrho transfugerat, polliceretur uenenum se regi daturum, cum indicio ad regem remissus est.

Res praeterea contra Lucanos et Bruttios, Samnites et Etruscos prospere gestas continet.

Pyrrhus in Siciliam traiecit.

Cum inter alia prodigia fulmine deiectum esset in Capitolio Iouis signum, caput eius per haruspices inuentum est.

Curius Dentatus cos. cum dilectum haberet, eius, qui citatus non responderat, bona primus uendidit ; iterum Pyrrhum ex Sicilia in Italiam reuersum uicit et Italia expulit.

Fabricius censor P. Cornelium Rufinum consularem senatu mouit, quod is X pondo argenti facti haberet.

Lustro a censoribus condito censa sunt ciuium capita CCLXXI milia CCXXIII.

Cum Ptolemaeo, Aegypti rege, societas iuncta est.

Sextilia, uirgo Vestalis, damnata incesti uiua defossa est.

Coloniae deductae sunt Posidonia et Cosa.

Carthaginiensium classis auxilio Tarentinis uenit, quo facto ab his foedus uiolatum est.

Res praeterea contra Lucanos et Bruttios et Samnites feliciter gestas et Pyrrhi regis mortem continet.

Victis Tarentinis pax et libertas data est.

Legio Campana, quae Regium occupauerat, obsessa deditione facta securi percussa est.

Cum legatos Apolloniatium ad senatum missos quidam iuuenes pulsassent, dediti sunt Apolloniatis.

Picentibus uictis pax data est.

Coloniae deductae Ariminum in Piceno, Beneuentum in Samnio.

Tunc primum populus R. argento uti coepit.

Vmbri et Sallentini uicti in deditionem accepti sunt.

Quaestorum numerus ampliatus est, ut essent VIII.

Origo Carthaginiensium et primordia urbis eorum referuntur. Contra quos et Hieronem, regem Syracusanorum, auxilium Mamertinis ferendum senatus censuit, cum de ea re inter suadentes ut id fieret, dissuadentesque contentio fuisset; transgressisque tunc primum mare exercitibus Romanis aduersus Hieronem saepius bene pugnatum. Petenti pax data est.

Lustrum a censoribus conditum est. Censa sunt ciuium capita CCCLXXXII milia CCXXXIII.

Decimus Iunius Brutus munus gladiatorium in honorem defuncti patris primus edidit.

Colonia Aesernia deducta est.

Res praeterea contra Poenos et Vulsinios prospere gestas continet.

Cn. Cornelius consul a classe Punica circumuentus et per fraudem, ueluti in conloquium euocatus, captus est.

C. Duillius consul aduersus classem Poenorum prospere pugnavit, primusque omnium Romanorum ducum naualis uictoriae duxit triumphum.

Ob quam causam ei perpetuus quoque honos habitus est, ut reuertenti a cena tibicine canente funale praeferretur.

L. Cornelius consul in Sardinia et Corsica contra Sardos et Corsos et Hannonem, Poenorum ducem, feliciter pugnavit.

Atilius Calatinus cos. cum in locum a Poenis circumsessum temere exercitum duxisset, M. Calpurni, tribuni militum, uirtute et opera euasit, qui cum CCC militibus eruptione facta hostes in se conuerterat.

Hannibal, dux Poenorum, uicta classe cui praefuerat, a militibus suis in crucem sublatus est.

Atilius Regulus cos. uictis nauali proelio Poenis in Africam traiecit.

Atilius Regulus in Africa serpentem portentosae magnitudinis cum magna clade militum occidit, et cum aliquot proeliis bene aduersus Carthaginienses pugnasset, successorque ei a senatu prospere bellum gerenti non mitteretur, id ipsum per litteras ad senatum scriptas questus est, in quibus inter causas petendi successoris erat quod agellus eius a mercennariis desertus esset. Quaerente deinde fortuna ut magnum utriusque casus exemplum in Regulo proderetur, arcessito a Carthaginiensibus Xanthippo, Lacedaemoniorum duce, uictus proelio et captus est. Res deinde a ducibus Romanis omnibus terra marique prospere gestas deformauerunt naufragia classium.

Tib. Coruncanius primus ex plebe pontifex maximus creatus est.

M'. Valerius Maximus P. Sempronius Sophus censores cum senatum legerent, XVI senatu mouerunt.

Lustrum condiderunt, quo censa sunt ciuium capita CCXCVII milia DCCXCVII.

Regulus missus a Carthaginiensibus ad senatum ut de pace et, si eam non posset impetrare, de commutandis captiuis ageret, et iureiurando adstrictus, rediturum se Carthaginem, si commutari captiuos non placuisset, utrumque negandi auctor senatui fuit, et cum fide custodita reuersus esset, supplicio a Carthaginiensibus de eo sumpto periit.

Caecilius Metellus rebus aduersus Poenos prospere gestis speciosum egit triumphum, XIII ducibus hostium et CXX elephantis in eo ductis. Claudius Pulcher cos. contra auspicia profectus – iussit mergi pullos, qui cibari nolebant – infeliciter aduersus Carthaginienses classe pugnavit, et reuocatus a senatu iussusque dictatorem dicere Claudium Gliciam dixit, sortis ultimae hominem, qui coactus abdicare se magistratu postea ludos praetextatus spectauit.

A. Atilius Calatinus primus dictator extra Italiam exercitum duxit. Commutatio captiuorum cum Poenis facta est.

Coloniae deductae sunt Fregenae, in agro Sallentino Brundisium.

Lustrum a censoribus conditum est. Censa sunt ciuium capita CCXLI milia CCXII.

Claudia, soror P. Claudii qui contemptis auspiciis male pugnaverat, a ludis reuertens cum turba premeretur, dixit : “utinam frater meus uiueret: iterum classem duceret.” Ob eam causam multa ei dicta est.

Duo praetores tunc primum creati sunt.

Caecilius Metellus, pontifex maximus, A. Postumium consulem, quoniam idem et flamen Martialis erat, cum is ad bellum gerendum proficisci uellet, in urbe tenuit nec passus est a sacris recedere.

Rebus aduersus Poenos a pluribus ducibus prospere gestis, summam uictoriae C. Lutatius cos. uicta ad Aegates insulas classe Poenorum imposuit.

Potentibus Carthaginiensibus pax data est.

Cum templum Vestae arderet, Caecilius Metellus, pontifex maximus, ex incendio sacra rapuit. Duae tribus adiectae sunt, Velina et Quirina.

Falisci cum rebellassent, sexto die perdomiti in deditionem uenerunt.

Spoletium colonia deducta est.

Aduersus Liguras tunc primum exercitus promotus est.

Sardi et Corsi cum rebellassent, subacti sunt.

Tuccia, uirgo Vestalis, incesti damnata est.

Bellum Illyriis propter unum ex legatis, qui ad eos missi erant, occisum indictum est, subactique in deditionem uenerunt.

Praetorum numerus ampliatum est ut essent IIII.

Galli transalpini, qui in Italiam inruperant, caesi sunt. Eo bello populum R. sui Latiniq[ue] nominis DCCC milia armatorum habuisse dicit. Exercitibus Romanis tunc primum trans Padum ductis Galli Insubres aliquot proeliis fusi in deditionem uenerunt. M. Claudius Marcellus cos. occiso Gallorum Insubrium duce, Vertomaro, opima spolia rettulit. Histri subacti sunt.

Iterum Illyrii cum rebellassent, domiti in deditionem uenerunt.

Lustrum a censoribus ter conditum est. Primo lustro censa sunt ciuium capita CCLXX milia CCXII.

Libertini in quattuor tribus redacti sunt, cum antea dispersi per omnes fuissent, Esquilinam, Palatinam, Suburanam, Collinam.

C. Flaminius censor uiam Flaminiam muniit et circum Flaminium exstruxit.

Coloniae deductae sunt in agro de Gallis capto Placentia et Cremona.

Belli Punici secundi ortum narrat et Hannibalis, ducis Poenorum, contra foedus per Hiberum flumen transitum. A quo Saguntum, sociorum populi R. ciuitas obsessa, octauo mense capta est. De quibus iniuriis missi legati ad Carthaginienses, qui quererentur. Cum satis facere nollent, bellum his indictum est.

Hannibal superato Pyrenaeo saltu per Gallias, fuis Volcis, qui obsistere conati erant ei, ad Alpes uenit et laborioso per eas transitu, cum montanos quoque Gallos obuios aliquot proeliis reppulisset, descendit in Italiam et ad Ticinum flumen Romanos equestri proelio fudit. In quo uulneratum P. Cornelium Scipionem protexit filius, qui Africani postea nomen accepit.

Iterumque exercitu Romano ad flumen Trebiam fuso Hannibal Apenninum quoque permagna uexatione militum propter uim tempestatum transiit.

Cn. Cornelius Scipio in Hispania contra Poenos prospere pugnavit duce hostium Magone capto.

Hannibal per continuas uigilias in paludibus oculo amisso in Etruriam uenit, per quas paludes quadriduo et tribus noctibus sine ulla requie iter fecit.

C. Flaminius cos., homo temerarius, contra auspicia profectus signis militaribus effossis, quae tolli non poterant, et ab equo, quem conscenderat, per caput deuolutus, insidiis ab Hannibale circumuentus ad Thrasymennum lacum cum exercitu caesus est. Sex milia, quae eruperant, fide ab Atherbale data, perfidia Hannibalis uincta sunt. Cum ad nuntium cladis Romae luctus esset, duae matres ex iusperato receptis filiis gaudio mortuae sunt. Ob hanc cladem ex Sibyllinis libris uer sacrum uotum.

Cum deinde Q. Fabius Maximus dictator aduersus Hannibalem missus nollet acie cum eo configere, ne contra ferocem tot uictoriis hostem aduersis proeliis milites pugnare committeret, et opponendo se tantum conatus Hannibalis impediret, M. Minucius, magister equitum, ferox et temerarius, criminando dictatorem tamquam segnem et timidum effecit, ut populi iussu aequaretur ei cum dictatore imperium ; diuisoque exercitu cum iniquo loco conflixisset et in magno discrimine legiones eius essent, superueniente cum exercitu Fabio Maximo liberatus est. Quo beneficio uictus castra cum eo iunxit et patrem eum salutauit, idemque facere milites iussit. Hannibal uastata Campania inter Casilinum oppidum et Calliculam montem a Fabio clusus sarmentis ad cornua bouum alligatis et incensis praesidium Romanorum, quod Calliculam insidebat, fugauit et sic transgressus est saltum.

Idemque Q. Fabii Maximi dictatoris, cum circumposita ureret, agro pepercit, ut illum tamquam proditorem suspectum faceret.

Aemilio deinde Paulo et Terentio Varrone coss. et ducibus cum magna clade aduersus Hannibalem ad Cannas pugnatum est, caesaque eo proelio Romanorum XLV milia cum Paulo cos. et senatoribus XC et consularibus aut praetoriis aut aediliciis XXX.

Post quae cum a nobilibus adolescentibus propter desperationem consilium de relinquenda Italia iniretur, P. Cornelius Scipio tribunus militum, qui Africanus postea uocatus est, stricto supra capita deliberantium ferro iurauit pro hoste se habiturum eum qui in uerba sua non iurasset, effecitque ut omnes non relictum iri a se Italiam iureiurando adstringerentur.

Propter paucitatem militum VIII milia seruorum armata sunt. Captiui, cum potestas esset redimendi, redempti non sunt.

Praeterea trepidationem urbis et luctum et res in Hispania meliore euentu gestas continet.

Opimia et Florentia, uirgines Vestales, incesti damnatae sunt.

Varroni obuiam itum et gratiae actae, quod de re p. non desperasset.

Campani ad Hannibalem defecerunt. Nuntius Cannensis uictoriae, Mago, Carthaginem missus anulos aureos corporibus occisorum detractos in uestibulo curiae effudit, quos excessisse modii mensuram traditur. Post quem nuntium Hannon, uir ex Poenis nobilibus, suadebat senatui Carthaginensium ut pacem a populo Romano peterent, nec tenuit obstrepente Barcina factione.

Claudius Marcellus praetor ad Nolam, eruptione aduersus Hannibalem ex oppido facta, prospere pugnavit.

Casilinum a Poenis obsessum ita fame uexatum est ut lora et pelles scutis detractas et mures inclusi essent. Nucibus per Vulturum amnem a Romanis missis uixerunt.

Senatu ex equestri ordine hominibus CXCVII suppletus est.

L. Postumius praetor a Gallis cum exercitu caesus est.

Cn. et P. Scipiones in Hispania Asdrubalem uicerunt et Hispaniam suam fecerunt.

Reliquiae Cannensis exercitus in Siciliam relegatae sunt, ne decederent inde nisi finito bello.

Sempronius Gracchus cos. Campanos cecidit.

Claudius Marcellus praetor Hannibalis exercitum ad Nolam proelio fudit et uicit, primusque tot cladibus fessis Romanis meliorem spem belli dedit.

Inter Philipppum, Macedoniae regem, et Hannibalem societas iuncta est.

Praeterea in Hispania feliciter a Publio et Cn. Scipionibus, in Sardinia a T. Manlio praetore aduersus Poenos res gestas continet, a quibus Hasdrubal dux et Mago et Hanno capti.

Exercitus Hannibalis per hiberna ita luxuriatus est ut corporis animique uiribus eneruaretur.

Hieronymus, Syracusanorum rex, cuius pater Hiero amicus populi R. fuerat, ad Carthaginiensis defecit et propter crudelitatem superbiamque a suis interfectus est.

Tib. Sempronius Gracchus procos. prospere aduersus Poenos et Hannonem ducem ad Beneuentum pugnavit seruorum maxime opera, quos liberos esse iussit. Claudius Marcellus cos. in Sicilia, quae prope tota ad Poenos defecerat, Syracusas obsedit.

Philippo, Macedonum regi, bellum indictum est, qui ad Apolloniam nocturno bello obpressus fugatusque Macedoniam cum prope inermi exercitu profugit. Ad id bellum gerendum M. Valerius praetor missus.

Res praeterea in Hispania a P. et Cn. Scipionibus aduersus Carthaginienses gestas continet. A quibus Syphax, rex Numidiae, in amicitiam adscitus, qui a Masinissa, Massyliorum rege, pro Carthaginiensibus pugnante, uictus in Hispaniam ad Scipionem cum magna manu transiit contra Gades, ubi angusto freto Africa et Hispania dirimuntur.

Celtiberi quoque in amicitiam recepti sunt. Quorum auxiliis adscitis tunc primum mercennarium militem Romana castra habuerunt.

P. Cornelius Scipio, postea Africanus, ante annos aedilis factus.

Hannibal urbem Tarenton praeter arcem, in quam praesidium Romanorum fugerat, per Tarentinos iuuenes, qui se noctu uenatum ire simulabant, cepit.

Ludi Apollinares ex Marci carminibus, quibus Cannensis clades praedicta fuerat, instituti sunt.

A Q. Fulvio et Ap. Claudio coss. aduersus Hannonem, Poenorum ducem, prospere pugnatum est.

Tib. Sempronius Gracchus procos. ab hospite suo Lucano in insidias deductus a Magone interfectus est.

Centenius Paenula, qui centurio militauerat, cum petisset a senatu ut sibi exercitus daretur pollicitusque esset, si hoc impetrasset, de Hannibale uictoriam, VIII milibus acceptis militum dux factus confluxit acie cum Hannibale et cum exercitu caesus est.

Capua obsessa est a Q. Fuluius et Ap. Claudio coss.

Cn. Puluilis praetor male aduersus Hannibalem pugnauit. In quo proelio XX milia hominum ceciderunt ; ipse cum equitibus CC effugit.

Claudius Marcellus Syracusas expugnauit tertio anno et ingentem uirum gessit. In eo tumultu captae urbis Archimedes intentus formis, quas in puluere descripserat, interfectus est.

P. et Cn. Scipiones in Hispania tot rerum feliciter gestarum tristem exitum tulerunt, prope cum totis exercitibus caesi anno octauo quam in Hispaniam ierunt. Amissaque eius prouinciae possessio foret, nisi L. Marci, equitis Romani, uirtute et industria contractis exercituum reliquiis, eiusdem hortatu bina castra hostium expugnata essent.

Ad XXVII milia hominum caesa, captos ad mille octingentos triginta, praeda ingens capta. “Dux” Marcius appellatus est.

Hannibal ad tertium lapidem ab urbe Roma super Anienem castra posuit. Ipse cum duobus milibus equitum usque ad ipsam Capenam portam, ut situm urbis exploraret, obequitauit. Et cum per triduum in aciem utrimque exercitus omnis descendisset, certamen tempestas diremit; nam cum in castra redisset, statim serenitas erat.

Capua capta est a Q. Fuluius et Appio Claudio coss. Principes Campanorum ueneno sibi mortem consciuerunt. Cum senatus Campanorum deligatus esset ad palos ut securi feriretur, litteras a senatu missas Q. Fuluius consul, quibus iubebatur parcere, antequam legeret, in sinu posuit et lege agi iussit et supplicium peregit.

Cum comitiis apud populum quaereretur cui mandaretur Hispaniarum imperium, nullo id uolente suscipere, P. Scipio, P. filius eius qui in Hispania ceciderat, professus est se iturum, et suffragio populi consensuque omnium missus Nouam Carthaginem expugnauit, cum haberet annos XXIII uidereturque diuina stirpe, quia et ipse, postquam togam acceperat, cotidie in Capitolio erat et in

cubiculo matris eius anguis saepe uidebatur.

Res praeterea gestas in Sicilia continet et amicitiam cum Aetolis iunctam bellumque gestum aduersus Acarnanas et Philippum, Macedoniae regem.

Cn. Fuluius procos. cum exercitu ab Hannibale ad Herdoneam caesus est.

Meliore euentu ab Claudio Marcello cos. aduersus eundem ad Numistronem pugnatum est. Inde Hannibal nocte recessit. Marcellus iusecutus est et subinde cedentem pressit, donec conflingeret. Priore pugna Hannibal superior, sequenti Marcellus.

Fabius Maximus pater cos. Tarentinos per prodicionem recepit.

Claudius Marcellus T. Quintius Crispinus coss. speculandi causa progressi e castris insidiis ab Hannibale circumuenti sunt. Marcellus occisus, Crispinus fugit.

Lustrum a censoribus conditum est. Censa sunt ciuium capita CXXXVII milia CVIII; ex quo numero apparuit quantum hominum tot proeliorum aduersa fortuna populo R. abstulisset.

In Hispania ad Baeculam Scipio cum Hasdrubale et Hamilcare conflixit et uicit. Inter alia captum regalem puerum eximiae formae ad auunculum Masinissam cum donis dimisit.

Hasdrubal, qui cum exercitu nouo Alpes transcenderat ut se Hannibali iungeret, cum milibus hominum LVI caesus est, capta V milia CCCC M. Liui cos. ductu, sed non minore opera Claudii Neronis cos., qui, cum Hannibali oppositus esset, relictis castris ita ut hostem falleret, cum electa manu profectus Hasdrubalem circumuenerat.

Res praeterea feliciter a P. Scipione in Hispania et a P. Sulpicio praetore aduersus Philippum et Achaeos gestas continet.

Res in Hispania prospere gestae a Silano, Scipionis legato, et ab L. Scipione fratre aduersus Poenos, a P. Sulpicio procos. socio Attalo rege Asiae aduersus Philippum, regem Macedonum, pro Aetolis referuntur.

Cum M. Liuius et Claudio Neroni coss. triumphus decretus esset, Liuius, qui in prouincia sua rem gesserat, quadrigis inuectus est, Nero, qui in collegae prouinciam, ut uictoriam eius adiuuaret,

uenerat, equo secutus est, et in hoc habitu plus gloriae reuerentiaque habuit; nam et plus in bello quam collega fecerat.

Ignis in aede Vestae neglegentia uirginis quae non custodierat, extinctus est; caesa est flagro.

P. Scipio in Hispania cum Poenis debellauit XIII anno eius belli, quinto post anno quam ierat, praecclusisque in totum possessione prouinciae eius hostibus Hispanias recepit; et a Tarracone in Africam ad Syphacem, regem Massylorum, transuectus foedus iunxit. Hasdrubal Gisgonis ibi cum eo in eodem lecto cenauit. Munus gladiatorium in honorem patris patrique Carthagini noua edidit, non ex gladiatoribus, sed ex his qui aut in honorem ducis aut ex prouocatione descendebant; in quo reguli fratres de regno ferro contenderunt.

Cum Gisia urbs obpugnaretur, oppidani liberos et coniuges rogo extructo occiderunt et se iusuper praecipitauerunt.

Ipse Scipio, dum graui morbo implicitus est, seditionem in parte exercitus motam, confirmatus discussit rebellantesque Hispaniae populos coegit in deditionem uenire. Et amicitia facta cum Masinissa, rege Numidarum, qui illi auxilium, si in Africam traiecisset, pollicebatur, cum Gaditanis quoque post discessum inde Magonis, cui Carthagine scriptum erat ut in Italiam traiceret, Romam reuersus consulque creatus.

Africam prouinciam petenti, contradicente Q. Fabio Maximo, Sicilia data est permissumque ut in Africam traiceret, si id e re p. esse censeret. Mago, Hamilcaris filius, a minore Baleari insula, ubi hiemauerat, in Italiam traiecit.

Ex Sicilia C. Laelius in Africam a Scipione missus ingentem praedam reportauit et mandata Masinissae Scipioni exposuit querentis quod nondum exercitum in Africam traiecisset.

Bellum in Hispania finitum uictore Romano, quod Indebilis excitauerat; ipse in acie occisus, Mandonius exposcentibus Romanis a suis deditus. Magoni, qui Albingauni in Liguribus erat, ex Africa et militum ampla manus missa et pecuniae, quibus auxilia conduceret, praeceptumque ut se Hannibali coniungeret.

Scipio a Syracusis in Bruttios traiecit et Locros pulso Punico praesidio fugatoque Hannibale recepit.

Pax cum Philippo facta est.

Mater Idaea deportata est Romam a Pessinunte, oppido Phrygiae, carmine in libris Sibyllinis inuento: pelli Italia alienigenam hostem posse, si mater Idaea deportata Romam esset. Tradita est autem Romanis per Attalum, regem Asiae. Lapis erat, quem matrem deum incolae dicebant. Excepit P. Scipio Nasica Cn. filius, eius qui in Hispania perierat, uir optimus a senatu iudicatus, adulescens nondum quaestorius, quoniam ita responsum iubebat ut id numen ab optimo uiro exciperetur consecrareturque.

Locrenses legatos Romam miserunt, qui de impotentia Plemini legati quererentur, qui pecuniam Proserpinae sustulerat et liberos eorum ac coniuges stuprauerat. In catenis Romam perductus in carcere est mortuus. Cum falsus rumor de P. Scipione procos., qui in Sicilia erat, in urbem perlatus esset, tamquam is luxuriaretur, missis ob hoc legatis a senatu qui explorarent an ea uera essent, purgatus infamia Scipio in Africam permissu senatus traecit.

Syphax, accepta in matrimonium filia Hasdrubalis Gisgonis, amicitiam quam cum Scipione iunxerat, renuntiauit.

Masinissa, rex Massylorum, dum pro Carthaginiensibus in Hispania militat, amisso patre Gala de regno exciderat. Quo per bellum saepe repetito aliquot proeliis a Syphace, rege Numidarum, uictus in totum priuatus est, et cum CC equitibus exsul Scipioni se iunxit et cum eo primo statim bello Hannonem, Hamilcaris filium, cum ampla manu occidit. Scipio aduentu Hasdrubalis et Syphacis, qui prope cum centum milibus armatorum uenerant, ab obsidione Vticae depulsus hiberna communiit.

Sempronius cos. in agro Crotoniensi prospere aduersus Hannibalem pugnauit.

Inter censores M. Liuium et Claudium Neronem notabilis discordia fuit. Nam et Claudius collegae equum ademit, quod a populo damnatus actusque in exilium fuerat, et Liuius Claudio, quod falsum in se testimonium dixisset et quod non bona fide secum in gratiam redisset. Idem omnes tribus extra unam aerarias reliquit, quod et innocentem se damnassent et posthac consulem censoremque fecissent.

Lustrum a censoribus conditum est. Censa sunt ciuium capita CCXIII milia.

Scipio in Africa Carthaginienses et eundem Syphacem, Numidia regem, Hasdrubalemque pluribus proeliis uicit adiuuante Masinissa, bina hostium castra expugnauit, in quibus XL milia hominum ferro ignique consumpta sunt.

Syphacem per C. Laelium et Masinissam cepit.

Masinissa Sophonibam, uxorem Syphacis, filiam Hasdrubalis, captam statim adamauit et nuptiis factis uxorem habuit; castigatus a Scipione uenenum ei misit, quo illa hausto decessit.

Effectumque multis Scipionis uictoriis ut Carthaginienses in desperationem acti in auxilium publicae salutis Hannibalem euocarent. Isque anno XVI Italia decedens in Africam traiecit temptauitque per conloquium pacem cum Scipione componere, et cum de condicionibus pacis non conuenisset, acie uictus est. Pax Carthaginiensibus petentibus data est. Hannibal Gisgonem pacem dissuadentem manu sua detraxit, excusata deinde temeritate facti ipse pacem suasit.

Masinissae regnum restitutum est.

Reuersus in urbem Scipio amplissimum nobilissimumque egit triumphum, quem Q. Terentius Culleo senator pilleatus secutus est. Scipio Africanus incertum militari prius fauore am populari aura ita cognominatus sit. Primus certe hic imperator uictae nomine a se gentis nobilitatus est.

Mago bello quo in agro Insubrum cum Romanis conflixerat uulneratus, dum in Africam per legatos reuocatis reuertitur, ex uulnere mortuus est.

Belli aduersus Philippum, Macedoniae regem, quod intermissum erat, repetiti causae referuntur hae: tempore initiorum duo iuuenes Acarnanes, qui non erant initiati, Athenas uenerunt et in sacrarium Cereris cum aliis popularibus suis intrauerunt. Ob hoc, tamquam summum nefas commisissent, ab Atheniensibus occisi sunt. Acarnanes mortibus suorum commoti ad uindicandos illos auxilia a Philippo petierunt et Athenas obpugnauerunt, Athenienses auxilium a Romanis petierunt post pacem Carthaginiensibus datam paucis mensibus. Cum Atheniensium, qui a Philippo obsidebantur, legati auxilium a senatu petissent, et id senatus ferendum censuisset plebe,

quod tot bellorum continuus labor grauis erat, dissentiente, tenuit auctoritas patrum ut sociae ciuitati ferri opem populus quoque iuberet.

Id bellum P. Sulpicio cos. mandatum est qui exercitu in Macedoniam ducto equestribus proeliis prospere cum Philippo pugnavit. Aboedeni a Philippo obsessi ad exemplum Saguntinorum suos seque occiderunt.

L. Furius praetor Gallos Insubres rebellantes et Hamilcarem Poenum bellum in ea parte Italiae molientem acie uicit. Hamilcar eo bello occisus est et milia hominum XXXV.

Praeterea expeditiones Philippi regis et Sulpici cos. expugnationesque urbium ab utroque factas continet. Sulpicius cos. bellum gerebat adiuuantibus rege Attalo et Rhodiis.

Triumphauit de Gallis L. Furius praetor.

Complura prodigia ex diuersis regionibus nuntiata referuntur, inter quae in Macedonia in puppe longae naus lauream esse natam. T. Quintius Flamininus cos. aduersus Philippum feliciter pugnavit in faucibus Epiri fugatumque coegit in regnum reuerti. Ipse Thessaliam, quae est uicina Macedoniae, sociis Aetolis et Athamanibus uexauit, L. Quintius Flamininus, frater consulis, nauali proelio Attalo rege et Rhodiis adiuuantibus Euboeam et maritimam oram. Achaei in amicitiam recepti sunt.

Praetorum numerus ampliatus est, ut seni crearentur. Coniuratio seruorum facta de soluendis Carthaginiensium obsidibus oppressa est, duo milia D necati.

Cornelius Cethegus cos. Gallos Insubres proelio fudit.

Cum Lacedaemoniis et tyranno eorum Nabide amicitia iuncta est.

Praeterea expugnationes urbium in Macedonia referuntur.

T. Quintius Flamininus procos. cum Philippo ad Cynoscephalas in Thessalia acie uicto debellauit. L. Quintius Flamininus, ille frater procos., Acarnanas, Leucade urbe quod caput est Acarnanum expugnata, in deditionem accepit.

Pax petenti Philippo Graecia liberata data est.

Attalus ab Thebis ob subitam uoletudinem Pergamum translatus decessit.

C. Sempronius Tuditanus praetor ab Celtiberis cum exercitu caesus est.

L. Furius Purpurio et Claudius Marcellus coss. Boios et Insubres Gallos subegerunt.

Marcellus triumphauit.

Hannibal frustra in Africa bellum molitus et ob hoc Romanis per epistulas ab aduersae factionis principibus delatus propter metum Romanorum, qui legatos ad senatum Carthaginiensium de eo miserant, profugus ad Antiochum, Syriae regem, se contulit bellum aduersus Romanos parantem.

Lex Oppia, quam C. Oppius trib. pl. bello Punico de finiendis matronarum cultibus tulerat, cum magna contentione abrogata est, cum Porcius Cato auctor fuisset ne ea lex aboleretur.

Is in Hispaniam profectus bello, quod Emporiis orsus est, citeriorem Hispaniam pacauit.

T. Quintius Flamininus bellum aduersus Lacedaemonios et tyrannum eorum, Nabidem, prospere gestum data his pace, qualem ipse uolebat, liberatisque Argis, qui sub dicione tyranni erant, finiit.

Res praeterea in Hispania et aduersus Boios et Insubres Gallos feliciter gestae referuntur.

Senatus tunc primum secretus a populo ludos spectauit. Id ut fieret, Sextus Aelius Paetus et C. Cornelius Cethegus censores interuenerunt cum indignatione plebis.

Coloniae plures deductae sunt.

M. Porcius Cato ex Hispania triumphauit.

T. Quintius Flamininus, qui Philippum, Macedonum regem, et Nabidem, Lacedaemoniorum tyrannum uicerat Graeciamque omnem liberauerat, ob hoc triduo triumphauit.

Legati Carthaginiensium nuntiauerunt Hannibalem, qui ad Antiochum confugerat, bellum cum eo moliri. Temptaauerat autem Hannibal per Aristonem Tyrium sine litteris Carthaginem missum ad bellandum Poenos concitare.

P. Scipio Africanus legatus ad Antiochum missus Ephesi cum Hannibale, qui se Antiocho adiunxerat, conlocutus est, ut si fieri posset, metum ei, quem ex populo R. conceperat, eximeret. Inter alia

cum quaereret quem fuisse maximum imperatorem Hannibal crederet, respondit Alexandrum, Macedonum regem, quod parua manu innumerabiles exercitus fudisset quodque ultimas oras, quas uisere supra spem humanam esset, peragrasset. Quaerenti deinde, quem secundum poneret, Pyrrhum, inquit, castra metari primum docuisse, ad hoc neminem loca elegantius cepisse, praesidia disposuisse. Exsequenti, quem tertium diceret, semet ipsum dixit. Ridens Scipio: “quidnam tu diceres, inquit, si me uicisses?” “Tunc vero me, inquit, et ante Alexandrum et ante Pyrrhum et ante alios posuissem.”

Inter alia prodigia, quae plurima fuisse traduntur, bouem Cn. Domitii cos. locutam “Roma caue tibi” refertur.

Nabis, Lacedaemoniorum tyrannus, incitatus ab Aetolis, qui et Philippum et Antiochum ad inferendum bellum populo R. sollicitabant, a populo R. desciiuit, sed bello aduersus Philopoemenen, Achaeorum praetorem, gesto ab Aetolis interfectus est. Aetoli quoque ab amicitia populi R. defecerunt. Cum societate iuncta Antiochus, Syriae rex, bellum Graeciae intulisset, complures urbes occupauit, inter quas Chalcidem et totam Euboeam.

Res praeterea in Liguribus gestas et adparatum belli ab Antiocho continet.

Acilius Glabrio cos. Antiochum ad Thermopylas Philippo rege adiuuante uictum Graecia expulit idemque Aetolos subegit.

P. Cornelius Scipio Nasica cos. aedem matris deum, quam ipse in Palatium intulerat, uir optimus a senatu iudicatus, dedicauit. Idemque Boios Gallos uictos in deditionem accepit, de his triumphauit.

Praeterea naualia certamina prospera aduersus praefectos Antiochi regis referuntur.

L. Cornelius Scipio cos. legato Scipione Africano fratre (qui se legatum fratris futurum dixerat, si ei Graecia prouincia decerneretur, cum C. Laelio, qui multum in senatu poterat, ea prouincia dari uideretur) profectus ad bellum aduersus Antiochum regem gerendum, primus omnium Romanorum ducum in Asiam traiecit.

Regillus aduersus regiam classem Antiochi feliciter pugnauit ad Myonnesum Rhodiis iuuantibus.

Filius Africani captus ab Antiocho patri remissus est. Victo deinde Antiocho ab L. Cornelio Scipione adiuuante Eumene, rege Pergami, Attali filio, pax data est ea condicione ut omnibus prouinciis citra Taurum montem cederet. L. Cornelius Scipio, qui cum Antiocho debellauerat, cognomine fratri exaequatus Asiaticus appellatus.

Colonia deducta est Bononia.

Eumenis, quo iuuante Antiochus nictus erat, regnum ampliatum. Rhodiis quoque, qui et ipsi iuuerant, quaedam ciuitates concessae.

Aemilius Regillus, qui praefectos Antiochi nauali proelio deuicerat, naualem triumphum deduxit. M'. Acilius Glabrio de Antiocho, quem Graecia expulerat, et de Aetolis triumphauit.

M. Fuluius cos. in Epiro Ambracienses obsessos in deditionem accepit, Cephalloniam subegit, Aetolis perdomitis pacem dedit.

Cn. Manlius cos., collega eius, Gallograecos, Tolostobogios et Tectosagos et Trocmos, qui Brenno duce in Asiam transierant, cum soli citra Taurum montem non apparerent, uicit. Eorum origo, et quo modo ea loca, quae tenent, occupauerint, refertur.

Exemplum quoque uirtutis et pudicitiae in femina traditur. Quae cum regis Gallograecorum uxor fuisset, capta centurionem, qui ei uim intulerat, occidit.

Lustrum a censoribus conditum est. Censa sunt ciuium capita CCLVIII milia CCCX.

Cum Ariarathe, Cappadociae rege, amicitia iuncta est.

Cn. Manlius contradicentibus X legatis, ex quorum consilio foedus cum Antiocho conscripserat, de Gallograecis acta pro se in senatu causa triumphauit.

Scipio Africanus die ei dicta, ut quidam tradunt a Q. Petilio tr. pl., ut quidam a Naeuio, quod praeda ex Antiocho capta aerarium fraudasset, postquam is dies uenit, euocatus in rostra: "hac die, inquit, Quirites, Carthaginem uici", et prosequente populo Capitolium ascendit. Inde ne amplius tribuniciis iniuriis uexaretur, in uoluntarium exilium Liternum concessit. Incertum ibi an Romae defunctus sit ; nam monumentum eius utrobique fuit.

L. Scipio Asiaticus, frater Africani, eodem crimine peculatus accusatus damnatusque cum in uincula et carcerem duceretur, Tib.

Sempronius Gracchus tr. pl., qui antea Scipionibus inimicus fuerat, intercessit et ob id beneficium Africani filiam duxit.

Cum quaestores in bona eius publice possidenda missi essent, non modo in his ullum uestigium pecuniae regiae apparuit, sed ne quaquam tantum redactum, quantaе summae erat damnatus. Conlatam a cognatis et amicis innumerabilem pecuniam accipere noluit; quae necessaria ei erant ad cultum, redempta.

M. Aemilius cos. Liguribus subactis uiam Placentia usque Ariminum productam Flaminia iunxit.

Initia luxuriae in urbem introducta ab exercitu Asiatico referuntur.

Ligures, quicumque citra Appenninum erant, subacti sunt.

Bacchanalia, sacrum Graecum et nocturnum, omnium scelerum seminarium, cum ad ingentis turbae coniurationem peruenisset, inuestigatum et multorum poena sublatum est.

A censoribus L. Valerio Flacco et M. Porcio Catone, et belli et pacis artibus maximo, motus est senatu L. Quintius Flamininus, T. frater, eo quod, cum Galliam prouinciam consul obtineret, rogatus in conuiuio a Poeno Philippo, quem amabat, scorto nobili, Gallum quemdam sua manu occiderat siue, ut quidam tradiderunt, unum ex damnatis securi percusserat rogatus a meretrice Placentina, cuius amore deperibat. Extat oratio M. Catonis in eum.

Scipio Literni decessit et, tamquam iungente fortuna circa idem tempus duo funera maximorum uirorum, Hannibal a Prusia, Bithyniae rege, ad quem uicto Antiocho confugerat, cum dederetur Romanis, qui ad exposcendum eum T. Quintium Flamininum miserant, ueneno mortem consciit. Philopoemen quoque, dux Achaeorum, uir maximus, a Messeniis occisus ueneno, cum ab his in bello captus esset.

Coloniae Potentia et Pisaurum et Mutina et Parma deductae sunt.

Praeterea res aduersus Celtiberos prospere gestas et initia causasque belli Macedonici continet. Cuius origo inde fluxit, quod Philippus aegre ferebat regnum suum a Romanis inminui et quod cogeretur a Thracibus alisque locis praesidia deducere.

Cum Philippus liberos eorum quos in uinculis habebat nobilium hominum conquiri ad mortem iussisset, Theoxena, uerita pro liberis

suis admodum pueris regis libidinem, prolatis in medium gladiis et poculo in quo uenenum erat, suasit his ut imminens ludibrium morte effugerent et cum persuasisset, et ipsa se interemit.

Certamina inter filios Philippi, Macedoniae regis, Persen et Demetrium, referuntur; et ut fraude fratris sui Demetrius fictis criminibus, inter quae accusatione parricidii et adfectati regni, primum petitus, ad ultimum, quoniam populi R. amicus erat, ueneno necatus est, regnumque Macedoniae mortuo Philippo ad Persen uenit.

Item res in Liguribus et Hispania contra Celtiberos a compluribus ducibus feliciter gestas continet.

Colonia Aquileia deducta est.

Libri Numae Pompili in agro L. Petilli scribae sub Ianiculo a cultoribus agri arca lapidea clusi inuenti sunt et Graeci et Latini.

In quibus cum pleraque dissoluendarum religionum praetor, ad quem delati erant, legisset, iurauit senatui contra rem p. esse ut legerentur seruarenturque. Ex S. C. in comitio exusti sunt.

Philippus aegritudine animi confectus, quod Demetrium filium falsis Persei, alterius fili, in eum delationibus impulsus ueneno sustulisset, et de poena Persei cogitauit uoluitque Antigonom potius, amicum suum, successorem regni sui relinquere, sed in hac cogitatione morte raptus est. Perseus regnum excepit.

Ignis in aede Vestae extinctus est.

Tib. Sempronius Gracchus procos. Celtiberos uictos in deditionem accepit, monimentumque operum suorum Gracchurim, oppidum in Hispania, constituit. Et a Postumio Albino procos. Vaccae ac Lusitani subacti sunt. Vterque triumphauit.

Antiochus, Antiochi filius, obses a patre Romanis datus, mortuo fratre Seleuco qui patri defuncto successerat, in regnum Syriae ab urbe dimissus. Qui praeter religionem, qua multa templa magnifica multis sociis fecit, Athenis Iouis Olympi et Antiochiae Capitolini, uilissimum regem egit. Lustrum a censoribus conditum est.

Censa sunt ciuium capita CCLVIII milia CCXCIII.

Q. Voconius Saxa tr. pl. legem tulit, nequis mulierem heredem institueret.

Suasit legem M. Cato. Extat oratio eius.

Praeterea res aduersus Liguras et Histros et Sardos et Celtiberos a compluribus ducibus prospere gestas et initia belli Macedonici continet, quod Perseus, Philippi filius, moliebatur. Miserat ad Carthaginienses legationem et ab his nocte audita erat. Sed et alias Graeciae ciuitates sollicitabat.

Q. Fuluius Flaccus censor templum Iunonis Lacinae tegulis marmoreis spoliavit, ut aedem, quam dedicabat, tegeret. Tegulae ex S. C. reportatae. Eumenes, Asiae rex, in senatu de Perseo, Macedoniae rege, questus est, cuius iniuriae in populum R. referuntur. Ob quas bello ei indicto P. Licinius Crassus cos., cui mandatum erat, in Macedoniam transiit leuibisque expeditionibus, equestribus proeliis, in Thessalia cum Perseo [felici] euentu pugnavit.

Inter Masinissam et Carthaginienses de agro fuit lis. Dies his a senatu ad disceptandum datus.

Legati missi ad socias ciuitates regesque rogandos ut in fide permanerent, dubitantibus Rhodiis.

Lustrum a censoribus conditum est. Censa sunt ciuium capita CCLXVII milia CCXXXI.

Res praeterea aduersus Corsos et Liguras prospere gestas continet.

Praetores aliquot eo quod auare et crudeliter prouincias administrauerant, damnati sunt.

P. Licinius Crassus procos. complures in Graecia urbes expugnauit et crudeliter corripuit. Ob id captiui qui ab eo sub corona uenierant ex S. C. postea restituti sunt. Item a praefectis classium Romanarum multa impotenter in socios facta.

Res a Perse rege in Thracia prospere gestas continet uictis Dardanis et Illyrico, cuius rex erat Gentius.

Motus, qui in Hispania ab Olonico factus erat, ipso interempto consedit.

M. Aemilius Lepidus a censoribus princeps senatus lectus.

Q. Marcius Philippus per inuios saltus penetrauit Macedoniam et complures urbes occupauit.

Rhodii miserunt legatos Romam minantes ut Perseo auxilio

essent, nisi populus R. cum illo pacem atque amicitiam iungeret. Indigne id latum. Cum id bellum L. Aemilio Paulo, sequentis anni cos. iterum mandatum esset, Paulus in contione precatus ut, quidquid diri populo R. immineret, in suam domum conuerteretur, et in Macedoniam profectus uicit Persen totamque Macedoniam in potestatem redegit. Antequam confligeret, praedixit exercitui ne miraretur quod luna proxima nocte defectura erat.

Gentius quoque, rex Illyricorum, cum rebellasset, a L. Anicio praetore uictus uenit in deditionem et cum uxore ac liberis et propinquis Romam missus.

Legati Alexandrini a Cleopatra et Ptolemaeo regibus uenerunt querentes de Antiocho, rege Syriae, quod is bellum inferret.

Perseus sollicitatis in auxilium Eumene, rege Pergami, et Gentio, rege Illyricorum, quia iis pecuniam quam promiserat non dabat, relictus ab his est.

Perseus ab Aemilio Paulo in Samothace captus est.

Cum Antiochus, Syriae rex, Ptolemaeum et Cleopatram, Aegypti reges, obsideret et missis ad eum a senatu legatis, qui iuberent ab solo regis absisteret, editisque mandatis consideraturum se quid faciendum esset respondisset, unus ex legatis Popilius uirga regem circumscripsit iussitque, ante quam circulo excederet, responsum daret. Qua asperitate effecit ut Antiochus bellum omitteret.

Legationes gratulantium populorum atque regum in senatu admissae, Rhodiorum, qui eo bello contra populum R. fauerant, exclusa. Postera die cum de eo quaereretur ut his bellum indiceretur, causam in senatu patriae suae legati egerunt; nec tamquam socii, nec tamquam hostes dimissi.

Macedonia in prouinciae formam redacta Aemilius Paulus repugnantibus militibus ipsius propter minorem praedam et contradicente Seruio Sulpicio Galba triumphauit et Persen cum tribus filiis duxit ante currum. Cuius triumphi laetitia ne solida ei contingeret, duorum filiorum funeribus insignita est, quorum alterius mors triumphum patris praecessit, alterius secuta est.

Lustrum a censoribus conditum est. Censa sunt ciuium capita CCCXII milia DCCCV.

Prusias, Bithyniae rex, Romam, ut senatui gratias ageret ob

uictoriam ex Macedonia partam, uenit et Nicomedem filium senatui commendauit. Rex plenus adulationis libertum se populi R. dicebat.

Eumenes rex Romam uenit, qui Macedonico bello medium egerat. Ne aut hostis iudicatus uideretur, si exclusus esset, aut liberatus crimine, si admitteretur, in commune lex lata est ne cui regi Romam uenire liceret. Claudius Marcellus cos. Alpinos Gallos, C. Sulpicius Gallus cos. Liguras subegit.

Legati Prusiae regis questi sunt de Eumene quod fines suos popularetur dixeruntque eum conspirasse cum Antiocho aduersus populum R. Societas cum Rhodiis deprecantibus iuncta est.

Lustrum a censoribus conditum est. Censa sunt ciuium capita CCCXXXVII milia XXII.

Princeps senatus M. Aemilius Lepidus.

Ptolemaeus, Aegypti rex, pulsus regno a minore fratre missis ad eum legatis restitutus est.

Ariarathe, Cappadociae rege, mortuo filius eius Ariarathes regnum accepit et amicitiam cum populo R. per legatos renouauit.

Res praeterea aduersus Liguras et Corsos et Lusitanos uario euentu gestas et motus Syriae mortuo Antiocho, qui filium Antiochum puerum admodum reliquerat, continet. Hunc Antiochum puerum cum Lysia tutore Demetrius, Seleuci filius, qui Romae obses fuerat, clam, quia non dimittebatur, a Roma . . . interemit et ipse in regnum receptus.

L. Aemilius Paulus, qui Persen uicerat, mortuus. Cuius tanta abstinentia fuit ut cum ex Hispania et ex Macedonia immensas opes rettulisset, uix ex auctione eius redactum sit, unde uxori eius dos solueretur.

Pomptinae paludes a Cornelio Cethego cos., cui ea prouincia euenerat, siccatae agerque ex his factus.

Cn. Tremellio pr. multa dicta est, quod cum M. Aemilio Lepido, pontifice maximo, iniuriose contenderat sacrorumque quam magistratum ius potentius fuit.

Lex de ambitu lata.

Lustrum a censoribus conditum est. Censa sunt ciuium capita CCCXVIII milia CCCXVI.

Princeps senatus lectus Aemilius Lepidus.

Inter Ptolemaeos fratres, qui dissidebant, foedus ictum, ut alter Aegypto, alter Cyrenis regaret.

Ariarathes, Cappadociae rex, consilio Demetri, Syriae regis, et uiribus pulsus regno a senatu restitutus est.

Missi a senatu qui inter Masinissam et Carthaginienses de agro iudicarent.

C. Marcius cos. aduersus Dalmatas primum parum prospere, postea feliciter pugnavit. Cum quibus bello confligendi causa fuit quod Illyrios, socios populi R., uastauerant eamdemque gentem Cornelius Nasica cos. domuit. Q. Opimius cos. Transalpinos Liguras, qui Massiliensium oppida, Antipolim et Nicaeam, uastabant, subegit.

Praeterea res in Hispania a compluribus parum prospere gestas continet.

Consules anno quingentesimo nonagesimo octauo ab urbe condita magistratum kal. ian. inire coeperunt. Mutandi comitia causa fuit quod Hispani rebellabant.

Legati ad disceptandum inter Carthaginienses et Masinissam missi nuntiauerunt uim naualis materiae se Carthagine deprehendisse. Aliquot praetores a prouinciis auaritiae nomine accusati damnati sunt.

Lustrum a censoribus conditum est. Censa sunt ciuium capita CCCXXIII milia.

Semina tertii Punici belli referuntur. Cum in finibus Carthaginiensium ingens Numidarum exercitus duce Arcobarzane, Syphacis nepote, diceretur esse, M. Porcius Cato suasit ut Carthaginiensibus, qui exercitum specie contra Masinissam, re contra Romanos accitum in finibus haberent, bellum indiceretur. Contra dicente P. Cornelio Nasica placuit legatos mitti Carthaginem, qui specularentur quid ageretur. Castigato senatu Carthaginiensium, quod contra foedus et exercitum et nauales materias haberent, pacem inter eos et Masinissam facere uoluerunt, Masinissa agro, de quo lis erat, cedente. Sed Gisco, Hamilcaris filius, homo seditiosus, qui tum in magistratu erat, cum senatus pariturum se iudicio legatis dixisset, ita populum concitauit bellum aduersus Romanos suadendo, ut legatos, quo minus uiolarentur, fuga explicuerit. Id nuntiantes

infestum iam senatum Carthaginiensibus infestiores fecerunt.

M. Porcius Cato filii in praetura mortui funus tenuissimo ut potuit (nam pauper erat) sumptu fecit.

Andriscus, qui se Persei filium, regis quondam Macedoniae, ingenti adseueratione mentiretur, Romam missus.

M. Aemilius Lepidus, qui princeps senatus sextis iam censoribus lectus erat, antequam expiraret, praecepit filiis lecto se strato linteis sine purpura efferrent, in reliquum funus ne plus quam aeris decies consumerent: imaginum specie, non sumptibus nobilitari magnorum uirorum funera solere.

De ueneficiis quaesitum: Publilia et Licinia, nobiles feminae, quae uiros suos consulares necasse insimulabantur, cognita causa, cum praetori praedes uades dedissent, cognatorum decreto necatae sunt.

Gulussa, Masinissae filius, nuntiauit Carthagine dilectus agi, classem conparari et haud dubie bellum strui. Cum Cato suaderet ut his bellum indiceretur, P. Cornelio Nasica dicente nihil temere faciendum, placuit X legatos mitti exploratum.

L. Licinius Lucullus A. Postumius Albinus coss. cum dilectum seuerè agerent nec quemquam gratia dimitterent, ab tribunis pl., qui pro amicis suis uacationem impetrare non poterant, in carcerem coniecti sunt. Cum Hispaniense bellum parum prospere aliquotiens gestum ita confudisset ciuitatem Romanam, ut ne hi quidem inuenirentur qui aut tribunatum exciperent aut legati ire uellent, P. Cornelius Aemilianus processit et excepturum se militiae genus, quodcumque imperatum esset, professus est. Quo exemplo omnes ad studium militandi concitauit.

Lucullus cos., cum Claudius Marcellus, cui successerat, pacasse omnes Celtiberiae populos uideretur, Vaccaeos et Cantabros et alias incognitas adhuc in Hispania trentes subegit. Ibi P. Cornelius Scipio Aemilianus, L. Pauli filius, Africani nepos, set adoptiuus, prouocatorem barbarum tribunus militum occidit et in expugnatione Intercatiae urbis maius etiam nunc periculum adiit. Nam murum primus transcendit.

Seruius Sulpicius Galba praetor male aduersus Lusitanos pugnavit. Cum legati ex Africa cum oratoribus Carthaginiensium et Gulussa, Masinissae filio, redissent dicerentque et exercitum se et classem Carthagine deprehendisse, perrogari sententias placuit.

Catone et aliis principibus senatus suadentibus ut in Africam confestim transportaretur exercitus, quoniam Cornelius Nasica dicebat nondum sibi iustam causam belli uideri, placuit ut bello abstinerent, si Carthaginienses classem exussissent et exercitum dimisissent ; si minus, proximi consules de bello Punico referrent.

Cum locatum a censoribus theatrum exstrueretur, P. Cornelio Nasica auctore tamquam inutile et nociturum publicis moribus ex S. C. destructum est populusque aliquamdiu stans ludos spectauit.

Carthaginienses cum aduersus foedus bellum Masinissae intulissent, uicti ab eo annos habente XCII et sine pulpamine mandere et siccum gustare panem tantum solito insuper Romanum bellum meruerunt.

Motus praeterea Syriae et bella inter reges gesta referuntur. Inter quos motus Demetrius, Syriae rex, occisus est.

Tertii Punici belli initium altero et sescentesimo ab Vrbe condita anno, intra quintum annum, quam erat coeptum, consummati.

Inter M. Porcium Catonem et Scipionem Nasicam, quorum alter sapientissimus uir in ciuitate habebatur, alter optimus uir etiam iudicatus a senatu erat, diuersis certatum sententiis est, Catone suadente bellum et ut tolleretur deletereturque Carthago, Nasica dissuadente. Placuit tamen, quod contra foedus naues haberent, quod exercitum extra fines duxissent, quod socio populi R. et amico Masinissae arma intulissent, quod filium eius Gulussam, qui cum legatis Romanis erat, in oppidum non recepissent, bellum his indici.

Prius quam ullae copiae in naues imponerentur, Vticenses legati Romam uenerunt se suaque omnia dedentes. Ea legatio uelut omen grata patribus, acerba Carthaginiensibus fuit.

Ludi Diti patri ad Tarentum ex praecepto librorum facti, qui ante annum centesimum primo Punico bello, quingentesimo et altero anno ab urbe condita facti erant.

Legati XXX Romam uenerunt, per quos se Carthaginienses dedebant. Catonis sententia euicit ut in decreto perstaretur et ut consules quam primum ad bellum proficerentur. Qui ubi in Africam transierunt, acceptis quos imperauerant CCC obsidibus et armis omnibus instrumentisque belli, si qua Carthagine erant, cum ex auctoritate patrum iuberent ut in alium locum, dum a mari X milia

passuum ne minus remotum, oppidum facerent, indignitate rei ad bellandum Carthaginienses compulerunt.

Obsideri obpugnarique coepta est Carthago a L. Marcio M'. Manilio coss. In qua obpugnatione cum neglectos ab una parte muros duo tribuni temere cum cohortibus suis inrupissent et ab oppidanis grauitur caederentur, a Scipione Orfiniato expliciti sunt. Per quem et castellum Romanorum, quod nocte expugnabant, paucis equitibus iuuantibus liberatum est castrorumque, quae Carthaginienses omnibus copiis ab urbe pariter egressi obpugnabant, liberatorum is ipse praecipuam gloriam tulit.

Praeterea cum ab inrita obpugnatione Carthaginis consul (alter enim Romam ad comitia ierat) exercitum duceret aduersus Hasdrubalem (cum ampla manu saltum iniquum insederat) suasit primo consuli ne tam iniquo loco confligeret. Victus deinde conplurium, qui et prudentiae et uirtuti eius inuidebant, sententiis et ipse saltum ingressus est. Cum, sicut praedixerat, fusus fugatusque esset Romanus exercitus et duae cohortes ab hoste obsiderentur, cum paucis equitum turmis in saltum reuersus liberauit eas et incolumes reduxit. Quam uirtutem eius et Cato, uir promptioris ad uituperandum linguae, in senatu sic prosecutus est ut diceret reliquos, qui in Africa militarent, umbras uolitare, Scipionem uigere, et populus R. eo fauore complexus ut comitiis plurimae eum tribus consulem scriberent, cum hoc per aetatem non liceret.

Cum L. Scribonius tr. pl. rogationem promulgasset, ut Lusitani, qui in fidem populo R. dediti ab Seruio Galba in Galliam uenissent, in libertatem restituerentur, M. Cato acerrime suasit. Extat oratio in Annalibus ipsius inclusa.

Q. Fuluius Nobilior ei, saepe ab eo in senatu laceratus, respondit pro Galba; ipse quoque Galba cum se damnari uideret, complexus duos filios praetextatos et Sulpicii Galli filium, cuius tutor erat, ita miserabiliter pro se locutus est ut rogatio antiquaretur. Exstant tres orationes eius, duae aduersus Libonem tr. pl. rogationemque eius habitae de Lusitanis, una contra L. Cornelium Cethegum, in qua Lusitanos prope se castra habentis caesos fatetur, quod compertum habuerit, equo atque homine suo ritu immolatis per speciem pacis adoriri exercitum suum in animo habuisse. Andriscus quidam, ultimae sortis homo, Persei se regis filium ferens et mutato nomine

Philippus uocatus cum ab urbe Romana, quo illum Demetrius, Syriae rex, ob hoc ipsum mendacium miserat, clam profugisset, multis ad falsam eius fabulam uelut ad ueram coeuntibus, contracto exercitu totam Macedoniam aut uoluntate incolentium aut armis occupauit. Fabulam autem talem finxerat:

“Ex paelice se et Perseo rege ortum traditum educandum Cretensi cuidam esse, ut in belli casus quod ille cum Romanis gereret, aliquod uelut semen regiae stirpis exstaret. Hydramyti se educatum usque ad XII aetatis annum, patrem eum esse credentem a quo educaretur, ignarum generis fuisse sui. Adfecto deinde eo, cum prope ad ultimum finem uitae esset, detectam tandem sibi originem suam falsaeque matri libellum datum signo Persei regis signatum, quem sibi traderet, cum ad puberem aetatem uenisset, obtestationesque ultimas adiectas, ut res in occultato ad id tempus seruaretur. Pubescenti libellum traditum in quo relictis sibi duo thesauri a patre dicerentur. Tum scienti mulierem se subditum esse, uerum stirpem ignoranti edidisse genus atque obtestatam, ut prius quam manaret ad Eumenen res, Perseo inimicum, excederet his locis, ne interficeretur. Eo se exterritum, simul sperantem aliquod a Demetrio auxilium in Syriam se contulisse atque ibi primum quis esset palam expromere ausum.”

Thessalia, cum et illam inuadere armis atque occupare Pseudophilippus uellet, per legatos Romanorum auxiliis Achaeorum defensa est. Prusias, rex Bithyniae, omnium humillimorumque uitiorum, a Nicomede filio adiuuante Attalo, rege Pergami, occisus, habebat alterum filium, qui pro superiore ordine dentium enatum habuisse unum os continens dicitur. Cum III legati ad pacem inter Nicomedem et Prusiam faciendam ab Romanis missi essent, cum unus ex his multis cicatricibus sartum caput haberet, alter pedibus aeger esset, tertius ingenio socors haberetur, M. Cato dixit “eam in legationem, nec caput nec pedes nec cor habere.”

In Syria, quae eo tempore stirpe generis parem Macedonum regis, inertia socordiaque similem Prusiae regem habebat, iacente eo in ganea et lustris Hammonius regnabat, per quem et amici omnes regis et Laodice regina et Antigonos, Demetri filius, occisi sunt.

Masinissa, Numidia rex, maior XC annis decessit, uir insignis.

Inter cetera iuuenalia opera, quae ad ultimum edidit adeo etiam neruis in senecta uirgit, ut post sextum et octogesimum annum filium genuerit. Inter tres liberos eius (maximus natu Micipsa, Gulussa, Mastanabal, qui etiam Graecis litteris eruditus erat) P. Scipio Aemilianus, cum commune his regnum pater reliquisset et diuidere eos arbitro Scipione iussisset, partes administrandi regni diuisit. Item Phameae Hamilconi, praefecto equitum Carthaginiensium, uiro forti et cuius praecipua opera Poeni utebantur, persuasit ut ad Romanos cum equitatu suo transiret. Ex tribus legatis qui ad Masinissam missi erant, M. Claudius Marcellus cohorta tempestate fluctibus obrutus est.

Carthaginienses Hasdrubalem, Masinissae nepotem, quem praetorem habebant, hominem proditoris suspectum, in curia occiderunt ; quae suspicio inde manauit, quod propinquus esset Gulussae Romanorum auxilia iuuantis. P. Scipio Aemilianus cum aedilitatem peteret, consul a populo dictus. Quoniam per annos consuli fieri non licebat, cum magno certamine suffragantis plebis et repugnantibus ei aliquamdiu patribus, legibus solutus et consul creatus.

M^o. Manilius aliquot urbes circumpositas Carthagini expugnauit.

Pseudophilippus in Macedonia, caeso cum exercitu P. Iuuentio praetore, ab Q. Caecilio uictus captusque est, et reuicta Macedonia.

Carthago, in circuitum XXIII milia patens, magno labore obsessa et per partes capta est; primum a Mancino legato, deinde a Scipione cos., cui extra sortem Africa prouincia data erat. Carthaginienses portu nouo, quia uetus obstructus a Scipione erat, facto et contracta clam exiguo tempore ampla classe infeliciter nauali proelio pugnaverunt. Hasdrubalis quoque, ducis eorum, castra ad Nopherim oppidum loco difficili sita cum exercitu deleta sunt a Scipione, qui tandem expugnauit septingentesimo anno quam erat condita.

Spoliorum maior pars Siculis, quibus ablata erant, reddita.

Ultimo urbis excidio cum se Hasdrubal Scipioni dedisset, uxor eius, quae paucis ante diebus de marito impetrare non potuerat ut ad uictorem transfugerent, in medium se flagrantis urbis incendium cum duobus liberis ex arce praecipitauit.

Scipio exemplo patris sui, Aemili Pauli, qui Macedoniam uicerat,

ludos fecit transfugasque ac fugitiosos bestiis obiecit.

Belli Achaici semina referuntur haec, quod legati Romani ab Achaeis pulsati sint Corinthi, missi ut eas ciuitates, quae sub ditione Philippi fuerant, ab Achaico concilio secernerent.

Cum Achaeis, qui in auxilio Boeotos et Chalcidenses habebant, Q. Caecilius Metellus ad Thermopylas bello confluxit. Quibus uictis dux eorum Critolaus mortem sibi ueneno consciuit. In cuius locum Diaeus, Achaici motus primus auctor, ab Achaeis dux creatus ad Isthmon a L. Mummius cos. uictus est. Qui omni Achaia in deditionem accepta Corinthon ex S. C. diruit, quia ibi legati Romani uiolati erant. Thebae quoque et Chalcis, quae auxilio fuerant, dirutae. Ipse L. Mummius abstinentissimum uirum egit, nec quicquam ex his operibus ornamentisque quae praediues Corinthos habuit in domum eius peruenit.

Q. Caecilius Metellus de Andrisco triumphauit, P. Cornelius Scipio Aemilianus de Carthagine et Hasdrubale.

Viriathus in Hispania, primum ex pastore uenator, ex uenatore latro, mox iusti quoque exercitus dux factus, totam Lusitaniam occupauit, M. Vetilius praetorem fuso eius exercitu cepit, post quem C. Plautius praetor nihilo felicius rem gessit; tantumque terroris is hostis intulit ut aduersus eum consulari opus esset et duce et exercitu.

Praeterea motus Syriae et bella inter reges gesta referuntur.

Alexander, homo ignotus et incertae stirpis, occiso, sicut ante dictum est, Demetrio rege in Syria regnabat. Hunc Demetrius, Demetri filius, qui a patre quondam ob incertos belli casus ablegatus Cnidon fuerat, contempta socordia inertiaque eius, adiuuante Ptolemaeo, Aegypti rege, cuius filiam Cleopatram in matrimonium acceperat, bello interemit. Ptolemaeus grauiter in caput uulneratus inter curationem, dum ossa medici terebrare conantur, expirauit, atque in locum eius frater minor Ptolemaeus qui Cyrenis regnabat, successit. Demetrius ob crudelitatem quam in suos per tormenta exercebat, ab Diodoto quodam, uno ex subiectis, qui Alexandri filio bimulo admodum regnum adserebat, bello superatus Seleuceam confugit. referuntur.

L. Mummius de Achaeis triumphauit, signa aerea marmoreaque et tabulas pictas in triumpho tulit.

Appius Claudius cos. Salassos, gentem Alpinam, domuit.

Alter Pseudophilippus in Macedonia a L. Tremellio quaestore cum exercitu caesus est.

Q. Caecilius Metellus procos. Celtiberos cecidit et a Q. Fabio procos. magna pars Lusitaniae expugnatis aliquot urbibus recepta est. Acilius senator Graece res Romanas scribit.

Q. Pompeius cos. in Hispania Termestinos subegit. Cum isdem et Numantinis pacem a populo R. infirmatam fecit.

Lustrum a censoribus conditum est. Censa sunt ciuium capita CCCXXVIII milia CCCXLII.

Cum Macedonum legati questum de D. Iunio Silano praetore uenissent, quod acceptis pecuniis prouinciam spoliasset, et senatus de querellis eorum uellet cognoscere, T. Manlius Torquatus, pater Silani, petiit impetravitque ut sibi cognitio mandaretur; et domi causa cognita filium condemnauit abdicauitque. Ac ne funeri quidem eius, cum suspendio uitam finisset, interfuit sedensque domi potestatem consultantibus ex instituto fecit.

Q. Fabius procos. rebus in Hispania prospere gestis labem imposuit pace cum Viriatho aequis condicionibus facta.

Viriathus a proditoribus, consilio Seruili Caepionis, interfectus est et ab exercitu suo multum comploratus ac nobiliter sepultus, uir duxque magnus et per XIII annos quibus cum Romanis bellum gessit, frequentius superior.

P. Cornelio Nasica, cui cognomen Serapion fuit ab inidente Curiatio trib. pleb. impositum, et Dec. Iunio Bruto coss. dilectum habentibus in conspectu tironum res saluberrimi exempli facta est: nam C. Matienius accusatus est apud tribunos pl., quod exercitum ex Hispania deseruisset, damnatusque sub furca diu uirgis caesus est et sestertio nummo ueniit.

Tribuni pleb. quia non inpetrarent ut sibi denos quos uellent milites eximere liceret, consules in carcerem duci iusserunt.

Iunius Brutus cos. in Hispania iis qui sub Viriatho militauerant agros et oppidum dedit, quod uocatum est Valentia.

M. Popilius a Numantinis, cum quibus pacem factam inritam fieri

senatus censuerat, cum exercitu fusus fugatusque est.

C. Hostilio Mancino cos. sacrificante pulli ex cauea euolauerunt; conscendenti deinde in nauem, ut in Hispaniam proficisceretur, accidit uox: "Mane, Mancine". Quae auspicia tristia fuisse euentu probatum est. Victus enim a Numantinis et castris exutus, cum spes nulla seruandi exercitus esset, pacem cum his fecit ignominiosam, quam ratam esse senatus uetuit. XXXX milia Romanorum ab IIII milibus Numantinorum uicta erant.

Decimus Iunius Lusitaniam expugnationibus urbium usque ad Oceanum perdomuit, et cum flumen Obliuionem transire nollent, raptum signifero signum ipse transtulit et sic ut transgrederentur persuasit.

Alexandri filius, rex Syriae, X annos admodum habens, a Diodoto, qui Tryphon cognominabatur, tutore suo, per fraudem occisus est corruptis medicis qui illum calculi dolore consumi ad populum mentiti, dum secant, occiderunt.

Decimus Iunius Brutus in Hispania ulteriore feliciter aduersus Gallaecos pugnavit.

Dissimili euentu M. Aemilius Lepidus procos. aduersus Vaccaeos rem gessit, clademque similem Numantinae passus est.

Ad exsoluendum foederis Numantini religione populum Mancinus, cum huius rei auctor fuisset, deditus Numantinis non est receptus.

Lustrum a censoribus conditum est. Censa sunt ciuium capita CCCXVII milia DCCCCXXXIII.

Fuluius Flaccus cos. Vardeos in Illyrico subegit.

M. Cosconius praetor in Thracia cum Scordiscis prospere pugnavit. Cum bellum Numantinum uitio ducum non sine pudore publico duraret, delatus est ultro Scipioni Africano a senatu populoque R. consulatus; quem cum illi capere ob legem, quae uetabat quemquam iterum consulem fieri, non liceret, sicut priori consulatu legibus solutus est.

Bellum seruile in Sicilia ortum cum opprimi a praetoribus non potuisset, C. Fuluius cos. mandatum est. Huius belli initium fuit Eunus seruus, natione Syrus, qui contracta agrestium seruorum manu et solutis ergastulis iusti exercitus numerum impleuit. Cleon quoque

alter seruus ad LXX milia seruorum contraxit, et iunctis copiis aduersus exercitum Romanum bellum saepe gesserunt.

Scipio Africanus Numantiam obsedit et corruptum licentia luxuriaque exercitum ad seuerissimam militiae disciplinam reuocauit. Omnia deliciarum instrumenta recidit, duo milia scortorum a castris eiecit, militem cotidie in opere habuit et XXX dierum frumentum ad septenos uallos ferre cogebat. Aegre propter onus incedenti dicebat: “cum gladio te uallare scieris, uallum ferre desinito”; alii scutum parum habiliter ferenti, “amplius eum scutum iusto ferre, neque id se reprehendere, quando melius scuto quam gladio uteretur “. Quem militem extra ordinem deprehendit, si Romanus esset, uitibus, si extraneus, uirgis cecidit. Iumenta omnia, ne exonerarent militem, uendidit. Saepe aduersus eruptiones hostium feliciter pugnavit. Vaccaei obsessi liberis coniugibusque trucidatis ipsi se interemerunt.

Scipio amplissima munera missa sibi ab Antiocho, rege Syriae, cum celare aliis imperatoribus regum munera mos esset, pro tribunali accepturum se esse dixit omniaque ea quaestorem referre in publicas tabulas iussit: ex his se uiris fortibus dona esse daturum. Cum undique Numantiam obsidione clusisset et obsessos fame uideret urgeri, hostes qui pabulatum exierant, uetuit occidi, quia diceret uelocius eos absumpturos frumenti quod haberent, si plures fuissent.

Tib. Sempronius Gracchus trib. pleb. cum legem agrariam ferret aduersus uoluntatem senatus et equestris ordinis: nequis ex publico agro plus quam mille iugera possideret, in eum furorem exarsit ut M. Octauio collegae causam diuersae partis defendenti potestatem lege lata abrogaret, seque et C. Gracchum fratrem et Appium Claudium socerum triumuiros ad diuidendum agrum crearet. Promulgauit et aliam legem agrariam, qua sibi latius agrum patefaceret, ut idem triumuiroi iudicarent, qua publicus ager, qua priuatus esset. Deinde cum minus agri esset quam quod diuidi posset sine offensa etiam plebis, quoniam eos ad cupiditatem amplum modum sperandi incitauerat, legem se promulgaturum ostendit ut his, qui Sempronia lege agrum accipere deberent, pecunia quae regis Attali fuisset diuideretur. Heredem autem populum Romanum reliquerat Attalus,

rex Pergami, Eumenis filius.

Tot indignitatibus commotus grauiter senatus, ante omnis T. Annii consularis. Qui cum in senatu in Gracchum perorasset, raptus ab eo ad populum delatusque plebi, rursus in eum pro rostris contionatus est. Cum iterum trib. pleb. creari uellet Gracchus, auctore P. Cornelio Nasica in Capitolio ab optimatibus occisus est, ictus primum fragmentis subselli, et inter alios qui in eadem seditione occisi erant insepultus in flumen proiectus.

Res praeterea in Sicilia uario euentu aduersus fugitiuos gestas continet.

Numantini fame coacti ipsi se per uicem traicientes trucidauerunt, captam urbem Scipio Africanus deleuit et de ea triumphauit XIII anno post Carthaginem deletam.

P. Rupilius cos. in Sicilia cum fugitiuis debellauit.

Aristonicus, Eumenis regis filius, Asiam occupauit, cum testamento Attali regis legata populo R. libera esse deberet. Aduersus eum P. Licinius Crassus cos., cum idem pontifex max. esset, quod numquam antea factum erat, extra Italiam profectus proelio uictus et occisus est. M. Perperna cos. uictum Aristonicum in deditionem accepit.

Q. Pompeius Q. Metellus, tunc primum uterque ex plebe facti censores, lustrum condiderunt. Censa sunt ciuium capita CCCXVIII milia DCCCXXIII praeter pupillos, pupillas et uiduas.

Q. Metellus censor censuit ut cogerentur omnes ducere uxores liberorum creandorum causa. Extat oratio eius, quam Augustus Caesar, cum de maritandis ordinibus ageret, uelut in haec tempora scriptam in senatu recitauit.

C. Atinius Labeo trib. pleb. Q. Metellum censorem, a quo in senatu legendo praeteritus erat, de Saxo deici iussit ; quod ne fieret, ceteri tribuni plebis auxilio tuerunt.

Cum Carbo trib. plebi rogationem tulisset, ut eumdem tribunum pleb., quotiens uellet, creare liceret, rogationem eius P. Africanus grauissima oratione dissuasit ; in qua dixit Ti. Gracchum iure caesum uideri. C. Gracchus contra suasit rogationem, sed Scipio tenuit.

Bella inter Antiochum, Syriae, et Phraaten, Parthorum regem, gesta nec magis quietae res Aegypti referuntur: Ptolemaeus

Euergetes cognominatus, ob nimiam crudelitatem suis inuisus, incensa a populo regia clam Cypron profugit, et cum sorori eius Cleopatrae, quam filia eius uirgine per uim compressa atque in matrimonium ducta repudiauerat, regnum a populo datum esset, infensus filium quem ex illa habebat in Cypro occidit caputque eius et manus et pedes matri misit.

Seditiones a triumuiris Fuluius Flacco et C. Graccho et C. Papirio Carbone agro diuidendo creatis excitatae. Cum P. Scipio Africanus aduersaretur fortisque ac ualidus pridie domum se recepisset, mortuus in cubiculo inuentus est. Suspecta fuit, tamquam ei uenenum dedisset, Sempronia uxor hinc maxime quod soror esset Gracchorum cum quibus similtas Africano fuerat. De morte tamen eius nulla quaestio acta. Defuncto eo acrius seditiones triumuirales exarserunt.

C. Sempronius cos. aduersus Iapydas primo male rem gessit, mox uictoria cladem acceptam emendauit uirtute Decimi Iuni Bruti, eius qui Lusitaniam subegerat.

L. Aurelius cos. bellantes Sardos subegit.

M. Fuluius Flaccus primus transalpinos Liguras domuit bello, missus in auxilium Massiliensium aduersus Salluios Gallos, qui fines Massiliensium populabantur.

L. Opimius praetor Fregellanos, qui defecerant, in deditionem accepit, Fregellas diruit.

Pestilentia in Africa ab ingenti lucustarum multitudine et deinde necatarum strage fuisse traditur.

Lustrum a censoribus conditum est. Censa sunt ciuium capita CCCXCIII milia DCCXXXVI.

C. Gracchus, Tiberi frater, trib. plebis, eloquentior quam frater, perniciosas aliquot leges tulit, inter quas frumentariam, ut senis et triente frumentum plebi daretur; alteram legem agrariam quam et frater eius tulerat; tertiam, qua equestrem ordinem tunc cum senatu consentientem corrumperet, ut sescenti ex equite in curiam sublegerentur et, quia illis temporibus CCC tantum senatores erant, DC equites CCC senatoribus admiscerentur, id est ut equester ordo bis tantum uirium in senatu haberet. Et continuato in alterum annum tribunatu legibus agrariis latis effecit ut complures coloniae in Italia deducerentur et una in solo dirutae Carthagini, quo ipse triumuir

creatus coloniam deduxit.

Praeterea res a Q. Metello cos. aduersus Baleares gestas continet, quos Graeci Gymnesios appellant, quia aestatem nudi exigunt. Baleares a teli missu appellati aut a Balio, Herculis comite ibi relicto, cum Hercules ad Geryonem nauigaret.

Motus quoque Syriae referuntur, in quibus Cleopatra Demetrium uirum suum et Seleucum filium indignata quod occiso patre eius a se iniussu suo diadema sumpsisset, interemit.

C. Sextius procos. uicta Salluuiorum gente coloniam Aquas Sextias condidit, ob aquarum copiam e caldis frigidisque fontibus atque a nomine suo ita appellatas.

Cn. Domitius procos. aduersus Allobrogas ad oppidum Vindalium feliciter pugnavit. Quibus bellum inferendi causa fuit quod Toutomotulum, Salluuiorum regem, fugientem recepissent et omni ope iuuissent, quodque Aeduorum agros, sociorum populi R., uastassent.

C. Gracchus seditioso tribunatu acto cum Auentinum quoque armata multitudo occupasset, a L. Opimio cos. ex S. C. uocato ad arma populo pulsus et occisus est, et cum eo Fuluius Flaccus consularis, socius eiusdem furoris.

Q. Fabius Maximus cos., Pauli nepos, aduersus Allobrogas et Bituitum, Aruernorum regem, feliciter pugnavit. Ex Bituiti exercitu occisa milia CXX; ipse cum ad satisfaciendum senatui Romam profectus esset, Albam cusdodiendus datus est, quia contra pacem uidebatur, ut in Galliam remitteretur. Decretum quoque est, ut Congonnetiacus, filius eius, comprehensus Romam mitteretur. Allobroges in deditionem recepi.

L. Opimius accusatus apud populum a Q. Decio trib. pl., quod indemnatos ciues in carcerem coniecisset, absolutus est.

Q. Marcius cos. Stynos, gentem Alpinam, expugnauit.

Micipsa, Numidia rex, mortuus regnum tribus filiis reliquit: Atherbali, Hiempsali, Iugurthae, fratris filio, quem adoptauerat.

L. Caecilius Metellus Dalmatas subegit.

Iugurtha Hiempsalem fratrem petiit bello. Qui uictus occiditur;

Atherbalem regno expulit; is a senatu restitutus est.

L. Caecilius Metellus Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus censores duos et XXX senatu mouerunt.

Praeterea motus Syriae regumque continet.

C. Porcius cos. in Thracia male aduersus Scordiscos pugnavit.

Lustrum a censoribus conditum est. Censa sunt ciuium capita CCCXCIII milia CCCXXXVI.

Aemilia, Licinia, Marcia, uirgines Vestales, incesti damnatae sunt, idque incestum quem ad modum et commissum et deprehensum et uindicatum sit re fertur.

Cimbri, gens uaga populabundi in Illyricum uenerunt. Ab his Papirius Carbo cos. cum exercitu fusus est.

Liuius Drusus cos. aduersus Scordiscos, gentem a Gallis oriundam, in Thracia feliciter pugnavit.

Atherbal bello petitus ab Iugurtha et in oppido Cirtha obsessus contra denuntiationem senatus ab eo occisus est, et ob hoc bellum Iugurthae indictum, idque Calpurnius Bestia cos. gerere iussus pacem cum Iugurtha iniussu populi et senatus fecit.

Iugurtha fide publica euocatus ad indicandos auctores consiliorum suorum, quod multos pecunia in senatu corrupisse dicebatur, Romam uenit et propter caedem admissam in regulum quemdam nomine Massiam, qui regnum eius populo R. inuasi adfectabat, Romae interfectum cum periclitaretur causam capitis dicere, clam profugit et cedens urbe fertur dixisse : “O urbem uenalem et cito perituram, si emptorem inuenerit.”

A. Postumius legatus infeliciter proelio aduersus Iugurtham gesto pacem quoque adiecit ignominiosam, quam non esse seruandam senatus censuit.

Q. Caecilius Metellus cos. duobus proeliis Iugurtham fudit totamque Numidiam uastauit.

M. Iunius Silanus cos. aduersus Cimbros infeliciter pugnavit. Legatis Cimbrorum sedem et agros in quibus consisterent postulantiibus senatus negauit.

M. Minucius procos. aduersus Thracas prospere pugnavit.

L. Cassius cos. a Tigurinis Gallis, pago Heluetiorum, qui a ciuitate secesserant, in finibus Nitiobrogum cum exercitu caesus est.

Milites, qui ex ea caede superauerant, obsidibus datis et dimidia rerum omnium parte, ut incolumes dimitterentur, cum hostibus pacti sunt.

Iugurtha pulsus a C. Mario Numidia cum auxilio Bocchi, Maurorum regis, adiutus esset, caesis proelio Bocchi quoque copiis, nolente Boccho bellum infelicer suscepiens diutius sustinere uinctus ab eo et Mario traditus est; in qua re praecipua opera L. Corneli Syllae, quaestoris C. Mari, fuit.

M. Aurelius Scaurus, legatus consulis, a Cimbris fuso exercitu captus est, et cum in consilium ab his aduocatus deterreret eos ne Alpes transirent Italiam petiti, eo quod diceret Romanos uinci non posse, a Boiorum, feroci iuvene, occisus est. Ab isdem hostibus Cn. Manlius cos. et Q. Seruilius Caepio procos. uicti proelio castris quoque binis exuti sunt, militum milia LXXX occisa, calorum et lixarum XL (secundum Antiatem) apud Arausionem. Caepionis, cuius temeritate clades accepta erat, damnata bona publicata sunt, primi post regem Tarquinium imperiumque ei abrogatum. In triumpho C. Mari ductus ante currum eius Iugurtha cum duobus filiis et in carcere necatus est.

Marius triumphali ueste in senatum uenit, quod nemo ante eum fecerat, eique propter metum Cimbrici belli continuatus per complures annos est consulatus. Secundo et tertio absens consul creatus quartum consulatum dissimulanter captans consecutus est.

Cn. Domitius pont. max. populi suffragio creatus est.

Cimbri uastatis omnibus quae inter Rhodanum et Pyrenaeum sunt, per saltum in Hispaniam transgressi ibique multa loca populi a Celtiberis fugati sunt, reuersique in Galliam in Velicassis se Teutonibus coniunxerunt.

M. Antonius praetor in Ciliciam maritimos praedones—id est piratas—persecutus est.

C. Marius cos. summa ui oppugnata a Teutonibus et Ambroniis castra defendit.

Duobus deinde proeliis circa Aquas Sextias eosdem hostes deleuit, in quibus caesa traduntur hostium CC milia, capta XC.

Marius absens quinto cos. creatus est. Triumphum oblatum, donec et Cimbros uinceret, distulit.

Cimbri cum repulso ab Alpibus fugatoque Q. Catulo procos., qui fauces Alpium obsidebat, (ad flumen Athesim cohortem quae castellum editum insederat, reliquerat, quae tamen uirtute sua explicata fugientem procos. exercitumque consecuta est) in Italiam traiecissent, iunctis eiusdem Catuli et C. Mari exercitibus, proelio uicti sunt ; in quo caesa traduntur hostium milia CXL, capta LX.

Marius totius ciuitatis consensu exceptus pro duobus triumphis qui offerebantur, uno contentus fuit. Primores ciuitatis, qui ei aliquamdiu ut nouo homini ad tantos honores euecto inuiderant, conserua tam ab eo rem p. fatebantur.

Publicius Marcellus matre occisa primus in culleo insutus in mare praecipitatus est.

Ancilia cum strepitu mota esse, antequam Cimbricum bellum consummaretur, refertur.

Bella praeterea inter Syriae reges gesta continet.

L. Apuleius Saturninus, adiuuante C. Mario et per milites occiso A. Nunnio competitore tribunus plebis per uim creatus, non minus uiolenter tribunatum, quam petierat, gessit et cum legem agrariam per uim tulisset, diem dixit. Qui cum a bonis ciuibus defenderetur, ne causa certaminum esset, in exilium uoluntarium, Rhodum profectus est, ibique audiendo et legendo magnos uiros auocabatur.

Profecto C. Marius, seditionis auctor, cui sextum consulatum pecunia per tribus sparsa emerat, aqua et igni interdixit.

Idem Apuleius Saturninus trib. pleb. C. Memmium, candidatum consulatus, quoniam aduersarium eum actionibus suis timebat, occidit. Quibus rebus concitato senatu, in cuius causam et C. Marius, homo uarii mutabilis ingenii consiliiue semper secundum fortunam, transierat, oppressus armis cum Glaucia praetore et aliis eiusdem furoris sociis bello quodam interfectus est.

Q. Caecilius Metellus ab exilio ingenti totius ciuitatis fauore reductus est.

M'. Aquilius procos. in Sicilia bellum seruile excitatum confecit.

Cum M'. Aquilius de pecuniis repetundis causam diceret, ipse iudices rogare noluit ; M. Antonius, qui pro eo perorabat, tunicam a pectore eius discidit, ut honestas cicatrices ostenderet. Indubitate absolutus est. Cicero eius rei solus auctor.

T. Didius procos. aduersus Celtiberos feliciter pugnavit.

Ptolemaeus, Cyrenarum rex, cui cognomen Apionis fuit, mortuus heredem populum R. reliquit et eius regni ciuitates senatus liberas esse iussit. Ariobarzanes in regnum Cappadociae a L. Cornelio Sylla reductus est. Parthorum legati a rege Arsace missi uenerunt ad Syllam ut amicitiam populi R. peterent.

P. Rutilius, uir summae innocentiae, quoniam legatus C. Muci procos. a publicanorum iniuriis Asiam defenderat, inuisus equestri ordini penes quem iudicia erant, repetundarum damnatus in exilium missus est.

C. Sentius praetor aduersus Thracas infeliciter pugnavit.

Senatus, cum impotentiam equestris ordinis in iudiciis exercendis ferre nollet, omni ui eniti coepit ut ad se iudicia transferret, sustinente causam eius M. Liuius Drusus trib. pleb., qui ut uires sibi acquireret, perniciose spe largitionum plebem concitauit.

Praeterea motus Syriae regnumque continet.

M. Liuius Drusus trib. pleb., quo maioribus uiribus senatus causam susceptam tueretur, socios et Italicos populos spe ciuitatis Romanae sollicitauit, iisque adiuuantibus per uim legibus agrariis frumentariisque latis iudiciariam quoque pertulit ut aequa parte iudicia penes senatum et equestrem ordinem essent. Cum deinde promissa sociis ciuitas praestari non posset, irati Italici defectionem agitare coeperunt. Eorum coetus coniurationesque et orationes in consiliis principum referuntur. Propter quae Liuius Drusus inuisus etiam senatui factus uelut socialis belli auctor, incertum a quo domi occisus est.

Italici populi defecerunt: Picentes, Vestini, Marsi, Paeligni, Marrucini, Samnites, Lucani. Initio belli a Picentibus moto Q. Seruilius procos. in oppido Asculo cum omnibus ciuibus R. qui in eo oppido erant occisus est. Saga populus sumpsit.

Seruius Galba a Lucanis comprehensus unius feminae opera, ad quam deuertebatur, e captiuitate receptus est. Aesernia et Alba coloniae ab Italicis obsessae sunt. Auxilia deinde Latini nominis et exterarum gentium missa populo R. et expeditiones inuicem expugnationesque urbium referuntur.

L. Iulius Caesar cos. male aduersus Samnites pugnauit. Nola colonia in potestatem Samnitium uenit cum L. Postumio praetore qui ab his interfectus est.

Complures populi ad hostes defecerunt. Cum P. Rutilius cos. parum prospere aduersus Marsos pugnasset et in eo proelio cecidisset, C. Marius, legatus eius, meliore euentu cum hostibus acie conflixit.

Seruius Sulpicius Paelignos proelio fudit.

Q. Caepio, legatus Rutili, cum obsessus prospere in hostes inrupisset, et ob eum successum aequatum ei cum C. Mario esset imperium, temerarius factus et circumuentus insidiis fuso exercitu cecidit.

L. Iulius Caesar cos. feliciter aduersus Samnites pugnauit. Ob eam uictoriam Romae saga posita sunt.

Et ut uaria belli fortuna esset, Aeserna colonia cum M. Marcello in potestatem Samnitium uenit, sed et C. Marius proelio Marsos fudit, Hierio Asinio, praetore Marrucinatorum, occiso.

C. Caelius in Gallia transalpina Salluuios rebellantes uicit.

Cn. Pompeius Picentes proelio fudit et Asculum obsedit. Propter quam uictoriam Romae praetextae et alia magistratuum insignia sumpta sunt. C. Marius cum Marsis dubio euentu pugnauit. Libertini tunc primum militare coeperunt.

A. Plotius legatus Vmbros, L. Porcius praetor Etruscos, cum uterque populus defecisset, proelio uicerunt.

Nicomedes in Bithyniae, Ariobarzanes in Cappadociae regnum reducti sunt.

Cn. Pompeius cos. Marsos acie uicit. Cum aere alieno pressa esset ciuitas, A. Sempronius Asellio praetor, quoniam secundum debitores ius dicebat, ab his qui faenerabant in foro occisus est.

Praeterea incursiones Thracum in Macedoniam populationesque

continet.

A. Postumius Albinus legatus cum classi praeesset, infamis crimine perduellionis, ab exercitu suo interfectus est.

L. Cornelius Sylla legatus Samnites proelio uicit et bina castra eorum expugnauit.

Cn. Pompeius Vestinos in deditionem accepit.

L. Porcius cos. rebus prospere gestis fuisque aliquotiens Marsis, dum castra eorum expugnat, cecidit. Ea res hostibus uictoriam eius proelii dedit.

Cosconius et Lucanus Samnites acie uicerunt, Marium Egnatium, nobilissimum hostium ducem, occiderunt, compluraque oppida in deditionem acceperunt.

L. Sylla Hirpinos domuit, Samnites pluribus proeliis fudit, aliquot populos recepit, quantisque raro quisquam alius ante consulatum rebus gestis ad petitionem consulatus Romam est profectus.

A. Gabinius legatus rebus aduersus Lucanos prospere gestis et plurimis oppidis expugnatis in obsidione hostium castrorum cecidit.

Sulpicius legatus Marrucinos cecidit totamque eam regionem recepit. Cn. Pompeius procos. Vestinos et Paelignos in deditionem accepit. Marsi quoque a L. Cinna et Caecilio Pio legatis aliquot proeliis fracti petere pacem coeperunt.

Asculum a Cn. Pompeio captum est.

Caesis et a Mamercio Aemilio legato Italicis Silo Poppaediis, dum Marsorum, auctor eius rei, in proelio cecidit.

Ariobarzanes Cappadociae, Nicomedes Bithyniae regno a Mithridate, Ponti rege, pulsus sunt.

Praeterea incursiones Thracum in Macedoniam populationesque continet.

Mithridates Asiam occupauit, Q. Oppium procos., item Aquilium legatum in uincula coniecit, iussuque eius, quidquid ciuium R. in Asia fuit uno die trucidatum est. Urbem Rhodum, quae sola in fide populi R. manserat, expugnauit et aliquot proeliis naualibus uictus recessit.

Archelaus, praefectus regis, in Graeciam cum exercitu uenit,

Athenas occupauit.

Praeterea trepidationem urbium insularumque, filiis ad Mithridaten, aliis ad populum R. ciuitates suas trahentibus, continet.

L. Cornelius Cinna cos. cum perniciosas leges per uim atque arma ferret, pulsus urbe ab Cn. Octauio collega cum sex tribunis plebis imperioque ei abrogato, corruptum Appi Claudii exercitum in potestatem suam redegit et bellum urbi intulit, arcessito C. Mario ex Africa cum filiis exulibus. In quo bello duo fratres, alter ex Pompei exercitu, alter ex Cinnae, ignorantes concurrerunt, et cum uictor spoliaret occisum, agnito fratre ingenti lamentatione edita, rogo ei extructo, ipse se supra rogum transfodit et eodem igne consumptus est.

Et cum opprimi inter initia potuisset, Cn. Pompei fraude, qui utramque partem fouendo uires Cinnae dedit nec nisi profligatis optimatium rebus auxilium tulit, et consulis segnitia confirmati Cinna et Marius quattuor exercitibus, ex quibus duo Q. Sertorio et Carboni dati sunt, urbem circumsederunt.

Ostiam coloniam Marius expugnauit et crudeliter diripuit.

Italicis populis a senatu ciuitas data est. Samnites, qui soli arma recipiebant, Cinnae et Mario se coniunxerunt. Ab his Plautius legatus cum exercitu caesus est. Cinna et Marius cum Carbone et Sertorio Ianiculum oppugnauerunt et fugati ab Octauio consule recesserunt. Marius Antium et Ariciam et Lanuuium colonias expugnauit. Cum spes nulla esset optimatibus resistendi propter segnitiam et perfidiam et ducum et militum, qui corrupti aut pugnare nolebant, aut in diuersas partes transiebant, Cinna et Marius in urbem recepti sunt ; qui uelut captam eam caedibus ac rapinis uastauerunt, Cn. Octauio cos. occiso et omnibus aduersae partis nobilibus trucidatis, inter quos M. Antonio, eloquentissimo uiro, et Gaio Lucioque Caesare, quorum capita in rostris posita sunt. Crassus filius ab equitibus Fimbriae occisus, pater Crassus, ne quid indignum uirtute sua pateretur, gladio se transfixit. Et citra ulla comitia consules in sequentem annum se ipsos renuntiauerunt. Eodemque die quo magistratum inierant, Marius S. Licinium senatorem de Saxo deici iussit, editisque plurimis sceleribus idibus Ianuar. decessit. Vir, cuius si examinentur

cum uirtutibus uitia, haud facile sit dictu utrum bello melior an pace perniciosior fuerit. Adeo quam rem p. armatus seruauit, eam primo togatus omni genere fraudis, postremo armis hostiliter euertit.

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L. Sylla Athenas, quas Archelaus, praefectus Mithridatis, occupauerat, circumsegit et cum magno labore expugnavit. Vrbi libertatem et quae habuerat reddidit.

Magnesia, quae sola in Asia ciuitas in fide manserat, sua uirtute aduersus Mithridatem defensa est.

Praeterea excursions Thracum in Macedoniam continet.

Sylla copias regis, quae Macedonia occupata in Thessaliam

uenerant, proelio uicit, caesis hostium et castris quoque expugnatis. Renouato deinde bello iterum exercitum regis fudit ac deleuit.

Archelaus cum classe regia Syllae se tradidit.

L. Valerius Flaccus cos., collega Cinnae, missus ut Syllae succederet, propter auaritiam inuisus exercitui suo a C. Fimbria, legato ipsius, ultimae audaciae homine, occisus est et imperium ad Fimbriam translatum.

Praeterea expugnatae in Asia urbes a Mithridate et crudeliter direpta prouincia, incursiones Thracum in Macedoniam referuntur.

Flavius Fimbria in Asia fuis proelio aliquot praefectis Mithridatis urbem Pergamum cepit obsessumque regem non multum afuit quin caperet. Urbem Ilium, quae se potestati Syllae reseruabat, expugnauit ac deleuit et magnam partem Asiae recepit.

Sylla compluribus proeliis Thracas cecidit.

Cum L. Cinna et Cn. Papirius Carbo, a se ipsis coss. per biennium creati, bellum contra Syllam praepararent, effectum est per L. Valerium Flaccum, principem senatus, qui orationem in senatu habuit, et per eos qui concordiae studebant, ut legati ad Syllam de pace mitterentur.

Cinna ab exercitu suo, quem inuitum cogebat naues conscendere et aduersus Syllam proficisci, interfectus est.

Consulatum Carbo solus gessit.

Sylla cum in Asiam traiecisset, pacem cum Mithridate fecit ita ut his cederet prouinciis : Asia, Bithynia, Cappadocia.

Fimbria desertus ab exercitu qui ad Syllam transierat, ipse se percussit impetrauitque de seruo suo, praebens ceruicem, ut se occideret.

Sylla legatis, qui a senatu missi erant, futurum se in potestate senatus respondit, si ciues, qui pulsati a Cinna ad se confugerant, restituerentur. Quae condicio cum iusta senatui uideretur, per Carbonem factionemque eius, cui bellum uidebatur utilius, ne conueniret effectum est. Idem Carbo cum ab omnibus Italiae oppidis coloniisque obsides exigere uellet, ut fidem eorum contra Syllam obligaret, consensu senatus prohibitus est.

Nouis ciuibus S. C. suffragium datum est.

Q. Metellus Pius, qui partes optimatum secutus erat, cum in Africa bellum moliretur, a C. Fabio praetore pulsus est, senatusque consultum per factionem Carbonis et Marianarum partium factum est, ut omnes ubique exercitus dimitterentur.

Libertini in quinque et XXX tribus distributi sunt.

Praeterea belli apparatus, quod contra Syllam excitabatur, continet.

Sulla in Italiam traiecit missisque legatis, qui de pace agerent, et ab cos. C. Norbano uiolatis eundem Norbanum proelio uicit. Et cum L. Scipionis, alterius cos., cum quo per omnia id egerat ut pacem iungeret nec potuerat, castra oppugnaturus esset, uniuersus exercitus consulis, sollicitatus per emissos a Sylla milites, signa ad Syllam transtulit. Scipio cum occidi posset, dimissus est.

Cn. Pompeius, Cn. Pompei eius qui Asculum ceperat filius, conscripto uoluntariorum exercitum cum tribus legionibus ad Syllam uenerat, ad quem se nobilitas omnis conferebat, ita ut deserta urbe ad castra ueniretur.

Praeterea expeditiones per totam Italiam utriusque partis ducum referuntur.

Cum C. Marius, C. Mari filius, cos. ante annos XX per uim creatus esset, C. Fabius in Africa propter crudelitatem et auaritiam suam in praetorio suo uiuus exustus est.

L. Philippus, legatus Syllae, Sardiniam Q. Antonio praetore pulso et occiso occupauit.

Sylla cum Italicis populis, ne timeretur ab his uelut erepturus ciuitatem et suffragii ius nuper datum, foedus percussit. Itemque ex fiducia iam certae uictoriae litigatores a quibus adibatur uadimonia Romam deferre iussit, cum a parte diuersa urbs adhuc teneretur.

L. Damasippus praetor ex uoluntate C. Mari cos. cum senatum contraxisset, omnem quae in urbe erat nobilitatem trucidauit. Ex cuius numero Q. Mucius Scaeuola pont. max. fugiens in uestibulo aedis Vestae occisus est.

Praeterea bellum a L. Murena aduersus Mithridatem in Asia renouatum continet.

Sylla C. Marium, exercitu eius fuso delectoque ad Sacriportum, in oppido Praeneste obsedit, urbem Romam ex inimicorum manibus recepit. Marium erumpere temptantem reppulit.

Praeterea res a legatis eius eadem ubique fortuna partium gestas continet.

Sylla Carbonem, eius exercitu ad Clusium ad Fautentiam Fidentiamque caeso, Italia expulit, cum Samnitibus, qui soli ex Italicis populis nondum arma posuerant, iuxta urbem Romanam ante portam Collinam debellauit, reciperataque re p. pulcherrimam uictoriam crudelitate quanta in nullo hominum fuit, inquinauit.

VIII milia dediticiorum in uilla publica trucidauit, tabulam proscriptionis posuit, urbem ac totam Italiam caedibus repleuit inter quas omnes Praenestinos inermes concidi iussit, Marium, senatorii ordinis uirum, cruribus brachiisque fractis, auribus praeseectis et oculis effossis necauit.

C. Marius Praeneste obsessus a Lucretio Ofella, Syllanarum partium uiro, cum per cuniculum captaret euadere saeptum exercitu, mortem consciuit. Id est, in ipso cuniculo, cum sentiret se euadere non posse, cum Telesino, fugae comite, stricto utrimque gladio concurrat; quem cum occidisset, ipse saucius impetrauit a seruo ut se occideret.

M. Brutus a Cn. Papirio Carbone Cossyra, quam adpulerant, missus naue piscatoria Lilybaeum, ut exploraret an ibi iam Pompeius esset et circumuentus nauibus quas Pompeius miserat, in se mucrone uerso ad transtrum nauis obnixus corporis pondere incubuit.

Cn. Pompeius in Siciliam cum imperio a senatu missus Cn. Carbonem, qui flens muliebriter mortem tulit, captum occidit.

Sylla dictator factus, quod nemo umquam fecerat, cum fascibus XXIII processit.

Legibus nouis rei pub. statum confirmauit, tribunorum pleb. potestatem minuit et omne ius legum ferendarum ademit, pontificum augurumque collegium ampliavit ut essent XV, senatum ex equestri ordine suppleuit, proscriptorum liberis ius petendorum honorum eripuit et bona eorum uendidit, ex quibus plurima primo rapuit. Redactum est sestertium ter milies quingenties.

Q. Lucretium Ofellam aduersus uoluntatem suam consulatum petere ausum iussit occidi in foro, et cum hoc indigne ferret populus R., contione aduocata se iussisse dixit.

Cn. Pompeius in Africa Cn. Domitium proscriptum et Hiertam, regem Numidia, bellum molientes uictos occidit et quattuor et XX annos natus, adhuc eques R., quod nulli contigerat, ex Africa triumphauit.

C. Norbanus consularis proscriptus, in urbe Rhodo cum comprehenderetur, ipse se occidit.

Mutilus, unus ex proscriptis, clam capite adoperto ad posticias aedes Bastiae uxoris cum accessisset, admissus non est quia illum proscriptum diceret. Itaque ipse se transfodit et sanguine suo fores uxoris respersit. Sylla Nolam in Samnio recepit. XLVII legiones in agros captos deducit et eos his diuisit.

Volaterras, quod oppidum adhuc in armis erat, obsessum in deditionem accepit.

Mitylenae quoque in Asia, quae sola urbs post uictum Mithridaten arma retinebat, expugnatae dirutaeque sunt.

Sylla decessit honosque ei a senatu habitus est, ut in campo Martio sepeliretur.

M. Lepidus cum acta Syllae temptaret rescindere, bellum excitauit. A Q. Catulo collega Italia pulsus et in Sardinia frustra bellum molitus periit.

M. Brutus, qui Cisalpinam Galliam obtinebat, a Cn. Pompeio occisus est.

Q. Sertorius proscriptus in ulteriore Hispania ingens bellum excitauit.

L. Manlius procos. et M. Domitius legatus ab Hirtuleio quaestore proelio uicti sunt.

Praeterea res a P. Seruilio procos. aduersus Cilicas gestas continet.

Cn. Pompeius cum adhuc eques R. esset, cum imperio proconsulari aduersus Sertorium missus est. Sertorius aliquot urbes expugnauit plurimasque ciuitates in potestatem suam redegit.

Appius Claudius procos. Thracas pluribus proeliis uicit.

Q. Metellus procos. L. Hirtuleium, quaestorem Sertori, cum exercitu cecidit.

Cn. Pompeius dubio euentu cum Sertorio pugnavit, ita ut singula ex utraque parte cornua uicerint. Q. Metellus Sertorium et Perpernam cum duobus exercitibus proelio fudit, cuius uictoriae partem cupiens ferre Pompeius parum prospere pugnavit. Obsessus deinde Cluniae Sertorius adsiduis eruptionibus non leuiora damna obsidentibus intulit.

Praeterea res ab Curione procos. in Thracia gestas aduersus Dardanos et Q. Sertori multa crudelia in suos facta continet; qui plurimos ex amicis et secum proscriptis crimine pro insimulatos occidit.

P. Seruilius procos. in Cilicia Isauros domuit et aliquot urbes piratarum expugnauit.

Nicomedes, Bithyniae rex, populum R. fecit heredem regnumque eius in prouinciae formam redactum est.

Mithridates foedere cum Sertorio icto bellum populo R. intulit. Apparatus dein regiarum copiarum pedestrium naualiumque; et occupata Bithynia M. Aurelius Cotta cos. ad Calchedona proelio a rege uictus; resque a Pompeio et Metello aduersus Sertorium qui omnibus belli militiaeque artibus par fuit. Ab obsidione Calagurris oppidi depulsos coegerit diuersas regiones petere, Metellum ulteriorem Hispaniam, Pompeium Galliam.

L. Licinius Lucullus cos. aduersus Mithridaten equestribus proeliis feliciter pugnavit et aliquot expeditiones prosperas fecit poscentesque pugnam milites a seditione inhibuit.

Deiotarus, Gallograeciae tetrarches, praefectos Mithridatis bellum in Phrygia mouentes cecidit.

Praeterea res a Cn. Pompeio in Hispania contra Sertorium prospere gestas continet.

C. Curio procos. Dardanos in Thracia domuit. IIII et LXX gladiatores Capuae ex ludo Lentuli profugerunt et congregata seruitiorum ergastulorumque multitudine Crixo et Spartaco ducibus

bello excitato Claudium Pulchrum legatum et P. Varenum praetorem proelio uicerunt.

L. Lucullus procos. ad Cyzicum urbem exercitum Mithridatis fame ferroque deleuit, pulsumque Bithynia regem uariis belli ac naufragiorum casibus tractum coegit in Pontum profugere.

Q. Arrius praetor Crixum, fugitiuorum ducem, cum XX milia hominum cecidit.

Cn. Lentulus cos. male aduersus Spartacum pugnavit. Ab eodem L. Gellius cos. et Q. Arrius praetor acie uicti sunt.

Sertorius a M. Perpenna et M. Antonio et aliis coniuratis in conuiuio interfectus est octauo ducatus sui anno ; magnus dux et aduersus duos imperatores, Pompeium et Metellum, uel frequentius uictor, ad ultimum et saeuus et prodigus.

Imperium partium ad Marcum Perpernam translatum, quem Cn. Pompeius uictum captumque interfecit, ac recepit Hispanias decimo fere anno quam coeptum erat bellum.

C. Cassius procos. et Cn. Manlius praetor male aduersus Spartacum pugnaverunt idque bellum M. Crasso praetori mandatum est.

M. Crassus praetor primum cum parte fugitiuorum quae ex Gallis Germanisque constabat feliciter pugnavit, caesis hostium XXXV milia et ducibus eorum Casto et Gannico. Cum Spartaco dein debellauit, caesis eum ipso LX milibus. M. Antonius praetor bellum aduersus Cretenses parum prospere susceptum morte sua finiit.

M. Lucullus procos. Thracas subegit. L. Lucullus in Ponto aduersus Mithridaten feliciter pugnavit, caesis hostium amplius quam LX milibus.

M. Crassus et Cn. Pompeius coss. facti (S. C. Pompeius, antequam quaesturam gereret, ex equite Romano) tribuniciam potestatem restituerunt. Iudicia quoque per M. Aurelium Cottam praetorem ad equites Romanis translata sunt.

Mithridates desperatione rerum suarum coactus ad Tigranen, Armeniae regem, confugit.

Machares, filius Mithridatis, Bospori rex, a L. Lucullo in

amicitiam receptus est.

Cn. Lentulus et L. Gellius censores asperam censuram egerunt IIII et LX senatu motis. A quibus lustrum condito censa sunt ciuium capita DCCCC milia.

L. Metellus praetor in Sicilia aduersus piratas prospere rem gessit.

Templum Iouis in Capitolio, quod incendio consumptum ac reffectum erat, a Q. Catulo dedicatum est.

L. Lucullus in Armenia Mithridaten et Tigranen et ingentes utriusque regis copias pluribus proeliis fudit.

Q. Metellus procos. bello aduersus Cretenses mandato Cydoniam urbem obsedit.

C. Triarius, legatus Luculli, aduersus Mithridaten parum prospere pugnavit.

Lucillum, ne persequeretur Mithridaten ac Tigranen summamque uictoriae inponeret, seditio militum tenuit, quia sequi nolebant, id est duae legiones Valerianae, quae impleta a se stipendia dicentes Lucillum reliquerunt.

Q. Metellus procos. Cnoson et Lyctum et Cydoniam et alias plurimas urbes expugnauit.

L. Roscius trib. pl. legem tulit ut equitibus Romanis in theatro XIII gradus proximi adsignarentur.

Cn. Pompeius lege ad populum lata persequi piratas iussus qui commercium annonae intercluserant intra quadragesimum diem toto mari eos expulit, belloque cum his in Cilicia confecto acceptis in deditionem piratis agros et urbes dedit.

Praeterea res gestas a Q. Metello aduersus Cretenses continet et epistulas Metelli et Cn. Pompei inuicem missas. Queritur Q. Metellus gloriam sibi rerum a se gestarum a Pompeio praeripi, qui in Cretam miserit legatum suum ad accipiendas urbium deditiones. Pompeius rationem reddit hoc se facere debuisse.

C. Manilius tr. pl. magna indignatione nobilitatis legem tulit ut Pompeio Mithridaticum bellum mandaretur. Contio eius bona. Q. Metellus perdomitis Cretensibus liberae in id tempus insulae leges dedit.

Cn. Pompeius ad gerendum bellum aduersus Mithridaten

profectus cum rege Parthorum, Phraate, amicitiam renouauit. Equestri proelio Mithridaten uicit.

Praeterea bellum inter Phraaten, Parthorum regem, et Tigranen, Armeniorum, ac deinde inter filium Tigranen patremque gestum continet.

Cn. Pompeius Mithridaten nocturno proelio uictum coegit Bosporon profugere.

Tigranen in deditionem accepit eique adeptis Syria, Phoenice, Cilicia, regnum Armeniae restituit.

Coniuratio eorum qui in petitione consulatus ambitus damnati erant facta de interficiendis consulibus obpressa est.

Cn. Pompeius cum Mithridaten persequeretur in ultimas ignotasque gentes penetrauit. Hiberos Albanosque, qui transitum non dabant, proelio uicit.

Praeterea fugam Mithridatis per Colchos Heniochosque et res ab eo in Bosporo gestas continet.

Cn. Pompeius in prouinciae formam Pontum redegit.

Pharnaces, filius Mithridatis, bellum patri intulit. Ab eo Mithridates obsessus in regia cum ueneno sumpto parum profecisset ad mortem, a milite Gallo, nomine Bitoco, a quo ut adiuuaret se petierat, interfectus est. Cn. Pompeius Iudaeos subegit, fanum eorum Hierosolyma, inuiolatum ante id tempus, cepit.

L. Catilina bis repulsam in petitione consulatus passus cum Lentulo praetore et Cethego et compluribus aliis coniurauit de caede consulum et senatus, incendiis urbis et obprimenda re p., exercitu quoque in Etruria comparato. Ea coniuratio industria M. Tulli Ciceronis eruta est. Catilina urbe pulso, de reliquis coniuratis supplicium sumptum est.

Catilina a C. Antonio procos. cum exercitu caesus est.

P. Clodius accusatus quod in habitu mulieris in sacrarium, in quo uirum intrare nefas est, cum intrasset et uxorem Metelli pontificis stuprasset, absolutus est.

C. Pontinus praetor Allobrogas qui rebellauerant ad Solonem domuit.

P. Clodius ad plebem transiit.

C. Caesar Lusitanos subegit. Eoque consulatus candidato et captante rem p. inuadere conspiratio inter tres ciuitatis principes facta est, Cn. Pompeium, M. Crassum, C. Caesarem.

Leges agrariae a Caesare cos. cum magna contentione inuito senatu et altero cos. M. Bibulo latae sunt.

M. Antonius procos. in Thracia parum prospere rem gessit.

M. Cicero lege a P. Clodio tr. pl. lata quod indemnatos ciues necauisset in exilium missus est.

Caesar in prouinciam Galliam profectus Heluetios, uagam gentem, domuit, quae sedem quaerens per prouinciam Caesaris Narbonensem iter facere uolebat.

Praeterea situm Galliarum continet.

Pompeius de liberis Mithridatis et Tigrane, Tigranis filio, triumphauit Magnisque a tota contione consalutatus est.

Prima pars libri situm Germaniae moresque continet. C. Caesar cum aduersus Germanos qui Ariouisto duce in Galliam transcenderant exercitum duceret, rogatus ab Aeduis et Sequanis, quorum ager possidebatur trepidationem militum propter metum nouorum hostium ortam adlocutione exercitus inhibuit et uictos proelio Germanos Gallia expulit.

M. Cicero, Pompeio inter alios hortante et T. Annio Milone tr. pl., ingenti gaudio senatus ac totius Italiae ab exilio reductus est.

Cn. Pompeio per quinquennium annonae cura mandata est.

Caesar Ambianos, Suessionas, Viruomandos, Atrebates, Belgarum populos, quorum ingens multitudo erat, proelio uictos in deditionem accepit, ac deinde contra Neruios, unam ex horum ciuitatibus, cum magno discrimine pugnavit eamque gentem deleuit, quae bellum gessit donec ex LX milia armatorum D superessent, ex DC senatoribus tres tantum euadereut.

Lege lata de redigenda in prouinciae formam Cypro et publicanda pecunia regia M. Catoni administratio eius rei mandata est.

Ptolemaeus, Aegypti rex, ob iniurias quas patiebatur a suis relicto regno Romam uenit.

C. Caesar Venetos, gentem Oceano iunctam, nauali proelio uicit.

Praeterea res a legatis eius eadem fortuna gestas continet.

Cum C. Catonis tribuni plebis intercessionibus comitia tollerentur, senatus uestem mutauit.

M. Cato in petitione praeturae praelato Vatinio repulsam tulit. Idem cum legem impediret, qua prouinciae consulibus in quinquennium, Pompeio Hispaniae, Crasso Syria et Parthicum bellum, dabantur, a C. Trebonio tr. pl., legis alicitore, in uincula ductus est.

A. Gabinius procos. Ptolemaeum reduxit in regnum Aegypti, eiecto Archelao, quem sibi regem adsciuerant.

Victis Germanis in Gallia Caesar Rhenum transcendit et proximam partem Germaniae domuit, ac deinde Oceano in Britanniam primo parum prospere tempestatibus aduersis traiecit, iterum felicius, magnaue multitudine hostium caesa aliquam partem insulae in potestatem redegit.

Iulia, Caesaris filia, Pompei uxor, decessit, honosque ei a populo habitus est, ut in campo Martio sepeliretur.

Gallorum aliquot populi Ambiorige duce, Eburonum rege, defecerunt. A quibus Cotta et Titurius, legati Caesaris, circumuenti insidiis cum exercitu cui praeerant caesi sunt. Et cum aliarum quoque legionum castra oppugnata magno labore defensa essent, inter quae eius cui in Treueris praeerat Q. Cicero, ab ipso Caesare hostes proelio fusi sunt.

M. Crassus bellum Parthis inlaturus Euphraten flumen transiit, uictusque proelio in quo et filius eius cecidit, cum reliquias exercitus in collem recepisset, euocatus in colloquium ab hostibus uelut de pace acturis, quorum dum erat Surenas, comprehensusque et, nequid uiuus pateretur repugnans, interfectus est.

C. Caesar Treueris in Gallia uictis iterum in Germaniam transiit, nulloque ibi hoste inuento reuersus in Galliam Eburonas et alias ciuitates, quae conspirauerant, uicit et Ambiorigem in fuga persecutus est.

P. Clodi a T. Annio Milone candidato consulatus Appia uia ad Bouillas occisi corpus plebs in curia cremauit.

Cum seditiones inter candidatos consulatus, Hypsaeum,

Scipionem, Milonem essent, qui armis ac ui contendebant, ad comprimendas eas Cn. Pompeius delegatus et a senatu cos. tertio factus est absens et solus, quod nulli alii umquam accidit.

Quaestione decreta de morte P. Clodi Milo iudicio damnatus in exilium actus est.

Lex lata est ut ratio absentis Caesaris in petitione consulatus haberetur, inuito et contradicente M. Catone.

Praeterea res gestas a C. Caesare aduersus Gallos qui prope uniuersi Vercingetorige Aruerno duce defecerunt, et laboriosas obsidiones urbium continet, inter quas Auarici Biturigum et Gergouiae Aruernorum.

C. Caesar Gallos ad Alesiam uicit omnesque Galliae ciuitates quae in armis fuerant, in deditionem accepit.

C. Cassius, quaestor M. Crassi, Parthos, qui in Syriam transcenderant, cecidit.

In petitione consulatus M. Cato repulsam tulit, creatis coss. Ser. Sulpicio M. Marcello.

C. Caesar Bellouacos cum aliis Gallorum populis domuit.

Praeterea contentiones inter consules de successore C. Caesari mittendo, agente in senatu Marcello cos. ut Caesar ad petitionem consulatus ueniret, cum is lege lata in id tempus consulatus prouincias obtinere deberet, resque a M. Bibulo in Syria gestas continet.

Causae ciuilium armorum et initia referuntur contentionesque de successore C. Caesari mittendo, cum se dimissurum exercitus negaret nisi a Pompeio dimitterentur. Et C. Curionis tr. pl. primum aduersus Caesarem, dein pro Caesare actiones continet.

Cum senatus consultum factum esset ut successor Caesari mitteretur, M. Antonio et Q. Cassio tr. pl., quoniam intercessionibus id senatus c. impediabant, urbe pulsus, mandatum est a senatu coss. et Cn. Pompeio, ut uiderent nequid res p. detrimenti caperet.

C. Caesar bello inimicos persecuturus cum exercitu in Italiam uenit, Corfinium cum M. Domitio et P. Lentulo cepit eosque dimisit, Cn. Pompeium ceterosque partium eius Italia expulit.

C. Caesar Massiliam, quae portas cluserat, obsedit et relictis in obsidione urbis eius legatis C. Trebonio et D. Bruto profectus in Hispaniam L. Afranium et M. Petreium, legatus Cn. Pompei, cum VII legionibus ad Ilerdam in deditionem accepit omnesque incolumes dimisit, Varrone quoque, legato Pompei, cum exercitu in potestatem suam redacto. Gaditanis ciuitatem dedit. Massilienses duobus naualibus proeliis uicti post longam obsidionem potestati Caesaris se permiserunt.

C. Antonius, legatus Caesaris, male aduersus Pompeianos in Illyrico rebus gestis captus est. In quo bello Opitergini transpadani, Caesaris auxiliares, rate sua ab hostibus nauibus clusa, potius quam in potestatem hostium uenirent, inter se concurrentes occubuerunt.

C. Curio, legatus Caesaris in Africa, cum prospere aduersus Varum, Pompeianarum partium ducem, pugnasset, a Iuba, rege Mauretaniae, cum exercitu caesus est.

C. Caesar in Graeciam traiecit.

M. Caelius Rufus praetor, cum seditiones in urbe concitaret nouarum tabularum spe plebe sollicitata, abrogato magistratu pulsus urbe Miloni exuli, qui fugitiuorum exercitum contraxerat, se coniunxit. Vterque, cum bellum molirentur, interfecti sunt.

Cleopatra, regina Aegypti, ab Ptolemaeo fratre regno pulsa est.

Propter Q. Cassi praetoris auaritiam crudelitatemque Cordubenses in Hispania cum duabus Varronianis legionibus a partibus Caesaris descuerunt.

Cn. Pompeius ad Dyrrachium obsessus a Caesare et, praesidiis eius cum magna clade diuersae partis expugnatis, obsidione liberatus translato in Thessaliam bello apud Pharsaliam acie uictus est. Cicero in castris remansit, uir nihil minus quam ad bella natus. Omnibusque aduersarum partium, qui se potestati uictoris permiserant, Caesar ignouit.

Trepidantia uictarum partium in diuersas orbis terrarum partes et fuga refertur : Cn. Pompeius cum Aegyptum petisset, iussu Ptolenaei regis, pupilli sui, auctore Theodoto praeceptore, cuius magna apud regem auctoritas erat, et Pothino occisus est ab Achilla, cui id facinus

erat delegatum, in nauicula antequam in terram emiret. Cornelia uxor et Sex. Pompeius filius Cypron refugerunt.

Caesar post tertium diem insecutus, cum ei Theodotus caput Pompei et anulum obtulisset, infensus est et inlacrimauit. Sine periculo Alexandriam tumultuantem intrauit.

Caesar dictator creatus Cleopatram in regnum Aegypti reduxit et inferentem bellum Ptolemaeum isdem auctoribus, quibus Pompeium interfecerat, cum magno suo discrimine euicit. Ptolemaeus dum fugit, in Nilo nauicula subsedit.

Praeterea laboriosum M. Catonis in Africa per deserta cum legionibus iter et bellum a Cn. Domitio aduersus Pharnacen parum prospere gestum continet.

Confirmatis in Africa Pompeianis partibus imperium earum P. Scipioni delatum est, Catone, cui ex aequo deferebatur imperium, cedente. Et cum de diruenda urbe Vtica propter fauorem ciuitatis eius in Caesarem deliberaretur, idque ne fieret M. Cato tenuisset, Iuba suadente ut dirueretur, tutela eius et custodia mandata est Catoni.

Cn. Pompeius Magni filius, in Hispania contractis uiribus, quarum ducatum nec Afranius nec Petreius excipere uolebant, bellum aduersus Caesarem renouauit.

Pharnaces, Mithridatis filius, rex Ponti, sine ulla belli mora uictus est. Cum seditiones Romae a P. Dolabella tr. pl. legem ferente de nouis tabulis excitatae essent et ex ea causa plebs tumultuaretur, inductis a M. Antonio, magistro equitum, in urbem militibus octingenti e plebe caesi sunt.

Caesar ueteranis cum seditione missionem postulantibus dedit, et cum in Africam traiecisset, aduersus copias Iubae regis cum discrimine magno pugnavit.

Bellum in Syria Caecilius Bassus, eques Romanus Pompeianarum partium, excitauit, relicto a legione Sexto Caesare, quae ad Bassum transierat, occisoque eo. Caesar Scipionem praetorem Iubamque uicit ad Thapsum, castris eorum expugnatis.

Cato audita re cum se percussisset Vticae et interueniente filio curaretur, inter ipsam curationem rescisso uulnere expirauit anno aetatis XLVIII.

Petreius Iubam seque interfecit. P. Scipio in naue circumuentus honestae morti uocem quoque adiecit ; quaerentibus enim imperatorem hostibus dixit: “imperator se bene habet”.

Faustus et Afranius occisi. Catonis filio uenia data.

Brutus legatus Caesaris in Gallia Bellouacos rebellantes proelio uicit.

Caesar quattuor triumphos duxit, ex Gallia, ex Aegypto, ex Ponto, ex Africa, epulum et omnis generis spectacula dedit.

M. Marcello consulari, senatu rogante, reditum concessit. Quo beneficio eius Marcellus frui non potuit, a Cn. Magio cliente suo Athenis occisus. Recensum egit, quo censa sunt ciuium capita CL milia.

Profectusque in Hispaniam aduersus Cn. Pompeium, multis utrimque expeditionibus factis et aliquot urbibus expugnatis summam uictoriam cum magno discrimine ad Mundam urbem consecutus est. Necatus est Cn. Pompeius, Sex. effugit.

Caesar ex Hispania quintum triumphum egit. Et cum plurimi maximique honores a senatu decreti essent, inter quos ut “parens patriae” appellaretur et sacrosanctus ac dictator in perpetuum esset, inuidiae aduersus eum causam praestiterunt, quod senatui deferenti hos honores, cum ante aedem Veneris Genetricis sederet, non adsurrexit, et quod a M. Antonio cos., collega suo, inter lupercos currente diadema capiti suo impositum in sella reposuit, et quod Epidio Marullo et Caesetio Flauo trib. pl., inuidiam ei tamquam regnum adfectanti mouentibus potestas abrogata est.

Ex his causis conspiratione in eum facta, cuius capita fuerunt M. Brutus et C. Cassius et ex Caesaris partibus Dec. Brutus et C. Trebonius, in Pompei curia occisus est XXIII uulneribus occupatumque ab interfecto-ribus eius Capitolium.

Obluione deinde caedis eius a senatu decreta, obsidibus Antoni et Lepidi de liberis acceptis coniurati a Capitolio descenderunt.

Testamento Caesaris heres ex parte dimidia institutus est C. Octavius, sororis nepos, et in nomen adoptatus est.

Caesaris corpus cum in campum Martium ferretur, a plebe ante rostra crematum est.

Dictaturae honos in perpetuum sublatus est.

Chamiatas, humillimae sortis homo, qui se C. Mari filium ferebat, cum apud credulam plebem seditiones moueret, necatus est.

C. Octavius Romam ex Epiro uenit (eo enim illum Caesar praemiserat bellum in Macedonia gesturus) ominibusque prosperis exceptus et nomen Caesaris sumpsit.

In confusione rerum ac tumultu M. Lepidus pontificatum maximum interceptit.

Et M. Antonius cos. cum impotenter dominaretur legemque de permutatione prouinciarum per uim tulisset et Caesarem quoque petentem ut sibi aduersus percussores auunculi adesset, magnis iniuriis adfecisset, Caesar et sibi et rei p. uires aduersus eum paraturus deductos in colonias ueteranos excitauit. Legiones quoque quarta et Martia signa ab Antonio ad Caesarem tulerunt, deinde et complures saeuitia M. Antoni, passim in castris suis trucidantis qui ei suspecti erant, ad Caesarem descuerunt.

Dec. Brutus ut petenti Cisalpinam Galliam Antonio obsisteret, Mutinam cum exercitu occupauit.

Praeterea discursum utriusque partis uirorum ad accipiendas prouincias apparatusque belli continet.

M. Brutus in Graecia sub praetexto rei p. et suscepti contra M. Antonium belli exercitum, cui P. Vatinius praeerat, cum prouincia in potestatem suam redegit.

C. Caesari, qui priuatus rei p. arma sumpserat, pro praetore imperium a senatu datum est cum consularibus ornamentis adiectumque ut senator esset.

M. Antonius Dec. Brutum Mutinae obsedit, missiquo ad cum a senatu legati de pace parum ad componendam eam ualuerunt. Populus R. saga sumpsit.

M. Brutus in Epiro C. Antonium praetorem cum exercitu potestati suae subegit.

C. Trebonius in Asia fraude P. Dolabellae occisus est. Ob id facinus Dolabella hostis a senatu iudicatus est.

Cum Pansa cos. male aduersus Antonium pugnasset, A. Hirtius

cos. cum exercitu superueniens fuis M. Antoni copiis fortunam utriusque partis aequauit. Victus deinde ab Hirtio et Caesare Antonius in Galliam confugit et M. Lepidum cum legionibus quae sub eo erant sibi iunxit, hostisque a senatu cum omnibus qui intra praesidia eius essent iudicatus est. A. Hirtius, qui post uictoriam in ipsis hostium castris ceciderat, et C. Pansa ex uulnere quod in aduerso proelio exceperat, defunctus in campo Martio sepulti sunt.

Aduersus C. Caesarem, qui solus ex tribus ducibus supererat, parum gratus senatus fuit, qui Dec. Bruto obsidione Mutinensi a Caesare liberato triumphii honore decreto Caesaris militumque eius mentionem non satis gratam habuit. Ob quae C. Caesar reconciliata per M. Lepidum cum M. Antonio gratia Romam cum exercitu uenit et praeclusis aduentu eius his qui in eum iniqui erant, cum XVIII annos haberet, consul creatus est.

C. Caesar cos. legem tulit de quaestione habenda in eos quorum opera Caesar pater occisus esset; postulatique ea lege M. Brutus, C. Cassius, Dec. Brutus absentes damnati sunt.

Cum M. Antoni uires Asinius quoque Pollio et Munatius Plancus cum exercitibus suis adiuncti ampliassent, et Dec. Brutus, cui senatus ut persequeretur Antonium mandauerat, relictus a legionibus suis profugisset, caesus iussu Antoni, in cuius potestatem uenerat, a Capeno Sequano interfectus est.

C. Caesar pacem cum Antonio et Lepido fecit ita ut III uiri rei p. constituendae per quinquennium essent ipse et Lepidus et Antonius et ut suos quisque inimicos proscriberent. In qua proscriptione plurimi equites R., CXXX senatorum nomina fuerunt, et inter eos L. Pauli, fratris M. Lepidi, et L. Caesaris, Antoni auunculi, et M. Ciceronis. Huius occisi a Popillio, legionario milite, cum haberet annos LXIII, caput quoque cum dextra manu in rostris positum est.

Praeterea res a M. Bruto in Graecia gestas continet.

C. Cassius, cui mandatum a senatu erat ut Dolabellam hostem iudicatum bello persequeretur, auctoritate rei p. adiutus Syriam cum tribus exercitibus, qui in eadem prouincia erant, in potestatem suam redegit, Dolabellam in urbe Laodicia obsessum mori coegit. M. quoque Bruti iussu C. Antonius captus occisus est.

M. Brutus aduersus Thracas parumper prospere rem gessit, omnibusque transmarinis prouinciis exercitibusque in potestatem eius et C. Cassi redactis coierunt Smyrnae uterque ad ordinanda belli futuri consilia. M. Messalae Publicolam fratrem uinctum communi consilio condonauerunt.

Sex. Pompeius, Magni filius, collectis ex Epiro proscriptis ac fugitiuis cum exercitu diu sine ulla loci cuiusquam possessione praedatus in mari Messanam, oppidum in Sicilia, primum, dein totam prouinciam occupauit occisoque Pompeio Bithynico praetore, Q. Saluidenum, legatum Caesaris, nauali proelio uicit.

Caesar et Antonius cum exercitibus in Graecian traicerunt bellum aduersus Brutum et Cassium gesturi.

Q. Cornificius in Africa T. Sextium, Cassianarum partium ducem, proelio uicit.

C. Caesar et Antonius apud Philippos uario euentu aduersus Brutum et Cassium pugnaverunt ita ut dextra utriusque cornua uincerent ex castra quoque utrimque ab his qui uicerant expugnarentur. Sed inaequalem fortunam partium mors Cassi fecit qui cum in eo cornu fuisset quod pulsum erat, totum exercitum fusum ratus mortem consciuit.

Altera dein die uictus M. Brutus et ipse uitam finiit exorato Stratone, fugae comite, ut sibi gladium adigeret. Annorum erat circiter XL.

Q. Hortensius occisus est.

Caesar relicto trans mare Antonio (prouinciae ea parte imperi positae ei cesserant) reuersus in Italiam ueteranis agros diuisit. Seditiones exercitus sui quas corrupti a Fulua, M. Antoni uxore, milites aduersus imperatorem suum concitauerant, cum graui periculo inhibuit. L. Antonius cos., M. Antoni frater, eadem Fulua consiliante bellum Caesari intulit. Receptis in partes suas populis quorum agri ueteranis adsignati erant, et M. Lepido, qui custodiae urbis cum exercitu praeerat, fuso hostiliter in urbem inrupit.

Caesar cum esset annorum XXIII, obsessum in oppido Perusia L. Antonium conatumque aliquotiens erumpere et repulsum fame coegit in deditionem uenire ipsique et omnibus militibus eius ignouit, Perusiam diruit, redactisque in potestatem suam omnibus diuersae partis exercitibus bellum citra ullum sanguinem confecit.

Parthi Labieno, qui Pompeianarum partium fuerat, duce in Syriam inruperunt uictoque Decidio Saxa, M. Antoni legato, totam eam prouinciam occupauerunt. M. Antonius cum ad bellum aduersus Caesarem gerendum incitaretur ab uxore Fulvia ne concordiae ducum obstaret, pace facta cum Caesare, sororem eius Octauiam in matrimonium duxit. Q. Saluidenum consilia nefaria aduersus Caesarem molitum indicio suo prostravit, isque damnatus mortem consciuit. P. Ventidius Antoni legatus Parthos proelio uictos Syria expulit Labieno, eorum duce, occiso.

Cum uicinus Italiae hostis, Sex. Pompeius, Siciliam teneret et commercium annonae impediret, expostulatam cum eo pacem Caesar et Antonius fecerunt ita ut Siciliam prouinciam haberet.

Praeterea motus Africae et bella ibi gesta continet.

Cum Sex. Pompeius rursus latrociniis mare infestum redderet nec pacem quam acceperat praestaret, Caesar necessario aduersus eum bello suscepto duobus naualibus proeliis cum dubio euentu pugnauit.

P. Ventidius, legatus Antonii, Parthos in Syria proelio uicit regemque eorum occidit. Iudaei quoque a legatis Antoni subacti sunt.

Praeterea belli Siculi apparatus continet.

Aduersus Sex. Pompeium uario euentu naualibus proeliis pugnatum est ita ut ex duabus Caesaris classibus altera, cui Agrippa praeerat, uinceret, altera, quam Caesar duxerat, deleta expositi in terram milites in magno periculo essent. Victus deinde Pompeius in Siciliam profugit.

M. Lepidus, qui ex Africa uelut ad societatem belli contra Sex. Pompeium a Caesare gerendi traiecerat, cum bellum Caesari quoque inferret, relictus ab exercitu, abrogato triumuiratus honore uitam impetrauit.

M. Agrippa nauali corona a Caesare donatus est, qui honos nulli

ante eum habitus erat.

M. Antonius dum cum Cleopatra luxuriatur, tarde Mediam ingressus bellum cum legionibus XVIII et XVI milia equitum Parthis intulit, et cum, duabus legionibus amissis, nulla re prospere cedente retro rediret, insecutis subinde Parthis et ingenti trepidatione et magno totius exercitus periculo in Armeniam reuersus est, XXI diebus CCC milia fuga emensus. Circa VIII milia hominum tempestatibus amisit.

Tempestates quoque infestas super tam infeliciter susceptum Parthicum bellum culpa sua passus est, quia hiemare in Armenia nolebat, dum ad Cleopatram festinat.

Sex. Pompeius cum in fidem M. Antoni ueniret, bellum aduersus eum in Asia moliens oppressus a legatis eius occisus est.

Caesar seditionem ueteranorum cum magna pernicie motam inhibuit, Iapydas et Dalmatas et Pannonios subegit.

Antonius Artauasden, Armeniae regem, fide data perductum in uincula conici iussit, regnumque Armeniae filio suo ex Cleopatra nato dedit, quam uxoris loco iam pridem captus amore eius habere coeperat.

Caesar in Illyrico Dalmatas domuit.

Cum M. Antonius ob amorem Cleopatrae, ex qua duos filios habebat, Philadelphum et Alexandrum, neque in urbem uenire uellet neque finito Illuiratus tempore imperium deponere bellumque moliretur quod urbi et Italiae inferret, ingentibus tam naualibus quam terrestribus copiis ob hoc contractis remissoque Octaviae, sorori Caesaris, repudio, Caesar in Epirum cum exercitu traiecit. Pugnae deinde naualis et proelia equestria secunda Caesaris referuntur.

M. Antonius ad Actium classe uictus Alexandriam profugit, obsessusque a Caesare, in ultima desperatione rerum, praecipue occisae Cleopatrae falso rumore impulsus, se ipse interfecit.

Caesar Alexandria in potestatem redacta, Cleopatra, ne in arbitrium uictoris ueniret, uoluntaria morte defuncta, in urbem reuersus tres triumphos egit, unum ex Illyrico, alterum ex Actiaca

uictoria, tertium de Cleopatra, imposito fine ciuilibus bellis altero et uicesimo anno.

M. Lepidus Lepidi, qui triumphum fuerat, filius coniuratione aduersus Caesarem facta bellum moliens oppressus et occisus est.

C. Caesar rebus compositis et omnibus prouinciis in certam formam redactis Augustus quoque cognominatus est ; et mensis Sextilis in honorem eius appellatus est.

Cum ille conuentum Narbone egit, census a tribus Galliis, quas Caesar pater uicerat, actus.

Bellum aduersus Basternas et Moesos et alias gentes a M. Crasso referuntur.

Bellum a M. Crasso aduersus Thracas et a Caesare aduersus Hispanos gestum refertur, et Salassi, gens Alpina, perdomiti.

[Periochae desunt.]

[Periochae desunt.]

Raeti a Tib. Nerone et Druso, Caesaris priuignis, domiti. Agrippa, Caesaris gener, mortuus.

A Druso census actus est.

Ciuitates Germaniae cis Rhenum et trans Rhenum positae oppugnantur a Druso, et tumultus, qui ob censum exortus in Gallia erat, componitur.

Ara dei Caesaris ad confluentem Araris et Rhodani dedicata, sacerdote creato C. Iulio Vercondaridubno Aeduo.

Thracas domiti a L. Pisone, item Cherusci, Tencteri, Chauci aliaeque Germanorum trans Rhenum gentes subactae a Druso referuntur.

Octauia, soror Augusti, defuncta, ante amisso filio Marcello cuius monimenta sunt theatrum et porticus nomine eius dicata.

Bellum aduersus transrhenanas gentes a Druso gestum refertur. In

quo inter primores pugnaverunt Chumstinctus et Auectius, tribuni ex ciuitate Neruiorum.

Dalmatas et Pannonios Nero, frater Drusi, subegit.

Pax cum Parthis facta est signis a rege eorum, quae sub Crasso et postea sub Antonio capta erant, redditis.

Bellum aduersus Germanorum trans Rhenum ciuitates gestum a Druso refertur.

Ipsa ex fractura, equo super crus eius conlapso XXX die quam id acciderat, mortuus. Corpus a Nerone fratre, qui nuntio uoletudinis euocatus raptim adcurrerat, Romam peruectum et in tumulo C. Iuli reconditum. Laudatus est a Caesare Augusto uirico. Et supremis eius plures honores dati.

The Biography



Casa Romuli, Palatine Hill, Rome — the Casa Romuli (hut of Romulus) is the reputed dwelling-place of the legendary founder and first king of Rome, Romulus (c. 771-717 BC). It is situated on the south-western corner of the Palatine hill, where it slopes down towards the Circus Maximus, near the so-called "Steps of Cacus". The 'history' of Romulus is narrated in the first book of Livy's history.

LIVY'S HISTORY by Duffield Osborne



Of the lost treasures of classical literature, it is doubtful whether any are more to be regretted than the missing books of Livy. That they existed in approximate entirety down to the fifth century, and possibly even so late as the fifteenth, adds to this regret. At the same time it leaves in a few sanguine minds a lingering hope that some unvisited convent or forgotten library may yet give to the world a work that must always be regarded as one of the greatest of Roman masterpieces. The story that the destruction of Livy was effected by order of Pope Gregory I, on the score of the superstitions contained in the historian's pages, never has been fairly substantiated, and therefore I prefer to acquit that pontiff of the less pardonable superstition involved in such an act of fanatical vandalism. That the books preserved to us would be by far the most objectionable from Gregory's alleged point of view may be noted for what it is worth in favour of the theory of destruction by chance rather than by design.

Here is the inventory of what we have and of what we might have had. The entire work of Livy — a work that occupied more than forty years of his life — was contained in one hundred and forty-two books, which narrated the history of Rome, from the supposed landing of Æneas, through the early years of the empire of Augustus, and down to the death of Drusus, B.C. 9. Books I-X, containing the story of early Rome to the year 294 B.C., the date of the final subjugation of the Samnites and the consequent establishment of the Roman commonwealth as the controlling power in Italy, remain to us. These, by the accepted chronology, represent a period of four hundred and sixty years. Books XI-XX, being the second "decade," according to a division attributed to the fifth century of our era are missing. They covered seventy-five years, and brought the narrative down to the beginning of the second Punic war. Books XXI-XLV have been saved, though those of the fifth "decade" are imperfect.

They close with the triumph of Æmilius, in 167 B.C., and the reduction of Macedonia to a Roman province. Of the other books, only a few fragments remain, the most interesting of which (from Book CXX) recounts the death of Cicero, and gives what appears to be a very just estimate of his character. We have epitomes of all the lost books, with the exception of ten; but these are so scanty as to amount to little more than tables of contents. Their probable date is not later than the time of Trajan. To summarize the result, then, thirty-five books have been saved and one hundred and seven lost — a most deplorable record, especially when we consider that in the later books the historian treated of times and events whereof his means of knowledge were adequate to his task.

TITUS LIVIUS was born at Patavium, the modern Padua, some time between 61 and 57 B.C. Of his parentage and early life nothing is known. It is easy to surmise that he was well born, from his political bias in favour of the aristocratic party, and from the evident fact of his having received a liberal education; yet the former of these arguments is not at all inconsistent with the opposite supposition, and the latter should lead to no very definite conclusion when we remember that in his days few industries were more profitable than the higher education of slaves for the pampered Roman market. Niebuhr infers, from a sentence quoted by Quintilian, that Livy began life as a teacher of rhetoric. However that may be, it seems certain that he came to Rome about 30 B.C., was introduced to Augustus and won his patronage and favour, and after the death of his great patron and friend retired to the city of his birth, where he died, 17 A.D. It is probable that he had fixed the date of the Emperor's death as the limit of his history, and that his own decease cut short his task.

No historian ever told a story more delightfully. The available translations leave much to be desired, but to the student of Latin Livy's style is pure and simple, and possesses that charm which purity and simplicity always give. If there is anything to justify the charge of "Patavinity," or provincialism, made by Asinius Pollio, we, at least, are not learned enough in Latin to detect it; and Pollio, too, appears to have been no gentle critic if we may judge by his equally severe strictures upon Cicero, Cæsar, and Sallust. This much we

know: the Patavian's heroes live; his events happen, and we are carried along upon their tide. Our sympathies, our indignation, our enthusiasm, are summoned into being, and history and fiction appear to walk hand in hand for our instruction and amusement. In this latter word — fiction — lies the charge most often and most strongly made against him — the charge that he has written a story and no more; that with him past time existed but to furnish materials "to point a moral or adorn a tale." Let us consider to what extent this is true, and, if true, in what measure the author has sinned by it or we have lost.

No one would claim that the rules by which scientific historians of to-day are judged should be applied to those that wrote when history was young, when the boundaries between the possible and the impossible were less clearly defined, or when, in fact, such boundaries hardly existed in men's minds. In this connection, even while we vaunt, we smile. After all, how much of our modern and so-called scientific history must strike the reasoning reader as mere theorizing or as special pleading based upon the slenderest evidence! Among the ancients the work of the historians whom we consider trustworthy — such writers, for instance, as Cæsar, Thucydides, Xenophon, Polybius, and Tacitus — may be said to fall generally within Rawlinson's canons 1 and 2 of historical criticism — that is, (1) cases where the historian has personal knowledge concerning the facts whereof he writes, or (2) where the facts are such that he may reasonably be supposed to have obtained them from contemporary witnesses. Canon 2 might be elaborated and refined very considerably and perhaps to advantage. It naturally includes as sources of knowledge — first, personal interviews with contemporary witnesses; and, second, accesses to the writings of historians whose opportunities brought them within canon 1. In this latter case the evidence would be less convincing, owing to the lack of opportunity to cross-question, though even here apparent lack of bias or the existence of biased testimony on both sides, from which a judicious man might have a fair chance to extract the truth, would go far to cure the defect.

The point, however, to which I tend is, that the portions of Livy's history from which we must judge of his trustworthiness treat, for the

most part, of periods concerning which even his evidence was of the scantiest and poorest description. He doubtless had family records, funeral panegyrics, and inscription — all of which were possibly almost as reliable as those of our own day. Songs sung at festivals and handed down by tradition may or may not be held more truthful. These he had as well; but the government records, the ancient fasti, had been destroyed at the time of the burning of the city by the Gauls, and there is no hint of any Roman historian that lived prior to the date of the second Punic war. Thus we may safely infer that Livy wrote of the first five hundred years without the aid of any contemporary evidence, either approximately complete or ostensibly reliable. With the beginning of the second Punic war began also the writing of history. Quintus Fabius Pictor had left a work, which Polybius condemned on the score of its evident partiality. Lucius Cincius Alimentus, whose claim to knowledge if not to impartiality rests largely on the fact that he was captured and held prisoner by Hannibal, also left memoirs; but Hannibal was not famous for treating prisoners mildly, and the Romans, most cruel themselves in this respect, were always deeply scandalized by a much less degree of harshness on the part of their enemies. Above all, there was Polybius himself, who perhaps approaches nearer to the critical historian than any writer of antiquity, and it is Polybius upon whom Livy mainly relies through his third, fourth, and fifth decades. The works of Fabius and Cincius are lost. So also are those of the Lacedaemonian Sosilus and the Sicilian Silanus, who campaigned with Hannibal and wrote the Carthaginian side of the story; nor is there any evidence that either Polybius or Livy had access to their writings. Polybius, then, may be said to be the only reliable source from which Livy could draw for any of his extant books, and before condemning unqualifiedly in the cases where he deserts him and harks back to Roman authorities we must remember that Livy was a strong nationalist, one of a people who, despite their conquests, were essentially narrow, prejudiced, egotistical; and, thus remembering, we must marvel that he so fully recognises the merit of his unprejudiced guide and wanders as little as he does. All told, it is quite certain that he has dealt more fairly by Hannibal than have Alison and other English historians by Napoleon. His unreliability

consists rather in his conclusions than in his facts, and it is unquestioned that through all the pages of the third decade he has so told the story of the man most hated by Rome — the deadliest enemy she had ever encountered — that the reader can not fail to feel the greatness of Hannibal dominating every chapter.

Referring again to the criticisms made so lavishly upon Livy's story of the earlier centuries, it is well to recall the contention of the hard-headed Scotchman Ferguson, that with all our critical acumen we have found no sure ground to rest upon until we reach the second Punic war. Niebuhr, on the other hand, whose German temperament is alike prone to delve or to theorize, is disposed to think — with considerable generosity to our abilities, it appears to me — that we may yet evolve a fairly true history of Rome from the foundation of the commonwealth. As to the times of the kings, it is admitted that we know nothing, while from the founding of the commonwealth to the second Punic war the field may be described as, at the best, but a battle-ground for rival theories.

The ancient historian had, as a rule, little to do with such considerations or controversies. In the lack of solid evidence he had only to write down the accepted story of the origin of things, as drawn from the lips of poetry, legend, or tradition, and it was for Livy to write thus or not at all. Even here the honesty of his intention is apparent. For much of his early history he does not claim more than is claimed for it by many of his modern critics, while time and again he pauses to express a doubt as to the credibility of some incident. A notable instance of this is found in his criticism of those stories most dear to the Roman heart — the stories of the birth and apotheosis of Romulus. On the other hand, if he has given free life to many beautiful legends that were undoubtedly current and believed for centuries, is it heresy to avow that these as such seem to me of more true value to the antiquary than if they had been subjected at their historical inception to the critical and theoretical methods of to-day? I can not hold Livy quite unpardonable even when following, as he often does, such authorities as the Furian family version of the redemption of the city by the arms of their progenitor Camillus, instead of by the payment of the agreed ransom, as modern writers consider proven, while his putting of set speeches into the mouths of

his characters may be described as a conventional usage of ancient historians, which certainly added to the liveliness of the narrative and probably was neither intended to be taken literally nor resulted in deceiving any one.

Reverting for a moment to Livy's honesty and frankness, so far as his intent might govern such qualities, I think no stronger evidence in his favour can be found than his avowed republican leanings at the court of Augustus and his just estimate of Cicero's character in the face of the favour of a prince by whose consent the great orator had been assassinated. Above all, it must have been a fearless and honest man who could swing the scourge with which he lashed his degenerate countrymen in those stinging words, "The present times, when we can endure neither our vices nor their remedies."

Nevertheless, and despite the facts that Livy means to be honest and that he questions much on grounds that would not shame the repute of many of his modern critics, the charge is doubtless true that his writings are not free from prejudice in favour of his country. That he definitely regarded history rather as a moral agency and a lesson for the future than as an irrefutable narrative of the past, I consider highly hypothetical; but it is probable that his mind was not of the type that is most diligent in the close, exhaustive, and logical study so necessary to the historian of today. "Superficial," if we could eliminate the reproach in the word, would perhaps go far toward describing him. He is what we would call a popular rather than a scientific writer, and, since we think somewhat lightly of such when they write on what we consider scientific subjects, we are too apt to transfer their light repute to an author who wrote popularly at a time when this treatment was best adapted to his audience, his aims, and the material at his command. That he has survived through all these centuries, and has enjoyed, despite all criticism, the position in the literature of the world which his very critics have united in conceding to him, is perhaps a stronger commendation than any technical approval.

From the standpoint of the present work it was felt that selections aggregating seven books would accomplish all the purposes of a complete presentation. The editors have chosen the first three books of the first decade as telling what no one can better tell than Livy: the

stories and legends connected with the foundation and early life of Rome. Here, as I have said, there was nothing for him to do but cut loose from all trammels and hang breathless, pen in hand, upon the lips of tradition. None can hold but that her faithful scribe has writ down her words with all their ancient colour, with reverence reigning over his heart; however doubts might lurk within his brain. These books close with the restoration of the consular power, after the downfall of the tyrannical rule of the Decemvirs, the revolution following upon the attempt of Appius Claudius to seize Virginia, the daughter of a citizen who, rather than see his child fall into the clutches of the cruel patrician, killed her with his own hand in the marketplace, and, rushing into the camp with the bloody knife, caused the soldiers to revolt. The second section comprises Books XXI-XXIV, a part of the narrative of the second Punic war, a military exploit the most remarkable the world has ever seen.

The question who was the greatest general that ever lived has been a fruitful source of discussion, and Alexander, Cæsar, and Napoleon have each found numerous and ardent supporters. Without decrying the signal abilities of these chiefs, it must nevertheless be remembered that each commanded a homogeneous army and had behind him a compact nation the most warlike and powerful of his time. The adversaries also of the Greek and the Roman were in the one instance an effete power already falling to pieces by its own internal weakness, and in the other, for the most part, scattered tribes of barbarians without unity of purpose or military discipline. Even in his civil wars Cæsar's armies were veterans, and those of the commonwealth were, comparatively speaking, recruits. But when the reader of these pages carefully considers the story of Hannibal's campaign in Italy, what does he find? Two nations — one Caucasian, young, warlike above all its contemporaries, with a record behind it of steady aggrandizement and almost unbroken victory, a nation every citizen of which was a soldier. On the other side, a race of merchants Semitic in blood, a city whose citizens had long since ceased to go to war, preferring that their gold should fight for them by the hands of mercenaries of every race and clime — hirelings whose ungoverned valour had proved almost as deadly to their employers and generals as to their enemies. Above all, the same

battle had been joined before when Rome was weaker and Carthage stronger, and Carthage had already shown her weakness and Rome her strength.

And now in this renewed war we see a young man, aided only by a little group of compatriots, welding together army of the most heterogeneous elements — Spaniards, Gauls, Numidians, Moors, Greeks — men of almost every race except his own. We see him cutting loose from his base of supplies, leaving enemies behind him, to force his way through hostile races, through unknown lands bristling with almost impassable mountains and frigid with snow and ice. We see him conquering here, making friends and allies there, and, more wonderful than all, holding his mongrel horde together through hardships and losses by the force of his character alone. We see him at last descending into the plains of Italy. We see him not merely defeating but annihilating army after army more numerous than his own and composed of better raw material. We see him, unaided, ranging from end to end of the peninsula, none daring to meet him with opposing standards, and the greatest general of Rome winning laurels because he knew enough to recognise his own hopeless inferiority. All stories of reverses other than those of mere detachments may pretty safely be set down as the exaggeration of Roman writers. Situated as was Hannibal, the loss of one marshalled field would have meant immediate ruin, and ruin never came when he fought in Italy. On the contrary, without supplies save what his sword could take, without friends save what his genius and his fortune could win, he maintained his place and his superiority not for one or for two but through fourteen years, during all which time we hear no murmur of mutiny, no hint of aught but obedience and devotion among the incongruous and unruly elements from which he had fashioned his invincible army; and at the end we see him leaving Italy of his own free will, at the call of his country, to waste himself in a vain effort to save her from the blunders of other leaders and from the penalty of inherent weakness, which only his sword had so long warded off.

When I consider the means, the opposition, and the achievement — a combination of elements by which alone we can judge such questions with even approximate fairness — I can not but feel that of

all military exploits this invasion of Italy, which we shall read of here, was the most remarkable; that of all commanders Hannibal has shown himself to be the greatest. Some of Livy's charges against him as a man are doubtless true. Avarice was in his blood; and cruelty also, though it ill became a Roman to chide an enemy on that score. Besides, Livy himself tells how Hannibal had sought for the bodies of the generals he had slain, that he might give them the rites of honourable sepulture; tells it, and in the next breath relates how the Roman commander mutilated the corpse of the fallen Hasdrubal and threw the head into his brother's camp. So, too, his naïve explanation that Hannibal's "more than Punic perfidy" consisted mainly of ambushes and similar military strategies goes to show, as I have said, that whatever is unjust in our author's estimate was rather the result of the prejudiced deductions of national egotism than of facts wilfully or carelessly distorted by partisan spite.

To the reader who bears well in mind the points I have ventured to make, I predict profit hardly less than pleasure in these pages; for Livy is perhaps the only historian who may be said to have been honest enough to furnish much of the material for criticism of himself, and to be, to a very considerable extent, self-adjusting.

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F. Scott Fitzgerald
G. K. Chesterton
Gustave Flaubert (English)
H. Rider Haggard

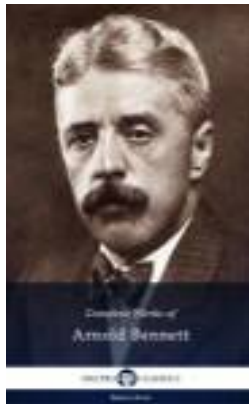
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Jules Verne
L. Frank Baum
Lewis Carroll
Marcel Proust (English)
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John Webster
Margaret Oliphant
Maxim Gorky
Oliver Goldsmith
Radclyffe Hall
Robert W. Chambers

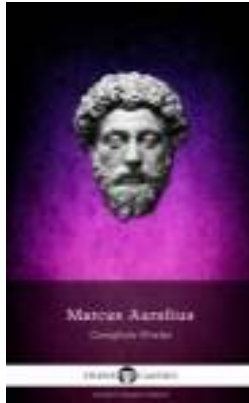
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Apollonius of Rhodes
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Aristotle
Arrian
Bede
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Cicero
Demosthenes
Diodorus Siculus
Diogenes Laërtius
Euripides
Frontius
Herodotus
Hesiod
Hippocrates
Homer
Horace

Josephus
Julius Caesar
Juvenal
Livy
Longus
Lucan
Lucian
Lucretius
Marcus Aurelius
Martial
Nonnus
Ovid
Pausanias
Petronius
Pindar
Plato
Pliny the Elder
Pliny the Younger
Plotinus
Plutarch
Polybius
Propertius
Quintus Smyrnaeus
Sallust
Sappho
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Terence
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Thucydides
Tibullus
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John Milton
John Wilmot, Earl of Rochester
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Ludovico Ariosto
Luís de Camões
Matthew Arnold
Michael Drayton
Percy Bysshe Shelley
Ralph Waldo Emerson
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Sir Thomas Wyatt
Sir Walter Raleigh
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Thomas Gray
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Walt Whitman
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William Blake
William Cowper
William Wordsworth



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Johannes Vermeer
John Constable
Leonardo da Vinci
Michelangelo
Paul Cézanne
Paul Klee
Peter Paul Rubens
Pierre-Auguste Renoir
Sandro Botticelli
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Livy is believed to have died in his home city of Patavium (modern day Padua) in AD 17.